

## ARCHITECTURE AND THE SEARCH FOR OTTOMAN ORIGINS IN THE TANZIMAT PERIOD

Following the European pattern, the development of the discipline of art history in the Ottoman Empire was largely concomitant to the rise and modification of nationalist ideology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The definition of an Ottoman artistic and architectural heritage and the preservation and representation of that heritage were significant assets in the process of inculcating a consciousness of dynastic/national identity, for they helped authenticate a unified vision of Ottoman society and firmly embedded its means of collective cultural expression in the distant past.

On a scholarly level, the novel endeavor to define and articulate the artistic/architectural patrimony of the “Ottoman nation” emerges in the wake of modernizing Tanzimat reforms,<sup>1</sup> with the publication of the *Uşûl-i Mi‘mārî-i ‘Osmanî* (Fundamentals of Ottoman Architecture) or *L’architecture ottomane* (Istanbul, 1873),<sup>2</sup> the earliest comprehensive study on the history and theory of Ottoman architecture (fig. 1). The *Uşûl-i Mi‘mārî-i ‘Osmanî* (henceforth abbreviated as *Uşûl*) was an elaborate attempt to redefine the Ottoman dynastic building tradition according to the standards of modern art-historical scholarship. Rendered in analytical terms, the “Ottoman style” in architecture was also promoted by the authors as a rational, open-ended, and universally applicable system of building that was subject to continuous change and innovation. Hence, beyond being a purely scholarly endeavor, the *Uşûl* was also conceived as a primary manifesto for an officially endorsed program of rediscovery and revival in late Ottoman architecture. In all, contrary to enduring assumptions about the lack of an internal discourse on architecture coming out of the Islamic context, the *Uşûl* constitutes a significant early response to Western Orientalist categorizations of Islamic art and architecture.<sup>3</sup>

### STRATEGIES OF SCHOLARLY DISPLAY

The publication of the *Uşûl* was part of a larger official effort to represent the empire in the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna. The text and drawings were prepared under the supervision of İbrahim Edhem Pasha, the Minister of Trade and Public Works,<sup>4</sup> by a diverse group of artists, architects, and bureaucrats who had close professional ties with the palace. The text begins with a lengthy historical overview that embodies a pioneering attempt to define and represent the entire Ottoman architectural past according to the norms of modern historiography. This overview is supplemented by another section comprising detailed monographs of major Ottoman monuments located in Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne. In the remaining chapters, grouped under the title “Technical Documents,” Ottoman architecture is situated within a theoretical framework of discussion. Here, through a systematic and analytical investigation of building components and decoration, the authors propose to derive the “fundamental” principles of Ottoman architecture, thus providing the necessary guidelines for the Ottoman architect in his new revivalist task (fig. 2).

The editor of the whole volume, and the author of a substantial portion of the original text, was the amateur historian and artist Victor Marie de Launay, a “naturalized” Frenchman who held a secretarial position in the Ministry of Trade and Public Works (the main governmental agency that directed the Ottoman exhibits) and acted as the official correspondent of the Ottoman commission to the Vienna Exposition.<sup>5</sup> With a keen scholarly interest in architecture, art, and traditional crafts, Marie de Launay, throughout his lengthy bureaucratic career in the imperial capital, was deeply involved in the representation of the Ottoman state in the world expositions. For the Vienna Exposition he also coauthored (with Osman Hamdi

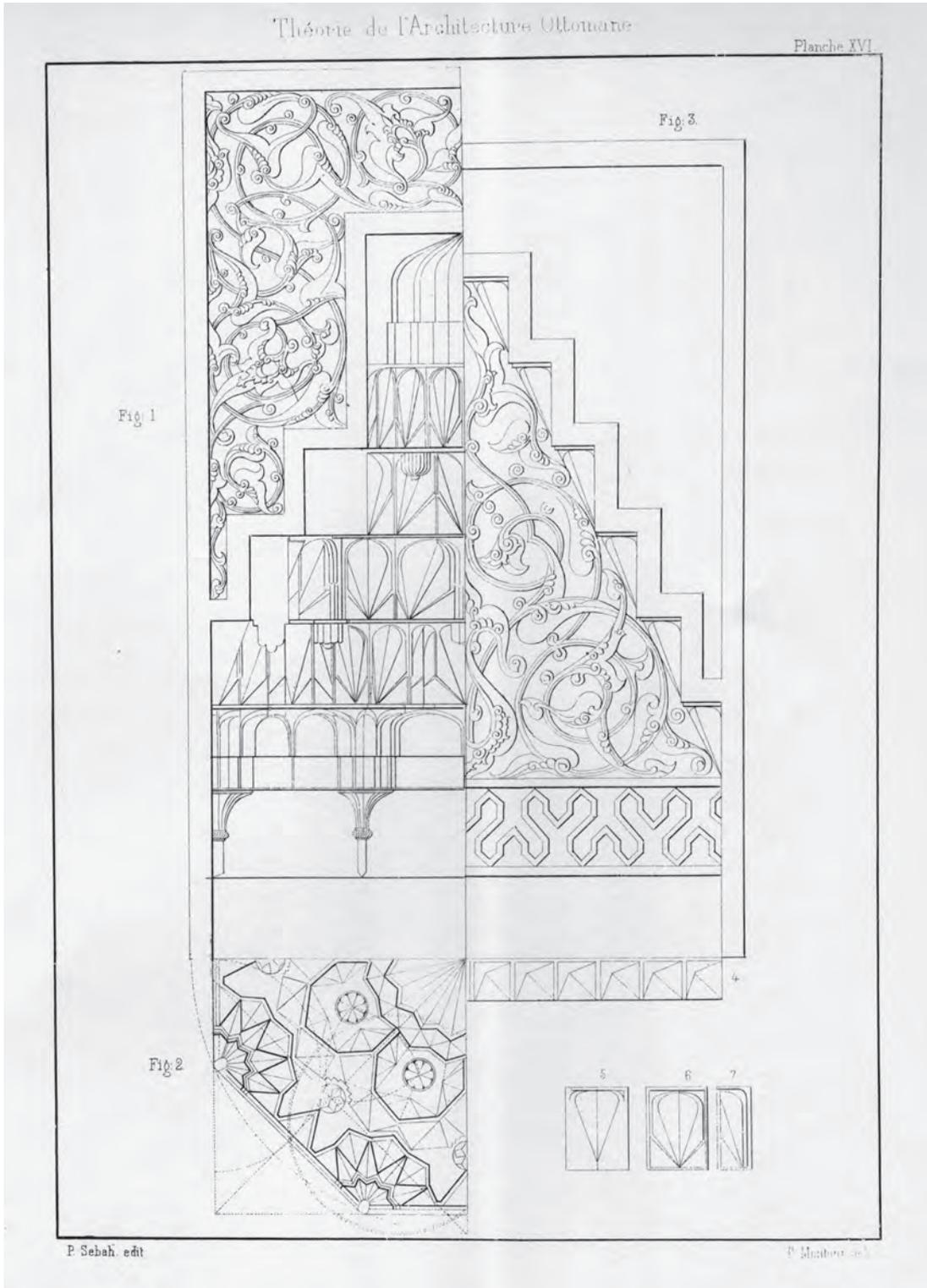


Fig. 1. *Uşul-i Mîmārî-i ‘Osmānî* (Istanbul, 1873)

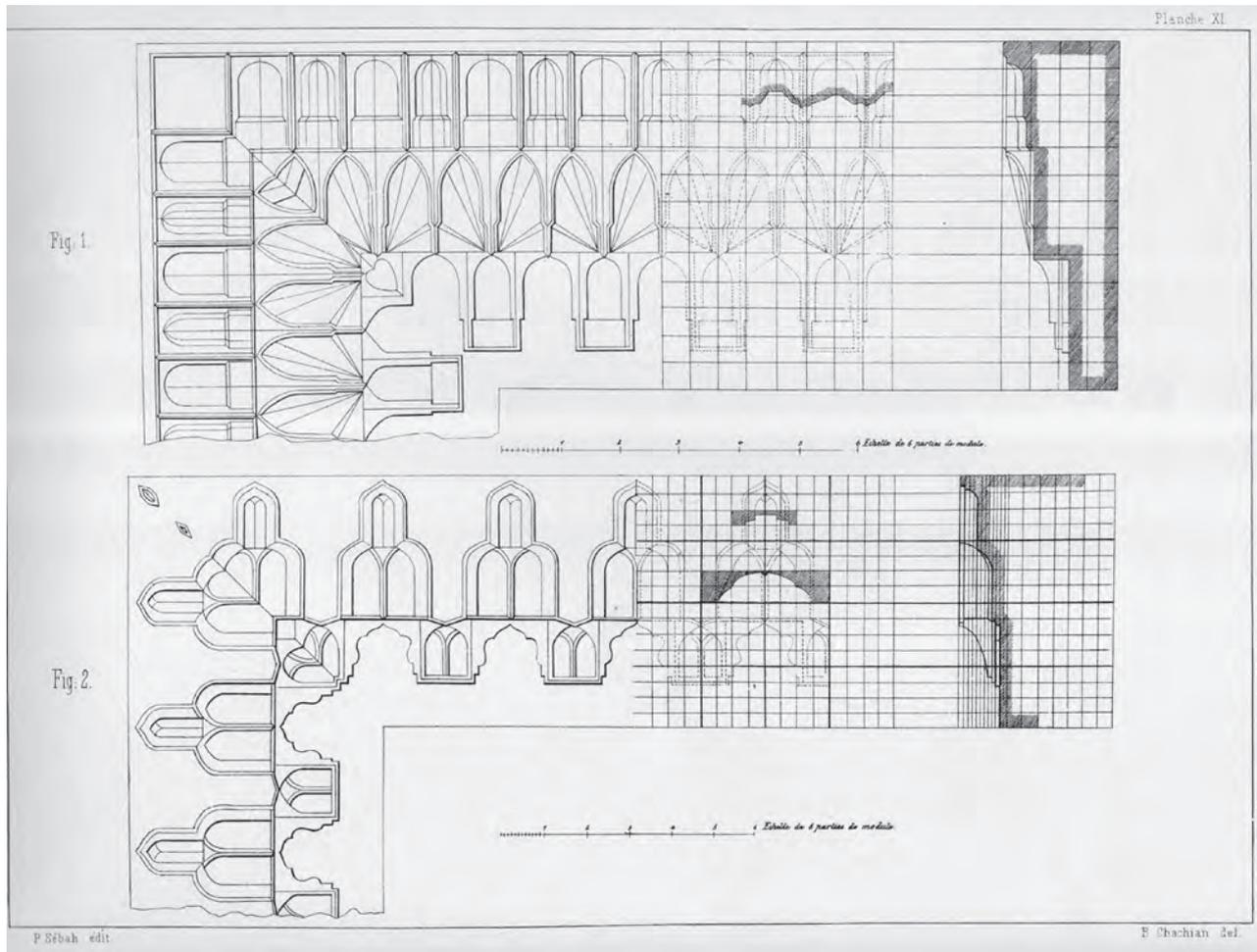


Fig. 2. Detail from Montani's "Technical Documents." (After the *Uşûl*)

Bey, the eminent painter/bureaucrat) a photographic album of traditional Ottoman costumes titled *Elbise-i 'Osmaniyye* or *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*.<sup>6</sup>

The "technical documents" included in the *Uşûl*, constituting a separate section entitled "Fenn-i Mi'mârî-i 'Osmani" (The Theory of Ottoman Architecture), were provided by Pietro Montani (or Montani Efendi), an Ottoman Levantine artist of Italian origin.<sup>7</sup> Here, in line with the works of the French arch-rationalist Viollet-le-Duc (and those of his disciples focusing on Islamic building traditions, namely, Jules Bourgoïn and Léon Parvillée), Montani sought to uncover the underlying morphological laws through which the characteristic features of Ottoman architecture were generated. Similar to Viollet-le-Duc's vision of the

Gothic, Montani's outline of Ottoman architecture presented a highly ordered and rational building system governed by universally valid geometric rules. Montani also executed most of the drawings and color plates, with the exception of a few plans by Marie de Launay and some additional renderings of decorative components by the French artist Eugène Maillard<sup>8</sup> and the Ottoman Armenian painter Bogos Şaşıyan.<sup>9</sup>

The expertly crafted plates that supplement the text of the *Uşûl* include plans, elevations, and sections of various Ottoman buildings as well as a rich panoply of decorative details and ornamental patterns, all meticulously depicted in accordance with the academic standards of the Beaux-Arts model (fig. 3). The "technical documents" are furnished with explanatory graphic illustrations delineating various building components

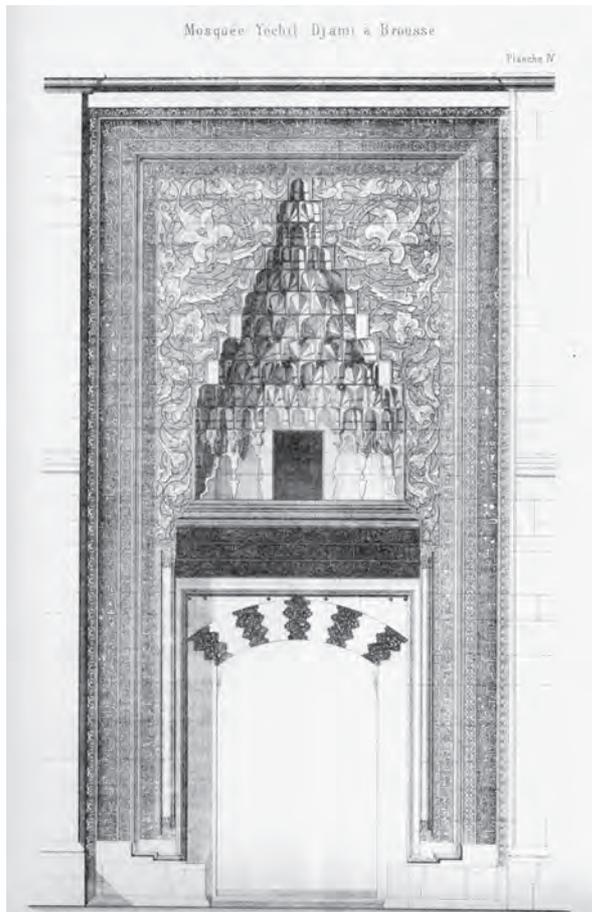


Fig. 3. Portal of the Green Mosque, Bursa. (After the *Usûl*)

and their proportional relations and combination patterns. Accompanying the monochrome illustrations are fourteen chromolithographic plates (printed in the Sébah studios in Istanbul), skillfully drafted with vibrant and sharply delineated colors (fig. 4). In the superior technical quality and graphic precision of its illustrations, the *Usûl* is duly comparable to its highly acclaimed European counterparts, such as Owen Jones's *The Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1856) (fig. 5), Auguste Racinet's *L'ornement polychrome* (Paris, 1869), or Jules Bourgoïn's *Les arts arabes* (Paris, 1873). Thus, leaving aside the intellectual scope of its text, the *Usûl* must be considered an artistic specimen in and of itself, conceived as a unique showcase of Ottoman technical competence in the art of publishing.

Owing to its original context of display, the *Usûl* was shaped with two types of audience in mind. Advertisements in Ottoman newspapers of the period

reveal that the book was reprinted several times and sought after by the Constantinopolitan reading public. After all, in the eyes of its Ottoman readers, the *Usûl* was a clear testimony to the cultural merits of a common dynastic/national past. But the prestigious official publication also catered to a wide international audience. The Ottoman Turkish text was accompanied by two other versions, in French and German. The Ottoman and German versions were almost verbatim translations of an original draft that was, for the most part, written in French.<sup>10</sup> After one copy of the book was displayed in the Ottoman galleries of the Vienna Exposition, more were distributed in major cities around Europe.<sup>11</sup> The aim was to open up a separate international field of discussion for Ottoman architecture and dissociate it from the reductive tropes that dominated European perceptions of Islamic architecture. In presenting the *Usûl* as a unique and rational building tradition, its authors attempted to promote Ottoman architecture to the status of the “privileged” styles of the Western world. Their universal claims are even reflected in the imperial decree appended to its preface:

[It has been decided that this volume]...will be prepared in the Turkish, French, and German languages in order to declare to a universal audience the great dexterity [in architecture] of the industrious Ottoman nation. It is hoped that it will serve as a practical basis and a fine [source of] instruction for modern architects.<sup>12</sup>

The authors of the *Usûl* were the first to locate Ottoman architecture within the broader context of cultural history and examine its course with respect to long-term changes in the history of the Ottoman Empire. The present study particularly aims to concentrate on the historical discourse formed in the *Usûl* concerning the earlier monuments of the Ottoman dynasty, namely, those that precede the sixteenth-century “classical” phase. The formative stages of the Ottoman architectural tradition were highly significant for the authors of the *Usûl*, as they were believed to yield to the analytical eye the very essentials of the Ottoman system of building. The authors expected that the early Ottoman synthesis could stand as a model for contemporary architects who, inspired by prevailing experiments in European eclecticism, were striving to devise a new synthetic idiom for late Ottoman architecture. The decorative richness and artistic elaboration of early Ottoman architecture, in contrast to the relative austerity of the “classical” style, were keenly highlighted by the authors of the *Usûl*—mostly decora-

Divers.  
Art Ottoman moderne.

Planche XXVII



P. Sebah edit.

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Decoration de plafond.

Fig. 4. Chromolithographic plate from the *Usûl*.

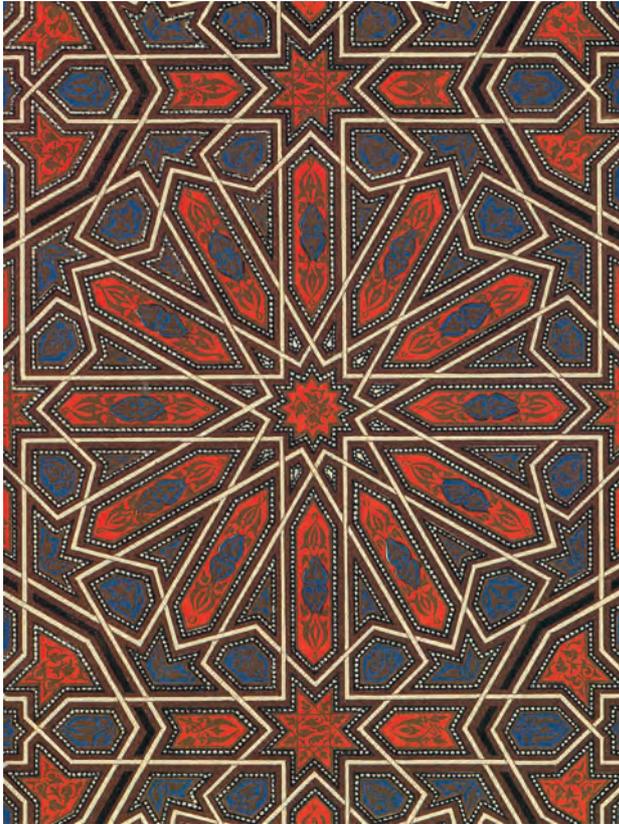


Fig. 5. Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1856), pl. 42 (detail).

tors and artists whose professional outlook was shaped by and geared towards the current European interest in the eclectic reassessment of traditional crafts and ornament. Furthermore, on a more local ideological level, the preclassical monuments of Bursa became an indispensable locus of interest for late Ottoman intellectuals as they helped reconstitute and envisage the remote historical milieu within which the Ottoman state was created, hence forming a major site for celebrating the myth of “founding a nation from a clan.”

#### ARCHITECTURE AND THE HISTORICIZING MISSION

The overriding concern behind the production of the *Uşûl* was to define and represent Ottoman architecture as a distinctive, monolithic, and historically rooted

stylistic entity that, as a system of building, also displayed a capacity to fulfil the requirements of the modern age. But delineating a separate representational turf for Ottoman architecture amidst the fiery atmosphere of stylistic debate in Europe was a daring endeavor that had to be backed by a shrewd strategy of justification. First, the Ottoman style, dismissed by many European theorists as an indistinct melange of Arabo-Persian and Byzantine elements, had to be distinguished as a consistent and unified tradition with its own pattern of stylistic progression and its unique standards of design. Moreover, in order to make claims of universal validity and applicability, Ottoman architecture had to be rendered and codified in a universally intelligible and “objective” form; that is, the authors of the *Uşûl* had to conform to the established norms and nuances of the European discourse on architecture and address the critical issues that dominated the current debate on style. The program pursued by the Ottoman authors for promoting Ottoman architecture as a historic and open-ended style, then, closely paralleled the efforts of contemporary antiestablishment theorists in Europe who sought to reinstate various nonclassical historical traditions as potent alternative sources of architectural knowledge. Pugin’s, Ruskin’s, and Viollet-le-Duc’s reappraisals of the Gothic, for instance, or Texier and Pullan’s exposition of the Byzantine style<sup>13</sup> had already set the discursive guidelines for the authors of the *Uşûl*, who, like their European forerunners, were faced with the arduous task of challenging the universal supremacy of classicism and, at the same time, confronting the negative preconceptions about the tradition they espoused.<sup>14</sup>

A major step in lending credibility to Ottoman architecture was to “historicize” it by ordering its chronological development according to contemporary paradigms of stylistic change.<sup>15</sup> Defined as a progressive and dynamic tradition, the Ottoman style was thus consciously dissociated from attributes (such as timelessness or inertness) that were commonly ascribed to “non-historic” styles. Marie de Launay’s historical outline represents this initial step toward legitimation, whereby Ottoman architecture was subjected to the “cyclical-evolutionary” principles of modern historiography and examined in view of the long-term changes in the history of the Ottoman state.

Starting from the initial examples of the dynastic style, Marie de Launay orders and evaluates Ottoman monuments along a progressively unfolding scheme

of stylistic transformation. The “development of the Ottoman style,” as formulated in the *Usûl*, comprises three major formative stages: The first phase starts with the modest beginnings of Ottoman architecture under the first leaders of the dynasty and culminates with the efflorescence of the classical style in the sixteenth century. The second phase traces a path of postclassical stagnation, followed by gradual decline in the eighteenth century, which eventually leads to a total breakdown of the autonomous Ottoman style in the early decades of the following century. The final phase, in Marie de Launay’s model, culminates with the portrayal of the time of the reigning sultan, Abdülaziz (1861–76), as an age of downright revival. Here, the monuments of the Abdülaziz era in Istanbul, particularly the Pertevniyal Valide Mosque in Aksaray (1869–71) and the Çırağan Palace (1864–71), all embellished with an eclectic array of Ottoman, Orientalist, and Gothic elements, are acclaimed as the harbingers of an up-and-coming “Ottoman Renaissance” in architecture (figs. 6 and 7).<sup>16</sup>

For the authors of the *Usûl*, architecture served as an appropriate index for understanding the various stages in the transformation of Ottoman state and civilization. Supplemented by the wealth of historical references afforded in the historical outline and the monographies, each monument appears in the Ottoman publication as an individual expression of the specific cultural, political, and economic circumstances of its historical period, as well as a singular and representative constituent of a larger pattern of stylistic evolution. It is important to note here that the *Usûl* emerged at a time of intense transformation in the Ottoman practice of history writing, whereby the nineteenth century’s novel standards of “objectivity” and documentary accuracy were eagerly espoused by a new generation of Ottoman authors.<sup>17</sup> Starting with the Tanzimat era, following the established pattern of European nationalist historiographies, the highly challenging task of historicizing a collective sense of Ottoman identity (out of a wildly diverse ethno-religious imperial corpus) was carried out with increasing support from the emerging disciplines of philology, ethnography, archaeology, and art history. The material provided by these fields, as well as the new techniques of representation they offered (at both the academic and the popular level, as in the case of museums and exhibitions) functioned as potent instruments for achieving an empathic and “realistic” engagement with the past. As Ottoman historiography was being



Fig. 6. Pertevniyal Valide Mosque, Aksaray (1869–71). (Author’s photo)

refashioned along more romantic and nationalistic lines, the representation of art and architecture was to gain popularity and status as a beneficial instrument for rendering a more tangible and convincing vision of the remote past. Works of art and architecture were gradually being inscribed into the replotted historical narrative of the Ottoman state, nurtured above all by the proliferation of textbooks prepared for the new secular institutions of learning. Of significant impact in this regard was the authoritative multivolume work on the history of the dynasty, the *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, by the Austrian Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall; this work, in its broad scope and skillful synthesis of Ottoman sources, played a paradigmatic role in the establishment of late Ottoman historiography.<sup>18</sup> By the 1870s renowned writers of Ottoman history such as Ahmed Vefik Pasha and



Fig. 7. The Çırağan Palace (1864–71). (Photo: Çelik Gülersoy archive, reproduced by permission of the Çelik Gülersoy Foundation)

Mustafa Nuri Pasha were already making use of artistic or architectural examples to illustrate in concrete form the revised models of periodization they proposed for examining the historic progression of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>19</sup> From a historiographical point of view, then, the *Uşûl* can be considered a specialized counterpart to the novel historical paradigm propagated by these authors, for it was the first modern work of scholarly command to concentrate exclusively on architecture in representing the entire Ottoman past.<sup>20</sup> Thus, engaged in the complex dramaturgy of stylistic sequence, every Ottoman monument turned into a distinct manifestation of a uniform and collective “character,” or, as the authors of the Ottoman publication put it, concrete evidence of the “inherent genius” with which the “Ottoman nation” was endowed.<sup>21</sup>

#### THE BEGINNINGS OF OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE

The introductory paragraph of the “historical overview” authored by Marie de Launay evinces the strictly

dynastic focus of the *Uşûl*'s discourse on history. In the opening sentences the political and cultural backdrop of the emergence of the Ottoman state is portrayed in only a few brusque lines. Here, the author recounts the prehistory of Ottoman architecture, starting from the point at which the “four hundred and sixteen families of the *Kayı* tribe,” the legendary kinsmen of the chief named Osman, secured control over the Bithynian frontier zone of the Seljuk Sultanate in the late thirteenth century. The tumultuous political climate of post-Chingisid Anatolia was, we are told, anything but favorable for the cultivation of a new school of architecture. These were times when, in Marie de Launay's words, “the people of Asia Minor lapsed into a state of profound ignorance, and all branches of the arts and sciences were annihilated in the Seljuk Empire,” due to the excessive toll of what the author identifies as “foreign oppression,” referring to the ascendancy of Mongol Ilkhanid authority in the Seljuk lands.<sup>22</sup> In Ottoman historiography, depicting the rise of the Ottoman polity against a backdrop of such acute political and cultural depletion was a standard rhetorical strategy employed since the

fifteenth century for glorifying the mission and deeds of the Ottoman founders. While the story of “founding a colossal empire with a handful of horsemen” was a time-honored cliché that never failed to occasion dynastic bravado, reembellishing the myth-encrusted origins of the state within the modern framework of world history also helped cultivate the novel sentiments of dynastic/national consciousness and pride among Ottoman readers. In *‘Osmānlı Tārīhi*, the celebrated history of the empire by Namık Kemal (d. 1888),<sup>23</sup> for instance, the advent of the Ottoman state is interpreted as a lasting remedy to the condition of decline and misery that had befallen the realm of Islam in the late medieval era, and is allegorized as “the rise of the crescent and star of felicity from the western bounds of Asia; a resplendent dawning that was to flood the Islamic world and the rest of humanity with the radiance of its blessings for many centuries to come.”<sup>24</sup>

In line with the general sentiments of the age, the authors of the *Usūl* were willing to depict the rapid stride of Ottoman architecture, from the humblest of beginnings towards full stylistic articulation, as part of a dynastic success story, the initial credit for which was given to the foresight and “superior genius” of the founding fathers.<sup>25</sup> The preliminary stages in Ottoman culture’s irreversible path of development were limited, according to Marie de Launay, by the severe conditions of frontier life in late medieval Anatolia. He describes the public buildings constructed during the first century of Ottoman rule in the region as “massive, heavy, and certainly not reminiscent of any school of architecture.”<sup>26</sup> It should also be noted, in relation to the image of crudeness attributed to early Ottoman architecture, that the role of the Seljuk cultural patrimony (or that of other Turco-Muslim principalities of the region) over the formation of Ottoman art and architecture, which was to become a standard topos of later art history produced under the sway of twentieth-century Turkish nationalism, does not appear to be an issue of major concern for the author.<sup>27</sup> It is only hinted at obliquely in a later part of the chapter, where the mausoleum of the fifteenth-century vizier Bayezid Pasha in Bursa is identified as a monument “inspired by the Seljuk architectural remains.”<sup>28</sup> When it came to acknowledging the major sources of influence that contributed to the formation of an autonomous Ottoman style, Marie de Launay was more eager to pay heed to the impact of broader

cultural traditions, which he defined rather loosely as “Arab” (probably referring to the “classical” phase of Islamic civilization, extending from the time of the early caliphates till the Crusades), “Eastern” (pertaining to the Persian-Central Asian cultural sphere), or “Greek” (that is, Byzantine—a topic of enduring unease in Ottoman and republican official historiography),<sup>29</sup> than to refer specifically to the other Turkic or Turco-Mongol dynasties that preceded the Ottomans. While the author’s propensity for analyzing Ottoman architecture with reference to the dominant cultural traditions of the medieval era reflects the low priority accorded to the concept of ethnicity in Tanzimat Ottomanism, it can also be viewed as the extension of an age-old Ottoman strategy for dynastic legitimation. Comparison with the esteemed civilizations of the past helped distinguish Ottoman culture as a distinctive and prestigious entity while securing it a place within the historical continuum as the rightful inheritor of ancient cultural traditions.<sup>30</sup>

According to Marie de Launay, the initial period of experimentation that constituted the foundations of Ottoman architecture extended into the reign of the third sultan of the dynasty, Murad I (r. 1359–89). The author finds the Hüdavendigâr Mosque in Bursa (ca. 1366–85) (fig. 8), the most prominent building patronized by this ruler in the new Ottoman capital, still lacking in character: “a curious mosque,” he calls it, built “in a semi-Byzantine style.”<sup>31</sup> It was not the sultan himself but his Greek-born mother, Nilüfer Hatun, in Marie de Launay’s view, who initiated a significant advance in the formation of Ottoman architecture. He credits the potent and charitable queen mother (the first member of the dynasty to deserve that title, according to Namık Kemal), who commissioned several public buildings in the Bursa and İznik area,<sup>32</sup> with fostering a distinct Ottoman synthesis in art and architecture. The discernible change is not solely attributed to the enlightened patron’s “fine and delicate taste” but also to her insight in inviting “artists and craftsmen *from the East* who were capable of establishing a school of architecture.”<sup>33</sup> But while Marie de Launay considers this enigmatic group, presumably of Persian or Central Asian origin, to be the essential driving force behind the advancement of architectural crafts and thus, perhaps, the perpetrators of a more consistent mode of artistic expression, he nevertheless makes it clear that, in his view, their architectural accomplishments did not yet carry the full weight of a unique style.

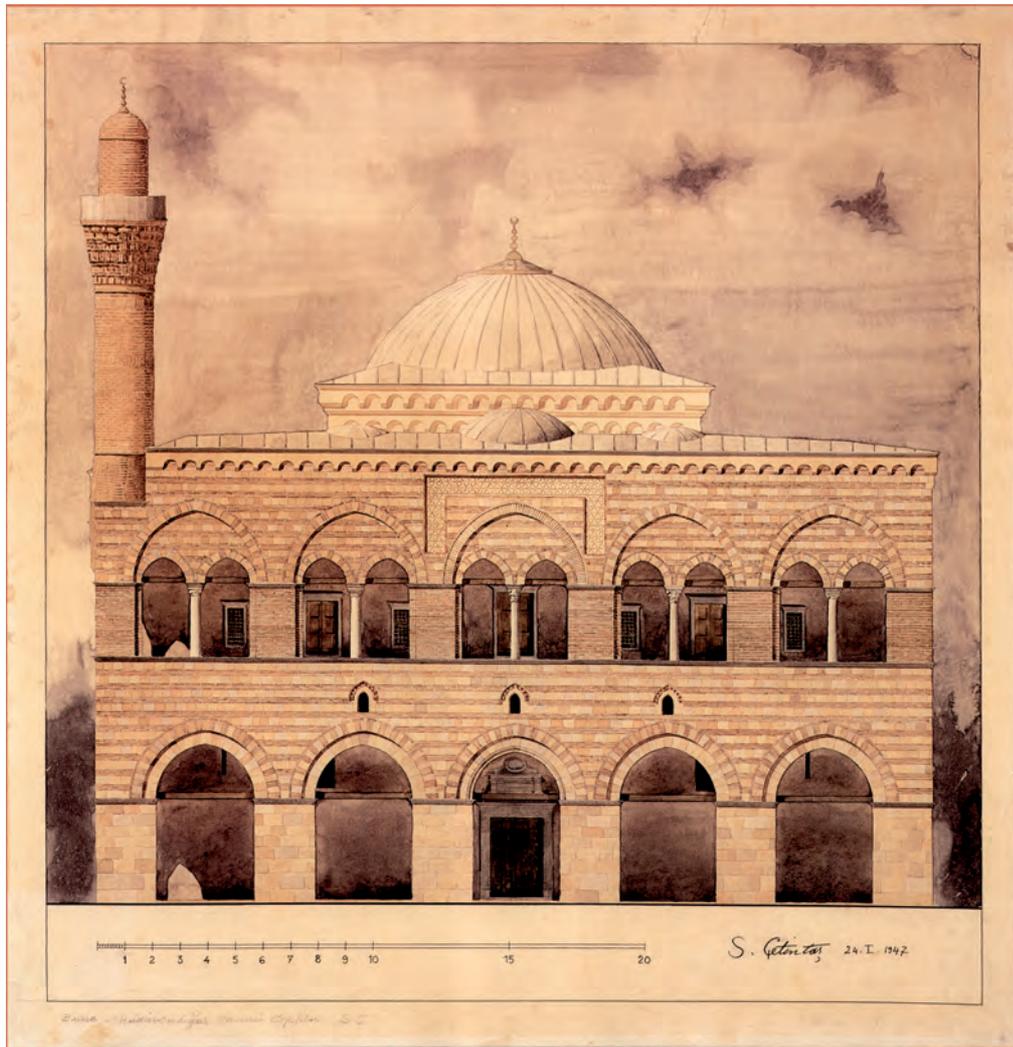


Fig. 8. The Hüdayendigâr Mosque in Bursa (ca. 1366–85). (Drawing by Sedat Çetintaş, after his *Türk Mimari Anıtları: Osmanlı Devri* [Istanbul, 1946], pl. 16)

#### LATE MEDIEVAL SYNTHESIS: THE GREEN MOSQUE

For the authors of the *Uşûl* the actual moment of synthesis in Ottoman architecture arrived at the beginning of the fifteenth century, only after the reinstatement of Ottoman authority by Mehmed I (r. 1413–1421), who assumed power following the Timurid incursion into Anatolia in 1402 and the internecine strife that ensued. Interestingly, the monuments erected during the reign of the preceding ruler, Bayezid I (1389–1402), an ardent builder, are cited only in passing, with the

claim that very few of them deserved special attention. Rather, it is his successor, however incommensurate with the brevity of his reign, who is associated with an entire “period of architecture” designated by the author as “the century of Mehmed I.”<sup>34</sup> For the authors of the *Uşûl*, the initial period of the development of Ottoman architecture, “the period of formation,”<sup>35</sup> entered a new and mature stage at the onset of Mehmed I’s reign, in accord with the restoration of the Ottoman state. The culmination of the early Ottoman style, the authors claim, was marked above all by the construction of the Green Mosque (1419–

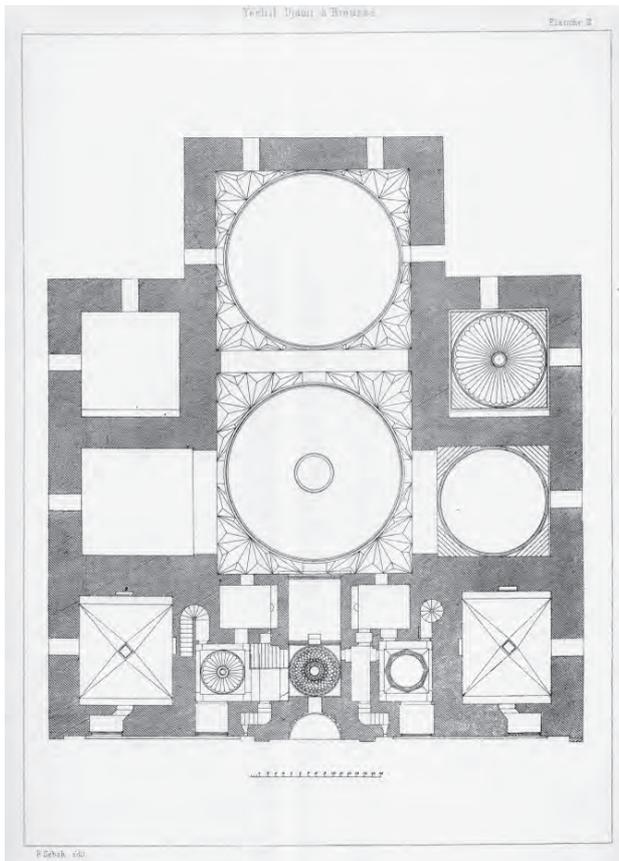


Fig. 9. Plan of the Green Mosque, Bursa. (After the *Uşûl*)

24) and the mausoleum of its donor, Mehmed I, in Bursa (figs. 9 and 10). In the “technical documents” section, for instance, Montani acknowledges Ali b. İlyas Ali (alias Nakkaş Ali),<sup>36</sup> the court artist known to have supervised the decorative program of the Green Mosque, as the initiator of a distinct and coherent language of architecture: “Ilias Ali [*sic*]...seems to be the first architect [*sic*] to found a school of Ottoman architecture. He started by purifying the details, and it was through his initiative that the *national style* was established.”<sup>37</sup>

As the lengthy monograph devoted to it makes clear, the Green Mosque represented to the authors of the *Uşûl* a vital step in the development of imperial Ottoman taste. Indeed, the monument erected by Mehmed I to commemorate the reestablishment of Ottoman dynastic power under his rule did constitute an exceptional tour-de-force, particularly in terms of the unprecedented intensity and elaboration of its decorative program.<sup>38</sup> It was, above all, the profuse

display of high-quality ceramic tiles (demonstrating various color combinations and techniques of production that were entirely new in the Anatolian setting) that distinguished the Green Mosque and its mausoleum as showcases of the new standards of Ottoman artistic expression, which were now closely attuned to the tastes of the wider Turco-Iranian, Timurid-Turkmen world.<sup>39</sup> It was the rich and variegated decorative repertory of this novel stylistic orientation, shared by various courts of the eastern Islamic lands and disseminated in the Ottoman domains by itinerant artisans from Iran, that was ironically characterized by the authors of the *Uşûl* as the early manifestation of a stabilized “Ottoman national style” (fig. 11). It is important here to note that the professional priorities of all the prominent figures involved in the production of the *Uşûl*—Marie de Launay, Montani, and İbrahim Edhem Pasha—were shaped, above all, by the prospects of an applied arts reform in the empire. It comes as no surprise, then, that they tended to idealize the Green Mosque as an unmatched paragon of Ottoman architecture primarily because it displayed a superior level of technical and aesthetic mastery in the area of decorative crafts. For them, the monument of Mehmed I represented a crowning moment of artistic and industrial perfection that contemporary artists and architects both at home and abroad needed to assess and recapture, using the modern analytical and technical instruments at their disposal. Accordingly, while the writers of the monograph found no virtue in the layout of the Green Mosque save its “extreme simplicity,” they nevertheless lauded the monument as the first true masterpiece of Ottoman architecture:

Nothing in the plan of this mosque is particularly worthy of study. On the other hand, due to the balance between the splendor and good taste of its decoration, the ingenious conception of the smallest details of painting and sculpture, the perfect harmony that reigns in all the parts of the edifice...and the perfection that has been attained in all branches of arts and industry, the Green Mosque can undoubtedly be considered one of the most charming and complete examples of Ottoman architecture... All elements of the entire ensemble, comprising painting, sculpture, ceramics, and even the ironwork of the windows...closely conform to the overall composition. This decorative [*sic*] achieves a character of unity in diversity and a kind of continuity that connects every detail to the whole. The feeling produced here by the Ottoman decorator has clearly surpassed *what the Arabs achieved* in their most beautiful monuments.<sup>40</sup>

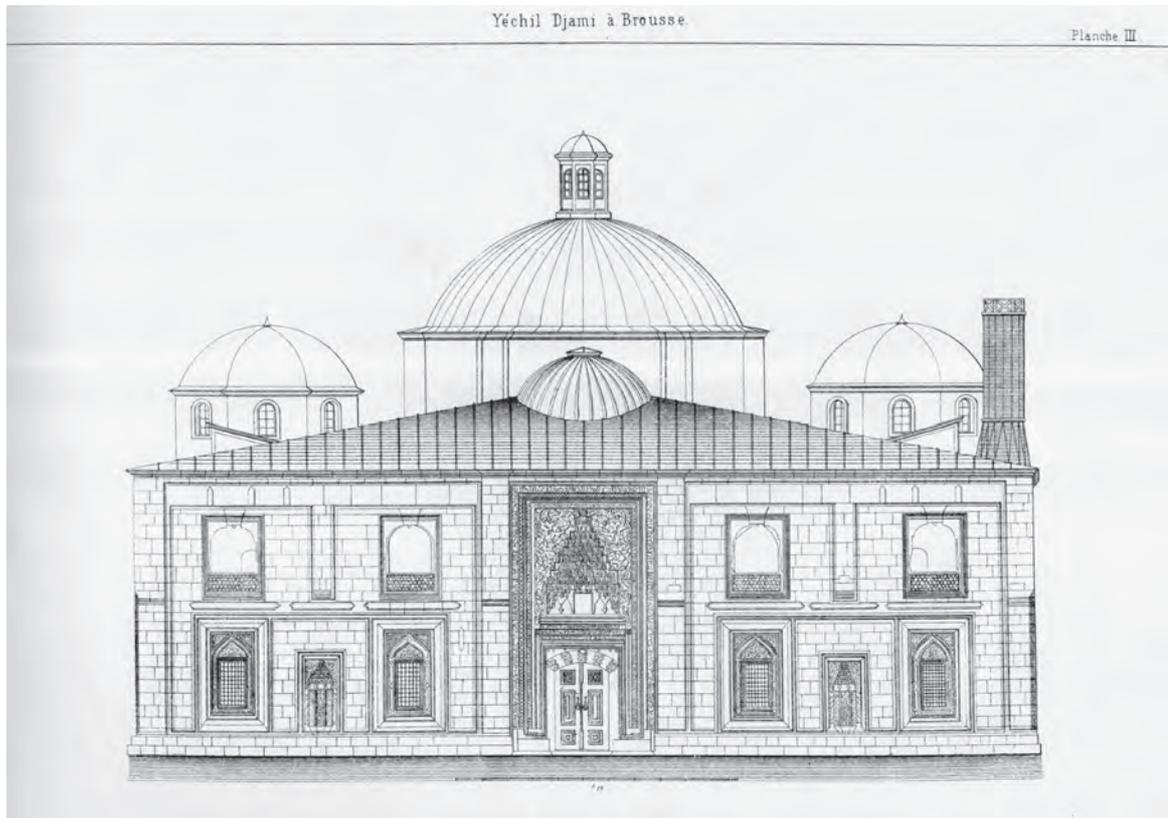


Fig. 10. Elevation of the Green Mosque, Bursa. (After the *Usûl*)

By balancing the Green Mosque against the most exceptional monuments of the “Arabs,” the authors of the *Usûl* aimed to demarcate the “period of Mehmed I” as a separate and more advanced stage of artistic achievement in the larger history of Islamic art. In the historical outline, Marie de Launay emphasizes the novelty and distinction of the Ottoman style by describing the Green Mosque as “a perfect expression of Saracenic architecture...[that has been] *profoundly modified* by Ottoman taste.”<sup>41</sup> It was quite common for nineteenth-century European travelers and scholars to refer to the earlier examples of Ottoman architecture as “Saracenic” or “Arab” with recourse to the indiscriminate standards of Orientalist categorization. Charles Texier, for instance, refers to several early Ottoman mosques as “the most gracious monuments of Arab architecture,”<sup>42</sup> while in Hammer-Purgstall’s *Geschichte*, a standard reference work for all late Ottoman historians, the Green Mosque is admired as being “one of the most beautiful examples of Saracenic sculpture and architecture.”<sup>43</sup> What is significant in Marie

de Launay’s view of the Green Mosque is that with this monument, Ottoman architecture is dissociated from the less specific category of the “Oriental,” and distinguished as a complete and elaborate stylistic entity in its own right. Nakkaş Ali’s skillful mediation and domestication of the Timurid-Turkmen style in Bursa was hailed by the author as a genuine and original Ottoman achievement that boldly refuted the assumption commonly held among Western scholars about the absence of a distinctive Ottoman style in art and architecture.<sup>44</sup> In the *Usûl*, the Green Mosque represents a moment of decisive architectural transformation in which earlier Ottoman experiments with the so-called Eastern, Saracenic, or Byzantine forms were molded into a synthetic and integrated whole, surpassing the previous artistic achievements of the Orient.<sup>45</sup> Thus, although the specific term “synthesis” was not employed by the authors themselves, the Ottoman style was characterized in the *Usûl* as a synthetic achievement (and not a “hybrid” one, as some European theorists claimed) that was built upon rooted

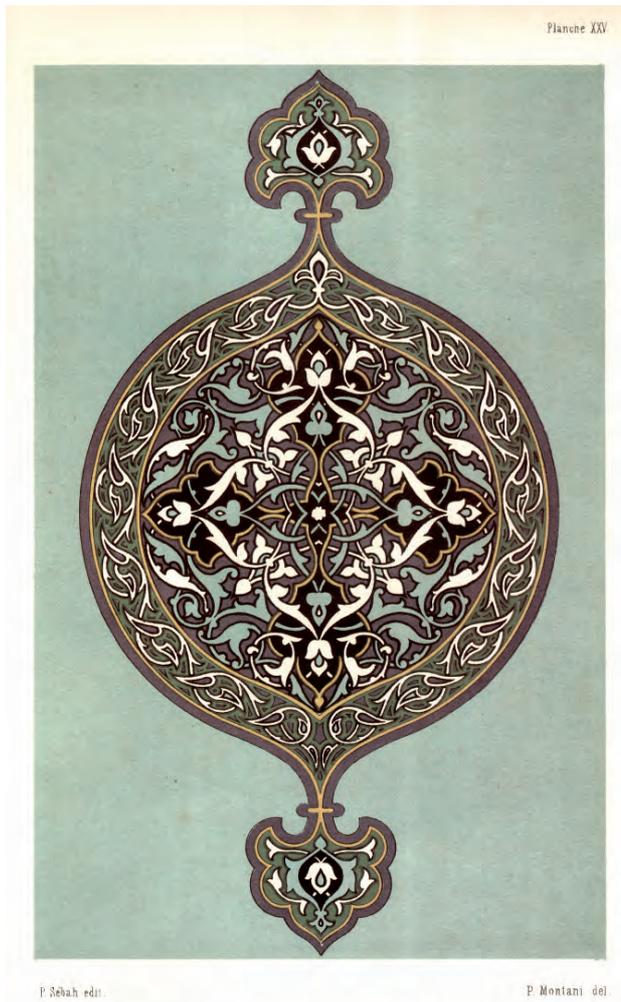


Fig. 11. Tile pattern of the Green Mosque, Bursa. (After the *Usûl*, "Fayences murales," pl. 25)

architectural traditions of the medieval Near East and the Mediterranean.

The fact that the creation of early Ottoman architecture relied heavily on the collective expertise of builders and artisans from diverse cultural and geographic backgrounds was acknowledged in various Ottoman accounts starting with the earliest chroniclers of the House of Osman.<sup>46</sup> Not only the diverse cultural inheritance of the Ottoman land itself but also the massive influx of ideas and people engendered by the post-Chingisid and Timurid disarrays contributed to the formation of a syncretic artistic milieu on which Ottoman art and architecture thrived.<sup>47</sup> It was, in a way, the "inclusive nature" of early Ottoman

tribalism, cogently expressed in Cemal Kafadar's study on the rise of the Ottoman state,<sup>48</sup> that generated the cultural ferment within which the polymorphous nature of Ottoman artistic activity was plotted. This inclusive artistic setting was nourished further under the variegated influence of post-Timurid aesthetics and dominated Ottoman patterns of taste until the consolidation of a "classical" dynastic expression in the sixteenth century.<sup>49</sup> For the Ottomans of the nineteenth century who looked back at the founding years of their dynasty, a reappraisal of the highly syncretic nature of early Ottoman culture promised to be a pertinent ideological instrument for providing historical legitimacy to the modern ideal of cultural and political inclusivism instilled by the Tanzimat. A new layer of meaning was added to the reading of early Ottoman history by the proponents of late Ottoman reform, propelled by their quest for inventing a suitable dynastic/national past. Laced heavily with romanticized overtones, this revised and recharged version of the distant dynastic past helped authenticate and eternalize the Tanzimat's newly contrived models of collective identity. Possibly the most demonstrative example of such late Ottoman investment in early Ottoman history is a work by Ahmed Midhat (d. 1912), the *Üss-i İnkılâb* (The Basis of Transformation), an official history of the Tanzimat era commissioned by Sultan Abdülhamid II in the first years of his reign (1876–1908).<sup>50</sup> In the historical outline, Ahmed Midhat identifies the cosmopolitanist and egalitarian ideals of Ottomanism as the primal and indefatigable constituents of the "Ottoman imperial edifice," keeping it intact since the very first days of its foundation. He describes the emergence of the Ottoman state as the dawn of "a new civilization,"<sup>51</sup> brought forth through the unification of various ethnic and religious elements around the ideals of "freedom" and "political fraternity":

[In the late Middle Ages] the essential prerequisite for establishing and confirming an imperial edifice possessing the necessary firmness and tenacity—such as the one founded by the House of Osman—was a governing body that would have the capability of bringing various [ethnic and religious] elements together and merging them as an indivisible whole. At that point in history, the institution of such a consolidated polity by any dynasty of Muslim, Turkish, or Christian origin save the Ottomans remained a distant possibility. The complete and permanent unification of these diverse components, that unprecedented feat of remarkable aptitude and subtlety, was realized, with the grace of God, by the Ottoman House alone. The tangible

remains of their rule bear testimony to the inimitable level of this dynasty's conciliatory achievement.<sup>52</sup>

#### ARCHITECTURE AND THE SEARCH FOR OTTOMAN "ORIGINS"

The drive in the late Tanzimat and the Hamidian eras to assign new meaning to the early Ottoman period and its glorification by the Ottoman intelligentsia as the cradle of a shared Ottoman identity must account for the surge of interest within Ottoman artistic circles in the earlier, preclassical stages of dynastic architecture. While instigated by the unfortunate circumstances of the 1855 earthquake in Bursa, the intensive restoration and rebuilding activity undertaken by the Ottoman government in and around the early Ottoman capital, a project initiated in the Abdülaziz era and extended in scale and intensity during the reign of Abdülhamid II, must also be viewed as part of the Tanzimat mission of creating a new historical awareness about the period of Ottoman "origins." The knowledge and experience obtained from the Bursa project had a critical impact on the formation of a modern discourse on Ottoman architecture in the years that followed. Even a cursory glance at the distribution of plates in the *Uşûl* reveals the overwhelming appeal occasioned by the structures in question. While the two prominent masterworks of sixteenth-century Ottoman architecture, the Süleymaniye and Selimiye mosques built by Sinan, are encapsulated in a total of ten plates, the Green Mosque alone receives a bounteous share of thirty-two. Furthermore, in contrast to the drawings of other monuments, mainly comprising elementary plans, sections, and a limited number of details, the plates for the Bursa monument are copiously supplemented with diagrammatic guidelines, comparative scales, and a significant number of analytical drawings that illustrate the underlying compositional and decorative principles of Ottoman architecture with reference to the modular proportional system proposed by Montani.

Unquestionably, then, the authors of the Ottoman publication considered the basic standards and norms that characterized Ottoman architecture, which were also expected to constitute the groundwork for the imminent Ottoman Renaissance, to have been firmly incorporated in the course of the fifteenth century. Thus, even though the achievements of Sinan are recognized as constituting the culmination of the mature Ottoman aesthetic, the interpretive lens provided by

the *Uşûl* seems more sharply focused on the dynastic monuments of the fifteenth century. Beyond its marked ideological status as the unrivaled icon of the founding years, the Green Mosque was given primacy as an artistic masterpiece by the authors, whose foremost ambition was to explore the decorative potential of Ottoman architecture. At odds with the evolutionary scheme of stylistic development proposed in the text, the decorative wonders of the early fifteenth century were privileged (most perceptibly in the plates) over the sixteenth-century paragons of classical perfection and austerity. This ambivalence regarding the period of paradigmatic status in Ottoman architecture was to remain embedded in the writing of art history throughout the late Ottoman period, only to be resolved by modernist republican readings, in which the classical age emerged unsurpassed as the emphasis on decoration was definitively suppressed in favor of tectonics and structure.

The data collected on early Ottoman architecture not only were indispensable in the formulation of the architectural "principles" proposed by the authors of the *Uşûl* but also formed the basis of Léon Parvillée's theoretical approach to Ottoman architecture as manifested in his *L'architecture et décoration turque* (Paris, 1874), published a year after the *Uşûl* (fig. 12).<sup>53</sup> In fact, this specific publication reveals that the French architect, who acted as the leading designer and restorer in the Bursa project and for several years served the Ottoman state as an architect for official projects, genuinely subscribed to the idea of early Ottoman artistic synthesis and was at least as adamant about defending its uniqueness as the authors of the *Uşûl*. In discussing the "origins" of Ottoman architecture, for instance, Parvillée claimed that the plan types as well as the constructional and sculptural aspects of Ottoman buildings were taken from the "Greeks," their decorative details supplied by the "Arabs," and the decoration and technology of their tiles transferred from the "Persians." But in direct contrast to Viollet-le-Duc, who questioned the very conception of a distinct Ottoman artistic tradition in his preface to *L'architecture et décoration turque*,<sup>54</sup> Parvillée maintained that the disparate elements contributing to the formation of Ottoman architecture ultimately coalesced into a synthetic whole, constituting in the fifteenth century a "unique art that was determined by geometrical principles and definite constructive rules."<sup>55</sup> In the introductory paragraphs of his book, Parvillée portrays as agreeable a picture of early

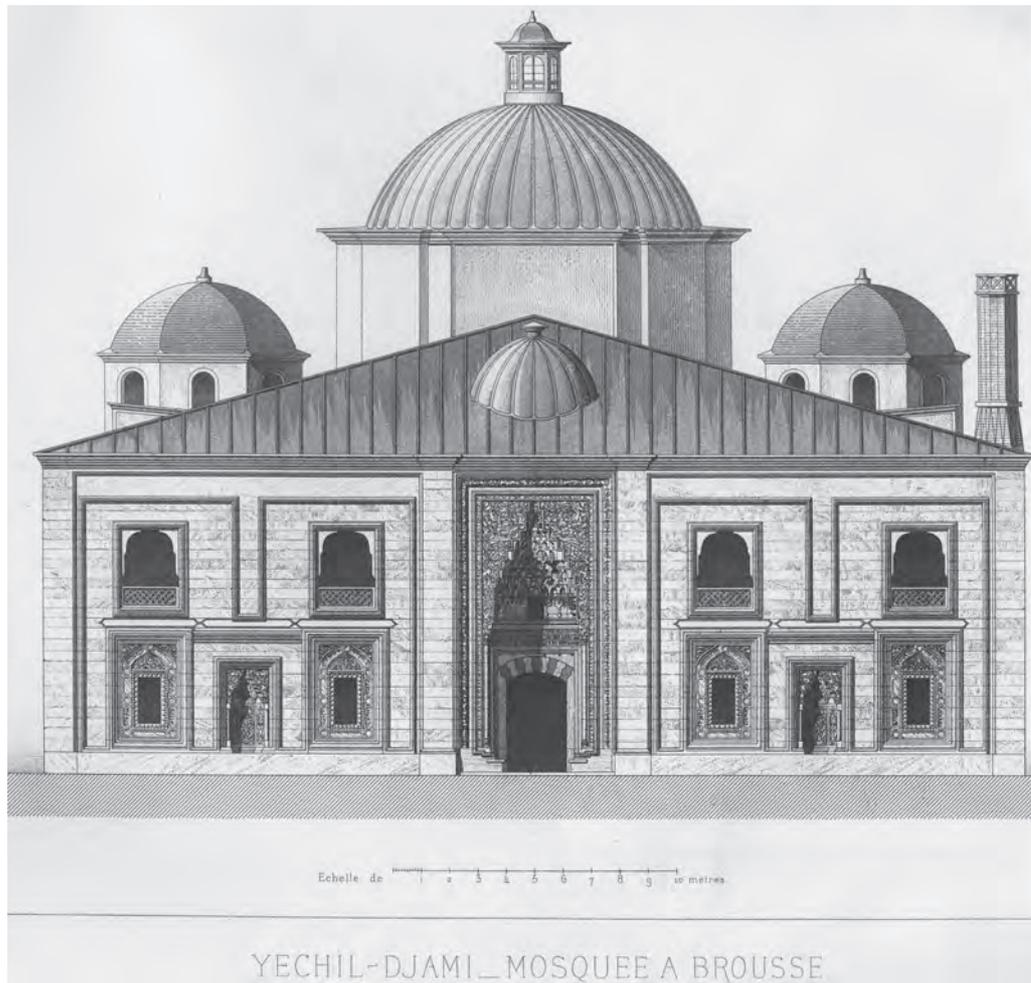


Fig. 12. Elevation of the Green Mosque, Bursa. (After Léon Parvillée, *L'architecture et décoration turque* [Paris, 1874], pl. 2)

Ottoman symbiosis as anything the ideologues of the Tanzimat could contemplate:

One must admit that after the...invasion of Asia Minor and the Bosphorus, the vanquishers and the vanquished, without taking account of the difference in race, collaborated on the production of works of art. Arabs, Persians, Greeks, and a whole population divided by religious beliefs and different aptitudes intermingled with the conquerors. Art being independent of the state of civilization, all these diverse groups, which coalesced at the time of the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, had inherited the most various knowledge from their ancestors. A distinct method [of building] emerged from the fusion of all these elements and with the contribution of each of these arts.<sup>56</sup>

But it was not solely his strong conviction on the idea of Ottoman artistic synthesis that made Parvillée so similar in outlook to the authors of the *Uşûl*. Both sides also singled out the Green Mosque as an epitome of the formative period of Ottoman architecture and therefore as a perfect embodiment of the “synthetic achievement” in question. The distinct historical status granted to the Green Mosque in the *Uşûl* and in *L'architecture et décoration turque* can readily be ascribed to its predominant position in the Bursa project as the most significant monument restored. It can easily be surmised, as regards the available evidence on nineteenth-century architectural surveys conducted on Ottoman soil, that in the 1870s the Green Mosque was the most thoroughly documented structure among the recorded pre-sixteenth-century

Ottoman monuments. The abundance of meticulously executed drawings provided in both the *Uşûl* and *L'architecture et décoration turque* demonstrates that a team of experts had been appointed with the task of documenting this building down to the minutest details of its decoration. But beyond the practicalities of the considerable level of Ottoman investment in the Green Mosque, one also wonders whether the fascination created by this monument and its recognition in the emerging discourse on Ottoman architecture as a dominant archetype were also conditioned by the particularities of a prevalent historical discourse concerning the specific period for which the building was taken to be a symbol.

#### THE TANZIMAT “RENAISSANCE”: A SEQUEL TO LATE MEDIEVAL RESTORATION

The reintegration of the Ottoman realm under Mehmed I following the dismal aftermath of the Timurid hiatus did indeed usher in a period of rediscovery and regeneration of political and cultural identity. In the course of the fifteenth century, especially following the complete annihilation of the Byzantine Empire and the appropriation of its capital by Mehmed II (r. 1444–46 and 1451–81), the historical image of the Ottoman principality was subjected to intense scrutiny and transformation in the wake of major ideological and institutional changes brought forward by the process of imperial centralization.<sup>57</sup> Most historians of the Tanzimat era and the late nineteenth century, who were inclined to reorder Ottoman history into characteristic periods of social and political transformation that transcended individual reigns, perceived the entire fifteenth century as an unbroken phase of overall advancement, a period of “reawakening” that paved the way for the culmination of Ottoman political power in the sixteenth century.<sup>58</sup> They acclaimed Mehmed I, the chivalrous initiator of this revival, as the “second founder of the state”<sup>59</sup> and depicted his brief reign not only as a time of administrative stabilization but also as the beginning of an era of artistic, industrial, and scientific efflorescence.<sup>60</sup> Thus, for the authors of the *Uşûl* as for many Ottoman historians of the nineteenth century, the Green Mosque stood out as the manifest sign of a time of dynastic and “national” regeneration and dynamic cultural development of the Ottoman state. In Marie de Launay’s historical overview, the Green Mosque occupies such a central position in the

preclassical phase of Ottoman architectural history that the buildings erected during the reigns of the two sultans following Mehmed I—Murad II and Mehmed II—are considered to represent merely an unforced outgrowth of the major transformation achieved at the beginning of the century.<sup>61</sup> In sum, the overall emphasis in Tanzimat historiography on the period of Mehmed I as an age of out-and-out revival and progress can be regarded, by and large, as an expression of the immediate political and cultural aspirations of the reform-oriented Ottoman intelligentsia. After all, cutting across the wide and variegated spectrum of late Ottoman reformative discourse, ranging from the writings of Young Ottoman dissidents to those of the central bureaucratic elite, was a drive to idealize, and thus legitimize and naturalize, the project of modernization as a return to the fundamental and inherently progressive tenets of Islam and of Ottoman rule prior to its commonly presumed phase of protracted decline.<sup>62</sup> Mehmed I’s restorative achievement must have appealed to the late Ottoman historians as an appropriate precedent that confirmed the pertinence of the task of extensive “regeneration” being pursued by the cadres of the Tanzimat.

It follows, then, that for those who contemplated the prospects of artistic revival in the Ottoman Empire, including not only the authors of the *Uşûl* but Parvillée as well (based on his restoration and rebuilding activity in Bursa), the Green Mosque stood as a relevant model for the creative and synthetic artistic transformation that they hoped to reproduce within the reformative context of the Tanzimat. In other words, the emphasis placed on the Green Mosque in the novel discourse on Ottoman architecture was partly due to the fact that in its revised historical setting this monument represented an attainment that coincided suitably with the immediate aspirations of the late Ottoman architects. In reaching back to the disparate sources of the Ottoman artistic tradition, the architects of the professed “Ottoman Renaissance” must have regarded their mission as analogous to that of the artists and architects of Mehmed I, who, they maintained, were able to amalgamate diverse elements of the “great” medieval traditions and forge a new and unified expression that was distinctly Ottoman. The buildings promoted in the *Uşûl* as the crowning achievements of the Ottoman Renaissance, the Çırağan Palace and the Aksaray Valide Mosque, were thought to testify to a similar period of intense stylistic experimentation and regeneration as they incorporated a lavishly eclectic

blend of forms, ranging from reworked early Ottoman motifs to elements culled from the European Orientalist repertoire to details evincing the current neo-Gothic style (figs. 13 and 14).

In its retrospective scholarly zeal and its forceful plea for full-fledged stylistic revival, the *Uşûl* fits squarely into the turbulent late Ottoman climate of soul searching and can readily be aligned with similar strategies of cultural myth-making within the global enterprise of nationalism. What is perplexing for us, as contemporary observers whose vision is still mired in the sediment of nationalist certainty, is that the *Uşûl's* commanding official teleology was designed by none other than a motley group of French expatriates, Levantines of Italian origin, and Ottoman Armenians. One might contend with this seeming dilemma by reflecting upon the overriding role of patronage, and argue that the individual identities and diverse backgrounds of the authors appear to be of secondary importance, since their personal inclinations were subordinate to the dictates of an officially prescribed agenda of Ottoman modernization. As overly state-centered as this approach may seem, there is nevertheless a commonsensical side to it, since the *Uşûl* indisputably stands as a solid and harmonious collaborative achievement that was orchestrated by an important governmental institution. Entrusted with the task of representing the dynastic Ottoman state, the authors had to reckon and identify with a common, albeit fabricated, Tanzimat identity and translate it into architectural terms within the boundaries of a specialized official mission.

On the other hand, given the heterogeneity of the Tanzimat's reformative ideology, steered by day-to-day negotiations in the political and cultural sphere, the *Uşûl* must also be viewed as a unique scholarly statement in its own right, as well as a distinct appropriation of official discourse inflected by the particular propensities of its producers. One should remember, for instance, that the overwhelming weight placed on decoration and ornament in the *Uşûl's* definition of Ottoman architectural heritage was largely informed by the professional priorities and intellectual proclivities of the group of artists and decorators involved in the project, who were, predictably, highly conversant with the decorative biases of Orientalist scholarship on Islamic art. In sum, it could be argued that the *Uşûl* project attests to the fundamental predicament of Tanzimat Ottomanism in its embodiment of an ethnically and religiously diverse group's combined effort to promote and negotiate with the idea of a glorious and collective Ottoman past.



Fig. 13. Pertevniyal Valide Mosque, detail of exterior. (Author's photo)

Viewed from the present perspective, and with the full benefit of hindsight, the elusive mission of Tanzimat Ottomanism (with its idyllic visions of multicomunal harmony) could easily be deemed a naive and clumsy experiment that was doomed to fail in the age of the rampant nation-state. Indeed, one could justifiably claim that the Tanzimat's secular and inclusivist vision of state and society was inherently flawed by the irrepressibly dynastic and Islamic undertones embedded within the historical image of a professed Ottoman nationhood. Nevertheless, leaving aside the obvious vulnerabilities of the Ottomanist agenda, a closer inspection of the unique, creative, and oftentimes conflicting articulations of the official language of the Tanzimat (as in the case of the *Uşûl*) may help us reveal the dense and hitherto undiscovered interstices of the late Ottoman discourse on modernization. Only upon assessing the particular motives of the diverse historical

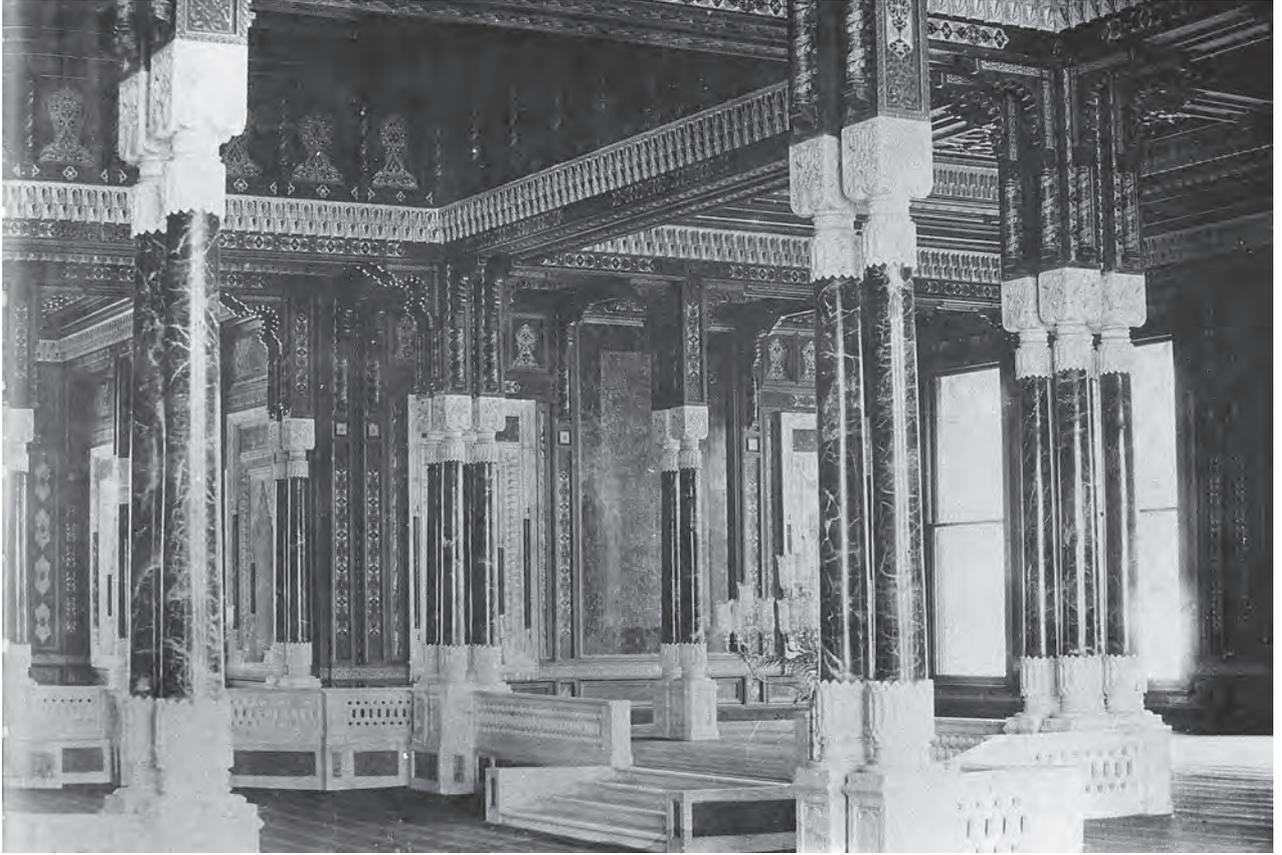


Fig. 14. The Çırağan Palace, interior detail. (Photo: Çelik Gülersoy archive, reproduced by permission of the Çelik Gülersoy Foundation)

actors, and by demarcating their complex patterns of commitment and identification within the broader project of reform, does one begin to appreciate the highly elaborate play of allegiances on which the many-roomed edifice of the Tanzimat was built.

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#### NOTES

1. The word “Tanzimat” in the title (literally, “reordering”) pertains to the period of intense modernization in the Ottoman Empire that was officially inaugurated by the declaration of the Imperial Rescript of the Rose Chamber in 1839. The period is generally considered to have ended with the enthronement of Abdülhamid II and the adoption of the short-lived Ottoman constitution of 1876.
2. Marie de Launay, Pietro Montani, et al., *Uşûl-i Mi'mârî-i 'Osmanî*

(Istanbul, 1873). Reprinted by the Turkish Ministry of Culture (with a supplementary English translation by Robert Bragner) with the title *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Mimarisi* (Istanbul, 1998). For a critical study of the text and its cultural context of production and reception see Ahmet Ersoy, “On the Sources of the ‘Ottoman Renaissance’: Architectural Revival and Its Discourse During the Abdülaziz Era (1861–76)” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000).

3. The rooted assumption that artists and scholars in the Islamic world were largely dormant at the time when Western academic categories on Islamic art emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is maintained, for instance, in Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom’s recent essay on the state of the field in Islamic art: “The Mirage of Islamic Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field,” *Art Bulletin* 85, 1 (Mar. 2003): 152–84. Studies such as the *Uşûl* are largely overlooked within the traditional Eurocentric as well as the nationalist ethnocentric narratives, since, being spawned by a process of intense dialogue with Western knowledge, they fail to meet the requirements of the “indigenous.”
4. Edhem Pasha was also the official director of the Ottoman commission to the 1873 Exposition. This Ottoman states-

- man represented one of the last few examples of the traditional slave-official type whose career line was determined by personal merit and affiliations with a strong and protective household. In his early youth Edhem was brought as a slave to Istanbul from Chios after the insurrections on the island were brutally suppressed by the Ottoman army. He was adopted by the commander of the Navy, Hüsrev Pasha, and reared in his household among a group of other slaves and orphans. In his early teens, he was also privileged to be one of the first students sent to Paris with a government scholarship for his higher education. In the year the Tanzimat was founded (1839), he graduated as a geological engineer from the *École des mines*; after his return home until his death in 1893 he served the new regime as a bureaucrat and a devoted follower of the reforms. Indeed, as a distinguished technocrat, a freemason, and a suave westernized intellectual, Edhem Pasha was a genuine product of Tanzimat modernization and a model bureaucrat of the period of reform. Throughout his lengthy official career he functioned as the director of many important institutions, including the ministries of education, foreign affairs, and public works; he occupied the grand vizierate for less than a year preceding the suspension of the first Ottoman constitution by Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1878.
5. Marie de Launay was born in Paris in 1822–23, the son of Cesair Marie de Launay, an official connected to the palace. He arrived in Istanbul around the time of the Crimean War and in 1857 became the assistant engineer, archivist, and draftsman of the newly established Pera Municipality (the Sixth Municipal District) in Istanbul, the model district for instituting modern municipal reforms at the time. Marie de Launay displayed a romantic enthusiasm for early Ottoman/late medieval history and for the local customs and popular lore of the Ottoman lands. He contributed to the Ottoman exhibits not only as an organizer and author but also as an exhibitor: an amateur artist and collector, he displayed his own paintings (mostly scenes of medieval history), illustrations of Ottoman types and costumes, and collections of handcrafted objects. According to his official biographical record he also authored the voluminous catalogue of the Ottoman exhibits in the 1867 Paris Exposition, *La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867* (Paris, 1867). Generally attributed to the director of the Ottoman commission, Salaheddin Bey, the catalogue included an extensive appraisal of the Ottoman pavilions in the exposition, which were modeled after the “rational” style of the early Ottoman mosques. For biographical information on Marie de Launay see Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri*, hereafter BOA), *Sicill-i Ahval* Collection, 6/593. His publications include *Coup d'oeil général sur l'exposition nationale à Constantinople: Extraits du "Journal de Constantinople"* (Istanbul, 1863); and, with the palace chemist Bonkowsky Bey, *Brusa ve Civârı* (Bursa and Environs) (Istanbul, 1880).
  6. Osman Hamdi Bey and Marie de Launay, *Elbise-i 'Osmaniyye = Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873* (Istanbul, 1873). Proposed by the head of the commission, Osman Hamdi Bey, and the secretary, Marie de Launay, the album contained an explicatory text in French and photographs of Ottoman subjects from all corners of the empire dressed in their local garb. For a broader discussion of the text see Ahmet Ersoy, “A Sartorial Tribute to Tanzimat Ottomanism: The *Elbise-i Osmaniyye* Album,” *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 187–207.
  7. Although he was born in Trieste to a Piedmontese family from Mergozzo, Pietro Montani (1829–87) was above all a Perote Levantine by culture. Montani was recognized in the Ottoman capital more as a decorator and painter than as an architect. He is not known to have been responsible for any realized architectural projects except the pavilions that he designed for the Vienna Exposition. Judging by his extensive decorative work in the Çırağan Palace (examples of which were included in the *Uşûl*), it can be safely assumed that Montani had a major role in the decoration of this royal building. For biographical information on Montani I am indebted to the work of two scholars: Paolo Girardelli, “Istanbul e l'Italia, 1837–1908” and Cengiz Can, “İstanbul'da Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl Batılı ve Levanten Mimarların Yapıları ve Koruma Sorunları” (PhD diss., Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, Istanbul, 1993). On the Vienna Exposition pavilions, see Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient* (Berkeley, 1992), 63, 106–7.
  8. Eugène Maillard was an artist and architect from Anjou who lived and worked in Istanbul. In 1860 the French painter C. G. Hornig reports that Maillard had already “spent some years in Constantinople and mastered Turkish.” Hornig adds that by this time the artist had become “the right arm of the Sultan's Armenian architect [who must be Sarkis Balyan] and a welcome visitor in the palace.” See C. G. Hornig, *Séjours et promenades à Constantinople, 1860–1861* (Paris, 1876), 106. Most probably Maillard was assisting the Balyans in royal projects as an interior decorator and a skilled artisan. Maillard's specialization in applied arts is confirmed by another French author, Prétexat Lecomte, who describes him as an artist who was mainly preoccupied with ceramic tile production during the later decades of the nineteenth century: see Prétexat Lecomte, *Les arts et métiers de la Turquie et de l'Orient* (Paris, 1902), 38. According to the same author, Maillard's major professional objective at this time was to rediscover the techniques of production utilized by the fifteenth-century Ottoman tilemakers, an endeavor, Lecomte notes, in which Maillard collaborated with Léon Parvillée. It is likely that Maillard got actively involved in ceramic production through the Bursa project and like Parvillée devoted most of his time throughout the rest of his career to the improvement of this craft. Maillard's work in the *Uşûl* itself reinforces this assumption. The majority of the plates that bear the artist's signature, excepting his measured drawings of the Ahmed III fountain, comprise detailed and meticulous renderings of tiles and decorative patterns that reveal a systematic effort to understand the early Ottoman decorative vocabulary and techniques of production.
  9. Bogos Şaşıyan (1841–1900) received no technical or artistic training and did not have any previous experience in architectural rendering. He came from a prominent family of court physicians, studied law in an Armenian Catholic college in Venice, and upon his return embarked on his bureaucratic career in the Translation Bureau of the Porte. As a legal expert he served as a member of various official organizations, such as the Üsküdar criminal court and the Imperial Court of Appeal. For Şaşıyan's official biographic record see BOA, *Sicill-i Ahval*, 4/274. For additional biographic information see Y. G. Çark, *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler* (Istan-

- bul, 1953), 88, 209–10, and Kevork Pamukçyan, “Osmanlı Döneminde İstanbul Sergilerine Katılan Ermeni Ressamlar,” *Tarih ve Toplum* 14, 80 (Aug., 1990): 34–41.
10. The translations from the original French into Ottoman Turkish, and possibly German, were most probably overseen by Mehmed Şevki Efendi, an official of considerable knowledge who spoke several languages, including Arabic, Persian, French, German, and English, and had professional experience in translation. At the time of the *Usûl*'s publication Şevki Efendi functioned as the chief scribe of the Council of Public Works, a conciliar body connected to the Ministry of Trade and Public Works. In his secretarial task in the council, he closely collaborated with Marie de Launay, the second scribe of the same council, who was responsible for the correspondence in French. Mehmed Şevki Efendi is also known to have drafted the brief preface to the *Usûl*. For his official biographic record see *BOA, Sicill-i Ahval*, 42/33, 34.
  11. Initially eighteen copies of the publication were sent by the state to major European libraries. See *Şark* 292 (17 Shawwal 1291 [November 27, 1874]). By the time of the exposition, the *Usûl* was also commercially available in Istanbul. For advertisements, see *La Turquie* (June 13, 1873). During my research in Europe and the United States, I had a chance to see other copies in private collections. Some of these reprints must have been produced for the Western market alone, since they lack the Ottoman Turkish version of the text.
  12. The term used for the “Ottoman nation” (*la nation Ottomane*) is “millet-i ‘Osmâniyye” in the Ottoman Turkish text: *Usûl*, i.
  13. Charles Texier and R. Popplewell Pullan’s comprehensive study of Byzantine monuments in *L’architecture byzantine; ou, Recueil de monuments des premiers temps du Christianisme en Orient* (Paris, 1864) was intended to change the rooted preconceptions about Byzantine architecture and to reevaluate it with recourse to the accurate and systematic findings of modern archaeological research. Rather than a process of “decay,” the authors define the development of the Byzantine tradition as a “grand transformation,” by which the classical principles of construction, which had “degenerated” in the late Roman period, were regenerated and improved. Texier’s studies were essential for many advocates of architectural historicism, such as Léon Vaudoyer and Edmond Duthoit, who saw the Byzantine era as a definitive moment in the transition from the antique tradition to the medieval “synthesis”: hence its instructive potential for defining a modern and synthetic style for the new age.
  14. A major concern for all upholders of the Gothic tradition in the nineteenth century was to refute the established academic perceptions on medieval architecture. Many articles in Viollet-le-Duc’s *Dictionnaire raisonné de l’architecture* (Paris, 1854–68), for instance, were meant to be responses to Quatremère de Quincy’s canonic *Dictionnaire historique d’architecture* (Paris, 1832), in which Gothic architecture was dismissed as the absolute antithesis of the classical—a decadent and “ruleless” manner of building that recalled the structures produced by certain animals. On Quatremère de Quincy see Sylvia Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA, 1992). Specifically on Quatremère’s conflict with Viollet-le-Duc and Jean-Baptiste Lassus see Barry Bergdoll, “The Ideal of the Gothic Cathedral in 1852,” in Paul Atterbury, ed., *A. W. N. Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival* (New York, 1995): 103–35.
  15. In Europe the earliest similar attempt to trace the stylistic development of the Gothic tradition was made by Thomas Rickman in his *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture* (London, 1817). While elements of Islamic architecture were generally examined outside their specific historical/cultural context in European publications, the *Usûl* was by no means the only example of an Islamic tradition being subjected to laws of historical change. See, for instance, the Orientalist Albert de Biberstein Kazimirski’s introduction to Pascal Coste’s *Monuments modernes de la Perse* (Paris, 1867), where Islamic architecture in Persia is recognized as a distinctive national tradition shaped by its own dynamics of historical transformation. For a later and more elaborate historical account on the same subject see Albert Gayet, *L’art persan* (Paris, 1895).
  16. The confidence of the *Usûl*'s authors in the prospects of a profound change in the realm of art and architecture is reflected in the propagandistic fervor of Marie de Launay’s concluding remarks in his historical outline (*L’architecture ottomane*, 7): “La renaissance de l’architecture ottomane, tout nous le fait donc espérer et nous n’en doutons pas, va prendre date dans l’histoire sous la protection du nom illustre de Sultan Abdul-Aziz Khan. La mosquée d’Ak-Seraï, le palais de Tchéraghan, font preuve des qualités solides qui distinguent les modernes artistes ottomans, et donnent d’avance droit de cité à l’école dite *néo-turque*, en voie de fondation par leurs honorables efforts.” The Ottoman version of the text (*Usûl*, 12) reads as follows (with my italics): “Cülüs-ı meyâmin-me’nûs-ı Hazret-i Pâdişâhî rûz-i firûzundan berû bir takım ebniye-i ‘aliyye inşâ’ buyurularak taraf-ı müstecmi’-ül kemâlât-ı Hazret-i Pâdişâhiden ibzâl buyurulan ‘avâtıf-ı celileniñ eşer-i hikmet-güsteri olmağ üzere usûl-i mi’mârî-i ‘Osmâni derece-i vâlâyı kadîmine terfi’ ve i’lâ’ buyurulmuş ve cülüs-ı hümâyûn-ı Hazret-i Pâdişâhî usûl-i mi’mârî-i ‘Osmâniñ mebd’-i ihyâsı olmuştur Devletü ‘ismetlü Vâlide Sultân ‘Aliyyetü’ş-şân Efen-dimiz Hazretlerinin Akсарayda te’sisine bezli’ âufet-i hayriyyet-i menkâbet buyurdıkları câmi-i dilârâ ve Çırağân sâhil saray-ı hümâyûnu *yeñiden te’sis buyurulan usûl-i mi’mârî-i ‘Osmâniñ letâfetine delil-i kâfidir.*”
  17. On late Ottoman historiography see Ercüment Kuran, “Ottoman Historiography of the Tanzimat Period,” in Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt, eds., *Historians of the Middle East* (London, 1962): 422–29; M. Halil Yıncı, “Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete Kadar Bizde Tarihçilik,” in *Tanzimat* (Istanbul, 1940): 573–95; Klaus Kreiser, “Clio’s Poor Relation: Betrachtungen zur osmanischen Historiographie von Hammer-Purgstall bis Stanford Shaw,” in *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1683 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung, und Austausch*, ed. Gernot Heiss and Grete Klingenstein (Vienna, 1983): 24–43; Christoph K. Neumann, *Das indirekte Argument: Ein Plädoyer für die Tanzimât vermittle der Historie; die geschichtliche Bedeutung von Ahmed Cevdet Paşas Târîh* (Münster, 1994); and Colin Heywood, “Between Historical Myth and ‘Mythistory’: The Limits of Ottoman History,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988): 315–45. For a comprehensive survey of Ottoman historians and their works see Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927).
  18. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Rei-*

- ches, 10 vols. (Pest, 1827–32). The French translation, by J. J. Hellert, was published as *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours*, 18 vols. (Paris, 1835–1843).
19. Concerning Ahmed Vefik Pasha, my reference here is to his oft-printed textbook entitled *Fezleke-i Tārīh-i 'Osmānī* (Istanbul, 1869–70). The other author, Mustafa Nuri Pasha, was responsible for producing one of the most seminal nineteenth-century works on Ottoman history, the *Netā'icū 'L-Vukū'at*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1877–1909), a pioneering endeavor that set new critical and analytical standards for Ottoman scholarship. For both authors, detailed references to art and architecture ensured a more precise and “objective” rendering of individual historical periods.
  20. In Marie de Launay’s historical outline and in the monographies of dynastic monuments included in the *Uşûl*, the authors reveal a clear predilection, in conformity with other Ottoman historians of the period, to corroborate their data by commenting scrupulously on both the local and the European sources on history. For estimating the exact construction costs of various monuments, for instance, the authors refer both to the works of Ottoman chroniclers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as İbrahim Peçevi and Raşid, and to those of contemporary European Orientalists like François-Alphonse Belin. Furthermore, in order to reconstruct the Ottoman monuments’ cultural context of production and use in the most comprehensive and “authentic” fashion, and thus to enable the reader’s empathetic engagement with the historical milieu—concerns that are endemic to nineteenth-century Romantic historiography—the authors of the *Uşûl* tapped extensively into the available literary and narrative evidence concerning the dynastic buildings. For elucidating the specifics of dating and patronage, the monographs in particular offer detailed references to building inscriptions, in addition to chronograms and other poetic compositions that were produced in relation to the monuments in question. These are supplemented by numerous accounts on rituals and local customs (such as the changing functions of the buildings in the month of Ramadan) as well as on myths and popular lore (Marie de Launay’s favorites) that surround the Ottoman buildings.
  21. “Zekā’-i fıtrī” in the Ottoman text, and “le génie original,” in the French. See *L’architecture ottomane*, 78; *Uşûl*, 52.
  22. *L’architecture ottomane*, 3; *Uşûl*, 10 (my italics): “Ecānibiñ vukū’ bulan mezālīm ve te’addiyātu neticesi olarak Anadolu ahālisini perde-i zalām-ı cehl ve nādānī isti’āb ile berāber *memālik-i Tūrkiyye* her güne ‘ulūm ve fūnūndan hālī olmuştur.” This is the only instance in the *Uşûl* where the word “Turkish” is used for designating a political entity by the authors of the Turkish text. By the 1860s the terms “Türkistān” and “Tūrkiye” were introduced into Ottoman Turkish, mainly through newspaper articles, as direct translations of “Turkey.” For obvious reasons the usage of these neologisms was sporadic and largely confined to the unofficial sphere. But while the meanings conjured by the new terms were still highly ambiguous and their ideological import negligible within the political framework of the Tanzimat, their appearance in the Ottoman realm can still be regarded as an embryonic foreshadowing of the emergence of a modern and more nationally inclined ethnic consciousness among the Muslim and Turkish-speak-
- ing intellectuals of the empire. In the case of the *Uşûl*, an official publication whose authors were extremely punctilious in sustaining the cosmopolitanist discourse of the state throughout the text, it is very difficult to derive any conclusions from one isolated instance in the Turkish version of the document, where the designation was translated directly from the French “l’empire turc.” But one might safely argue, at least, that such direct terminological import was permissible and far less problematic when the subject in question was not the Ottoman but the Seljuk Empire. It is most likely that in the 1870s the Ottoman image of the Seljuks—as a separate and long defunct dynastic entity—ran a very low risk of arousing any ideological implications that would be contested by the current official viewpoint. On differing Ottoman perceptions of Turkish ethnicity and their expression in the journalistic and official rhetoric of the nineteenth century, see David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876–1908* (London, 1977), chap. 2, 20–26.
23. Namık Kemal, *'Osmānlı Tārīhi*, 3 vols. (Istanbul, 1888).
  24. *Ibid.*, 2:37.
  25. *L’architecture ottomane*, 3; *Uşûl*, 10.
  26. *L’architecture ottomane*, 3.
  27. Art historians accorded growing emphasis to the cultural connections between the nascent Ottoman entity and the Seljuk sultanate, commensurate with the increasing role of Turkish ethnicity in the definition of Ottoman (later republican) nationalism around the turn of the century. The first evidence of a rising interest in Seljuk architecture is Kemaleddin Bey’s seminal article from 1906, the “Mī’mārī-i İslām,” in which the early Islamic, Seljuk, and Ottoman styles are analyzed as successive stages in the development of an Islamic architectural tradition: see *Hüdāvendigār Vilāyeti Sālnāmesi* (Bursa, 1906): 142–187. With the advent of the republican regime, a new line of publications on “Turkish art history,” such as Celāl Esad Arseven’s *Türk San’atı* (Istanbul, 1928), stipulated a direct lineage between the Ottoman and Seljuk cultural entities that was determined along strictly racial lines. The two were regarded as consecutive manifestations of a continuous Turkish identity in art that was traced back, along an unbroken path of migration, to its putative origins in Inner Asia.
  28. *L’architecture ottomane*, 3; *Uşûl*, 11.
  29. It is curious that the contribution of the Byzantine heritage to the formation of Ottoman architecture was openly (and not necessarily antagonistically) recognized in the *Uşûl*. While the Tanzimat regime, due to the pro-Western and cosmopolitan inclinations of the ruling elite, provided official backing for projects like the display and restoration of the Byzantine remains in the capital, the mainstream Ottoman historians were mostly reluctant to tackle the question of Ottoman-Byzantine relations. When they did, the image of the latter, embellished with stereotypical traits borrowed from Western sources, often served as a negative counterpart that fortified the impeccable image of the early Ottoman polity. On perceptions of Byzantium in late Ottoman historiography, see the following articles by Michael Ursinus: “Byzantine History in Late Ottoman Historiography,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* (henceforth *BMGS*) 10 (1986): 211–22; “Der schlechteste Staat’: Ahmed Midhat Efendi on Byzantine Institutions,” *BMGS* 11 (1987): 237–43; “From Süleyman Pasha to Mehmet

- Fuat Köprülü: Roman and Byzantine History in Late Ottoman Historiography,” *BMGS* 12 (1988): 305–14.
30. It must be for similar reasons that Namık Kemal’s prolegomena to his Ottoman history, a full volume entitled *Roma Tārīhi* (Istanbul, 1890), was focused entirely on the history of the Roman Empire. Kemal deemed this appendage crucial for a deeper understanding of Ottoman history, since he considered the Roman Empire to be the seedbed for both the Byzantine and the Islamic civilizations. Obviously, the question of how Ottoman identity was linked to the dominant cultural traditions of the past in traditional historiography is a colossal one that remains beyond the boundaries of this discussion. An insightful examination concerning the definition of Ottoman self-identity in sixteenth-century historiography and its relation to the “high cultures” of the Islamic past is made by Cornell Fleischer with specific reference to the works of the historian Mustafa Âli: see chaps. 9, 10, and 11 in *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)* (Princeton, 1986). Also see Cemal Kafadar’s definitive work on early Ottoman historiography, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, 1995).
  31. *L’architecture ottomane*, 3; *Uşûl*, 10. That the Hüdavendigâr Mosque was built by a Greek architect named Christodoulos was an unfounded assumption that was reproduced by generations of Ottoman and foreign authors, including those of the *Uşûl*. Some European scholars, such as Charles Texier, who mainly concentrated on the classical and Byzantine ruins of Anatolia, took the monument to be a converted church because of the unusual organization of its plan and the presence of Byzantine spolia. See Texier’s *Asie mineure, description géographique, historique et archéologique* (Paris, 1862), 128. On the Hüdavendigâr Mosque and other early Ottoman mosques see Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture* (Chicago, 1968), and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri* (Istanbul, 1966).
  32. Nilfer Hatun, presumably the daughter of a Greek governor, was an influential matron who was actively involved in Ottoman administration. She was the patron of three major monuments in Bursa. In addition, a dervish lodge was built in her honor by Murad I in the city of İznik. For biographical reference, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden, 1950–2004), s.v. “Nilüfer **K**hatun.”
  33. My italics, *L’architecture ottomane*, 3; *Uşûl*, 10.
  34. *L’architecture ottomane*, 4. A Turkish translation of the quoted designations is not provided in the *Uşûl*.
  35. *L’architecture ottomane*, 5; *Uşûl*, 11: “...uşûl-i mi‘mârî-i ‘Osmânîniñ ibtidâ-i zühûru olan bu devir...”
  36. Ali ibn İlyas Ali was a native of Bursa who was captured by Timur and trained in Samarqand in calligraphy and the arts of the book. It is assumed that he brought with him the group of artisans called “the masters of Tabriz,” who worked on the decoration of the Green Mosque and had a major impact on the improvement and diversification of ceramic techniques in the Ottoman lands: see Gülru Necipoğlu, “From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles,” *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 136–170. The artist’s name appears in an inscription panel placed inside the royal lodge of the Green Mosque: See Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarîsinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri* 806–855 (1403–1451), vol. 2 of idem, *Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri* (Istanbul, 1972), 94.
  37. My italics. *L’architecture ottomane*, 12; *Uşûl*, 14.
  38. On the Green Mosque see Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarîsinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri*, 46–94, and Albert Gabriel, *Une capitale turque, Brousse, Bursa*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1958), 1:79–94.
  39. Delineating the emergence of a standardized “classical” expression in the Ottoman ceramic tiles of the sixteenth century, Gülru Necipoğlu characterizes the earlier aesthetic mode of the fifteenth century as the expression of an “international Timurid” taste, which, she explains, was shared and nourished in its variant local forms in the major urban centers of the eastern Islamic world: see Necipoğlu, “From International Timurid to Ottoman.”
  40. *L’architecture ottomane*, 23–24. My italics.
  41. *L’architecture ottomane*, 5 (italics mine); *Uşûl*, 11: “[Yeşil Câmî’] tab‘-ı ‘Osmâniyâna tevfiқан ta‘dil olunmuş olan uşûl-i mi‘mârî-i ‘Arabîniñ bir eşer-i mücemesmi ‘add olunabilir.”
  42. “[Les] plus gracieux monuments d’architecture arabe”: see Texier, *Asie mineure*, 107.
  43. “Un des plus beaux modèles de la sculpture et de l’architecture sarrazines,” in the French translation customarily used by the Ottoman readers: see Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l’Empire ottoman*, 2:205. The reference in the original German edition reads as follows: “... eines der schönsten Denkmahle der Frömmigkeit und Kunstliebe osmanischer Sultane, ein glänzendes Kleinod saracenischer Baukunst und Steinhauerey.” (Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, 1:391.)
  44. A good representative of the standard Western view on Ottoman artistic incompetence is Charles Texier, who argues in his *Asie mineure* that the Ottomans, being essentially a “nomadic tribe,” were entirely ignorant of the art of building, and that all their public structures were constructed by “foreign” Arab, Persian, and, later on, Greek architects: see Texier, *Asie mineure*, 227.
  45. While the Green Mosque is praised in its monograph for the seamless unity and harmony of its decorative components, certain elements in the building, such as the “pseudo-Corinthian” column capitals of Byzantine origin, are viewed by the authors as remnants of the less resolved, formative stage of Ottoman architecture. Still, the authors claim that the spolia used were attentively placed in the darkest corners of the entrance vestibule so as to make them less conspicuous to the observer: *L’architecture ottomane*, 23; *Uşûl*, 22.
  46. The fifteenth-century historian Aşıkpaşazade, for instance, reports that Mehmed I’s grand vizier Hacı İvaz Pasha, an earnest patron of the arts who also supervised the construction of the Green Mosque, “brought masters and men of skill from foreign lands to the Ottoman domain.” See [Derviş Ahmed] Aşıkpaşazade, *Menâkıb-ı Tevârih-i Âl-i ‘Osmân*, ed. N. Atsız, included in *Osmanlı Tarihleri* (Istanbul, 1947), 242. A similar account made by the sixteenth-century historian Neşrî in his *Târîh* (History) is cited by Necipoğlu in “From International Timurid to Ottoman,” 166 n. 5.
  47. Concerning the influence of artists trained in the Persian/Central Asian workshops on the artistic climate of fifteenth-century Anatolia, see Julian Raby, “The Ceramic Inheritance,” in Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby, *İznik: The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey* (London, 1989), 82–89; John Carswell, “Ceram-

- ics," in *Tulips, Arabesques and Turbans*, ed. Yanni Petsopoulos (London, 1982), 75–76; and Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman," 136–37.
48. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*.
  49. On the dynamics of the sixteenth-century Ottoman stylistic synthesis, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "A Kânûn for the State, A Canon for the Arts: Conceptualizing the Classical Synthesis of Ottoman Art and Architecture," in *Soliman le magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris, 1992), 194–216; in addition to Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman."
  50. Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Üss-i İnkilâb*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1877–78).
  51. *Ibid.*, 1:44.
  52. *Ibid.*, 1:40.
  53. On Parvillée and his work on the Bursa monuments see Miyuki Aoki, "Léon Parvillée: Osmanlı Modernleşmesinin Eşiğinde Bir Fransız Sanatçı" (Léon Parvillée: A French Artist on the Treshold of Ottoman Modernization) (PhD diss., Istanbul Technical University, 2002); and Beatrice St. Laurent, "Léon Parvillée: His Role as Restorer of Bursa's Monuments and His Contribution to the Exposition universelle of 1867," in *L'Empire Ottomane, la république de Turquie et la France*, ed. H. Batu and J. L. Bacque-Grammont (Istanbul, 1986): 247–82.
  54. While applauding the analytical content of his protégé's work, Viollet-le-Duc expresses as follows his doubts about the cohesiveness and distinction of the material presented in the book: "Existe-t-il un art turc? Que les Turcs aient adopté l'art ou des arts qui s'accommodaient le mieux à leurs habitudes et à leur religion, rien de plus naturel, mais qu'ils aient été les pères d'un art local, cela me paraît difficile à démontrer. En effet, dans tous les exemples fournis par M. Parvillée, je trouve de l'Arabe, du Persan, peut-être quelques influences Hindoues, mais du Turc?..." (from Parvillée, *L'architecture et décoration turque*, ii.)
  55. *Ibid.*, 12.
  56. *Ibid.*, 1.
  57. A clear sign of the cultivation of a new historical consciousness in the fifteenth century was the emergence of the first written chronicles of the House of Osman. On contesting visions of the dynastic past in the fifteenth century, see Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, chap. 2.
  58. Most historians of the nineteenth century characterized the period that roughly corresponded to the fifteenth century (starting with Mehmed I's unification of the Ottoman realm in 1413 and terminating with the enthronement of Selim I in 1512) as a remarkable prelude to the ultimate expression of Ottoman power in the sixteenth century. The authors of the *Uşûl* designated this period as "the century of Mehmed I," on account of the sultan's inaugurating act of restoration. Abdurrahman Şeref, on the other hand, identified the fifteenth century as an age of "renaissance and confirmation" ("intibâh ve te'yid"): see his *Târîh-i Devlet-i 'Osmaniyye* (Istanbul, 1898), 115–200.
  59. "Devletîñ bânî-i şânîsi." See, for instance, Namık Kemal, *Evrâk-ı Perîşân* (Istanbul, 1872), 18. While using the same expression in describing Mehmed I, Tayyazade Ahmed 'Atâ, an official chronicler of the Abdülaziz era, goes further in noting that "perhaps [the sultan is] worthy of being commemorated as the actual founder ("mü'essis-i evvel") of the state": *Târîh-i 'Atâ* (Istanbul, 1874), 29.
  60. Among nineteenth-century Ottoman historians, Mustafa Nuri Pasha and Ahmed Vefik in particular marked the reign of Mehmed I as a time of considerable innovation in crafts and industries. See Nuri Pasha's *Netâ'icü'l-Vukû'ât*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1877–1909) 1:74; and Ahmed Vefik's *Fezleke-i Târîh-i 'Osmani* (Istanbul, 1870), 36. The accounts of the two authors were preceded by that of Hammer-Purgstall, who portrayed the early fifteenth century as an age of remarkable improvement in the arts, literature, and the sciences: see Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, 2:205–7.
  61. The words Marie de Launay uses to describe the architectural deeds of the two sultans in question are as follows: "Le fils de Tchêlêbi Sultan Mohammed I, Sultan Mourad II, et son petit fils Sultan Mohammed II el Fatyh (le conquérant) ont élevé chacun des centaines de monuments: collèges, écoles...mais qui, en général, n'ont aucun caractère spécial bien prononcé." *L'architecture ottomane*, 5; *Uşûl*, 11.
  62. Among the first to entertain these revivalist ideas were the Young Ottomans, many aspects of whose ideology became gradually ingrained within the mainstream of political discourse during the Abdülaziz and Abdülhamid eras. On Young Ottoman traditionalism see Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton, 1962). The Young Ottoman endeavor to reconcile modernization with religion and tradition was a strategy that developed in line (and sometimes by exchange) with similar revivalist movements in the larger Islamic world, led by such intellectuals as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi, and Rifâ'a Rafî' al-Tahtawi. Among the increasing number of publications on nineteenth-century Islamic revivalism outside the Ottoman center, see Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1789–1939* (Oxford, 1962), and Elie Kedourie, *Afghani and 'Abduh: An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam* (London, 1997).

