ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL

CONTEXTUALIZING THE AGE OF SULTAN SÜLEYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT: PERCEPTIONS OF OTTOMAN ART IN THE UNITED STATES, 1929-1987

Ph.D. THESIS

Zeynep SİMAVİ

Department of Art History

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ISTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ LİSANSÜSTÜ EĞİTİM ENSTİTÜSÜ

MUHTEŞEM SULTAN SÜLEYMAN DÖNEMİ SERGİSİ BAĞLAMINDA AMERİKA'DA OSMANLI SANATI ALGILARI, 1929-1987

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In memory of Esin Atıl (1938-2020) and Filiz Çağman (1940-2021),

FOREWORD

The topic of this dissertation came about ten years ago as I was looking into the formation of Islamic art history as an academic discipline in the United States through the work of Mehmet Aga-Oglu. Since that time, it is thanks to numerous individuals, who have showered me with invaluable advice, insightful guidance and constant support, that I was able to complete my research and turn it into a dissertation.

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May 2023

Zeynep SİMAVİ
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ABBREVIATIONS

AIC	**:** The Art Institute of Chicago
DIA	**:** The Detroit Institute of Arts
Freer	**:** The Freer Gallery of Art
Fogg	**:** The Harvard Art Museums / Fogg Museum
LACMA	**:** The Los Angeles County Museum of Art
Boston MFA	**:** The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MMA	**:** The Metropolitan Museum of Art
NGA	**:** The National Gallery of Art
SITES	**:** The Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service
UM	**:** The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

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CONTEXTUALIZING THE AGE OF SULTAN SÜLEYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT: PERCEPTIONS OF OTTOMAN ART IN THE UNITED STATES, 1929-1987

SUMMARY

The past two decades witnessed an increased interest in the historiography of Islamic art. Multiple academic convenings and publications addressed issues such as histories of public and private collections and exhibitions, along with the people, mainly collectors, curators, dealers and scholars, that shaped this young academic field. While these studies offer insights to the workings of the field in its formative period, that is 1850-1950, they tend to be either descriptive, listing the significant turning points in its history, or serve as case studies, focusing on a certain personage, a particular exhibition, or a single collection.

Despite the rise of this type of historiographical studies, which serve to understand how certain conventions came to be in the field of Islamic art, there has been neither any comprehensive study on the important exhibitions and figures of Turkish art nor any assessment of how Turkish art came to be known, studied, and perceived in the United States in the 20th century. This dissertation aims to fill this gap in literature by treating the subfield of Turkish art and its perception in the United States in the context of Islamic art historiography.

The second chapter outlines the studies on the formative years of this burgeoning field in the United States until the 1950s through the work of a Turkish scholar, Dr. Mehmet Aga-Oglu, who was one of the pioneering figures in the United States to establish Islamic art history as an academic discipline. The third chapter, through the case study of the first exhibition that travelled from Turkey to the United States, namely Art Treasures of Turkey (1966-68), discusses the intentions, planning, organization, and perception of this exhibition to understand the discourses on Turkish art in the 1950s and the 1960s. The fourth chapter explores the transformations taking place in the 1970s through the emerging scholarship and formation of a private collection in the United States. Focusing on the 1973 exhibitions of Turkish art organized by Dr. Walter B. Denny, Dr. Esin Atıl, and Dr. Richard Ettinghausen as well as the collecting practices of Edwin Binney, 3rd, who emerged as the major American collector of Turkish art, this chapter aims to demonstrate scholars' and an individual collector's efforts in raising awareness on Turkish art and its appreciation in the 1970s. The fifth chapter deals with the second travelling exhibition from Turkey to the United States in the 1980s, which was truly transformative in the appreciation and understanding of Turkish art. Curated by Dr. Esin Atıl for the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent exhibition (1987) is a true "blockbuster" and gamechanger for both the fields of Islamic art and Turkish art.

By looking into the field of Islamic art from its beginnings in the United States to the end of 1980s, this dissertation aims to assess and understand how the scholarship on Turkish art has evolved in the 20th century through travelling exhibitions and the work of important personages such as curators and collectors.

MUHTEŞEM SULTAN SÜLEYMAN DÖNEMİ SERGİSİ BAĞLAMINDA AMERİKA'DA OSMANLI SANATI ALGILARI, 1929-1987

ÖZET

2000'li yılların başlarından beri Amerika ve Avrupa'da İslam sanatı alanında tarih yazımı üzerine çok sayıda akademik çalışma yapılagelmektedir. Bu çalışmaların ana konusu müze ve özel koleksiyonların tarihçeleri; koleksiyonerler, küratörler ve akademisyenlerin İslam sanatı algısının şekillenmesinde oynadıkları rollerin incelenmesi; ve büyük çaplı uluslararası sergilerin irdelenmesi olarak özetlenebilir. Her ne kadar bu çalışmalar İslam sanatının akademik bir disiplin olarak oluştuğu döneme (1850-1950) ışık tutmayı hedeflese de genellikle belli başlı koleksiyonları, kişileri ve sergileri bir arada özetleyen çalışmalar ya da tek bir koleksiyon, şahıs ya da sergi üzerinde odaklanan vaka çalışmalarıyla sınırlı kalmaktadır.

Tarih yazımı üzerine bu tarz çalışmaların sayısı son yirmi yılda giderek artsa da Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde Osmanlı sanatının algılanması üzerine yapılmış geniş çaplı bir çalışma bulunmamaktadır. Bu doktora tezinin amacı literatürdeki bu eksikliği gidermek için Amerika'da İslam sanatının akademik bir disiplin olarak oluştuğu 20. yüzyılın ilk çereğinden 1987 yılına kadar olan dönemi ele alarak Osmanlı sanatı çalışmalarının ve algısının bu dönem içinde nasıl bir dönüşüme uğradığını tespit etmektir. Çalışmanın ana kaynaklarını Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde bulunan ve Osmanlı sanatı üzerine sergiler düzenlemiş müzelerin arşiv belgeleri oluşturmaktadır. İslam sanat tarihi yazımı üzerine yapılmış akademik çalışmalar, Osmanlı sanatı üzerine yayınlanmış kitap ve makaleler, sergi katalogları, basında çıkan sergi eleştiri yazıları ve konunun uzmanlarıyla yapılan mülakatlar da yine bu çalışmada başvurulan kaynaklar arasındadır.

Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde İslam sanatı akademik disiplininin oluşumu Avrupa'ya nazaran daha geç gerçekleşmiştir. İlk olarak 1800'lerin sonlarında düzenlenen Dünya Fuarları'nda İslam sanatı örnekleri teşhir edilmiş ardından da Orta Doğu'ya seyahat eden koleksiyonerlerin bölgeden edindikleri eserleri sergileme amacıyla müzelere ödünç vermesiyle Amerika'da İslam sanatına ilgi oluşmaya başlamıştır. 1920'li yıllara gelindiğinde Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde İslam sanatı üzerine uzman sadece üç kişi (Ernst Diez, Maurice S. Dimand, ve Rudolf M. Riefstahl) bulunmaktaydı ve üçü de uzmanlıklarını Avrupa'daki üniversitelerden almışlardı. Böyle bir kültürel iklimde Michigan'da bulunan Detroit Institute of Arts'ın müdürü William R. Valentiner müzenin koleksiyonunu İslam sanatı alanında genişletmek amacıyla bir küratör arayışına girmiş ve bu pozisyona o dönem İstanbul'da bulunan ve Evkaf Müzesi küratörü olan Mehmet Aga-Oglu önerilmiştir.

1929 yılında Mehmet Aga-Oglu'nun Detroit Institute of Arts'da Yakın Doğu sanatı küratörü olarak çalışmaya başlamasından Amerika'da vefat ettiği 1949 yılına kadar olan dönem bu doktora tezinin ikinci bölümünü oluşturmaktadır. Aga-Oglu Amerika'da bulunduğu 20 yıl içerisinde İslam sanatı disiplininin akademik temellere

oturtulmasında öncü rol oynamış, çeşitli kurumlara bağlı olarak çalıştığı 1929 ile 1938 yılları arasında Amerika'da birçok ilke imza atmıştır. Detroit Institute of Arts'ın İslam sanatı koleksiyonunu genişletmiş, İslam sanatının tüm dönemlerini ve bölgelerini içeren eserlerden oluşan ilk kapsamlı sergisini 1930 yılında Detroit'de, ardından 1937 yılında Amerika'nın batı yakasında, San Francisco'da düzenlemiş, 1933 yılında Michigan Üniversitesi'nde İslam sanatı dersleri vermeye başlayarak kısa sürede Research Seminary in Islamic Art programını kurmuş ve 1935 yılında da Amerika'nın ilk İslam sanatı kürsüsü olan bu programda profesör olmuştur. Tüm bu çalışmalara ilaveten kurucu editörlüğünü yaptığı Amerika'nın İslam sanatı alanındaki ilk akademik dergisi olan *Ars Islamica*'nın ilk sayısını 1934 yılında yayımlamış ve günümüzde Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi'nin koleksiyonunda bulunan İran kitap ciltleri üzerine araştırmasıyla Michigan Üniversitesi'nin Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi'nin yeni yayın serisinin ilk kitabının yazarı da yine Aga-Oglu olmuştur.

1938 yılında ayrıldığı Michigan Üniversitesi'ndeki görevinden 1949'da ölümüne kadar geçen süre zarfında Aga-Oglu bağımsız araştırmacı olarak çalışmalarına devam etmiş ve 12 ciltten oluşan kapsamlı bir İslam metal eserleri kitabı hazırlamakla meşgul olmuştur. Ani ölümü nedeniyle tamamlayamadığı bu eserde Aga-Oglu İslam sanatında artık genel çalışmalardan belirli alanlara odaklanan detaylı çalışmalara geçiş yapmanın ve araştırmalarda sadece görsel malzemeden değil yazılı kaynaklardan da faydalanmanın İslam sanatı disiplininin daha sağlam akademik temellere oturtulması için elzem olduğu yönünde görüş bildirmiştir. Aga-Oglu, Amerika'da bulunduğu 20 yıl zarfında Osmanlı sanatı üzerine bir çalışma yapmamış olsa da İslam sanatı disiplininin bu ülkede akademik temellere oturtulmasında önemli bir yeri vardır.

Tezin 1950 ve 1960'lı yıllara odaklanan üçüncü bölümünde ise Türkiye'den Amerika'ya giden ilk büyük çaplı gezici sergi olan Art Treasures of Turkey'e (Türkiye'nin Sanat Hazineleri) yer verilmektedir. Türkiye'deki koleksiyonlardan oluşan gezici bir sanat sergisi düzenleme fikri ilk olarak 1950'lerde Metropolitan Museum of Art küratörleri tarafından öne sürülmüştür. Her iki ülkenin hem sergi içeriğine yaklaşımlarının farklılığı hem de daha önce böyle büyük çapta bir uluslararası sergi hazırlığı deneyiminin eksikliği nedeniyle 1950'li yıllarda bu proje hayata geçirilemediyse de 1960'lı yılların başında Walter Heil (San Francisco M. H. De Young Müzesi Müdürü), Richard Ettinghausen (Freer Gallery of Art İslam Sanatı Küratörü), ve John Walker'dan (National Gallery of Art Müdürü) oluşan bir ekiple bu sergi fikri yeniden ortaya atılmış ve Türkiye'den gerekli izinlerin alınmasıyla Anadolu'nun 8000 yıllık sanat tarihini Amerikalılara aktarmayı amaçlayan Art Treasures of Turkey sergisi 1966 ile 1968 yılları arasında Amerika'nın 10 farklı müzesinde teşhir edilmiştir. Tezin bu bölümünde planlanan sergi ile hayata geçirilen serginin hazırlıklarıyla ilgili yazışmalardan yola çıkarak bu iki serginin içeriği, Amerikalı organizatörler ile Türk yetkililerin uluslararası bir sergiden beklentileri ile bu dönemde Türk sanatının nasıl tanımlandığı irdelenmiştir. Ayrıca gerçekleştirilen Art Treasures of Turkey sergisinin basın ve Amerikan halkı tarafından nasıl algılandığına da yer verilmiştir.

Dördüncü bölümde 1970'li yılların Osmanlı dönemi Türk sanatı açısından Amerika'da yeni bir dönemin başlangıcı olduğu savı 1973 yılında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 50. yıldönümü vesilesiyle Boston, Washington, DC ve New York'ta düzenlenen 3 küçük çaplı yerel sergi ve 1970'li yıllarda Amerika'nın önde gelen Türk sanatı koleksiyoneri olarak öne çıkan Edwin Binney, 3rd ve onun Türk sanatı koleksiyonun oluşumu üzerinden anlatılmıştır. 1973 yılında Türkiye'de eski eser kanununda yapılan değişiklikler Türkiye'de bulunan koleksiyonlardan eserlerin yurtdışına sergi amacıyla

ödünç verilmesini yasaklamış, bu kanunun yürürlükte kaldığı 1983 yılına kadar Türkiye'den yurtdışına hiçbir eser çıkarılmamıştır. Aynı yıl, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 50. yıldönümünü kutlama amacıyla Walter B. Denny Boston'da Fogg Art Museum'da, Esin Atıl Washington, DC'de Freer Gallery'de, Richard Ettinghausen ise New York'ta bulunan Metropolitan Museum of Art'ta birer sergi organize etmişlerdir. Boston'da düzenlenen sergi hem Fogg müzesinden hem de Amerika'daki diğer müze ve özel koleksiyonlardan eserlerle desteklenmiş, Washington'da düzenlenen sergi ise sadece Freer Gallery'nin koleksiyonunda bulunan kitap sanatları ve seramik örneklerinden oluşmuştur. Metropolitan Museum'da organize edilen sergi ise hem müzenin kendi koleksiyonundan hem de Türk kitap sanatları alanındaki koleksiyonunu10 yıldan daha kısa süre zarfında kapsamlı bir koleksiyon haline getirmeyi başarmış Edwin Binney'in eserlerine yer vermiş, Edwin Binney bu sergi aracılığıyla Türk sanatı koleksiyonunun ilk kataloğunu 1973 yılında yayımlamıştır. Bu serginin ardından Binney Türk sanatı koleksiyonunu hem Amerika'nın çeşitli bölgelerindeki müzelere ödünç vererek birçok sergi organize etmiş hem de Türk sanatında kitap sanatları dışında seramik, metal eserleri ve tekstil gibi diğer alanlara da ilgi göstermeye başlamıştır.

Edwin Binney 20 yıldan kısa bir süre içerisinde Osmanlı sanatının en erken dönem eserlerinden 20. yüzyıla kadar örneklerini içeren kapsamlı ve ansiklopedik bir koleksiyon oluşturmayı başarmış ve ölümünden bir yıl önce 1985 yılında koleksiyonunu ikiye bölerek Harvard Art Museums ile Los Angeles County Museum of Art'a bağışlamıştır. Özellikle Türkiye'den yurtdışına eser çıkarılamayan bir döneme rastlayan Binney'in Türk sanatına olan ilgisi ve sergi çalışmaları o dönem Amerikan koleksiyonlarında çok sayıda yer almayan ve fazla bilinmeyen bir alan olan Türk sanatının Amerikalı müze ziyaretçilerine tanıtılmasında önemli bir eksikliği gidermiştir.

1970'li yıllarda Osmanlı sanatı Avrupa ve Amerika sanat pazarında daha fazla yer almaya başlamış, ilk başlarda fazla rağbet görmediği için düşük fiyatla elde edilebilen bir alan iken zaman içerisinde Türk sanatına olan ilginin artmasıyla sanat piyasasında rekabetin ve onunla beraber de fiyat artışlarının, özellikle de 1980'lere gelindiğinde, hızlı bir ivme kazandığı bir sanat dalına dönüşmüştür. Sanat piyasasında yaşanan bu değişim Binney'in Los Angeles County Museum of Art'ın İslam sanatı departmanında bulunan özel defterlerinde tuttuğu notlar üzerinden değerlendirilirken, tezin bu bölümünde akademik araştırma alanında 1970'lerde meydana gelen değişiklikler ise Türk sanatı üzerine basılan yayınların incelenmesiyle irdelenmiştir.

1960'lı yıllardan itibaren özellikle Türk kitap sanatları üzerine yapılan akademik çalışma sayısı artmaya başlamış, 1973 yılına gelindiğinde ise Esin Atıl'ın Freer Gallery için düzenlediği *Turkish Art of the Ottoman Period* (Osmanlı Dönemi Türk Sanatı) sergisinin kataloğu özellikle nakkaşhane ve onun Osmanlı sanatındaki kilit rölünün aktarılmasında öncül bir rol üstlenmiştir. Bu sergi üzerine araştırma yapmak için İstanbul'da bulunduğu dönemde Atıl, Nurhan Atasoy ve Filiz Çağman tarafından yazılan ve 1974 yılında *Turkish Miniature Painting* adıyla basılan kitabı İngilizce'ye çevirmiştir. 1973 yılında yayımlanan sergi kataloğunda Atıl'ın verdiği Osmanlı resim sanatı tarihinin kısa bir özeti ve nakkaşhanenin sanat üretimindeki rolü, Atasoy ve Çağman'ın kitabında detaylı bir şekilde anlatılan Osmanlı resim sanatı tarihine paralellikler göstermekte ve daha 1970'li yıllarda Türkiye'de bulunan sanat tarihçileri ile Amerika'da çalışan sanat tarihçileri arasında yakın ilişkilerin kurulmaya başlandığı ve bu yakın ilişkilerin ileride başarılı çalışmaların yapılmasına zemin hazırlayacağına işaret etmektedir.

1983 yılında değiştirilen kanunla yeniden Türkiye koleksiyonlarından eserlerin sergiler için yurtdışına ödünç verilmesine izin çıkmış ve Esin Atıl'ın Washington, DC'de bulunan National Gallery of Art için planladığı The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (Muhteşem Sultan Süleyman Dönemi) sergisi yurtdışı izni alan ilk sergilerden biri olmuştur. Atıl, daha 1973 yılındaki Türk sanatı sergisini hazırlarken Türkiye'den ödünç eser almadan Osmanlı sanatının yurtdışında tam olarak temsil edilemeyeceğini ve o dönemki araştırma konusu olan nakkaşhaneyi bir sergi çerçevesinde Amerika'daki müze ziyaretçilerine anlatmayı düşündüğünü fakat o yıl değişen kanun nedeniyle bu sergi projesinin gerçekleşmesi için 10 yıl beklemesi gerektiğini ama bu 10 yıl içerisinde de serginin kavramsallaştırmasını nakkaşhaneden tek bir hami üzerinden Osmanlı sanatını Amerikalılara anlatma yönünde değiştirdiğini belirtmiştir.

1970 yılında Freer Gallery of Art'ta İslam sanatı küratörü olarak çalışmaya başlayan Atıl, 1980'li yıllara gelindiğinde Amerikan halkını ve müze ziyaretçilerini daha yakından tanımış ve Amerikalı bir kitleye daha önce fazla bir bilgileri olmayan bir hanedanın sanatını bir kişi üzerinden anlatmanın daha etkileyici olacağı kanısına varmıştır. Bu nedenle de Osmanlı nakkaşhanesindeki sanat üretimini Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın hamiliği dönemine odaklanarak sergiyi kurgulamayı tercih etmiştir. 1987'de yılında National Gallery of Art'ta ilk olarak açılan, ardından da Art Institute of Chicago ve Metropolitan Museum of Art'ta teşhir edilen sergi, sadece Washington'daki gösterimi sırasında 122 gün içerisinde 393,709 ziyaretçi tarafından görülmüş ve Amerika'da bu derece ilgi gören genel olarak ilk İslam sanatı ve özel olarak da ilk Osmanlı sanatı sergisi olmuştur. 1970'li yıllarda Atıl'ın Türkiye'deki sanat tarihçileriyle yaptığı işbirliği bu sergide de yine devam etmiştir. 1983 yılında İstanbul'da açılan Avrupa Konseyi 18. Avrupa Sanat Sergisi olan Anadolu Medeniyetleri'nin hazırlandığı 1981-1982 yıllarında Atıl the Age of Süleyman sergisi için İstanbul'da araştırma yaparken Filiz Çağman'la yakından çalışmış, Anadolu Medeniyetleri sergisinin Selçuklu ve Osmanlı dönemi kataloğunu İngilizce'ye çevirmiştir. Anadolu Medeniyetleri sergisinin Osmanlı bölümü için Çağman, Saray ve sanat ilişkisinin ön plana çıkarıldığını belirttiği ve the Age of Süleyman sergisinde teşhir edilen eserlerden Türkiye'den gelen toplam 133 eserin 75'inin Anadolu Medeniyetleri sergisinde de bulunduğu göz önüne alınırsa the Age of Süleyman sergisinin Türkiye'de sanat tarihi yazımına büyük etkisi olan Anadolu Medeniyetleri sergisinin bir nevi takipçisi olduğunu ileri sürülebilir.

Tezin beşinci bölümünde ele alınan The Age of Süleyman sergisinin sanat tarihi açısından hem düzenlenme koşullarının hem de Amerika'daki Osmanlı sanatı algısına etkisinin değerlendirilmesinin yanı sıra serginin siyasi ve ticari sponsorları ve sergiye gösterilen büyük ilgiye bu sponsorlukların olası etkisi de irdelenmiştir. Daha önce Türk sanatı üzerine düzenlenen hiçbir sergi the Age of Süleyman sergisine verilen çapta destek görmemiştir. Her ne kadar düzenlenen çok sayıda basın toplantısı, özel etkinlik ve reklamların bu serginin basında adından çokça bahsedilmesine olan katkısı kuşku götürmese de serginin ziyaretçiler üzerinde bıraktığı etki asıl olarak serginin sanatsal içeriği ve incelikli tasarımından kaynaklandığı ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Esin Atıl'ın uzun yıllar Amerika'da küratör olarak edindiği deneyim ve Türkiye'deki sanat tarihi çalışmalarını yakından takip etmesi, Türkiye'de çalışan sanat tarihçisi meslektaşlarıyla kurduğu yakın ilişkiler ve yurtdışına eser çıkarılmasını yasaklayan kanunun değiştirilmesi yönünde verdiği çabanın sonucu olan the Age of Süleyman sergisi Osmanlı sanatının şaheserleri, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın kişiliği ve Topkapı Sarayı'na mekansal olarak yaptığı göndermelerle Amerikan müze ziyaretçilerinin pek

de aşina olmadığı 16. yüzyıl Osmanlı kültür dünyasına rahat giriş yapmalarını sağlayarak onlara unutulmaz bir sergi deneyimi yaşatmıştır.

1. INTRODUCTION

The past twenty-five years have witnessed an increased interest in the historiography of Islamic art. In Europe and the United States, multiple academic convenings have been organized and publications have appeared in order to understand the formation of this rather young academic field by examining the contributions of key people, such as collectors, curators, dealers, and scholars as well as the impact of major exhibitions and the formation of private and public collections. While these studies offer insights on how the field was shaped in its formative period, that is 1850-1950, they tend to be either descriptive, listing the significant turning points in its history, or serve as case studies, focusing on a certain personage, a particular exhibition, or a single collection.

Among the historiographical research conducted so far, certain events such as the exhibition Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst (1910) in Munich and the International Exhibition of Persian Art (1931) in London; figures such as Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman; and schools of Islamic art such as Persian art received more scholarly attention than others generating a rich scholarly output. However, there has been neither any comprehensive study on the important exhibitions and figures of Turkish art nor any assessment of how Turkish art came to be known, studied, and perceived in the United States in the 20th century. The only studies with a specific focus so far are an article on the Turkish painting collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd by Keelan Overton (2012) in *the Journal of Art Historiography*, an overview article by Walter B. Denny (2003) depicting the developments in the Turkish art and architecture scholarship from the early 1980s to the early 2000s published in *Turkish Studies in the United States*, and very recently, during the writing stages of this dissertation, a workshop was held at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Asian Art on February 20, 2021, entitled Honoring Esin Atıl to assess her contributions to the field of Islamic art. This dissertation aims to fill the gap in literature by treating the subfield of Turkish art and its perception in the United States in the context of Islamic art historiography starting from the late 1920s until the end of 1980s through travelling exhibitions and the work of important personages such as curators and collectors based

on the data collected from the archives of major American museums and universities as well as published sources.

The scholarship on the artistic and cultural traditions of the Islamic lands, especially the Near East region, began as early as late 18th century in Europe through the exploratory work conducted by European travelers, some of whom were artists while others were architects, engineers or early practitioners of archaeology. France and Germany became the leading centers of scholarship on Islamic art history in Europe, and through the World Fairs organized in various European capitals followed by large scale international exhibitions, the general public who could not travel to the region were able to have their first encounters with Islamic art along with the transformation of royal collections into public museums, whose collections from the Islamic lands were formed through activities such as colonial expansion, excavation work and diplomatic gift exchange.

In the United States, first encounters with the Islamic cultures took place later than that of Europe. Although travel to the Near East and Holy Lands were popular among the wealthy Americans, the World Fairs arrived at the American cities a few decades later than the first International Exhibition of 1851 in London. The first public museums in the United States also appeared around the same time and the art works from the Islamic lands that were on display were mostly loans from private collectors in the country, who later gifted their collections to the museums. Similarly, the study of Islamic art as an academic discipline emerged in North America later than in Europe. It was only in the 1920s that a handful of scholars taught classes on Islamic art and the first chair of Islamic art history in the country was established only in 1935.

Though a late comer to the field in comparison to Europe, after the World War II the United States emerged as the center of scholarship for Islamic art history, a role that continues to this day. Starting with the late 1920s this dissertation looks into the beginnings of the Islamic art history discipline in the United States and explores the evolution in the perception and study of Ottoman art history until 1987, a moment when Ottoman art reached an unexpected climax in its popularity with the first ever Ottoman art exhibition travelling from Turkey to North America through primary material collected from the archives of major museums and universities including Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Detroit Institute of Arts, Harvard Art Museums, I Tatti the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Los Angeles County

Museum of Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, National Gallery of Art, National Museum of Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution Archives and the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor along with secondary material such as exhibition catalogues, museum bulletins, academic journals, exhibition reviews, scholarly articles and books on Turkish art history and historiography of Islamic art.

In the early 20th century, Ottoman art was a rather unknown, hence understudied subfield of Islamic art history in the United States. Due to the lack of centuries long history of encounters and exchanges of cultural artefacts between the European powers and the Ottoman Empire, Ottoman art was not well represented in the American private and public collections. When wealthy American patrons emerged on the art collecting scene in the 19th century, the restrictions on the export of art and archaeological materials had already come into effect preventing individuals taking cultural artefacts out of the Ottoman lands for private or public collections. The lack of Turkish material in the American collections and the inaccessibility of collections in Turkey to the researchers due to the shifting political circumstances until the first half of the 20th century as a result of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, and the new regime's transformation of the sites of the Byzantine and Ottoman past into museums have played a role in this hiatus on the study of Ottoman art history.

However, despite this lack of access and hence of knowledge, Dr. Mehmet Aga-Oglu, a young curator and scholar whose formative years spent in Turkey, played a prominent role in establishing Islamic art history as an academic discipline in the United States. Therefore, the focus of the second chapter of this dissertation is on the formative years of this burgeoning field in the United States until the 1950s through the work of Aga-Oglu. This chapter first outlines the formation of the Islamic art history in Europe, then discusses the beginnings of the field in the United States in order to depict the circumstances in the New World for the Islamic art history discipline around the time of Aga-Oglu's appointment as a curator to establish an Islamic art department at the Detroit Institute of Arts in 1929. Aga-Oglu's two decades of work in the United States from 1929 to 1949 is explored in detail to demonstrate his contributions and pioneering role in establishing Islamic art history as a serious academic field in his adopted homeland. Lastly, art historical developments in Turkey

are portrayed to understand what was studied in the first half of the 20th century and the Republic's treatment of its inherited past.

The third chapter looks into the time period of 1950s and 1960s for Turkish art through the case study of the first exhibition that travelled from Turkey and toured the United States from 1966 to 1968. Entitled Art Treasures of Turkey, this first Turkish travelling exhibition took almost twenty years to realize and offers an interesting window to explore the complexities of organizing a loan exhibition to showcase the national treasures of Turkey for the first time in the United States. In this chapter, initiatives undertaken by the curators of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the 1950s is discussed to shed light on the expectations and interests of American museum professionals as well as Turkish authorities from an exhibition showcasing art from Turkish national collections, which did not come to be realized in the 1950s. After a detailed discussion of this first failed attempt to organize a loan exhibition from Turkey, the planning, organization, curatorial conceptualization and public reception of the realized exhibition, which was made possible through the efforts of another group of museum professionals in the early 1960s, is explored in detail to understand the shifting perspectives on the definition of Turkish art and what was deemed worthy to be represented as Turkish national treasures in the United States back in those years.

The fourth chapter argues that the 1970s was a new turning point in the United States for Ottoman art history. By looking into the Turkish art exhibitions of 1973 in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey organized in three major cities, Boston, New York and Washington, DC, and the scholarship on Turkish art that started to appear with a steady increase from 1960 onwards, this chapter aims to demonstrate that a new period for Ottoman art history began in this decade thanks to the opening of collections in Turkey for research, which in time led to close scholarly collaborations between art historians based in Turkey and the United States. The same time period also coincides with the emergence of Edwin Binney, 3rd as a prominent American collector of Turkish art. Therefore, in addition to pointing to the changing scholarly atmosphere, the transformations taking place in the world of collecting and art market are discussed through the collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd.

The fifth chapter deals with the second travelling exhibition from Turkey to the United States, which was truly transformative in the appreciation and understanding of Ottoman art. Curated by Dr. Esin Atıl for the National Gallery of Art in Washington,

DC, the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent exhibition of 1987 is a true "blockbuster" and gamechanger for both fields of Islamic art and Ottoman art. The first ever exhibition in the United States focusing on Ottoman art, the Age of Süleyman received unprecedented success in enticing American audiences to the world of Ottoman art through the patronage of one Ottoman sultan. This chapter first talks about Esin Atıl's formative years as a curator, her conceptualization of the Age of Süleyman exhibition over a period of ten years along with art historical developments in Turkey. In addition to a detailed discussion on the curatorial and scholarly content of the exhibition, other factors such as financial and political that played a significant role in this exhibition's becoming a "blockbuster" are explored to portray a wholistic view of all the contributing factors to the Age of Süleyman's unforeseen success.

The conclusion chapter ties the common threads that are seen from the late 1920s to the late 1980s in the evolution of Ottoman art history in the United States as well as pointing to the disruptions that occurred in the same time period.

2. THE FORMATION OF ISLAMIC ART DISCIPLINE

2.1 Beginnings of the Field

In his overview of collecting and scholarship of Islamic art and architecture in *Discovering Islamic Art*, Stephen Vernoit (2000) takes the period between 1850 to 1950, where "the notion of a distinct and coherent tradition of Islamic art was formulated" (p. xi). Along with Vernoit, authors of many other publications that came afterwards, pointed to the Western colonialization of Islamic lands and the nationalist movements that followed in the region as playing significant roles in the formative years of the field. The instrumental role of the people, who back then simultaneously wore multiple hats of collector/dealer/scholar, in dictating what was deemed worthy to be collected, exhibited and studied is another mutually agreed point in all these studies concerning the formation of the field (Appendix A). Therefore, the beginnings of Islamic art as an academic field cannot be separated from colonialist and nationalist tendencies and the figures, who inevitably endorsed certain perceptions and aesthetic tastes with their activities of studying, collecting, and exhibiting Islamic art (Komaroff, 2000; Vernoit, 2000; Necipoğlu, 2012; Cuddon, 2013).

The beginnings of the Islamic art discipline date to the 19th century Germany when the historical studies emerged as an academic field of inquiry and Islamic art history appeared as one of its subfields among many others, such as economic history, intellectual history, social history etc. The Colonial European Empires initiated and developed an interest in the study of the cultures of Muslim lands through the work of orientalist scholars, artists, architects, and engineers who travelled to the Near East. The early works born out of exploratory travels in the region were mainly surveys of the architectural monuments. Among these, the ones that deal with the Ottoman Empire are Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (1827-35), followed by works in French such as Charles Textier's *Description de l'Asie Mineure* (1839-49), Xavier Hommaire de Hell's *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse* (1854-60), and

Leon Parville's *Architecture et decoration turque au XVe siècle* (1874) (Vernoit, 2000, pp. 1-5).

By the late 19th century, the notion of Islam as a "cultural entity" and a "religious system" was well established leading the way to new forms of scholarship, hence the "discipline" of Islamic art emerged. Detailed inquiries mostly focused on the early period of Islam with the aim to trace its formation, development and discover its "essence." Around this time, there were already specialists who dedicated their entire careers to explore Islamic art and culture in contrast to the early 19th century Western travelers, historians and philosophers, who expressed "general comments" on the Islamic world (Vernoit, 2000, p. 32).

In addition to the emphasis on the essentialist view of Islamic art, another trend that became influential in the 19th century was the racial theories developed by Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau, Ernest Renan, and others. As explained by Vernoit (2000), Gobineau in *Essai sur l'inegalite des races humaines* (1853-5), made the claim that "Indo-Europeans and Semites possessed different racial characteristics" (p. 6) giving superiority to the Indo-Europeans. As the Persians belonged to this superior race, Persia came to be seen as "the principle source of artistic inspiration in the Muslim world" (p. 6). This view dominated the field for multiple decades placing the Persians at the top of the artistic hierarchy in the Islamic world, whereas Arabs ranked second as they "created a flourishing civilization in medieval times," (p. 6) and the Turks occupied the lowest rank. Quoting from Ferguson, "the most stolid and least refined, and the least capable of elaborating such an art as we find in all other countries subject to this faith [Islam]" were the Turks (as cited in Vernoit, 2000, p. 7).[1]

The impact of the racial theories is perhaps most visibly seen in the early scholarship on Islamic ceramics in the mid-19th century. For instance, the ceramics found at Lindos on the island of Rhodes were attributed to the Persians and called as "Lindos" or "Rhodian" ware, although they were originally from Ottoman İznik. In a similar vein, another type of İznik pottery, that of pale-purple, found in Damascus, hence called "Damascus" ware, were again attributed to Persia (Vernoit, 2000, p. 8; Lukens, 1965, pp. 38-39).

[1] For a discussion on this perception of racial hierarchy, see also Necipoğlu, 2012, pp. 57-75 and Cuddon, 2013, pp. 13-33.

Another incident demonstrating the widespread acceptance of the racially biased opinions was the judgment made by Owen Jones during the first international exhibition known as the Great Exhibition held at the Crystal Palace in London in 1851. Bringing together artefacts from across the world, in these international exhibitions, products were categorized along their national origins, thus introducing "the concept of nationhood" and national styles in art and architecture. It is important to note here that the first public display of Islamic art took place in these international exhibitions of the 19th century. In this first exhibition, Ottoman Empire "was already being treated as a series of separate regions" (Vernoit, 2000, p. 14), and the succeeding exhibitions in other cities of Europe followed the same convention. Providing a comparison of artefacts from different parts of the world, Owen Jones expressed that "the productions of Turkey 'were the least perfect of all the Mohammedan exhibiting nations'" (as cited in Vernoit, 2000, p. 14).[2]

Despite and perhaps due to the lack of appreciation for Turkish artefacts, the Ottoman government provided support for studies on cultural heritage. Among the international exhibitions, Weltausstellung 1873 Wien (The Vienna International Exposition of 1873)[3] is particularly significant for the development of scholarship on Ottoman art and architecture. *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873* (1873) by Osman Hamdi and Marie de Launay with photographs by Pascal Sebah; *L'architecture ottoman* (1873) again by De Launay and four artists, and *Le Bosphore et Constantinople* (1873) by Philipp Anton Dethier were prepared for this occasion under the patronage of the Ottoman government. In contrast to the commonly held opinion that only the Western scholars produced the early scholarship on the Near East, these works exemplified the early attempts by the Ottomans to write their own history of Ottoman art, architecture, and culture (Vernoit, 2000, p. 15; Necipoğlu, 2007, pp. 141-183).

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[2] For a detailed account on the Ottoman Empire's participation to this first international exhibition, see Turan, 2009, pp. 64-79; Germaner, 1991, pp. 289-296, and also Önsoy, 1983, pp. 195-235, which includes information on the 1855 Paris, 1862 London and 1863 Istanbul exhibitions. For a treatment of the display of Islamic architecture in the World's Fairs, see Çelik, 1992.

[3] On November 18-19, 2021, a conference held at Vienna University entitled "Expanding Islamic Art Historiography: The 1873 Vienna World's Fair" assessed this event in terms of exhibiting Islamic arts and architecture, their commercial and artistic reception as well as scholarship it put into motion. For a detailed program and paper abstracts, visit www.eiah1873.univie.ac.at.

In the United States, international exhibitions took place in the last quarter of the 19th century, first one held in Philadelphia (1876), followed by Boston (1883), New Orleans (1884-85), Chicago (1893), and St. Louis (1904). While the ones that were held after the World War I in Europe could not reach to their former glory, the ones in the United States were more effective in promoting the arts of the Islamic world. Particularly noteworthy among those were the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1926[4] and the New York World's Fair in 1939 (Vernoit, 2000, p. 16).

In addition to the geographical shift, another distinguishing factor between the 19th and 20th century international exhibitions was the change in the perception of Islamic artefacts. The 19th century international exhibitions treated these artefacts as industrial manufactures, finding interest in "their technical merits and the quality of their designs" (Vernoit, 2000, pp. 16-18), whereas in the 20th century these works were treated as having aesthetic value, hence demonstrating an increase in their appreciation as art works.

The specialized exhibitions on Islamic art by public institutions like museums emerged in such an environment of increased appreciation. In Europe, starting with the Exhibition of Persian Art at South Kensington Museum, London in 1876, a number of Islamic art exhibitions took place in various European centers from Paris to Stockholm, the most prominent one being Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst in Munich in 1910 (Sarre and Martin, 1912). This exhibition consisting of almost 3600 items loaned from multiple countries was larger than any other previous exhibition. The objects featured became the masterpieces of Islamic art, displayed and published again and again in the years to come. The colossal three volume catalogue put emphasis on calligraphy and arts of the book, already reversing the established order of the times. The aim of the exhibition was to showcase the artistic merit of Islamic art equalizing it to other Western artistic traditions. Echoing this, the exhibition installation was also a first in displaying the objects against white-washed walls in line

[4] The Sesqui-Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1926 was particularly important for Persian art, as Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman organized the "First Congress and Exhibition of Persian Art and Archaeology" on this occasion. There are a number of publications on Arthur Upham Pope, Phyllis Ackerman and their work in promoting Persian art. Some of these are: Wood, 2000, pp. 113-130; Grigor, 2004, pp. 39-55; Rizvi, 2007, pp. 45-65; Kadoi, 2012; Kadoi and Szanto, 2013; Kadoi, 2016, pp. 80-111.

with the conventions of the Western art displays (Figure 2.1) (Vernoit, 2000, pp. 18-20).[5]

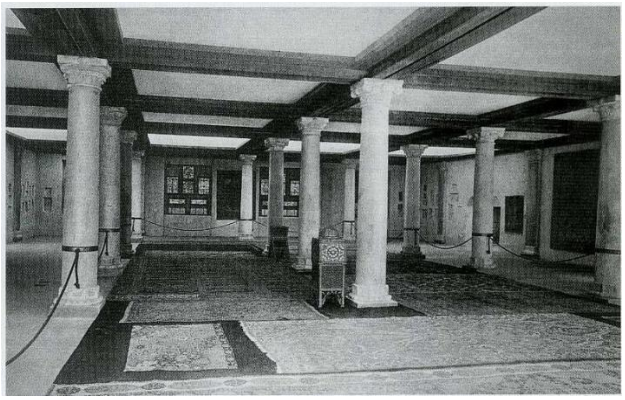

Figure 2.1 : A Gallery View from The Munich Exhibition of 1910.
(Vernoit, 2000, Figure 31, p. 123).

In the United States, special exhibitions on Islamic art began to take place a few decades later than Europe, at the beginning of 20th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA)[6] organized a loan carpet exhibition with 50 objects from ten private collections and three museums in 1910 (Valentiner, 1910, pp. 221-222; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 5/10*, 1910, pp. 247-248). It was curated by Wilhelm [William] R. Valentiner (1880-1958), the decorative arts curator of the museum, who later became the director of the Detroit Institute of Arts (DIA) and hired Mehmet Aga-Oglu (1896-1949) as the first Near Eastern art curator of the Institute. In the following two decades MMA, Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Boston MFA)[7] and

[5] For more information on the 1910 Munich exhibition, see also Lermer and Shalem, 2010; Troelenberg, 2011. For the Ottoman participation to this exhibition, see Başak Ünlü, 2011 and Berksoy, 2020, pp. 173-204.

[6] The Metropolitan Museum of Art, founded in 1870, acquired its first Islamic art objects in 1871. In the 19th century, artworks from the Islamic lands were displayed among decorative arts objects divided according to material, such as porcelain, metalwork etc. For instance, visitors were seeing an Islamic glass work along with other glass objects from a variety of cultures. Collectors' demand for their gifted objects to be displayed together pushed the museum for exhibiting this material as an assemblage. Another factor was the museum's move toward "specialized temporary exhibitions," which, for Islamic art, started with the 1910 carpet exhibition. Before that there was no attention given to present these Islamic works consistent in time, place and style. For an evolution of the displays of Islamic art at MMA, see Lindsey, 2012.

[7] Museum of Fine Arts, Boston is founded 1870, the same year as MMA, and opened to the public in 1876. Denman Waldo Ross (1853-1935) was an important figure in developing the Islamic art collection of the museum in its early years (Vernoit, 2000, p. 25). See also Cuddon (2013) for more information on the Islamic art collections of Boston area institutions.

the Pennsylvania Museum organized exhibitions on different mediums and schools of Islamic art, predominantly Persian as was the trend in those years.[8]

It was only in 1930 that the first comprehensive survey exhibition on Islamic art in the United States was organized. Taking place at DIA, the exhibition was curated by their newly appointed curator, Mehmet Aga-Oglu who arrived at Detroit from Istanbul in September 1929. It would be beneficial to investigate the circumstances of Aga-Oglu's appointment to an American institution as it portrays the state of the field in the United States and the expectations from a curatorial position at that time.

2.2 Mehmet Aga-Oglu (1896-1949) and Detroit in Search of a Curator [9]

Born in Yerevan in 1896 to Turkish parents, Mehmet Aga-Oglu (Figure 2.2) received his training in history, philosophy, and languages at the Oriental Department of the University of Moscow, from where he graduated with a degree of doctor of letters in 1916. Upon graduation, pursuing his interest in Islamic art, he travelled extensively in Central Asia and Near East for five years. In 1921, Aga-Oglu arrived in Istanbul to resume his studies at Istanbul University, where he met Halil Edhem (1861-1938) (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.2 : Mehmet Aga-Oglu.
(University of Michigan Faculty and Staff Portrait Collection, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan).

[8] Vernoit (2000) lists the following exhibitions held in the United States until 1930: 1910-1911 Loan Exhibition of Early Oriental Rugs, MMA; 1914 Exhibition of Persian and Indian Manuscripts, Drawings and Paintings, Boston MFA; 1921 Exhibition of Oriental Carpets, MMA; 1926 International Exhibition of Persian Art, Pennsylvania Museum in conjunction with the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition; 1930 Loan Exhibition of 'Polonaise' Carpets, MMA (pp. 202-203).

[9] Some of the information provided in the next two sections 2.2 and 2.3 are published previously as an article in *Journal of Art Historiography* in 2012 (Simavi, 2012), and presented at the 15th International Congress of Turkish Arts in 2015 (Simavi, 2015).

Figure 2.3 : Halil Edhem. (URL -1). In the public domain.

Halil Edhem guided Aga-Oglu's career by sketching a program for him to study Islamic art in Germany and Austria with the founding figures of the field for the next four years. In 1922, Aga-Oglu was in Berlin studying Near Eastern art and archaeology with Ernst Herzfeld (1879-1948) and Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933). He studied classical and early Christian archaeology, and Western art and aesthetics at the University of Jena. Afterwards, he went to Vienna to study under Josef Strzygowski (1862-1941) from 1924 to 1926. He obtained his second doctoral degree in Turkish architecture from the University of Vienna (Weibel, 1951, pp. 267-271; Dimand, 1949-50, pp. 208-209; *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit*, 1929, p. 14; *Washington Post*, 1949, July 5, p. B2). Although his supervisor Strzygowski desired to keep him in Vienna, Aga-Oglu decided to return to Istanbul in 1927 (Riefstahl to B. March, 1928, September 14),[10] and became the curator in charge of the Islamic art collection housed at the Çinili Köşk and taught Islamic art at the Istanbul University until he was hired to DIA in 1929.

Established in 1887 as one of the first museums in the United States, DIA was considered as a small municipal museum in the 1920s at the industrial center of American Midwest. William R. Valentiner, a German born art historian, after serving as an art consultant to DIA was hired as the museum's director in 1924. His tenure of two decades, from 1924 to 1945, is regarded as a golden era when he transformed DIA into a universal survey museum with a world class collection (Peck, 1991; Richardson, 1992, pp. 37-40).

[10] In a letter to Bernard Berenson dated February 9, 1929, Riefstahl similarly mentions that as an Azerbaijani in Turkey, it would be difficult for Aga-Oglu to reach a leading position.

In his aim to build the museum's collection in an encyclopedic character, Valentiner began the search for a qualified curator of Islamic art among other fields.[11] Benjamin March (1899-1934), a scholar of Chinese art, was already hired as the Asian art curator at the Institute and the position for the Near Eastern art curator was envisioned to be under his department. To aid Valentiner in this search, March approached Rudolf Meyer Riefstahl (1880-1936), one of three specialists of Islamic art in the United States at the time,[12] for suggestions on potential candidates. Riefstahl responded to this request expressing that there was no such trained person in the United States. He added that if the museum wished to invest in the training of an American, it would require multiple years for the person to be ready to take up such a role. Riefstahl's advise to the museum was to conduct an international search to fill the position. Teaching at Robert College in Istanbul at the time, he suggested Mehmet Aga-Oglu could be an ideal candidate with his training in Russia, Turkey, Germany and Austria; his language skills (he knew Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Russian, German and French, his English was reading knowledge with very limited speaking ability but considering the number of languages he already acquired, Riefstahl assured that he could very quickly become fluent); and his knowledge of the material through his access to the collections in Istanbul and his extensive travels in the region. The only concern he had was the potential rage of Halil Edhem if he became aware of these plans to take Aga-Oglu away to America as he was trained specifically for his position in Istanbul. Riefstahl's solution was to present this as a temporary, one year only, opportunity for Aga-Oglu to spend time in the United States so that Halil Edhem's blessings could be granted (Riefstahl to B. March, 1928, July 29).

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[11] Correspondence regarding Aga-Oglu's hire to DIA is located in Detroit Institute of Arts Research Library & Archives, The William R. Valentiner Records 1921-1945, Box 11, Folder 8 Applications.

[12] Trained in Europe, Riefstahl immigrated to the United States in 1915. In 1924, he started to teach at the New York University until his death in 1936 (Vernoit, 2000, p. 213). Another European émigré residing in the United States at the time, Maurice S. Dimand launched his career at MMA with a project on coptic textiles and stayed on as the curator of the Islamic department until his retirement in 1960 (Vernoit, 2000, p. 208). Ernst Diez was the third scholar, teaching at Bryn Mawr College, from 1926 to 1939 in the United States (Tonbul, 2018 and 2019, pp. 235-259). Arthur Upham Pope is another early figure in the field; however, he was a self-trained Islamicist. He studied philosophy and aesthetics, and got interested in Islamic, especially Persian art, through Phyllis Ackerman who later became his wife and collaborator. Though his career is considered to be quite contentious, he is still recognized as an important figure in spearheading the appreciation of Persian art in the West through a variety of activities such as publications, exhibitions, congresses, and the American Institute he founded for the study of Persian art and architecture.

Another instrumental figure in enabling Aga-Oglu's appointment to DIA was Bernard Berenson (1865-1959) (Figure 2.4), prominent scholar, art collector and connoisseur. In 1928, Berenson and his wife spent considerable time in Istanbul where they got to meet and acquaint themselves with Aga-Oglu. Riefstahl, therefore, suggested Valentiner to get in touch with the Berensons for an assessment of Aga-Oglu's both scholarly and personality qualities for the position in Detroit (Riefstahl to W. R. Valentiner, 1928, October 12). The communication among the leading scholars in somewhat different areas to find the perfect fit to establish a non-existent field in the United States demonstrates how well connected already the art history network was in those years. Moreover, as Cuddon (2013) states in his article on Islamic art in Boston area, Berenson also contacted Paul Sachs at Harvard University promoting Aga-Oglu for a curatorial position at Harvard before the DIA appointment went in effect, demonstrating Berenson's involvement in finding a suitable place for Aga-Oglu in the United States as well as his investment in the flourishment of Islamic art as an academic field of study in the New Continent.[13] Quoting Berenson as cited in Cuddon (2013):

> I don't see him in Detroit… My ideal for him and for Harvard would be that he profess Islamitic [sic] art in my beloved Alma Mater. It is a far more important field than I could have imagined before going to Turkey. Aga Oglu has moreover material up to his sleeve, and ideas which will make him an ornament to any institution that can claim him. I should wish it to be Harvard. (p. 21)

[13] For more information on Berenson's engagement with Islamic art, see Souček, 2001, pp. 113-128; Bailey, 2001, pp. 53-62 and 2002, pp. 2-16.

Figure 2.4 : Bernard Berenson at Villa I Tatti, 1903.
(URL - 2). In the public domain.

Very much like Berenson, Riefstahl was also carried away with the possibilities and opportunities of academic research during his stay in Turkey in the late 1920s. In his letters to Berenson written from Istanbul between 1927 and 1929, currently housed at the Biblioteca Berenson I Tatti, he reported on his new discoveries in Turkey with much joy and enthusiasm. His research varied from Turkish rugs to Seljuk architecture in Anatolia. While in a July 1, 1927 dated letter, Riefstahl stated that "it is very curious how an exact analysis in the field of Turkish art brings new conclusions," on March 8, 1928, Riefstahl added:

> Deeper I enter the field of Turkish art, the more interesting and unpublished material do I strike. And in the long run I hope to be able to make a useful contribution to research by helping to open up this rather neglected field.

As for the libraries and the collection of the Evkaf Museum, Riefstahl (Riefstahl to B. Berenson, 1928, March 8) stated that there were "wonderful treasures," however "as far as buying possibilities are concerned, there is almost nothing left."[14]

Another idea Riefstahl (Riefstahl to B. Berenson, 1929, March 1 and March 9) had while in Turkey was the establishment of an institute by Americans as he learnt about

[14] A similar comment is made to James J. Rorimer, curator of medieval art at MMA, in the early 1950s on the buying possibilities of Byzantine art in Istanbul by Maurice S. Dimand. More information on this is provided in the following chapter.

the authorization given to Germans to open an Archaeological Institute which had the support of Halil Bey and Köprülüzade Fuad Bey. As Riefstahl enthusiastically reported on Aga-Oglu's discoveries in the Topkapı Palace Library to Berenson, he claimed "the entire history of Islamic miniature painting will have to be first written or re-written on the basis of the Stamboul material" (Riefstahl to B. Berenson, 1929, March 9). Riefstahl encouraged Aga-Oglu to publish his findings in the United States with American funding and assistance of American scholars under Aga-Oglu's guidance. Riefstahl envisioned this to be a perfect opportunity to realize his "own Institute idea" where American scholars would have the access to the "immense Seraglio material" and Aga-Oglu would be the bridge in-between. To realize this, Riefstahl suggested to mobilize "two or three serious scholarly institutions in the United States" to apply for a starting grant to the Rockefeller Board. The first project Riefstahl had in mind was an Islamic architecture survey with four or five resident American scholars in Istanbul assisting him. Research on Classical and Byzantine material could be included at a later stage with a good library and quarters in Istanbul. While Riefstahl admitted "all that is pipe dreams now," he still thought that "this possibility of alliance with Mehmed (whom Halil loves fatherly) is a tremendous step ahead concerning all possibilities" (Riefstahl to B. Berenson, 1929, March 9).

Riefstahl's idea for an American Institute, at least one focusing on Islamic art, did not materialize until 1964 with the establishment of American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT). As for Turkish art, especially the Seljuk and Ottoman periods did not receive the level of attention and appreciation that Berenson and Riefstahl experienced during their stay in Turkey and advocated for in the United States. That would take a few more decades to be realized, which is explored in the following chapters of this dissertation.

Circling back to Aga-Oglu's appointment, in addition to the Berensons, further inquiries were made in the German-speaking Islamic art network for his appropriateness for the Detroit position. Riefstahl (Riefstahl to B. March, 1928, September 14) checked in with colleagues at the German Scientific Library while in Istanbul to gather information on Aga-Oglu. He also suggested Benjamin March to contact Ernst Kuehnel, Friedrich Sarre and Josef Strzygowsky to get "unbiased opinion" on him.

After what seems to be a thorough background check, Valentiner prepared the letter offering Aga-Oglu the position of assistant curator for the Near East at DIA with a yearly salary of $4,000 on October 20,1928. Aware of the lack of scholarly resources for research and absence of extensive collections to draw on, Valentiner quite frankly expressed that the conditions in Detroit could not match what Aga-Oglu already had in Istanbul, but he would be able to "build up a new department" and "educate the people in town." New York not being too far, Valentiner suggested Aga-Oglu could connect with scholars residing there, give lectures and contribute to the museum's journal by writing on Islamic art and the new acquisitions of the museum (Valentiner to M. Aga-Oglu, 1928, October 20).

Indeed, the limited objects that DIA had in its collection at the time were some antiquities acquired through legally excavated sites in the Middle East through their subscription to the Egypt Exploration Fund and the collection of Frederick K. Stearns, a pharmaceutical manufacturer who in 1890 donated 10,000 objects he obtained during his travels to the Near and Far East, which did not have any aesthetic quality but were a means to fill the gallery space (Peck, 1991, pp. 40-41). It was only starting in 1917 onwards that objects from the Islamic lands entered the museum's collection though few in numbers at first. In 1924, DIA made its first purchases for the Islamic department: a 13th century ceramic bowl from Rayy and a 15th century Persian tile. The following year, 1925, witnessed a big leap in the number of acquisitions. 43 new acquisitions of this year were either gifts or purchases from well-known dealers such as Dikran Kelekian, Arthur Upham Pope and Kirkor Minassian. Among these, the majority of objects were from Iran, with a few examples from Turkey and Mughal India. The following few years from 1926 to 1928, until the arrival of Aga-Oglu in 1929, the acquisitions were few in number and the Turkish pieces among these were all İznik pieces, either plates or tiles (Figures 2.5 and 2.6).[15] This increased interest in the Islamic art must be due to Valentiner's directorship. Considering that Valentiner curated a significant exhibition on the Islamic carpets in 1910 when he was a decorative arts curator at MMA, he must have had some familiarity with the Islamic arts. Furthermore, he must have cultivated relationships with the New York based

[15] The information on the early acquisitions is compiled from the "Object Cards" file for the Islamic art department at the DIA as well as the museum's bulletins and annual reports covering the years mentioned above, which can be accessed from www.dalnet.lib.mi.us/dia/digi19to50.html.

dealers during the years he was working for MMA. For instance, Valentiner was corresponding with Riefstahl and Arthur Upham Pope while in Detroit, and it was through them that he made some of his Islamic art purchases for the museum. To expand the Western art collection of DIA, he was also working closely with dealers such as Sir Joseph Duveen, G. J. Demotte and Dikran Kelekian, who are well-known for their access to the Near East.[16] Therefore, it would not be misleading to argue that Valentiner must have laid the groundwork upon which Aga-Oglu built the Islamic art collection at DIA.

Figure 2.5 : Dish, between 1565 and 1570, City of Detroit Purchase, 28.145. (URL - 3).

Figure 2.6 : Tile, ca. 1600, City of Detroit Purchase, 25.36. (URL - 4).

Valentiner's offer letter did not reach Aga-Oglu until the first week of January 1929 due to Riefstahl's intervention. In a November 22, 1928 dated correspondence to Valentiner titled as "strictly confidential," Riefstahl expressed four concerns for Aga-Oglu's appropriateness for the job which were expressed to him by Berenson and Mrs. Riefstahl. The first one was that Aga-Oglu had not made much progress in English; the second concern was related to his personality, that while Aga-Oglu was "the highest type of scholar", he did "not have the aggressiveness which is necessary for a

[16] Detroit Institute of Arts Research Library & Archives, The William R. Valentiner Records 1921-1945 have multiple exchanges with the mentioned personalities.

position in the Middle West"; third concern was that if the American chapter of his career would not be successful, this may "uproot him entirely & leave him in a worse position then now"[17] and the fourth one was the impossibility of him to come to DIA on January 1. Riefstahl's suggestion was to make a tentative offer and arrange an in-person meeting with Aga-Oglu in Europe for the following summer for Valentiner to make his own judgment (Riefstahl to W. R. Valentiner, 1928, November 22). However, Valentiner did not seem to mind these concerns and was eager to have Aga-Oglu onboard as soon as possible. In his response to Riefstahl on December 1, 1928, he wrote that it did "not make much difference about his English, and as for his aggressiveness, which you think is necessary for a position in the middle west, I think it can be done by others in the Museum." Valentiner further added that "If he [Aga-Oglu] can not come I shall be sorry indeed from all that I have heard about him" (Valentiner to R. M. Riefstahl, December 1, 1928). Upon receiving the offer letter in early January 1929, Aga-Oglu immediately accepted the position (Aga-Oglu to W. R. Valentiner, 1929, January 5). It was agreed that he would start in Detroit on September 1, 1929 so he would have time to wrap up his duties at the museum and the university in Istanbul (Valentiner to M. Aga-Oglu, 1929, March 26).

Before his arrival, in a letter dated March 23, 1929 to Valentiner, Aga-Oglu wrote, "I shall come to the United States with great hopes, for I believe I shall find there an opportunity for useful work, which is the best thing a scholar can desire". Indeed, in the following twenty years that Aga-Oglu spent in the United States until his death in July 1949, he found the opportunity to accomplish many firsts for the study of Islamic art, from organizing pivotal exhibitions to holding the first academic chair of Islamic art, from founding an academic journal that survives to this day to making discoveries that changed the history of the field.

[17] In a number of letters to Berenson housed at the Biblioteca Berenson I Tatti, Riefstahl mentions that Aga-Oglu is not in a good position, and as an Azeri he would never reach top ranks in Turkey.

2.3 The Formation of the Field in the United States

Upon his arrival at Detroit, the first undertaking of Aga-Oglu was to organize an exhibition that would bring together all schools and mediums of "Mohammedan" art, as it was called then, at DIA. The few exhibitions that took place in the United States then focused only on a certain medium and represented the material in ethno-racial terms, such as Persian, Turkish etc. Therefore, Aga-Oglu's aim to represent the Islamic art tradition as a whole was a first in the United States at its time.[18]

Aga-Oglu travelled to New York to see the available material in his new home country in May, June, and September 1930 (Records of the curator of Islamic art Mehmet Aga-Oglu. 1929-1933). Due to economic constraints, DIA could not pay for insurance and transportation fees, so rather than organizing an exhibition of loans from other public collections, they had to go after the material in the hands of New York dealers (Valentiner to P. Ackermann, 1930, October 21). These dealers were particularly interested in the opportunity to loan their artefacts as Detroit was known for its wealthy patrons due to the flourishing manufacturing industry. Many Detroit industrialists were art collectors themselves. Furthermore, they were also serving on the DIA's board. Therefore, an exhibition showcasing the material on sale in Detroit would provide an opportunity for these objects to be purchased either for the private collections or on behalf of the museum.

This first survey exhibition of Mohammedan Decorative Arts took place from October 21 to November 23, 1930 and was the 14th loan exhibition held at the museum. There is no photographic record of the show, however a look into the exhibition catalogue gives an idea on the content if not of the visual organization. With a total of 171 objects listed in the catalogue, the exhibition featured 5 works of calligraphy, 8 manuscripts, 52 miniature paintings and 3 lacquer paintings, 39 pottery, 7 glassworks, 9 metalworks, 3 works in ivory, stucco, and wood, 30 carpets and 15 textiles. Only 9 of these objects were from the DIA's own collection and the rest were loaned from dealers and private collectors such as Costilayan and Company, Demotte, Duveen Brothers, Mr. and Mrs. Edsel B. Ford, Edward Wells, Fahim Kouchakji, French&Company, H.K. Monif, Jackson Higgs, Josef Beilouny, Kevorkian, Leon Dalva, M.A. Koshif, Parish-

[18] *The Art Digest* on November 1, 1930 announced the exhibition as "the first exhibition in this country to assemble all branches of Islamic art into a single comprehensive group" (p. 11).

Watson&Company, R. Hein, Stora, Valentiner, Zado Noorian, and a few anonymous lenders (Aga-Oglu, 1930a).

In the introductory essay to the catalogue, Aga-Oglu (1930a) described "Mohammedan art" as "extends over three continents, Asia, Africa and Europe, encompasses a period of more than a thousand years, and is carried on by various peoples such as Arabs, Persians and Turks" (p. 3). As he listed all the previous civilizations that occupied this vast geography before the advent of Islam, he emphasized that Islamic art "as heir to all these civilizations… combine the technical traditions and artistic epochs into its own art" (p. 3). Despite the multiplicity of influences, Aga-Oglu emphasized that Islamic art "nevertheless forms a unit, the basis of which is found in the Mohammedan religion…[which] bridged national differences as well as historical traditions, forcing not only the spiritual interests but also the everyday customs of the varying countries into one uniform mould" (p. 3).

After this brief description, Aga-Oglu (1930a) provided information on each medium presented in the exhibition, starting with calligraphy especially seen in the Qur'an manuscripts, and moving on to the arts of the book, which was the most prominent section of the exhibition with 52 examples representing all schools of Persian painting and some examples of Indian painting, whereas Turkish painting was totally absent. In the catalogue, Aga-Oglu (1930a) presented Persia as the most important contributor to the Islamic painting tradition whereas Turkey did not have the right soil for its flourishment and had been under the influence of the Persian tradition (p. 6). Among the 171 objects in the exhibition, Turkish art was represented with 9 objects only: 4 ceramics (3 from İznik and 1 from Kütahya), 4 brocades and a carpet.

In some ways, this exhibition echoed the conventions of the time where prominence was given to Persian art in terms of the objects featured. As mentioned above, the commonly held belief based on ethno-racial characteristics determined that Arab art was appreciated for the early Islamic and the medieval periods, Persians were considered to bring the very qualities to Islamic art that were most deserved to be appreciated with their decorative repertoire, whereas the Turks were renowned for their weaving traditions, such as carpets and textiles. It would be too far-fetched to claim that Aga-Oglu hierarchized the contributions of different ethnic groups in his catalogue essay as he outlined the origins, influences and development of each medium at different time periods and different geographies that Islam ruled as a religion.

However, in some instances such as his remarks on the Islamic painting tradition that the Persians surpassed all others whereas the Turkey "furnished but a poor soil for its development" (Aga-Oglu, 1930a, p. 6), Aga-Oglu's opinions reflected the commonly held notions of his time in the West, an interesting point as in contrast to his contemporaneous scholars, Aga-Oglu with his access to the collections in Turkey must have been more knowledgeable about the Ottoman book arts. On the other hand, as expressed in the introduction of the catalogue and through displaying together all the schools and periods of Islamic art, the underlying message that Aga-Oglu conveyed was one of unity, which the Islam religion provided the basis of.

In fact, this dual approach of diversity and unity was also observed in the following decade, in the 1940s, at the Fogg Museum. As the focus on Persian art in the exhibition program of the 1930s was put aside and the term "Islamic" started to get used in the exhibition titles of the Fogg, Cuddon (2013) remarks that this shift from Persian to Islamic was due to a new publication by Richard Ettinghausen (1944) on "The Character of Islamic Art." This unity brought about by the faith of Islam and found its expression in different traditions based on ethno-racial distinctions were not exclusive of each other. According to Cuddon (2013):

> The ethno-racial discourse and the universalist religious discourse had always coexisted as two sides of the same intellectual tradition. What occurred in this period was not one being eclipsed by the other, but rather the strengthening of the religious discourse within the framework of the ethno-racial one. (pp. 23-24)

Circling back to Detroit, the first Islamic art exhibition of the museum played a key role for its acquisitions. While in 1929, only 12 objects entered the collection, after the exhibition, Aga-Oglu was able to acquire as many as 45 objects in 1930 and 1931 as shown in the bulletin and annual reports of DIA. Some of the highlights of this period are the enameled glass bottle from Egypt purchased as a result of the 1930 exhibition from Otto Burchard (Figure 2.7), the Persian Qur'an written on colored Chinese paper from the 15th century (Figure 2.8), and 25 pieces of Persian ceramics purchased from Arthur Upham Pope.

Figure 2.7 : Bottle made for the Rasulid Sultan Hizabr al-Din in Yemen, between 1296 and 1321, City of Detroit Purchase, 30.416. (URL - 5).

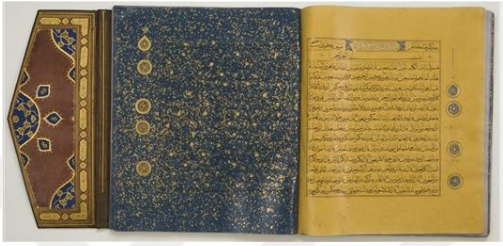

Figure 2.8 : Qur'an 1450-1460, City of Detroit Purchase, 30.323. (URL - 6).

In the early 1930s, Aga-Oglu received many offers for the museum's collection however due to the depression era as well as his concerns regarding the artistic value and authenticity, he declined majority of them. Although Aga-Oglu was actively looking for Persian manuscript paintings to acquire, he could not get hold of many (Records of the curator of Islamic art Mehmet Aga-Oglu. 1929-1933). His one major acquisition in this branch is a page from the Demotte Shahnama acquired in 1935 (Figure 2.9). One of his aspirations was to bring together all the dispersed folios of the Demotte Shahnama for a publication project, but he was not able to materialize this during his lifetime.

Figure 2.9 : Folio from the Great Mongol Shahnama: Ardashir Battles Bahman, Son of Ardavan, ca. 1335, Founders Society Purchase, Edsel B. Ford Fund, 35.54. (URL - 7).

Aga-Oglu's 1930 exhibition preceded another significant exhibition for the field, that of the International Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House, London in 1931 organized by Arthur Upham Pope. The exhibition and the events surrounding it received considerable press and public attention, enhancing the already established popularity of Persian art.[19] For many, this exhibition was a landmark and "set the standard for those that followed" (Vernoit, 2000, p. 21).[20] Many objects that were exhibited in London were also featured in the DIA exhibition. Both Aga-Oglu and Valentiner served on the organizing committee of the Burlington House exhibition and DIA loaned six objects from its collection to the London exhibition (*The New York Times*, 1930, December 21, p. 34; *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit, 12/5*, 1931, p. 46).

On the academic side, during the International Congress of Iranian Art held in conjunction with the London exhibition, Aga-Oglu announced a discovery he made, that is a history of Persian painting written by the court painter Dost Muhammed in 1544 as a preface to the Bahram Mirza album in the Topkapı Palace Museum. This scholarly contribution became a media story, featured even in news outlets such as *The New York Times* (1931, February 8) as a discovery that "will alter the study of Persian art" and "will mean virtually the re-writing of the history of Persian painting" (p. 37).

By 1932, DIA being a city museum, reached to a point of not being able to support its staff members because the city almost became bankrupt due to the economic depression. Valentiner with the support from the president of the museum Mr. Edsel

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[19] For more information on this exhibition and its reception, see Wood, 2000, pp. 113-130 and Robinson, 2000, pp. 147-155. As for the popularity of Persian art in the 1930s, Cuddon (2013) states that this rise was due to "the contemporary political climate and the emerging discourse on the Iranian nationalism, which emphasized the existence of a single Persian national identity and saw the Persians as a pure race that had existed undiluted since the era of the Achaemenid Empire" (p. 20). Another factor that contributed to the supremacy of Persian art even before the 1930s was the availability of objects that could be transported out of the country with ease, hence making their way into the public and private collections in the West. The laxity of laws regarding cultural heritage along with drought and famine that Iran suffered for several years in the 1870s enabled the artefacts to leave the country in multitudes taking their place in European collections. For more information on both the early interest in Iran and during inter-war years, see Vernoit, 2000, p. 11-13, 21, 41-44. As for Dikran Kelekian's role in increasing interest in Persian art, see Jenkins-Madina, 2000, pp. 69-89 and Simpson, 2000, pp. 91-112.

[20] While Vernoit (2000) states that "at most of the exhibitions the arts of Iran predominated," he adds a remark on an exhibition of Turkish art that took place in Vienna in 1932 giving "a foretaste of changes to come" (p. 21). Blair and Bloom in *the Grove Dictionary of Islamic Art* also refer to this exhibition. However, apart from these two mentions, neither elaborate on the significance or the content of the Turkish art exhibition.

B. Ford, sent letters to colleagues across the United States to ask for positions for his staff.

In an April 13, 1932 dated letter, Valentiner wrote to Sir Joseph Duveen asking for help in securing Aga-Oglu a position by speaking to his contacts should he have to leave the museum on July 1, 1932 due to economic constraints. A year later, on April 13, 1933, this time Valentiner approached the Freer Gallery of Art[21] in Washington, DC for Aga-Oglu but the museum conforming with regulations imposed on the government agencies could not hire new staff members (Lodge to W. R. Valentiner, 1933, April 15). Berenson also contacted Boston MFA and the Fogg Museum at Harvard[22] throughout the 1930s for a position for Aga-Oglu (Cuddon, 2013, p. 21).[23] Becoming suspicious about motives then director of the Fogg, Edward Waldo Forbes made inquiries with a number of people on Aga-Oglu checking whether he was a true scholar or a dealer under disguise. In the end, he was assured of Aga-Oglu's integrity as a scholar, however Joseph Upton, the assistant curator of Near Eastern art at the MMA, expressed that though Aga-Oglu "has a broad knowledge of Muhammedan art and of the cultural background," he believed "his historical and stylistic opinions are colored and biased by an attempt to make every source of inspiration and development in the field Turkish" (as cited in Cuddon, 2013, pp. 21-22).

It is important to point out here that while Aga-Oglu's doctoral dissertation was on Turkish architecture and his publications were mostly on Turkish art when he was in Turkey,[24] his research in the United States did not have this focus, with the exception of one article that he published in *The Art Bulletin* in 1930 on the Fatih Mosque. One reason for this could be the unavailability of the Turkish material in the United States. As a curator, he was drawing mostly from what was available in the American

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[21] Opened to the public in 1923 as the Smithsonian Institution's first art museum, the collection was gifted to the Smithsonian in 1906 by Charles Lang Freer (1856-1919). His Islamic art collection largely consisted of ceramics, especially Raqqaware (Vernoit, 2000, pp. 25-26). For more information on Charles Lang Freer and his collecting, see Gunter, 2002 and Glazer and Meyer, 2017.

[22] Opened in 1895, the Fogg Museum started to collect art from the Islamic world after the World War I. The 1930s witnessed increased activity in this area at the Fogg whereas Boston MFA's activities were in decline in those years (Cuddon, 2013, p. 20). For more information on Islamic art collecting at Harvard, see Welch, 1996, pp. 122-127.

[23] Riefstahl also suggested Boston Museum to Aga-Oglu, as he conveyed in a letter to Berenson dated February 27, 1932, in Bernard and Mary Berenson papers, BER, 8. Biblioteca Berenson, I Tatti - The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies.

[24] Scott Redford (2007) mentions that in the 1920s Heinrich Glück was going to co-author a book on the history of Turkish art with Mehmet Aga-Oglu, which did not happen as Glück died and Aga-Oglu left Turkey for the United States (p. 244).

collections and on the American market for his exhibitions, acquisitions, and research projects; and in the 1930s the trend for Persian art was high in the United States. Moreover, as his offer letter indicated, one of his main duties was to educate the public on Islamic art. Therefore, Aga-Oglu's projects focused on introducing this little-known art tradition to the audiences in the United States and establishing it as a scholarly field of inquiry with solid methodology. However, it is important to stress here that with his publications Aga-Oglu brought attention to unknown or little known works of Islamic art held in the museum collections of Istanbul.[25]

In the end, Aga-Oglu secured a teaching position at the University of Michigan (UM), enabling him to stay in Detroit and keeping a joint appointment at DIA and UM simultaneously starting with the 1933 academic year (*Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit, 14/1*, 1934, p. 14; Peck, 1991, p. 193). An experimental program called "Research Seminary in Islamic Art" was formed in the Division of Fine Arts of the UM with the aim of offering lectures, seminars, publication, and research activities. After its immediate success with its course offerings "designed for advanced students who were interested in future museum work or in teaching" as well as "a unique opportunity for students of fine arts and Oriental civilizations to round out their programs of study," by 1935 the Research Seminary was officially recognized as part of the Fine Arts Division. With this, Aga-Oglu's temporary title of "Freer Fellow and Lecturer of Oriental Art" at the University transformed into a permanent position promoting him to the position of "Associate Professor of the history of Islamic art," hence establishing the first chair of Islamic art history in the country (Hubbard Haight, 1953, pp. 1144-1146). Still regarded as one of the rigorous academic programs of Islamic art in the United States, Aga-Oglu's position was later on filled by two luminaries, Richard Ettinghausen (1906-1979) and Oleg Grabar (1929-2011) respectively.

From the first semester onwards, the Seminary offered general survey courses from the history of Islamic architecture to decorative arts. Gradually expanding its scope, by 1936-37 academic year, the program offered five lecture courses and five seminars with a series of eight lectures. The increasing interest in this new field was also reflected in the student enrollment. The University records indicate that while six

[25] Such as the ones listed as Aga-Oglu 1930b, 1931, 1932, 1934b, 1935b in the bibliography.

students were enrolled to Aga-Oglu's first survey course, by 1940 twenty-two students were studying in the program (Hubbard Haight, 1953, pp. 1144-1146). Though the identities of these students could not be verified in the University records, Florence Day and Dorothy G. Payer Shepherd (1916-1992) were two of Aga-Oglu's students that have been identified so far.[26]

Another important aspect of this first academic program on Islamic art history is the collaboration between DIA and the University, as both institutions shared a "common policy of developing the study of Near Eastern Art," and DIA collections were used for teaching and research at the University courses (*Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit, 15/5*, 1936, p. 64).

In addition, these two institutions joined their efforts in supporting the publication of the first academic journal on Islamic art in the United States (*The President's Report to the Board of Regents for the academic year 1933-1934*, 1934, p. 250).[27] Entitled *Ars Islamica*, this journal was the brainchild of Aga-Oglu. As the journal's founding editor, Aga-Oglu (1934) envisioned the publication to be a venue "to promote an interest in the study of Islamic art," by creating:

> an academic arena for the discussion of various problems concerning the historical and artistic development of the arts and crafts in Islamic countries. The magazine, it may be noted, will take a neutral position and will not represent or support any one point of view. Its pages will be open to comments on problematic questions interpreted from contrasted points of view, since the publishers are of the opinion that only by following this policy can the magazine be of service in advancing its cause. (p. 3)

From the inaugural issue in January 1934 onwards, the contents of the journal reflected the true international character of the field at the time, with contributions arriving from Europe, the Near East, and the United States in three languages, English, French and German. In addition to articles, the journal also featured excavation and field notes,

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[26] Cuddon (2013) states that Florence Day studied under Aga-Oglu (p. 13). As for Dorothy G. Payer Shepherd who was the curator of textiles and Near eastern art at the Cleveland Museum of Art from 1954 to 1981, her sister Mary Slusser (1918-2017) shared this information in a personal correspondence in 2012.

[27] Starting with the second volume, UM took the full responsibility of the publication and Aga-Oglu served as its editor until 1937.

bibliographies, book and exhibition reviews, and became a lively platform for contentious debates on the nature of Islamic art. The journal received considerable attention and established itself as a serious academic enterprise showcasing the United States academia taking an active role in the Near Eastern studies.[28]

In 1934, Aga-Oglu travelled to the Near East to represent the University and DIA in Tehran at the celebrations organized for the millennium of the poet Firdawsi's birth. At the International Congress of Orientalists, held on this occasion, he presented the paper "About a manuscript of Nizami's Khusraw wa Shirin in the Freer Gallery in Washington." During this trip, while Aga-Oglu had the chance to travel extensively in the region, he also managed to arrange a scholarship program between the Near Eastern governments and the University as well as conducting preliminary research for a book project on the Safavid rugs and textiles in the Shrine of Imam ʿAli at Al-Najaf collection (Hubbard, 1935, p. 143; Aga-Oglu, 1935a, pp. 611-618). Raleigh Nelson (1935), the Dean of Students at the UM reported that:

> As a result of a visit to Persia by Dr. Mehmet Ağa-Oğlu of the Division of Fine Arts, the Regents provided additional scholarships as follows: The Board established two tuition scholarships, in the field of fine arts, for each of the following countries: Persia, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, and Egypt, with the understanding that there shall be no more than two scholars from each country in any one year and that the scholarship shall be available to undergraduates only. It is understood that the governments of these countries will send specially qualified students. (p. 12)

With this agreement, not only UM diversified its student body, which it had been doing through the Barbour scholarships for the students from the Far Eastern countries since 1917, but also laid the groundwork for future collaborations with the institutions in the Near East (Nelson, 1936, pp. 57-63).

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[28] Already in 1935, *The Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology* wrote that "[Ars Islamica] has set for itself an ambitious program and a high standard … it is handsomely printed and the illustrations are of excellent quality. It will bear favorable comparison with any journal of art published anywhere and it is a satisfaction to see America taking an active part in Near Eastern studies," quoted in *The President's Report 1935-1936*, p. 243. Other publications, including *Artibus Asiae*, *The New York Times*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, and *Bulletin de l'Office international des instituts d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art,* praised *Ars Islamica*'s contribution to the field in those years as cited in *The President's Report 1935-1936*, pp. 243-244.

Upon his return from the region, Aga-Oglu published his research on the Persian book bindings of the fifteenth century drawn from collections in Istanbul (Aga-Oglu 1935b), which was unknown at the time, hence receiving considerable attention in the scholarly world. The book appeared as the first title of a new series of works published by the Fine Arts Division of UM.[29] His second book, *Safawid Rugs and Textiles: The Collection of the Shrine of Imam ʿAli at Al-Najaf*, published in 1941, was another first in the field, since Aga-Oglu was the first scholar to study the material in the shrine as access to non-Muslims was prohibited. This publication won the American Institute of Graphic Arts' Fifty Books of the Year Award for its artistic and technical excellence (*The New York Times*,1942, February 5, p. 19).

1937 marked another significant year for the history of Islamic art in the United States. Aga-Oglu organized a second survey exhibition, this time much larger than the 1930 one. Walter Heil, the director of the M.H. de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco, invited Aga-Oglu as a guest curator for the inaugural exhibition of the museum's re-opening after extensive renovations. Heil was a former colleague of Aga-Oglu at DIA in the early 1930s and became the director of the de Young Museum through the efforts of Valentiner and Mr. Edsel Ford when the institute could not keep its staff any longer.[30]

Consisting of 262 objects, with loans from a total of 47 public and private collections in the United States and Europe, this was the first Islamic art exhibition in the West Coast of the country and was on view from February 24 to March 22, 1937. Although the exhibition catalogue was much more extensive than the previous exhibition's, in terms of the art historical discourse and the representation of Turkish art, there was not a significant change from the earlier version. Turkish art was again represented with ceramics, textiles, and carpets, with the addition of arms and weaponry this time (Aga-Oglu, 1937a). Aga-Oglu (1937b) explained his aims as a curator in an article on this exhibition as thus:

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[29] Reviews of this book appeared in *American Magazine of Art*, *Apollo*, *Bookbinding Magazine*, *The Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology*, *Michigan Alumnus* and *Parnassus*. There is a folder devoted to the reviews of this book in the Mehmet Aga-Oglu Papers, FSA.A.10, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Box 3, Folder: Persian Bookbinding Reviews, Gift of Dorothy Aga-Oglu, 1959.

[30] Heil also played an important role in the organization of the *Art Treasures of Turkey* exhibition, which is explored in the following chapter.

> At the present time Islamic art is one of the least considered if not practically neglected chapters in art history. Its study is not fully appreciated by many college art departments while museums, with a few exceptions, do not have a systematic collection of its monuments. Consequently the general public still considers the art of the Islamic countries of minor significance in comparison with the arts of Western Europe or Eastern Asia … the exhibition [at the M.H. de Young Memorial Museum] is the first of its kind ever held in the western part of this country and it is hoped that it will create a true understanding of one of the most profound artistic achievements in the cultural history of the old world. Thus the principal motive in presenting this exhibition is educational rather than for scholarly research. (p. 9)

Indeed, it was through the efforts of Aga-Oglu that robust activities in the field of Islamic art took place in the United States in the 1930s. The other exhibitions held in the country were few in number and with a focus on a particular school or medium. For instance, MMA[31] organized a Loan Exhibition of the Ceramic Art of the Near East (1931), Islamic Miniature Painting and Book Illumination exhibition (1933-34), Exhibition of Oriental Carpets and Textiles (1935) (Vernoit, 2000, p. 203), whereas in Boston, the Fogg Museum came to fore in the 1930s with an exhibition of Persian paintings from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century (1930), photographs of Persian architecture from the collection of Arthur Upham Pope (1934), Persian miniatures, pottery, and textiles (1934), Persian miniatures from the Ross Collection (1935), Persian pottery (1936), and Persian miniatures, pottery, and sculpture (1937) (Cuddon, 2013, p. 20). Some other small exhibitions were organized in Brooklyn, New York and Toledo, Ohio (Vernoit, 2000, p. 203). However, there was not a single exhibition in the United States that could for instance reach to the level of the 1910 Munich exhibition. Hence, Aga-Oglu's two survey exhibitions of 1930 and 1937 along with the establishment of the Research Seminary as the first academic program in the

[31] For Islamic art, the 1930s were productive years at MMA. While in 1923, Dimand organized the Near Eastern art as a subdepartment; on January 1, 1932 Near Eastern art became a separate department on its own chaired by Dimand. The number of special exhibitions offered in those years increased compared to the previous periods. Also, the museum started its only Islamic era archaeological excavation in Nishapur, Iran (Lindsey, 2012).

United States and the foundation of *Ars Islamica* were important milestones in establishing Islamic art history as an academic field.

In the 1940s, the only major international exhibition in the country was the Six Thousand Years of Persian Art exhibition (1940) in New York organized by Arthur Upham Pope, rivalling his own 1931 London exhibition with over 2500 objects on display. This exhibition was followed by other smaller scale exhibitions on Persian art in Baltimore in 1940, on Islamic art at Cleveland Museum of Art in 1944 and again on Persian art at the MMA[32] in 1949 (Vernoit, 2000, p. 47 and p. 204).

During this period, Aga-Oglu was an independent scholar in the United States, as he resigned from his position at the University in 1938 (*President's Report to the Board of Regents for the academic year 1937-1938*, p. 368). He spent much of the following decade on a twelve-volume work entitled *The Corpus of Islamic Metalwork*, which was never completed due to his premature death in 1949 (Weibel, 1951, p. 268; Dimand, 1950-1951, p. 209).[33] In this project, Aga-Oglu intended to cover the metalwork from 7th to the 18th centuries encompassing the vast Islamic lands from India to Spain.[34] In the unpublished foreword of *the Corpus*, Aga-Oglu stated:

> After almost a century of preliminary research work in the field of Islamic art, the time is ripe for the students to pass from generalities into specific considerations of various branches of the artistic creation of Islamic people, and devote their interests in presenting monographic works dealing with respective subjects not only as descriptive catalogues but rather based on broader scope by considering geographical, historical, social, economic, technical and stylistic aspects of the development.[35]

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[32] Due to bombing of Pearl Harbor, all fragile art at MMA was evacuated during the Second World War, hence very limited objects were displayed in temporary exhibitions during the 1940s. The following decades witnessed a gradual dwindling of space dedicated to the Near Eastern art at the museum until the new galleries were installed in 1975 (Lindsey, 2012).

[33] Aga-Oglu continued to publish several articles in this period, and his book on the Najaf collections came out at this time though he conducted the research during his 1934 Iran trip while he was still working for the University.

[34] Aga-Oglu's notes on the *Corpus of Islamic Metalwork* are currently housed at the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives and stored in seven boxes (Mehmet Aga-Oglu Papers, FSA.A.10, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Gift of Dorothy Aga-Oglu, 1959). For detailed information on the contents, see Simavi, 2012, pp. 12-20.

[35] Located at Mehmet Aga-Oglu Papers, FSA.A.10, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Box 1, Folder volume I, part 1D, 'Alloys, Their Terminology and Metallurgy', Gift of Dorothy Aga-Oglu, 1959.

Indeed, for this project Aga-Oglu aimed to analyze "geographical, historical, social, economic, metallurgical, technological, terminological, epigraphic, iconographic, and stylistic aspects of metalwork," treating these "in broad relation to other branches of Islamic decorative arts, as well as to Near Eastern art in general." In the first and only completed volume of *the Corpus*, Aga-Oglu utilized "the Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Armenian, Chinese, Greek, Latin, and other Western historical, geographical, scientific, and linguistic source material of the fourth to the seventeenth centuries" (Aga-Oglu, 1951, pp. 133-135).

In line with these views, in his "Remarks on the Character of Islamic Art," which was published posthumously in *the Art Bulletin* in 1954 as a response to Ettinghausen's work, Aga-Oglu charted the new directions for the study of Islamic art, expressing the vitality of the secondary sources, especially historical, social and literary material, in enabling us to better understand and contextualize the arts of the Islamic lands and pointing to the dangers of essentialism (pp. 175-202).[36]

The World War II inevitably had an impact on the field along with the political, economic, and social changes it brought with it. As explained above, in the United States, the groundwork for the Islamic art history had already begun a few decades ago. However, due to the war, several European scholars migrated to the New World transforming the United States into a leader in academic studies.[37]

Another important development coinciding with this was the "fundamental changes" in the relationship between the United States and the Middle East. While the United States emerged as a world power after the World War II, the Middle East became a critical region due to its rich oil reserves and its risk of falling to Communism during

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[36] Before he died, Aga-Oglu had one more position in the United States. In February 1948, he started to work as a carpet consultant at the Textile Museum in Washington, DC curating an exhibition on the "Dragon carpet" group. He died of cancer in July 1949 in Washington, DC while still working for the museum. For information on his work at the Textile Museum in Washington, DC, see The Textile Museum, Washington DC, George Hewitt Myers Archives, Mehmet Ağa-Oğlu Correspondences; also see Simavi, 2012, p. 16.

[37] Moreover, in the 1940s, many of the scholars that shaped the early period of the field passed away one after another bringing new names and perspectives to the discipline. Vernoit (2000) provides a list of these scholars with years of death: Edward Denison Ross in 1940, Robert Byron and Josef Strzygowski in 1941, Laurence Binyon and Marc Aurel Stein in 1943, Alois Musil in 1944, Friedrich Sarre in 1945, Ananda Coomaraswamy in 1947, Ernst Herzfeld and Fritz Saxl in 1948, Mehmet Aga-Oglu in 1949, Jean Sauvaget in 1950, Mehdi Bahrami in 1951, Prosper Ricard in 1952, Ugo Monneret de Villiard in 1954 (p. 47).

the Cold War, hence making the region a priority for the American foreign policy, which resulted in the establishment of regional studies centers (Cuddon, 2013, p. 25).

In fact, a manifestation of this sudden interest and change in the perception of the Middle East can be traced back to a five-day conference titled "The Near East, Problems and Prospects" taking place as early as June 1942 at the University of Chicago, which "brought together a considerable group of… Americans interested in the Middle East as well as some foreign luminaries," demonstrating that "the United States government, faced with a need for regional specialists of many sorts, turned to the universities for help" (Winder, 1987, pp. 40-63).

In 1947, following the Michigan program founded by Aga-Oglu, the second area studies program on the Middle East was established at the Princeton University. Prior to this endeavor, Princeton offered three summer seminars in Arabic and Persian Studies in 1935, 1938 and 1941, with funding provided by the American Council of Learned Societies and Princeton. In addition to Aga-Oglu, Maurice Dimand and Richard Ettinghausen also taught in these summer seminars, which were highly reputed since they were "the first integrated effort to study the Islamic Near East in American higher education" and the young scholars who participated "later made their mark" in the field (Winder, 1987, p. 41).[38]

In 1954, Harvard University set up the Center for the Middle Eastern Studies (CMES) and Sir Hamilton Gibb came to Harvard from Oxford University to become its director in 1955. Gibb was a strong supporter of cross-disciplinary work, hence Islamic art history became a key discipline in studying and understanding the region, making CMES an important center for the study of Islamic art at Harvard, which can be seen in an exhibition of Turkish art organized as early as 1954 (Cuddon, 2013, p. 25). As explained by Cuddon (2013):

> This display, put together by Schroeder[39] and McMullan[40] as part of a new course on the Turks in history, entitled "The Ottoman Empire and the Near

[38] Winder lists Florence Day, Sydney Nettleton Fisher, Richard Frye, Harold Gridden, Harvey Hall, A.I. Katsh, George Miles, E.E. Ramsauer, George Rentz and Myron B. Smith as participants to these summer seminars.

[39] Eric Schroeder (1904-1971) joined the Fogg Museum in 1938 as "Keeper of Persian Art," for more information see Cuddon, 2013, pp. 22-23.

[40] Joseph McMullan (d. 1973) is a prominent collector of Islamic art, especially of rugs, and he was a Honorary Research Fellow in Islamic Art at the Fogg Museum from 1950 to 1951, for more information see Cuddon, 2013, p. 24.

> East since the end of 13th Century," consisted of a wide range of materials and was meant to "identify visually the characteristics of the Turks themselves. (p. 25).

In his letters to request loan objects for this exhibition entitled "Turks in History," John Coolidge (1953, December 23) described it as "an experiment in presenting a major loan exhibition in connection with a course outside our [Fine Arts] department" with the purpose of "show[ing] the influence of the Turks upon the European culture and of European culture upon the Turks."

According to Cuddon (2013), the exhibition continued certain pre-existing trends such as the ethno-racial paradigm as seen in the language of the press release, which stated that "a contrast between Turkish and non-Turkish art in the medieval Islamic style will be the basis of an attempt to connect formal differences with national characteristics." On the other hand, it also marked a shift in perspective as it offered a different interpretation of the material by looking at "the development of the Turks through history in order to understand their position in the contemporary world," in line with the interest of CMES in contemporary politics, rather than exploring the decorative aspects of the material at hand or trying to showcase the Islamic style in the objects displayed. Hence this exhibition, in its attempt "to consider objects through their function and meaning in their original historical context… signified a moment where the study of Islamic art began to move away from a purely aesthetic approach toward situating objects in the wider sphere of socio-political history" (pp. 25-26), at least in the case of Harvard.

Circling back to the UM, after Aga-Oglu's resignation in 1938, it was Richard Ettinghausen (1906-1979)[41] who succeeded him and took over the editorial duties of *Ars Islamica*. In 1944, Ettinghausen left the University to become the curator of Near Eastern art at the Freer Gallery of Art moving the editorial work of the journal to the museum with him. However, the publication came to a halt during the World War II due to the difficulties of obtaining manuscripts.[42] Once the war ended, the publication re-appeared in 1954 this time as a joint publication of UM and Freer Gallery, changing

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[41] For Ettinghausen's contributions to the field, see Hillenbrand, 2000, pp. 171-181.
[42] From 1934 to 1951, 16 volumes of *Ars Islamica* were published.

its name to *Ars Orientalis* to reflect the widening of the geographical scope, that of the whole Asian continent.

The Michigan position left vacant by Ettinghausen was filled by Oleg Grabar (1929-2011),[43] who taught Islamic art history there from 1954 to 1969. Both Ettinghausen and Grabar became, in a way, fathers of Islamic art history in the United States training multiple generations of scholars in the decades to follow. They, moreover, played key roles for the understanding and appreciation of Turkish art in the United States.

Ettinghausen was one of the few scholars who published on Turkish painting as early as the 1950s, served on the Executive Committee of the International Congress of Turkish Art (ICTA) from its inauguration in 1959 onwards as well as pioneering the effort to bring the first exhibition that travelled from Turkey to tour the United States from 1966 to 1968, which is explored in the next chapter.

Another highly influential academic, Grabar, supervised the Ph.D. work of Esin Atıl, who was among his first generation of doctoral students at UM. Upon graduation, Atıl succeeded Ettinghausen as the curator of Near Eastern art at the Freer Gallery in 1970. Her curatorial career that spanned more than two decades and her contributions to the field are the topic of the fifth chapter of this dissertation.

2.4 Art History in the Early Years of the Republic of Turkey

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, both orientalist discourses born out of Western colonialism and nationalist ideals of the emerging nation states in the Middle East played significant roles in the discourses surrounding the artistic practices of the Islamic world. While the tendency is to attribute a "holistic conception of Islamic art" to Western scholars, who are claimed to have re-emphasized essentialist and orientalist perceptions; scholars from the Muslim lands are thought to "proceed on national lines" in studying their native culture. Bozdoğan and Necipoğlu (2007) call this "a false dichotomy" and point out the existence of "ethnizing discourses" along with the essentialist ones in the Western scholarship on Islamic art, and state that the local scholars also "participate from the late nineteenth century onwards in the production of both Orientalist and nationalist paradigms" (pp. 1-6). Turkey was no exception to

[43] For more information on Grabar, see the Editorial Committee of Muqarnas, 1993, pp. vii-xiv; Necipoğlu, 2011, pp. vii-xv; Necipoğlu, 2012, pp 451-456.

this trend and the art history discipline, from its very beginning, was very much shaped by politics and identity discourses of its era.

The formation of art history as an academic discipline in the Republic of Turkey is dated back to the 1940s, when the first art history department was founded at the Istanbul University in 1943.[44] However, already in the late Ottoman period, there were significant initiatives in terms of protecting the cultural heritage of the Empire and establishing museums.[45]

The first museum of the Ottoman Empire, the Imperial Museum, was established by Sultan Abdulaziz, and E. Goold was the inaugural director of the museum from 1869 to 1871, followed by P.A. Dethier. In 1880, Osman Hamdi Bey was appointed director and served in this position until 1910 (Shaw, 2007, pp. 256-257).[46] Among his many accomplishments, one of the long-lasting legacies of his career was the law issued by Sultan Abdulhamid II to restrict the trafficking of antiquities, which was made possible through Osman Hamdi Bey's efforts and ensured the safeguarding of the cultural heritage of Ottoman lands (Yenişehirlioğlu, 2000, pp. 182-193).[47] Upon Osman Hamdi Bey's death, his brother Halil Edhem, who had served as an assistant in the museum from 1889 to 1892 and second director from 1892 onwards, took over the position and directed the museum from 1910 to 1931 until his retirement at the age of seventy (Vernoit, 2000, pp. 26, 40, 41).[48] Another museum established during the Ottoman era was the Museum of Pious Foundations (Evkaf Museum), founded in Süleymaniye, in 1914 during the wake of the World War I and formed the first Islamic art museum of the Empire (Vernoit, 2000, p. 26).

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[44] For an overview of the art history discipline in Turkey, see Doğramacı, 2012, pp. 485-491.

[45] For the Ottoman and Republican era museology in Turkey, see Shaw, 2000, pp. 55-68; Shaw, 2002, pp. 133-155; Shaw, 2003; Shaw, 2007, pp. 253-279; Shaw, 2011; Gerçek, 1999.

[46] For a detailed discussion on the Islamic department at the Imperial Museum, see also Odabaşıoğlu, 2002 and Gerçek, 1999, pp. 77-135.

[47] Yenişehirlioğlu (2000) explains that "the first regulation for the conservation and preservation of this historical heritage (asar-ı atika nizamnamesi) was compiled in 1869 by Osman Hamdi Bey, originally an expert of law who was the first official collector for the palace... The *Nizamname*, revised in 1884, with a few further additions in 1908, remained the official regulation until 1973, that is, for almost a century" (p. 188). See also Akın, 1992, pp. 233-239. A detailed discussion on the antiquities laws in the Ottoman Empire and Republic of Turkey can be found in Gerçek, 1999, pp. 263-312. For the Republican period, see also Çal, 1990.

[48] For more information on Osman Hamdi Bey's directorship, see Shaw, 2007, pp.257-260. As mentioned before, Halil Edhem Bey was instrumental in the career of Mehmet Aga-Oglu, sending him to Europe to receive training for his curatorial position in Istanbul at the Çinili Köşk. For Halil Edhem's contributions to the museology in Turkey, see *Halil Edhem Hatıra Kitabı* published by Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1948.

The formation of museum collections in the Ottoman Empire chronologically followed closely the emergence of the museum institution in the West, however as Shaw (2007) argues, the Ottoman museums had similarities as well as differences to its Western counterparts. For instance, like in the West, in the 19th century, the Ottomans dedicated enormous resources to develop museum collections, which were formed separately from the imperial collections housed at the Topkapı Palace, and "used them as a competitive signal of its national strength and ownership of legacy of civilization" (p. 256). On the other hand, the establishment of museums in the Empire coincided with the adaptation of Western practices in art, so unlike the Western museums, the Ottoman museums "did not draw on a long tradition of regarding art as a central element in the discourse of culture" (p. 256). Rather, both "in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, museums developed not in alignment with a discipline focusing on the visual but rather in direct association with narratives of territoriality, ethnicity, and nationhood" (p. 253).

The Ottoman displays "express[ed] a collective Ottoman identity" including the "classical civilization as part of its territorial heritage," therefore taking "territory" not "art" as "a metonym for culture" (Shaw, 2007, p. 258). This approach of collecting and display, which included civilizations other than Ottoman, is explained by Redford (2007) as being focused on "the excavation and collection of the past of an empire" (p. 245) as opposed to the past of a nation state. These activities by Osman Hamdi Bey and other Ottoman archaeologists of the time "aimed to equal the great museums of European states, with their universalist and encyclopedic pretensions" which "led, for instance, to the great collections of classical sculpture and Mesopotamian artifacts at what would become the Istanbul Archaeology Museums" (Redford, 2007, p. 245).

With the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the museums in the newly established Republic "became a means of reinforcing the secular policies of the state" (Vernoit, 2000, p. 28). The secularist reforms and cultural policies of the new state transformed major Ottoman and Byzantine sites into museums, presenting them as historically significant sites of the past rather than having any political meaning for the present moment. For instance, repair work that started in the Topkapı Palace in 1924 was only completed in the following decade and opened to the public as a museum in 1933. Likewise, Aya Sofya was transformed from a mosque into a museum of Byzantine heritage and opened to the public in 1935. Yenişehirlioğlu (2000) interprets

the time it took for these sites to be opened to the public as serving to alienate the Ottoman and Byzantine heritage, placing them into a distant past (pp. 184-186).

The Evkaf Museum founded in 1914, was "reorganized, and reopened in 1927 as Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi" (Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts) (Vernoit, 2000, p. 28). The name Turkish and Islamic was not a contradiction in terms, on the contrary it implied that Turkishness and Islam were seen as "complementary and compatible" with each other, and "therefore, was important in the formation of a new cultural discourse. The historical heritage thereafter incorporated not only Islamic but also Turkish culture" (Yenişehirlioğlu, 2000, p. 187). According to Yenişehirlioğlu (2000):

> As a national concept, 'Turkishness' already existed in the 1920s at the time of the formation of the Turk Asari Atikasi (Department of Turkish Historical Heritage) in the Ministry of Education of the Ottoman government. In the early republican era, first the name was changed to Directorate of Culture, and then the directorate was transformed in 1926 into the General Directorate of Museums, thereby broadening the directorate bureaucratically so that it was no longer limited to collecting and exhibiting of Turkish and Islamic art. (p. 187).

This transformation was significant in "the cultural formation of the new nation" as it meant that the culture was regarded in broader terms than only as Turkish and Islamic. It was under such cultural climate that multiple archaeological museums, containing objects from both Islamic and pre-Islamic heritage of Anatolia, started to be formed rather speedily. In less than three decades, "from 1923 to 1952, 31 new museums were opened in various towns." Their collections included Hittite, Urartian, Assyrian, Phrygian works along with Greek and Roman art. Yenişehirlioğlu (2000) interprets the collecting, forming of museums and classifying Anatolian heritage as "encourage[ing] the process of submerging the new nation into a given territory, by proclaiming its lineage to that territory through what it claimed as its cultural heritage," and "the process of defining the republic, the nation and the secular state was thus introduced very quickly in the provincial towns of Turkey" (p. 187).

Apart from the museums, the newly established Republic shaped the art historical discourse in other venues as well. In scholarship, it did so with the assistance of Western scholars, especially the Viennese school of Josef Strzygowski (and of his students Heinrich Glück and Ernst Diez) and his methodology of formalism had a

long-lasting legacy on the Turkish art history discourse. There was also a "home-grown" school of formalist study led by Celal Esad Arseven (Pancaroğlu, 2007, p. 68).[49]

Glück and Strzygowski published on Turkish art as early as 1917.[50] However, it was the First Congress of Turkish History in 1932 that brought their scholarship to the fore in Turkey. Following the Congress, Prof. M. Fuad Köprülü invited both to write in the 1933 issue of *Türkiyat Mecmuası*. Strzygowski's eighty-page essay, published in Turkish and entitled "Türkler ve Orta Asya San'atı Meselesi" (Turks and the Question of Central Asian Art) was the lead article, and mainly based on his 1917 work on the art of the Altay region in Central Asia and Iran. The second article in the journal was by Glück on the place of Turkish art in the world. While Strzygowski claimed the existence of a pure Turkish art that can be traced back to Central Asia and can be best observed in the tent, carpet and metalworking, Glück argued despite exposure to many world civilizations, the Turkish art never became eclectic and always kept its principles and unity. Furthermore, Strzygowski advised the Turks to establish a museum in Ankara or in the Alaeddin Mosque in Konya, due to its link to the Seljuks, of pure Turkish art containing artifacts from Central Asia.[51] This idea was never pursued. Instead, a museum for the Anatolian civilizations was established in Ankara, and as explained above, the Republic regime prioritized the Anatolian cultural heritage under its territory in an attempt to legitimize it as the land of the Turks rather than the Central Asian roots of the Turkish race in its museum practice (Pancaroğlu, 2007, p. 73; Yenişehirlioğlu, 2000, p. 187).

As for the Islamic period in Anatolia, namely the Seljuk and Ottoman periods, in the scholarship of the 1930s and 1940s Turkey, the "main issue" was "to authenticate Turkish art in relation to Islamic and Byzantine art." In line with Strzygowski and Glück's framework, Turkish art was seen as evolving chronologically, starting in

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[49] See also Redford, 2007, pp. 243-252. Both Pancaroğlu and Redford mention Albert Gabriel as a third international scholar contributing to the studies on Turkish art. For Strzygowski, see Tonbul, 2020, pp. 1-15.

[50] Glück published the first essay titled "Turkische Kunst" in 1917 for the inauguration of the Hungarian Institute in Istanbul (Pancaroğlu, 2007, pp. 68-69).

[51] Like Strzygowski, Glück's article in the 1933 *Türkiyat Mecmuası* was based on an earlier work, his 1917 "Turkische Kunst" essay. Both authors, however, reframed their arguments for different publication venues and their audiences. A detailed reading of these slightly different iterations of these works is carried out by Pancaroğlu, 2007, pp. 67-78, and see also Redford, 2007, pp. 243-252.

Central Asia as a pre-Islamic tradition until the 10th century, then arriving to Anatolia in the eleventh century with Seljuks, continued under the Ottomans, hence contributing "both pre-Islamic and Islamic elements" to the development of Islamic art (Yenişehirlioğlu, 2000, p. 189).[52]

In the academia, the first art history department was established in 1943 at the Istanbul University by Ernst Diez, a former student of Strzygowski. Shortly after his arrival, Turkey entered the World War II, so Diez was sent to Kırşehir for his internment where he wrote a history of Turkish art. Published in 1946, his work entitled *Turkish Art from the Beginning to the Present* was attacked by many in Turkey due to "his tracing of Armenian precedents for Salquk art, his depiction of Haghia Sophia as a model for Ottoman mosques and his portrayal of a Turkish-Islamic state art." Though he was not immediately expelled from his position, in 1949 when the time came for his contract extension, the University decided not to renew his term (Tonbul, 2019, p. 238).[53]

In 1954, another student of Strzygowski, Katherina Otto-Dorn came to Ankara University to establish the second art history program in the country, where she stayed until she took a position at the University of California in 1967 (Doğramacı, 2012, pp. 487-488). Neither Diez nor Otto-Dorn followed Strzygowski's discourse of pure ethnic origins in artistic heritage, but they accepted the basic principles of the formalist method and trained their students accordingly. The disregard for historicism and focus on comparative stylistic analysis remained embedded in the study of art history in Turkey for many generations (Pancaroğlu, 2007; Doğramacı, 2012).[54]

Although there is a commonly held assumption that there was some form of a "silent ban" or distancing of the Ottoman past in the 1930s and 1940s,[55] a look into the work of the Turkish Historical Society gives a different picture, where along with the

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[52] Yenişehirlioğlu (2000) further elaborates that Celal Esad Arseven's *Türk Sanatı* (1928) epitomized this perspective on Turkish art.

[53] Tonbul gives a detailed account of Diez's years in Turkey from 1943 to 1949 and the parallelism between his and Ernst Herzfeld's scholarly careers in the United States, Turkey and Iran. See also Doğramacı, 2012.

[54] Other scholars that were active during the formative years of the discipline in Turkey were: Kurt Erdmann, Philipp Schweinfurth, Ernst Egli, Ekrem Akurgal, Oktay Aslanapa, Semavi Eyice, Gönül Öney, Ruçhan and Mehmet Oluş Arık, Remzi Oğuz Arık.

[55] Yenişehirlioğlu (2000) claims that it was only in the 1950s, a return to the Ottoman heritage became possible (p. 183 and p. 190). Redford (2012) also refers to the list of activities by the Turkish Department of Antiquities in 1933 and their plans for 1934, neither of which featured any project on the Ottoman era at all, demonstrating a disregard for the Ottomans in this era (p. 245).

archaeological work conducted in Anatolia by the Society, research and publication work were carried on the Ottoman Empire from its establishment in 1931 onwards.[56] In fact, the first two books by the Society, after the publication of the proceedings of their First Congress of Turkish History in 1932, are two volumes on the work of Piri Reis, *Piri Reis Haritası Hakkında İzahname* and *Kitab-ı Bahriye* by Piri Reis both appeared in 1935.[57]

The Second Congress of Turkish History held at Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul in 1937 is especially worth mentioning for its treatment of the Ottoman past in the form of a survey exhibition. The exhibition accompanying the Congress was organized, as explained by Özkılıç (2016), with the aim "to present material evidences for the Turkish History Thesis" covering a long chronology from the prehistory to the republican period in Turkey (p.xxii). While the section dedicated to the Bronze Age is found to be the largest one among the periods covered in the exhibition and the Republican period to be the heart and core of the exhibition in its layout as well as the historical discourse, still the Ottoman era is covered quite substantially according to Özkılıç (2016, pp. 92-94). The Ottoman Empire was presented as two periods, 15th to the 17th centuries as the "golden age" and 17th to the 19th centuries as the era of "decline." However, in terms of the objects selected for display from the collections of Konya Museum, Topkapı Palace Museum and the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, the priority seems to be given to the objects from the "golden age," whereas the "decline" of the empire was treated in a comparative manner in the section of the Republican period while discussing the reforms and modernization of the new regime (pp. 73-74).[58] In addition to this, there was another section in the exhibition which featured Ottoman works prominently, that of the Turkish Arts of Calligraphy and Illumination section. This part following the Ottoman period in the exhibition layout displayed firmans, works of calligraphy and illustrated manuscripts, mainly from Ottoman Period (pp. 77-78).

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[56] The reports on the Society's work were regularly published in the Society's journal *Belleten*.
[57] For the publications of the Turkish Historical Society, see Günaydın, 2015.
[58] Özkılıç (2016) points to another interesting aspect of the Ottoman display: While the exhibition layout recorded in the archives divided the Ottoman section into two (15th-17th centuries (golden age) and 17th-19th centuries (decline), the display cases in the Ottoman section did not strictly follow this, and they were titled as 15th-17th centuries, 16th-17th centuries, 16th-18th centuries, 18th-19th centuries implying that the curatorial narrative may not be following the planned layout (pp. 73-74).

In terms of exhibitions, another significant moment in Turkey is 1953, the 500th anniversary of Istanbul's conquest. To mark this occasion, not only as at least as many as 89 publications were released just in the first half of 1953,[59] but an exhibition entitled Splendeur de l'art turc travelled to Paris to showcase Seljuk and Ottoman art.[60] The organizers of the exhibition in Turkey were so pleased with the result that, as it is demonstrated in the following chapter, they offered the same exhibition to MMA in the United States when they approached them for an art exhibition from Turkey. However, the American scholars' interests lied in an overview exhibition of all artistic traditions of Anatolia, including ancient civilizations and Byzantine heritage in Turkey, therefore an exhibition only on the Islamic period Anatolia was not satisfactory on their end.

While an art exhibition from Turkey representing the Seljuk and Ottoman periods made its first appearance in France internationally, in the United States the field of Islamic art was going through transformations. Interestingly it was an exhibition of Turkish art taking place at Harvard in 1954 signaled a turning point, where a new focus on historical development and contemporary politics was observed. As discussed in the previous section, while the essentialist views of Islamic art had been put aside, this exhibition, organized to "celebrate the emergence of the modern nation-state of Turkey from the Ottoman Empire," had a political narrative demonstrating "a rigid distinction between the premodern Islamic empire and the modern Turkish nation state" in its layout (Cuddon, 2013, footnote 105).[61] Joseph McMullan (1953, October 30), the organizer of the exhibition along with Eric Schroeder, in his letters to Emin Hekimgil, the educational attache at the Turkish Consulate in New York, and to İhsan Atakent from the Turkish Information Office outlined the exhibition as having three sections dedicated to the Seljuk and early Ottoman period, Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey respectively, and requested their help in providing the material for the Modern Turkey section,[62] which while for Cuddon (2013) explicitly demonstrates the

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[59] For the full list of the publications, see Mercanlıgil and Özerdim, *Belleten*, C. XVII., F. 27, pp. 413-428.

[60] Vernoit (2000) assesses this exhibition as signaling a re-evaluation of Turkish art taking place in those years (p. 22). For the preparations for this exhibition in Turkey, see Gerçek, 1999, pp. 245-248.

[61] As the press release described, "One section... will be devoted to the Islamic background of the Turkish empire; another will deal with modern Turkey and the influence of the West."

[62] December 1, 1953 letter from Eric Schroeder to İhsan Atakent features a wish list of objects for the exhibition as follows: 1) a modern Turkish newspaper; 2) an illustrated popular magazine of the Life or Look variety; 3) an example of the best modern Turkish bookmaking; 4) an example of textile weaving,

involvement of contemporary politics into the exhibition organization (p. 32-33, fn. 105), it also shows that an exhibition layout very much resonating that of the Second Turkish History Congress Exhibition of 1937 was employed at Harvard, where the Ottoman period seems to be presented as a past that the Republic of Turkey broke away from.

The Fogg Museum at Harvard was not the only place where programs on Modern Turkey were discussed. Around the same time, Turkish Embassy and Turkish Information Office were also in touch with MMA in New York on a variety of cultural initiatives once again "to illustrate the dramatic transition the country has made from old to the new" (MMA Archives, Eren to F. H. Taylor, 1954, June 3).[63] However, the one project that took attention more than any other was a travelling art exhibition from Turkey, initiated by MMA, which is the topic of the next chapter.

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if possible figured; 5) an example of modern figured ceramics as well as two modern paintings shown to him at the Consul's apartment during his visit. Joseph McMullan in his letter composed during the run of the exhibition to Nuri Eren, director of the Turkish Information Office, dated February 16, 1954, indicated that the exhibition was divided into three sections: "First. Entrance of the Seljuk Turks into the Islamic World and its far-reaching consequences. Second. The Ottoman Empire. Third. The Republic." McMullin's same letter also confirms that the Information Office contributed material on the Republic section. All these correspondences are in Exhibition Records (HC6), folder 2883, Harvard Art Museums Archives.

[63] MMA Archives, F.H. Taylor Records, Folder Turkish Information Center 1954 has correspondence between the MMA director and the Information Office for requests of collaboration on a variety of programs such as a fashion show of the Turkish Fashion Institute, the arrival of a Turkish good-will ship to New York and hosting an evening event at the MMA restaurant on that occasion. The aim stated in a correspondence dated June 3, 1954 from Nuri Eren to Francis Henry Taylor is "to illustrate dramatically the transition that Turkey has made from the old to the new." Furthermore, correspondence recorded on the Turks in History exhibition of 1954 at Harvard Art Museums Archives (HC6) folder 2883 refer to President of the Republic Celal Bayar and Madam Bayar's visit to the United States in 1954, which most probably is the reason for the cultural programming offers by the Turkish Information Office in the United States.

3. ART TREASURES OF TURKEY: THE FIRST TURKISH EXHIBITION

Art Treasures of Turkey, the first exhibition that travelled from Turkey and toured ten venues across the United States from 1966 to 1968, took almost twenty years in the making. The initial exhibition idea was put forward in the early 1950s and shelved at the end of the decade due to various complexities in the planning of the exhibition. After this failed attempt, the exhibition idea was revived by another group of scholars and museum professionals in the early 1960s and finally realized in the second half of the decade.

Building on the archival materials housed at the Smithsonian Institution Archives (SI Archives), National Gallery of Art (NGA), MMA and Boston MFA, this chapter treats the Art Treasures of Turkey exhibition as its main case study to understand the dynamics behind the organization of a national treasures exhibition between Turkey and the United States.

This chapter begins with a discussion on the planning phase including the institutional goals, interests of the stakeholders as well as government level interactions and expectations of both the failed attempt of the 1950s exhibition and the realized exhibition of 1966-1968. By looking into the failed initiative and the actualized iteration, it aims to demonstrate factors at play, actors involved and definition or not-so-clear definition of Turkish art.

Moreover, the exhibition's content as reflected in the catalogue, gallery installations and script of the audio guide is explored to understand the art historiographical approach to the material on display along with the public reception of the exhibition by assessing visitor and press attention to the exhibition.

3.1 An Exhibition that Took Twenty Years in Planning

Organized by the Smithsonian Institution Travelling Exhibition Service (SITES), Art Treasures of Turkey made its debut in the United States at the NGA in Washington, DC in June, 1966. Throughout its two-year tour across the country, the exhibition travelled to nine other venues: Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA), Los Angeles, California; The University Museum, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas; William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri; Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Washington; M.H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, California; Milwaukee Art Center, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Boston MFA, Massachusetts; MMA, New York, New York.

When the exhibition arrived to the MMA in 1968 as the final stop after travelling across the United States, the museum announced in its press release (1968, January 26) that it was an exhibition "nearly 20 years in preparation."[64] While neither the NGA nor the SITES as the co-organizers of this venture mentioned this, the MMA was in fact referring to its own institutional history for this exhibition that travelled from Turkey for the very first time to the United States.[65]

As the MMA got ready for the opening celebrations with a dinner in honor of the exhibition, the talking points of the MMA director (1968, January 25) included that the idea for an exhibition from Turkey was already brought up in the 1940s by Dr. Maurice Dimand, the curator of Near Eastern art at the MMA, and objects featured in this exhibition were consisted of mostly what Dimand wished to include back then.[66]

Indeed, earliest records in the MMA Archives discussing cross departmentally the idea of an art exhibition from Turkey date back to 1951. Staff members that were involved

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[64] The press release also included the following information "The idea for such a representative exhibition was suggested to the Turkish government by the Metropolitan Museums as far back as the 1940's under the directorship of Francis Henry Taylor. The late James J. Rorimer, Mr. Taylor's successor, and Metropolitan Museum curators subsequently visited Turkey on several occasions and discussed arrangements with Turkish officials in Istanbul and Ankara."

[65] Boston MFA in its press release dated November 10, 1967 mentions that the exhibition took 6 years in preparation and was suggested by the late President Kennedy, which indicates that they are referring to the undertaking by the SITES and Richard Ettinghausen. The archival material housed at both the NGA and the MMA (Executive assistant of James J. Rorimer to John Walker, 1963, February 21), on the other hand, show that the two museums were in touch with each other during the organization of the 1966 exhibition and the MMA shared with the NGA colleagues the previous correspondence and object list of their own loan exhibition project that did not materialize in the 1950s.

[66] This document also includes the reason for Dimand's idea in the 1940s as "to promote appreciation for Turkish art which was not (and still isn't) fully appreciated."

in this project were Dimand from the Near Eastern art department and James J. Rorimer, director of the Cloisters and the curator of Medieval art at the time.[67]

During the Summer of 1951, Dimand and Rorimer exchanged notes on their wish list of objects for a possible loan exhibition from Turkey. On September 21, 1951, Dimand while in Turkey for the International Congress of Orientalists (Figure 3.1),[68] wrote to Rorimer about the difficulties of obtaining Byzantine works and gave him advice on his upcoming trip to Turkey.

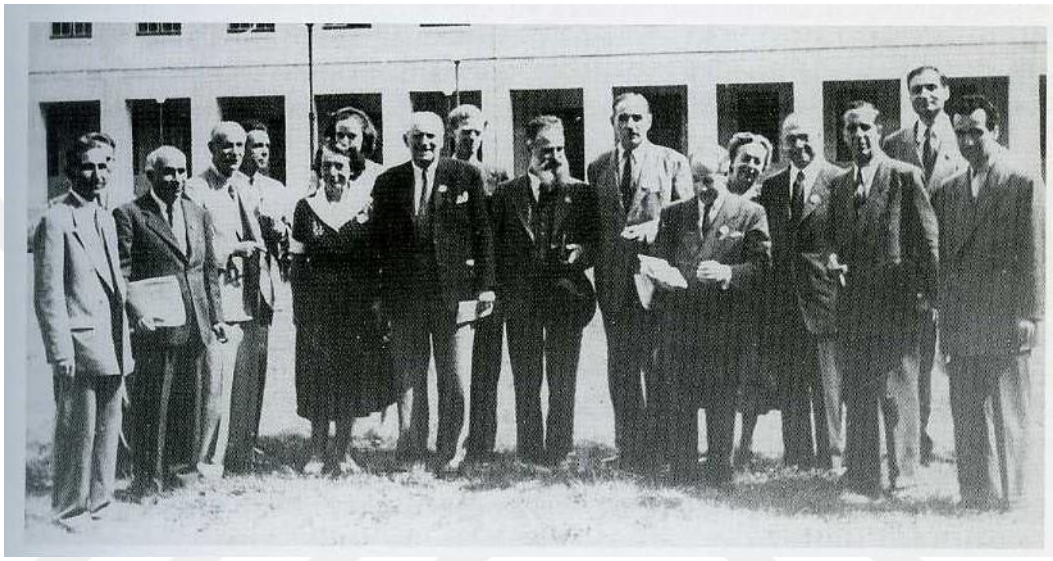

Figure 3.1 : Historians of Islamic art at the Twenty-second International Congress of Orientalists, Istanbul, 1951. (Vernoit, 2000, Figure 15, p. 51).

Around the same time Francis Henry Taylor, the director of the MMA, was tapping into his contacts in Turkey such as Archibald V. Walker (director of Socony Vacuum Company, today known as Mobil), Henry B. Mitchell, II and George Wadsworth (American Ambassador to Turkey) to facilitate Rorimer's upcoming Turkey trip. In these correspondences, the purpose of Rorimer's trip to Turkey is described as "to study works of art and might also acquire." A detailed memo to Wadsworth from Mitchell dated November 26, 1951 outlined Rorimer's presence in Turkey as:

> …for the purpose of a general study of museums. He is interested in the cooperation between the Metropolitan Museum and the Turkish museums on

[67] These correspondences are located at MMA Archives, James J. Rorimer Records, Box 26, Folder 2 "Proposed Art Treasures of Turkey 1951-1953; 1955-1966".
[68] The Twenty-Second International Congress of Orientalists took place in Istanbul between September 15 and 22, 1951. For more information, see Dandekar, 1951, pp. i-xxiv.

> the question of preservation of antiquities here, and the possibility of acquisitions of works of art for American museums by loan or purchase.

In a "confidential" memo dated March 6, 1952, Rorimer reported to Taylor all the official steps undertaken on behalf of the MMA for a possible loan exhibition from 1950 onwards. According to his account, in 1950 as a first step Taylor and Rorimer had lunch with Feridun Cemal Erkin, the Ambassador of Turkey to the United States in Washington, DC. Taylor contacted Dimand while he was in Turkey for the Congress of Orientalists informing him of Rorimer's upcoming trip to Turkey. Dimand and Rorimer met in Paris in early October 1951 to discuss "the various angles of exhibition."

When Rorimer arrived to Istanbul, he contacted Archibald V. Walker, an old friend of the Byzantine scholar Thomas Whittamore, who introduced him to Aziz-Bey Ogan, the director of the Byzantine, Ancient, and Hittite Museum in Istanbul. Aziz Bey suggested him to contact Dr. Cahit Kınay, the acting director general of museums and antiquities in Ankara, as he oversaw both Aziz Bey's and Tahsin Öz's, the director of Topkapı Palace, work as well as all excavations and artistic matters in Turkey. Upon the confirmation of this fact by the vice council and the consul general of the United States in Istanbul, Rorimer traveled to Ankara. In his meeting with Kınay in Ankara, he conveyed his conversations with his MMA colleagues, Taylor and Dimand. Rorimer further commented on this meeting as:

> Kınay's selection of objects for a Turkish exhibition in America was atrocious. He only wanted to send Turkish objects after 1453 and most of these were unworthy of an international exhibition. I know you don't like beaded bags, mother-of-pearl inlaid tabourets, eighteenth-century studded book covers, some helmets and swords, any more than I do. He said that Dr. Dimand had not discussed anything but Mohammedan art with him. I informed him that Dimand informed me otherwise.
>
> There followed five amusing hours with Ambassador Wadsworth, who was anxious to have a bang-up, good show in America and to help us with our furthering of "Cultural Relations" – including a mosaic, or a fresco or two. I neither begged for too much, nor asked for too little, but "oiled" up the proposal.

Rorimer went on mentioning the interest of Mrs. Fuat Köprülü on the project, who arranged a meeting with Dr. Halim Alyot, the director of Turkish press, broadcasting and tourism department. At this meeting, they "discussed the importance of having a really important exhibition in America and the need for preserving monuments in Turkey." Rorimer also met Nuri Gökçe, the director of the Arkeoloji Muzesi (Hittite Museum) and "discussed the possibility of sending some of their recent finds."

The following day, Rorimer had a conference with Alyot and his associates followed by more conversations at the American Embassy. The same afternoon, he attended a meeting at the Ministry of Education with Reşat Tardu, permanent undersecretary; Emin Hekimgil, director of foreign cultural relations and UNESCO affairs; and Kınay. They reviewed the photographs selected by Kınay for the exhibition. Rorimer ended his memo stating that Kınay "was given forty five days in which to prepare a "decent" list of possible loans. That was on the 26th of November 1951."

The correspondence exchanged between the American Embassy officers in Turkey and the MMA staff dating from March 1952 indicates that the intended collaboration between the two countries for an art exhibition was moving much slower than the MMA anticipated as the list of loan objects did not reach to them in the time frame promised by the Turkish authorities. During this period, the project was followed up closely by the American diplomatic staff on behalf of the museum (Lukens, 1952, March 4; Miller, 1952, March 14). Enthusiasm expressed in the correspondence by the American Embassy officers demonstrates the support from the diplomatic side on such an undertaking. However, on the side of the Metropolitan, already by August 7, 1952, Rorimer was discouraged with the lack of progress on the project as the object list had not arrived from Turkey and he decided not to extend another trip to Turkey to further the conversations on the exhibition.

In February 1953, the exhibition idea was brought up again this time by the American Embassy (Latimer, 1953, February 24) in Ankara informing the MMA colleagues of an informal conversation they had with Necati Dolunay, the assistant director general of antiquities in Turkey, that an exhibition could be arranged for the Autumn of 1953 if the museum desired. They explained that the lack of interest on the Turkish side was due to the efforts given to organize an exhibition in Paris whose agreement was done through the official channels at the cabinet level. Therefore, Turkish officials were

asked to prioritize the work on the Paris exhibition, and they did not have the time to work on the list for the American one.

The exhibition in question here is the 1953 exhibition of Splendour de l'art turc that took place in Petite Palais, Paris, France. Basil Gray (1953) in his review of the exhibition in the Burlington magazine mentions 776 objects filling five floors of Pavillion Merson, out of which 208 are from the French collections (p. 136). The exhibition catalogue (1953) lists all 776 objects in a variety of mediums from arms and armor to manuscripts, from metalwork to ceramics, from textiles to carpets and rugs, spanning a long chronology of Turkish art of Seljuk and Ottoman periods from 12th through 19th centuries. Gray (1953), in his review, refers to Turkish art as little known in Western Europe despite the physical proximity of the country to Europe. Apart from the collections in the United Kingdom, Gray states that there really is not much in the collections in Europe, hence making this first exhibition from Turkey in Europe[69] particularly important and the content fitting the title of the exhibition, reflecting the splendor of the arts of Turkey (p. 136).

After Paris, the intention of the Turkish authorities was to exhibit the objects in Istanbul on the occasion of the 500th Anniversary of Istanbul's Conquest. Dolunay proposed the American colleagues that same exhibition could be sent to New York once the Istanbul viewing was over. This time, Rorimer (1953, March 4) responded by re-emphasizing his true interest, saying, "We very much appreciate your continued interest in the possibility of having an outstanding exhibition from Turkey which would include antiquities other than Turkish art." On the other hand, Rorimer did not decline the proposal right away. He mentioned the difficulty of arranging an international loan exhibition on such short notice, as early as Autumn 1953, as they took much longer time to organize at his institution, and he needed to consult with the MMA director, and to speak with the staff policy committee and the trustees for a decision on this matter.

In July 1953, the MMA (1953, July 13 dated draft) sent a polite decline letter to their contact in the American Embassy in Ankara saying an exhibition from Turkey was not

[69] In 1932, an Exhibition of Turkish Art was held in Vienna, which according to Vernoit (2000), gave "a foretaste of changes to come" (p. 21). Blair and Bloom in *the Grove Dictionary of Islamic Art* also mention this exhibition. However, neither elaborates on the exhibition's content, which was composed of objects from the Austrian collections, or its significance for Turkish art.

possible at this stage as their focus was on the reconstruction program of the museum, however they were in touch with the Turkish Ambassador in Washington, DC for "possibilities of mutual co-operations."

In 1959, there was a revival of interest for a potential loan exhibition to the United States from the Turkish side. Nuri Eren, the director of Turkish Information Office in New York, wrote twice in a week apart, first on January 22, 1959 and then again on January 29, 1959, urging Rorimer, who by then became the director of the MMA, to go to Turkey and discuss the exhibition project with the officials there. Eren informed Rorimer that "there has been a lack of logical sequence in the pursuit of the project" after reading the correspondence and memos on the discussions in 1952 and 1953. Hence Eren wrote:

> …since I know you are definitely interested in the project and have already set a tentative date, and because, we, on our part, realize that it is bound to be of great cultural value to us, I am convinced that we should start to proceed in logical sequence, leaving aside generalizations and tackling practicalities.
> …I understand that you have in mind representative pieces of art of the Hittite, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian Roman Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman periods. The theme of the exhibit would be to show the rich cultural tradition of the Turkish homeland.
> As I have already explained to you, I feel that an agreement in principle can best be obtained by extending your trip to Ankara.

In his second follow up letter a week later, Eren in general conveyed the same message and urged Rorimer to travel to Turkey to re-start the conversations in person in Ankara. Despite Eren's urges, and contacts between Rorimer and Osman Faruk Verimer (1959, June 8 and June 23) on a possible meeting in Turkey, this attempt did not result in any solid action.

On April 28, 1959 Rorimer wrote a letter to Seyfullah Esin, permanent representative of Turkey to the United Nations with whom he seemed to be on a good personal relationship, hence he could be more direct about his sentiments and reservations for this project. Rorimer stated his interest in having an exhibition from Turkey at the MMA provided that it would not come before the Fall 1961 and requested Esin to "pave the way for an official request from your Government telling us what they could

do and asking we could cooperate." Rorimer also briefed him on the contacts he made in Turkey back in 1952, his discussions with Kınay at the time, and Hekimgil's letter to Dimand, where he requested the museum to pay all the expenses. Rorimer stated that compensating all the expenses were not in accordance with the museum procedures and attached a sample contract for Esin.

One last attempt to realize a loan exhibition from Turkey recorded in the archival sources came from Ernst Grube, the curator of Islamic art at the MMA. In October 1959, Grube was in Ankara for the 1st Congress of Turkish Art organized by Suut Kemal Yetkin at Ankara University,[70] and he reported (1959, October 22) to Rorimer that he "had a long and rather fruitful talk with the General Director of Museums and Monuments in Turkey, Kemal Su, about the planned Turkish Exhibition in New York." He passed on the interest from the Turkish side for such an endeavor and outlined the conditions put forth by Turkey for such an undertaking. The list of conditions included that either the MMA, "or the United States Government covers the expense of the exhibition from Istanbul harbor to New York, the possible travel of the exhibition through the United States, and the transport back to Istanbul" as well paying for the insurance fees. Two scholars would accompany the exhibition during the tour and all their travel and living expenses would be covered by the United States. The MMA would "prepare and print the catalogue of the exhibition" and make "postcards of the most important objects in the exhibition" as well as "a 16 mm colour film should be made of the exhibition (12 to 15 minutes) for educational and propaganda purposes in Turkey."

Grube also stated that the Turks were "in favor of an exhibition of Turkish art, much more than in an exhibition of any kind of great works of art in their collections." On the other hand, he assured Rorimer that:

> …as the term Turkish art is here understood in a rather vague and general way it seems to be possible to include practically everything which one could relatively sure of being made by Turkish people in Turkey. It may even on this basis be possible to include some Byzantine and late classical material, and naturally some ancient oriental material. But it would nevertheless turn out to become mainly an exhibition of Islamic Turkish art.

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[70] For more information on this first congress, see Yetkin, 1961, pp. 1-7.

Another important point Grube made is the objects in the exhibition should not only include the highest quality but also be not well known to most. In this way, it would not only attract the general public but also would contribute greatly to their knowledge of Turkish and Islamic art in the West.

Grube's letter demonstrates quite clearly the continuation of the conflicting interests of the two parties in this attempt for a joint project. At each contact made between Turkish and American authorities, the Turks stressed the Turkish and Islamic material whereas the MMA's interest in that material was the least. In the end, Rorimer (1959, October 29) not willing to take on the expenses of an exhibition that he was not artistically interested in responded to Grube with a definitive no this time:

> …in view of our many obligations for the future of your department, we cannot attempt at this time a Turkish Loan Exhibition as outlined by you. Actually it would mean that the Metropolitan Museum would have 101% of the work and expense.

In the early 1960s, the conversations on a possible loan exhibition from Turkey resumed with Richard Ettinghausen, the curator of Near Eastern art at the Freer Gallery of Art,[71] and the SITES. Although there were attempts both from education attaché of the Turkish Consulate in New York and the SITES to reach out to the MMA to collaborate on such a project, the MMA was hesitant to get involved. After having settled much of the organizational hurdles by the SITES and offered a clear road map, the MMA agreed to be one of the host venues of what came to be called Art Treasures of Turkey becoming the final stop of a ten-venue touring exhibition.

The unrealized MMA exhibition of that time and its recorded correspondence offer valuable insight on the complexity of organizing an international loan exhibition for the first time between two countries. Having conflicting desires in terms of exhibition content, as well as not having any set guidelines or procedures for such an undertaking,

[71] Ettinghausen also attended the First International Congress of Turkish Art in Ankara in 1959, so it is highly likely that he was aware of the conversations between Turkish authorities and Ernst Grube, and he may even be a part of these conversations. As the "Introduction" of the Congress book indicates, Ettinghausen was selected as the American member of the permanent executive committee of the Congress. This close and firm relationship he had with the Turkish authorities and scholars must have helped in making the Art Treasures of Turkey exhibition a reality.

as demonstrated by the case of the Paris exhibition of 1953 being prioritized due to the cabinet level agreement between France and Turkey and Nuri Eren's letters to Rorimer, seem to be the major obstacles. However, all these interactions still served the purpose of cultivating cultural relationships between the two countries, and in a way, the MMA laid the groundwork for the realization of Art Treasures of Turkey.

3.2 The Art of Persuasion: National Treasures Exhibitions

On September 27, 1962 Walter Heil (Figure 3.2), the director of the M. H. De Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco[72] sent a three-page letter to İlter Türkmen, Counselor at the Embassy of Turkey in Washington, DC. Heil began his letter as a follow up on Türkmen's conversation with Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, where he expressed his wish for an exhibition from Turkey in the United States and elaborated on the relationship between the two countries and advantages of having such an exhibition from Turkey for the American public. Heil wrote:

> The chief purpose of the exhibition would be to acquaint the American public with Turkey's great historical past and artistic contributions. Arranging such a show soon would seem to be particularly timely. For, while Americans are fully aware of the military strength and the conspicuous economic progress of their gallant NATO ally, Turkey, they are sorely ignorant of the cultural achievements of the Turkish people, especially of the great art treasures they produced or possess. Even well educated Americans who have visited many of the great art centers of Europe and Asia have never been in Turkey, and are therefore unaware of the immense wealth of great art that Istanbul alone consists.
>
> The proposed exhibition could remedy this situation at once. (For one thing, it would doubtless induce many Americans to include Turkey in their next itinerary).

[72] Heil was a former colleague of Mehmet Aga-Oglu at DIA in the early 1930s and he invited Aga-Oglu to organize the first exhibition of Islamic art in the West coast of United States in 1937 as explained in the previous chapter.

Figure 3.2 : Mehmet Aga-Oglu with Walter Heil and William Suhr at the Detroit Institute of Arts. (William Suhr Papers, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles 870697).

As Heil introduced the idea of an exhibition's impact to draw travelers to the country, he took this opportunity to re-iterate what Rorimer had been lobbying for since the 1950s to make sure art works from all across Anatolia throughout time would be included in the exhibition. Hence, he resumed with the following:

> It [the exhibition] should therefore consist of outstanding masterpieces, with quality not quantity being the determining factor in their selection. In order to enlarge its scope and enrich its variety, the exhibition, in our opinion, should not be limited to Turkish art works exclusively, but should also contain significant tokens of the various cultures which once flourished on Turkish soil: particularly masterpieces of Hittite, Phrygian, Lydian, Greek, Roman and Byzantine art.

After stressing the importance of this aspect to draw more attention to an exhibition from Turkey, Heil continued on with other logistical details that were in line with the points expressed by Grube to Rorimer, probably to make sure that the proposal this time would be lucrative and an agreement could be reached with Turkey. For instance, Heil pointed out that expenses of shipping, insurance, and travel of the accompanying Turkish curators could be borne by the American museums along with a promise to ensure the security of the objects from physical as well as climate related hazards, both during shipment and throughout their display at various museums. He suggested four venues for the proposed travelling exhibition to cover the strategic locations across the country: Washington, DC and New York on the East Coast, Chicago in the Midwest, and San Francisco on the West Coast, and if desired more stops could be added to this

suggested route, with each venue hosting the exhibition 4 to 6 weeks and a 2-week travel time between them.

Considering how carefully this letter is crafted, outlining all the conditions in a way that would please both parties, Heil might have been informed of the previous exchanges between the MMA and Turkish authorities. Moreover, his experience with previous national treasures exhibitions must have provided him the insight on how to navigate diplomatically for such projects.[73]

To further his point on the prospects of popularity and success of such an endeavor, Heil referred to two exhibitions that his museum hosted previously, with solid data on the visitor numbers and the cultural influence that came out of them. Apparently, Vienna Art Treasures exhibition sponsored by the Austrian Government in 1950 received 245,418 paid visitors "while over 250,000 enjoyed the exhibition." The following year, in 1951, Art Treasures from Japan exhibition sponsored by the Japanese Government received a similar attendance number overall. According to the museum's market research, these exhibitions not only reached local audiences but visitors from neighboring locations also made the trip to the museum, underlying the "cultural propaganda" impact of these national treasures exhibitions to new audiences. In this sense, Heil's letter functions as real time reporting of the blockbuster exhibition phenomenon as it happened in those years. His highlighting of the 1951 Japanese exhibition and how it helped to improve Japanese image after the Second World War is worth fully quoting:

> The exhibition, "Art Treasures from Japan", was organized by this Museum on the occasion of the Peace Treaty Conference in San Francisco in 1951. When asked to participate, the Japanese Government, immediately realizing the unique opportunity for most timely propaganda, offered to provide the entire exhibition. In this case an act of Parliament was needed to amend an existing

[73] The only record which shows that the MMA shared documents with the NGA of their exhibition planning in the 1950s is a letter dated February 21, 1963, a year later after Heil's letter to Türkmen, from the executive assistant of Rorimer to John Walker sharing with him the copies of their object list of the 1950s proposed exhibition, Rorimer's memo to Taylor dated March 6, 1962, Rorimer's letter to the Turkish Ambassador to the U.N. dated April 28, 1959, and a reply received to this letter on June 8, 1959 from Osman Faruk Verimer, the director of the Ministry of Education, located in the MMA Archives, James J. Rorimer Records, Box 26, Folder 2; the same document is also in the NGA Archives, RG7A2 Central Files - Subject Files 1939-1970, box 39, Travelling Exhibitions – Art Treasures of Turkey (Folder 3 of 4).

> law in order to allow seventy-eight "registered important art objects" to leave the country for this one special occasion. The success of the exhibition which was, indeed, one of the finest ever held anywhere proved the wisdom of the Japanese authorities. Not only was the show visited in twenty-eight days by over a quarter million people but its ultimate effect was even more far reaching. Encouraged by this success, the Japanese arranged, soon afterwards, a second exhibition, somewhat smaller but of equal quality, which was shown in several other cities in America. It can safely be said that the two exhibitions initiated a complete reversal of the attitude of Americans not only toward Japanese art (which had hitherto been considered as but a minor offspring of Chinese art) but toward other cultural achievements of the Japanese as well. Things Japanese suddenly became fashionable. I am inclined to think that even the admitted influence in recent years of Japanese models on American architecture, garden design, and interior decoration can somehow be traced back to the effect of these first Japanese exhibitions.

As this letter demonstrates Heil was indeed quite persuasive by providing all the essential information to lure the Turks into an exhibition arrangement with the United States highlighting the significance of the cultural propaganda that could be achieved through the national treasures exhibitions. Although Art Treasures of Turkey's cultural influence never reached to the point of the Japanese exhibition, twenty years later, the second exhibition that came from Turkey to the United States, the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, accomplished what Heil presented as a model to Turkish authorities, which is discussed in Chapter 5.

Immediately after this correspondence, already on December 21, 1962, Turgut Menemencioğlu, Ambassador of Turkey to the United States, wrote to John Walker, director of the NGA, that the Turkish authorities approved in principle the proposal concerning an exhibition of selected art objects from Turkish museums and collections.

Another significant correspondence that came shortly after Heil's letter to Türkmen is Richard Ettinghausen's letter to Walker, dated October 31, 1962 supporting the idea of a travelling exhibition from Turkey saying the exhibition "would make a most interesting and appealing show" in the United States. Echoing Heil, Ettinghausen also

emphasized that Turkey was not very well known in the United States and that such an exhibition "would be not only most stimulating to scholars and educated laymen, but would enjoy tremendous public approval altogether and would, at the same time, further relations between the United States and her NATO ally."

Moreover, in his letter Ettinghausen went into further detail about the components of such an exhibition, such as it "could be enormously varied and appeal to many groups." Ettinghausen's proposal for the objects to be included were:

> It could start with some monuments of the early Hittite period, then go on the various civilizations which correspond in time to early development in Greece, and continue with examples of Hellenistic and Roman art. A special feature of the show could be the remains of the early Christian and Byzantine periods. The final sections could be devoted to Turkish art, both its little known medieval examples of 13th to 15th centuries and then the spectacular and colorful period from 16th to the 18th centuries. There are some outstanding historical figures which have a connection with art objects to be included in such an exhibition. For instance, Alexander the Great, John the Baptist (of which there is a fine silver arms reliquary in Istanbul), Constantine the Great and some of the great Byzantine emperors and Turkish sultans. All this would make it appealing to the historical-minded person and it would also provide excellent material for newspaper reporting.

Ettinghausen's exhibition ideas were quite mindful of the audiences that the exhibition would reach as well as the press attention to the subject matter. The variety of the material to be featured in the exhibition was used to guarantee the interest of a wider public than an exhibition only on Turkish art would attract. However, in contrast to Rorimer's perception of Turkish art back in 1952, Ettinghausen expressed more appreciation of the Seljuk and Ottoman period to Walker, which was quite timely as Walker (1962, October 17), in another correspondence to Mrs. Robert W. Miller of San Francisco two weeks earlier, wrote that "As soon as I catch my breath I intend to discuss with various experts the possibility of holding a Turkish exhibition. Unless one could borrow superb examples of Hittite, Greek, and Byzantine art, as well as Islamic art I doubt whether the show would be particularly interesting."

Another important point that comes out of Ettinghausen's letter to Walker was the importance of having the discussions and approval at the cabinet level rather than between museum directors and curators as experienced by Rorimer in the 1950s, demonstrating that the previous failure helped them to better understand the protocols and process in the organization of an international exhibition.

Shortly after the revival of the project by Heil, Ettinghausen and Walker, in 1963 SITES started to reach out to several museums across the United States asking their availability and interest in hosting an exhibition called Turkish Treasures. As outlined by Mrs. John A. Pope (1963, January 31 and March 27), chief of the SITES, the exhibition is presented to the potential venues to "range from large Hittite sculptures through Roman and Greek objects of the finest quality and there will be a large collection of the best Turkish ceramics, embroideries, metal work, rugs, etc."

While the SITES was arranging the logistics of the tour, Ettinghausen was busily working on the content of the exhibition with colleagues both in the United States and Turkey. The stance of the Turkish side on the exhibition was clearly outlined in a letter dated February 28, 1964 from Hamit Batu, director general for cultural affairs in the Turkish Foreign Ministry, to Ettinghausen.

Batu, in his letter, conveyed that "the general conception of the exhibition" was quite crucial for Ankara "as the great interest in this venture lies in the fact that perhaps for the first time we will have a display of a collection of works of arts belonging to many different civilizations which developed on the same soil for 6 millenniums." Indeed, the first exhibition Turkey sent overseas, Splendeur de l'art turc (1953), only consisted of Seljuk and Ottoman art. After that, another exhibition of interest was L'art au pays des hittites exhibition taking place once again in Paris, France in 1964. However highly this exhibition was spoken of by the Turkish authorities, still it focused only on one civilization rather than giving a panorama of 8000 years of art from Turkey.

In the attached memo to Batu's letter (1964, February 28), he summarized the wishes of the Turkish authorities, in this case he gave the names Mr. Saner, Director General of External Relations, and Mr. Tevfik Bindal, Director General of Museums and Ancient Works at the Ministry of Public Education, as follows:

> The exhibition "Art Treasures from Turkey", which is intended to be a display of works of arts from Anatolia – Istanbul included – should be conceived

around a few themes, so as to illustrate general views which impose themselves upon ones mind when the history of Anatolia from prehistoric times is studied in the light of recent archaeological discoveries:

1) We have, on the same soil, a unique succession of civilizations. Each civilization is bringing a new style, a new order. But it borrows from its predecessor and in many respects there is an underlying continuity; to use the French expression "un heritage culture" has been handed over from generation to generation from times immemorial.

   The soil, the climate, other factors may account for this underlying continuity.

2) On the other hand, Anatolia has been from times immemorial, as it is even today is some respects, a bridge between the cultures of the East and the cultures of the West. European civilizations were born and developed through a synthesis of these cultures. Therein lies the importance and significance of successive Anatolian cultures as they emerged from this continuous contact between two worlds, and evolved the main concepts and styles of several great civilizations. Anatolia is the soil where this foundation took place.

   Exhibition should therefore be chosen so as to show the breaks and the continuity in the cultural past of Anatolia; to emphasize the succession of new styles, and also the underlying continuity of many traditions. We should strive to explain the significance of each new culture in respect to its subsequent development into one great civilization.

   In other words, the exhibition should tell a story, the cultural history of Anatolia, which is so important for the general history of human civilization.

   The exhibition should therefore not be a collection of unrelated objects, but a selection of works of art telling in terms of style this very interesting story. Otherwise we would not have done justice to the very new and original character of the subject.

   Regarding the Selcuk and Ottoman styles, in which, as the latest Anatolians, we naturally have a particular interest, we think that a special effort should be made within the framework of this exhibition to emphasize the original character of these two cultures. The Selcuks and Ottomans, although in many cases using themes borrowed from Persian and Arab cultures, have evolved original styles which to the specialist at least, are quite different in spirit and in

> many respects distinctly Anatolian. This is not widely known, and the exhibition "Art Treasures from Anatolia" will be the more interesting if it succeeded in presenting to the general public for the first time the original characters of these two different styles."

Previously while the Turks were perceived as not having a clear definition of what Turkish art is, hence anything could be included as such, this memo gives a very clear road map for the American organizers on what the Turks would wish to be presented to the American public as Turkish art. Seljuk and Ottoman art were not considered purely as Islamic in its essence but also carried in themselves the characteristics of the artistic traditions that thrived in Anatolia under different civilizations across multiple centuries. Ettinghausen (1964, March 23) responded to Batu in consensus, expressing that he agreed with him especially on the points of Seljuk and Ottoman art and the exhibition would address these points laid out by him and his colleagues.

On April 8, 1964 Ettinghausen wrote to Walker with the news that Art Treasures from Turkey is accepted as a fact by the Turkish government. By the end of the same year, the SITES (Padnos, 1964, October 27) was describing the exhibition in more detailed terms to the interested venues containing "approximately 250 objects of the highest quality, covering Neolithic, Hittite, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic art. The selection will be made by Dr. Rodney Young of the University Museum in Philadelphia, Miss. Machteld Mellink of Bryn Mawr, and Dr. Richard Ettinghausen of the Freer Gallery."

On July 29, 1965 the loan agreement for the exhibition was signed by Raymond Hare, the United States Ambassador to Turkey and Cihad Bilgehan, the Turkish Minister of Education (Padnos, 1965, August 6; Ettinghausen, 1965, September 3). After referring to the exhibition as Turkish Treasures and Art Treasures from Turkey, in November 1965 the exhibition name was finally set as Art Treasures of Turkey by the Turkish authorities (Padnos, 1965, November 12).

The Smithsonian Institution announced the exhibition in a press release on November 5, 1965. The release read as the traveling exhibition "will contain more than 250 objects of finest quality, representing a cross-section of [Turkey's] rich cultural heritage dating to the beginning of civilization." Moreover, "the show will include spectacular range of materials and style: sculpture in stone and bronze, work in

precious materials such as gold, silver and ivory, pottery and metalwork, and marble statuary." In addition to the chronology and medium, the release also listed the scholarly committee consisting of Richard Ettinghausen, Machteld Mellink, John Thacher, Rodney Young and experts from the Antiquities Department of the Turkish Ministry of Education. Ambassador Hare, according to the release, emphasized that "the exhibition not only will promote American understanding of the "really impressive cultural resources of Turkey" but will also have the practical effect of encouraging more people to visit Turkey and see the country the exhibition represents."

A second press release dated May 6, 1966 by the Smithsonian, a month before the opening of the exhibition at the NGA, gave a more detailed look into the scope and contents of the show. "Among the more than 275 priceless archaeological and Islamic art objects," the press release highlighted "the gold jewelry from ancient Troy; a pottery goose used as a grave offering for a child who died 2,600 years ago; treasures from the cities of Midas and Croesus; portraits of great men of history – Emperor Trajan, and Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent; and a Koran cover of gold set with diamonds, emeralds, and rubies." The release went on to elaborate on the featured objects that were never seen outside of Turkey such as the oldest and earliest known fertility idols proving early men's worship of a mother goddess, jewelry from early Bronze age and the animal shaped vessels of the Hittites along with objects from Phrygian, Lydian, and Persian cultures. While the Greek objects included two bronze statues recently found off the Turkish coast, a Demeter and a Negro Boy, the Romans were represented with portrait heads recently excavated at Sardis and Aphrodisias. For the Byzantine period the exhibition featured a marble portrait of Emperor Arcadius and a 6th-century silver dish. Seljuk period was described as new artistic vocabulary and techniques coming into Anatolia, such as rug making and use of Arabesque motifs and calligraphic verses from the Qur'an on both personal and religious objects. Ottoman period was highlighted with kaftans, weapons and armor, mirrors and chests. Considering at least ten years of efforts on the end of the MMA to bring an art exhibition from Turkey, the success of Walter Heil, Richard Ettinghausen, John Walker and the SITES to officially sign the contract for a two year long travelling exhibition that would satisfy the interests of both the American and Turkish scholars is a remarkable feat.

3.3 Art Treasures of Turkey Comes to America

On June 4, 1966 Art Treasures of Turkey opened to the public at the NGA in Washington, DC representing art from the Stone Age until the end of the Ottoman Empire (Figure 3.3). Before discussing the content of the exhibition, it would be meaningful to touch upon how the exhibition was envisioned in the previous iteration to understand the evolution of scholarship on the cultural heritage of Turkey from the early 1950s to the mid-1960s.

Figure 3.3 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

While the initial attempt of the MMA to bring an exhibition from Turkey very much focused on the ancient civilizations of Anatolia including the Hittites, Greeks, Romans and the Byzantine period, another point that this first exhibition plan diverged from the actualized exhibition was the inclusion of non-Turkish Islamic art.

A careful look at the wish list (date unknown) proposed by Rorimer on behalf of the Medieval art department and Dimand on behalf of the Near Eastern art department demonstrates that their list was sourced from publications that refer to the works in question.[74] Although Dimand seems to have a better grasp of what the Turkish national

[74] Located in the MMA Archives, James J. Rorimer Records, Box 26, Folder 2, which also has the library loan cards for the books Rorimer used for his object research in the Turkish collections such as Gustave Mendel's *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines, et byzantines* (Constantinople: En vente au musee imperial, 1912-1914); Jean Bersolt's *Mission archeaologique de Constantinople* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1921); Andre Joubin's *Musee Imperial Ottoman: Bronzes et bijoux: Catalogue sommaires* (Constantinople: Typ. Lith. E. Loeffler, 1898); Charles Rufus Morey's *Sardis Sarcophagus of Cladia Antonia Sabina* (Princeton, New Jersey: American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, 1924) and museum catalogues such as *Musees des antiquites de Stamboul* and *Musees d'Istanbul guide illustre*.

collections contain in his area, Rorimer's list is more general and referring to categories that he wished to be represented rather than specific objects.

For instance, the undated document entitled "Objects Selected for the Proposed Exhibition of "Masterpieces from Turkish Museums" lists 11 objects for the Ancient Oriental Art, sourced from secondary material such as Guide Sommaire and Helmuth Bossert's Alt Anatolien; for the Greek and Roman art, the sources are Martin Schede, Gustave Mendel and Pierre Devambez and featured 11 objects in various mediums such as marble sarcophagi, marble statues and reliefs, bronzes and gold objects. While there are specific mentions to the objects, such as the request for the Alexander sarcophagus, there are also certain categories such as a fine Hittite slab of sculpture in good condition, from Bogaz-Koy or Euyuk, and gold objects from Troy and Sardis. As for the Byzantine art, the list has five items, with only three objects identified and the rest specified as categories such as Byzantine frescoes and mosaics if available and gold objects, jewelry, and bronzes if available.[75]

While the pre-Islamic civilizations list is more tentative, the Islamic objects are quite well outlined in the list. This could be due to Rorimer not being an expert on Ancient Anatolian Civilizations and had to prepare the list on his own without having the chance to study the collections in Turkey. The Islamic section list, a total of 46 objects, is divided by collections in Turkey such as Top Kapu Saray general treasury, Top Kapu Saray manuscripts, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi etc. While in some, general categorizations are used such as tugras of Sultans, kaftans of Sultans etc., majority of the objects in the list have the tombstone information with inventory numbers. A careful look into the Islamic art section also demonstrates that there was a desire to display non-Turkish Islamic art in this first iteration of the exhibition. For instance, Automata (no 3472) by Jazari is included in the list along with multiple copies of Shah

[75] In a memo entitled "re Loan Exhibit from Turkey" to Dimand dated June 19, 1951, Rorimer lists the following for the Byzantine exhibition that were fed into the final object list: "one key big piece such as the Sidamara sarcophagus (Selefkah sarcophagus second choice) and/or the monumental statue of Valentinian II from the Aphrodisias, in the Archaeological Museum Istanbul… A fine portrait head or decorative sculpture in porphyry if available. A choice group of capitals selected from such examples as those published by Mendel… Frescoes and/or mosaics if transportable. Jewelry, bronzes and enamels, if they are available and of our quality. It would be interesting to show the decorated gold cup (pokale) from Albania associated in style with our Albanian treasure…" in the MMA Archives, James J. Rorimer Records, Box 26, Folder 2.

Nama (no. 1397, no. 1423, no. 140, no. 1433 etc), Kalila wa Dimna in Persian (no. 1022).[76]

Once the exhibition project revived through the efforts of Walter Heil and Richard Ettinghausen, on December 7, 1964 a committee meeting took place at the NGA in Washington, DC. In attendance to this meeting were Walker, Cairns, Feidler, Brown and Adams from the NGA; Lee from Cleveland; Fuller from Seattle; Young from Pennsylvania; Terrace from Boston; Thacher from Dumbarton Oaks; Ettinghausen from the Freer; Dunn from the Department of State; Mrs. Van Arsdale and Mrs. Padnos from the SITES.

At the meeting, it was decided that the exhibition "will represent all major periods from the Hittite through the Ottoman. It will all be museum material and will comprise approximately 250 objects. All objects will be very important from an artistic standpoint. Aesthetics rather than archaeology will be the criterion. There will be no extremely heavy objects such as sarcophagi, even though famous." However, on the matter of carpets, the decision was to include important ones "even if not repaired." The committee decided against including thrones but they wanted the exhibition to feature objects such "as daggers (particularly the Topkapı one), tents, flags, robes, and bows […] if they meet the artistic standard. Seals may be included and supplemented with photographs. Such objects will be limited in number and one will be used to represent a class."

As for the inclusion of objects outside Turkey, the committee decided that "Chinese objects and objects from areas formerly in the Turkish Empire will be included, but for diplomatic reasons and because of the recent Iranian exhibition, no Persian or Arabian objects will be included. No replicas will be used."

The organizers were quite adamant about the quality of the objects and they perceived this exhibition as an art exhibition rather than an archaeology-oriented show. On the other hand, they were also mindful of the politics, and did not desire to include Persian and Arabic material from the Turkish national collections.

[76] The full object list for this planned exhibition can be seen in Appendix B.

The ratio proposed for the different periods represented in this exhibition was approximately 150:40:70 (Pre-Byzantine, Byzantine, and Islamic respectively). The selection committee members were Rodney Young for the pre-Byzantine periods, Mr. John Thacher for the Byzantine period and Richard Ettinghausen for the Islamic period. The correspondence from the SITES to other host venues the following year included Machteld Mellink as a member of the selection committee. While the selection of the artworks was the task of the aforementioned committee, it was agreed that the "committee would circulate photographs and references to its selections for comment by the various museums." In the press releases for the exhibition, Turkish experts were referred as part of the selection and organization of the exhibition, however neither these press releases nor any documents in the American archives refer to any specific Turkish colleague's name who was included in the process.[77] Batu's letter with the mention of Mr. Saner[78] and Mr. Tevfik Bindal is the only reference in the museum archives at hand for the Turkish opinion on the project. However, it is not clear whether they were involved in the object selection process as the letter's intention was to express their desired narrative for the exhibition.

A letter from the SITES to one of the host venues indicated that Dr. Rodney Young informed them unofficially that the Turkish art authorities agreed to American scholars' selection with only two exceptions, the terracotta Hittite bull from Boğazköy and the ivory lion from Altıntepe, which were thought to be too fragile (Padnos, 1965, September 2). Moreover, in the "Foreword" of the exhibition catalogue written by S. Dillon Ripley (1966), Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, he mentions that Dr. Ettinghausen "selected the Islamic section, wrote the catalogue introduction for this period," whereas "entries for the Islamic section were based on information supplied by the Turkish museums" (p. xiii). Machteld Mellink and Rodney S. Young "together selected the first section of the exhibition and wrote the descriptions for the first 150 items" (p. xiii) as well as each writing a scholarly introduction in the catalogue. Paul Underwood wrote the introduction to the Byzantine section and the Library staff under

[77] There were multiple press releases for this exhibition each venue drafting its own. Smithsonian Institution released theirs on November 5, 1965 and May 6, 1966; the NGA on May 29, 1966; The Boston MFA on November 10, 1967; and the MMA on January 26, 1968.

[78] This must be Ferid Saner, chief undersecretary of the ministry of education as S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, in the "Foreword" of the exhibition catalogue includes his name as "at all times gave efficient help to promote the exhibition" along with Hamit Batu and his deputy, Mme. Adile Ayda. Art Treasures of Turkey, p. xii.

the directorship of John S. Thacher "prepared the selection and made available the Library's scholarly resources" (p. xiv). Therefore, it can be concluded that the final list consisting of 282 objects as reflected in the archival documents and the exhibition catalogue was prepared by the American scholars and approved by the Turkish authorities.[79]

When it comes to the presentation of the artworks at various museums, the protocol between Turkey and the SITES had an article in the agreement articulating that "the scientific responsibility of the exhibition rest with the Turkish Government, while the directors of the exhibiting museums will have the final artistic responsibility for the installation in their premises." Considering the space limitations of each hosting venue, the protocol also allowed the museums to leave out any objects that could not be fit into the gallery space, however the museums were required to make sure that each period would have representative pieces in the installation, without leaving out any section totally out of the display.[80]

When the object list for Art Treasures finalized, it featured 282 objects, out of which 154 objects were from the Pre-Byzantine period, 8 objects from to Byzantine period instead of 40, and 120 objects from the Islamic period instead of the initial proposal of 70. Although the catalogue listed 282 objects, in the final shipment two objects were left out. The head of Alexander, no. 131 and a Qur'an box, no. 256 in the catalogue, could not be included in the shipment due to lack of space. However, the SITES informed the venues that they were working on bringing the head of Alexander in a separate shipment whereas the Qur'an box could be left out as there was another one similar to that among the objects (Padnos, 1966, May 31). In the end, the bust of Alexander did not come and the exhibition featured 281 objects as noted by the NGA on the exhibition's website.

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[79] Dillon (1966) includes all the names that were involved with the exhibition on the Turkish side, from the President Cevdet Sunay's patronage to the officials in the ministry of foreign affairs; from the officials in the ministry of education to the museum directors, curators and scholars. In addition, he lists the "helpful advice of Professor Ekrem Akurgal, Sedat Alp, Kemal Balkan, Tahsin and Nimet Özgüç, and S. K. Yetkin of University of Ankara, and Professor Oktay Aslanapa of the University of Istanbul as well as the kind support of His Excellency Tevfik Bindal, at one time acting Director-General of Antiquities and Museums, and of Dr. Hamit Z. Koşay, Consultant in the Department of Antiquities and Museums" (p. xi-xii).

[80] "Loan Agreement" located in Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 290, Box 61 Folder 2.

The contents of the exhibition were brought together from 15 different collections across Turkey. Even though the Museum of Archaeology in Ankara loaned the largest number of objects with 94 works, followed by the Topkapı Palace Museum loans of 88 objects, the exhibition organizers, host museums and the press highlighted the Topkapı collection in their press releases and exhibition coverage. Unfortunately, there are not any records on the exhibition labels, however the script for the audio guide used at the NGA, and possibly at other venues of the exhibition, gives a good amount of information on how the gallery space and the exhibition narrative were constructed by the organizers.[81]

The audio script starts at the middle of the exhibition with the Topkapı dagger described as "the jewel-encrusted dagger" and "its diamonds and emeralds set in gold are an index of the sumptuousness of the Sultan's court" (Figure 3.4). Coming from the Topkapı Museum in Istanbul, the script reminds the visitors that a very similar one was in the film *Topkapı* (1964).[82] Placed in front of the "blood-red banner" of Sultan Selim I, the audio guide refers to the green and gold crescents which first appeared then and became part of the Turkish flag in the 19th century.

Figure 3.4 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

[81] It is important to point out that we cannot be certain whether the audio guide script at the NGA Archives is the final text or an earlier draft. However, the document still provides important information on how the narrative was formed and what objects were highlighted. All the information referred in the following section are from the NGA Archives, RG38A1 Records of Department of Exhibition, Programs, Exhibition Program Files, box 1, Art Treasures of Turkey - Acoustiguide script.

[82] The movie released in 1964, directed by Jules Dassin, and starring Melina Mercouri, Maximilian Schell and Peter Ustinov is a crime thriller about a team of criminals planning the theft of the dagger, known as the Topkapı dagger, from the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul.

Then the audio guide directs the visitor to the entrance of the exhibition to see "a wealth of artistic styles" from the multiple civilizations of the Asia Minor before coming back to the "many splendid examples of Ottoman art."

The cases in the exhibition are marked with letters of the alphabet. Starting with Case B, the audio script describes objects in that section as the earliest ones in the exhibition between 3000 to 8000 years old from the Stone Age period and refers to a fragment of painted wall decoration excavated only five years before the Art Treasures exhibition, at a village from 6000 BCE when men started "to control agriculture well enough to live in cities" (Figure 3.5). The same decorative sense can also be seen in the Ottoman Sultan's dagger multiple centuries later, the guide comments. Fertility figures and the small black stone, which is presented as the oldest known mirror, forms a comparison with Egypt, stating it predates the Pharoahs by some 3000 years.

Figure 3.5 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

The small cult figurines of Bronze Age covering 3000 to 2000 BCE in Anatolia in Case C are said to have "modern" look due to their abstract forms, and the visitors are reminded that "artists in Paris at the beginning of our own century turned to primitive forms for inspiration…"

Other objects of note are the gold jewelry exhibiting artistic techniques such as "granulation, applique, and fine-wire filigree" from about 2300 BCE found by the German archaeologist Schliemann, dating well over 1000 years before Helen of Troy, with a mention of the greater part of this find was housed in Berlin and was lost in World War II, along with other gold jewelry excavated by the Turkish archaeologists.

A stylized bronze bull of a ceremonial standard and silver disk are mentioned with their functions rather than aesthetic qualities.

Hittite period (Case D) is the section where the craftmanship and artistic skills are touched upon. Animal forms are described as “strongly-modelled,” “exhibit[ing] great precision” and “highly polished.” The idea of artistic development is referred in this period with transformation of ceramic production from “early hand-made forms into wheel-made objects of great craftmanship.”

The following sections feature Urartu (Figure 3.6), Phrygia and Lydia followed by the Greek (Figure 3.7), Roman, and Byzantine periods. While the Urartians (Cases E and F) are depicted as skilled metalworkers with bronze and gold objects, Assyrian influence is pointed out in the “finely carved ivory relief plaque.” For Lydians (Case G), the guide informs the visitors of the Harvard and Cornell Universities’ excavations at Sardis, Lydian capital. A Lydian bowl showcases the influence of eastern influence with “the delicate, rhythmical lines,” while gold earrings and necklace from this period are presented as the riches of the Lydian King Croseus. The University of Pennsylvania excavation at Gordion, the capital of Phrygia, brings the visitor to the story of Alexander the Great, who cut the knot he could not untie. The wine jug and animal shaped vessels found in a child’s tomb are mentioned for their function and careful decorative pattern.

Figure 3.6 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

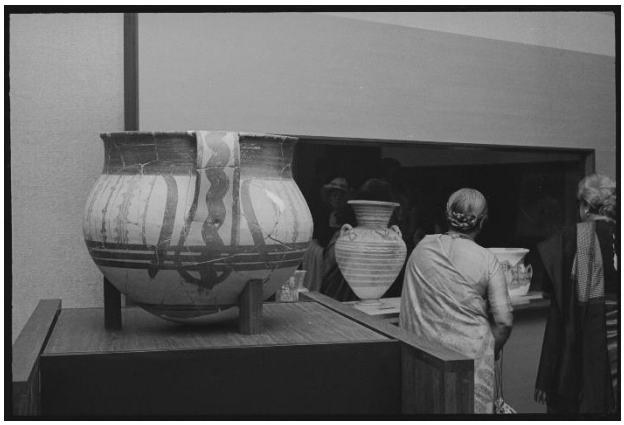

Figure 3.7 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

The archaic phase of the Greek sculpture (Case H) is represented with the head of an Ionian youth, where the guide draws attention to the "archaic smile" and the Ionians' inclination for perfect symmetry (Figure 3.8). In contrast to this style, a stele from "the Golden Age" of Greece (Case I) depicting a nude athlete with a "reflective mood" is highlighted in the tour. The succeeding period is exemplified with the statue "The Boy from Tralles" (Case J) (Figure 3.9), in which one can observe the continuation of the "artistic ideals of the Golden Age" in the "idealized face and pensive expression" of the athlete, whereas certain details such as swollen ears indicating the athlete must be a boxer, "hint at a new emphasis on realism." The bronze head of a negro boy (Case K) (Figure 3.10) is included to illustrate "the realism of late Hellenistic sculpture." Found only three years earlier in the sea off the Turkish cost, this bronze sculpture showcases the technical excellence of the period, which is coined as "restless and weary" with its continuous strive for "new effects" in sculpture.

Figure 3.8 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 3.9 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 3.10 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

The Roman art (Case L) (Figure 3.11) is discussed very briefly in the audio tour, with only one work, that of Portrait of Emperor Trajan, in which one can observe that the realism of the Hellenistic period passed on to the Roman art, especially in portraiture. Another portrait, that of the Byzantine emperor Arcadius, takes the visitors to the Byzantine era (Case M) (Figure 3.12), which "keep the flame of classical civilization alive for a thousand years during the barbarian invasions of Europe." Therefore, through the bust of Arcadius, the Byzantine art is presented as a break away from the realism of the Roman and Hellenistic periods, and as a return to "an idealized classicism" and "Eastern traditions of abstract pattern." A Byzantine baluster (Case N) from a 6th century church of the Justinian period is depicted in similar terms, as a "blend of oriental pattern…and a classical naturalism." 11th century Byzantine art, described as "the second golden age," is represented with a Byzantine inlaid icon of a saint (Case O). Devotional values are shown with the saint's "arms raised in prayer"

and “richness of the inlay” proves that the greatness of Byzantine art lies in wall mosaic.

Figure 3.11 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 3.12 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

At this point, the audio guide informs the visitor that the remaining section of the exhibition “is devoted to art of a very different kind – the art of Islam,” hinting at a total break away from what is previously seen in the exhibition’s content.

The Islamic section starts with brief historical information on the Seljuk penetration into Asia Minor starting with the year 1071, when Alp Arslan defeated the Byzantine Emperor, and in time establishing the Seljuk Empire in Anatolia. The Crusades are mentioned to provide visitors some historical context of the Seljuk period in Western terms.

While Seljuk artists produce works in a variety of material for religious and secular use, the first object highlighted is a wooden stand (Case P) (Figure 3.13) with "subtly modelled surfaces and decorative yet vigorous arabesques," "intended to support Koran, or the sacred book that is roughly comparable to the Christian Bible." In comparison with other Islamic styles, the Seljuk art distinguishes itself with its use of animal motifs in sacred objects, and visitor's gaze is directed to the inner sides of the Qur'an stand where "lacquered paintings of an eagle with double griffon heads and surrounded by curvilinear lions." The inscription on the stand informs that it was made in Konya "for the mausoleum of Jelal ad-Din, a great mystic poet of medieval Islam."

Figure 3.13 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Another object (Case Q), an eagle made from lead, which must have functioned as a fountain or water sprout, is highlighted for its realistic effect and "potential movement" as animals, though rarely treated by Islamic artists, are depicted "only in static, formalized poses."

With the decline of the Seljuks in Anatolia due to the Mongol invasions in the early 14th century, the guide informs visitors of "the second and major period of Turkish-Islamic history," that of the Ottoman Empire. Like the Seljuk period, a sweeping history of the Empire is provided to visitors in a few sentences, stating that by the end of 1300s Ottoman Turks seized almost all Anatolia, conquering Constantinople in 1453, and subsequently moving on to capture "all North Africa as far as Morocco and penetrated into Europe as far as Vienna" which was sieged twice though never successfully captured.

In line with this quick summary of military accomplishment, first objects highlighted in this section are Ottoman armor (Cases R and S), namely large shields, swords of 16th century Ottoman sultans, horse armor, helmets, bows, quivers and maces. As the craftmanship of weapons made from different materials such as silver and gold, and hilts in ivory and Rhinoceros horn, whose decorative repertoire and inscriptions are described in detail, the guide also refers to the personalities of the owners, such as the Ottoman Sultan Selim who is also known as the "Grim," commenting he was "far from delicate; a fierce and able general, his campaign of 1514 against the Shah of Persia paved the way for the conquest of the Persian capital." In addition to a taste for decorative surfaces and using inscriptions of religious texts for attracting divine protection, another quality that is pointed out for the Ottoman art is the influence of Chinese elements. One such example is the "stylized cloud band," described as "a Turkish adaptation of a motif taken from Chinese art."

After Ottoman armor, the next stop is the objects (Case T) that demonstrate the splendor of the Ottoman court, such as the wooden chest embellished with coral and geometric patterns of mother of pearl and tortoise shell, jewel-encrusted belts, highly ornate mirrors, feathered aigrettes used in the Sultan's turban, finely wrought spoons, ruby and emerald-encrusted jug made out of a single rock crystal.

The following section brings the attention to the Ottoman Sultan, with a portrait of Mehmed, the Conqueror by Sinan Bey (Case U) and a kaftan (Case V) thought to belong to him. While certain aspects of the pose in the portrait are described as "reminiscent of the work of the Venetian artist Gentile Bellini," "the gesture of smelling a rose" is Ottoman and "often used in official portraiture."

Among the examples of Turkish painting, *Surname* (*The Book of Festival*) (Case W) is pointed out with its "realist depiction of contemporary costume and ornament" that distinguishes it from the Persian painting tradition. The human figural representation in these paintings is described as "somewhat unusual" because of "the religious ban on human images" but this breach was "tolerated" in secular art (Figures 3.14 and 3.15).

Figure 3.14 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 3.15 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

For religious art, a Qur'an sura written with several different calligraphic scripts by Ahmed Karahisari (Case X) is showcased. Followed by the Qur'an folio, is the fragment of an illuminated map showing Americas, also known as the Piri Reis map, that used as one of its sources a Spanish sailor, who accompanied Christopher Columbus on three of his travels (Figures 3.16 and 3.17).

Figure 3.16 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 3.17 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

The guided tour ends with the Chinese blue-and-white pottery collection of the Ottoman Sultans (Case Y) along with a display of Islamic ceramics (Case Z) (Figure 3.18). “Thick tomato-red glaze” is described as “typical of much Islamic pottery,” however the floral design, especially the peonies and lotus flowers seen in Chinese ceramics, is transformed into “realistic flowers and interlacing vines” by the Ottomans.

Figure 3.18 : Art Treasures of Turkey. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

The introductory essays in the exhibition catalogue by Machteld Mellink (1966), Rodney S. Young (1966), Paul A. Underwood (1966), and Richard Ettinghausen (1966) show that the text for the audio guide is mainly taken from these essays in bits and pieces, resulting in a disruption of the coherence of these articles.[83] While the catalogue authors offer information on the artistic, historical and political background along with interactions, exchanges and influences among the various populations of Anatolia as well as neighboring civilizations, the audio guide script does not do justice in conveying the interactions and relationships among these different, at times co-existing and at other times succeeding, cultures.

For instance, in the audio guide the earliest material is talked about mainly by their ancientness, in its relation to Western civilization and relevance to contemporary culture, which are additions by the script writers as Mellink does not make such allusions in the catalogue essay. While the ancient civilizations stand on their own in the audio narrative without any mention of interaction or exchange among each other, with the exception of "eastern" or "orientalizing" influences seen in the Urartians and Lydians; for the Greek, Roman and Byzantine civilizations, the guide offers a narrative of historical evolution, with golden periods of their artistic style, continuities as well as break aways from artistic traditions of each other.

[83] In this catalogue, "The Art of Anatolia Until ca. 1200 B.C." is authored by Machteld Mellink of Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania; "Early Iron Age, Classical, and Roman Empire" by Rodney S. Young of University Museum, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; "The Byzantine Period" by Paul A. Underwood of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC; and "The Islamic Period" by Richard Ettinghausen of Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

As for the Islamic period, it is presented as a totally different artistic culture without any connections to the earlier civilizations of Anatolia. The use of animal imagery in religious Seljuk art is pointed out as a rarity compared with the rest of the Islamic world, and when it comes to the Ottomans, brief mentions of Gentile Bellini's style, Turkish adaptions of the Chinese cloud band motif and Persian painting serve as very subtle references to the various artistic exchanges that they may not have been easily captured by the visitors who utilized the guide during their visit.[84]

On the other hand, compared with the initial plans of having majority of the exhibition consisting of Ancient and Byzantine civilizations of Anatolia and less of Islamic period, the final exhibition with 120 objects from the Seljuk and Ottoman art instead of 70, must have pleased the Turkish officials. Moreover, the artworks in the Islamic period of the exhibition are described in quite a graphic way in the audio guide, directing the gaze of the visitors on the decoration and ornament, as well as providing more detailed historical background on the Seljuks and Ottomans compared to the other cultures included in the exhibition. Though the audio guide narrative does not explicitly convey the message that the Turkish officials wished to see on "the original characters" of Seljuk and Ottoman art, Ettinghausen's essay in the catalogue must have satisfied them with its detailed and thoughtful introduction to the art of Seljuk and Ottoman periods in Anatolia.

3.4 Public Reception of Art Treasures of Turkey

In his letter to İlter Türkmen, Walter Heil (1962, September 27) gave Vienna Art Treasures (1950) and Art Treasures from Japan (1951) as successful examples of national treasures exhibitions drawing a quarter million people in their showing in San Francisco. A decade and a half later, when planning for the Art Treasures of Turkey exhibition, the NGA (1966, May 10) estimated an attendance of 218,000 visitors to

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[84] The only information at hand on the use of audio guide is from the MMA Archives. During the run of the exhibition, 5,841 visitors purchased the audio guide for this exhibition, out of 42,955 total visitors that saw the exhibition in New York, which equals to 13.5% of visitors ("March 4-10 Report" in Thomas Hoving Records, Box 35, Folder 6). The NGA estimated 5% of the exhibition visitors to purchase the acoustiguide, which was about 3,925 (out of 78,500 expected visitors to the exhibition) in May 10, 1966 dated "Turkish Exhibition June 4-July 17, 1966 44 days" titled document in NGA Archives, RG7A2 Central Files - Subject Files, box 39, Travelling Exhibitions – Art Treasures of Turkey (Folder 3 of 4). Although there are no records on audio guide use in Boston, two newspaper articles (Driscoll, 1967, November 10, p. 11; Parker, T.H., 1967, November 12, p.2B.) mention that the Boston MFA inaugurated the audio guide program with the Art Treasures of Turkey exhibition.

the museum for that period, and 78,500 people (36% of the total museum attendance) visiting the Art Treasures exhibition. Similarly, a total of 71,925 people saw the exhibition in its Washington, DC location.[85] A comparable exhibition that took place only two years earlier, 7000 Years of Iranian Art, which was also a SITES travelling exhibition project, had a similar attendance. It attracted 68,406 visitors during its NGA viewing in 1964.[86] In Boston, the Art Treasures exhibition received a total of 26,732 visitors according to the records of the Museum of Fine Arts (Whitehill, 1970, p. 648).

The attendance number for other venues of Art Treasures is not known, however, the MMA director's notes (1968, January 25) for the opening dinner of the exhibition mentions that already some 300,000 visitors saw the exhibition before it arrived to New York as its final stop. The exhibition had a total of 42,955 visitors at the MMA (March 4-10 Report), hence reaching to almost 350,000 people across the United States throughout its ten venue tour in two years. In a review of the Milwaukee iteration of the exhibition published in *Chicago Tribune*, the review writer, Sel Erder Yackley (1967) reported that more than half a million of Americans were expected to see the exhibition in its two year tour (p. E2). Considering this, Art Treasures may have fallen behind the expectations, however, twenty years later, the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent exhibition, would exceed the expectations and break the record of Art Treasures by attracting 393,709 visitors in the 122 days that it was open at the NGA in Washington, DC, which is discussed in Chapter 5.

In the press, Art Treasures exhibition was covered by the major local newspapers of the venues it toured. Short notices on the coming of the exhibition to the United States appeared as early as nine months before the opening of the exhibition at the NGA.[87] The opening events for the exhibition, such as receptions and dinners, drew attention from the press, and society critics featured the event with multiple photographs and a

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[85] Art Treasures of Turkey was open from June 5 to July 17, 1966 at the NGA as stated on the exhibitions's webpage.

[86] 7000 Years of Iranian Art was open from June 7 to July 19, 1964 at the NGA as stated on the exhibition's webpage.

[87] On November 24, 1965 dated *Boston Globe*, the newspaper's art writer Edgar J. Driscoll mentions the arrival of the Art Treasures to the NGA in June, 1966 (p. 10). Then on June 19, 1966, *Boston Globe* publishes a very short piece with the image of gilded copper horse head from the 6th century BCE announcing the exhibition's Boston viewing at the Museum of Fine Arts (p. A_27). On June 12, 1966 in Chicago Tribune, Edward Barry announces the arrival of the Art Treasures exhibition to the United States with an image of Ahmed III portrait but notes that the exhibition would not be coming to Chicago (p. F4).

variety of information from the VIPs in attendance to the fashion of the ladies, from the Turkish food that was served to the art that was on view.[88]

Arts section writers published reviews of the exhibition, in some cases more than one was written by the same critic.[89] Some recurring themes in the reviews are re-iterations of the information provided in the press releases regarding the content and significance of the exhibition, such as the first exhibition ever coming from Turkey to the United States; the NGA director Walker's statement that it is "the most valuable art exhibition"; a survey of 8,000 years of Anatolian history from 6000 BCE to the 18th century with 282 objects from 15 collections from Turkey; featuring both recent archaeological finds and well-known pieces such as a jewel-encrusted dagger very much like the one in the movie *Topkapı*; Topkapı Palace as a major lender to the exhibition etc.

While all the arts writers praised the exhibition for its overall content, they had differing views on the artistic merits of the cultures presented. For instance, Edgar J. Driscoll (1967) of *Boston Globe* described the exhibition content as "sometimes eye-filling, sometimes dull assemblage of often priceless" objects and found the sections of the exhibition dedicated to the ancient civilizations "simple, even crude-at-times" with a "striving for embellishment or beautification of things around one." As for the Islamic period, he described the art as having "much more exotic variety" and "show[ing] much more of a concern with the lusciousness, the opulence, of Things themselves" (p. A_28). On the other hand, a *New York Times* review by John Canaday (1968) called the exhibition "a raving, tearing beauty" (p. 24). Marvin D. Schwartz (1968) recognized a continuation among the civilizations represented and stated that the Ottoman art "may considered a culmination of traditions long present in Asia

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[88] In Los Angeles Times, Ann Sonne covered the exhibition opening with two pieces, one published on August 4, 1966 (p. C2) entitled "Urbane Turkish Ambassador Paying a Cultural Call in L.A." and the other on August 18, 1966 (p. C1) titled "Art Devotees Preview a Turkish Treat: TREASURES." In San Francisco, Joan White, society editor of the *San Francisco Examiner*, published a piece titled "Splendors of the East" on June 23, 1967. On the same date, *San Francisco Chronicler*'s writer Frances Moffat featured the exhibition opening with "Society Looks at Sultans' Treasures" article. In Boston, Marjorie Sherman, society writer of *Boston Globe*, featured the exhibition with three stories, first one published on November 5, 1967 on page A_23 entitled "Rare Turkish art display at Museum of Fine Arts," and second one on November 9, 1967 on page 27 entitled "Turkish visitors welcomed," and third one on December 1, 1967 on page 28 with the title "Boston Glitters with a blend of old and new."

[89] Edgar J. Driscoll published three pieces on the exhibition in Boston Globe, on October 25, 1967 "Turkish Art at Museum Most Valuable to Come to the U.S." (p.60), on November 10, 1967 "'Treasures of Turkey' Displeases Historically-Oriented Armenians" (p.11), on November 19, 1967 "Very Old, Very New" (p. A_28).

Minor… and to some viewers, at least, from early days to the end of 18th century the objects in the show reveal a certain consistency." Among the metalwork featured in the exhibition, Schwartz found the most opulent ones to be from the 16th to the 18th century Ottoman pieces (p. 23). Indeed, the reviewers gave at least as much, and at times even more, attention to the pieces from the Ottoman period in Art Treasures than the earlier periods, in contrast to the views of the American museum professionals, who had assumed the Seljuk and Ottoman period would not draw much attention.

An interesting aspect of the exhibition reviews of the times is the attention paid to the museological concerns such as that of exhibition design and lighting,[90] of the behind-the-scenes museum work such as unpacking of objects and preparations for installment etc., and of the political implications of national treasures exhibitions. For the NGA iteration of the exhibition, Andrew Hudson (1966) commented on the installation as having "some particularly thoughtful touches" such as "decorated pages from the Koran are displayed beneath Turkish carpets… and portraits of Sultans shown with the actual kaftans that they wore" (p. G7). Canaday (1968) applauded the exhibition design team and lighting designer of the MMA for "reveal[ing] each object to perfection" (p. 24). Driscoll (1967) dedicated one piece just to the behind scenes work on the exhibition highlighting the work of the Turkish curators, in the Boston case they were İsmail Kemal Uğur, director of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Konya, and Lütfü Tuğrul, assistant director of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, unpacking the objects and directing the installation work (p. 60). Similarly, Yackley (1967) in her review of the Milwaukee version included the climate control of the objects in the exhibition space and the care given to the shipment of crates and unpacking of works of art by the Turkish curators accompanying the exhibition (p. E2).

As for the political implications of Art Treasures of Turkey, while in some cases it was merely touched upon with tolerance, in other cases it produced such resentment in the local community that the museum targeted had to respond with a statement. Donald L. Hoffman (1967) in his quite positive review entitled "A Brilliant Panorama: 7000 Years of Art" for the *Kansas City Star*, remarks that "Not unexpectedly, the

[90] In the 1968 volume of *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, the exhibition design dedicated their department report to the design work conducted for the *Art Treasures* exhibition as it was deemed to be the most challenging work of that year. Stuart Silver (1968) described the design challenge due to the variety of the exhibition contents as "We were confronted with this gallimaufry of styles, sizes, and materials, which had to be presented cohesively and excitingly" (p. 97).

Smithsonian has cloaked the exhibition in the guise of an agent for "better understanding" between America and Turkey," but he considered it to be not a "bother," as "in an art exhibition it is beside the point."

On the other hand, the Armenian community in Boston area resented the use of "8000 years of Turkish art" statement used by the Boston MFA in its releases and the local press in their stories that the members of the community wrote letters to the museum director and the editors of the local newspapers voicing their objection.[91] Their reaction was covered by the press and the museum issued a statement to respond to the concerns raised.[92]

The impact of the Armenian community's reaction also reached to New York, the following and final stop of the exhibition. On the opening day of the exhibition, Canaday (1968) reported that the MMA "avoided offending, thus leaving nothing at all for anybody to object to" (p. 24). However, another writer felt otherwise. Charlotte Willard (1968) started her exhibition review for *New York Post* with the statement that "Everything about the "Art Treasures of Turkey" at the Metropolitan is great except the title." She commented that the Turks leaving their homeland in Central Asia in the 7th century, "became the warriors of the world," hence "they lagged behind in cultural achievements." Therefore, "the collection at the Metropolitan" had "very little" to do with Turkish art, "except that it belongs to some 15 Turkish museums. Since the art for the most part was acquired as war booty or made by slaves from the conquered

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[91] The Armenian community's main objection was that the title of the exhibition was misleading people to think that the art they were seeing was made by the Turks, though the exhibition included many other civilizations of Anatolia before the arrival of the Turks, one of them being Armenians. Copies of these letters as well as a copy of the release by the Ad Hoc Committee for Historical Truth are in Boston MFA Archives, Turkish Exhibitions 1963-1967 named folder. A letter from Mrs. James Dalley was featured in *Boston Globe* as ""Turkish" Art Protested" on December 29, 1967, p. 8. A response to Mrs. Dalley's letter by Stanford Shaw is published in *Boston Globe* on January 10, 1968 on p. 14 with the title "Art Treasures of Turkey."

[92] Boston MFA director Perry T. Rathbone's statement read as "While the Museum of Fine Arts is immensely grateful to the Turkish government for the exhibition "Art Treasures of Turkey," it regrets any inference from material published about the exhibition that the art from the region known in modern times as Turkey was developed solely by the Turkish people. The Seljuk and Ottoman Turks did not migrate significantly to Asia Minor until around the 11th century A.D., thus inheriting the fruits of such earlier civilizations as Hittite, Phrygian, Hellenic, Armenian, and Roman. Such treasures, and the later contributions made by others during the period of Turkish rule, all collected and cared for in the national museums of Turkey, form the museum's current exhibition." November 21, 1967 dated press release in Boston MFA Archives, Turkish Exhibitions 1963-1967 named folder. Some of the news clippings referring to this are as follows: Driscoll, 1967, p.11 [Treasures of Turkey' Show Displeases Historically-Oriented Armenians]; *Armenian Reporter International*, 1967, p. 1 [N.Y. Group to Prevent Misleading Promotion of Turkish Art Exhibit]; *Armenian Reporter International*, 1968, p. 1 [Art Reviewer scores Turkish Exhibit Title].

lands, naming the collection “Art Treasures of Turkey” is absurd.” When it comes to the content though, Willard stated that “the exhibition, however, is a brilliant one” (p. 14).

Art Treasures of Turkey exhibition’s perhaps the most enduring impact was on one individual, whose work transformed Turkish art in the New Continent in the 1970s. On November 9, 1967, Boston MFA celebrated the opening of Art Treasures with a dinner and reception (Dinner List, Boston MFA Archives). One of their guests to this special event was Edwin Binney, 3rd, who would become the major American collector of Turkish art in the following decade, promoting Turkish art, especially that of Ottoman painting, in the United States when loan exhibitions from Turkey were no longer possible, which brings us to the next chapter.

4. NEW BEGINNINGS: OTTOMAN ART IN THE 1970S

Between 1966 and 1968, while the Art Treasures of Turkey exhibition was touring the United States, SITES was circulating another exhibition across the country. Entitled Islamic Art from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd, the exhibition showcased Edwin Binney's collection of Indian, Persian, and Turkish art. The catalogue with the same name was authored by Binney, himself with the exception of one section, that of Turkish miniatures, which consisted of only four works at the time. Richard Ettinghausen (1966), in his short introduction to this component of the Binney collection, stated that:

> Of all the schools of painting from Islamic countries those of Turkey are most rarely represented in Western collections since the vast majority of the original output has been kept in Istanbul, particularly in the library of the Topkapı Palace Museum.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Art Treasures of Turkey was the first initiative to bring the Turkish national collections to the United States and Ettinghausen spearheaded this project. In the following decade, Edwin Binney, 3rd came to the fore as the first major American collector of Turkish art to rectify the situation that Ettinghausen described above. By amassing a significant collection of Turkish calligraphy and painting, along with works of ceramics, metalwork, and textiles in less than two decades, Binney throughout the 1970s and early 1980s organized travelling exhibitions of his collection to rather unlikely places across the United States as well as authoring catalogues of his collection at a time when travelling exhibitions like Art Treasures could not take place due to a ban of international loan of objects in Turkey.

In addition to Binney's collecting and exhibition activities in this period, two other names in the United States entered the field and contributed significantly to the

understanding and appreciation of Turkish art in the 1970s and beyond. Esin Atıl was appointed curator of Islamic art at the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, DC in 1970 after obtaining her Ph.D. degree from the UM under the supervision of Oleg Grabar a year earlier. That same year, in 1970, another Grabar student, Walter B. Denny began his position at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst and completed his Ph.D. in 1971 at Harvard University. In 1973, all three, Atıl, Binney and Denny, organized Turkish art exhibitions in DC, New York, and Boston respectively to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic of Turkey signaling a new chapter in the study of Ottoman art.

This chapter discusses the developments in Turkish art in the 1970s on two levels, scholarship and collecting, with the aim to demonstrate that the seeds of major transformations taking place in the 1980s were planted in this decade. The first section deals with the developments in scholarship and explores the 1973 exhibitions of Turkish art to demonstrate a new turn in the understanding of Ottoman painting tradition. By providing an assessment of earlier writings on Ottoman painting with Esin Atıl's catalogue of the 1973 exhibition, it is argued that this period witnessed a flourishment of both scholarly works on Ottoman book arts and close scholarly exchanges between Turkey and the United States. The second section deals with collecting. Taking Edwin Binney as the major American collector of Turkish art, this section looks at Binney's collecting strategy and contributions to the presentation of Turkish art in the United States as it was his collection that represented Turkish art when objects in the Turkish national collections could not travel any longer to the United States.

4.1 1973 Exhibitions of Turkish Art in the United States

After the 1966-1968 travelling exhibition of Art Treasures of Turkey, another significant moment for Turkish art in United States was the year 1973, which marked the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. As discussed in the previous chapter, Art Treasures was the first exhibition that showcased the national treasures of Turkey in the United States covering 8,000 years of art history and this expansive project was undertaken by American museum professionals. In comparison, three exhibitions organized to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Republic in 1973 were much smaller in scale than Art Treasures, hence could easily be overlooked

in art historiography. However, these exhibitions held in the East Coast of the United States, in Boston by Walter B. Denny, in New York by Richard Ettinghausen and Edwin Binney, and in Washington, DC by Esin Atıl were in fact quite significant in signaling a new turn for the Ottoman art in the United States. As explained in the following pages, though these exhibitions were drawn from local collections in terms of the objects on view as opposed to Art Treasures displaying the material held in Turkey, in terms of art historical scholarship and art collecting, they showcase the transformations taking place in those years when stronger scholarly collaborations and an increased interest in collecting Turkish art in the art market emerged.

When Art Treasures of Turkey came to close in 1968, no one could have thought that it would take another twenty years to hold another art exhibition from Turkey in the United States. As explained by Blair and Bloom (2003, pp. 156-158), and Necipoğlu (2012, p. 57), the 1970s marked a new turn for the Islamic art history in the United States, with increasing interest to the arts of the region, and a revival of large-scale projects similar to the period that preceded the World Wars. In 1975, the MMA opened their new Islamic art galleries (*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 33/1*, 1975) and in 1976 the Festival of Islam, an exhibition that matched the grandness of the 1910 Munich and 1931 Burlington House exhibitions in scale, took place in London. As these projects created much excitement in the West, in Turkey a change in the antiquities law dictated a ban to the loan of art works starting in 1973. This rule stayed in effect until 1983 and at least for a full decade, Turkey did not loan or organize any international exhibitions from its national collections.[93] However, this does not mean collaborations or scholarly exchanges did not occur in the field of art history between Turkey and the United States. In fact, as the archival records at the MMA demonstrate, the idea for a commemorative exhibition for the 50th anniversary of the Republic was put forward by Talat Halman, then the minister of culture, during his visit to the MMA in 1971 and was further discussed with Mehmet Önder, cultural advisor in the prime minister's office, and Raci Temizer, director of the Hittite museum, who also visited

[93] Per article 22 of April 25, 1973 dated antiquities law no. 1710, loan of objects from collections in Turkey were banned. This new law replaced the former one compiled by Osman Hamdi Bey in 1869, which had not been amended since 1908. 10 years later, July 21, 1983 dated antiquities law no. 2863 came into effect and per article 32, international loan of objects were made possible. For more information on the antiquities laws in the Ottoman and Republican periods, see Çal, 1990 and Gerçek, 1999. Specifically on the reasons for the loan ban in 1973, see Gerçek, 1999, pp. 251-253.

MMA for this purpose (MMA Archives, Hoving to M. Esenbel, 1973, May 30 and May 22 [Draft letter]). Accordingly, three museums in the country organized exhibitions and public programs along with it to present Turkish art to the American audiences. These exhibitions, though small scale compared to large international loan exhibitions of the previous decades, are still significant first steps to introduce the Turkish art of the Ottoman period and signal the changing landscape for the Ottoman art scholarship in the following years.

Among the three exhibitions held on this occasion, the first one to open to the public was at the Fogg Art Museum in Boston. As curatorial labels could not be found in the museum archives and a catalogue was not published for this exhibition, it is not possible to assess the scholarly contribution, however the archival records still point to important information on the content and diplomatic aspect of this project.[94]

Entitled Turkish Art: An Exhibition in Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Republic of Turkey, this exhibition was on view from May 8 to June 10, 1973. It was Walter B. Denny, serving as the honorary curator of rugs at the museum, who suggested the museum to organize an exhibition on this occasion on August 30, 1972 as the MMA and the Freer Gallery had plans to do so, and was able to reserve a spot in the Spring 1973 calendar of the museum. Considering the footprint of the exhibition - one gallery and the courtyard of the Fogg - and the limited budget, Denny envisioned the exhibition as a small loan show of 16th and 17th century Ottoman art consisting of miniature paintings, calligraphy, ceramics, military banners, textiles, and rugs, from the New England public and private collections as well as the Fogg's (Harvard Art Museum Archives, Denny to D. Robbins and S. Doeringer, 1972, August 30).

In early 1973, Denny (to A. Yeğen, 1973, February 12a) reached out to the Embassy of Turkey with his idea of Art of the Ottomans: An Exhibition in Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Republic of Turkey. The Embassy could not offer financial support for the project (Denny to S. Doeringer, 1973, February 12b), but suggested to use Turkish art, instead of Ottoman art in the exhibition title (Kort to S. Doeringer, 1973, March 14; Denny to A. Yeğen, 1973, March 16). The Turkish-American

[94] The correspondence and related material on this exhibition is in the Harvard Art Museum Archives, Exhibition Records (HC 6), folders 2879 and 2880.

Cultural Society of New England stepped in to provide funds, an amount of $250, for the transportation and insurance fees of the loans from New England collections (Denny to A. Yeğen, 1973, March 16), and they, in line with the Embassy, also pointed that "Ottoman art" should not be used in the exhibition title (Argon to S. Doeringer, 1973, March 21).

Denny's tentative list in the early stages of exhibition planning featured "dragon drawing" and "portrait head" from the Stuart Cary Welch collection, two examples of calligraphy and a miniature from the Fogg collection, "double-page parade scene" from the Boston MFA and "battle scene" from the Worcester collection in the paintings section; a silver ground textile from the Boston MFA, a velvet textile with carnations that was on loan to the Fogg from the McMullan collection, two banners in the Fogg collection to be displayed in the Fogg courtyard, a textile from the Textile Museum in DC if funds could be arranged and a robe from the MMA for the textiles section; a sword from either Boston MFA or Fogg collections and a horse frontal from the Welch collection for the metalwork section; a blue-and-white plate and a "floral" plate from Boston MFA, a "Damascus" plate from the Welch collection, a pot from the McMullan collection and one large and one small tile from the Fogg collection in the ceramics section; a star Ushak rug from the McMullan collection at the MMA, eight rugs from the Fogg collection and "possibly one rug from a Washington private collector" in the rugs section (Denny to S. Doeringer, Undated).

The archived correspondence indicate that Denny contacted Joseph McMullan for his 18th century carpet to be hanged in the courtyard and an underglazed painted ceramic (ca. 1580) (Robbins to J. McMullan, March 23b, 1973). He requested five works from Stuart Cary Welch and a dragon drawing from John M. MacDonald (Robbins to S. C. Welch and J. M. MacDonald, 1973, April 30a and b). From the public collections, his requests included a brocaded fabric of kaftan (08.387), double page miniatures (14.691; 14.693-4) and an Iznik dish (19.1189) from Boston MFA (Robbins to J. Fontein, 1973, March 23a and Robbins to L. Salmon, 1973, April 23); a dragon combat drawing (1944.492) from the Cleveland Museum of Art (Robbins to S. Lee, 1973, April 4b); another dragon drawing (57.51.26) from the MMA as well as a rug (No 4) on loan to MMA from the Joseph McMullan collection (Robbins to R. Ettinghausen, 1973, April 4a). The loan request for the McMullan rug held at the MMA was declined due to its fragile condition (Swietochowski to D. Robbins, 1973, April 16). As for

others, there are records for McMullan (Robbins to J. McMullan, 1973, April 18), Boston MFA and Cleveland (Cooney to D. Robbins, 1973, April 12) agreeing to loans from their collections for this exhibition.

During the run of the exhibition, as public programs two lectures were organized to introduce the artistic heritage of Turkey, one by Howard Crane on Konya and the second one by Denny, himself on Ottoman painting (Harvard Art Museum Archives, Undated Invitation).[95] On the Turkish side, the New England Society members and Orhan R. Gündüz, Turkish Honorary Consulate General Boston, attended the events for the exhibition (Gündüz to D. Robbins, 1973, June 15). Mehmet Önder, the Undersecretary for the Cultural Affairs to the Prime Ministry in Ankara, was informed of and invited to the exhibition (Önder to C. Kort, 1973, April 16). After the exhibition closed on June 8, Burhan Tezcan, Associate Director of Antiquities and Museums, was able to see the exhibition on June 11 during a visit to the Fogg Museum (Mansfield to L. Doherty and S. Doeringer, 1973, June 8).

The second exhibition of Turkish art for this occasion opened in August 1973 at the Freer Gallery of Art and was curated by Dr. Esin Atıl (Figure 4.1). Atıl was appointed curator of Islamic art in 1970, and this was her first Turkish art exhibition she organized at the Gallery showcasing Freer's collection. The preparations of this exhibition took Atıl to Istanbul in 1972, where she also worked on translating an important work, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, written by scholars Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman into English (Tanındı, 2021). This book came out in 1974 and offered an art historical periodization of Turkish painting tradition in the Ottoman Empire with reference to existing manuscripts in collections both in Turkey and overseas. Atıl's catalogue for the Freer exhibition, *Turkish Art of the Ottoman Period*, published with support from the Cultural Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, offered a similar periodization in shorter form and came out in 1973, a year earlier than Atasoy and Çağman's work. In comparison with the earlier publications, these two works marked an important turning point in the study of Ottoman painting as they both offered a thorough history of Turkish painting starting from the earliest known examples from the Ottoman era to the end of the Empire. Moreover, it was also

[95] On May 10 at 8 pm Howard Crane gave a talk entitled "Konya: Anatomy of a Medieval Turkish Capital" and on May 17 at 8 pm, Walter Denny gave another one entitled "The Two Faces of Ottoman Painting."

during the time of preparation for the Turkish Art of the Ottoman Period exhibition of 1973 that Atıl clearly understood that it would not be possible to give an accurate picture of Turkish art in the United States without obtaining loans from Turkey, which was transformed into her blockbuster exhibition of the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent more than a decade later (E. Atıl, personal communication, 2012; Conroy, 1987, January 26, p. B1).

Figure 4.1 : Esin Atıl (Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.).

As demonstrated in Chapter 2 with the survey style Islamic art exhibitions organized by Mehmet Aga-Oglu, Ottoman painting was particularly an understudied, hence an unknown field, especially in the United States and elsewhere.[96] Maurice S. Dimand, the curator of Near Eastern art at the MMA, was the first to write a comprehensive book on Islamic art in the United States exemplified with works from the MMA's collection. This book, *A Handbook of Muhammedan Decorative Arts*, first appeared in 1930 and then revised and reprinted with the title *A Handbook of Mohammadan Art* in 1944 and 1958. However, a comparative glance at the Turkish miniature painting sections of the 1930, 1944, and 1958 versions of the book does not demonstrate a striking difference, implying not much of an accumulation of knowledge occurred in the time between these reprints, whereas Turkish ceramics, textiles, and rugs are featured more prominently in comparison in this publication as seen in the case of the

[96] As discussed in Chapter 2, Basil Gray (1953) made a similar statement in his review of the 1953 Paris exhibition of Splendour de l'art turc for Europe in general (p. 136).

exhibitions of Aga-Oglu. From Dimand's half page long section on Turkish miniature painting in the 1930 publication, in contrast to Persian painting where each different epoch is given a dedicated section of a few pages, the readers learn that the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II brought Gentile Bellini to the Ottoman court, Sultan Süleyman Magnificent era painter Haidar Bey copied works by the French artist Clouet, and in the 16th century, Persian calligraphers and painters such as Shah Kuli and Veli Jan was working at the Ottoman court (pp. 48-50). In the 1958 edition, Dimand extended the Turkish miniature painting section to a full page and started with the statement that "The history of miniature painting in Turkey is very little known, since the rich libraries of Istanbul are for the most part still unexplored by scholars" (p. 55). Gentile Bellini's portrait of Mehmed II at the National Gallery and the presence of Shah Kuli and Veli Jan at the court of Süleyman the Magnificent are reiterated but their output is mentioned in a bit more detailed manner: that Shah Kuli was known for his work in the *saz* style[97] and both painters depicted "the houris, winged maidens of the Muhammadan paradise" (p. 55), as their favored subject matter. History of Ottoman Sultans, another topic, painted by Persian artists at the Ottoman court is described as Persian in style but in terms of costumes and the color palette used as Turkish. An illustrated page from a manuscript of Diwan by Baki in the MMA collection is selected in all three (1930, 1944 and 1958) editions as a sample of Turkish painting. Dimand (1958) further adds that Chester Beatty Library's Sulaiman-nama paintings are essentially Turkish in style (p. 56), without elaborating on what he means by essential Turkish style,[98] and lists Osman, Nigari and Levni as other known Turkish artists from the 15th to the 18th centuries (p. 57).

In the 1960s, more detailed studies on Ottoman painting started to emerge in English. Prior to the 1960s, among the few works, which were either catalogues (Martin, 1912; Blochet, 1932-1933; Edhem and Stchoukine, 1933; Minorsky, 1958) or short articles (and not all of them in English but published in either French, German or Turkish:

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[97] For information on the *saz* style, see Mahir, 2022.

[98] It is important to point here the 1944 exhibition of Turkish Art of the Mohammadan Period at the Metropolitan Museum. The article written by Dimand (1944) on the occasion of this exhibition in *the Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* gives almost the same summary of the Turkish painting in the Ottoman era as in *the Handbook*, but in this exhibition Dimand was able to exemplify the Turkish characteristics with loan artworks: "Turkish painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although based on Persian prototypes, has a number of characteristic features – the costumes, the realistically drawn faces, and the use of certain shade of yellowish green. Most Turkish in style are the portraits of sultans, several of which, lent by H. Kevorkian, are shown in the exhibition" (p. 216).

Gabriel, 1928; Ünver, 1946; Lamm, 1953; Togan, 1953; Aslanapa, 1954; Loehr, 1954; Ettinghausen, 1954; İpşiroğlu and Eyüboğlu, 1955; Ünver, 1957; İpşiroğlu and Eyüboğlu, 1959), one by Armenag Sakisian published in 1945 is important as he aimed to "contribute to bring out the characteristics of Turkish art" (p. 227) by discussing and pointing to the misattributions and confusions regarding Turkish and Persian schools of painting. Sakisian (1945) discussed a variety of works such as sultan portraits (Mehmed II portrait by Sinan Bey and Selim II portrait by Haidar), an illustration by Osman in *Hunername*, and a variety of *peri* [fairy] and dragon drawings in Turkish and Persian styles justifying his points with references to the registers of 1525-26 and of 1557-58 and tracing the court painters and their students at the court workshop (pp. 224+226-232). Sakisian (1945) concluded that confusions on the Turkish and Persian schools could be avoided despite certain similarities, and pointed that "the Turkish draughtsman are distinguished by such criteria as modelling, realism, colouring, and a certain rigidity of line which- not to mention the peculiarities of dress- must always make discrimination possible" (p. 232).

In the 1960s, the number of publications in English dealing with the Ottoman painting increased steadily. Emel Esin published *Turkish Miniature Painting* in 1960, Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu and Sabahattin Eyüboğlu published *Turkey. Ancient Miniatures* in 1961 with a preface by Ettinghausen, British Museum catalogue of Turkish miniatures by G. M. Meredith-Owens came out in 1963, in 1965 another Ettinghausen publication *Turkish Miniatures from the Thirteenth to the Eighteenth Century* appeared. *Treasures of Turkey* (1966) and *Art Treasures of Turkey* exhibition catalogue of 1966 whose Seljuk and Ottoman sections were authored by Ettinghausen, and Oktay Aslanapa's *Turkish Art and Architecture* appearing in English in 1971, were general survey books on Turkish art that included sections on Ottoman painting.

Emel Esin's *Turkish Miniature Painting* (1960) as one of the earliest published in English is an attempt to write the history of Turkish painting from its beginnings in Central Asia until the end of the Ottoman Empire. Esin (1960) points to two developments, the archaeological work conducted in the past fifty years and the ability to access the royal collections in Turkey, as the reasons for forming a better understanding of Turkish painting in this publication. This vast chronological survey accompanied with a number of illustrations and catalogue entries gives a sweeping survey of multiple centuries of painting production and divides the Turkish painting in

Anatolia into three schools of Konya (12th-13th centuries), Bursa and Edirne (14th-15th centuries), and Istanbul (15th to the 18th centuries). The following publications by İpşiroglu (1961), Eyüboğlu (1961), Ettinghausen (1961, 1965, 1966) and Meredith-Owens (1963) refer to a number of illustrated manuscripts in a variety of collections from Istanbul to other European centers, such as Dublin, London and Paris, to discuss the painting tradition of the Turks over the centuries and their discussion is very much in line with Esin's 1960 publication. In all these works, in addition tracing the early beginnings of Turkish painting in Turkistan and discussing the enduring influence of Uighur painting on later periods, other common points made are the Ottomans' interest in recent and contemporary history, hence the production of historical manuscripts, their documentary value and attention to detail in depicting reality including urban topography, architectural details and portraiture of historic figures. The presence of Italian artists in the court of Mehmet II, even though highlighted, is interpreted as not having a long-lasting influence on the Ottoman painting tradition whereas the influence of Western painting is observed much later, in the 18th century and onwards, according to these works. Mehmet Siyah Kalem paintings are featured prominently along with the sultan portraits and illustrated manuscripts depicting the life of the prophet as unique Ottoman contributions as well as realism and color palette as distinct stylistic aspects of Turkish painting. All these publications refer to the *Ehl-i Hiref* registers and names the artists included there. Esin (1960) even mention the post of *nakkaşbaşı* and the training of students but not a single scholar mentioned above goes into the detail to explore the structure and artistic production of nakkaşhane. In the 1971 publication of Oktay Aslanapa's *Turkish Art and Architecture*, there is a sense of evolution in Turkish painting, with the development of styles in the period of Süleyman the Magnificent and during the reign of Murad III reaching to classicism, especially in figural painting. However, until Atıl's 1973 catalogue followed by Atasoy and Çağman's 1974 book, a periodization of Ottoman painting did not exist the way they established or even an understanding or emphasis on the royal manuscript workshop, *nakkaşhane*, or the artisan guild, *Ehl-i Hiref*, and the central role they played in the artistic production of the Empire.

Esin Atıl's 1973 exhibition, Turkish Art of the Ottoman Period, was drawn only from the Freer collection as the museum did not and still does not display any artworks other than its own collection. As this rule restricted the exhibition in terms of the objects that

could be on display, it consisted of 25 objects in total, 10 examples of the arts of the book and 15 ceramics (Atıl, 1973b). Despite the small size of the exhibition and hence its catalogue, this was still a significant project as the catalogue was the first one to bring together the Turkish art holdings of the Freer to the public and scholars alike with full page color illustrations of each object with tombstone information and a detailed account of the stylistic features of each object, demonstrating Atıl's keen eye and care to the visual details, in addition to offering a comprehensive and detailed history of Ottoman period manuscript and ceramic production, hence marking an important turning point in the study of Ottoman painting whose study steadily increased since 1960 onwards. Atıl's (1973b) short history of Turkish painting from the earliest known examples from the Ottoman era to the end of the Empire is very much in line with the research conducted by Atasoy and Çağman (1974) in Turkey, with only a few minor differences in naming. For instance, in both works, Atıl's (1973b) and Atasoy and Çağman's (1974), they take the period of Mehmed II, Bayezıd II and Selim I as the early period of Ottoman painting with disparate and uneven styles. Atıl (1973b) calls the Süleyman period as transitional, whereas Atasoy and Çağman (1974) call it the period of establishment. However, they all present it as a period of variety and uneven style where both European and Western influences can easily be recognized. The periods of Selim II and Murad III mark the classical period, where the painting tradition completely divorced itself from external influences and developed into a fully independent and identifiable style and the reign of Mehmed III is considered as late classical period. While Atasoy and Çağman (1974) take the 17th century and 18th century painting as two succeeding periods, Atıl (1973b) inserts Ahmed III period as the 2nd classical period in between 17th century and 18th century traditions and ends the history of Ottoman painting with Levni.

In comparison with Atıl's (1973b) short summary essay, Atasoy and Çağman's (1974) *Turkish Miniature Painting* is more comprehensive, where each period is described in depth and demonstrated with works from collections both in Turkey and overseas. At the end of the book, the authors also provide lists of Turkish manuscripts in different collections across Europe. On the other hand, another common element between Atıl and Atasoy and Çağman's scholarship at the time is that it is these three scholars who point to *nakkaşhane* and its importance in the development of a distinct Ottoman vocabulary in the arts. Rather than using the *Ehl-i Hiref* registers for taxonomic

purposes to identify artists as the other scholars referenced in earlier publications, Atıl (1973b), Atasoy and Çağman (1974) investigate the context of production and point out the role of the workshop in the formation of an Ottoman visual language, signaling a new turn in research. Furthermore, Atıl (1973b) emphasizes the transfer of the visual vocabulary from one medium to another through *nakkaşhane* artists in the ceramics section of her catalogue, hence making the wholistic approach of the workshop in the Ottoman art explicit to the readers. This idea of *nakkaşhane* and its role in creating a distinct Ottoman style in all artistic mediums later on culminated in a very specialized exhibition on the patronage of one Ottoman sultan, the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent.

These parallelisms between the two publications signal another important development in those years, that of close scholarly collaborations between art historians based in Turkey and the United States. As described in the previous chapter, the Art Treasures exhibition was a collaborative effort between Turkey and the United States, however when it comes to the scholarship conducted on the exhibition, the archival records and the catalogue indicate that it was the American scholars conducting research on Turkey selected the objects and contributed to its catalogue with essays. On the other hand, for the Turkish Art of the Ottoman Period exhibition, despite not being a loan exhibition, Atıl spent time in Istanbul working in the Turkish national collections and translating an important book by Turkish art historians, Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman, indicating that Atıl was very much informed about their most recent research and scholarship conducted in the collections in Turkey and elsewhere. This close relationship would continue in the following years, and Atıl would edit and translate another important publication, the Seljuk and Ottoman sections of the Anatolian Civilizations exhibition of 1983 and collaborate closely with Çağman for the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent exhibition of 1987.

Despite its small scale, the diplomatic significance of this exhibition should not be overlooked. Although it was not an international loan exhibition, still Melih Esenbel, the Ambassador of Turkey to the United States, wrote a brief note to the catalogue on the occasion of this commemorative exhibition of the 50th anniversary of the Republic (Atıl, 1973b, p. 3). Moreover, Julian Raby (2021) pointed out the disclaimer in the catalogue "This book is the property of the Cultural Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey" demonstrating the diplomatic abilities and pioneering

vision of Atıl as a curator securing support from the Turkish government at a time when diplomacy and fundraising were not expected from a curatorial role.

Another important thread to point out is Atıl's evolving scholarship on Turkish art at the beginning of her career as a curator of Islamic art. In 1969, Atıl graduated from her Ph.D. program with a dissertation on Levni's *Surname*, an artist who is hailed as the last of the Ottoman tradition from the 18th century before the western forms penetrated, bringing what was then considered to be a decline in the Ottoman painting tradition.[99] In 1973, Atıl's article on the Ottoman painting during the reign of Mehmed II appeared in *Ars Orientalis*, where Atıl (1973c) provided a detailed history of the earliest known period of the Ottoman painting. Her exhibition catalogue of the same year in a way forms an arch between these two periods, that is the artistic production during the reign of Mehmed II of the 15th century and Levni in the 18th century. By bridging the two, Atıl (1973b) brought together all the artistic periods from the reign of Mehmet II until the end of the Ottoman Empire in her catalogue essay.

The last exhibition of 1973 to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Republic of Turkey was organized at the MMA in New York by Richard Ettinghausen, the consultative chairman of the Islamic art department. The Art of Imperial Turkey and Its European Echoes opened to the public on November 17 and was on view until March 4, 1974. Compared to the Boston and DC exhibitions, this one was the largest in scale, consisting of three sections (Exhibition of Turkish Art in the Islamic Department, Undated). It was proposed that the first section of the exhibition would display Turkish decorative arts of the 16th to the 18th centuries from the collection of the MMA, featuring 10 carpets, 10 silks and velvets, 25 pottery, 10 arms and armor and a few costumes from the Costume Institute. The second section would be on Turkish painting with about 70 paintings and related objects from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd. Indeed, Binney not only loaned his newly formed Ottoman painting collection of 51 works for this exhibition, but he also authored a catalogue of his collection for this occasion as well as underwriting the costs of its publication. The MMA informed of the importance of this exhibition to the visitors with the statement that being "the largest collection in the United States" and "the second largest outside

[99] Atıl's dissertation is published as a book in Turkish titled *Levni ve Surname: Bir Osmanlı Şenliğinin Öyküsü* in 1999 and in English as *Levni and the Surname: The Story of an Eighteenth Century Ottoman Festival* in 2000.

of Turkey," this was the first time the Binney collection was shown as a whole. The third and final section showcased European works depicting the image of Turks and Turkey in Western art from 15th to the 19th centuries and was arranged by Mrs. Alexandrine St. Clair. This section consisted of 60 prints and books and 25 objects. The only review that could be identified on this exhibition finds it "a sort of puzzler" with "an extremely hazy focus" as it starts with "an elegant installation of opulent objects" from the MMA collection, then continues with Edwin Binney's collection of paintings, which is said to be "not only the heart of the show but also, no doubt, its chief reason for being," and ending with the last section featuring examples such as "a Matisse odalisque" to offer an image of the Turk with "picturesque vision of harems and exotic life in general" (Canaday, 1973, p. 27). While the exhibition is considered to be failing in giving a historical context, it is praised for the quality and perfection of the objects that are selected to be on view (Canaday, 1973, p. 27).

Therefore, perhaps it is not misleading to claim that the legacy of this exhibition may not be on the curatorial narrative offered in the exhibition but in Binney's catalogue as it was the first one dedicated to his Turkish painting collection and marks his emergence as the collector of Turkish art in the United States. Binney went on to publish a supplement to his 1973 catalogue, then in 1979 he published a second catalogue of his expanded Turkish collection, followed by another supplement to the 1979 catalogue as well as travelling his collection to a number of venues in the United States throughout the 1970s.[100]

[100] Edwin Binney Turkish art publications are as follows: Edwin Binney, 3rd, *Turkish Miniature Paintings and Manuscripts from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd*, New York and Los Angeles: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1973; Edwin Binney, 3rd, *Other Turkish Treasures from the Binney Collection*, Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1974; Edwin Binney, 3rd, with sections on ceramics and textiles by Walter B. Denny, *Turkish Treasures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd*, Portland: Portland Art Museum, 1979; Edwin Binney, 3rd, *Turkish Treasures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd: Supplement to the 1979 catalog*, San Diego: San Diego Museum of Art, 1981.
These catalogues accompanied the exhibitions held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1973), LACMA (1974–75), the Honolulu Academy of Arts (1975), and the Portland Art Museum (1979).

4.2 Edwin Binney, 3rd (1925-1986) and Collecting Turkish Art

Edwin Binney in the 1970s came to the fore as the first major Turkish art collector in the United States. His interest in collecting began quite early on his life and Turkish art was not the only area that he collected. However, it was perhaps the area along with Indian painting that his impact was felt most as he focused his energies on a neglected field seeing its importance and the contributions he could make.

In his introductory essay published in 1986 in *American Collectors of Asian Art*, Pratapaditya Pal comments that Edwin Binney is "without question, the most avid and aggressive collector of Indian, Persian, and Turkish paintings" and his Turkish collection is "unexcelled outside Turkey" (p. 7). This is a claim made by Binney himself multiple times in the introductory essays of his Turkish collection catalogues, and in addition to Pal, Richard Ettinghausen (1966; 1973), Thomas Lentz (1986) and later Keelan Overton (2012), who wrote essays on Binney's Turkish art collection, reiterate the same view.

Heir to the Crayola Crayon Company, Binney was a specialist of nineteenth century French literature and received his Ph.D. degree from Harvard University in 1961 with the dissertation *The Ballets of Theophile Gautier* (Lentz, 1986, p. 94). He began collecting as a young student and his diverse interests in visual arts, music, dance, and literature informed his collecting. As Lentz (1986) explains, Binney had "more than 10,000 prints and festival books that trace the history of the ballet to its nineteenth century climax in the *ballet romantique*" (p. 94) in addition to his other extensive European, Indian, and Turkish art collections.

Binney's first purchase in Islamic art goes back to 1958 of a Shirazi hunt scene (Overton, 2012, p. 4). According to Lenzt (1986), in a short time Binney acquired more than 200 works reflecting "the entire tradition of Iranian painting from Ilkhanid works of the 14th century to the Qajar period along with calligraphy, bindings, metalwork and ceramics" (p. 96). Already as early as 1962, Binney was ready to organize an exhibition of his own collection, which took place at the Portland Art Museum exhibiting 90 miniatures of Indian and Iranian origin. Moreover, he authored the catalogue for this exhibition, a bold move according to Overton (2012), for someone who had been collecting for only four years rather than asking an established scholar to do so (p. 8). This "bold" move is witnessed again and again in the coming decade

when Binney worked on his exhibitions of Turkish art all throughout the 1970s and early 1980s.

Binney's collecting in Persian art came to an end soon, as in late 1960s and early 1970s he gave his collection away to museums in Eugene (Oregon), Portland, San Diego and Honolulu and in 1976, he sold most of the remaining Persian works at the Colnaghi in London directing his attention to other fields (Lentz, 1986, p. 96; Overton, 2012, p. 9 and p. 13). As his reasons for selling Persian art, it is claimed that Binney felt he would never be able to compete with more financially well-off collectors, such as Stuart Cary Welch and Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, in the art market for Persian works as it was already an established market with high prices (Overton, 2012, p. 9) compared to the lack of knowledge and interest in Turkish art back in those years. Indeed, as Binney referenced in his 1973 catalogue, the scholars who were writing on Turkish art were Vladimir Minorsky (1958), Richard Ettinghausen (1961, 1966), G. M. Meredith-Owens (1963), Ernst Grube (1968, 1972) and all were lamenting on the limited availability of Turkish material, especially of manuscripts, outside Turkey (p. 9).

In 1960, two years after purchasing his first work in Islamic art, Binney acquired his first Turkish painting, an album portrait of Mehmet III enthroned (Figure 4.2), formerly in the collection of M. Laurent Fierens, from Christie's in London for $95 (See Appendix C for a list of all Turkish art purchases of Binney).[101]

Figure 4.2 : Sultan Mehmet III (reigned 1595-1603) Enthroned, Attended by Two Janissaries Turkey, about 1600. The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.34). (URL 8).

[101] The information on Binney's purchases is from the Private Notebooks of Edwin Binney, 3rd currently held at the Art of the Middle East Department, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) in 5 binders. Although many terms and titles have been standardized in contemporary scholarship, for the purposes of keeping Binney's original dataset, the information here is presented without any corrections or revisions. However, the images taken from Harvard Art Museums and LACMA websites use their creditlines as captions.

Until 1968, Binney purchased only a few Turkish works each year without having a clear strategy or understanding of these works' significance at the time as his comments indicate. He remarked on them as being either curious, or in decent condition, or low priced, or rare, or unfindable as Turkish items were in the market back then. Though he did not seem to be knowledgeable on Turkish art in the early 1960s, he demonstrated an increasing interest as well as a steady accumulation of knowledge on it with each passing year. For instance, he commented on the portrait of Mehmet III as "not having any Turkish miniatures, I was most anxious to procure one of the seven Turkish lots at this auction."[102] In 1962, for a dragon drawing he purchased from the Heeramaneck Gallery, he remarked that "the drawing looks as though it could be Turkish (all the dragons seem to be Turkish (vide Cary Welch)! That alone would make the drawing interesting" (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3 : Dragon in vegetation.
(Binney, 1979, Cat. No. 97, p. 147).

In 1963, Binney acquired his "earliest purchase of Turkish non-miniatures," an İznik two tile panel from Adrienne Minassian and added later on "I loved them, but did not realize their importance until long after they had gone on exhibition for the Smithsonian" (Figure 4.4). In 1967, when he purchased a 16th century Turkish book binding from Minassian, he called it "a very necessary purchase" as he had "several Persian bindings, but no Turkish ones" (Figure 4.5).

[102] Unless otherwise noted, all quotations of Binney are from the Private Notebooks of Edwin Binney, 3rd held at the Art of the Middle East Department, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Figure 4.4 : Pair of tiles with trefoil floral medallion surrounded by prunus stem, tulip and carnation motifs, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.316.B. (URL - 9).

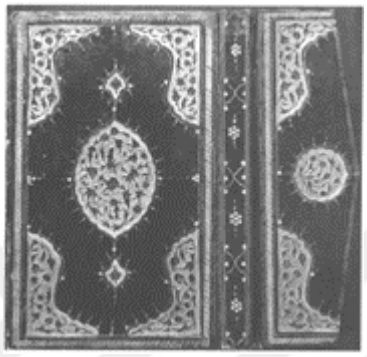

Figure 4.5 : Bookbinding with flap.
(Binney, 1979, Cat. No. 104, p. 160).

The field's prominent names' interest in the same objects seems to be another factor for Binney's acquisitions even at this early stage of his Turkish art collecting.[103] For instance, in 1961 he paid a considerable sum of $1,300 for a Shahnameh of Firdausi in Turkish for Sultan Murad III at the Sotheby's auction, where the British Museum was the underbidder. Binney expressed that it "was the most expensive item (by about double) of all of the Islamic items in the auction…It looked rather ordinary and wooden, as would be logical, but the royal provenance made the difference" (Figure 4.6).

[103] Overton (2012) frames this as Binney's valuing objects that "necessitated a 'chase' on the art market (including the outwitting of a personal rival – most often S.C. Welch), and those that were related to examples collected by his peers (particularly Welch, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, Wyman, Beatty and de Unger) or by major museums and dealers (including the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Soustiels)" (p. 7).

Figure 4.6 : Manuscript of the Tarcuma-Shahnama (Book of Kings) of Firdawsi, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.32). (URL 10).

On the other hand, Binney's deep commitment to make his collection available to the public is already apparent in this early stage as this work along with the 16th century Turkish bookbinding and the portrait of a seated man (Figure 4.7) that he purchased the same year from the auction 2nd Vente Sevadjian were put on view at the MMA in 1968 in conjunction with the Art Treasures exhibition.

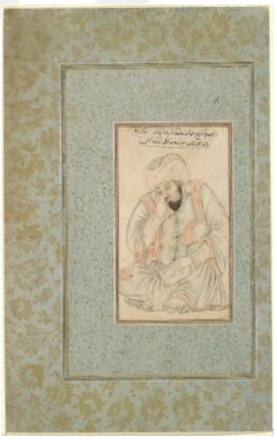

Figure 4.7 : Portrait of the Poet Hafiz, folio from an album, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.241. (URL - 11).

Starting with 1968, a drastic increase is seen both in the number of Binney's acquisitions of Turkish art as well as his enthusiasm on everything available that is Turkish in the market. Budgetary concerns must have played an important role in shifting Binney's attention from Persian to Turkish art as claimed by Overton (2012, p. 9), however it is important to make note of art historical developments that must have had an impact on Binney's decision to focus on Turkish painting.

Firstly, Art Treasures of Turkey exhibition travelling in the United States between 1966 and 1968, when Binney was also circulating his own Islamic art collection across the country with SITES, must have made an impression on Binney. Binney was invited to the exhibition opening dinner at the Boston MFA, hence he at least saw the Boston iteration of this exhibition, if not any others. In his preface to the 1979 catalogue, Binney made a comment on this exhibition saying the finest section of the exhibition was the works coming from the Topkapı Palace (p. ix).

Moreover, in the same catalogue preface, once again referring to Art Treasures, Binney (1979) stated that his aim in touring his collection to smaller museums in the United States was to give the American audiences, who could not travel to larger cities to see Art Treasures, a chance to see Turkish art (p. ix). Therefore, he framed the purpose of his collection as raising awareness on Turkish art in the United States, a particularly important one in those years, as with the change in the Turkish antiquities law in 1973, artworks could not be loaned for exhibition or other purposes, so Binney's collection represented Turkish art in the United States, where public museums had very limited objects in their collections in this area.

Before the 1970s, even Binney did not have much to show for Turkish art as his catalogue of the 1966-68 Islamic art exhibition shows the gap in his collection for the field of Turkish art, which featured only 4 paintings,[104] 1 firman and 1 pottery. Ettinghausen, who organized Art Treasures, also played an important advisory role in the arrangement of the Islamic Art from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd exhibition. Ettinghausen "selecte[d] the items…determine[d] the scope of the exhibition together with Mr. Binney" and wrote the foreword and introduction to Turkish miniatures section of the catalogue (Van Arsdale, 1966). This collaboration with Ettinghausen[105] must have had a role in turning Binney's attention to Turkish art in the late 1960s. In 1973, they collaborated once again for the Art of Imperial Turkey and Its European Echoes exhibition at the MMA, where Binney displayed his Turkish painting collection for the first time as a whole and self-authored his first catalogue on Turkish art.

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[104] As Overton (2012) states among these 4 paintings only 1 was undeniably Turkish. By 1970, however, Binney accomplished to collect about 40 examples of Turkish painting, majority of which were from the early modern period (p. 11 and see also footnote 40 on p. 10.)
[105] Overton (2012) also points that Ettinghausen was an early close advisor to Binney (p. 12).

An additional reason for his increased interest in Turkish art could be Binney's 1968 trip to Turkey. Binney's notebooks do not provide much information on this trip, but while in Istanbul, he stayed at the Hilton Hotel, and looked for manuscripts and a scribe's kit to buy without much success in the city. However, much to his luck he was able to find a scribe's kit (consisting of 6 items and a lacquer box containing them, Figure 4.8) and a portrait painting of a youth standing under a tree (Figure 4.9) in the antique shop, Abdul Kent, at Hilton during this trip despite Ettinghausen's warning that Turkish miniatures were impossible to find in Istanbul.

Figure 4.8 : Kit of a Turkish scribe.
(Binney, 1973, Cat. No. 51, p. 133).

Figure 4.9 : Portrait of a Turkish Youth Standing Under a Tree, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.45). (URL - 12).

In addition to these 8 purchases in Istanbul, that same year Binney purchased more works on paper: a firman with the tughra of the Sultan Ahmet III allowing French traders to come to Constantinople (Figure 4.10) for $500 and a painting of Turkish

noble being entertained by musicians (Figure 4.11) for $400 from Joseph Soustiel; Turkish costume sketches (Figure 4.12) for a total of $145 from Sven Gahlin; an anthology of several different texts (Figure 4.13) for $250 from Sidy as well as his two major 16th century Shahnameh painting purchases from Hotel Drouot, a painting of Bihzan in battle (Figure 4.14) for $2,500 and of Gudarz (Figure 4.15) for $2,325.

Figure 4.10 : Illuminated firman (royal decree) with ornamental tughra of Sultan Ahmed III (r.1703-1730), Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.247. (URL 13).

Figure 4.11 : Ottoman sultan entertained outdoors, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.243. (URL - 14).

Figure 4.12 : Turkish Personage and Costume: Kizlar Aghasi, Chief Eunuch, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.61). (URL - 15).

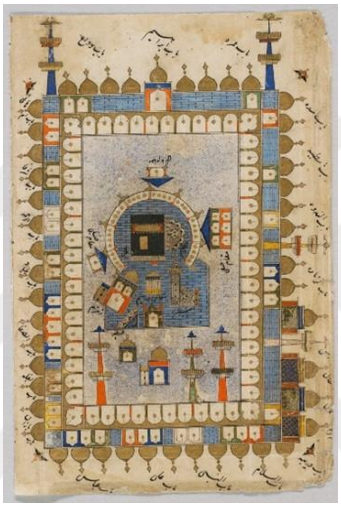

Figure 4.13 : The Ka`ba at Mecca (painting, verso), Text (recto), folio 20 (detached) from a Manuscript of a *Majmu`a* of Persian Texts, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.265.20. (URL - 16).

Figure 4.14 : Bizhan Brings Back the Head of Human, Page from a Manuscript of the Shahnama (Book of Kings) of Firdawsi, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.71). (URL - 17).

Figure 4.15 : Gudarz Slays Piran (painting, recto; text, verso), folio from a manuscript of the *Shahnama* of Firdawsi, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.264. (URL - 18).

Binney's comments on these two Shahnama purchases are especially important to cite as a whole as he provided a very detailed background information on his data gathering, circumstances of an auction taking place during the Paris riots of 1968, his competitors and other bidders in the field, the differing views of the specialists on the attribution of these works as well as information of the paintings' provenance:

> This [P 175] (with P 176) was the most important miniature in this sale. Michel Beurdeley sent me a batch of photographs before the catalogue arrived. Ettinghausen happened to telephone the night that I received them, and I drove down to his aunt's to speak to him for a few minutes. I showed him these two photos, and he immediately called them Turkish although the catalogue had said Persian. They are related to the series "aux grosses tetes" as Stchoukine calls them. Worchester has one (see Grube, Cini cat.no.) and another is reproduced in Stchoukine...
>
> The account of this Paris auction, in the middle of riots, strikes, "no gas", no anything, with nobody wanting to set up the miniatures for exhibition (which is required the day before a sale), and a police helicopter hovering over the Boulevard Haussmann where Soustiel pere had agreed to keep the things the previous night, is indescribable. Needless to say, these two miniatures were the prize of the bunch. Beurdeley's photographs which he sent earlier than the catalogue, listed 3-4000NF estimates. These seemed very reasonable, and I told Jean Soustiel in my first two letters (which he received before the post

> offices also went on strike and no mail was delivered at all!) that I wanted them, up to about 6000.
>
> Meanwhile Grube and H.P. Kraus had tried to contact Beurdeley (and Sidy.) Kraus had left bids. High ones. Jean Soustiel explains that as he entered Sidy said to him "you won't be buying anything today". (Kraus and Mehdi Mahboubian had given him very high bids.) Jean was so angry, and so "in the dark" that he decided to bid and GET each one of these offering me my choice if I could only afford one. They were well worth the price, and I was glad to keep both.
>
> Grube received his catalogue too late to put in bids, although he telephoned Paris to the Soustiels, to be told that the auction HAD TAKEN PLACE (I expected it would have been cancelled because of the difficulties as reported in our newspapers!), but that he was phoning too late. I'd already gotten them. Grube at the Metropolitan early in June, before our trip to Europe said he was now certain that these miniatures are NOT Turkish. He ought to know, but Ettinghausen says they ARE. And Soustiel pere now remembers in Istanbul in 1918, having the WHOLE manuscript brought to him (it had been stolen from the Topkapi Seray) for split up.
>
> Other collections: I have a color slide of another leaf (with four horsemen in each of the four corners) gift of Soustiel pere.
>
> It is listed: Ancienne collection Pozzi (1932-1968)
>
> Ancienne collection Joseph Soustiel 1931-32
>
> There are others in the Pozzi collection. (Jean Soustiel)

After 1968, the following three years in the art market fortuitously provided what Binney needed for forming his own Turkish art collection. As Overton (2012) states, from 1969 to 1971:

> a considerable amount of Turkish painting from notable private collections, particularly the Kevorkian and Pozzi collections, began to surface at sales in New York (Sotheby's) and Paris (Hotel Drouot, Soustiel and Palais Galliera). Given these opportune circumstances (for Binney, at least; details concerning this material's departure from Turkey remain to be clarified), Binney embarked on a self-declared 'campaign' to completely corner the market. (p. 10)

In 1969, Binney purchased 9 items from the Sotheby's sale in addition to a 16th century complete Qur'an manuscript he bought from Hotel Drouot (Figure 4.16). In his notebooks, Binney called this a "MAJOR PURCHASE" due to the manuscript's royal provenance, noting that it was "presented to the Mosque of Selimiye of Edirne by Sultan Selim II." The Sotheby's auction of that year, also referred to as the second Kevorkian sale, was Binney's "campaign to get ALL the Turkish lots" and it was the first instance where Binney spent considerable amount of money for his Turkish art collection.[106]

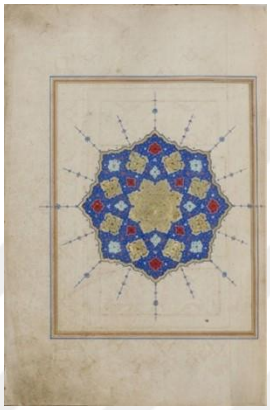

Figure 4.16 : Manuscript of the Qur'an (Complete), The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.19). (URL - 19).

Binney regarded the painting with two dragons entwined on a spray of stylized foliage (Figure 4.17) as a "must" and "wonderful purchase" for his collection paying $3,850, which became one of the "masterpieces" (Overton, 2012, p. 10) in his collection. He, furthermore, noted Stuart Cary Welch's remarks to him after the sale, "the best thing in the sale, I would have gotten it, if I didn't already have mine!" The second "must" in Binney's list in this auction was the painting of Ali with his sons Hasan and Husayn (Figure 4.18) dated as late 16th century. Arabs swearing allegiance to the Caliph Ali after the death of Othman was another painting that Binney marked as an important acquisition in his notebooks (Figure 4.19).

[106] Binney spent about $500-$1,500 per year, some years even less, for his Turkish art purchases until 1968. In 1968, he paid about $7,000 for Turkish pieces in total, and in 1969, this amount increased to $26,300.

Figure 4.17 : Two Dragons Entwined on a Spray of Stylized Foliage, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.18). (URL - 20).

Figure 4.18 : Prophet Muhammad, with His Grandsons Hasan and Husayn, are Visited by the Angel Gabriel, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.222. (URL - 21).

Figure 4. 19 : Ali Receiving the Bay'a (Swearing of Allegiance) (painting, recto; text, verso), illustrated folio from a manuscript of Maktel-i Ali Resul of Lami‘i Chelebi, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.229. (URL - 22).

However, in terms of price, portrait of Sultan Selim II (1568-1576) (Figure 4.20) stood out among his other purchases in the Sotheby's sale as it had the highest price with $4,550 that Binney paid for since the beginning of his Turkish art collecting. In fact, before 1968 Binney was paying only a few hundred dollars, with the exception of a few pieces which cost only a bit more than $1,000. Starting with 1968, there is a drastic increase in his spending, going for pieces costing thousands of dollars. In addition to Binney's increasing interest, other bidders must have played a role in the bump in prices for Turkish art. For instance, the portrait of Sultan Selim II was sold with another portrait as a pair at the auction and Binney expressed that he bid high for the second portrait just to be "nasty" to Hans P. Kraus and ended up buying the second portrait without intending to. After the auction, he sent a word to him through Ernst Grube that he was willing to sell the second portrait to him for the same price he purchased at the auction, so he was able to retrieve the money that he was not willing to pay for in the first place. This instance is a good demonstration of the competition that the auction sales create in collectors, and it is not always a genuine like for the object or strategic decision making for the collection that drive the collector to go after pieces that are on auction.

Figure 4.20 : Portrait of Sultan Selim II (reigned 1566-1574), The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.37). (URL - 23).

In 1970, Binney added 11 more pieces to his collection through purchases from the Vente Pozzi sale (5 pieces) as well as the Soustiels (5 pieces) and Adrienne Minassian (1 piece). The Vente Pozzi sale was particularly an important turning point in Binney's collecting as he expressed in his notebook:

> After the Vente Pozzi I was breathless over Turkish stuff. I had been able to buy 3 miniatures and 2 manuscripts and was already beginning to consider the possibility of writing a Turkish catalogue of my own things. I spoke about this eventuality with "Papa" Soustiel at the time I picked up the lots I'd bought from the Pozzi sale.

Among the five pieces he got in this sale, it was the manuscript of the Javahir al-Gharaib Tarjomat Bahr al-Aja'ib by the scribe Mustafa al-Hariri (Figure 4.21) for which Binney went as far as to pay $5,450, calling it “a very important manuscript” and “the buy of the season,” and further adding that it was exhibited at the Splendeur de l’art turc exhibition of 1953.

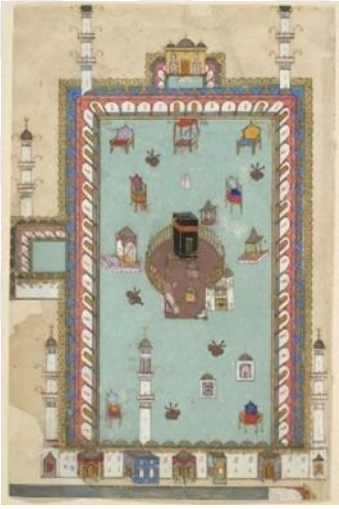

Figure 4.21 : Harem al Sharif at Mecca, illustrated folio from a manuscript of the *Javahir al-Gharaib Tarjomat Bahr al-Aja'ib* (Gems of Marvels: A Translation of the Sea of Wonders) of Jennabi (Cennabi), Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.219.1. (URL - 24).

Binney’s enthusiasm on Turkish art reached a peak in 1970 as indicated by his note:

> I have, and WANT, as many examples of Turkish painting as possible. I have bought almost everything that has appeared on the market in the past years….and have always sought out the Turkish item.. (even convincing WGA [William G. Archer] that this was good collecting sense.)

Indeed, the 1970s was an important period of collecting for Binney. With a total of 151 purchases from 1970 to 1979, Binney formed the majority of his collection in this

decade. Moreover, as mentioned before, collection catalogues and exhibitions of his Turkish art collection appeared in the same decade filling an important gap in American museum collections and exhibition programs.

For 1971, Binney remarked that it “was a BAD year financially” as he purchased the house in San Diego without being able to sell the house in Bookline. However, this did not prevent him in acquiring the pieces he thought important for his Turkish art collection as they appeared on the market, and he once again exceeded his previous records by paying $6,000 and $10,000 for two pieces. Since his usual dealers provided him the objects, he could request to make the payments at a later time. Binney’s 6 purchases of this year were from the Vente Pozzi/Hotel Drouot, the Soustiels, Adrienne Minassian and Parke-Bernet.

Minassian sold him the manuscript of the *Mantiq al-Tayr* by Attar for $6,000 (Figure 4.22). Binney remarked on this manuscript that “THIS WAS A MUST” and he “was impressed by the earliness of it.” The Vente Pozzi sale of 1970 at the Hotel Drouot as well as Ernst Grube played roles in the acquisition of this piece although Binney found the initial price that was quoted to him as “enormous”:

> Grube had made some notes showing it was definitely XVth century and comparing it to the known early mss (see below). But the price quoted of $9,000 was enormous for such a tiny book with so few miniatures. I told Adrienne "no".... she agreed that the price was too high but she was selling it for a private person who didn't know. (There was also a marvelous XVIIIth century diwan picture). I lunched with Grube shortly after this and he said "What a pity you didn't get it." He mentioned that there were quite a few XVIth century Turkish things that might be found in other collections but that this was rarissime. At the time of the Pozzi sale in Paris, where I bought 5 Turkish things and began to plan a Turkish exhibition of my own stuff, I realized that I HAD TO HAVE THIS. I phoned Adrienne from San Diego and she agreed to pass on a bid of $6000 to the owners. They accepted...

Figure 4. 22 : Manuscript of the *Mantiq Al-Tayr* of Attar (Language of the Birds), The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.12). (URL - 25).

Another significant addition of this year is the tughra of Sultan Suleyman bought at Vente Pozzi (Figure 4.23). Binney already had Ottoman tughras from later periods, but he thought finding one of the early Sultans "was unbelievable." Although he thought he could not afford the price the bids were going to reach, due to the condition of the tughra not being as good, Binney was able to get it for only $1,650.

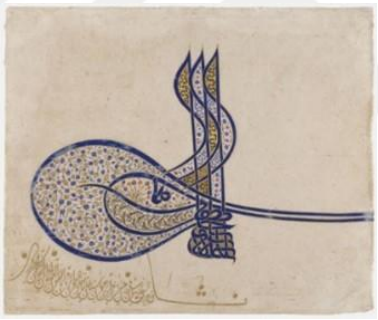

Figure 4.23 : Tugra (Calligraphic Monogram) of Sulayman the Magnificent, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.17). (URL - 26).

A double-page painting of the army of Shah Ramin attacking the Iron Fortress (Figure 4.24) set Binney's record with the highest price of $10,000 he paid until then for a Turkish painting. He noted that "A major historical miniature, particularly of a double-spread nature had always been one of the major desiderata of my Turkish holdings, and, probably unobtainable!" However, Joseph Soustiel contacted him in 1971 and Binney was able to get it although Alessandro Bruschettini and Edmund de Unger were also interested in the same painting.

Figure 4.24 : The Army of Shah Ramin Attacking the Iron Fortress, Page from a Manuscript of Tuhfat al-Lata'if (The Best of Subtleties), The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.41). (URL - 27).

In 1972, Binney added 8 items to his collection out of which 7 were purchased and a set of 2 drawings were gifts from the Soustiels. As indicated by his references to the upcoming exhibition at the MMA, Binney was getting some of the pieces due to the exhibition rather than his liking of the available material in the market. Being aware of the gaps in his collection, his purchases of this year were more strategic and driven by the desire to round out his collection or not wanting to miss out a reasonably priced Turkish piece in the market. In line with this and also probably due to his suffering finances in 1971, he did not spend as much as before on Turkish art and the highest price he paid this year was at $2,000.

Binney got interested in the manuscript of poems in praise of Suleyman the Magnificent (Figure 4.25) due to “its early period” and considered it “a MUST” purchase for not owning many examples from this period. From the Stuart Cary Welch collection, Binney selected the portrait of a young lady in blue (Figure 4.26) and was able to obtain it timely enough to include it in the upcoming MMA exhibition of his Turkish paintings. Another painting that was purchased in the same year and exhibited at the MMA exhibition was the ascension of King Solomon to heaven (Figure 4.27). Formerly in the collection of Sherif Sabry Pasha of Cairo, Binney was impressed by its "distinguished provenance." Though he commented on the painting as “busy, and somewhat rubbed,” still he considered it “a good example of a Persian-style painting adapted for Turkey.”

Figure 4.25 : Manuscript in Masnavi Verse in Praise of Sulayman I, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.15). (URL - 28).

Figure 4. 26 : Young Woman in Blue, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.30). (URL - 29).

Figure 4.27 : The Ascension of King Solomon to Heaven, attended by Flying Angels and Demons, folio from an album, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.235. (URL - 30).

Another purchase that he thought worthwhile but not quite arising in him the excitement of his other purchases of previous years was the equestrian portrait of Sultan Osman II (Figure 4.28). His main reason for adding this portrait to his collection was again to fill the gaps as Binney had historical works from early 17th century but lacked portraits from the same period. Floral calligraphic design of an ewer (Figure 4.29) fulfilled a similar function of filling a gap as Binney was interested in stretching his collection to the early 19th century and at the time did not have many pieces representing "later Turkish stuff." Though Binney paid more than the estimate price, which he found reasonable and was one of the deciding factors for him to go after the piece, his paying $500 and considering it "still WELL WORTH GETTING" and "a very worthwhile addition" to his collection demonstrates his interest in creating a Turkish painting collection that is representative of all periods including the later periods that were considered as a period of "decline," rather than forming a collection of only the so- called classical period works.

Figure 4.28 : Equestrian Portrait of Sultan ‘Osman II (r. 1618-1622)**,** Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.238. (URL - 31).

Figure 4.29 : Calligraphic Design of a Ewer (Ibrik) with a Long Spout, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.60). (URL - 32).

As for objects, in addition to the finial ornament with thulth script (Figure 4.30) he purchased in 1970 from the Soustiels, in 1972 again from the Soustiels he bought his second metal object for the collection, that is a frontal from a horse armor (Figure 4.31) said to be from the armory of the Topkapı Palace.

Figure 4.30 : 'Alam (finial ornament) for a Battle Standard. Inscribed in Arabic, "There is no God but God.", Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.334. (URL - 33).

Figure 4.31 : Armor for a Horse's Head (Chanfron), The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.90). (URL - 34).

At this point in his collecting, Binney did not seem to have a strategy for collecting metalwork but seeing them as "strange fun thing" or "posh" serving to round out his collection. However, in 1973 there is a rise in the number of objects Binney purchased in the market. Out of the 13 pieces he added to his collection, 5 of them are objects: 1 metal sprout, 2 textiles and 2 ceramics. From his comments on his purchases of both objects and works of paper in 1973, we understand that Binney was constantly considering his upcoming exhibitions in Los Angeles and Honolulu while he was adding new pieces to his collection.

In 1973, paralleling the economic trend of the previous year, Binney once again obtained pieces that were reasonably priced and the highest amount he paid was once again at $2,000 for the metal sprout (Figure 4.32) that he "fell in love with when [he] first saw it at the Soustiels." The fragment of a color-glaze muqarnas from 15th century Bursa (Figure 4.33) was another exciting purchase for Binney calling it "a marvelous piece" and "giving range to the Turkish collection" as he had only tiles. On the other hand, he picked the 17th century Syrian tiles (Figure 4.34) to round out the ceramics selection in the Los Angeles and Honolulu exhibitions.

Figure 4.32 : Spout for a Selsebil (Fountain), Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.333. (URL - 35).

Figure 4.33 : Muqarnas decoration, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.79). (URL - 36).

Figure 4.34 : Panel of Three Tiles with Inscription in a cartouche and floral motifs, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.318. (URL - 37).

A velvet panel (Figure 4.35) and velvet cushion fragment (Figure 4.36), both from Bursa, made into the Binney collection while he was looking for a textile with the çintemani motif for his upcoming Los Angeles-Honolulu supplement. Binney's comments on the "OUTRAGEOUS" prices at the Parke-Bernet's textile auction as well as on LACMA's *the Nasli M. Heeramaneck Collection, gift of Joan Palevsky* catalogue of 1973 hint at the interest and demand for the Turkish textiles at the time. As for his collection, Binney was able to stay in budget by getting somehow "damaged" but "exactly what [he] wanted" pieces from Adrienne Minassian in New York. He was able to include the cushion fragment in the Los Angeles supplement and later it was also loaned to the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent exhibition.

Figure 4.35 : Velvet cushion cover (Yastik), Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.300. (URL - 38).

Figure 4.36 : Fragment of a Velvet Yastik (cushion cover), Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.295. (URL - 39).

As for works on paper, Binney purchased two 18th century albums of nashki calligraphy (Figures 4.37 and 4.38) from Sotheby's and a firman with the tughra of Sultan Selim III (Figure 4.39), another 18th century piece, from Soustiel for the Los Angeles and Honolulu exhibitions as he believed that calligraphy was not well represented in his collection at the time. He also obtained miniature paintings from the late 16th century, 17th century and a 19th century album containing portraits of 31 Ottoman sultans. Among his miniature acquisitions, Binney paid the most ($825) for the painting of murder of Iraj by his brothers Tur and Sam (Figure 4.40) from the Parke-Bernet sale despite Ettinghausen's advice that it was not worth getting and managed to include it in the MMA exhibition of 1973.

Figure 4.37 : Calligraphy Album with Six Leaves of Hadith Written in Nashki script, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.252. (URL - 40).

Figure 4.38 : Muraqqa (Album) with Sayings of 'Ali, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.57). (URL - 41).

Figure 4.39 : Illuminated Firman (Royal Decree) with Ornamental Tugra (Calligraphic Monogram) of Sultan Selim III (reigned 1789-1807), The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.55). (URL - 42).

Figure 4.40 : The Murder of Iraj by his Brother Tur and Sam (painting, recto; text, verso), folio from a manuscript of the *Shahnama* of Firdawsi, left-hand side of a bifolio, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.234.2. (URL - 43).

It is important at this point to discuss Binney's first comprehensive display of Turkish painting collection. As stated before, the 1973 exhibition of Binney's Turkish painting collection as part of the MMA's celebratory exhibition of the Republic of Turkey was the first of a series of catalogues and exhibitions organized by Binney in that decade. After the MMA, this exhibition travelled to the LACMA. In the foreword to the catalogue, Ettinghausen (1973) explained the reason for the limited knowledge on Turkish painting was that this particular art form was mainly supported by the royal patronage and was not so widely available across the Empire. Due to the Western museums not having many samples in their collections, Binney's collection along with Chester Beatty's in Dublin, Ireland fulfilled an important role in presenting this lesser-known artistic tradition to the public. Another important aspect that Ettinghausen (1973) highlighted was the comprehensiveness of Binney's collection, featuring works from the late 15th century to the 19th century (p. 7).

In his preface to his first Turkish collection catalogue, Binney (1973) cited a number of scholars' references to the lack of knowledge on Ottoman painting due to the inaccessibility of the material in Turkish museums and the unavailability of Turkish material in Western collections. Vienna, Paris, and London are accounted as the only European centers where one can study Turkish manuscripts at the national libraries along with the Beatty collection in Dublin. As for the United States, the Boston MFA, Freer Gallery in DC, Cleveland Museum of Art, Morgan Library and the MMA in New York are listed by Binney as having some Turkish material. Despite the admission that not every object can match the quality of the works in the MMA collection, still Binney

considered his collection to be "probably the largest and the most well-rounded group in existence outside of Istanbul, London, Paris, Vienna, and Dublin" (pp. 9-10).

His introduction to the catalogue may not be as detailed as Atıl's 1973 Freer catalogue as explained in the previous section, however it demonstrates Binney's scholarly attitude and that he was quite well informed about the scholarship on Turkish painting. Binney in this first catalogue listed prominent scholars of the West working on Turkish art, provided an overview of existing collections, referred to the work of Oktay Aslanapa on *Ehl-i Hiref* registers as well as Mustafa Ali's *Menakıb-ı Hünerveran*, and summarized what was known at the time about the *nakkaşhane* and its artists. His inclusion of an overview of existing scholarship and a bibliography of sources for Turkish art further attests to Binney's scholarly approach to his collecting material as well as his connections with leading scholars of the field such as Richard Ettinghausen, G. M. Meredith-Owens, Ernst Grube and Walter B. Denny, from whom he frequently got advice and insight on the objects available on the market as his notebooks indicate. After the 1973 exhibition at the MMA, Binney's collecting of Turkish art got more intense, indicating that he must have enjoyed the process and the outcome, hence he immediately went on to organize further exhibitions and write a supplement to his first catalogue, which was published in 1974. Already in his notes on the 1973 purchases Binney referred to his Los Angeles and Honolulu exhibitions, and similarly in 1974, he acquired pieces with these projects in mind. In total, Binney purchased 11 works: 1 ceramic plate and a tile, 1 wood panel and 8 paintings from mostly the 18th century along with a few 17th and 19th century pieces. His acquisition of an "exactly standard" 16th century İznik plate (Figure 4.41) for the Los Angeles-Honolulu supplement once again confirms his strategy of forming a comprehensive collection of representative pieces of Turkish arts. The price of $5,000 for this plate though quite expensive for Binney and was the highest he paid in this year among his Turkish art purchases (the others were only a few hundred dollars each), was in fact a reasonable one for its time as Binney noted that there were İznik pieces as expensive as $35,000 on the market. His painting purchases this year did not excite him as much, however, from his notes we understand that by this time the dealers knowing his appetite for Turkish pieces contacted him whenever they came across anything Turkish even if not very rare or special. Binney seems also to have played along and if he found the piece "fun" or

“curious,” then he was willing to pay small amounts (a few hundred dollars) commenting “I'd rather have ME have it, than anyone else!”

Figure 4.41 : Plate with floral decoration including carnation, tulip, and cypress, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.315. (URL - 44).

1975 and 1976 are the peak years for Binney’s collecting as he obtained 31 and 32 works respectively and majority of these purchases were in the range of thousands of dollars, totaling about $50,000 for 1975 and $86,000 for 1976. In addition to implying strong financial conditions for Binney and the art market for Turkish art, personal reasons must have played a role in this increase. In May 1975, Binney took a 16-day trip to Turkey with Walter B. Denny and his wife staying in Istanbul, Bursa and Konya. Binney, during this trip, noting the strict ban on the export of Turkish antiquities, bought only a few 20th century pieces, which he called “souvenirs” though he added them to his collection notebooks later on. He purchased a modern wood Qur’an stand (Figure 4.42) from Bursa “solely as a mount for the Koran of Selim II” so that it could be properly exhibited.

Figure 4.42 : Rahle (Qur’an Stand), The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.97). (URL - 45).

In Konya, he got a 20th century textile of white silk square with gold embroidered tughra of Mehmet V Reshad (Figure 4.43) which he described as “having nothing

comparable, and liking LATE things, I bought it, not realizing it was to figure in the new Turkish catalogue," as well as 2 works of paper: Chromo-lithograph of portraits of the Sultans (Figure 4.44) and tabouret with the turban of the Mevlana, which was later on gifted to William Chandler in 1981.

Figure 4.43 : Ornamental Tughra of Sultan Mehmet V Reshad, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.304. (URL - 46).

Figure 4.44 : Portraits of the Ottoman Sultans, Bequest of Edwin Binney, 3rd, Turkish Collection (AC1995.124.9). (URL - 47).

After this trip, Binney's appetite for Turkish art heightened and he visited his regular dealer, the Soustiels, in Paris with the aim to buy whatever Turkish piece that he could find there. Indeed, 13 out of 31 of his additions to the collection are from the Soustiels in this year. Another distinction of 1975 purchases compared to the earlier years is the increase in the number of object purchases, 16 out of 31 purchases were of objects. From this point onwards, despite Binney's initial interest on works on paper, he started to build a collection representative of a variety of mediums, featuring ceramics, metalwork, textiles, and woodwork. From Bursa velvet panels to silk fragments, from

Ottoman tile panels to Seljuk cenotaph fragments, Binney “load[ed] up” on Turkish art and his Turkey trip definitely played a role in this new taste. For instance, for the Seljuk fragment Binney commented that:

> A gorgeous piece that I must admired when I saw it reproduced in color in the Soustiel second Islamic catalogue. Unfortunately, I was "flat broke" and could buy very little --- concentrating solely on miniatures. Returning from Turkey in June, 1975, after 16 days with the Dennys, and being stupified by the gorgeous ceramics, particularly the Seljuk ones, at the Karatay Medrese in Konya, and having money from the sale of the Persian miniatures, this was a MUST. The turquoise glaze is superb.

For another ceramic piece, a panel of three İznik tiles (Figure 4.45), said to be from the tomb of Mustafa in Bursa, Binney paid as high as $5,000 and noted that:

> This is a superb panel. I always went crazy when I first received the Soustiel catalogue and realized that I did not have enough money to buy it. Fortunately, it was available still the following summer when I returned from the 16 days in Turkey with the Dennys and knew I was going to "load up" on Turkish things. Gorgeous.

Figure 4.45 : Three Tiles, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.84a-c). (URL - 48).

The rigid ban on the export of Turkish antiquities that Binney referred in his notebooks might have functioned as a preventive measure in Turkey, however, the available material that Binney was able to collect in Europe in those years implies that the export

of antiquities was somehow happening, and Turkish artefacts were finding their place on the art market, which requires further research.

As for works on paper, in 1975 Binney reached to five figure numbers, paying $10,125 for a 17th century manuscript of the *Zubdet at-Tawarikh* (Figure 4.46) which he called "the most important Turkish purchase that I have made in A LONG TIME.". On the other hand, he also made sure to add three waqf documents to his collection as "good" and "typical" samples of Ottoman calligraphy although not being so thrilled about what he found on the market.

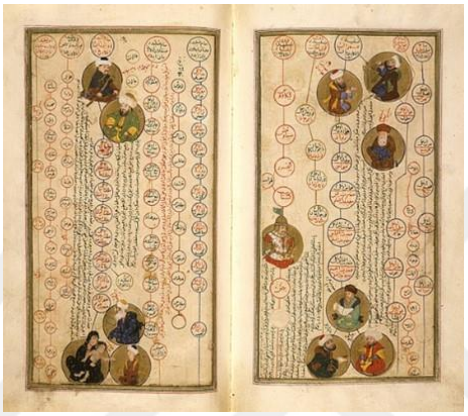

Figure 4.46 : Manuscript of the Zubdat al-Tawarikh (Cream of Histories), The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.38). (URL -49).

The following year, in 1976, Binney added 32 pieces to his collection: 2 metalworks, 2 ceramics, 6 textiles, 1 book binding and 21 works on paper including both examples of calligraphy and painting. Having set the plans for the Portland exhibition, Binney travelled to Paris "with the idea of buying fine pieces to enhance the show." He obtained a 19th century ibrik (Figure 4.47), a 16th century İznik large blue-and-white plate with grape clusters (Figure 4.48) and a 17th century painting of a ruler on a throne (Figure 4.49) from the Soustiels. Ibrik and the painting were of provincial provenance and Binney liked the diversity they brought to his collection. 18th century miquelet musket from Sotheby's sale was another item that Binney was interested in including as a "staple piece" and to "round out" his collection.

Figure 4.47 : Gilded ewer and basin with engraved floral decoration, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.335.A. (URL - 50).

Figure 4.48 : Dish with foliate rim and grape cluster design, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.314. (URL - 51).

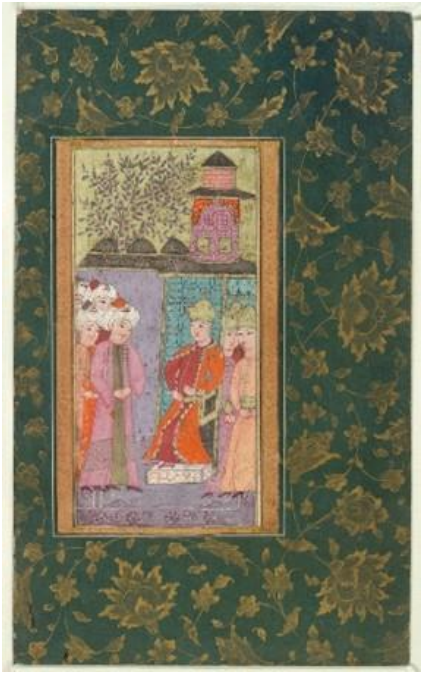

Figure 4.49 : Ruler on a Throne, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.276. (URL - 52).

At the Sotheby's and Christie's sales in London, he obtained 19th and 20th century calligraphic works, again to fill the gaps in his collection by representing the "renewed Turkish interest in excellent writing during the 19th century" while he could not help but complain about the high prices due to the interest in calligraphic works at the time of Islamic month in London.

That same year, Binney also went after Turkish paintings and manuscripts, adding 16 pieces to his collection, majority of which were sold at the Sotheby's Kevorkian sale. With the manuscript of the *Sahih of al-Bukhari* in Arabic (Figure 4.50), Binney was able to have a representative piece from the Fatih Mehmet period.

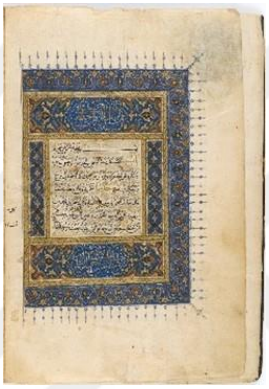

Figure 4.50 : Manuscript of the First Volume of the Sahih of Bukhari, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.210. (URL - 53).

In addition to this early 15th century work, he was able to obtain three 16th century pieces. The folio from *Iskandar Nameh* illustrating prostration of a youth before a ruler (Figure 4.51) dated as circa 1500 by Ernst Grube ensured Binney the significance of this work for the history of Turkish painting calling it "certainly the most important Turkish picture during the sales of "Islamic month" in London." While he paid $4,800 for this folio at the Sotheby's, Binney purchased the 16th century manuscript of Arifi's the *Rawzat al-Ushshaq* (Figure 4.52) from R.M.Light and Co. for $30,000 (the most expensive purchase he ever made in his Turkish art collecting and another masterpiece of his collection).

Figure 4.51 : Youth Prostrating Himself Before a Ruler, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.99). (URL - 54).

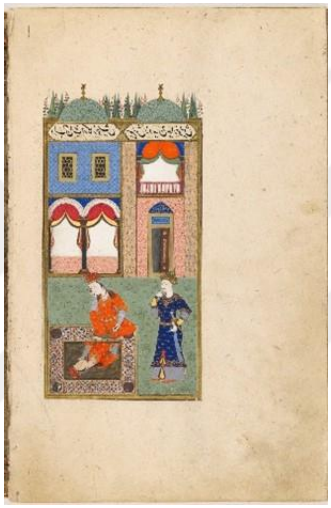

Figure 4.52 : Illustrated Manuscript of the Rawda al-Ushshaq (Garden of Lovers) of Arifi, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.261. (URL - 55).

Another Kevorkian provenance addition to his collection, which he deemed important, was the 17th century volume containing two bound texts of Diwan of Jami and Diwan of Selimi (by Sultan Selim II) (Figures 4.53a and 4.53b).

Figure 4.53a : Manuscript of the Ghazaliyyat (Poetry) of Jami and the Divan (Collected Works) of Salimi, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.33). (URL - 56).

Figure 4.53b : Manuscript of the Ghazaliyyat (Poetry) of Jami and the Divan (Collected Works) of Salimi, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.33). (URL - 57).

With a total cost of about $86,000, the 1976 was the year Binney spent most on Turkish art until that time. His sale of Persian works at the Colnaghi in the same year provided him the funds he needed for these purchases (Lentz, 1986, p. 96; Overton, 2012, p. 13). The following 8 years, the number of pieces and the amount he spent on Turkish art fluctuated between $5,000 to $49,000, and in 1984, just two years before he passed away, Binney went as high as $126,500 in his spending on Turkish art, concluding his collecting in a glorious manner.

Compared with the previous two years, Binney could not find much to his like in the sales of 1977 although he did not miss the Islamic week in London. He collected ceramics and woodwork for his upcoming Portland exhibition along with works of calligraphy as long as they were affordable purchases since Binney was complaining

about the high prices calligraphic pieces started to get in these sales but was also content that the Turkish ones were not going for as high as Arabic samples. The most prominent purchases he made this year was a 16th İznik deep plate (Figure 4.54) for $20,000 from the Saffany Gallery and a 16th century painting of members of Ottoman court (Figure 4.55) for $19,000 from the Sotheby's, formerly owned by Major R. Hawkins.

Figure 4.54 : Plate, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.101). (URL - 58).

Figure 4.55 : Members of Court of Sultan Selim II (r. 1566-1574), The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.20). (URL - 59).

In 1978 and 1979, Binney's collecting was driven by the plans for the Portland and the San Diego exhibitions. Despite the decrease in the number of his purchases, Binney continued to diversity his collection by adding pieces in a variety of mediums and going for both early and late period examples. He was particularly pleased with the new additions of textiles from Sven Gahlin, a late 15th century blue and white ceramic pot, along with his finds of an early example of *Khamsa* of Nizami (Figure 4.56), a 16th century painting of a prince and princess nearing the gate of a palace, a late 18th century genre scene of birth in a harem (Figure 4.57), and a 19th century manuscript of

a *Waqf Nameh* (Figure 4.58), all introducing diversity to the upcoming displays of his collection.

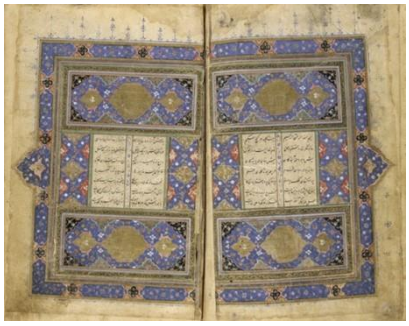

Figure 4.56 : Manuscript of the Khamsa (Quintet) of Nizami, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.16). (URL - 60).

Figure 4.57 : Birth in a Harem from a manuscript of the Zenanname (Book of Ladies) by Enderuni Fazil, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.100). (URL - 61).

Figure 4.58 : Manuscript of a Waqfnama (Endowment of Deed), The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.59). (URL - 62).

In 1980, Binney's spending jumped back to $49,000, when he collected mostly 16th century İznik ceramics from his usual dealers, Oliver Hoare in London, Adrienne Minassian in New York, and the Soustiels in Paris, and textiles from Colnaghi in

London, paying the highest prices for objects rather than works on paper, initiating a trend that continued until 1984, his last year in active collecting. His interest in İznik was a result of his desire to balance his collection between the earlier examples and that of the later periods. A rare find of this year was a late 18th century Ottoman jade cup (Figure 4.59) he obtained from Parke-Bernet.

Figure 4.59 : Jade Cup with Handle and Floral Decoration, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.343. (URL - 63).

The following year, in search of more pieces for his San Diego exhibition, Binney acquired 18th century Kütahya tankard and tiles along with a 19th century wooden astrolabe (Figure 4.60) from the Soustiels,[107] 16th century textiles from Yanni Petsopoulos in London and a second jade object, a kashkul, from Spink in London.

Figure 4.60 : Quadrant, The Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection of Turkish Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.85.237.96). (URL - 64).

1982 was a more fruitful year for works of paper as he acquired 9 objects and 10 works of paper. Binney was able to find two more Ottoman jade pieces to add to his collection as well as a Seljuk ceramic to complement his purchase of a Seljuk fragment in 1975 and another wooden Qur'an stand to replace the one he purchased in Bursa in 1975 to use for display. The catch of the year for Binney was the detached leaf from the

[107] The same year, Binney purchased also a metal astrolabe thinking it was Turkish, but now it is attributed to Qajar Iran, currently in the Fogg Art Museum collection, 1985.338.

Bayezid period manuscript of Nizami's *Laila and Majnun* (Figure 4.61), which he paid for $14,000.

Figure 4.61 : Majnun as a Sheep Looking at Layla (painting, recto; text, verso), illustrated folio from a manuscript of Mantiq al-Tayr (Conference of the Birds) by Farid al-Din Attar (d. 1221), Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1985.271. (URL - 65).

In 1983, Binney attended the Sotheby's sale in London and found the available Turkish material to be very good, though he purchased only two works on paper due to increasing prices of the Turkish lots. For the 1983 sale, he noted that:

> The sale at Sotheby's which I had checked out on my way through London in March was not full of very good things….but Turkish things…..and VERY GOOD there were! Four exceptional bindings (ex Martin coll.) which went for 12000, 11000, 7500 and 8500 pounds (with the V and A buying the second, and being the underbidder on the other three!) and several very fine calligraphies:- two of them going for 3000 and 1600 pounds. This was obviously NOT my league, although I had hoped to get at least one of each! The present lot was a "consolidation prize."

The consolidation prize was the 19th century panel of calligraphy of 8 lines of nashk script (Figure 4.62) for which he paid $615. His second purchase in the same sale is a 16th century manuscript of the *Yusuf and Zuleikha* by Jami, which he was not sure if it was Turkish or Persian at the time of the sale and cost him only $460. Seljuk and Kütahya ceramics were also added to the collection this year to form a comparison with the İznik pieces already in his collection.

Figure 4.62 : Page of Calligraphy, Bequest of Edwin Binney, 3rd, Turkish Collection (AC1995.124.8). (URL - 66).

While 1983 was a low year both in terms of acquisitions and spending for Binney's Turkish art collection, the year 1984 was the highest of all with a total spending of $126,540 for 17 pieces (3 ceramics, 1 textile, 1 woodwork, 1 bookbinding, 7 calligraphy pieces and 4 paintings) as he exited the art market. Reflecting the increase in the prices for the Turkish calligraphy in the market, at the Sotheby's sale Binney acquired two pieces of Qur'an fragments for $20,000 and $22,000. The highlight for his last active year of collecting was his purchase of a folio from the *Siyar-i-Nabi* prepared for Sultan Murad III in the *nakkaşhane* under the direction of Lutfi Abdullah. He paid $30,000 for the scene depicting Prophet Muhammad and his companions at a feast (Figure 4.63). As Overton (2012) points, one of Binney's earliest purchases, a painting of the angel Gabriel visiting Ali, was thought to be a folio from this very manuscript. Now "fifteen years and one hundred thirty-two purchases later, Binney finally acquired what he deemed a 'real leaf' from the manuscript" (p. 15), signifying a desire throughout his collecting career finally coming true. From the art market point of view, the Hotel Drouot sale in Paris where Binney obtained the folio "exemplified the coming of age of Turkish painting in global collecting and exhibition circles" (p. 15).

Figure 4.63 : The Prophet Muhammad and His Companions at a Feast (painting, recto; text, verso), illustrated folio from a manuscript of Siyar-i Nabi (The Life of the Prophet) by Mustafa Darir of Erzurum, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, 1995.824. (URL - 67).

In 1985, Binney noted only 2 purchases and in August of that year, he distributed his Turkish art collection dividing the works between Harvard's Fogg Art Museum and LACMA, just a year before he passed away in 1986.

Edwin Binney, as his notebooks and his final act of gifting his collection to two prestigious museums in the east and west coasts of the United States demonstrate, dedicated his efforts of collecting and researching Turkish art not only for private reasons but also for the benefit of the public. In comparison with the earlier generation collectors in the United States, such as Isabel Stuart Gardner, Albert C. Barnes, or Charles Lang Freer of the American Gilded Age whose aesthetic tastes were the driving force in the formation of their collections, Edwin Binney's notes portray a collector who is interested in forming a collection that is as comprehensive and as representative as possible, not only focusing on what was deemed the best and the classic at the time but also featuring pieces from later periods, stretching into the 19th and early 20th centuries, which no museum collection or scholarly publication included at the time. Moreover, in contrast to the popular interest on Turkish ceramics, rugs, and textiles, which was the trend of the earlier decades as demonstrated in the previous chapters, Binney was a pioneering collector in starting his Turkish art collection with the book arts filling an important gap in the public and private collections in the United States. In addition to these, Binney's constant re-evaluation of the information that he kept in his notebooks and his updates on the object data in each of his published catalogues and supplements further attests to his scholarly interests in his collecting

area, his desire to share the most accurate information and contribute to the scholarship on this emerging field. As Lentz (1986) describes:

> Among the small handful of major private collectors of Indian and Islamic art in America, Edwin Binney, 3rd, is one of the rare few who has managed adroitly combine in his long-term aims the passion of collecting with the discipline of scholarship. (p. 94)

5. THE AGE OF SULTAN SÜLEYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT

On the morning of April 5, 1985 then-prime minister of Turkey, Turgut Özal, during his state visit to the United States, visited the NGA in Washington, DC to announce an upcoming traveling exhibition from Turkey. Entitled the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (the Age of Süleyman), the exhibition was described as "present[ing] the highest aesthetic and technical achievements of Turkish artists" and "highlight[ing] a remarkable ruler whose laws and judicial codes became the basis for the constitutions of many countries" (NGA Archives, Draft Press Release, ca. 1985, April 5).[108]

The Age of Süleyman made its debut at the NGA two years later, on January 25, 1987. Curated by Dr. Esin Atıl, it was the first major international loan exhibition dedicated to the Ottoman art in the United States and was visited by 393,709 people throughout its 4-month duration (122 days).[109]

Later in the year, travelling to the Art Institute of Chicago (AIC) in the Summer and the MMA, New York in the Fall, the Age of Süleyman spent a full year in the United States gathering raving reviews from the American press on the magnificence and splendor of Ottoman art and its cultural heritage in modern Turkey.

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[108] Information on the preparations at the National Gallery of Art for Turgut Özal's visit to announce the exhibition are held at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives. RG14A2, Records of Public Relations and Communication, Exhibition Files, box 47, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent - Advance Materials, and box 48, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent - General, 1981 and 1985. This quotation is taken from the press release draft in box 47, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent - Advance Materials.

[109] National Gallery of Art Past Exhibitions, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent, http://www.nga.gov/resources/dcrfdesc.shtm; last accessed on May 7, 2012; The press release issued on May 14, 1987 by the NGA announcing the extension of the exhibition from May 17 to May 26, mention that it attracted more than 340,000 people. A memo from the NGA marketing department to the museum director dated September 30, 1987 state that nearly 400,000 museumgoers seeing the exhibition, in the NGA, RG14A2, Records of Public Relations and Communication, Exhibition Files, box 48, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent – General, 1987.

The Age of Süleyman marks an important turning point in the appreciation of Ottoman art in the United States and elsewhere. Following its North American success, the exhibition travelled to many other destinations in the following years from the United Kingdom, Germany, and Hungary to Australia (Gerçek, 1999, pp. 255-257; Renda, 2009, p. 27; F. Çağman, personal communication, September 2012).[110] Moreover, many other exhibitions on Ottoman art were organized across the United States in the following decade.

The Age of Süleyman's impact was not only felt in the rise of Ottoman studies in North America but also in the succeeding exhibitions of Islamic art. With Esin Atıl's pioneering curatorial approach, the Age of Süleyman exhibition accomplished what all international exhibitions desire: huge press coverage, unprecedented visitor attendance, and scholarly acclaim.

This chapter aims to explore the Age of Süleyman exhibition and its success by first discussing Esin Atıl's career preceding the Age of Süleyman to understand the evolution of her curatorial practice. Then, based on the archival sources located at the NGA Archives, preparations for the exhibition, content as reflected in the exhibition narrative, and finally exhibition's public and press reception are presented.

5.1 Esin Atıl (1938-2020) and Islamic Art in the United States

Esin Atıl received her B.A. degree from the American College for Girls in Istanbul in 1956 and a second B.A. from the Western College for Women in Ohio in 1958. She graduated from the UM with an M.A. in 1960, where she worked as an assistant in Turkish language at the Department of Near Eastern Language and Literature. From 1961 to 1963, Atıl was a research librarian in New York at Tippets-Abbot-McCarthy-Stratton. The following three years, she was a curator at Queens College in New York. In 1967, she went back to Michigan for her doctoral studies and was a teaching fellow at the History of Art Department. In 1969, she graduated with a Ph.D. degree in Islamic

[110] Gerçek (1999) lists the following venues: British Museum, London, UK from February 17 to May 30, 1988; Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, Germany from June 24 to July 30, 1988; Tokyo, Osaka, Fukuoka and Shimonoseki viewings in Japan from August 23, 1988 to April 23, 1989; Paris, France from February 13 to May 14, 1990; Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney from June 27 to August 26, 1990 and National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia from September 7 to November 25, 1990 (pp. 255-257).

art. Her dissertation on the *Surname-i Vehbi* was written under the supervision of Oleg Grabar. Atıl was among the first generation of Islamic art historians who was trained by Oleg Grabar at the UM, the first Islamic art program in the United States founded by Aga-Oglu in the 1930s as described in Chapter 2.

Her curatorial career at the Freer Gallery of Art began in 1970 when she became the museum's curator of Islamic art, a position left vacant by Richard Ettinghausen, who took up a teaching position at New York University's Institute of Fine Arts. Atıl spent her entire curatorial career at the Freer, organizing exhibitions on diverse areas of Islamic art, publishing a number of catalogues and articles, and expanding the Islamic art collection of the museum.[111]

Atıl's first exhibition at the Freer was entitled 2500 Years of Persian Art in 1972, followed by Ceramics from the World of Islam and Turkish Art of the Ottoman Period in 1973. The Turkish art exhibition was organized as part of a series of exhibitions in the United States to mark the 50th Anniversary of the Republic of Turkey, which is discussed in Chapter 4. This exhibition was an important first step that led the way to the Age of Süleyman exhibition which followed it more than a decade later. Atıl expressed that she understood that it would be impossible to give a full picture of the Ottoman art in the United States by drawing merely from American collections during the preparation for this exhibition and it was vital to get loans from Turkey for a well-rounded presentation of Ottoman art (E. Atıl, personal communication, June 2012; Conroy, 1987, January 26, p. B1).[112] However, due to the ban on international loans of artworks from Turkey, she knew that she would have to wait to organize such an exhibition.[113]

In the period between 1973 to 1987, Atıl not only made efforts along with her colleagues in Turkey to change the antiquities law enabling international loans and crystallized her exhibition idea on Ottoman art, but also continued to produce exhibitions and publications on a variety of topics in the field of Islamic art. Her 1975

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[111] The biographical information on Atıl is taken from her CV in the Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 594, Box 15, Folder Atil, Esin.
[112] According to Tanındı (2021), Atıl spent time conducting research at the Topkapı Palace Library for this exhibition at which time Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman were working on the *Turkish Miniature Painting* publication. Atıl translated that work into English, while she was in Istanbul.
[113] Antiquities law no. 1710 that came into effect on April 25, 1973 banned the international loan of antiquities per article 22.

exhibition and publication *The Art of the Arab World* was an important one and still widely referenced today. This was followed by an exhibition and publication on Persian and Indian drawing in 1978. In 1980, Atıl edited and contributed a piece on the arts of the book in *Turkish Art*, the first book published on this topic in the United States. With contributions by Roderic Davison, Ülkü Bates, Louise Mackie and Walter B. Denny, this publication gave a detailed introduction to the Turkish arts in all mediums.

The following year, 1981 was a milestone in her career with the Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks exhibition. In her first international exhibition, Atıl championed the idea of presenting Islamic art in dynastic terms (Blair and Bloom, 2003, p. 160; Roxburgh, 2010, p. 368). Her focus on this exhibition was on the Mamluk Empire, which ruled Egypt, Syria, and Palestine from 1250 to 1517. Obtaining loans from the collections in the Middle East, Europe and the United States, she presented the artistic output of the Mamluk Empire in a wholistic way at the Smithsonian's Natural History Museum in Washington, DC and organized an academic conference at the NGA's Center for the Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (CASVA) bringing an international group of scholars to present on a variety of topics such as the history of the region, customs of the Mamluk court, its architecture and urban structure, geometric ornament, astronomy, metalworking, pottery, textiles and painting.[114] The following two years, the exhibition was circulated by the SITES.[115] With this exhibition Atıl stood out as a curator who can entice audiences with international blockbusters. Indeed, a *Washington Post* review of the Age of Süleyman exhibition referred to the Mamluk exhibition as her first internationally successful exhibition that brought her to the spotlight. It was also during the Mamluk exhibition that J. Carter Brown, the director of NGA, contacted Atıl to say he liked the show and was sorry that the NGA exhibition schedule did not have room for it. Atıl reassured him that she had even a bigger exhibition for him (Conroy, 1987, January 26, p. B1). This exhibition was the Age of Süleyman, which indeed raised the bar even higher than Art of the Mamluks.

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[114] Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks, A Symposium, took place on May 13-16, 1981 at the NGA and was jointly organized by the NGA, Center for Advanced Study of the Visual Arts, and Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art. The conference proceedings were published in the journal *Muqarnas*, volume 2 (1984).

[115] After the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, the exhibition traveled to Minneapolis Institute of Art, MMA, Cincinnati Art Museum, DIA, Phoenix Art Museum and Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

In the time period between Art of the Mamluks (1981) and the Age of Süleyman (1987), while Atıl continued to work on the artistic traditions from the Islamic world and put together exhibitions at the Freer, she also spent considerable time on Turkish art. For the 1982-83 academic year, Atıl received a Fulbright Islamic Civilization Research Award, which she used as an Ottoman art research grant.

At the time of Atıl's Fulbright research award, an important large-scale exhibition was in preparation in Turkey, which contributed to the Age of Süleyman's success. The Anatolian Civilizations exhibition held in Istanbul in 1983 was a significant landmark for the field of art history in Turkey. Organized as the Council of Europe's 18th Exhibition of European Art, the exhibition brought together 5,000 objects from 50 museums across Turkey, many of which had never previously been published or even displayed. In addition to establishing the art historical periodization that continued to be used in the years to come, the exhibition also paved the way to the organization of many succeeding exhibitions that travelled overseas (F. Çağman, personal communication, September 2012), among which, as it is discussed in the following pages, the Age of Süleyman is a close follower.

Esin Atıl edited and translated into English *the Anatolian Civilizations: Seljuk and Ottoman Art* volume of the exhibition catalogue, indicating that she must have worked closely with the Turkish colleagues at the time of the exhibition and was aware of all the new developments in art historical scholarship in Turkey. As Denny (2003) points out, in the Seljuk and Ottoman sections of this exhibition "scholars and the general public alike were able for the first time to glimpse the true vastness of the spectrum of Turkish art held in the collections of Turkish museums, here selected by a team of first-rate scholars, whose intimate knowledge of these collections led to revelation after revelation" (p. 4). Hence, Atıl's access to the most recent scholarship in Turkey and close collaborations with Turkish colleagues enhanced not only the curatorial conceptualization but also the scholarship that she produced on the arts of the Süleyman period.[116]

[116] In his review of the exhibition entitled "An Exhibition of High Ottoman Art," Grabar (2005 reprint) in reference to the two publications that accompanied the exhibition states that "Both books are impeccably presented with stunning illustrations, and they reflect two decades of dogged descriptive and taxonomic scholarship carried out primarily but not exclusively by Turkish academics" (p. 336).

In 1983, the antiquities law of 1973 that banned the loan of objects was replaced with another one allowing international loans for exhibition purposes on the condition of securing appropriate permissions.[117] The Age of Süleyman exhibition was among the first few exhibitions that obtained the permission to travel. Atıl's efforts along with her colleagues in Turkey to make this possible was covered in the media outlets in the United States to point out the once in a life-time nature of this exhibition for the public as the Age of Süleyman became the first exhibition from Turkey in the United States in more than twenty years.[118]

While art historians and museum professionals in Turkey were busily working on a major exhibition and re-writing the art history of the country in the exhibition's accompanying catalogue, the landscape of Islamic art was also flourishing in the United States.

Starting with the 1970s, there was an increased interest in the Middle East, hence in Islamic art. A significant development for the field was the establishment of the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1979. As Blair and Bloom (2003) explain "in addition to training Ph.D. students in the history of Islamic architecture and art at both institutions, the program brought dozens of visiting architects, planners, designers, and scholars to Cambridge, Massachusetts, from around the world" (p. 157). The program's most enduring legacy for the field is the annual academic journal, *Muqarnas* and its *Supplements* series, which started its publication life in 1983 under the editorship of Oleg Grabar.[119]

The world events of the 1970s and 1980s inevitably impacted the study of Islamic art. In 1979, two major political events happened within a few months of each other: Russia invaded Afghanistan and the Shah regime fell in Iran. These were followed by the Iraq-Iran War that lasted throughout the 1980s. These political developments made

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[117] On July 21, 1983, a new antiquities law, no. 2863, was passed in place of the Antiquities law 1710 of 1973. Per article 32 of this law, antiquities could be loaned internationally for exhibitions by securing appropriate permissions.

[118] The NGA's press release featured a statement from the Gallery's director J. Carter Brown that read as "We are delighted to present this remarkable collection at the National Gallery of Art, marking the first time in more than 20 years that Turkish art has traveled to the United States." The press picked up this statement and referenced it widely when writing about the exhibition.

[119] For more information on the history of *Muqarnas*, see Necipoğlu, 2013, pp. 1-12.

research impossible in these areas and research topics shifted to other regions, which were once considered peripheral in the Islamic world (Blair and Bloom, 2003, p. 157).

On the other hand, the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and the Islamic revolution in Iran played important roles in strengthening the alliance of Turkey and the United States, which was restrained in the 1970s due to Turkey's Cyprus policy and the imposition of an arms embargo by the United States. As explained by Sayarı (2011), "while the invasion of Afghanistan renewed American and Turkish concerns about the perceived Soviet threat, the rise of a radical Islamic regime in Iran posed an ideological challenge to Turkey and a threat to American regional interests concerning Gulf security" (p. 366). Ronald Reagan's presidency in the United States and the military government in Turkey, both coming to power in 1980, also contributed to the improvement of relations between the two countries. While Reagan aimed "to restore American military power through a renewed emphasis on alliances, especially those critical to meeting the perceived Soviet threat," in Turkey, the military government sought new allies as the coup, that brought them to power, "had strained relations with most of its European NATO allies" (Sayarı, 2011, p. 366). Furthermore, according to Sayarı (2011):

> Turkey's efforts to maintain close ties with the U.S. continued after the end of the military rule in 1983 when Turgut Özal became Prime Minister. A leader committed to good relations with Washington, Özal played an important role in strengthening bilateral relations during the 1980s. (pp. 366-367)

As discussed in the following sections, this strengthening of political ties made the 1980s an opportune moment to enhance the cultural relations between the two countries, paving the way for a traveling exhibition from Turkey in more than twenty years to the United States.

5.2 Preparations for the Age of Süleyman

As early as 1973 while working on an exhibition to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey, Esin Atıl thought about having a loan exhibition from Turkey to showcase Turkish art in the United States (E. Atıl, personal communication, 2012; Conroy, 1987, January 26, p. B1). Her initial idea was an exhibition on the Ottoman imperial workshop, *nakkaşhane* (E. Atıl, personal communication, June 2012; Atıl,

1987, p. 10). Her publications from this period, *Turkish Art of the Ottoman Period* (1973) and her chapter on the arts of the book in the *Turkish Art* (1980), where Atıl gives a detailed picture of the administrative structure and the artistic production of nakkaşhane, demonstrate clearly this research focus. However, as loaning artworks from Turkey was not possible in the 1970s, she had ample time to develop her idea on a traveling exhibition from Turkey. In the Age of Süleyman exhibition catalogue, Atıl (1987) describes the process that led the way to the exhibition as thus:

> The idea for this project was born over a decade ago when I was working on the impact of the nakkaşhane on the decorative vocabulary of Ottoman art. I found I wanted to share my findings with a wide audience, in the form of an exhibition. At the time the antiquities laws of Turkey prohibited the loan of objects, and so I became involved with other exhibitions and publications, hoping that one day the project would be realized. The delay in the change of Turkey's antiquities laws was most fortuitous, since in the interval I was able to focus on a particular period and concentrate on the patronage of a remarkable man, Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, during whose reign the characteristic features of Turkish art were formulated. (p. 10)[120]

In line with the statement above, Atıl (June 2012) at an in-person interview conveyed that the ten-year hiatus gave her the time for her ideas to crystallize and for the exhibition concept to transform into a people-focused exhibition highlighting the patronage of one Ottoman sultan. This decision was based on her personal observation as a curator in the United States, that the American public is interested in people stories. Therefore, for Atıl, the key to her success at attracting attention to an art tradition that the target public had almost none or very little previous knowledge of was telling the story through the personality and patronage of Süleyman. This framing made the exhibition more accessible and perhaps even more relevant in a different cultural context.

[120] Similarly, at an interview she gave for the Turkish Daily News to Gail Wintour, she said "I wanted to do this exhibition 10 years ago. There was a law prohibiting objects leaving Turkey. At that time I wanted to do a general Ottoman art show but it was very gratituous that the law was delayed because I was able to concentrate on a particular period but expand so much more."

Indeed, Süleyman the Magnificent was the perfect personality to introduce Ottoman art in a compelling way. Not only the Süleyman period was the height of Ottoman imperial power and artistic production, but also his life with military conquests, his artistic inclination and family life offered a rich and complex story to introduce the Ottoman world to an audience that was not familiar with it. In addition to these, Atıl (June 2012) mentioned two other aspects of the Ottoman world that could be attractive in the American context. The Ottoman visual vocabulary with its floral designs would find much relevance especially in Washington, DC, where cherry blossoms are celebrated every Spring with a festival and draw multitudes to the nation's capital. The other was the bicentennial anniversary of the United States constitution as Süleyman, known as Lawgiver in Turkey, was one of the inspirational figures for the American constitution and hence is featured along with other world leaders with a bust in the rotunda of the Capital.[121]

Already in 1981, at the time of the Art of the Mamluks exhibition, Atıl and J. Carter Brown discussed organizing an exhibition on Ottoman art (Brown to E. Atıl, 1981, September 28).[122] Starting with 1985, when Atıl began her guest curator position at the NGA, work was already underway to successfully launch the exhibition as demonstrated by the archival records held at the NGA. Along with Atıl and the staff members of the NGA, the other parties in the United States that joined in the efforts for this exhibition were the Embassy of Turkey in Washington, DC and Philip Morris Companies Inc., the sponsor of the exhibition.

The first public announcement of the exhibition was already a big press event. April 5, 1985 was chosen as the date so that Turgut Özal, then the prime minister of Turkey, could make the announcement on this travelling exhibition on the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, which would start its tour at the NGA, afterwards travel to the AIC

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[121] NGA Archives, RG14A2, Records of Public Relations and Communication, Exhibition Files, box 47, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent - Advance Materials - Suleyman Miscellaneous has information on the bust of Süleyman in the Capitol Rotunda. Atıl states in the interview with Gail Wintour, for the Turkish Daily News that "Süleyman was also known as the Lawgiver and his works and thoughts were considered when the framers of the United States' Constitution sat down to discuss and formulate this document in 1787. Because of this contribution, there is a portrait of Süleyman hanging in the Capitol."

[122] In his letter to Atıl, Brown suggests her to come by for a meeting to discuss the exhibition idea with the NGA staff and that he already contacted Thomas Lawton, the director of the Freer Gallery to get permission for her guest curator position at the NGA for this exhibition. He suggested Spring 1985 for the exhibition and expressed that they could even be more flexible in terms of the exhibition date.

and the MMA, to the invited press at the NGA, while he was in Washington, DC for an official state visit.[123]

A draft release (NGA Archives, ca. 1985, April 5), prepared by the NGA's press department on the day of his visit, quotes Özal making the below statement:

> I am delighted to announce a major cultural exchange between Turkey and the United States, an exhibition devoted to the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent organized by the National Gallery of Art. We are proud to display our national cultural heritage, which has contributed to the development of Western civilization. This exhibition will not only represent the highest aesthetic and technical achievement of Turkish artists, but will also highlight a remarkable ruler whose laws and judicial codes became the basis for the constitutions of many countries.[124]

This first press release (NGA Archives, ca. 1985, April 5) already echoed certain aspects of the Süleyman image that was to be highlighted over and over in the next three years both by the press and the various stakeholders of the exhibition: Süleyman as lawgiver (a just sovereign), as military ruler (military strength and glory), as part of the Western league (listing Süleyman's European contemporaries such as Charles V, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire; Francis I, King of France; Henry VIII and Elizabeth I of England; and Martin Luther, the Protestant leader, and equalizing his importance to these well-known figures), as a skillful goldsmith and poet, and as patron of the arts along with the patronage of his wife, daughter and grand viziers.

In addition to Süleyman's qualities and his importance in history, this press release also included information on the artistic content of the exhibition, which indicates that

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[123] In a February 1, 1985 dated letter from Brown to Şükrü Elekdağ, as a follow up on their meeting on the *Age of Süleyman* exhibition, he conveyed that they would organize a press breakfast for Turgut Özal's visit and Ronald Reagan would contribute a message to the exhibition catalogue. Information on the preparations at the NGA for Turgut Özal's visit to announce the exhibition are held at the NGA Archives, RG14A2, Records of Public Relations and Communication, Exhibition Files, box 47, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent - Advance Materials, and box 48, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent – General, 1981 and 1985.

[124] Others who joined Özal that day at the NGA were, Vahit Halefoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Şükrü Elekdağ, Ambassador to the United States; Robert Strausz-Hupe, United States Ambassador to Turkey; James N. Wood, Director of the AIC; William B. Macomber, President of the MMA and former United States Ambassador to Turkey.

the object selection and loans must well be under way by that time.[125] The release declared that "of more than 200 works in the exhibition, over 150 will be on loan from Turkish national museums in Istanbul. The remaining objects will be borrowed from major collections in Europe and the Unites States" (NGA Archives, ca. 1985, April 5) pointing out the uniqueness of this opportunity to see the national treasures of Turkey travelling to the Unites States and uniting them with Ottoman objects from the American and European collections.

In the twenty-one months between this initial announcement and opening of the exhibition on January 25, 1987, multiple press events were held in the United States and Turkey to inform the public about the exhibition and ensure extensive coverage of this important event before and during the run of the exhibition. These public relations efforts were carried out by three groups in conjunction with each other. The NGA's press department was in charge of the messaging of the exhibition in close consultation with Atıl, and they had the final say in how promotion was handled for the exhibition. The Philip Morris Companies Inc. as the main sponsor of the exhibition, worked with the public relations company Rogers & Cowan Inc. to promote the exhibition in collaboration with the NGA's press department. The third party was the Embassy of Turkey in Washington, DC who worked with Gray & Company.[126] Şükrü Elekdağ, the ambassador of Turkey to the United States at the time, was an avid supporter.[127] Substantial amount of funds were reserved for the exhibition and joint events to promote Turkish culture in the United States for the whole year of 1987 (İzat, 1987, January 19).[128] This combination of artistic, financial, and political backers ensured the success of the exhibition in terms of reaching to a very broad audience.[129]

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[125] Indeed, a letter, dated April 9, 1985 to James F. Pilgrim from Dodge Thompson, mentions Atıl's upcoming trip with Mark Leithauser, the designer of the exhibition at the NGA, to Istanbul in May so that the loan list could be set after the initial designs are done. In the same folder there is also a loan request letter to a European museum from Carter Brown dated June 26, 1985, suggesting that the May trip must have finalized the object list of the exhibition and the loans were secured in the Summer of 1985.

[126] NGA Archives, RG14A2, Records of Public Relations and Communication, Exhibition Files has multiple records of the marketing coordination of the exhibition among these three parties.

[127] Elekdağ (1985, September 24) had a meeting with Atıl as early as October 11, 1985 to discuss plans for the exhibition according to the documents in the NGA Archives.

[128] *İzmir Ticaret* (1987) also reported Mesut Yılmaz's statement on reserving $2,5 million for promoting Turkey with various programs in the United States, and Philip Morris providing $1 million sponsorship for the exhibition.

[129] Philip Morris Inc. contributed $950,000 to the exhibition's three venues as the main sponsor. This figure excludes the ancillary events such as the opening and press events, which Philip Morris underwrote (Viebranz, 1985, June 26). Atıl stated that the exhibition had a total cost of 2 million dollars,

These efforts already started to bear fruit before the exhibition's opening. For instance, in a June 17, 1986 dated Washington Post, the newspaper's staff writer, while reporting on the increase in the visitor number of the NGA from 3.8 million to 7.2 million for the October-June period thanks to the blockbuster exhibitions, stated that the Age of Süleyman would be the blockbuster of 1987 (Conconi, 1986, June 17, p. B3).

A month after this news story, on July 24 at a joint meeting, the NGA's press department and Rogers & Cowan representatives strategized on the promotion of the Age of Süleyman. According to the meeting notes, the decisions included sending pitch letters highlighting four different themes to 94 long lead publications as advance notice to their editors;[130] mailing press kits across the United States as early as August with more detailed information on the exhibition; organizing an editors' breakfast and luncheon at the Philip Morris Company Headquarters in New York City in September with the NGA director Brown and Atıl in attendance; and preparing a separate European press release in coordination with journalists in the European markets (Murphy and Herbert to K. Brosius and N. Heath, 1986, July 24).

By the end of August 1986, the exhibition already received considerable attention in the Turkish press after the initial release in Turkey. Just 10 clippings from the Turkish press were estimated to reach 2,090,000 people by the marketing department of Philip Morris (Brosius to M. H. Brandon et al., 1986, August 26).[131] The exhibition continued to be featured in the Turkish press in the following months, in October following a press meeting with Atıl and Dick Badler, Philip Morris corporate relations manager for the Middle Eastern office, in Istanbul, then in November following the Philip

split between the NGA and the Philip Morris, each contributing $1 million in her interview with Gail Wintour entitled "Turkish Cultural Legacy Tours US" in Turkish Daily News.

[130] The pitch letters were sent to magazines specialized on a variety of areas such as ceramics, design, decorative arts, food, horticulture, house and garden, textiles, travel and tourism including in-flight, taxi and train, women's magazines as well as targeting business and legal communities. These letters are in NGA Archives, RG14A2, Records of Public Relations and Communication, Exhibition Files.

[131] These press clippings can be found at NGA Archives, RG14A2, Records of Public Relations and Communication, Exhibition Files, box 47, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent - Advance Materials - Phillip Morris and Rogers & Cowan. One of the earliest press clippings appeared in the week of May 19, in *Tercüman* written by Kubilay Çelik, Chicago. In addition to the information on the exhibition and the venues it would tour in the United States, Çelik also reported that the Presidential Symphony Orchestra (composed of 110 people), a Mehter band (of 70 people) a Semazen group (of 30 people) and Turkish businessmen would also visit the United States. There would be multiple conferences introducing Turkey and a variety of meetings to enhance economic and trade relations between the two countries.

Morris reception on November 7 at Aya İrini for the occasion of the signing of the exhibition protocol.[132]

On the other hand, in the United States, on September 23, 1986 a press breakfast and a press luncheon were held at the New York Headquarters of the Philip Morris Companies Inc. In addition to the executives of the company, J. Carter Brown; Esin Atıl; John Wood, director of the AIC; Philip de Montebello, director of the MMA; and on the Turkish side İlter Türkmen, Turkish Ambassador to the United Nations; Murat Sungar, New York Turkish Consul General; and the businessman Sakıp Sabancı[133] gave speeches in these two events organized separately to avoid the meeting of competing media (NGA Archives, RG14A2, Box 48, Folder 1986). On December 18, 1986 in Washington, DC, the Embassy of Turkey organized a press luncheon hosted by the Ambassador Şükrü Elekdağ.

In addition, in November 1986, the NGA posted its press release on the Piri Reis map featured in the exhibition as a highlight object, entitling it as "Enigmatic Map of Americas featured in "The Age of Süleyman the Magnificent" Exhibition" (Heath to J. Carter Brown, 1986, November 6).[134] Then on November 16, 1986, New York Times published a book review of *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Suleyman the Magnificent*.

Thanks to these multiple press events in Washington, DC, New York, and Istanbul hosted by the NGA, Philip Morris and the Embassy of Turkey, by the time the exhibition officially opened in Washington in January 1987, there was already a considerable press attention both in Turkey and the United States for the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent.

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[132] NGA Archives, RG14A2, Records of Public Relations and Communication, Exhibition Files features multiple press clippings from Turkey covering the Süleyman exhibition, Philip Morris sponsorship and the reception at Aya İrini in Istanbul.
[133] Sabancı was on a visit to the United States to deliver a speech at the New Hampshire College and at this press meeting, he stated that he hoped, in two years from then, to produce cigarettes with Philip Morris in Turkey, which must be the reason for his inclusion to this program.
[134] This object was also included in the *Art Treasures of Turkey* exhibition in 1966-1968.

5.3 Content and Presentation of the Age of Süleyman

On January 25, 1987, the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent opened to the public at the NGA (Figure 5.1). The exhibition had a total of 210 objects on view from 26 lenders. Although majority of the loans were from four Turkish national collections, namely Çinili Köşk of the Archaeology Museum (5 objects), Istanbul University Library (5 objects), Topkapı Palace Museum (109 objects), and Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (14 objects), these objects were complimented with loans from American (28 objects), European (45 objects) and other Near Eastern (8 objects) private and public collections.

Figure 5.1 : Entry to the National Gallery of Art East Building. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

The exhibition catalogue authored by Atıl (1987) herself, begins with an introduction on the historical background of the Ottoman Empire and Sultan Süleyman, the Magnificent as ruler and patron as "evolution of artistic expression and establishment of classical style owed much to the personal involvement and support of the sultan" (p. 17). Following this, the catalogue presents the exhibition objects categorized by their mediums dedicating a chapter to each.

The *Nakkaşhane* section gives information mainly on the arts of the book divided according to their content and themes. Tughras, fermans and vakfiyes are placed together to describe the readers the Ottoman system of governing and endowment as well as introducing important artists of the period such as Şeyh Hamdullah and Ahmed Karahisari, two highly praised calligraphers of the Empire, followed by other genres

of manuscript production, such as the religious and literary manuscripts, illustrated histories and single paintings, drawings, and albums respectively.

The Sultan's Treasury section features precious objects, arms and armor, and furniture produced for the sultan's use by the imperial artists. Kaftans, accessories and embroideries, textiles and furnishings are presented in the Imperial Wardrobe chapter. The catalogue ends with the Royal Kilns section, where white ware, blue-and-white ware, blue-and-turquoise ware, four-color ware with purple, and four-color ware with red are presented.

This categorization in the catalogue, however, does not isolate the works highlighted in each section as a stand-alone production tradition that did not have any exchanges with other forms of expression. On the contrary, Atıl gives a vivid and wholistic view of the arts of the period by presenting the readers the context of their production, their function, their artists if known, the techniques employed, the aesthetic qualities and the visual vocabulary established, their reception as well as the dissemination of this artistic decorative repertoire from one medium to another. In the case of objects that were loaned from collections outside of Turkey, she talks about their circulation, and if known, how these objects made their way to their current locations.

Atıl depicts the Ottoman artistic production of the period by providing historical and political context with references to a wide variety of Ottoman archival documents as well as European diplomatic sources, describing in minute detail not only the structure of the Ottoman imperial system but also the organization of nakkaşhane, the international background of its artists and the repertoires that they brought with them to the Ottoman capital from their former training and professional work in other Islamic courts, and the formation of new visual vocabulary and genres out of this interaction of local and international artistic traditions, which is described as a blend of Islamic, Turkish and European artistic traditions. The artists that could be identified either by their signatures and/or styles are traced in archival documents to provide biographical information on them as well as their standing in the court, hence although Sultan Süleyman is the main figure that is in the forefront of the exhibition, he is not the only person that is depicted. Moreover, Atıl moves back and forth in time to give a better picture of the artistic traditions of the age of Süleyman, by tracing the origins of certain characteristics in the earlier periods and by looking beyond Sultan Süleyman's era to assess their impact on the succeeding periods.

In the exhibition, these 210 works are displayed in a different manner though the main contextual themes that are covered in detail in the catalogue are provided succinctly in the wall texts and object labels of the exhibition (see Appendix D).[135] Similar to the four chapters of the catalogue, that are The *Nakkaşhane*, The Sultan's Treasury, The Imperial Wardrobe and The Royal Kilns, the exhibition also consists of four inter-connecting galleries (Figure 5.2). However, in the case of the exhibition, the layout is designed to correspond to the four courtyards of the Topkapı Palace, the seat of government and sultan's residence in the Ottoman Empire (E. Atıl, personal communication, June 2012). A panoramic view of Istanbul at the entry of the exhibition (Figure 5.3) and use of architectural elements such as columned arch ways (Figure 5.4) as connecting links between the four galleries create an immersive environment evoking in the visitors the feeling of physically transported to the Topkapı Palace.

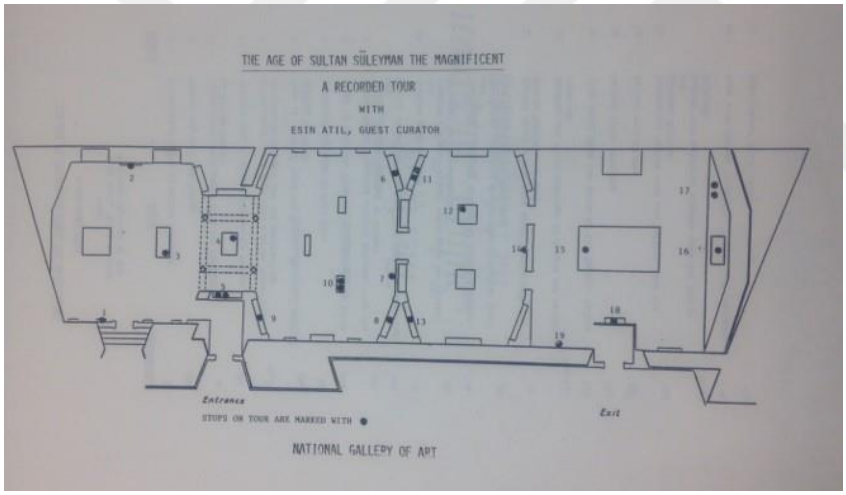

Figure 5.2 : Gallery plan of the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, reproduced from National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives.

[135] Information on the wall texts and objects labels are taken from the NGA Archives, RG38A1, Exhibition Program Files, box 7, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent - Acoustiguide Script, Film Script, Wall Text, Object Labels, Correspondence, Acoustiguide Statistics, and Other Related Materials.

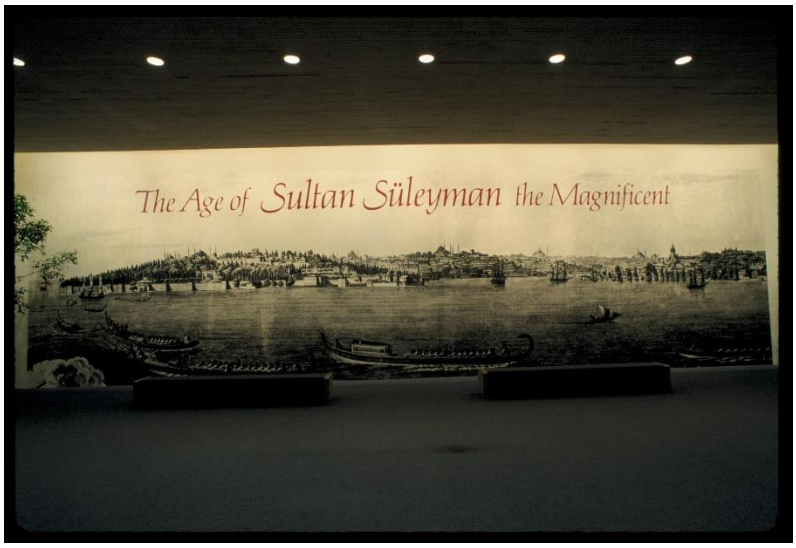

Figure 5.3 : Entry to the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 5.4 : Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

While the introductory wall text of the exhibition informs the visitors briefly on the Ottoman Empire and the historical period Sultan Süleyman ruled from the Topkapı Palace with an emphasis on the artistic production of his era, in each gallery the wall texts introduce a different aspect of Sultan Süleyman and his court, thus offering context from four complimentary perspectives while the curatorial narrative in the object labels brought to the fore the art historical themes.

In the first gallery (Figures 5.5 and 5.6), the wall label “Süleyman the Lawgiver” offers a broad context to the Ottoman political and religious system. It introduces the primary

duty of Sultan Süleyman as dispensing justice and reserving the right to issue fermans on topics that are not covered in the Qur'an, along with his role as the spiritual leader of Muslims and mentions the Ottoman endowment system. In addition to his patronage of architectural complexes in Istanbul and across the empire, it also points out that Sultan's wife, daughter, and leading members of his court were prominent patrons of architectural projects across the Empire.

Figure 5.5 : Gallery 1 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 5.6 : Gallery 1- Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Sultan Süleyman's tughra (Figure 5.7) is the starting point and a central object to explore his qualities as a just ruler in this first gallery. His imperial monogram while representing his identity, is also a work of art itself, and serves as an object to introduce the *saz* style to the visitors. Along with the tughra, the Sultan is also materialized through talismanic shirts although the ones on view do not belong to Süleyman, himself.

Figure 5.7 : Gallery 1 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

The religious manuscripts such as Qur'an manuscripts by calligraphers Ahmed Karahisari (his artistic personality is highlighted in case 3 of this gallery), Şeyh Hamdullah and Yakut el-Mustasimi with exquisite bindings, Qur'an boxes and a stand (Figure 5.8), pilgrims' guides and Süleyman's gifts of locks and keys to Kaaba symbolizing his authority as the spiritual leader of Muslims are featured to present the central role Islam played for the Ottomans.

Figure 5.8 : Gallery 1 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Decorated endowment documents are included to showcase the philanthropic work of Süleyman's wife, Hürrem, and furnishings along with ceramic hanging balls and lambs (Figure 5.9) are used to inform the visitors about the architectural complexes that were sponsored by the Sultan such as the Süleymaniye, and by his sons and grand viziers. The sixteen-tile panel from the palace of Piyale Paşa must have been included at the entrance to this gallery to reinforce the immersive effect of the physical space as well as taking the visitors' attention first to the saz style depicted on a large-scale ceramic surface (Figure 5.10). Considering that this first gallery corresponds to the first courtyard of the Topkapı Palace, the most public sphere out of the four where anyone could wander during Ottoman times, the objects on view and themes (especially religion and philanthropy) introduced in this gallery are about the core and most explicit aspects of the Ottoman world.

Figure 5.9 : Gallery 1 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 5.10 : Gallery 1 entry - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

The second gallery (Figures 5.11 and 5.12), or the second courtyard, is the space where the military power and ceremonial aspects of the Ottoman culture are presented. The wall text, “Süleyman the Magnificent,” informs that Süleyman came to be known with this title in Europe through his military campaigns and splendor of his court. He led multiple campaigns against the Habsburgs in the West and the Safavids in the East throughout his 46-year reign and the Empire reached to its utmost boundaries under his rule.

Figure 5.11 : Gallery 2 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 5.12 : Gallery 2 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

An important point made in this section is the Ottomans' consciousness of their role in history and beginnings of a new genre of historical texts appearing in this period. Arifi held the post of official court biographer and composed a five-volume history of the Ottoman Empire. The final volume of this work is Süleymanname and is included in the exhibition with other historical texts such as *Selimname*, *Nüzhet el-Esrar el-Ahbar der Sefer-i Sigetvar* (Figure 5.13), and *Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i Irakeyn*. In addition to Arifi, the other personalities that are highlighted in this section are Matrakçı Nasuh with his depiction of Istanbul, Piri Reis with his map of Americas (Figure 5.14), and Lokman who succeeded Arifi in his post of court biographer. It is through Lokman's work that Süleyman's final campaign to Hungary and his death are relayed to the visitors (Figure 5.15), whereas the drawings of Matrakçı Nasuh and map of Piri Reis exemplify the Ottoman's interest in cartography as well as depicting the lands they led military expeditions.

Figure 5.13 : Gallery 2 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 5.14 : Gallery 2 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives.)

Figure 5.15 : Gallery 2 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

The display of Süleyman's garments used in hunting and military campaigns, daggers, maces, swords, and canteen showcase the splendor that Süleyman presented himself

to the world as well as giving information on the symbolism behind the ceremonial use of his sword and canteen, the metalworking techniques and Süleyman's training as a goldsmith (Figures 5.16 and 5.17).

Figure 5.16 : Gallery 2 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 5.17 : Gallery 2 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

The third gallery, titled as "the Patronage of the Arts" in the wall text, offers the visitors a glimpse into the interior of the palace as well as the inner world of the sultan (Figures 5.18 and 5.19) in a dimly lit intimate gallery space in contrast to the second gallery

where the objects are sparsely placed to each other, which conveyed a feeling of spaciousness. While talking about the prolific production of manuscripts, precious objects of richly patterned textiles and underglazed ceramics used in the palace, it also informs the visitors of Süleyman's artistic qualities as he was both a goldsmith and a poet writing under the penname Muhibbi. Nakkaşhane, the imperial painting studio, and the two new decorative styles that originated out of it, namely the *saz* style and the naturalistic, are re-emphasized in this section.

Figure 5.18 : Gallery 3 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 5.19 : Gallery 3 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Reflecting these themes, on display are Süleyman's *Divan*s written in his own hand as well as produced by the artists of the nakkaşhane, especially one illuminated by Kara Memi, the creator of naturalistic style[136] (Figure 5.20). *Saz* style is exemplified with album paintings along with drawings of hatayi blossoms, floral compositions with fantastic creatures and by then quite well-known Turkish examples of dragons and peris (Figure 5.21). An imperial album from the collection of Istanbul University Library (F1426, object no. 49a-f in the exhibition) is featured to represent the works of the *saz* and naturalistic style masters, Şah Kulu and Kara Memi, together in a single object. To showcase the diverse origins of the artists at Süleyman's court, a folio from the *Divan-ı Nevai* illustrating polo players, one from the *Şahname* of Firdausi depicting the court of Gayumars and an illustration of the capture of Ferhad by Husrev from *Hamse-i Nizami* (all three works from the Topkapı Palace Museum Revan 804, Hazine 1499, Hazine 802 and numbered as 29, 32 and 33 in the exhibition) are featured in this gallery along with a painting of a royal couple in a courtyard from Arifi's *Rawzat al-Ushshaq* from the Binney collection.

[136] For information on Kara Memi, see Atasoy (2016).

Figure 5.20 : Gallery 3 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 5.21 : Gallery 3 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

The decorative repertoire of İznik ceramics is demonstrated by a diversity of objects from tiles and plates to jugs and pen boxes with motifs of *hatayi*, *rumi* and *saz* scrolls, abstracted Chinese wave patterns, spiral scrolls and inscriptions as well as floral sprays and blossoms (Figure 5.22). Diversity of materials, shapes, and the technical expertise

accomplished by the Ottoman artists of the time are represented with ivory and steel mirrors; silver, zinc, jade, rock crystal and gold jugs, cups and tankards; porcelain, gold and jade boxes as well as Chinese ceramics with Ottoman embellishments (Figures 5.23 and 5.24).

Figure 5.22 : Gallery 3 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 5.23 : Gallery 3 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

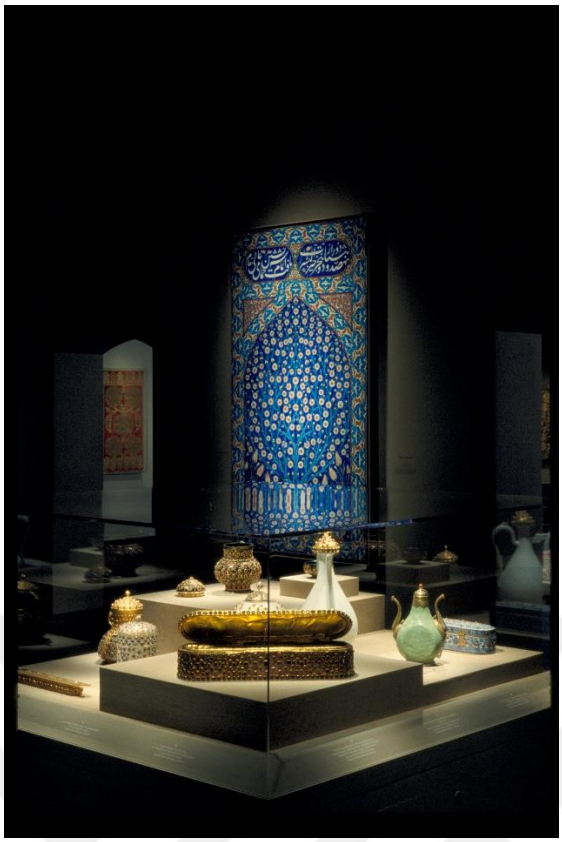

Figure 5.24 : Gallery 3 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

The presentation of book arts, ceramics, metalwork, and gems, along with textiles allows the visitors to experience the luxury and sophisticated aesthetics of all mediums of decorative arts in a single gallery as well as enabling them to see the transfer of *saz* and naturalistic styles from one medium to another. The prominent placement of the tile panel from the Topkapı Palace with flowering fruit tree serves to further the immersive quality of the third gallery space (Figure 5.25).

Figure 5.25 : Gallery 3 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

The most dramatic installation is in the last gallery entitled "the Splendor of the Court" (Figure 5.26). From the most public space of the first courtyard, the visitors in this last gallery reach to the heart of the Palace, the private quarters of the sultan. Upon entering, the visitors encounter the sultan's throne along with the imperial robes, *kaftans*, at each side, designed with an intention to evoke an atmosphere of the sultan materializing in a *cülus* ceremony setting (E. Atıl, personal communication, 2012) (Figure 5.27). The wall chat for this gallery informs the visitors of the Ottoman court ceremonies with elaborate protocol such as the accessions, religious holiday observances and diplomatic receptions, and the significance of the ceremonial robes on these occasions.

Figure 5.26 : Gallery 4 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 5.27 : Gallery 4 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Echoing the theme, this gallery showcases the Ottoman textiles, examples of *kemha*, *seraser* and *çatma*, along with *kaftans* and accessories, rugs, quilts, and cushion covers (Figure 5.28). It talks about the decorative repertoire of *rumi* and *hatayi*, *çintemani*, *saz* style and floral designs of tulips, carnations, rosebuds, and hyacinths. In addition to Süleyman's garments, this gallery includes accessories of Hürrem (Figure 5.29) and *kaftan*s of Mehmed and Bayezıd, Süleyman's sons from Hürrem.

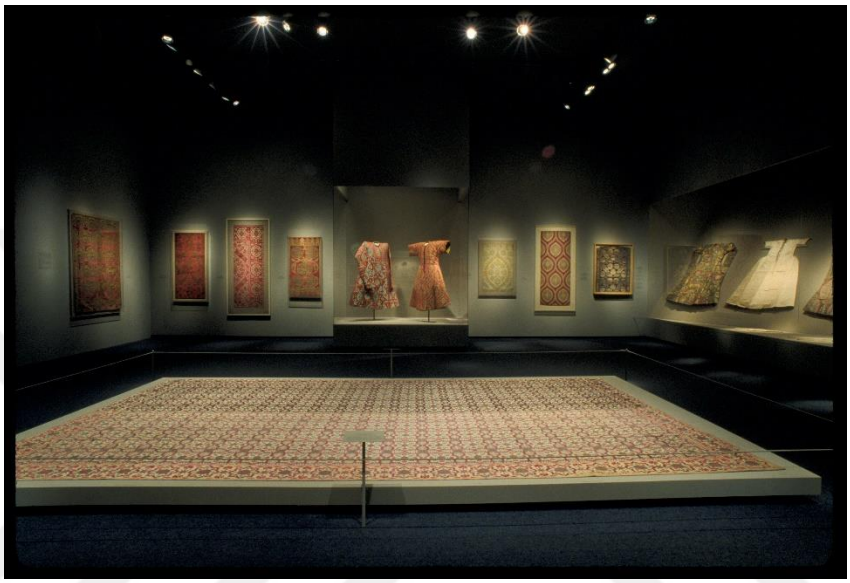

Figure 5.28 : Gallery 4 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

Figure 5.29 : Gallery 4 - Installation shot from the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. (Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives).

The diversity of textiles in this gallery in terms of decorative repertoire, techniques and sizes also showcase their various forms of use as well as the sumptuousness of the Ottoman court. The wall text informs the visitors that these textiles were not only for indoor use but these lavish furnishings also accompanied the Sultan during his outings and campaigns as they were used for making tents, canopies, banners etc.

It is important at this point to provide a comparison of the Age of Süleyman with the earlier exhibitions, especially Anatolian Civilizations exhibition of 1983 and the Art Treasures of Turkey exhibition of 1966-68, along with the Binney collection.

Looking into the contents, out of the 210 objects in the Age of Süleyman, 75 were previously exhibited in the Anatolian Civilizations, making up a third of the exhibition content (see Appendix E). Considering that 133 objects came from the Turkish national collections in the Age of Süleyman exhibition, more than half of these objects were the same ones that were selected to be displayed in the Anatolian Civilizations exhibition. 23 artworks out of these 75 objects had never been published until the *Anatolian Civilizations* catalogue came out in 1983. Moreover, as Çağman (1983) states, the Ottoman section of the Anatolian Civilizations exhibition intended to bring out to the fore the relationship between the Palace and the artistic production of the Empire for the visitors while also emphasizing a unity and continuity of style through the objects on view (p.37). Therefore, it would not be wrong to claim that the Age of Süleyman was a close follower of the Anatolian Civilizations exhibition in terms of curatorial conceptualization, and Atıl along with her collaborator Filiz Çağman, was able to bring the most recent scholarship originated in Turkey to the American public with the Age of Süleyman exhibition, which distinguishes it from the previous exhibitions on Turkish art organized in the United States.[137]

For instance, the Art Treasures of Turkey exhibition in the 1960s was mainly an American initiative, where the exhibition narrative and catalogue were produced by American scholars as demonstrated in Chapter 3. In the Islamic art section of the catalogue, the introductory essay on the Ottoman period depicts a broad portraiture of the characteristics of the Ottoman art and talks about in what ways it distinguishes

[137] In fact, Tanındı (2021) states that "Filiz Çağman introduced many unpublished material from Topkapı Saray's various collections in the Anatolian Civilizations exhibition. I am sure this exhibition was a big inspiration to Esin for her Süleyman exhibition."

itself from the art traditions of other Islamic courts rather than focusing on a certain period's artistic tradition or the patronage of a particular Ottoman sultan. In terms of the objects featured, on the other hand, 12 works that were previously included in the Art Treasures exhibition were once again displayed in the Age of Süleyman exhibition (see Appendix E).

The Turkish art collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd was formed between the end of 1960s and the mid-1980s as described in Chapter 4. Through the auction sales and dealers based in New York, London, and Paris most prominently, Binney was able to create a collection that is comprehensive and representative of the Turkish works on paper from the earliest times, that of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror period, to as late as 19th century. By mid-1970s, Binney turned his attention to collecting other mediums as well, such as ceramics, metalwork, textiles, and woodwork. Atıl's inclusion of 3 textiles and 1 painting (see Appendix E) from Binney's collection to display along with the treasures from the Topkapı Palace in the Age of Süleyman exhibition, in a way, further attests to the value of Binney's collection and his accomplishment in creating a substantial collection of Turkish arts in less than two decades.

A distinct feature of the Age of Süleyman from its predecessors is its focus on the artistic tradition of an era which is described in the exhibition as the period when the Ottoman visual language was established. The former exhibitions are more survey-style exhibitions covering long chronologies aiming to give a picture of the evolution of a single or a succession of civilizations. The Age of Süleyman, on the other hand, with recurring art historical references in its curatorial narrative at each gallery, informed the visitors of the Ottoman visual vocabulary such as the *hatayi*, *rumi* and *çintemani*; of artistic styles such as the *saz* and the naturalistic; of artists such as Şah Kulu, Kara Memi, Ahmed Karahisari along with Piri Reis and Matrakçı Nasuh; of the techniques and the visual vocabulary used in different mediums like ceramics, metalwork, textiles along with arts of the books; and of its different genres such as the religious manuscripts like the Qur'an along with secular texts like *divan*s, album drawings and illustrated historical texts.

On the other hand, the Age of Süleyman resumed the traditional art historical approach of its period by featuring only royal collections. All throughout the exhibition, whatever medium represented, the objects on view were created for the use of sultan or his family. The exhibition space echoing the physical space of the Topkapı Palace

also strengthened this concept of imperial/royal collection. These aspects of the show reinforced its reception at its time and later periods as a true blockbuster exhibition.

5.4 Public Reception of the Age of Süleyman

By the time the exhibition opened in Washington, DC, the promotion efforts of the NGA, Philip Morris Companies Inc. and Embassy of Turkey ensured significant press coverage as multiple press events were held in Washington, DC, New York City, and Istanbul from April 1986 to the DC opening in January 1987.

These efforts resumed throughout the run of the exhibition from January to May 1987 with special events like dinners and receptions; and with public programs such as guided tours, lectures, conferences, family programs and study days for school groups.

Several special events were held on the three days leading up to the opening at the NGA, and the Embassy of Turkey brought diplomatic and American government circles together. At the press breakfast and preview held on January 20, the NGA hosted 70 press members. On January 21, the Gallery hosted a black-tie dinner for the exhibition opening, which was made possible by Philip Morris. The Congressional/VIP Reception held on January 22 had about 200 attendees, mostly congressmen and senators, at the NGA, and on January 23, a second reception was held again at the NGA for the exhibition (NGA Archives, RG14A2, box 49, Special Events).[138] Just a few days after the public opening, J. Carter Brown and Esin Atıl were featured on a program aired on Satellite TV reaching to even a broader audience (Wick to J. Carter Brown, 1987, February 4).

At the government level, while Mesut Yılmaz, the minister of Culture and Tourism of the time, attended the opening events at the NGA and the Embassy of Turkey with Semra Özal (Washington Post, January 22, 1987); Turgut Özal arrived at Washington a little later and toured the exhibition with Atıl on February 7 (GOH to D, 1987, January 30).

The NGA already seeing the public demand for the Age of Süleyman only a little more than a week after the opening, on February 9 announced that timed passes would be

[138] *Dossier* also featured the opening event with an article, "Turkey's Trimmings: Suleyman the Magnificent," Washington, DC, March 1987.

distributed for crowd control in the exhibition galleries for weekends and holidays. By mid-March, the exhibition was extended for another week, from May 17 to May 26 (Carter, 1987, March 13; NGA, 1987, May 14). An hour-long film produced by the NGA and MMA for the exhibition had its preview with a reception on April 8, which was another opportunity to bring attention to the exhibition (NGA Archives, RG14A2, box 49, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent - Special Events and WETA Film folders).

The Turkish press gave extensive coverage to the opening with headlines that read as "Muhteşem Gurur: Dünyanın 'Muhteşem' Diye Adlandırdığı Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Sergisi Yenidünya'da Büyük Yankı Yaptı" (Hürriyet, January 25, 1987), "Göz Kamaştırıcı bir Gösteri: Türkiye'den Amerika'ya Muhteşem Süleyman Köprüsü" (Tercüman, January 30, 1987), "ABD'de muhteşem tanıtma: Kanuni sergisi bugün halka açılıyor" (Milliyet, January 25, 1987) just to name a few.[139] The journalists reported on the excitement the exhibition created in Washington and introduced Esin Atıl, her career in the United States, and her relentless efforts to bring the exhibition from Turkey. Another much quoted person in the Turkish press was the director of the NGA, J. Carter Brown who was reportedly said that the Age of Süleyman was the art event of the year. In addition to the information on the reception of the exhibition in the United States and the personalities that made the exhibition possible, Turkish press featured interviews with Mesut Yılmaz and senior advisors at the Ministry of Culture and Tourism on the significance of the exhibition and the financial costs. Yılmaz announced that the plans to travel the exhibition to other countries such as France, the United Kingdom and Japan were underway, and they reserved $2.5 million to promote Turkey in the United States for the whole year of 1987 (İzat, 1987; İzmir Ticaret, 1987).

As for the American press, their coverage can be categorized in three areas: exhibition reviews focusing on the artistic content of the exhibition; coverage focusing on the political and economic implications of the exhibition, and the Age of Süleyman presented as a true blockbuster exhibition.

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[139] Other headlines include: Türkiye, bir yıl süreyle ABD'de Tanıtılacak; Muhteşem "Altın Çağ" Sergisi; Muhteşem Süleyman, Washington Kapılarında; Amerika'da Heyecan in the NGA Archives, RG14A2, box 48, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent – Clippings - Turkish.

Several exhibition reviews in the United States, similar to the coverage in Turkey, featured the contents of the exhibition with praise, along with informing the readers of statements from the exhibition press release such as the uniqueness of the exhibition as it was the first loan exhibition in more than twenty years from Turkey and the Turkish antiquities law was changed to make the exhibition possible. Atıl, presented as the curator who brought the treasures of Topkapı Palace to Washington, was lauded for her achievement. Furthermore, the exhibition's success in enticing the visitors with its curatorial narrative and design was particularly praised, especially considering that it was on a culture that the Americans did not have much prior knowledge of.[140] For instance, Russel (1987), in his *New York Times* review, described the exhibition as thus:

> Inch for inch, "The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent" is one of the most spectacular exhibitions ever set before the American public. It is also in some ways one of the most demanding. Not only does it deal with folkways remote from our own, but it also asks us to empathize with a great warrior, statesman and administrator who authorized the execution of sons and grandsons while overseeing the growth of an empire that stretched from Aden to Algiers, from Cairo to the Crimea, and Baghdad to the outskirts of Vienna.

Another exhibition review, published in *Insight* (1987), after making a similar comment on the success of exhibition despite its relatively little-known cultural and historical context in the United States, covered in detail the design impact of the display on the visitors:

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[140] It is important to note here that the press package for the exhibition featured extensive information, which must have helped with accurate coverage for the artistic aspects of the exhibition. The press folders included the following items: exhibition press release; map of the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Sultan Süleyman; black and white, and color images of select objects; partial checklist of exhibition objects; fact sheet for the exhibition; recommended reading list; an interview with Esin Atıl; background information on the Sultan, the golden age of Ottoman culture, nakkaşhane, artists of the nakkaşhane, the sultan's tughra, the noblest of the arts, manuscripts and album drawings, court officials as artists, the sultan's treasury, the imperial wardrobe, the royal kilns; chronology of Sultan Süleyman's life; glossary of art historical terms; Philip Morris and the Arts brochure; Philip Morris sponsor statement; Şükrü Elekdağ's Message to the American People dated September 16, 1986, in NGA Archives, RG9C2, box 12, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent – General Files.

> ‘The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent’ is a satisfying exhibit of fine and decorative art produced under the aegis of a monarch, little known in the United States, who had tremendous impact on the world. Ruler of the Ottoman Empire from 1520 to 1566, the sultan was a patron of the arts, open to innovation and passionate for the finest craftsmanship.
>
> It is startling then to enter the softly lit, gray galleries of ‘The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent.’ The shadowy interior of this National Gallery of Art exhibition is illuminated by gleams of gold and silver textiles, of ruby- and emerald-encrusted vessels, of delicately wrought gold bookbindings – all of such exquisite refinement that it is difficult to avoid the thought that we live in a degenerate age.
>
> Subtle qualities, redolent of artistic connoisseurship, suffuse every object in this show, whether be it a page from a folio of drawings, a jeweled helmet or a polychrome bowl.
>
> What will linger in the memory of this exhibit is the amazing consistency of quality and the freshness of inspiration that is evidenced throughout the show. Intelligent patronage and a close physical and intellectual relationship between high art and craft are clearly vital ingredients in the creation of new art forms.

It is important to note here that Mark Leithauser, designer of the exhibition, along with his colleagues at the Exhibition Design department of the NGA were praised for their work to create such an impactful physical gallery space for the visitors.[141] The exhibition galleries echoing the features of the Topkapı Palace was not lost on the visitors in DC as one reviewer described Leithauser’s design as “create[ing] an installation with architectural suggestions of Turkish buildings, including arched doorways and colonnades. The East Wing galleries set a mood and provide an appropriate context for the dazzling fabrics, intensely colored tiles and other treasures” (Taboroff, 1987).

The exhibition dazzled the viewers so much that one visitor commented that she had let her parking meter expire and got a ticket due to her staying longer than anticipated

[141] One such review is by Richard, 1987 in the NGA Archives, RG14A5, Records of Public Relations and Communication, box 11, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent - Trustee Packet.

at the exhibition. However, she was not sorry, she stated that "it was worth it. It would have been worth getting towed" (Greiner, 1987).

Artistic quality of objects, gallery design and curatorial narrative with a strong focus on people stories were all contributing factors to the Age of Süleyman's success in creating an unforgettable museum experience for the visitors. As Kessler (1987) reported on the exhibition on its opening day:

> Although there are more than 200 pieces in the show – the sultan's swords, bejeweled gold canteens and turban ornaments, royal robes and rugs, glittery illuminated manuscripts, inlaid Koran boxes, and the portable throne that the sultan took on his military campaigns and sporting expeditions – you never feel overwhelmed. It is like entering a royal mausoleum where only the best has been laid out for the late lamented ruler. Every item is one-of-a-kind, produced in imperial workshops.

In an interview Atıl gave on the exhibition, she touched upon the people focus of this exhibition stating that it is the first time she worked on an individual for an exhibition project:

> This is the first time I am working with a man. I have always worked with periods and techniques and to me it is so much more rewarding to work with a man and understand his relations with his wife and his children, his artisans, his international policies and one does get emotionally attached when he dies all alone after having lost his wife and favorite sons – it's really sad. (Wintour, 1987)

Perhaps the best comment describing the impact of this type of people focused exhibition came from one visitor, which was quoted by the press, that the Washington, DC exhibition gave "an intimate feeling, as if I walked into somebody's life" (as cited in Daniels, 1987, June 7, p. M2).

While the exhibition's artistic content, curatorial and design work received much praise, the political and economic intentions behind such an exhibition project and other programs planned and organized by the Embassy of Turkey with the support of

the Turkish government did not go unnoticed. American Turkish Association's Bulletin for the 1986-1987 published a message from Mesut Yılmaz on the Age of Süleyman exhibition, stating that the aim for the exhibition is to increase the cultural relations between the two countries that did not keep pace with the relations in other areas such as in politics and economics:

> Cultural exchange has always been the best media for international understanding. However, Turkish and American cultural exchanges have not kept pace with the increase in political and economic relations. I am sure, with the Süleyman the Magnificent Exhibition, due to tour Washington, DC, Chicago, and New York, this aspect of our relations will flourish… These unique exhibits, which portray Turkish heritage through the centuries, will begin a new era of close cultural cooperation between the people of the United States and Turkey.

However, in the American press this scale of support and attention to an art exhibition by Turkey, was interpreted as the country working on improving its image in the West. A *New York Times* article published around the time of the DC opening, on January 20, 1987, titled its piece as "Turkey Focuses on Its Image" featuring Şükrü Elekdağ, the Ambassador of Turkey to the United States informing readers on public relations efforts of the Embassy with Gray & Company (Gamarekian, 1987). A few weeks later U.S. News and World Report featured the Age of Süleyman exhibition tying it to the Turkish political and economic affairs. Titled "Sultan Süleyman Courts America," the exhibition was described "as much an exercise in statecraft as an exhibition of art" (Horn and Fenyvesi, 1987). It informed that Turkey invested $10 million to "enhance their nation's global reputation" and quoted Yılmaz saying they had "the task of correcting" the "distorted image of Turkey" that "unfortunately emerged in the minds of many." The political reasons underlying this and in what way Süleyman served for this purpose was described as thus:

> [Turkey's] image has been battered by Greek and Armenian lobbyists recalling Turkey's 1974 invasion of Cyprus and the 1918 Ottoman massacre of an estimated 1.5 million Armenians – events the Turks say have been distorted by "hostile circles."

> The Süleyman exhibit tackles Turkey's image problem head-on by celebrating the sultan's tolerance and commitment to the rule of law during his reign from 1520-1566.
> The display of Süleyman's military might provides the embassy a starting point for discussing Turkey's importance as "the cornerstone of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's southern flank, alone defending 33 percent of NATO's frontier with the Warsaw Pact.

In a similar vein, the economic advantages of such an undertaking by enhancing tourism and increase foreign investment to the country were pointed out in the same article:

> Süleyman also bolsters one of Turkey's important commercial relationships. The exhibition is underwritten by Philip Morris International, the world's largest exporter of Turkish tobacco and the largest importer of cigarettes into Turkey – transactions valued at nearly $200 million a year. Turkey hopes Süleyman will spur more foreign investment and a 50 percent increase in tourism.

Indeed, when the NGA approached the Philip Morris Companies Inc. for sponsorship, they proposed three exhibitions, on Matisse, Gauguin and Süleyman, and Philip Morris was particularly interested in the Suleyman exhibition as they were going into the Turkish market with the Sabancı Holding at the time (Brown, 1985, March 14).[142] Philip Morris provided a total of $1 million for the organization of the exhibition for its three venues. This sum did not include the ancillary programs, such as the press conferences, receptions and opening week events, that were covered by Philip Morris. As described above, they organized multiple press events leading up to the exhibition both in Turkey and the United States and made sure their press statement was also released in the Europe zone in addition to the United States, which resulted in a number of media stories on the Philip Morris sponsorship of the exhibition.[143] Throughout the

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[142] For a discussion of corporate sponsorship of art exhibitions in the United States and the blockbusters, see Wallis, (1986), "The Art of Big Business," *Art in America*, 28-32.
[143] "ABD'de "Muhteşem Süleyman" Sergisi," *Tercüman*, week of May 19, 1986; "Amerika'da Kanuni Sergisi Açılıyor," *Son Havadis*, August 14, 1986; "Philip Morris Firması Finanse Edecek: Kanuni Sergisi Amerika Yolcusu," *Tercüman*, August 14, 1986; "Amerika'daki "Kanuni Sergisi"nin

run of the exhibition, Philip Morris also gave ads on a variety of print media, with the following message:

> They built the bridge
> Faced with the imperial need to understand a bewildering variety of conflicting cultures - and the compelling need to maintain their own – they attempted the impossible, and succeeded. They created an art that harmonized opposites – austere and lush, concisely clear and impenetrably complex – and found pure beauty in pure design. In doing so, they made of themselves and their art a bridge between East and West, a bridge that still serves the modern world. (*New York Times*, October 4, 1987, p. SM15; October 9, 1987, p. C29; October 23, 1987, p. C33; November 29, 1987, p. SM53; December 4, 1987, p. C25.)

This advertisement in many ways echoed the press releases and the statements by the Embassy of Turkey, emphasizing the connection between the Ottoman world and the West, and the relevance of the Ottoman Empire in today's world as well as in Modern Turkey that is heir to the Ottoman heritage. In fact, this ease with the use of the term "Ottoman" and not necessarily feeling the need to distinguish it from Turkey of the Republican period by the government channels is another distinguishing aspect of the Age of Süleyman exhibition discourse indicating that a more embracing attitude was taken for the Ottoman cultural heritage in the 1980s. For the earlier exhibitions such as the one in 1954 at Harvard and the other in 1973 at Fogg Art Museum, Ottoman and Republic periods were asked to be either clearly distinguished or the term "Turkish art" was desired to be employed instead of "Ottoman art."

In addition to the foreign investment, a drastic increase in tourism that was aimed through the successful promotion of the exhibition can be seen in targeting of the travel, in-flight, and tourism magazines by sending exhibition pitch letters to their editors for coverage. Even before the opening of the exhibition, on December 15, 1986,

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masraflarını Philip Morris karşılıyor," *Günaydın*, August 14, 1986; "ABD'deki Kanuni Sergisi'ni Philip Morris finanse ediyor," *Dünya*, August 14, 1986; "'Kanuni' sergisi bir yıl ABD'yi gezecek," *Cumhuriyet*, August 14, 1986; "Philip Morris'in finansmanı," *Günaydin*, August 13, 1986; "Marlboro desteği," *Milliyet*, August 13, 1986; "Marlboro'dan Jest," *Hürriyet*, August 13, 1986 in the NGA Archives, RG14A2, box 47, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent - Advance Materials - Philip Morris and Rogers & Cowan.

Asta Travel News from New York and on January 12 and 22, 1987 Travel Weekly of New York featured Turkey as spotlight, and titling their coverages "U.S. Exhibit of Turkish Treasures Expected to Spark '87 Travel" and "Preservation of Turks' Heritage Restores Interest in Destination, Some Tours Visit Sites Associated with Süleyman the Magnificent Exhibit."[144]

On the Embassy end, at the exhibition preview, they provided a comprehensive information package entitled "Turkey: The Continuing Magnificence," which was described as "the theme of a series of cultural, academic and commercial events planned for Washington, Chicago and New York in conjunction with the exhibition" (NGA Archives, RG14A2, box 49, Turkey: The Continuing Magnificence).[145] Throughout the run of the exhibition, they also ran ads aiming to raise interest in travel to Turkey:

> Visit the Treasures of Turkey
> The stunning "Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent" exhibition at the National Gallery gives you just a hint of the fabulous treasures that await you in Turkey. Wherever you travel, from Istanbul throughout all of Anatolia, you will find a wealth of artifacts and ancient ruins – all that remains of many once-glorious civilizations. Along the way, you will discover the pleasures of the sun-drenched beaches lapped by crystal waters, unexcelled yachting, lavish cuisine, as well as some of the world's most intriguing shopping "finds." So after you visit the treasures at the National Gallery of Art, be sure to visit the ones in Turkey. (Washington Post, May 1, 1987, p. W44 and May 15, 1987, p. W69).

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[144] "Spotlight on Turkey?" in *Asta Travel News*, New York, December 15, 1986; Betty Ross, "U.S. Exhibit of Turkish Treasures Expected to Spark '87 Travel," in *Travel Weekly*, New York, January 12, 1987; "Preservation of Turks' Heritage Restores Interest in Destination" Some Tours Visit Sites Associated with Suleyman the Magnificent Exhibit," in *Travel Weekly*, New York, January 22, 1987 in the NGA Archives, RG14A5, Records of Public Relations and Communication, The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent - Trustee Packet.

[145] The folder's contents included: Dear editor letter from Şükrü Elekdağ; calendar of events for the year of Süleyman the Magnificent; fact sheet on the Republic of Turkey; Turkish National Folk Dance Company; the Ottoman Mehter Military Band; Turkish cultural exhibitions to visit U.S. in 1987; Turkey: A tip sheet for editors; brief history; the economy; foreign policy of an American ally; the press release of the Age of Süleyman; and images of the Sultan Ahmet Square, Bosphorus Bridge, Trojan Horse and Mount Nemrut.

A third thread that was seen in the press coverage was the Age of Süleyman as a true blockbuster exhibition.[146] At the time of the Age of Süleyman, the blockbuster phenomenon was a hotly debated topic in the arts and museum sectors in the United States with leading publications discussing the origins, purposes, impact, and pros and cons of this type of exhibitions for the art history field, museums, and visitors. June 1986 issue of *Art in America* journal dedicated its special section to the "Museum Blockbusters" featuring four articles on this topic, each shedding a different light on the issue. Following this, September 1986 issue of *The Art Bulletin* journal published an editorial essay, "Art History and the "Blockbuster" Exhibition" by Richard E. Spear. The following year, June 1987 issue of *The Art Bulletin*, this time featured as a discussion piece, "On "Art History and the 'Blockbuster' Exhibition," containing two responses written by S.J. Freedberg and Gervase Jackson-Stops to the editorial piece written a year earlier, and a third piece responding to these two by Spear.

As explained by Spear (1986) in *The Art Bulletin* editorial, general assumption of the times was that the "treasures" and "masterpieces" exhibitions days would not continue long due to the financial burdens they create on the organizers. However, with the availability of financial support from corporations, national endowments as well as the federal insurance indemnification in the past two decades, this type of exhibitions became popular once again. Coined as "blockbuster" exhibitions, the editorial dated their history to the year 1967 when Thomas Hoving became the director of the MMA and implemented a series of "widely influential policies designed to draw upon, and create, broad-based public interests, which were tapped through sophisticated marketing techniques." While these exhibitions generated the essential income that the museums needed for their operations, Spear (1986) discussed the impact of this type of undertaking for the art history field and the museums in four points. The first one is that "exhibitions of substantial historical value based on intellectual rather than marketing considerations were curtailed or modified" as museums large and small felt this pressure of providing bigger and better exhibitions for the public interest.

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[146] Such as the following coverage: Jed Perl, "His Sultanic Majesty's Bequest," in *Vogue*, New York, April 1987; Robert Merritt, "Sultan's Magnificence," in *The Times-Dispatch Richmond*, VA, February 1, 1987; Carol Fowler, "Opulent Ottoman Empire art: Blockbuster exhibit celebrates the age of Sultan Süleyman," in *Contra Costa Times*, Washington, DC, February 5, 1987; "The artistic jewels in Suleyman's crown," in *The Journal Montgomery County*, MD, February 20, 1987; "Süleyman Treasures Worth the Trip," in *The Charleston Daily Mail*, Charleston, WV, February 20, 1987.

Secondly, curatorial staff attention is directed towards temporary exhibitions, which are organized quite speedily taking up most of the daily work in the museum, hence resulting in the neglect of the permanent collections. Third point is "works of art of the very greatest aesthetic, historical, and commercial value routinely are circulated in exhibitions with little or no art-historical coherence," therefore jeopardizing the prospect the future loan efforts for scholarly purposes. Last point is related to the museum visitors, that "the mechanization of exhibition attendance (Ticketron, Acoustiguide, etc.) and the crowded viewing conditions threaten to dehumanize the entire experience" of a museum visit.

Spear's remarks in many ways parallel the articles featured in *Art in America*. In the special section on museum blockbusters, Conforti (1986) similarly traces the rise of the blockbusters to the directorship of Hoving at the MMA, however as he lays out the historical context of the 1960s and 1970s for the museum field when the marketplace values entered the field, he justifies Hoving stating that:

> Although Hoving symbolized the blockbuster era, I believe that if he had not become the head of the Met in 1967, others would have responded to the pressures of the late '60s and '70s on the American art museum in similar, if less dramatic ways. (p. 23)

For Conforti (1986), the crux of the issue about the legacy of the Hoving blockbuster is "the museum profession's unwillingness openly and realistically to confront the conflict of its esthetic and civic roles is creating a situation that can undermine public confidence in our museums and in their ability to carry out their mission" (p. 19).

The main argument that is articulated in support of the blockbusters describe these exhibitions as useful for the public in capturing their attention, even of people who would not normally visit museums, and may result in sparking interest and curiosity in what is presented to them, hence enabling education and learning (Freedberg, 2017; Jackson-Stops, 2017; Elsen, 1986). This articulation brings forth the civic responsibility of museums in advocating for the blockbuster exhibitions (Conforti, 1986). The additional benefits of the blockbusters are listed as these large scale and big budget exhibitions bring masterpieces from a variety of collections, allowing the public and scholars alike to see them in context, and study them in comparison with

each other, as blockbusters offer unique occasions to present the pieces held in different collections, sometimes dispersed around the world, in a single exhibition space. Moreover, these exhibitions bring increased visibility to the museums and they may receive "in-house benefits" as a result of this, such as more attendance, more revenue through sales and donations improving the finances of the institution and enabling them to carry out their critical work to accomplish their mission of preserving and studying the collections under their care. Furthermore, these exhibitions may provide scholars unparalleled opportunities to conduct research on works of art that have been locked up in storage or access to archives that have been closed for many years, as well as publishing these research results in well-funded exhibition catalogues (Elsen, 1986).

On the opposing end of these arguments are the perception of blockbusters as "lacking critical purposes." This view presents blockbusters as tools for attracting popular attention with the aim of generating funds, generally organized in haste, not giving much attention to the scholarly merits and contributions to the field, or ignoring the condition of the objects and the risks of transporting them from one end of the world to the other; but rather focusing on the masterpiece idea that would bring the desired attention and interest to the exhibition. The negative impact of these to the field are many, such as the museum staff is asked to prioritize the temporary blockbuster in their daily work and put aside the essential duties of caring and researching the permanent collection, which jeopardizes carrying out the mission of the museum; the masterpieces on view may suffer damage either during transportation or due to the climactic changes between the home and the host institutions; the exhibition does not get the attention or even worse harshly criticized resulting the museum losing reputation, donors and staff; or the exhibition becomes too successful that the expectations for repetition of this success restrains the resources of the museum (Spear, 1987; Conforti, 1986; Elsen, 1986). Other layers that cast a shadow on the success of this type of exhibition are the explicitness of financial and political messages, such as the financial sponsor of the exhibition or the political message conveyed by the country loaning the exhibition coming to the fore rather than the artistic and scholarly content of the exhibition itself (Elsen, 1986).

Considering all these points made for the blockbuster exhibitions, generally outlined as large scale, high budget, masterpiece exhibitions with corporate and/or state

sponsorship with record breaking visitor attendance, the Age of Süleyman was immediately recognized as falling into this category by the arts writers. While the Age of Süleyman satisfied many aspects of a blockbuster exhibition, still it would be misleading to categorize it under what Spear called as an exhibition that "lack critical purposes."

The artistic content of the Age of Süleyman is composed of objects from the royal collections. Every object that is included in the exhibition was produced for Sultan's use, hence making it a masterpiece exhibition, where visitors only see the best, as described in the reviews. On the other hand, the Age of Süleyman offers a very focused and detailed view of the Ottoman artistic traditions by presenting the art mostly from the era of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. The objects that are from earlier or later periods than the Süleyman period are included to showcase either in case of preceding period, the emergence of a style, or the development of a style in case of succeeding period. The labels in the exhibition, consistently refer to the variety of artistic styles, discuss the re-appearing motifs in different mediums, the masters behind these creations, and the historical and political contexts that these artworks are produced along with the role of the patron. The exhibition does not provide a sweeping overview of Ottoman art from beginnings until the fall of the Empire, but rather provides a very focused look into the period when the artistic vocabulary of the Empire was formulated. Indeed, Atıl in an interview expressed her reasons for choosing Süleyman era to introduce Ottoman art to the American audiences in these words:

> "I wanted to focus on Süleyman," Dr. Atıl explained during a preview of the show. "It would have been easier to have looked at only the classical Ottoman, at Murad III, but by his time it was already there, the styles had been created. It was more challenging to reveal the development." (Merritt, 1987)

In trying to reveal the development of the Ottoman visual vocabulary, Atıl not only worked on the exhibition itself but also authored two scholarly catalogues in conjunction with the exhibition as well as organizing a scholarly conference at the UM.[147] As discussed in the previous section, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the*

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[147] The symposium was held on May 18-19, 1987. Participants and the papers presented are as follows: Alan Fisher (Michigan State University), "Sources for the Life of Süleyman: Problems Encountered in Writing His Biography"; Norman Itzkowitz (Princeton Univ.), "What Made Süleyman Magnificent"; Margaret Venzke (Loyola College), "Süleyman as Law Giver with Special Reference to the Arab

Magnificent catalogue offers a wholistic and comprehensive view of the Süleyman era artistic production. In the *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent* facsimile publication, Atıl contributed to the scholarship by offering reproductions of all paintings featured in this manuscript on the imperial history of the Süleyman era, providing detailed information on the paintings as well as the manuscript production and imperial history writing in the Ottoman Empire. A positive aspect of the blockbuster's attracting funds for scholarship can be seen in this publication project, as Koç Holding sponsored it by underwriting $100,000 for the production and design of *Süleymanname* (Viebranz to O. Soysal, 1985, March 21).

Furthermore, as discussed previously the scholarship presented at the Age of Süleyman exhibition was a result of many years of research conducted in Turkey by Atıl herself as well as by other scholars, such as Filiz Çağman, that Atıl had access through her close relationships and strong ties to her country of origin. Hence, in terms of the curatorial narrative, the Age of Süleyman cannot be categorized as an exhibition lacking "critical purpose" or "historical understanding," on the contrary, it had a very focused scholarly narrative presenting the new scholarship that originated with the Anatolian Civilizations exhibition in Turkey and bringing works in the Turkish museums together with select art works from a variety of collections in Europe, the Near East, and the United States as discussed previously as one of the benefits of blockbuster exhibitions bringing together works from diverse collections that one cannot view together as a group otherwise.

Another distinguishing factor of the Age of Süleyman from the type of "uncritical" blockbusters claimed to be organized in haste without much thought or lack of care for the objects' safety is Atıl's attention to the curatorial message and the objects selected for the exhibition. Atıl at an in-person interview (June 2012), stressed that she was the curator of the DC iteration of the Age of Süleyman exhibition. In the ten years that it took for her to realize the exhibition, she stated that she carefully conceptualized the exhibition for an American audience and thought about the exhibition's message for

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Lands"; Walter Andrews (Univ. of Washington), "Literary Art of the Golden Age: The Age of Süleyman"; Esin Atıl (National Gallery of Art), "The Development of the Ottoman Artistic Vocabulary"; Howard Crane (Ohio State Univ.), "Mimar Sinan and the Ottoman Imperial Mosque Tradition"; Carol Fisher (Michigan State Univ.), "Some Questions About Non- Royal Ottoman Art Patronage in the Mid-Sixteenth Century." "Papers on Turkish and Ottoman Subjects at Recent Scholarly Conferences; Exhibitions" (Turkish Studies Association Bulletin, Sept. 1987, pp. 107-110).

the American public. She was not in support of the idea of taking an exhibition concept and travelling it to other countries without making any adjustments, as she strongly believed that the curatorial message had to be crafted for each country's public in mind. She paid a lot of attention to the condition of the objects and stated that she made two trips to Turkey with the conservators of the NGA. There were times when she had to give up some objects from her wish list after careful consideration of the risks involved in their transportation and their display.

While art historical and museological aspects of the Age of Süleyman satisfied the scholars, museum professionals and visitors alike as a large-scale exhibition project with strong scholarship and serving a critical purpose, the corporate sponsorship of Philip Morris Companies Inc. and the aligned promotion efforts of the Embassy of Turkey, through the case of the Age of Süleyman, demonstrate the potential of blockbuster exhibitions when used as tools by financial and political stakeholders to alleviate their public image.

Philip Morris was one of the few companies along with Exxon, IBM and Mobil in those years that provided generous corporate sponsorship to the museums for temporary exhibitions (Wallis, 1986, p. 28). As the correspondence and memos from the NGA communications department indicate, there was an awareness of the implications of a Philip Morris sponsorship (NGA Archives, RG14A2). For instance, the exhibition folders of the NGA archives, in addition to press clippings on the exhibition, also include press coverage on the cigarette ad bans and the discussions surrounding it in the United States Senate at the time. Furthermore, when the Philip Morris sponsorship was captured by the Turkish press in August 1986, the NGA staff members exchanged concerned memos displeased with this early lead on their sponsorship of the exhibition. All throughout the time when advance promotion efforts were coordinated between the NGA's communications department and Rogers & Cowan representing Philip Morris, the NGA staff were making sure Rogers & Cowan would not speak about the exhibition on their own terms but get the approval of the NGA before releasing any statement per NGA's policy.

Philip Morris, as can be traced from the records in the NGA Archives, followed closely all press coverage on their sponsorship of the exhibition and tracked the reach of each media outlet. As discussed above, the company invested in many press events, such as

the one held in their headquarters in New York in September 1986 and a reception at Aya İrini in Istanbul in November 1986.

As for the interest from the Turkish side on the exhibition, the Embassy of Turkey took this as a great opportunity to sponsor "concurrent exhibits and special events" in Şükrü Elekdağ's words "[to] expose American audiences to the great artistic and cultural achievements of the Ottoman Empire and also to the rich diversity of the modern Turkish Republic, the heir to the cultural legacy of the Ottoman past" (1986, September 16). These programs included exhibitions of Turkish architecture, contemporary Turkish arts and fashions, Turkish carpets and cuisine, special appearances by the Ottoman Mehter Military Band, The Turkish National Folk Dance Company and contemporary Turkish concert pianists. The calendar of events provided in "Turkey: The Continuing Magnificence" folder featured 49 programs from January to October 1987.

To sum up, as demonstrated above the Age of Süleyman received tremendous support from its financial and political backers. The orchestrated promotion efforts coming from three channels, the NGA, Philip Morris Companies Inc., and Embassy of Turkey, must have played a key role in garnering public attention. However, looking at the exhibition reviews and public interest to the exhibition, what seems to have appealed to the American audiences that knew very little or perhaps nothing at all of a sultan of a distant land and distant time was the employment of an engaging curatorial narrative with a strong people focus, along with choice masterpiece objects and a dramatic design of physical gallery space, which were a result of many years of scholarship and strong ties of collaboration with the originating country, Turkey.

Esin Atıl, along with her collaborators both in Turkey and the United States, accomplished to create an exhibition experience for the American public, easing their entry into the realm of the 16th century Ottoman Empire, through the personage of Sultan Süleyman, the masterpieces of Ottoman art and the spatial references to the Topkapı Palace.

6. CONCLUSION

After the success of the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent in the United States, the exhibition travelled to many other countries in the following years, from the United Kingdom to Japan, from France to Australia. Moreover, in the following decade, many other exhibitions of Ottoman art were organized in United States at times in the least likely places (see Appendix F). While none of these exhibitions received the level of attention that the Age of Süleyman received, still the rising interest in displaying Ottoman art across the country as well as the increasing scholarship on Ottoman art and history in the American academia demonstrate the impact of the Age of Süleyman's success in raising the public and scholarly profile of Ottoman art after many decades of understudy.

This dissertation aimed to demonstrate the evolution in the study and perception of Ottoman art in the United States through museum exhibitions from the beginnings of the formation of Islamic art as an academic discipline in the late 1920s to its climactic moment in 1987, when only the second travelling exhibition from Turkey to the United States received an unprecedented interest from the press, public, and scholars alike for an exhibition on Turkish art from the Ottoman period. Throughout the six decades that this dissertation focuses on, there are both continuities and disruptions in the development and perception of Ottoman art history.

The second chapter demonstrated that the efforts of Dr. Mehmet Aga-Oglu was pivotal in establishing Islamic art history in the United States in the 1930s. Aga-Oglu was a particularly suitable candidate to accomplish this task in the New World, at a time when the country had only a handful trained scholars in Islamic art. Aga-Oglu's knowledge of the field through his training in Russia, Turkey, Germany and Austria, his language abilities, his access to the collections in the region as well as his professional network must be the reasons for his speedy achievements in his new homeland. He was able to put together the first survey exhibition of Islamic art in the country only a year after his arrival to North America. Again, only a year after his

appointment to the University of Michigan, he founded the first Islamic art program in the country and established the first academic journal dedicated to the study of Islamic art, both of which survive to this day. UM's Islamic art program is still considered to be one of the top centers for studying Islamic art history in North America, and the journal *Ars Islamica* was renamed in the 1950s as *Ars Orientalis*, and still is a leading academic journal for the Asian and Islamic arts jointly published by the University and the Freer Gallery of Art.

While Aga-Oglu's work brought attention to Islamic art in the United States, he did not particularly have much scholarly output on Turkish art during this time despite his doctoral studies on Turkish architecture and his prior curatorial work at the Evkaf Museum. His scholarly stance during the twenty years he worked in the United States was to provide as comprehensive and as diverse a picture of the field as possible. In that sense, unlike other scholars such as Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman who dedicated their life's work on promoting specifically Persian art, Aga-Oglu in his exhibitions provided a general survey to the American audiences and in his scholarly books and articles he shed light on the understudied and unknown material, such as the Persian book bindings currently in the collection of Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts or the Safavid rugs and textiles in the shrine of Imam 'Ali at Al-Najaf.

In the 1950s, the general perception on Ottoman art as a rather unknown field persisted. As explained in the third chapter of this dissertation, when the museum professionals from the MMA planned a loan exhibition from Turkey and approached Turkish authorities, they did not believe that an exhibition focusing only on Seljuk and Ottoman periods in Anatolia would receive much attention from the public. Furthermore, they did not see much of a value in such an exhibition themselves, except for the curators of Islamic art, Maurice S. Dimand and Ernst Grube from the MMA. In the end, when the idea of a loan exhibition from Turkey was finally realized, it was a panoramic exhibition showcasing 8,000 years of art history from the national collections of Turkey. In contrast to the expectations of museum professionals outside the field of Islamic art, who expected the highlights would be the objects from the ancient Anatolian civilizations, the press and the public showed more interest in the Ottoman section of the exhibition. One reason for this could be the movie *Topkapı* (1964) which seems to have engrained an image of the Topkapı Palace and its riches in the popular culture of the time. In fact, both the press releases and the opening

remarks of the exhibition referred to the infamous Topkapı dagger as a familiar topic to draw the public attention to the exhibition.

In the 1930s while Aga-Oglu displayed only examples of Turkish textiles, rugs, and ceramics in the context of survey exhibitions of Islamic art and did not treat Ottoman painting on its own but rather as an offshoot of Persian painting tradition, in the 1966-68 exhibition of Art Treasures of Turkey, all mediums of Ottoman art were included in the context of Anatolian artistic heritage throughout centuries. However, Seljuk and Ottoman art sections of this exhibition were presented as a disruption rather than a continuation of the earlier Anatolian civilizations despite the request of Turkish authorities on this emphasis. Therefore, although Art Treasures of Turkey offered for the first time in the United States a wholistic presentation of Ottoman art, it did not succeed in situating it in a purely Anatolian context.

The developments in the scholarly world and the art market that started in the 1960s enabled a significant shift in the 1970s. Starting with 1960 onwards, more and more academic publications came out on Ottoman art thanks to the new research conducted in the national collections of Turkey by scholars such as Emel Esin, Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, Oktay Aslanapa, Richard Ettinghausen, Ernst Grube etc. The opening of collections for research allowed scholars to better understand and judge the artistic contributions of the Ottoman artists. Especially the Ottoman painting tradition, which did not receive much attention earlier due to the perception that it was under the strong influence of Persian painting, benefited most from these developments. The scholarship produced in the 1960s depicted a general portrait of Ottoman painting and its development over time and by the early 1970s, a detailed history of Ottoman painting tradition was written by Nurhan Atasoy, Filiz Çağman and Esin Atıl.

Two developments that happened in 1973 designated a new path for Turkish art history in the following decade. The first one was the change in the antiquities law in Turkey banning the loan of artworks, which resulted in Turkey's not being able to lend or participate into any international exhibition abroad. This change inevitably forced curators in the United States to organize exhibitions from the collections in North America. The second development was the 50th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey, which was celebrated with three exhibitions taking place in the East Coast of the United States organized by Islamic art historians, Esin Atıl, Walter B. Denny and

Richard Ettinghausen along with the collector Edwin Binney, 3rd. These exhibitions were small scale and composed of works from either the museum's own collection as in the case of the Freer or relied on local collections as in the case of the Fogg, or a combination of both as in the case of the MMA. In comparison with the earlier exhibitions, this time Turkish art was exhibited on its own terms, without in the context of general survey of Islamic art or Anatolian civilizations. Although an exhibition of Turkish art was organized in 1954 at Harvard and there were instances of exhibitions held at the MMA on a variety of Turkish mediums such as embroideries, textiles, arms and armor etc.,[148] this was the first time the organizing curators, especially Atıl and Denny, were scholars specialized in Ottoman art, and they tried to offer as wholistic portrayal as possible of the Ottoman artistic production.

While the 1973 antiquities laws made travelling exhibitions from Turkey an impossibility for at least a decade, during this time Edwin Binney, 3rd emerged as the major collector of Turkish art in the United States directing his attention from Persian painting to Ottoman painting starting in the late 1960s until the division of his collection between Harvard Art Museums and LACMA in 1985. In less than two decades, Binney amassed a significant collection of Turkish art, which was made possible in large part due to the art market conditions as well as Binney's competitive and driven personality.

A continuing trend from at least the 1920s onwards was the inability to find any artwork to purchase in Turkey. In the 1920s, Rudolf M. Riefstahl was writing about nothing could be found for collecting purposes in Turkey. Maurice S. Dimand reiterated the same view to James Rorimer in 1951 while he was in Istanbul for the International Congress of Orientalists. Then in 1968 Binney noted Ettinghausen's claims that one could find nothing to buy in Istanbul. Lastly in 1975 while travelling in Turkey, Binney commented on the strict export rules in Turkey so he could only

[148] The following exhibitions were organized at the MMA on Turkish art until the 1968 viewing of the Art Treasures of Turkey exhibition: Turkish Embroideries of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries from October 12, 1931 to February 14, 1932; Turkish and Balkan Arms and Armor (George C. Stone Bequest) from February 21 to March 21, 1937; Turkish Textiles from September 27 to October 22, 1939; Turkish Art of the Muhammadan Period from February 29 to June 30, 1944; Turkish Art from the XV to the XIX Century from March 1, 1944 to January 1, 1945; Persian and Turkish Textiles of the XVI to XVIII Centuries from June 22 to September 18, 1955; Paintings by Children of Turkey from October 25-December 3, 1961.

buy contemporary works and nothing else. Despite the strict laws on the trafficking of cultural artefacts and unavailability of material in the antique shops and bazaars in Turkey, in the 1960s Ottoman artefacts emerged in the European and American art markets and Binney was able to form his Turkish collection mostly through the dealers in Paris and London as well as in New York. Some of the material on the market were coming out of existing European collections such as the Kevorkian and Pozzi, however the provenance of others that appeared on the market around this time is a research topic that needs to be explored.

Edwin Binney's forming a collection of Turkish art for the United States is on the one hand a typical example of American patronage, in a country where public collections are formed through the generosity of wealthy individuals who collect and gift their collections to museums. On the other hand, in the context of Turkish art history, Binney's collection exemplifies a disruption. As mentioned before, Turkish art was represented mostly with textiles, rugs, ceramics, and arms and armor in the museum exhibitions and the Ottoman painting was found not to have a distinct language of its own in the Islamic painting tradition. However, Binney started off his collection firstly with paintings and moved on to collecting other mediums in Turkish art over time. Binney's collecting interest in other areas such as Indian and Persian art were also works on paper, so one reason for him to pursue Ottoman painting first could be his aesthetic preference as a collector. Yet, in his Turkish collection catalogues Binney explained in detail where one could find Turkish paintings outside Turkey and proudly wrote that his collection was among the few and the only comprehensive one in the United States, signaling that his was also a strategic move to go after a material that was not readily available in other public and private collections.

A decade later, in 1983 two developments in Turkey paved the way for a return of Turkish art in the international arena. Firstly, the antiquities law of 1973 that banned the loan of artworks was changed thanks to the efforts of art historians in Turkey and Esin Atıl, who had been conceptualizing an exhibition of Ottoman art in the United States since her first Turkish art exhibition at the Freer in 1973. The second significant event was the 1983 exhibition of Anatolian Civilizations. For this landmark exhibition 5,000 objects from 50 museums, majority of which never published before, were brought together for display in Istanbul. When the ban of international loans was lifted, a number of exhibitions that allowed to travel internationally were in fact born out of

the Anatolian Civilizations exhibition, and the Age of Süleyman is one of them. Esin Atıl was in Istanbul for a Fulbright Research Grant in 1982-83, working closely with Filiz Çağman and translating the Seljuk and Ottoman period catalogue of *AnatolianCivilizations*. Atıl's Age of Süleyman exhibition featured 75 objects from thisexhibition uniting them with objects from the public and private collections in Europe,Near East and the United States offering a comprehensive representation of the artfrom Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent era.

Art historically, the Age of Süleyman exhibition's success is built on many decades of scholarship due to the multiple years of research conducted in Turkey by Atıl herself as well as by other scholars. Offering a very focused and detailed view of the Ottoman artistic traditions, the Age of Süleyman exhibition presented the art mostly from the era of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, when the artistic vocabulary of the Empire was formulated. Aga-Oglu stated in his unpublished *Corpus* that "after almosta century of preliminary research work in the field of Islamic art, the time is ripe...to pass from generalities into specific considerations of various branches of the artistic creation of Islamic people" and the Age of Suleyman marks this very moment for Ottoman art history when Atıl, through her access to the collections in Turkey and her strong ties to her country of origin, presented a wholistic and comprehensive view of the Süleyman era artistic production taking into account "geographical, historical, social, economic, technical and stylistic aspects of the development" as Aga-Oglu suggested a few decades earlier.

Political and economic factors, too played an important role and even contributed to the success of the Age of Süleyman exhibition in contrast to the earlier exhibitions of Turkish art organized in the United States. For instance, in the 1954 exhibition of Turkish art held at Harvard, the archival records indicate the involvement of the Turkish Information Office in the organization of the Harvard exhibition along with other proposed cultural activities to the MMA in the same year. For this exhibition and others, the intention of the Information Office was to showcase the modernization that had taken place since the establishment of the Republic, and a section dedicated to the Republican Turkey was included at the Harvard show. In a similar vein, in the 1973 exhibition for the 50th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey at the Fogg, the preference indicated by the Turks was to use "Turkish art" rather than "Ottoman" in the exhibition title although all the objects on view were from the Ottoman period.

However, no such conversations were taking place during the time of the Age of Süleyman exhibition, and both terms, "Ottoman" and "Turkish," were used with ease, embracing the Ottoman cultural heritage, and tying it organically to the modern Turkey discourse in government statements as well as in marketing materials.

Financially, no previous exhibition from Turkey or on Turkish art received support from the Turkish government on the scale of the Age of Süleyman exhibition. This unprecedented financial support in the range of millions of dollars along with the long-term commitment of the Embassy of Turkey in Washington, DC in advance of and during the exhibition to organize multiple programs to introduce and promote Turkey and its culture in the United States contributed significantly to the popularity of the Age of Süleyman. Hence, it was a combination of strong art historical scholarship, generous financial support from the private sector and government backing alike that realized the "blockbuster" effect of *the Age of Süleyman* exhibition, which Walter Heil described few decades earlier in his letter to persuade the Turks in loaning their treasures to the United States for a traveling exhibition.

The Age of Süleyman exhibition exemplifies the culmination of many decades of scholarship on Ottoman art which was made possible by close international scholarly networks. For instance, it was the scholarly connections of Rudolf M. Riefstahl, Bernard Berenson and William R. Valentiner that enabled Mehmet Aga-Oglu's appointment to the DIA. The first exhibition ever held on Islamic art in the West Coast of United States in 1937 was also very likely due to the connection of Walter Heil and Aga-Oglu as they worked together at the DIA in the early 1930s. More than two decades later, it was due to the efforts of Heil along with Richard Ettinghausen and John Walker that the first loan exhibition from Turkey to the United States was realized. Ettinghausen was a key figure for Turkish art history in the United States and his contributions were manifold, from serving as the U.S. delegate on the permanent executive committee of the International Congress of Turkish Arts since its inaugural convening in 1959 at Ankara University to his multiple publications on Turkish art and architecture as well as serving as a close adviser to Edwin Binney, 3rd, who became the major collector of Turkish art in the 1970s. Binney's network in both the scholarly world and the art market facilitated his formation of an encyclopedic collection and raising public awareness on Turkish art by travelling his collection to the museums in smaller cities across the country and distributing his collection among the two

prestigious public museums, Harvard Art Museums in Boston and LACMA. As for Esin Atıl, in addition to her curatorial expertise and knowledge of American museum visitors, her international network and her collaborations with Turkish art historians, especially Filiz Çağman, played an important part in both obtaining the loans from Turkey through the change in the antiquities laws and creating an enticing exhibition experience for the scholars and public alike in North America.

Long term institutional commitment and support also facilitated and contributed to the developments in the scholarship. The UM pioneered the field by establishing the first program for the study of Islamic art history and publishing the first academic journal thanks to the efforts of Mehmet Aga-Oglu. In 1938, Aga-Oglu's position at the UM as professor and founding editor was filled by Richard Ettinghausen, followed by Oleg Grabar, who supervised the doctoral work of Esin Atıl on the Surname-i Vehbi in 1969.

Harvard University and Harvard Art Museums in Boston also showed an interest early on in starting an Islamic art history program and forming museum collections in this field. Though Aga-Oglu was not hired by Harvard despite Berenson's recommendations, the University and the Museums desired and accomplished to become major players in the field. In 1954, the first Turkish art exhibition was organized, a commemorative exhibition on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey was held thanks to the efforts of Walter B. Denny, who received his Ph.D. degree from the Harvard program in 1970 under the supervision of Grabar, and in 1986 the Harvard Art Museums acquired the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd, another Harvard graduate, along with LACMA.

The MMA in New York is the first museum to initiate contacts with Turkey for a loan exhibition in the 1950s. It continued its support and interest in Turkish art by hosting the Art Treasures of Turkey exhibition in 1968 and organizing a three-part exhibition to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Republic of Turkey in 1973, which was also the first time Edwin Binney's Turkish painting collection was on display as a whole. In 1987, it hosted the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent exhibition. Moreover, the MMA was the home institution of Richard Ettinghausen, from 1969 to 1979, when he served as the consultative chairman of its Islamic department.

The NGA and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. were pivotal in realizing both Art Treasures of Turkey and the Age of Sultan Süleyman the

Magnificent exhibitions, and the Smithsonian's Freer Gallery of Art served to Turkish art by being the home institution for Richard Ettinghausen from 1944 to 1967 and Esin Atıl from 1970 to 1993, both of whom contributed significantly along with many other scholars mentioned in this study to further the scholarship on Ottoman art history. While this dissertation aimed to highlight the contributions of the above mentioned figures and institutions, there are still many others await further study.

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Url – 20 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251359 >

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Url – 22 < https://hvrd.art/o/215659 >

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Url – 25 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251208 >

Url – 26 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251218 >

Url – 27 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251267 >

Url – 28 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251227 >

Url – 29 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251212 >

Url – 30 < https://hvrd.art/o/215654 >

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Url – 36 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251233 >

Url – 37 < https://hvrd.art/o/215910 >

Url – 38 < https://hvrd.art/o/215839 >

Url – 39 < https://hvrd.art/o/303398 >

Url – 40 < https://hvrd.art/o/215585 >

Url – 41 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251232 >

Url – 42 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251243 >

Url – 43 < https://hvrd.art/o/215378 >

Url – 44 < https://hvrd.art/o/213052 >

Url – 45 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251289 >

Url – 46 < https://hvrd.art/o/215851 >

Url – 47 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/178173 >

Url – 48 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251276 >

Url – 49 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251240 >

Url – 50 < https://hvrd.art/o/215767 >

Url – 51 < https://hvrd.art/o/215568 >

Url – 52 < https://hvrd.art/o/215780 >

Url – 53 < https://hvrd.art/o/216242 >

Url – 54 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251256 >

Url – 55 < https://hvrd.art/o/215331 >

Url – 56 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251213 >

Url – 57 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251213 >

Url – 58 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/178167 >

Url – 59 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251360 >

Url – 60 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251225 >

Url – 61 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251294 >

Url – 62 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251274 >

Url – 63 < https://hvrd.art/o/215769 >

Url – 64 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/251404 >

Url – 65 < https://hvrd.art/o/215793 >

Url – 66 < https://collections.lacma.org/node/178131 >

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX B: Objects Selected for the Proposed Exhibition of "Masterpieces from Turkish Museums"

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APPENDIX D: Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

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APPENDIX F: List of Turkish Art Exhibitions in the United States, 1987-2000

APPENDIX A : Publications on the Historiography of Islamic Art

Major publications that deal with the historiography of Islamic art in general or one of its regions in chronological order:

Komaroff, L. (Ed.). (2000). *Ars Orientalis, 30*: Exhibiting the Middle East: Collections and Perceptions of Islamic Art.

Vernoit, S. (Ed.). (2000). *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850-1950*. London, New York: I.B. Tauris.

Blair, S. S. & Bloom, J. M. (March 2003). The Mirage of Islamic Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field. *The Art Bulletin, 85/1*, 152-184.

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Necipoğlu, G. & Bozdoğan, S. (Eds.). (2007). *Muqarnas, 24*: History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum."

Lermer, A. & Shalem, A. (Eds.). (2010). *After 100 Hundred Years: The 1910 Exhibition "Meisterwerke muhammadanischer Kunst" Reconsidered*. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Carey, M., & Graves, M. (Eds.). (June 2012). *Journal of Art Historiography, 6*: a special issue on the historiography of Islamic art.

Junod, B., Khalil, G., Weber, S. & Wolf, G. (Eds.). (2012). *Islamic Art and the Museum: Approaches to Art and Archaeology of the Muslim World in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Saqi Books.

Cuddon, B. (2013). A Field Pioneered by Amateurs: The Collecting and Display of Islamic Art in Early Twentieth-Century Boston. *Muqarnas, 30*, 13-33.

Kadoi, Y. & Szanto, I. (Eds.). (2013). *The Shaping of Persian Art: Collections and Interpretations of the Art of Islamic Iran and Central Asia*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Gharipour, M. (Ed.). (2016). *The Historiography of Persian Architecture*. London: New York: Routledge.

Flood, F. B. & Necipoğlu, G. (2017). Frameworks of Islamic Art and Architectural History: Concepts, Approaches, and Historiographies. In F. B. Flood & G. Necipoğlu (Eds.), *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture* (pp. 2-56). John Wiley & Sons.

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APPENDIX B : Objects Selected for the Proposed Exhibition of "Masterpieces from Turkish Museums"[149]

Ancient Oriental Art

1)Plaque of Our-Enlil, from Nippur, Sumerian; Ht. 19 cm. Ivn. No. in 1926 Guide Sommaire, Stamboul, no. 1944, pl. 2A

2) Goblet of Naram-Sin, op. cit., pl. 1, Akkadian, Inv. no. 5207.

3) Mosaic bowl, Assyrian, op. cit., pl. 11, Inv. no. 8828.

4) A terra cotta lion-vessel from Kultepe. Bossert, Alt Anatolien, no. 398, p. 79.

5) Terra cotta bull's head from Alaca Hoyuk. Bossert, op. cit. no. 625.

6) The gold vessels from Alaca Hoyuk, Bossert, op. cit., 313-314; and necklace etc.

7) Bronze-stag inlaid with silver, and other bronzes from Alaca Hoyuk; Bossert, op. cit., no. 300.

8) Small gold and lapis lazuli figures, Bossert, op. cit. nos. 594-596.

9) Lion or part of lion, from Tell Acana; Bossert, nos. 577-579.

10) A relief of a god; Bossert, no. 928.

11) A fine Hittite slab of sculpture in good condition, from Bogaz-Koy or Euyuk (Museum at Istanbul or Ankara).

Greek and Roman Art

Marble Sarcophagi

1)The "Alexander" sarcophagus	Mendel, no. 68

Marble Statues and Reliefs

2)Boy from Tralles	Schede, pl. XV; Mendel, no. 542
3)Grave stele of a discobolos	Schede, pl. VI; Mendel, no. 11
4)Portrait head of Alexander	Schede, pl. XVIII, Mendel, no. 538
5)Stele: girl playing lyre	Schede, pl. XVI, Mendel, no. 576

[149] Undated object list from the MMA Archives, "Proposed Art Treasures of Turkey 1951-1953; 1955-1966" titled folder from Museum Admin Special Exhibitions, Rorimer, Box 26, Folder 2.

6)Archaic grave stele	Schede, pl. III, Mendel, no. 526
Bronzes	
7)Boar	Devambez, Catalogue pl. III; Inv. no. 77
8)Wrestlers	Devambez, Catalogue pl. XXVI; Inv. no. 268
9)Bull	Devambez, Catalogue pl. VII; Inv. no. 5
10)Herakles	Devambez, Catalogue pl. XXI; Inv. no. 3

11)Gold objects from Troy and Sardis

Byzantine Art

1)Sidamara sarcophagus

2)Statue of Valentinian II from the Aphrodisias (Mendel, Catalogue, vol. II, 504 (2269).

3)Byzantine frescoes and mosaics if available.

4)Gold cup (pokale) from Albania (Istanbul Museum, Inv. no. 1531).

5)Gold objects, jewelry, and bronzes if available.

Islamic Art

Topkapi Saray General – Treasury

1)Several costumes of Turkish sultans, from Mehmet II down to the 17th century. A few dresses of Princesses and children.

2)Metal (a) iron zodiac mirror, early 14th century, inlaid with gold and silver, with the name of Ala ad-din in center.

(b) Two brass lamps of Mamluk Sultan Qansuh al-Ghuri (1500-1516 A.D.).

(c) Several Persian silver bottles, cups, bowls, etc., of 16th-17th century, all decorated with gold and various jewels. (Published in London Exh. 1931, Nos. 326 A,C, and one in Survey, Pl. 1380, in Vol. VI, Metal Plates).

(d) Turkish silver bottles, cups, etc., also decorated with gold and various jewels.

3)Several tughras and firmans of the Turkish Sultans.

4)Several arms and armor of Turkish Sultans. (Guide, pp. 14-24, and illustr.). (See also article by H. Stocklein, in Ars Islamica, I (1934), pp. 200-218).

Manuscripts in the Top Kapu Saray

5)No.3472. Automata by Jazari, dated 602 (April 1206). Scribe Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Uthman al-Haskafi; paintings by the scribe. 179 folios. Publ: Holter, List No. 10; Stchoukine, Gaz. B.A. (mars 1934).

6) No 1397. Shah Nama, dated 1330. Scribe Hasan b. Ali. Hussain al-Bahmani. A double page scene of the Mongol court. 89 miniatures. 35.5X28.5 cm. Publ: Holter, List No. 46: Binyon Wilkinson and Gray, Pls. XVB, XVI, XVII.

7)No. 1423. Shah Nama, made in Shiraz, dated 772 (1370-1372). Scribe Mas'ud b. Mansur b. Ahmad. 12 miniatures. Publ: Aga-Oglu, Ars. Isl. I, pp. 191-192.

8)No. 1022. Kalila wa Dimna (in Persian) dated 833 (1430) in Herat. Scribe Muhammad b. Hussam Shams as-Din al-Baisunquri. Ex-Libris, made for Prince Baisumqur Mirza. Publ: Aga-Oglu, Ars Isl. I, p. 199

9)No. 37083)

1719) Album, made for Baisunqur Mirza (died in 1433) in Herat. Size 68X50 cm. Calligraphy and 22413) miniatures. Publ: Holter, List Nos. 41, 56 and 60; Munich Exh. 1910, No. 649; Sakisian, La Miniature Persans, Figs. 10, 28, 68, 73-75, 191.

10)No. 282/33052. Kuliyat-I Tarikhiye (Historical Anthology) no colophon, but folio 10 says, "made in the days of Shah Rukh Bahadur) (1404-1447 A.D.) 20 paintings. Some Shiraz, early 15th century, some of Herat, added later. Publ: Aga-Oglu, Ars Isl., I, p. 192.

11)Nos. 1863 and 2475, Jami' at-Tawarikh by Rashid ad-din, two vols; 36x26 cm.

No. 1863, 1st part, for Shah Rukh, dated 829 (1425). 49 miniature.

No. 1863, 2nd part, dated 714 (Oct. 1314) 73 miniatures; Mongol school paintings with Uighur inscriptions.

No. 2475, dated 717 (July 1317) probably in Tabriz. A few Mongol school paintings, the portraits better than those in the other volume.

Other paintings, some Timurid, some Turkish.

Publ: Holter, List Nos. 71 and 72. Aga-Oglu, Ars. Isl. I, pp. 183-191.

12)No. 694. Nizami, dated 1440. Publ: Aga-Oglu, Orient. Lit., s. 34 (1931) p. 331.

13)No. 712. Nizami, dated 1447. Publ: Aga-Oglu, Orient. Lit., s. 34 (1931) p. 331.

14)No. 140. Shah-nama, dated and illustrated in 1482. Publ: Aga-Oglu, Orient. Lit., s. 34 (1931) p. 331.

15)No. 37084. Album of Ya'qub Beg, ruler of Tabriz (1479-1490) White Sheep dyn. Size 50x33 cm. Over 80 paintings in Chinese style. Some scenes from Shah-nama. Portrait of Mehmet II, the Conqueror, by Gentile Bellini. Publ: Sakisian, Miniature, Figs. 65, 60-71. Guide to Topkapu, Pl. XXXIII.

16)No. 47985. Album, supplement to 37084, Album of Ya'qub Beg. 40 Chinese style paintings and drawings. Publ: Sakisian, Miniature, p. 52, note 5.

17)No. 1433. Shah Nama, made for Mamluk Sultan Qansuh al-Ghuri, 1501-1516 A.D. Publ: Aga-Oglu, Orient. Lit., s. 34 (1931) p. 331.

18)No. 37061. Album, containing portrait by Bihzad (attributed) of the Safavid Shah Isma'il, ruled 1502-1524 ("kalam brisedu pauvre Bihzad"). Publ: Sakisian, Miniature, p. 103, not illustrated.

19)No. 37085. Album made for Abul Fath Behram Mirza, brother of Shah Tahmasp I, dated 1543-1544. Size 48x35cm. A painting made by Shah Tahmasp for his brother Behram. Line drawing by Shah Muzaffer of Muhammad on Buraq. Other paintings by dost Muhammad, Abd al-Hayy, Sultan Muhammad Naqqash, dragon by Shah Kuli Rumi. Calligraphy by several people. (Note: according o B. W. & Gray, there is a second Album also made for Behram Mirza, size 45x29 cm. but no number is given). Publ: Sakisian, Miniature: Binyon, Wilkinson & Gray, Nos. 174-175.

Evkaf Museum

Turk ve Islam Eserleri Muzesi General

20)Several Seljuk rugs from Konia, 13th and 14th century.

21)Wood carving.

No. 191, wooden box, dated 649 (1251-1252).

No. 193, wooden box, dated 667 (1268-1269).

Evkaf Museum

Turk ve Islam Eserleri Muzesi Manuscripts

22)No. 1561. Anthology of Persian Poetry, dated 801 (1398 A.D.) with 11 landscape paintings. Size 31x20 cm. About 980 folios. Scribe Mansur b. Muhammad b. Varaka b. Umar b. Bakhtiyar, from Bihbahan in Kuh-i Giluy (in Fars). Publ: Aga-Oglu, in Ars Isl., III (1936) pp. 77-78.

23)No. 1954 (or 1454). Chahar Macala (Four Tales) by Arusi Samarqandi, dated 1431 A.D. (Note: Suheyl Unver says it is No. T, 418). Publ: Sakisian, Figs. 52, 56, 57, pp. 43-44. Guide No. 1954, illustr.

24)No…? Mesnewi, copied for Sultan Husain Baiqara, dated Herat, 1482. (Formerly, old Evkaf, No. 1537). Punl: Sakisian, p. 48, binding, Fig. 63.

25)No. 1962, Divan of Sulaiman I (1520-1566) binding. Illustr. and p. 59.

26)No. 358. Koran, parchment, 12th century, Guide, illustr.

27)Nos. 505, 507. Koran, written by the calligrapher Yaqut al-Musta'simi, in Baghdad, in years 685-693 H. (1286-1293) p. 61 and illustr.

28)No. 1973. Zubdat at-Tawarikh (a historical anthology) ex-Libris of Sultan Murad III (1574-1595).

29)No. 557. Koran of "Hazret Ali". Parchment. Guide, illustr. Prob. 9th-10th century.

Formerly in the Chinili kiosk

Source: E. Kuhnel, Die Sammlung Turkischer und Islamischer Kunst in Tschinili Koschk (Berlin 1938)

30)Inv. No. 2873. Stone relief from Diarbakr, c. 1200.	Pl. 7
31)Inv. No. 2902. Stucco relief from Konia, c. 1200.	10
32)Inv. No. 951. Wooden door from Karaman, 13th century.	11
33)Inv. No. 2681. Wooden door from Ankara, 13th century	12
	13
34)Inv. No. 938. Wooden Koran stand from Konia, 13th century	17
35)Inv. No. 66. Pottery mosque lamp, Turkish, c. 1500.	25
36)Inv. No. 65. Pottery mosque lamp, Turkish, c. 1500.	25
37)Inv. No. 3098. Large bronze drum from Diarbakr, about 1200.	29

University Library

Note: Those in the book by Edhem and Stchoukine, Les Manuscrits orientaux illustres de la Bibliotheque

de l'Universite de Stamboul, 1933, are marked E&S.

38)Yildiz No. 3818/1. Album (Muraqqa') made for Shah Tahmasp (1524-1576). Size 48x43 cm. Paintings and examples of calligraphy. Publ: E&S, No. XXXIV, pp.40-43. Illustr. in Sakisian, as above.

39)Yildiz No. 2653/261. Physiognomy of the Ottoman Dynasty (Giyafet al-insaniyeh fi shema'il othmaniyeh) by Loqman b. Husain al-Ashuri al-Husaini, written in 987 (1579 A.D.). Not dated, but preface to Murad II (1574-1595). 12 portraits of 12 sultans, from Uthman I (1299-1326) continuously through Murad III. These portraits are copies by Ushad Uthman from original paintings. Publ: E&S, No. I, Pl. I, Sultans Orkhan and Mehmet I.

40)Yildiz No. 2652/260. Shahinshah Nama (or, Shema'il Nama). A Persian poem in praise of Sultan Murad III, dated 989 (1581 A.D.) Size 36x24 cm. 58 paintings, most full page, and some illuminations. Turkish painting. Publ: E&S, No. III, Pls. II-III, pp. 3-5.

41)Yildiz No. 2385/105. Shaja'at Nameh (wars with Persia under Murad III) Dated 984 (1586 A.D.) Size 32x19 cm. 301 folios. Scribe Ali b. Yusuf, made in Istanbul. 77 paintings "in original Turkish style, not imitated from the Persian". Include battles with the Persian, and with the Russians; and some animal paintings, as, cats and parrots, and lion and jackal in landscape. Publ: E&S, No. IV, Pl. IV, V, pp. 7-11.

42)Yildiz No. 2387/107, Tarikh-i Fath-i Yaman (History of Conquest of Yaman). Turkish poem on wars of Sinan Pasha under Sultan Selim II (1566-1574). MS was completed in 1002 (1594 A.D.). Scribe Ahmad Liqa. Size 29.5x17.7 cm. 104

paintings, most full page, all of the Turkish 16th century school of painting. Publ: E&S, No. V, pp. 11-14, not illustr.

43)Yildiz No. 3531/1, Tariemeh-i-jifr al-ismi' (Interpretation of numbers). A Turkish translation of the Arabic work by Sherif Muhammad. Not dated, but frontispiece is portrait of Sultan Ahmet I (1603-1617 A.D.). Size 31x22.5 cm. 199 folios. 59 paintings, by different artists, all Turkish school, include View of Istanbul, Jesus landing on minaret, the Beast of the Day of Judgment, etc. Publ: E&S, No. VI, Pl. VI-VII, pp. 14-16.

44)Yildiz No. 8296/394, Gisseh-i Shahr-i Shatran (Hist. of Shatran Village). Turkish translation from Persian. Not dated, probably late 17th century. Size 34.5x22.5 cm. 211 folios. 64 paintings, as, the hero Semek with harpies, Semek with angels. Publ: E&S, No. XI, Pl. IX, pp. 20-21.

45)Yildiz No. 8647/17. Album (Muraqqa'a) of sultans' portraits. Not dated, probably end 18th century. 22x15 cm. 26 folios. Portraits from Uthman I (1299-1326) to Mustafa III (1757-1773). The last is from real life. Publ: E&S, No. XIX, Pl. XII, figs. 24, p. 27.

46)Yildiz No.8644/15. Small Album of paintings made by Abdullah Bukhari. Dated 1148-58 (1735-1744 A.D.) Size 21.1x15.1 cm. 22 paintings. Publ: E&S, No. XV, Pl. X, pp. 23-24.

APPENDIX C: Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

The information in the below chart is combined from various sources. The "Purchased From" and "Purchase Year" data is taken from the Private Notebooks of Edwin Binney, 3rd at the Art of the Middle East Department at LACMA. Object images in color are taken from the collections webpages of LACMA and Harvard Art Museums websites. The images in black and white are taken from the published Turkish art collection catalogues of Edwin Binney, 3rd. As for the "Description, Exhibition and Collection Information" section, the information on the objects acquired before 1981 (the publication year of Binney's last supplement to his Turkish art collection) are taken from Binney's published catalogues and supplements to present his knowledge on the material. When the object is identified in its current location (LACMA and Harvard Art Museums), the accession number is provided. For objects acquired after 1981, the information on the object is taken from the collections webpages of the corresponding institution (LACMA and Harvard Art Museums) and if not identified in these sources, then the information in Binney's private notebooks are used. Although many terms and titles have been standardized in the contemporary scholarship, for the purposes of keeping Binney's original dataset, the information here is presented without any corrections or revisions.

Table C.1 : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

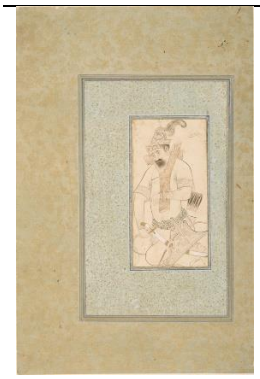
Object Image	**Description, Exhibition and Collection Information**	**Purchased From**	**Purchase Year**
	Sultan Mehmet III (1595-1603) enthroned, attended by two janissaries. Ca. 1600. EXHIBITIONS: Smithsonian, 1966-1969; Bloomington, 1970; New York, 1973; Phoenix, Arizona, 1977. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.34	Christie's, London	1960
	Portrait of an Uzbek prisoner in a yoke. Late 16th century. Drawing heightened with gold and color. EXHIBITIONS: Smithsonian, 1966-1969; Bloomington, 1970; New York, 1973; Phoenix, Arizona, 1977. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.28	At auction 1st Vente Sevadjian, Paris	1960

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

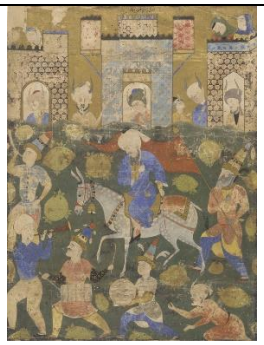
	Entry of the Antichrist into Jerusalem. Leaf from an unidentified manuscript of the Lives of the Saints or a Book of Divination. Provenance and dating in doubt. EXHIBITIONS: West Coast, 1962-1964; Phoenix, 1969; Bloomington, 1970; New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.72	Hindamian, Paris	1960
	Manuscript of the Tarcuma-i Shahnama. Turkish adaptation of the Shah Nameh by Firdousi. In Turkish, translated from the Persian for Sultan Murad III (ruled 1574-1595). 358 ff., 24 lines of text to the page, unwan (double page frontispiece), and 6 miniatures. End of 16th century. Binding: probably 17th century (the text is misbound in several places). EXHIBITIONS: West Coast, 1962-1964; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, in conjunction with *Art Treasures of Turkey*, 1968; New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.32	Sotheby's, London	1961
	Portrait of a seated man, presumed to be the poet Hafiz. Probably the second quarter of the 17th century. EXHIBITIONS: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, in conjunction with *Art Treasures of Turkey*, 1968; New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.241	2nd Vente Sevadjian, Paris	1961

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Portrait of a begging dervish in a sheepskin mantle. Second quarter of the 17th century. EXHIBITIONS: West Coast, 1962-1964; Smithsonian, 1966-1969; Bloomington, 1970; New York, 1973; Phoenix, Arizona, 1977. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.98	fr. Heeramaneck Galleries	1962
	Manuscript of the Futuh al-Haramayn (Two Holy places). 113 ff., including 2 miniatures, unwans (double frontispieces), and other illuminated pages. Dated: 1288/1871-72. Binding: 19th century, with flap. EXHIBITIONS: New York, in conjunction with *Art Treasures of Turkey*, 1968; New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.260	Sotheby's, London	1962
	Manuscript of the Koran (complete). Early 19th century. On a long paper scroll. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.63	Christie's, London	1962
	Dragon in vegetation. Signed: Darvish. Probably from Tabriz, early Turkman style, second half of the 15th century. Drawing mounted on an album page with designs of animals and plants in two colors of gold. EXHIBITIONS: New York, *Persian and Indian Miniature Paintings Forming the Private Collection of Dikran Khan Kelekian*, 1933-1934; Chicago, Arts Club, *The Miniature in Persian Art*, 1963; San Diego, Seattle, Pasadena, Eugene, in conjunction with West Coast, 1962-1964;	fr Heeramaneck	1962

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

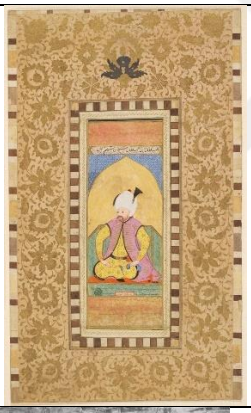
	Smithsonian, 1966-1969; Bloomington, 1970; New York, 1973; Phoenix, 1977.		
	Dish with central green-ground hatayi design. Iznik, first half of the 17th century. Indicated as Fogg lot 0	Auction, New Port, Rhode Island	1962 or 1963
	Panel of two tiles, mounted in a wooden frame. Iznik, ca. 1575-85. EXHIBITIONS: Washington, D.C., 1966-69; Bloomington, 1970; Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75. Currently at Fogg, 1985.316.B	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1963
	Portrait of Sultan Selim II seated. Ca. 1566-1575. Mounted on a page from an Istanbul album. EXHIBITIONS: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, in conjunction with *Art Treasures of Turkey*, 1968; New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.217	Marianne Densmore, Paris	1964
	Portrait of a standing warrior. Late 16th century. Drawing with some color. Mounted on a leaf from an Istanbul album. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.224	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1964

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

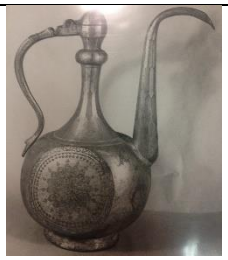
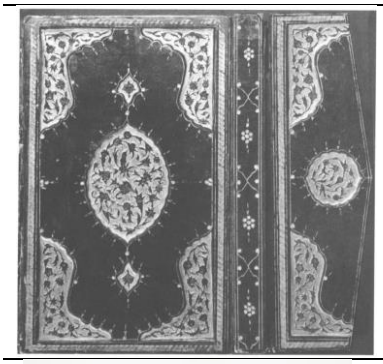
	Two portraits after European prototypes. a) Francis I, King of France, after Clouet; b) Charles V, Holy roman Emperor, after Cranach (?) Attributed to Haydar Reis, called Nigari (1494-1574), ca. 1560. Mounted on album leaves. EXHIBITIONS: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, in conjunction with *Art Treasures of Turkey*, 1968; New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.214A and 1985.214B	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1965
	Two leaves from an unidentified manuscript in Persian, possibly a Timur Nameh by Hatifi. a)Two converging armies fight with clubs and lances in a rocky landscape;b)Swordsmen and archers in battle before a river. Ca. 1580-1595. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. a) Indicated as LACMA lot 14. b) Currently at Fogg, 1985.221	Sotheby's, London	1966
	Ibrik (coffee pot) with a long sprout. Copper nickled. 18th-19th century EXHIBITIONS: Honolulu, 1974; San Diego, 1981. Indicated as LACMA lot 6.	Nesli Heeramaneck	1967
	Bookbinding with flap. Turkish, 16th century. Morocco leather with medallion and corner decoration. EXHIBITIONS: New York, in conjunction with *Art Treasures of Turkey*, 1968; New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.266	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1967
	Yataghan (sword) with grip of walrus-tusk ivory. Dated: 1140/1727-28 A.D.	Nesli Heeramaneck	pre-1968

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.92a-b		
	Kit of a Turkish scribe a)Silver penbox and inkwell (*divit*). Stamped with the *tughra* of Mustafa III (1757-1774) b)Lacquer box with compartments for knives, scissors, and other utensils. 18th century. c)Small steel scissors with openwork upper blades. 17th century. d)Large steel scissors, gilded, with tulip-shaped handle. 18th century. e)Mother-of-pearl plaque for sharpening pens. 19th century (?) f)Knife with handle of walrus-tusk ivory. 18th-19th century g)Knife with black handle. 18th-19th century. h)Knife with black and white handle. 18th-19th century. EXHIBITIONS: Phoenix, 1969; Bloomington, 1970; New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.268	Abdul Kent, Istanbul Hilton Hotel	1968
	Illuminated firman (royal decree) with ornamental tughra of Sultan Ahmet III (1703-1731). EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Rug Center of Louis de Poortére, *Sur les Traces de Soliman le Magnifique*, n.d., Phoenix, 1969; Bloomington, 1970; New York, 1973; Phoenix, 1977. Currently at Fogg, 1985.247	Joseph Soustiel, Paris	1968

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

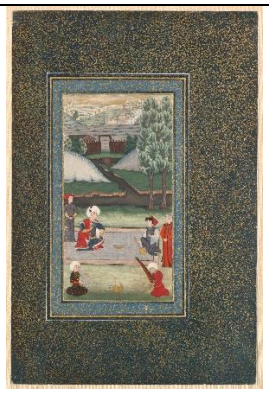
	A Turkish prince entertained by musicians as he sits on a rug in front of a distant landscape. Mid-17th century. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.243	Joseph Soustiel, Paris	1968
	Portrait of a Turkish youth standing under a tree. Mid-17th century. EXHIBITIONS: Bloomington, 1970; New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.45	Abdul Kent, Istanbul Hilton Hotel	1968
	Turkish personages and costumes, four leaves from a series. Identifying inscriptions in English: a) Kislar Aga [Kizlar Aghasi] Chief Eunuch; b)Sultan Mahmoud [Mahmud II, 1808-1839]; c)Goojez Bashi [Jüjebashi] Chief of the Dwarfs; d)Bostangi [Bostanji] probably a Gardener of the Grand Signior but now one of his Guards. Ca. 1820-1825. Mounted on a coarse colored paper. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. a and b currently at LACMA, M.85.237.61 and 62 c and d currently at Fogg, 1985.258	Sven Gahlin, London	1968

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

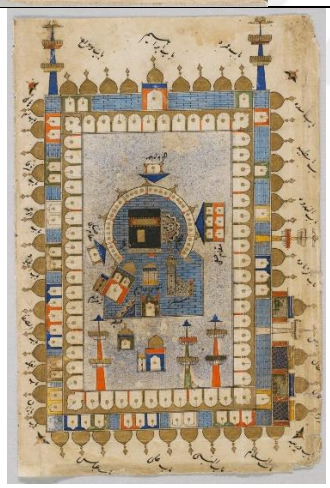
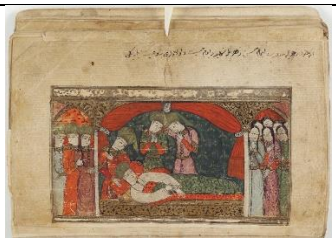
	Two leaves from a manuscript of the Shah Nameh. a)Bihzan brings back the head of Human, whom he has slain in single combat Manuscript in Persian. Miniatures, if Persian, of the late 15th century; if Turkish, of unknown date. EXHIBITIONS: Phoenix, 1969; Bloomington, 1970; New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.71	Hotel Drouot, Paris	1968
	b)The final Joust of the Rukhs: Gudarz slays Piran. Manuscript in Persian. Miniatures, if Persian, of the late 15th century; if Turkish, of unknown date. EXHIBITIONS: Phoenix, 1969; Bloomington, 1970; New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.264	Hotel Drouot, Paris	1968
	An anthology of texts in Persian. The first text has an unwan (double frontispiece) and 18 illustrations or diagrams of shrines and mosques. Dating in doubt. Binding (in Arabic): the heading Timsal i-Mekke v'el Medine on modern covers. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973; Phoenix, 1977. Currently at Fogg, 1985.265	Sidy, Paris	1968
	Manuscript pf the Hadikat al-Su'ada. A History of the Martyrs of the Prophet's Family by Fuzuli. In Turkish. 167 ff., 4 miniatures. Ca. 1550. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.213	Sotheby's, London	1969

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

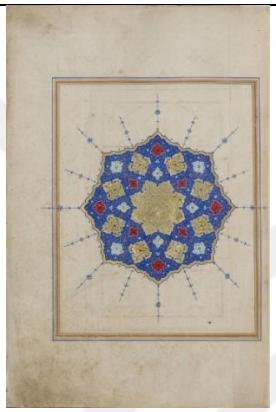
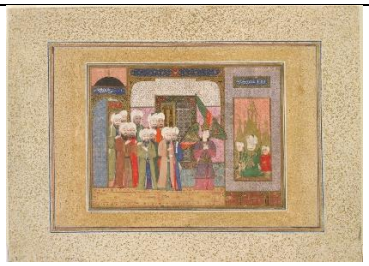
	Two dragons entwined on a spray of stylized foliage. Ca. 1560-1575. Mounted on an album page with panels of calligraphy. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.18	Sotheby's, London	1969
	Manuscript of the Koran (complete). In Arabic. 312 ff. (the last 7 are 18th century replacements). The waqf of Sultan Selim II (1566-1574), giving the book to the Selimiye mosque in Edirne (Adrianople), serves as colophon. Includes a shamseh (introductory roundel) in gold and lapis lazuli, unwan (double frontispiece), and 4 completely illuminated double pages. EXHIBITIONS: Phoenix, 1969; Bloomington, 1970; New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.19	Hotel Drouot, Paris	1969
	Two miniatures from different texts. a)A dervish or shaykh on an emaciated mule; b)Rustam on horseback slaying a div (Arzang?) with a sword. EXHIBITIONS: Phoenix, 1969; Bloomington, 1970; New York, 1973. a)Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.21 b)Currently at Fogg, 1985.218	Sotheby's, London	1969
	Ali, with his sons Hasan and Husayn, visited by Gabriel and a delegation of holy men. Ca. 1590. Mounted on an album leaf. EXHIBTIONS: Bloomington, 1970; New York, 1973.	Sotheby's, London	1969

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Currently at Fogg, 1985.222		
	The Arabs swearing allegiance to Caliph Ali after the death of Othman. Leaf from a manuscript of the Maktel-i Ali Resul by Lami'i Chelebi. Probably Baghdad. Late 16th century. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.229	Sotheby's, London	1969
	An attack upon a fort. Leaf from an unidentified manuscript of the Shah Nameh (?). Ca. 1600-1610. Mounted on an album leaf. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.36	Sotheby's, London	1969
	Portrait of an Ottoman Sultan EXHIBITIONS: Bloomington, 1970; New York 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.37	Sotheby's, London	1969
	Two pictures of Europeans from manuscripts by Fazıl-i-Enderuni (b.1776-77): a)A woman in a landscape, from a Zenan Nameh; b)A dandy from a different Huban Nameh than Cat. No. 78, against a plain background. Fourth quarter of the 18th century. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.254 and 1985.255	Sotheby's, London	1969

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

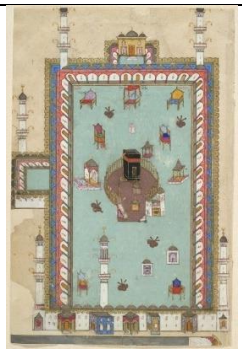
	A horse with his groom. Fragment of an album leaf, with attribution to Abd-dus-Samad. Verso: calligraphy by Sultan Muhammed Khandan and Hashim the gilder Currently at LACMA, M.2010.54.2 Horse and Groom 'Abd al-Samad (attributed to) (Iran, active India, flourished circa 1540–1595) Iran, Tabriz, first half of 16th century	Sotheby's	1969
	Finial ornament (alem) for the top of a banner (sanjak). Metal, with *thulth* script in the open fan shape. 17th century (?). EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75. Currently at Fogg, 1985.334	Soustiel, Paris	1970
	Kavukluk (turban stand). Carved wood, gilded (the so-called “Edirne work”). Probably 18th century. EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75 Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.95	Soustiel, Paris	1970
	Manuscript of the Javahir al-Gharaib Tarjomat Bahr al-Aja'ib. Translation of Rare Jewels by Jennabi (d. 1590). In Turkish. 320 ff. of 21 lines to a page, two unwans (double frontispieces), three shamsehs (introductory roundels), 11 miniatures, and two circles of astrological symbols. By the scribe Mustafa al-Hariri. Dated: 990-1582. Leather binding: unfinished, probably 17th century. EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs,	Vente Pozzi, Palais Galliera, Paris	1970

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

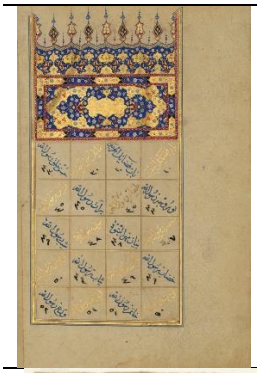
	Splendour de L'Art Turc, 1953; New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.219 and at LACMA, M.85.237.24		
	A prince, or head attendant, in a landscape by a mountain stream. A falconer and a servant bring a slain deer. Ca. 1585-1590. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.25	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1970
	Manuscript of the Kitab-i Shah u Geda. The Shah and the Beggar, probably by Yahya Beg (d. 1545). In Turkish. 63 ff. of 16 lines to the page with 6 miniatures. Ca. 1589-90. No colophon. Binding: reddish brown morocco with simple medallion design, although the flap is intact, the blue and gold paper doublures inside suggest that it is more modern than the text. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.220	Vente Pozzi, Palais Galliera,Paris	1970
	Portrait of a young girl standing, holding a rose in her left hand. Attributed to Veli Jan, late 16th century. Drawing with touches of color. Mounted on an album leaf. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.223	Vente Pozzi, Palais Galliera, Paris	1970

Table C. 1 (continued): Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

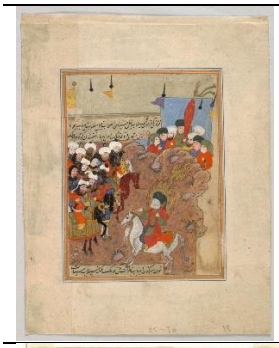
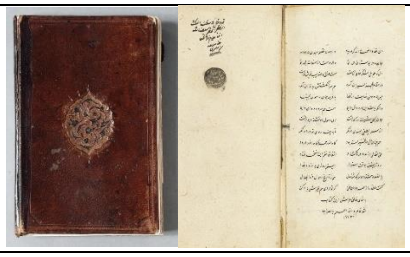
	Muhammed, his face veiled, extorts his army in a rocky defile. Ca. 1600. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.227	Jean Soustiel, Paris	1970
	Sultan Osman II (1618-1622) and his vizier Davud Pasha in a procession of janissaries and slaves. Ca. 1620-1622. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.42	Vente Pozzi, Palais Galiera, Paris	1970
	Four bostanjis (gardeners) in red uniforms beating game with whips, in a landscape. In the rear, a walled city; to the right, palaces and mosques of a larger town. Right half of a double-page illustration. Ca. 1640-1650. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.242	Joseph Soustiel, Paris	1970
	A couple in amorous embrace. Signed: Abdullah Bukhari. Dated: 1157/1744. Mounted on an album leaf of marbled paper. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973; Phoenix, 1977. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.49	Vente Pozzi, Palais Galiera, Paris	1970
No image	Erotic text with 20 miniatures, 19th century. Not exhibited and not assigned to any collection.	Joseph Soustiel, Paris	1970
	Manuscript of the Mantiq al-Tayr by Attar. In Persian. 171 ff. with 3 miniatures in the Turkish style of ca. 1480-1490, unwan (double frontispiece). Simple leather binding, ca. 1550-1560.	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1971

Table C. 1 (continued): Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

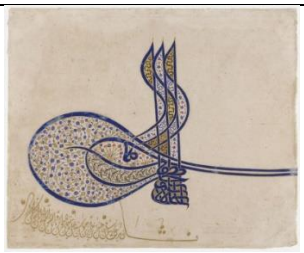
	EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.12		
	Tughra of Sulayman I. Ca. 1550-1565. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973; Los Angeles, Fisher Gallery, 1977. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.17	Vente Pozzi, Hotel Drouot, Paris	1971
	The catapulting of Abraham (Ibrahim) into the fire while King Nimrod watches from a window. Ca. 1600. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.35	Parke-Bernet, New York	1971
	The army of Shah Ramin attacking the “Iron Fortress”. Double-page illustration from a manuscript of the Tale of Shah Ramin and Mah-parvin, a Persian Romance. In Turkish. Ca. 1620. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.41	Joseph Soustiel, Paris	1971
	Two torlaqs (wild youths) or shamans walking in a mountainous landscape. Early or mid-18th century. Mounted on an album leaf. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.249	Vente Pozzi, Hotel Drouot Paris	1971

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Portrait of Sultan Ahmet I (1603-1617), above a view of the Hippodrome and the "Blue Mosque" in Istanbul. Ca. 1805, by a Greek painter who worked in Istanbul for Sultan Selim III (1789-1808). EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.58	Vente Pozzi, Hotel Drouot, Paris	1971
	Frontal (armor to cover the front of a horse's head). Copper gilt. 16th century. EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.90	Soustiel, Paris	1972
	Inscription in tughra form. Late 18th or early 19th century. Mounted on wooden panel. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.257	Hotel Drouot, Paris	1972
	Manuscript in masnavi verse in praise of Sulayman I. 8 ff. and endpapers. Dated: Dhu'l-Hijja, 932/1526, at Samandireh (Byzantine Samandria; Smederevo, in Serbia). Binding: boards covered with marbled paper, probably contemporary. Endpapers more modern. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.15	Sotheby's, London	1972

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Portrait of a young woman in blue. Late 16th century. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.30	Sotheby's, London	1972
	The ascension of King Solomon to heaven, attended by flying angels and demons. Ca. 1600-1610. Mounted on an album leaf. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.235	Sotheby's, London	1972
	Equestrian portrait of Sultan Osman II (1618-1622). Ca. 1620 EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.238	Hotel Drouot, Paris	1972
	Costume plates, two miniatures from a series. a)Portrait of an officer of janissaries wearing a high aigrette; b)Portrait of a seated woman, her face hidden by a red veil. Early 18th century. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. a currently at LACMA, M.85.237.50	Joseph Soustiel, Paris	1972

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	b currently at Fogg, 1985.245		
	Floral design of a ewer with a long sprout (ibrik). Ca. 1815-1825. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973; Phoenix, 1977. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.60	Hotel Drouot, Paris	1972
	Sprout for a selsebil (eweing fountain) Gilded metal. Second half of the 16th century EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75 Currently at Fogg, 1985.333	Soustiel, Paris	1973
	Fragment of a color-glaze mukarnas (stalactite decoration) Probably from a frieze or *mihrab* niche. Bursa, 15th century. EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75 Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.79	Soustiel, Paris	1973
	Panel of three tiles with inscription in reserve white, in a wooden frame. Syria, 17th century, dated 1047/1637-8 A.D. EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75 Currently at Fogg, 1985.318	Soustiel, Paris	1973
	Fragment of a velvet *yastık* or cushion cover. Cut, voided dark-red silk velvet with brocaded silver thread. Probably Bursa, second quarter of the 16th century. EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75 Currently at Fogg, 1985.295	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1973

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Yastık or cushion cover with medallion design. Cut, voided red silk velvet brocaded with metal thread. Bursa, early 18th century. EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75 Currently at Fogg, 1985.300	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1973
	Album with six leaves (ten pages) of nashki calligraphy. Signed by the scribe Ali al-Wasifi. Dated: [1]176/1762-3 A.D. Binding: paper-covered boards. EXHIBITIONS: LosAngeles-Honolulu, 1974-75. Currently at Fogg, 1985.252	Sotheby's, London	1973
	Accordian-type album with eight leaves of nashki calligraphy, representing the Sayings of Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet. Seven panels with the signature of the scribe Osman; the eighth panel unsigned. 18th century. Binding: contemporary stamped morocco, gilt. EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.57	Sotheby's, London	1973
	Illuminated firman (royal decree) with ornamental tughra of Sultan Selim III (1789-1807). Dated: 1210/1795-96. EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75; Phoenix, 1977. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.55	Soustiels, Paris	1973

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Portrait of a falconer holding a hawk on his gloved right hand. Late 16th century. EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.31	Sotheby's, London	1973
	Portrait of a seated man with a white beard, hands clasped in front of his knees. Late 16th century. EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75. Currently at Fogg, 1985.225	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1973
	The Murder of Iraj by his brothers Tur and Sam, and one page of text. Leaves from a manuscript of the Shah Nameh. In Persian. Ca. 1600-1610. EXHIBITIONS: New York, 1973. Currently at Fogg, 1985.234.1 and .2	Parke-Bernet, New York	1973
	Portrait of a Youth Wearing Red Trousers and a Green Tunic c.1610 Currently at Fogg, 1985.277	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1973
	Portrait of a Youth in Green Garment c.1610 Currently at Fogg, 1985.278	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1973

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Album with portraits of thirty-one Ottoman Sultans from Osman to Abdul Mejid I (1839-1861). Mid-19th century. EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75. Currently at Fogg, 1985.259	Christie's, London	1973
	Dish with floral decoration including carnations, a tulip, and a cypress. Iznik, ca. 1570-90. EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75. Currently at Fogg, 1985.315	Soustiel, Paris	1974
	Octagonal tile with design of rumi arabesque, in a frame. Syria, 17th century. Inscribed: Ya Hafız! (oh [God] Protector!). EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75. Currently at Fogg, 1985.319	Soustiel, Paris	1974
	Wooden panel with painted decoration of a mosque and thunderbolts. Late 19th century. Currently at Fogg, 1985.340	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1974
	A youthful warrior fights a dragon that has wrapped itself around its body. Early 17th century or later. Currently at Fogg, 1985.237	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1974

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Portrait of a kneeling warrior, his right hand on the hilt of a dagger. Ca. 1620-1630 or later. EXHIBITIONS: Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.43	Madeleine Minassian	1974
	Portrait of a bagpiper. 17th century. Mounted on a plain album leaf. Currently at Fogg, 1985.244	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1974
	A eunuch holding a spring of flowers, standing in a landscape. Ca. 1730 or later. EXHIBITIONS: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1914 (loan exhib. S.L. 3901.14). Currently at Fogg, 1985.248	Kitty Gregory, New York	1974
	A man standing beside a fire which surrounds a butterfly and a bird. In a line below, a similar butterfly and bird are pictured with a pot and a section of thorn bush. (Probably from a Book of Divination.) First half of the 18th century. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.53	Jean Soustiel, Paris	1974

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	A kneeling gray-beard leaning on a cane 18th century Not assigned to any collection, gifted in 1985	Madeleine Minassian	1974
	Portrait of Sultan Murad III seated. Ca. 1730-1750. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.48	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1974
No image	A prince with a dog, alighting from his horse is offered a plate of food by a kneeling servant. Turkish, 19th century. To Sotherby's for resale 1976 Not assigned to any collection	Sotheby's, London	1974
	Large alem (battle standard). Bronze. Turkish or Persian. Probably 16th century. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.91	Soustiel, Paris	1975
	Color-glaze tile from a sanduka or a cenotaph. Anatolia (Konya?), 13th century. Currently at Fogg, 1985.313	Soustiel, Paris	1975

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Panel of three tiles, mounted in a wooden frame. Iznik, ca. 1575 Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.84a-c	Soustiel, Paris	1975
	Panel of four tiles, mounted in a wooden frame. Iznik, ca. 1580-90. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.86a-d	Anne-Marie Kevorkian, Paris	1975
	Small polychrome bottle. Kütahya, 18th century. Indicated as Fogg lot 7	Soustiel, Paris	1975
	Fragment of a silk kemha priestly garment with designs of seraphim and crosses. Blue, white, yellow silk and metal thread brocaded on a red satin ground. Probably Istanbul, second half of the 16th century. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.2	Soustiel, Paris	1975

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Panel of medallion-patterned velvet with floral decoration. Cut, voided red and white silk velvet brocaded with silver-gilt thread. Bursa. ca. 1600. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.3	Soustiel, Paris	1975
	Fragment of diaper-patterned velvet with design of flower-decorated palmettes. Cut, voided red, green silk velvet brocaded with silver and silver-gilt thread, three pieces. Bursa, first half of the 17th century. Currently at Fogg, 1985.298	Soustiel, Paris	1975
	Velvet panel with flower-decorated roundels. Cut, voided white, red and green silk velvet brocaded with metal thread. Bursa, 17th century. Indicated as Fogg lot 5	Soustiel, Paris	1975
	Embroidered edging from a cover or hanging. Colored silk and metal thread chain-stitched on cotton. Ca. 1900. Currently at Fogg, 1985.303	Christie's, London	1975

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Wall hanging in the form of an elaborate mihrab or prayer niche. Metal thread in *dival nakish* stitch on red satin. Ca. 1900, probably embroidered in Istanbul. Indicated as LACMA lot 7	Soustiel, Paris	1975
	Ornamental square bearing the tughra of Sultan Mehmet V Reshad. Metal thread in *dival nakish* stitch on white satin. Ca. 1909-1918, probably embroidered in Istanbul. Currently at Fogg, 1985.304	Tourist shop on the main street of Konya	1975
No image	Twelve fragments supposed to come from a "Caftan of Suleiman the Magnificent," Bursa 16th Century. Not assigned to any collection.	Soustiel, Paris	1975
	Three small fragments of brocaded kemha silk fabric, mounted together. a)White, blue and yellow silk brocaded on red satin ground, design of sunburst forms. Probably Istanbul, late 16th century. b)White and dark-yellow silk brocaded on red satin ground, design of *chintemani* decorated with carnations. Probably Istanbul, ca. 1600. c)White and yellow silk and silver thread brocaded on red ground, design of ascending vegetal forms. Probably Italy, late 16th century. Currently at Fogg, 1985.296	Soustiel, Paris	1975

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Rahle (Koran stand). Carved wood. Contemporary. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.97	Bursa Bazaar	1975
	Pen-case with ink-well. (Lacquer tube with painted decoration; metal ink well at the bottom.) 18th century. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.78a-c	Soustiel, Paris	1975
	Waqf made by Gohar Khan, son of Sultan Selim II, about the baths of Eski Jami. Dated:1018/1609-10. Bound with another *waqf* dated 1032/1622-23. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.39	Drouot, Paris	1975
	Waqf made by Yahya ibn Zakariya, qadi (judge) of the Ottoman army. Dated: Beginning of Rajab, 1026 /July 1617 A.D. 13 ff. Binding: brown morocco with medallion decoration. Currently at Fogg, 1985.236	Drouot, Paris	1975
	Waqf for Bahram Pasha, Governor of Egypt during the reign of Murad IV, under the religious authority of the Qadi of Egypt, Ibn al-Fadl Mahmud ibn Mullah, known as Tchelebizade. Dated: 1st Moharram, 1036/September 22, 1626 A.D. Binding: Shahgreen otter, with gilded	Drouot, Paris	1975

Table C. 1 (continued): Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

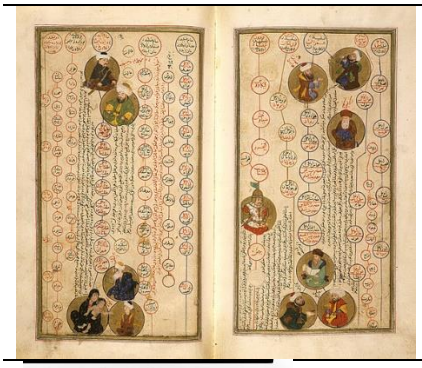
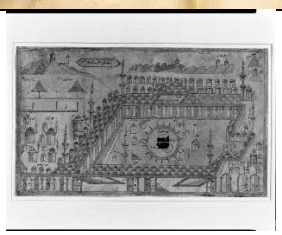
	medallions of floral arabesques. Currently at Fogg, 1985.240		
	Faridun attacks Zahhak. From a manuscript of Shah Nameh by Firdousi. Ca. 1600-1610. Currently at Fogg, 1985.230	Hotel George V, Paris	1975
	Two young men under a tree beside a river. Ca. 1600-1610. Mounted on a small album leaf. Currently at Fogg, 1985.232	Christie's, London	1975
	A watercarrier pouring from a skin supported over his shoulder. Ca. 1620? Currently at Fogg, 1985.239	Hotel George V, Paris	1975
	Manuscript of the Zubdet at-Tawarikh (or Taj at-Tavarikh). 22 ff. (the last six blank) plus new endpapers. Ca. 1600-1620, with additions to ca. 1640-1650. Binding: red morocco, contemporary. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.38	Sotheby's, London	1975
	The Ka'ba at Mecca. Signed by Ali of Edirne. Dated: 1208/1793-94 A.D. Currently at Fogg, 1985.253	Sotheby's, London	1975

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

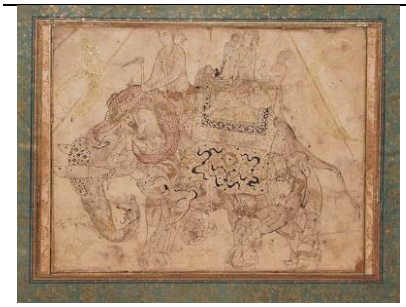
	Tabouret with the turban of the Mevlana. Konya, c. 1920-40. Not assigned to any collection, gifted.	Konya, Main Street, "Tourist Trap" (number 1)	1975
	Chromo-lithograph of portraits of the sultans. A naval battle below. Ca. 1914-15. Currently at LACMA, AC1995.124.9	Konya, Main Street, "Tourist Trap" (number 2)	1975
	Firman with the tughra of Sultan Mehmet V Reshad (1909-1915). Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.69	Oliver Hoare, Ahuan, London	1975
	A composite elephant ridden by a prince who holds a hawk. Drawing with some color mounted on an album page with decoration in two tons of gold. Turkish and/or Indian. Ca. 1590-1600. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.26	Soustiel, Paris	1975
	The pilgrimage cities of Arabia. Hyderabad in the Deccan, Ca. 1770. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.74	Charles Ewart	1975

Table C.1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

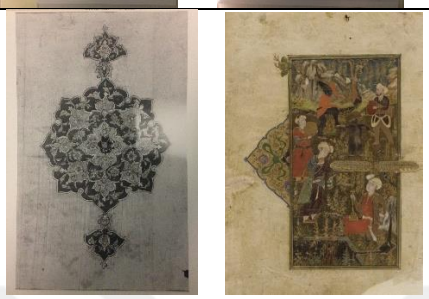
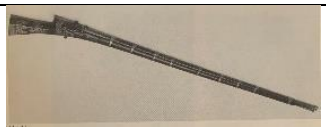
	A leaf with illustrations on both sides: recto: A standing man, his head between two dragons, verso: A man with animal head holding a chain attacked to a second man. Indicated as Fogg lot 60.	LACMA	1975
	Two leaves from an unidentified manuscript. Fol. 1 recto: shamseh (introductory roundel); verso: An unwan (introductory head-piece). Fol. 2 recto: A prince with a bottle of wine seated in a landscape. Above – musicians and a bear; verso: double columns of the text. Provincial Ottoman (?), 19th or early 20th century. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.67	Henry Willard, Harwich-Dennis, Cape Cod	1975
	Ibrik and tombak (ewer and basin) for the washing of hands. Metal with floral decoration incised and gilded. Inscribed: *Its owner is Mehmet Mahmud*. Dated: 1219 (or 1229)/1804-05 (or 1813-14) A.D. Currently at Fogg, 1985.335	Joseph Soustiel, Paris	1976
	Miquelet musket. Inlaid metal. Turkish or Persian. 18th century. Indicated as LACMA lot 3	Sotheby's, London	1976
	Large blue-and-white dish in Chinese style decorated with grape clusters. Iznik, ca. 1540-1555. Currently at Fogg, 1985.314	Joseph Soustiel, Paris	1976
	Two tiles with a design of stenciled palmettes and flowers. Syria, 17th century. Indicated as LACMA lot 6	Sotheby's, London	1976

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

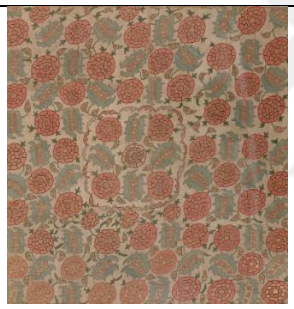
	Fragment of a brocaded-silk kemha with chintemani design. Designs brocaded in white, blue, and yellow silk on red satin ground. Bursa or Istanbul, mid-16th century. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.1	Oliver Hoare (Ahuan), London	1976
	Velvet panel with design of flower-decorated roundels. Cut, voided green and red silk velvet brocaded with silver thread. Bursa, 17th century. Currently at Fogg, 1985.299	Oliver Hoare (Ahuan), London	1976
	Panel from a bohcha or square cover. Colored silk and metal thread embroidered on linen. 18th century. Currently at Fogg, 1985.301	Christie's, London	1976
	Larger sanjak or shield-shaped banner. White silk and metallic thread brocaded on red and green satin. Probably Istanbul, early 19th century. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.6	Sotheby's, London	1976
	Yastık or cushion cover with medallion design. Cut, voided red and green silk velvet and metallic thread. Bursa or Üsküdar, 19th century. Currently at Fogg, 1985.302	Spink, London	1976

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	A Naxos embroidered fragment….interlocking design of four-pointed starts and serrated lozenges. Red on cotton ground. Currently at LACMA, AC1995.124.13 and described as Embroidered Textile Fragment Greece, Naxos, 19th century Textiles; fragments Silk embroidery on linen	Christie's	1976
	Triangular flap from a large binding. 17th century. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.76	Sotheby's, London	1976
	Illuminated leaf with a central cartouche of 11 lines of calligraphy in black ink between two panels of nashki in white ink. By the scribe Niyazi al-Mulawi. Dated: 1270/1853-54 A.D. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.64	Sotheby's, London	1976
	Album of calligraphic exercises. By the scribe Mahmud Asad ibn Hasan Rushti Efendi. 18 ff. Dated: 1302/1884-85 A.D. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.65	Christie's, London	1976
	Sheet of stencilled calligraphy in anthropomorphic and zoomorphic shapes. 19th-20th century. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.68	Christie's, London	1976

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

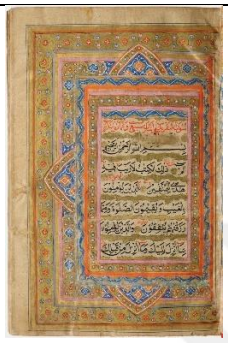
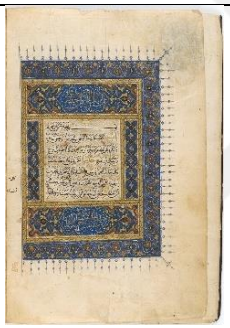
	Cut-out stencil of a single Arabic letter, mounted on white paper. 19th-20th century. Currently at Fogg, 1985.261	Christie's, London	1976
	Manuscript of the Koran. 477 ff., 11 lines to the page. Two double-page illuminated headings. Dated: 9th Dhu'al-Qa'da 1334/September 8, 1916. Binding: dark red morocco with floral decoration in two tones of gold. Red doublures with sprays of flowers. Flap complete. Currently at Fogg, 1985.262	Sotheby's, London	1976
	Manuscript of the Sahih by al-Bukhari (volume I only). In Arabic. 244 ff. of nashki script, 17 lines to the page. Illuminated roundel and unwan (double frontispiece). Dated: 857/1453. Red Morocco binding with blind-stamped medallions, rebacked. Currently at Fogg, 1985.210	Sotheby's	1976
	A youth Prostrating himself before a Ruler. Probably from an Iskandar Nameh by Nizami, ca. 1500-1525. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.99	Sotheby's, London	1976

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

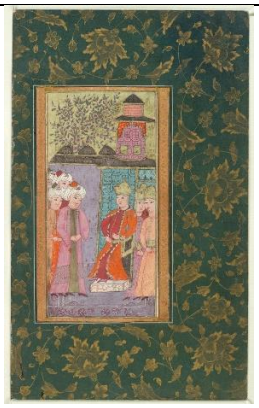
	Manuscript of the Rawzat al-Ushshaq. The Garden of Lovers by Arifi. In Persian. 64 ff. of 12 lines, 2 columns to a page; and endpapers; frontispiece; 3 miniatures, ca. 1560-1575. Contemporary brown leather binding with flap; central medallion and four corner pieces with floral scrollwork stamped in gold. Floral medallions on the doublures. Currently at Fogg, 1985.216	R.M. Light and Co., Boston	1976
	Yusuf sold as a slave. Ca. 1580-1590. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.22	Sotheby's, London	1976
	Sultan Mehmet III (1595-1603) enthroned. Ca. 1595-1600. Currently at Fogg, 1985.226	Sotheby's, London	1976
	Ruler on a Throne Early 17th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.276	Jean Soustiel, Paris	1976

Table C.1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

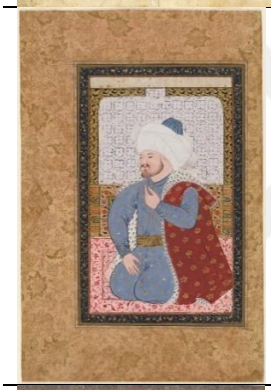
	Manuscript of the Diwans of Jami and Selimi. In Persian. 70 ff., 15 lines, 2 columns to a page, each text with a rounded shamseh and an illuminated heading. Two additional headings in the second text. Ca. 1600. Binding: contemporary. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.33	Sotheby's	1976
	Portrait of Mehmet Fatih “the Conqueror” (1452-1480). Ca. 1600-1610. Mounted on an album leaf. Currently at Fogg, 1985.233	Sotheby's, London	1976
	A seated *peri* with wings displayed. Ca. 1610-1625. Drawing with some color, mounted on an album leaf. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.40	Sotheby's, London	1976
	A Prince picnicking in the country with two female attendants. Currently at LACMA, M.2010.54.4 Prince Picnicking with Female Attendants Iran, 18th century or later	Sotheby's, London	1976

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

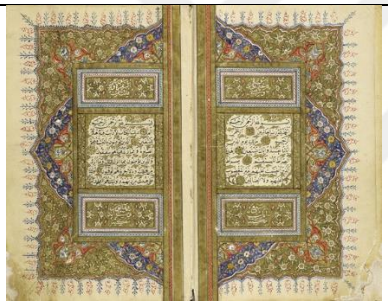
	Manuscript of a Devotional Manual. In Arabic. 81 ff. plus five endpapers; 11 lines to the page. Signed by the scribe Ibrahim al-Radusi. Dated: 1165/1751-52 A.D. Binding: brown Morocco, stamped and gilt in all-over floral design. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.51	Christie's, London	1976
	Manuscript of the Koran. 301 ff., 15 lines to the page. Signed by the daughter of Muhammad al-Kounilli. Dated: 1170/1756-57 A.D. Binding: red morocco with gilt decoration (slightly worn). Currently at Fogg, 1985.250	Sotheby's, London	1976
	Manuscript of the Koran. 242 ff., 17 lines to the page. Signed by the scribe Sheikh Hasan Kashfi al-Kaluti. Dated: 1171/1757-58 A.D. Binding: contemporary brown morocco with squares of a dart pattern in gilt. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.52	Sotheby's, London	1976
	Manuscript of the Dala'il al-Khayrat by al-Jazuli. 297 ff., lines to the page. Signed by the scribe Hafiz Fayid-allah. Dated: 1201/1786-87 A.D. Binding: contemporary light brown morocco, stamped. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.54	Sotheby's, London	1976
	Manuscript of the Huban Nameh. The Book of Beauties – i.e. Elegant Gentlemen, by Fazil Husayn i-Enderuni. 50 ff. with 17 lines in double column. Illuminated head-piece and 37 miniatures. Dated: 1215/1800-01 A.D. Binding: contemporary dark morocco with gilt central	Maggs Bulletin 25- Oriental Miniatures and Illumination	1976

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	medallion and ropework borders. Currently at LACMA, M.91.93		
 	Pair of matching genre scenes. a) A coachman with a team of horses and covered carriage; b) 16 men carrying a giant hogshead. Oil on canvas. Late 18th century. a)Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.56 b)Currently at Fogg, 1985.256	Bachir Mohammed, London	1976
	Small blue-and-white dish. Iznik, ca. 1550-60. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.101	Saffany Gallery, New York	1977
No image	Largest part of a single tile in wooden frame Indicated as LACMA lot 16	Christie's, London	1977
	Small polychrome pilgrim-flask. Kütahya 18th century. Currently at Fogg, 1985.320	Soustiel, Paris	1977
	A calligraphic inscription in Arabic on a wooden panel, with the seal of Ibrahim al-Azhar, calligrapher to the Exalted Court. Dated: 1199/1784-85 A.D. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.94	Sotheby's, London	1977

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

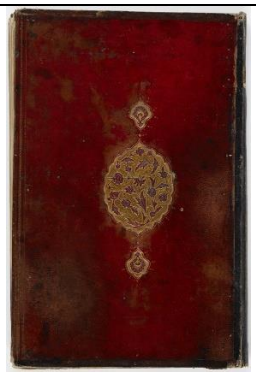
	A vertical wood panel with carved and gilded frame. Background of painted brown lacquer. By the scribe Sayyid Mustafa al-Edirneve. Dated: 1172/1758-59 A.D. Currently at Fogg, 1985.339	Soustiel, Paris	1977
	Bookbinding with flap. Turkish, 16th-17th century. Morocco leather with medallion and corner decoration. Doublures: similar, smaller medallion without corner decoration. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.75	Soustiel, Paris	1977
	Two leaves from the manuscript of Koran with the chapter heading to Surahs LXIV At-Taghabun (brown) and LXV At-Talaq (black). 9 lines to the page. 15th century. Currently at Fogg, 1985.211 and the other indicated as LACMA lot 66.	Sotheby's, London	1977
	Panel of calligraphy. Mounted on horizontal album page. Dated: (11)35/(17)22 A.D. Currently at Fogg, 1985.246	Sotheby's, London	1977
	Binding of a manuscript of a Koranic section (Part VIII) in muhaqqaq calligraphy. 29 ff, 7 lines to the page. 16th century. Dark red Morocco with stamped medallion decorated with “Iznik” flowers and palmettes, with flap, the whole rebacked. Plain doublures. Currently at Fogg, 1985.267	Sotheby's, London	1977

Table C. 1 (continued): Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

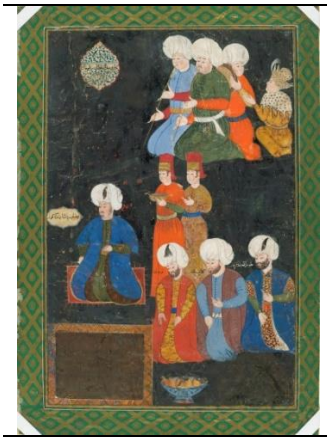
	Portrait of a Turkish Pasha attendants. Right half of a double-page picture. Ca. 1570. Signed (in the cartouche upper left): Nigari servant of Sultan Sultan Selim Khan. The other calligraphy identifies the attending officials (from left to right): Kurd Bey; Gülabi Bey; "your servant Turak." Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.20	Sotheby's, London	1977
No image	Rustam mounted on Rakhsh attacks a dragon. Turkish, c. 1600. Indicated as the verso of above piece, LACMA lot 7	Sotheby's, London	1977
	Découpé flowers and birds around a découpé tree with feathery branches. Mounted on a leaf from an Ottoman album. Late 16th century. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.29	Mark Zebrowski, San Diego	1977
	Duck in vegetation. Drawing with some color. Ca. 1600. Mounted on an album leaf. Currently at Fogg, 1985.231	Sotheby's, London	1977
	Two leaves from an unidentified Turkish manuscript of an historical text. a)A Sultan enthroned while European captives are brought before his throne; b) the siege of a fortress by the Ottoman army. Cannon mounted below Second half of the 16th century.	Jean Soustiel, Paris	1977

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	A Currently at Fogg, 1985.228 B Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.27		
	The Mi'raj, with worshippers below at the Ka'ba in Mecca. Leaf from an unidentified manuscript. Early 17th century. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.44	Sotheby's, London	1977
	Barzu sits in prison in chain, attended by a female harpist. From an abridged version of the Shah Nameh of Firdousi. Turkish, first half of 17th century. Indicated as LACMA lot 35	Sotheby's	1977
	Manuscript of the Laila and Majnun by Hamdi. In Turkish. 123 ff., 16 lines to a page. Frontispiece; 7 miniatures. Dated: 905/1499-1500. Lacquer binding with a floral central medallion, probably 19th century. Currently at Fogg, 1985.212	Jean Soustiel, Paris	1977
	Blue-and-white footed dish in Chinese style. Iznik, ca. 1535. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.82	Ahuan, London	1977-78
	Strip of velvet border with floral decoration. Cut, voided blue-green and white velvet with silver thread. Bursa. Ca. 1600. Currently at Fogg, 1985.297	Sven Gahlin, Bath, England	1978

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

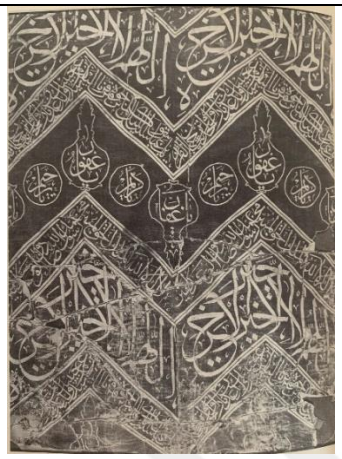
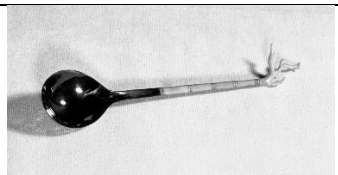
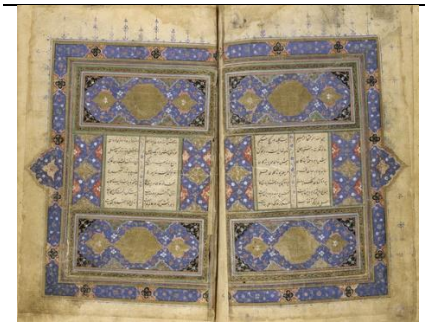
	Fragment of an open sleeve 16th-17th centuries Currently at Fogg, 1985.306	Sven Gahlin, Bath, England	1978
	Tomb cover with design in calligraphic zig-zag bands. White silk brocaded on green satin. Istanbul (?), probably 18th century. Indicated as LACMA lot 5.	Sven Gahlin, Bath, England	1978
No image	Fragment of a fine Turkish costume. Pink satin with flowers embroidered in colored and metallic thread. 18th century (?) Indicated as Fogg lot 17	Sven Gahlin, Bath, England	1978
No image	Child's caftan. Pale blue-grey satin with silver braid at neck, waist, hem and wrists. 18th century, French. Indicated as LACMA lot 14.	Loewi-Robertson	1978
	Imperial spoon 17th-18th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.344	Soustiel, Paris	1978
	Manuscript of the Khamseh by Nizami. In Persian. 326 ff., 21 lines to the page, 4 columns of nastaliq, double-page illuminated frontispiece and 3 miniatures. Dated: end of Jumada II 935/early March, 1529. By the scribe Sayyid Muhammad al-Tabrizi. Binding: European, probably late 18th century. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.16	Sotheby's, London	1978

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

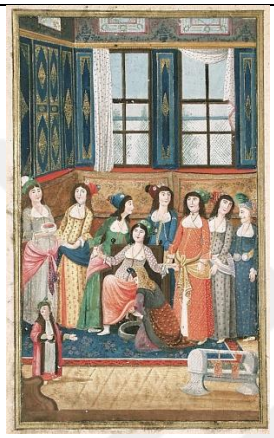
	A mounted prince and princess nearing the gates of a palace. Possibly from a Laila and Majnun manuscript by Nizami, ca. 1515-1535. Indicated as LACMA lot 3.	Colnaghi, London	1978
	Birth in a harem. Genre scene. Late 18th century. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.100	Joseph Soustiel, Paris	1978
	Illustrated Manuscript of an Unidentified Text on the Wonders of the New World 19th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.270	Soustiel, Paris	1978
	A Mullah c.1850-1890 Currently at Fogg, 1985.282	Mark Zebrowski, London	1978

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

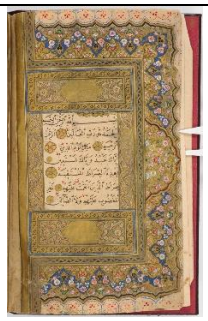
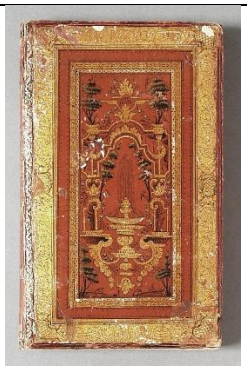
	Manuscript of the Koran. 296 ff., 15 lines to the page. Signed by the scribe Mustafa al-Şükrü. Dated: 1171/1757-58 A.D. Binding: contemporary brown morocco with flap. Currently at Fogg, 1985.251	Hotel George V (?), Paris	Date not indicated, must be before 1979.
	Blue and white pot or jar in the Chinese style with floral motifs. Iznik, late 15th-early 16th centuries. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.80	Soustiel, Paris	1979
	An embroidered silk and velvet prayer rug Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.11 Mihrab (prayer niche) hanging	Parke-Bernet	1979
No image	Fragment of a royal Turkish textile. 17th century Indicated as Fogg lot 16	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1979
No image	Two pieces of the same wooden panel 18th century? Not assigned	Parke-Bernet, New York	1979
	Binding of a manuscript of the *Bustan* by Sa'di.. Currently at LACMA,	Sotheby's, London	1979

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Leaf from a manuscript of the Koran with calligraphy on both sides. The recto contains portions from the end of Verse 80 to the beginning of Verse 93 of Surah 19. 17th-18th century. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.46	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1979
	Leaf from a manuscript of the Koran, dated 969/1561 A.D. By the scribe Abul Hassan ‘al-Usayli ‘al-Hanafi, in Cairo. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.73	Parke-Bernet, New York	1979
No image	An album of Turkish calligraphy. 49 leaves. 17th-19th century Indicated as ‘Some may go to LACMA & Fogg’	Parke-Bernet, New York	1979
	Manuscript of a Waqf Nameh. A deed of gift in the form of books to the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne. The scribe: Mustafa ‘al-Sayyid ‘al-Hajj ibn ‘al-Shaykh (known as Tufiq). Date: Thursday, 17 Rajab 1223/September 9, 1808. 27 ff. Binding: Fine contemporary dark Morocco, using decoration from earlier bindings. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.59	Drouot, Paris	1979
	Turban helmet Steel, with spiral fluting and decorations of arabesques and calligraphy. 15th century. Currently at Fogg, 1985.336	Ahuan (Oliver Hoare), London	1980

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

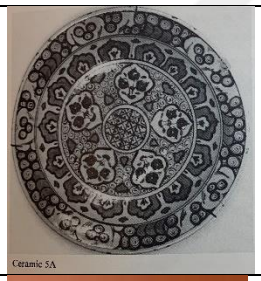
	Fragment of a hexagonal tile with decoration in two shades of blue-and-white. Iznik, ca. 1530, or slightly earlier. Currently at Fogg, 1985.324	Soustiel, Paris	1980
	Initial tile from a calligraphic panel of three or four tiles. Egypt (Cairo?), Mamluk, 15th century. Indicated as Fogg lot 8	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1980
	Large portion of a tile with geometric decoration of a cinquefoil in green with flat leaves. Iznik, ca. 1575. Currently at Fogg, 1985.325	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1980
	Flat plate with simple decoration in blue and white, with highlights of red. Iznik, ca. 1560-70. Indicated as LACMA lot 10.	Edward Lubin, New York	1980
	Plate with an overall fish-scale motifs. Iznik, ca. 1580-90. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.85	Ahuan (Oliver Hoare), London	1980
	Section of the border design of a tile panel Deep blue background with flowers of Armenian bole in high relief. The edge with an S-shaped series of red on white background. Iznik, ca. 1580-1600. Currently at Fogg, 1985.326	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1980

Table C. 1 (continued): Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Two hexagonal tiles with blue-and-white decoration, from two different wall panels. Iznik, ca. 1520-1540. Currently at Fogg, 1985.322 and the other indicated as LACMA lot 9.	Nouveau Drouot, Paris	1980
	Square tile from the Mosque of Rüstem Pasha in Istanbul Interlocking floral arabesques in dark and light blue, with highlights of tomato red, on a white ground. Iznik, ca. 1561. Currently at Fogg, 1985.323	Nouveau Drouot, Paris	1980
	Panel of voided green silk velvet. Probably Bursa, early 17th century Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.9	Colnaghi, London	1980
	Yastık or Cushion Cover Bursa, early 18th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.307	Colnaghi, London	1980
	Fragment of a tomb cover Istanbul (?), 18th century Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.10	Colnaghi, London	1980
	Jade Cup with flat sprout (non-functional) and curled handle 18th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.343	Parke-Bernet, New York	1980

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

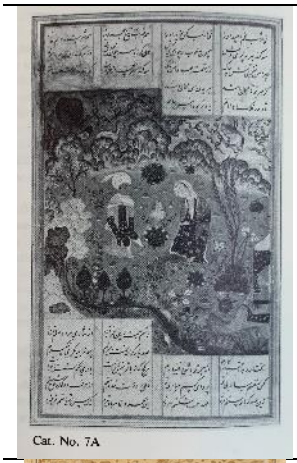
 Cat. No. 7A	Laila visiting Majnun in the desert. From a *Khamseh* manuscript by Nizami, ca. 1540. Indicated as Fogg lot 3.	Spink's, London	1980
	A tulip Signed: Muhammed Ismail. Dated: 113(0)/1717 A.D. Mounted on a small album leaf. Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.47	Sotheby's, London	1980
	Small Ottoman Astrolabe Currently at Fogg, 1985.338 and described as Qajar Iran, 18th-19th century	Joseph Soustiel, Paris	1981
Ceramic 9B	Tile with two registers. Left: Vine leaves and grape clusters on a deep blue ground. Right: Conjoined blue grape leaf palmettes with red and green accents on a white ground. Iznik, ca. 1580-1600. Indicated as Fogg lot 15.	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1981

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

Ceramic 14A	Pitcher (ibrik) Earthenware with white slip surface; low-relief floral and geometric motifs decorated in cobalt blue and emerald green. Kütahya, 18th century. Indicated as LACMA lot 12.	Soustiel, Paris	1981
Ceramic 14B	Tile with flowers issuing from a stylized floral cartouche. Kütahya, 18th century. Indicated as Fogg lot 16.	Soustiel, Paris	1981
No image	Sculpted tile, blue-and-white, from a large frieze.	Axia (Petsopoulos, London)	1981
Textile 1A detail	Large panel (loom width) of complex brocaded silk satin with velvet inclusions. 16th century Indicated as Fogg lot 11.	Yanni Petsopoulos, London	1981
	Embroidered panel of red silk satin Mid-16th century Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.8	Yanni Petsopoulos, London	1981
	Quadrant. 19th century Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.96	Soustiel, Paris	1981
No image	Jade kashkul; spinach green jade 17th-18th century Indicated as LACMA lot 5.	Spink, London	1981

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

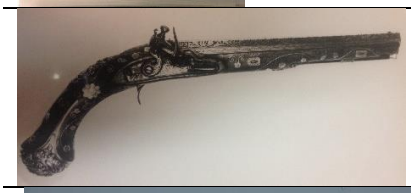
	Album leaf with an anthropomorphic form in calligraphy Early 20th century Currently at LACMA, M.85.237.70	Oliver Hoare, Ahuan, London	1981
	Three leaves from the Persian Shah Nameh of 1562…text written in four columns of 25 lines to the page. Scribe: Muhammad al-Qiwam al'Katib al-Shirazi. The borders illuminated layer (c.1583) in Turkey Indicated as LACMA lot 73.	Sotheby's, London	1981
	HYBRID: A prophet (Yusuf?) receiving courtiers. A roundel mounted into a series of lobed frames within "rumi-leaf" shapes around the outside edge. Inscribed and dated. Indicated as Fogg lot 55.	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1981
	Pistol. Turkish with elaborated decoration. 18th-19th century in a fitted leather case. Indicated as LACMA lot 5	Soustiel, Paris	1982
	Brassard with chain mail 19th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.337	Soustiel, Paris	1982
No image	Fragment of a tile panel in bright blue with black decoration, Seljuk, 13th century Indicated as Fogg lot 17.	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1982
No image	Horizontal tile with ground of orange (Armenian bole) with design in white and blue. Bevelled border of "cresting" on the top. Iznik, second half 16th century	Sotheby's, London	1982

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Two tiles from a panel…. Light blue-and-white, with a border of braiding in white. Iznik, c. 1550 or a little later. Indicated as Fogg lot 22.	Soustiel, Paris	1982
No image	Single tile, square; deep blue background. Grape cluster. Early or mid 16th century Indicated as Fogg lot 21.	Soustiel, Paris	1982
No image	Wooden rahle. Koran stand. 20th century Indicated as Fogg lot 3.	Edgar J. Fisher, Jr, Richmond, Virginia	1982
No image	A belt buckle; light jade inlaid with semi-precious stones. 17th century Indicated as LACMA lot 6.	Spink's, London	1982
	Symbolic Pendants and Prayer Beads of the Bektashi Sufi Order/Three stone beads Currently at Fogg, 1985.345	Edgar J. Fisher, Jr, Richmond, Virginia	1982
	Calligraphic panel with the tughra of Sultan ?? with round flowers in a "strong pink." 19th century	Oliver Hoare, London	1982
	Calligraphic Portrait of the Prophet Muhammad c.1700-1712 Currently at Fogg, 1985.288	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1982

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

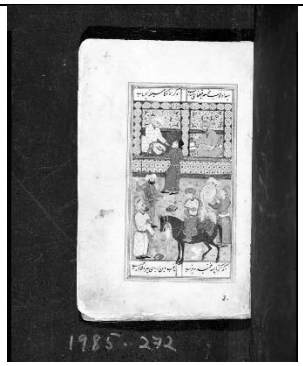
	Verses of Poetry (recto and verso), folio from an album 16th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.289	Sotheby's, London	1982
	Illustrated Manuscript of the Divan of Baki 1590-1600 Currently at Fogg, 1985.273	Sotheby's, London	1982
	Majnun as a Sheep Looking at Layla (painting, recto; text, verso), illustrated folio from a manuscript of Mantiq al-Tayr (Conference of the Birds) by Farid al-Din Attar (d. 1221) 16th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.271	G. Zalkowitsch, London	1982
	Illustrated Manuscript of the Book of Prophets 1580-1589 Currently at Fogg, 1985.272	Sotheby's, London	1982

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

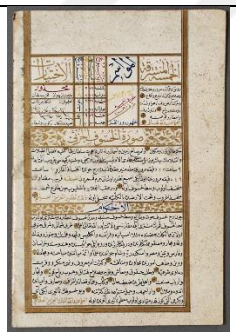
I	Portrait of Sultan Bayezit II from a series of portraits painted by a Greek artist for Selim III, to be sent to London for engraving in the book of John Murray. Below: Scene showing the Suleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul Indicated as LACMA lot 49	Edgar J. Fisher, Jr, Richmond, Virginia	1982
	Portrait of Suleyman I c.1805 Currently at Fogg, 1985.281	Edgar J. Fisher, Jr, Richmond, Virginia	1982
No image	View of the Kaba at Mecca with processions around it, the town, and the surrounding countryside Turkish, c. 1880-1900 Indicated as LACMA lot 55	Edgar J. Fisher, Jr, Richmond, Virginia	1982
	Horoscope of Sultan Mahmud I and the Ottoman Dominions Turkey, 1737-1738/A.H. 1149 Manuscripts; folios Folio of ink, opaque watercolor and gold on paper Currently at LACMA, AC1995.124.6	Christie's, London	1982
	"Ostrich-egg" sphere decorated in two tones of blue on white ground. Pierced at each end for suspension. Mosque or Shrine Ornament Imitating Ostrich Egg Votive Hangings 18th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.331	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1983
	Rectangular fragment of a cuerda seca border (?), Seljuk, 13th-14th century Indicated as Fogg lot 18.	Ahuan (Oliver Hoare), London	1983

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Blue-and-white plate or bowl. Late 18th-19th century Indicated as Fogg lot 20	Ahuan (Oliver Hoare), London	1983
No image	Square of embroidery on tan. Blues and reds. 18th-19th century Indicated as Fogg lot 13.	Axia (Petsopoulos), London	1983
	Verses Praising the Prophet Muhammad from the Gulistan by Sa'di, calligraphic composition 19th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.290	Terence McInerney, New York	1983
	Floral Panel Surrounded by Calligraphic Panels Containing Six Couplets Describing the Beloved, folio from an album 16th-17th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.274	Ahuan, London	1983
	Manuscript of the Yusuf and Zuleikha by Jami, in Persian. 46ff, 14 lines to the page, two cols. Two miniatures in a Bukhara style. Binding: Lacquer with central medallions, containing flowers and birds on marbled ground! Rebacked. Prob. Contemporary Currently at Fogg, 1985.287	Sotheby's, London	1983
	8 lines of nashk, panel of calligraphy mounted on a board of marbled paper. Within a smaller border also of marbling Currently at LACMA, AC1995.124.8 **Page of Calligraphy** Turkey, 18th century Manuscripts; folios Ink and gold on paper with marbleized border	Sotheby's, London	1983
No image	Green-and-blue "Damascus" tile. A blue medallion in the center, surrounded by four green	Mark Zebrowski, London	1984

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

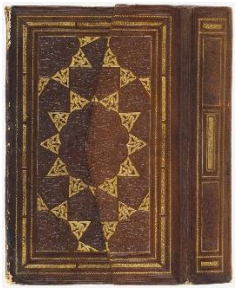
	"waves", the whole within two borders. Turkey, 17th century. Indicated as LACMA lot 15.		
No image	Single square tile in black wooden frame. Very dark blue on white background, with slight use of the Armenian bole. Iznik, c. 1575-1590 Saz forms Indicated as Fogg lot 24.	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1984?
	Single tile with black wooden frame. Two tones of blue-and-white saz decoration. Iznik, c. 1540-1550. Indicated as LACMA lot 18	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1984
No image	Long panel of Ottoman velvet in green and gold. A rounded lozenge is the principal motif. It surrounds a similar shape from which issue tulips, with a smaller tulip-shape within. Small cyntamani throughout. Indicated as LACMA lot 16.	Spink's, London	1984
	Vertical Wooden Panel: The Shrines of Arabia with Calligraphy 19th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.342	Annie Kevorkian, Paris	1984
	Brown leather binding, 15th century Brown morocco binding. Gold triangles form 12 pointed stars--one centered in each outside. Quarters of others in corners. Doublures:Central medallion with gilt decoration above blue paper fret work…similar quarters in corners. WIYTH FLAP Currently at Fogg, 1985.215	Sotheby's, London	1984

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

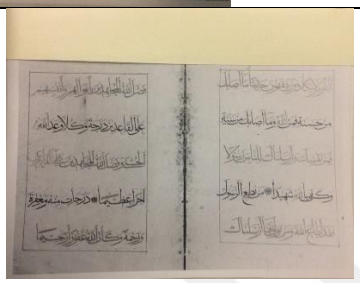
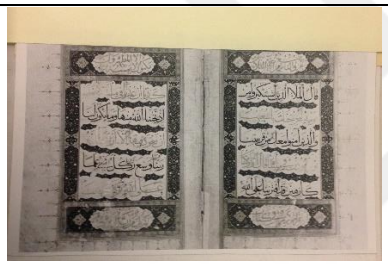
	A panel of text from an unidentified manuscript, written on three vertical columns…the page marbled 16th-17th century Indicated as Fogg lot 75	Ahuan, London	1984
	Koran fragment. 9 leaves, five lines to the page, written in alternate lines of blue and gold in gorgeous muhaqqaq script. "Mamluk or Ottoman" (catalogue) 15th century Indicated as LACMA lot 75	Sotheby's, London	1984
	Section from a Koran (Juz IX): 27 leaves, 7 lines to the page. In muhaqqaq script. Double-page introductory unwan with magnificent illumination and one other Sura heading. Binding: Gilt leather decorated with central medallions and cloud-bands.; doublures: Brown morocco, medallion with gold filigree over blue and green paper. with flap Indicated as Fogg lot 76	Sotheby's, London	1984
	Manuscript of the Tawali' al-Anwar min Matali' al-Anzar by Al-Baidawi. 272 ff with three added ff. at the beginning, 7 lines to the page. One unwan at beginning. By the scribe: Ibn Mahmud Fathallah al-Hafiz al-Hanafi Currently at LACMA, AC1995.124.4	Sotheby's, London	1984
	Manuscript of the Tuhfe-i Shahidi (a Rhyming Dictionary) early 18th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.293	Sotheby's, London	1984

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	Album of calligraphic exercises. 12 leaves in concertina form, in thulth and nashkhi by the scribe: al-Haj al-'Arif Dated:A.H.1314/A.D.1896 Indicated as LACMA lot 77	Sotheby's	1984
	Folio from a Hadith manuscript with facing folio of marblized paper 17th-18th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.291	Ahuan, London	1984
	Yusuf in the Well, Page from an Unidentified Manuscript Turkey, circa 1550 Currently at LACMA, AC1995.124.5	Yanni Petsopoulos, London	1984
	Illustrated Manuscript of the Qisas al-Anbiya (Tales of the Prophets) of Ishaq b. Ibrahim al-Nayshaburi Second half of the 16th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.275	Sotheby's, London	1984
	Two Muezzins before the Ka'ba, illustrated folio from a manuscript in Persian 17th century Currently at Fogg, 1985.280	Ahuan, London	1984

Table C. 1 (continued) : Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art

	The Prophet Muhammad and His Companions at a Feast illustrated folio from a manuscript Siyar-i-Nabi by Mustafa Darir of Erzurum. Currently at Fogg, 1995.824	Nouveau Drouot, Paris	1984
No image	Plate, blue-and-white decoration in balanced motifs. 18th century Indicated as Fog lot 23	Soustiel, Paris	1985
	Large single tile in black wooden frame. Iznik, with the FINEST two-tones of blue-and-white saz decoration. Iznik, c. 1540 or earlier Not assigned to any collection.	Adrienne Minassian, New York	1985
No image	Large panel of red velvet with large carnations issuing from tulips. 16th-17th century. Indicated as Fogg lot 18.	Axia (Petsopoulos), London	Date not specified

APPENDIX D: Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

Table D. 1 : Age of Süleyman Exhibiton Objects and Labels

Introductory Panel	The reign of Sultan Suleyman I (1520-1566) marked the zenith of Ottoman political and economic growth as well as the golden age of Turkish art and architecture. Suleyman was the tenth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, which was founded in northwestern Anatolia around 1300 and expanded into the Balkans and the regions surrounding the eastern Mediterranean. During his forty-six -year reign Suleyman doubled the territories of his realm, personally leading more than a dozen campaigns that extended its boundaries from Iran to Austria. This vast and powerful empire was administered from the Topkapi Palace, a large compound in Istanbul, the capital. Attached to the palace were imperial societies with hundreds of artists and craftsmen of backgrounds as diverse as the lands ruled by the sultan. Guided by Suleyman's refined aesthetic taste, the court artists produced spectacular works of art that synthetized Islamic, Turkish, and European traditions. They created styles and themes that had a long-lasting impact on Turkish art and influenced the artists of neighboring lands.
Gallery 1	*Suleyman the Lawgiver* Suleyman's primary duty as sultan was the dispense justice. Although the Ottoman judicial system was based on Islamic law, the sultan reserved the right to issue fermans (edicts) on topics not covered in the Koran. These fermans were validated by his tugra, the imperial monogram that contained his name and titles. Their contents were incorporated into the laws of the Ottoman state. Suleyman was renowned for his legislative acts, which influenced the constitutions of many nations. He is known in Turkish as Kanuni, the Lawgiver, in honor of his numerous kanuns (laws). The sultan was responsible for the holy cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem as the spiritual leader of the Muslims. He repaired the sacred monuments in these cities and built architectural complexes in Istanbul and provincial centers. These complexes combined religious, educational, charitable, and social functions, and were supported by endowments. His wife and daughter as well as the prominent members of his court sponsored similar institutions.

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

	209 Tile lunette with saz scroll c. 1573 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Bequest of Mrs. Martin Brimmer Composed of sixteen tiles, this lunette is thought to have come from the palace of Piyale Pasa, the grand admiral of the Ottoman fleet (1554-1568), who married Suleyman's granddaughter. It is decorated with elaborate blossoms and leaves in what is known as the saz style.
	158 Prayer rug with a pair of columns Second half 16th century Dar al-Athar al-Islamiya, Kuwait National Museum Small prayer rugs used by individuals frequently represented with the mihrab, the niche in a mosque oriented toward the Kaaba, the holiest Islamic shrine in Mecca, toward which all Muslims turn in prayer. In this example a mosque lamp symbolizing celestial light hangs in the center.
	1 Illuminated tugra of Sultan Suleyman c. 1550 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul This oversize tugra of Suleyman must have served as a model for the executer of tugras. It contains the name of the sultan, "Suleymansah son of Selimsah Han," and terminates with the phrase "may his victory be eternal."
	159 Prayer rug with three pairs of columns Second half of 16th century The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of James F. Ballard, 1922 Tripartite arches with columns resting on miniature buildings characterize a rare group of prayer rugs produced for the court. The combination of floral designs and architectural elements suggests celestial gardens and pavilions.
	123 Talismanic shirt with Koranic verses, magical numbers, and letters Made by Dervis Ahmed b. Suleyman for Sehzade Selim Dated 1564/1565 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul Talismanic shirts, painted on linen and lined with silk, were worn next to the skin and were thought to protect the wearer from illness, enemies, and evil forces. This example was made for Selim, Suleyman's son and heir, a year before his accession to the throne.

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

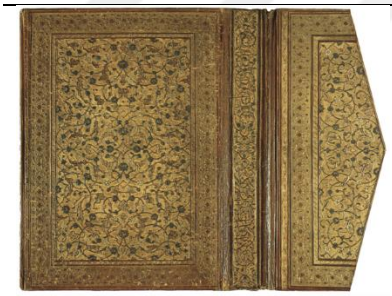
	160 Prayer rug with saz design Second half 16th century Osterreichisches Museum fur Angewandte Kunst, Vienna Woven with silk, wool, and cotton, this rug was preserved in the imperial Habsburg collection. An abbreviated version of the mihrab arch encloses the central field, which is filled with a profusion of blossoms.
	122 Talismanic shirt with Koranic verses, magical numbers, and letters Second quarter 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul The refined workmanship of this painted linen shirt indicates that it was made for the sultan. Floral and geometric patterns are composed of minuscule (gubari) and angular (makili kufi) writing, contrasted with panels of larger script (sulus).
Case 1	Ottoman religious manuscripts were bound with exquisite covers made of stamped and gilded leather, embroidered sharkskin or silk, jade and gold plaques, or painted and lacquered panels. Their interiors were frequently decorated with filigree scrolls against contrasting grounds.
	15 Stamped and gilded leather binding of the Tefsir-I Mevahib-I Aliye (commentary on the Koran) Dated 1519 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	16 Stamped and gilded leather binding of a Koran transcribed by Argun Kamili in 1306/1307 Illuminated and bound mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum
 17. Stamped and gilded leather binding from a small Koran, mid-sixteenth century (İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, E.H. 522)	17 Stamped and gilded leather binding of a sancak Koran (small volume suspended from a staff or banner) Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

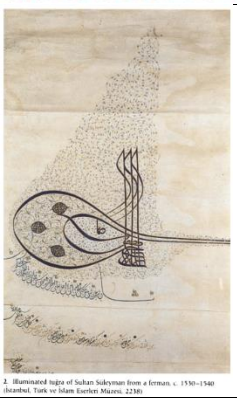
	19 Embroidered sharkskin binding for a Koran Second half of 16th century Istanbul University Library
	138 Embroidered velvet portfolio for a Koran Second half of 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	23 View of the Aksa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem from the Hac Vekaletnamesi (a pilgrim's account) Prepared in memory of Sehzade Mehmed Dated 1544/1545 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul When Suleyman's favorite son Mehmed died in 1543, the sultan requested a dignitary named Haci Piri to perform the pilgrimage to the holy Islamic cities in his son's memory. After his pilgrimage, Haci Piri prepared this scroll, which describes the sacred monuments in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.
	2 Ferman with illuminated tugra of Sultan Suleyman c. 1530-1540 Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Istanbul Ottoman fermans, or edicts, are in a scroll format with the sultan's tugra, which contains his name and title, affixed to the top. This example is decorated with finely drawn spirals, a design that became popular during Suleyman's reign.
	3 Ferman with illuminated tugra of Sultan Suleyman Dated 1552 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul By this document revenues from certain properties were allocated to an endowment established in Jerusalem by Hurrem Sultan, Suleyman's wife. Saz-style scrolls and sprays of naturalistic blossoms used in its tugra characterize the decorative vocabulary of the age.

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

	4 Illuminated tugra of Sultan Suleyman c. 1555-1560 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1938 The tugras of the Ottoman sultans, which contained their names and titles, were written in a stylized manner with exaggerated letters. The format of a sultan's personal tugra was determined when he ascended the throne and remained unchanged throughout his reign.
	5 Ferman with illuminated tugra of Sultan Selim II Dated 1569 Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Istanbul The tugra of Sultan Selim II (1566-1574), Suleyman's son and heir, is very similar to that of his father. This ferman allocates the income from several districts in Thrace to support endowments in a village.
Case 4	
	108 Wood bookstand inlaid with ebony, ivory, and silver Mid-16th century From the mausoleum of Hurrem Sultan (died 1558), Suleyman's wife Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Istanbul
	109 Wood Koran box inlaid with ebony, ivory, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell, and silver Second half 16th century Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Istanbul
	110 Wood Koran box inlaid with ebony, ivory, mother-of-pearl, and tortoiseshell Second half 16th century Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Istanbul
	111 Wood Koran box inlaid with ebony, mahogany, ivory, mother-of-pearl, and lead Second half 16th century From the mausoleum of Sultan Selim II (died 1574), Suleyman's son and heir Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Istanbul

Table D. 1 (continued): Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

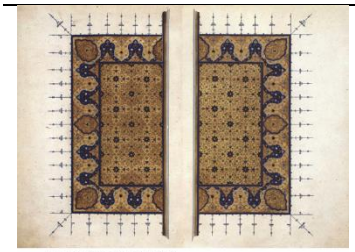
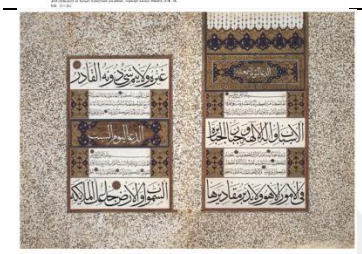
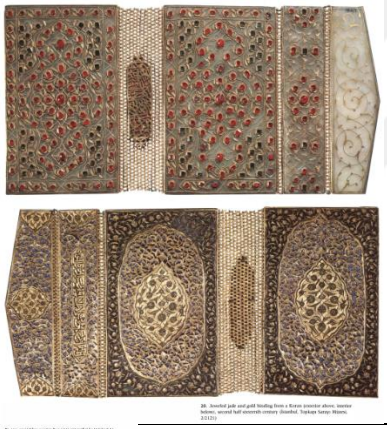
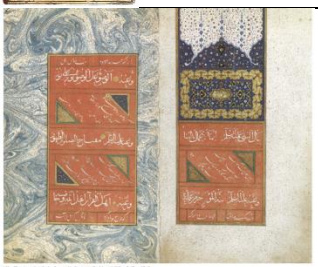
Case 5	Korans and other religious manuscripts commissioned by Suleyman and his sons were elaborately decorated and bound. The same meticulous care was lavished on endowment documents, particularly those related to the institutions established by his wife, Hurrem.
	8 Frontispiece from a Koran transcribed by Abdullah b. Ilyas and illuminated by Bayram b. Dervis Dedicated to Sultan Suleyman Dated 1523/1524 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	12 Illuminated title page from the Evrad el-Usbu (book of daily prayers) transcribed by Hasan b. Ahmed Karahisari Dedicated to Sultan Selim II Dated 1566/1567 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	20 Jade and gold binding from a Koran; inlaid with niello and gems Interior inscribed with a Koranic verse Second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	18a Lacquered binding of the Hadis (18b)
	18b Illuminated opening folios of the Hadis (sayings of the Prophet Muhammed) transcribed by Abdulhayf Ali in decoupage (kaati) script Dedicated to Sehzade Mehmed, Suleyman's son c. 1540 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

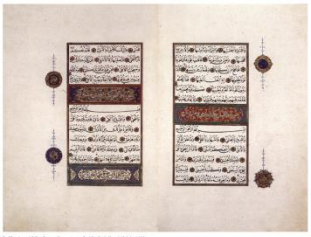
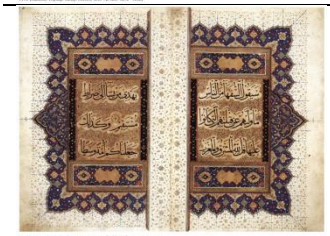
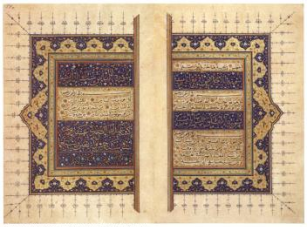
	6 Illuminated page from the Vakfiye (book of endowments) of Hurrem Sultan Dated 1540 Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Istanbul
	21 Octagonal sancak Koran (small volume suspended from a staff or banner) and its jade binding with gems Manuscript transcribed by Mehmed Tahir in 1570/1571 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
Case 2	The work of the imperial studios included embellishing Korans transcribed by contemporary and past calligraphers and pilgrims' guides to the holy cities. The most venerated Islamic shrine was the Kaaba in Mecca, to which Suleyman presented locks and keys as symbols of his authority as the spiritual leader of Islam.
	7 Illuminated folios from a Koran transcribed by Seyh Hamdullah Dated 1495/1496 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	13 Opening folios from a Koran transcribed by Yakut el-Mustasimi in 1282/1283 Illuminated and bound mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	14 Concluding folios from a Koran transcribed by Abdullah Sayrafi in 1344/1345 Illuminated by Kara Memi in 1554/1555; supplementary text added by Hasan b. Ahmed Karahisari in 1556/1557 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects anf Labels

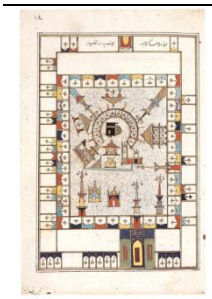
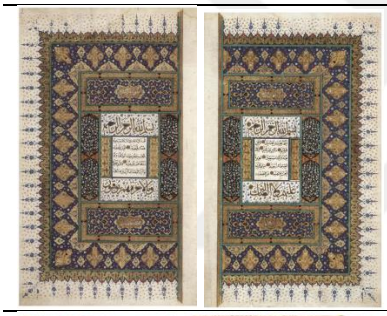
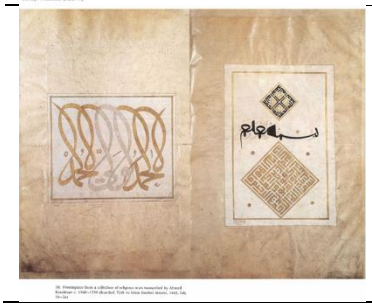
	22 View if Mescid-I Haram in Mecca from the Futuh al-Harameyn (guide to the holy cities) by Muhyi Lari c. 1540 Topkapi Palace Museum Istanbul
	55 Gold-sheathed silver lock for the Kaaba Made for Sultan Suleyman Dated 1565/1566 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
Case 3	The most celebrated calligrapher of the age was Ahmed Karahisari (1469?-1556), a prolific artist who transcribed many Korans, produced albums of calligraphy, and worked on architectural inscriptions. Karahisari not only excelled in all types of traditional scripts, but also invented his own styles.
	9a Illuminated opening folios from a Koran transcribed by Ahmed Karahisari Dated 1546/1547 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	9b Jeweled gold binding with metallic silk ground made for Karahisari's Koran (9a) Second half 17th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	10 Frontispiece from a collection of religious texts transcribed by Ahmed Karahisari c. 1540-1550 Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Istanbul

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

	11 Two folios from an album of calligraphic exercises transcribed by Ahmed Karahisari Dated 1552/1553 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
Case 6	The sultan, his wife and daughter, as well as his grand vezirs endowed architectural complexes that included religious, educational, charitable, and social functions. The furnishings of these buildings included ceramic hanging balls and lamps, which symbolized the universe and celestial light.
	166 Mosque lamp Inscribed with pious evocations and the words “Allah, Muhammed, Ali” First quarter 16th century Istanbul Archaeological Museum
	196 Spherical hanging ornament with saz design Second half 16th century The Trustees of the British Museum, London
	167 Spherical hanging ornament with inscriptions First quarter 16th century The Board of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London
	191 Mosque lamp Inscribed with the Verse of Light from the Koran c. 1557 Thought to have come from the Suleymaniye Mosque The Board of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London
	207 Tombstone with naturalistic flowers Inscribed with the profession of the faith (kelime-i tevhid) and prayers for the deceased Second half 16th century The Board of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

	195 Mosque lamp with saz scrolls Inscribed with the profession of the faith (kelime-i tevhid) c. 1572 From the mosque of Sokullu Mehmed Pasa, Suleyman's grand vezir Istanbul Archaeological Museum
Gallery 2	Suleyman the Magnificent Suleyman is known in European history as the Magnificent because of his military campaigns and the splendor of his court. His highly disciplined forces were supplied with elaborately decorated costumes, weapons, and accoutrements that displayed the wealth of the state. The sultan's attendants carried his sword and canteen. The sword represented his authority as the supreme ruler of the empire and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces; the canteen contained purified drinking water. These objects symbolized rpyal power, similar to the crown and orb used by European monarchs. The Ottomans were acutely conscious of their role in history, and recorded in detail the lives and achievements of their sultans. These histories were first illustrated at Suleyman's court. Their paintings represented military campaigns, ceremonial and festive activities, and aspects of his private life, re-creating the highlights of the sultan's reign.
Case 7	Illustrated histories produced at the court include the Selimname, the life of Suleyman's father, Sultan Selim I; and the Nuzhet el-Esrar el-Ahbar der Sefer-i Sigetvar, the account of Suleyman's 1566 campaign to Szigetvar, Hungary, written by the famous statesman and governor, Ahmed Feridun Pasa (died 1583).
 37. Sultan Selim I at the Battle of Caldiran from the *Selimname* of Şükrü Bitlisi, c. 1525 (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H. 1597-1598, fol. 133a)	37 Sultan Selim I at the Battle of Caldiran from the Selimname by Sukru Bitlisi c. 1525 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
 42a. Sultan Süleyman receiving Stephen Zápolya from the *Nuzhet el-Esrar el-Ahbar der Sefer-i Sigetvar* of Ahmed Feridun Paşa (transcribed in 1568/1569 (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H. 1519, fol. 100)	42a Sultan Suleyman receiving Stephen Zapolya, the Hungarian king, from the Nuzhet el-Esrar el-Ahbar der Sefer-i Sigetvar by Ahmed Feridun Pasa Dated 1568/1569 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

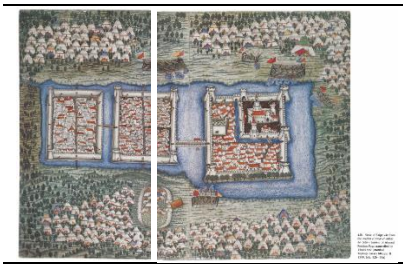
	42b Szigetvar surrounded by the Ottoman army, from the Nuzhet el-Esrar el-Ahbar der Sefer-i Sigetvar (42a)
Case 8a	
	99 Embroidered wicker shield with palmettes and Koranic verses; gold-inlaid steel boss Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul Ottoman wicker shields were made by wrapping long twigs with silk and metallic threads and stitching them into place. They were strengthened with steel bosses, frequently decorated with gold-inlaid and pierced designs.
Case 8	Ottoman weapons and accoutrements, used in both battles and hunts, included embroidered wicker shields and appliqued leather canteens, bow cases, and quivers. They were presented to European rulers, who displayed them in their treasuries.
	98 Embroidered wicker shield with cloud bands and Persian verses; gold-sheathed steel boss with gems Second quarter 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	104a and 104b Embroidered and appliqued leather bow case and quiver Second quarter 16th century Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
	105 Embroidered and appliqued leather canteen with ivory, silver, and horn components Presented by Sultan Murad III to Emperor Rudolf II c. 1580 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
Case 8b	

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

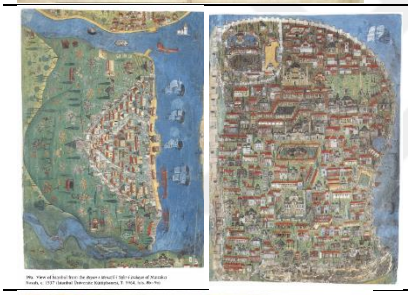
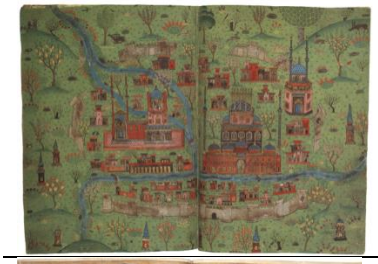
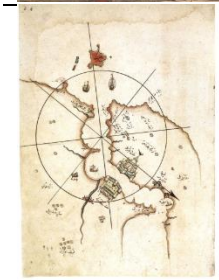
	100 Embroidered wicker shield with saz scroll; gold-inlaid steel boss Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul This wicker shield is decorated with saz scrolls thatbear elaborate blossoms and long, twisting leaves. The design originated in the imperial painting studio and was expertly translated into embroidery.
Case 9	Among the members of Suleyman's administration renowned for their scholarly works was Nasuh (died 1564?), a historian who illustrated his own texts. Another was Piri Reis (1465?-1554), a captain in the imperial navy, who write a naval guide to the Mediterranean sea.
	38 View of Lepanto from the Tarih-i Sultan Bayezid (history of Sultan Bayezid II) by Nasuh c. 1540 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	39a View of Istanbul from the Beyan-i Menazil-i Sefer-i Irakeyn (campaign to Iraq and Iran) by Nasuh c. 1547 Istanbul University Library
	39b View of Sultaniye, Iran, from the Beyan-i Menazil-i Sefer-i Irakeyn (39a)
	40 View of Genoa from Tarih-i Feth-i Siklos, Estergon ve Estonibelgrad (campaign to Hungary) by Nasuh c. 1545 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	36 View of Canakkale from the Kitab-i Bahriye (book of mariner) by Piri Reis Dedicated to Sultan Suleyman Dated 1525/1526

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

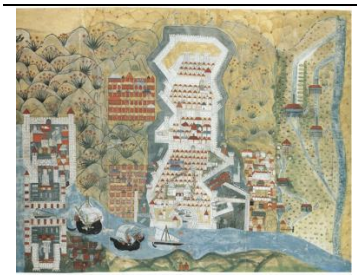
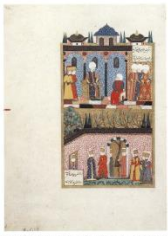
	44 View of Lepanto Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul This representation of Lepanto, a fortified city at the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth, must have been used as a topographic map. Conquered by the Ottomans in 1499, the city was zealously guarded through the centuries because of its strategic location and sheltered harbor.
	35 Parchment map of the Americas by Piri Reis Dated 1513 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul In the long inscription on the left, the Ottoman naval captain Piri Reis wrote that he consulted more than thirty maps, including one used by Christopher Columbus. He presented this work to Sultan Selim I in 1517 in Cairo after the conquest of Egypt.
Case 10	41a-41d Suleymanname (book of Suleyman) by Arifi Dated 1558 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul Written by the court biographer Arifi (died 1561/1562), this history was illustrated by a group of artists whose works became models for future painters.
	41a Siege of Belgrade, with sultan's tent set up outside the city
	41b Battle of Mohacs, led by Sultan Suleyman against the Hungarians
	41c Meeting of Sultan Suleyman and Barbaros Hayreddin Pasa, the grand admiral of the Ottoman fleet, in the Topkapi Palace

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

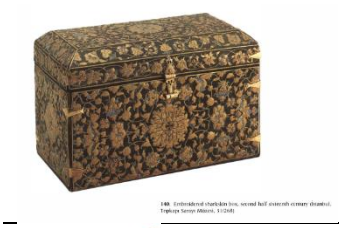
	41d Sultan Suleyman arriving at Kasr-i Sirin during the Iranian campaign
Case 11a	
	102 Embroidered wicker shield with stylized blossoms and triple balls (cintemani), pierced and gold-inlaid steel boss Second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul Shields made of wound wicker embroidered with intricate designs were functional as well as decorative. A strong and resilient material, wicker was also light weight, and therefore extremely desirable to both cavalry and infantry.
Case 11	Whether leading a military campaign or hunting, the sultans were surrounded in the field by the same opulence as in the palace. They were attended by various corps of guards, each of which had specific garments and weapons.
	106 Embroidered and appliqued leather boots Made for Sultan Selim II Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	140 Embroidered sharkskin box Second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	103 Embroidered velvet bow case with triple balls (cintemani) and gilded-silver studs Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
Case 11b	

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

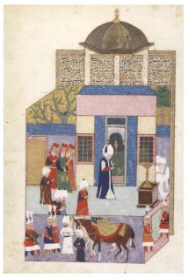
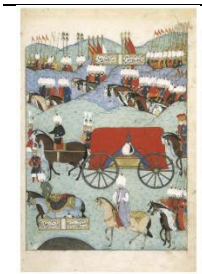
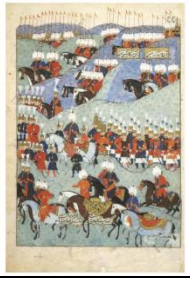
	101 Embroidered wicker shield with tulips and carnations; gold-inlaid steel boss Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul The naturalistic style of decoration, created in the imperial painting studio in the 1540s, quickly spread to other media, including embroidery. Its most characteristic features were sprays of tulips and carnations.
Case 12	43a-43d Tarih-i Sultan Suleyman (history of Sultan Suleyman) by Lokman, Dated 1579/1580 The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin Written by Lokman, the court biographer (died 1595), this history is devoted to the last years of Suleyman's reign. Its illustrations are attributed to Osman (active 1560s-1590s), a master in the imperial studio.
 43a. Sultan Süleyman praying at the Mausoleum of Eyüb Ensari from the *Tarih-i Sultan Süleyman* of Lokman: transcribed in 1579/1580 (Dublin, The Chester Beatty Library, MS. 413, fol. 58a)	43a Sultan Suleyman at the Mausoleum of Eyub Ensari in Istanbul
  43b (above). Army marching with Sultan Süleyman's coffin from the *Tarih-i Sultan Süleyman* of Lokman: transcribed in 1579/1580 (Dublin, The Chester Beatty Library, MS. 413, fols. 113b–114a)	43b Army marching through the mountains with Sultan Suleyman's coffin
	43c Sultan Selim II praying beside his father's coffin outside Belgrade

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

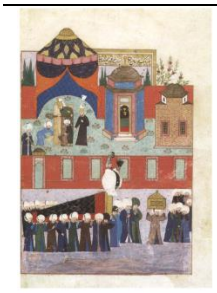
 **43d.** Burial of Sultan Süleyman: from the *Tarih-i Sultan Süleyman* of Lokman; transcribed in 1579/1580 (Dublin, The Chester Beatty Library, MS. 413, fol. 115b)	43d Burial of Sultan Suleyman next to the Mausoleum of Hurrem Sultan, behind the Suleymaniye Mosque
Case 14	Most of Suleyman's swords used in warfare and in hunting have the curved blade characteristic of the Ottoman kilic, which was renowned for its elasticity and strength. During his reign swordsmiths achieved a perfect balance between its weight, length, and shape.
 87. Jeweled and gold-inlaid mec and scabbard made for Sultan Süleyman in 1531/1532 (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1776)	87 Straight sword (mec) and scabbard; inlaid with gold and gems Blade inscribed with Koranic verses and a dedication to Sultan Suleyman Dated 1531/1532 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
 88. Gold-inlaid kılıç and scabbard made for Sultan Süleyman, second quarter sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1963)	88 Sword (kilic) and scabbard; inlaid with gold Blade inscribed with Koranic verses and the name of Sultan Suleyman Second quarter 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
 89. Gold-inlaid kılıç and scabbard; second quarter sixteenth century. (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1/298)	89 Sword (kilic) and scabbard; inlaid with gold and gems Hilt inscribed with Persian verses Second quarter 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
 90. Kılıç and scabbard with gilded silver components, stamped with the seal of Sultan Süleyman, mid-sixteenth century (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, A. 1341)	90 Sword (kilic) and scabbard with gilded silver components Stamped with seal of Sultan Suleyman Mid-16th century Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

Case 13	The sultans' helmets, maces, swords, and daggers were usually made of steel and embellished with gold and gems. Jade (nephrite) was often fashioned into decorative plaques, hilts for swords and daggers, and archer's rings.
	84 Steel helmet; inlaid with gold and gems Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	85 Gold-sheathed mace; set with gems Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	91 Dagger with carved rock-crystal hilt; inlaid with gold and gems Made for Sultan Selim I Dated 1515 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	94 Jade dagger and scabbard; inlaid with gold and gems Blade inscribed with Persian and Turkish verses Second half 16th century Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
	95 and 96 Jade archer's rings; inlaid with gold and gems Second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
Case 15	The power and authority of Ottoman sultans were represented by the imperial sword and canteen, which were carried by his attendants. Suleyman was frequently portrayed with these two objects in manuscript illustrations that document his military and ceremonial activities.
	34 Gold canteen; inlaid with niello and set with jade plaques and gems Second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	86

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

	Short sword (yatagan) with ivory hilt; inlaid with gold and gems; decorated with fantastic animals and foliage of gilded steel or iron Blade inscribed with a dedication to Sultan Suleyman Made by Ahmed Tekelu in 1526/1527 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	92 Dagger with carved ivory hilt Mid-16th century Riyadh, Rifaat Sheikh al-Ard Collection
	93 Dagger and scabbard; ivory hilt with gems Second quarter 16th century Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
 97. Jeweled mother-of-pearl plaque, second quarter sixteenth century (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, C. 152b)	97 Mother-of-pearl plaque with gems Second quarter 16th century Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
Gallery 3	Patronage of the Arts The age of Suleyman was a period of prolific production of illuminated and illustrated manuscripts, precious objects, richly patterned textiles, and underglaze-painted ceramics. Suleyman himself was trained as a goldsmith, following the tradition of the Ottoman house that each sultan have a practical trade. He also wrote poetry under the pseudonym Muhibbi, meaning the beloved or affectionate friend. Collections of his poems, as well as those of his father, Sultan Selim I, were transcribed and decorated in the court studios. The most influential court artists belonged to the nakkashane, the imperial painting studio, where two new decorative styles originated. The first, called saz, meaning an enchanted forest, depicted fantastic blossoms and leaves; the second was far more naturalistic, with identifiable tulips, carnations, and flowering fruit trees. Both styles were adapted by other imperial societies, particularly the potters working in Iznik, a town in which ceramics were manufactured for more than three hundred years.
Case 16	One of the characteristic motifs used on Iznik pottery was a curved split leaf (rumi); another was an abstracted version of the wave pattern adapted from Chinese porcelains, placed on the rims of plates. Some wares were painted with tinted slip (thinned clay), which produced a raised effect.

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

 188. Lid with rumi scroll, mid-sixteenth century (Paris, Musée du Louvre, A.O. 5960)	188 Detached lid with rumi scroll Mid-16th century Section Islamique, Musee du Louvre, Paris
	200 Plate with rumi scroll Late 16th century The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1966
	201 Plate with galleon Late 16th century The David Collection, Copenhagen
	202 Slip-painted bowl with carnations Second half 16th century Section Islamique, Musee du Louvre, Paris
 203. Plate with tulips, second half sixteenth century (Kuwait National Museum, LNS 323 C)	203 Slip-painted plate with tulips Second half 16th century Dar al-Athar al-Islamiya, Kuwait National Museum
	204 Slip-painted plate with carnations and sweet alyssum Second half 16th century Musee de la Renaissance, Ecouen

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

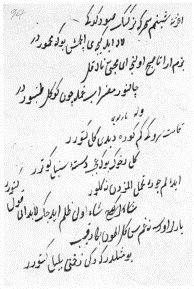
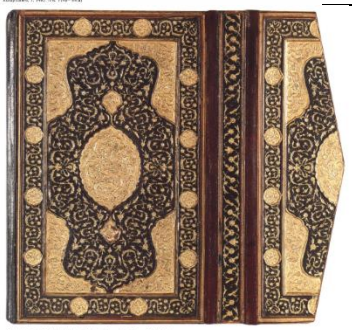
	205 Slip-painted tankard with irises and leaves Second half 16th century Section Islamique, Musee du Louvre, Paris
Case 17	The poems of Suleyman, who used the pseudonym Muhibbi (the bellowed or affectionate friend), are preserved in a unique volume written in his own hand. Other copies were produced by his court artists, who also made an illustrated version of the poems of his father, Sultan Selim I.
 **24.** Folio from the *Dīvan-ı Muhibbī* written by Sultan Süleyman, mid-sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H. 1132, fol. 94a)	24 Two folios from the Divan-i Muhibbi (collected poems of Muhibbi) in the hand of Sultan Suleyman Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	25 Illuminated title page from the Divan-i Muhibbi transcribed by Mehmed Serif Dated 1565/1566 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
 26. Two folios from the *Dīvan-ı Muhibbī* transcribed by Mehmed Şerif and illuminated by Kara Memi (c. 1566 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, T. 5442, Tek. 1938–1939))	26 Two folios from the Divan-i Muhibbi transcribed by Mehmed Serif and illuminated by Kara Memi Dated 1566 Istanbul University Library
 27. Stamped and gilded leather binding from the *Dīvan-ı Muhibbī*, c. 1560 (Istanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, 1962)	27 Stamped and gilded leather binding from the Divan-i Muhibbi c. 1560 Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Istanbul

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

 28a. Sultan Selim I in his library (left) and riding with his court (right) from the *Divan-i Selimi* transcribed by Sahsuvar Selimi c. 1520 (Istanbul Üniversite Kütüphanesi, F. 1330, fols. 27b–28a)	28a Sultan Selim I in his library (left) and riding with his court (right) from the Divan-i Selimi (collected poems of Sultan Selim I) transcribed by Sahsuvar Selimi c. 1520 Istanbul University Library
 28b. Two folios from the *Divan-i Selimi* transcribed by Şahsuvar Selimi c. 1520 (Istanbul Üniversite Kütüphanesi, F. 1330, fols. 29b–26a)	28b Two folios from the Divan-i Selimi (28a)
	149 Brocaded velvet (catman) fragment with swirling roundels Mid-16th century Dar al-Athar al-Islamiya, Kuwait National Museum The design of this fragment is based on a vertical-stem pattern and contain rows of alternating medallions with swirling or intersecting components. It was woven with strips of silver wrapped around ivory, yellow, and orange silks to produce three different metallic tones.
Case 22	The repertoire of Iznik potters included narrative scenes and fantastic gardens with birds, inspired by the paintings and drawings of court artists. However, the potters preferred designs with sprays and scrolls of saz-style blossoms (hatayis).
 175. Plate with vases, second quarter sixteenth century (London, The British Museum, G. 1983.52)	175 Plate with vases of flowers Second quarter of 16th century The Trustees of the British Museum, London
	176 Plate with snake attacking a bird Second quarter 16th century The Board of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

 177 (above). Plate with ships, second quarter sixteenth century (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 713-1902)	177 Plate with a fleet of ships Second quarter of 16th century The Board of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London
 181. Plate with floral spray, mid-sixteenth century (London, The British Museum, G. 1983.33)	181 Plate with floral spray Mid-16th century The Trustees of the British Museum, London
	194 Large jug with hatayis and leaves Third quarter of 16th century The Trustees of the British Museum, London
	189 Plate with central hatayi Mid-16th century The Trustees of the British Museum, London

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

	182 Plate with saz spray Mid-16th century Private collection
 183. Jar with saz scroll, mid-sixteenth century (London, The British Museum, 78 12-30 513)	183 Large jar with saz scroll Mid-16th century The Trustees of the British Museum, London
	184 Plate with peacock and pinecone Mid-16th century Section Islamique, Musee du Louvre, Paris
 192. Plate with hatayi scroll and peafowl, mid-sixteenth century (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, C.2005-1910)	192 Plate with saz scroll and peafowl Mid-16th century The Board of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London
	193 Pen box with saz scroll Third quarter of 16th century Section Islamique, Musee du Louvre, Paris

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

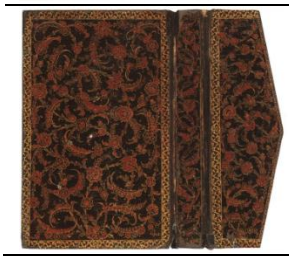
	190 Plate with central cartouche and birds Mid-16th century Section Islamique, Musee du Louvre, Paris
	142 Brocaded satin (kemha) fragment with lattice pattern Second half 16th century Dar al-Athar al-Islamiya, Kuwait National Museum This gold-ground kemha is decorated with ogival scrolls that bear large rosebuds and for reciprocal medallions. Inside the medallions are either plane-tree leaves or stylized blossoms overlaid with tulips and carnations, the flowers characteristic of the age.
 206 (above). Tile with saz scroll, second half sixteenth century (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 3919(2)87)	206 Tile with saz scroll Second half 16th century Section Islamique, Musee du Louvre, Paris
Case 18	Illustrated manuscripts produced during the early part of Suleyman's reign reflect the diverse origins of the artists in the imperial painting studio. Manuscripts were made after the 1550s reveal the emergence of the classical Ottoman painting style, which first appeared in illustrations of works by Arifi, the court biographer.
	33a Capture of Ferhad by Husrev from the Hamse-i Nevai (quintet of Nevai) transcribed by Pir Ahmed b. Iskender Dated 1530/1531 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	33b Lacquered binding with saz scroll from the Hamse-i Nevai (33a)

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

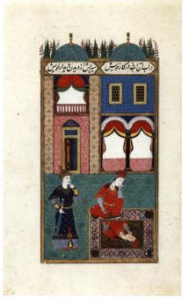
 34. Royal couple in a courtyard from the *Ravzat el-Ušak* of Arifi. c. 1560 (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Art Museums, Inv. 2.Ira)	34 Royal couple in a courtyard from the Ravzat el-Usak (garden of lovers) by Arifi c. 1560 Harvard University Art Museums (Arthur M. Sackler Museum), Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art
 29. Polo players from the *Divan-i Nevai*, c. 1530–1540 (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, R. 804, fol. 89b)	29 Polo players from the Divan-i Nevai (collected poems of Nevai) c. 1530-1540 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	32 Court of Gayumars from the Sehname (book of kings) by Firdausi c. 1520-1530 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	210 Tile panel with flowering fruit tree Dated 1574/1575 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul The panel was part of a series commissioned by Sultan Murad III, Suleyman's grandson, for a chamber adjacent to the imperial baths in the Harem of the Topkapi Palace. The tree growing amid sprays of flowers is derived from manuscript illuminations produced in the 1540s.
 208. Pair of spandrels with floral sprays, second half sixteenth century (Copenhagen, The David Collection, 2/1962)	208 Pair of spandrels with floral sprays Second half 16th century The David Collection, Copenhagen

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

Case 19	The saz style, one of the characteristic decorative features of the age, originated in drawings of an enchanted forest with ferocious creatures or angelic females (peris) surrounded by fantastic flowers (hatayis) with leaves that turn, twist, and pierce themselves.
45a and 45b. Saz leaves (above) and hatayi blossoms (right) from an album, mid-sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H. 2147, fols. 220 and 256)	45a Saz leaves from an album Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	45b Hatayi blossoms from an album Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
45c. Floral composition with senmurv and chilin born an album, mid-sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H. 2147, fol. 31a)	45c Floral composition with fantastic creatures (senmurv and chilin) from an album Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
45d. Combat between dragon and lion from an album, mid-sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H. 2147, fol. 32b)	45d Combat between dragon and lion from an album Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
46. Dragon in foliage from an album, mid-sixteenth century (The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1972.93)	46 Dragon in foliage from an album Mid-16th century The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

	47 Composite page with saz leaves and peri from an album Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	48a Peri with lute from an album Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	48b Seated peri from an album Attributed to Velican Second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	144 Brocaded satin (kemha) fragment with ogival pattern Second half 16th century The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Anonymous Gift, 1949 This kemha of purple, a color rare in Ottoman textiles, is decorated with irises and narcissi in addition to the more common rosebuds, carnations, and tulips.
Case 25	Iznik ware was painted in blue or in blue and turquoise, to which black, sage green, and purple were sometimes added. The most celebrated Ottoman ceramics incorporated bright red, in a technique that became fully developed after the 1550s.

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

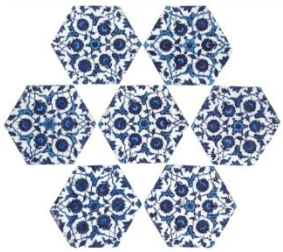
 170. Plate with peony scroll, second quarter sixteenth century (Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, 41/155)	170 Plate with peony scroll Second quarter 16th century Istanbul Archaeological Museum
 171. Plate with floral scroll, mid-sixteenth century (Copenhagen, The David Collection, 27/1978)	171 Plate with floral scroll Mid-16th century The David Collection, Copenhagen
	180 Panel with hexagonal tiles Second quarter 16th century Istanbul Archaeological Museum
 172. Plate with floral bouquet, second quarter sixteenth century (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 29.33)	172 Plate with floral bouquet Second quarter 16th century The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1929
	173 Plate with three bunches of grapes Second quarter 16th century The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1966
 185. Plate with floral spray, mid-sixteenth century (London, The British Museum, G. 1983.21)	185 Plate with floral spray Mid-16th century The Trustees of the British Museum, London

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

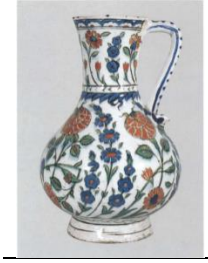
 Musée du Louvre, 7297)	187 Jug with floral sprays Mid-16th century Section Islamique, Musee du Louvre, Paris
 The British Museum, G. 1983.48)	186 Plate with pinecones and blossoms Mid-16th century The Trustees of the British Museum, London
 197. Covered bowl with sprays of roses, second half sixteenth century (London, The British Museum, Ph. 6, 5)	197 Covered bowl with roses and cypresses Second half 16th century The Trustees of the British Museum, London
	199 Plate with floral sprays and birds Second half of 16th century The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of James J. Rorimer in appreciation of Maurice S. Dimand's curatorship, 1933-1959
	198 Jug with roses and blossoms Second half 16th century Section Islamique, Musee du Louvre, Paris
Case 20	49a-49f Imperial album c. 1560 Istanbul University Library This splendid album of calligraphic works includes two drawings attributed to Sahkulu (active 1520s-1550s), the master of the saz style. The illuminations are attributed to Kara Memi (active 1540s-1560s), who created the more naturalistic style of decoration.

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

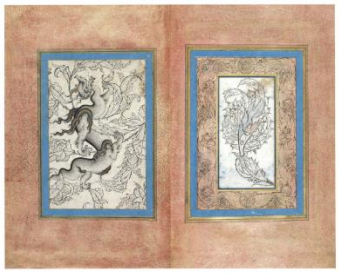
	49a Tortoiseshell and silver binding with stamped and gilded leather interior
	49b Illuminated frontispiece with the opening chapter of the Koran transcribed by Sah Mahmud of Nishapur
	49c and 49d Two illuminated folios with poems transcribed by Sah Mahmud of Nishapur
	49e and 49f Drawings of a dragon (left) and hatayi blossoms (right)
Case 21	Among the earliest products of the Iznik kilns were underglaze-painted blue-and-white or blue-turquoise ceramics. They reflect the designs created in the nakkashane, including the spiral scrolls that first appeared on the tugras of the sultan.
	163 Molded white plate with central hexagon Second quarter 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

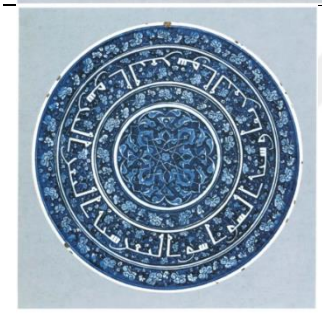
	164 Slip-painted jug Second quarter 16th century Dar al-Athar al-Islamiya, Kuwait National Museum
	165 Large bowl with reciprocal design First quarter 16th century Section Islamique, Musee du Louvre, Paris
	168 Pen box with inscriptions First quarter 16th century The Trustees of the British Museum, London
 169. Plate with concentric panels, first quarter sixteenth century (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 6321)	169 Plate with inscriptions First quarter 16th century Section Islamique, Musee du Louvre, Paris
	178 Bottle with spiral scrolls Second quarter 16th century The Trustees of the British Museum, London
	179 Plate with spiral scrolls Second quarter 16th century Dar al-Athar al-Islamiya, Kuwait National Museum
Case 23	Objects commissioned by the sultan for daily use were produced in gold, silver, zinc, steel, rock crystal, jade, and

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

	ivory. Earlier examples were either decorated in relief or inlaid with delicate gold scrolls encrusted with gems.
50. Silver plate stamped with the seal of Sultan Süleyman, second quarter sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 23/1625)	50 Silver plate Stamped with the seal of Sultan Suleyman Second quarter of 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
51. Gilded silver jug with lid, second quarter sixteenth century (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 158-1894)	51 Gilded-silver jug with lid Second quarter of 16th century The Board of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London
52. Gilded silver jug stamped with the seal of Sultan Selim I (?), second quarter sixteenth century (London, Princess Esra Jah Collection)	52 Gilded-silver jug Second quarter 16th century Her Royal Highness Princess Esra Jah Collection, London
53. Gilded copper-alloy tankard, second quarter sixteenth century (Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 54.512)	53 Gilded copper-alloy tankard Second quarter 16th century The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
	56 Zinc jug with lid; inlaid with gold, gems, and pearls Second quarter 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

	57 Zinc jug with lid; inlaid with gold and gems Second quarter 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
 63. Jeweled jade box, second quarter sixteenth century (İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2/2085)	63 Jade box with gilded-silver components; inlaid with gold and gems Second quarter of 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
 72. Jeweled and gold-inlaid steel mirror with jade handle, second quarter sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2/1801)	72 Steel mirror with jade handle; inlaid with gold, niello, and gems Inscribed with Persian verses Second quarter of 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
 73. Carved ivory mirror with ebony handle made for Sultan Süleyman by Gani in 1543/1544 (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2/2893)	73 Carved ivory mirror with ebony handle Inscribed with Turkish verses and a dedication to Sultan Suleyman Made by Gani in 1543/1544 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

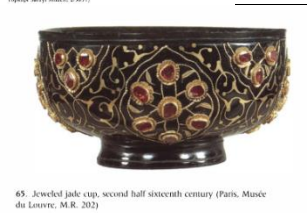
 74. Carved ivory mirror, second quarter sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2/1804)	74 Carved ivory mirror set with turquoise in a gold mount Second quarter of 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
Case 24	Imperial objects were often made of jade or rock crystal, decorated with gold scrolls bearing gems. Similar scrolls were applied to Chinese porcelains, some of which were converted into canteens or covered bowls.
 61. Jeweled rock-crystal and gold jug with lid, second half sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 238)	61 Rock-crystal and gold jug with lid; set with gems and lined with illuminated paper Second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
 62 (above and below). Jeweled rock-crystal and gold pen box, second half sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2122)	62 Rock-crystal and gold pen box; set with gems and lined with illuminated paper Second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
 64. Jeweled black stone jug with lid, second half sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2/3811)	64 Black stone jug with lid; inlaid with gold and gems Second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
 65. Jeweled jade cup, second half sixteenth century (Paris, Musée du Louvre, M.R. 202)	65 Jade cup; inlaid with gold and rubies Second half 16th century Section Islamique, Musee du Louvre, Paris

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

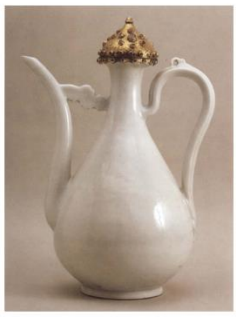
 66. Jeweled jade tankard with lid, second half sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2/3832)	66 Jade tankard with lid; inlaid with gold and gems Second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	67 Jasper pen case; inlaid with gold and gems Second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	68 Porcelain pen box; inlaid with gold and gems 15th-century Chinese ware decorated second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
 69. Jeweled covered white porcelain bowl with rock-crystal dome, made of two mid-sixteenth-century Chinese bowls decorated second half sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 15/2767)	69 Covered porcelain bowl with rock-crystal dome; inlaid with gold, gems, and lined with illuminated paper Made of two mid-16th-century Chinese bowls decorated second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
70. White porcelain ewer with jeweled gold lid, early-fifteenth-century Chinese ware refurbished second half sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 15/2944) 	70 Porcelain ewer with gold lid; set with gems Early 15th-century Chinese ware refurbished second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
 71. Celadon canteen with gilded silver components, late-14th- or early-15th-century Chinese ware refurbished second half sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 15/6681)	71 Celadon canteen with gilded-silver components; set with coral Late 14th- or early 15th-century Chinese ware refurbished second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
Gallery 4	Splendor of the Court The ceremonial activities that took place in the Topkapi Palace followed elaborate protocol. They included the accessions of the sultans, observances of religious holidays, and receptions of foreign rulers and ambassadors. During these events the sultans were attired in resplendent kaftans

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

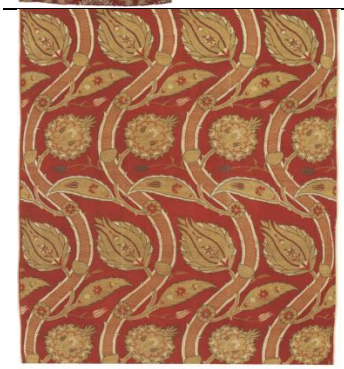
	and were accompanied by hundreds of guards and attendants. Ceremonial kaftans were made of intricately patterned satins and velvets woven with polychrome silk and metallic threads. They were highly valued and often were presented as robes of honor to esteemed visitors, officials, and artists. Similar Textiles were used to cover benches and cushions or to spread on the floor. They were also fashioned into tents, canopies, banners, and furnishings, re-creating the splendor of the palace during outings and campaigns, The most sumptuous fabrics were woven in the imperial workshops attached to the palace, while those for domestic use and foreign export were produced in Bursa, a center famous for its textile industry. Suleyman's ceremonial garments and accessories were given to the imperial treasury after his death. Following Ottoman tradition, personal items of the sultan and members of his family were preserved in their mausoleums.
	146 Brocaded satin (kemha) fragment with double ogival pattern Second half 16th century The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1952 Ottoman kemhas (satins woven with polychrome silk and gold or silver threads) were frequently decorated with ogival patterns. In this example the pattern is based on two overlapping ogival scrolls bearing styled blossoms.
	143 Brocaded satin (kemha) fragment with ogival patterns Second half 16th century The Textile Museum, Washington The pattern of this fragment is composed of undulating bands that meet to form ogival medallions. The medallions contain a plane-tree leaf overlaid by a floral spray, a popular motif in textiles and ceramics.
	147 Brocaded satin (kemha) fragment with vertical-stem pattern Second half 16th century The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1952 There are few extant examples of Ottoman textiles decorated with a vertical-stem pattern. This fragment shows branches bearing large leaves, tulips, and hatayis (fantastic blossoms) overlaid with additional flowers, swaying gently as if caught in the wind.

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

	145 Brocaded satin (kemha) fragment with ogival pattern Second half 16th century The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1952 A variant of the popular ogival pattern features blue bands with scrolls bearing either tulips or pomegranates in cross section. The pomegranate symbolized abundance and perpetuity and was frequently accompanied by spring flowers that evoke the gardens of paradise.
	136 Fragment of embroidered quilt cover Mid-16th century The Textile Museum, Washington This exquisite quilt cover, made of lightweight cotton embroidered with an extraordinarily wide range of colors, was originally twice as wide. Its design is based on vertical-stem pattern with two superimposed scrolls, one bearing tulips and carnations, the other saz-style blossoms and leaves.
	137 Embroidered quilt cover Second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul This finely woven linen quilt cover was embroidered with bright blue, pistachio-green, and rose-red, the favored colors of the age. Constructed of three loom widths it is decorated with bunches of tulips, carnations, and rosebuds in stylized vases.
	162 Rug with triple-ball (cintemani) pattern Second half 16th century The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Joseph V. McMullan, 1971 The cintemani pattern consists of clusters of triple balls, and was frequently combined with double wavy lines. It was based on an ancient Turkish design inspired by leopard spots and tiger stripes.
	161 Rug with saz design Second half 16th century Musee des Arts Decoratifs, Paris The more common Ottoman-court style rugs were decorated with saz scrolls interspersed with naturalistic flowers. This one, woven in cotton and wool, resembles a bookbinding with a central medallion and four corner quadrants.

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

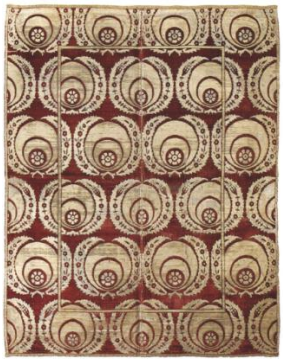
 157. Çatma cover, late sixteenth century (The Art Institute of Chicago, 1949.300)	157 Brocaded velvet (catma) cover Late 16th century The Art Institute of Chicago Gift of Burton Y. Berry, 1949 Voided velvets woven with silk and silver or gold threads are known as catma and were used for garments as well as furnishings. Constructed of two loom widths with a superimposed border, this textile was made either to cover a large cushion or to spread on the floor as a carpet.
 156. Seraser cushion cover, second half sixteenth century (Washington, The Textile Museum, 1.49)	156 Brocaded satin (seraser) cushion cover Second half 16th century The Textile Museum, Washington Seraser, a valuable fabric woven in silver and gold accented by one or two colors, was usually reserved for imperial kaftans. It was also used for furnishing the royal chambers.
	148 Brocaded velvet (catma) fragment with ogival pattern Second quarter 16th century The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1912 One of the earliest voided velvets, this textile displays a complex design of overlapping ogival medallions and superimposed scrolls. Large rumis (split leaves), hatayis (fantastic blossoms), and cloud bands are interspersed with tiny flowers, buds, and leaves.
 154. Çatma cushion cover, mid-sixteenth century (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Art Museums, 85.295)	154 Brocaded velvet (catma) cushion cover Mid-16th century Harvard University Art Museums (Arthur M. Sackler Museum), Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art This early catma cushion cover is decorated with the traditional cintemani pattern, triple balls interspersed with double wavy lines. It has panels composed of reciprocal tulips at the sides. Lappets, the arch shaped units at the top and bottom of cushion covers, are missing.
 151. Çatma fragment, second half sixteenth century (Washington, The Textile Museum, 1.55)	151 Brocaded velvet (catma) fragment with medallions Second half 16th century The Textile Museum, Washington In the Ottoman world textiles were used as fences around imperial tents and as barricades held up by attendants during parades. This fragment was most likely a part of a textile barricade that was twice as wide and at least three times long.

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

	153 Fragmentary saddlecloth; tapestry-woven with metallic thread Second half 16th century The Textile Museum, Washington
	155 Brocaded velvet (catma) cushion cover Second half 16th century Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Martin Brimmer, 1877 This catma is decorated with large fan-shaped carnations overlaid with sprays of rosebuds, tulips, and hyacinths. The motifs and color scheme are characteristic of Ottoman cushion covers as are the lappets, the arch-shaped units at either end.
Case 26	
	118 Fur-lined satin (serenk) ceremonial kaftan with ogival pattern Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul One of the more complex ogival patterns appears on this ceremonial kaftan made of serenk, a silk woven without metallic thread. Two sets of undulating scrolls form ogival medallions that alternate and intersect, producing an intricate latticework that is filled with stylized and naturalistic flowers.
	114 Quilted brocaded satin (kemha) kaftan with reciprocal pattern Second quarter of 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul The design of this kaftan consists of rumi (split-leaf) bands that form reciprocal volutes enclosing large trefoils. The main elements are overlaid with floral motifs, while the filed is woven with a diaper pattern, creating a shimmering three- dimensional effect.
Case 27	
	116 Brocaded satin (kemha) ceremonial kaftan with saz pattern Made for Sehzade Bayezid (died 1561) Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul Ottoman ceremonial kaftans had sleeves that reached the ground. Slits at the shoulders allowed the arms to pass through and exposed the sleeves of the inner kaftan. Made for Suleyman's son, Bayezid, this robe is decorated with a most exuberant rendition of the saz design.

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

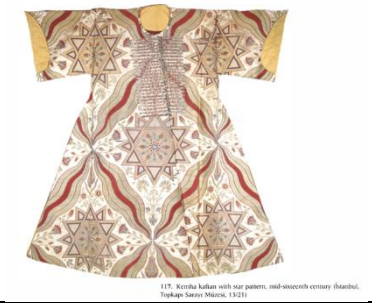
	121a and 121b Satin (atlas) kaftan with matching sleeves Made for Sultan Suleyman Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul Some inner kaftans had detachable sleeves of matching or contrasting colors. The understated elegance of kaftan is typical of Suleyman's robes, which were usually made of monochrome satin (atlas).
	115 Pair of brocaded satin (kemha) sleeves with saz pattern Made for Sultan Suleyman Second quarter 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul Saz-style scrolls that originated in the nakkashane were quickly transmitted to the other media, including textiles. The pair of sleeves made for the sultan is among the earliest brocaded satins using this pattern.
	119 Brocaded satin (seraser) ceremonial kaftan with pinecone pattern Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul Kaftans made of seraser, an expensive fabric woven predominantly with silver and gold, were highly prized at the court and were presented as gifts. Fabrics with the largest amount and highest quality of gold thread were reserved for the members of the court and were produced in the imperial workshops.
	150 Brocaded satin (kemha) floor covering Second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul This floor covering, constructed of three loom widths, was originally at least twice as long. Its design recalls that of pile rugs with central medallions and corner quadrants enclosed by a border.
	117 Brocaded satin (kemha) kaftan with star pattern Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul The pattern of this kaftan consists of a series of large lozenges created by double wavy lines, enclosing twelve-pointed stars. Similar to all Ottoman kaftans, the pattern becomes completed when the front edges overlap.

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

	120 Ceremonial kaftan with embroidered bands Made for Sehzade Mehmed (died 1543) Second quarter 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul This ceremonial kaftan of Mehmed, Suleyman's favorite son, is made of monochrome satin (atlas) appliqued with wide gold-embroidered bands. Embroidery with the background totally covered with gold was produced exclusively for the royal family by a special society of court artisans.
	112a and 112b Satin (atlas) child's kaftan and matching pants Made for Suleyman c. 1510 Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul This kaftan with matching pants was worn by Suleyman when he was about ten years old. The cut of the garment is identical to the inner kaftans he wore as an adult, with a narrow stand-up collar and protruding hip seams.
	107 Walnut throne; inlaid with ebony, ivory, mother-of-pearl, and silver Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul This portable wood throne, constructed of five interlocking pieces, was easily transported, and was set up in the imperial tent during outings and campaigns. It was inlaid with geometric and floral patterns and clusters of triple balls, while the seat is painted with double wavy lines.
	141 Brocaded silk (kemha) fragment with triple-ball (cintemani) pattern Mid-16th century Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art The triple-ball pattern was also applied to the brocaded silks called kemha. This fragment represents a sophisticated rendition of design, using multiple of threes.

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

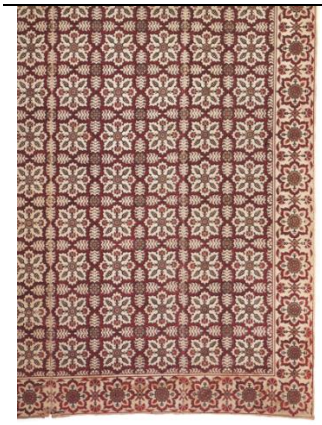
	152 Brocaded velvet (catma) floor covering Second half 16th-century The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Eugene H. Welker, 1948 Constructed of four loom widths of voided velvet woven with metallic thread, this large floor covering is decorated with an overall pattern of palm trees and stylized blossoms. It is reputed to have hung behind the throne of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V when he visited the flagship of Andera Doria, the admiral of the Habsburg navy.
Case 27a	
	124-128 Embroidered hankerchiefs Second quarter 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul Among accessories used by both men and women were embroidered fine linen handkerchiefs. The white one was found in the mausoleum of Suleyman's wife, Hurrem Sultan (died 1558), while the others came from the tomb of their son, Sehzade Mehmed (died 1543).
	132-134 Embroidered sashes Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul Personal attendants of the sultans wore embroidered belts and sashes over their kaftans. The sash was wrapped around the waist and knotted, with the loose ends, decorated with gold-embroidered panels, hanging down in front.
Case 28	Accessories used by both sexes include gold headdress ornaments and ivory or mother-of-pearl belts. The women also wore embroidered headbands.
	79 Gold turban ornament with peacock feathers Second half 16th century From the mausoleum of Ibrahim Pasa (died 1536), Suleyman's grand vezir and brother-in-law Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum
	80 Gold headdress ornament Mid-16th century From the mausoleum of Hurrem Sultan (died 1558), Suleyman's wife Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Istanbul

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

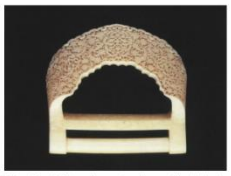
	81 Gold turban ornament; inlaid with niello Mid-16th century From the Mausoleum of Sultan Selim II (died 1574) Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Istanbul
	82 Gold turban ornament with gems Second half 16th century From the Mausoleum of Sultan Selim II (died 1574) Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Istanbul
 83. Jeweled and nielloed gold turban ornament (back), mid-sixteenth century (İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2/2912)	83 Gold turban ornament; inlaid with niello and gems Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
 75. Carved ivory buckle, second quarter sixteenth century (Kuwait National Museum, LNS 46 I)	75 Carved ivory belt buckle Second quarter 16th century Dar al-Athar al-Islamiya, Kuwait National Museum
 76. Jeweled ivory belt (detail), second quarter sixteenth century (İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2/5339)	76 Ivory belt; inlaid with gold and gems Second quarter 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
 77. Jeweled ivory belt (detail), mid-sixteenth century (İstanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, 482)	77 Ivory belt; inlaid with gold and gems Mid-16th century From the Mausoleum of Sultan Selim II (died 1574) Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Istanbul
 78. Gold-inlaid mother-of-pearl belt (detail), mid-sixteenth century (İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2/979)	78 Mother-of-pearl belt; inlaid with gold Mid-16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	129 and 130 Embroidered headbands Second quarter 16th century From the mausoleum of Hurrem Sultan (died 1558), Suleyman's wife Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
	131 Embroidered headband Second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

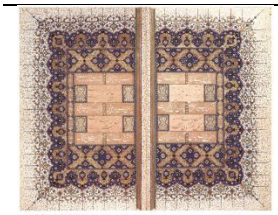
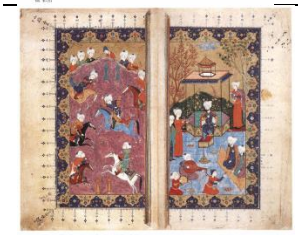
 135 (above). Embroidered cushion cover, mid-sixteenth century (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M. 85.237.8)	135 Embroidered cushion cover with birds Mid-16th century Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art
Case 29	
 139. Embroidered and appliqued velvet portfolio, second half sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 13/1891)	139 Velvet portfolio appliqued with silver triple-balls (cintemani) Second half 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul The ancient motif of triple balls was thought to have talismanic and royal significance. This velvet portfolio, meant to be folded like an envelope, is appliqued with satin woven predominantly with silver thread (seraser).
 113a and 113b. Child's serenk kaftan with matching sleeves, second quarter sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 13/1015)	113a and 113b Satin (serenk) child's kaftan and matching sleeves with triple-ball (cintemani) pattern Second quarter 16th century Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul The cintemani pattern of triple balls, at times combined with double wavy lines, was based on leopard spots and tiger stripes. It appears on this garment made of serenk, a satin woven without metallic thread.
	Below 6 objects are in the exhibition catalogue but could not be identified in the NGA exhibition installation images and labels
	30 Illuminated serlevha from the *Guy ve Cevgan* of Arifi Transcribed by Mehmed b. Gazanfer in 946 (1539/1540) Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi, H. 845, folios 1b-2a
	31 Polo game (left) and entertainment of prince (right) from the *Divan-i Jami* c. 1520 Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi, H. 987, folios 1b-2a

Table D. 1 (continued) : Age of Süleyman Exhibition Objects and Labels

	58 Rock-crystal jug; carved Second quarter sixteenth century Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi, 2/467
	59 Rock-crystal pen box; carved, framed with gold, and set with emeralds and rubies Second half sixteenth century Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi, 2/479
	60 Rock-crystal and gold canteen; carved, hammered, and set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds Second half sixteenth century Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi, 2/484
	174 Plate with diaper pattern; underglaze painted in blue and turquoise Second quarter sixteenth century New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.727

APPENDIX E: List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

The below list demonstrates the overlapping objects in Age of Süleyman (AGE), Anatolian Civilizations (AC), Art Treasures of Turkey (ATT) exhibitions and the Binney Collection. 3 objects marked with * are in the AGE exhibition catalogue, however, they could not be identified in the exhibition installation images and labels of the NGA.

Table E.1 : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

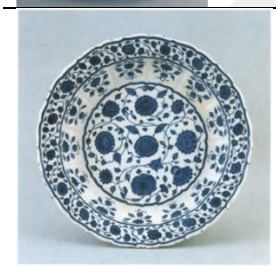
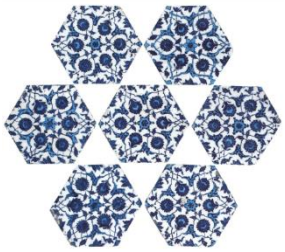
Object Image	Collection	AGE #	AC #	ATT #	Binney Col.
	Istanbul Archaeological Museum, 41/16	195	E154	265	
 170. Plate with peony scroll, second quarter sixteenth century (Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, 41/155)	Istanbul Archaeological Museum, 41/155	170	E33		
	Istanbul Archaeological Museum, 41/515	180	E44		
19. Embroidered sharkh in Ivalling, from a Koran, second half sixteenth century (Istanbul Üniversite Kütüphanesi, A. 6570)	Istanbul University Library, A 6570	19	E181		

Table E. 1 (continued) : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

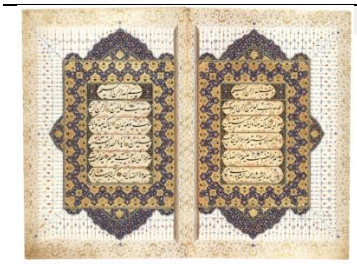
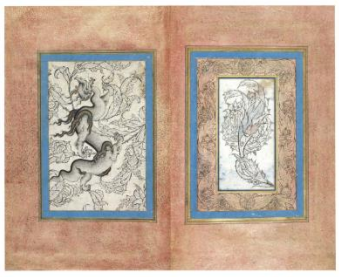
	Istanbul University Library, F 1330	28a	E56
	Istanbul University Library, F 1330	28b	E56
	Istanbul University Library, F 1426	49a	E63-64
	Istanbul University Library, F 1426	49b	E63-64
	Istanbul University Library, F 1426	49c and 49d	E63-64
	Istanbul University Library, F 1426	49e and 49f	E63-64

Table E. 1 (continued) : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

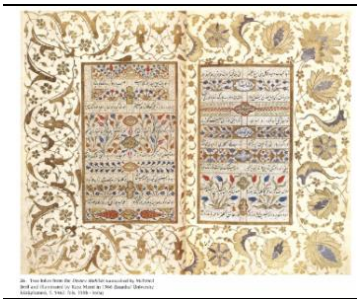
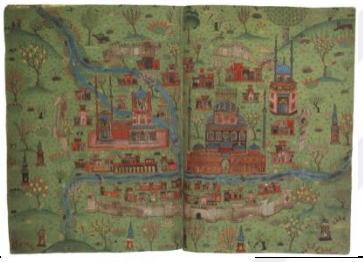
	Istanbul University Library, T 5467	26	E62	
	Istanbul University Library, T 5964	39a	E74	
	Istanbul University Library, T 5964	39b	E74	
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 1/1930	99	E104	
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 1/2441	100	E105	
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 1/2571	101	E227	234

Table E. 1 (continued) : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

	Topkapi Palace Museum, 1/2597	102	E226	
61. Jeweled rock-crystal and gold jug with lid, second half sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2/8)	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/8	61	E211	
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/22	62	E209	222
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/74	95	E217	
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/254	91	E80	237
58. Rock-crystal jug, second quarter sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2/467)	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/467	58*	E92	
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/484	60*	E212	
76. Jeweled ivory belt (detail), second quarter sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2/539)	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/539	76	E87	215

Table E. 1 (continued) : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/1187	84	E219
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/1801	72	E81
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/1804	74	E89
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/2097	9b	E269
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/2111	67	E205
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/2121	20	E200

Table E. 1 (continued) : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/2873	56	E96	
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/2879	107	E77	
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/2893	73	E88	216
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/2912	83	E84	
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/3776	86	E85	
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 2/4447	106	E108	

Table E. 1 (continued) : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

	Topkapi Palace Museum, 13/46	114	E102	
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 13/739	120	E101	
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 13/932	118	E106	201
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 13/1150	122	E54	
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 13/1783	150	E235	

Table E. 1 (continued) : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

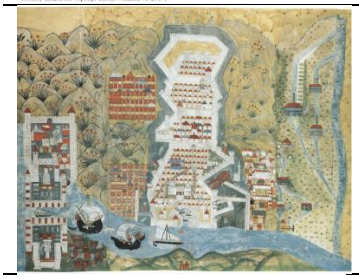
139. Embroidered and appliqued velvet portfolio, second half sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 13/1891)	Topkapi Palace Museum, 13/1891	139	E123
71. Celadon canteen with gilded silver components, late-14th- or early-15th-century Chinese ware refurbished second half sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 15/668)	Topkapi Palace Museum, 15/668	71	E131
69. Jeweled covered white porcelain bowl with rock-crystal dome, made of two mid-sixteenth-century Chinese bowls decorated second half sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 15/2767)	Topkapi Palace Museum, 15/2767	69	E214
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 17/348	44	E75
50. Silver plate stamped with the seal of Sultan Süleyman, second quarter sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 23/1625)	Topkapi Palace Museum, 23/1625	50	E94

Table E. 1 (continued) : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

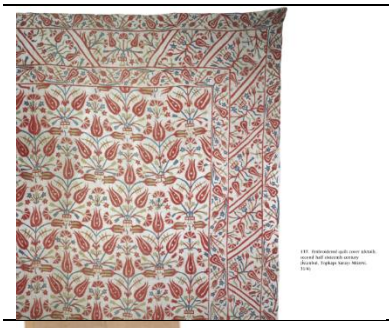
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 31/4	137	E144
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 31/49	133	E110
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 31/50	132	E109
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 31/58	124	E98
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 31/59	126	E97
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 31/60	125	E99

Table E. 1 (continued) : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

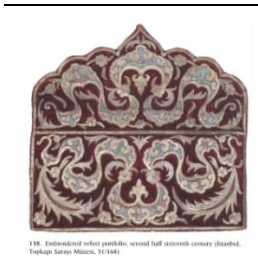
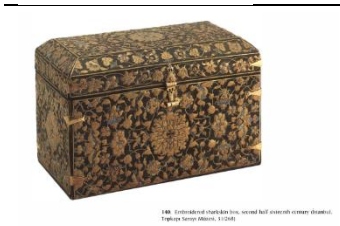
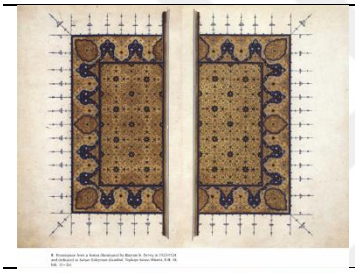
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 31/168	138	E122
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 31/268	140	E117
	Topkapi Palace Museum, 31/1478	129	E100
	Topkapi Palace Museum, EH 58	8	E57
17. Stamped and gilded leather binding from a small Koran, mid-sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, E.H. 522)	Topkapi Palace Museum, EH 522	17	E66
	Topkapi Palace Museum, EH 2851	18a	E61
	Topkapi Palace Museum, EH 2851	18b	E61

Table E. 1 (continued) : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

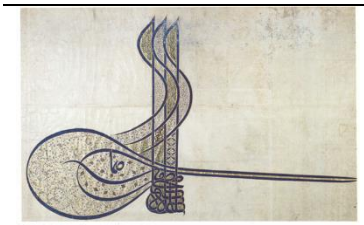
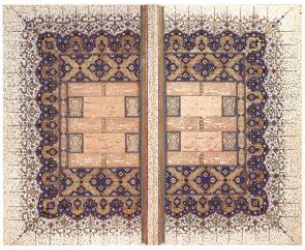
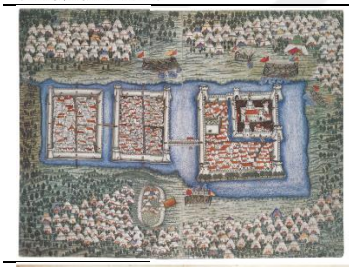
	Topkapi Palace Museum, GY 1400	1	E53
	Topkapi Palace Museum, H 845	30*	E59
	Topkapi Palace Museum, H 1339	42a	E172
	Topkapi Palace Museum, H 1339	42b	E172
	Topkapi Palace Museum, H 1517	41a	E70-71
	Topkapi Palace Museum, H 1517	41b	E70-71

Table E. 1 (continued) : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

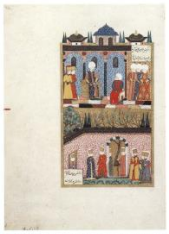
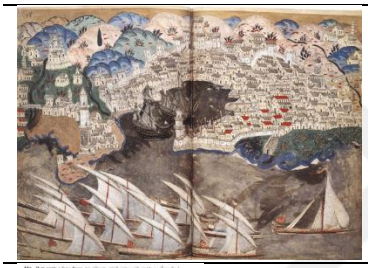
		Topkapi Palace Museum, H 1517	41c	E70-71
		Topkapi Palace Museum, H 1517	41d	E70-71
		Topkapi Palace Museum, H 1608	40	E72
		Topkapi Palace Museum, H 2162	48a	E65
		Topkapi Palace Museum, H 2162	48b	E176
		Topkapi Palace Museum, H 2168	47	E177-178

Table E. 1 (continued) : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

	Topkapi Palace Museum, R 804	29	E58	
	Topkapi Palace Museum, R 1633 muk	35	E73	188
	Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, 2	111	E149	
	Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, 5	109	E76	
	Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, 13	110	E148	

Table E. 1 (continued) : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

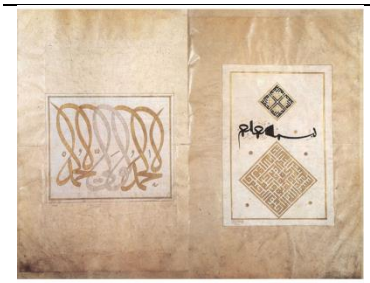
	Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, 438	79	E216	213
	Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, 1443	10	E80	179
	The British Museum, 78 12-30 519	178	E41	
	Victoria and Albert Museum, 158-1894	51	E93	
	Musee des Arts Decoratifs, A7461 1	161	E240	

Table E. 1 (continued) : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

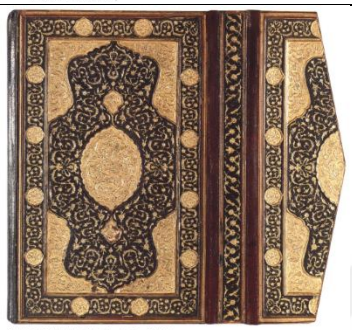
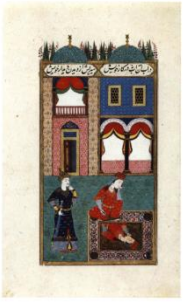
 169. Plate with concentric panels, first quarter sixteenth century (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 6321)	Musee du Louvre, 6321	169	E30	
 27. Stamped and gilded leather binding from the *Divan-i Hudâbî*, c. 1560 (Istanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, 1962)	Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, 1962	27	182	
 64. Jeweled black stone jug with lid, second half sixteenth century (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 3/3831)	Topkapi Palace Museum, 3/3831	64	219	
 34. Royal couple in a courtyard from the *Ainiyat al-Qadi al-Asfal*, c. 1560 (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Art Museums, 54.234)	Harvard University Art Museums (Arthur M. Sackler Museum), The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art	34		Portland Catalogue No. 13
 154. Çatma cushion cover, mid-sixteenth century (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Art Museums, 85.295)	Harvard University Art Museums (Arthur M. Sackler Museum), The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art, 85.295	154		Portland Catalogue, Textile No. 1, Los Angeles-Honolulu, 1974-75

Table E. 1 (continued) : List of Overlapping Exhibition Objects

 135 (above). Embroidered cushion cover, mid-sixteenth century (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M. 85.237.8)	Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art, M. 85.237.8	135	
 141. Kesebe fragment with triple-ball pattern, mid-sixteenth century (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M. 85.237.1)	Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art, M. 85.237.1	141	Portland Catalogue, Textile No. 2

APPENDIX F : List of Turkish Art Exhibitions in the United States,1987-2000

After the Age of Süleyman, the following exhibitions were organized on Turkish art in the United States from 1987 to 2000:

Turkish Art from the Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection at Harvard Art Museums, Boston from May 16 to August 12, 1987 (to celebrate Binney's bequest to the museum)

The Ottomans: Images from East and West at Harvard Art Museums, Boston from March 25 to May 21, 1989

Splendors of the Ottoman Sultans at Cook Convention Center in Memphis, Tennessee from April 15 to August 16, 1992 and Los Angeles, California from September 15 to December 15, 1992

Flowers and Leaves: The Ottoman Pottery of Iznik at MMA, New York from September 25,1991 to November 15, 1992

Letters in Gold: Ottoman Calligraphy from the Sakip Sabanci Collection at MMA, New York from September 11 to December 13, 1998 and Harvard Art Museums, Boston from October 9, 1999 to January 2, 2000

A Grand Legacy: Arts of the Ottoman Empire at Harvard Art Museums, Boston from October 9, 1999 to January 2, 2000

Palace of Gold and Light: Treasures from the Topkapı Palace, Istanbul at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, DC in 2000 (also travelled to San Diego and Fort Lauderdale, Florida)

Flowers of Silk and Gold: Four Centuries of Ottoman Embroidery at the Textile Museum, Washington, DC in 2000

CURRICULUM VITAE

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- **B.A.** **:** 2003, Boğaziçi University, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Western Languages and Literatures
- **M.Sc.** **:** 2006, Middle East Technical University, Social Sciences Institute, Media and Cultural Studies

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE AND REWARDS:

- Since 2019 American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Branch Director
- 2012-2019 Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Program Specialist for the Scholarly Programs and Publications
- 2011-2012 Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Research Assistant to the Chief Curator and Curator of Islamic Art
- 2006-2009 Yeditepe University, Department of English Language and Literature, Research and Teaching Assistant

PUBLICATIONS, PRESENTATIONS AND PATENTS ON THE THESIS:

- **Simavi, Z., Cephanecigil, V. G.** 2023: From Istanbul to Detroit: International Networks of Islamic art in the early 20th century, *A|Z ITU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, forthcoming.

- **Simavi, Z.** 2021: Esin Atıl and *the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*. International Conference – Honoring Esin Atıl, February 20, 2021 Washington, DC, United States.

- **Simavi, Z.** 2019: Exhibiting Ottoman art in the U.S. Capital: Contextualizing *the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*. International Congress - 16th International Congress of Turkish Arts, October 2-5, 2019 Ankara, Turkey.

- **Simavi, Z.** 2015: Creating a Field: Mehmet Ağa-Oğlu's Contributions to the study of Islamic Art in the United States. International Congress - 15th International Congress of Turkish Arts, September 16-18, 2015 Naples, Italy.

- **Simavi, Z.** 2012. Mehmet Ağa-Oğlu and the formation of the field of Islamic art in the United States, *Journal of Art Historiography, 6*, June 2012, Islamic Art Historiography, https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/simavi.pdf.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS, PRESENTATIONS AND PATENTS:

- **Micklewright, N., Mirza, S. Simavi, Z., and Smith, J.** 2022: Freer's Photographs, Diaries, and Objects: Networking a National Collection. New Research Talk Series at the National Museum of Asian Art, January 11, 2022 Washington, DC, United States.

- **Lasnoski, M., Rosenblatt, B. and Simavi Z.** 2018: Encountering the Buddha Visitor Studies. Research Talk Series at the Freer|Sackler Galleries, October 10, 2018 Washington, DC, United States.

- **Eder, E. K. and Pekarik, A. and Simavi, Z.** 2017. Visitor-Centered Exhibition Design: Theory into Practice, *Visitor-Centered Exhibitions and Edu-Curation in Art Museums*, Rowman&Littlefield, pp. 251-264.

- **Simavi, Z.** 2011. Kiki Smith: Embracing Outcasts, *Women in the Arts, 29/1*, Spring 2011.

- **Simavi, Z.** 2010: Coming to Grips with Trauma: Representations of Healing through Literature and Writing on Screen. International Conference - Trauma: Intersections among Narrative, Neuroscience, and Psychoanalysis Conference, March 4-6, 2010 Washington, DC, United States.

- **Simavi, Z.** 2009. *Journey to the End of Life*: A Literary Journey Out and Inside the Self, *Snodi: Pubblici e privati nella storia contemporanea: Il viaggio tra esperienza e narrazione*, 77-84.