MAPPING A CITY IN MOTION

EUROPEAN VISITORS' PERCEPTIONS OF OTTOMAN EDIRNE DURING THE REIGN OF SULTAN MEHMED IV

By

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Submitted to
Central European University
Department of History

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Budapest, Hungary

2018

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the ways Europeans perceived and mapped the city of Edirne when it was the seat of the Ottoman court in the 1670s. Using the highly personalized hand-drawn maps, sketches, and descriptions in the journal of John Covel, the chaplain to the English ambassador, the thesis traces the social networks, ceremonial geographies, and festival spaces available to European residents of the central Ottoman lands. Recent scholarship on European-Ottoman relations has stressed the importance of intermediaries and the networks of sociability present in Istanbul but has rarely ventured beyond the capital. This thesis argues that the shift of the court to Edirne in the second half the 17th century, and the subsequent costly trips ambassadors had to make there, stretched European sociability to a new geography, allowing them opportunities to interact with each other and with Ottoman subjects in new ways. Furthermore, it discerns a series of ceremonial circles radiating outwards from the palace in Edirne that organized the movements and perceptions of European visitors. Finally, it argues that movement and motion are important aspects of life in the early modern world, and that studying Edirne as a city in motion presents a useful framework for understanding the urban and dynastic spaces of the Ottoman world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My own journey to the early modern Ottoman Empire began with Metin Kunt's final class at Sabancı University, which I was lucky enough to have been able to take, and who encouraged me to study history. My supervisor, Günhan Börekçi, deepened my interest with his boundless enthusiasm, knowledge, and constant encouragement to think creatively and comparatively about history. And my second reader, Jan Hennings, whom I followed from Istanbul to Budapest, has calmly helped me put my thoughts (and my city) in order.

Katalin Szende and József Laszlovszky have helped me think about the importance of urban spaces and monuments for telling stories about history and memory. Robyn Radway, Tomasz Grusiecki, and Felicitas Schmieder encouraged me to use, and helped me understand, the images and maps that ended up being the heart of this thesis. Viktor Lagutov has been a great help making the digital maps included (and unfortunately mostly not included) in this thesis. Thanks also to Emese Lafferton, Tolga Esmer, and Charles Shaw for their encouragement and helpful feedback on drafts of individual chapters, and Thomas Rooney for his feedback on drafts of *all* chapters.

For this thesis I spent time in archives for the first time, and I thank the librarians at the British Library, the British National Archives, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and the Archives Diplomatiques for being helpful and patient (even when I threaded the microfilm incorrectly). These trips would not have been possible without generous grants from the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies at CEU, to visit Edirne, and the History Department at CEU which allowed me to conduct primary source research in London and Paris.

Agnes Bendik and Aniko Molnar are truly the heroes of the history department, and have handled all of my complaints, questions, and last-minute (a.k.a. late) requests with superhuman patience and enthusiasm. My classmates in the history and medieval studies departments have taught me so much about topics I had never thought about.

A special thanks to Gökçer Eskikurt, Jakob Hiller, Denoal Rouaud, and Aldéric Guiard for generously hosting me, despite floods and renovations, on my research trips to Istanbul, London, and Paris. And to Sigurd Lund, who not only accompanied me on my visit to Edirne and encouraged me to snoop around the ruins of the palace, but has also offered me encouragement, adventure, company, and much needed distractions from school. And most of all to my parents, who would be so happy if I finally got a job, but who love me and support my dreams even if they keep me on the other side of the world.

CEU has been an academically rigorous, demanding, difficult, and incredibly rewarding experience, and Budapest has been an important aspect of it. I'm grateful for the opportunity to study here, and proud to be a part of a university that strives for excellence even in the face of uncertainty and adversity.

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"I have neither desires nor fears," the Khan declared, "and my dreams are composed either by my mind or by chance."

"Cities also believe they are the work of the mind or of chance, but neither the one nor other suffices to hold up their walls. You take delight not in a city's seven or seventy wonders, but in the answer it gives to a question of yours."

"Or the question it asks you, forcing you to answer, like Thebes through the mouth of the Sphinx."[1]

Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*

[1] Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities* (New York: Harvest Books, 1974), 44.

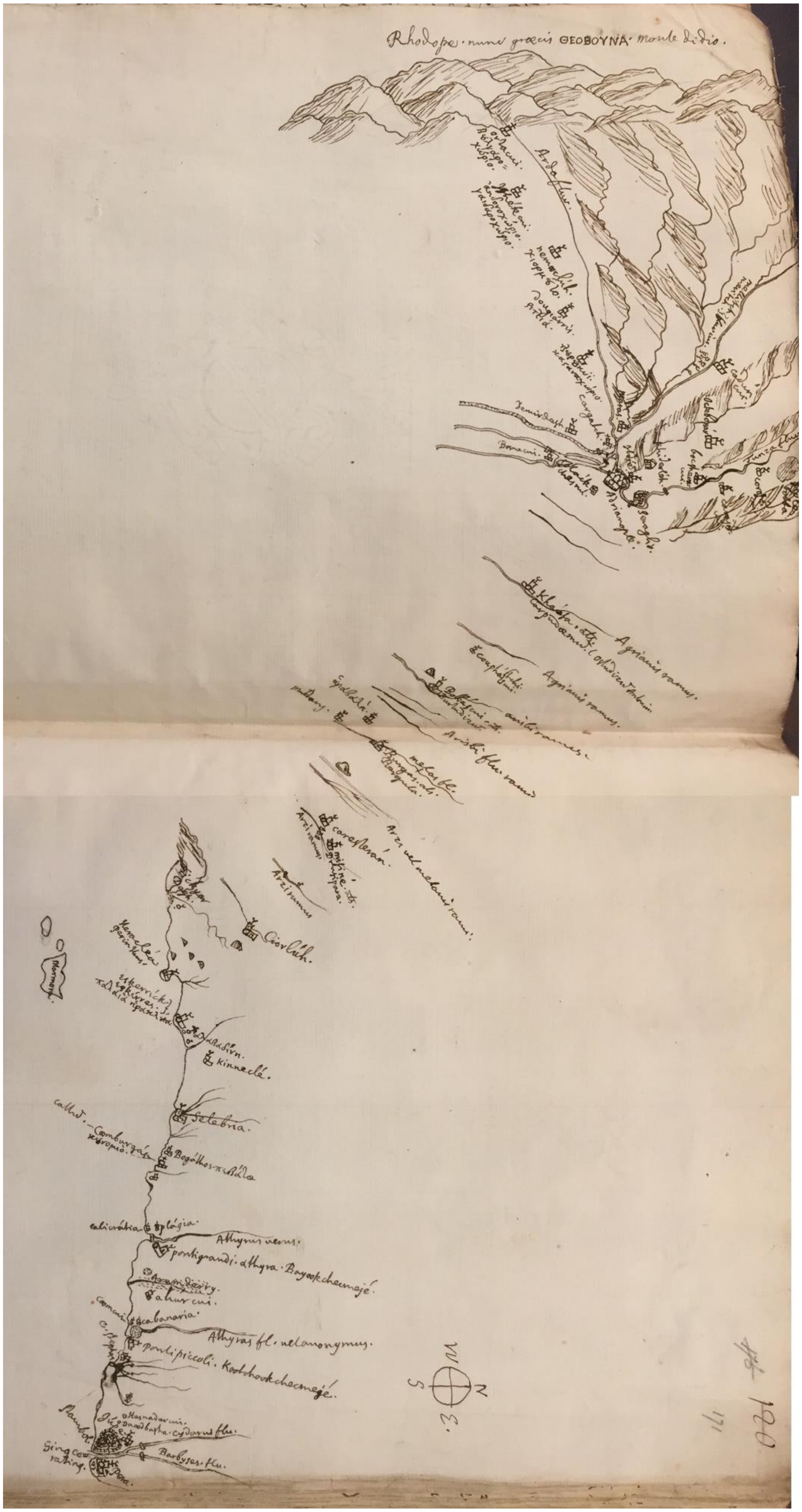

Figure 1: John Covel's *Journey to Adrianople* map. British Library MS 22912, f. 170r-171v

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to reconstruct and explore the city of Edirne when it was the seat of the Ottoman court in the 1670s, as it was experienced by foreign visitors involved in diplomatic missions. My sources are written accounts, drawings, and maps made by individuals from France and England who were affiliated with their respective nations' embassies, but were not ambassadors themselves. I focus particularly on the journal and drawings of John Covel, the chaplain of the English Embassy from 1670-1677.

Mehmed IV (r. 1648-1687) gradually moved his court to Edirne after the 1650s, culminating in a ten-year period (1666-1676) in which he never returned to Istanbul.[2] Because of this sojourn of the Ottoman royal court under Mehmed IV, Edirne became the primary place where the sultan was visible in dynastic festivals, religious holidays, hunting trips, and the start of military campaigns. This thesis argues that as contemporary 17th-century European visitors tried to make sense of the Ottoman dynastic state and its imperial court during the reign of Mehmed IV, they necessarily did so through Edirne. Furthermore, European diplomats and those among their entourages made sense of Edirne in part through the road that connected it with the capital city of Istanbul, since they never moved their embassies, but rather moved back and forth between their residences in Istanbul and the court at Edirne. The city continued to host the sultan's court until 1703 under the three successors of Mehmed IV, namely, Süleyman II (r. 1687-1691), Ahmed II (r. 1691-1695) and Mustafa II (r. 1695-1703). Tülay Artan has argued

[2] Şenol Çelik, "Osmanlı Padişahlarının Av Geleneğinde Edirne'nin Yeri ve Edirne Kazasındaki Av Alanları (Hassa Şikar-Gahı)," *Türk Tarihi Kongresi* 3, no. 3 (2002): 8–9.

that in the minds of the Ottomans Edirne never became the capital again, but was always considered the palace, or simply a city, while Istanbul was regularly referred to as the capital, and remained the primary political and imperial center of the empire.[3] I do not wish to challenge her convincing argument (especially because my sources would likely agree with her), but rather I seek to complicate it by arguing that in this period Istanbul and Edirne functioned as two ceremonial poles within a central imperial zone, akin to those of other early modern Eurasian states. To see the city as it must have appeared to European eyes in the late 17th century, therefore, I suggest that we approach Edirne as the travellers did: first, setting out from Pera (the "European" section of Istanbul) over a long, linear march through the Thracian hills, and then dwelling for some time in and around Edirne.

This thesis is structured around a hand-drawn map by John Covel, the embassy's chaplain, depicting the journey from Istanbul to Edirne and the surroundings of the latter city (figure 1). The map is simultaneously a bird's eye view, showing geographic features relatively accurately, and an intensely personal map of an individual journey. For most of its length the map only includes places and features that cross the traveller's path, such as villages, creeks, and (as long as it is followed) the coastline. But at Edirne it opens up into a triangle that follows the rivers into the mountains of the Balkans and falls off the edge of the page. The perspective is still seen from Istanbul as it were, with the view towards the north receding into the distance and past the margins of the manuscript. This clearly reflects the actual geography of the hinterland of Edirne, but it also shows the perspective of a European resident of the Ottoman Empire, who "belonged to Pera" and

[3] Tülay Artan, "XVII. Yüzyılın Ikinci Yarısında Edirne Başkent Miydi?," *Edirne*, 2008.

yet was required to travel to Edirne for business that in a previous (and subsequent) era would have been conducted just across the Golden Horn.

This thesis engages with recent work on Ottoman-European relations, which has sought to break past the stereotype of a monolithic east forever misunderstood by the West, to explore the channels of communication that existed between individuals in the Ottoman Empire and those in European states. Natalie Rothman stresses the importance of go-betweens such as translators, merchants, renegades, and others in the production and dispersal of information and ideas.[4] Emrah Gürkan and John-Paul Ghobriel both focus on Istanbul as an important node of information exchange and diplomatic intrigue, both because of the large presence of foreign ambassadorial staffs and its status as a major trade hub.[5] Each of them makes occasional reference to Edirne as the site of the court (permanently in Ghobriel's time, occasionally in Gürkan's), but neither of them devote much attention to it. This thesis extends these themes along the road and into Edirne and its hinterland, focusing on the places where information exchange occurred, and the people with whom these visitors interacted.

Palmira Brummett's work, particularly her book *Mapping the Ottomans*, has looked at European maps of the Ottoman lands, investigating how travellers and mapmakers represented the spaces of the Eastern Mediterranean. However, though her book includes a map on nearly every page, none of them are hand-drawn, and only one shows an individual's personal journey (that of the famous 16th-century Hapsburg

[4] E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Cornell University Press, 2015).

[5] Emrah Safa Gürkan, "Mediating Boundaries: Mediterranean Go-Betweens and Cross-Confessional Diplomacy in Constantinople, 1560-1600," *Journal of Early Modern History* 19, no. 2–3 (April 21, 2015): 107–28; John-Paul A. Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

ambassador Ogier de Busbecq).[6] Other early modern travellers, such as Peter Mundy or the anonymous author of the Leiden Sketchbook,[7] certainly sketched city views and local scenes, but if they include any maps they are simply commercial maps with their route traced on them, like those of Peter Mundy. Scholarly work that has used Covel's writings, including work by Özdemir Nutku and Lydia Soo,[8] has utilized these images simply as illustrations, and of the two published versions of Covel's diaries (both abridged), one completely leaves out the images, while the other includes primarily those which deal with classical inscriptions.[9] The present thesis therefore is innovative in dealing with hand-drawn maps of the Ottoman lands, as well as being the first to analyze Dr. Covel's drawings closely alongside his texts.

Urban historians have long been interested in questions of space and the uses of urban land,[10] and in recent years these methods have been applied to Edirne as well. Recent works by Amy Singer,[11] Grigor Boykov,[12] and Panagiotis Kontolaimos,[13] have

[6] Palmira Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 270.

[7] Lud'a Klusáková, *The Road to Constantinople: Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Towns through Christian Eyes* (Prague: ISV Publishers, 2002).

[8] Lydia M. Soo, "The Architectural Setting of 'Empire': The English Experience of Ottoman Spectacle in the Late Seventeenth Century and Its Consequences," in *The Dialectics of Orientalism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Marcus Keller and Javier Irigoyen-García (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018), 217–46.

[9] J. Theodore Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel (1670-1679)," in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1893), 99–287; Jean-Pierre Grélois, ed., *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677* (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1998).

[10] Martha C. Howell, "The Spaces of Late Medieval Urbanity," in *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Marc Boone and Peter Stabel (Leuven: Garant, 2000), 3–23; Peter Burke, "Culture: Representations," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, ed. Peter Clark, 2013, 438–54; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, "Latin America," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, ed. Peter Clark, 2013, 364–82.

[11] Amy Singer, "Enter, Riding on an Elephant: How to Approach Early Ottoman Edirne," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 3, no. 1 (2016): 89–109.

[12] Grigor Boykov, "The T-Shaped Imarets of Edirne: A Key Mechanism for Ottoman Urban Morphological Transformation," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 3, no. 1 (2016): 29.

[13] Panagiotis Kontolaimos, "A Landscape for the Sultan, an Architecture for the Eye: Edirne and Its Fifteenth-Century Royal Tower," *Landscape History* 37, no. 2 (July 2, 2016): 19–33; idem, "The

explored the importance of space in Edirne in various periods, expanding our understanding of how the city changed and functioned through the ages. The period covered by the present study has not been investigated this way, but an innovative PhD dissertation by Yunus Uğur used cadastral surveys and GIS mapping technologies to map the distribution of ethnic, social, and religious populations in the Edirne in the decades following.[14] Uğur's work offers a strong quantitative base that allows me to better understand the subjective, narrative sources I am using. This work differs from the work of these scholars by approaching Edirne from the perspective of non-Ottoman subjects.

Michel de Certeau writes that lines mapping a route through a city, while providing a visual record of a route taken, negate "the act itself of passing by." A map is able to "transform action into legibility, but in doing so it causes a way of being in the world to be forgotten."[15] John Covel's maps create a legible representation of the land he passed through without directly including him in the map. This thesis uncovers his "forgotten" way of being by exploring the connections, movements, sights, and emotions that Covel experienced and utilized in the creation of these maps. I read the map not simply as a representation of a slice of the earth, but as an representation of geography, movement, and encounter.

Transformation of Late Byzantine Adrianople to Early Ottoman Edirne," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 3, no. 1 (2016): 7–27.

[14] Yunus Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries" (Boğaziçi University, 2014).

[15] Michel de Certeau, "Walking in the City," in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 97.

Sources

My sources are personal accounts written by English and French residents of the Ottoman Empire who were attached to their respective embassies but were not ambassadors themselves. They were all intended for publication, though not all of them were published, and as a result they display a certain self-awareness and self-promotion, meaning their value as unbiased documentary sources is often suspect. Since they were in general written by men (they are all men) who resided for years in Istanbul and/or Izmir, they display considerable familiarity with the Ottoman lands. At the same time, since none of them were residents of Edirne their perceptions of that city are less encyclopedic, more impressionistic, and presented as a journey rather than as a detailed study of a place. Like Lowry's descriptions of Bursa, my sources' descriptions are thus with a place unfamiliar, but one which they had the opportunity to get to know over a period of some months. Their affiliation with important embassies means that they had privileged access to places, information, and individuals, including the sultan. On the other hand, the fact that they were not official representatives of their monarch meant that they were less constrained by ceremonial formality than the ambassadors themselves, allowing them an increased freedom of movement.

The most important source, and the one whose narrative most informs my approach, is the autograph journal of John Covel (1638-1722), the chaplain to the ambassador from 1670 to 1677. John Covel, originally from Horningsheath (now Horringer), Suffolk, received a BA from Christ's College at Cambridge in 1658, from which he also obtained an MA in 1661. He then studied medicine, but was later ordained sometime before 1669. He appears to have been in negotiations to be the secretary to the

ambassador in Constantinople, Sir Daniel Harvey (ambassador 1668-1672), but was appointed chaplain instead in March 1670.[16] He left England aboard the *London Merchant* on September 21st of that year, arriving in Constantinople December 31st.[17] When ambassador Harvey died unexpectedly in 1672, Covel was left in sole charge of the embassy until his successor, Sir John Finch, arrived in 1674. Covel remained in the Ottoman lands until 1677, during which time he was able to travel through Thrace and western Asia Minor. He returned slowly home to England, travelling overland through Italy and France, and upon his return to England he was appointed chaplain to the Princess of Orange in The Hague. He then returned to Cambridge, where he was eventually elected master of Christ's College. He remained there until his death, and maintained correspondence with some noteworthy English scholars, including Isaac Newton and John Locke, as well as Greek, French, and other European scholars.

During his time in Constantinople, Covel kept diaries that include daily notes of his travels and observations, as well as sketches and descriptions of ancient cities, plants, animals, clothing, and many other details he found interesting. The journals also include wax impressions of ancient seals, transcriptions of music, and numerous maps.[18] The manuscript appears to have been designed for publication, as it is divided into books (themselves divided into chapters) and paginated. Some parts of the manuscript are heavily footnoted with references to works that he did not have access to in

[16] "Covel [Colvill], John," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (online ed.), accessed June 7, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6471.

[17] John Covel, "Journals of Dr. J. Covel's Travels, 1670-1678, Autograph," British Library MS Add 22912. [hereafter: Covel, "Autograph Journal"]

[18] But not only maps of places he visited! In fact, the volume that contains his journal of his time in the Ottoman lands begins, inexplicably, with a very detailed map of the moon.

Constantinople, indicating that he at least went over his writings again when he returned to Cambridge.[19]

The books are not given titles. Book I concerns the voyage of the *London Merchant* from the Downes to Constantinople, and it is written as a diary with daily entries, though they are grouped into chapters representing segments of the journey. Book II describes Constantinople, and moves thematically rather than chronologically through the city, though there are occasionally dates indicated. Book III deals with the Journey to Edirne and the embassy's stay there, and it is presented as a letter to an unnamed friend, sometimes organized by date (particularly on the sections regarding the journeys to and from the city), but elsewhere more thematic.[20]

In general sketches drawn from direct observation, since they are freed from the constraints and clichés of the "grand tradition" are considered more "reliable" than paintings or other works done later in a studio.[21] But even these display bias, as the artist chooses (consciously or not) which aspects to focus on. Covel's maps and drawings are no exception to this, but the biases they display make them interesting as representations of a particular viewpoint. In this thesis, I use images in much the same way as Covel does, as an integral part of the analysis that illustrates the text, but also comments on it, adds extra information, and creates its own hierarchy of importance.

Covel's manuscripts have been published in part twice. One version, edited by Jean-Pierre Grélois as part of the "Réalités Byzantines" series, is comprehensive and

[19] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 9.

[20] Since my focus at the time of my research trip was more on Edirne than Covel, I failed to photograph the other sections of his manuscript. There are other sections, including a trip to Bursa, a trip to Smyrna, and a trip to Iznik, all of which seem to be written in the form of a daily travel journal. Some of these are reproduced in: Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*.

[21] Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 19.

reliable, with omissions clearly indicated, translation given in modern French and using the modern Turkish terms, and well footnoted. However, it focuses primarily on sections that deal with ruins and antiques. The other, edited by Theodore Bent for the Hakluyt Society, frequently omits passages without indication. Since they are easier to reach than the manuscripts in the British Library, I have cited the published versions where possible.

Structure of the Thesis

The first chapter opens with a theoretical discussion about the value of European travel literature as a source for Ottoman urban history, arguing that *histoire croisée* provides a useful template for exploring the multiple levels of movement and intersection that characterized late 17th-century Edirne. It then presents a brief history of Edirne leading up to the period under discussion.

The rest of the thesis is based around a map of the approach to Edirne, and its surroundings. The map, which I have named the *Journey to Adrianople*, appears in the manuscript at the beginning of Book III, introducing the book even as it stands apart from it, without comment, on different paper. Mirroring this, I have left the introduction to the map as a short micro-chapter of its own. After this introduction, the main body of the thesis is composed of two parts, mimicking the two halves of the map.

Part I relates to the linear portion of the *Journey* map, following the travellers from their "home" in Pera across the hills of Thrace to the outskirts of Edirne. I argue that, from a European perspective, the road between Istanbul and Edirne functioned as a linear extension of the capital, and a mobile site of information gathering, sociability, and knowledge production about the central Ottoman state. I do a close visual analysis of the

images in Covel's journals, which I interpret primarily against Covel's writings, but also those of the French orientalist Antoine Galland, exploring how they read the landscape along the road. I propose that the limits of courtly Edirne were first experienced at the gates of Istanbul.

Part II relates to the triangular part of the map around Edirne, exploring how the city's geography was navigated and understood by the visitors. I argue that the city was made up of a series of concentric circles in which different symbolic and social events took place, to which different actors had various access depending on their connections. The chapter explores how various actors who crossed the city, including diplomats, performers, the sultan, and the plague, caused networks of sociability and movement to change. Finally I examine the imperial festivities of 1675, organized for the circumcisions of the Mehmed IV's two sons and the wedding of his daughter, analyzing these celebrations as a spatial event that rearranged the ceremonial spaces of the city.

The conclusion situates the thesis within the wider framework of the early modern Ottoman Empire, and argues based on the preceding chapters that movement and motion are valuable lenses for exploring history. It also suggests some further avenues of study, both in terms of Ottoman imperial space, and Ottoman urban history.

Finally, a series of appendices include a chronology of the English ambassador's journey to and stay in Edirne (appendix A), some GIS maps of Edirne (appendix B-D), and extended quotations from Covel's journals (Appendix E-G).

Reading Early Modern Ottoman Edirne

There are two major approaches to using European travel literature for non-European urban history. One approach is to take them more or less at face value as sources, an approach with particular appeal to scholars without recourse to local languages. This approach risks allowing European sources to completely dominate the representation of non-European societies, a trend that has been out of fashion at least since it was sharply criticized by Edward Said.[22] More ambitious scholars have avoided this pitfall by utilizing both local and foreign sources to "check" the reliability of visitors' accounts against what is known from local authors, with the aim of producing a "fuller picture" of the town in a particular time. There is indeed a benefit to this, and scholars have utilized European sources to fill in details that local authors may not have noticed, or felt the need to comment on. European travellers in the Ottoman Empire, for example, were often keenly interested in classical ruins and in Christian religious buildings, which local Muslim authors may have ignored.[23] On the other hand, many historians have been justifiably wary of using travel literature uncritically as a source, pointing out that many travel reports simply repeat the observations or opinions of previous travellers, raising the possibility that what is recorded is less an objective report of the traveler's experience and more of a pseudo-fiction designed for home consumption.[24] Some historians have made a compromise, cautiously examining travellers' accounts with these potential

[22] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979).

[23] Palmira Brummett, "You Say 'Classical,'I Say 'Imperial,'Let's Call the Whole Thing Off: Empire, Individual, and Encounter in Travel Narratives of the Ottoman Empire," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/Journal of Ottoman Studies* 44 (2014): 23.

[24] Patricia Herlihy, "Visitors' Perceptions of Urbanization: Travel Literature in Tsarist Russia," in *The Pursuit of Urban History*, ed. Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (London: E. Arnold, 1983), 125; Heath W. Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts* (Indiana University Ottoman and Modern Turkish Studies Publications, 2003), iv.

drawbacks in mind. This is the approach favored by Heath Lowry, who chose Bursa for his study on travel narratives precisely because it was not a standard destination on European journeys, but simply a side trip or stopping point on the way to the real aims, Istanbul and Jerusalem. This means, he argues, that the travellers had often done less prior research on the city and thus had fewer preconceived notions of the place, allowing us to take what they wrote as observation, rather than regurgitation of previous writers' thoughts.[25]

Furthermore, there is a growing tendency to use narrative and descriptive accounts of urban space to explore different aspects of urban life, less concrete and more experiential. Robert Darnton argues that early modern descriptions of cities, even those written by natives of the city in question, can be used to examine how a city was perceived. For him, trying to fight through a text to find an underlying truth is impossible since narrative sources blur the lines between fact and interpretation.[26] Rather than treating this as a disadvantage, however, Darnton sees it as an opportunity to overcome the distance separating us from early modern understandings of the world. By focusing on the language, phrases, emotions, and manners of description, we can understand how early modern cities were perceived and experienced by their inhabitants and visitors, allowing us to "roam around in the world that our author constructed with his text."[27] Indeed he argues that it is this perception that produces the city as a social and physical space.

[25] Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts*, v.
[26] Robert Darnton, "A Bourgeois Puts His World in Order: The City as a Text," in *The Great Cat Massacre* (New York: Vintage, 1985), 114.
[27] Darnton, 111.

This thesis emphasizes various types of movement towards, within, and away from Edirne. Werner and Zimmermann write that in *histoire croisée,* "entities and objects of research are not merely considered in relation to one another but also *through* one another, in terms of relationships, interactions, and circulation."[28] My thesis deals, on the one hand, with a very literal and physical crossing of two large and complicated entities, namely the city of Edirne and the Ottoman imperial court. While the court and the city remained identifiable and separable entities (and indeed they were often separated), their crossing produced a series of repercussions relating to the urban space of Edirne that would not have occurred otherwise: The physical structure of the city was changed to make space for ceremonial, diplomats descended on the region and were forced to travel back and forth from Istanbul to see the sultan, and the needs of the palace and its staff were filled by the new city. Furthermore, this "crossing" enabled the production of the sources used in this thesis, by travelers who very likely would have spent far less time in the city (if they went there at all) had the court not been there.

While the Ottoman imperial court and the city of Edirne "crossed" themselves, I am choosing to cross the various travellers I base my work off of. Many of these European travellers evidentially met each other (some even travelled together to Edirne), but others simply travelled to the city in similar times. By bringing together the accounts of these various travellers we are able to get a fuller view of the results of the previously mentioned crossing of court and city. These European visitors understood the court in part through the city of Edirne, as it is in this physical space that they saw various displays of power, and the long, hot, plague-filled days spent in the Edirne area frame the

[28] Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory*, no. 45 (2006): 38.

diplomacy that takes place there. Likewise, I understand Edirne through the various events and movements that occurred there, and which my sources witnessed, described, or participated in.

Following Darnton, my thesis focuses on the ways in which visitors to Edirne described the city and their experiences in it. I pay particular attention to modes of description, and the way that these visitors "put the city in order" as Darnton terms it. By treating these narratives in this way, I believe I can avoid many of the pitfalls inherent in using them as sources to find out how the city "really was" at this time. At the same time, they do offer glimpses into what the city looked, sounded, and felt like at the time that are not as evident from the statistical data or stylized Ottoman and foreign formal representations of the city.

Ottoman Urban History and Edirne

As the Ottoman Empire's primary bureaucratic, imperial, cultural, and commercial hub, Istanbul has understandably received the lion's share of studies on the early modern Ottoman urban experience.[29] Other important trade cities have also received attention, with cultural histories examining aspects of life in many of the empire's major cities.[30] Edirne, somewhat smaller than these cities and less important as a trade hub, has received less attention, which is somewhat surprising given its symbolic and dynastic

[29] Some examples from the early modern period include: Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge University Press, 2010); Cem Behar, *A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap Ilyas Mahalle* (New York: SUNY Press, 2003); Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park, Pa: Penn State University Press, 2010); Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (University of Washington Press, 2008).

[30] See, for example, Mark Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950*, Reprint edition (New York, NY: Vintage, 2006); Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: ʿAyntāb in the 17th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Lajos Fekete, *Buda and Pest Under Turkish Rule* (Eötvös Lórand University, 1976).

importance. Edirne was the primary site of the court for about fifty years leading up to the so-called Edirne Incident of 1703, when the reining sultan Mustafa II was deposed and the court forced to move back to Istanbul.[31] Studies on Edirne have focused primarily on the city's early Ottoman history, before the conquest of Istanbul in 1453,[32] and on its role as a symbolically and strategically important (and periodically conquered) border town in the empires last decades.[33] The work of a couple of local Turkish scholars, such as Tayyip Gökbilgin,[34] who has written on nearly all periods of Edirne's Ottoman history, plus a couple of large compilations,[35] and some studies of the Edirne palace[36] round out the list.

Edirne was probably founded by Thracian tribes, but at the beginning of the second century C.E. it was enlarged and fortified by the Roman emperor Hadrian (r. 117-138), at which point it received the name Hadrianopolis. The city was conquered by Goths, Avars, Bulgars, and Crusaders (twice), but it was always retaken by the Byzantines, from whom it was definitively conquered by the Ottomans in 1361.[37] Under

[31] Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, Uitgaven van Het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut Te İstanbul = Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul 52 (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituutte İstanbul, 1984).

[32] Singer, "Enter, Riding on an Elephant"; Kontolaimos, "A Landscape for the Sultan, an Architecture for the Eye"; idem, "The Transformation of Late Byzantine Adrianople to Early Ottoman Edirne"; Boykov, "The T-Shaped Imarets of Edirne"; Haim Gerber, "The Waqf Institution in Early Ottoman Edirne," *Asian and African Studies* 17 (1983): 29–45.

[33] See, for example, Alexandra Yerolympos, "A Contribution to the Topography of 19th Century Adrianople," *Balkan Studies* 34, no. 1 (1993): 49–72.

[34] Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Edirne," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1994).

[35] Emin Nedret İşli and M. Sabri Koz, eds., *Edirne : Serhattaki Payitaht* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 1998).

[36] Rifat Osman, *Edirne Sarayı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1989); Mustafa Özer, *The Ottoman Imperial Palace in Edirne (Saray-ı Cedîd-i Âmire). A Brief Introduction* (Istanbul: Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014). For a more comprehensive list of studies on Edirne, see Cemil Cahit Can and Ender Bilar, *Edirne Bibliyografyası* (Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü, 2009).

[37] Halil İnalcık, "The Conquest of Edirne, 1361," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 3 (1971): 185–210.

Ottoman rule it became an important center, serving often as the temporary seat of the sultan's court and the launching ground for military campaigns into the Balkans and Central Europe. Two royal palaces were built there, the first during the reign of Murad I (r. 1362-1389), which was later replaced by the Selimiye Mosque, and the second during the reign of Murad II (r. 1421-1444; 1446-1451), begun in 1450. Because of the regular presence of the court in this period, the lavish building projects undertaken, and the city-wide imperial celebrations held here (the first in the empire), the city is generally known as the second Ottoman capital city, after Bursa.

After the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul in 1453, the various functions of a capital city, which had previously been dispersed among various Ottoman cities, were consolidated into a new imperial capital.[38] Yet Edirne never became the capital of a *sancak* (province), but continued to be administered from the new imperial center. The second palace built at Edirne (generally referred to as the "Edirne Palace") continued to be used, and the sultan would often winter there to be closer to the surrounding hunting grounds, or to launch military campaigns into the Balkans, leading at least one chronicler to call the city "the stirrup of the sultan."[39] Monumental building projects continued here, most notably the Selimiye Mosque (built for Sultan Selim II between 1569 and 1575) by the famous imperial architect Sinan. The sultan's continued presence there, even after the shift to Istanbul, meant that it continued to be a site of diplomacy, as dragomans were dispatched there to communicate with the sultan's household in the periods when he resided there.[40]

[38] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*.
[39] Artan, "XVII. Yüzyılın Ikinci Yarısında Edirne Başkent Miydi?"
[40] Gürkan, "Mediating Boundaries," 115.

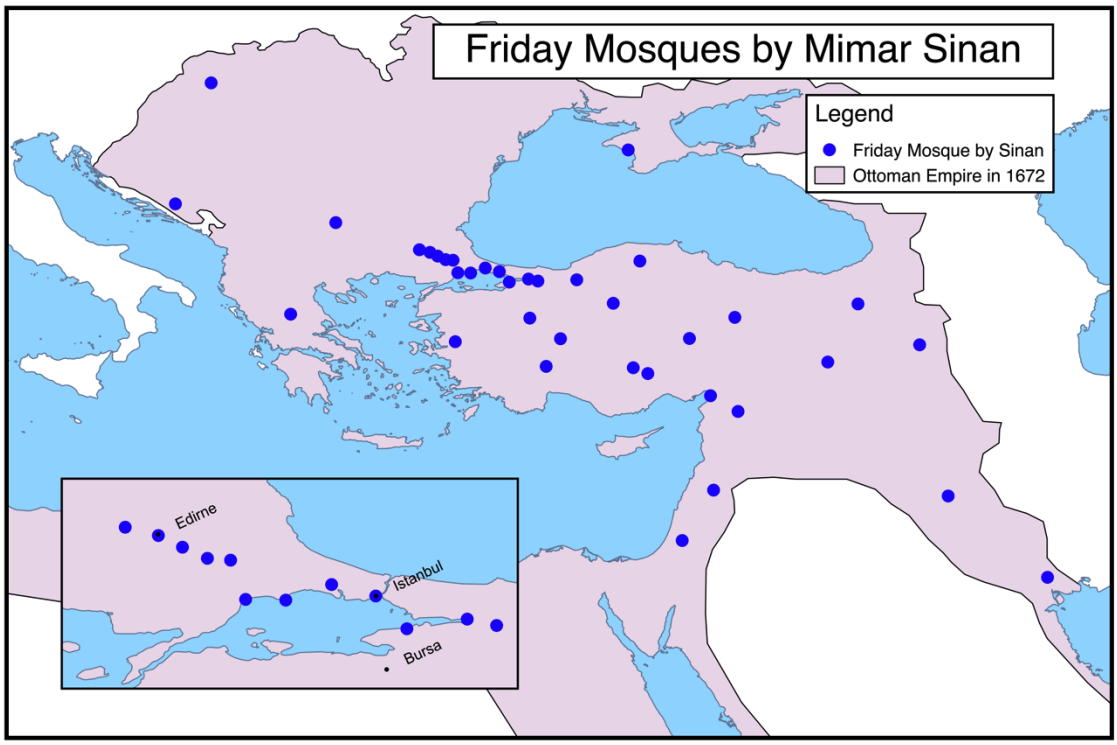

Figure 2: Locations of Friday mosques by Mimar Sinan

The road between Istanbul and Edirne followed for the most part the path of the Roman *Via Militaris*, which led from Constantinople to Belgrade. Because it was the primary route to some of the empire's most important cities in the Balkans, as well as the road taken during military actions against the Hapsburgs, the road remained important as the Ottoman "middle arm" (*orta kol*, referring to its position as the central of three roads leading from the capital into the Balkans).[41] That this road continued to hold a special importance for the dynasty is evident if we look at the location of major building projects undertaken in the Ottoman Empire, which show a distinct cluster around this important artery (figure 2).[42] Indeed, a traveller would leave Istanbul in the shadow of the Mihrimah

[41] Sema Altunan, "XVII. Yüzyıl Sonlarında İstanbul Edirne Arasındaki Menziller ve Bazı Menzilkeş Köyler," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 39, no. 25 (2006): 75.

[42] Outside of Istanbul itself this is the densest concentration of works by Mimar Sinan. For extensive discussion of Sinan's works in Thrace and elsewhere, see: Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010).

Sultan Mosque at the Edirne Gate, and a week later their first view of Edirne would be the spires of the Selimiye, both by Sinan. This fact was not lost on the European travellers who traversed this geography, as shown below.

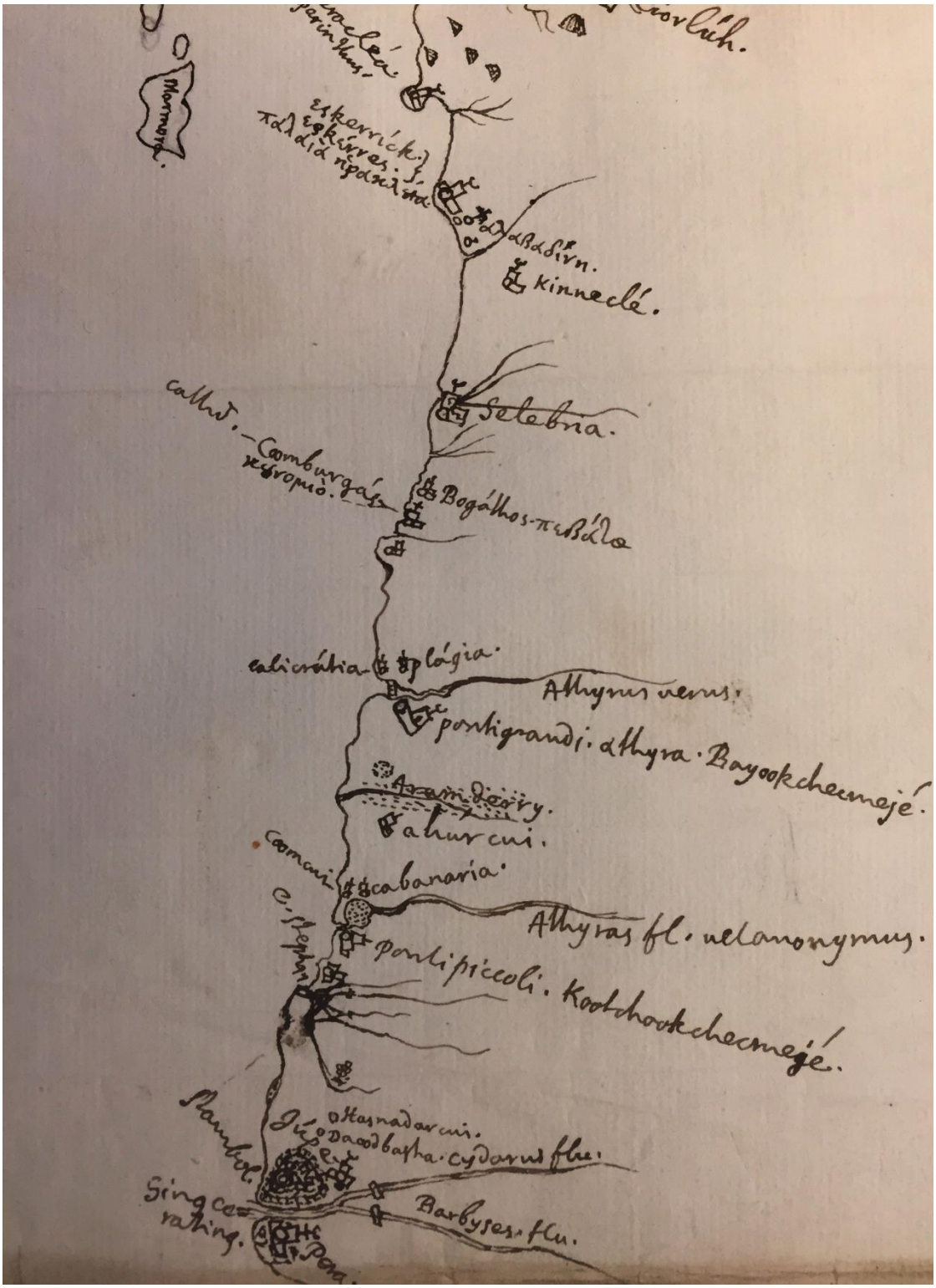

Figure 3: *Journey to Adrianople* Map Detail 1, Pera to Heraclea. British Library MS 22912, f. 171v

A Map of the Journey to Adrianople

The *Journey to Adrianople* map (figures 1, 3-5) shows aspects of the human and physical geography of the areas adjoining the main road between Edirne and Istanbul. Two pictograph types dominate the iconography: a long, waving line indicating the rivers that the travellers crossed, often with bridges, which expand in the direction they flow; and a circle with a square on top and on one or two sides,[43] indicating towns, usually topped with a cross or crescent (or, rarely, a hybrid of the two) representing the dominant religious group of the town. In the area between the Marmara Sea and Edirne there are also a number of shaded half circles, which indicate the locations of tumuli. Stambol (Istanbul) and Adrianople (Edirne) each have a unique symbol that seems to be a cluster of squares but is too busily dense to make out clearly.[44] The symbol for Stambol is surrounded by a pointed circle indicating the city's walls. Near Edirne, the Seraglio also has a unique symbol, as does "Khiderléh" (a palace of the sultan), and "Solácк Chesmé" (*Solak Çeşmesi*), a fountain outside of Edirne that plays an important role in the ceremonial entrance to the city (see chapter 2). The triangular area north and west of Edirne is filled with lumpy, shaded shapes indicating mountains; another mountain appears at the western end of the shoreline. Among these flow the three rivers that join in Edirne, labeled from east to west the Tunza (*Tunca*), Mellitch/Meritch (*Meriç*), and Arda. There are a few circles with curved lines beneath them along the western bank of the Meriç, indicating trees, and one more lone tree, unlabeled, just to the west of Istanbul,

[43] There does not seem to be any rule governing which towns' icons have a square on just one side vs. those that have them on both.

[44] The symbol for Edirne may be the standard town pictogram but with three domes toped with crescents, instead of just one tower, however it is difficult to make out.

representing a large *Çınar* (plane tree) where people from Istanbul are said to come to take their "*spasso*" (a term Covel uses frequently for pleasure trips).[45]

The map displays the most unique symbols in the area along the shore of the Marmara Sea. Near Stambol and Heracléa (*Marmara Ereğlisi*) there are circles indicating villages, sometimes with crosses or crescents but usually plain; there is one more of these north of Ciorlúh (*Çorlu*). To the west of both Pontipiccoli and Pontigrandi (*Küçükçekmece* and *Büyükçekmece*) there are two small symbols that also indicate villages. It may be that Covel was more familiar with this area, having come multiple times to the suburbs of Istanbul; or it may be that this area was more densely populated.

The map is clearly intended to be included alongside the text, and the towns, rivers, and tumuli on the map correspond exactly to those described. The unique symbols, such as the plane tree outside Istanbul and the three rectangles across the river at Caresterán (*Büyükkarıştıran*), also depict specific locations described in the text. The map does not include any features that are not mentioned in the text, although it clearly omits the majority of information, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

The map gives no indication of which direction it is intended to be read from, although the angle of labels suggests it should be read with either north or west at the top. A smaller version of the same map is included in the text itself, with nearly identical iconography, oriented with west at the top. In any case, all labels can be easily read if one places the map horizontally with Pera closest to the viewer, and lets the journey to Edirne

[45] "A little beyond the foresaid rill is a very large *chinár*, or planetree, with a square green bank cast up about it, and a very noble fountain by. Here in sommer many come to take their *spasso* and recreation in the shade (which that tree casts), sitting upon carpets with tobacco, coffee, and pure water, etc." Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 28.

unfold away across the page. Indeed, this is how the English may have imagined the courtly city stretching out to the northwest from their hilltop residence above the Golden Horn. Pera, the seat of the ambassador's household and the place where Covel likely drew this map, marks the start of the journey. Chapter 1 begins, therefore, with the view from Pera.

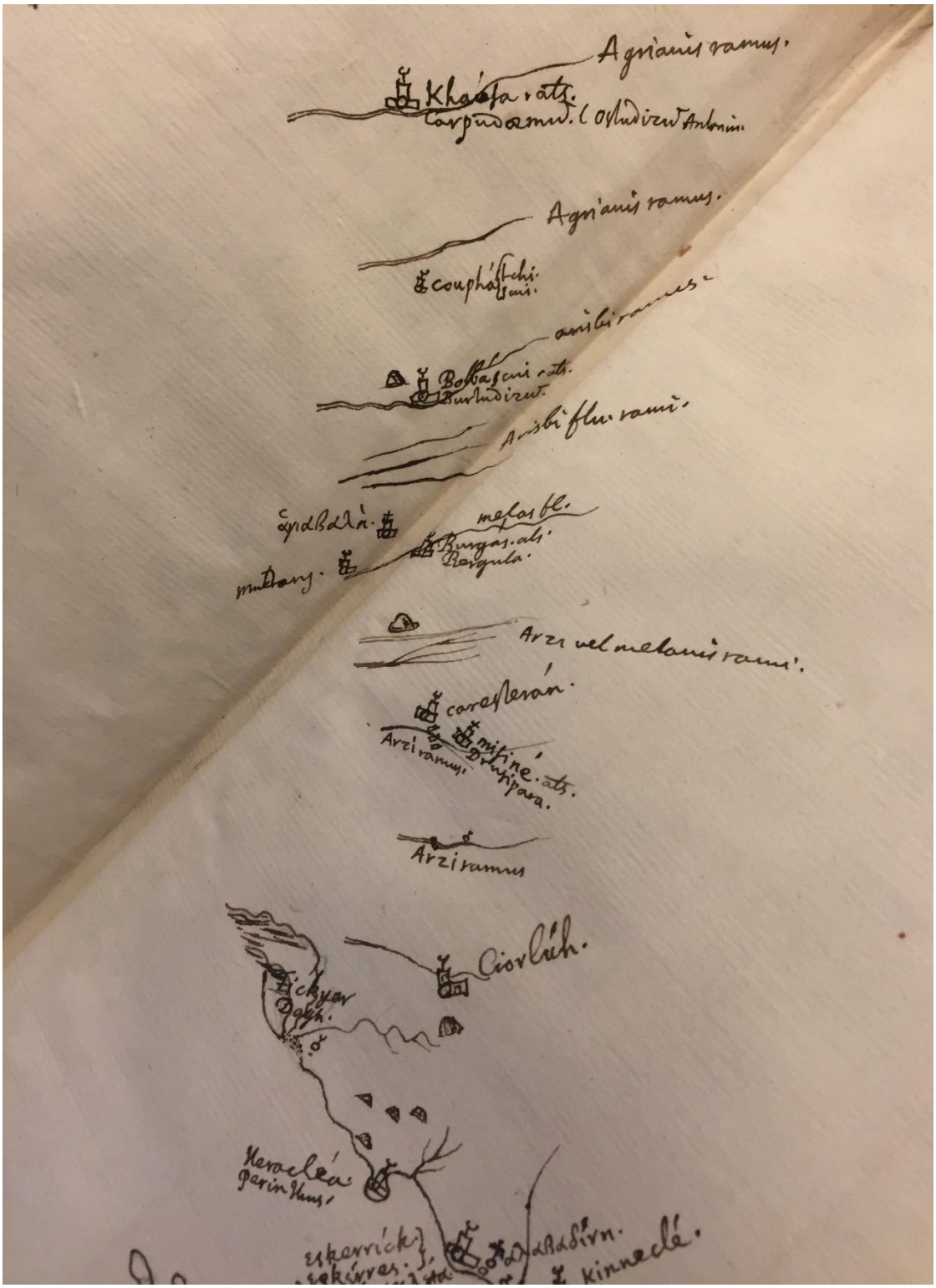

Figure 4: *Journey to Adrianople* Map Detail 2, Heraclea to Havsa. British Library MS 22912, f. 170r-171v

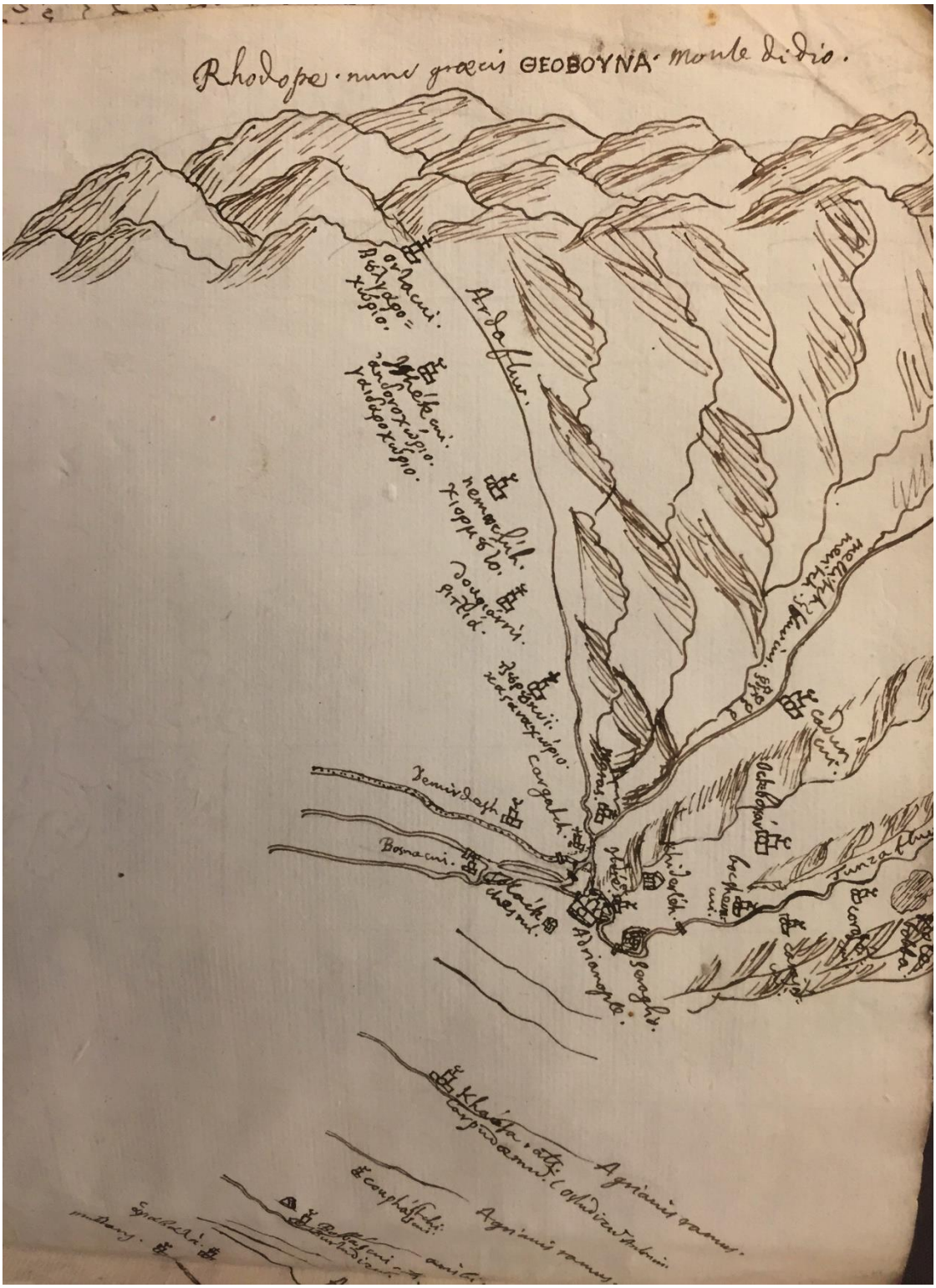

Figure 5: *Journey to Adrianople* Map Detail 3, Around Edirne. British Library MS 22912, f. 170r

Figure 6: Covel's Map of Istanbul

Part I
The Road to Adrianople

This chapter addresses the first part of Covel's *Journey* map, the road from Pera to Edirne. I argue that the road itself functioned as a mobile extension of the networks of sociability available to Europeans in Istanbul, while also providing them with an opportunity to encounter new aspects of the Ottoman realm. I do this by examining the maps in Covel's manuscripts that depict the urban spaces between Istanbul and Edirne and their surroundings. I read these primarily against the narratives produced by Covel himself, but reference is made to descriptions by a number of other travellers from England and France in the 1670s. Beginning with his map of Istanbul, I assess Covel's cartographic "voice," arguing that we can discern in it a clear sense of belonging to one part of the city, Pera, while the walled city, though ostensibly the subject of the map, is shown from an outsider's perspective. Next, I address the journey to Edirne itself, using the maps and narratives from the road to explore what the travellers saw, how they moved, what they thought, and whom they talked to.

Stambol and Pera

Covel's map of Istanbul (figure 6) shows clearly the difference in interpretation between the walled city (which he and many others refer to as "Stambol")[46] and the suburb of Pera, where most European diplomats lived. Maps of Istanbul had long been popular in Europe, and the city's geographical features had become simplified and

[46] It is popular in modern discourse to call this area the "historical peninsula" (*tarihi yarımada*), although other parts of the city are historical, or less frequently the "walled city," although Galata was also walled. I follow Covel's usage of Stambol here, which at least has historical precedent.

standardized.[47] It was nearly always described and depicted as a triangle, with the sea on two sides and the land walls on the third. Covel's sketch follows this format, although with a much more pointed triangle than many maps from the time. Judging from his other maps he appears to have been a talented geographer, and since his journals describe numerous journeys that would have taken him around the peninsula[48] he would very likely have been aware of the inaccuracies of his map. I believe, therefore, that the frequently repeated, copied, and standardized knowledge about Istanbul, and the expectation that readers in England must have had, discouraged him from producing a more geographically accurate plan. This is reinforced by his own statement at the beginning of his chapter on Istanbul, where he tells us:

> [After the many descriptions of] this renowned City, Empire, and Government I shall not be so vain, as to attempt or pretend here to give you a fuller or more perfect account of them; but having lived many years upon the place, I shall … set down some observations, which may serve at least as confirmations of what hath been already written, if they afford no great matter of what is absolutely new.[49]

Covel's great humility in this sentence may be a concession to genre convention, since he does include a rather long description of the city that often emphasizes his importance and his own discoveries. Still, as will be shown below, he is hardly so humble in his descriptions of other places, such as Edirne.

Geographical accuracy, however, is not always the point. His map shows a mix of clichés about the city and personal details that testify to a lived experience that is lacking from standardized European maps. The map is oriented with west at the top, as was

[47] Ian R. Manners, "Constructing the Image of a City: The Representation of Constantinopole in Christopher Buondelmonti's Liber Insularum Archipelagi," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87, no. 1 (1997): 81.
[48] Covel, *Autograph Journal,* fol. 83v.
[49] As, for example, the trip he took with Dudley North and a Mr. Jacob Turner to explore the land walls, which they reached by the Marmara sea, debarking at Narlıkapı. Covel, *Autograph Journal,* fol. 75r.

typical for European views of the city, which either had west or north at the top. In the center the triangular peninsula of Stambol is shown surrounded by its walls, and it is shaded to highlight its supposed seven hills, a clear reference to the classical, Roman past of the city.[50] The major monuments of the city are indicated with pictograms, which are generic in the sense that they do not attempt to accurately portray the buildings they represent. Although the mosques have the appropriate number of minarets, the details of them are almost all identical, aside from the Sultan Ahmed Mosque (A.), the Hagia Sophia (S.), and the New Mosque (V.).[51] Almost all of the buildings on the second through sixth hill (that is, the hills closest to the Golden Horn aside from the hill at the peninsula's tip), plus those in the walled area of Galata, are shown with their tops pointing south.[52] This indicates that his drawing is based on the view of Stambol and Galata from Pera, or more specifically from the English Ambassador's residence itself (labeled E.). The position of the ambassador's residence at the very edge of the page supports this, as does the fact that the section for Pera in Covel's map key is titled "Pera

[50] These are normally numbered with 1-6 running east to west along the shore of the Golden Horn, and 7 on the other side of the valley to the south. Further proving that geographically accuracy is not always the point, hills 1-6 are in fact one single ridge with a number of protrusions on the side facing the Golden Horn, so counting them as separate hills works solely to draw the connection to Rome, rather than to describe accurately the city. This lack of individual hills is easily proven if one walks along the Divan Yolu, which runs along their ridge, and which rarely rises or falls noticeably.

[51] The Sultan Ahmed Mosque, also known in English as the Blue Mosque, was built for Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-1617). Located directly on the Hippodrome, it was (and continues to be) one of the main attractions for visitors to the city. Despite its ceremonially central location and dominant position on the skyline from the sea and the Anatolian side of the Bosporus, the mosque is not very visible from within the city or the shores of the Golden Horn. The Hagia Sophia was built as a church during the reign of Justinian I (r. 527-565), but was converted to a mosque immediately after the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul in 1453. It was of great interest for European visitors, and Covel's journals include detailed sketches of the building. The New Mosque (labeled by Covel with an alternative name, the Valide Mosque) was completed by Mehmed IV's mother Turhan Sultan in 1665, just a few years before Covel's arrival in the city. It is built right on the shore of the Golden Horn, making it extremely visible from the harbor, but not very prominent on the skyline.

[52] The only exception to this is the Burnt Column (*Çemberlitaş*), which is shown with west at the top.

up to my Lord's house."[53] These parts of the historical city are shown as an outsider sees them, as simply hills and a skyline.

The pictographs on the first hill are much more varied, with some buildings pointing south and others west, while the palace is shown as an architectural ground plan. The seventh hill, which is not visible from Pera, holds pictograms oriented towards the top of the page, and includes the only trees on the map; although they are not labeled they likely show the location of the historical Byzantine harbor (Turkish: *Langa*), used by this time as agricultural land. These areas of the first and seventh hills, some of which are visible from parts of Pera but not from the English Ambassador's residence,[54] are seen less from experience (especially in the case of the palace) and more as standardized views.

Across the Golden Horn, his depiction of Pera is even more personalized. The walled Galata is fairly blank, with just some defensive walls and churches indicated, but the area to the north (right) of the walls shows a careful attention to realistic detail. The roads (with some effort) are recognizable to someone familiar with the neighborhood today, and the labeled buildings are more or less in their proper places. These include three embassies (the French, Dutch, Venetian, labeled F. D. and V., respectively), which have identical icons, plus that of the English ambassador, which is shown to have twice as many chimneys as all the others. The key includes some interesting personal details

[53] Covel, "Autograph Journal," fol. 78f.

[54] Today Pera is covered in apartment buildings, making it difficult to see exactly what was visible and what was not. However, the view from the boulevard below the English consulate, which still occupies the spot, encompasses a large part of Stambol and the Golden Horn.

too, such as W.G.: "The way over the Graves from my Lord's house to Metscala," and "NN. The street from my Lord's house to Galata"[55] (the present day İstiklal Caddesi).

The map, then, can be read simultaneously in two ways. First, it is an "objective" map of the layout of the city, which conforms to standard European representations of the city even while suggesting first-hand knowledge. Second, it is a personalized map showing the places frequented by the English, the view of the city from the embassy, and even Covel's individual experiences, both daily and exceptional. Covel's later comment that the French and Dutch "belong to Pera with us"[56] is given a clear representation on this map, which carefully depicts the embassies clustered together in an imagined landscape of considerably different iconography from that of the city across the Golden Horn.

Indeed, the map even includes the very first step of the ambassadorial journey to court: "W. The way to Adrianople by the edge of the meadowes from my Lord Embassadores house."[57] This is the only time a connection to another city is indicated on the map, which suggests that the connection to Edirne was an important part of the English experience of Istanbul.

Setting out from Pera

A visit to Edirne was a major undertaking for an ambassador, requiring months of planning and a large, expensive retinue. Before departing, *dragomans* were dispatched to Edirne to secure lodging and procure orders from the central administration to provide

[55] Covel, "Autograph Journal," fol. 78v.
[56] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 74.
[57] Covel, "Autograph Journal," fol. 76f. Indeed, this note provides a clue for my own map of their journey to Edirne, as I had originally assumed they would follow the edge of the Golden Horn.

carts for the carriages. This could lead to disputes before the trip was even underway. In 1675, the English were offered thirty carts by the deputy-minister (*kaymakam*) of Constantinople, as had been given to the previous ambassador, but Finch insisted that he receive the same number of carts (sixty) as had been given the French.[58] Disputes like these were standard in diplomatic undertakings of the time, but they illustrate the extra layer of potential complications in having the court located in a different city from the foreign diplomatic missions.

The procession itself served as a kind of embassy in motion, as much of the ambassador's household travelled together. The departure from Istanbul and the arrival in Edirne were scenes of ceremonial choreography, as large numbers of people would accompany the travellers to or from the edge of the city. "All the French nation" accompanied the 1671 French delegation around the Golden Horn and even past Davutpaşa,[59] while the English were accompanied by "twenty or thirty strangers that went onely to set us out the town."[60] The ambassadors rode in litters adorned with fine cloth and accompanied by servants and carts, while other important people had smaller travelling retinues to suit their rank; Covel, for example, had a coach to carry his clothes, a servant, and a groom to look after his horse.[61] Important members of the group who became ill were allowed special treatment, and rode in private coaches, as happened to the Chevalier d'Arvieux in 1672[62] and Dudley North in 1675.[63] Important visitors

[58] George Frederick Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople: A Record of Sir John Finch's Embassy, 1674-1681* (London: Macmillan, 1920), 88.
[59] Édouard de la Croix, *Memoires Du Sieur de La Croix* (Paris, 1684), 38.
[60] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 26.
[61] Grélois, 26.
[62] Antoine Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland Pendant Son Séjour a Constantinople (1672-1673)*, ed. Charles Schefer, vol. I (Paris: Ernes Leroux, 1881), 85.

sometimes came along, such as the famous traveller Jean Chardin who accompanied the Ambassador Nointel while on his way to Persia in 1672,[64] or Ambassador Finch's Cambridge friend Sir Thomas Baines in 1675.[65] The travellers were accompanied by torchbearers (*meşaleci)*, who carried bags of pine wood and metal torches to illuminate the way if they arrived in town late, or set out before dawn, both a fairly common occurrence on the road.[66] There were also cooks, soldiers, translators, purveyors, and others. All in all the number of travellers could easily reach into the hundreds.

Although they lived just a short physical distance from Stambol, the ambassador's large retinue was forced to make the much longer and more time-consuming journey through the meadows, across the two streams that meet to form the Golden Horn, and back to the walls of the city. In fact, the very first words of Covel's chapter on Edirne inform us that distances in the Ottoman lands are typically measured in time, rather than actual geographical distance.[67] Measured in time the official diplomatic distance between Pera and Stambol was much longer than the geographical distance. The journal entries in Covel's manuscript are all measured first in hours and then in estimated distance, emphasizing the temporal, rather than physical distances between places.

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[63] Dudley North, "A Letter from Adrianople to One of the Duke of Tuscany's Ministers, Resident at Constantinople, Giving an Account of the Feasts and Solemnities at the Circmcision of a Turkish Prince and Other Occasions," in *The Life of the Honourable Sir Dudley North, Knt.*, by Roger North (London, 1744), 211.

[64] Jean Chardin, *Voyages de Monsieur Le Chevalier Chardin En Perse et Autres Lieux de l'Orient* (Amsterdam, 1711), 1–29.

[65] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 24.

[66] Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, 1881, I:90; Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 24.

[67] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 24. The Ottomans measured journey distances by the time needed to reach from one halting-station (*menzil*) to the next. The path of a journey was thus often given as a series of stops. See Yusuf Halaçoğlu, "Menzil," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2004); Altunan, "XVII. Yüzyıl Sonlarında İstanbul Edirne Arasındaki Menziller ve Bazı Menzilkeş Köyler."

The only part of Covel's *Journey* map that differs drastically from geography is the departure from Pera (figure 3). Here Pera is shown to the *east* of Stambol, with the Golden Horn flowing north to south between them and the two bridges shown far to the north, when in fact they lie to the northwest. This is particularly interesting given that in general the map gently straightens the line between stops (figure 8). This departure from geographical accuracy in the one place Covel knows best suggests a very intentional message. By emphasizing the long detour around the Golden Horn, explained in the text,[68] the map drives home the idea that Edirne lies on the other side of Stambol from Pera. Pera, home to the English Ambassador and his retinue, is shown on the very edge of the map, separated by a body of water from the capital. Indeed, the first stream flows from off the page to the north, essentially isolating Pera from the rest of the map. If Pera is seen as the Europeans' place of belonging, Stambol here marks the beginning of the journey to Edirne. At the same time, by showing the walls of Stambol he makes clear that the route to Edirne was not, in fact, *through* Stambol but around it, indicating that for diplomatic business the old seat of the sultans was now completely bypassed.

Reading the Landscape

The travellers' narratives of the Istanbul-Edirne road vary widely in detail. Covel's careful descriptions of each tiny stream and town is an outlier, with most skipping over the trip completely; others, like Galland, give only relatively brief observations of the individual stops. Covel notes in his travelogue the size of the towns, the kinds of buildings within them, ruins that might be found, products that might be

[68] "Though our way from Stambol is direct and short, yet, we being on the other side of the water (the Sinus Ceratinus), we were forc't to go about by the meadowes, where, by the help of two bridges, we past the two streams (or *coruna*) that meet to make up the creek that separates Pera from Stambol." Grélois, 26.

bought, and stories of sultans, viziers, sex and more. Yet on his map the only thing he consistently indicates about each town is the majority religion.[69] This certainly reflects his position as a churchman, but probably also the European obsession with the role of religion in the Ottoman Empire.

The landscape of Thrace provided information about the ownership of the land. Hunting was an immensely popular activity for monarchs of early modern Eurasia, not only as a form of leisure but also as a way to physically demonstrate possession of the land.[70] Regions close to capital cities usually included hunting grounds, where the sovereign was most frequently visible to his subjects. In the 16th century French case, Olivier Chaline notes that there were some telltale signs of an area frequented by the ruler, including well-protected forests for hunting, a relatively agreeable environment, and well-maintained roads.[71] That the landscape of Thrace was understood as a strong part of the imperial center is underscored by the language that the travellers use to describe it. Chardin notes that the road was "good and smooth," passing through "beautiful plains and country."[72] Covel similarly praises the landscape, saying, "all the way to Adrianople is champion. Scarce a tree, unlesse some few about Chiorloó [Çorlu] to be seen, by which you may imagine what brave hunting and hawking the Grand Signor have there."[73] This reference to the sultan's ability to hunt in the area makes it clear that the sultan himself is on Covel's mind as he passes through Thrace, imbuing the landscape

[69] There does seem to be some effort to vary the size of the pictogram according to the size of the settlement, but this is not evenly applied.
[70] Kontolaimos, "A Landscape for the Sultan, an Architecture for the Eye," 20.
[71] Olivier Chaline, "The Valois and Bourbon Courts c.1515-1750," in *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancient Régime 1500-1750*, ed. John Adamson (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999), 84.
[72] Chardin, *Voyages de Monsieur Le Chevalier Chardin En Perse et Autres Lieux de l'Orient*, 19.
[73] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 54.

with the presence of the Ottoman dynasty. This was particularly important at the time since Mehmed IV was known as an avid hunter, earning the nickname by which he is still known in Turkish to this day, *Avcı* Mehmed (Mehmed the Hunter).[74] It also gives the travellers the opportunity to test what the imperial hunting grounds have to offer; after arriving early in the day to Babaeski in 1672 the French ambassador and some others spent the afternoon hunting, bringing back a handful of partridges.[75]

His drawing of Çorlu (figure 9), displays many of the landscape features discussed in the texts. The town is integrated into its wider surroundings by showing the city symbolically in the foreground, along with a tumulus (called a "hill" in his text, but here shown with the icon he uses on his maps to indicate tumuli), and a valley going to the sea.[76] In the distance we see the hill behind Tekirdag, the Marmara Sea and some islands in it. Interestingly, Çorlu's pictogram is oriented sideways, while all the other elements are in line with the text. The rotation of the town orients the view; the text informs us that the view to the sea was to the left while approaching the town, and the minaret of Çorlu's mosque points us in the direction of Edirne. The drawing is highly narrative, showing the scene not as a bird or a mapmaker would, but as it would be perceived by a traveller on the road from Istanbul, who paused for a moment before entering the town and turned to the left to admire the view. This is not unlike his map of Istanbul, except here there are far fewer details, because the view from outside Çorlu was perceived in passing, while the view of Istanbul was the result of detailed learned

[74] For more on Mehmed IV and other Sultans' hunting grounds, see Çelik, "Osmanlı Padişahlarının Av Geleneğinde Edirne'nin Yeri."
[75] Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, 1881, I:89.
[76] This valley leading to the sea is the route Covel would take on his return trip to Istanbul, quite underestimating the distance to the sea; perhaps this map is to convince us that it looked closer than it was.

knowledge, years of exploration, and a long, studious observation from the ambassador's house.

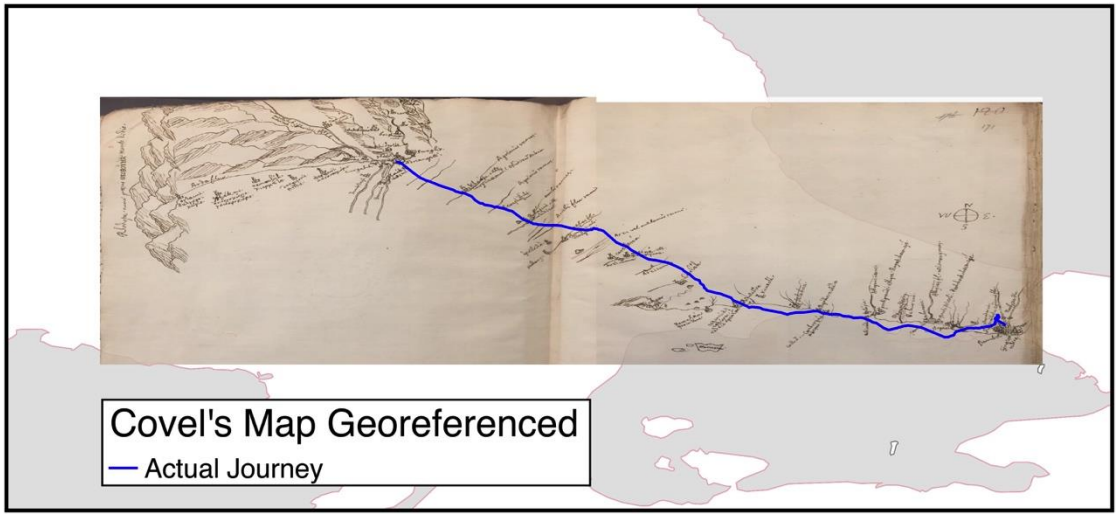

Figure 7: Covel's *Journey* map georeferenced. The line is drawn from a satellite map, with his map overlaid onto it. The map stretches, but the bearing remains more or less the same.

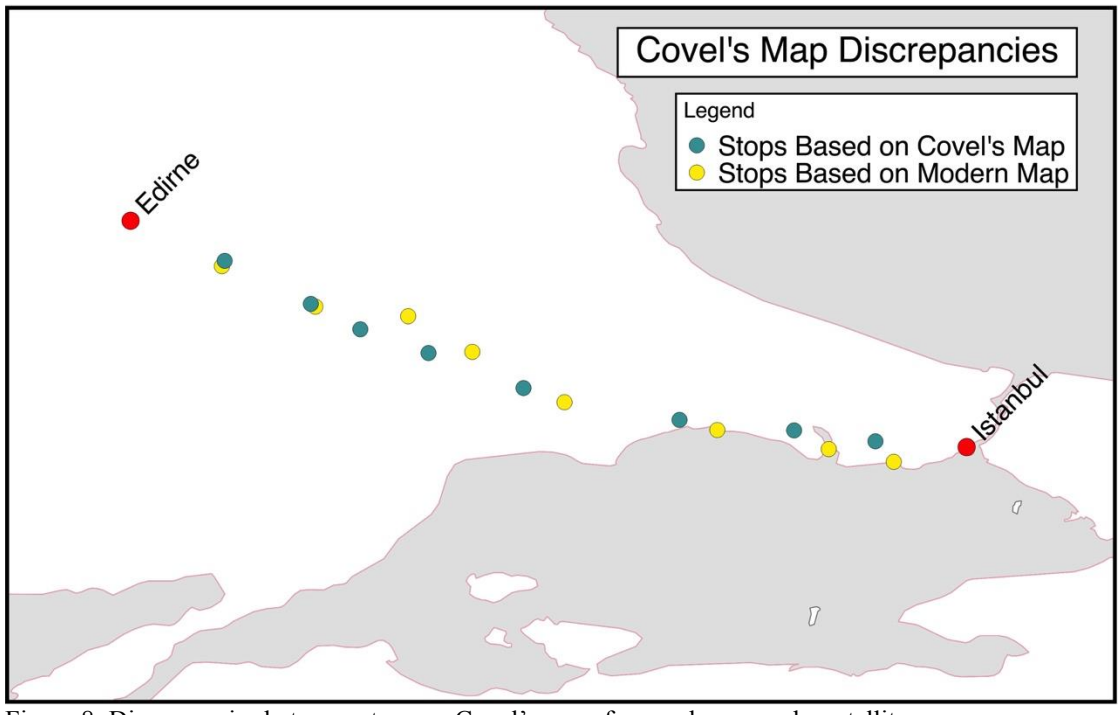

Figure 8: Discrepancies between stops on Covel's georeferenced map, and a satellite map.

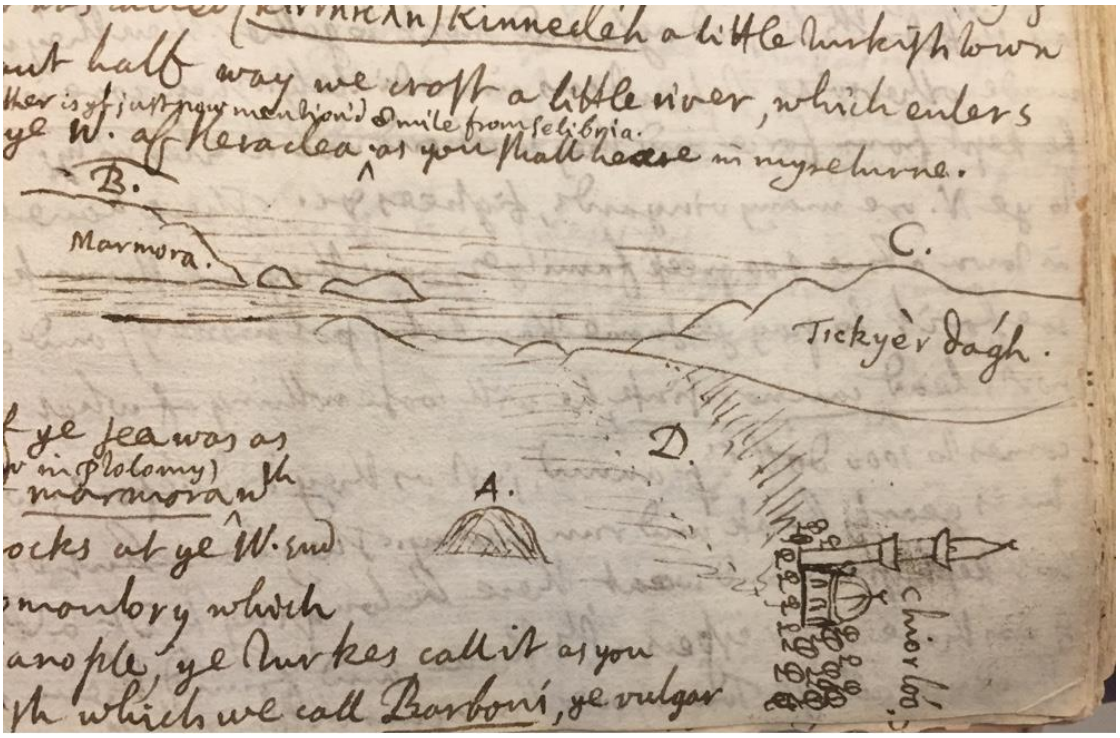

Figure 9: Covel's drawing of Çorlu. *British Library Add.* 22912 f.131v

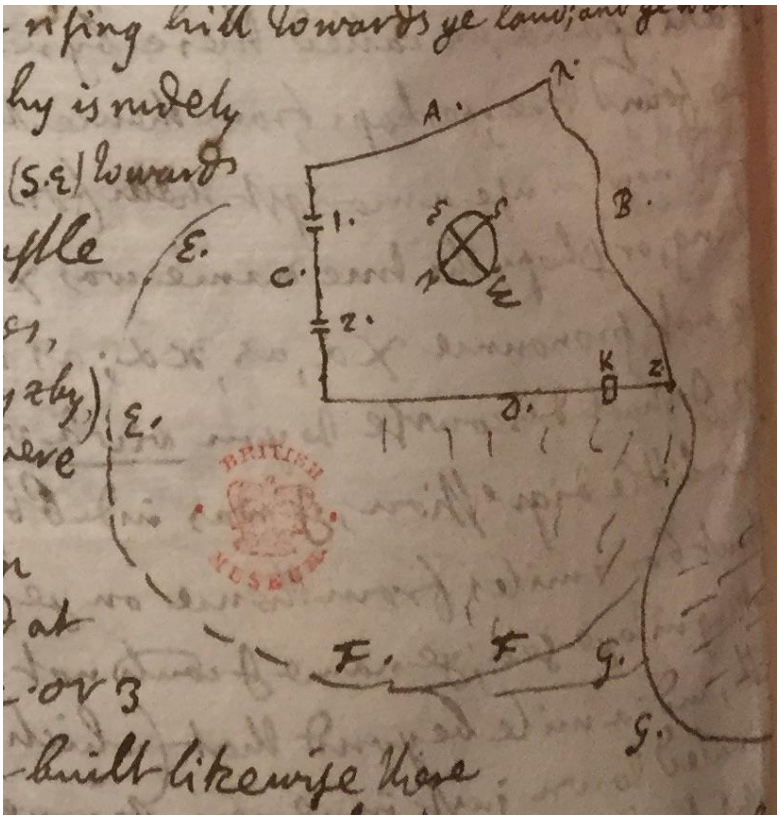

Figure 10: Covel's map of Silivri. *British Library Add.* 22912 f.128r

Covel's maps put a strong emphasis on geographical accuracy, all the more so since they are intended to correct other maps. Indeed, in contrast to his stated reverence towards previous authors about Istanbul, his journey to Edirne opens with a statement informing his reader that "I resolved to set down every water run, that (if possible) I might give some light to your antient geographers, our common maps (Ortelius, Ptolomy, Sansoin, etc.) being very false."[77] His journals include hand-drawn copies of maps of Thrace by Abraham Ortelius, which indeed differ greatly from Covel's own maps. The care with which he measured his journey is particularly visible when comparing his *Journey* map to a modern digital map (figure 7), which reveals that he paid close attention to direction and distance. At the same time, it is also clear that he is not comfortable making claims about places he has not seen, since the details of the map extend only about as far as the eye can see from the route travelled. Certain geographical features are emphasized, especially bodies of water, from the smallest little stream to lakes and the coast of the sea. Around Edirne and Tekirdağ he has also indicated mountains, but in general the hills of Thrace are left off the map.[78] They are also left out of the narrative, except for a brief note that the road begins to ascend when it leaves the shore after Silivri.[79] This may be an intentional rebuff to Ortelius, who shows a range of mountains bisecting Thrace between Çorlu and Edirne, but it may also show a preoccupation with other aspects of the journey.

[77] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 26.

[78] The only exception to this is a valley between Küçükçekmece and Büyükçekmece that is said to be quite dangerous due to bandits, which on the map is indicated with a series of dots around a river.

[79] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 54. Indeed, when Covel mentions a hill in his narrative he seems most often to be referring to one of the many tumuli he passes, as for example in his view of Çorlu (figure 9), in which a tumulus appears to be labeled as a hill (see below).

Palmira Brummett writes that European travellers made mental maps of the Ottoman Empire that were "constructed on a base of imperial space and classical space."[80] Indeed, these visitors read the landscape as strongly classical space, yet they also found the classical past to be alive. Covel, for example, writes, "I have observed here many many antient customes and fashions yet remaining."[81] The sketches of maps that Covel brought with him were maps of purely classical space. On them Edirne is labeled with a series of ancient names, and even Istanbul is labeled as "Byzantium," a name that precedes the refounding of the city as the Roman capital in the fourth century. In his journal Covel puts considerable thought and effort into aligning classical geographies with the places he encounters, sometimes through etymological considerations, as with Çorlu,[82] or other times through geography, as when he identifies two rivers as the possible Arzus river mentioned in Ortelius.[83] His writings can thus be read as an effort on the one hand to correct errors in previous scholarship about ancient geography, and on the other to bridge the temporal distance between the ancient and modern spaces.

Yet despite the historical importance of the Istanbul-Edirne axis, Covel seems to have been mostly disappointed in his search for antiquity. He made two diversions on his return trip in order to explore ancient cities (at Misinli and to Heraclea), but he does not seem to have been particularly impressed by either. Similarly, Edirne itself failed to arouse much antiquarian interest.[84] One of the reasons for this is explained to be the

[80] Brummett, "You Say 'Classical,'" 23.

[81] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 26.

[82] "The Turkes took the name of this town without doubt from the Greekes, for it was cal'd of old Tzurulum (see Suidas). Now to this day the vulgar Greeks have many words beginning with *τζ*, which they pronounce as we doe *ch* ; as *τζέπη*, a pocket, or pouch, they pronounce *chépe*, as we pronounce *ch* in *cheáp*. And then the mutation of Choorló from Tzurulum is obvious." Grélois, 60.

[83] Neither of which, however, are correct. Grélois, 62.

[84] Covel, "Autograph Journal," fols. 227v-232r.

Ottoman dynasty itself. For example, in discussing the town of Kumburgaz, Covel notes that there used to be a Byzantine fort, but that the stones had recently been taken away to build the New Mosque and Valide Han (both built for Hatice Turhan Sultan, Mehmed IV's mother) in Istanbul.[85]

This preoccupation with classical space shows up most strongly in his map of Silivri (figure 10). This is the only map from the trip to Edirne that does not show the city from the direction of approach. Instead it is a simple bird's eye schematic of the Roman walls (A.-D.), shown in careful detail, and the limits of the "Turkish" town, indicated with a very undetailed, circular dotted line. Silivri was one of the few classical remains that seemed to impress Covel on his trip to Edirne, and he devotes numerous pages of his manuscript to describing and sketching the walls and inscriptions he finds there. This may help explain why this town view is drawn so technically, even including a compass rose, while the others are drawn much more impressionistically.

Much like Edirne, Silivri had a walled central portion that remained majority non-Muslim, with a larger, less dense Muslim town surrounding it.[86] As Covel describes it,

> In this lower part, or suburb, live onely Turkeys, and perhaps some few Jewes and Christians amongst them. But the general body of the Greekes are thrust up by themselves into the castle, and there are crowded in amongst them some few Jewes, and here and there a Turk.[87]

The nuance present in the narrative, however, is completely absent from the *Journey* map, which shows Silivri as a pictogram with a crescent on top, his symbol for a Muslim

[85] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 40. For more on Hatice Turhan Sultan's building activities, see Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).
[86] Kontolaimos, "The Transformation of Late Byzantine Adrianople to Early Ottoman Edirne," 11; Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," 182.
[87] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 42.

town. His language emphasizes that the Greeks are constrained, almost strangled by the Turks, since they are "thrust up" into the small, dense castle. This description of the drastic segregation of different religious groups underscores a feeling of opposition between the ruling "Turks" and the Christians who live in the empire, a trope that appears regularly in Covel's writings.

The presence of Christians is clearly important for Covel as a theologian, and he visits many churches along the way (see below). But they are also important for another reason: they supply wine. The travellers are constantly remarking on the quality of wine in the places they visit, sometimes getting so caught up in it that it interrupts their narratives. Covel, for example, after speaking of an otherwise uninteresting town writes, "You must pardon this little digression, I was indebted to the good wine to say something of the town."[88]

This interest in wine is seen most clearly on Covel's detail map of Pontipiccoli (*Küçükçekmece*) (figure 11). The map shows much greater detail than the other road towns, likely due to his familiarity with the town (he visited the area numerous times),[89] yet the pictographs on this map indicate, once again, that it is to be read as approached on the journey: Edirne is still "up" in relation to the orientation of the icons. The map includes sketches of hills in the bottom right (again pointed towards Edirne, as if receding to the horizon), lines indicating an upward slope from the lake all around it, and a section of dots indicating sand, which is reflected also in the name of the town beside it, "coomcui" (*Kumköy)* meaning "sand town." The bridge is shown from the side with its

[88] Grélois, 40.
[89] Grélois, 28.

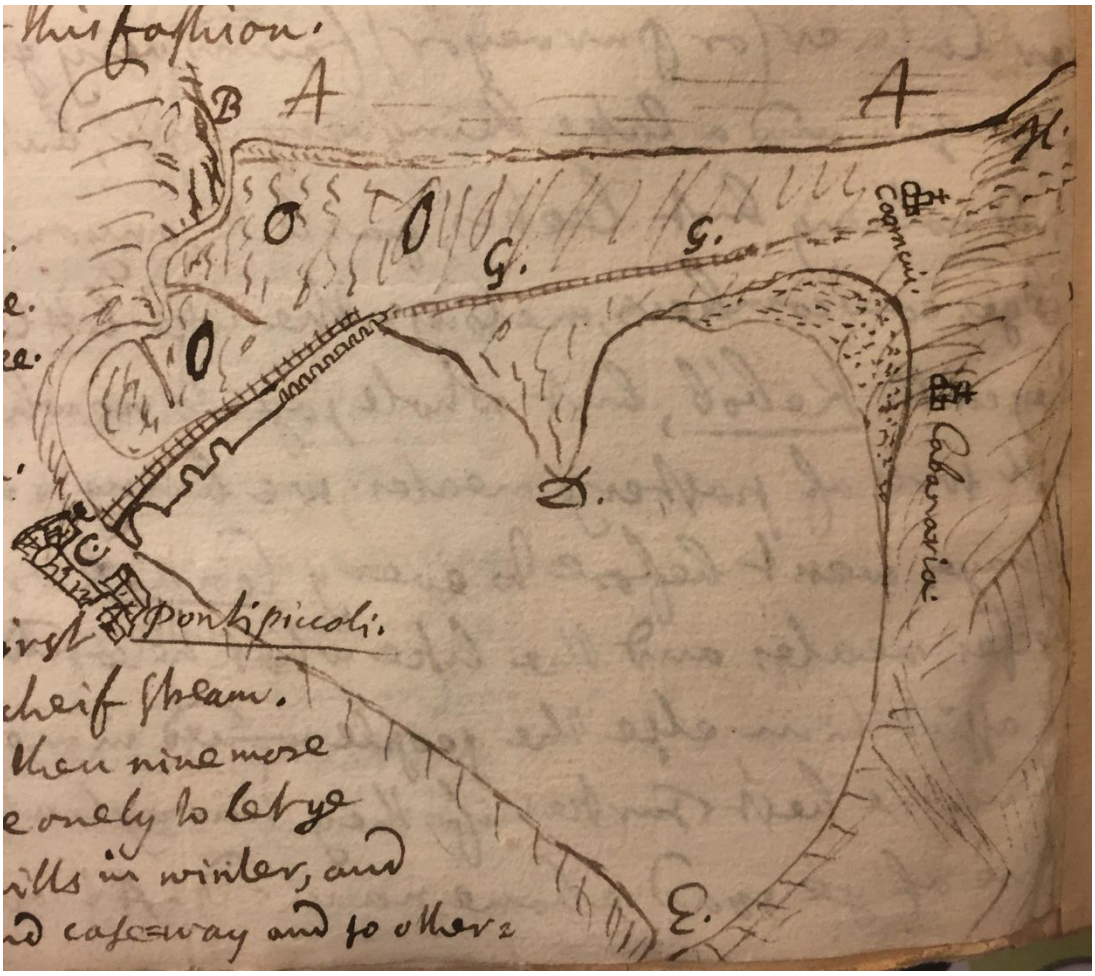

Figure 11: Map of Pontipiccoli.
Key
A.A. The Sea
B. The mouth of the river which runs through the lake
C. The bridge and entrance into the Lake
D. A toung of land running into the Lake
E. the Entrance of the river into the lake
C.D.E. the Lake
G.G. the Caseway
O.O.O. vinyards betwixt the lake and sea
H. the road ascending the hill on the other side of the moor.

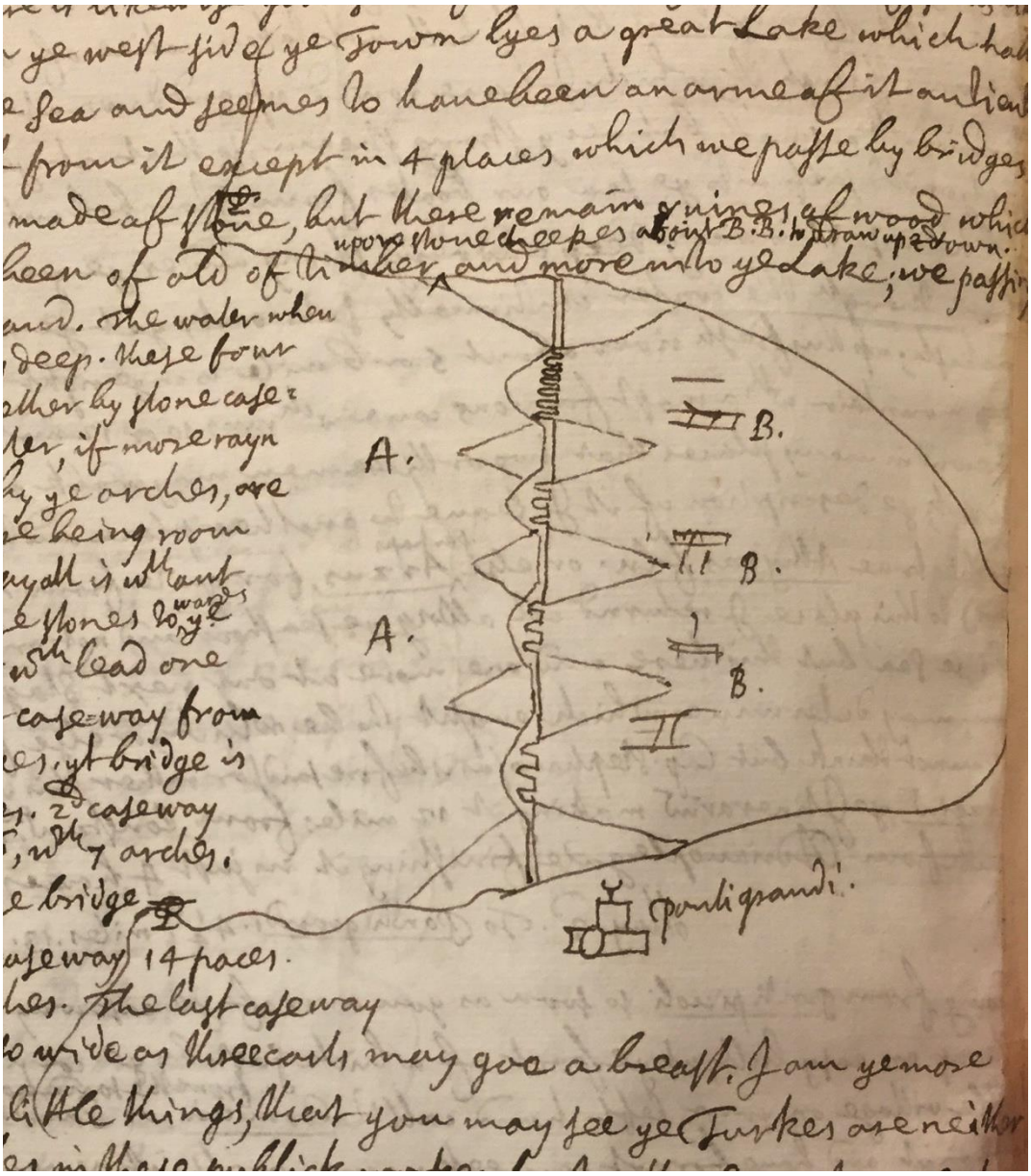

Figure 12: Map of Pontigrandi

correct number of arches, and the land next to the road (shown from above) is periodically labeled with the letter O, indicating vineyards. This map thus creatively combines multiple perspectives into a very detailed illustration of the way the landscape was used, showing a combination of human settlements, infrastructure, agriculture, elevation, and water.

The map of Pontigrandi (*Büyükçekmece*) (figure 12), by contrast, is very sparse on details – even the various spans of the bridges are not given their proper number of arches, the only time this ever happens in Covel's work. The image does, however, indicate the presence of ruins of a previous bridge, and the shoreline continues quite far past the edge of the space given to it, running over the surrounding text. Perhaps Covel feels comfortable disregarding the detail in this image because his description is very careful to accurately describe the bridge. Indeed, at the end of his long description he explains the reason for his detail:

> I am the more particular in these little things, that you may see the Turkes are neither niggards nor fooles in these publick workes, for I assure you I never saw stronger work then among them ; and some things are as fine and neat as we can possibly shew.[90]

This is a rather typical example of Europeans' mix of scorn and admiration for the Ottomans, which surfaces repeatedly when they describe the built environment.

Indeed, public works and buildings are some of the most commonly remarked upon features in the travellers' narratives. In the physical journey to Edirne they serve as tangible representations of the strong imperial presence in this part of the empire, while in the narratives they serve as jumping off points to discuss wider observations on the Ottoman state, generally in the form of stories of imperial viciousness, foolishness, or

[90] Grélois, 36.

corruption. Often the story stems from the founder or patron of a particular mosque or building. This is the case with the famous mosque complex of Lüleburgaz, completed in 1569/70 to a plan by Mimar Sinan for the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa (tenure: 1565-1579).[91] Covel first describes the "stately" *han* and "brave" mosque with fairly exact detail (even giving exact measurements in feet), noting the fine pipes sold at its entrance, and then briefly explains that the town is all Turkish and quite large. He then immediately tells a story about the mosque's patron, in which Sokollu Mehmed Paşa is said to have promptly beheaded his own son when Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520-1566) expressed concern about him, for which the sultan rewarded the Grand Vizier handsomely.[92] Stories like these emphasize the connection between the Ottoman dynasty and the towns themselves, and show that the mosques and monumental buildings were read as signifiers of the dynasty's presence within these towns. They also underscore the degree to which these travellers knew about previous generations of Ottoman statesmen, even if only through rumor or information provided by the Ottoman officials accompanying these travellers along the road.

Covel tries to supply an etymology for each of the major towns he passes through, either by showing how the Turkish name is derived from the old Greek name (as in Çorlu, above), or in the case of towns with Turkish names explaining their words' meaning. But in Havsa, the last stop before Edirne, Covel digresses on quite a long origin story about a sexual comment that a woman is said to have made about Sultan Selim II

[91] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 248.
[92] Covel, "Autograph Journal," fols. 183r – 184v.

there (see Appendix E). The story ends up with that same drunken sultan eating a cucumber that he had previously used as a sex toy with the same woman.[93]

This story is particularly interesting both because of its explicit content, and also in the way it connects a small road town to the imperial center. The story begins with a local landmark, in this case a stone bridge over a small river, more or less as the landmark is encountered in Covel's narrative. The little river is thus explicitly connected to the Ottoman dynasty by the memory of the presence of a sultan who once tried to water his horse here, allowing him to be observed by a woman from outside his household. The story then moves to the sultan's palace, but whether in Edirne, Istanbul, or elsewhere is unclear, as for Europeans "the Seraglio" is not the name of a specific building, but seems rather to indicate any of the principal residences of the sultan. The use of the cucumber-dildo, its pickling, and later its consumption by the sultan all happen in one of these unspecified palaces, linking imperial Istanbul and/or Edirne very directly to a story concerning this town. Finally, after the deed is done and lady Havsa is rewarded with her inheritance (the assumption being that the only way she could receive that inheritance was through the favor of the sultan), she decides to return to the town where the story began, which then receives her name. This brings the story back from the palace and into the town, again reinforcing the presence of the imperial state in the town. The story's connection to Edirne is also manifest architecturally in that the sultan featured in it, Selim II, is the sultan whose mosque dominates Edirne (see chapter 2).

In both of these stories the patron or namesake of these places are presented as having done some strange, immoral thing that pleased the sultan (either because of that

[93] Covel, fol. 185r.

sultan's foolishness or cruelty), for which they were given an inheritance that they otherwise would have been forced to pay into the imperial coffers. In a certain sense this shows a basic understanding of patronage networks in the Ottoman Empire, clearly recognizing that the public buildings in the towns were sponsored by important members of the Ottoman ruling elite, and stressing the importance of the individuals who were able to build along this important road.[94] It also shows that the memory important dynastic figures were strongly present on the road to Edirne, as the travellers frequently connected the bridges and *hans* that they used to historical figures. While today many of the mosques and bridges from this period are read by visitors as manifestations of a particular architect's aesthetic and technical genius, to 17th-century Europeans they were seen as signifiers of past or present Ottoman political actors. When Covel speaks of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa again, in reference to his mosque in Havsa, he writes "it is reported of him that he repaird all the publick bridges in the Turkes' territoryes from Adrianople into the bounds of Persia."[95] It is noteworthy that a man described as willing to cavalierly execute his own son should also be praised for infrastructural improvements!

Human Connections

The sources from which Covel learns these stories are rarely mentioned, though in the above-mentioned case of the cucumber story he writes that he heard it from his *dragoman*, possibly at the very spot. *Dragomans*, who are often referred to as translators, were essential players in diplomacy, as they were often dispatched to do the actual negotiating and planning that led up to official diplomatic meetings between ambassadors

[94] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, chap. 1.
[95] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 72.

and Ottoman officials. Their crucial role as go-betweens and knowledge of languages meant that they were important conduits of information. While this particular story may not seem to have strong political relevance, it is clear that *dragomans* continued to play this important role while on the road. This indicates that while the various cities Europeans stopped in provided certain amounts of information from their form or buildings, more information had to be filled in by people with local knowledge in order for them to make full sense of these spaces.

Unlike Covel, Galland is very clear about precisely when, where, and from whom information was obtained. In 1672, for example, the French learned in Küçükçekmece that the sultan had left Edirne to hunt. In Lüleburgaz they met the "Compte de Scaralasche, a Turkish renegade," who told them that the Polish ambassador had been turned away without even being given an audience.[96] In Babaeski they met one of the ambassador's guardian janissaries, who told them they would be staying in a small town outside of Edirne, as they had requested, and that a deputy from the Grand Vizier would be looking after them. In Silivri and Lüleburgaz they were not able to stay where they wanted because important Ottoman officials were in town. This shows that the trip between Istanbul and Edirne could be charged with diplomatic and social activity, as many important individuals and their households, both Ottoman and foreign, were in constant motion between the two cities. The networks of information gathering and sociability extended along the road, providing numerous opportunities to meet various people.

[96] Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, 1881, I:89.

Finally, the travellers often supplied other kinds of information that reflects their personal experiences and interests, but could also serve important strategic goals if needed. Covel inserted into his writings a list of plant species that he observed along the road to Edirne and around that city.[97] He also claims that, although the country on the way to Edirne was "champion" with "pleasant easy hills and fruitfull valleys ; the soyl generally pretty good," it was not being utilized to its full potential. "I am confident above two thirds of the land lyes unoccupied … In many many miles riding we saw neither corn field nor pastures nor flocks nor heards, but onely wild neglected champion ground."[98] And of course, many travellers wrote about the weather, which varied from stiflingly hot in the summer of 1675, to extremely cold and snowy in April 1672.

Conclusions

The long procession of streams, towns, and tumuli on Covel's *Journey* map represents a linear section of Thrace in which Europeans continued many of the practices of socializing and information gathering that were standard fare in Pera. The landscape through which they moved offered many opportunities for encounters with other Europeans and locals, as well as providing constant reminders of the Ottoman dynastic establishment. Covel's map is a unique hybrid form, in some ways a map of a linear journey from one point to another, but in others a map of natural features, contemporary human religious geography, and a certain aspect of the distant and mysterious past. The map offers a clear route of a journey, and yet omits the very route itself. While missing any indication of antique ruins, which occupy a large part of his text, it nevertheless

[97] Covel, "Autograph Journal," fol. 186.
[98] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 74.

points to the features that Covel must have considered the most important in the central imperial geography of the Ottoman lands.

Because this journey was the first (and, in reverse, the last) step of their encounter with the Ottoman sultan, the ceremonial departure from Istanbul can be read in some ways as the first ceremonial step into Edirne. Imagined this way, the entire slice of the empire through which they passed on the way was read in anticipation of Edirne, just as all the towns in Covel's drawings point towards the travellers' destination. In this sense, it can be seen as the largest of a series of concentric ceremonial circles that surround Edirne, which will be further explored in the next chapter.

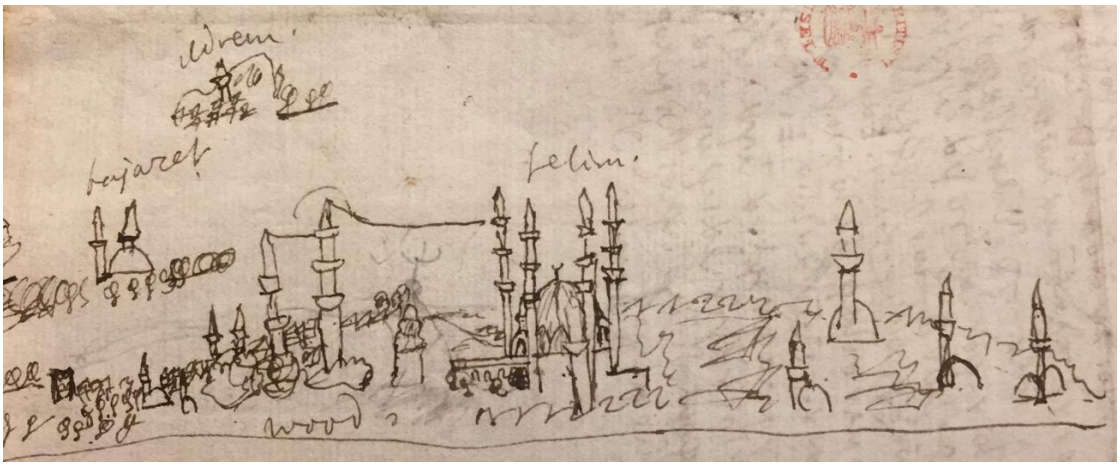

Figure 13: A sketch by John Covel of the Edirne skyline, showing clusters of minarets and domes rising up out of a sea of trees, with the Selimiye Mosque rising up in the center with its four minarets, while to its left the four minarets, two large and two small, of the Üç Şerefli Mosque ("the mosque of three balconies," named after its tallest minaret). The two mosques above the horizon to the left are extension to the skyline that spill off the edge of the page. *British Library Add.* 22911 f. 976r

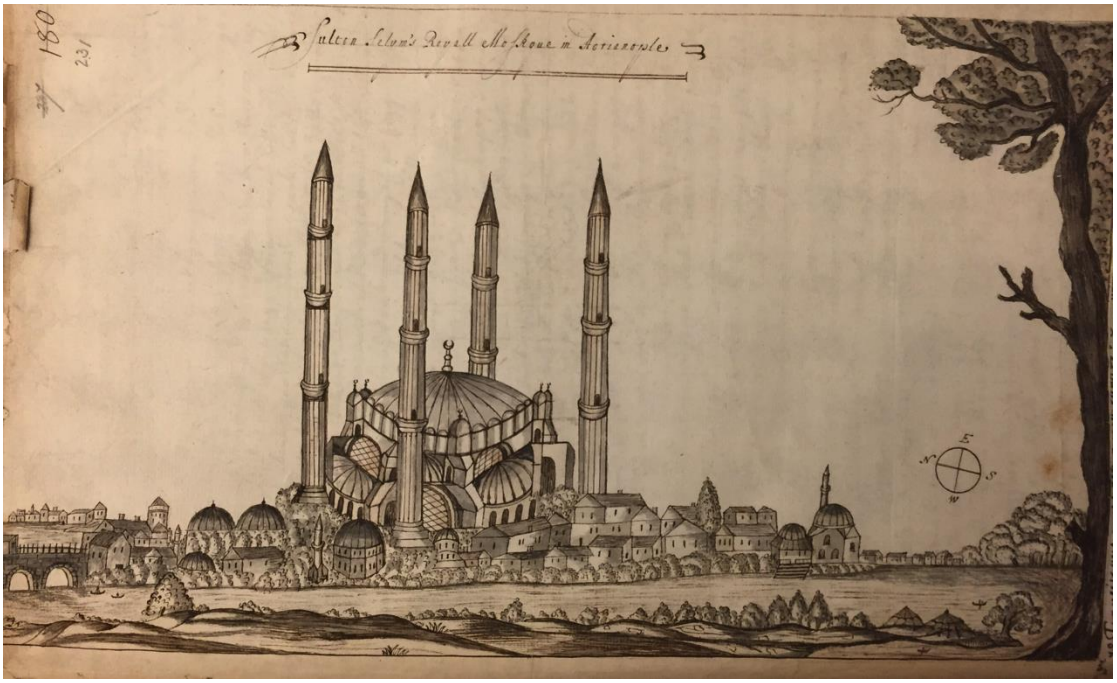

Figure 14: "Sultan Selim's Royall Mosque in Adrianople" by Jeremy Saltier. The cartoonish dominance of the mosque over the city points to its visibility on the skyline and symbolic importance in the urban space. Notice the tents at bottom right, and the large number of trees in the city. *British Library Add.* 22912 f. 231v

Part II
The City in Motion

A city would seem to be a static, immobile thing, made of solid materials and locatable on a map. However, this chapter argues that there was considerable movement, human as well as non-human, through Edirne and its hinterland, and that this movement was an essential part of the city's ceremonial role as the seat of the Ottoman court. Accordingly, I first discern a series of concentric ceremonial circles, formed through a combination of topographical, human and ceremonial features, which radiated outwards from the Edirne Palace.[99] These circles structured not only the way diplomatic visitors entered and moved through the city and its hinterland, but also the various activities and events that occurred there. The rest of the chapter then focuses on events in the city that caused people, objects, disease, and information to move between and within the various circles. In this latter context, I examine how the networks of sociability available to the French and English visitors were affected by the different ceremonial circles. I then examine the circumcision festival of 1675, which I argue opened up a new, temporary circle at the intersection of the palace, the city, and the countryside, momentarily disrupting the ceremonial structures of the city. Throughout the chapter, I also highlight the visitors' negative opinions of the city and their often theatrical complaints to emphasize their feelings of not belonging in Edirne, so far from their "home" in Pera.

[99] The palace was almost completely destroyed in the wars of the nineteenth centuries, and today only a couple of buildings remain. For more on the palace see: Özer, *The Ottoman Imperial Palace in Edirne (Saray-ı Cedîd-i Âmire). A Brief Introduction*; Osman, *Edirne Sarayı*.

Entering Edirne

Figure 13 is the only sketch of a skyline in Covel's papers. It was not included in his letter or in his manuscript, but appears on the back of a document written in Greek. It is likely that the view was sketched spontaneously, and the document was used simply because its final page was blank. The minarets are carefully (and correctly) identified, and lines drawn between different minarets seem to indicate the relative heights, emphasizing the dominance of the Selimiye but also showing the profusion of towers on the skyline. The sketch shows that Covel was aware of the names of the various mosques, and their positions within the city and in relation to each other, even though he makes no mention of them in his narrative (except to briefly note their existence). Indeed, the skyline is sketched so accurately that one is able, even today, to pinpoint approximately the location from which it must have been sketched. The care and interest that Covel shows to the skyline, however, is not reflected in his opinions of the town itself:

> The city begins to appear about 4 or 5 mile off, and indeed it shewes gloriously, as all their city's doe at a distance, but within they are very mean and beastly. The moschs and minary's (or steeples) are very stately, especially Sultan Selim's mosch which is the best here.[100]

The skyline sketch thus represents, in Covel's opinion, the best of what the city had to offer. In fact, it seems the closer the Europeans looked at the city, the less they liked it.

City walls in Europe are often seen as symbolic boundary markers, delineating the ritual or legal edge of the urban area, and as symbols of urban pride. While they have often been understood as the literal edge of the city, both by contemporaries and later historians, recent scholarship has come to emphasize the close interaction between city

[100] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 74.

and countryside.[101] In the early modern Ottoman case, this soft boundary between urban and rural is more obvious, in part because Ottoman cities of the time usually only retained walls around small central areas, as in Edirne, outside of which they were in general considerably less dense than contemporary European cities. Furthermore, Edirne often hosted extremely large numbers of tents, especially during the sultans' hunting expeditions or military campaigns. In the latter case, tent cities hosting the sultan and his household army formed near the city. Similarly, there were occasional tents to which locals and visitors retreated in times of plague,[102] or to observe festivals. Moreover, at some periods even tent-palaces were formed to please the sultan instead of palaces made of stone and wood.[103] All these mean that Edirne held a constantly shifting number of temporary buildings and even neighborhoods made of fabric, wood and animal hides, stretching the boundaries of the city. For all these reasons, European travelers to the major Ottoman cities often struggled to identify these spaces as urban, complaining that the magnificent skylines seen from afar raised their expectations, which were smashed upon entering the city.[104]

Yet without the walls to mislead us, we may be able to perceive more clearly the various limits of the courtly city, less tangible than stone fortifications but experienced as

[101] Howell, "The Spaces of Late Medieval Urbanity," 12.

[102] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 242.

[103] Singer, "Enter, Riding on an Elephant," 104.

[104] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 129–30. Also note the *relazione* of Gianfrancesco Morosini from 1585, which says: "The principle cities of the Turks are Constantinople, Adrianople [Edirne], and Bursa… but none of these have the things which usually lend beauty to cities… such as beautiful streets, great squares, and handsome palaces… the city is mazy and filthy; even these [public buildings], with their leaded domes studded with gilded bronze ornaments, only beautify the long-distance panorama of the city. They dazzle the eyes of those approaching the city for the first time, and raise high expectations, but as I said above, as soon as these people enter the city they are greatly disappointed." Quoted in James Cushman Davis, *Pursuit of Power: Venetian Ambassadors' Reports on Spain, Turkey, and France in the Age of Philip II, 1560-1600* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 129.

very real by visitors. It is helpful to imagine a series of sequential circles surrounding the city (figure 15).[105] The outermost circle is the city's visual limit: travelers such as Covel noted that the city became visible some miles off, first as minarets rising above the hills of Thrace. The road from Havsa comes over the crest of a hill about 7 miles from the city, and even today this first view of Edirne's minarets from afar remains. Furthermore, Covel claims to have been able to see Ortaköy, the farthest town marked on his map, from the highest balcony of the Selimiye mosque, reinforcing the idea that the visibility of the skyline of minarets created an outermost edge of the city.[106]

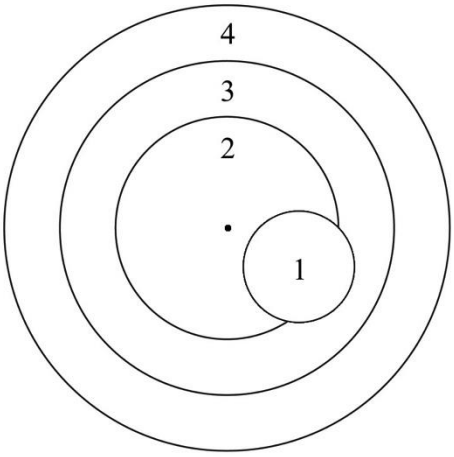

Figure 15: Symbolic Circles of Edirne. 1: The Palace, 2: The urban area, 3: The ceremonial circle (including nearby towns), 4: The visual circle. The dot in the center represents the Selimiye Mosque.

After the visual limit, there is a ceremonial one. Ambassadors approaching the city stopped at a fountain called Solak Çeşmesi two miles (or one league) outside the city to switch horses and assume a ceremonial processional form.[107] Here they were met by the *kapıcıbaşı*, or gatekeeper of the palace, along with pages and janissaries, and were provided with horses decked out in "gold and silver, or else most richly embroyder'd."[108] Sometimes representatives from ambassadors who were already present in Edirne also met the approaching visitors here, as in 1671 when representatives from the Habsburg

[105] There are strong parallels here to the circles of proximity that surrounded monarchs. Jeroen Duindam, "Dynasties," *Medieval Worlds* medieval worlds, no. Volume 2015.2 (2015): 72, https://doi.org/10.1553/medievalworlds_no2_2015s59.
[106] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 108.
[107] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 189; de la Croix, *Memoires Du Sieur de La Croix*, 38. I have not been able to locate this fountain exactly.
[108] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 74.

and Polish ambassadors came out to greet the French delegation.[109] As the beginning of the entry into the ceremonial city this was also the location of disputes over precedence, a common feature of early modern diplomacy. Ceremonial precedence displayed the relative importance of the participating ambassadors (and by extension the monarchs they represented) both to the sultan and to the other European ambassadors present. For example, François de la Croix writes that in 1671 Solak Çeşmesi was the location where the representatives of the Habsburg and Polish-Lithuanian rulers, neighboring states with whom the Ottomans had recently been in conflict, argued over who would ride into the city first.

When the French returned to Edirne in 1672 they went directly to Bosnaköy, a smaller village outside the city, with their path remaining outside of the urban area itself, yet they still changed into their ceremonial order. This was because in order to cross the bridges over the Meriç River they had to pass very near the city, and there was therefore a possibility that the Grand Vizier, who was reputedly hunting nearby, would see them.[110] This account well illustrates that there was indeed a ceremonial area around Edirne, within sight of the urban space but still outside the edge of the built-up area of the city proper. As I will demonstrate below, this circle also included towns close to Edirne, such as Karaağaç and Bosnaköy, which were close enough to be heavily influenced by the imperial authorities (as will be shown below).

The next circle is the built-up area of the city itself. As soon as the ambassadorial processions entered the city the streets along which they marched were lined with

[109] de la Croix, *Memoires Du Sieur de La Croix*, 38. The English Ambassador, arriving during a festival time, was met much farther outside the city by representatives of ambassadors who were normally based in Istanbul but were in Edirne for the celebrations, reinforcing the notion that Solak Çeşmesi was specifically important for residents of Edirne.
[110] de la Croix, 248.

Janissaries, as was the street where their allotted house was located.[111] This was also the circle in which imperial processions occurred, such as at religious holidays or during dynastic festivals. It is also where ambassadors and their households were often lodged, although for various reasons they might move into the third or even fourth circle at times (see below).

Finally, the Edirne Palace makes up the innermost circle.[112] While it was situated at the edge of the city and it appears outside the limits of the town on Covel's maps, ceremonial processions and diplomats approached it from the direction of the town, or passed through the town to reach it,[113] meaning that from a ceremonial point of view the second circle had to be passed through to reach the first. It was, however, possible for the sultan himself to leave the palace and proceed north, to the hunting grounds in the mountains or to the small royal palace at Akpınar,[114] without passing through the city. This meant that the Edirne Palace, while symbolically at the heart of the city, was geographically to one side, communicating directly with both the city via bridges and the countryside.[115]

In the geographical center of the city stood the Selimiye mosque itself. The second skyline view of Edirne (figure 14), commissioned by Covel from another member of the English delegation to Edirne, is much less "accurate" than Covel's work, yet the cartoonish dominance of this mosque towering above an otherwise low cityscape,

[111] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 76.

[112] It is also worth noting that the palace itself functioned as a series of nested courts, much like the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul, so it is be possible to describe several additional circles within.

[113] For example when the English ambassador met with the sultan in 1675. See below, and: Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 257.

[114] Even today there is an almost perfectly straight road leading from the site of the palace to this town, which retains the memory of the palace in its name: Sarayakpınar. On Edirne's hunting grounds, see Çelik, "Osmanlı Padişahlarının Av Geleneğinde Edirne'nin Yeri."

[115] Kontolaimos, "A Landscape for the Sultan, an Architecture for the Eye."

surrounded by rivers, trees, and tents, emphasizes the importance of the mosque on the skyline. The Selimiye featured in nearly every celebration that took place in Edirne, and was consistently identified and praised by nearly every traveller, Ottoman or foreign, that passed through the town.[116] Klusakova argues that mosques were perceived by Europeans as important symbols of the Ottoman "theocracy,"[117] suggesting that the mosque served not just as a visual anchor for the city, but as a religiously charged one. While the image focuses on the dominant, immobile mosque, it also includes hints of movement and change, such as the boats on the rivers and the two tents in the foreground.

As I have argued above in part I, the extreme ceremonial end-point of Edirne was actually at the gates of Istanbul and in this regard one might describe an even larger circle stretching across Thrace. This chapter will deal with the inner four circles, but it is important to keep in mind that this larger central imperial zone surrounds the city described here.

While these circles were important for entering the city, they were also relevant for daily life. European sociability happened most frequently in the second and third circles (that is, the city and its nearby villages), though it occasionally stretched into the fourth (the visual circle). The sultan lived in the first circle (the palace), but was visible to his subjects during holidays and festivals in the second, and more frequently, due to his many hunting trips, the fourth and beyond. The rest of this chapter explores the way these circles were inhabited and crossed by the various actors in the city.

[116] Evliya Çelebi et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999); Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 238,255-6.
[117] Luda Klusáková, "Between Reality and Stereotype: Town Views of the Balkans," *Urban History* 28, no. 3 (2001): 369.

European Sociability in and around Edirne

A stay in Edirne presented many logistical challenges for visitors, not least of which was a proper place to stay. The English embassy in 1675 had sent their dragoman, Antonion Perone, ahead to secure lodgings for them, but when they arrived in Edirne they found it to be "the damn'dest, confounded place that ever mortall man was put into ; it was a Jewes house, not half big enough to hold half my Ld.'s family, a mere nest of fleas and *cimici* [bugs], and rats and mice, and stench, surrounded with whole kennels of nasty, beastly Jews."[118] The French had also been placed in a Jewish-owned house in 1671.[119] In both cases, the ambassadors had to be quickly moved to more suitable lodgings. Similarly, the Venetian Bailo was said to be "very badly lodged at the foot of a minaret, exposed to the inopportune cry of the *Muezin* [caller for prayer]."[120] This explains why in later trips the French ambassadors requested lodgings they already knew, in a nearby village away from the city called Bosnaköy.

The sounds, smells, pests, and people in Edirne were not simple discomforts, they were also a hindrance to the purpose of the visit; after all, an ambassador needed to receive official guests in his house, which would be embarrassing in shabby lodgings. Requiring the ambassadors to periodically move to Edirne during this time opened up possibilities for embarrassment and discomfort since they had less control over their lodgings and surroundings. This held political ramifications as well, as the ambassadors were forced to remain until the business had been attended to, often enduring conditions

[118] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 190.
[119] de la Croix, *Memoires Du Sieur de La Croix*, 40.
[120] Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, 1881, I:107.

they would have preferred to avoid. This may, in part, explain the harshness with which the visitors judged their accommodations.

The temporary residences of the ambassadors and the towns they were lodged in all became sights of official interaction and exchange between the visiting Europeans. In 1673, for instance, the French Ambassador received two envoys from Ragusa in his house in Bosnaköy.[121] The same kinds of diplomatic posturing happened there as in Istanbul. For example in 1675 the English ambassador John Finch was upset because the French and Habsburg ambassadors, who were both then at Edirne, had not come out to greet him on his arrival to city as they had on a previous occasion.[122] Ambassadors also exchanged gifts here. For instance, in 1671 the French received a very large sturgeon from the Venetians, sending back a pâté of partridge and pigeon, two hams, and "a few other things."[123] On Easter in 1672, a couple of days after the French envoy arrived to Bosnaköy, two physicians who worked in the Edirne palace came by and provided the ambassador with copious information about the dismissal of the Polish ambassador, which the French had first heard about on the road. Physicians, who often worked for both Ottomans and foreigners, were common sources of information exchange, in Edirne as they were in Istanbul.[124] They assured the French ambassador that they would have come earlier but, since the French king had been out of favor since the war in Crete, they had been afraid to upset the sultan.[125]

[121] Antoine Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland Pendant Son Séjour a Constantinople (1672-1673)*, ed. Charles Schefer, vol. II (Paris: Ernes Leroux, 1881), 87.
[122] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 197.
[123] Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, 1881, I:92.
[124] Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, 112.
[125] Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, 1881, I:108.

While many people from the embassies travelled back and forth in order to carry out their missions, most were primarily based in one city or the other. Ragusa, for example, had consuls throughout the eastern Mediterranean in this period, but not in Istanbul. It is noteworthy that the first resident consul was not appointed in Istanbul until 1688, the year after Mehmed IV was deposed.[126] However, there was a Ragusan ambassador resident in Edirne 1675.[127] Since the Ragusans, like the Venetians, were famous spies, their diplomatic representative living in Edirne may have been a valuable source of information for the English, especially due to his close friendship with John Covel.[128]

While visits to various Ottoman officials were possible in these officials' houses or in the houses where the ambassadors were staying, an official meeting with the sultan had to happen within the first circle. This is clear when the English ambassador insisted on meeting with the sultan during the height of the plague epidemic. The ambassador had to pass through the middle of the city on his way to meet the sultan, while the sultan came back from the aforementioned palace at Akpınar, indicating that this palace, located in the fourth circle, was not a proper place for official diplomacy.[129] Unofficially, however, there were other places where the sultan could at least be seen. Every European visitor during the reign of Mehmed IV remarked on his fondness for hunting.[130] Hunting demonstrated the ownership of land and the magnificence of imperial power, and since Edirne was a site of encounter with ambassadors, the hunting parties also served to

[126] Vesna Miović, "Diplomatic Relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Dubrovnik," in *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević (Boston: Brill, 2013), 196.
[127] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 190.
[128] Miović, "Diplomatic Relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Dubrovnik."
[129] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 257.
[130] See, for example, Bent, 206–8.

reinforce the profile of the sultan in the eyes of these visitors.[131] There were a number of favored hunting grounds around the city, particularly the mountainous area to the north around Çömlekköy, and along the river Meriç to the south beyond Uzunköprü.[132] On the way to a southern hunting ground in 1672, the sultan passed by Bosnaköy, where Antoine Galland was able to observe him change horses, estimating that he had at least 400 people with him.[133]

The arrival of the plague in the summer of 1675 caused a massive exodus of people from Edirne. Figures 16 and 17 show a map that Covel drew of the area around Edirne. The map focuses on the third and fourth circles of the city, leaving the first and second circles blank. The location of the city is not labeled, but it is indicated by a dotted line that appears traces the outer limit of the urban area. This is similar to the Silivri map (figure 10), although here the Roman walls are not shown. The palace is also given a vague outline and is labeled, but no details are shown within it except (very vaguely) the island of the sultan's garden. Otherwise the area around the city is depicted with similar iconography as in his *Journey* map. Because the city and the palace are shown empty while the countryside is filled with detail, it is tempting to read this as a map of Edirne during the height of the plague.

[131] Kontolaimos, "A Landscape for the Sultan, an Architecture for the Eye," 20.
[132] Çelik, "Osmanlı Padişahlarının Av Geleneğinde Edirne'nin Yeri."
[133] Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, 1881, I:112.

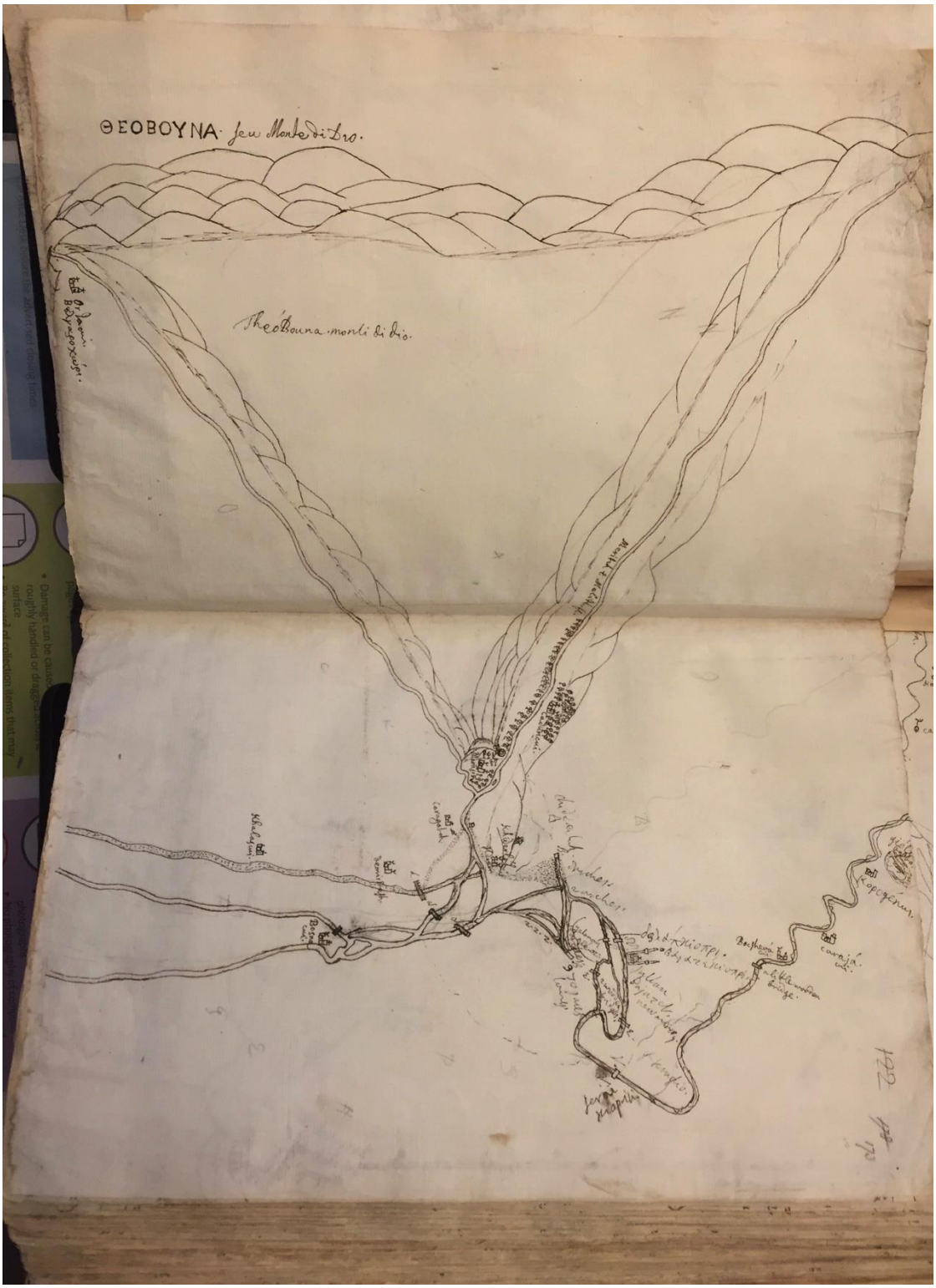

Figure 16: *A Map of the Surroundings of Edirne*. Covel's map of the surroundings of Edirne. *British Library Add.* 22912 f. 169r-170v

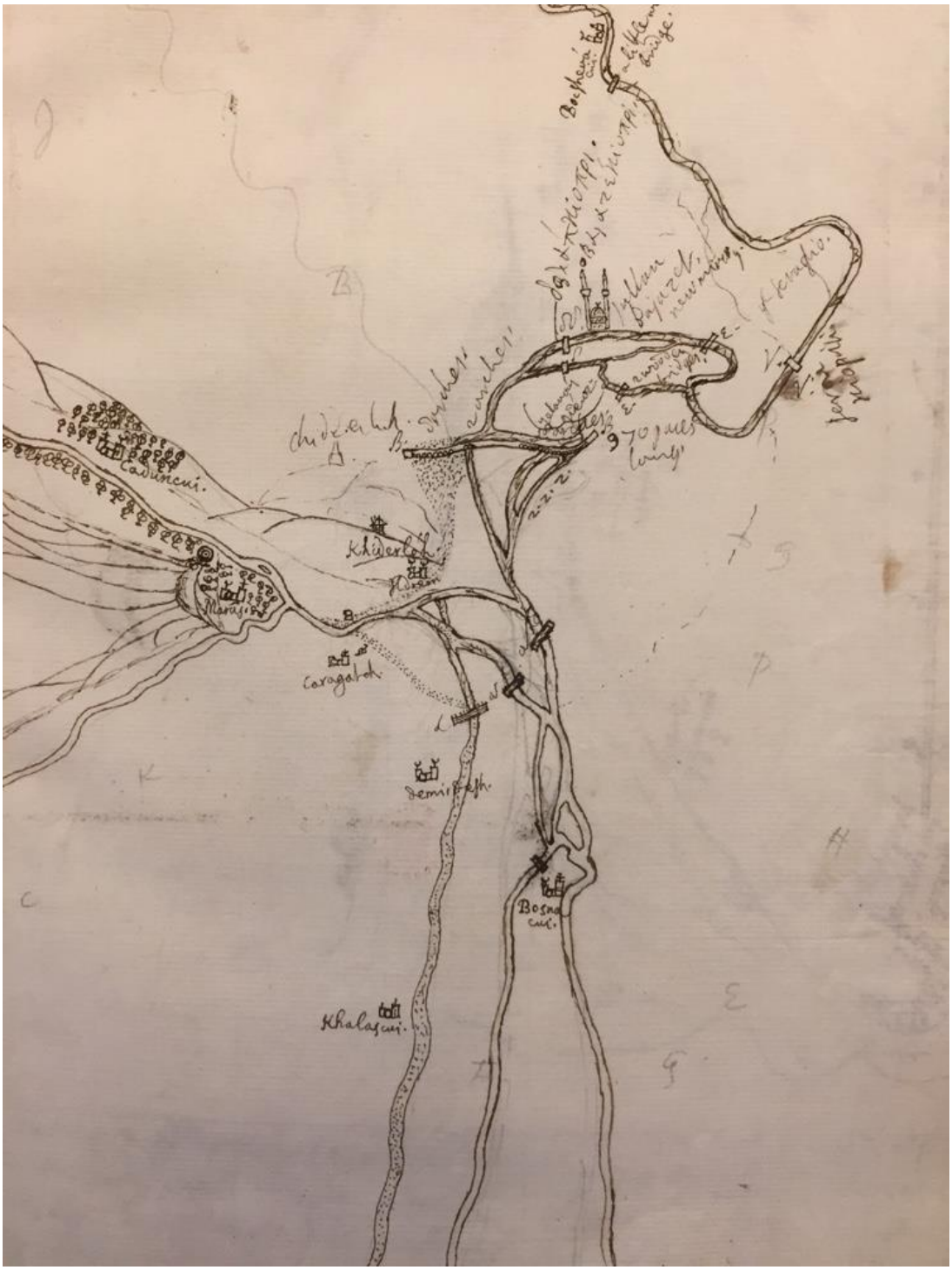

Figure 17: *A Map of the Surroundings of Edirne*. Covel's map of the surroundings of Edirne. *British Library Add.* 22912 f. 170v

The chaos engendered by the arrival of the plague allows us to see how Europeans were been able to utilize local networks. Covel fled to the nearby Greek village of Karaağaç, where the local parson arranged a single room for him, near the ambassador's house. Soon, however, the plague followed him and "first seized my landladye's onely daughter, who every day I used to prattle withal."[134] The death of the landlady's daughter shows that Covel was socializing with locals, his Modern Greek much improved from when he first arrived. He fled again, this time to the ambassador's tents outside the village, but soon the plague came so strongly into Karaağaç that the ambassador moved into his tent, and Covel was forced back into the village, where the parson let him and two others stay in his stable. Though he seems to have been in regular, friendly contact with these people he never tells us their names. Instead he identifies them by their social roles ("the parson") or their relationships to Covel ("my landladye's onely daughter"). This suggests that his relationships with them were never as close (or, perhaps, never as useful) as with the renegades and ambassadors he names.

The long stay in Karaağaç allowed Covel to describe the town, which is set up in many ways as the opposite of Edirne. The town, which was mostly Greek, is described as a place where alcohol can be freely consumed, as opposed to Edirne. "All the Greekes and Armenians (not daring to be merry in Adrianople in companyes) come here to feast, and I have been severall times by when 200 or 300 persons have all been setting together feasting and drinking like fishes."[135] The parson himself is portrayed as "the greatest vintner in the town," hiding his wine in his church to keep it out of the hands of the authorities. Galland also describes a troop of janissaries coming and destroying the

[134] Jean-Pierre Grélois, ed., *Dr John Covel, Voyages en Turquie 1675-1677* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1999), 84.
[135] Grélois, 90.

Greeks' wine barrels in Bosnaköy after a drunken altercation, though he also claims that the janissaries could be bought off. He even notes that the French ambassador protected some of the locals from having their wine destroyed.[136] Still, Covel did not find much to like about this town, complaining that

> The terrible heat of the sun reflected from a dry barren sandy soil, and the fulsome foggy aire broiled us and choked us. [in code:] *And instead of liquors to refresh us nothing but a little sower wine when we could get it ; had I not had mony in my poket and a tavern nere, poore Covel had died*![137]

Covel's melodrama is echoed by de la Croix, who had similar opinions of Bosnaköy although he still preferred it to Edirne: "If we didn't find there [Bosnaköy] a beautiful palace, at least we didn't have the repulsion and the stench of the mud of Andrinople, and the houses of the Jews."[138]

While the members of the English and French delegations were fairly negative about the towns in the third circle that they were lodged in, Covel's impression of Ortaköy, where the Habsburg ambassador retreated during the time of the plague and in the fourth circle, was quite different. The people in the town were all Greeks, for, he claims, they had chased out the few Turks that tried to settle there. This is quite different from the Greek inhabitants of Bosnaköy and Karaağaç who were depicted as being constantly under pressure from the Ottoman authorities. Unlike the "dry barren sandy soil" of Karaağaç, Covel found Ortaköy to be "a very paradise to live in," surrounded by

[136] Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, 1881, I:109.

[137] Covel, "Autograph Journal," 220v. I have transcribed "Covel" while the text seems to read coven. However, Covel frequently misuses symbols that are similar to each other, and the symbols for L and N are the same symbol but in reverse. Grélois transcribes it as "coven" and translates the last portion as, "pauvres de nous, nous serions morts." Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages en Turquie 1675-1677*, 90–92.

[138] de la Croix, *Memoires Du Sieur de La Croix*, 248.

vineyards which produced a "pleasant" red wine[139]. Even the Arda River was cleaner here than at Karaağaç, where it was filled with sand, and certainly cleaner than it was after passing through Edirne, where it was filled with dung, "filth, and dead men (many whereof we saw dayly thrown in, being either executed, or perhaps dead of the plague)."[140] It is as if these circles around Edirne grew progressively worse for the environment as one moved towards the center. Ortaköy is one of the farthest points away from Edirne on Covel's maps, and on the *Journey* map it lies at the end of a line of towns stretching out from Karaağaç. This suggests that the plague was responsible for bringing Covel here, and stretching the location of European sociability far into the hinterland of Edirne.

Ortaköy, Covel tells us, was a six-hour ride from Karaağaç. This is reflected in Covel's third map of the area around Edirne (figure 18), labeled with "a scale of houres." This map gives a temporal dimension to the city, showing the stretches of time necessary to reach different parts of the city's hinterland. This corresponds to Covel's declaration at the beginning of his Edirne chapter that distances are measured in time in the Ottoman lands. Time was very much on the minds of the visitors, most of whom longed to go back to Istanbul. "I believe Length of Time makes you conclude me buried," North wrote to a friend in Istanbul, "and, to say Truth, you are not much mistaken; for it is now above four Months that I have abode in this accursed City: A state to me beyond the Grave, and

[139] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 252.
[140] Bent, 253.

Figure 18: *A Scale of Hours* map of Edirne's surroundings. *British Library Add.* 22912 f.125v

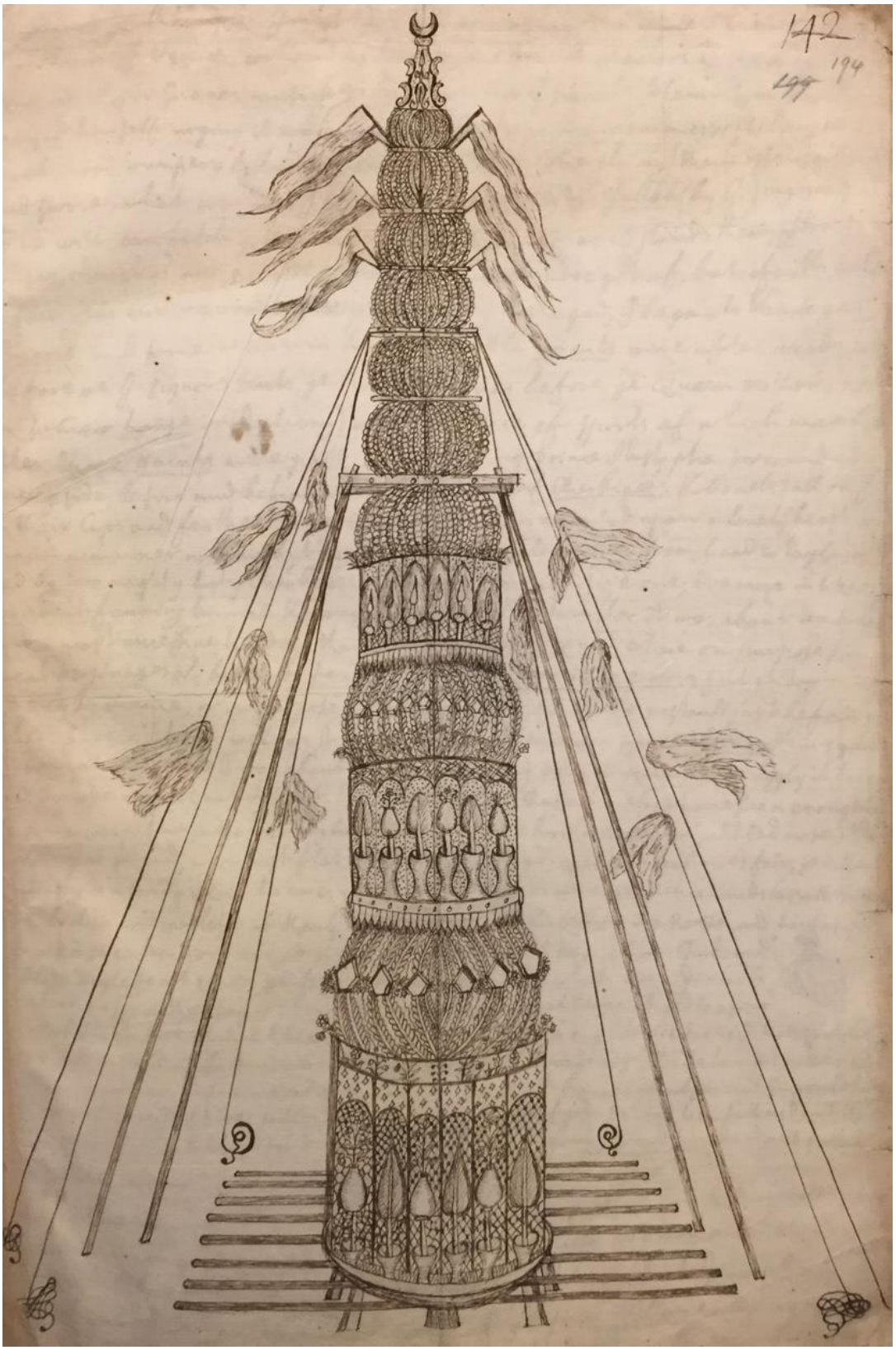

Figure 19: a *nahıl. British Library Add.* 22912 f.194v

worse than Purgatory, even Hell itself, were it not that one day I hope for a Redemption."[141]

Redemption, however, was slow in coming, not least because diplomacy came to a halt during the 1675 festivities surrounding the circumcision of Princes Mustafa (later Mustafa II, r. 1695-1703) and Ahmed (later Ahmed III, r. 1703-1730), as well as the marriage of Hatice Sultan, the eldest daughter of Mehmed IV, with Musahib Mustafa Pasha .

Movement in the Festival City

On the first day of the festival for the circumcisions of Prince Mustafa and Prince Ahmed, the high stone walls of one of the city's largest *hans* were smashed down, and two enormous walking towers were let out into the city (figure 19). Covered in wax flowers, painted paper, waving flags, and bright designs, the two largest of these *nahıls* were massive lumbering spires, 27 yards tall and 6 yards in diameter at the base. They were transported slowly on the backs of 200 men through the city streets, amidst blaring music, while the whole empire seemed to watch.[142] The men were directed by boatswains blowing whistles to raise or lower the *nahıl* like slaves on a galley, while a group of fifty workmen armed with axes, saws, and sledgehammers ran ahead destroying any overhanging window or awning that threatened to stop the progress of this walking spire, "without consulting any Owner, or so much as saying by your Leave Sir."[143]

[141] North, "A Letter from Adrianople," 210.
[142] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 201.
[143] North, "A Letter from Adrianople," 220–21.

All this noisy commotion and destruction reminded Covel of a story he had recently heard. Apparently a *çavuş* (court messenger) from the sultan had asked the Venetian Bailo to transport a full opera company, complete with stages and sets, to Edirne for the festival. When the Bailo demurred, declaring it impossible to bring "all that lumber and trumpery by land and sea", the *çavuş* had flown into a rage. "*Walláh* (by God), he storm'd and swore, my maister, if he will, can fetch your whole city hither just as it stands there; streets, houses, churches and all!"[144] Covel had dismissed this as a fanciful story, "but, ifaith, when I saw this moving wooden steeple so easily menaged I began to think the *çavuş* had some reason in him!"[145]

In fact, the entire city of Edirne was put into motion for the festivities surrounding the circumcision of the prince, and the wedding of the princess that immediately followed it. The urban space was transformed, landmarks were re-appropriated, the population swelled, the night was illuminated, and acrobats, ropewalkers, and daredevils literally flew though the air on fragile threads. Part of the festival took place in the third circle, such as the procession that the *nahıls* were a part of, or the celebrations of the wedding. But the celebration of the central dynastic act, the circumcision of the two sons of Mehmed IV, happened in a new space that was created temporarily at the intersection

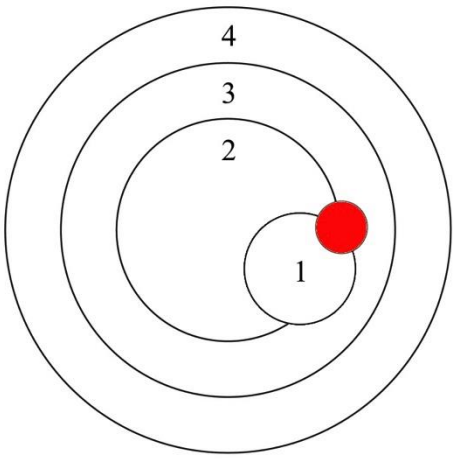

Figure 20: The location of the *Sırık Meydanı* at the intersection of the first, second, and third ceremonial circles of Edirne. (See Appendix C for a more geographically accurate view of the festival square)

[144] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 202.
[145] Bent, 202.

of the palace, the urban space, and the countryside (figure 20). This is very different especially from previous royal circumcision festivals which took place in Istanbul in the 16th century, for they were organized in the very heart of the city, namely the Hippodrome.[146] Circumcisions were important for the Ottoman dynastic state because they marked the princes' maturity, and therefore their ability to rule, but they were not consistently celebrated on such a large scale. The rest of this subchapter therefore examines the implications of the spaces in which the festivities occurred in Edirne.

Covel's description of the cavalcade, mirroring the procession itself, is sequential, detailing the people, animals and objects that passed by on their procession through the city. Processions were significant occasions in early modern cities and empires,[147] and Covel spends considerable time describing the magnificence on display. "Much of the glory of the empire"[148] marched slowly through the streets of Edirne on splendidly decorated horses, their hats identifying their ranks. His drawings, however, give no hint of the motion and commotion; the hats are shown isolated from their wearers, and even the massive *nahıl* is shown standing still and alone. This means that out of the constant movement Covel has tried to isolate particular signs that represent the ordering of Ottoman society. Yet his descriptions make clear that these signs were all intended to be read in motion, among carefully ordered sounds, locations, and movements that swirled around the sultan and his son, the symbol of the continuation of the dynasty.

[146] Derin Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 84–100, https://doi.org/10.2307/1523225; Zeynep Yelçe, "Evaluating Three Imperial Festivals: 1524, 1530, 1539," in *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Arzu Öztürkmen (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2014), 71–109.
[147] Darnton, "A Bourgeois Puts His World in Order: The City as a Text," 113; Jeroen Frans Jozef Duindam, *Dynasties: A Global History of Power, 1300-1800* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2016), chaps. 2–3.
[148] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 198.

After passing through the streets of Edirne, the procession ended up in a large temporary square, the *Sırık Meydanı* (Pole Square), that had been created in front of the palace. Covel describes the festival square in considerable detail, paying close attention to the buildings, both permanent and temporary, that surrounded it (see Appendix F). He starts with a bird's eye view, accompanied by a small diagram (figure 21) which sketches the layout like an architectural plan. The description matches each of the architectural features to their festival function, as for example "at C.C. was built a large kéosk or summer house with *gelosía's* or lattices […] where came the Sultana and all the court ladyes to behold the sports."[149] The square is shown framed on the top and right sides by the walls of the palace. On the left side stand a series of tents, ordered hierarchically with the sultan's closest to the palace wall and the grand vizier's beside it, identical but for smaller golden balls on the roof. The final side, closest to the city, consisted of a line of lamps protected by *tulumcus*. These were men holding inflated hides covered in oil that they used to keep out the public, who were able to peek into the square from this side. At the bottom left, where the lamps and tents intersect, was the tent in which circumcision were performed (labeled σ. σ.). Interestingly, this is the only detailed architectural plan Covel gives in his whole Edirne chapter; even the city, as we have seen, is left off of its own map. The careful detail with which he maps, labels, and later sketches the festival square suggests two things: first, that he considers this temporary space to be something quite important; and second, that he wants his readers to know he was there. His papers also include a sketch of the tents, which are depicted in a ¾ view, allowing us to imagine

[149] Covel, "Autograph Journal," fol. 197v.

in more detail the tents along the left side (figure 22).[150] Although Covel brags about how often he was inside the square, the sketch is shown as if seen from just outside, on the side from which the public would witness them, meaning that the circumcision tent is shown closest to the viewer.

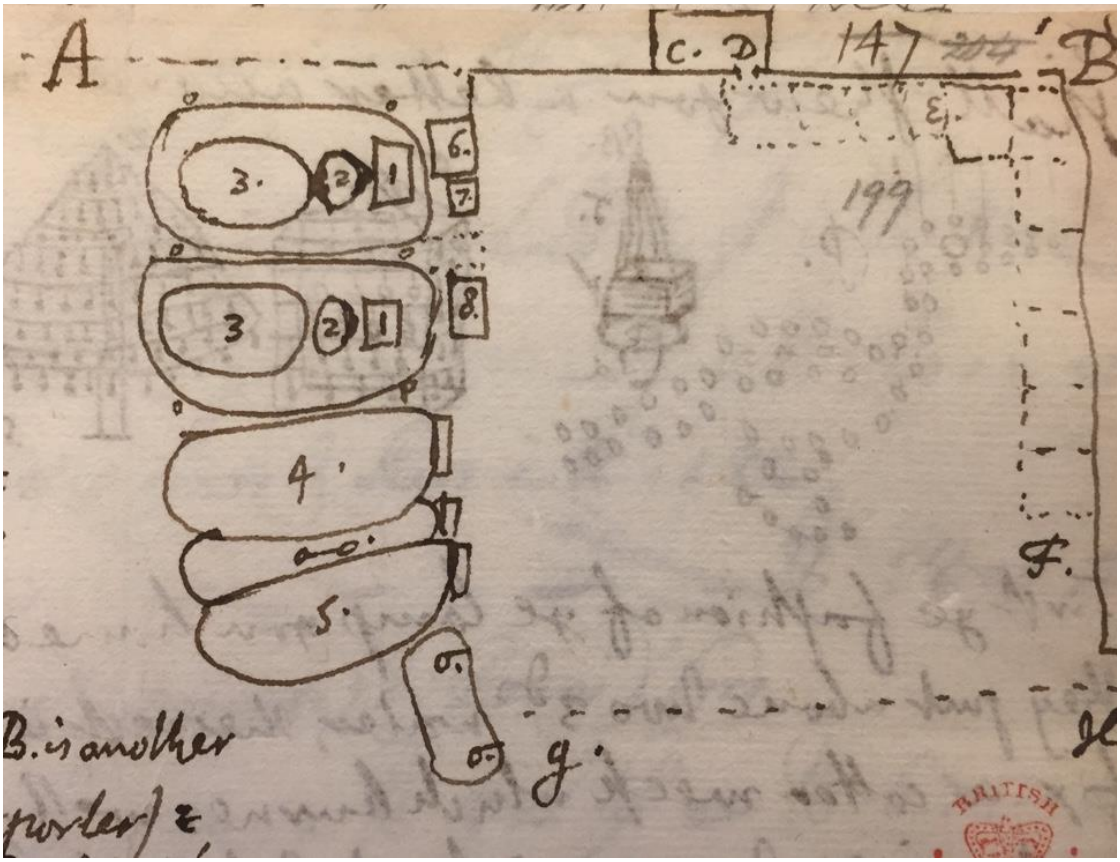

Figure 21: Covel's scheme of the festival square (the lighter lines are bleeding through from the backside of the paper) *British Library Add.* 22912 f.199v

[150] His journal also contains a very light, preliminary sketch of the whole square, but unfortunately it seems never to have been completed. These sketches are on different paper and it is not immediately clear to me if they are by Covel or by someone else, and he makes no reference to them in the text, though they bear a resemblance to his insect sketches. In any case, they clearly conform to his description and the other drawing that accompanies the text.

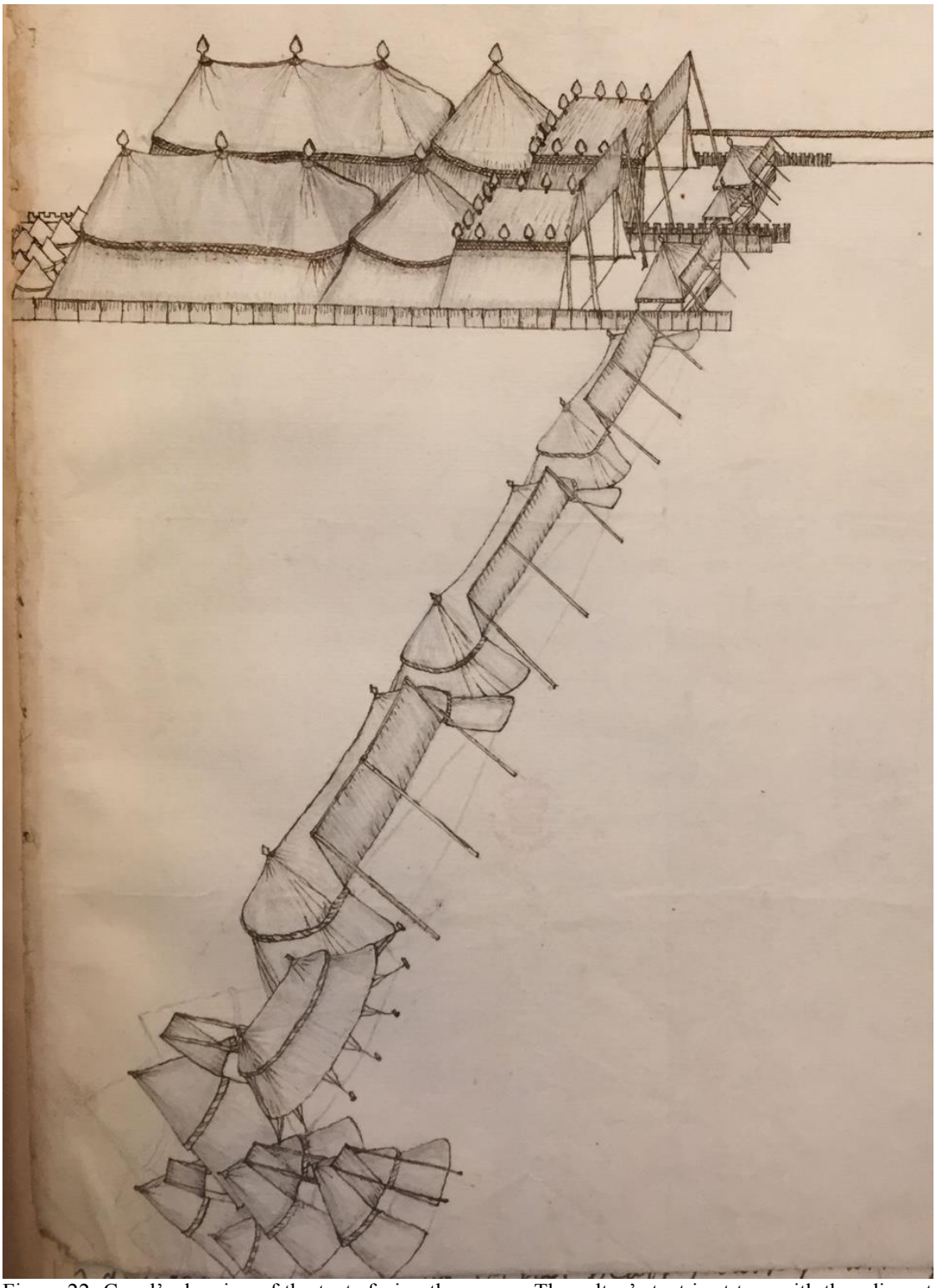

Figure 22: Covel's drawing of the tents facing the square. The sultan's tent is at top, with the adjacent Grand Vizier's tent nearly identical. One of the cluster of tents at the bottom is the circumcision tent. *British Library Add.* 22912 f.197r

The English ambassador Finch, not having been personally invited by the sultan, was precluded by his position from joining the festivities;[151] however other members of the party were not so restricted. Covel in particular had unique and privileged access, a fact of which he regularly reminds his reader. His friendships with the Ragusan consul and an Italian renegade (with whom he had become acquainted some years before)[152] meant that, as he claims, "I have been twenty times myself caryed in to see the sights, when all Turkes have been huncht away."[153] During the festivities he even claims to have been "very, very near" the sultan for as long as he wanted, dressed however he wanted. The Italian renegade seems to have been an especially prestigious connection, and he even carried Covel on horseback "between the G.Sr.'s and Vizier's tents within 8 yards of either of them (at severall times), without the least molestation or difficulty."[154] Unlike the Italian renegade, whom Covel calls "a damned rogue"[155] and who he appeared to tolerate merely for his connections, Covel seems to have enjoyed spending time with the Ragusan, and he writes of him and his past many times in his journals. Since Ragusa was a tributary state of the Ottoman sultan, the Ragusan ambassador was invited to the festival, but at the same time his status as a consul and a Christian allowed him to develop a close friendship with Covel:

> I was very much obliged to him for severall times he took me along with him to see sights and to be treated by the Turk's (as you shall hear anon) even to the envy of several of our Company. [in code:] *For you must know (they)*[156] *expected the Grand Signor or Visier should have invited (them)*

[151] Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, 110.
[152] Grélois, *Dr John Covel, Voyages En Turquie 1675-1677*, 225.
[153] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 204–5.
[154] Bent, 219–20.
[155] Bent, 225.
[156] Covel uses a symbol here that I am unsure how to interpret. Grélois has transcribed it as "the turks" in the coded sections included in that volume, but does not explain how this was derived. It may be from the symbol itself, which is two cresent moons (one pointing up, the other down).

> *to the sights, etc. but the devil bit (?) so they saw nothing and were mad. I went with others.*[157]

The coded portion underscores his unique ability to enter even when others could not, boosting both his own prestige, and his reliability. These connections allowed Covel to enter the festival space unmolested, and furthermore to walk through the streets of the city unattended, giving him incredible freedom to observe the events.

From the English perspective, much of the most impressive performances happened at night. The early modern period saw an expansion of street life into the nighttime hours, in what Cemal Kafadar has called the "colonization of the night."[158] Imperial spectacle took advantage of this too, with large-scale fireworks displays becoming common in Ottoman imperial ceremonies and eventually even among parts of the public.[159] The English were somewhat ambivalent about the fireworks (North claims they were impressive "more of astonishment than art,")[160] and even less amazed by the illuminated recreation of the siege of Candia, which ended with a model of the city going up in flames.

But one aspect of the nighttime illumination did arouse their wonder. The fourth side of the square, from where the public could watch the events, was made up of a line of machines hung with colorful lamps, arranged to produce drawings of light that depicted castles, peacocks, bears, Turkish phrases, and more. Covel includes a diagram,

[157] Covel, "Autograph Journal," fol. 189v.

[158] Cemal Kafadar, "How Dark Is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul," in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Arzu Öztürkmen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 243–69.

[159] Hakan Karateke, "Illuminating Ottoman Ceremonial," in *God Is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth: Light in Islamic Art and Culture*, ed. Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan B. Bloom (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 306.

[160] North, "A Letter from Adrianople," 215.

clearly labeled as usual, but the objects being described are drawn from the front as if seen either from the square, or just outside it (figure 23). While he admits that the lights are simple, he nevertheless finds them "extreamely pleasant and wonderfull to behold."[161] As he often does when his interest is piqued, he describes the brightly colored lamps in great detail: "green (to represent flowers), red (to represent the eyes of creatures), gold colour etc."[162] He describes and draws large wheels strung with lamps, which rotated in such a way that the lamps remained hanging perpendicular, "which I assure you gave very great delight."[163] There were also pyramids made of iron bars hung with lamps, which "shew most gloriously." [164]In fact, he declares, "to see these lights alone was worth my going to Adrianople."[165]

While seeing these lights filled Covel with wonder, he also saw things in the square that filled him with shame. Every day, writes Covel, "many, many young lads" came to be circumcised.[166] While his journals constantly emphasize what he sees with his own eye, here he uses the verb even more than usual, giving great emphasis to his personal witness of the event. "I saw many 100es of them ... cut, and the Turkes would be so farre from hindring your seing, as they would make way for you."[167] Out of a total estimate of over 2000 circumcisions, Covel claims the number of Christians "turning Turk" to be at least 200 in just 13 days. "It is our shame," he writes, "for I believe all

[161] Covel, "Autograph Journal," fol. 199v.
[162] Covel, fol. 196v.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Covel, "Autograph Journal," fol. 201v.
[165] Covel, 201v.
[166] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 209.
[167] Bent, 209.

Europe have not gained so many Turkes to us these 200 years."[168] While the square was the location of the act itself, it represented the expansion of Islam through the city's hinterland, and beyond. Covel describes a story in which he met a young Christian boy from the countryside who had come to the city to get circumcised with his brother.[169] This shows that the festival square was seen as a magnet pulling in boys and men from the surrounding countryside, linking the hinterland of Edirne ever more strongly to the dynasty.

Covel knew his readers back home would be interested in the juicy details (see Appendix G). "I know you long to learn a little of the manner of their circumcision," he writes, before describing in great detail the way the operation was carried out. He compares it to a Jewish circumcision, which he also claims to have seen many times, and then he introduces a new theory: that circumcision first arose among the "Eastern nations" out of convenience, since many of them had such "prodigious preputiums, which must needs hinder the act of generation."[170] He illustrates his theory with a story:

> I saw a man there about 40 (or something lesse) they say he was a Georgian, who had his preputium at least 1 inch long before it was stretch't, and when it was cut off I dare swear it would have cover'd the palm of my hand, his *penis* being of the largest size … I warrant you the man if he had the convenient use of women both before and after, found my conjecture true.[171]

This shows us that the temporary square gave Covel the opportunity to have extremely intimate contact with local men, as he bore witness to the physical and spiritual conversion of Christians. This also allowed him to observe the genitalia of many local

[168] Bent, 210.
[169] Covel, "Autograph Journal," fol. 201v.
[170] Covel, fol. 201.
[171] Covel, fol. 201r.

men, a curious privilege that allowed him to make claims that were both titillating and theologically important.

As a Christian theologian his emphasis on the non-universality of the need for circumcision has theological repercussions as a tool against Islam: if the practice arose solely for biological reasons it can hardly be claimed to be a universal religious requirement. North too focuses on this event, recording a story that was circulating about Prince Mustafa, which claimed the prince had fought back physically against the act of circumcision. This leads North to hope that the prince "may have some holy Instinct towards *Christianity*," which would lead him, when he becomes sultan, to outlaw the practice of circumcision, allowing Christian missionaries better luck in future "harvests."[172] North sees the physical act of circumcision as a hindrance to conversion, as it is in irrevocable statement of faith.

The square hosted other events which offended the English, some of them sexually charged including "young Men dancing in the Habits of Women"[173] who "acceded all the roguish lascivious postures conceivable with that strange ingenuity of silent ribaldry, as I protest I believe Sardanapalus and all the effeminate courts of the East never came near them."[174] When night fell men bearing large torches filled the square,

> singing all the way a prayer for the Grand Signor in such a dismal tone, which, with the noyse of the musick before named, and all the lights and fires, and the black *Tooloonjés* muving up and down, gave me the perfectest representation of Hell that ever I yet saw upon earth ; yet the Turkes count it a heavenly thing.[175]

[172] North, "A Letter from Adrianople," 218.
[173] North, 214.
[174] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 214.
[175] Bent, 212.

The unusual nighttime setting, the spectacle that both amazed and repulsed him, the mass conversion, and his incredible proximity to a figure of immense power, caused him to find in that square a vision of hell.

The square created for the circumcision festival opened up a temporary new circle at the intersection of the first, second, and third circles of the city, connecting them in a liminal ceremonial space. The circumcision tent itself was in a pivotal place, in line with the tents housing the imperial government right where they intersected with the side holding back the populous, on the corner facing the countryside. The square drew in boys and men from the surrounding countryside to get circumcised, performers from the far reaches of the empire, and diplomatic visitors from beyond the borders. Here, although access to the square was restricted, people from different parts of the Ottoman population were brought together. The lascivious dancers, for example, performed directly in front of the Sultana's latticed window overlooking the square. The lascivious dancers, for example, performed directly in front of the latticed window of Gülnuş Sultan, the mother of the circumcised princes, overlooking the square. They were thus visible simultaneously to Covel, the hidden Gülnuş Sultan, and even the public peeking in from beyond the line of lamps, forging a temporal connection between all these simultaneous spectators.

Scholarly work on circumcision festivals seems to approach them as any other kind of dynastic festival, which to the Muslim Ottomans they may have been, but the English visitors see the circumcision as something quite different from, for example, a wedding. This is particularly visible in the 1675 festivities, as the circumcision of the princes was followed quickly by the wedding of Princess Hatice, the eldest daughter of

Mehmed IV from his aforementioned favorite-concubine Gülnuş Sultan, to Musahib Mustafa Pasha, by then a favorite vizier of the sultan.[176] The difference in interpretation by the English is apparent in North's account. He writes that after the circumcision was over he had hoped the English ambassador would finally be able to meet with the sultan,

> but the Devil was of another Mind… and so contrived new Festivals, and not without Cause; for having offended the Goddess *Venus*, sinning (as we account, that are *Christians*, in Opposition to the circumcised *Jews* and *Turks*) by a Mutilation of that same, was resolved to appease her by celebrating her most sacred Rites of Marriage.[177]

After the intensity of feelings engendered by the circumcision festival, the English reaction to the subsequent wedding ceremonies is quite tame. Many of the same performers took part, and similar displays of strength and agility were on display. Despite featuring the same performers, North was much more impressed with the displays that took place here, either because of his improved access or because of his approval of the ceremonial act. The field of celebration shifted to the area around the Selimiye mosque, firmly at the center of the second circle, and away from the liminal space of the square. A rope was tied from the top of one of the minarets to the garden of the man getting married, down which men slid, often with boys on their backs blaring trumpets or banging drums. The one thing in the city that genuinely impressed the European visitors, the mosque, was thus turned into a ridiculous spectacle. Indeed the only thing that elicits comment from both English visitors during the wedding is when once the rope broke, sending the descending man and boy onto the head of an unlucky Armenian.[178]

[176] For more details see: Özdemir Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne şenliği : (1675)* (Istanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1987).
[177] North, "A Letter from Adrianople," 221.
[178] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 239; North, "A Letter from Adrianople," 222–23.

Conclusion

Michel de Certeau writes that, when walking through a city, in some ways the city organizes the route, creating places that one cannot go, while in other ways the walker does, by choosing to take one route over another. In some ways Edirne structured the paths of the visitors and inhabitants of the city, setting the route taken by the English ambassador when visiting the sultan, or marking the visual limit of the town. However, not all actors respected the boundaries set by the city: the *nahıls* cut down buildings and burst through walls, the plague slipped in quietly and scattered the inhabitants, and the festival square opened up an entirely new space within the city. Covel and other visitors to the city saw this movement and tried to make sense of it, drawing maps of time and space, categorizing places, and freezing moving objects on a page in order to describe them in isolation. But the Europeans were also frequently in motion themselves, seeking information, sending gifts, and visiting with locals and other visitors. In Edirne they had many of the same kinds of connections as in Istanbul, in addition to others that were unique to Edirne. But, at the same time, there were special differences. They had access to different sets of people, like the Ragusans who may not have been in Istanbul. But they were less comfortable, since they were lodged temporarily and not necessarily in the houses they would have preferred.

Both the French and English ambassadors were eventually able to secure the capitulations that they had come for, although it took the French diplomats three visits, and the English retinue a stay of almost five months. As September of 1675 drew to a close, Covel prepared himself to depart, but there was still one more thing he had to do before he left.

Figure 23: The festival square today. Photo by the author.

Conclusion

The View from the Minaret

On the very last day of the embassy's stay in Edirne, notwithstanding the height of the plague, John Covel climbed the northwest minaret of the Selimiye mosque, which he found to be "a very fine neat piece of work."[179] Gaining access to a minaret was not always possible for a foreigner,[180] but a Janissary friend of his had accompanied him and secured him entrance. Counting his steps (253) he ascended the triple helix staircase to the topmost balcony, which was hung with lamps in anticipation of Ramadan. He made careful observations of the structure, and could not resist a peek into the sultan's palace, but what pleased him most of all was that the shapes below him were familiar. "I took a prospect of the town and rivers, and hills ; I could see beyond Ortacui plainly, and I having made a plat [map] before by a plain table, I found it exact by comparing it with my view from this place."[181]

Covel was right to congratulate himself, as his map indeed matches up quite well with a modern GIS map of the area. Bridges point the correct directions, towns are located accurately in relation to each other, and his map could probably be used to recreate the old routes of the rivers around Edirne. After having stayed in the city for more than three months, he knew the landscape well from ground level. He had explored the ruins of the Roman walls, visited the villages nearby, and even gained access to a part of the palace.

[179] Covel, "Autograph Journal," fol. 228f.
[180] Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, 85.
[181] Covel, "Autograph Journal," fols. 227r, 232f.

A friend of mine who was recently visiting me in Budapest told me excitedly that he wanted to ride the Budapest Eye (the local Ferris wheel), and when, scoffing, I asked him why he would pay so much money to get a view he could easily get for free from the top of a hill he said, "I want to see what Budapest looks like without me in it." While he was in Edirne, Covel had attempted to make a map of Edirne without him in it, and looking down from the minaret he judged his efforts to have been successful. He had attempted to locate Edirne at a particular place in time, distill it down to its essence, and reproduce that on a piece of paper.

But Edirne is located in a very different place on Covel's map than it is on a modern atlas. In fact, it is even located in different places on his different maps. On the *Journey* map it is located at the fulcrum between the map of a journey and the map of a hinterland. On the *Surroundings* map it is locatable in the negative, its position deducible from its absence. On the *Houres* map it is also absent in form but present in time, since the hours needed to reach it from any point on the map are shown. On Ortelius' map, traced into Covel's journal, it is located in classical space. And on the small detail map of Küçükçekmece it is located as a bearing, as the direction that a traveller should proceed. All of these Edirnes are real in their way, and all bear some relation to the "actual" Edirne that exists (existed?) on a certain place on the surface of the earth, even if only through the mediation of a English theologian in the 17th century.

This thesis has argued that these different ways of locating Edirne point to the effort the English and French diplomatic visitors made to understand the city. Since Edirne was the seat of the court, understanding the city was key to understanding the Ottoman dynastic state. I have shown that the physical geography of Edirne and its

hinterland had a strong impression on these visitors, who described and mapped it in detail, and who understood it in tandem with the Ottoman dynasty. They read the landscape with a mixture of awe and revulsion, of disappointment and wonder. As they tried to make sense of the spaces that surrounded them they were also trying to make sense of the dynasty that pervaded the landscape wherever they looked. Many of these men went back to their home countries and went on to have long and illustrious carriers, meaning that their understanding of the Ottoman lands spread, through print or word of mouth, through England and France.

Lauren Benton has analysed the ways in which Europeans saw imperial space as a patchwork of corridors and enclaves of control.[182] This thesis not only applies this to a specific corridor in the very center of the Ottoman state, but also complicates it by arguing that this geography was in many ways perceived through movement in time and space. Though Covel made great effort to locate the places he visited on maps that he created, those maps point to the pervasiveness of travel and movement both within the city and without. The English and French visitors maybe have had detailed knowledge of the Ottoman rule of law or styles of governance, but one of the primary ways they accessed and understood that knowledge was through the landscape. In fact, this thesis argues that for a European traveller to the area, the landscapes, cityscapes, and ceremonial movements within them were some of the most important indicators of the presence and power of the Ottoman dynasty.

Furthermore, I argue that movement is a particularly useful lens for looking at this period of Ottoman history because, despite the previous historiographical framework

[182] Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 2.

seeing this as the period of "stagnation," this was a time of considerable motion. Mehmed IV was frequently on campaign or hunting, large migrations had occurred as a result of the Celali Rebellions, Evliya Çelebi had crisscrossed the empire, and ambassadors and their staffs were constantly moving between places. This is not to say that movement was uniquely prominent in this period; on the contrary, it reminds us that all of these travellers followed in the footsteps of others, and paved the way for more to come.

This thesis also contributes to global urban history by applying the same critical lens European urban historians have used on early modern European cities to those in the Ottoman lands. It has been widely remarked that European visitors of the time did not like Ottoman cities, for reasons discussed above, and European urban historians have questioned city walls as urban limits, but so far Ottoman urban history has had a tendency to consider cities separately from their hinterlands and approaches. This thesis suggests the importance of taking both a wide and a narrow view, and in examining both specific locations and wider areas, to understand how Ottoman cities functioned. It also suggests that Edirne and its hinterland deserve considerably more attention, particularly in this period, as the space in which the Ottoman dynasty displayed itself to its subjects and rivals.

Going forward, it would also be interesting to delve more deeply into the Ottoman point of view. The ceremonial circles identified in this thesis may well fail to hold up when viewed from an Ottoman perspective. Ottoman travellers, though less numerous, provide one area for comparison. Evliya Çelebi, who visited before the court took up its semi-permanent residence, also climbed up a minaret of the Selimiye, but his view was totally different. Instead of Covel's "very mean and beastly place," he saw signs of

wealth and power, counting the lead domes and enumerating the palaces of the notables, and looked down on an "orchard of paradise [where] angels played in the waters of the Tunca."[183] A comparison with other texts that include movement, such as Evliya's *Seyahatname* or Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa's *Vekayiname* might produce promising results.

These works would also help to provide information on a key missing player in my work: the sultan himself. Though Mehmed IV appears occasionally in my authors' works, he is always seen from afar (even if Covel does occasionally come physically quite close). Mehmed IV's use and understanding of the city and its surroundings must have had a profound impact on him, since he decided to spend so much of his reign there. And his son, Mustafa II, whose circumcision occurred here in 1675, initiated building projects in this city that, had they been realized, may have reshaped Edirne into a true capital to replace Istanbul, a fact which is often seen as a factor in his overthrow.[184]

Today the skyline of Edirne is in many ways quite similar to how it was in Covel's time. The houses are now of four or five stories instead of one or two, but the minarets still jut upwards out of a gentle hill of roofs and trees (figure 24-25). On the other hand, the palace has almost completely vanished, the sultan's private gardens are now a public park, and the city, once at the center of an enormous empire, now straddles the border between three nation states. The site of the festival square is now used for grazing sheep, but the view of the city still remains.

Covel and the others went to Edirne with certain questions about the Ottoman state and the cultures of the "East," to which they sought answers from the city. Yet the city posted questions to them too. Covel's maps, I believe, are an attempt to answer some

[183] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, trans. Mümin Çevik, vol. 3 (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 2012), 365.
[184] Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles," 91–92.

of the questions that the city posed. Or, perhaps, a very detailed way to avoid answering. Eventually the questions overwhelmed him, and he lost interest in providing an answer. "Some that knowe me," he wrote, "may wonder what the devil bewitch me to stay in this Hell of a place ; and in good earnest I have wondered at myself, but that Fate (I think indeed) was written in my heart, and now begins to be obliterated"[185]

Figure 24: A modern view of Edirne from the garden of the Muradiye Mosque (built 1435). The Selimiye is prominent on top of the hill to the left, while the forest on the plain to the right marks the location of the Edirne Palace. Photograph by the author.

Figure 25: Two modern views of Edirne, showing the persistence of aspects of the early modern skyline, such as the mosque rising amidst a sea of trees, and the skyline dominance of minarets. Photographs by the author.

[185] Bent, "Extracts from the Diaries of John Covel," 246–47.

Appendix A

Timeline of the Levant Company's Stay in Edirne, 1675[186]

2 May	**Levant Company departs Pera**, arrives in Küçükçekmece
3 May	to Büyükçekmece
4 May	to Silivri
5 May	to Çorlu
6 May	to Karıştıran
7 May	to Lüleburgaz
8 May	to Babaeski
9 May	to Havsa
10 May	**Ceremonial Entry of English into Edirne**
15 May	**Festival of Circumcision Begins**
16 May	Procession of Trades
19 May	Audience of Levant Company with Grand Vizier
25 May	Procession of Circumcision
27 May	Procession for Muhammad's Birthday
29 May	**Festival of Circumcision Ends**
10 June	**Festival of Marriage Begins**
14 June	Daily entertainment at groom's house begins
19 June	Procession of Dowry
23 June	Procession of Marriage
28 June	**Festival of Marriage Ends**
30 June – 1 July	Races in field near Demirtaş
Early July	**Plague Begins**
27 July	Audience of Levant Company with Mehmed IV
19 September	**Levant Company departs Edirne**, arrives in Havsa
20 September	to Babaeski
21 September	to Lüleburgaz
22 September	to Karıştıran
23 September	to Çorlu – Covel makes detour to Misinli village
24 September	to Silivri – Covel makes long detour to Heraclea, gets in trouble for arriving late to Silivri
25 September	to Büyükçekmece
26 September	to Küçükçekmece
27 September	**Arrive in Pera**

[186] Soo, "The Architectural Setting of 'Empire,'" 219.

Appendix B

A Map of Covel's Journey to and from Edirne

Figure 26: A Modern Map of Covel's Journey. The yellow line is the (approximate) path of the Levant Company in both directions; white lines are the detours that Covel took on his own on his return journey.

Appendix C

The Urban Layout of Edirne in the 1670s

Figure 27: The Urban Layout of Edirne in the 1670s: This map shows the locations (sometimes approximate) of certain ceremonial and physical features of Edirne remarked upon by the English and French visitors. Note the Festival Square (Sırık Meydanı) in red, and the Selimiye in green in the center of the town. Note also that the location of roads is based on a map from the 19th century, and while it is likely that there were only minor changes to the street grid before that time, they should be taken as approximations.[187]

[187] The map is the "Plan d'Andrinople" by M. Osmont, reproduced in Yerolympos, "A Contribution to the Topography of 19th Century Adrianople," 62.

Appendix D

Some Places Around Edirne Mentioned in Covel's Journals

Figure 28: Map of some towns and buildings around Edirne noted in the text.

Appendix E

Etymology of Havsa

How this town came to be named Khávsa, give me leave to tell you a merry story, as I had it recounted to me by our cheif *turgeman*. On the east side runs a little river with a stone bridge over it, which we past going into town. Sultan Selim (nicknamed *Sherhósh*, i.e. drunken), once passing over this water, offer'd to water his horse. And he refusing to drink, the Grand Signor whistled to him; the horse still refused. There was near (amongst some of his women who were there in tents) a very fine woman, a stranger, who fell presently a laughing at it heartily, and cry'd: "it is just so with my Husband and me, for he (who was an old, old man) lyes by me a whole night and continually intreats me to let him injoy me; 'dear heart, pre the be kind to me and let me befrollick with thee,' etc. For my part I lye still and say nothing, but alwayes am expecting he should fall on, which he never does. Just so it is with the Grand Signor and his horse; the water is before him, he may take his fill if he will, what needs this whistling?" The Grand Signor soon heard of the story and liking the merry humour of the mad Girle, sent for her to his Seraglio and used her as his mistress. One day sporting together he made her confounded drunk, and she being then past her sences, he took a cowcumber and put it where something else had been before, and leaves her with it in that place. When she came to herself and remembered that none was with her but him, and therefore concluded it could be nobody else that had served her this trick but he, she resolved to study some witty revenge, which thus she effected; she took the cowcumber and immediately pickled it up, and within 2 or 3 dayes after, the Grand Signor being very hot and thirsty with some kind of exercise or other, cal'd her and desir'd her for God's sake to give him something to drink quench his thirst. She immediately brought him a dish of sherbet, and because the Turkes seldome drink without eating a bit, she gave him some of this cowcumber very neatly sliced to eat with it. He being much pleased, commended it beyond all that ever he had tasted in his life, and asked her whence she had it. She told him it was of his own planting. He asked how; she told him, he had set it 2 or 3 days since in her garden. She might have had a great deal sowerer sauce to her jest, if it had been done to some other Grand Signors, but he was in so good humour as he spar'd her life, and gave her all her wealth and bad her begon. She came and settled in this town and gave it the name, from her own, which was Sultána *Khávsa*.[188]

[188] Covel, "Autograph Journal," fols. 185v-185r.

Appendix F

Description of the Festival Square

Cast an eye upon the next page where I have onely given the icknography (reserving the whole thing in prospective till we meet) and you will conceive me well enough.

First A.B. is one of the walls of the seraglio, from which at C.C. was built a large kéosk or summer house with *gelosía's* or lattices (just like ours in the garden) on the side toards the quadrangle, where came the Sultana and all the court ladyes to behold the sports. At D. was a door guarded by the Kurliraga and his brother geldings, who had their tents placed under the wall from thence to E. where were the white Eunuches, then at B. is another door, there were the capigébasha (chief porter) and his men; and from thence to F. were Bostangés and other officers of the Seraglio. On the opposite side by A was the Grand Signors tent and vizier's just alike, onely the golden balls above without are bigger then the vizier's. 0.0.0.0., the tent walls, 1.1. square tents or porticos fore entrance. 2. The round tent of audience. 3. Long tesnt of state or habitation; none can have tents of this forme and largeness but these two; other viziers of the Bench may have the long tent 3. and portico 1. inferior men onley the long tent, as at 4.5. with a kind of portico at one end which is made by lifting up a square piece of the tent. Before the Grand Signor's tent (towards the quadrangle) were two little square tents built, as 6. for the Grand Signor, 7 for the young prince; so had the Vizier one as 8. The *Tefterdár* (or cheif Treasurer) *Kaimacham* (or Lord Major of the Town) *Chiabéghi* (controuler [?] to the Janizaryes) etc. had their tents in order as at 4.o-o.5.etc. and at the corner σ.σ. was (amongst other tents) one erected with it's side (σ.σ.) to the quadrangle wherein were lay'd the new circumcised persons; of which you will hear more by and by. The fourth side, G.H. was open (as is said) onely severll machines were all along erected with lamps to represent in the night many curious things, as castles, *mosches*, etc. peacocks, storkes, etc. in general all sorts of birds, beasts, Turkish writings etc. which in good earnest is a most easy practicable thing, but extreamely pleasant and wonderfull to behold. You shall conceive something of it by this as followes, though there were infinite varietyes there, every night being a new contrivance; of which I shall shew you a better account when we meet.

First the fashion of the lamps you have at J. the bottom α is glasse, into which they put above two thirds water, the rest os oyl which floats on the top, in which they fix a cotton weck which burns well; from the edges of this rise up three or four wires to one point at B. by which it is hang'd. There is a 4 square wood cover to every one as at γ. To keep the wind and rain out, it is cased within with [tin?]. The water within (and sometimes the glasse itself) is of several coloures, green (to represent flowers), red (to represent the eyes of creatures), gold colour etc. these are likewise of severall bignesses to serve for severall contrivances. They had severall posts (or masts of ships) erected and by pulleys at the top they drew up a crossebeam (gall [?] like) as at o from which they let down strings and lamps to make their fancyfull representations as here you may conceive R.H. and thus they represented birds etc. as you may conceive at P. at the top of the poles, as at L.L. were several wheels upon one axes; the fellys [?] (or peripheryes) of which were also hang'd with lamps upon pins, so as the wheeles turned round and the lamps still hang'd perpendicular. And these wheeles were contrived to turn one one way

the other another, by cords as I can shew you, which I assure you gave very great delight. The[y] built 3 or 4 pyramids onely of rayles, and hang'd them as full of lamps as ever they would be, as at σ. Which shew most gloriously. Then there were severall machines like cones as Z.N. set [?] on poles so as to turne round with all their lamps upon them two large ones were contrived in such manner as severall such of them turn'd several ways as at N: the top 2.2. middle 4.4. then from east to west (suppose), the other two, 3.3, 5.5 from west to east. The first sort were set before the Grand Signor, Vizier (each of them 2) the Tefterdare, Chiabeghi etc. one apiece. The latter sort were set before the Sultana. To see these lights alone was worth my going to Adrianople, yet having once seen them I shall never goe to the door to see them again. Besides these lights there as a square plat in the middle of the side G.H. roped in, and all the ropes hang'd full of lamps. The theater being thus prepared, take this generall account first of very dayes passages.[189]

[189] Covel, fols. 196r-199v.

Appendix G

Description of the Circumcision

I know you long to learne a little of the manner of their circumcision; take it as follows. Ther persons that cut, may be any skilful person whatever ? office is in no wise divine or peculiar. The party to be cut stands in his shirt; the cutter first pulls the preputium fully back {then?] by degrees drawe it over the glans that he may get as much of itas may be; then stretching it very strongly, if the party be a yeare he cuts it of without any more adoe for the glans will appear so plainly as anyone may avoy'd cutting it, but if the party be young, they have a thin plate of silver (or the like) which they put upon the preputium after it is stretch't out, and then cut it; this is the way likewise of the Jewes which I have seen many times, onely the jewes after they have thus cut their infants put back the remainder of the preputium, and rend it of from the {froemd?] round and then suck the blood away, all which is omitted here. The party cut is held by a strong man who stands behind him and takes him in his armes. The cutter (and many times the standers by and sometimes the person cut) in the very action pronounce *Alláh* which is the name of God. I am very well persuaded (I will be free with you my friend) that circumcision was first brought in amongst the Eastern nations out of convenience (however afterwards Abraham came to make it a sacrament), for many of them have prodigious preputiums, which must needs hinder the act of generation, where the *penis* doth not quite excert itself, or else give great pain to may where it doth. As I could [instance in af… with you know much a businesse ? to the same perpose (it was he that rob'd Mr. Stanford of his barnwell Mistresse)]

I saw a man there about 40 (or something lesse) they say he was a Georgian, who had his preputium at least 1 inch long before it was stretch't, and when it was cut of I dare swear it would have cover'd the palm of my hand, his *penis* being of the largest size, and his perputium most extravagantly prominent; I warrant you the man if he had the convenient use of women both before and after, found my conjecture true; but no more of that point now.

After the persons are cut they put a little *mastic* and *sang. Dracon* or *bol. Arm.* Or the like in powder upon the wound and some [ayes?] cotton or the like round upon it; and they then were layd down in the tent, where they lay all night; there being all along prepared beds and bedding upon the ground for them; half lying on one side half on the other side the tent head to head from end to end. The forme of the plate of silver which they use both jewes and Turks in cutting little boyes is this that followeth.

The jewes strictly observe their law to this day and circumcise their children at the 8th day, but the Turkes seldome before they be 6 or 7 years old; I observed those of riper yeares suffer more by it then the others, as is already hinted, many having swooning or fainting fits, whereas the little boys would give a little [serite?] and all was over immediately. Whiles these were cutting the dances and sports are still continued till *ackshám*, that is the hour of prayer just at sunset.[190]

[190] Covel, fols. 210v-211r.

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