

Faint, illegible text at the top of the page, possibly a header or introductory paragraph.

Second block of faint, illegible text, appearing to be the main body of the document.

Third block of faint, illegible text, continuing the main body of the document.

Faint, illegible text at the bottom of the page, possibly a footer or concluding paragraph.

**CORNELIUS LOOS, SWEDISH ARTIST IN TURKEY
AT THE TIME OF AHMET III**

Alfred Westholm

The object of this article is to draw attention, again, to the drawings of the Swedish officer Cornelius Loos, who spent one and a half year in 1710-11 in Turkey depicting interesting monuments. Unfortunately most of the material was destroyed by fire, but at least the complete set of drawings from Istanbul seem to have been saved. Some of them have appeared in scholarly discussions, such as the fine and rare drawings from the interior of Ayasofia. They play a certain rôle in the publications by C.Mango in his discussions of the mosaics of the church, published in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 1962 and 1966 and elsewhere. A few more items are observed by other scholars, but as a whole the material has been neglected. This is due more than anything else to the lack of a good and comprehensive publication in an international language from Swedish side.

On the ensuing pages a short summary will be made of the whole material so that the specialist can find what he is looking for. It may also be useful to inform under which conditions the drawings were made. My hope is that some of the Turkish scholars who work with the topography of Istanbul would have an interest in the material, which is now to be found in the National Museum of Sweden in Stockholm.

June 28th 1709 the Swedish king Charles XII, who had been invading Russia, fought the disastrous battle of Poltava. The king, wounded and in bad condition, saved himself together with an escort of some officers and soldiers over Vorskla, a branch of Niepr, and into Turkish territory. The Swedes were received with friendship by the Turkish Sultan Ahmet III, who gave them a piece of land near the city of Bender, now situated in northern Roumania. Here the Swedes were to remain until the beginning of 1713.

The king had a great admiration for the Turkish people and the culture, especially the architecture of the country and very soon he made up plans for sending out an expedition in order to study the cultural conditions of the country. After negotiations with the Turkish government the expedition, consisting of three Swedish officers, could start from Bender in January 1710. After three weeks they had covered the about 700 kms long way to Istanbul, where they spent some six weeks. The three officers had a good education with a special stress on drawing and measurements, especially Cornelius Loos, who started work in Istanbul. Evidently the Swedish officers had a very privileged position in the Turkish capital, being allowed to study and work in the city and even in the Sultan's palaces and in the most holy Ayasofia. This must be considered astonishing and is one of the many proofs of the good relations between Turks and Swedes, which at least at the beginning characterized the situation.

The officers left the capital with a ship which took them to Alexandria via Rhodos and Bodrum. In Egypt they made drawings of the pyramids before they continued with a French ship to Acre and from there they rode up to Jerusalem. After a short visit there they continued traveling north via Damascus and other places in Syria to Aleppo. From there they visited the desert city of Palmyra where Loos made a large and magnificent drawing of the central ruins. As far as I know this is the first picture of Palmyra, a city rediscovered as late as in 1691. The expedition returned over Adana and the usual road via Konya, Afion Karahissar and Izmir, from where they by ship came to Istanbul. They remained there two months for more drawing and arrived to Bender on the 28th of June 1711- Here Loos worked on his drawings evidently with the scope of making a printed edition of them, in the form of engravings. In all they were about 250 pieces.

More than 200 of these were destroyed at the so called Kalabalik of Bender, which was an attack on the Swedish camp from the local governor in order to press the King to leave the country. The king's house was burnt and with it most of the material brought back by Loos.

Of the saved drawings the majority were those from Istanbul, a large panorama of the kind Melchior Lorch, Pieter Keere and others had made before, furthermore a very interesting set of drawings from the interior of Ayasofia. The buildings around At Meidan form another interesting group. Another is formed by pictures the Sultan's buildings, the Tersana saray and a couple of kiosks. Finally we come to a group of more ethnographic interest, the great cistern Binbirdirek, an oven and the bath of Bender, which may be considered here.

Among the drawings with motives outside the capital we have only sporadic items, some pictures of the pyramids of Gizeh, a couple of drawings from Bodrum, the chapel in the Dome of the Rock and finally the magnificent panorama over Palmyra. There are also three maps, which must be discussed, of the Near East, of the city of Istanbul and of the defense work of Rhodos.

We can only guess what was destroyed by the fire in Bender. Certainly there were more drawings from Egypt and Jerusalem, where the expedition worked for some time. Damascus, Baalbek, Antiochia and Aleppo certainly provided Loos with interesting motives, as well as the journey through Asia Minor, but these drawings are all lost.

There are three drawings of the panorama, which is seen from at least two points on the north-east side of the Golden Horn. They were all made when Loos stayed in Istanbul on his return. It is an open question to what degree Loos was influenced by earlier pictures with the same motive e.g. some print after Lorchs' great drawing in the library of Leyden or Pieter Keeres engraving from 1616. He seems to have made a first version which contains many mistakes and *quéries* which have been corrected in the two others. On the first rather sketchy drawing a great many buildings and monuments are notated with text possibly by somebody else than Loos. There are some items of general interest on this panorama of Loos, which in certain parts is more clear and definite than in panoramas by other hands.

This is particularly the case as to the great Serail and the Sepetciler and the Yali Kiosk, where all the buildings are very clearly recognized as they stood at the time of Ahmet III. The same can be said of the buildings and towers in connection with the walls around the Gülhane Park and the Ayasofia, on which the wooden campanile, possibly from the time of Enrico Dandolo, is very clearly depicted with a high vault and two windows above.

A high building visible in the sketch and there marked with the text "Sou Terazj" must refer to the high building which has come to light, when some buildings not long ago were pulled down just above the large cistern Yerabatan Saray. The water balance must have been in use at the time of Loos.

As a rule, the panorama by Loos gives a very accurate picture of the various buildings. This is especially noted on the details of the remparts

along the Golden Horn, below the Saray and further to the north-west. The wall seems to have been fairly well preserved right on to Ayvan Saray. The towers are drawn with their different characteristics, as well as the groups of houses outside the wall. It must be remembered that we have many proofs of the accuracy in details of Loos' drawings.

A part which is extremely interesting is the Eski Saray, perhaps the best picture we have of the old saray as it was preserved at the time of Ahmet III. We can see boundary walls running to an angle towards the Golden Horn, walls still to be seen. Within there is an open courtyard with some trees, at the rear various buildings. To the left a large square building with topped roof, in front of which one can see two minarets. Evidently this is a cami. Behind it is a long building with rounded windows and a high saddle roof. This seems to limit the boundary towards the Marmara sea and closes in a part of the courtyard, in the center of which there is a separate two storied building. To the right, among the trees one can see the roofs of something, which looks like a small tower and to the right of this a building with an octogonal central tower like a byzantine church. The gate through the boundary wall towards the Süleimaniye is marked by a low tower. The Süleimaniye with the türbes forms a magnificent picture above the coupled roofs of the Grand Bazar building, erected again (1701) after the fire a few years before.

The Fatih Cami is depicted in the partly rouinous way as it stood after the earthquake in May 1677, only barely repaired still with only two minarets.

Right below this cami outside the city wall near the water there can be seen a large building with raised roof. This is marked on Peter Keeres engraving as "onicapani vel officina ubi farinae venduntur". Evidently the ukapani warehouse was still in use at the time of Loos.

Likewise the large drawing of At Meidan and the surrounding buildings gives many interesting items, especially on the northern side where a detailed picture of the big building, which lately has been rebuilt to a museum of Islamic Art and which was at the time of Loos the residence of the Polish Ambassador. From topographic point of view the habitation around the Firuz Ağa mosque is of a certain interest.

Loos has made drawings of a saray, which must have been situated in the Tersana district on the north-eastern bank of the Golden Horn. Sedat H. Eldem and Vogt-Göknil, (*Köşkler ve Kasırlar I*, 1969) suppose that these drawings refer to the so-called Aynalı Kavak Kasrı, but this seems not

to be possible, as this was not constructed before 1718, eight years after Loos' visit. Besides the drawings in question refer to a two storied building. Possibly Loos' drawings depict two rooms in the Tersana Kasri, according to Naima (Storia, Vol. II p. 112) built in 1613 and repaired by Abdul Hamit I in 1786 but later disappeared. It seems to be difficult to come to a certain solution of the question of identity of the Tersana drawings, which depict one room at the bottom floor and one at the first floor and in addition drawings of a very fine small private bath.

Loos has also made drawings of a "Kiosque du Grand Seigneur sur le Grand Canal du côté de la Mer Noire à 3/4 lieues de Constantinople". This seems to indicate a situation not far from the Dolmabahçe or the former Çırağan palace. The kiosque is situated on a small island in a little artificial lake near the shore as is shown on a small landscape drawing. It may be suggested that we have here a picture of the kiosque of Ahmet I. The drawing of the interior seems to indicate a date of early 17th century and the Iznik decoration of the walls shows many similarities with the drawings of the Tersana building.

If the identification of the Tersana Saray and the kiosque of the Bosphorus may be questioned the localization of a third kiosque depicted by Loos is absolutely certain. The kiosque is called Fener Bahçe kiosque and Loos has written on the drawing in Swedish that it is situated near the light house of Fener Bahçe. Here the foundation of a rather large oblong building can still be seen. The kiosque on Loos' two drawings is a low oblong building the roof of which is supported by vertical thick planks. Between these the walls can be closed by means of wooden screens. The whole construction is very clear if one compares the picture of the exterior which shows the screens closed with that of the interior with the screens taken away. Possibly we have in Loos' drawings pictures of Süleiman Kanunis Fener Köşkü. Anselm Bandurries engraving in *Imperium Orientale*, Paris 1711, from about the same time seems to tally with Loos drawings. There is, however, very little in these which gives a hint of the date of the structure so the possibility remains that we are confronted with some later building not mentioned in the literature.

Loos has devoted much work to the measurement and drawings of the cistern Binbir Direk, but certainly he had no possibility to excavate the parts of the structure below earth. These two drawings must mark one of the earliest sincere attempt at investigating the cistern.

The most debated drawings are a set of sheets showing the interiors of Ayasofia. These have often been referred to by Cyril Mango and E.J. Hawkins in their publication of the mosaics of the church mostly in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 1962, 1966 and elsewhere. Many of the mosaics, later on disappeared entirely or below mortar, were still visible at the time of Loos, who drew the figures as carefully as he could. Sometimes, however, he misunderstood the subjects and the meaning of the single figures but as a rule his drawings have been a help for the interpretations of the scenes. Many of these were covered or removed at the restoration of Ayasofia by Fossati in 1848. Thanks to Mango this part of the material, left by Loos, has been brought into the scholarly discussion.

The large drawing of the ruins of Palmyra must have been made at the end of the year 1710 when Loos made an excursion from Aleppo to Palmyra, most likely taking the same route as Dr. William Halifax did 19 years earlier, in 1691. The ruins first became known to Europe by Dr. Halifax whose handwritten *Relation of a Voyage to Tadmor* has been printed from his autograph in the *Pal. Exploration Fund's Quarterly Statement* for 1890. However, Loos saw the ruins about 40 years earlier than Robert Wood (*Les ruines de Palmyra*, London 1753, Tab.I) did, and made a magnificent panorama of the ruins, including many temples and the great colonnaded street, leading up to the Sun temple. This drawing must show how the first rediscoverers saw the site a few years earlier. The panorama is so far I know the earliest known picture of Palmyra, unfortunately never published or discussed in the light of more recent excavations of the site.

**ZUM SENATORISCHEN CURSUS HONORUM DER
RÖMISCHEN KAISERZEIT
VORBEMERKUNG**

Bülent İplikçioğlu

Im Sommer 1976 erhielt ich über Vorschlag Herrn Prof. Akurgals ein Doktoratstipendium des Österreichischen Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung am Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut. Von WS 1976/77 bis SS 1982 studierte ich als Stipendiat des genannten Bundesministeriums und Doktorand der Alten Geschichte am Institut für Alte Geschichte und Klassische Archäologie der Universität Wien. Vorliegender Aufsatz beruht auf Studien im Rahmen meiner inzwischen erschienenen Dissertation "Die Repräsentanten des senatorischen Inschriften" (Wien 1983). Ich danke an dieser Stelle herzlichst Prof. Akurgal für seine wohlwollende Förderung sowie Betreuung, und nicht zuletzt dafür, dass er mich als erster auf die Notwendigkeit ernsthafter Beschäftigung mit Epigraphik in einem an Inschriften so reichen Land wie der Türkei hinwies.

Zum Senatoren- und Ritterstand in der römischen Gesellschaft und zur Verwaltung des Imperium Romanum:

Was für uns moderne Menschen so faszinierend ist, ist der Umstand, dass das mächtige Imperium Romanum, das sich auf dem Höhepunkt seiner Ausdehnung von Spanien bis zum Euphrat und von Britannien bis an den Rand der Sahara erstreckte und 50 bis 80 Millionen Menschen innerhalb seiner Grenzen zählte, nur von einigen hundert höheren Beamten und Militärs verwaltet worden ist, die ausschliesslich dem Senatoren- und Ritterstand angehörten. Im folgenden möchte ich versuchen, diesen Umstand im einzelnen etwas näher zu erläutern.

Seit altersher gehörten römische Bürger, die ihre politische Leistung und militärische Erfahrung der res publica zur Verfügung stellten, dem Senat an, dem höchsten Gremium und Sammelpunkt aller politisch-