

CREATION OF A NATIONAL GENIUS: SINAN AND THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF “CLASSICAL” OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE

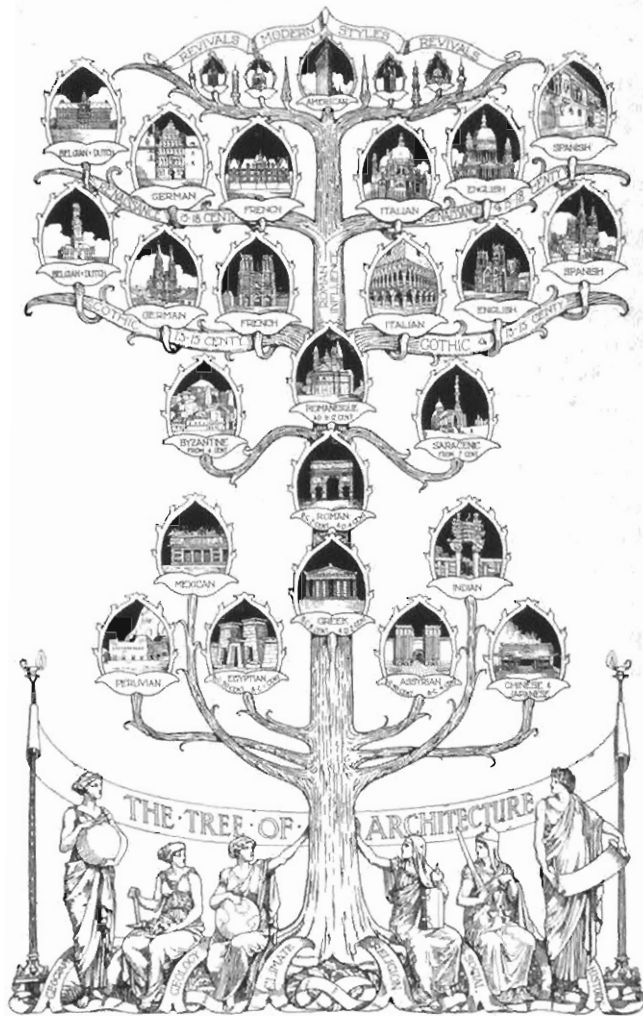
The insistence of canonical twentieth-century historiography on the Turkishness of “classical” Ottoman architecture, codified during Sinan’s tenure as chief royal architect (1539–88), has masked its more inclusive “Rumi” visual identity.¹ A combination of Orientalist and nationalist paradigms has hindered a fuller understanding of the ways in which the chief architect’s monumental mosque complexes, the ultimate icons of the Ottoman “classical style,” mediate among the Islamic, Byzantine, and Italian Renaissance architectural traditions.² Defying standard classifications based on a Eurocentric East-West divide, Sinan’s domed central-plan mosques have also been consigned to an architectural limbo in global art histories because until recently the Renaissance and early modernity were defined as exclusively Western phenomena.³

With a few exceptions, such as Spiro Kostof’s *A History of Architecture* (1985), which compares Sinan with his Italian contemporaries in a chapter on early modern Istanbul and Venice, survey books have generally tended to insert the entire Islamic tradition after the “Early Christian and Byzantine” period.⁴ This practice is rooted in the nineteenth-century conceptualization of Islamic architecture as an offshoot of the late antique Mediterranean heritage transformed under the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates into a non-Western medieval tradition particularly notable for its ornamental character. The essentialization of “Saracenic” or “Mahometan” architecture as a “non-historical style” permanently fixed in a medieval past finds ultimate expression in Banister Fletcher’s *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (1896), where it is grouped with other non-Western styles (Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Central American) that emphasize “decorative schemes” unlike those of Europe, “which have progressed by the successive solution of constructive problems.”⁵ In Fletcher’s famous “Tree of Architecture,” the “Saracenic style” and its timeless companions stand in stark contrast to the historically evolu-

ing Western architectural tradition, which culminates with modernism (fig. 1).

In global surveys of art and architecture that continue to classify Islamic visual culture as a medieval tradition, early modern monuments such as those of Sinan do not appear where they chronologically belong, namely, in the “Renaissance” period. A case in point is Frederick Hartt’s *Art: A History of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture* (1976), which includes the Ottoman mosques of Istanbul in an “Islamic Art” chapter placed under “The Middle Ages.” Hartt acknowledges the innovative transformation of Byzantine and Sasanian prototypes in early Islamic architecture, thanks to the “natural mathematical bent of the Arabs” whose “highly developed aesthetic sense produced an art of abstract architectural decoration.” But he dismisses the Ottoman mosques of Istanbul as uninventive variations of Hagia Sophia and overlooks the simultaneous emulation in Renaissance Italy of Justinian’s celebrated church. This double standard denies creative agency to the so-called “later Muslim” period, when, in his interpretation, the classical Mediterranean heritage becomes the exclusive preserve of Renaissance Europe: “The Ottoman Turks...were by no means as inventive as their Arab predecessors...Hugely impressed by Hagia Sophia...the Ottomans confined themselves to producing innumerable replicas of Justinian’s masterpiece in large, medium, and small sizes.”⁶

Hartt’s ethnicized aesthetic judgment echoes nineteenth-century Orientalist paradigms that doubly essentialized the Islamic tradition of architecture by partitioning it into ahistorical “schools” reflecting ethno-racial character traits (Arabian, Moorish, Persian, Turkish, and Indian). In this hierarchy, the “Turks” occupied the lowest position among those “races” that embraced Islam, being “the most stolid and least refined, and the least capable consequently of elaborating such an art as we find in all other countries subject to this faith.”⁷ Since the medieval period was privileged as a “clas-



This Tree of Architecture shows the main growth or evolution of the various styles, but must be taken as suggestive only, for minor influences cannot be indicated on a diagram of this kind.

Fig. 1. "The Tree of Architecture." (After Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* [New York and London, 1924], iii)

sical age" when the norms of typically Islamic architecture supposedly became fixed, the monuments of "later Muslim" dynasties were often ranked as derivative regional variants of already established prototypes. Hence, Orientalist paradigms failed to historicize Sinan's renewed early modern dialogue with the classical Mediterranean heritage of the "lands of Rum"—a heritage that was concurrently being reinterpreted in

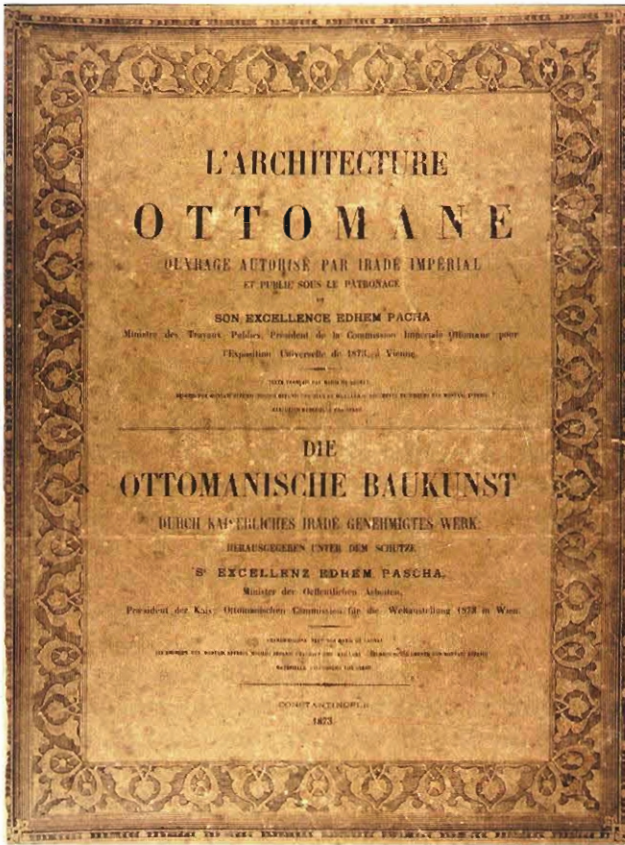
Renaissance Italy. Thanks to their anxiety regarding "influence," nationalist counternarratives equally failed to come to terms with this architectural dialogue.

My paper focuses on the dominant discourses of selected late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century texts, produced by a heterogeneous group of European and Turkish authors, that have contributed to the methodological impasses of Sinan scholarship. In these texts, the person of the chief architect and the stylistic "character" of his mosques constitute the focal point of narratives—ideological and often driven by presentist concerns—that negotiate the contested origins and originality of classical Ottoman/Turkish monumental architecture as a site of national identity. Starting with the emergence of such narratives during the late Ottoman period, I turn to their subsequent reframing in the early republican era (1923–50) and conclude with their persisting echoes in canonical publications that proliferated in the second half of the twentieth century.⁸

DESIGNATION OF SİNAN AS ARCHITECTURAL GENIUS IN THE LATE OTTOMAN PERIOD

Sinan was first hailed as the ingenious codifier of an original dynastic style, worthy of universal status, in the *Uşûl-i Mi'mârî-i 'Osmanî* (Fundamental Principles of Ottoman Architecture): a monograph in Turkish, French, and German commissioned by imperial command for the 1873 Vienna International Exposition (fig. 2, a and b). Prepared under the supervision of İbrahim Edhem Pasha (Minister of Trade and Public Works) by a cosmopolitan committee of Ottoman bureaucrats, artists, and architects, this publication indirectly responded to Orientalist discourses that denied artistic creativity to "the Turks"; its authors adopted the current European conceptualization of artistic styles as embodiments of "national character" to negotiate a higher status for Ottoman architecture.⁹ Singling out its stylistic constants, corresponding to the venerable character traits of a proto-national dynasty, they defined architectural style as a historically evolving imperial dynastic tradition, labeled "Ottoman" (*Osmanlı*).¹⁰

This "invention of tradition" attempts to rectify the prevailing pejorative assessments of "Turkish" architecture articulated in such publications as Charles Texier's *Description de l'Asie Mineure, faite par ordre du gouvernement français de 1833 à 1837* (1839–49). Echoing



a



b

Fig. 2, a and b. Front and back cover of Marie de Launay, Pietro Montani, et al., *Uşul-i Mi'marî-i 'Osmânî = L'architecture ottomane = Die ottomanische Baukunst* (Istanbul, 1873).

the Napoleonic paradigm of the *Description de l'Égypte* (1809–28), which initiated an ideological discourse on the extinction of the “Arab” architectural genius in Egypt under the yoke of the “Ottoman Turks,” Texier’s book makes the following judgment on the “character of Turkish mosques” in Bursa:

For a long time it has been said that the Ottomans (*Osmanlıs*) do not have an architecture particular to their nation (*nation*); being tribes with tents, they remained strangers to the art of construction, and their public edifices are the works of foreigners, Arab and Persian architects initially, and Greek architects afterwards. No other type of edifice provides better proof of this fact than their religious monuments.¹¹

Observing that all later mosques in the Ottoman Empire “imitated” Hagia Sophia after its conversion

into a Muslim sanctuary, Texier describes two sixteenth-century examples (works of Sinan) constructed in this manner in Üsküdar:

These monuments were built in a period when Turkish architecture abandoned the Arab school, of which it had been an original reflection, only to throw itself into a bastard architecture that is neither Muslim nor Christian.¹²

Universal expositions intensified the rivalry between the “Arab” and “Turkish” schools of architecture, associated respectively with the semi-autonomous Egyptian state and its Ottoman overlord. An important turning point was the Paris Exposition of 1867, attended by Sultan Abdülaziz and the Viceroy of Egypt, İsmâ'il Pasha, who had just received the title of Khedive as a mark of increased Egyptian autonomy. The catalogue *L'Égypte à*

l'Exposition universelle de 1867, commissioned by İsmâ'il Pasha from Charles Edmond, explicitly criticizes "the Turks" for "their inability both to invent their own art and to assimilate the art of others with intelligence and taste." The "Turkish" mosques of Istanbul are described as "mere copies of Hagia Sophia," distinguished from Byzantine churches only by minarets and walls decorated with "arabesques" and inscriptions: "After having stolen the Arab genius, [the Turks] let it die."¹³

The tripartite periodization of this catalogue, written by French savants steeped in the Napoleonic tradition of the *Description de l'Égypte*, relegates the "Muhammedan" (*Mahométane*) architecture of the "Arab race" to Egypt's medieval past, which is framed by the ancient and modern eras.¹⁴ Following a biological trajectory of birth, growth, and decay—which is reversed by artistic rebirth under the present regime—"Muhammedan" architecture enters into a period of deplorable decline with the subjugation of the Arab race by the *Osmanlis*, a "foreign race" of Turkish conquerors who from the sixteenth century onwards "remained strangers to the intellectual conquests made in the world."¹⁵ Comparing the first mosques along the Nile to the first Gothic cathedrals on the banks of the Seine, Edmond portrays medieval Egypt as the epicenter from which "Muhammedan" architecture spreads to other regions (Syria, Iran, Sicily, Africa, Spain, and Turkey).¹⁶ Likewise, the modern Egypt of Muhammad 'Ali and his grandson İsmâ'il Pasha, faithful followers of Napoleon, who made "the Oriental genius return to itself," is destined to initiate "the rest of the Orient to modern civilization."¹⁷

La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867, a catalogue commissioned from Salaheddin Bey by Sultan Abdülaziz, prefigures the *Uşûl* (written for the same sultan in 1873) by highlighting the rational construction principles of Ottoman architecture. Hence it is unlike Edmond's text, which foregrounds the ornamental character and "charming fantasy" of Arab architecture, governed by "the arbitrary and the capricious."¹⁸ Singling out the "arabesque" as the principal characteristic of Egypt's medieval "Muhammedan" monuments, Edmond asserts that they lack the "rules and principles" that govern Western architecture, for they rely on chance rather than reason.¹⁹ The "gracious geometry of imagination and the delirium of algebra" embodied in "arabesques" is, in Edmond's view, prefigured by the character of the Prophet Muhammad, which combines "enthusiasm with calculation." Imprinted with the "Arab spirit" of the "race of Muhammad," these

ornaments are characterized by the "most fantastic forms intimately blended, as if by a miracle, with the regular figures of geometry."²⁰ Salaheddin Bey's catalogue, by contrast, emphasizes the primacy of rational architectural principles to counter the widespread presumption "that there exists no Ottoman art, and that all Oriental productions are due to caprice, at times most extravagant."²¹

The contention of principled rationality is further elaborated in the *Uşûl*, which responds to depreciatory character evaluations of "Turkish" architecture colored by Western colonial ambitions in the disintegrating territories of the late Ottoman Empire, where European powers were positing themselves as protectors of the Arab artistic genius "all but extinguished" under the "barbarism" of the Turks. Its four parts consist of a historical overview of stylistic evolution; a theoretical section on fundamental architectural principles; a description of selected sultanic mosques, mausoleums, and public fountains in Ottoman capital cities (Bursa, Istanbul, and Edirne); and a chapter on the rules of ornament subordinated to architectonic forms. The *Uşûl* proudly proclaims the participation in world civilization of the Ottomans' rationalist school of architecture, which, with its flexible universal characteristics, is adaptable to the modern age. The preface of the publication states that Ottoman monuments, especially mosques, embody "architectural forms conceived in a particular style conforming to the approved dispositions of the Ottoman nation." Thanks to consistent "rules," architecture made extraordinary progress, and eminent architects like Sinan emerged, "extending their reputation throughout the world." The purpose of the *Uşûl* is to demonstrate the "superiority of Ottoman architecture" and introduce to the world its masters and masterpieces; the latter are illustrated by drawings destined to serve as a basis of instruction for "modern architects."²²

Like Edmond's catalogue, which boasts about the spread of Arab architecture from Egypt to other countries, the *Uşûl* claims that the Ottoman school of architecture was disseminated as far as India by Sinan's pupils (allegedly invited by the Mughal emperor Babur, who passed away in 1530, long before the tenure of the chief architect). According to this anachronistic claim, repeated in later publications, these pupils included Mimar Yusuf, who built the world-renowned palace-forts of Agra, Lahore, Delhi, and Kashmir.²³ The *Uşûl*'s historical overview of stylistic evolution, written by the Ottoman bureaucrat Victor Marie de Launay

(who once frequented courses in the *École des Beaux Arts*), constructs, as did Edmond's catalogue, a biological trajectory of birth, growth, and decay, followed by rebirth under the present regime.²⁴ According to de Launay, Sinan's style corresponds to a golden age falling between the rise and the decline of the dynasty, which is currently being revitalized by Sultan Abdülaziz, the patron of a "neo-Ottoman" architectural renaissance. Sinan is identified as the most ingenious of all Ottoman architects, and his codification of dynastic style coincides with the zenith of imperial glory under Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver (*le législateur*, r. 1520–66). This internally evolving style originates in fifteenth-century Bursa after initial fourteenth-century experiments with a hybrid "semi-Byzantine" manner and develops further in early-sixteenth-century Istanbul. The "school of Sinan," it is argued, is perpetuated until the mid-seventeenth century, after which, from the eighteenth century onwards, the "rationality of art" and the "purity of Ottoman architectural taste" become entirely "denatured" and "depraved" by the indiscriminate infiltration of Western influences. In this narrative of dynastic self-representation, then, the sixteenth-century purification of hybridity in Sinan's rational style gives way to a loss of purity and hence of national character, only to be revived by the "renaissance of Ottoman architecture" under the illustrious patronage of the currently reigning sultan.²⁵

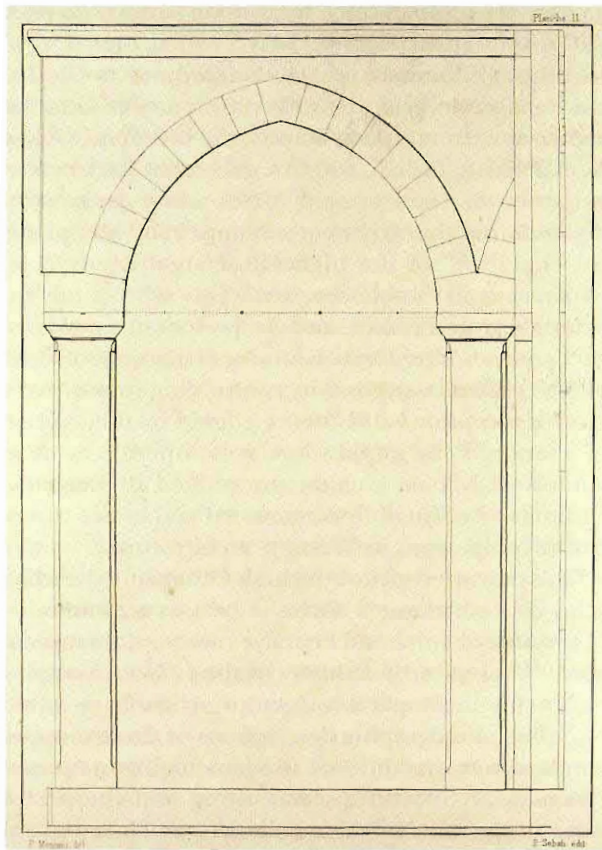
The theoretical section, written by Pietro Montani (Montani Efendi), a Levantine Italian artist-architect raised in Istanbul, portrays Sinan as the "legislator of national architecture," who renews the style developed by his predecessors "with a novel purification of forms, fixing their proportions and supplementing them with new ones."²⁶ It is Sinan who codifies the three architectural orders (corresponding to Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian) on which the proportional system of the high Ottoman style is allegedly based, orders complemented by a fourth semi-order in the "Gothic manner" that gives flexibility to details (fig. 3, a–d). The "module" used for determining the harmony of proportions in this system, which is "richer" than the Gothic mode of construction and more "elastic" than the classical orders, is derived from the width of the capital (fig. 4).²⁷ Thus the style legislated by Sinan implicitly parallels that of the high Renaissance, which is based on the module and orders. In fact, later nationalist critics of the eclectic "neo-Ottoman renaissance" style promoted by the *Uşûl* would accuse Montani Efendi of deriving the Ottoman orders from Giacomo Barozzi

da Vignola's Renaissance treatise on orders, *La regola delli cinque ordini* (Rome, 1562).²⁸

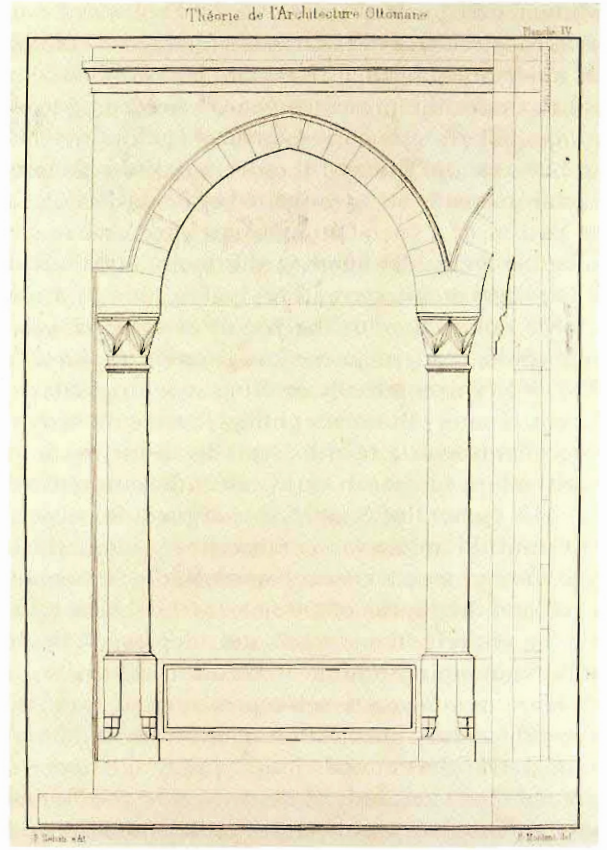
Although Montani makes no reference to the Italian Renaissance, he explicitly differentiates Ottoman architecture from styles—namely, the Byzantine, Gothic, Arab, Persian, Indian, and Chinese—that "lack orders" and rely on conventional forms whose adjunction depends on the architect's "caprice." The "principal character" of the high Ottoman style perfected by Sinan is its "noble severity." This style stands out from its Arab, Persian, and Arabo-Indian (*arabo-indiens*) counterparts in its restrained richness of ornament, created by decorators conforming to the "architect's conception" and "never guided by the caprices of chance."²⁹ By implication, it is superior to other schools of Islamic architecture judged by European authors to be fancifully ornamental and hence irrational in comparison to Western architecture.³⁰

The characteristics of the high Ottoman style, which echo Western classical norms of beauty, are embodied in the Süleymaniye and Selimiye mosques, the masterpieces chosen by the authors of the *Uşûl* as exemplars of Sinan's incomparable "genius" (figs. 5, a–d, and 6).³¹ The monographic descriptions of these mosques emphasize two additional fundamental principles of Ottoman architecture: scenic siting and the perfect unity of the whole.³² The Selimiye, which represents the culmination of Sinan's style, is judged superior not only to the Süleymaniye but also to all other "Islamic monuments." With its "great sobriety and the exquisite purity of its ornamentation," it is a monument in which "the whole and the details are conceived in a particularly majestic, noble, and severe style" that nevertheless "does not exclude richness and above all grace." This "masterpiece par excellence of the illustrious master Sinan, the author of so many masterpieces," is therefore "rightly considered the marvel of Ottoman architecture: a marvel of appropriate proportions, of severity and majesty of style, of gracious simplicity and purity of ornamentation."³³

The *Uşûl* contributed to Sinan's international fame by publishing as an appendix the *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye*, one of the versions of the Turkish autobiography the chief architect dictated to the poet-painter Mustafa Sa'î. (The abbreviated French and German translations of this autobiographical text include only a list of numerous collaborative monuments claimed by Sinan as his own works).³⁴ The appended autobiography is not analyzed in the *Uşûl*, which simply mentions Sinan's training in the Janissary corps prior to



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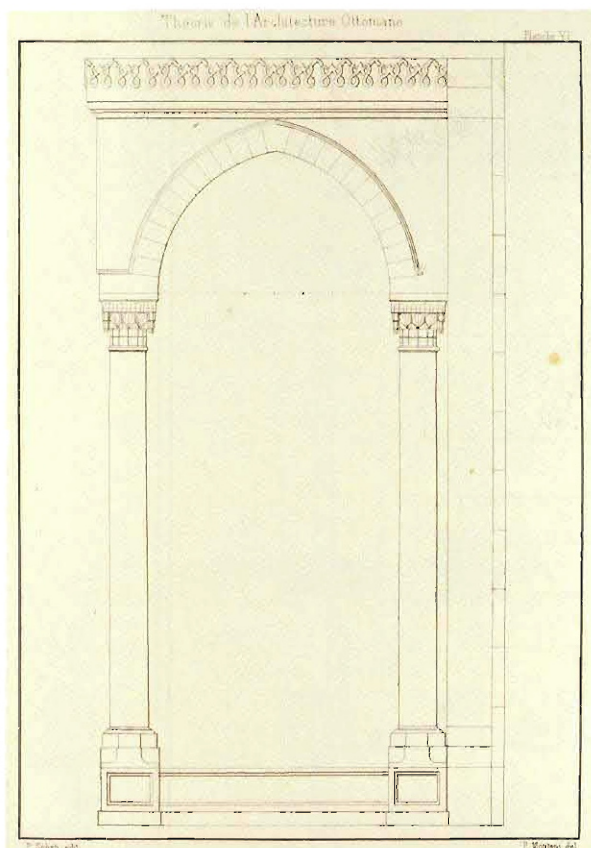
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Fig. 3, a–d. Pietro Montani, representations of the Ottoman orders: a. *L'ordre échanfriné*. b. *L'ordre bréchiforme*. c. *L'ordre cristallisé*. d. *L'ordonnance à faisceaux*. (After Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, "Théorie de l'architecture ottomane," pls. 2, 4, 6, 3)

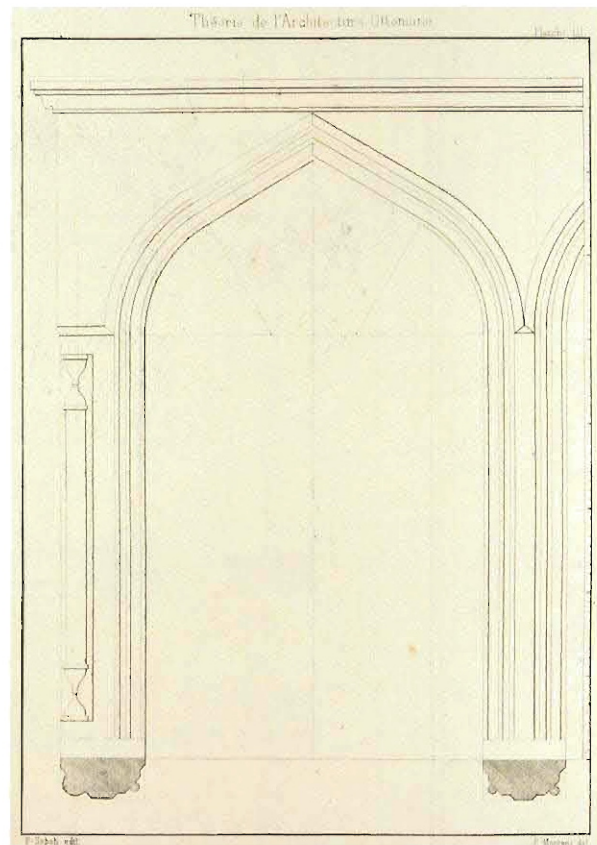
his building, over the course of his long life, countless monuments to "glorify the Ottoman dynasty, his fatherland, and Islam." The authors of the *Uşûl* do not attempt to identify the chief architect's ethnic origin, apparently deeming it irrelevant because of the multi-ethnic inclusiveness of the Ottoman polity.³⁵ Nor do they allude to Sinan's competitive dialogue with Hagia Sophia in the Süleymaniye and Selimiye mosques, a dialogue to which the chief architect explicitly refers in his autobiographies, which also testify to his rivalry with his Ottoman predecessors and his contemporaries in Renaissance Europe. The dynastic proto-nationalism of the *Uşûl*'s narrative of stylistic evolution, tracing an internal process of purification that crystallizes in the rational school of Sinan, entirely sidesteps the much-maligned "influence" of Hagia Sophia.³⁶ As we shall see, the rationalist paradigm of

this text would leave a lasting imprint on subsequent Turkish publications, which in the wake of ethnocentric nationalism at the turn of the century began to trace the evolution of the Ottoman architectural style, perfected by Sinan, to that of the "Seljuk Turks" in Anatolia, who are hardly mentioned in the *Uşûl*.³⁷

The cult of Sinan was nurtured by his self-mythologizing autobiographies, which were likely inspired by the lives of Italian Renaissance architects and were written, according to his own words, to leave the permanent mark of his name and reputation "on the pages of time." These widely circulating autobiographical texts, through which the chief architect self-consciously participated in the Renaissance discourse on creative genius, played a pivotal role in directing the focus of early historical studies on his life and works (fig. 7, a–b).³⁸ One such example is the late



c



d

Fig. 3.

Ottoman intellectual Ahmed Cevdet's preface to the *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, another version of the chief architect's autobiographies, published in 1897. Paraphrasing the *Usûl*'s historical overview, the preface fabricates a biography of Sinan based on a primary source in Arabic (*Quyûdât-i Mühimme*) supposedly written in the chief architect's lifetime, which not surprisingly disappeared shortly thereafter. This purported source allowed Cevdet to invent colorful details missing from Sinan's laconic autobiographies, which mention only his recruitment as a Janissary cadet (*acemi ođlan*, novice boy) from the Kayseri region, without providing clues about his ethnic origin and childhood before he converted to Islam and was trained as a carpenter at the school of novices in Istanbul. The *Quyûdât* conveniently fills in the blanks by providing Sinan's exact birthday, identifying by name his Greek father,

Christo, and describing the budding carpentry skills of the child prodigy: "When it came to games, he only derived pleasure from getting hold of carpentry tools with which he would create in their backyard now a chicken coop, now a pool fountain, occupying himself with architectural tasks like repairing water channels."³⁹ Cevdet also gives such precise information about the chief architect's physiognomy and character that one might think he knew him personally:

Sinan the Great was tall and thin, with a heavy beard and moustache, black eyes, a wheat-colored complexion, and a handsome face; he was a conversationalist, very generous, charitable to the poor, and capable of composing poetry; he knew Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Greek, and he was very brave and courageous.⁴⁰

This verbal portrait of the chief architect as a fully

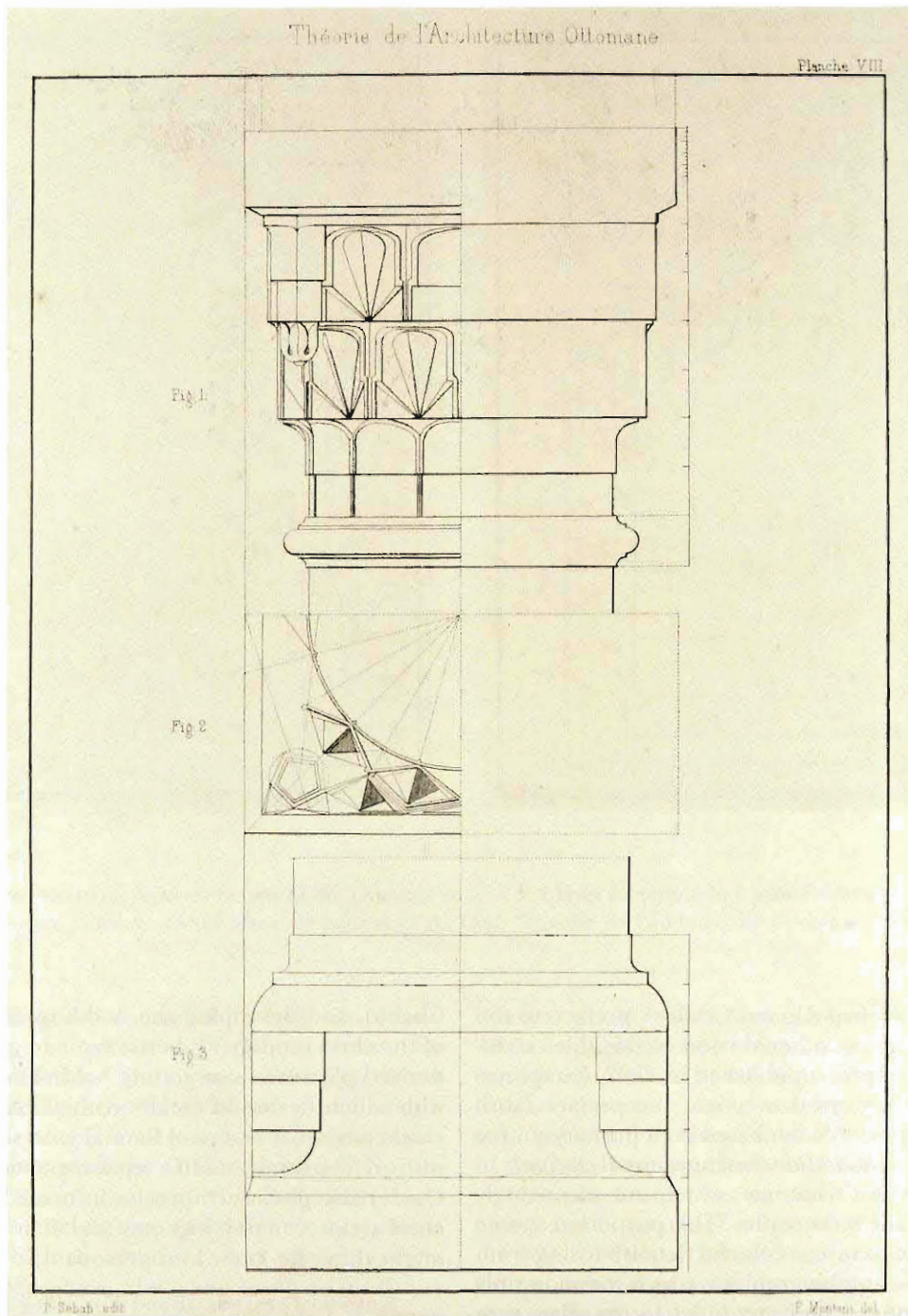


Fig. 4. Pietro Montani, capital of the crystallized order by Sinan. Top: view of the capital. Center: plan of the same capital. Bottom: base. (After Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, "Théorie de l'architecture ottomane," pl. 8)

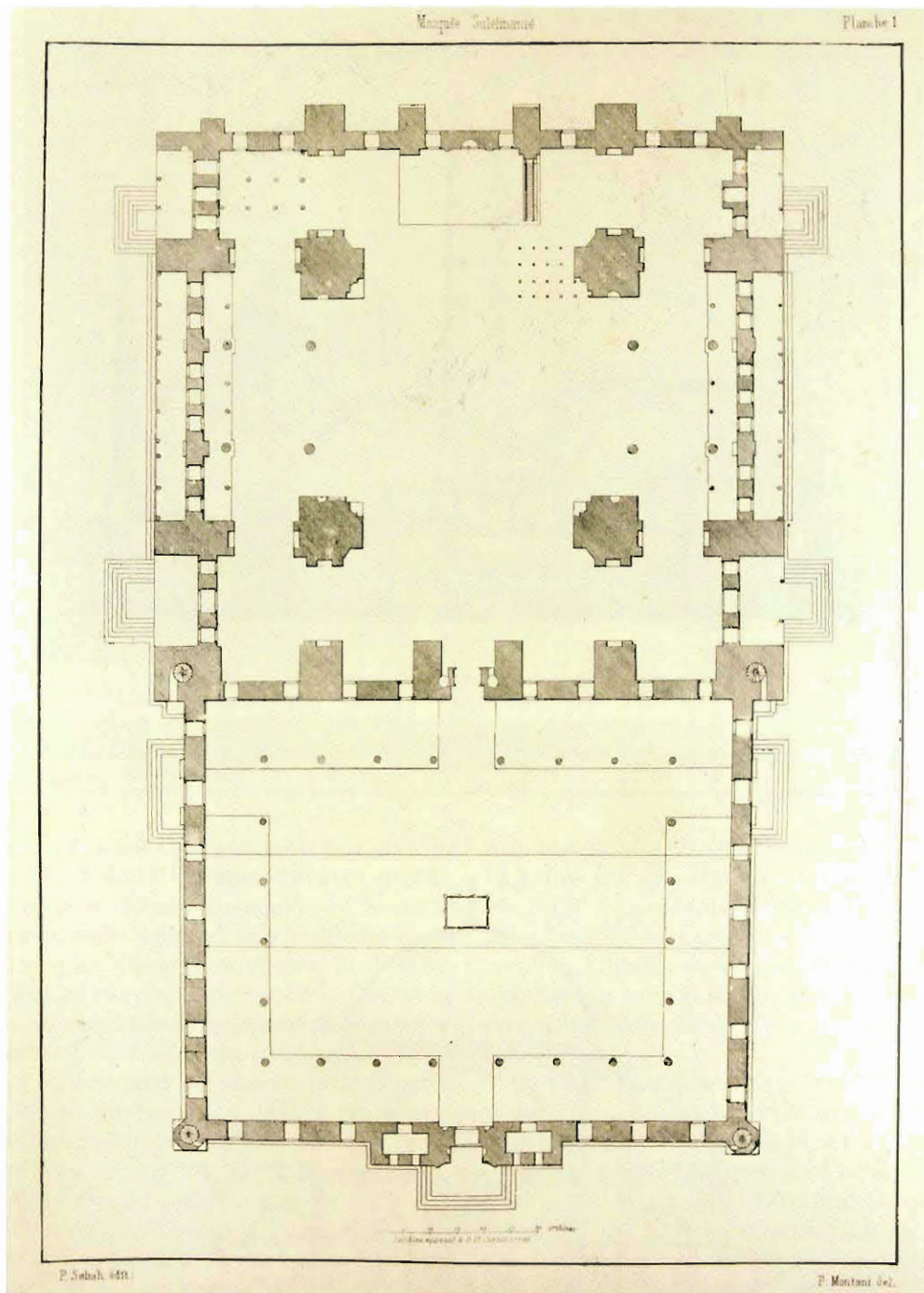


Fig. 5a. Pietro Montani, plan of the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul, built by Sinan in 1550–57. (After Marie de Launay et al., *Usûl*, “Mosquée Süleymanié,” pl. 1)

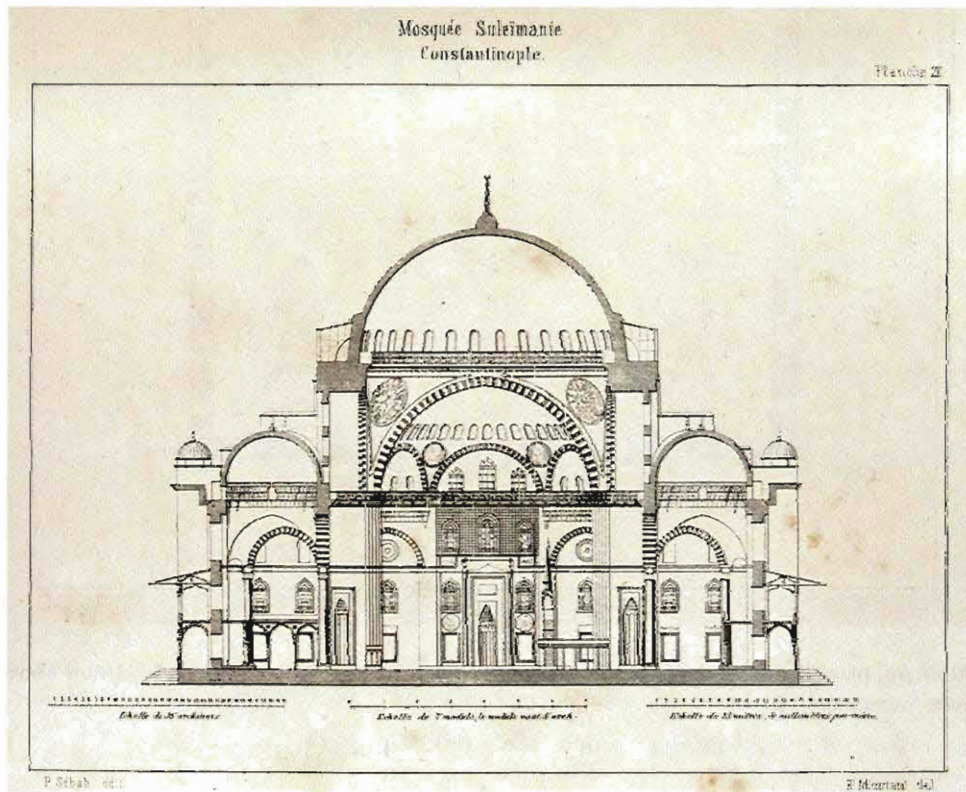
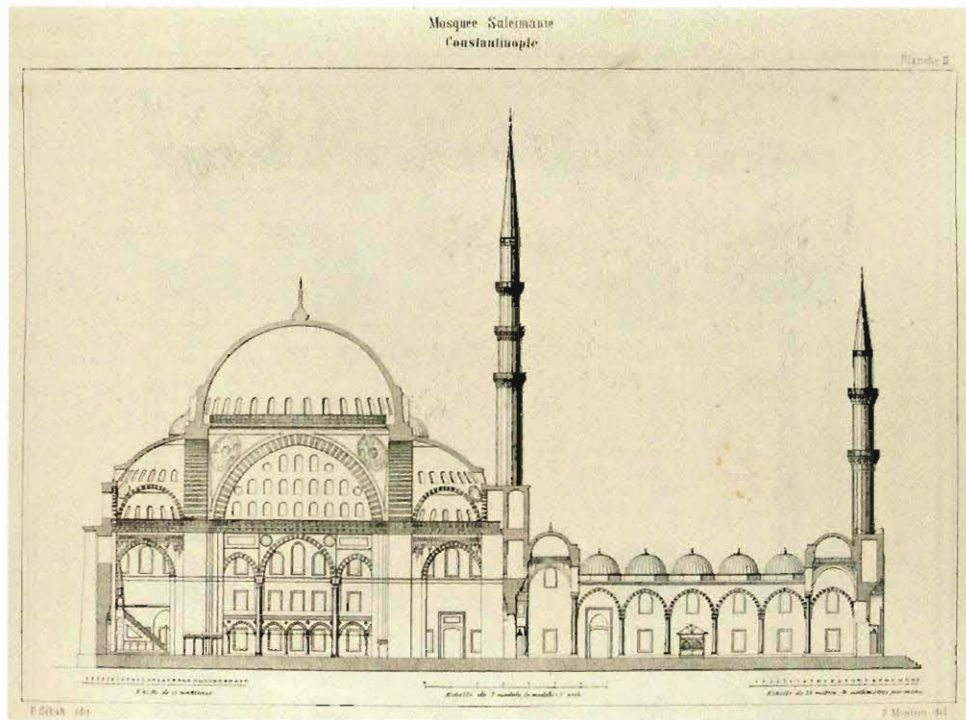


Fig. 5, b-c. Pietro Montani, sections of the Süleymaniye Mosque. (After Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, "Mosquée Suleïmanié," pls. 2 and 3)

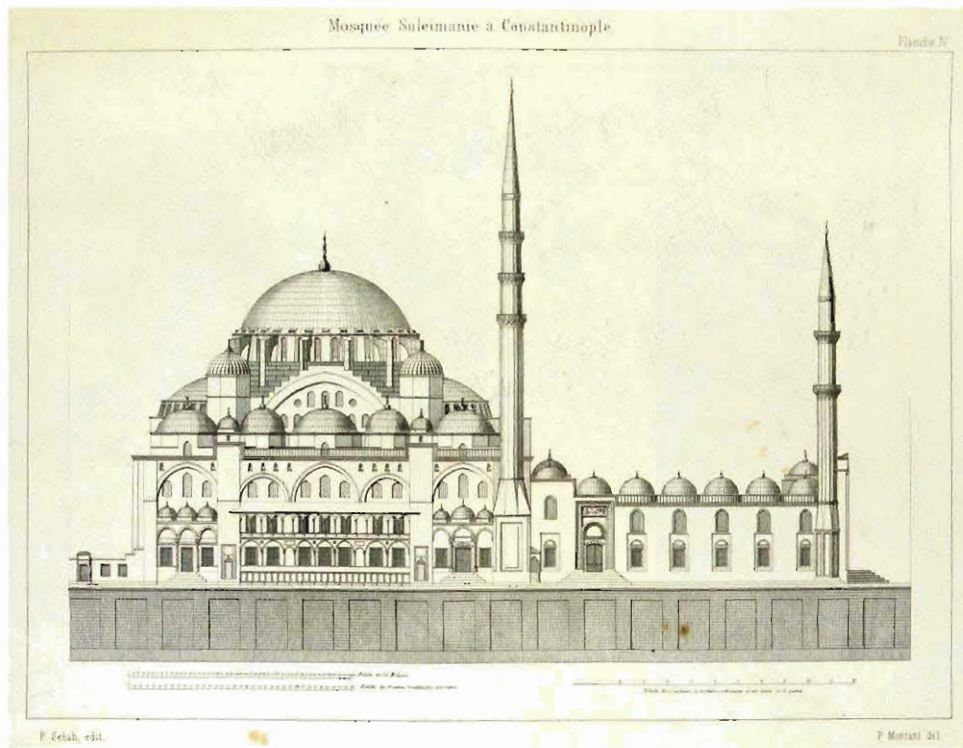


Fig. 5d. Pietro Montani, elevation of the Süleymaniye Mosque. (After Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, “Mosquée Suleïmanié,” pl. 4)

acculturated Greek-born Ottoman hints at a growing anxiety about his cultural identity. Cevdet’s preface attempts to reclaim the artistic agency of Sinan as the Ottomanized chief architect of a multiethnic and multilingual empire whose monuments, in the contested terrain of architectural history, continued to be attributed to “foreign” Greek architects. For instance, Auguste Choisy’s *L’art de bâtir chez les Byzantins* (1883) had recently characterized the monumental imperial mosques of “Sinan the Greek” as the last representatives of Byzantine architecture, which imitated Hagia Sophia for the “new masters” of Constantinople. Shortly thereafter, Alphonse Gosset’s *Les coupôles d’Orient et d’Occident* (1889) repeated the stereotyped view of the Ottomans as “shepherds and warriors without any art or artists of their own.”⁴¹ According to this publication, Sultan Süleyman’s “Greek architect Sinan” improved the longitudinal plan of Hagia Sophia with more “rational” solutions in centrally planned domed mosques through “his avid search for perfection, much like his predecessors from the age of Pericles.”⁴² Intensely admiring the Selimiye Mosque as the most remarkable

manifestation of Sinan’s “genius,” Gosset detected in its forms the spirit of Greek humanism: thanks to the refined taste of its details and its “observation of the principle of the Greeks that man is the king of creation,” the Selimiye’s grandiose dimensions in his opinion do not crush but rather enhance the dignity of the viewer and elevate the soul to the highest thoughts.⁴³

Die Baukunst Konstantinopels (1907), by the German architectural historian Cornelius Gurlitt, was the earliest European monograph to acknowledge the originality of the “Turkish” school of architecture that emerged after the fall of Byzantium. Written at the height of the Ottoman-German alliance, thanks to which the author obtained special permission to draw and photograph Istanbul’s mosques, this book ends with a picture of the Kaiser Wilhelm II Fountain at the Hippodrome, completed in 1901—a Byzantinizing German neo-renaissance monument commemorating the emperor’s 1898 visit to the city—which Wilhelm presented as a gift symbolizing his friendship with Sultan Abdülhamid II (figs. 8 and 9).⁴⁴ Noting the lack of

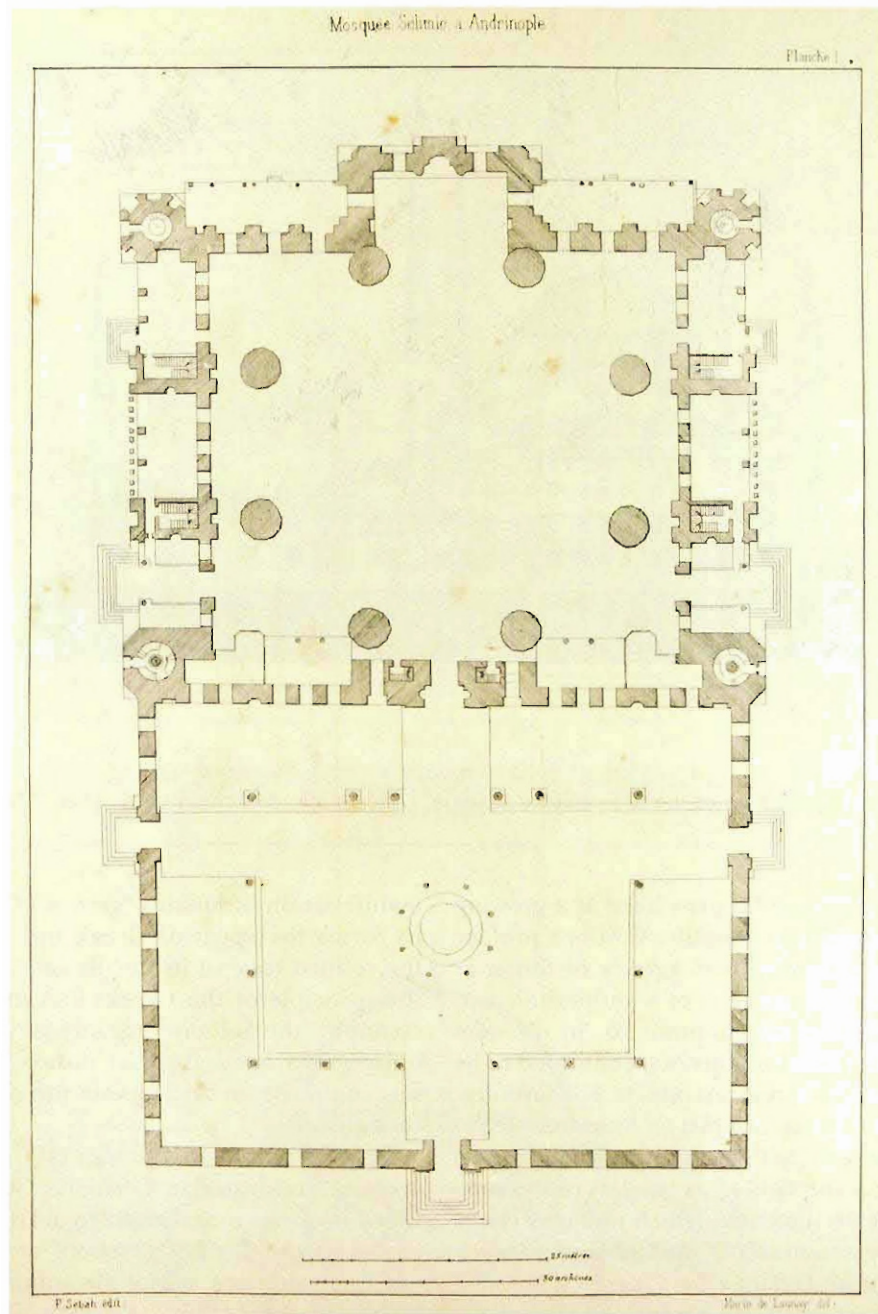


Fig. 6. Marie de Launay, plan of the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, built by Sinan in 1568–74. (After Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, “Mosquée Selimié,” pl. 1)

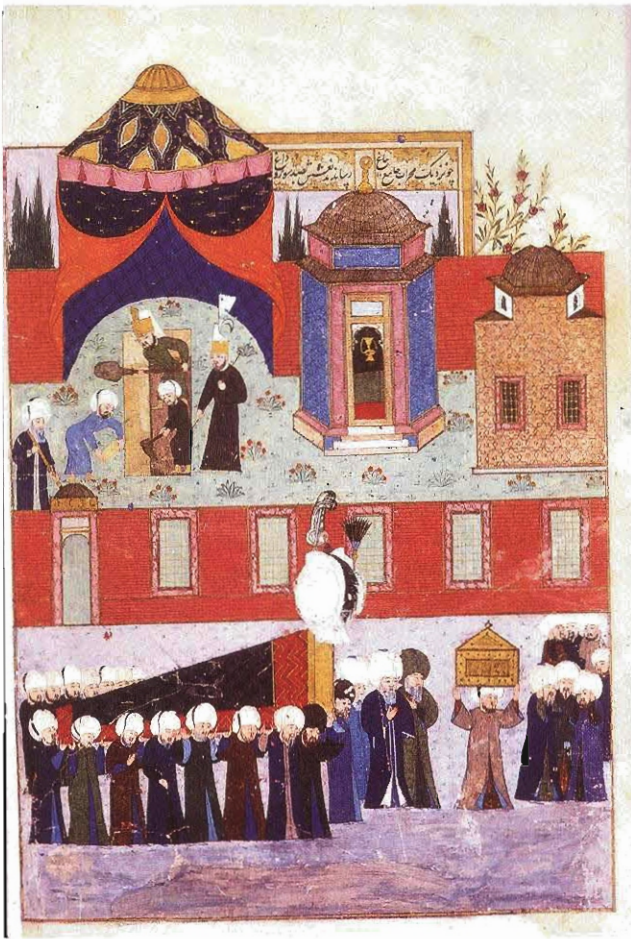


Fig. 7, a and b. Miniature painting and detail: funeral procession of the deceased Sultan Süleyman, showing Sinan holding a wooden cubit measure and overseeing construction of the sultan's mausoleum behind the qibla wall of the Süleymaniye Mosque. Seyyid Lokman, *Tarih-i Sultân Sulaymân*, ca. 1579. The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, ms. T. 413, fol. 115v. (Photo © The Chester Beatty Library)

monumentality in late Byzantine and early Ottoman domed sanctuaries, Gurlitt regards the grand scale of the imperial mosques in Constantinople as an achievement to be marveled at. Although he repeats Cevdet's account of Sinan's parentage as the Greek-born son of Christo, he attributes the success of the imperial style not to the ethnic origin of its architects but to their rigorous training in the educational institutions of the Ottoman state, which produced great statesmen and "creative geniuses" like Sinan, who commanded the guilds of building crafts as chief royal architect.⁴⁵ Gurlitt finds the domed mosques of the Ottoman capital, which in his view have not received the attention

they deserve, comparable to the grand achievements of the Italian Renaissance:

We have been enthusiastic in our praise of Italy, a country that at the end of the fifteenth century resurrected the art of ancient Rome after this achievement had lain dormant for over a thousand years. During the same period, however, buildings were erected on the Bosphorus that have been belittled for the simple reason that they were replicas of Hagia Sophia. Yet it is no less a renaissance of astounding individuality that sprang up from the soil made fertile by the spirit of ancient Greece. The revival of ancient perceptions of shape and form occurred here with the same freedom, independence,



Fig. 8. Title page from Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels* (Berlin, 1907).



Fig. 9. Photograph of the Kaiser Wilhelm II Fountain at the Hippodrome, Istanbul. (After Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, pl. 39a)

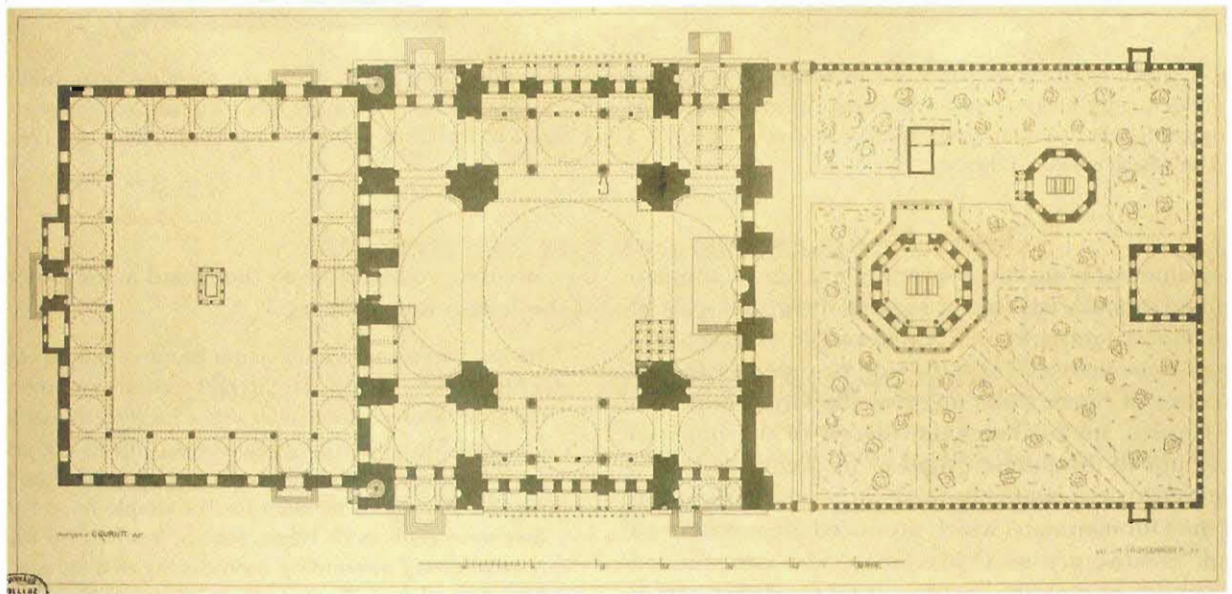


Fig. 10a. Plan of the Süleymaniye Mosque and the mausoleums of Sultan Süleyman and his wife. (After Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, pl. 19h)

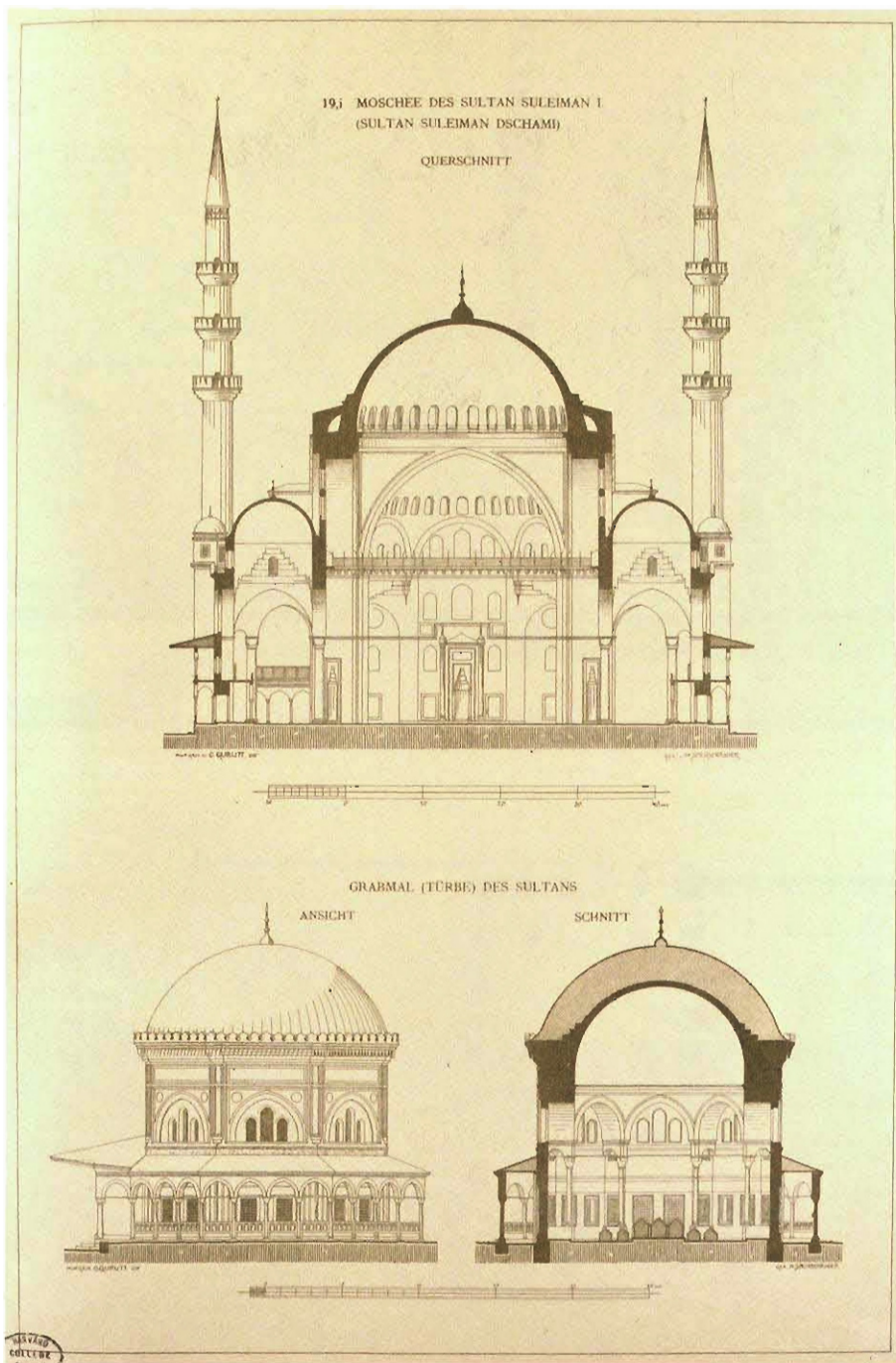


Fig. 10b. Section of the Süleymaniye Mosque and elevation and section of the mausoleum of Sultan Süleyman. (After Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, pl. 19i)

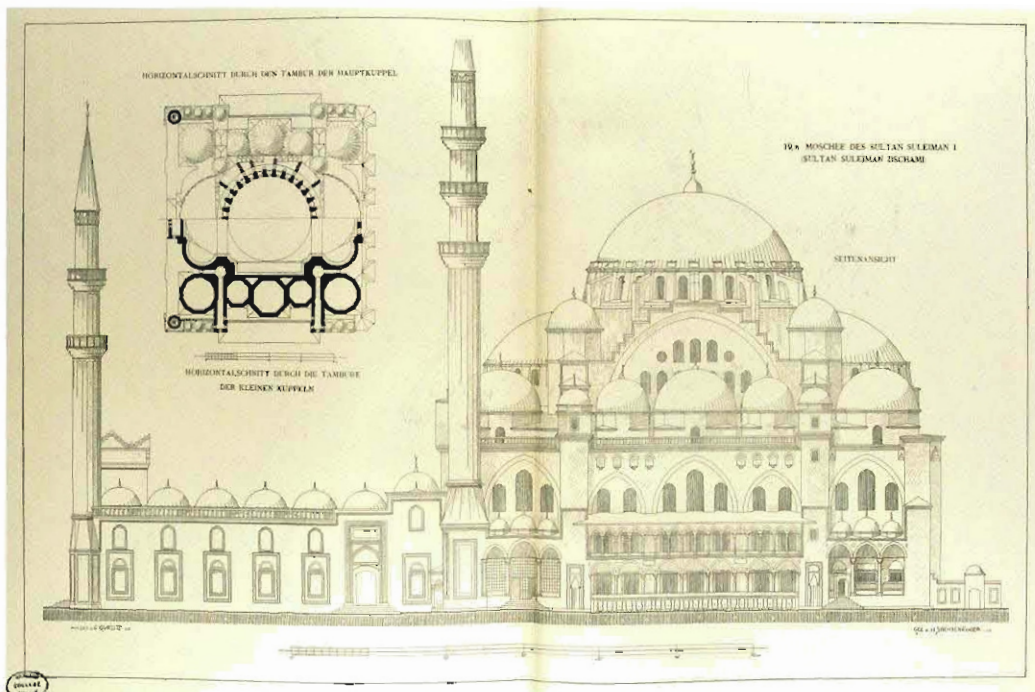


Fig. 10c. Plan of the domical superstructure and elevation of the Süleymaniye Mosque. (After Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, pl. 19n)

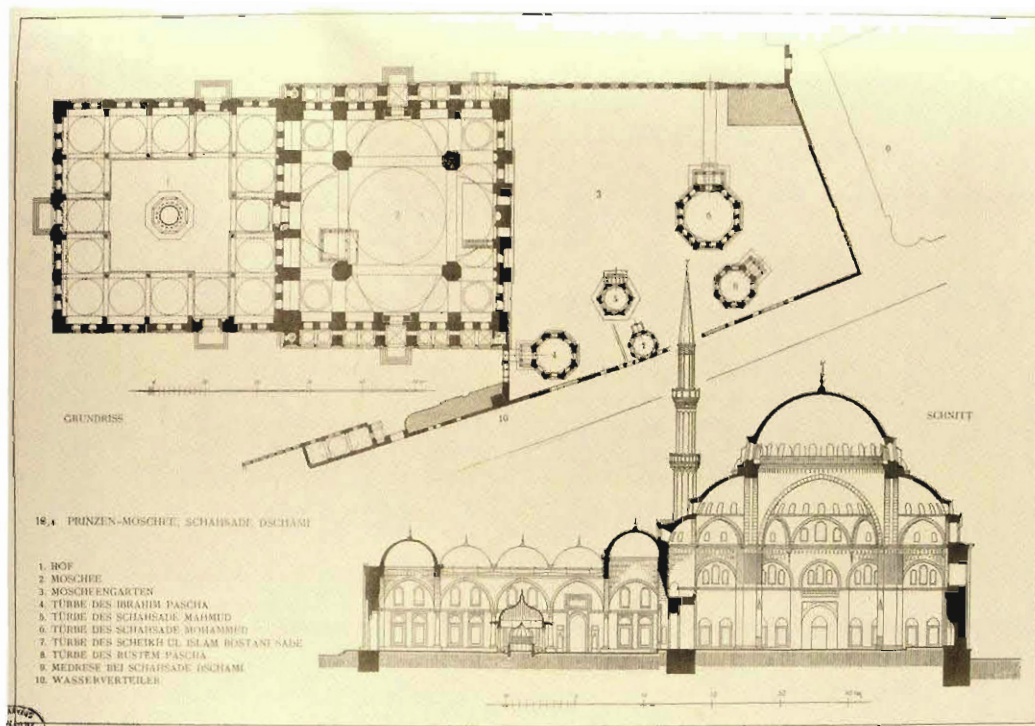


Fig. 11. Plan and section of the Şehzade Mehmed Mosque in Istanbul, built by Sinan in 1543–48. (After Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, pl. 18a)

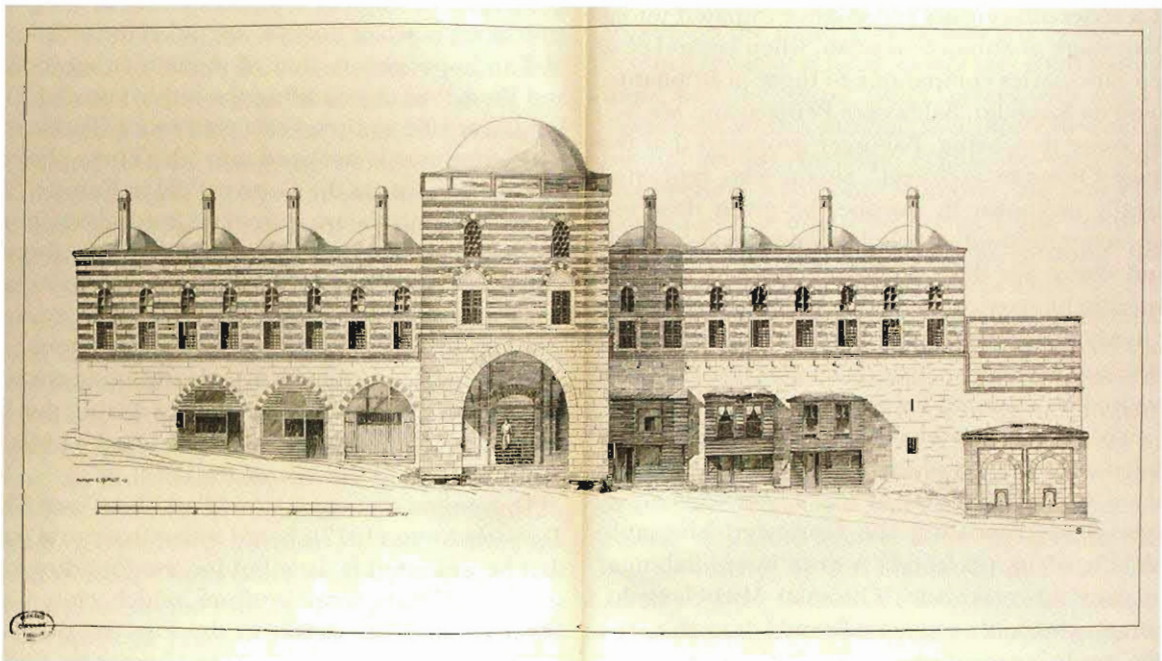
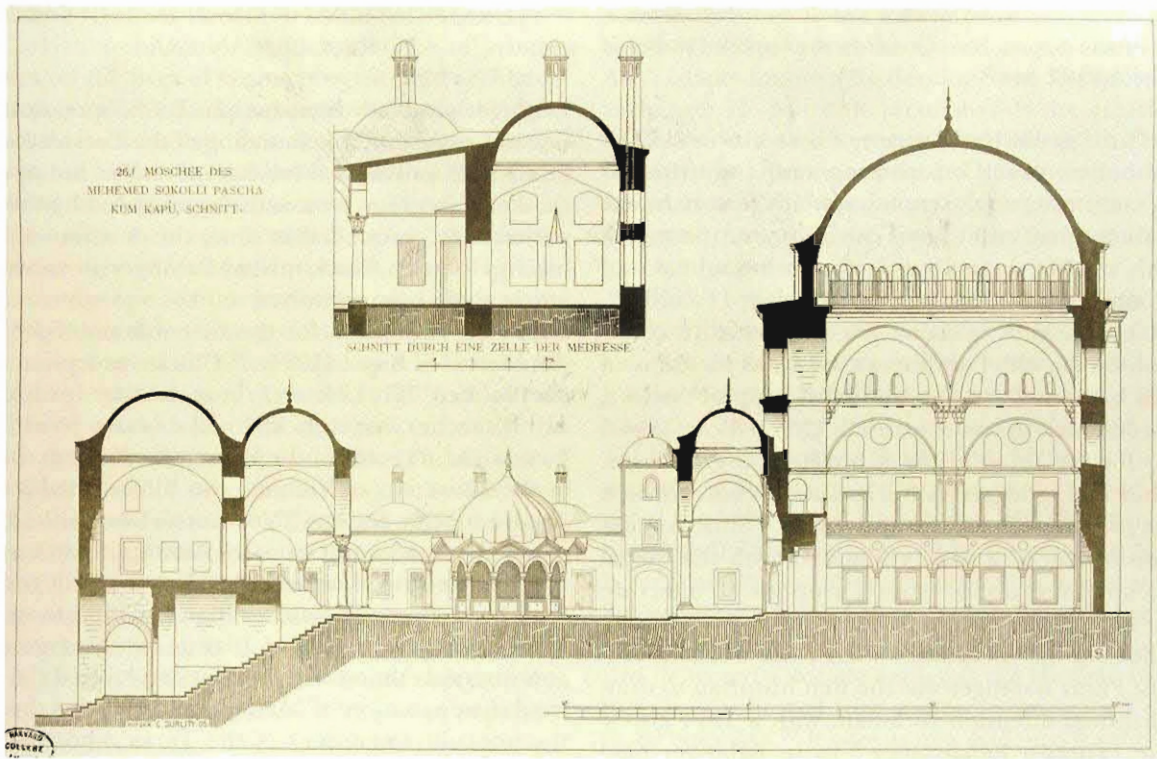


Fig. 12, a and b. Sections of the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha complex in Istanbul, built by Sinan, 1568–71, and elevation of the north courtyard facade with upper madrasa, portal, shops, and public fountain. (After Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, pls. 26f, 26c)

and boldness, with the same artistic and creative force, that was shaping the culture on the opposite shores of the Adriatic Sea.⁴⁶

Gurlitt's richly illustrated survey of Byzantine and Ottoman monuments in Constantinople not only includes Sinan's major imperial complexes, which feature monumental mosques with domes raised on four piers, but also his smaller domed edifices with hexagonal and octagonal support systems (figs. 10, a-c; 11; and 12, a and b). He thus initiated the still-pervasive classification of the chief architect's mosques in terms of domed baldachins resting on varied support systems, always designed to create centrally planned communal spaces for the ritual needs of Muslim congregations. Another lasting legacy of *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels* was its focus on the clarity and unity of Sinan's "conception of space," a focus resonating with the spatial preoccupations of modernist European architecture at the turn of the twentieth century.⁴⁷

Following his compatriot's lead, the German Orientalist Franz Babinger was the first historian to draw international attention to Sinan, with a 1914 article on the "Turkish Renaissance." In it, Babinger paid tribute to the chief architect as the Greek-born master of a sixteenth-century renaissance initiated under the patronage of Sultan Süleyman, when central-plan domed sanctuaries comparable to those of Bramante, Giuliano da Sangallo, Baldassare Peruzzi, and Michelangelo came into being. Babinger proposed that the "greatest Ottoman architect" Sinan, who remained practically unknown in Europe, be given deserved global recognition with a scholarly monograph on his life and works. For this urgent task Babinger enlisted the interdisciplinary cooperation of art historians, with their newly developed universal techniques of formal analysis, and Orientalist historians, who possessed the linguistic skills required for research in the "astoundingly rich" Turkish archives. As a starting point, he compiled an inventory of the chief architect's oeuvre based on Cevdet's edition of the *Tezkiretül Bünyân*, unsuspectingly repeating the fabricated biographical details of its preface.⁴⁸ A year later, Babinger would coin the nickname "Ottoman Michelangelo" for Sinan, who was soon transformed into the symbol of a newly born nation-state's creative spirit as the "Turkish Michelangelo."⁴⁹

TURKIFICATION OF SINAN IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN ERA

Babinger's call for interdisciplinary cooperation was not embraced until the founding of the Turkish Republic in 1923 provided a fresh impetus for the nascent field of Turcology, now actively cultivated by the new nation-state. Around that time, the Austrian art historian Heinrich Glück invited Babinger to submit an article about primary written sources on Ottoman court architects and artists for the first volume of *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst* (1924).⁵⁰ Glück was a pioneer in the field of "Turkish art," launched by the studies of his teacher, mentor, and collaborator Josef Strzygowski, the director of the Institut für Kunstgeschichte at the University of Vienna, who himself had sought Asiatic origins for the "Northern" Germanic art of Austro-Hungary and Germany. Attempting to counter the Eurocentric "humanist bias" that privileged the "Southern" Greco-Roman tradition and the late antique Mediterranean origins of Islamic art, Strzygowski's controversial ethno-racial theories emphasized the westward dissemination of "Aryan" artistic forms through the nomadic migrations of the Turks, who had generally been dismissed as "barbarians." The expansive geographical scope of this pan-Germanic perspective, embracing much of Eurasia, upgraded the artistic status of Turkic peoples to that of mediators between East and West.⁵¹ Foregrounding the importance of Turk-Iranian artistic syntheses catalyzed by the Turkic migrations, Strzygowski declared that "the Turks played the same role in Asia as the Germans did in Europe."⁵² Not surprisingly, his theories struck a chord with nationalist sentiments in the newly founded Turkish Republic, which was searching for its own cultural roots in the eastern homelands of the Turks. Among Strzygowski's disciples, Ernst Diez and Katharina Otto-Dorn would eventually hold prominent teaching positions at the Universities of Istanbul and Ankara during the 1940s and 1950s, following their colleague Glück's premature death in 1930 at the age of forty.⁵³

The earliest monograph on "Turkish art" was Glück's *Türkische Kunst* (1917), based on an inaugural lecture that he delivered in Istanbul for the founding of the short-lived Hungarian Institute, which closed down in 1918 upon the defeat in the First World War of the allied Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires. This booklet reflects the Institute's particular interest in Turkish culture at a time when the cultural roots of Hungary were being sought in Central Asia;

its planned publications also included monographs on Turkish architecture and translations of primary sources on the lives of Ottoman artists and architects. Glück portrays the Turks as transmitting visual culture across the Eurasian lands via westward migrations that culminated in the formation of Anatolian Seljuk and Ottoman art. Arguing that successive Turkic dynasties kneaded with their own national "spirit" the diverse traditions they encountered in lands extending from China to Europe, Glück attributes originality to the artistic syntheses that emerged from this process of creative "transformation," often disparaged as "imitation." He highlights the agency of patrons and "national artists" like Sinan, who stamped each new artistic synthesis with the unchanging imprint of the "Turkish spirit." Like Gurlitt, Glück credits the Ottomans with reviving the idea, dormant for a thousand years, of building monumental structures in the manner of Hagia Sophia; he views this renaissance as rooted in earlier Turkic experiments with domed spaces.⁵⁴

The role of Sinan as the creator of a new conception of centralized domed space is also articulated in Glück's *Die Kunst der Osmanen* (1922)—an expanded version of his essay, "Türkische Dekorationskunst" (1920), which stresses the "national internationalism" (*nationalen Internationalismus*) of Ottoman architecture and architectural decoration, along with the cosmopolitanism of Istanbul's court culture manifested by invitations extended to such artists as Gentile Bellini. According to Glück, Sinan's national school of architecture, with its distinctive mode of decoration epitomized in floral tile revetments, has an international dimension, for it fuses Eastern and Western traditions more than any other school of Islamic architecture.⁵⁵

Emphasizing the simultaneously international and national character of "Turkish art," Glück's publications found an enthusiastic reception in early republican Turkey, with its modernist mission to join the European cultural sphere coupled with its desire to preserve an individual identity, increasingly defined in ethno-racial terms. Around 1926–27, Fuat Köprülü, the leading nationalist historian of Turkic literature and culture, asked both Glück and Strzygowski to contribute articles on the subject of "Turkish art" to *Türkiyat Mecmuası* (a journal Köprülü published as the director of the Turcology Institute of Istanbul University).⁵⁶ In those years, he also envisioned inviting Glück to teach at Istanbul University and sending Turkish students to study with Strzygowski in

Vienna.⁵⁷ Strzygowski's article for *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, titled "The Turks and the Question of Central Asian Art," adapts theories he developed in 1917 for a new audience. He not only recommends the creation in Ankara of a national museum of "Turkish art" of all periods but also announces his desire, fueled by the foundation of the republican regime, to write a grand survey of the arts of the Turks from their ancient origins to the present.⁵⁸

Glück's article, titled "The Status of Turkish Art in the World," similarly declares his intention to prepare a comprehensive survey in collaboration with his colleague Mehmed Aga-Oglu, an Azerbaijani Turk who trained in Turcology at the University of Moscow (1912–16) before emigrating to Istanbul. Subsequently sent to study in Germany and Austria as the future director of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul, Aga-Oglu was appointed to the position he had been groomed for upon obtaining his doctorate with Strzygowski in 1927. Glück's article, written the same year, is a revised version of the inaugural lecture he had delivered a decade earlier at the Hungarian Institute, now inflected with a more pronounced ethno-racial emphasis.⁵⁹ It cites as new evidence for the Turkishness of Istanbul's mosques an article published by Aga-Oglu in 1926 "disproving" the influence of Hagia Sophia on the mosque of Mehmed II (1463–70), the first in a series of sultanic complexes culminating with those built by Sinan. Glück agrees with Aga-Oglu's assessment of this mosque as a direct descendant of the indigenous Anatolian Seljuk and early Ottoman architectural traditions. Moreover, he now claims a Turkish ethnic origin for Sinan, citing another article published in 1926 by Aga-Oglu, "proving" that the chief architect's grandfather was a Turk.⁶⁰

The interdisciplinary collaboration between Glück and Babinger was cut short by the controversy sparked by Aga-Oglu's article on Sinan's ethnicity, which challenged Babinger's subscription to the unsubstantiated view that the chief architect's father was a Greek named Christo (a name supposedly mentioned in the *Quyüdât-i Mühimme*).⁶¹ Aga-Oglu based his own argument on an equally suspicious source, however—a marginal note in a manuscript by Örfi Mahmud Agha (d. 1778), the *Tārīkh-i Edirne* (History of Edirne), which happened to mention the Turkish name of Sinan's grandfather, who allegedly trained him in carpentry:

The talented Master Sinan Agha b. Abdülmennan, who built the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, was a pious old man who lived more than a hundred years. Whenever he



Fig. 13. Portrait of Sinan, signed by the artist Hasan Rıza. (After Tosyavizade Rifat Osman Bey, "İrtihâlinin 339'uncu Sene-i Devriyesi Münâsebetiyle Büyük Türklerden Mimar Koca Sinan b. Abdülmennân," *Millî Mecmua* 7, 83 [1927]: 1339)

came to Edirne, he would stay in the Mirmiran quarter, at the house of my grandfather Abdullah Agha, who was the Kethüda of the Old Palace. One night he drew the plans and calculations of the noble [Sokollu] mosque in Lüleburgaz. On that occasion, Master Sinan recounted to my grandfather how he received the tools of his trade in his youth from the workshop of his grandfather, Togan Yusuf Agha, who was a master carpenter."⁶²

Babinger's rebuttal in 1927 insisted on Sinan's identity as a Greek convert (*devsirme*) and questioned the authenticity of the marginal note quoted above, written by a late-eighteenth-century author whose grandfather could hardly have been a contemporary of the chief architect.⁶³

Turkish historians subsequently demonstrated that the marginal note was indeed a forgery, perhaps perpetrated by the owner of the manuscript, the retired doctor and amateur architectural historian Tosyavizade Rifat Osman Bey.⁶⁴ Rifat Osman's 1927 article in *Millî Mecmua* (National Journal), commemorating the 339th anniversary of the death of the "Great Turk Mimar Koca Sinan b. Abdülmennan" mentions not only the marginal note quoted above but also the preface of another source in the same manuscript (a composite version of the chief architect's autobiographies) according to which Sinan was not a convert (*devsirme*) but instead came to Istanbul with his father, a scribe in the retinue of an officer sent to recruit Christian Janissary cadets from Kayseri. Rifat Osman points out that the information provided by the latter source is at odds with other versions of Sinan's autobiographies, which refer to his Christian *devsirme* origin. Hoping that new sources discovered in the future might resolve such contradictory evidence, he ridicules those who wish to invent a non-*devsirme*, Muslim identity for Sinan.⁶⁵ The same article furthermore brings to light an "authentic" portrait of the venerable chief architect in old age, signed by the late artist Hasan Rıza, who is said to have copied it from an Italian engraving made during the sitter's lifetime (fig. 13). This visual counterpart to Cevdet's "verbal portrait" of Sinan is yet another manifestation of the obsession with the persona of the beloved national architect.⁶⁶

Rifat Osman dedicated his article to the recently deceased Mimar Kemalettin Bey, a leader of the "First National Movement" in architecture, which rejected the eclectic revivalist style promoted by the *Usûl* in favor of a more purist Turkish idiom inspired by Seljuk and Ottoman forms. An ardent admirer of Sinan, Kemalettin not only named one of his sons after the chief architect but also wished to be buried next to him. As the director between 1909 and 1919 of constructions and restorations at the Superintendency of Charitable Foundations (Evkaf Nezareti), Kemalettin trained a generation of architect-restorers (such as Sedat Çetintaş, Ali Saim Ülgen, and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi), who were among the first to restore and prepare measured drawings of Ottoman monuments and to write on national architecture.⁶⁷ Emerging during the first decades of the twentieth century, this indigenous tradition of architectural historiography, much like the scholarship of art historians belonging to Strzygowski's circle, was dominated by formal analysis.⁶⁸ It was largely the product of individuals



Fig. 14. Map of Central Asia showing the place of origin and spread of the Turks. (After Celâl Esad Arseven, *Türk San'atı* [Istanbul, 1928], 12, fig. 5)

trained as architects and artists, who elaborated on the rationalist paradigm of the *Usûl* with new observations based on the first-hand study of national monuments, and was often fuelled by critical responses to the “detractors” of “Turkish art.”

A pioneer of this native tradition of nationalist historiography was Celâl Esad (Arseven): a polymath educated at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul (founded in 1883), where the *Usûl* was being used as a textbook.⁶⁹ His *Constantinople de Byzance à Stamboul* (1909) is the earliest book by a Turkish author on the Byzantine and Ottoman monuments of the imperial capital: appended to it is a short biography of Sinan, identified as the son of Christo. Its section on Ottoman architecture, mostly derived from the *Usûl*, aims to demonstrate the distinctive “national character” of “Turkish art,” which is “in Europe falsely considered a

servile imitation of Persian, Arab, and Byzantine art.”⁷⁰ Between 1920 and 1941, Arseven intermittently taught courses on architectural history and urbanism at the Academy of Fine Arts, where he developed the conceptual framework of his second book, *Türk San'atı* (Turkish Art), published in 1928. This is the first survey by a Turkish scholar to trace the eastern Turkic origins (fig. 14) of the art and architecture of “Turkey” (Türkiye), the shrunken territory of the new nation-state. Criticizing the European concept of “Islamic art” as tantamount to classifying the whole Western tradition as “Christian art,” Arseven once again seeks to disprove the presumption that the Turks merely copied “Arab, Persian, and Byzantine art.” He argues that it is a “national duty” to rectify the lack of recognition of “Turkish art” and proposes the establishment of a committee to remedy the paucity of documentation.⁷¹

Arseven cites the works of Strzygowski, Glück, Diez, and Aga-Oglu as models for future research on the “national” (*millî*) and “individual” (*şahsî*) character of “Turkish art.”⁷² He adopts and illustrates with a map (fig. 14) their paradigm of migrations that give rise to original artistic syntheses created by the interaction of foreign and national artists under the patronage of Turkish dynasties. Nevertheless, he rejects the “exaggerated role” attributed by European scholars to Byzantine and Armenian elements in the Anatolian Seljuk synthesis and approvingly cites Aga-Oglu’s view that Hagia Sophia exerted no influence on the mosque of Mehmed II in Istanbul.⁷³ Arseven’s *Türk San’atı* traces the evolution of “Turkish art” in three phases, from ancient and medieval Asiatic origins to the present. In his opinion, the latest Anatolian phase, encompassing the Seljuk and Ottoman periods, constitutes a “continuous style” culminating with Sinan’s masterpieces, which are “without doubt” the highest achievement of “Turkish art.”⁷⁴

Arseven refers to Sinan as the “greatest master of Turkish architecture,” who perfects the “classical style” of the “Ottoman Turks” (a still-prevalent denomination that anachronistically ethnicizes the Ottomans). He considers there to have been only two unrivaled architectural geniuses of the sixteenth century, “Sinan in the East” and “Michelangelo in the West.” He is the first to use the term “classical period” for the zenith of Ottoman architecture, which achieves “simplicity and beauty” by passing previous foreign influences through a corrective “filter.” Thanks to its harmonious volumetric massing and the subordination of its ornament to structural rationalism, the “purified” classical Ottoman synthesis is superior to the hybrid medieval style of the Anatolian Seljuks, which is characterized by unseemly heavy proportions and an exaggerated decorative emphasis. Arseven’s preoccupation with “purification” echoes the general obsession of an entire age in which late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century nationalisms exalted ethnic/national purity (in such realms as race, language, history, culture, and art) as an ideal.⁷⁵ Moreover, his teleological view of the Seljuk period as a less developed precursor of the Ottoman era, within which the essentialized “classical age” reigns supreme, finds a direct corollary in nationalist history writing in the early Turkish Republic. In an expanded edition of his book Arseven later explains that he chose the term “classical style” (*klâsik üslûb*) because in Europe it denotes a “high style” based on rational principles consistently applied to plans, ele-

ments, and ornament “rescued from exaggerated forms.” The distinctive characteristics of this style—refinement, simplicity, rationality, sincerity, nobility, and dignity—are none other than the ones highlighted forty-five years earlier in the imperial discourse of the *Usûl* as markers of proto-national dynastic identity; they are now recast as Turkish qualities embodying a modernist spirit awaiting reinvigoration under the Westernizing Republic of Turkey.⁷⁶

Criticizing the predominant focus of the *Usûl* on mosques, Arseven draws attention to their multifunctional dependencies, which embody urban design principles, and to secular building types. He declares that the modern age must invent an entirely new, nonrevivalist art inspired by the national “spirit” of the past, which since the eighteenth century, with the infiltration of foreign European influences, has steadily declined. Arseven’s modernist discourse is built into his elaborate periodization of Ottoman architecture (slightly revised in the 1939 French edition of his book, indicated in brackets), which culminates in the “New Turkey Period”: he labels these “Bursa Period, 1325–1480” [“Style de Brousse, 1325–1501”]; “Classical Period, 1480–1603” [“Style classique, 1501–1616”]; “Renovation Period, 1603–1702” [“Style classique rénové, 1616–1703”]; “Tulip Period, 1702–30” [“Style Tulipe, 1703–30”]; “Baroque Period, 1730–1808” [“Style Baroque, 1730–1808”]; “Empire Period, 1808–50” [“Style Empire et pseudo-Renaissance, 1808–84”]; and “Revivalist Period, 1850–1923” [“Style néo-classique, 1875–1923”].⁷⁷ This dynamic succession of period-styles, echoing those of Europe and integrated with the evolutionary rhythms of Western civilization, stands in marked contrast to the essentialist frameworks of Orientalist publications that denied modernity to the “Islamic other.” By adapting the *Usûl*’s rise-and-decline paradigm to the new context of the Turkish Republic, Arseven attempts to legitimize the progressive modernist agenda of the nation-state on both the political and the artistic front.⁷⁸

Although Arseven notes the dissemination of the “classical style” in the Balkans and the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire (and supposedly as far as India by way of Sinan’s students), his book focuses on monuments within modern Turkey.⁷⁹ The geographical spread and regional diversity of the Ottoman architectural heritage over three continents would also be distorted by the nationalist historiographies of other nation-states (both Christian and Muslim) that had partitioned the empire’s formerly unified territories;

these new polities tended to delegitimize the Ottoman past by casting it as an artistically inferior period of detested foreign "occupation." By contrast, the Anatolia-centered secular Republic of Turkey, founded on the contracted heartlands of the empire with a revolution that terminated the Ottoman regime, stood out as the only modern nation-state to embrace the architectural legacy of the past: the "Rumi" legacy of a multinational dynastic empire, which now came to be reconceptualized as "Anatolian Turkish."⁸⁰

With the inauguration in 1931 of the Turkish History Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu), an institution created to construct a nationalist historiography demonstrating "the service of the Turks to civilization," the subject of "Turkish art" moved to center stage of official attention.⁸¹ In 1935, the director of the society, Afet İnan, proposed the publication of a monograph on the national chief architect, and her proposal was approved by the founder of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk], who wrote the instruction: "Make Sinan's statue!" (fig. 15). Atatürk also expressed his desire that the Süleymaniye Mosque be restored and its multifunctional dependencies transformed into a commemorative urban complex named "Sinan Sitesi" after the chief architect. This desire would be realized only partially: the mosque was renovated and one of its madrasas converted into a public manuscript library. The long-delayed statue, not sculpted until 1956, was ceremonially erected in front of the Ankara University Faculty of Language and History-Geography during the four hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of the Süleymaniye Mosque (fig. 16).⁸²

After Atatürk's death in 1938, the Sinan monograph failed to materialize due to the Second World War, although several publications eventually grew out of it from the 1960s through the 1980s.⁸³ Planned as a two-volume work in French and Turkish, the book had been assigned to an interdisciplinary committee of prominent historians, anthropologists, and architectural historians. Like the multilingual *Usûl*, it was to be an official publication commissioned by the state to address an audience both at home and abroad. The first volume, on historical context, would include sections on the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century cultural history of the Ottoman Empire, the Janissary institution, the ethnology of Muslim and Christian Turks in Anatolia, the ethnic origin of Sinan, his private and public life, the inventory of his monuments, critical editions of his autobiographies and *waqfiyyas*, the school of Sinan and architects trained by him, and

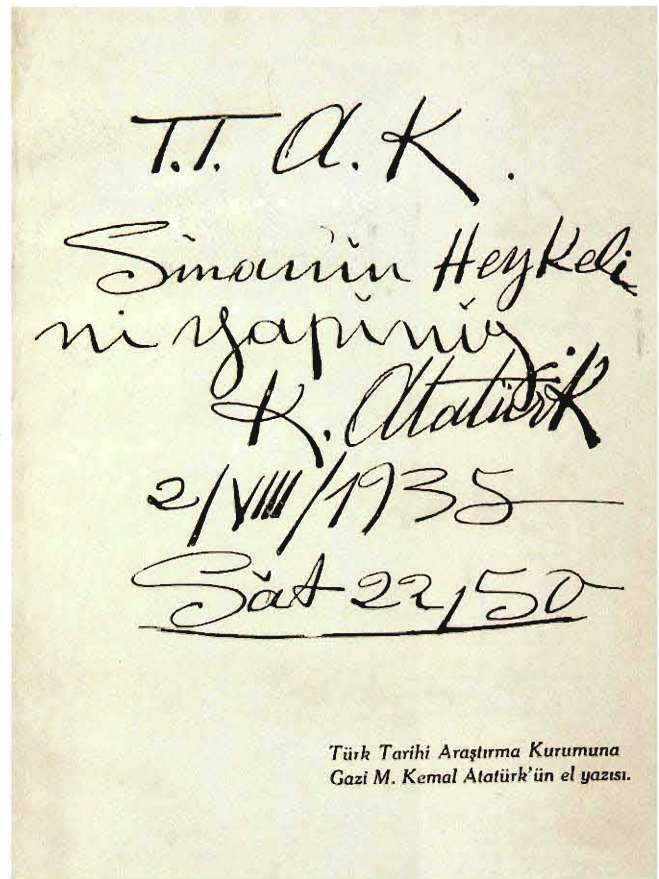


Fig. 15. Atatürk's handwritten instruction to the Turkish History Society, dated Aug. 2, 1935: "Make Sinan's statue!" (After Afet İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan* [Ankara, 1956], frontispiece)

the monuments of his students in India. The second volume, on architectural history, would be illustrated with specially prepared drawings and photographs; it would feature chapters on architecture as a fine art, the art-historical analysis of Sinan's works, their comparison to contemporary monuments of world architecture, and their interpretation in Turkish and European publications and would end with a comprehensive bibliography.⁸⁴

A bilingual brochure published in 1937, on the occasion of the Second Congress of Turkish History, included abstracts written by the respective supervisors of each volume, the historian Fuat Köprülü and the French architectural historian Albert-Louis Gabriel.⁸⁵ Trained as an architect-archaeologist, Gabriel taught in the Faculty of Letters of Istanbul University between

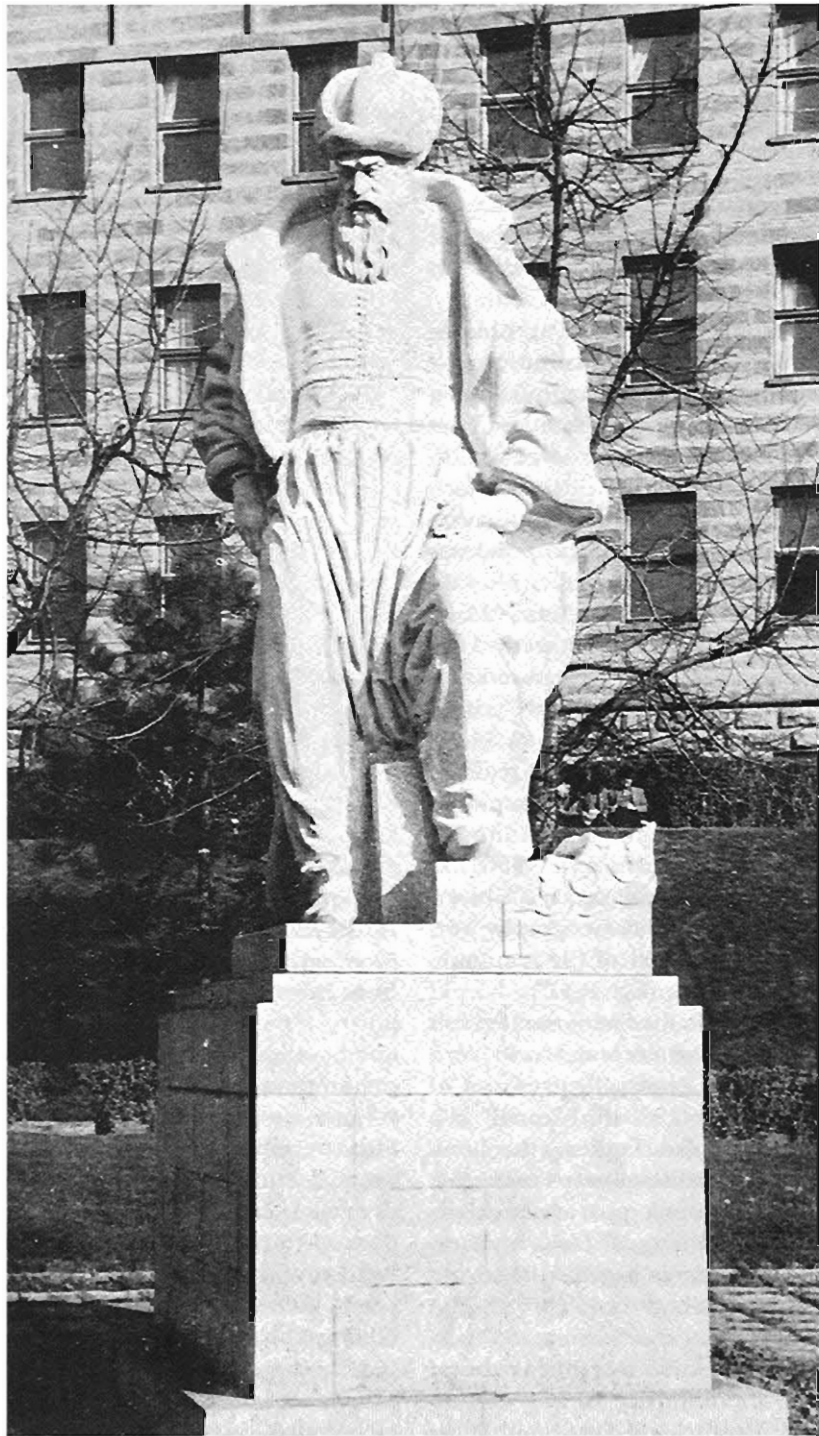


Fig. 16. Marble statue of Sinan, sculpted by Hüseyin Anıy in 1956 (After İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan*, pl. 4)

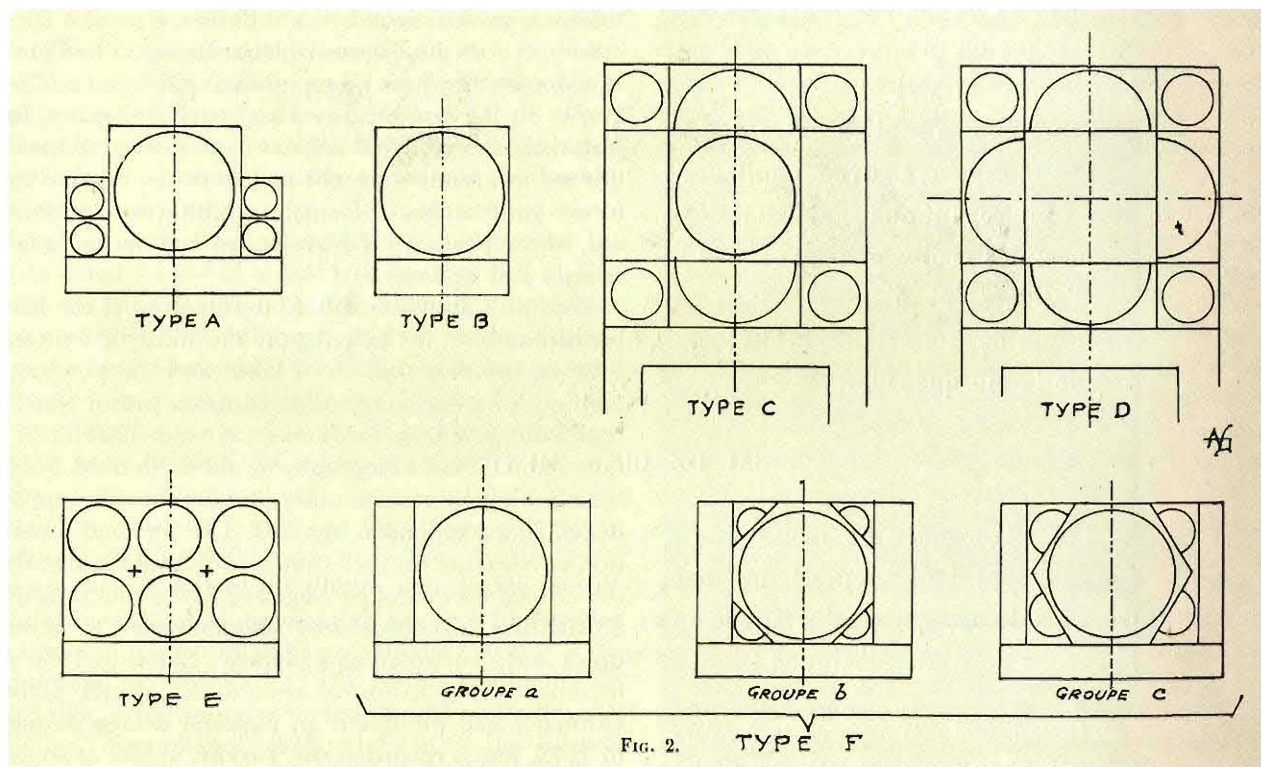


Fig. 17. Typological chart of mosque plans. (After Albert Gabriel, "Les mosquées de Constantinople," *Syria* 7 [1926]: 362)

1926 and 1930 and subsequently served as the first director of the French Institute of Archaeology until 1956. He was a trusted friend of Köprülü and the celebrated author of *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie* (1931–34).⁸⁶ His abstract explains that the volume on architectural history was to show how Sinan's works embody "national traditions and constitute an integral part of the Turkish patrimony." Despite the geographical spread of his works in the Balkans, Anatolia, and Syria, the monograph would focus on Sinan's masterpieces in Edirne and particularly in Istanbul, without neglecting provincial monuments. Major mosque complexes were to be fully documented and complemented by selected examples of other building types such as masjids, madrasas, caravansarays, bridges, and fountains. (The absence from this list of Sinan's palaces and kiosks was perhaps due to the paucity of surviving examples, which enhanced the traditional focus on public monumental architecture.) The evolution of the chief architect's style would be traced to Anatolian Seljuk and early Ottoman prototypes in order to identify the "original character" of his works, along

with their "eminent place in global art history." His masterpieces, erected via a sophisticated centralized "organization of labor," would be presented not only as the manifestations of a single architect's extraordinary talent but also as "the symbol of the fundamental characteristics of the Turks and their highest aspirations." The analysis of Sinan's oeuvre would thus bring to light a great achievement in the art of humankind, reflecting "not only the genius of an individual man, but also the eternal virtues and merits of a nation."⁸⁷

The monograph, then, envisioned the chief architect's simultaneously global and national style (representing the supreme embodiment of the merits of a dynastic empire in the *Usûl*) as a collective artistic achievement of the Anatolian Turks. Gabriel had written an article along the same lines in 1936, glorifying Sinan as a "creative genius" whose masterpieces, imprinted by the "Turkish spirit," were far from pastiches of Hagia Sophia. Ten years earlier, he had detected in the chief architect's oeuvre an ethos comparable to that of the European Renaissance, rooted in

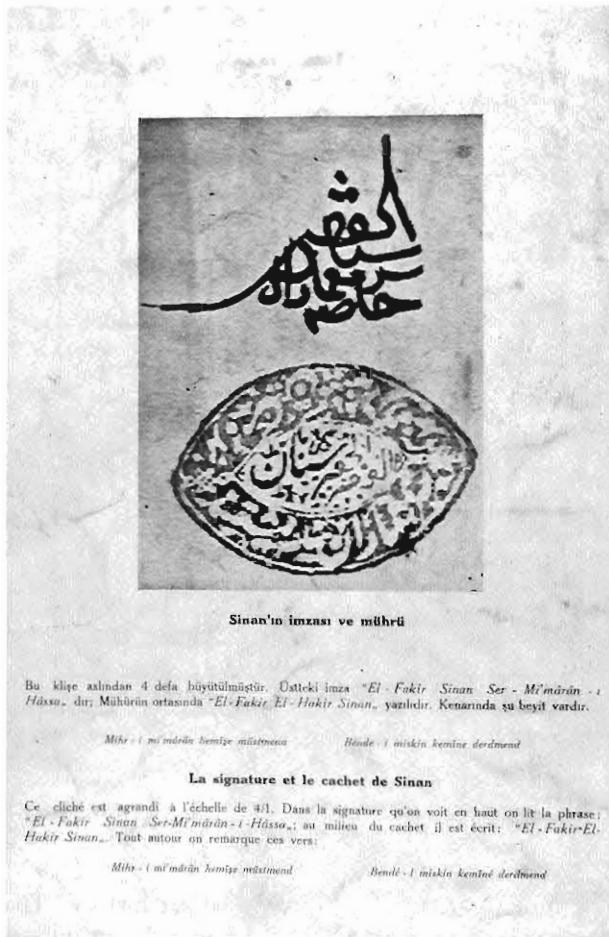


Fig. 18. Sinan's signature and the imprint of his seal on an archival document. (After Fuat Köprülü and Albert Gabriel, *Sinan, Hayatı, Eserleri = Sinan, sa vie, son oeuvre* [Istanbul, 1937], back cover)

the reinterpretation of antique models from the past in "modern works."⁸⁸ According to Gabriel's abstract, his "rigorously documented" volume, which would feature contributions of other architects-cum-architectural historians (S. Çetintaş, A. S. Ülgen, and S. H. Eldem), aimed to disprove "prejudiced" assessments by non-experts, based on "false postulates." Its architectural drawings, to be prepared with "scrupulous exactitude," would probably have featured comparative typological charts, like those included in Gabriel's 1926 article classifying the plan types of Istanbul's mosques, which initiated the taxonomical gaze of subsequent studies (fig. 17).⁸⁹ The clear-cut separation of historical documentation and formal analysis into two

volumes, each assigned to a different group of specialists, echoes the division of labor Babinger had previously envisioned for his own unrealized Sinan monograph. Such a nonintegrated approach, relegating to historians the study of texts as repositories of background information, would largely be maintained by future generations of formalist architectural historians, whose primary methodological tool became that of style and typology.

Köprülü's abstract explains the purpose of the historical volume: to analyze, on the basis of written sources, the organization of labor and the political, cultural, and socio-economic contexts within which "our national architecture and great national architect" flourished. Sinan's biography would be derived from his autobiographies and other primary sources, reproduced in an appendix (fig. 18). The planned inclusion of a section on the ethnology of Anatolia signals the official agenda of propagating Sinan's identity as a Christian Turkish *değişirme* who converted to Islam upon being recruited as a Janissary cadet. In 1936 a member of the historical committee, Ahmet Refik (Altınay), had published an imperial decree dating to 1573, which recorded the Turkish names of some of Sinan's Christian relatives living in the villages of Kayseri.⁹⁰ At the 1937 Congress of Turkish History, another member of the historical committee, Hasan Fehmi Turgal, brought to light additional documents showing the prevalence of Turkish names in the Christian village of Ağırnas, in Kayseri, where, according to archival sources, Sinan was born.⁹¹ The historian Rıfki Melul Meriç, who had been appointed to write Sinan's biography for the historical volume, used these documents in a 1938 article to support the view that the chief architect was recruited from Ağırnas as a Christian Turk. He convincingly demonstrated the unreliability of texts used (and almost certainly invented) by Cevdet and Osman Rifat to construct fictive biographies of Sinan. Nevertheless, Meriç's own assertion that Turkish names were adopted only by the Christian Turks of the Kayseri region, and not by their Greek and Armenian neighbors, was at best an unsubstantiated hypothesis. The search for the controversial ethnic origin of Sinan (whether Greek, Armenian, or Turkish) was largely a misguided exercise, given the racial pluralism of the Ottoman state. The still-unresolved controversy is based on the assumption of an "ethnic purity" difficult to imagine in the intermixed Greek, Armenian, and Christian Turkish populations

of the Kayseri region, whose shared naming practices further complicate the problem.⁹²

The ongoing preoccupation with the Turkishness of Sinan and of his style is manifested in a fictionalized biography of him written “in the manner of a historical novel” by Afet İnan, the director of the Turkish History Society, who had initially conceived the monograph project. Even though Meriç had proved the fabricated nature of documents “discovered” by Cevdet and Rifat Osman, she indiscriminately uses them to embellish the childhood portrait of the national genius as a Christian Turk.⁹³ She imagines in vivid detail how Sinan’s grandfather Doğan Yusuf Agha interrupts his work on carpentry and holds the newborn baby in his arms, as his tears of joy fall and dry on the infant’s cheeks. Instead of merely constructing chicken coops and fountains, little Sinan absorbs artistic influences from the physical landscape of the Anatolian terrain, such as the powerful silhouette of Mount Erciyes, whose form he later mimics in the mountainlike pyramidal massing of the Süleymaniye Mosque (fig. 19). Another influence on his style, constituting a geographically and ethnically defined Anatolian Turkish synthesis, is the cultural landscape of Seljuk monuments in nearby Kayseri and Konya, which Sinan avidly studies and sketches whenever his grandfather goes to repair their woodwork (fig. 20). On these occasions, the talented boy helps the old man, who in turn teaches him history lessons. At the Karatay Khan, for instance, he tells Sinan: “This building is a monument of our ancestors, the Seljuks. Like us they, too, came from the east. They settled here, built these monuments, and left them to us.” As Sinan prepares to leave Ağırnas for Istanbul with his father Katip Abdülmennan (the scribe of a Janissary recruitment officer), his grandfather kisses his forehead and encourages him to build masterpieces that emulate Seljuk monuments in the sultan’s service: “Our tribal ancestors came here in migrations. We kept alive our lineage with our names and mother tongue. Now most of these Turks are accepting the religion of Islam and creating civilized works (*medenî eserler*). I want to see you also as a person serving this race and the Turkish being!”⁹⁴

In promoting its racial theories, the Turkish History Society went so far as to exhume Sinan’s body from his tomb in 1935 to measure his skull. In 1944, the architect Bedri Uçar proudly announced that the Society’s anthropological research had proven Sinan’s skull to be characteristic of the “brachyce-

phalic Turkish race” (*Brakisefal Türk vrkı*).⁹⁵ In those years such architectural journals as *Arkitekti*, *Mimarlık*, and *Mimar* continued to regularly commemorate Sinan, on the anniversary of his death, as the role model of modern successors “bearing the blood and genius of the master.”⁹⁶

In their readings of Sinan’s architecture through the lens of modernism, highlighting its perfect balance between form and function along with its “rationalism” and “purism” transcending decorative impulses, these professional journals would leave an imprint on subsequent scholarship. The European professors of architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul also inscribed the chief architect’s works within modernist narratives.⁹⁷ For instance, a 1938 textbook on global architectural history, *Mimari Bilgisi* (Knowledge of Architecture), written by the German architect Bruno Taut for the students of the Academy, presents a functionalist interpretation of Sinan’s style, characterizing it as achieving an ideal harmony between proportional form and rational construction. Taut regards Roman and Byzantine architects as mere engineers in comparison to Sinan, who as a genius of the art of proportion aestheticizes engineering technique both internally and externally in his domed mosques. Visually improved by soaring minarets, Hagia Sophia is only a “prelude” to the mosques of Sinan, under whom domed construction reaches the highest degree of development and flexibility in world history.⁹⁸

Sinan also occupies a prominent position in another textbook for Turkish students, written by Ernst Diez soon after he founded (in 1943) the art history department of Istanbul University, where he taught courses on Islamic and Turkish art. Translated into Turkish by his pupil Oktay Aslanapa (who had just received a doctoral degree at the University of Vienna), it was published in 1946 under the title *Türk Sanatı: Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar* (Turkish Art: From the Beginning to the Present). Its preface laments the lack of a comprehensive survey comparable to Arthur Upham Pope’s *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (1938–39). Diez explains that his own modest volume aims to supplement the only existing survey of “Turkish art,” written by Arseven, which had been reprinted in 1939 in a revised French edition with new drawings, charts of typologically classified mosque plans, and additional photographs. Diez’s textbook reproduces some of these charts (fig. 21) and supplements them with others. Like his Turkish predecessor, he criticizes the mono-



Erciyeş'in Ağırnas'tan görünüşü
(Resam Ahmed Çalışel 1955)



Süleymaniye'nin bu resimdeki dış hatlarıyla, Ağırnas'tan Erciyeş'in görünüşündeki silueti ilgiyi çekecek durumdadır (Foto: Prof. Dr. Fazıl Noyan)

Fig. 19. View of Mount Erciyes from the village of Ağırnas, Sinan's birthplace, painted by Ahmed Çalışel in 1955, compared to a photograph showing the silhouette of the Süleymaniye Mosque. (After İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan*, frontispiece)

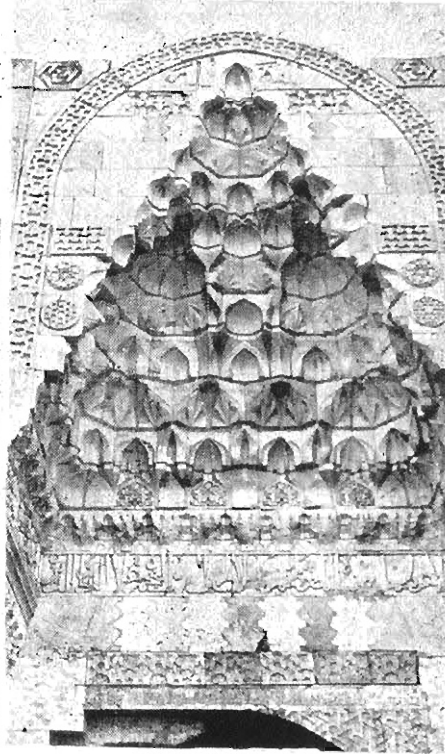
tipli, plânlı ve muntazam yapılmış bir bina manzumesi! Muhteşem kapusu, Selçuk mimari üslûbunun baha biçilmez bir baş eseri idi.

Dönüşte atı üzerinde giderken, hep başını arkada kalan, bu yapı sulûetinin tarafından ayrılamıyordu

Sinan, bu Türk - Selçuk âbidesinden çok hoşlandı. İşleri bitip gitmek zamanı gelince, oradan ayrılmak istemeyen bir hali vardı.



Aksaray, Konya "Sultan Han"
Kervansarayının içten görünüşü.



Aksaray, Konya "Sultan Han"
kervansaraya kapusu.

(B. Y. U. Müdürlüğü arşivinden.)

Fig. 20. Photographs of the Sultan Khan in Aksaray, Konya. (After Inan, *Mimar Koca Sinan*, 23)

lithic term "Islamic art" and traces the evolution of the Turkish "national style" (*millî üslup*) in architecture and the arts from ancient Asiatic tribal origins to the present, focusing primarily on the Anatolian Seljuk and Ottoman periods.⁹⁹

Unlike Arseven, however, Diez (who was initially trained as a Byzantinist before turning to the study of Islamic art) aims to integrate the Turkish artistic tradition within a more universal Mediterranean perspective. In his book, written during the Second

World War, he explicitly rejects a race-based definition of "national style" and regards sultanic mosques built after the conquest of Constantinople as "the children of Hagia Sophia." It is the adoption of this monument by the sultans as a "symbol of imperial rule" that engenders a renaissance in the Golden Horn, born from the eastern Roman architectural tradition and characterized by an innovative conception of space and light that represents the last step in the evolution of Islamic mosque architecture. Elabo-

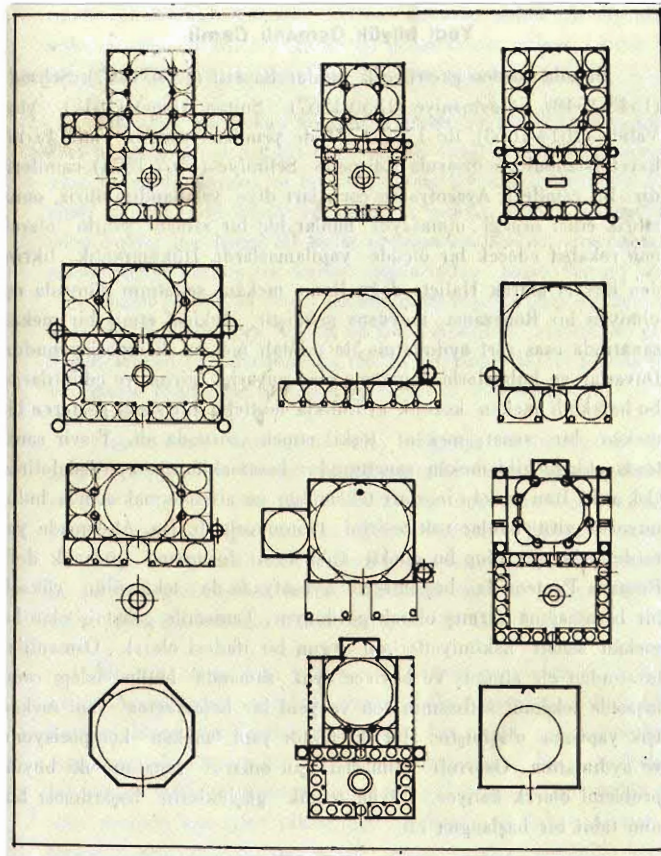


Fig. 21. Typological chart of Ottoman mosque plans by Arseven. (Reproduced in Ernst Diez, *Türk Sanatı* [Istanbul, 1946], 169, fig. 123)

rating on the “Turkish Renaissance” paradigm initiated by Gurlitt and further developed by Glück (with whom, in 1925, he had coauthored *Die Kunst des Islam* in the Propyläen Kunstgeschichte series), Diez argues that the Ottomans, whose empire approximated that of the Romans, needed “architectural representation” on a monumental scale, unlike their Anatolian Seljuk predecessors, who were content to build relatively small structures. In his view, the imperial “state architecture” of the Ottomans is not purely Turkish but rather a creative synthesis of Byzantine, Iranian, and Islamic traditions.¹⁰⁰

Referring to Sinan as the “greatest Turkish architect,” Diez accepts the “evidence” presented by Aga-Oglu concerning the chief architect’s ethnic origin as a Turk (although in a later article, published after he left Turkey, he states that Sinan was either Greek or Armenian, but more likely Armenian).¹⁰¹ Like Gurlitt, Diez classifies the plan types of the chief archi-

tect’s mosques as variations of square, hexagonal, and octagonal support systems.¹⁰² He observes that the “classical style” of the school of Sinan, “a term used by Turkish scholars,” presents parallels with sixteenth-century Italian Renaissance architecture, even though artistic exchanges with the West were not as strong at that time as in later periods. This is an allusion to the term *klâsik üslûb*, coined by Arseven, who wrote that the school of Sinan was “an entirely separate movement from the European Renaissance, for art in Turkey had not yet submitted itself to any foreign influence.” Unlike his Turkish colleague, Diez emphasizes the shared roots of Ottoman and Italian Renaissance architecture in the Roman imperial tradition and attributes their similarities to a “period style” (*Zeitstil*) mediating between “East and West.”¹⁰³

Pointing out that Ottoman architects “gazed with one eye to Hagia Sophia and the other eye to Europe,” Diez ranks the perfectly centralized early-seventeenth-

century Sultan Ahmed Mosque, built by a student of Sinan in a style comparable to the "European Baroque," above all other sultanic mosques in Istanbul. Despite the innovations of this mosque, however, he observes that Sinan's successors perpetuated his legacy until the mid-seventeenth century, when reactions to his "serious style" opened the gate to detrimental European influences manifested in the hybrid works of non-Turkish architects (Italian, Greek, and Armenian), which hastened the demise of "national architecture." Admitting that he has not visited the Selimiye in Edirne due to the war, Diez states his preference for the spatial effect of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque over that of Hagia Sophia or the Süleymaniye, an effect that to him demonstrates the superiority of a centralized plan with four half domes over a layout with only two half domes (fig. 22).¹⁰⁴ This judgment subverts the dominant view that the "classical style" of Sinan's mosques, reaching perfection in the Selimiye, represents the highest achievement of Ottoman architecture. Diez was so heavily criticized by Turkish scholars for foregrounding the influence of Hagia Sophia and emphasizing the Armenian and Byzantine ingredients of Anatolian Seljuk architecture that he left for Vienna in 1948.¹⁰⁵

The revised and expanded edition of his book, prepared in 1955 by Aslanapa (now the coauthor), omits controversial passages such as those espousing the Turkish ethnic origin of Sinan and characterizing sultanic mosques as the "children of Hagia Sophia" and more emphatically stresses Italian Renaissance parallels. The new edition includes additional sections on the Karamanid principality (based on a book Diez coauthored with Aslanapa and Koman in 1950) and other monuments from the Beylik period that diachronically bridge the Seljuk and Ottoman periods. The Beylik-period monuments of Western Anatolia, with their new emphasis on space, classicizing motifs inspired by local antique ruins, and Italianate features disseminated by trade relations, are seen as having initiated a fourteenth-century "renaissance" that constitutes yet another trans-Mediterranean "period style."¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, the fifteenth-century mosque of Mehmed II, now identified as the first monumental central-plan structure after Hagia Sophia, is credited with launching in Istanbul a "renaissance of antique architecture" parallel to that of Rome. Sinan's subsequently built central-plan domed mosques are likewise compared to projects developed in Rome for St. Peter's. The expanded section on Edirne refers

to the Üç Şerefeli Mosque (commissioned by Mehmed II's father prior to the encounter with Hagia Sophia) as one of the precursors of Sinan's "classical style," which reaches its climax with the Selimiye, a masterpiece that "overshadows all monuments in the world, including the Pantheon and St. Peter's in Rome."¹⁰⁷

The continuing anxiety about "influence" and the preoccupation with Turkishness, however, hindered further research on intercultural exchanges and artistic parallels with Italy. The intentional cross-references of Sinan's sultanic mosques to Hagia Sophia also resisted in-depth analysis. The stifling political correctness of nationalist discourses had the effect of marginalizing the architectural history of the "lands of Rum," situated at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, as a narrowly circumscribed field increasingly dominated by native scholars. Whether conceptualized as an Anatolian Turkish synthesis confined to the territorial borders of the nation-state, or as a pan-Turkic synthesis rooted in distant Asiatic origins, the "classical style" of Sinan was often framed within separatist narratives of architectural nationalism.¹⁰⁸

The need to demonstrate the national character of "Turkish art" is reiterated in Arseven's three-volume *Türk Sanatı Tarihi: Menşeyinden Bugüne Kadar* (History of Turkish Art: From Its Origins to the Present), published in fascicules between 1954 and 1959 as an expanded version of his 1939 *L'art Turc*. The preface announces the foundation in 1951 of the Institute of Turkish Art History at the Fine Arts Academy to further cultivate this undervalued field. The first two volumes, on architecture and architectural ornament, are once again dominated by the Ottoman period.¹⁰⁹ Arseven revises his former periodization by giving an even more prominent position to the "classical style" (now dated between 1501 and 1703) codified by Sinan. He no longer regards the Sultan Ahmed Mosque as the initiator of the "renovation period"; instead, it represents a less successful continuation of Sinan's style, which impresses Europeans thanks to its decorative exuberance (apparently an allusion to Diez's professed preference for the "Baroque" character of this mosque).¹¹⁰

Arseven censures Diez's definition of sultanic mosques as the "children of Hagia Sophia" and his negative assessment of the Süleymaniye as "untenable views regrettably included in a textbook that instills Turkish youth with an inferiority complex." He states that Sinan did not "imitate" Hagia Sophia, but rather "corrected and improved its errors and shortcomings"

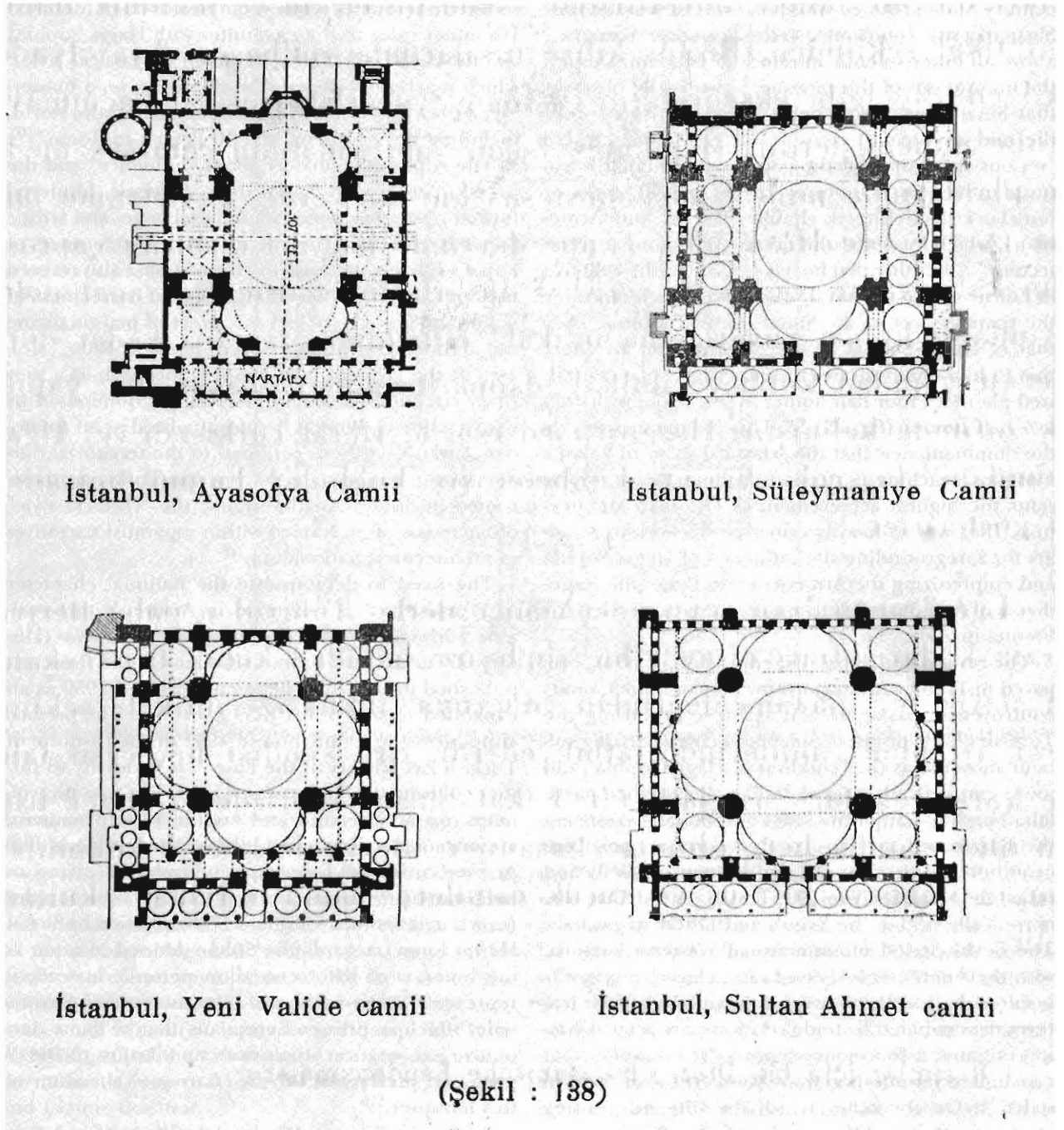


Fig. 22. Typological chart comparing the plans of the Ayasofya, Süleymaniye, Yeni Valide, and Sultan Ahmed mosques in Istanbul. (After Ernst Diez, *Türk Sanatı* [Istanbul, 1946], 196, fig. 138)

in masterpieces that brought the internal evolution of Turkish architecture to its highest point of maturity. Nor was Sinan influenced by the European Renaissance manner, which only infiltrated the national tradition of architecture after the eighteenth century: "In the meantime, Turkish architecture evolved according to its own character, following traditions developed in Anatolia" and some ideas inspired by the dome of Hagia Sophia. Accepting the official view of Sinan's origin as a Christian Turk, Arseven argues that his architectural genius could not have soared to such heights without the contributions of his predecessors and talented assistants, whom he directed in the manner of an "orchestra conductor."¹¹¹ Like the unrealized monograph commissioned by the Turkish History Society, Arseven's revised book represents Sinan's oeuvre as an embodiment of national values that the Turks should be proud of: a collective achievement reflecting the "highly refined aesthetic sensibilities" of the society in which the chief architect flourished.¹¹²

The 1950s marked the emergence of specialized architectural history books that initiated a break between architecture and the arts; this dichotomy thereafter became normative in most surveys.¹¹³ The earliest monograph on the chief architect, *Sinan: Der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit*, was published in 1954 by the Vienna-trained Swiss architect Ernst Egli, a former professor of the Academy of Fine Arts. Tracing the specifically Turkish character of Sinan's mosques to the cube-and-dome combination in Anatolian Seljuk architecture, Egli argues that "Hagia Sophia came less as a revelation than as an incentive for further effort." Commenting on the futility of the debate on ethnic origin, he positions Sinan's works within the Turkish-Islamic cultural sphere, for "no one can deny that he grew up in Turkish surroundings, or that his career was confined to the Turkish-Ottoman and Islamic worlds."¹¹⁴

Another monograph, published in 1958, is Doğan Kuban's *Osmanlı Dinî Mimarisinde İç Mekân Teşekkülü: Rönesansla bir Mukayese* (Formation of Inner Space in Ottoman Religious Architecture: A Comparison with the Renaissance). Kuban, who was trained as an architect at Istanbul Technical University (where he subsequently became a renowned professor and the chair of Architectural History and Restoration) explains in his preface that he adopts an "empirical method" of formal comparison to demonstrate the distinctive character of Ottoman mosques, which depart from the "predominantly decorative approach of Islamic

architecture" in their original "conception of space." Distancing himself from discourses on the origins of the "classical style" of Ottoman architecture, he criticizes both the biases of Western scholars (who consider this style an imitation of Hagia Sophia, constituting an inferior branch of Islamic architecture) and the chauvinism of nationalist paradigms that insist on tracing its roots to ancient Asiatic sources. He contends that one must first understand the nature of the "Seljuk-Turkish" and "Ottoman-Turkish" architecture of Anatolia before attempting to search for distant origins in the East.¹¹⁵ Kuban's preference for defining the "character" of the classical Ottoman style as an Anatolian Turkish synthesis stamped by an early modern Mediterranean spirit is nevertheless implicitly embedded in a discourse of national identity. His comparison between Ottoman and Italian Renaissance religious monuments aims to highlight their differences rather than the parallels attributed by Diez to a *Zeitstil* shared across the Mediterranean. These differences, according to Kuban, underscore the separate identity of classical Ottoman architecture as an independent regional-geographical synthesis that, contrary to Diez's view, is not "influenced" by Europe.¹¹⁶

Focusing on the contemporaneous development of light-filled, domed central-plan religious monuments in Renaissance Italy and the Ottoman Empire, Kuban's comparative analysis of inner space highlights the uniqueness of Sinan's mosques, with their hemispherical superstructures resting on square, hexagonal, and octagonal support systems and their rational construction system minimizing the role of ornament. Kuban argues that since the Italian Renaissance and the Ottoman architectural traditions both synthesize diverse influences (including Byzantine and medieval prototypes), each synthesis must be judged positively on its own terms. His comparative strategy thus vindicates the original character of Ottoman religious architecture by giving a new twist to the rationalist paradigm of the *Uşûl*, embraced in Arseven's definition of the "classical style." Kuban's Turkification and Anatolianization of the Ottoman architectural synthesis is further crystallized in a 1967 article titled "Mimar Sinan and the Classical Period of Turkish Architecture," which portrays the chief architect as the "symbol of the classical period of Anatolian Turkish architecture" and a "central issue of national culture." Aiming to show how Sinan "combined a national synthesis with a universal world view" that bridged Asia and Europe, this seminal article sets the tone for Kuban's

future monographs on the chief architect, which reject biased Western interpretive frameworks in favor of an “empirical” method of formal analysis.¹¹⁷

CANONIZATION OF SINAN IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

After the 1950s the linear evolution of national architecture from the Seljuk and Beylik periods through the Ottoman period became normative in surveys of Turkish art and architecture, which canonized Sinan’s “classical style” as the undisputed apex of artistic achievement in the “lands of Rum,” whose focal point was modern Turkey. Dedicated to Albert Gabriel, “the great friend of Turkey and eminent historian of its art,” Suut Kemal Yetkin’s *L’architecture turque en turquie* (1962) is one of the surveys in which the tripartite periodization Seljuk–Beylik–Ottoman is naturalized as a teleological, uninterrupted diachronic sequence, with its discontinuities, ruptures, and external connections deliberately masked. As Robert Brunschvig’s preface aptly notes, this sequential scheme, which rarely refers to parallels with other regions and nearly denies “foreign influences,” contributes to the homogeneity of the subject, constituting an “orthogenetic” evolution with “ethnic and geographic” determinants.¹¹⁸

Aslanapa’s *Turkish Art and Architecture* (1971), published soon after he founded the chair of Turkish and Islamic Art at Istanbul University in 1963, inserts the same tripartite scheme within a broader Islamic geography encompassing other “Turkish” dynasties (Karakhanid, Ghaznavid, Great Seljuk, Zengid, Tulunid, Mamluk): a pan-Turkic gaze that departs from his teacher Diez’s legacy of emphasizing European Renaissance parallels.¹¹⁹ Godfrey Goodwin’s *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (1971), on the other hand, adopts the *Uşûl*’s paradigm of dynastic evolution by inscribing the “classical style” within a biological scheme of rise-and-decline in which Sinan’s works occupy the highest point.¹²⁰ The chief architect also forms the central focus of a 1975 multi-author survey, *Türk Mimarîsinin Gelişimi ve Mimar Sinan* (The Development of Turkish Architecture and the Architect Sinan), edited by Metin Sözen, which subdivides the “architecture of Turkey” into three periods: Pre-Sinan, Sinan, and Post-Sinan.¹²¹

The graduation of the chief architect to international fame was signaled by the emergence of lavishly illustrated coffee-table books, such as Henri Stierlin’s

Soliman et l’architecture ottomane (1985), which, after briefly tracing the evolution of Seljuk and early Ottoman architecture, primarily focuses on the “style of Sinan.” It ends with a chapter on the “apotheosis of the Selimiye,” which represents the “affirmation of an entirely Turkish style” and constitutes a masterpiece that “comes closer to the monuments of the Italian Renaissance than to those of classical Byzantium.”¹²² Commemorating the 400th anniversary of the chief architect’s death, Aptullah Kuran’s 1986 *Mimar Sinan* (translated in 1987 as *Sinan: The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture*) is the first scholarly monograph to present a chronologically organized stylistic analysis of Sinan’s oeuvre, to which is appended a catalogue of his complete works as listed in the autobiographies.¹²³ The late 1980s and 1990s also saw an unprecedented boom in the publication of monographs and conference proceedings on the chief architect, which raised Sinan scholarship to a sophisticated level of formal analysis that muted earlier ideological controversies.¹²⁴ The sterilized narratives of these studies have tended to recycle old information in new guises, without advancing fresh interpretive perspectives. Often concentrating on canonical “masterpieces” and adopting a linear model of stylistic evolution perfected in the centralized plan of the Selimiye mosque, they generally overlook Sinan’s experimentation with varied spatial concepts and minimize the aesthetic role that his autobiographies assign to ornament and epigraphy. Kuban even goes so far as to argue that “decoration had absolutely no influence on the architectural design” of Sinan, whose style “reflects a purism that is not to be seen in Europe until the twentieth century.”¹²⁵

Perpetuating formalist methodologies launched by the founding figures of the field of “Turkish art,” these books are only rarely informed by text-based research and interdisciplinary approaches.¹²⁶ Just as interest in Sinan has faded among historians, monographs by architectural historians have generally remained out of touch with new empirical and theoretical developments in the field of Ottoman history, where for quite some time such essentialized constructs as the rise-and-decline paradigm and the “classical age” have been critically scrutinized. With a few exceptions, these monographs interpret Sinan’s works as self-referential manifestations of his creative genius, playing down the agency of his patrons along with the historical, socio-political, economic, religious, cultural, and aesthetic contexts in which the individualized programs and

codes of his “classical style” came into being.¹²⁷

As noted in recent revisionist critiques of Ottoman architectural historiography, the disjunction between architecture and history has facilitated the appropriation and instrumentalization of Sinan’s legacy for different purposes.¹²⁸ When considered as part of an international Islamic visual tradition, the chief architect’s oeuvre has once again been admired for its formal qualities and inventively varied domed spaces transcending the specificities of meaning negotiated in particular contexts, whether interpreted from a secular perspective or as a timeless spiritual expression of God’s oneness (*tawhid*).¹²⁹ The abstraction of Sinan’s works into an autonomous evolution of style and plan types has thus lent itself equally well to diverse visions of universalism, divorced from context. Nevertheless, the lingering echoes of Orientalist and nationalist paradigms have continued to persist beneath the innocuous veneer of formal autonomy.

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NOTES

1. For the “Rumi” identity of the Ottomans, see Cemal Kafadar’s essay in this volume and Tülay Artan, “Questions of Ottoman Identity and Architectural History,” in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Özkaya (London and New York, 2006), 85–109.
2. Sinan’s conscious dialogues with early Ottoman, Byzantine, and Italian Renaissance architecture are discussed in Gültür Necipoğlu, “Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture,” *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 169–80; idem, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London and Princeton, 2005), esp. 77–103, 135–47.
3. For revisionist attempts to “re-orient” Renaissance visual culture by exploring its global interactions with the Islamic lands and the New World, see Claire Farago, ed., *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650* (New Haven and London, 1995); Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London and New York, 1996); Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (London, 1996); Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500* (New Haven, 2000); idem, “Venice between East and West: Marc’Antonio Barbaro and Palladio’s Church of the Redentore,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, 3 (2003): 306–25; Jerry Brotton, *The Renaissance Bazaar: From the Silk Road to Michelangelo* (Oxford, 2002); Gerald MacLean, ed., *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East* (London, 2005).
4. Spiro Kostof, *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals* (New York and Oxford, 1985), 453–83. The most recent exception is a survey that integrates Islamic monuments from different periods within chronologically ordered synchronic chapters following a “timeline” model: see Francis D. K. Ching, Mark M. Jarzombek, and Vikramaditya Prakash, *A Global History of Architecture* (New Jersey, 2007). The Ottoman Empire is represented here (437–40, 529–31) with selected buildings (including the Süleymaniye complex, built by Sinan), grouped in two chapters on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For the standard classification of “Islamic Art” under “The Middle Ages,” often following “Early Christian and Byzantine Art,” see H. W. Janson, *History of Art* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, and New York, 1973), 185–94; Horst de la Croix, Richard G. Tansey, and Diane Kirkpatrick, *Gardner’s Art through the Ages*, 2 vols. (New York, 1991), 1:354–77; Frederick Hart, *Art: A History of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture*, 2 vols. (New York, 1976), 1:280–92.
5. Cited from the ninth edition of Sir Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (New York and London, 1924), 784.
6. Hart, *Art: A History of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture* (1976), 1:280, 288. The revised fourth edition of Hart’s survey omits the quoted passage and explains that the “Ottoman Turks” were not “overwhelmed” by Hagia Sophia because their “architectural code” was firmly established when they conquered Constantinople. Sinan is now identified as a “genius” who carries “Ottoman architecture to the height of its classical period.” See idem, *Art: A History of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture*, 2 vols. (New York, 1993), 1:309–11. The emulation of Hagia Sophia in Renaissance Italy is discussed in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 88–92.
7. James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, 2 vols. (London, 1855), 1:464, cited in Stephen Vernoit, “Islamic Art and Architecture: An Overview of Scholarship and Collecting, c. 1850–1950,” in Stephen Vernoit, ed., *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections* (London and New York, 2000), 6–7. Thanks to their Indo-European racial origin, “Persian” and “Indian” art were ranked above that of the “Semitic Arabs” and “Turks.” For the denial of the “Turks” artistic sensibility colored by “Turkophobia” based on Enlightenment critiques of “Oriental despotism,” see the essays of Rémi Labrusse in the forthcoming Louvre Museum exhibition catalogue *Purs décorés? Arts de l’Islam dans les collections des Arts Décoratifs* (Paris, 2007).
8. It is beyond the purview of this paper to consider the implications of new interpretive horizons and revisionist critical perspectives that have recently begun to emerge in this unusually fertile field. For new critical perspectives on the historiography of Ottoman architecture, see Artan, “Questions of Ottoman Identity,” 85–109, and the proceedings of a conference on the seven-century-long “supranational heritage” of Ottoman architecture, which expose the limitations of Orientalist and nationalist paradigms: Nur Akın, Afife Batur, and Selçuk Batur, eds., *Osmanlı Mimarlığına 7 Yüzyıl “Ülusalüstü Bir Miras”* (Istanbul, 1999).
9. Marie de Launay, Pietro Montani, et al., *Uşûl-i Mîmârî-i ‘Osmanî = L’architecture Ottomane = Die ottomanische Baukunst* (Istanbul, 1873). For this text and its authors, see Ahmet

- Ersoy's essay in this volume and his dissertation, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance': Architectural Revival and Its Discourse During the Abdülaziz Era (1861–76)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000). Nineteenth-century theories linking styles with racial or national characteristics are discussed in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago and London, 2004), 36–58.
10. The French version of the *Usûl* often substitutes "turque" for "ottomane." The early Ottoman architecture of Bursa is identified as "Turkish" in Léon Parvillée, *Architectures et décoration turques au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1874).
 11. Cited from the second edition of this work: see Charles Texier, *Asie Mineure: Description géographique, historique et archéologique* (Paris, 1862), 125. For the French discourse on the decline of "Arab art" in Egypt under "Turkish rule" see Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh's essay in this volume.
 12. These two monuments are the royal mosque complexes of Mîhrûmah Sultan and Nurbanu Sultan [Atik Valide] in Üsküdar: see Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 79, 126.
 13. Charles Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'Exposition universelle de 1867* (Paris, 1867), 183; discussed in Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley, 1992), 37–39.
 14. The section on antiquity was written by the Egyptologist Auguste Mariette (Mariette-Bey), that on the middle ages by the historian and archaeologist Charles Edmond, and that on the modern period by Figari-Bey and J. Claude. The medievalization of the Islamic architectural heritage of Cairo is analyzed in Nizar AlSayyad, Irene A. Bierman, and Nasser Rabbat, eds., *Making Cairo Medieval* (Lanham, MD, 2005); also see Watenpaugh's essay in this volume.
 15. Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, 203–5.
 16. *Ibid.*, 10, 182.
 17. *Ibid.*, 200–201.
 18. Salaheddin Bey, *La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867* (Paris, 1867), discussed in Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 39–40. This catalogue, generally attributed to Salaheddin Bey, was actually authored by Marie de Launay, who later wrote the historical overview of the evolution of Ottoman architecture in the *Usûl*: see Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance,'" 164; Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, 176–77.
 19. Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, 176–80.
 20. *Ibid.*, 144, 180.
 21. Salaheddin Bey, *La Turquie à l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, 30. The Ottoman exhibits in Paris included plans and elevations of the principal mosques of Istanbul (by Pietro Montani) and of Bursa (by Bontcha): *ibid.*, 139. It was Montani who subsequently wrote the section in the *Usûl* on the fundamental principles of Ottoman architecture.
 22. Prisse d'Avennes's 1877 book, for example, aimed to trace the "formation, flowering, and decay of Muslim civilization in Cairo" up to the arrival of the French armies who rescued the Arabs from Ottoman rule. "an epoch during which artistic inspiration was all but extinguished under the Turkish yoke" and whose few architectural works of merit reflected "the supreme protest of Arab genius against barbarism." See Achille-Constant-Théodore-Émile Prisse d'Avennes, *Arab Art as Seen through the Monuments of Cairo from the Seventh Century to the Eighteenth*, trans. J. I. Erythrapis (London, 1983); Marie de Launay et al., *Usûl*, vii.
 23. Marie de Launay et al., *Usûl*, 6, 11a. Later publications (discussed below) that repeat this unsubstantiated claim include Ahmet Cevdet, ed., *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân* (Istanbul, 1315/1897), 13. Seemingly noting the chronological discrepancy, Franz Babinger writes (without citing a source): "Yusuf, his [Sinan's] favorite pupil, is said to have been the architect of the palaces in Lahore, Delhi, and Agra, which were built by the Emperor Akbar": see his entry in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1st ed. (henceforth *EI*) (Leiden, 1927), s.v. "Sinân." Chaghtai identifies the architect of the Taj Mahal as Ustad Ahmed, the son of Sinan's pupil Mîmar Mehmed Yusuf; he also states that Mîmar Mehmed Yusuf built the fort of Shahpur at Gulbarga (Deccan) in 1555: see Muhammad A. Chaghtai, *Le 'Iudj Mahal d'Agra* (Brussels 1938), 122, 146, cited in Suut Kemal Yetkin, *Türk Mimarisi* (Ankara, 1970), 198.
 24. For Marie de Launay's education and his measured drawings of the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, published in the *Usûl*, see Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance,'" 160, n. 87.
 25. Marie de Launay et al. *Usûl*, 3–7, 66a. The decline begins with the arrival of French engineers, sculptors, and decorators during the reign of Ahmed III (1703–30) and continues with the Europeanizing works of the Armenian architect "Rafael" and his students. For the decline discourse, see Shirine Hamadeh's essay in this volume.
 26. Marie de Launay et al., *Usûl*, 12, 14.
 27. *Ibid.*, 12–14. Montani is credited with the discovery that Ottoman architects, "like the architects of antiquity," employed a system of modules to establish the proportions of their edifices, a system already observed in the Yeşil Cami of Bursa before the sixteenth-century invention of orders in Istanbul: *ibid.*, 26a. Especially from the 1830s onwards, the Westernizing Ottomans, hoping to get themselves accepted and credentialized as Europeans, began to represent their cultural identity as parallel to yet distinct from those of modern Western European nations: Halil Berktaş, "Between the First and the Third Divisions: Ottoman Late Imperial and Modern Turkish Nationalist Reactions to the Possibility of Relegation," a paper read at a Central European University (CEU) conference titled "Europe's Symbolic Geographies," Budapest, May 28–29, 2004.
 28. Mîmar Kemalettin's 1906 essay, titled "Mî'mârî-i İslâm" (Architecture of Islam), asserts that the *Usûl* should be banned from use as a textbook in architecture schools because its leading theorist, Montani Efendi, derived the Ottoman orders from Vignola's treatise. Kemalettin criticizes the use of both of these illustrated texts in the education of architects, to whom he recommends the first-hand examination of national monuments and their decoration. Celâl Esad Arseven also opposed the use of the *Usûl* as a textbook: see İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Mîmar Kemalettin'in Yazışmaları* (Ankara, 1997), 17, 25–26, 72–73.
 29. The French text identifies the "caractère principal" of Ottoman monuments as "sévérité noble," translated into Turkish as "austere (*mehîb*) grace (*le'âfet*)." To avoid monotony, Sinan was "sober" in his use of tile revêtements produced in Iznik; he limited them to clearly defined fields. The truth-

- fulness-to-materials principle is observed in the floral motifs of Iznik tiles that “imitate the fossilized imprint of ancient plants on stone” (*les vestiges que la végétation antédiluviennne a laissé empreints sur la pierre*): see Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, 11–12, 14–17, 73a. The seventeenth-century collapse of the “national” tilemaking industry in Iznik is attributed to civil wars: *ibid.*, 6, 25a. Diverse patterns of floral Iznik tiles (*faiences murales*) from the sixteenth-century monuments of Istanbul are illustrated in the final section on Ottoman ornament (pls. 1–22).
30. For nineteenth-century European discourses on the “arabesque” and the ornamental character of Islamic architecture, see the chapter “Ornamentalism and Orientalism” in Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica, CA, 1995), 61–109. German histories of world architecture considered Islamic architecture inferior to that of Europe because it was not built according to classical norms: although “the decorative details of Islamic buildings were accepted as beautiful, in their entirety the buildings were seen as bizarre and lacking coherent structure”: see Annette Hagedorn, “The Development of Islamic Art History in Germany in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” in Vernot, *Discovering Islamic Art*, 117–27. Ahmet Ersoy’s essay in this volume draws attention to the parallel between the *Uşûl*’s rationalist paradigm and that of Léon Parvillée’s *L’architecture et décoration turques*, published the following year (Paris, 1874), despite the preface in the latter, by Parvillée’s mentor Viollet-le-Duc, which questions the very existence of a distinctive tradition of “Turkish art.”
 31. Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, 31–42.
 32. *Ibid.*, 31, 26a.
 33. *Ibid.*, 40–42. There are no elevations and sections of the Selimiye in the *Uşûl*, nor are its decorative details illustrated. Its ground plan is complemented by an elevation drawing of the forecourt’s north portal.
 34. This text had been anonymously printed in Istanbul around the mid-nineteenth century. Together with its longer version, titled *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, it circulated widely in manuscript form throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, during which time both texts were cited by various Ottoman authors. For the five versions of Sinan’s autobiography and their audiences, see *Sinan’s Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts*, introductory notes, critical editions, and translations by Howard Crane and Esra Akin, edited with a preface by Gülru Necipoğlu (Leiden, 2006).
 35. Sinan built no fewer than seventy-six mosques “pour l’honneur de l’Empire Ottoman, sa patrie, et la glorification de l’Islam”: see Marie de Launay et al., *Uşûl*, 34, 42. The statement quoted above is omitted from the Turkish translation.
 36. For Sinan’s competitive dialogues with the Byzantine and Ottoman past and his contemporary European rivals see n. 2 above and my preface, “Sources, Themes, and Cultural Implications of Sinan’s Autobiographies,” in Crane and Akin, *Sinan’s Autobiographies*, vii–xvi. The domical superstructures of the Süleymaniye and Selimiye mosques are not indicated on the ground plans published in the *Uşûl*, an omission that deemphasizes their parallels with Hagia Sophia: I owe this observation to Paolo Girardelli.
 37. An important turning point for the rise of Turkish ethnic nationalism was the blow inflicted on pluri-ethnic Ottomanism upon the 1913 defeat in the Balkan War: see Halil Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fırat Köprüsü* (Istanbul, 1983), 35–36. An early discussion of Anatolian Seljuk architecture appears in Mimar Kemalettin’s 1906 essay, which derives its evolutionary scheme of Ottoman architecture (now labeled “Turkish”) from the *Uşûl*: see n. 28 above. Kemalettin elaborates on the *Uşûl*’s rationalist paradigm by highlighting the fundamental distinction between “Turkish” and “Arab” architecture. Asserting that the Arabs were merely good decorators, he argues that the Turks structurally perfected the Byzantine tradition of construction by creating monumental domed edifices imitating Hagia Sophia: “But this imitation by the Turks is to be considered highly extraordinary. The Turks appreciated the inventiveness of Hagia Sophia’s style of construction and improved it.” See Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin’in Yazdıkları*, 34–36. Kemalettin’s later publications increasingly foregrounded the Turkishness of Ottoman architecture, and he altogether denied foreign influences, including that of Hagia Sophia, in an article that he wrote just before his death in 1927: Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin’in Yazdıkları*, 12–13, 201–2.
 38. For the five versions of Sinan’s autobiography, see n. 34 above. The likelihood that Sinan’s autobiographies were inspired by the lives of Italian Renaissance artists and architects is discussed in my preface, “Sources, Themes, and Cultural Implications of Sinan’s Autobiographies,” vii–xvi.
 39. Ahmet Cevdet, ed., *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, 1–13. Mehmed Aga-Oğlu expressed doubts about the reliability of the *Quyüdüd*, the whereabouts of which Ahmed Cevdet could not remember twenty-five years after he wrote his preface: see “Herkunft und Tod Sinans,” *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 29 (1926): 858–66. The anachronisms and errors of the *Quyüdüd* were further exposed in Rifki Melül Meriç, “Mimar Sinan’ın Hayatı,” *Ülkü* 63 (1938): 195–205. It is dismissed as a forgery in İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, “Mimar Sinan Türktür, Bizdendir,” *Tarih Hazinesi* 6 (1951): 289–93.
 40. Cevdet, *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, 13.
 41. Auguste Choisy, *L’art de bâtir chez les Byzantins* (Paris, 1883), 139–41, 174. Choisy judged the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne as a “magnifique” edifice constituting the last offspring of Hagia Sophia: “il marque la dernière forme que revêut l’idée mère de Sainte-Sophie”: *ibid.*, 141. See also Alphonse Gosset, *Les coupôles d’Orient et d’Occident* (Paris, 1889), 131.
 42. Gosset, *Les coupôles*, 142.
 43. *Ibid.*, 146–47.
 44. Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1907). Prior to Gurlitt’s monograph, and shortly after publication of the trilingual *Uşûl*, Friedrich Adler (1827–1908), an architect and professor at Berlin University, wrote an article on major mosques in Istanbul: “Die Moscheen zu Constantinopel: Eine architektonische baugeschichtliche Studie,” *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 8 (1874): 65–66, 73–76, 81–83, 89–91, 97–99. Another early publication in German was Armin Wegner, “Die Moschee Sultan Selim’s II zu Adrianopel und ihre Stellung in der osmanischen Baukunst,” *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 25 (1891): 329–31, 341–44, 353–55. Gurlitt, who was a professor at the Königlich Sächsische Hochschule zu Dresden, obtained permission to survey Istanbul’s mosques via the diplomatic mediation of the German ambassador von Bieberstein. For the fountain of Kaiser Wilhelm II, see Afife Batur,

- "Alman Çeşmesi," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul, 1993), vol. 1. 208–9.
45. Corneilius Gurlitt, *İstanbul'un Mimari Sanatı*, trans. Rezan Kızıltan (Ankara, 1999), 59, 66, 96.
 46. *Ibid.*, xvii. Gurlitt wrongly presumed that the centralized quatrefoil plan of Mehmed II's mosque (1463–70), featuring a dome surrounded by four half domes, reflected its original form. In actuality, this was the plan of the mosque as it was rebuilt in 1767, following an earthquake; the original had only a single half dome, above the mihrab. Attributing this monumental mosque complex to the Greek architect Christodoulos (sources have shown that the actual architect was named Auk Sinan), Gurlitt characterized it as a monument with a "renaissance" spirit, built at a time when no such grand edifices were being created in Italy: *ibid.*, 57–58.
 47. Besides Sinan's "conception of space" (also emphasized in the German architect Friedrich Adler's 1874 article cited in n. 44 above), Gurlitt noted the organic character and lightness of the domes in Sinan's mosques, the elegance of their internal and external columnar arcades, and their distinctive decorative elements, such as stained-glass windows, woodwork inlaid with mother-of-pearl, bold inscriptions monumental in scale, and naturalistic floral tile revetments forming "picture panels": *ibid.*, 70–73, 97–102. Adler admired Ottoman architecture and drew inspiration from it for his work as an architect; he was fascinated by the ornamental plainness and clear conception of space in mosque interiors (*klare, übersichtliche Raumbestaltung, der es selbst bei grosser Schmucklosigkeit in ornamentalem wie koloristischen Sinne an wehrvoller Stimmung nicht gebricht*) and the "spatial unity" (*Einfachheit der Raumlinie*) and "purist character" (*puristischer Charakter*) of Sinan's monuments: see Hagedorn, "Development of Islamic Art History in Germany," 122–23.
 48. Franz Babinger, "Die türkische Renaissance: Bemerkungen zum Schaffen des grossen türkischen Baumeisters Sinan," *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients* 9 (1914): 67–88.
 49. Franz Babinger, "Ein osmanischer Michelangelo," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Sept. 7, 1915, no. 248, 1. Morgenblatt. The appellation "osmanischen Michelangelo" also appears in *idem*, "Sinan's Todesjahr," *Der Islam* 9 (1919): 247–48. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, Babinger replaced this nickname with "Michael Angelo of the Turks": see his entry "Sinan" in *EJL*. Sinan is identified as "Michelangelo der Osmanen" in K. Otto-Dorn, "Sinan," *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 31 (Leipzig, 1937), 84, and as the "Michelangelo dell'architettura turca" in Giovanni Di Giura, "Il Maestro dell'architettura turca: Sinan," *Rassegna Italiana* 45, 230 (1937): 539. Also see the biographical novel by Veronica De Osa, *Sinan: The Turkish Michelangelo* (New York, 1982).
 50. The interdisciplinary collaboration between these two scholars is mentioned in Heinrich Glück, "Die bisherige Forschung über Sinan," *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 29 (1926): 854. See Franz Babinger, "Quellen zur osmanischen Künstlergeschichte," *Jahrbuch des asiatischen Kunst* 1 (1924): 31–41.
 51. Josef Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung* (Leipzig, 1917). Strzygowski regarded the migrations of two nomadic races, the ancient Turks of the "Altaic sphere" and the Scythians of the "Aryan sphere," as the mechanism of artistic dissemination from North to South. For his diffusionist theories and formalist methodology, see Oya Pancaroğlu's essay in this volume; Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 70–73, 85–87; Margaret Olin, "Art History and Ideology: Alois Riegl and Josef Strzygowski," in *Cultural Visions: Essays in the History of Culture*, ed. Penny Schine Gold and Benjamin C. Bax (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 2000), 151–70. Strzygowski declared that "it is the duty of the North to trace its culture back to Armenia, Persia, and India": cited in Christina Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation* (Leuven, 2001), 155.
 52. Josef Strzygowski, "Türkler ve Orta Asya San'atı Meselesi," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 3 (1926–33, publ. 1935): 1–80.
 53. For the biographies and publications of Strzygowski, Glück, Diez, and Otto-Dorn, see Oktay Aslanapa, *Türkiye'de Avusturyalı Sanat Tarihçileri ve Sanatkarlar: Österreichische Kunsthistoriker und Künstler in der Türkei* (İstanbul, 1993), 24–27, 31–38, 39.
 54. Heinrich Glück, *Türkische Kunst*, Mitteilungen des Ungarischen Wissenschaftlichen Instituts in Konstantinopel, Heft 1 (Budapest and İstanbul, 1917), also discussed in Pancaroğlu's essay in this volume. For the Hungarian Institute and the search for Central Asian origins in Hungary, see Yaşar Çoruhlu, "Macar Enstitüsü," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul, 1993–94), vol. 5, 234, and Tarık Demirkan, *Macaristan Turanları* (İstanbul, 2000).
 55. Heinrich Glück, "Türkische Dekorationskunst," *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk* 23 (1920): 46; *idem*, *Die Kunst der Osmanen* (Leipzig, 1922), 3–10. Glück also wrote a book on Anatolian Seljuk art, *Die Kunst der Seldschuken in Kleinasien und Armenien* (Leipzig, 1923). His special interest in cross-cultural artistic exchanges between the Ottoman and European courts is reflected in his "16.–18. Jahrhunderte Saray Sanatı ve Sanatçılarıyla Osmanlıların Avrupa Sanatları Bakımından Önemi," which is included with essays by J. Strzygowski, H. Glück, and Fuat Köprülü in a collection titled *Eski Türk Sanatı ve Avrupa'ya Etkisi*, trans. A. Cemal Köprülü (İstanbul, n.d. [1974]), 119–49.
 56. Strzygowski, "Türkler ve Orta Asya San'atı Meselesi," and Heinrich Glück, "Türk Sanatının Dünyadaki Mevkii," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 3 (1926–33, publ. 1935): 1–80, 119–28. For these articles, also see Oya Pancaroğlu's essay in this volume. The scholarship of Fuat Köprülü and his republican ideology are analyzed in Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*.
 57. See Fuat Köprülü, "Türk Sanatı," reprinted in Strzygowski et al., *Eski Türk Sanatı ve Avrupa'ya Etkisi*, 183–89. For Köprülü's personal interest in the scholarship of both of these scholars see *ibid.*, v–xv.
 58. See Strzygowski et al., *Eski Türk Sanatı ve Avrupa'ya Etkisi*, 96–98.
 59. *Ibid.*, 180–81. Aga-Oğlu (d. 1949) belonged to the Ağaoglu family, whose members played a prominent role as politicians and intellectuals in republican Turkey, as did other Turkish émigrés educated in Russia (such as the Turcologists Zeki Velidi Togan and Yusuf Akçura, who espoused pan-Turkism). While serving as curator of the Islamic art collection at Çinili Kiosk in the Topkapı Palace in 1927, Aga-Oğlu taught courses on Islamic art at the Darülfünun as associate professor; the following year he was appointed director of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art. He moved to the Detroit Museum

- in 1929 and was appointed to the chair of Islamic art history at Michigan University in 1933. For his biography, see Semavi Eyice, "Mehmet Ağaoğlu," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. J (1988), 466. For influential Turcologists who emigrated from Russia to Turkey see Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 31–47, and François Georgeon, *Aux origines du nationalisme turc: Yusuf Akçura, 1876–1935* (Paris, 1980).
60. The two articles by Aga-Oglu cited by Glück are "Herkunft und Tod Sināns" and "Die Gestalt der alten Mohammedije in Konstantinopel und ihr Baumeister," *Belvedere* 46 (1926): 83–94. The second article demonstrates that the plan of Mehmed II's mosque did not originally feature four half domes (as Gurlitt had thought: see n. 46 above) but overlooks structural innovations introduced in this pioneering mosque that were inspired by the encounter with Hagia Sophia, such as the half dome over the mihrab and window-pierced tympanum arches resting on freestanding colossal columns. Aga-Oglu's view is contradicted by the Ottoman historian Tursun Beg's chronicle of Mehmed II's reign, which acknowledges that this mosque was built "in the manner of Hagia Sophia" and incorporated "modern features constituting a fresh new idiom unequalled in beauty": cited in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 84.
61. Aga-Oglu, "Herkunft und Tod Sināns."
62. *Ibid.*, 862, n. 1. Aga-Oglu says he obtained a photographic reproduction of the manuscript from its owner, Rifat Osman Bey. Photographs of the marginal note are reproduced in A. Süheyl, "Mimar Sinan," *Mimar* 4 (1931): 117; Konyalı, "Mimar Sinan Türktür, Bizdendir," 290.
63. Franz Babinger, "Zum Sinān-'Problem," *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 30, 7 (1927): 548–51. Also see Babinger's entry "Sinān" in *EII*, which insists that the chief architect was "the son of Christian Greeks." He adds: "His non-Turkish origin (*mühletdi*) is beyond question and is never in dispute, either among his contemporaries or among all serious Turkish scholars."
64. Meriç, "Mimar Sinan'ın Hayatı," 199, and Konyalı, "Mimar Sinan Türktür, Bizdendir," 293. Konyalı believes that Rifat Osman forged (or had someone else forge) this marginal note, on which water was sprinkled so as to make it appear old.
65. Tosyavizade Rifat Osman Bey, "İrtihâlinin 339'uncu senesi devriyesi münâsebetiyle büyük Türklerden Mimar Koca Sinan b. Abdülmennân," *Millî Mecma* 7, 83 (1927): 1335–48; the marginal note and preface are mentioned on 1337, n. 1. The author explains that some individuals are upset by Sinan's *değişime* origin and the claim that he was the son of Christ.
66. *Ibid.*, 1339. Rifat Osman points out that unlike this authentic portrait others "seen in some publications are imaginary."
67. For Kemalettin's biography, publications, and works, see Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*, 1–29, and Yıldırım Yavuz, *Mimar Kemalettin ve Birinci Ulusal Mimarlık Dönemi* (Ankara, 1981). For Ayverdi's life and books on Ottoman architecture, see *Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Hâtrâ Kitâbı* (Istanbul, 1995). The writings and drawings of Çetintaş are discussed in Ayla Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Röleveleriyle Sedat Çetintaş* (Istanbul, 2004).
68. For the formalist methodology of Strzygowski and his students, see Pancaroğlu's essay in this volume.
69. Arseven's earliest essays on national architecture (1906–7) echoed the thoughts of Kemalettin: see Tekeli and İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*, 27. For Arseven's biography and publications, see Banu Mahir, ed., *Celal Esad Arseven Anısına Sanat Tarihi Semineri Bildirileri* (Istanbul, 2000). The architect Sedat Hakkı Eldem, who between 1924 and 1928 was a student at the Academy of Fine Arts (modeled on the École des Beaux Arts in Paris) describes the drawing methods that focused on the Ottoman and Greco-Roman orders. For the latter, Vignola's treatise was used as a guide: see Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Röleveleriyle Sedat Çetintaş*, 55–56. Both Kemalettin and Arseven opposed the use of the *Usûl* as a teaching tool: see n. 28 above.
70. Published with a preface by the Byzantinist Charles Diehl: see Celâl Esad (Arseven), *Constantinople de Byzance à Stamboul* (Paris, 1909), 151–55.
71. Celâl Esad (Arseven), *Türk San'atı* (Istanbul, 1928), 3–10.
72. *Ibid.*, 6. Arseven emphasizes the "racial character" (*'ırkî sâciyyesi*) of "Turkish art"; he also refers to the publications of C. Gurlitt, A. Gosset, L. Parvillée, H. Saladin, G. Migeon, and C. Marçais.
73. *Ibid.*, 145–51. Much like Arseven, early-twentieth-century Turkish historians attempted to disprove the view, prevalent among European scholars, that Ottoman institutions, in an Islamic guise, entirely imitated those of Byzantium; to counter this view they stressed the seamless continuity of the Ottoman Empire with former "Turkish" states in Anatolia, namely, the Rum Seljuks and Beyliks: see Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, esp. 23, 30–35, 46–47, 62–80.
74. Arseven, *Türk San'atı* (1928), 7–11.
75. *Ibid.*, 147, 150–54. Arseven's account of the evolution of the "classical style," invented by the architect of the mosque of Bayezid II and perfected by Sinan, is based on the *Usûl*, although the term "classical" is not used in that source. Remzi Oğuz Arık, who was sent by the Turkish state to study archaeology in Paris, similarly disparages the "tumultuous confusion" (*hercümerc*) of Anatolian Seljuk architectural ornament, which becomes "cleansed/purified" (*tasfiye*) and "codified" (*nizama girmiş*) in the "dignified" Ottoman "classical age" (*hlâsîk çağı*). See his "Selçuklu Sanatına bir Bakış," *Şadırvan* 1, 6 (1949): 6. For the widespread acceptance of national "purity" and "purification" as positive ideals in interwar Europe, see Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (New York, 1998).
76. Arseven refers to the characteristics of the "classical style" as: *nezâket, sâdelik, mantıq-i insânî; şamîmî, usûl, vaqîr; sâdelik ve mantıq; necib ve aşîl; samîmiyet, mantıq*: *ibid.*, 6, 93–94. For his definition of the term "classical style," see Celâl Esad Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi: Menşeyinden Bugüne Kadar*, 3 vols. (Istanbul, n. d. [1954–59]), 1:300. I would like to thank Halil Berktaş for his insightful comments on a previous version of this paper, which alerted me to the striking parallels between early republican texts on history and on art/architectural history, particularly the teleological treatment of the Seljuk period as "pre-Ottoman" history and the essentialized idealization of the Ottoman "classical age." For nationalist history writing in the early Turkish Republic see Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet*

- İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*: the contentious historiography on the rise of the Ottoman state is analyzed in Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*.
77. Arseven, *Türk San'atı* (1928), 94–95, 172–76; idem, *L'art turc: Depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours* (Istanbul, 1939), 73, 179–80. Arseven criticizes both the eclectic revivalist style promoted by the *Usûl* and the old-fashioned style of the "National Movement." For his defense of modernism see Sibel Bozdoğan's essay in this volume.
 78. The rise-and-decline paradigm of nationalist architectural historiography has been linked with the ideology of the republican nation-state in recent critiques, but without reference to its roots in the *Usûl*. For these critiques see Artan, "Questions of Ottoman Identity," 85–109, and the essays of Ayda Arel, Uğur Tanyeli, and Ayla Ödekan in *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı "Uluslararası Bir Miras,"* 30–33, 43–49, 56–59.
 79. Arseven, *Türk San'atı* (1928), 95.
 80. Ottoman monuments outside Turkey have generally been treated separately, in specialized regional monographs. For the widespread perception of Ottoman rule as a period of "decline and decay" and "detested alien domination" see Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll, eds., *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking New Ground* (New York, 2000).
 81. The Society planned the publication of a comprehensive national history, *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları* (Outline of Turkish History), with a section called "Türklerin Medeniyete Hizmetleri" (The Service of the Turks to Civilization), which included monographs on Seljuk and Ottoman architecture. It is unclear whether the monographs titled *Osmanlı Türk Mimarisi* (Ankara, 1932) and *Osmanlı Türk Mimarlığı* (Ankara, 1934) were authored by S. H. Eldem or S. Çetintaş; see Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Rölöveleriyle Sedat Çetintaş*, 13. As part of the same series, Arseven wrote monographs titled *Türklerde Mimarî* (Ankara, 1932) and *Türklerde Mimarî: Elî ve Selçuk Mimarîleri* (Istanbul, 1934). The latter covers the "Turkish" architecture of the Hittites and the Seljuks in Anatolia in keeping with the Turkish History Thesis developed by the Society; see n. 95 below.
 82. See, Afet İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan* (Ankara, 1956), rev. 2nd ed. (Ankara, 1968), 66–74. The marble statue was modeled on the physiognomy of Ahmet Öztas, a Turkish stone mason residing in the village of Ağırnas in Kayseri, who claimed to be a descendant of Sinan. At Afet İnan's suggestion, Sinan's self-proclaimed relative and his two sons were invited to the ceremony in Ankara so that onlookers could compare the statue with its "living model." The 400th anniversary of the Süleymaniye's inauguration was commemorated in 1957 by two stamps, depicting the mosque and Hasan Rıza's portrait of Sinan.
 83. The unrealized two-volume Sinan monograph triggered several publications by the Turkish History Society after a long period of gestation: an incomplete edition of the chief architect's autobiographies, prepared by Meriç; the account books of the Süleymaniye complex and imperial decrees related to its construction, edited and analyzed by Barkan; and Ülgen's architectural drawings of Sinan's works, prepared between 1937 and 1962. Revised versions of these drawings were included in Aptullah Kuran's *Mimar Sinan* (Istanbul, 1986). See Refik Melül Meriç, *Mimar Sinan Hayatı, Eseri, Eserlerine Dair Metinler* (Ankara, 1965); Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Süleymaniye Camii ve İmaretî İnşaatı (1550–1557)*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1972–79); Ali Saim Ülgen, *Mimar Sinan Yapıları* (Ankara, 1989).
 84. The outline of chapters is provided in İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan* (1968), 63–66. For the committee, which included F. Köprülü, A. Refik, R. M. Meriç, Ö. L. Barkan, I. H. Uzunçarşılı, H. F. Turgal, I. A. Kausu, A. L. Gabriel, S. Çetintaş, A. S. Ülgen, S. H. Eldem, and Y. Akyurt, see Fuat Köprülü and Albert Gabriel, *Sinan, Hayatı, Eserleri = Sinan, sa vie, son oeuvre* (Istanbul, 1937), 2; Meriç, *Mimar Sinan*, vii–viii.
 85. Köprülü and Gabriel, *Sinan, Hayatı, Eserleri*.
 86. On p. 2 of the brochure, Köprülü refers to Gabriel as a "true friend of our nation" and his "intimate friend." For Gabriel and his publications, which generally espoused the relative independence of Turkish architecture from foreign influences and emphasized the primacy of Turkish architects, see the catalogue of an exhibition curated by Pierre Pinon, titled *Albert Gabriel (1883–1972): Mimar, Arkeolog, Ressam, Gezgin = Albert Gabriel (1883–1972): Architecte, archéologue, artiste, voyageur* (Istanbul, 2006). In a later essay, Gabriel points out that archival documents "have furnished proof of the preponderance of Turkish workmanship in the mason's yard of the Süleymaniye," where Christians constituted the majority of masons (a relatively unskilled trade), and that "many more Muslims were employed in the crafts that required not only technical skill but also artistic sensitivity." He attributes to "deeply seated prejudices" the view that "the contribution of the Turks" to the great achievements of Ottoman architecture was "negligible": see Albert Gabriel, "Ottoman Schools," *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. 10 (New York, 1965), 852–73.
 87. Köprülü and Gabriel, *Sinan, Hayatı, Eserleri*, 5–6. Not surprisingly, an offshoot of the Sinan monograph project is the eminent economic historian Ömer Lütfi Barkan's study of the centralized construction industry during the erection of the Süleymaniye complex. On the basis of archival documents, this study disproves the contention of Western scholars that Ottoman monuments were entirely created by non-Turkish and non-Muslim builders: see Barkan, *Süleymaniye Camii ve İmaretî İnşaatı (1550–1557)*. On this point also see Gabriel's view, cited above in n. 86. In a long article published in the journal *Ülkü* in 1937–38, Barkan had stressed the uniquely Turkish non-feudal mode of labor organization under the Ottoman tımar system, praising the imperial regime as a centralized, statist, and virtually planned economy: see "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Çiftçi Sınıflarının Hukukî Statüsü," reprinted in Ö. L. Barkan, *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi: Toplu Eserler I* (Istanbul, 1980). I am grateful to Halil Berktaş for this reference, which is analyzed in his "The 'Other' Feudalism: A Critique of 20th-Century Turkish Historiography and Its Particularization of Ottoman Society" (PhD diss., Birmingham University, 1991).
 88. Albert Gabriel, "La maître architecte Sinan," *La Turquie Kemaliste* 16 (1936): 2–13; idem, "Les mosquées de Constantinople," *Syria* 7 (1926): 353–419. Gabriel's 1926 article notes the Renaissance spirit of Sinan's architecture (419): "L'esprit qui se manifeste dans son oeuvre n'est point sans analogie avec celui de la Renaissance occidentale...il semble bien que son inspiration ait été guidée par des principes comparables à ceux de la Renaissance. Négligeant les productions du moyen

- âge byzantin, il a étudié, dans Saint-Sophie, un edifice tout imprégné encore du genie antique...les architectes turcs savaient, dès le XVIe siècle, s'inspirer du passé pour créer des oeuvres modernes." Also see his "Sainte-Sophie, source d'inspiration de la mosquée Süleymaniye," *VIe Congrès international d'études byzantines, Alger, 2-7 octobre 1939: Résumés des rapports et communications* (Paris, 1940), 230-31.
89. Köprülü and Gabriel, *Sinan, Hayatı, Eserleri*, 5-6; Gabriel, "Les mosquées de Constantinople," 353-419.
90. Ahmet Refik [Altınay], *Türk Mimarları* (Istanbul, 1936). This document is summarized in an earlier booklet, in which Sinan's birthplace is identified as the village of Ağırnas in Kayseri; see idem, *Mimar Sinan* (Istanbul, 1931), 44-45. The same document is cited in an article that identifies Sinan, the grandson of Doğan Yusuf Ağa, as a Christian Turkish *değişirne*: see Enver Behnan Şapolyo, "Mimar Sinan Nerelidir?" *Uhudağ* 1, 3 (1935): 27-29.
91. Documents cited in İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan* (1968), 76.
92. Meriç, "Mimar Sinan'ın Hayatı," 195-206. The controversial official view also ignored the fact that, according to a seventeenth-century source on the "Customs of the Janissaries," both Christian Turks and Turkish-speaking Christians were traditionally excluded from recruitment as Janissary cadets. For this source, the *waqfiyya* of Sinan, and an evaluation of the controversy, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 13-14, 42-43, 129-30, 147-52.
93. In her preface, Afet İnan mentions the prevalence of Turkish names among the Christians and Muslims who had migrated to the Kayseri region in the Byzantine period. A visit to Ağırnas prompted her to write this childhood biography of Sinan "in the manner of a historical novel" (*tarihi roman üslubu*): see İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan* (1956 and 1968). An earlier version of the biography, published in the newspaper *Ulus* (Apr. 9, 1949), is criticized for its anachronisms in Konyalı, "Mimar Sinan Türktür, Bizdendir," 289-93.
94. İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan* (1968), 11-23.
95. Bedri Uçar, "Büyük Türk Mimarı Koca Sinan," *Mimarlık* 1, 3 (1944): 4. A committee formed by the Turkish History Society exhumed the body on Aug. 1, 1935 for anthropological examination, and the next day Atatürk wrote his instruction that Sinan's statue be made: see Selçuk Mülayim, *Ters Labire: Osmanlı Mimarisinde Sinan Çağı ve Süleymaniye* (Istanbul, 2001), 142, n. 120. The works of the Swiss physical anthropologist Eugene Pittard had an enormous impact on Afet İnan. The Turkish History Thesis, developed by the Society between 1929 and 1937, attempted to differentiate from the "yellow race" the white "brachycephalic Turkish race," which originated in Central Asia and founded the earliest autochthonous state in Anatolia (the Hittites): see Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 47-63; Büşra Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de 'Resmî Tarih' Tezinin Oluşumu* (Istanbul, 1996).
96. Behçet Bedrettin, "Türk İnkılap Mimarisi," *Mimar* (1933).
97. Sinan's reception through the lens of modernism is discussed in Bozdoğan's essay in this volume. Ernst Egli, a former professor at the academy, wrote: "His [Sinan's] greatness lay in the complete harmony in his work between form and content; his uniqueness lay in his ability to transform the strictly individual aspects of the commissions given to him into something of enduring and universal value. That is why his work is today as alive as ever. It preserves the immortal features of the past." See Ernst Egli, "Sinan the Architect," *Landscape* (Spring 1958): 6-11.
98. Bruno Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi* (Istanbul, 1938), 71-72, 145-59. Taut's book was translated into Japanese in 1948 and into German in 1977: see Sibel Bozdoğan, "Against Style: Bruno Taut's Pedagogical Program in Turkey, 1936-38," in *The Education of the Architect*, ed. M. Pollak (Cambridge, MA, 1997), 163-92. Taut proposed an unrealized project, perhaps inspired by Atatürk's vision of resuscitating the Süleymaniye as a complex renamed after Sinan: a garden terrace, to be called the "terrace of those who admire the Süleymaniye," that would overlook the mosque complex from the adjacent campus of Istanbul University. See an interview with Bruno Taut, "Türk Evi, Sinan, Ankara," *Her Ay* (Istanbul), Feb. 1, 1938, 95. A booklet published a year later highlights the modernist urban design principles of Sinan's mosque complexes: see Ziya Kocainan, *Mimar Sinan ve XXnci Asır Mimarisini* (Istanbul, 1939).
99. Ernst Diez, *Türk Sanatı: Başlangıçından Günümüze Kadar*, trans. Oktay Aslanapa (Istanbul, 1946), i-ii. See Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, eds., *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (Oxford and London, 1938-39), analyzed in Kishwar Rizvi's essay in this volume. Suut Kemal Yetkin's opening speech at the First International Congress of Turkish Art criticized *A Survey of Persian Art* for its identification of Ghaznavid, Seljuk, and Timurid monuments commissioned by Türkic patrons as Iranian works: see *Milletlerarası Birinci Türk Sanatları Kongresi, Ankara 19-24 Ekim 1959, Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler* (Ankara, 1962), 1-7. The same speech praised Strzygowski, Glück, and Gabriel as "friends of Turkish art."
100. Diez obtained his doctorate in Graz, having written his dissertation on the paintings of the Vienna Dioscorides manuscript. Inspired by Friedrich Sarre, he turned to the study of Islamic art at the Berlin Museum. He subsequently joined Strzygowski's institute at Vienna University in 1911, leaving in 1926 for Bryn Mawr College, where he taught for a decade. He returned to Vienna University in 1939 and moved to Istanbul University in 1943. See Aslanapa, *Türkiye'de Avusturyalı Sanat Tarihçileri*, 24-25; Diez, *Türk Sanatı*, 6-7, 27, 138-39, 170, 192-98. Diez's expression "children of Hagia Sophia" recalls Choisy's statement quoted in n. 41 above. His synthetic view of Ottoman art parallels Halil İnalcık's formulation of the Ottoman imperial system as a synthesis of Turkic, Islamic, and Byzantine traditions in *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600* (London, 1973). I thank Halil Berktaş for pointing out the contrast of İnalcık's perspective with that of Köprülü, who (like Arseven) denied Byzantine influences and stressed the uninterrupted continuity between the Anatolian Seljuk and Ottoman states: see Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 63-64, 80.
101. Diez, *Türk Sanatı*, 141-45; idem, "Der Baumeister Sinan und sein Werk," *Du Atlantis* 25, 4 (1953): 183.
102. Diez, *Türk Sanatı*, 146-58.
103. *Ibid.*, 232; Arseven, *L'art turc*, 173. Diez perceptively notes the "dualism" of Istanbul's Ottoman mosques, which feature pointed Islamic arches in their substructures and Roman-Byzantine round arches in their hemispherical domical superstructures: see *Türk Sanatı*, 194. He argues that Ottoman

- architecture, in its inability to proceed beyond the Gothic mode of construction, was unlike the Italian Renaissance style, which revived the classical orders; this does not diminish its greatness, however, for it dared to challenge Hagia Sophia's construction method and dome size: *ibid.*, 197–98. Worth pondering is the striking parallel between Diez's conception of a Mediterranean *Zeitstil* and the pan-Mediterranean perspective of Fernand Braudel's famous *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, which was first published in Paris in 1949 but was based on an outline already written in 1939. I owe this observation to Halil Berktaş, who discusses the influence of the Annales school in Turkey in his *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fırat Köprüsü*, 83–85.
104. Diez, *Türk Sanatı*. 183–84, 190, 232, 235.
 105. For the polemic led by T. Öz, S. Çetintaş, and E. H. Ayverdi, see Ödekan, *Yazıların ve Röleveleriyle Sadat Çetintaş*, 38–39.
 106. Oktay Aslanapa and Ernst Diez, *Türk Sanatı* (Istanbul, 1955), 97–112. This revised edition omits the controversial reference to Sinan's Turkish ethnic origin: see 145.
 107. *Ibid.*, 128–32, 138–41, 150–51.
 108. For the tensions between these two divergent views on what constitutes “national style,” and a less vocal third perspective that interprets Ottoman architecture as a pan-Islamic tradition embodying timeless spiritual principles, see the essays of Doğan Kuban, Oluş Arık, and Turgut Cansever in the proceedings of a symposium titled *Mimaride Türk Üslubu Semineri* (Istanbul, 1984), 7–30.
 109. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi: Menşinden Bugüne Kadar*, 1:5–11, 2:658–75.
 110. *Ibid.*, 1:237, 374–87. The Üç Şerefeli Mosque and that of Mehmed II are identified as “proto-classical” precursors of the “classical style,” which is characterized by light-filled unified spaces generated by monumental hemispherical domes resting on square, hexagonal, and octagonal support systems: *ibid.*, 278–301. For the earlier view that the Sultan Ahmed Mosque initiates the “renewal period” (*teceddüd devri*) in which “new proportions and new characteristics” are introduced, see Arseven, *Türk San'atı* (1928), 158–60.
 111. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi*, 1:216, 335–36; 2:760–70.
 112. *Ibid.*, 2:767.
 113. Examples include Ulya Vogt-Göknil, *Türkische Moscheen* (Zurich, 1953); *idem*, *Les mosques turques* (Zurich, 1953); Kurt Erdmann, *Zur türkischen Baukunst seldschukischer und osmanischer Zeit* (Istanbul, 1958); Behçet Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman Times, 1071–1923* (London, 1959).
 114. Ernst Egli, *Sinan: Der Baroneister osmanischer Glanzzeit* (Zurich, 1954); *idem*. “Sinan the Architect,” 6–11. An early monograph on Sinan's works, written by a Turkish historian, is İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Mimar Koca Sinan'ın Eserleri* (Istanbul, 1950).
 115. Doğan Kuban, *Osmanlı Dinî Mimarisinde İç Mekân Teşekkülü: Rönesansla bir Mukayese* (Istanbul, 1958), 3–8. For Kuban's career and publications see Zeynep Ahunbay, Deniz Mazlum, and Kutgün Eyüpgiller, eds., *Prof. Doğan Kuban'a Armağan* (Istanbul, 1996).
 116. Kuban, *Osmanlı Dinî Mimarisinde*, 92–93.
 117. Doğan Kuban, “Mimar Sinan ve Türk Mimarisinin Klasik Çağı,” *Mimarlık* 5, 45 (1967): 13–47. Kuban prefers to exam-
- ine Sinan's architectural style “empirically, without recourse to Western criteria,” in *idem*, *Sinan's Art and Selimiye* (Istanbul, 1997), 201–12. He is suspicious of the “semantic” readings very much in vogue in contemporary art-historical theory, in which new meanings are sought: “in the artistic object quite beyond the ‘formal-functional’ level.” For Kuban's views on the shared artistic heritage of the Turks before their migration to Anatolia see *idem*, *Batıya Göçün Sanatsal Etkileri (Anadolu'dan Önce Türklerin Sanat Ortaklıkları)* (Istanbul, 1993).
 118. Suut Kemal Yetkin, *L'architecture turque en Turquie* (Paris, 1962), 1–2. Yetkin also wrote books on Islamic art and architecture: *İslâm Sanatı* (Ankara, 1954) and *İslâm Mimarisi* (Ankara, 1965).
 119. Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (London, 1971). For Aslanapa's biography and publications see Selçuk Mülayım, Zeki Sönmez, and Ara Altun, eds., *Aslanapa Armağanı* (Istanbul, 1996). His subsequently published books include a survey of Ottoman architecture and a monograph on Sinan: Oktay Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi* (Istanbul, 1986) and *Mimar Sinan* (Ankara, 1992).
 120. Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1971).
 121. Metin Sözen et al., *Türk Mimarisinin Gelişimi ve Mimar Sinan* (Istanbul, 1975).
 122. Henri Stierlin, *Soliman et l'architecture ottomane* (Paris, 1985), 206–7.
 123. Aptullah Kuran, *Mimar Sinan* (Istanbul, 1986); *idem*, *Sinan: The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture* (Washington, DC, and Istanbul, 1987).
 124. These include studies by R. Günay (1987, 1998); A. Petruccioli, ed. (1987); A. R. Burelli (1988); Z. Sönmez, ed. (1988); S. Mülayım (1989); J. Erzen (1991, 1996); J. Freely and A. R. Burelli (1992); L. Bartoli, E. Galdieri, F. Gurrieri, and L. Zanghieri (1992); O. Aslanapa (1992); M. Sözen (1992); G. Goodwin (1993); U. Vogt-Göknil (1993); A. Aktaş-Yasa, ed. (1996); H. Egli (1997); S. Bayram, ed. (1998); D. Kuban (1997, 1999). For the full references of these books, see the bibliography of my *Age of Sinan*, 567–74.
 125. Kuban, *Sinan's Art and Selimiye*, 233.
 126. Until quite recently the unparalleled wealth of documentation in the Turkish archives remained largely untapped by architectural historians, who have also tended to find Ottoman narrative primary sources tangential to their concerns. For example, Kuban, *Sinan's Art and Selimiye*, 1–15, dismisses as “too prosaic” Sinan's autobiographies, written by Sa'î in what Kuban deems “second-rate verse and prose.”
 127. Recent exceptions with contextual readings emphasizing primary written sources include Jale Nejdet Erzen, *Mimar Sinan: Estetik Bir Analiz* (Ankara, 1996); Stéphane Yerasimos, *La mosquée de Soliman* (Paris, 1997); Mülayım, *Ters Lâle*; Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*; and J. M. Rogers, *Sinan* (Oxford, 2006).
 128. See the essays of Arel, Ödekan, and Tanyeli in *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı “Ulustarüstü Bir Miras,”* 30–33, 43–49, 56–59. Criticizing nationalist paradigms and the rise-and-decline narrative that has privileged the “classical style” to the detriment of others, this revisionist volume seeks to initiate a “supranational” global perspective in future studies on the

Ottoman architectural heritage. Unlike the flourishing field of Ottoman history, where self-reflective critiques initiated in the 1980s have led to innovative readings of the past, architectural historians started only in the late 1990s to question the inherited ideological premises of their field, its methodological impasses, and its exclusions (such as non-monumental architecture, female and sub-imperial patronage, the voices of non-Muslim and "heterodox" Muslim communities, regional and provincial subcultures, and cross-cultural exchanges). Other recent critiques of nationalist historiography include Uğur Tanyeli's preface in Erzen, *Mimar Sinan*, i–v, and Artan's "Questions of Ottoman Identity."

129. For the view that Sinan deserves to be called the "son of

Islam" and that his legacy belongs to the universal Islamic civilization rather than being subject to the "exclusive ownership of a city, a dynasty, or a republic," see Gülzar S. Haider, "Sinan—A Presence in Time Eternal," *Afkar Inquiry* 3, 2 (1986): 38–44. A recent monograph published by Albaraka Türk presents Sinan's oeuvre as a timeless architectural expression of the Islamic concept of *tawhid*: see Turgut Cansever, *Mimar Sinan* (Istanbul, 2005). Global surveys of Islamic architecture that focus on the formal values of Sinan's works include John D. Hoag, *Islamic Architecture* (New York, 1977) and Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (New York, 1994).