

**Zeitschrift:** Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte =  
Revue suisse d'art et d'archéologie = Rivista svizzera d'arte e  
d'archeologia = Journal of Swiss archeology and art history

**Herausgeber:** Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum

**Band:** 80 (2023)

**Heft:** 4

**Artikel:** Architecture for a plural environment : the Fossati Brothers and W.J.  
Smith in Istanbul, 1837-1849

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**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-1073701>

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# Architecture for a Plural Environment – the Fossati Brothers and W. J. Smith in Istanbul, 1837–1849

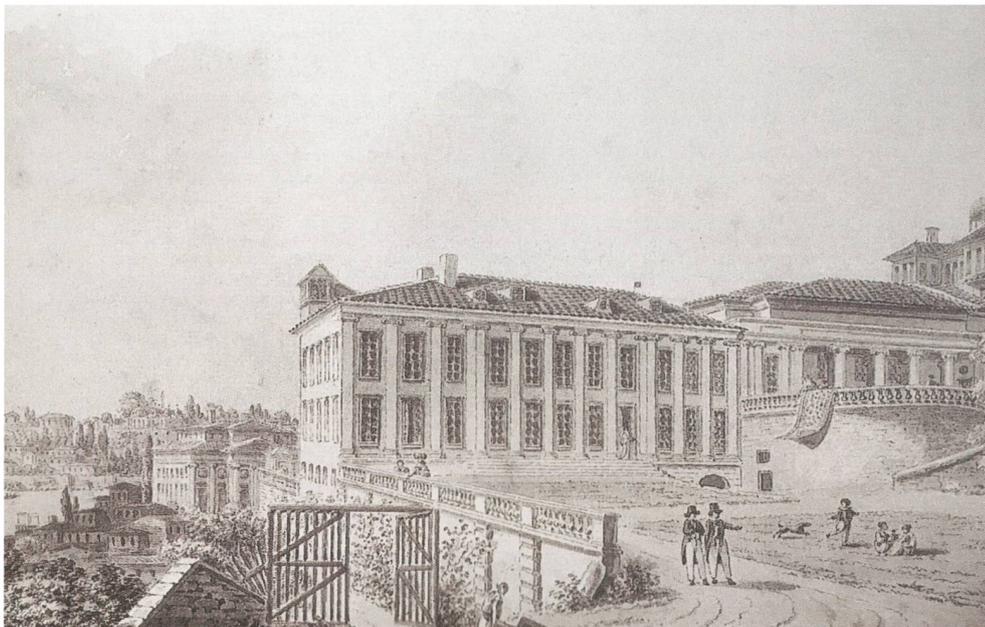
by PAOLO GIRARDELLI and MERT PEKDOĞDU

## *Changing landscapes: Galata, Pera, Beyoğlu*

Every European architect contributing to the development and transformation of the Ottoman capital during the long nineteenth century, has necessarily interacted with the ambivalent, multicultural space of the districts of Pera and Galata, across the Golden Horn. Some of these artists and builders, like Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati, also left important marks into, and sometime altered significantly, the historical fabric of “Stamboul”, as the peninsula within the Theodosian walls was usually called in the Western languages. The restoration of Hagia Sofia (1847–1849) and the design of the Ottoman University (Darülfünun, begun in 1843)<sup>1</sup> by the Fossati brothers, are only two of the many examples in this sense. But most foreign architects active in the Ottoman empire did live in, and engage with, the changing architectural and urban fabric of Galata and Pera. In the late-Ottoman period, the former name indicated the old Genoese settlement, surrounded and protected by medieval walls until 1863/4; the latter corresponded to the Ottoman expansion extramuros of Galata: in French perceptions, Pera was a *fau-bourg*<sup>2</sup>, not of Constantinople but of Galata.

The “ambivalence” of this landscape, constructed in part also by the Fossati brothers, can be assessed on the grounds of visual, narrative and archival materials from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, before the momentous changes that created today’s landscape of Beyoğlu, as this area is called in Turkish:<sup>3</sup> the Crimean War (1853–1856), the institution of the 6<sup>th</sup> municipality – administering Pera and Galata with a westernizing agenda since 1857 – and the fire of June 1870, followed by an extensive reconstruction activity.<sup>4</sup>

A drawing from a private collection, produced around 1797 and attributed to Antoine-Laurent Castellan (Ill. 1), shows the southern slope of Pera with a dominant landmark on the heights. This is, not by chance, an embassy. In Pera, the most influential instigators of change and shapers of the urban form, in this period and later, were in fact diplomacy and international relations, along with demographic shifts,<sup>5</sup> infrastructural projects, and political/administrative reforms. Following the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), which began reverting power balances around the Euro-Mediterranean region – with Russia in a prominent position – the western nations developed ambassadorial residences in increasingly mon-



Ill. 1 A.-L. Castellan, view of the French embassy, 1797.

umental stances, each representing their influence in the so-called “Eastern question”. Until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century these architectural landmarks were understated versions of local wooden, traditional *konaks*, rather integrated in the Ottoman urban context. The image we are considering shows that two of the buildings, namely the French (center) and Venetian (left) embassies were designed in clearly westernized lines.

As Girardelli argued in other studies,<sup>6</sup> in the French case the Ionic columns and pilasters foreshadowed European and French commitment to the emerging Greek movement and cultural reawakening for the emancipation from Ottoman rule. The Venetian project was managed and led by the architectural theorist and diplomat Andrea Memmo, *bailo* at Constantinople in 1778–1781. It was the substantial reworking of a structure that retained Ottoman characters, built few years before by the *bailo* Paolo Rainer (in charge between 1770 and 1774). In contrast with Rainer’s still local architectural production, Memmo’s palace followed essentially Palladian lines, evoking in particular the image of villa Foscari (c. 1559). Probably less connected than the French project to the Greek-Ottoman political and cultural developments, Memmo’s redevelopment of the *casa bailaggia* (as the structure was called, in reference to its main inhabitant and function) created on the Bosphorus a symbolic representation of Venetian identity. The contrast between these two classicizing mansions and the surrounding environment (composed of wooden Ottoman houses, like the one appearing above the French building) is striking. Before their construction – c. 1775 for the French and c. 1780 for the Venetian building - embassies reflected local architectural culture: prominent bow-windows (called *cumba* or *şahnişin*), generous fenestration made possible by the wooden structure. The fire of 1766 destroyed the Russian

and the Dutch residences<sup>7</sup>, and for the latter building, remade in 1769, we have evidence of its basically Ottoman character. It may not be a coincidence that the radical de-ottomanization of the architecture of diplomacy, witnessed by this view of Pera, started exactly after the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774).

The visual prominence of these foreign landmarks, affecting the landscape of Pera as implicit challenges to Ottoman sovereignty, was also linked to the system of the so-called capitulations or *ahdname*.<sup>8</sup> Though not exactly unilateral as was often assumed, these were asymmetrical agreements conceding spheres of extraterritoriality to the foreign subjects living in the empire, under the jurisdiction of respective consuls or ambassadors; which explains why the embassies, and sometimes the consulates, were called and perceived more as “palaces”, as centers of power – each of them including a consular tribunal and a prison – than simply as residences of foreign representatives.

Cultural and confessional diversity were prominent features of the settlement of Beyoğlu, with a slightly stronger dominance of Catholic communities and institutions in Pera (and the interesting absence, here, of Jewish places of worship) as opposed to Galata within the Genoese walls. Changing degrees of tense, conflictive or harmonious coexistence depended in both areas on historical and geo-political situations. During wars with Russia, or, in earlier times, with Venice and other European powers, the overall position of the Christians was affected negatively, with feelings and manifestations of hostility from the Muslim inhabitants. But several narratives by Christian authors in other periods, when conflicts did not jeopardize social order, depict a situation of peaceful coexistence. In this regard, imagining either a fragmented social space, with introverted and impermeable confessional



III. 2 Jean Brindesi, lithograph «Vue générale de Constantinople, prise à Péra de la maison de l'artiste rue Yeni Tcharsi 48», 1845.



from as far as Egypt and Russia, well beyond the Catholic world.<sup>13</sup>

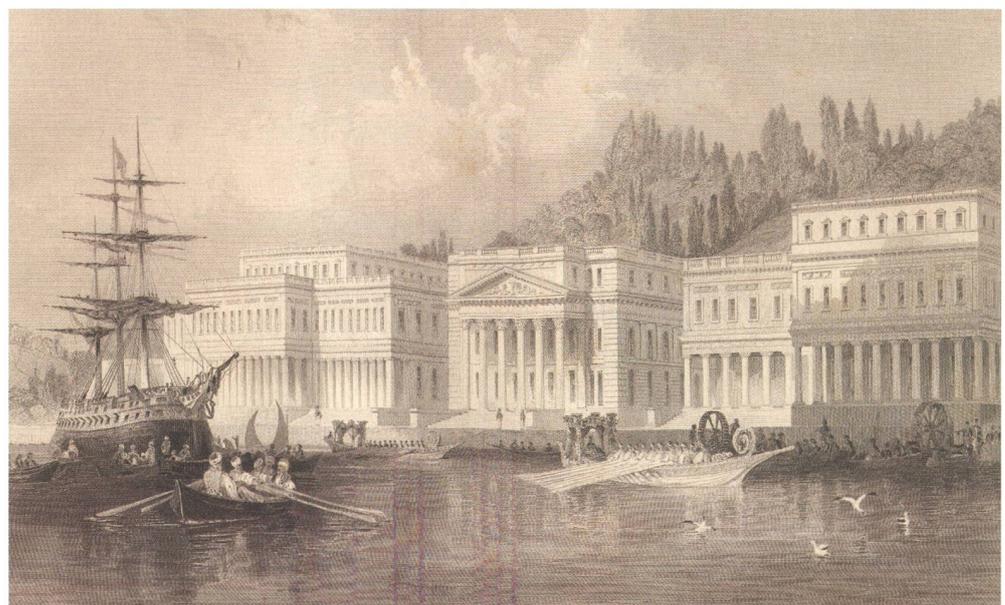
The British embassy designed by V. Balestra for Lord Elgin, destroyed by the 1831 fire (source: ROBERT WALSH, *A Residence at Constantinople, during a Period Including the Commencement, Progress, and Termination of the Greek and Turkish Revolutions*, London 1836)

Previous disruptions caused by fires and earthquakes, dramatically recurrent in the history of Istanbul, did not usually trigger an overall transformation of the architectural and urban fabric. But this conflagration occurred at a very crucial point in the system of international relations, power balances, and Ottoman modernizing agendas: it soon turned into an opportunity to recast the landscape of Pera and Galata according to new forms of self-presentation and monumentality. The transformation was not simply physical: it also paralleled a conceptual and cultural evolution in the local understanding of the status of architecture and architects. The traditional Ottoman system and management of architecture was essentially split into a military/imperial organization catering to the court (*Hassa mimarlar ocağı*)<sup>14</sup> and a more informal network of builders (*kalfas*), organized often as itinerant workshops of non-Muslim master-masons, carpenters and workers. These networks dealt with the production of residential timber structures for very diverse social strata.<sup>15</sup> However, the traditional practice was beginning to be challenged by the influence of a European idea of academic architecture, at least since the time of A. I. Melling's work for the Ottoman court.<sup>16</sup> In the new course of urban development initiated after the 1831 fire, the hybrid network of Levantine actors and resources characterizing the built environment of Beyoğlu was to be significantly altered with the contribution of foreign, European architects who had an academic training. The earliest case is

probably Nicola Carelli, a southern Italian educated in Naples, who reached the Ottoman capital in the year of the fire, and was probably responsible for the reconstruction of the mentioned St. Antoine. Carelli was also involved in the design of Mahmut II's new palace on the Bosphorus at Çırağan, although his proposal was not implemented.<sup>17</sup>

On the wake of the fire, the sultan had allegedly proposed the foreign representatives to abandon the cosmopolitan district of diplomacy at Pera, and reconstruct new embassies in the historic peninsula, at Cağaloğlu, not far from what had been the center of power in the city since the beginnings of its history. This project may have changed the urban destiny of Istanbul, as well as many aspects of European-Ottoman relations, but was not implemented. The ambassadors were too attached to Pera, and the Sultan seemed to have accepted the fact that, by then, a shift of the center of power from the historical peninsula to the area beyond the Golden Horn was actually inevitable. He commissioned to Carelli the design of a new waterfront palace at Çırağan, which, as mentioned, was not built according to the Italian architect's design (Abdülhalim Efendi and members of the Balyan family would take over the commission), but signaled a real revolution in the political topography and monumentality of the city (Ill. 5). Retaining a largely wooden, traditional structure, Mahmut II's palace was the first imperial statement of the new relationship between Ottoman power and architecture.

The Corinthian columns and the classical pediment in the central bay on the waterfront, represented the empire's belonging to a basically European system of international relations, where the traditional opposition *dār al-islām / dār al-ḥarb* (Territory of Islam opposed to Territory of war) as a means of legitimation for the Ottoman state made no



Ill. 5 The old Çırağan Palace commissioned by Mahmut II, engraving by Thomas Allom, c. 1838.

longer sense. Engaged since its origins, and until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in expanding the *dār al-islām*, the empire was now legitimized mostly by international agreements and recognition.<sup>18</sup> Mahmut II had accepted the independence of Greece in 1832, and his new palace seemed to address also a large part of the Greek inhabitants of his empire, who remained loyal Ottoman subjects. Without erasing altogether the essential elements of a local and traditional layout (the wooden structure, the harem, the fragmented volumes and ample fenestrations, the use of a protocol that remained largely Ottoman) the empire used a westernized imperial symbolism to address local and foreign interlocutors, in a dialogic environment of power and representations.

After the loss of their “palaces” – none of which would ever display the Corinthian order as prominently as Mahmut II did in his Çırağan residence – the ambassadors resided temporarily (but in fact for some of them the transition lasted more than ten years) in their summer residences on the Bosphorus, quite distant from the city center, and not always suitable to the inclement winter climate. Temporary residences were also rented from the prominent non-Muslim Ottoman families in Pera. But, before Gaspare Fossati reached the city with his commission for the design of the Russian embassy, the Western powers’ representatives still hesitated to decide what kind of buildings would be appropriate to the new landscape of diplomacy in Pera: wooden or masonry, “eastern” or “western”, monumental or understated, on the Grande Rue or on the same old sites, somewhat detached from the main artery.

In April 1837, six years after the fire, a diplomatic dispatch from ambassador Roussin to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris, entitled “Reconstruction of the palace of the Embassy in Pera”, observed the following in regard to the French embassy:

This palace, located in the most beautiful location on the Bosphorus, and on land that belongs without contestation for four centuries to France, has burned on August 2, 1831 in the fire that destroyed the faubourg of Pera and the majority of the residences of the foreign agents (...)

Russia is rebuilding her palace since two years, and is on the point of completing it.

After some details on the situation of other embassies, Roussin adds:

France has left the ruined palace, and is now the only power to lodge its representative in Therapia (Tarabya), approximately five leagues from the capital and from the centre of affairs. This distance is in the end a damage to our consideration and our interests. It persuades the Turks that our politics towards them has changed, and that indifference has replaced the old alliance, which connects us to their country. However, this alliance is now more necessary than ever, because Russia’s projects for the Orient are more threatening than in the past.<sup>19</sup>

These projects were in fact so threatening and ambitious that, in the view of a rather perceptive and informed observer like lieutenant Adolphus Slade, the main reason for the European powers’ delay and reluctance to invest in new buildings, was fear that Constantinople may be conquered soon by Russian armies, nullifying the *raison d’être* of new embassies in that city.<sup>20</sup> Russian – Ottoman conflicts had been a constant element of 18<sup>th</sup> century geo-politics, and would continue to affect the development of the so-called “Eastern Question” until the dissolution of the Romanov and Ottoman empires. Russia could be perceived as the potential actor for a Christian “redemption” of Constantinople. And the Romanov already played a role as potential or effective protectors of the Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman empire, in parallel to the same function exerted by France (and in part by the Habsburg) in respect to the less numerous Catholics of the Levant.

From an architectural-historical point of view, the most problematic point in the quoted report by Roussin on the reconstruction of the embassies of Pera, is the information he gives on the Russian palace: it is known for sure that Gaspare Fossati, active in Petersburg and Moscow before his appointment to the Ottoman capital, was entrusted with this project at the end of 1836, and that construction started in May 1839.<sup>21</sup> How is it possible, then, to claim in April 1837 that the Russian residence was under construction for two years, and nearing completion? The answer to the riddle comes from another diplomatic report, explaining that, to the surprise of all the *corps diplomatique* of Pera, it had been recently understood



III. 6 Façade of the Russian embassy in an early stage of Fossati’s design (ASTi, Fondo Fossati 2.I.26, X/810)

that the Russian building mentioned by Roussin as started in 1835 (therefore without any involvement of Fossati), and almost completed in 1837, was going to be a consulate, not an embassy.<sup>22</sup> It was in fact on the site of the present Narmanlı han, which continued to be the Russian consulate until the transfer of the capital to Ankara, in the republican period. The real embassy was instead going to be built on the opposite side of the Grande Rue, in a plot of land that already belonged to Russia and had been occupied in the past by a wooden building, used as embassy, and destroyed in the 1767 fire (this could be the building shown in Ill. 1, to the left of the Dutch palace). The astonishing surprise meant that the French, and probably other existing plans for new embassies, had to be revised in order to match the new monumental standards introduced by the Romanov of the Bosphorus. When the news spread that the building under construction was actually going to be the consulate, while a European architect with a thorough academic background coming from Russia had been appointed for the design and construction of the real, new monumental embassy, all the mentioned hesitation ended. The French and the British governments voted financial laws that allowed investing in stately and monumental structures to represent their nations on a similar, if not equal standing with Russia.

Funded by war credits obtained with the treaty of Edirne (1829), that sanctioned another Russian victory over the Ottomans, the palace designed by Fossati enacted a most dramatic shift of scale, image, style and construction techniques in the architecture of diplomacy, and in the landscape of power balances around Pera. It was an obvious symbol of Russian encroachment in Ottoman affairs, and many travellers reaching the Ottoman capital from the Sea of Marmara would mistake it for the Ottoman imperial palace.<sup>23</sup> This fragment of St. Petersburg on the Bosphorus initiated a new competitive course in the architecture of diplomacy. Its over-scaled prominence is best understood from the vernacular pictorial work by an Armenian artist, a sort of wooden diorama presenting a

colored, three-dimensional view of Galata and Pera from the sea (Ill. 7).

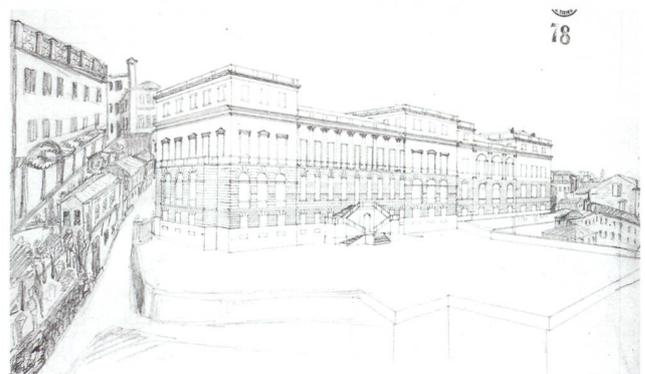
Here the new building dominates the landscape with its overwhelming stance. The lack of scale is actually documented also by Fossati's perspectival drawing of the building preserved in Bellinzona (Ill. 8). But the Armenian identity of the author of the colored image may also suggest a reflection on the subjective nature of landscapes: did he, and part of his community, see or wanted to represent a magnified Russian Palace as a sort of alternative site of authority and protection? In the same war that ended with the mentioned treaty of Edirne, and provided Russia with the opportunity of monumentalizing the architectural symbol of its presence on the threshold between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, several Russian soldiers, including Pushkin,<sup>24</sup> had been welcomed as potential liberators by Armenians living in Erzurum and Eastern Anatolia. Questions of loyalty and sovereignty were inscribed in the profoundly politicized landscape of Pera in the period we are considering.

#### *Early Tanzimat architecture*

If the 1831 fire gives the material opportunity of developing novel forms of self-presentation and monumentality in Pera, the declaration of the *Tanzimat*, namely the bureaucratic, fiscal and military "Reorganization" of the Ottoman state from 1839 onwards, stands out as a major political turning point. The Ottoman state, following the Tanzimat edict of 1839, initiated a large-scale construction campaign on both sides of the Golden Horn and along the Bosphorus to host its new institutions, to inscribe and encode a new political and cultural identity in the landscape of the capital. Court architects Garabet and Nigogos Balyan's Gümüşsuyu Barracks (1843), the türbe (funerary monument) of Mahmud II (1840), Küçük Mecidiye Mosque (1848), Tophane clock tower (1848), and Hırka-i Şerif Mosque (1852), were Ottoman official structures completed or in phase of completion in the



Ill. 7 Mıgırdıç Melkon, view of Tophane (detail).

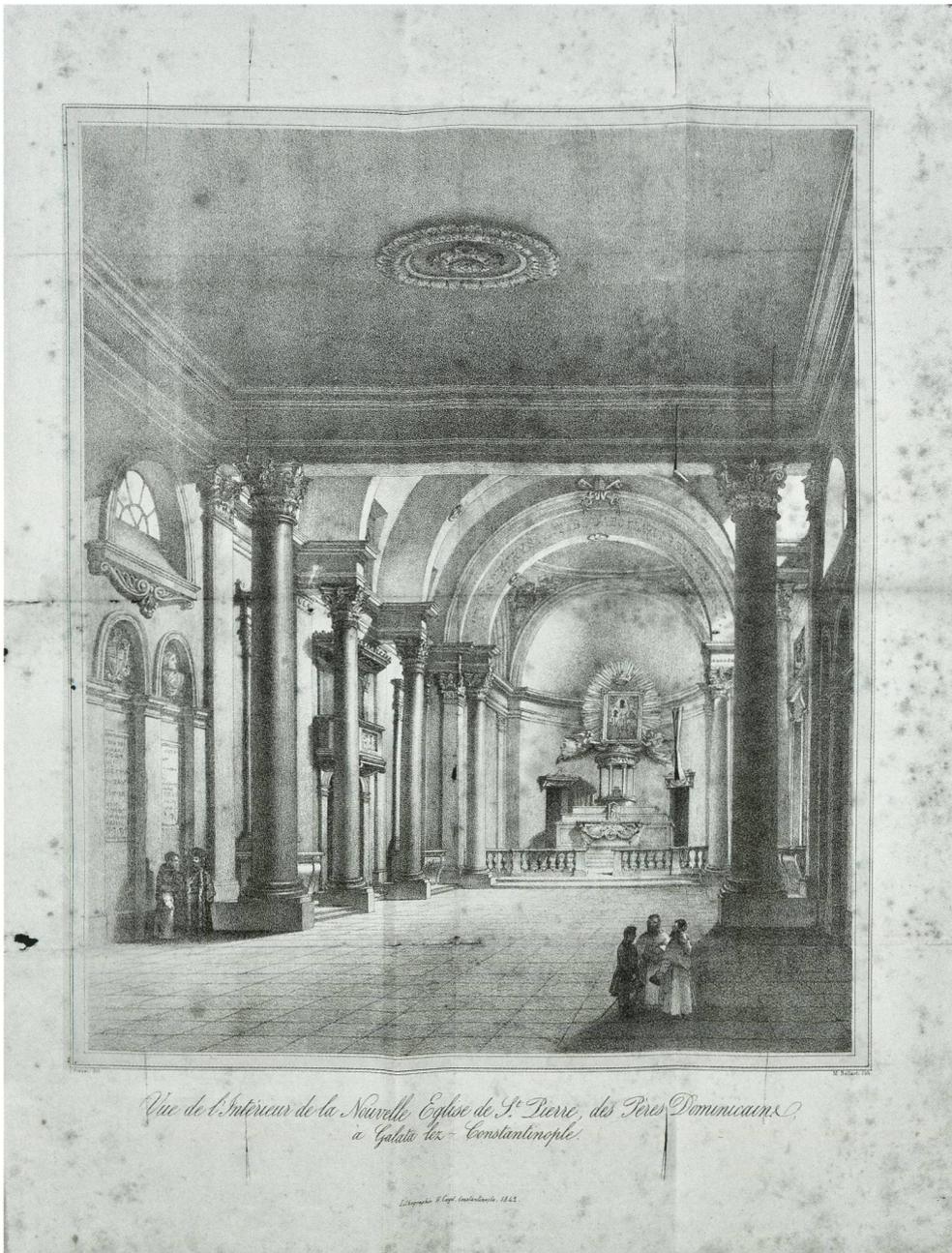


Ill. 8 Gaspare Fossati, perspectival view of the Russian embassy (ASTI, Fondo Fossati 2.I.26, II/78).

1840s. They are examples of a flexible use of westernizing classical languages, in a context that allowed also Fossati and Smith, European architects with rather different backgrounds, to emerge as prominent interpreters of the new commitments. Gaspare Fossati's Ministry of War Hospital (1841), House of Guards (1843), the State Archive building (1846), the "Ottoman University" building (Darülfünun, 1843–1863),<sup>25</sup> Reşid Paşa's Mansion (1847), testify the early-Tanzimat domestication of western typologies in a context of Ottoman modernity. In a similar vein, also William James Smith's works such as Gümüşsuyu military hospital (1850), Mecidiye Barracks (later Taşkışla, 1846–1854), and Tophane Imperial Kiosk

(1851), dialogued with Mahmut II's Çırağan palace, with the recently reconstructed embassies, and symbolized the period's understanding of international relations and power balances. This process of redefinition culminated in the project of the new imperial palace of Dolmabahçe, completed in 1853–1856 (the years of the Crimean War). Far more ambitious than the old Çırağan, this new imperial landmark was entirely built with a masonry structure in a neo-baroque, exuberant style; but it still retained in its internal layout many aspects of the local understanding of space, with central halls surrounded by peripheral rooms.

The Tanzimat logic of dialogue and synergy implied a new visibility for western cultural and social practices in

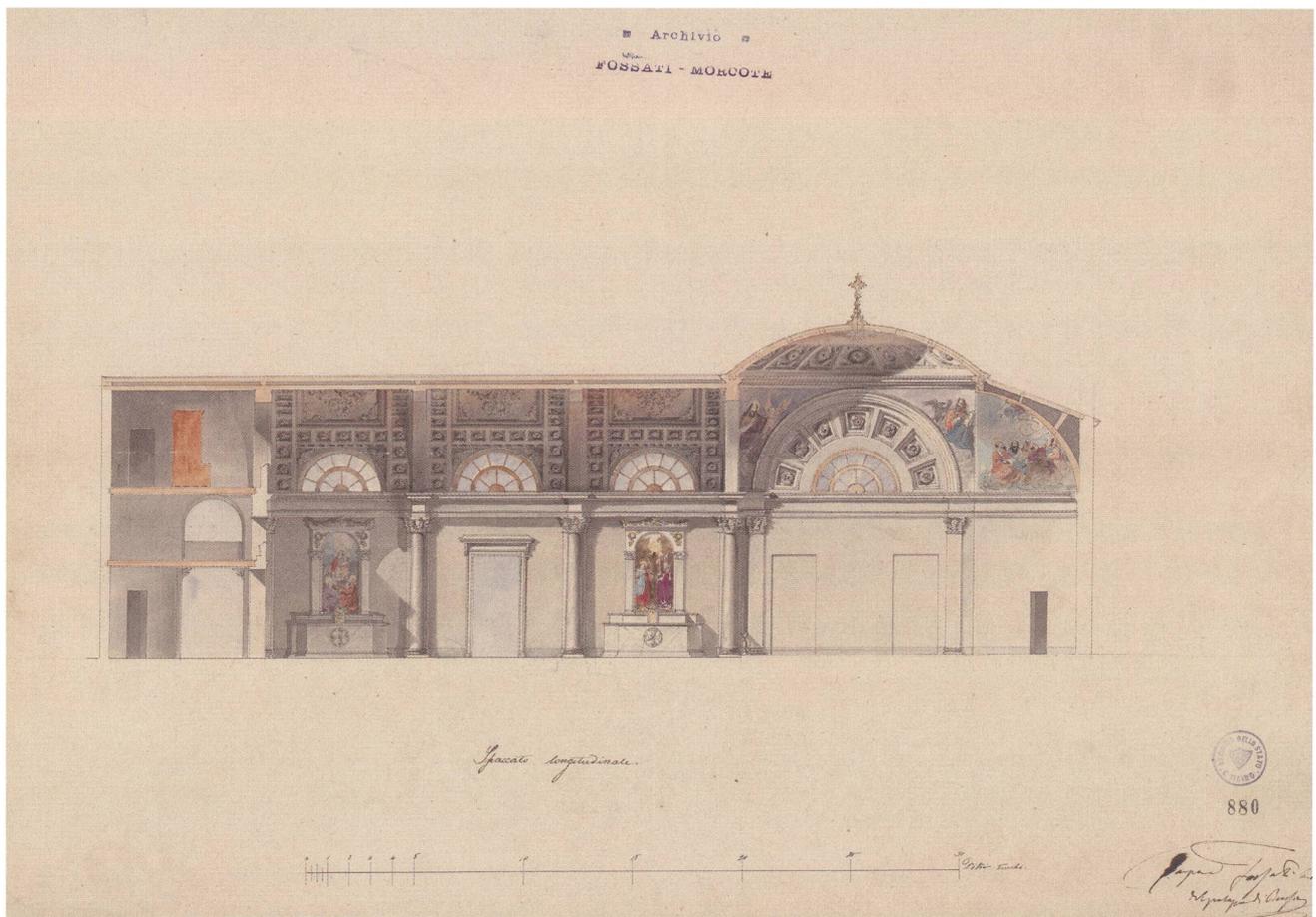


Ill. 9 Gaspare Fossati, Interior of the church of S. Peter and Paul, Lithograph, 1842.

Istanbul and other Ottoman cities: in this vein we should see Fossati's theatre design for Péra, lost in a fire and replaced in 1848 by the Naum theatre: a work of W.J. Smith, whose antagonistic relation with the Swiss colleague will be discussed in the following sections. Fossati's theatre was described in *L'Independent* ("Revue musical", signed by B. Davons) as a music hall with superb acoustics, attended by a diverse public from all cultural and social backgrounds, who was increasingly eager and able to appreciate opera performances.<sup>26</sup>

The Tanzimat meant also an increasing tolerance in regard to the non-Muslim houses of worship in the Ottoman empire. Two of the most significant projects by Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati from the 1840s were for Catholic churches, although, according to the witness of Giuseppe, the two brothers were also involved in the design of Armenian and Orthodox ones.<sup>27</sup> The first of these two works, by Gaspare, is the reconstruction of the Dominican church of Ss. Peter and Paul in Galata (1841–1843), replacing a more modest sanctuary built here after the fire of 1731. The Dominicans of Galata had originally been based in the complex of Saint Paul, today Arap

Camii, a 14<sup>th</sup> century structure combining Greek and Latin aspects of architecture and iconography. After the conversion of this sanctuary into a mosque (c. 1478), in 1535 the friars obtained from a Genoese benefactor called Angelo Zaccaria the new site, where they are still based today. The pre-Tanzimat norms usually (but we do have evidence of exceptions) obliged Christians to repair or reconstruct churches without changing any feature of their size, layout and construction materials: it may be assumed that the old St. Peter rebuilt after 1731 resembled the modest church built by the Dominicans on the same site in 1535, and rebuilt after the 1660 fire. The approximately 100 years-old building was in a state of dilapidation during the 1830's, and Fossati's project for its reconstruction displays a remarkable, increased self-confidence in terms of design and size. The sanctuary's visibility is still limited, as it was before the reconstruction, and the church does not have a recognizable façade. But the interior's elaborate layout and decorative program show an unprecedented command of resources and style: this was in fact the first Catholic sanctuary to be constructed in Istanbul after the proclamation of the Tanzimat.



III. 10 Gaspare Fossati, Water-colored longitudinal-section and internal elevation of the church of Ss. Peter and Paul, 1841 (ASTi, Fondo Fossati 2.I.26, XI/880).

Writing about the recently rebuilt church to the Council for the Propagation of the Faith of Lyon on February 27, 1843, the prior of the Dominicans Clemente Adami compares – in a rhetorical hyperbole – the old situation of the Catholic churches of the city, including the old Ss. Peter and Paul, to that of the hidden sanctuaries in the catacombs, before the legalization of Christianity under Roman rule. By contrast, Gaspare’s church displays “a vastity that can shelter in front of the same altar the one-thousand parishioners of Galata”.<sup>28</sup> The lithograph used here for Ill. 9, drawn by Fossati, engraved by M. Bellanti, and printed in Constantinople in 1842 (before the completion of the church), shows the dignified interior from a vantage point below the women gallery. This was a local element of worship mentioned also by father Adami, but it may have been executed rather differently: while the engraving presents below the women gallery a space which seems as high as the giant order of Corinthian columns, in a cross-section of the church preserved in Bellinzona (Ill. 10), this area presents a different vertical subdivision. Another aspect of localized religious tradition is the icon of the Hodigitria in the high altar, a sacred and allegedly miraculous image, originally located in the Genoese trading colony of Caffa. This icon will be replaced in 1855 by a far more “western” altarpiece, *The Meeting of Saints Peter and Paul* by the Dominican painter Serafino Guidotti, still in place, while the Hodigitria was moved to the French altar on the left, funded by Louis Philippe.

According to Adami, the inspiration for the design of this “sublime” interior derived from the “Lantern of Demosthenes”. This was a popular denomination of the Choragic monument of Lysicrates (335 BCE), a *tholos* on the slopes of the Acropolis of Athens (today’s district of Plaka), which happened to be connected to the Catholic presence in the Eastern Mediterranean after it was enclosed, in 1669, in the compound of the Capuchin friars. Its first measured drawings were included in *The Antiquities of Athens* by Stuart and Revett (1762), and the monument provided inspiration for several European neo-classical architectures. The fact that in 1810 Lord Byron was hosted here by the Capuchins,<sup>29</sup> and mentioned the monument in his letters, may have enhanced its meaning as a landmark of Hellenic rebirth and emancipation. It actually displayed a very tenuous, basic resemblance to Fossati’s design for St. Peter, limited to the use of Corinthian columns bearing a dignified entablature, and detached from a wall (straight in the Dominican church, circular in the Athenian monument). For the prior of the Dominicans of Galata, the Catholic connection probably made this reference meaningful, although Fossati was certainly inspired also by other classical models for the use of this compositional pattern. The mentioned description of the church states that only the pavement, the bases of the columns and the capitals were in marble. The large vault and its three traverse arches, as well as the semidome cov-

ering the apsis, are constructed in the local technique of *bağdadi* (wooden frame and plastered laths). It may be also argued that the effect of grandiosity obtained with limited resources evoked a similar practice of official architecture in the Russian contexts Fossati had directly interacted with.

The design of this Dominican sanctuary was followed, few years later (1846), by the project of a new Catholic cathedral in Pancaldi, entrusted to Giuseppe Fossati. The seat of the Roman bishop in Istanbul had been itinerant and hardly “monumental”, after the cathedral of St. Michael in Galata was replaced by a commercial structure: the Rüstem Paşa Han, designed by architect Sinan in c. 1560. Following this loss, the seat of the bishop of Constantinople, technically an apostolic or patriarchal vicar, had been attached to different sanctuaries: the Capuchin church of St. George in Galata (not far from Ss. Peter and Paul) until 1802, then the Holy Trinity church in Pera, protected by the Habsburg. This seat was considered especially inadequate by the French apostolic vicar Julien M. Hilléreau, who decided to erect a cathedral more deserving of the title, in the newly developing area of Pancaldi (today Pangaltı or Elmadağ), to the design of Giuseppe Fossati.<sup>30</sup> Here, the Swiss-Italian architect opted for a layout that clearly evoked the typology of the early-Christian basilica. The reconstruction of Saint Paul in Rome, to which Gaspare had paid attention during his visit to that city, aroused, in Italy and beyond, an interest for the Constantinian origins of Christian architecture. In the Fossati files preserved in Bellinzona, one drawing of a plan (Ill. 11) can be identified as pertaining to this project. The colonnaded courtyard separating the public street from the church (in line with a local typological attitude) adds relevance to this Early Christian reference, but it was probably not implemented. In 1865 this complex was heavily damaged by an earthquake, and rebuilt with the supervision of Pierre Vitalis, a Greek Catholic master mason from Tinos. The present layout reflects closely Giuseppe Fossati’s design (Ill. 12).

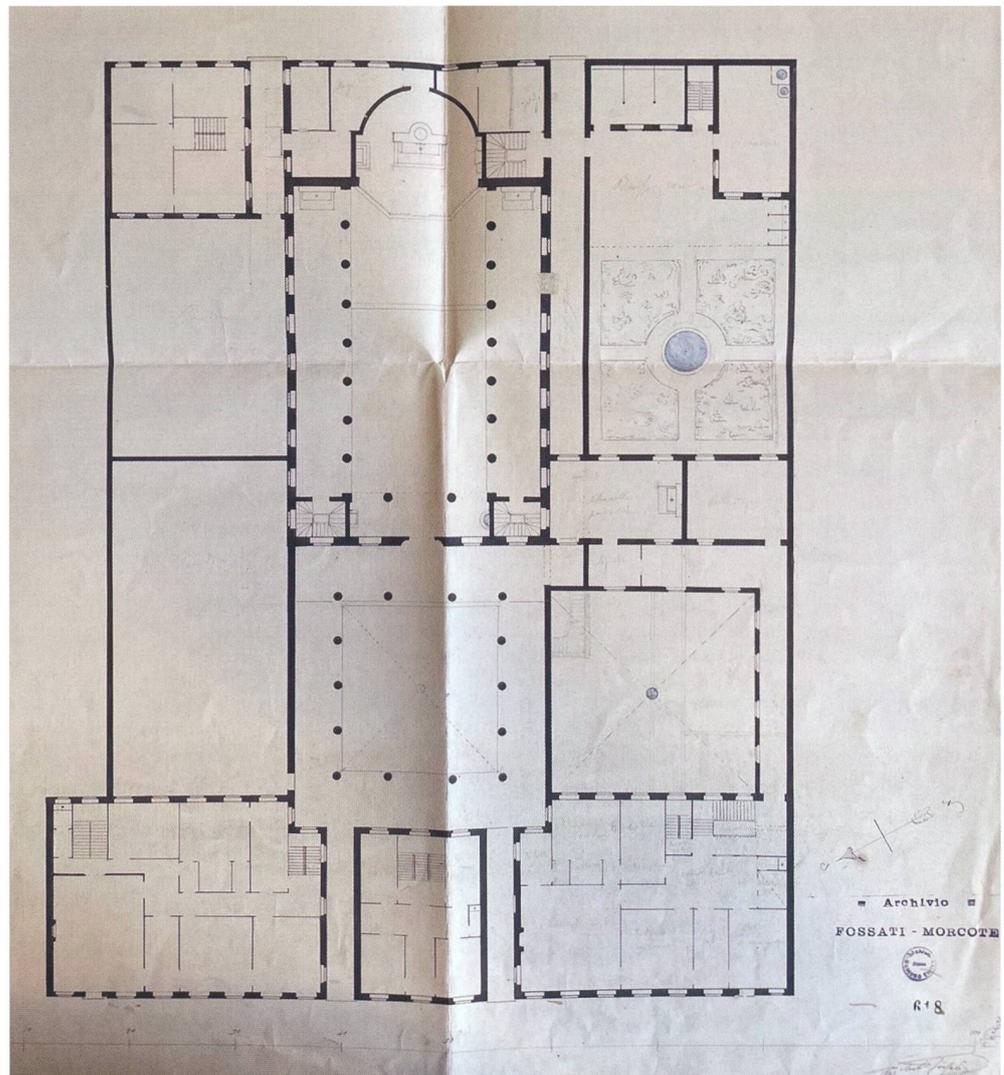
The new cathedral, dedicated to the Holy Spirit, was constructed on land where no Christian structures pre-existed, and its size probably exceeded that of any church (not only Catholic) built or re-built in Istanbul under Ottoman rule. It is tempting to connect the Constantinian, basilical layout of this new Catholic landmark to the mentioned comparison, in the Dominican chronicle, of pre-Tanzimat churches to the hidden, underground chapels of clandestine early Christianity. St. Esprit celebrates the end of a period of alleged “captivity” and “invisibility”, like the Constantinian basilicas in Rome celebrated the legalization of Christian religion. And we may remember, in this regard, that Mahmut II, the real artificer and precursor of this new attitude towards the non-Muslim communities of his empire, was perceived in some (especially Greek) Christian circles of Istanbul precisely as “a new Constantine”.

*Political tensions, professional competition: Gaspare Fossati and William J. Smith*

The employment in early Tanzimat Istanbul of two European architects by the Ottoman state on the one hand, and Russia and Great Britain on the other, is a clear sign of the new atmosphere of understanding and synergy;<sup>31</sup> but it should not overshadow divides and tensions that would surface again and explode with the Crimean War. Just like Gaspare Fossati, William James Smith arrived in the Ottoman capital to undertake an ambitious embassy project, that of the British palace across the Grand Rue (near Galatasaray), and was later entrusted with the construction of several major edifices for the Ottoman state and its ruling elite. The two architects, then, lived and produced in the city under the patronage of two of the most influential foreign powers – Great Britain and Russia – in the relatively quiet early Tanzimat years, and in the tumultuous build-up to the Crimean War (1853–56), while maintaining official interactions with the Ottoman ruling

elite. It should be clarified, here, that while the British citizenship of W.J. Smith was clear and matter-of-fact, in the Fossatis' case we have shifting perceptions of their nationality. In different sources, Gaspare Fossati appears as "Russian", as "Milanese" and as "Swiss", but his commitment to the design of the Russian embassy, and his being appointed as architect superintendent to the Russian properties in Istanbul, has probably enhanced, especially in the first decade of his work in the Ottoman capital, the Russian side of his identity.

How do the two architects relate to the Ottoman state beyond their architectural undertakings? What impact do the positionings of their public and private patrons have on their relations with the Ottoman state? Can we trace continuities and change while mid-century international relations saw dramatic overturns, culminating in a full-scale war in 1853? A discussion of such questions may reveal less-known aspects of Tanzimat architecture and its international dynamics, once the relevant Ottoman documents are contextualized in the international politics



III. 11 Giuseppe Fossati, Plan of the complex of Saint Esprit in Pancaldi, ink and pencil on paper (ASTi, Fondo Fossati, 2.I.26, VIII/618).

encompassing the Ottoman, Russian and British Empires. While Gaspare Fossati's educational and professional career prior to his arrival in Istanbul appears as an impressive prelude to the arduous tasks the Swiss-Italian (and "honorary" Russian) undertook in the Ottoman capital, the little-known earlier life and career of William James Smith presents a stark contrast. Among the few things known about Smith's pre-Istanbul years is his birth in London in 1807 and his employment in Commissioners of Woods and Forest as an assistant architect.<sup>32</sup> A recent research in the British archives has revealed additionally that Smith authored an architectural history book in 1831 titled *A Synopsis of the Origin and Progress of Architecture*, a work that includes non-Western, especially Asian and African architectural heritage.<sup>33</sup>

Smith's first visit to Istanbul was a brief one in 1841, following his appointment as the architect of the new British embassy in Pera. The following year, back in London, he gave the final shape to his design of the embassy – echoing very closely the London Reform Club (c. 1838)

designed by Charles Barry, who also advised on the design of the embassy. Shortly after, Smith returned to the Ottoman capital to undertake the construction works. By the time the monumental, neo-Renaissance style building (Ill. 13) was completed in 1853, the architect had also been recruited by the Ottoman state for a variety of major projects, some of which cited above.

Fossati and Smith's active years in the Ottoman capital witnessed a somehow collaborative earlier, and a turbulent later phase, between their patron states. Between 1842 and 1846 Iranian-Ottoman relations were extremely tense over border issues and the 1843 Karbala crisis, so much so that the two states came on the edge of war. To settle the disputes, Iranian foreign minister resorted to the intermediation of the British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Lord Stratford Canning. Over the years in question Stratford Canning and the Russian ambassador Vladimir Titov (Ills. 14–15) met almost "every day" to avert full-scale conflict between the sides.<sup>34</sup> It was this British-Russian intermediation that



Ill. 12 Interior of the cathedral of Saint Esprit, present state.



III. 13 The British Embassy in Pera, 1862.

made the 1846 agreement possible between Iran and the Ottomans.

In early 1848 Lord Stratford Canning was reappointed as the British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire for the fifth time in his career. The same year would see uprisings in Ottoman vassal states of Wallachia and Moldavia, and in the nearby Austrian region of Transylvania, as part of Europe-wide nationalist upheavals. The divergent Russian and British positions on how to handle the crisis in Wallachia and Moldavia, and on the Ottoman welcoming of the Hungarian political refugees fleeing the Austro-Russian repression, changed the course of Ottoman-Russian-British relations at the end of the decade. In spite

of Russia's overt pressure, Great Britain backed the Ottoman administration's response to the crisis in Wallachia, as well as the Ottoman welcoming of Hungarian political refugees in its domains. Tensions between Russia and the Ottoman Empire mounted to the point that, in the fall of 1849, a British fleet under the command of Admiral Sir William Parker appeared in the Golden Horn to show British support to the Sublime Porte in case of a violent escalation.<sup>35</sup> To sum up, the 1848–49 crisis paved the way for greater Ottoman-British alliance, and distanced the Ottoman Empire remarkably from Russia, even before the developments leading to the Crimean War. Gaspare Fossati and William James Smith worked in the Ottoman capital under the shadow of these international developments. This tension might be among the reasons for a relative distancing of Gaspare Fossati from Ottoman patronage after the completion of Hagia Sophia's restoration in 1849. It may also explain why the Swiss-Italian was not involved in the design of the new imperial palace of Dolmabahçe, except for a late contribution to the design of the theatre. But the different standing of Fossati and Smith in Ottoman eyes in these trouble years – with changing degrees of favor – is evident in the documents transliterated and translated in the appendix.<sup>36</sup>

In early 1846, both the Russian ambassador Vladimir Titov and the British Ambassador Stratford Canning officially requested decorations from the Ottoman state for their chief architects in the city, respectively Gaspare Fossati and William Smith. The Ottoman government, for its part, decorated Fossati with the imperial order of the 5<sup>th</sup> degree, if somewhat unwillingly.<sup>37</sup> William J. Smith, by contrast, was initially declined an order with the justification that his hospital designs had been rejected, thus he



III. 14 British Ambassador Stratford Canning (1786–1880).



Fig. 15 Russian Ambassador Vladimir Titov (1807–1891).

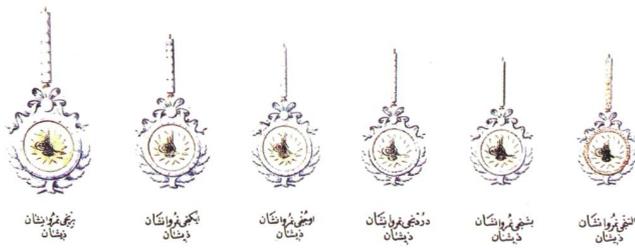


Fig. 16 Decorations awarded to dragomans and secretaries of foreign states, numbered from one (left) to six (right).

had not served the Sublime State as of early 1846.<sup>38</sup> Yet, he was later granted an imperial order of the 6<sup>th</sup> degree. A few months later, however, the British ambassador intervened and requested an order of the 5<sup>th</sup> degree for his architect too, as Gaspare Fossati had been granted that order, in the words of the complaining British ambassador.<sup>39</sup> Lord Canning’s request was met positively by the Ottoman authorities. It is interesting to note that this official request explicitly mentions the two architects as notable figures entitled to the same degree of distinction and recognition.

Later in late 1847, while Gaspare Fossati was already entrusted with the highly prestigious tasks of building a monumental “Ottoman University” (Darülfünun) and restoring Haghia Sophia, he submitted a petition to the Ottoman state, asking for a special permission.<sup>40</sup> With his petition addressed to the Ottoman Foreign office (Hariciye) the architect asks to purchase and register a house to his family’s name, near the intersection of Grande Rue de Pera and Asmalımescit street, known commonly in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century as “Dört Yol” or “Quattro Strade” (crossroads of Beyoğlu/Pera). It is stated by the Grand Vizier Mustafa Reşit Paşa presenting the petition to the Head Secretary of the Sultan (Mâbeyn Başkâtibi) that the house in question appears to be in the possession of Muslims, for whom residency in the area is no longer practicable, as many other houses have been passed one by one in Christian hands over time. Because Fossati is among respected foreign residents, and his long-time services to the Imperial State are noteworthy – the Grand Vizier finalizes his argument – the architect has been found worthy of an exceptional permission regarding house ownership “as in similar cases” by his judgement. The ultimate decision however, as always stated in such documents, appertains to the almighty Sultan.

The “crossroads of Pera” (Dört Yol) from the plan of Galata and Pera drawn by Georges d’Ostoya in 1858. Colours indicate different construction materials (pink = stone/masonry, brown = timber). Public buildings are colored with a grey hatching: diplomatic buildings and churches belong to this category. The Grande Rue de Péra, the Russian embassy designed by Fossati, the Rus-

sian Consulate misrepresented as embassy by Ambassador Roussin in his 1837 report, the Dutch Consulate (recently rebuilt to the design of G.B. Barborini), the old church of St. Antoine, also rebuilt after the 1831 fire, are visible.

The sultan’s response was negative. With the justification that Fossati was not an Ottoman subject, and any such permission to him would lead to an escalation of such demands for foreign ownership of property (“ruhsat ita olunduğu halde sirayet mahzuru dahi derkâr bulunduğu” – once the ownership is permitted, consequent hazard of escalation/dissemination is regarded certain), the architect is denied the right to purchase the house. Even if this property currently belonged to Ottoman Christians, not to Muslims as is the case, the decree emphasized that such an ownership would not be permitted. Then, the imperial concern is beyond the ethno-confessional identities, and a matter of subjecthood and law, at least in the way it is communicated, in keeping with Tanzimat principles of equality among Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman state. A contemporary source, the Imperial Engineering School map shows that the area in question was already predominantly Christian in the mid-1840s, confirming the Grand Vizier’s point in the memorandum.

While it is interesting to note that by this date in the very heart of Pera Muslim properties still existed (but the document does not specify if we are dealing with a *vakif* or other titles of property), it appears clearly from the text that in this case the contention was not on a matter of confession. One could consider the Sultan’s rejection to Fossati’s request as part of the general imperial attitude towards foreign property ownership in the Empire in the middle of the century. As is known, foreigner subjects were not officially allowed to own property in the Ottoman Empire until the legalization in 1867. According to a recent research project’s finding, in 1850 the Ottoman state reiterated its tight position on the prohibition of foreign ownership through a Grand Vizieral command sent to governors across the country.<sup>41</sup> Yet, many foreigners meanwhile managed to own property in the Empire through channels such as marriage, diplomatic duties, school building, and the use of figureheads. Property ownership of certain



III. 17 GEORGES D’OSTOYA, map of Pera and Galata, detail.

III. 18 The Imperial Engineering School Map, detail.



“respected” foreigners were in one way or another permitted as well, just as the Grand Vizier memorandum reminds us. Apparently, the rule was applied firmly in Fossati’s case, in spite of Reşid Paşa’s suggestion to the Sultan. With all the legal, cultural, confessional peculiarities we have considered above, Pera and Galata were not the extra-territorial, European enclave often alluded to in both popular and academic visions.

The Sultan’s approach to a similar request by William James Smith in early 1851 differs remarkably. Through a petition presented to the attention of the Sultan, the British architect requests an imperial gift from the state in the form of a house in January 1851.<sup>42</sup> As Smith has shown his “talents and efforts” in the service of the Imperial dynasty, he was awarded a lump sum of 200,000 Ottoman *kuruş* to purchase a house in the city, even though the term purchase is not mentioned in the document. If one considers the other imperial gift in the document, the 50,000 *kuruş* awarded to Monsieur Sarafi from the Office of Translation for the very same purpose, the generosity accorded to Smith becomes more apparent. Taken together with Dolmabahçe Palace Winter Garden and Belvedere constructions, committed to Smith in 1851–52 (while Fossati is excluded, in this period, from the Ottoman state’s most ambitious project), it becomes plausible to connect the greater favour accorded to William James Smith by the Ottoman state to the crisis with Russia in 1849, and to the ensuing British support against this power.

### Epilogue

On November 25, 1848, a French *Correspondance de Constantinople* reports the following in regard to the ascending fortune of W.J. Smith:

(The school of) Galata-Sérail will be rebuilt entirely in stone on the same location. By order of the Sultan, all the ministers went to the site on Tuesday to finalize the plan for the new construction; the direction and execution of the works were again entrusted to Mr. Smith, architect of the English embassy. The reconstruction of the Scutari barracks, which burned down some time ago, the construction of the Academy of Medicine, an artillery hospital, some factories in Top-Hane, everything has been entrusted for some time to this architect, to the detriment of Mr. Fossati, Russian architect. In this respect, England prevails over Russia.<sup>43</sup>

The architectural dynamics and landscape evolution of Tanzimat Istanbul worked in symbiosis with international power balances and relations, as well as with the ambivalence, the fluidity of subjecthood and identities in the Ottoman capital. In the French journal’s perception, as well as in the Ottoman response to the petition addressed by Fossati for the purchase of property in Pera (Appendix 1), the Swiss architect could be identified erroneously as a Russian subject. The mentioned report about Ss. Peter and Paul church by father Clemente Adami, dated 1843, gave more relevance to Fossati’s academic experience, and considered him “Milanese”. A cursory research in Gallica.bnf.fr, shows that Fossati is “architecte suisse” for the *Revue archéologique* (1850) and the *Annuaire des deux mondes*

(1852), “tessinois” for *La Démocratie pacifique* (1849); and we know that the two brothers did not share the same nationality after their return to Morcote and Milan: Gaspare remaining Swiss, Giuseppe becoming Italian.<sup>44</sup>

In the late 1830s and '40s, the making of Istanbul's new monumental and architectural landscape was in many ways a collaborative international effort, evident in the employment of two most prominent architects by Ottoman, British and Russian states. The synergy in question, however, was not devoid of a highly competitive dimension in terms of architectural practices and political patronage. As architects connected in different ways to the British and Russian Empires, William James Smith and Gaspare Fossati apparently sought the backing of their patrons in their interactions with the Ottoman state, which in turn tried to develop a balanced relationship with them up until the political crisis of 1848–9. The aftermath of the crisis saw William J. Smith being favored considerably, as the outcome of greater Ottoman-British affinity, at a time when Gaspare Fossati was associated with the Russian state, despite its Swiss subjecthood. Smith's identity, or identification, was a far less complex matter, and this circumstance favored him over his rival in a peculiar historical context. However, in the long run and for the posterity, it appears that Gaspare Fossati's positioning at the crossing of diverse possible national and cultural allegiances made his imprint on the landscape and the cultural history of Istanbul more durable and pervasive.

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## NOTES

- 1 See, in this volume, GÖKSÜN AKYÜREK, *Une vision architecturale féconde pour tous – le projet de la Darülfünun de Gaspare Fossati pour la première université ottomane à Istanbul/Constantinople (1846–1863)*.
- 2 JOSEPH PITTON DE TOURNEFORT, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant: fait par ordre du roy ... Enrichie de descriptions & de figures d'un grand nombre de plantes rares, de divers animaux; et de plusieurs observations touchant l'histoire naturelle*. Vol. 2. Paris 1717, pp. 223–224.
- 3 The authors will refer hereafter to Beyoğlu in its present sense, including Galata and Pera.
- 4 ZEYNEP ÇELİK, *The remaking of Istanbul: portrait of an Ottoman city in the nineteenth century*, Berkeley 1993, p. 33.
- 5 A relative islamization of Galata within the walls, during the 17th and 18th centuries, also contributed to the development of Pera as a non-Muslim, and remarkably Catholic settlement outside the walls. See PAOLO GIRARDELLI, *Between Rome and Istanbul: Architecture and Material Culture of a Franciscan Convent in the Ottoman Capital*, in: *Mediterranean Studies*, 19, 2010, pp. 162–188.
- 6 PAOLO GIRARDELLI, *Ottoman roots, European developments. Comparing the French and Venetian palaces in Beyoğlu*, in: *Proceedings of the 14th International Conference of Turkish Art*, ed. Frederic Hitzel (Paris, Collège de France, Sept. 2011), Paris 2013.
- 7 Centre des archives diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN), *Ambassade de France à Constantinople*, vol. 252 (1722–1774).
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- 9 The standard study in this regard is the still valuable BENJAMIN BRAUDE / BERNARD LEWIS (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*, Vol. 1, New York 1982.
- 10 TOMMASO BERTELÉ, *Il Palazzo degli Ambasciatori di Venezia e le sue antiche memorie*, Bologna 1932. See also MARK BERTRAM, *Room for Diplomacy: Britain's Diplomatic Buildings Overseas 1800–2000*, Reading, Berks 2011. We thank the author of this work for information on Ill. 3.
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- 14 ŞERAFETTİN TURAN, *Osmanlı Teşkilatında Hassa Mimarları (The Ottoman Institution of Imperial Architects)*, in: *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1, 1963, pp. 159–202; OYA ŞENYURT, *Osmanlı Mimarlık Örgütlenmesinde Değişim ve Dönüşüm (Change and Reform in the Institutionalization of Ottoman Architecture)*, Istanbul 2011.
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- <sup>19</sup> CADN, Ambassade à Constantinople, Comptabilité, 300 (1837), English translation by P. Girardelli.
- <sup>20</sup> ADOLPHUS SLADE, *Turkey, Greece and Malta*, vol. 1, London 1837, pp. 402–425.
- <sup>21</sup> IRINA KASIMOVA, *Русский дворец в Стамбуле/İstanbul'da bir Rus Sarayı/The Russian Palace in Istanbul*, Istanbul 2012.
- <sup>22</sup> CADN, Ambassade à Constantinople, Comptabilité, 300 (1838).
- <sup>23</sup> ADALBERT DE BEAUMONT, Preface to GASPARE FOSSATI, *Aya Sofia, Constantinople: as recently restored by order of H. M. the Sultan Abdul-Medjid*, London 1852.
- <sup>24</sup> “On the morning of 24 June we headed for Hassan-Kale, an ancient fort captured by Prince Bekovich the day before. It was 15 versts from our overnight stop. The long stages were tiring me. I was hoping for a rest; but it was not to be. Before the cavalry left, some Armenians from the hills turned up in our camp demanding protection from Turks who had driven off their livestock three days before.” DEREK DAVIS, *A Journey to Arzrum during the 1829 Campaign by AS Pushkin: Translation with Commentary*, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 32/S1, 2022, pp. S44–S45.
- <sup>25</sup> See, in this volume, GÖKSÜN AKYÜREK, *Une vision architecturale féconde pour tous – le projet de la Darülfünun de Gaspare Fossati pour la première université ottomane à Istanbul/Constantinople (1846–1863)*.
- <sup>26</sup> “C’est surtout dans une ville comme Constantinople que l’Opéra est une nécessité. Il fallait à la population de cette capitale, composée de tant d’éléments divers, une langue universelle que tout le monde pût comprendre, et la musique seule pouvait en tenir lieu”. *L’indépendant. Furet des théâtres*, February 24, 1842.
- <sup>27</sup> GIUSEPPE FOSSATI, *Rilievi storico-artistici sulla architettura bizantina dal IV al XV e fino al XIX secolo*, Milan 1890. On the unachieved project by the Fossatis for a Bulgarian church in Fener (1859), later built as an iron sanctuary to the design of the Armenian Catholic architect Hovsep Aznavur: BLAGOVESTA IVANOVA-TSOTSOVA, *The Architectural Complex at the Golden Horn: a Monument of Cultural Heritage of Bulgaria and Turkey*, in: *International Journal of Engineering and Technical Research*, 8/3, 2018, pp. 27–35.
- <sup>28</sup> A copy of this correspondence is preserved in the Archives of the Dominican order in Rome. I am grateful to father Augustin Laffay, OP, for his support and help in my research on archival materials regarding the Dominicans in Istanbul.
- <sup>29</sup> PAUL M. CURTIS, *Capuchin Convent*. In: *ByronOnlineProject*, accessed October 21, 2023, <http://byrononlineproject.com/items/show/514>.
- <sup>30</sup> RINALDO MARMARA, *Pancaldi, quartier Levantin du XIXe siècle*, Istanbul 2004.
- <sup>31</sup> EDHEM ELDEM, *Tanzimat Üzerine Düşünceler*, in: Sultan Abdülmecid’in bir mimarı: William James Smith, eds. AYĞÜL AĞIR et al., İstanbul, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür AŞ, 2016, p. 28.
- <sup>32</sup> AFİFE BATUR, *İstanbul’da bir İngiliz mimarın çalışma öyküsü üzerine*. in: Sultan Abdülmecid’in bir mimarı: William James Smith, eds. AYĞÜL AĞIR et al., İstanbul, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür AŞ, 2016, p. 28.
- <sup>33</sup> ESMA İGÜS, *A British Touch on Tanzimat: Architect William James Smith*, in: *Journal of Ottoman Legacy Studies (JOLS)*, 2/3, 2015, p. 74.
- <sup>34</sup> STANLEY LANE POOLE, *Lord Stratford Canning’ in Türkiye anıları*. İstanbul 1999, p. 102. [Turkish translation of *The Life of the Right Honourable Stratford Canning: Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe*, Volume 1, Longsman, Green, 1888.]
- <sup>35</sup> STANLEY LANE POOLE 1999 (cf. n. 34), p. 117.
- <sup>36</sup> The documents in question were mentioned by Seda Kula Say and Saro Dadyan in the following works: SEDA KULA SAY, *19.yy Tanzimat Dönemi Mimarları Arasında William James Smith’in Yeri* in (AYĞÜL AĞIR et al., eds.) *Sultan Abdülmecid’in bir mimarı: William James Smith*. İstanbul, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür AŞ, 2016, pp. 224–250; SARO DADYAN, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nu Yeniden İnşa Etmek*, in: *Uluslararası Osmanlı İstanbulu Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, İstanbul 2019. They are however transliterated, translated to English and contextualized within the broader international politics here for the first time here.
- <sup>37</sup> B.O.A. İ.HR.33/1481 (Appendix 1).
- <sup>38</sup> B.O.A. İ.HR.33/1527 (Appendix 2).
- <sup>39</sup> B.O.A. İ.HR.35/1605 (Appendix 3–4).
- <sup>40</sup> B.O.A. İ.HR.43–2011 (Appendix 5).
- <sup>41</sup> HARUM TANRIVERMİŞ et al. (eds.), *Türkiye’de tarihsel gelişim süreci içinde yabancıların taşınmaz edinimlerinin analizi*, Ankara 2013. Anonymous introduction, p. 13.
- <sup>42</sup> B.O.A. İ.HR.73–3567 (Appendix 6).
- <sup>43</sup> “Galata-Sérail va être reconstruit tout en pierre sur le même emplacement. Par ordre du sultan, tous les ministres se sont rendus mardi sur les lieux pour arrêter le plan de la nouvelle construction; la direction et execution des travaux ont été encore confiés à M. Smith, architecte de l’ambassade anglaise. La reconstruction de la caserne de Scutari, incendiée il’y a quelque temps, la construction de l’Académie de médecine, d’un hôpital pour l’artillerie, de quelques fabriques à Top-Hane, tout est confié depuis quoique temps à cet architecte, au détriment de M. Fossati, architecte russe. Sous ce rapport, l’Angleterre l’emporte sur la Russie”. *Revue de l’Orient: Bulletin de la Société orientale*, 4, 1848, p. 308.
- <sup>44</sup> GIULIANA RICCI, *Brothers but not Compatriots: The Fossatis in Milan*, in: PAOLO GIRARDELLI / EZIO GODOLI 2017 (cf. n. 11), pp. 111–124.

## IMAGE CREDITS

- Ill. 1: JEAN MICHEL CASA, *Le Palais de France a Istanbul – İstanbul’da bir Fransız Sarayı*, Paris 2012.
- Ill. 2: JEAN BRINDESI, *Souvenir de Constantinople*, Paris 1860.
- Ill. 3: The National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom.
- Ill. 4: ROBERT WALSH, *A Residence at Constantinople*, London 1836.
- Ill. 5: The old Çırağan Palace commissioned by Mahmut II, engraving by Thomas Allom, c. 1838.
- Ill. 6, 8, 10–11: Archivio di Stato del Cantone Ticino, Fondo Fossati.
- Ill. 7: Deniz Müzesi, İstanbul.
- Ill. 9: Courtesy, Archivio storico dell’Ordine dei Predicatori, Rome.
- Ill. 12: Photo by the author (Paolo Girardelli).
- Ill. 13: Royal Collection Trust (photo by Francis Bedford).
- Ill. 14: National Portrait Gallery, London (photo by Henry Hering).
- Ill. 15: ANDREI MEDARDOVICH ZAYONCHKOVSKY, *Восточная война 1853–1856 гг.*, vol. 1, Saint Petersburg 1908, p. 364.
- Ill. 16: EDHEM ELDEM, *Pride and Privilege: A history of Ottoman orders, medals and decorations*. Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, İstanbul 2005.
- Ill. 17: Courtesy, İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality.
- Ill. 18: Courtesy, Salt Research and S.H. Eldem collection.

## APPENDIX

Transcription and translation (by Mert Pekdođdu) of the Ottoman documents mentioned in the text, from the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of State Archives - Ottoman Archives

1. B.O.A. İ.HR.33/1481 [Request of a decoration from the Ottoman state for Gaspere Fossati, by Russian Ambassador Vladimir Titov]

Seniyyü'l-himemâ devletlü inayetlü atûfetlü efendim hazretleri  
Rusya devleti tebaasından olup Galata'da kain Rusya sefarethanesinin esnâ-yı inşasında mimarı bulunan Mösyö Fossati mukaddemâ hastaneler ebniyesinde ve sair ebniye-i mîriyyede istihdam olunarak taraf-ı eşref-i saltanat-ı seniyyeye hizmeti sebkat etmiş ve bu kere memleketi tarafına azimet edeceğinden vardığı mahalde kendüye mücib-i mübahat ve mefharet olmak üzere cânib-i seniyyü'l-menâkib-i devlet-i aliyye'den inayet-i mahsusa-i aleniyye olarak bir kıt'a nişan-ı zîşan temin ümniyesinde olduğu ve ol bâbda müsaade-i seniyye erzan buyurulması Rusya sefiri Mösyö Titov tarafından mahsusen ve zaten iltimas olunup her ne kadar savuşturulmasına ikdâm kılınmış ise de bilahere elçi-yi mûmâ-ileyhin pek kırılacağı anlaşılmiş olduğuna ve merkûmun taraf-ı devlet-i aliyyeye bazı mertebe hidmeti dahi vukuuna mebni kendüye bazı emsaline tevfiқан hafifçe bir kıt'a nişan-ı zîşan imal ve itası münasip olacağı reis-i meclis-i vâlâ ve hariciye nazırı devletlü pašalar hazerâtıyla beynimizde tezekkür olunmuş olmağın ol bâbda her ne vechile emr ü irâde-i mekârim-âde-i cenâb-ı tacdârî şeref-sünûh ve sudûr buyurulur ise mazmûn-ı münîfi üzere icrâ-yı iktizâsına mübaderet kılınacağı beyânıyla tezkere-i senâverî terkîm olundu efendim

Maruz-ı çâker-i musâdatkat-güsterleridir ki

Resîde-i dest-i tefhîm olan işbu tezkere-i sâmiyye-i âsafâneleri manzur-ı âli-yi hazret-i şâhâne buyurulmuş ve merkûma bazı emsaline tevkiқан bir kıt'a hafifçe nişan-ı âli imâl ve itası şeref-rîz-i sünûh ve sudûr buyurulan emr ü irâde-i seniyye-i cenâb-ı mülûkâne muktezâ-yı münîfinden bulunmuş olmağla ol bâbda emr ü fermân hazret-i veliyyü'l-emrindir

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Your Most Exalted and Illustrious Excellency, [Grand Vizier's petition on the same subject, presented to the Head Secretary to the Sultan]

A Russian subject, resident of Galata, and the architect of the Russian Embassy, Monsieur Fossati has previously been employed in the construction of hospitals and various other public buildings, thus serving the Most Honorable Imperial Dynasty. As he is set to depart for his homeland, he would like to obtain a glorious order from the Great Imperial State that will be a means of pride and praise for him there. The Russian Ambassador Monsieur Titov has personally requested the Imperial favor to this end. Even though effort has been made to put off the ambassador's request in question, once it was realized that the aforementioned ambassador would be very upset and the aforesaid [Fossati]'s certain services to the Imperial State are evident, Their Excellencies the Chairman of Sublime Council for Judicial Ordinances, the Minister of Foreign

Affairs and I considered that manufacture and offer of a "lighter" order to himself would be appropriate. Nevertheless, His Excellency, stating all the facts above and the decisions of the Sublime Council, the present humble memorandum has been submitted to inform you that to whatever effect the imperial command and edict is issued, that course shall be taken.

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It is a petition of a humble servant that [Response of the Head Secretary to the Sultan, transmitting the Sultan's decision]

The present grand vizierial memorandum (*arz tezkeresi*), which has been treated with great deference has been considered by His Majesty the Sultan. Hence, as required by the relevant imperial command and edict issued in honor, a lighter imperial order shall be manufactured to be presented to the said person. Thus, authority appertains to the owner of the order (*hazret-i veliyyü'l-emr*) entitled therein.

January 6, 1846 [8 Muharram 1262]

2. B.O.A. İ.HR.33/1527 [William James Smith's decoration request and the Ministry of War's negative evaluation]

Veliyyü'n-ni'amâ bende-nüvâzâ devletlü inayetlü atufetlü übehhetlü efendim hazretleri

İngiltere devleti mimarlarından İsmet nam mimara bundan akdem tersim ettirilmiş olan hastahane resminden dolayı mücib-i mübahatı olmak üzere bir kıt'a nişan-ı zîşan ihsan buyurulması niyazına dair mesûrun rikab-ı hümayûn-ı şahaneye takdim eylemiş olduğu arzuhali ve bu babda devletlü kapudan paşa hazretleri tarafından ita olunmuş olan merbut bir kıt'a varaka-i memhure ile beraber manzur-ı devletleri buyurulmak üzere leffen irsal-i su-yı vâlâları kılınmış olmağla icrâ-yı iktizâsı babında irâde efendimdir

Ma'ruz-ı çâker-i kemîneleridir ki

Enmile-pîrâ-yı tekrîm olan işbu tezkere-i aliyye-i sadâret-penâhîleri me'âl-i sâmiye rehîn-i ilm-i âcizî olmuş ve keyfiyet dâr-ı şûrâ-yı askerîye lede'l-havâle zıkr olunan arzuhâl ve varaka me'âllerine nazaran fi'l-hakîka mimar-ı mersum mukaddemce bir kıt'a hastane resmi tersim ve takdim eylemiş ise de matluba tevafuk etmemek hasebiyle terk olunmuş ve kendüsü sair bir güne hidmette dahi bulunmamış olduğundan bundan dolayı mersumun nişan istihsaline istihkakı olmayacağı derkâr olup ancak ita ve adem-i itası mücerred re'y-i âliye menût idüğü dâr-ı şûrâ-yı mezkûrdan ifade ve inbâ ve evrak-ı mezkûre yine pişgah-ı âlîlerine iade ve isra olunmuş olmağla ol bâbda emr ü fermân hazret-i men-lehu'l-emrindir.

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Your Most Exalted and Illustrious Excellency, [Grand Vizier's petition to the Minister of War]

One of the architects of the British state, architect Smith has requested a glorious imperial order award for his hospital design through a petition addressed to the Imperial State. The submitted petition of the aforesaid, as well as a related sealed document have been attached to be presented to the attention of yours. Authority for the necessary action appertains to His Majesty.

February 8, 1846 [11 Safar 1262]

It is a petition of a humble servant that, [Ministry of War's response]

The Grand Vizierial petition has been taken into consideration by the Imperial Military Council. It is thus apparent that the aforesaid does not deserve an order grant, for his hospital design did not prove to be the willed one, thus he has not offered any service [to the Imperial State]. However, it has been stated by the aforesaid Council that [the decision] to award or not to award him with an order appertains only to the most exalted opinion of [the Sultan]. Thus, the aforesaid petition has been returned to the most exalted. Thus, authority appertains to the owner of the order (*hazret-i veliyyü'l-emr*) entitled therein.

February 22, 1846 [25 Safar 1262]

3. B.O.A. İ.HR.33/1527 [Third page of the same document: the Sultan awards William James Smith a 6<sup>th</sup> degree order]

Seniyyü'l-himemâ devletlü inayetlü atûfetlü efendim hazretleri

Malum-ı âli buyurulduğu vechile İngiltere sefarahatnesi mimarı Mösyö İsmi't'e bundan akdem kendüye tersim ettirilmiş olan hastane resminden dolayı mucib-i mübahatı olmak üzere bir kıt'a nişan-ı zîşan ihsan buyurulmasını rikab-ı hümâyûn-ı şaha-neye arzihal takdimiyle niyaz ve istid'a etmiş ve arzihal-i mezbûr devletlü kapudanpaşa hazretleri tarafından merkuma verilen bir kıt'a varaka-i memhûre ile beraber devletlü serasker paşa hazretlerine bâ-tezkere irsal olunarak keyfiyet-i dâr-ı şûrâ-yı askerîye lede'l-havale fi'l-hakika mimar-ı merkur bir kıt'a hastane resmini tersim ve takdim edüb ancak resm-i mezkûr matluba tevafuk etmemek hasebiyle olvakit terk olduğu ve kendisi sair bir gûne hizmette bulunmaması cihetile nişan istihsaline istihkakı görümedigi ve mâ-mâ'a-fih nişan-ı mezkûrun 'ita ve adem-i itası mücerred irâde-i seniyyeye menûit idüğü dâr-ı şûrâ-yı mezkûrdan ve suret-i muharrere serasker-i muşârun-ileyh cânibinden ifade ve inbâ ve tezkere-i mezbûre manzur-ı âli buyurulmak için sû-yı vâlâlarına bâ's ve isrâ kılınmış olmağla ol babda ne vechle emr ü irâde-i isâbet-ifade-i cenâb-ı pâdişâhî müteallik ve şeref-sudûr buyurulur ise ana göre harekete ibtidar olunacağı beyânıyla tezkere-i senâverî terkîm kılındı efendim.

Maruz-ı çâker-i musâdakat-güsterleridir ki

Enmile-pîrâ-yı icbâl olan işbu tezkere-i sâmiyye-i sadâret-penâhîleriyle tezkere-i mezkûre meşmûl-i lihâza-i me'âlî-ifâza-i hazret-i pâdişâhî buyurulmuş ve mimar-ı merkûma altıncı numerodan bir kıt'a nişan-ı âli i'tâsî şeref-efzâ-yı sünûh ve sudûr buyurulan irâde-i ihsân-âde-i cenâb-ı şehriyârî muktezâ-yı mekârim-ihtivâsından bulunmuş ve mârrü'l-beyân tezkere yine savb-ı vâlâ-yı âsafîlerine iade ve tesyîr kılınmış olmağla ol bâbda emr ü fermân hazret-i veliyyü'l-emrindir

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Your Most Exalted and Illustrious Excellency, [Grand Vizier's petition to Head Secretary to the Sultan]

As is known to your excellency, Monsieur Smith, architect of the Embassy of England, had previously requested an imperial order for his hospital design through a petition presented to the Imperial Highness. The petition in question was then forwarded

to Minister of War via a memorandum with an attached document handed to the aforesaid [Smith] by the Chief Admiral. [The decision] was thus left to the Imperial Military Council. While it is true that the aforesaid designed and presented a hospital design, he did not seem worthy of an order decoration [to us] as his design did not prove to be the willed one and thus he has not served the state. However, the aforesaid Council and the written statement of the Minister of War have stated that the decision to decorate or not to decorate someone with an imperial order ultimately requires the imperial edict (*irade-i seniyye*). Hence, the present humble memorandum has been submitted to inform you that to whatever effect the imperial command and edict is issued, that course shall be taken.

It is a petition of a humble servant that [Response of the Head Secretary to the Sultan, transmitting the Sultan's decision]

The present grand vizierial memorandum (*arz tezkeresi*), which has been treated with great deference has been considered by His Majesty the Sultan. Hence, as required by the relevant imperial command and edict issued in honor, it has been decided that the aforesaid architect is to be granted a glorious order of 6<sup>th</sup> degree. Consequently, the memorandum has been returned to the Office of the Grand Vizier, and thus, authority appertains to the owner of the order (*hazret-i veliyyü'l-emr*) entitled therein.

February 25, 1846 [28 Safar 1262]

4. B.O.A. İ.HR.35/1605 [British ambassador Lord Stratford Canning requests the replacement of Smith's 6<sup>th</sup> degree order with a 5<sup>th</sup> degree, as Gaspere Fossati had been given a 5<sup>th</sup> degree order]

Seniyyü'l-himemâ devletlü inayetlü atûfetlü efendim hazretleri

Malum-ı âli buyurulduğu vechle İngiltere sefarahatnesi mimarı Mösyö İsmi't'e bundan akdem tersim ettirilmiş olan hastane resminden dolayı istidası vuku'uyla altıncı numerodan olarak bir kıt'a nişan-ı zîşan inayet ü ihsan buyurulmuş ise de nişan-ı âli-yı mezkûr Rusya sefarethanesisinin inşası esnasında mimarı bulunan Mösyö Fossati'ye ita buyurulan nişan-ı âliden haylice hafif olduğundan lutfen tebdiliyle merkur Fossati'ye verilen nişana tatbiken beşinci numerodan diğeri bir kıt'a nişan imal ve itasına müsaade-i seniyye şayan buyurulmasını Mösyö Canning bu kere bilhassa ifade ve iltimas eylemiş ve fi'l-hakika merkur Fossati'nin nişanı beşinci numaradan olduğu kuyuddan dahi müstebân olmuş idüğüne binaen merkur İsmi't'e mukaddemce verilen nişan-ı âli darbhâne-i âmireye irsâl ve teslim olunmak üzere ber-muceb-i iltimas beşinci numerodan diğeri bir kıt'a nişan-ı zîşanın müceddededen imal ve itası hakkında ne vechile irâde-i isâbet-âde-i cenâb-ı mülûkâne müteallik ve şeref-sudûr buyurulur ise ana göre icrâ-yı icabına ibtidar olunacağı beyânıyla tezkere-i senâverî terkîm kılındı efendim.

Maruz-u çâker-i musâdat-güsterleridir ki

Hâme-pîrâ-yı ta'zim olan işbu tezkere-i sâmiyye-i sadaret-penâhîleri meşmûl-ı nigâh-ı şevket-iktinâh-ı hazret-i şahane buyurulmuş ve iş'âr u istîzân olunduğu vechile merkûm İsmî'te mukaddemce verilen nişân-ı âlî darbhâne-i âmireye teslim kılınmak üzere beşinci numerodan diğer bir kıt'a nişân-ı âlînin müceddeden imâl ve i'tâsî müteallik ve şeref-sudûr buyurulan irâde-i seniyye-i cenâb-ı mülûkâne icâb-ı celîlinden bulunmuş olmağla ol bâbda emr ü fermân hazret-i veliyyü'l-emrindir

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Your Most Exalted and Illustrious Excellency, [Grand Vizier's petition to the Head Secretary of the Sultan]

As your sublime authority was previously informed, Monsieur Smith, architect of the Embassy of England, has been honored with the decoration of a glorious order of the 6<sup>th</sup> degree upon his request. Yet, as the order in question is quite lighter than the one issued to Monsieur Fossati, architect of the Russian Embassy, [the British Ambassador] Monsieur Canning personally requested its replacement with another order of the 5<sup>th</sup> degree so that it may correspond to aforesaid Fossati's order. As official documentation makes it clear that Fossati's order is in fact of the 5<sup>th</sup> degree, it would be required to return the previously-presented glorious order to the imperial mint and subsequently manufacture and grant another glorious order of the 5<sup>th</sup> degree. Nevertheless, His Excellency, stating all the facts above, the present humble memorandum has been submitted to inform you that to whatever effect the imperial command and edict is issued concerning such a favor, that course shall be taken.

June 9, 1846 [14 Jumada al-Ukhra 1262]

It is a petition of a humble servant that, [Response of the Head Secretary to the Sultan, transmitting the Sultan's decision]

The present grand vizierial memorandum (*arz tezkeresi*), which has been treated with great deference has been considered by His Majesty the Sultan. Hence, as required by the relevant imperial command and edict issued in honor, it has been decided that the previously-presented glorious order is to be returned to the Imperial Mint and another glorious order of the 5<sup>th</sup> degree is to be manufactured and granted to the architect in question. thus, authority appertains to the owner of the order (*hazret-i veliyyü'l-emr*) entitled therein.

June 12<sup>th</sup>, 1846 [17 Jumada al-Ukhra 1262].

5. I.HR.43/2011. [Gaspore Fossati requests property ownership permit. The request is answered negatively on the grounds of his foreign subjecthood]

Atûfetlü efendim hazretleri

Sâye-i şevket-vaye-i hazret-i şâhânede bina ve inşa olunmakta olan Darülfunun ile Ayasofya-i Kebir Camii Şerifi'nin tamirine memur mimar Fossati'nin manzûr-ı me'âlî-mevfûr-ı hazret-i cihandârî buyurulmak için arz u takdim kılınan bir kıta arzuhali mealinde Beyoğlu'nda dörtüyl ağzı civarında iki bâb hâneyi iştira ve inşa eylemek emelinde olduğundan emsali misillü familyasının üzerine kayd olunmak üzere mezkûr hanelerin iştirasına ruhsat-ı seniyye-i hazret-i şehinşâhî erzân buyurulmasını niyaz ve istida' edip eğerçi istidasında iştira edeceği hanelerin İslam'dan geçeceği anlaşılır ise de böyle bazı muteberana bu bâbda bazen müsaade olduğuna ve bir de bu evlerin bulunduğu yerler mukaddemlerde nasılsa birer takrib nasârâ yedine geçerek bayağı İslam oturma bilmek kabiliyetten çıkmış olmasıyla eshabı Hristiyan takımına icar ederek kendileri başka yerlerde oturmaya mecbur oldukları mervi bulunmasıyla buraları pek de mahallat-ı saireye makîs olamamasına ve mûmâ-ileyh haylice müddetten beri hidemat-ı seniyyede müstahdem olarak şayan-ı âtifet idüğüne mebni niyazı şâyes-te-i is'âf-ı âlî görünmüş ise de yine her ne vechile emr ü fermân-ı isâbet-unvân-ı hazret-i şehinşâhî müteallik ve şeref-sudûr buyurulur ise ana göre mantûk-ı münîfi icrâsına ibtidâr olunacağı beyânıyla tezkere-i senâverî terkîm kılındı efendim

Ma'ruz-ı çâker-i keminelidir ki

Râhe-pîra-yı ta'zim olan işbu tezkere-i sâmiyye-i sadaret-penâhîleriyle arzuhâl-i mezkûr manzûr-ı şevket-mevfûr-ı hazret-i şâhâne buyurulmuş ve zikr olunan haneler İslam'dan geçmeyüp de re'aya yedinde bulunmuş olsa bile mûmâ-ileyh Fossati'nin teba'a-ı saltanat-ı seniyyeden olmaması cihetiyle nizamın buna mesağî olamayacağına ve bu bâbda ruhsat ita olduğuna halde sirayet mahzuru dahi derkâr olduğuna binaen tabiiyet-i maslahat iktizâsınca müsaade-i seniyye erzan buyurulmayarak mûmâ-ileyhe münasibi vechile cevap itasıyla savuşturulması müte'allik ve şeref-sudûr buyurulan emr ü irâde-i seniyye-i cenâb-ı mülûkâne icâb-ı âlîsinden bulunmuş ve mezkûr arzuhâl savb-ı savab-nümâ-yı sâmilere iade ve tesyar kılınmış olduğu muhât-ı ilm-i sâmiyye-i âsafileri buyuruldukte ol bâbda emr ü fermân hazret-i veliyyü'l-emrindir

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Your Most Exalted and Illustrious Excellency, [Grand Vizier's petition]

Architect in charge of the Darülfunun [Ottoman University building] being built in the well-protected [capital] of the glorious Sultan and of the Grand Hagia Sophia Mosque, [Gaspore] Fossati submitted a petition to the regards of the Glorious Ruler of the World whereby he communicates his intention to purchase and [re]construct two houses around the Beyoğlu intersection by registering them with his family as in similar cases. He therefore requests the imperial permission of His Majesty the Shah of Shahs the purchase of the houses in question. Although it appears that the houses are to be sold by Muslims, his request has been found worthy of approval on the grounds that such acknowledged people are occasionally permitted in similar cases, that many places [properties] in

the zone in question have been one by one passed into Christian hands turning it uninhabitable for [the remaining] Muslims, who in turn were forced to rent their houses to Christians and live elsewhere, and that the aforesaid [Gaspere Fossati] has earned compassion [appreciation] as a long-time employee in the imperial services. The present humble memorandum has been submitted to inform you that to whatever effect the imperial command and edict is issued concerning such a favor, that course shall be taken.

November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1847 [23 Jumada al-Akhir 1263]

It is a petition of a humble servant that, [Response of the Head Secretary to the Sultan, transmitting the Sultan's decision]

The aforesaid's [Gaspere Fossati] petition has been presented to the attention of the glorious Sultan through the exalted grand vizireal memorandum. Accordingly, it has been found necessary by the imperial highness that the aforesaid is not granted the imperial permission on the grounds that aforesaid Fossati is not an imperial subject and dissemination of such practices is an apparent drawback in case of permission. This is so even if the houses in question were not to be sold by Muslims but belonged to Christians. The aforesaid therefore shall be put off with a response in an appropriate manner. Authority appertains to the owner of the order (*hazret-i veliyyü'l-emr*) entitled therein.

December 10<sup>th</sup>, 1847 [2 Moharram 1264]

6. İ.HR.73/3567, [The Sultan awards William James Smith 200,000 Ottoman *kuruş* upon the British architect's request of an imperial concession for a house purchase]

Atufetlü efendim hazretleri,

Mimar İsmet celb etmiş olduğu familyası ile şâye-i ihsân-vâye-i hazret-i mülûkânede sâkin olmak üzere bir hane ihsan buyurulmasını atabe-i ulyâ-yı hazret-i pâdişâhîden bâ-arzuhal istida edip mûmâ-ileyh kullanıldığı hidemât-ı devlet-i aliyyede eser-i hüner ve gayretini göstermiş ve el-hâletu-hazihi elinde bulunan ebniyye-i miriyyede dahi mesaisi meşhûd olduğuna binaen mûmâ-ileyhin işbu istidası müsaade-i mekârim-âde-i cenâb-ı cihândârîye şayan olmağla şan-ı celîlü'l-unvân-ı hazret-i pâdişâhî iktiza-yı âlisi üzere mûmâ-ileyhe hâne-bahâ olarak iki yüz bin *kuruş* atiyeye-i seniyye ihsân buyurulması münasip olacağı devletlü Fethi Paşa hazretleriyle beynimizde tezekkür olunup tercüme odası memurlarından Mösyö Sarafi dahi şâye-i hazret-i velî-nî' metde bir sükna sahibi olmak ve şimdiye kadar kira köşelerinde çektiği sefaletden kurtulmak üzere kezalik hak-ı pay-ı hümâyûn-ı cenâb-ı pâdişâhîye arzuhal takdimiyle istataf edip mûmâ-ileyh ise müddet-i vefireden beri Bâb-ı Âlî'de hizmet-i naziked kesret üzere müstahdem-i emektar ve merhamet-i seniyyeye şayan bendegandan bulunmağla mumaileyhe elli bin *kuruş* hâne-bahâ inayet buyurulması ve hazine-i celîlenin ahval-i hazırasına nazaran bu akçelerin mürettebatına hâlel vermeyecek suretle tesviyesi feraiz-i umurdan olarak geçende Selanik duhan gümrüğüne vuku' bulan üçyük *kuruş* zamm-ı ahîr henüz gayr-ı müretteb bulunduğuna binaen işbu zamaimin elli bin *kuruş* hazine-i celîleye kalmak üzere iki yük elli bin *kuruş*unun mûmâ-ileyhimâyaya verilecek

mebalîge mahsubu suretleri dahi muavafık-ı maslahat gibi mülâhaza olundu ise de ol babda her ne vechle emr ü fermân-ı mekârim-beyân-ı hazret-i pâdişâhî müte'allik ve şeref-sudûr buyurulur ise muktezâ-yı celîli üzere harekete mübaderet olacağı beyânıyla tezkere-i senâverî terkîm kılındı efendim.

Maruz-ı çâker-i kemîneleridir ki

Enmile-pîrâ-yı icbâl olan işbu tezkire-i samiyye-i sadaret-pe-nahileri meşmul-ı nazar-ı âtifet-eser-i hazret-i şehinşâhî buyurulmuş ve istizan-ı âtifâneleri vechile mimar-ı mûmâ-ileyhe hânebahâ olarak iki yüz bin ve Mösyö Sarafi'ye dahi kezalik elli bin *kuruş* atiyeye-i seniyye itası ve vakıa hazine-i celîlenin ahval-i hazırasına nazaran bu akçelerin mürettebata hâlel vermeyecek suretle tesviyesi feraiz-i umurdan olmağla gümrük-i mezkûrda vukubulan mezkûr üç yük *kuruş* zamm-ı ahirden elli bin *kuruş* hazine-i celîleye kalmak üzere iki yük elli bin *kuruş*unun mûmâ-ileyhimâyaya verilecek mebalîge mahsubu müte'allik ve şeref-sudûr buyurulan emr ü irâde-i seniyye-i cenâb-ı cihândânîsi iktizâ-yı mekârim-ihtivâsından bulunmuş olmağla ol babda emr ü fermân hazret-i veliyyü'l-emrindir.

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Your Illustrious Excellency, [Grand Vizier's petition]

Architect Smith has requested through petition a house as an imperial gift from the glorious sultan to reside in the well-protected [capital] of the glorious Sultan with his family he summoned. As the aforesaid has proved his talent and effort in the imperial services he has been employed and his current efforts for the state buildings in his charge are evident, his request in question has been deemed worthy [by us] of the permission of the Ruler of the World. To be necessarily approved by the glorious Sultan, exalted Fethi Pasha and I have considered it appropriate to bestow upon him a total sum of 200,000 *kuruş* as an imperial grant for a house purchase. In a similar vein, Monsieur Sarafi from among the Translation Office employees presents a petition to the Imperial State to purchase a property in the well-protected [capital] of the Sultan and relieve himself from the misery he has suffered so far as a rent-payer. As the aforesaid [Sarafi] has been found worthy of imperial compassion for his long-time services to the Sublime Port, we have considered a 50,000 *kuruş* imperial grant appropriate for his house purchase. Considering the present situation of the imperial treasury, it will be necessary to raise the money in question in without any hazard. Therefore, it has been found appropriate to allocate some 250,000 *kuruş* to the aforesaid from the recent 300,000 *kuruş* [tax?] increase in Thessaloniki tobacco customs while the remaining 50,000 *kuruş* are set to remain in the treasury. The present humble memorandum has been submitted to inform you that to whatever effect the imperial command and edict is issued concerning such a favor, that course shall be taken.

January 25<sup>th</sup>, 1851. [22 Rabi' al-Awwal 1267]

It is a petition of a humble servant that, [Response of the Head Secretary to the Sultan, transmitting the Sultan's decision]

The exalted grand vizireal memorandum has been presented to the attention of the glorious sultan with whose

compassionate permission the aforesaid architect [Smith] has been given 200,000 kuruş and Monsieur Sarafi likewise given 50,000 kuruş for their house purchases. It has been found appropriate to allocate some 250,000 kuruş to the aforesaid from the recent 300,000 kuruş [tax?] increase in the tobacco customs while the remaining 50,000 kuruş are set to remain in the treasury. Authority appertains to the owner of the order entitled therein.

January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1851 [25 Rabi' al-Awwal 1267]

## SUMMARY

In the multicultural environment of late-Ottoman İstanbul, a European architect's success and interaction with public patronage was affected by national/cultural identity, as well as developments in international relations and the balance of power. This study evaluates the different experiences, in this regard, of a Swiss-Italian and a British protagonist who contributed substantially to the development of a new understanding of urban life and architectural culture in the early Tanzimat period (of modern reform). The support of Russia in Fossati's case and the growing prestige of England in the eyes of the Ottomans in the case of Smith are discussed and contextualised on the basis of little-known and unpublished materials from archives in Italy, France, Switzerland and Turkey.

## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Im multikulturellen Umfeld des spätoosmanischen Istanbul wurde der Erfolg eines europäischen Architekten und seine Interaktion mit dem öffentlichen Mäzenatentum von der nationalen/kulturellen Identität sowie von der Entwicklung internationaler Beziehungen und Gleichgewichte beeinflusst. In dieser Studie werden die diesbezüglich unterschiedlichen Erfahrungen eines aus der italienischsprachigen Schweiz stammend und eines britischen Protagonisten untersucht, die wesentlich zur Entwicklung eines neuen Verständnisses des städtischen Lebens und der architektonischen Kultur in der frühen Tanzimat-Periode (Reformzeit) beitrugen. Die Unterstützung Russlands im Fall von Fossati und das steigende Ansehen Englands in den Augen der Osmanen im Fall von Smith werden auf der Grundlage wenig bekannter und unveröffentlichter Materialien aus Archiven in Italien, Frankreich, der Schweiz und der Türkei diskutiert und kontextualisiert.

## RÉSUMÉ

Dans le milieu multiculturel de l'Istanbul de la fin de l'époque ottomane, le succès d'un architecte européen et son interaction avec le mécénat public ont été influencés par l'identité nationale/culturelle et par le développement de relations et équilibres internationaux. Le présent article analyse les différentes expériences vécues, dans ce contexte, par un protagoniste suisse-italien et un protagoniste britannique, qui ont contribué de manière significative au développement d'une nouvelle compréhension de la vie urbaine et de la culture architecturale durant la première période des Tanzimat, les réformes entreprises par l'Empire ottoman. Le soutien offert par la Russie à Fossati et le prestige grandissant de l'Angleterre aux yeux des Ottomans, dont a bénéficié Smith, sont débattus et contextualisés sur la base de documents peu connus et inédits provenant d'archives en Italie, France, Suisse et Turquie.

## RIASSUNTO

Nell'ambiente multiculturale della tarda Istanbul ottomana, il successo di un architetto europeo e la sua interazione con il mecenatismo pubblico furono influenzati dall'identità nazionale/culturale e dallo sviluppo di relazioni ed equilibri internazionali. Il presente saggio esamina le diverse esperienze avute in questo ambito da un protagonista svizzero-italiano e da uno britannico, i quali hanno contribuito in modo significativo allo sviluppo di una nuova comprensione della vita urbana e della cultura architettonica nel primo periodo delle Tanzimat, le riforme dell'impero. Il sostegno accordato dalla Russia a Fossati e il crescente prestigio dell'Inghilterra agli occhi degli Ottomani, di cui beneficiò Smith, sono discussi e contestualizzati sulla base di documenti poco conosciuti e inediti provenienti da archivi in Italia, Francia, Svizzera e Turchia.