SILKS AND STONES: FOUNTAINS, PAINTED KAFTANS, AND OTTOMANS IN EARLY MODERN MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA[*]

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Buildings are arguably the last thing that comes to our mind when we talk about circulation of luxury goods and diffusion of consumption practices. Their sheer size and mass explain their tendency to remain in one place throughout their existence and bestow upon them an aura of immutability. This "spatial fix" of the built environment, both in terms of individual buildings and architectural landscapes, means that while they may change hand, they are unable to move across space. This immobility is by no means absolute, as shown by the well-known relocation of the Pergamon altar from western Anatolia to the Museum Island in Berlin, or shorter distances covered by dozens of churches in Bucharest, displaced from their original sites during the urban reconstruction of the 1980s. However, these instances do not change the fact that while both buildings and smaller luxury items constitute vehicles conveying their owners' wealth and social status, they seemingly belong to two different realms, with little overlap between them.

However, as scholarship produced in recent decades has shown, approaching these two spheres of human activity as a dynamic and interactive whole can produce valuable insights into how architecture and luxury commodities construed and expressed social and political identity. As Alina Payne pointed out, buildings and whole sites could become portable and travel by proxy, in the form of drawings, descriptions, and fragments of buildings.[1] At the same time, the architectural environment provides the spatial frame for the social and cultural life of humans and objects alike: the spatial distribution of luxury items within the household allows us to reconstruct the topography of conspicuous display and everyday

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[1] Alina Payne, *Introduction: The Republic of the Sea*, in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archeology and the Poetics of Influence*, ed. by Alina Payne, Leiden, Boston, 2014, pp. 3–4.

strategies of self-representation.[2] The link between architectural topography and portable luxury objects resulted, at its most prominent, in the latter made with a single architectural setting in mind. A case in this regard is that of the silk *kiswa* coverings sent annually by the Ottoman sultans during the Ramadan to Mecca for Ka'ba sanctuary. Finally, as Ruth Barnes and Mary-Louise Totton have demonstrated for the medieval and early modern Indian Ocean, human mobility, luxury textiles, and architecture converged, contributing to the transfer of decorative motifs from fabrics to architectural decoration.[3]

This new focus on the interaction between portable objects, architecture, and human agency constitutes part of a broader change within the realms of art and architecture history. In the words of Nancy Stieber, the architecture historians' attention has increasingly focused "on the contingent, the temporary, and the dynamic, on processes rather than structures, on hybridity rather than consistency, on the quotidian as well as the extraordinary, on the periphery as well as the centre, on reception as well as production."[4] This preoccupation with the tangibility of objects, social practices, and cultural identities, opens new vistas, allows us to revisit the established narratives and provides us with a perspective beyond the entrenched master narratives of material culture as a succession of styles and categories.

The shift from essentialist towards a practice-oriented approach to architecture is of particular importance in the context of early modern Moldavia and Wallachia, and the Ottoman footprint on the material and cultural landscape of the principalities. The Ottoman-style material culture dominated the local patterns of consumption and aesthetic tastes well into the nineteenth century before being replaced by the shift towards Western European models, associated with a nascent national identity. However, for nation-oriented politicians and intellectuals, like Mihail Kogălniceanu and Alecu Russo, the Ottoman-style attire was a source of embarrassment that held the Romanian nation away from returning to its "natural" historical trajectory towards European modernity. Thus, both the sartorial revolution of the nineteenth century and the urban reconstruction along Western lines were meant to "de-Ottomanize" the landscape and replace "oriental" architectural vestiges with Paris-style houses and public edifices.[5]

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[2] Gudrun Andersson, *A Mirror of Oneself: Possessions and the Manifestation of Status among a Local Swedish Elite, 1650–1770*, in "Cultural and Social History," 3, 2006, no. 1, pp. 21–44.

[3] Ruth Barnes, *The Painted Decoration: An Influence from Indian Textiles*, in *The 'Amiriya in Rada': The History and Restoration of a Sixteenth-Century Madrasa in the Yemen*, ed. by Selma al-Radi, Oxford, 1997, pp. 139–148; Mary-Louise Totton, *Cosmopolitan Tastes and Indigenous Designs – Virtual Cloth in Javanese Candi*, in *Textiles in Indian Ocean Societies*, ed. by Ruth Barnes, London, New York, 2004, pp. 105–125.

[4] Nancy Stieber, *Architecture between Disciplines*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians," 62, 2003, no. 2, p. 176.

[5] Emanuela Costantini, *Dismantling the Ottoman Heritage? – The Evolution of Bucharest in the 19th Century*, in *Ottoman Legacies in the Contemporary Mediterranean: The Balkans and the Middle East Compared*, ed. by Eyal Ginio, Karl Kaser, Jerusalem, 2013, pp. 231–254. For other instances of urban "de-Ottomanization" see Yorgos Koumaridis, *Urban Transformation and De-Ottomanization in Greece*, in "East Central Europe," 33, 2006, nos. 1–2, pp. 213–241.

The underlying assumption about the inherent incompatibility between Ottoman material culture and essentialized Romanian identity as one of European nation has permeated historical studies. However, there are significant nuances in its application between art history and architectural studies. Whereas the sartorial impact of the Ottoman center on the elite culture in the principalities is too salient to ignore (although it is often cast in a negative light), early modern Moldavian and Wallachian architectural heritage has been employed to argue that the Danubian principalities[6] had never been part of the Ottoman Empire. In an oft-cited fragment of Edgar Quinet's 1856 article, the French historian argued that the fact that there had been no mosques in either Moldavia or Wallachia constitutes a proof that the Ottoman conquest never took place.[7]

Despite being primarily adopted in the debate on the political and juridical status of the Danubian principalities vis-à-vis the Sublime Porte, the argument is deeply problematic. Firstly, it conflates two phenomena – Ottoman conquest and mosque construction – which, although interrelated, were nonetheless distinct from each other. In some instances, the erection of a congregational mosque (*cami*) could take place with a significant delay, or be abandoned altogether, due to considerations that had little to do with the conquest.[8] Secondly, it overemphasizes monumental architecture over residential architecture, which predominated numerically in the urban fabric, and constituted the primary frame in which social life unfolded.[9]

[6] Throughout the present study, I employ the term of "Danubian principalities" to describe the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. While this expression is admittedly anachronistic, as it was coined in the late eighteenth century, its usage is nonetheless justified by established practice and lack of better alternatives. Employing another term frequently used in modern Romanian – *ţările române extracarpatice* ("Romanian lands beyond the Carpathians") – is not only unwieldy, but also even more anachronistic, teleologically presenting Moldavia and Wallachia as preludes to the Romanian nation-state. Thus, while the notion of "Danubian principalities" is by no means an ideal solution, the choice to employ it seems the most convenient one.

[7] Edgar Quinet, *Les Roumains*, in "Revue des deux mondes," 2, 1856, no. 2, pp. 26–27.

[8] A document from the *kadi* register of Tuzla, published by Nenad Dostović, illustrates the process of conversion of the local mosque (*mescid*) into a congregational mosque (*cami*) in the Bosnian locality of Miričina, which took place in 1644/1645. As he points out, the process of establishing a *cami* was by no means automatic. The Porte's main concern was if the number of Muslims in this Vlach village warranted the establishment of a congregational mosque, since a small number of faithful attending the mosque would diminish the sultan's prestige, see Nenad Dostović, *Dva dokumenta iz tuzlanskog sidžila iz 1054–55./1644–45. godine u Gazi Husrev-begovoj Bibioteci*, in "Anali Gazi Husrev-begovoj Biblioteke," 41, 2012, pp. 61, 72. While more in-depth and comparative research is required to address this issue, the Ottoman authorities' preoccupation with the size of the local Islamic community would explain both why the establishment of mosques frequently coincided with conquest (the new places of worship being frequented by the local garrison, augmented by new converts), and why the relatively small number of Muslim permanent residents in the Danubian principalities did not lead to the establishment of *cami*s in Bucharest and Iaşi.

[9] On the general tendency to overemphasize monumental over residential architecture in the Ottoman Empire, see Tülay Artan, *Questions of Ottoman Identity and Architectural History*, in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. by Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Özkaya, London, New York, 2006, p. 86.

Despite some differences in layout that have been noted by Romanian art historians, this variation falls within the parameters of the one that characterized the Ottoman lands.[10] Similarly, the descriptions and depictions of the urban landscape of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Moldavian and Wallachian built environment make clear their similarities to the Ottoman architectural idiom, further reinforced by the similarities in everyday practices and portable material culture. Although subsequent waves of modern urban reconstruction that targeted primarily secular edifices have obscured this aspect of Moldavian-Wallachian built environment, it is crucial to keep in mind when approaching the extant architectural monuments, predominantly religious in nature.

A final issue regarding Quinet's (and subsequent generations of historians') hypothesis is the approach to Orthodox monumental architecture in Moldavia and Wallachia as a sign of rejection of Ottoman culture and identity. As I have argued elsewhere, by founding new churches and monasteries, Moldavian and Wallachian elites indeed engaged in a defensive "confessionalization of space," imbuing the landscape of the principalities with Orthodox identity as a mechanism to retain the socio-political system which guaranteed their privileged status and control of political and economic resources.[11] However, the fact that the boyars made an effort to shore up the precarious position of the Danubian principalities within the broader imperial system and retain confessionally-marked land in the hands of the Orthodox elite did not necessarily mean that they rejected, or even pretended to reject, the Ottoman cultural idiom and identity. As all architectural monuments, Moldavian and Wallachian ecclesiastical edifices were able to convey a variety of meanings and constituted the primary *loci* of public self-fashioning of their endowers, whose strategies went well beyond the statements of their piety. In effect, and somewhat ironically, the same churches cited by historians as proof of the boyars' anti-Ottoman stance provide us with abundant evidence of an Ottoman-style material culture that Moldavian and Wallachian elites so eagerly embraced.

When we look at the extant votive paintings preserved in Moldavian and Wallachian churches of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we cannot help but be dazzled by the meticulous representations of the attire donned by the founders (*ctitor*s). Given that few pieces of clothing from the period remain and even fewer can be attributed to a particular owner, these frescoes provide us with

[10] On the differences between Balkan and Moldavian-Wallachian house types, see Corina Nicolescu, *Case, conace şi palate vechi româneşti*, Bucharest, 1979, pp. 26–27. On the Ottoman house type and its relatively brief popularity, see Maurice Cerasi, *The Formation of Ottoman House Types: A Comparative Study in Interaction with Neighboring Cultures*, in "Muqarnas," 15, 1998, pp. 116–156. On Bulgarian lands, see Georgi Kozhuharov, *Bulgarskata kushta prez pet stoletiya: kraya na XIV–XIX vek*, Sofia, 1967, pp. 33–34. Cristian Nicolae Apetrei, *Reşedinţele boiereşti din Ţara Românească şi Moldova în secolele XIV–XVI*, Brăila, 2009, for the earlier period.

[11] Michał Wasiucionek, *Danube-Hopping: Conversion, Jurisdiction and Spatiality between the Ottoman Empire and the Danubian Principalities in the Seventeenth Century*, in *Conversion and Islam in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Lure of the Other*, ed. by Claire Norton, London, New York, 2017, p. 88.

the bulk of visual sources on the elites' sartorial preferences and material culture. However, this begs the question: why paint silks on stones in the first place? The question has been largely ignored by scholars addressing the material culture of the early modern Danubian principalities and treated as a non-issue. However, as I will argue, despite being seemingly trivial, the question may lead us to non-trivial conclusions. Rather than mere depictions of reality, the detailed representations of Ottoman kaftans force us to consider them as essential markers of identity and self-fashioning, deeply embedded not only in the local Moldavian-Wallachian context but also in the broader processes across the empire.

As I will argue, once we set these painted textiles against the broader background of architectural and social change in the Danubian principalities and the Ottoman Empire, we can observe the degree to which the Moldavian and Wallachian boyars adopted (and adapted) practices of architectural and artistic patronage radiating from the imperial center, and incorporated them into their practices and modes of self-representation. Although they did not erect mosques and remained attached to the Greek Orthodox faith, they did not shy away from their association with the Ottoman material culture and Ottoman identity itself. On the contrary, explicit references to the imperial origin of luxury objects, the inclusion of decorative motifs with explicit references to their Ottoman origins, and the dynamics of architectural patronage paralleling those of Istanbul – all this points to the boyars' eagerness to embrace imperial cultural idiom and adapt it to express their own identity and social status as a peripheral elite of the empire and participants in the Ottoman early modernity.[12]

To elucidate this phenomenon, the present study is divided into two main sections. In the first section, I address the issue of architectural models and practices of patronage in the Danubian principalities, setting them against a broader background of architectural dynamics in the Ottoman Empire. As I argue, once we discard the Orientalist notion of "post-classical" Ottoman architecture as stagnant, and focus our attention on dynamics rather than individual buildings, we notice surprising similarities in the practices of architectural patronage and stylistic choices, a trend that reached its peak in the 1760s within the sphere of secular architecture. Subsequently, I move towards the question of silks painted on the walls of Moldavian and Wallachian churches. As I argue, rather than being a transparent medium capturing realities of the time, the labor-intensive process of depicting elaborate and indelibly decorative motifs of the kaftans and their differentiation signifies their role in representing identities and reinforcing social hierarchies. This role of Ottoman kaftans painted on church walls was not only due to their sumptuousness, but rather their social life as "inalienable possessions" received from the sultan, thus introducing the association with the Ottoman center as a source of

[12] On the topic of Ottoman early modernity, see Shirine Hamadeh, *Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the "Inevitable" Question of Westernization*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians," 63, 2004, no. 1, pp. 32–51.

symbolic capital. I also focus on the painted decoration of the Stelea Monastery, examining the inclusion of Ottoman motifs as autonomous elements in the Wallachian decorative repertoire and the possible role of silk kaftans as potential proxies that allowed the pictorial décor to travel from Ottoman mosques to Moldavian-Wallachian churches.

FOUNDATIONS *ALLA TURCA*? FOUNTAINS, LEISURE, AND PRACTICES OF ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE

Two paradigms have plagued until recently the study of Ottoman architecture and built environment. The first was the model of the "Islamic city," which proposed the existence of an atemporal and religious-specific system of arranging urban space and the patterns of social life within it. This purported blueprint included a division of the population into ethnically-organized *mahalla*s, with a central spot in each occupied by a mosque and a bazaar grouping specialized artisans according to their trade, with narrow, winding streets flanked by inward-looking houses. Although developed on a limited set of North African *kasbah*s, the model of a uniform Islamic city has been widely accepted among scholars as a one-size-fits-all paradigm for all urban centers of the Islamic world. Only in the 1980s the new wave of revisionist scholarship challenged the established notion, pointing out that "the idea of the Islamic city was constructed by a series of Western authorities who drew upon a small and eccentric sample of pre-modern Arab cities on the eve of Westernization, but more than that, drew upon one another in an *isnad* [chain of transmission – M.W.] of authority."[13] Rather than an undifferentiated and static site, the new scholarship reframed the urbanism of the Islamic world as a dynamic process, emphasizing how human interactions, economic currents, and cultural fashions continually redefined and reshaped such cities as Istanbul, Isfahan, or Mocha.[14]

In the Ottoman case, another historiographical challenge is the juxtaposition of the glorious "classical" period, with its peak during the reign of Süleyman (r. 1520–1566), juxtaposed to the purported period of stagnation and decline. Since the overwhelming "decline" paradigm has repeatedly been debunked by Ottomanists and is all but defunct among specialists, I will focus on the cultural and artistic dimension of the paradigm and its subsequent rejection. According to the "declinist" model, the political efflorescence of the Süleymanic age also signified the artistic and cultural peak of the Ottoman culture and arts. In the case of architecture, the pivotal character was Mimar Sinan (d. 1588), whose monumental and prolific oeuvre was a crowning achievement and at the same time a swansong of the Ottoman building tradition. However, as the imperial edifice began to crumble, so did its cultural and artistic achievements.

[13] Janet Abu-Lughod, *The Islamic City: Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance*, in "International Journal of Middle East Studies," 19, 1987, no. 2, p. 155.

[14] Nancy Um, *The Merchant Houses of Mocha: Trade and Architecture in an Indian Ocean Port*, Seattle, 2009.

Revisionist scholarship on Ottoman cultural and architectural history agrees that the reign of Süleyman constituted a crucial watershed when the self-confidence of the Ottoman elite and the aspirations to universal monarchy led to the emergence of a relatively uniform imperial visual idiom in a variety of artistic media.[15] The formulation of a distinct style occurred in a competitive atmosphere, as it was meant to surpass both those of the Porte's imperial rivals (the Safavid Empire and the Habsburgs), as well as the achievements of the past.[16] However, where the scholarship departs from the trodden path is by emphasizing that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not spell decline or ossification, but rather a reformulation of Ottoman culture along different lines, driven primarily by internal dynamics rather than the impact of the West. At the center of this discussion is the concept of the "Tulip Age." First proposed by Ahmed Refik (Altınay) in the 1910s, the label meant to describe the period of 1718–1730 that the historian saw as the period of excessive consumption and profligacy, but also the first wave of Western impact on the Ottoman Empire and attempts at reform.[17] While accepted throughout the twentieth century, the concept of Tulip Age as the beginning of Westernization has come under fire from numerous quarters, with scholars questioning the role of European influences or even the distinctiveness of the period.[18] Instead, the stress is put on continuity and domestic factors in bringing about changes in cultural patterns and aesthetic preferences. Two "icons" of purported Europeanization – Saadabad Palace and Nuruosmaniye mosque in Istanbul – have been reclassified and reinterpreted as more indebted to local and Persian traditions rather than Western inspiration.[19] What we observe is the shift in social practices and identities, marked by what Shirine Hamadeh has called a *décloisonnement* of Ottoman culture, the emphasis on leisure, and a new phenomenon of "middle-class" architectural patronage, centered around fountains and public gardens.[20] At the same time, the

[15] Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court*, Bloomington, 2013, pp. 11–15; Gülrü Necipoğlu, *From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth Century Ceramic Tiles*, in "Muqarnas," 7, 1990, pp. 136–170; Serpil Bağçı, *Presenting Vassal Kalender's Works: The Prefaces to Three Ottoman Albums*, in "Muqarnas," 30, 2013, pp. 255–313.

[16] Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture*, in "Muqarnas," 10, 1993, pp. 169–180.

[17] For a fascinating account of the historiographical invention of the "Tulip Age," see Can Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West? The Origins of the Tulip Age and Its Development in Modern Turkey*, London, New York, 2003.

[18] Selim Karahasanoğlu, *A Tulip Age Legend: Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in the Ottoman Empire (1718–1730)*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton, 2009; Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, Seattle, 2009, p. 138.

[19] Selva Suman, *Questioning an "Icon of Change": The Nuruosmaniye Complex and the Writing of Ottoman Architectural History (1)*, in "METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture," 28, 2011, 2, pp. 145–166; Can Erimtan, *The Perception of Saadabad: The 'Tulip Age' and Ottoman-Safavid Rivalry*, in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Dana Sajdi, London, New York, 2003, pp. 41–62.

[20] Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p. 75.

focus of the Istanbulite elite's social life shifted from the walled city to *yalı*s (seafront residences) on the shores of the Bosphorus.[21]

Moldavian and Wallachian elites were by no means oblivious to these developments. Already in the 1690s, Dimitrie Cantemir inhabited a *yalı* in the district Ortaköy on the European shore of the strait and left a drawing of his waterfront residence (Figure 3). He was not the only member of the Moldavian-Wallachian elite to partake in the newly-fashionable *villegiatura*. In the eighteenth century, the *yalı*s belonging to the Orthodox elites of the capital concentrated in the districts of Kuruçeşme, Yeniköy, and İstinye, all three with a predominantly non-Muslim population. However, no district was confessionally uniform; although the authorities tried to enforce some level of distinction between houses belonging to Muslims and *zimmi*s, the high demand and rapid pace of turnover driven by commercial transactions and political confiscations blurred the boundaries, meaning that Muslims and non-Muslims alike operated within the same built environment of waterfront residences.[22] In comparison with the architectural tradition epitomized by the Topkapı Palace, the new batch of palaces upstream was considerably lighter and not as preoccupied with "line-of-sight accessibility" as more traditional residences.[23] The emphasis instead was put on leisure, as evident by the proliferation of dedicated rooms, such as *kahve odası* (for coffee drinking) or *bülbülhane* (room intended for listening to nightingales).[24]

Replicating the Istanbulite model in the urban spaces of Moldavian and Wallachian capitals ran into objective obstacles of the sites' topography. The banks of neither Dâmbovița nor Bahlui offered sensory pleasures on par with that of the Bosphorus. Iaşi and Bucharest's population growth led to the contamination of water with human and animal waste and frequent floods certainly did not add to their allure as sites of leisure for the elite.[25] However, the shortage of potable water in the Moldavian capital incentivized the rulers and local elites to engage in another form of architectural patronage: the construction of fountains.

Fountains came in all shapes and forms in the eighteenth-century Istanbul, and they came in scores. According to an estimate by Shirine Hamadeh, in the century following the 1703 return of the court to the city, the Ottoman capital was adorned with over 360 fountains, almost triple the number from the previous century.[26]

[21] Tülay Artan, *Architecture as the Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus*, unpublished PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989, pp. 29–72.

[22] Tülay Artan provides a somewhat amusing example of a conservative jurist from Eyüp, who, after having bought a *yalı* in Yeniköy from a Greek physician, was forced to come to terms with a pub and a *şırahane* adjacent to his new residence, see *ibidem*, pp. 152–153.

[23] Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces*, in "Ars Orientalis," 23, 1993, pp. 303–342; Janet Abu-Lughod, *op. cit.*, pp. 167–169.

[24] Tülay Artan, *Architecture as the Theatre of Life*, p. 263.

[25] Bobi Apăvăloaei, *Alimentarea cu apă a oraşului Iaşi în perioada domniilor fanariote*, in "Cercetări istorice," n.s., 30–31, 2011–2012, p. 95.

[26] Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p. 76. Some scholars have attributed the proliferation of fountains to Westernization and the adoption of Baroque models, see Ali Uzay Peker, *Western Influences*

Starting from the 1720s, the Porte initiated a series of overhauls in the aqueduct network, repairing dilapidated sections and constructing new elements of water infrastructure. While part of this expansion can be attributed to demographic growth, the concern of supply seems not to have been a central impulse, nor did the initiative to build new fountains come from the authorities. Naturally, members of the dynasty, palace dignitaries, and state officials contributed to this frantic construction activity. However, the initiative belonged to a new category of middle-rank patrons, for whom the relative affordability of fountains provided an opportunity to engage in a public display and leave their mark on the urban fabric.[27]

Unlike Istanbul, Bucharest and Iaşi did not have a water supply system. In effect, potable water had to be brought in from Copou and Ciric, adding urgency to the establishment of an adequate system, but also providing an opportunity for the display of munificence and social status.[28] The first attempts to build an aqueduct seem to have occurred under Antonie Ruset, but it was only in the eighteenth century that a determined effort was made to provide reliable water supply. Starting from the reign of Grigore II Ghica, several voivodes engaged in the infrastructural expansion. The progress was undone on several occasions by natural disaster or political shifts, but by the second half of the century, a small, but functioning system of water supply was already in place. From its beginning, it has been a distinctly Ottoman-inspired enterprise, in step with the fountain boom occurring in the imperial capital. Istanbul provided know-how in two *suiulgi*s, Dima and Constantin (who supervised the construction since the 1730s until the 1770s), and construction

on the Ottoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of Istanbul, in "Eighteenth-Century Life," 26, 2002, no. 3, pp. 139–163. However, a growing body of literature has demonstrated major issues with this explanation and the concept of "Ottoman Baroque," pointing out instead to the internal dynamics of change within Ottoman aesthetics and visual culture.

[27] *Ibidem*, p. 81; eadem, *Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul*, in "Muqarnas," 19, 2002, pp. 123–148. For the proliferation of fountains in Balkan provinces, see Maximilian Hartmuth, *Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Architecture and the Problem of Scope: A Critical View from the Balkan 'Periphery,'* in *Thirteenth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. by Géza Dávid, Ibolya Gerelyes, Budapest, 2009, pp. 300–301.

[28] Unfortunately, the legal and symbolic nature of architectural patronage over fountains has been largely neglected in Romanian historiography, the only study addressing the topic being an article on well construction by Arcadie M. Bodale, who argues that well-digging was understood in a way similar to endowments of religious institutions (*ctitorie*), see Arcadie M. Bodale, *Fântânile şi dreptul de patronat*, in "Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Moldovei," 16, 2016, pp. 92–94. However, while arguing for the origins of this model in pre-Christian beliefs, Orthodox tradition and drawing parallels with Western models, the author ignores the possibility of the influence of the Islamic institution of pious endowment (*vakıf*), despite the fact that numerous Orthodox institutions throughout the Ottoman space operated as *vakıf*s, see Sophia Laiou, *Diverging Realities of a Christian Vakıf, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century*, in "Turkish Historical Review," 3, 2012, pp. 1–18; Eugenia Kermeli, *Ebu's Su'ud's Definition of Church Vakfs: Theory and Practice in Ottoman Law*, in *Islamic Law: Theory and Practice*, ed. by Robert Gleave, Eugenia Kermeli, London, New York, 2001, pp. 141–156. This link is even more plausible given that at least one of the Wallachian voivodes of the eighteenth century – Nicolae Mavrogheni – established a *vakıf* to maintain three fountains he had constructed in his native village on Paros, see Sophia Laiou, *Between Pious Generosity and Faithful Service to the Ottoman State: The Vakıf of Nikolaos Mavrogenis, End of the Eighteenth Century*, in "Turkish Historical Review," 6, 2015, no. 2, pp. 151–174.

materials, with Ottoman authorities shipping in 1766 four hundred lead pipes necessary for repairs.[29] While most *çeşme*s constructed during this period have been destroyed in subsequent reconstruction, it is clear that their decorative form replicated the forms in vogue in the Ottoman capital (see Figures 6 and 7). Thus, in contrast to the established narrative, which ascribes urban development and the appearance of new public amenities to European influences, the construction of Iaşi's water supply system – arguably the most significant infrastructural enterprise in the city during this period – points to Moldavia's continued connection to the Ottoman patterns of architectural patronage and technological expertise.[30]

This Ottoman cultural model behind Moldavian fountains becomes even more salient in the case of the twin fountains flanking the gate of *Sfântul Spiridon* Monastery in Iaşi. The fountains were constructed in 1765 on the initiative of Grigore Ghica III and the quality of their execution prompted some scholars to theorize that they were manufactured in the ateliers of Istanbul and only subsequently brought to Iaşi.[31] Their stylistic features closely resemble those of the Golia *çeşme* built in the same period. Unlike the latter, however, they are accompanied by a total of four inscriptions in Romanian, Greek, and Ottoman Turkish (two), eulogizing the voivode and his achievement. The choice of the three languages unequivocally indicates three facets of the voivode's identity: as Moldavian ruler, well-educated member of the Greek cultural milieu, and a member of the Ottoman imperial elite. What is even more fascinating – and indicative – are the contents and style of the inscriptions. The Ottoman inscription is not, strictly speaking, a chronogram (*tarih-i menzume*); however, it employs a poetic repertoire of this genre, praising the ruler and the fountains, claiming that "those who are thirsty, are thankful for those fountains with two pipes, with the water running as if from two eyes of a lover, and they will remember that Grigore *Bey* filled Iaşi with joy bringing this water sweet as honey!" Nearly all those tropes can be easily found in the contemporary chronograms of Ottoman fountains, as the poetic genre enjoyed particular efflorescence during this period. The motif of the "thirsty public" (*li'l-'atışın*) enjoying the sweet and fragrant waters of the fountains thanks to the contribution of the endower appears on virtually all eighteenth-century Istanbulite *çeşme*s and in *şehrengiz* poetry.[32] Similarly, a metaphor of a fountain as a lover (or vice versa) belongs to the established Ottoman repertoire.[33]

[29] *Relaţiile româno-orientale (1711–1821): documente turceşti*, ed. by Valeriu Veliman, Bucharest, 1984, doc. 157; Bobi Apăvăloaei, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–99.

[30] The impact of the "fountain craze" in eighteenth-century Istanbul on the waterworks in the Moldavian capital is also discussed in Laurenţiu Rădvan, Andrei Melinte, *Alimentarea cu apă în oraşul Iaşi: influenţe, reţea, tehnologie (secolul al XVII-lea – jumătatea secolului al XIX-lea)*, in "Historia Urbana," 25, 2017, p. 22.

[31] Sorin Iftimi, *Turnul bisericii Sfântul Spiridon din Iaşi, un monument între două lumi*, in *Oraşul din spaţiul românesc între Orient şi Occident. Tranziţia de la medievalitate la modernitate*, ed. by Laurenţiu Rădvan, Iaşi, 2007, p. 105.

[32] Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, p. 179.

[33] See, for instance Walter G. Andrews, Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*, Durham, London, 2005, p. 49.

However, the style of Ottoman *tevarih-i menzume* does not end with the Ottoman inscription, but rather spills into the Romanian one as well: "The Pool of Siloam, the pond of Solomon, / The streams of miracle-maker Spiridon / Are the source of health for the place of the sick, / Joy and life to all in Iaşi. / Third Grigore Alexandru Ghica giveth / So that the townfolk can multiply / Lo! You who are thirsty come and drink the water of life!"[34]

Apart from rhetoric employed, which again parallels those of Ottoman chronograms and emphasizes the munificence of the ruler, the author's choice of Biblical figures and places is interesting. The reference to Saint Spiridon as the patron saint of the adjacent monastery is uncontroversial, but the Pool of Siloam and the figure of Solomon make it a somewhat ecumenical text, glossing over the religious differences between Islam and Christianity. The Pool of Siloam, cited in the Old Testament was venerated not only by the Jews but also by Muslims: in the thirteenth century, some medieval authors claimed that the spring was associated with the Zamzam spring in Mecca and described it as one of the springs of Paradise.[35] Even more saliently, in the Ottoman conquest, King Solomon was frequently mentioned, not only due to his role in Islamic tradition but also as an allusion to the "Second Solomon," namely Sultan Süleyman.[36] Thus, it is quite likely that the presence of both in the *Sfântul Spiridon* inscription tapped both into the Orthodox and Islamic traditions.

The inclusion of chronogram-style laudatory inscriptions was by no means restricted to a single case. A chronogram-like inscription, written in *sulus* script, dated 1731 and currently housed at the Museum of History in Iaşi uses both Ottoman language and political repertoire to eulogize the fountain that had likely been placed either at Frumoasa Monastery or in the courtyard of the voivodal palace.[37] This sudden popularity and its striking similarity to the fountain and *tarih* craze of the imperial capital show that the adoption of architectural patronage patterns of the imperial center was an important tool for eighteenth-century self-fashioning of the Moldavian elite. This impact of Istanbulite visual idiom also explains more subtle adaptations of style, such as the incorporations of models radiating from Nuruosmaniyye Mosque in the churches of *Sfinţii Teodori* and *Sfântul Gheorghe* in the Moldavian capital.[38] As Maximilian Hartmuth rightly pointed out,

[34] "*Fântâna lui Siloam, scăldătoare lui Solomon, / Pârăile făcătorului de minuni Spiridon / Izvorăsc sănătate într-a bolnavilor lăcaş / Desfătare, viaţă tuturor în Iaş. / A triilea Grigorie Alecsandru Ghica dăruieşte /Şi către toţi de obşte darul de înmulţeşte. / Însetaţilor, vedeţi să dobândiţi viaţa apelor!*"

[35] Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage*, Leiden, 1995, pp. 81, 171.

[36] On this topic, see particularly Gülrü Necipoğlu, *The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation*, in "Muqarnas," 3, 1985, pp. 92–117; Johan Mårtelius, *The Süleymaniye Complex as the Center of the World*, in "A|Z ITU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture," 12, 2015, no. 2, pp. 49–57.

[37] S. Iftimi, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[38] Lucia Ionescu, *Barocul târziu moldovenesc în arhitectura ieşeană*, in "Ioan Neculce: Buletinul Muzeului de Istorie a Moldovei," n.s., 4–7, 1998–2001, p. 321; Gheorghe Balş, *Bisericile şi mănăstirile moldoveneşti din veacurile al XVII-lea şi al XVIII-lea*, Bucharest, 1933, p. 450.

the imperial capital remained a point of reference for both the Ottoman and Moldavian-Wallachian architecture throughout the eighteenth century.[39]

This practices of architectural patronage coincided with similar currents in other spheres of intellectual activity in this period. In the field of historiography and literary production, we observe a trend towards identification with the Ottoman Empire as the elites' "identity space" superimposed over that of individual principalities. It is in the eighteenth century that we find in Romanian literature historical or para-historical works on the Ottoman Empire, such as those of Ianache Văcărescu, Popa Flor, or Dionisie Fotino.[40] This period also witnessed an outpour of Romanian-Turkish or Greek-Turkish dictionaries, phrasebooks and conversation manuals, suggesting a growing demand among the elite to master Ottoman Turkish.[41] These developments, just as those in the realm of architecture, suggest a strong affinity and self-identification with the Ottoman imperial edifice and culture. Thus, when Ianache Văcărescu described himself as a "Turk" during his diplomatic mission to Vienna in 1782, there is no reason to doubt that the label conveyed a facet of his political, though not confessional, identity.[42]

Two principal objections could be raised against this argument. The first one touches on the distinction between architectural style and influence. Does the adoption of aforementioned elements warrant the classification of eighteenth-century Moldavian-Wallachian architecture as Ottoman? The gist of the argument seems to be in the

[39] Maximilian Hartmuth, *Die Kunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts im unteren Donauraum (Rumänien, Bulgarien, Ukraine) in Zusammenhang mit dem Phänomen Barock*, in *Barocke Kunst und Kultur im Donauraum*, vol. 1, ed. by Karl Möseneder, Michael Thimann, Adolf Hofstetter, Petersberg, 2014, p. 183; idem, *Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 295–308.

[40] Popa Flor, *Chipurile împăraţilor turceşti împreună cu istoriile lor scrise pre scurt, în ce fel au urmat unul după altul de la cel dintâi până la acesta de acum la împărăţie*, Biblioteca Academiei Române, Ms. Rom. 306, fols. 1–17; Ianache Văcărescu, *Istoria othomanicească*, ed. by Gabriel Ştrempel, Bucharest, 2001; Victor Papacostea, *Vieţile sultanilor: scriere inedită a lui Dionisie Fotino*, Bucharest, 1935. The list excludes the most important Romanian author of the period, Dimitrie Cantemir, whose career set him apart from other Moldavian and Wallachian authors of the period. Since he wrote *Historia incrementorum et decrementorum Aulae Othomanicae* in his Russian exile and with a Western academic audience in mind, these factors contributed to the final form of his work. On the emergence of Ottoman-Orthodox historiography, see Konrad Petrovszky, *Geschichte schreiben in osmanischen Südosteuropa: Eine Kulturgeschichte orthodoxer Historiographie des 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 2014. The works by Popa Flor and Fotino, with the material structured as a series of physiognomical portraits of the Ottoman rulers, conforms to the popular formats of *silsilname*s and *kıyafetname*s, see E. Natalie Rothman, *Visualizing the Space of Encounter: Intimacy, Alterity and Trans-Imperial Perspective in an Ottoman-Venetian Miniature Album*, in "Osmanlı Araştırmaları," 40, 2012, p. 47; for Popa Flor and Fotino, see Călin Felezeu, *Între fanariotism şi mişcarea de emancipare naţională. Modelul cantemirian de abordare a imaginii Imperiului Otoman în cultura românească scrisă*, in "Tabor," 2, 2012, p. 56.

[41] Lia Brad Chisacof, *Turkish Known or Unknown during the 18th Century in the Romanian Principalities?*, in *Turkey and Romania: A History of Partnership and Collaboration in the Balkans*, ed. by Florentina Nițu *et al.*, Istanbul, 2016, pp. 259–270.

[42] Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *A Wallachian Boyar at Emperor Joseph II's Court*, in "Journal of Early Modern History," special issue *Circulation of People, Objects and Ideas in Southeastern Europe and Eastern Mediterranean*, forthcoming.

eye of the beholder, but I would argue that the question of style is secondary to that of an idiom and the underlying processes. While the imperial tradition of monumental architecture, formulated by Sinan and developed in subsequent centuries, remained at the crux of the Ottoman visual repertoire, the latter proved extraordinarily capacious and flexible, allowing for considerable modifications across social hierarchies and geographical position, enabling patrons to calibrate them to different facets of their identities. The reconfiguration of power relations in the eighteenth century provided a significant impulse in this respect, as the newly ascendant "middle class" of the capital and provincial *'ayan*s tried to find a visual expression of their new arrangement with the imperial center. This led either to a reiteration of local traditions with an Ottoman twist or to the emergence of sometimes quite surprising hybrids.[43] What mattered more than an individual aesthetic solution was the underlying orientation towards the Istanbul milieu and a dialectic formulation of an aesthetic idiom between the center and the periphery. Put against this background, the strategies pursued by Moldavian and Wallachian elites fall squarely within the continuum. The confessional difference between the imperial elite and the Danubian principalities meant that the distinction was effectively built in the relationship, but the reliance on Ottoman-style practices of architectural patronage and related poetic forms indicates a deliberate effort to bridge the gap and willingness to belong to the imagined community of the imperial ecumene.

The second caveat is chronological and ideological. The "black legend" of the Phanariot period established by the historians of the 1848 generation (*paşoptişti*), which saw the rulers of this period as foreigners and Ottoman lackeys with no connection to the local culture, continues to resurface in academic studies and public debates.[44] Within this interpretative key, the culture produced by Phanar circles was at odds with the pro-European aspirations of the local elite. Moreover, by assuming a rupture in the history of the Danubian principalities with the institution of the Phanariot regime in 1711–1716, the cultural and architectural trends of the eighteenth century need not apply for the earlier century. However, there is little evidence to suggest such rupture. This is well illustrated by the fact that scholars find it difficult to decide on the date when it supposedly began; apart from the traditional 1711–1716 mark, other scholars have proposed 1673, or even

[43] A fascinating example in this respect is the building activity of the Cihanoğlu *'ayan* family of the Aydın province in southwestern Anatolia, which fused Ottoman, Baroque, and Gothic elements in their edifices in a curious "family style"; see Ayda Arel, *Gothic Towers and Baroque Mihrabs: The Post-Classical Architecture of Aegean Anatolia in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, in "Muqarnas," 10, 1993, pp. 212–218. This phenomenon occurred according to different schedules throughout the empire, varying between locations and social classes, see Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "*In the Image of Rum": Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Aleppo and Damascus*, in "Muqarnas," 3, 1985, pp. 70–96; Annie-Christine Daskalakis Matthews, *Mamluk Elements in the Damascene Decorative System of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, in "Artibus Asiae," 66, 2006, no. 2, pp. 69–96.

[44] Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness*, transl. by James Christian Brown, Budapest, 2003, p. 158.

1659, and a rather awkward label of "pre-Phanariot" has been applied to individuals living as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century.[45]

Although seen as an established period of Moldavian and Wallachian history, this apparent nebulousness of the Phanariot Age's chronology points out to the fact that there is little to suggest a clear rupture with the patterns set in the seventeenth century. Indeed, we find several architectural monuments in the pre-1711 period that employ similar Ottoman models, such as the churches of Fundeni Doamnei, or Trei Ierarhi in Iaşi.[46] Moreover, as I have pointed out elsewhere, the adaptation of Ottoman cultural idioms dates back to the early seventeenth century, and their presence was by no means associated solely with the Greco-Levantine milieu.[47] Thus, what we observe is an evolutionary process that culminated in the mid-eighteenth century, rather than a rupture or an opposition between "local" architectural models embraced in the seventeenth century and the "orientalized" culture of the Phanariot period. Why, then, explicit references to the Ottoman idiom became so much more ubiquitous and salient only in the eighteenth century?

Scholars have generally explained the difference from the perspective of the *Zielkultur* (host culture), i.e., Moldavian and Wallachian boyars, deemed inherently opposed to the Ottoman state and ideology. However, I would argue that the developments of the *Ausgangskultur* (source culture) were at least equally important. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, a complex of social, political, and cultural changes produced a new Ottoman landscape that Baki Tezcan described as the "Second Ottoman Empire."[48] This sea change empowered new groups and expanded the imperial political sphere. These newcomers to Ottoman politics, both among the urban "middle class" and the provincial *'ayan*, sought to define their new relationship with the imperial center and their newly-acquired Ottoman identity. In effect, the visual idiom of belonging to the empire changed to accommodate these new imperatives. In the field of written culture, new groups took up the pen to write local histories, and the "*tuğra*-mania" of Ahmed III's reign put the imperial monogram at the center of imperial semiosphere.[49] In the sphere of architecture,

[45] Florin Constantiniu, *Din politica socială a unui prefanariot (Radu Mihnea)*, in *Stat, societate, naţiune*, ed. by Nicolae Edroiu, A. Răduţiu, P. Teodor, Cluj, 1982, pp. 213–217; idem, *Când începe epoca fanariotă*, in "Studii şi materiale de istorie medie," 11, 1992, pp. 109–116; Eugen Stănescu, *Préphanariotes et Phanariotes dans la vision de la société roumaine des XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles*, in *Actes du symposium gréco-roumain sur l'époque des Phanariotes*, Thessaloniki, 1974, pp. 347–358.

[46] Ana Dobjanschi, Victor Simion, *Arta în epoca lui Vasile Lupu*, Bucharest, 1979, pp. 24–25; C. Popa, D. Năstase, *Biserica Fundenii Doamnei*, Bucharest, 1969; Răzvan Theodorescu, *Vârstele artei vasiliene şi începutul modernităţii moldoveneşti*, in "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie 'A.D. Xenopol'," 31, 1994, pp. 35–42.

[47] Michał Wasiucionek, *Conceptualizing Moldavian Ottomanness: Elite Culture and Ottomanization of the Seventeenth-Century Moldavian Boyars*, in "Medieval and Early Modern Studies for Central and Eastern Europe," 8, 2016, pp. 39–78.

[48] Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge, New York, 2010.

[49] On the "*tuğra*-mania" of the early eighteenth century, see Philippe Bora Keskiner, *Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–1730) as a Calligrapher and Patron of Calligraphy*, unpublished PhD dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2012, p. 246.

these needs for a new mode of representation resulted in the hybrid reinterpretations in the provinces, and a boom of more affordable constructions, more suited to the means of the urban middling sort. Thus, the growing presence of the Ottoman idiom in the built environment of the Danubian principalities during the eighteenth-century was the result of the boyars' willingness to embrace it, but also the availability of patterns to do so within the imperial culture itself. In the absence of such readily accessible models, the association with the Ottoman material culture and identity had to rely on different means, and depicting silk kaftans served precisely such a purpose.

SILKS AND STONES: PAINTING OTTOMAN TEXTILES

The apparent visual immediacy of Moldavian and Wallachian votive paintings at first glance poses no methodological problems. Even in the arguably more conservative depictions of saints and Biblical history, Orthodox painters of the early modern period did not shy away from portraying them in robes with distinctly Ottoman motifs.[50] To an even greater extent, the representation of the church's lay endowers and benefactors and their garments seem to conform fully to the realities of the period. As a result, the paintings are frequently treated in a way similar to photographs, with modern historians describing them as transparent media of conveying actual physical attributes and attire of the figures depicted. However, this is clearly not the case. No visual medium is transparent, and approaching it as such skims over a complex and laborious process of selection, arrangement, and execution of the painting, and the human agency behind it. This seemingly apparent contention sheds new light on the meticulous representation of silk kaftans donned by the founders, posing the question of why founders, *ispravnic*s, and painters ascribed so much importance to the textiles.

In the premodern Danubian principalities and the world in general, where the sartorial distinction was meant to indicate social status and reinforce hierarchies, luxury textiles played a crucial role in social and political life. The clearest example of this function was the terminological conflation of appointment to office with the bestowal of a kaftan (*a căftăni*).[51] Although these garnered high monetary value, the status of kaftans as luxury items was primarily embedded in social relations surrounding the garment, particularly the practices of gift-giving and ceremonial bestowal, and its symbolic value intimately connected with the status of the person,

[50] Christos D. Merantzas, *Le tissue de soie comme représentation culturelle: le cas de la peinture monumentale post-byzantine dans la Grèce du nord-ouest*, in "Bulletin du Centre International d'Étude des Textiles Anciens," 83, 2006, pp. 17–21; idem, *Ottoman Textiles within an Ecclesiastical Context: Cultural Osmoses in Mainland Greece*, in *The Mercantile Effect: Art and Exchange in the Islamicate World*, ed. by Susan Babaie, Melanie Gibson, London, 2017, pp. 96–107; I would like to thank Nikolaos Vryzidis for bringing this fact to my attention and recommending me relevant bibliography.

[51] Interestingly, we find the same association between office and the garment across the Islamicate world, see L.A. Meyer, *Mamluk Costume: A Survey*, Geneva, 1952, pp. 60–62.

who presented the garment. As a result, the garment became a tool to express the cultural proxemics of power and define social and political hierarchies, inseparable from the bond between the giver and receiver of the gift. In effect, a higher symbolic premium was put on personal gift-items rather than "commercial ones."[52]

In the Ottoman Empire and in the Danubian principalities, this role of kaftans was clearly discernible in the circulation of robes-of-honor (*hil'at*) bestowed by the sultan. In Ottoman miniature tradition, the acts of gift-giving played a prominent role and underlined the importance of the practice itself.[53] This empire-wide circuit of *hil'at* circulation included the elites of Moldavia and Wallachia. The latter embraced it eagerly, and *hil'at*s received directly from the Porte were highly-coveted items and sources of social and political distinction in the local context. This led to the boyars' virtual "*hil'at*-mania," put on display in the Wallachian chronicle by Radu Greceanu, who meticulously noted every instance of a kaftan received by Constantin Brâncoveanu.[54] However, the Porte-centered system of *hil'at* circulation encompassed only the top echelons of the principalities' elites. The rest participated in a complementary local circuit, in which it the voivode distributed kaftans to the wider circle of boyars.[55] Since participation in these two circuits relied on the individual's social and political status, the robes of honor provided a tool well-suited to operate as a marker of distinction within the boyar class, not only due to their quality but also (and more importantly) due to the circuit in which they were acquired.

However, trying to identify Ottoman robes of honor poses some difficulties. Unlike Mamluk *hil'at*s, the Ottoman kaftans lack an embroidered *tiraz* band that would allow us to identify the receiver and the context in which the garment was bestowed. This means that it is difficult to attribute individual artifacts to instances of gift-giving, and the lack of inscriptions facilitated the *hil'at*'s transformation into a commodity.[56] However, as Amanda Phillips has recently pointed out, one feature seems to set apart the kaftans bestowed by the sultan from other extant items,

[52] A particularly telling case in this respect is Thomas Roe's embassy to the Mughal court, when Prince Khurram presented the English diplomat with a cloak he had himself worn, asking in exchange for a hat. However, Roe refused, informing the prince: "I would not offer that I had worn," see Pramod K. Nayar, *Object Protocols: The "Materials" of Early English Encounters with India*, in *The English Renaissance, Orientalism, and the Idea of Asia*, ed. by Debra Johanyak, Walter S.H. Lim, New York, 2011, p. 196. See also idem, *Colonial Proxemics: The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, in "Studies in Travel Writing," 6, 2002, pp. 29–53.

[53] Banu Mahir, *Türk Minyatürlerinde Hil'at Merasimleri*, in "Belleten," 63, 1999, no. 238, pp. 745–754.

[54] Radu logofătul Greceanu, *Istoria domniei lui Constantin Basarab Brîncoveanu voievod (1688–1714)*, ed. by Aurora Ilieș, Bucharest, 1970, pp. 57, 58, 75, 90, 98, 101, for just a few examples.

[55] See for instance, *Literatura românească de ceremonial: Condica lui Gheorgachi (1762)*, ed. by Dan Simonescu, Bucharest, 1939, p. 280.

[56] Amanda Phillips, *An Ottoman Hil'at: Between Commodity and Charisma*, in *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination: Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey*, ed. by Marios Hadjianastasis, Leiden, Boston, 2015, pp. 118–123.

namely their ridiculously long sleeves.[57] From the point of view of their wearers, the length of the sleeves, which reached the ground, made them impractical, separate armholes being frequently used instead. Although the difficulties in attributing existing pieces to individual figures remain a problem, these long-sleeved kaftans feature prominently in miniatures in the context of court ceremonies, which makes this argument likely.[58]

We find numerous examples of such long-sleeve kaftans on Moldavian and Wallachian votive paintings in the seventeenth century. In Wallachia, this is the case of the decoration of the places of worship from Matei Basarab's period, such as Roata Cătunu, Dobreni, Arnota, or Săcuieni, and their presence becomes even more prominent during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu. The same proliferation can be seen in Moldavia. However, lower-ranking boyars, such as Datco *jupan* represented on the walls of Arnota, are depicted in short-sleeve kaftans, despite the fact that founders are represented with a long *kolluk*. Another distinguishing feature is the reproduction of decorative motifs on such garments. A particularly interesting case in this respect is the votive paintings in the *pronaos* of the Dormition Church of the Polovragi Monastery, which features the principal benefactors of the church: Petru Pârâianu, Danciu Pârâianu, Barbu Pârâianu, Matei Basarab, and Constantin Brâncoveanu (with his family).[59] While the garments of most founders are meticulously decorated with distinctly Ottoman motifs, the kaftan of Petru Pârâianu stands out for its lack of adornment. This contrast is most likely due to Petru's relatively low status within the Wallachian hierarchy, as he reached the rank of mere second *clucer*, in contrast to the others, who were either grand boyars or rulers of the principality. We can observe a similar association between rank, long sleeves, and Ottoman decoration in other churches of the seventeenth century, such as those of Arnota or Băjeşti. The close association between these three variables suggests not only that, in representing luxury fabrics, the painters and benefactors themselves sought to convey social status and political hierarchies, but also that they relied on explicitly Ottoman repertoire to do so. Thus, the aforementioned distinction between circuits of gift-giving and political status made its way into the votive paintings.

The prominence of Ottoman textiles on votive paintings also constituted a potential way of accommodating Ottoman motifs in the decorative repertoire. The church of Stelea Monastery in Târgovişte seems to provide an illustrative example. The monastery's renovation in the seventeenth century was in itself a political act. Following numerous attempts to establish his family's rule in both Danubian principalities, in 1644 Moldavian Voivode Vasile Lupu was forced to seek accommodation with his rival, Matei Basarab. As part of this reconciliation, each voivode

[57] *Ibidem*, pp. 124–127.

[58] See for instance, *Seçaatname*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, MS T.6043, fol. 279a.

[59] On the frescoes of the Polovragi church, see *Repertoriul picturilor murale brâncoveneşti*, vol. I, ed. by Corina Popa, Ioana Iancovescu, Elisabeta Negrău, Vlad Bedors, Bucharest, 2009, pp. 229–256.

erected a church in the other's principality, with Vasile Lupu renovating the ruined Stelea Monastery that had been a burial place of his father.[60] It seems that the voivode spared no expense in what was a highly political act. According to Bulus b. Makariyos al-Halabi, known more widely as Paul of Aleppo, the „church is of great dimensions and high, with two lofty towers and many crosses, which cost – as we were told – 700 Venetian florins just for external decoration. The iconostasis is of great beauty and worked in Russian style, with three doors."[61]

However, Vasile Lupu's foundation was heavily damaged in 1658, when the Ottoman and Tatar troops sent to expel the recalcitrant voivode Constantin Şerban entered Târgovişte, attacked and pillaged the monastery. The church was set on fire, destroying the iconostasis, as well as the paintings.[62] Under the new voivode, Mihnea III, the restoration began as indicated by the inscription on the Pantocrator icon commissioned by *Cupăr* Fiera to replace the one destroyed in the fire.[63] What is striking, though, is that the restored wall paintings did not follow a traditional repertoire of church decoration, replacing most of them with a repetitive pattern of knots and ogival fields filled with stylized floral motifs (Figure 4). The inspiration for this departure from the established idiom clearly came from the decorative style employed in Ottoman mosques, both in Istanbul and in provincial centers across Rumelia, for instance Sofia (see Figure 5).

Admittedly, the knot motif has been present in both Islamic and Byzantine art since the early medieval period, and the interference between the two traditions certainly has to be taken into consideration.[64] However, they are prominently absent from Moldavian and Wallachian wall paintings until the seventeenth century, and both their arrangement and the color palette of blue, red and white follows closely that of Ottoman foundations, suggesting a growing receptivity to the imperial visual idiom. Partly, this can be attributed to the influx of painters from the Ottoman territories, which increasingly influenced the artistic repertoire during the seventeenth century.[65] At the same time, such motifs were not altogether absent from the

[60] Nicolae Stoicescu, *Matei Basarab*, Bucharest, 1988, pp. 174–175. For the art historical analysis of the Stelea monastery, see Cr. Moisescu, Gh. I. Cantacuzino, *Biserica Stelea*, Bucharest, 1968.

[61] Paul din Alep, *Jurnal de călătorie în Moldova şi Ţara Românească*, ed. by Ioana Fedorov, Brăila, 2014, pp. 242–243.

[62] *Ibidem*, p. 404; Gh. I. Cantacuzino, *Vechea biserică Stelea din Târgovişte*, in "Revista monumentelor istorice," 1, 1974, no. 1, p. 39.

[63] Al. Efremov, *Icoane de la mijlocul secolului al XVII-lea din biserica Stelea-Tîrgovişte*, in "Buletinul monumentelor istorice," 42, 1973, no. 1, p. 54.

[64] Fay Arrieh Fick, *Possible Sources for Some Motifs of Decoration on Islamic Ceramics*, in "Muqarnas," 10, 1993, pp. 233–234.

[65] The stylistic evolution of the Wallachian paintings in the mid-seventeenth century has been generally attributed to local artistic tradition, see Cornelia Pillat, *Pictura murală în epoca lui Matei Basarab*, Bucharest, 1980, p. 10. However, as Elisabeta Negrău has pointed out, many of the painters identified as Wallachians actually originated from Ottoman Rumelia; Elisabeta Negrău, *Doi pictorii greci necunoscuţi şi rolul lor în pictura epocii lui Matei Basarab*, paper presented at the session *Date*

Moldavian-Wallachian milieu, where they featured not as an autonomous decorative pattern, but rather as a feature of Ottoman *hil'at*s appearing on votive paintings. Thus, it seems quite possible that the Ottoman kaftans, already circulating in the principalities and prized as status symbols, acted as a proxy that allowed for the further adoption of the imperial visual idiom and its popularity in the built environment (Figures 1 and 2).

The impact of Ottoman architectural aesthetics on the Danubian principalities in the course of the seventeenth century is a well-established fact, although usually masked by the vague term of "oriental" models employed by scholars. This is exemplified by the apparent predilection of Vasile Lupu to employ imperial-style motifs in the buildings erected during his reign. This did not go unnoticed by his contemporaries: a Franciscan monk, Marco Bandini, described the Moldavian court of the 1640s as fashioned after the models of Topkapı Palace, and Miron Costin noted that Vasile Lupu decorated his palace with Kütahya and Iznik tiles.[66] That the aesthetic idiom was legible for the Ottoman audience can be seen in the favorable description provided by Evliya Çelebi, who visited Iaşi during the reign of Lupu's son, Ştefăniță (r. 1659–1661). The voivode's crown architectural achievement, Trei Ierarhi Church in Iaşi, provides ample evidence in this respect. As Răzvan Theodorescu pointed out, the construction of the church corresponded to the period of Lupu's closest cooperation with the Ottoman establishment and its architecture meant to convey the message of the founder's cultural affinity to the imperial center. [67] In turn, while another voivode crucial for the current form of the Stelea Church, Mihnea III, was a famous, if unsuccessful rebel against the Porte, he had at the same time an intimate familiarity with Ottoman aesthetics due to being a member of a grandee household led by Ken'an Pasha and his wife, Atike Sultan.

However, as I would argue, the link between architectural styles, conspicuous display and identity went beyond a simple political expedient, but rather showed a growing attachment of the boyar elite to the Ottoman polity and its cultural ways. While in the seventeenth century, this took the form of depicting textiles and *hil'at*s on the walls of Moldavian and Wallachian churches, the *décloisonnement* of imperial culture in the following century provided the boyars and voivodes alike with a greater repertoire of tools to express and negotiate their role within the cultural ecumene of the empire. In a sense, the silks represented on votive paintings and fountains built in Moldavian and Wallachian cities are part of the same story, that of Moldavian-Wallachian elites of the early modern period increasingly seeing the Ottoman Empire as, at least partly, their own.

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noi în cercetarea artei medievale şi premoderne din România, on 2 November 2017, at the "G. Oprescu" Institute of the History of Art, Bucharest.

[66] Evliya Celebi, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 2nd ed., vol. 5/2, ed. by Seyit A. Kahraman, Yucel Dağlı, Istanbul, 2007, p. 474.

[67] R. Theodorescu, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

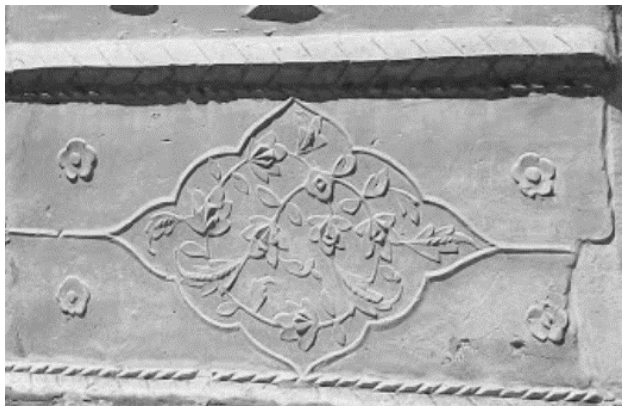
SILKS AND STONES: FOUNTAINS, PAINTED KAFTANS, AND OTTOMANS IN EARLY MODERN MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA

Abstract

Throughout the early modern period, the Ottoman material culture and aesthetics exerted considerable influence on the tastes of Moldavian and Wallachian elites. However, while this cultural footprint has been recognized with regard to moveable luxury goods, such as garments and household objects, the architectural influence has been regarded differently within historiography. Particularly, the absence of mosques and other Islamic places of worship in the Danubian principalities has been brought up in scholarship as an argument for their position outside of the Ottoman space. In turn, the incorporation of Ottoman architectural elements was usually considered as a purely stylistic choice devoid of deeper meaning. The scope of this study is to rethink the relationship between Ottoman models and their incorporation into the built environment of the Danubian principalities throughout the early modern period. Focusing on the patterns of architectural patronage and incorporation of Ottoman stylistic elements, the paper argues that patrons in Moldavia and Wallachia not only emulated many of the trends from Istanbul but also consciously incorporated them to emphasize their ties to the imperial culture and society. By means of constructing fountains, depicting kaftans bestowed upon them by sultans and adapting a decorative program radiating from the imperial centre, rulers and boyars showcased not only their wealth but also their ties to the Ottoman political edifice and elite culture of the empire.

Keywords: material culture; architecture; identity; Ottoman Empire; Moldavia; Wallachia

APPENDIX



Figures 1–2. The knot motif, Doamnei Church, Bucharest (left); Ottoman-style ogival motifs, Fundenii Doamnei Church, Bucharest.

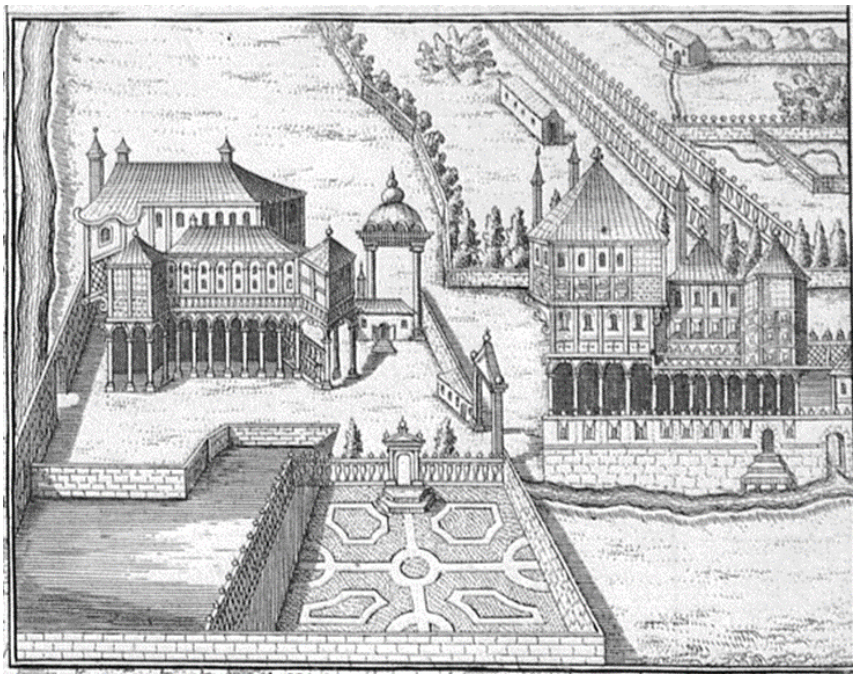
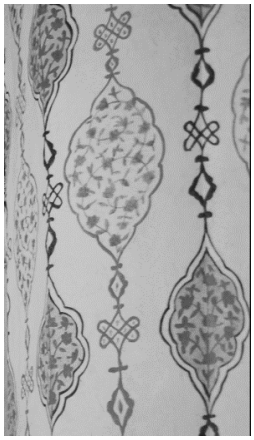
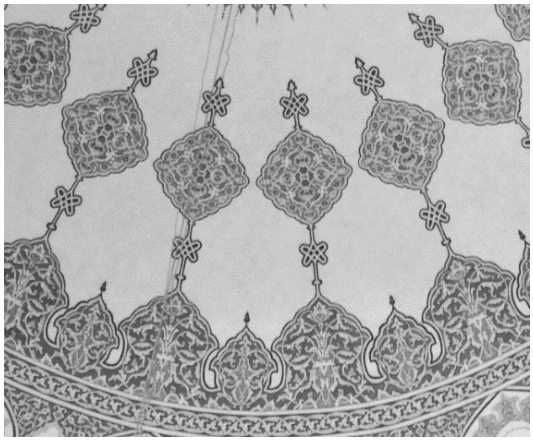


Figure 3. Dimitrie Cantemir's drawing of his palace in Ortaköy, 1714–1716 (source: Dimitrie Cantemir, *History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*, transl. by N. Tindal, London, 1734). The palace was demolished in the early 18th century, to make way for the palace of Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damad Ibrahim Pasha, finished in 1725. The drawing presents a relatively light structure, although representing a transitional period, with the main buildings separated from the waterfront by a garden and a masonry wall.





Figures 4–5. The painted wall decoration of Stelea Monastery, Târgovişte (left), and the dome of Banya Bashi Mosque, Sofia (right). The pattern of interchanging knots and ogival fields employed at Stelea is clearly inspired by the motifs employed in 16th–17th century Ottoman mosques (photos by the author).

Figure 6. The fountain at Emirgan, Istanbul (1779).

Figure 7. The fountain at Golia Monastery, Iaşi, built by Grigore Alexandru Ghica (1766). While not a free-standing meydan fountain, Golia's çeşme shows clear similarities in terms of decoration to that founded by Sultan Abdülhamid I.