Observations on the Colors of Gifts Presented to Foreign Envoys and Rulers by the Early Modern Ottoman Court: Red and Yellow Hues on Furnishings, Textiles, and Robes

*Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan**

Osmanlı Sarayında Yabancı Elçilere ve Hükümdarlara Sunulan Hediyelerin Renkleri Üzerine Gözlemler: Mefruşat, Kaftan ve Kumaşlardaki Kırmızı ve Sarı Tonlar

Öz ■ Renk tercihleri ve renklerin sembolik anlamları erken modern Osmanlı kültür tarihininde en az çalışılan konular arasındadır. Konu hakkında bilgi içeren kayıtların (örn. arşiv belgeleri, anlatılar ve görseller) dağınık durumda bulunması bu eksikliğin sebeplerinden birisidir. Bir diğer sebep ise zaman zarfında renk tercihleri ve renklerin anlamları ile alakalı olarak meydana gelen değişimler sebebiyle bu konuda sistematik bir çalışma yapmanın zorluğudur. Bu yazı erken modern Osmanlı sarayında sıklıkla tercih edilen renkleri anlamak için özellikle tek bir törene, yabancı elçiler için düzenlenen kabul merasimlerine, odaklanacaktır. Bu çerçevede 1680 ve 1800lü yıllar arasında düzenlenen elçi kabul törenleri incelenecektir. Makale İslam coğrafyasında ve Osmanlı saray törenlerinde renklerin türlü anlamlarını özetleyen bir giriş bölümüyle başlayacaktır. Ardından arşiv belgeleri, döneme dair anlatılar ve görsel kaynaklar kullanılarak Osmanlı sarayında ağırlanan yabancı elçilerin kabul törenlerinde kullanılan mefruşat, onlara hediye edilen kaftan veya değerli kumaşların renkleri tartışılacaktır. Son olarak makale Osmanlı sarayında sıklıkla kullanılan renklerin olası anlamları üzerinde duracaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Renk, Renklerin Anlamı, Kumaş ve Kaftan, Osmanlı Maddi Kültürü, 18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarihi.

---

* Sabancı University.

Author's note: I wrote the following article thanks to the kind support of the Bagep 2023 Young Scientists Award for my research. I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Suraiya Faroqhi for her guidance and support regarding my research during our enjoyable coffee-chat meetings. I am also grateful to her for conducting a final review of my paper and for her invaluable feedback. Additionally, I would like to express my thanks to the anonymous reviewers for their contributions.

Introduction

Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair, in the introduction to their edited volume entitled *As Diverse as Their Hues: Color in Islamic Art and Culture* discuss in detail cultural and chronological diversities that defined color preferences and perception across territories that Islam spread.[1] As they discuss, color is a cultural construct; hence, the identification and naming of colors drastically change across cultures and over time. After reading the volume with interest, I found myself wondering whether, for the early modern Ottomans—at least for the dynasty members and court elites—there were certain colors with specific meanings or usages. Marianna Shreve Simpson's essay in the same volume on red color was then of a particular interest, where she discussed the frequent usage of red and its hues in robes of sultans and in their illustrated histories.[2] Moreover, she commented on the symbolic associations of red in Greco-Roman and early Islamic times, which embodied a dualism combining attributes of love and beloved, as well as war and warrior. Nonetheless, the article raises several unanswered questions, including whether there exists a systematic pattern or preference for the use of red in Ottoman caftans or illustrations from particular time periods.

Serpil Bağcı's study on the colors black, green-blue, and purple that represented mourning in Ottoman illustrated texts up until the seventeenth century served as an inspiration in this regard. The study recognizes context- and time-based shifts in the usage and meanings of colors, which compelled me to conduct a detailed investigation in search of a comparable pattern for color usage and meaning in Ottoman court under various circumstances.[3] Regarding this quest, I tried to find an answer to a simple question: can we identify certain favorite

1 Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair, "Introduction", *And Diverse Are Their Hues: Color in Islamic Art and Culture*, eds. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 1–52. For color signification in Isfahan's *Masjid-i Shah* mosque see, Idries Trevathan, *Colour, Light and Wonder in Islamic Art* (London and Hong Kong: Saqi, 2020).

2 Marianne Shrive Simpson, "Why My Name Is Red: An Introductory Inquiry", *And Diverse Are Their Hues: Color in Islamic Art and Culture*, eds. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 273–303.

3 Serpil Bağcı, "İslam Toplumlarında Matemi Simgeleyen Renkler: Mavi, Mor, Siyah", *Cimetières et traditions funéraires dans le monde islamique / İslam Dünyasında Mezarlıklar ve Defin Gelenekleri*, eds. J-L. Bacqué-Grammont and Aksel Tibet, 2 vols. (Ankara: TTK, 1996), v. 2, pp. 163–368.

colors that Ottoman dynasty members or court officials preferred under specific ceremonial occasions?

For such an investigation, estate inventories, inheritance, and confiscation records as well as inventories at museum collections were one of the first places to look.[4] Shelemo Dov Goitein's seminal work on Cairo Geniza documents, which listed favorite colors in medieval Egypt, was also based on trousseau lists and related documents.[5] So similarly, Christoph Neumann's research on the estate inventories of two pashas from the eighteenth century revealed the color preferences of these Ottoman elites.[6] With these studies in mind, I initially began surveying various estate inventory records at the Ottoman archive.[7] Although the research was confined to the eighteenth century, the diverse range of color preferences made it challenging to discern a pattern. Therefore, I concentrated my analysis on the receptions given to foreign envoys and the textile gifts dispatched by Ottoman authorities to foreign rulers, either through their envoys or through Ottoman representatives. For my research I surveyed both the contemporary historical narratives as well as archival registers preserved at the Turkish Republic Presidency Ottoman Archive and Topkapı Palace Archive under different catalogues dated roughly between 1680s

4 See, for example Suraiya Faroqhi, "Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes", *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (İstanbul: Eren, 2004), pp. 24–48.

5 Shelemo Dov Goitein, A *Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documenté of the Cairo Geniza*, 5 vols. (Berkeley and California: University of California Press, 1967-1988). See especially *vol. 1: Economic Foundations* which talks about favorite colors in medieval Egypt based on trousseau lists.

6 Christoph Neumann, "How Did a Vizier Dress in the Eighteenth Century?", *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (İstanbul: Eren, 2004), pp. 181–218.

7 Such registers are found both in the Presidency of the Turkish Republic Ottoman Archives (hereafter BOA), *Bab-ı Defteri, Baş Muhasabe Kalemi, Muhallefat* (hereafter DBŞM. MHF) catalog as well as among the documents of the Topkapı Palace Museum Archive (hereafter TSMA). Also, there are various theses and articles partly or wholly transcribed certain registers. Some significant studies that used such registers for studying material culture are: Neumann, "How Did a Vizier"; Selim Karahasanoğlu, "A Tulip Age Legend: Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in the Ottoman Empire" (PhD diss.), State University of New York at Binghamton, 2009; Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Diamonds are a Vizier's Best Friends: Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha's Jewellery Assets", *Living the Good Life: Consumption in the Qing and Ottoman Empires of the Eighteenth Century,* eds. Elif Akçetin and Suraiya Faroqhi (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), pp. 409–432.

and early 1800s that mention receptions, various kinds of welcoming occasions, and banquets given to foreign envoys, or lists of objects purchased and prepared for foreign rulers to be sent with Ottoman envoys as gifts.[8] To maintain the coherence of my argument regarding the colors of textile gifts and furniture used during receptions at the Ottoman court, I did not investigate literary sources, such as poetry, to gain information about color significations. The primary reason for this is that the representation and interpretation of colors in literary sources, such as poetry, present a distinct aspect that necessitates a thorough examination.

8 On the sociological meaning of gifting, see Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990); on gift giving at Ottoman court, see Rıfkı Melül Meriç, *Türk Sanat Tarihi Vesikaları: Bayramlarda Padişahlara Hediye Edilen Sanat Eserleri ve Karşılıkları* (İstanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, 1963); İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Sarayında Ehl-i Hiref (Sanatkârlar) Defterleri", *Belgeler*, 15 (1986), pp. 23–376; Tim Stanley, "Ottoman Gift Exchange", *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*, ed. Linda Komaroff (Los Angeles and New Haven: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011), pp. 149–169; Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange: East is East and West is West and Sometimes the Twain did Meet: Diplomatic Gift Exchange in Ottoman Empire", *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies*, v. 2, eds. Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki and Rhoads Murphey (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002), pp. 113–123; idem "Power and Submission: Gifting at Royal Circumcision Festivals in the Ottoman Empire (16th-18th Centuries)", *Turcica*, 41 (2009), pp. 37–88; idem, "Luxury, Power Strategies and the Question of Corruption: Gifting in the Ottoman Elite (16th-18th Centuries)", *Şehrayin: die Welt der Osmanen, die Osmanen in der Welt: Wahrnehmungen, Begegnungen und Abgrenzungen: Illuminating the Ottoman World: Perceptions, Encounters and Boundaries, Festschrift Hans Georg Majer*, eds. Yavuz Köse and Tobies Völker (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2012), pp. 107–120; idem, "Dogs, Elephants, Lions, a Ram and a Rhino on Diplomatic Mission: Animals as Gifts to the Ottoman Court", *Animals and People in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (İstanbul: Eren, 2010), pp. 271–286; Aykut Mustak, "A Study on the Gift Log MAD 1279: Making Sense of Gift-Giving in the Eighteenth Century Ottoman Society" (MA thesis), Boğaziçi University, 2007. On receptions to foreign envoys at the Ottoman court see, Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Audiences, Banquets, Garments and Kisses: Encounters with the Ottoman Sultan in the 17th Century", *The Ceremonial of Audience: Transcultural Approaches*, eds. Eva Orthmann et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), pp. 169-207; Hakan Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register Containing Ceremonies from 1736 to 1808: BEO Sadaret Defterleri 350 in the Prime Ministry Ottoman State Archives* (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, 2007), pp. 6–23; 44–53. On Ottoman court ceremonial in early modern period, Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1992).

The period after the 1680s sees the systematic recording of Ottoman court protocol and ceremonies under the reorganization of the post of master of protocol (*teşrifatçıbaşılık*) starting with Nimeti Ahmed Efendi (d. 1709/1710), when one sees an abundance of archival documents on court ceremonies and the rule of protocol.[9] Thus, my research began at this period and the earliest documented example of a reception where sources mentioned colors of gifts or furnishings dated 1683. Starting with the early nineteenth century, on the other hand, one began to see the changes in Ottoman rules of protocol applied to foreign envoys at the Ottoman court. For instance, around 1815, following the Congress of Vienna, various rules formed, including whether foreign envoys would be seated or remain standing during their audience with the grand vizier, whether the sultan would rise to greet the envoys, and the frequency of audiences with the sultan. These changes indicated the Ottomans' growing adoption of international protocol standards.[10] Prior to 1815, the most recent existing record pertinent to my research was from 1803; therefore, I concluded my investigation at this point.

The Ottoman archives contain documents related to court ceremonies and protocol across catalogues. Topkapı Palace Museum archives preserve both books of registers (*defter*) and individual documents (*evrak*) prepared mostly by the office of the chief treasury or chief accounting bureau that contain information about gifts and provisions prepared for certain envoys at Ottoman court or gifts sent

9 On the office of chief protocol, Filiz Çalışkan, "Osmanlı Devletinde Teşrifat Kalemi ve Teşrifatçılık" (MA thesis), İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1989; Sinem Erdoğan, "The Imperial *Biat* Ceremonies in the Ottoman Empire: Their Formation and Transformation until the Eighteenth Century" (MA thesis), Boğaziçi University, 2008, p. 2, note 1 and 2; Dündar Alikılıç, "XVII. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Saray Teşrifatı ve Törenleri" (PhD dissertation), Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2002. For the use of protocol registers on study of court ceremonial the most comprehensive study is presented by Hakan Karateke where he provided both the annotated transliteration of an extensive protocol register and critically analyzed the content of the register. See, Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, especially pp. 1–43. Also, there are a number of masters and doctorate theses that basically transliterated certain protocol registers such as Ahmet Emin Varilci, "Osmanlı Arşivi'nde Bulunan 365 No'lu Sadaret Defterinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi" (MA thesis), Marmara Üniversitesi, 2022; Merve Güneş Keleş, "Sadaret 349 Numaralı Teşrifat Defteri Işığında Merasimler" (MA thesis), İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2019; Fahd Alhamad, "III. Ahmed Devri Teşrifatı (A.D. 346: 1716–1718)" (MA thesis), Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2019; Hayriye Büşra Uslu, "III. Ahmed Devri Teşrifatı (A.D. 347: 1718-1725)" (MA thesis), Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2017.

10 Cited in Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, pp. 11–15; 21–24.

to foreign rulers through Ottoman delegates, as well as objects handed over to Ottoman embassies for their visits to a foreign country. Documents about court ceremonies and protocol are more abundant at the Presidency Ottoman archive.[11] Contemporary history narratives, on the other hand, that were compiled during the period in concern, occasionally mention material details such as gifts, types of textiles, and furnishings about court ceremonies.[12]

Regarding the content of the documents and narratives, there appears to be a lack of consistency among these sources. When discussing court ceremonies, specifically receptions and audiences given to foreign envoys, many of these sources simply list the names of the participants, the types, and the quantity of objects supplied for ceremonies or types of those gifts presented during these occasions, without providing further specific information about qualities such as their color. For instance, one often encounters the terms "robe of honor" (*hilat*) and "robe" (*kaftan*) in both archival documents and narratives about gifts given to foreign envoys or intended for foreign rulers. While accounts of robes of honor often distinguished between collared, fur-lined, or made of cloth of gold and silver, information about color is not there.[13]

---

11 The names of these catalogs are: Maliyeden Müdevver defterler (MAD), Kamil Kepeci (KK), Bab-ı Asafi Divan-ı Hümayun Name-i Hümayun Kalemi (ADVN. SNMH), Sadaret Defterleri (AD), Hatt-ı Hümayun (HAT), and Ali Emiri III. Ahmed (AE.SAMD. III). The Presidency Ottoman archive preserves most of the over fifty protocol registers (*teşrifat defterleri*), while libraries like those in Vienna also house a few. For further information, Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*, p. 38, n. 122.

12 For example, accounts of Tevkii (Chancellor) Abdurrahman Pasha (d. 1692), Defterdar (Minister of Finance) Sarı Mehmed Pasha (d. 1717), Silahdar Mehmed (d. 1726-27), Raşid Mehmed (d. 1735), and Naili Abdullah Pasha (d. 1758), and Şemdanizade Süleyman (d. 1779) are significant in this respect. Tevkii Abdurrahman Paşa, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Teşrifat ve Törenler: Tevkii Abdurrahman Paşa Kanunnamesi*, ed. Sadık Müfit Bilge (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2011); Silahdar Mehmed Efendi, *Nusretnâme: İnceleme-Metin, 1106-1133/1695-1721*, ed. and trans. Mehmet Topal (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 2018); Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekaiyat*: *Tahlil ve Metin*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1995); Raşid Mehmed Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid*, eds. Abdülkadir Özcan et al., 3 vols. (İstanbul: Klasik, 2013); Can Çevik, "Naili Abdullah Paşa Defter-i Teşrifat (Metin-Değerlendirme)" (MA thesis), Beykent University, 2018; Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Tarihi: Müʻitʼt-Tevarih*, ed. Münir Aktepe, 2 vols. (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1976-1981).

13 On robes of honor, see Steward Gordon (ed.), *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of*

Fortunately, some of the documents I researched provided information about the colors of robes and fabrics presented as gifts. Occasionally, they also mention the colors of room furnishings. After detailed research, I identified twenty different occasions in which the authors or scribes mentioned the colors of gifted robes and fabrics used in ceremonies. Moreover, contemporary visual sources such as illustrated chronicles and some drawings and paintings made by European artists who were residents of Istanbul also provided evidence. The vast majority of the robes and furnishings, as indicated by these sources and discussed in this article, were in hues of red and yellow. Indeed, extant imperial tents and garments preserved at various museums reflect a similar color preference across media. Thus, in coming lines I will outline my observations concerning colors of these gifts and furnishing, as well as comment on the possible associations of red and yellow at the early modern Ottoman court.

A Basic Introduction to Color Symbolism in Islamic Cultures

Scholars studying the topic of color or color symbolism in Islamic art and literature consistently state that Muslim philosophers and scientists did not develop an independent theory of color compared to Greco-Roman authors.[14] The ancient Greeks wrote treatises on the theory of color and light, two eminently embedded phenomena, as early as the fifth century BC to understand the relationship between the visual object and observer. For the ancient Greeks, light was the basis for color perception or their existence, and they basically talked about four main colors extracted from minerals: white, black, red, and *ochron* (denoting a range of colors from red through yellow and green). Democritus (d. 370 BC) associated these basic colors with certain concepts, as white denoted smoothness,

Investiture (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001). On Ottoman robes of honor, Amanda Philips, "Ottoman Hilat Between Commodity and Charisma", *Frontiers of Ottoman Imagination: Studies in Honor of Rhoads Murphey,* ed. M. Hadjianastasis (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 111–138. Michael Rogers "Ottoman Luxury Trades and Their Regulation", *Osmanistische Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte: In Memoriam Vančo Boškov*, ed. Hans Georg Majer (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), pp. 135–155; Hülya Tezcan, "Furs and Skins Owned by the Sultan", *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (İstanbul: Eren, 2004), pp. 64–72; Reindl-Kiel, "Audiences, Banquets, Garments", pp. 186–192. Also see Banu Mahir, "Türk Minyatürlerinde Hil'at Merasimleri", *Belleten*, 63/238 (1999), pp. 745–754.

14 Bloom and Blair, "Introduction", p. 17; Imane M. Sadek Abaza, "Color Symbolism in Islamic Book Painting" (MA thesis), The American University of Cairo, 2018, pp. 9–12.

black roughness, red heat, and *ochron* solid and void. Later, authors such as Plato (d. 348 BC), Aristotle (d. 322 BC), Pliny (d. 79 AD), and Ptolemy (d. 168 AD) appropriated these theories, adding intermediate colors to the color range and making distinctions among colors based on their beauty. Hence, Plato and Aristotle both argued that purple was the most beautiful color, highly possibly leading to the Roman association of purple with royalty by the first century.[15] Although royal associations of purple did not survive in Muslim cultures, early Islamic philosophers and scientists are known to have appropriated the same theories on color and light.[16]

God is the ultimate source of pure light according to the Quran and colors are mentioned as his attributes and expressions.[17] Thus, the central role of light and colors in Greco-Roman theories did not contradict Muslim thought. However, one observes that the Quran, hadiths, literature, and Sufi writings attribute additional meanings to colors. Furthermore, there is a great deal of variation in terms of color signification and terminology between different geographies or dynasties. To begin with, in the Quran, white is the color of light and creation; thus, it is associated with purity and opposes black or darkness, which denotes impurity. Red is the color of the crimson skies of the Day of Judgement, green is the color of the garments worn by the residents of the paradise, and yellow is mentioned as the color of yellow-sand storms and sparks of hellfire. Blue, on the other hand, is the color of the eyes of the sinful, who will be gathered on the Day

15 Ancient Greek and Roman culture named purple "the murex purple," a reference to the *murex trunculus* and *murex brandaris* snails that inhabited the eastern Mediterranean coasts. Due to the difficulty of extracting these snails and making the pigments, they were highly expensive and thus available only to the elite. The color was available in four hues, which varied depending on the amount of light the snails received in the sea. These hues were blackish, violet, somewhere between green and blue, and reddish in color. See John Gage, *Color and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction* (London: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 25–29. On royal purple, see Pippa Lacey, "Imperial Purple: Colour, Value and Identity in Late Antiquity and the Byzantium Empire" (MA thesis), University of East Anglia, 2006, p. 11.

16 See Bloom and Blair, "Introduction", pp. 14–25; Abaza, "Color Symbolism", pp. 7–26.

17 Andrew Rippin, "Colors", *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, ed. Johanna Pink (University of Freiburg). Consulted online on 25 July 2024 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1875-3922_q3_EQSIM_00085. Also see Samir Mahmoud, "Color and the Mystics: Light, Beauty, and the Spiritual Quest", *And Diverse Are Their Hues: Color in Islamic Art and Culture*, eds. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 101–119.

of the Judgement.[18] Hadith tradition often runs parallel to the Quranic color significations, with some minor additions or alternations. While white, black, green, and blue had the same connotations in hadiths, one sees a different interpretation when it comes to yellow, as in some hadiths it is associated with the futility and deceptiveness of the mundane world. And two hadiths—even if there is no consensus among the sources—refer to yellow garments: one is a warning made by Prophet Muhammad to the widows not to wear yellow garments, and the other one is about men' clothing, telling them not to wear yellow clothes.[19]

On the other hand, in Sufi theologians' writings, colors have deeper meanings. Al-Ghazali, a renowned Sufi theologian who died in 1111, asserted that God is the sole source of pure light, signifying existence, while all other impure forms of light blend with a specific range of darkness, signifying nothingness. Therefore, according to him colors emerge based on the intensity, purity, or luminosity of light and darkness.[20] This perception of colors as attributes and expressions of the pure light of God ascribes a spiritual meaning to all colors: white, the color of light and representing ultimate purity, and black/darkness, symbolizing nothingness.[21] The basic garment that Muslims wear during their pilgrimage (*ihram*) is also white, in contrast to the basic Sufi robe, which was often black or dark blue as if "mourning the loss of the wearers' carnal soul"[22] or in other words their nothingness. Parallel to this contrasting symbolism of white and black, in the famous poem of the renowned poet Nizami of Ganjavi's (d. 1209) *Haft Paykar* (Seven Climes) (written in 1197) that narrates seven stories told by seven princesses from seven climes were represented by seven colors in the story. The protagonist of the story, the Sassanian king Bahram Gür, starts his visits from the black pavilion of the princess of India and ultimately reaches the white pavilion of the princess of Russia.[23] This quest, as Blair and Bloom write, can be interpreted metaphorically as "consecutive stages of a man's spiritual

18 Bloom and Blair, "Introduction", pp. 14–16.

19 Hüseyin Akyüz, "Hz. Peygamberin Hadislerinde Renklerin Dili", *Atatürk Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 41 (2014), pp. 374-397; Hadas Hirsch, "Clothing and Colours in Early Islam: Adornment (Aesthetics), Symbolism and Differentiation", *Anthropology of the Middle East*, 15/1 (2020), pp. 106–107.

20 Mahmoud, "Color and the Mystics", pp. 104–106.

21 Hirsch, "Clothing and Colours".

22 Bloom and Blair, "Introduction", p. 24; Gholamreza Mehri, "The Colour in Islamic Art", *Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 7/1 (2016), pp. 25–28.

23 Georg Krotkoff, "Color and Number in the *Haft Paykar*", *Logos Islamikos: Studia Islamica in Honorem Georgii Michaelis Wickens*, eds. Roger M. Savory and Dionisius A. Agius (Toronto: Brepols, 1984), pp. 97–118; Cameron Cross, "The Many Colors of Love in

path"[24] starting with nothingness, symbolized by black, and culminating in the divine, symbolized by white.

Meanings attached to colors are also culturally specific in Islamic geographies, as local traditions and time-based changes also account for what colors signified. For instance, as has been mentioned before, Prophet Muhammad stated in some hadiths that yellow was inappropriate for men's clothing and for widows. Similar to this non-desirable connotation of yellow, in Andalusian poetry, yellow was the symbol of treachery and separation.[25] Moreover, in the ninth century, Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 861) is known to have ordered that non-Muslims should wear yellow scarves and belts.[26] In contrast to these negative associations, yellow was considered a royal color in Mamluk Egypt and the color of the Prophet's descendants in the Almoravids of Morocco.[27] Thus, obviously one cannot talk about unity in terms of color signification and perception in Islamic cultures.

Some Hints About Color Preferences at the Early Modern Ottoman Court

In the early modern period, we have very little information about color preferences among Ottoman court elites and dynasty members. As Serpil Bağcı's study presented, at least until the early seventeenth century among the group of court elites, certain colors were associated with mourning, as indicated by contemporary illustrated chronicles commissioned at Ottoman court.[28] Apart from this case, we have very few examples providing us with information about color choices. For example, an imperial decree from August 15, 1568, imposes color restrictions on non-Muslims residing in Ottoman territories, explicitly stating that they cannot wear any other colors. Accordingly, non-Muslim men—including both Jews and others—should wear broadcloth outer coats (*ferace*)

Nizami's *Haft Paykar*: Beyond the Spectrum", *Interfaces: Journal of Medieval European Literatures*, 2 (2016), pp. 52–96.

24 Bloom and Blair, "Introduction", p. 23.

25 Bloom and Blair, "Introduction", p. 37.

26 Bloom and Blair, "Introduction", p. 37.

27 See Maribel Fierro, "Red and Yellow: Colours and the Quest of Political Legitimacy in the Islamic West", *And Diverse Are Their Hues: Color in Islamic Art and Culture*, eds. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 79–97.

28 Bağcı, "İslam Toplumlarında Matemi Simgeleyen Renkler".

made of blue and black color and inner coats of the same color. And their shoes should be in black color. Their women should wear baggy blue trousers, and their inner garments should be black and blue.[29] The order suggests that the central authorities, at least, thought that less vibrant colors were more suitable for non-Muslims. However, we cannot generalize the central authorities' enforcement of color restrictions with respect to other periods; instead, these orders demonstrate attempts at social regulation. It is well-known that non-Muslims living in Ottoman lands also avoided the color green in their headgears, as the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad were privileged to wear it in their turbans.

To understand color preferences in regulation at Ottoman court ceremonies, books on codification of court protocol and etiquette written in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provide some evidence. For instance, Tevkii Abdurrahman Pasha's protocol register (written in 1676) clearly specifies the types of headgear and robes that officials of various ranks must wear on imperial council days and imperial processions. The account reveals that a grand vizier, upon his appointment as commander-in-chief, was required to wear a large ceremonial turban named *kallavi*, a red robe with frogging (*çaprastlu mevhidi*), and baggy red velvet trousers (*şalvar*) during the imperial procession. Additionally, his sword bearer and lackey had to wear red velvet trousers.[30] Naili Abdullah Efendi's protocol book, written in the 1750s and presented to Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1730–1754), closely reiterates the same information about the color of ceremonial garments worn by the highest-ranking member of the court.[31]

The visual and material evidence presented by clothes used by Ottoman sultans and their sons for daily and ceremonial purposes, as well as imperial tents at various forms and sizes, can also give us an idea about color preferences. Cataloguing has revealed more than 1,550 clothing items preserved only at the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul, once the residence of the Ottoman imperial family. The collection consists of a variety of garments, such as inner and outer gowns,

29 Ahmed Refik Altınay, *Onuncu Asr-ı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı (1495-1691)* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanığı, 1987 [Reprint, İstanbul: Enderun, 1988]), pp. 47–48.

30 Tevkii Abdurrahman Paşa, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Teşrifat ve Törenler,* p. 6 and 33.

31 There are five extant copies of the manuscript produced at different dates. The earliest one that is preserved at Ottoman archives under catalog number AD. 359 is thought to be the original copy that was presented to sultan Mahmud I. For the transliteration and facsimile publication of the text see Çevik, "Naili Abdullah Paşa".

trousers, caps, and textile fragments.[32] As extensive catalogues published within illustrated books such as *Ipek: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets; Kaftan (Robe)*, and *Silks for the Sultan* documented, a large number of these garments—mostly ceremonial pieces—seem to be in hues of red along with the use of yellow and light cream color as linings or for their embroidery.[33] Marianna Shreve Simpson writes that one possible reason behind the frequent use of red hues in ceremonial robes may have been fact that red color elicits the strongest optical reaction among all colors.[34] Moreover, the symbolic associations of red referenced on a duality in Greco-Roman as well as Islamic times as the color of both love/beloved and war/warrior. Hence, its association with power, rulership, and strength might have been another possible reason for its frequent use in court ceremonial.[35] For yellow garments, its symbolic associations at Ottoman court is quite obscure but as will be discussed in detail below its frequent uses in ceremonial robes of sultans as well as gifts given to foreign envoys and rulers implies that it was an equally significant color during certain court ceremonies.

Similarly, to the garments, extant examples of Ottoman imperial tents and royal awnings (*sayeban*) made roughly between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, preserved at different museums in Turkey and abroad, show that their inner spaces were often lined with red or yellow silk or broadcloth.[36] There are also cases when the inner lining was blue, but these are very few.[37] Typically the

32 See Hülya Tezcan, "The Imperial Robe Collection at Topkapı Palace Museum", *Silks for the Sultans: Ottoman Imperial Garments from Topkapı Palace*, ed. Ahmet Ertuğ (İstanbul: Ertuğ & Kocabıyık, 1996), pp. 10–30.

33 For examples of such robes preserved at the Topkapı Palace Museum, see TSM 13/408; 13/738; 13/35; 13/46; 13/78; 13/966; 13/932; 13/854; 13/514; 13/216, etc. for catalogue of such imperial robes and many others, *Silks for the Sultans,* pp. 58–248. For catalogs of such robes also see Nurhan Atasoy et al. (eds.), *Ipek: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets* (London: TEB, 2001); Nurhan Atasoy, *Kaftan: Osmanlı Saray Giyimi* (İstanbul: Masa, 2022).

34 Simpson, "Why My Name is Red", p. 279.

35 Simpson, "Why My Name is Red", pp. 294-296.

36 See TSM no. 29/11; 29/5 and Askeri Müze, İstanbul (Military Museum, hereafter AİM), no. 23648; 26380; and 23640. Cited in Nurhan Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun: Ottoman Imperial Tent Complex* (İstanbul: Aygaz, 2000), pp. 151, 160, 161, and 196. For catalogue of tents and pavilions at different museums, see pp. 146-237.

37 For example, the inner lining of an imperial tent preserved today at Warsaw is blue, yet outer lining was restored and changed. See Kornik Library, Pan, no. MK. 2537/a-b; image is published in Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, p. 248.

outer covers were in a sea-green color—namely verdigris—made of copper oxide (*cengar*/*cengari*),[38] although there are a few examples where the outer cover was also red. Related archival documents from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, detailing repairs to imperial tents and the provisioning of materials for imperial excursions (*göç-i hümayun*), further support this argument.[39] These documents, typically record the purchase of various quantities of red textiles made of Diyarbakir and broadcloths served as linings, as well as furnishings such as pillows and low couches made of red textiles. However, for the tents of other court units, such the tents of imperial kitchens and imperial armory, chickpea color or dye (*nohudi renk boya*) was often used. It seems that less vivid colors were deemed more appropriate for lower status tents.[40]

In the same way, different records from the imperial boathouse (*hassa kayıkhanesi*) during the eighteenth century, such as those dated 1734/35, 1740, 1760, 1762/63, 1764, etc., mention that the oars that belonged to the boat (*sandal*) of the sultan, his imperial guards, and his inner family members, the chief white eunuch, and imperial confidents (*musahib-i şehriyari*), were painted plain (*sade boya*)[41] or painted in the color of chickpeas. Nonetheless, the documents further indicate that oars of the sultan and his imperial guards' boat were additionally gilded, which definitely set them apart from the rest visually.[42] Furthermore, an imperial order from November 1713 stated that court elites other than the grand vizier and city dwellers could only paint their boats in black paint, imposing a certain color restriction.[43] Therefore, these examples imply that the Ottoman court used brighter and more vibrant hues as indicators of higher status.

---

38 On this dye, see Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-ı Türki (Latin Harfleriyle),* eds. Raşit Gündoğdu, Niyazi Adıgüzel, and Ebul Faruk Önal (İstanbul: İdeal, 2018), p. 545.

39 For example, BOA, *Cevdet Saray* (hereafter C. SM) 20/1034; 4/166; MAD. d. 7400. Documents are cited in Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, pp. 35-36.

40 For example, see BOA, *İbnü'l Emin Saray Mesalihi* (hereafter İE. SM) 31/3233; *Cevdet Askeriye* (hereafter C.AS) 318/13180. Nurhan Atasoy, in her book on imperial tents also gives various other examples from archival documents mentioning the color for tents of imperial kitchen (*nohudi mutfak çergesi*). See, Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun,* pp. 35–63.

41 Sources does not explain what the term "plain color" denoted. The term may have referred to a natural hue like cream-white or beige.

42 See respectively, BOA, C.SM. 159/7961; 90/4515; 58/2912; 116/5825; 100/5038; 111/5578; 161/8093.

43 AE. SAMD.III. 197/19057.

Illustrated history narratives, commissioned at the Ottoman court between the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as well as in the early eighteenth century, provide additional evidence.[44] Such illustrated chronicles often represented court ceremonies such as accessions, receptions, and audiences with the sultan, private gatherings, imperial festivals, etc., where court painters and designers frequently depicted not only the sultan but also viziers, royal princes, and some other officials in red robes. Additionally, interior furnishings such as carpets, textiles, and coverings featured hues of red. Illustrated genealogies, which depicted successive Ottoman sultans in their ceremonial robes, also abound with instances where the robes and their linings displayed hues of red and yellow.[45] However, these examples don't follow a systematic pattern, as other colors like blue, black, and white occur frequently for the sultans' robes and the interior decor of ceremonial locations.[46] Another problem is that the related texts of these illustrated narratives do not often mention the color of robes worn by the sultan and other dignitaries or furnishings used for decoration. This makes it impossible to reach a conclusion on color preferences. Even so, the aforementioned examples give us at least an idea about a predilection for certain colors—particularly red as well as yellow—at certain Ottoman court ceremonies. Yet, in order to make a coherent argument, I will focus on a specific occasion: receptions when robes and textile gifts were given to foreign envoys as well as to foreign rulers.

The Color Palette of the Textile Gifts Presented to Foreign Envoys

Ottoman court officials followed and implemented a certain protocol whenever a foreign envoy or ambassador visited Ottoman lands, and from the late

44 For a general overview of such illustrated chronicles, see Serpil Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, trans. Ellen Yazar (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2010), pp. 98–158; Emine Fetvacı, *Sarayın İmgeleri: Osmanlı Sarayının Gözüyle Resimli Tarih*, trans. Nurettin Elhüseyni (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2013); Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, "Depiction of Ceremonies in Ottoman Miniatures", *Muqarnas*, 27 (2010), pp. 251–275. For the early seventeenth century court-commissioned illustrated books, Tülün Değirmenci, *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar: II. Osman Devrinde Değişen Güç Sembolleri* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012).

45 Marianne Shreve Simpson also makes this statement in her article. Simpson, "Why My Name is Red", p. 279. For illustrated genealogies of Ottoman dynasty, see all articles in the edited volume, *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman,* ed. Selmin Kangal (İstanbul: İş Bankası, 2000).

46 Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "18. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Şehirli Nakkâşların Kullandığı Elvân Boyalar: Yeni Belgeler ve Sorular", *Cihannüma: Tarih ve Coğrafya Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 8/2 (2022), p. 128.

seventeenth century onwards, the master of protocol oversaw this protocol. From the time the envoy and his retinue entered the imperial city until their departure, their lodging, transportation, and daily subsistence were under the supervision of Ottoman court officials. Traditionally, the grand vizier or sultan, or occasionally both, held two receptions for the envoy: one during the arrival and another one before his return. These ceremonies took place at the imperial palace—at the Chamber of Petitions or sometimes at Edirne Palace, whenever the sultan was the host. Grand viziers usually held their first meetings at the same palace, but their second meetings could be at other palaces or Imperial Gardens.[47] For example, for the location of the farewell banquets given in honor of the Habsburg ambassador Damian Hugo von Virmont (d. 1722) in September 4 and 18, 1719, respectively, Ottoman court officials chose the Vidos garden at Kağıthane and the waterfront palace of Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha.[48]

During the receptions of foreign envoys, gifting was customary and reciprocal: both the envoy and the host—the sultan or grand vizier—had to present gifts. The Ottoman authorities carefully regulated number and value of gifts given to court officials or foreigners in accordance with the status of the receiver.[49] For example, during the 1720 imperial circumcision festival that was publicly celebrated within and outside the walled peninsula of Istanbul for three weeks, various gifts given by Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730) included food, monetary grants, and robes of honor, when these were distributed according to the status of the receivers.[50]

---

47 For these locations, see Mübahat Kütükoğlu, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devletinde Fevkalade Elçilerin Ağırlanması", *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, XXVII/1-2 (1989) [*Prof. Dr. İsmail Ercüment Kuran'a Armağan*], pp. 199–231, especially pp. 224–225.

48 See respectively, BOA, AD. 347, pp. 59–60; 60–64; the text is also transliterated in Uslu, "II. Ahmed Devri Teşrifatı", pp. 78-82.

49 In her article, Amanda Philips gives many examples from contemporary accounts of foreign envoys (written between the sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries) and their entourage commenting on the differentiation of the type and number of gifts, especially robes and textiles, they received at the Ottoman court. Philips, "Ottoman Hil'at", pp. 111–138. Also see Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange".

50 Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan, *The 1720 Imperial Circumcision Celebrations in Istanbul: Festivity and Representation in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020), pp. 90–124, 167–189; Idem, "1720 Şenliği'nde Yemek Üzerinden İfade Edilen Sosyal Hiyerarşileri Anlamak", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 50 (2017), pp. 117–152.

Among the customary gifts given by Ottoman sultans and grand viziers to foreign envoys, the most prestigious and significant were textiles, particularly the robes of honor (*hilat*). Robes of honor were ceremonial garments made of luxury silk textiles, often consisting of an inner and outer robe as well as sometimes additional accessories such as sashes and trousers. Typically, such robes had long sleeves that hung from the shoulders.[51] These robes were bestowed either by sultans or grand viziers to various court officials, vassal rulers, and foreign envoys.

In archival registers and narratives, robes of honor were typically differentiated between four basic types: robes of the most excellent quality (*hassü'l has*) mostly referring to those woven with gold and silver thread (*seraser*), robes with an accompanying sash (?) (*kuşaklık*), high-quality robes (*a'la*), and quality robes with plain a pattern or without embroidery (*has-ı sade*). These robes might or might not be adorned with fur and other accessories depending on the status of the receiver.[52] Robes were physically bestowed on foreign envoys before their audience with the sultan or grand vizier as a marker of their privileged status in presence of the Ottoman ruler and grand vizier. In addition, wearing the robe of honor symbolized acceptance of the majesty and superiority of the Ottoman sultan.[53] Not only the envoys but their retinue also was received robes of honor, in accordance with their ranks those were in lesser qualities.

Written sources consistently distinguish different types of robes of honor, but they seldom specify their colors. There are, however, some exceptions. The envoy from the Habsburg Emperor, Siegmund von Herberstein (d. 1566), commissioned a colored woodblock print for his autobiography, depicting him in an Ottoman double robe displaying large motifs. The outer robe is wide-collared with very long sleeves and made of Italian velvet textile, while inner robe is identified as Ottoman. However, both robes display the same motifs.[54] The inner robe

51 Philips, "Ottoman Hil'at".

52 Tezcan, "Furs and Skins", p. 64.

53 See Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol*, pp. 27-32; Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman*, pp. 222–223, 237.

54 Colored woodcut is preserved in 1560 edition of the autobiographical book of Herbestein entitled *Gratae Posteritati*, Ptuj, Ivan Potrč Library. For the recent publication of the image, see Mira Petrovič ed., *Gratae Posteritati* (*To My Loving Descendants*) (Proj, 2015); Donat Hübschmann, *Sigismund Baron Herberstein*, 1559, The colored woodblock image is published by Polona Vidmar, "Cæsari in mis omni hora fidelis servivi: The Portraits of Sigismund Herberstein and Walter Leslie in Diplomatic Robes", *Rad. Inst. povij. umjet*,

is crimson red with golden embroidery and outer robe is of creamy-yellow with large blue motifs (figure 1).

From the eighteenth century, we also have some material evidence of Ottoman robes of honor presented at the Ottoman court to foreign envoys. For example, an envoy named Gregorovius (d.?), sent by Friedrich the Great of Prussia (d. 1786) in 1764 to Istanbul received an outer robe made of cloth-of-gold, lacking the accompanying inner robe as we see in robe of Herberstein and robes presented to envoys before the eighteenth century.[55] This robe is of creamy color, patterned large golden palmette motifs, and has with very long sleeves (figure 2). In 1711 the Swedish ambassador Gustaf Celsing received an Ottoman robe of honor, which is also made of cloth of gold and similarly features large golden palmette motifs over a creamy surface.[56] Slightly later, Giuseppe Fenochietti (d. c. 1782), the Neapolitan ambassador to Istanbul, recounted the events of his audience with the sultan. He wore a robe made of beaver-fur, covered with rose cloth.[57] These material examples and the written testimony again signify the preference of red as well as creamy-yellow hues for ceremonial robes given to envoys.

Archival documents dated between 1683 and 1803 also indicate a preference for red and yellow hues for the colors of robes given to envoys. Table 1 shows that in the late seventeenth century foreign envoys, including Safavid, Habsburg, Polish, French, English, etc., often received robes with red or yellow broadcloth, silk, or satin textile coverings or linings. As we approach the late eighteenth century, the mostly preferred color for their ceremonial robes appears to have been orange, a hue of red, or yellow.

---

43 (2019), pp. 75–90; also see Jennifer Wearden, "Siegmund von Herberstein: An Italian Velvet in the Ottoman Court", *Costume*, 19/1 (1985), pp. 22–29. On the authenticity of the colored woodcut image, Polona Vidmar makes a detailed analysis based on the letters from the autobiography of Herbestein and later portraits of the ambassador, which also depicted him in the same Ottoman robe, with the same colors. See Vidmar, "Cæsari in mis omni hora fidelis servivi".

55 Amada Philips observes that, while in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Ottomans presented double robes to envoys, this changed in the eighteenth century. Philips, "Ottoman Hilat", pp. 130–134.

56 Robe is preserved at Celsing Collection, Biby Castle Sweden. The image of the robe is catalogued by Atasoy et al. (eds.), *Ipek*, p. 252, cat. no. 53.

57 This account is preserved at Austrian State Archives, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Staaten Abteilungen, Türkei V, Karton 11 (AT OeStA HHStA StAbt Türkei V), pp. 633–634. Information cited in Philips, "Ottoman Hilat", p. 129, n. 83.

The Color Palette of Furnishings Adorned Reception Halls

Illustrated history narratives that were made at the Ottoman court ateliers in the sixteenth century also occasionally depicted receptions of foreign envoys.[58] Such visual representations follow a similar compositional vocabulary set by the official court historian Seyyid Lokman (d. 1601?) and head court painter of the time, Nakkaş Osman.[59] Typically, the sultan is seated on his throne, with the envoy at his front in a slightly bending position between two court officials, holding his arms parallel to the prevailing court protocol (figures 3, 4, and 5). When the painting spread to a double page, for example in *Şehname-i Selim Han* and *Şehinşahname* II (figures 4, 5), where one sees the depiction of the receptions of the Safavid ambassadors Şah Kulı Khan and Ibrahim Khan, respectively, the lower part of the sultan's page as well as the facing page of the sultan were typically reserved for Ottoman court officials who were carrying the gifts of the envoy—mostly bundles of textiles—or standing still. The illustrations of the

58 These visual representations do not accurately reflect socio-cultural realities; instead, they offer significant insights into the self-projections of the patrons of these illustrated manuscripts—sultans, viziers, and other high-ranking dignitaries—as well as the various courtly agents involved in their commissioning processes. Therefore, they serve as crucial and relevant sources for the study of court culture, court protocol, and court ceremonies. This aspect of Ottoman courtly commissioned illustrated manuscripts is extensively examined by Emine Fetvacı in *Sarayın İmgeleri*.

59 These illustrated chronicles are: *Nüzhetü'l Esrarü'l Ahyar der Ahbar-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar* (Pleasures of the Secrets of Auspicious Men from the News of the Szigetvár Campaign, dated 1569), *Şehname-i Selim Han* (Book of Kings of Sultan Selim, dated 1581) and two volumes of *Şehinşahnam*e (Book of the King of Kings, dated 1581 & 1597-87, respectively). For a facsimile edition of the *Nüzhetü'l Esrarü'l Ahyar,* see Günhan Börekçi and Ahmet Arslantürk, *Nüzhet-i Esrarü'l-Ahyar der-Ahbar-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar: Sultan Süleyman'ın Son Seferi (Sultan Süleyman's Last Campaign: Pleasures of the Secrets of Auspicious Men from the News of the Szigetvár Campaign*) (İstanbul: İstanbul Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, 2012); *Şehname-i Selim Han,* see Topkapı Palace Museum Library (hereafter TSMK) A. 3595; for *Şehinşahname,* vol. 1, see Istanbul University Library (hereafter İÜK.) FY. 1404; for vol. 2, TSMK B. 200. On office of court historian, see Emine Fetvacı, "The Office of Ottoman Court Historian", *Studies on Istanbul and Beyond: The Freely Papers*, vol. 1, ed. Robert Ousterhout (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2007), pp. 7–21; Christine Woodhead," Experiment in Official Historiography: The Post of Sehnameci in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1555-1605", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 75 (1983), pp. 157–182. For compositional similarities in these illustrated manuscripts see, also see Bağcı et al, *Ottoman Painting*, pp. 112–157.

Süleymanname (Book of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, dated 1558), which was commissioned slightly earlier than the former group, under the supervision of the former court historian Fethullah Arif Çelebi (namely Arifi, d. 1561), also depict reception scenes. The compositions for these depictions are limited to a single page, with the sultan positioned at the center or left margin, and the envoy bending in front. For instance, Figure 6 illustrates a scene from the *Süleymanname*, where the French ambassador is received at the Ottoman military encampment in Belgrade. The left-hand side of the page depicts Sultan Süleyman I's (r. 1521–1566) imperial tent with a red inner lining.[60]

Such compositions representing royal receptions are definitely full of red-colored robes and objects, with only a few exceptions.[61] Painters frequently employ hues of red, ranging from crimson red to scarlet, vermilion, maroon, and rose to depict carpets, tents, the throne covering and its textile lining as it base, cushion, as well as the inner or outer robes of various figures (see figures 3, 4, 5, and 6 for examples).[62] Although we do not have seventeenth and eighteenth century court-commissioned illustrated manuscripts depicting receptions, we have other visual representations as presented by drawings and paintings made by some contemporary European painters, who accompanied certain foreign envoys during their voyages to Istanbul.[63] For instance, in Vienna the artists Franz Hörmann and Hans Gemminger made an album of drawings for Hans Ludwig Baron von

60 In this manuscript, there are six illustrations depicting various receptions held for the Iranian, Holy Roman, and French ambassadors, as well as for the Crimean khan and Queen Isabella, etc. See TSMK. H. 1517, fols. 332[a], 337[a], 346[a], 441[a], 503[a], and 519[a]. For their facsimile publication, Esin Atıl, *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington National Gallery of Art; New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986).

61 Typically, the throne covering, its base textile lining, and the large carpet in front of the textile are depicted in red. However, fol. 178[a] of *Nüzhet*, a depiction of the Habsburg ambassador's reception in the presence of Sultan Selim II, makes an exception, with painters depicting the throne's covering and its base lining in light and dark blue. TSMK. H. 1339, fol. 178[a], contains this image. Börekçi and Arslantürk, *Nüzhet-i Esrarü'l-Ahyar*, p. 281.

62 On the names and descriptions of red dyes frequently used at early modern Ottoman court, see Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "18. Yüzyılda Şehirli Nakkaşların", pp. 139–141.

63 It is worth noting here that the purpose of these visual representations, created by cotemporary Europeans who witnessed the events they depicted, was frequently to record Ottoman court rituals and culture and their main target audience consisted the kings, diplomats, and their entourages from Europe. Despite their subjective approaches and potential obstacles scholars regard them as reliable visual sources for examining Ottoman ceremonies and topographic representations.

Kuefstein (1582-1656), the Habsburg emperor's ambassador to the Ottomans between 1628-1629. This album depicts the ambassador's farewell reception at the Chamber of Petitions and the dinner at the Council Hall of the Ottoman imperial palace.[64] In the first drawing, depicting the audience at the Chamber of Petitions, the artists placed the enthroned sultan on the left side of the composition and the ambassador on the right side of the composition.[65] The extensive use of red-colored textiles and furnishings captures the viewer's attention. Moreover, painters depicted both the sultan and the ambassador wearing crimson inner robes. Similar to this image, painters extensively used red hues for depicting the furnishings adorning the Council Hall for the dinner scene. The large red carpet, low couches, and red pillows in both the main hall and the scribes' room, are noteworthy features.

Various reception paintings by Jean Baptiste Van Mour (d. 1737), a French artist with Flemish origin, who arrived in Istanbul in 1699 in the suite of the French ambassador, the Marquis de Ferriol (d. 1722), also feature a composition in which red predominates. Van Mour, who lived in Istanbul, worked for various foreign resident envoys, depicting their receptions and other ceremonies.[66] Two of his paintings from the collection of the Pera Museum, Istanbul, respectively depict a dinner at the Ottoman imperial palace in honor of the Venetian ambassador and a reception of the ambassador at the Chamber of Petitions. These paintings once more feature an atmosphere dominated by red-colored furnishings, as seen in the throne and seat covering, low couches, curtains, and carpets (figures 7 and 8).

The texts accompanying these Ottoman or European images do not discuss the colors of robes or furnishings used during receptions. Fortunately, some archival documents and chronicles from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provide us with substantial information about colors of furnishings. An account register

64 For drawings, Ottoman Museum, Perchtoldsdorf, Austria OSM 03.21, O3.22; for their facsimile publication, see Olga Nefedova (ed.), *Heritage of Art Diplomacy: Memoirs of an Ambassador* (Milan: Skira, 2013), pp. 41–94.

65 The textual account of Viennese ambassador Kuefstein, simply comments on the adornment of the Chamber of Petitions with jewelry and accessories, but it does not provide any information on colors. See Nefedova (ed.), *Heritage of Art Diplomacy,* p. 58.

66 On Jean Baptiste Van Mour, see Eveline Sint Nicolaas, Duncan Bull, Günsel Renda, and Gül Irepoğlu (eds.), *Jean-Baptiste Vanmour: An Eyewitness to the Tulip Era* (İstanbul: Koçbank, 2003); Olga Nefedova, *A Journey into the World of the Ottomans: Jean-Baptiste Vanmour* (1671–1737) (Milan: Skira, 2010).

dated 1637-38 lists the purchase of various types of furniture for adorning kiosks and reception halls, as well as robes of honor to be gifted during audiences and other Ottoman court ceremonies. Analysis reveals the exclusive use of predominantly red and occasionally blue textiles for room adornment. Those textiles in hues of red, such as red velvet (*kırmızı kadife*), bright red broadcloth (*çuka-ı sürh*),[67] bright red light satin (*atlas-ı sürh*), bright red twilled cotton (*boğası-ı sürh*), pink velvet (*kadife-i gülguni*), and orange velvet (*kadife-i turuncı*), were indispensably the most preferred items.[68] For instance, the Crimean Mehmed Khan and his retinue received an audience on March 30, 1637. The audience hall's furnishings included red embroidered velvet cushions with blue (*mai*) embroidered velvet borders.[69] On May 17, 1637, on the day of the imperial council, this time the imperial kiosk of Topkapı Palace, then known as the new palace, (*kasrı-ı hümayun-ı saray-ı cedid*) was furnished with rose-pink (*gülguni*) and orange (*turuncı*) velvet textiles, multi colored light satin (*atlas-ı rengamiz*), and blue light satin.[70] Approximately a hundred years later, the official chronicler of the time, Raşid Mehmed Efendi (d. 1735), described the furnishings that adorned the Imperial Chamber for the audience of the grand vizier and the Afghan envoy Eşref Khan, which took place in 1728. Accordingly, officials covered the sofas with red broadcloth textiles and furnished the chamber with twenty-four curtains made of rose-pink light satin, adorned with rose-shaped emerald embroidery.[71] Another example appears in an archival document from 1747 that records all the furnishings and metal objects lent to an Ottoman envoy to the Safavids, Ahmed Pasha, who served as the governor of Sivas. The document lists a number of textile objects, including many pillows, cushions, curtains, etc., that the envoy would possibly use during his travels.[72] The majority

67 *Sürh* was an organic red pigment and was made by mixing lac (*lök*) and a plant named *Symplocos*. See Erdoğan İşkorkutan, "18. Yüzyılda Şehirli Nakkaşların", p. 139, n. 64 and p. 141, n. 74.

68 BOA, MAD. d. 1332; cited and transliterated in Enise Büşra Yılmaz Bozyak, "Teşrîfât Defteri (BA, MAD, nr. 1332) İnceleme-Çeviriyazı" (MA thesis), Istanbul University, 2018. For names and types of Ottoman textiles, see Mine E. Özen, "Türkçe'de Kumaş Adları", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi: Fatih Sultan Mehmed'e Hatıra Sayısı*, 33 (1980/81), pp. 291–340.

69 BOA, d. MAD. d. 1332, 11, 21, 27, 30, 74, 75; cited in Bozyak, "Teşrîfât Defteri", pp. 2, 73–75, 93, 94, 103, and 104.

70 BOA, d. MAD. d. 1332, p. 21; cited in Bozyak, "Teşrîfât Defteri", pp. 73–75.

71 Raşid Mehmed Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid*, vol. 3, p. 1627.

72 BOA, KK. 690: 7, 8, and 17.

of these furnishings featured a combination of red lining and yellow covering, yellow lining and yellow covering, and red covering with a design of stripes or bands. These examples suggest that during receptions for foreign envoys and whenever Ottoman envoys traveled abroad, officials favored predominantly red-colored furnishings with occasional yellow hues.

The Color Palette of the Gifts Sent to Foreign Rulers

During the imperial receptions, the foreign envoys also received a package of distinguished gifts to present to their rulers upon their return. Occasionally, Ottoman authorities sent such gifts to foreign rulers through their envoys. The documents at hand provide information on both cases. Despite the significant increase in the number and variety of archival documents related to Ottoman court protocol from the late seventeenth century onward, the majority of such documents fail to mention the colors of objects, gifts, or furnishings. Table 1 lists only those cases—twenty in total—when documents provide information on the colors of textile gifts presented to a foreign envoy or sent to their ruler—both in the east and west—including the Safavid Shahs, the Holy Roman emperor, the Russian Empress, and the King of Sicily. Among the gifts, the most common were fabrics, whether in the form of luxurious robes of honor or furnishings like embroidered and jeweled silk couches and seat coverings. Furthermore, as shown in Table 1, the Ottoman sultans occasionally sent awnings and horse trappings as distinguished gifts that were also covered by luxurious fabrics.

Compared to the furnishings adorning reception halls and rooms, we see a relatively richer color palette, including not only red and yellow hues but also white, blue, purple, pistachio-green, and many colorful pieces referred to as *elvan* in the documents. Indeed, when gift packages include various textile-covered furnishings, including cushions, and bundles of different types of cotton and silk fabrics, and shawls, such as the gifts sent to the King of Sicily on February 13, 1742, through Ottoman envoy Hacı Hüseyin Efendi and to the Queen of Bohemia and Hungary on January 12, 1748, through middle-ranking Ottoman envoy Mustafa Hatti Efendi, Table 1 shows that still many of the pieces were in hues of red and yellow.

From a quantitative perspective, Table 1 highlights the prominence of yellow textiles as gifts for foreign envoys, which appear to have increased in frequency by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Finally, the documents do not indicate any differences between the colors of gifts preferred for western and

eastern rulers. Given the available information about the colors of robes and the furnishings, it becomes clear that Ottoman dignitaries and officials deemed red and yellow the most suitable colors, possibly as symbols of authority, power, and luxury.

Conclusion

This paper outlined the most commonly preferred colors at the early modern Ottoman court, particularly during receptions given to foreign envoys. Our sources revealed a scene dominated by two colors and their hues: red and yellow for furnishings and for luxury robes presented to envoys and rulers. Sultans and officials frequently chose these colors for the imperial tents and royal garments, further emphasizing their eminence.

As previously mentioned, red symbolized both love/lover and war/warfare, and its associations with rulership and power are evident in both Greco-Roman and Islamic traditions. In the Central Asian culture of the Turcoman tribes, on the other hand, it was a color preferred for the robes of brides and grooms—probably denoting love and virility as well as reproduction—as it features in the book of *Dede Korkut* composed of epic and moral stories of Oghuz Turks. These stories were orally transmitted since the sixth and eighth centuries from Central Asia to Anatolia and Caucuses and were compiled in the fifteenth century.[73] Indeed, the preference for red sashes and kerchiefs, even during modern-day Turkish weddings and henna rituals, indicates the continuity of this signification, despite its users often being unaware of its associations. Moreover, in the *Divan Lügatü't-Türk* (The Compendium of Languages of the Turks), which was the first comprehensive dictionary of Turkic languages that was compiled in 1072–74, red is mentioned as the color of the flag of the Karahanlı Turks; accordingly, they had a flag made of orange-red silk, as they named *al*.[74] Although the Ottomans are known to have used flags and banners in a variety of colors, such as white, black, and green, they also continued to use the color red for their flags. Once again, this continuity suggests the association of red with rulership and power.[75]

---

73 Orhan Şaik Gökyay, *Dedem Korkut'un Kitabı* (İstanbul: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı, 1973), p. 40 and 53.

74 Orhan Fuat Köprülü, "Bayrak", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, V, 1992, pp. 247–254: Reşat Genç, "Türk İnanışları ile Milli Geleneklerinde Renkler ve Sarı-Kırmızı-Yeşil", *Erdem*, 9/27 (1997), pp. 1075–1110.

75 Köprülü, "Bayrak".

When it comes to yellow, the associations are less definite. However, the aforementioned hadiths about yellow clothing, which advise widows and men not to choose it, suggest that people considered this color as attention-grabbing due to its lively and vibrant nature. In the same vein, the Ottoman court members might have preferred yellow robes and textiles due to their brightness and vividness, particularly when paired with red hues or embroidered with shiny gold and silver threads.

In the early modern Ottoman court culture, neither these colors nor their hues were exclusive to Ottoman sultans, dynasty members, or court elites. Rather, both court dignitaries and foreigners found them suitable for the exquisite court ceremonies they attended. Did the Ottoman court systematically use other colors for other courtly events—for example, blue, which seldom appears in documents? Did modernization lead to a shift in color preferences at the Ottoman court ceremonies during the late nineteenth century? Is it feasible to conduct a statistical analysis of the most favored colors, revealing the color preferences of Ottoman dynasty members and elites during the early modern era? All of these questions remain unanswered without thorough investigation on the subject. Therefore, until further research, we conclude that hues and shades of red and yellow held preeminence among the other colors used at the Ottoman court ceremonial.

Observations on the Colors of Gifts Presented to Foreign Envoys and Rulers by the Early Modern Ottoman Court: Red and Yellow Hues on Furnishings, Textiles, and Robes

Abstract ■ Color preferences and symbolism are among the rarely-studied subjects in early modern Ottoman cultural history. The scattered nature of sources—archival, narrative, and visual—that provide information on this matter is one reason behind this neglect. Another reason for the neglect is the challenge of observing a systematic pattern, given the significance of time-based changes. This paper intends to provide substantial information on color preferences at the early modern Ottoman court by focusing specifically on one particular court ceremonial: receptions given to foreign envoys between the 1680s and 1800s. The paper will begin with a brief introduction to color symbolism in Islamic geographies and Ottoman court ceremonies. It will then discuss the colors frequently used for furnishings adorning reception halls, luxury robes, and other types of textile gifts given to envoys and sent to their rulers, using archival, narrative, and visual sources. Finally, the paper will provide commentary on the potential meanings associated with these commonly used colors at the Ottoman court.

Keywords: Color, Color Signification, Robes and Fabrics, Ottoman Material Culture, Eighteenth Century Ottoman History.

Table 1. Textile Gifts Presented by Ottoman Court to Foreign Envoys and Rulers[76]

Date of gifting	Country of the envoy or ruler	Name and rank of envoy/ruler to whom gifts were given or sent through foreign & Ottoman envoys[77]	Type of textile gifts[78]	Colors	Document or Catalogue Number/Name
July 5, 1684	Crimea	To Crimean Khan Selim Giray Khan (r. 1671-1678, 1684-1691, 1692-1699, 1702-1704)	The fur robe (*kapaniçe semmur kürk*) that has a red velvet cover on the outside	Red (*kırmızı*)	*Raşid Tarihi*, vol. 1, pp. 264-65
June, 1696	Safavid	To Safavid Shah Hüseyin Mirza (r.1694-1722) (through Safavid envoy Abu'l Masum Khan Shamlu (d.?))	Horse blanket (*yapuk*) with red lining (*al atlas astarlı)* and embroidered with emerald, pearl, and ruby A woolen cloth (*abayi*) covered with yellow high-quality satin (*diba*)	Red (*kırmızı*) Yellow (*sarı*)	*Raşid Tarihi*, vol. 1, pp. 534
1697	Safavid	To Safavid Shah Hüseyin Mirza (through Safavid envoy Rüstem Khan)	Light satin (*atlas)* Trappings of a horse (*raht)* covered by a blend of silk and cotton fabric (*kutnu*) that is red and embroidered with twenty emeralds and pearls Rug made of a blend of silk and cotton fabric (*kutnu*) that its center and borders are made of bright red light satin with marble-like (pattern)? (*mermeri*)	Red (*kırmızı)* Red (*kırmızı*) Bright red (*al*)	BOA, MAD. d. 18493, 4
1699	Habsburg	To the grand ambassador (*büyük elçi*) Wolfgang von Oettingen-Wallerstein (d. 1708)	Woolen cloth (*abayi*) was woven over pure gold threads with a yellow lining and embroidered with emerald, ruby, and diamonds. Saddle covered with red velvet, which at the front and back sides was embroidered with pure gold threads. Horse blanket (*yapuk*) covered by red broadcloth (*çuka*) with yellow lining Horse blanket (*yapuk*) with yellow lining *Sırnık* (?) made of a blend of silk and cotton fabric (*kutnu*) that is red with yellow/gold embroidery	Yellow Red Red and yellow Yellow Red	BOA, ADVN. SNMH. d.5/152, 428-30

76 I created this table by jointly evaluating the following archival and narrative sources: Raşid Mehmed, *Tarih-i Raşid*; Şemdanizade, *Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Tarihi*; BOA, MAD. d. 18493; A.DVN.S.NMH. d. 5/152; AD. 350; AD. 353; TSMA d. 2120; TSMA d. 6058; TSMA. e. 534-16; TSMA. e. 34-6; KK. 690; HAT. 244.13732; AD. 350; AD. 347: 80–81, this document is cited from and transliterated in Yasir Yılmaz, "Liste von Geschenken Ahmeds III. an Karl VI., Konstantinopel, 20. März 1719." The register can be found at https://qhod.net/o:vipa.pr.osm.17190320/sdef:TEI/get?mode=view:facs#IMG01,which was last accessed on 01.09.2024. On AD. 353: this register is transliterated by Cuma Korçak for his master's thesis; however, folio numbers mentioned in transliteration do not match with the exact page numbers in the original document. Thus, I used the original folio numbers referring to the document.

77 Some of the archival documents and chronicles used for this table mentioned the name and rank of envoys, whether they were lower-ranking (*küçük elçi*), middle-ranking (*orta elçi*), or grand ambassadors (*kebir elçi*). For the unmentioned ones, I simply wrote "envoy," and for their identities, I relied on secondary literature when I could find information.

78 In this table, I only included the names of textile gifts that scribes or authors noted with their colors; hence, this list does not include the complete list of all gifts presented to those envoys or rulers.

Date of gifting	**Country of the envoy or ruler**	**Name and rank of envoy/ruler to whom gifts were given or sent through foreign & Ottoman envoys**[77]	**Type of textile gifts**[78]	**Colors**	**Document or Catalogue Number/Name**
March 20, 1719	Habsburg	To Emperor Charles VI (r. 1711-1740) (through the Ottoman grand ambassador İbrahim Pasha)	The large tent, known as an *oba*, is covered until its half by a variegated wax cloth with embroidered frames, while the inside is covered with an orange, high-quality light stain, known as a *diba*, which is made in İstanbul	Orange (*Turuncı*)	BOA, AD. 347, 80-81
			The handkerchief that is made of broadcloth (*çuha*) and has a blue satin lining	Blue (*mai*)	
			Light satin *(atlas*) low couch (*makad)* made in Istanbul which has a yellow lining that bears yellow and white mother-of-pearl integrated embroidery with pure gold knobbed fringes	Yellow and orange	
			The pillow that is made of broadcloth and features a yellow light satin lining, along with embroidered quilting known as *sırma pikeli*	Yellow	
			Horse blanket (*yapu*k) made of bright red broadcloth fabric that bears yellow and white embroidery and yellow light satin lining	Bright red and yellow	
			The ornamental covering of a saddle, known as a *zinpuş* that is made from white light satin and is made in Istanbul. It features pure yellow (gold) embroidery, a rose-pink lining, and small coral fringes	White and rose-pink	
			Woolen cloth (*abayi*) with a bright red lining that is surrounded on its center with red and in borders black broadcloth fabric, which figures flowers in a colorful Indian-style vase that are embroidered with forty-one precious rubies and one-hundred-and-seventy-two emeralds. The branches are adorned with pearls and decorated on their surface by small golden spangles, and have triple knobbed fringes featuring pure embroidery of pearls and corals (*üçer ṭoplu incü ve mercan ile ṣom işleme*)	Bright red, black, and colorful (*elvan)*	
			Horse blanket made of bright red broadcloth fabric that features yellow and white embroidered branches of threads and yellow light satin lining	Bright red and yellow	
			Orange throw (*ihram*) made in Algeria	Orange	
			Fustian (*dimi*) made of Istanbul brocade, worked with gold thread and colorful flower designs	Colorful	
			Thickly woven silk (*serenk*) adorned with yellow silk yarn that is layered over a blend of silk and cotton fabric (*kutnu*)that is red	Red	
			Bright red broadcloth (*çuka*) embroidered with branches of gold and white thread and lined with satin	Bright red	
January 7, 1722	Safavid	To the grand ambassador Murtaza Kulı Khan (d.?)	Sable fur (*semmur kürk*) covered by yellow broadcloth	Lemon-like yellow (*limoni*)	*Raşid Tarihi*, vol. 2, pp. 1273

Date of gifting	**Country of the envoy or ruler**	**Name and rank of envoy/ruler to whom gifts were given or sent through foreign & Ottoman envoys**[77]	**Type of textile gifts**[78]	**Colors**	**Document or Catalogue Number/Name**
April 1, 1740	Russia	To the Russian Empress (Elisabeth, r. 1742-1762) (through Ottoman envoy Emni Mehmed Pasha)	A case for a mace (?) (*topuzluk*) that is made over red silk and broadcloth fabric adorned with pure silver and pearl embroidery	Red	TSMA. d. 2120
			The *zebuni*, lined with pink and rose-patterned light satin fabric, is made over white, high-quality satin from Istanbul. It is embroidered with pure gold and features small coral fringes	White and rose-pink (*gülguni*)	
February 13, 1742	Sicily	To the King of Sicily (King Carlo III, r. 1759-1788) (through Ottoman envoy Hacı Hüseyin Efendi)	Awning (*sayeban)* with embroidered frames that is covered outside with red Venetian made light satin fabric and inside made of Persian brocaded silk	Bright red	TSMA. d. 6058 & TSMA e. 534-16[79]
			White embroidered furnishing (*döşeme*) with white lining	White	
			Low couch (*makad*) with fringes which has gilded (*mutalla*) light satin yellow lining made in Florence (*Filorentin*) and its outer cover is made of dark blue brocaded silk made in Persia	Yellow and dark blue (*laciverdi*)	
			A cushion for sitting on (*minder*) that has light satin fabric made in Florence and is broadly striped (*boruılı*)	Yellow	
			Ornamented cloth of gold made in Istanbul (*mutalla İstanbul seraseri*) that has a yellow light satin fabric lining made in Florence	Yellow	
			Embroidered and heavy *(ağır*), purple shawl	Purple (*mor*)	
			White cotton fabric weaved with yellow stripes (*alaca*)	White	
			Heavy (*ağır*) broadcloth fabric made in India (*putedari*) that has *buta* ornament (*göz)* and yellow stripe (*çubuklı*) pattern	Yellow	
			Purple fabric woven with gold/silver thread (*telli)* that is figured with trees and leaves (*müşecceri*)	Purple	
			Persian made satin fabric that its surface is wholly figured (*musavver*) with white and yellow flowers	White and yellow	
			Fastening (*bendar*) with yellow and green striped pattern	Yellow and green (*yeşil*)	
			Red and striped (*çubuklı*) brocaded heavy silk (*kemha*)	Red	
			Orange shawl worn as turban (*şal-bend*)	Orange	
			Red and white woolen cloth or garment (*peşmi*)	Red and white	
			Colorful, plain patterned fabric which blends silk and cotton (*kutnu*)	Colorful	

79 Both documents bear the same date, but the number and types of gifts recorded in the latter document is much greater.

Date of gifting	**Country of the envoy or ruler**	**Name and rank of envoy/ruler to whom gifts were given or sent through foreign & Ottoman envoys**[77]	**Type of textile gifts**[78]	**Colors**	**Document or Catalogue Number/Name**
1746	Safavid	To Nadir Shah (r. 1736-1747) (through Ottoman envoy Ahmed Pasha)	Sable fur covered by high quality white satin (*diba*)	White	Şemdanizade, *Müʿit'ı't-Tevarih*, vol. 1, p. 128.
January 12, 1748	Bohemia and Hungary	To the Queen (Maria Theresia, r. 1740-1780) (through middle-ranking Ottoman envoy Mustafa Hatti Efendi)	Colorful belt	Colorful	TSMA. e. 34-6
			Embroidered and flower-patterned rose-pink shawl	Rose-pink	
			Embroidered *zelharlı?* black shawl	Black	
			Rose pink and plain (patterned) shawl	Rose-pink	
			Broadcloth fabric (*putedari*) made in Lahore/India (*Lahordi*) that its ground is woven with purple threads (*mor telli*)	Purple	
			Bright red broadcloth shawl worn as turban and woven with gold/silver threads that has *buta* ornament? (*göz*)	Bright red	
			Silk fabric made in a workshop at Aleppo (*kerhane-i keremsüd/germsud*) that has pistachio green flower pattern and is woven with gold/silver threads	Pistachio green (*fıstıki*)	
			Silk fabric made in a workshop at Aleppo (*kerhane-i keremsüd/germsud*) that had rose pink flower pattern	Rose-pink	
			Broadcloth fabric (*putedari*) made in Lahore/India (*Lahordi*) that has colorful stripe (*çubuklı*) pattern	Colorful	
			Colorful broadcloth fabric (*putedari*) made in Lahore/India (*Lahordi*) that is woven with silver thread (*sim telli*)	Colorful	
			Colorful and striped (*çubuklı*) brocaded heavy silk (*kemha*)	Colorful	
			Colorful broadcloth fabric (*putedari*) made in India that is patterned in the fangled style of (fabrics) produced in Istanbul (*nev zuhur-ı İstanbulkari)*	Colorful	
			Yellow and white high-quality satin made in Persia (*diba-ı Acem*) which has a wholly flower-patterned ground	Yellow, and white	
			Colorful throw (*ihram*) that is made in Algeria	Colorful	
			High-quality colorful flower-patterned satin made in Istanbul that is woven with thin silver strip (*kılabdanlı)*	Colorful	
			Colorful and ordinary? *(alelade?*) mohair shawl (*şal-ı sof*)	Colorful	
1778	Poland	To envoy Karol Boscamp Lasopolski (d. 1794)	Wide sleeved robe of honor made of sable fur and covered by yellow broadcloth	Yellow	BOA, HAT. 244.13732
May 18, 1790	Prussia	To the grand ambassador Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (d. 1817)	Sable fur covered by yellow broadcloth	Yellow	BOA, AD. 350, fol. 53[b]
August 25, 1793	Flanders	To the envoy (name?)	Sable fur made of yellow colored broadcloth	Yellow	BOA, AD. 353, fol. 5[b]

Date of gifting	**Country of the envoy or ruler**	**Name and rank of envoy/ruler to whom gifts were given or sent through foreign & Ottoman envoys**[77]	**Type of textile gifts**[78]	**Colors**	**Document or Catalogue Number/Name**
April/May, 1793	Dutch	To the middle ranking envoy (Van Dedem van de Gelder [?], d. 1825)	Sable fur made of yellow broadcloth	Yellow	BOA, AD. 353, fol. 4[a]
March 28, 1795	England	To the middle ranking envoy (Sir Robert Liston [?], 1836)	Sable fur made of backside (*sırt)* woven with yellow broadcloth	Yellow	BOA, AD. 353, fol. 6[a]
June 5, 1795	France	To the middle ranking envoy Jean-Baptiste Annibal Aubert du Bayet (d. 1797)	Sable fur made of backside parts? (*bölüklü sırt)* woven with yellow broadcloth	Yellow	BOA, AD. 353, fol. 9[b]
May 6, 1797	Russia	To the grand ambassador Vasili Stepanovich Tomara (d. 1813)	Sable fur made of backside (*sırt)* woven with yellow broadcloth	Yellow	BOA, AD. 353, fol. 1[b]
October/ November, 1799	Dubrovnik/ Ragusa	To two envoys (name?)	Sable fur made of paws (*paça*) woven with yellow broadcloth	Yellow	BOA, AD. 353, fol. 27[a]
May 27, 1800	England	To the military general (name?)	Sable fur made of paws woven with orange broadcloth	Orange	BOA, AD. 353, fol. 8[b]
February 1, 1803	Russia	To the middle ranking envoy (name?)	Sable fur made of orange broadcloth	Orange	BOA, AD. 353, fol. 3[a]

Figures

Figure 1. Donat Hübschmann, Sigismund Baron Herberstein, 1559, colored woodcut, in: *Gratae Posteritati* (To My Loving Descendants) 1560, Ivan Potrč Library in Ptuj; reprint 2014, ed. Mira Petrovič

Figure 2. Ottoman robe-of-honour given to Prussian envoy Gregorovius, early eighteenth century, Berlin Museum of Islamic Art. Credit: Museum für Islamische Kunst – Staatliche Museen Berlin, Photo: Georg Niedermeiser

Figure 3. Reception of the Habsburg ambassador at Edirne Palace. *Nüzhetü'l Esrarü'l Ahyar der Ahbar-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar,* d. 1569. TSMK H. 1339, fol. 178ª. Photo: The Presidency of the Turkish Republic, Directorate of National Palaces

Figure 4. Reception of the Safavid ambassador Şah Kulu Khan. *Şehname-i Selim Han*, d. 1581. TSMK A.3595, fol. 53^{b}-54^{a}. Photo: The Presidency of the Turkish Republic, Directorate of National Palaces

Figure 5. Reception of the Safavid ambassador Ibrahim Khan. *Şehinşahname*, vol. 2, d. 1597-98. TSMK B. 200, fol. 36^{b}-37^{a}. Photo: The Presidency of the Turkish Republic, Directorate of National Palaces

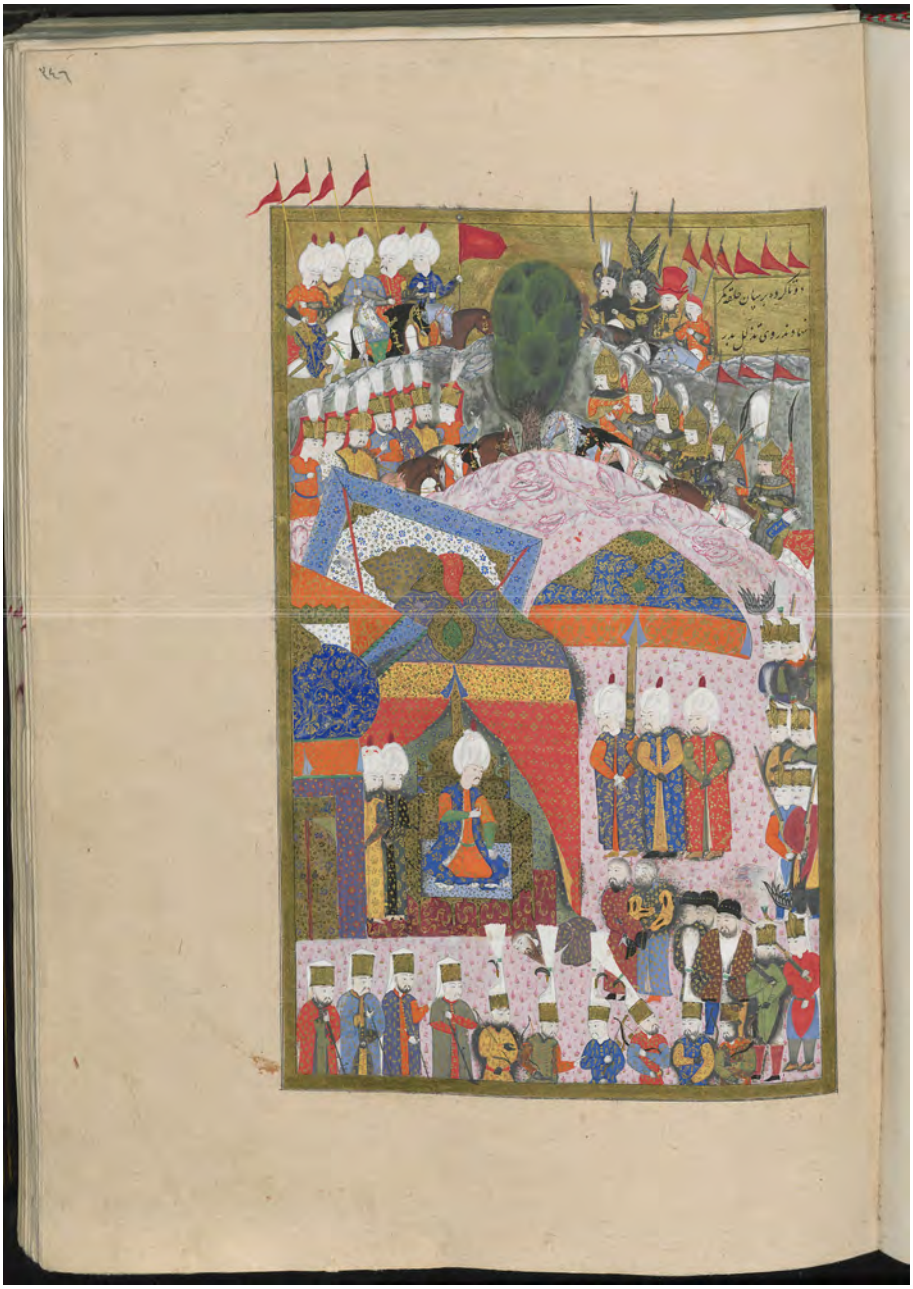

Figure 6. Reception of the French ambassador. *Süleymanname*, TSMK H. 1517, fol. 346ª. Photo: The Presidency of the Turkish Republic, Directorate of National Palaces

Figure 7. Dinner at the Palace in Honour of an Ambassador, Jean Baptiste Vanmour; oil on canvas, 90 x 121 cm. (1725?). Photo: Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation Orientalist Painting Collection

Figure 8. Sultan Ahmet III Receiving a European Ambassador, Jean Baptiste Vanmour; oil on canvas, 90 x 121 cm. (1725?) Photo: Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation Orientalist Painting Collection

Bibliography

Manuscript Sources

Şehname-i Selim Han, Topkapı Palace Museum Library (TSMK) A. 3595.

Şehinşahname, vol. 2, TSMK B. 200.

Süleymanname, TSMK H. 1517.

Nüzhet-i Esrarü'l-Ahyar der-Ahbar-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar, TSMK. H. 1339.

Archival Sources

Topkapı Palace Museum Archive (TSMA) d. 2120; d. 6058; e. 534-16; e. 34-6.

Military Museum, İstanbul (AİM), no. 23648; 26380; 23640.

The Presidency Ottoman Archive (BOA), Sadaret Defterleri (AD), 347; 350; 353.

BOA, *Bab-ı Asafi Divan-ı Hümayun Name-i Hümayun Kalemi* (ADVN. SNMH), d. 5/152.

BOA, Kamil Kepeci (KK), 690.

BOA, Hatt-ı Hümayun (HAT), 244.13732.

BOA, *Cevdet Saray* (C. SM) 20/1034; 4/166; 159/7961; 90/4515; 58/2912; 116/5825; 100/5038; 111/5578; 161/8093.

BOA, Maliyeden Müdevver defterler (MAD) d. 7400; d. 1332; 18493.

BOA, *İbnü'l Emin Saray Mesalihi* (İE. SM) 31/3233.

BOA, *Cevdet Askeriye* (C.AS) 318/13180.

BOA, Ali Emiri III. Ahmed (AE. SAMD.III.) 197/19057.

Published Sources

Abaza, Imane M. Sadek: *Color Symbolism in Islamic Book Painting*, MA thesis, The American University of Cairo, 2018.

Akyüz, Hüseyin: "Hz. Peygamberin Hadislerinde Renklerin Dili", *Atatürk Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 41 (2014), pp. 374-397

Alhamad, Fahd: *III. Ahmed Devri Teşrifatı (A.D.346:1716–1718)*, MA thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2019.

Alikılıç, Dündar: *XVII. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Saray Teşrifatı ve Törenleri*, PhD dissertation, Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2002.

Altınay, Ahmed Refik: *Onuncu Asr-ı Hicride İstanbul Hayatı (1495-1691)*, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanığı 1987 [Reprint, İstanbul: Enderun 1988].

Atasoy, Nurhan: *Otağ-ı Hümayun: Ottoman Imperial Tent Complex*, İstanbul: Aygaz 2000.

------: *Kaftan: Osmanlı Saray Giyimi*, İstanbul: Masa 2022.

------: et al. (eds.): *Ipek: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets*, London: TEB 2001.

Atıl, Esin: *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent*, Washington: National Gallery of Art; New York: Harry N. Abrams 1986.

Bağcı, Serpil: "İslam Toplumlarında Matemi Simgeleyen Renkler: Mavi, Mor, Siyah", *Cimetières et traditions funéraires dans le monde islamique/İslam Dünyasında*

Mezarlıklar ve Defin Gelenekleri, eds. J-L. Bacqué-Grammont and Aksel Tibet, vol. 2, Ankara: TTK 1996, pp. 163–368.

------: et al.: *Ottoman Painting*, trans. Ellen Yazar, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı 2010.

Börekçi, Günhan and Ahmet Arslantürk: *Nüzhet-i Esrarü'l-Ahyar der-Ahbar-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar: Sultan Süleyman'ın Son Seferi (Sultan Süleyman's Last Campaign: Pleasures of the Secrets of Auspicious Men from the News of the Szigetvár Campaign)*, İstanbul: İstanbul Zeytinburnu Belediyesi 2012.

Bloom, Jonathan and Sheila Blair: "Introduction", *And Diverse Are Their Hues: Color in Islamic Art and Culture*, eds. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2011, pp. 1–52.

Cross, Cameron: "The Many Colors of Love in Nizami's *Haft Paykar*: Beyond the Spectrum", *Interfaces: Journal of Medieval European Literatures*, 2 (2016), pp. 52–96.

Çalışkan, Filiz: *Osmanlı Devletinde Teşrifat Kalemi ve Teşrifatçılık*, MA thesis, İstanbul University, 1989.

Çevik, Can: *Naili Abdullah Paşa Defter-i Teşrifat (Metin-Değerlendirme)*, MA thesis, Beykent University, 2018.

Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa: *Zübde-i Vekaiyat: Tahlil ve Metin*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları 1995.

Değirmenci, Tülün: *İktidar Oyunları ve Resimli Kitaplar: II. Osman Devrinde Değişen Güç Sembolleri*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi 2012.

Erdoğan, Sinem: *The Imperial Biat Ceremonies in the Ottoman Empire: Their Formation and Transformation until the Eighteenth Century*, MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2008.

Erdoğan İşkorkutan, Sinem: "1720 Şenliği'nde Yemek Üzerinden İfade Edilen Sosyal Hiyerarşileri Anlamak", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 50 (2017), pp. 117–152.

------: *The 1720 Imperial Circumcision Celebrations in Istanbul: Festivity and Representation in the Early Eighteenth Century*, Leiden and Boston: Brill 2020.

------: "18. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Şehirli Nakkâşların Kullandığı Elvân Boyalar: Yeni Belgeler ve Sorular", *Cihannüma: Tarih ve Coğrafya Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 8/2 (2022), pp. 115-149.

Ertuğ, Ahmet (ed.): *Silks for the Sultans: Ottoman Imperial Garments from Topkapı Palace*, İstanbul: Ertuğ & Kocabıyık 1996.

Faroqhi, Suraiya: "Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes", *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, İstanbul: Eren 2004, pp. 24–48.

Fetvacı, Emine: *Sarayın İmgeleri: Osmanlı Sarayının Gözüyle Resimli Tarih*, trans. Nurettin Elhüseyni, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi 2013.

------: "The Office of Ottoman Court Historian", *Studies on Istanbul and Beyond: The Freely Papers*, ed. Robert Ousterhout, vol. 1, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania 2007, pp. 7-21.

Fierro, Maribel: "Red and Yellow: Colours and the Quest of Political Legitimacy in the Islamic West", *And Diverse Are Their Hues: Color in Islamic Art and Culture*, eds. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2011, pp. 79–97.

Gage, John: *Color and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction*, London: University of California Press 1999.

Genç, Reşat: "Türk İnanışları ile Millî Geleneklerinde Renkler ve Sarı-Kırmızı-Yeşil", *Erdem*, 9/27 (1997), pp. 1075–1110.

Goitein, Shelemo Dov: A *Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documenté of the Cairo Geniza*, 5 vols., Berkeley and California: University of California Press 1967-1988.

Gordon, Steward (ed.): *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2001.

Gökyay, Orhan Şaik: *Dedem Korkut'un Kitabı*, İstanbul: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı 1973.

Hirsch, Hadas: "Clothing and Colours in Early Islam: Adornment (Aesthetics), Symbolism and Differentiation", *Anthropology of the Middle East*, 15/1 (2020), pp. 99-114.

Kanga, Selim (ed.): *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, İstanbul: İş Bankası 2000.

Karahasanoğlu, Selim: *A Tulip Age Legend: Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, PhD diss., State University of New York at Binghamton, 2009.

Karateke, Hakan: *An Ottoman Protocol Register Containing Ceremonies from 1736 to 1808: BEO Sadaret Defterleri 350 in the Prime Ministry Ottoman State Archives*, İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları 2007.

Keleş, Merve Güneş: *Sadaret 349 Numaralı Teşrifat Defteri Işığında Merasimler*, MA thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2019.

Köprülü, Orhan Fuat: "Bayrak", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, V, 1992, pp. 247–254.

Krotkoff, Georg: "Color and Number in the *Haft Paykar*", *Logos Islamikos: Studia Islamica in Honorem Georgii Michaelis Wickens*, eds. Roger M. Savory and Dionisius A. Agius, Toronto: Brepols 1984, pp. 97–118.

Kütükoğlu, Mübahat: "XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devletinde Fevkalade Elçilerin Ağırlanması", *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, XXVII/1-2 (1989) [*Prof. Dr. İsmail Ercüment Kuran'a Armağan*], pp. 199–231.

Lacey, Pippa: *Imperial Purple: Colour, Value and Identity in Late Antiquity and the Byzantium Empire*, MA thesis, University of East Anglia, 2006.

Mahir, Banu: "Türk Minyatürlerinde Hil'at Merasimleri", *Belleten*, 63/238 (1999), pp. 745–754.

Mahmoud, Samir: "Color and the Mystics: Light, Beauty, and the Spiritual Quest", *And Diverse Are Their Hues: Color in Islamic Art and Culture*, eds. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2011, pp. 101–119.

Mauss, Marcel: *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, London and New York: Routledge 1990.

Meriç, Rıfkı Melül: *Türk Sanat Tarihi Vesikaları: Bayramlarda Padişahlara Hediye Edilen Sanat Eserleri ve Karşılıkları*, İstanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi 1963.

Mustak, Aykut: *A Study on the Gift Log MAD 1279: Making Sense of Gift-Giving in the Eighteenth Century Ottoman Society*, MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2007.

Necipoğlu, Gülru: *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge: The MIT Press 1992.

Nefedova, Olga: *A Journey into the World of the Ottomans: Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671 1737)*, Milan: Skira 2010.

------: (ed.): *Heritage of Art Diplomacy: Memoirs of an Ambassador*, Milan: Skira 2013.

Neumann, Christoph: "How Did a Vizier Dress in the Eighteenth Century?" *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, İstanbul: Eren 2004, pp. 181–218.

Nicolaas, Eveline Sint, Duncan Bull, Günsel Renda, and Gül Irepoğlu (eds.): *Jean-Baptiste Vanmour: An Eyewitness to the Tulip Era*, İstanbul: Koçbank 2003.

Özen, Mine E.: "Türkçe'de Kumaş Adları", *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi: Fatih Sultan Mehmed'e Hatıra Sayısı*, 33 (1980/81), pp. 291–340.

Petrovič, Mira (ed.): *Gratae Posteritati*: *To My Loving Descendants*, Proj, 2015.

Philips, Amanda: "Ottoman Hilat Between Commodity and Charisma", *Frontiers of Ottoman Imagination: Studies in Honor of Rhoads Murphey*, ed. M. Hadjianastasis, Leiden and Boston: Brill 2015, pp. 111–138.

Raşid Mehmed Efendi: *Tarih-i Raşid*, eds. Abdülkadir Özcan et al., 3 vols., İstanbul: Klasik 2013.

Reindl-Kiel, Hedda: "Diamonds are a Vizier's Best Friends: Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha's Jewellery Assets", *Living the Good Life: Consumption in the Qing and Ottoman Empires of the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Elif Akçetin and Suraiya Faroqhi, Leiden and Boston: Brill 2017, pp. 409–432.

------: "Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange: East is East and West is West and Sometimes the Twain did Meet: Diplomatic Gift Exchange in Ottoman Empire", *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies*, eds. Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki, and Rhoads Murphey, vol. II, London and New York: I. B. Tauris 2002, pp. 113–123.

------: "Power and Submission: Gifting at Royal Circumcision Festivals in the Ottoman Empire (16th-18th Centuries)", *Turcica*, 41 (2009), pp. 37–88.

------: "Luxury, Power Strategies and the Question of Corruption: Gifting in the Ottoman Elite (16th-18th Centuries)", *Şehrayin: die Welt der Osmanen, die Osmanen in der Welt: Wahrnehmungen, Begegnungen und Abgrenzungen: Illuminating the Ottoman World: Perceptions, Encounters and Boundaries, Festschrift Hans Georg Majer*, eds. Yavuz Köse and Tobies Völker, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz 2012, pp. 107–120.

------: "Dogs, Elephants, Lions, a Ram and a Rhino on Diplomatic Mission: Animals as Gifts to the Ottoman Court", *Animals and People in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, İstanbul: Eren 2010, pp. 271–286.

------: "Audiences, Banquets, Garments and Kisses: Encounters with the Ottoman Sultan in the 17th Century", *The Ceremonial of Audience: Transcultural Approaches*, eds. Eva Orthmann et al, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2019, pp. 169-207.

Rippin, Andrew: "Colors", *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, ed. Johanna Pink, University of Freiburg. Consulted online on 25 July 2024 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1875-3922_q3_EQSIM_00085.

Rogers, Michael: "Ottoman Luxury Trades and Their Regulation", *Osmanistische Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte: In Memoriam Vančo Boškov*, ed. Hans Georg Majer, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz 1986, pp. 135–155.

Sami, Şemseddin: *Kamus-ı Türki (Latin Harfleriyle)*, ed. Raşit Gündoğdu and Niyazi Adıgüzel, Ebul Faruk Önal, İstanbul: İdeal 2018.

Silahdar Mehmed Efendi. *Nusretnâme: İnceleme-metin, 1106-1133/1695-1721*, ed. and trans. Mehmet Topal, Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi 2018.

Simpson, Marianne Shrive: "Why My Name Is Red: An Introductory Inquiry", *And Diverse Are Their Hues: Color in Islamic Art and Culture*, eds. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2011, pp. 273–303.

Stanley, Tim: "Ottoman Gift Exchange", *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*, ed. Linda Komaroff, Los Angeles and New Haven: Los Angeles County Museum of Art 2011, pp. 149–169.

Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi: *Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Tarihi: Mür'it't-Tevarih*, ed. Münir Aktepe, 2 vols., İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları 1976-1981.

Tarım Ertuğ, Zeynep: "Depiction of Ceremonies in Ottoman Miniatures", *Muqarnas*, 27 (2010), pp. 251–275.

Tevkii Abdurrahman Paşa: *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Teşrifat ve Törenler: Tevkii Abdurrahman Paşa Kanunnamesi*, ed. Sadık Müfit Bilge, İstanbul: Kitabevi 2011.

Tezcan, Hülya: "The Imperial Robe Collection at Topkapı Palace Museum", *Silks for the Sultans: Ottoman Imperial Garments from Topkapı Palace*, ed. Ahmet Ertuğ, İstanbul: Ertuğ & Kocabıyık 1996.

------: "Furs and Skins Owned by the Sultan", *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, İstanbul: Eren 2004, pp. 64–72.

Trevathan, Idries: *Colour, Light and Wonder in Islamic Art*, London and Hong Kong: Sadi 2020.

Uslu, Hayriye Büşra: *III. Ahmed Devri Teşrifatı (A.D. 347: 1718-1725)*, MA thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2017.

Varilci, Ahmet Emin: *Osmanlı Arşivi'nde Bulunan 365 No'lu Sadaret Defterinin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi*, MA thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2022.

Vidmar, Polona: "Cæsari in mis omni hora fidelis servivi: The Portraits of Sigismund Herberstein and Walter Leslie in Diplomatic Robes", *Rad. Inst. povij. umjet*, 43 (2019), pp. 75–90.

Wearden, Jennifer: "Siegmund von Herberstein: An Italian Velvet in the Ottoman Court", *Costume*, 19/1 (1985), pp. 22–29.

Woodhead, Christine: "Experiment in Official Historiography: The Post of Sehnameci in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1555-1605", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 75 (1983), pp. 157–182.

Yılmaz Bozyak, Enise Büşra: *Teşrifat Defteri (BA, MAD, nr. 1332) İnceleme-Çeviriyazı*, MA thesis, İstanbul University, 2018.

Yılmaz, Yasir: "Liste von Geschenken Ahmeds III. an Karl VI., Konstantinopel, 20. März 1719". The register can be found at https://qhod.net/o:vipa.pr.osm.17190320/sdef:TEI/get?mode=view:facs#IMG01, which was last accessed on 01.09.2024.

Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı: "Osmanlı Sarayında Ehl-i Hiref (Sanatkârlar) Defterleri", *Belgeler*, 15 (1986), pp. 23–376.