OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE:

A REAPPRAISAL OF THE EUROPEAN INFLUENCES

by

Lucienne Marie Thys

B.A. in History, Brown University, 1983

Submitted to the Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

Art History

Boğaziçi University

1986

OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE:

A REAPPRAISAL OF THE EUROPEAN INFLUENCES

Approved by

Prof. Dr. Aptullah Kuran .....

Doç. Dr. Arda Denkel .....

Y. Doç. Dr. Selçuk Tözeren .....

Date of Approval ...10 September 1986.....

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my professor, Aptullah Kuran, who first suggested this topic to me and whose help and patience with my work has been much appreciated.

My mother, Barbara Tierney, has given her unfailing encouragement to me in this project and in all of my intellectual pursuits. For her love and support I am extremely grateful.

My youngest sister, Tierney Thys, was a tremendous help to me in the final stages of this manuscript and without her this work would have never reached completion. To her, and to my oldest sister, Victoria, who has been patient with my many editorial queries, I am deeply indebted.

Finally, I would like to thank Doğan Şenocak for sharing with me the great love and enthusiasm he holds for the city of Istanbul. To him, I dedicate this thesis.

These people have all contributed to whatever is of merit in this work. All errors and shortcomings are my own.

OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE:
A REAPPRAISAL OF THE EUROPEAN INFLUENCES

The following thesis investigates the dynamics of architectural change that occurred in the Ottoman capital during the nineteenth century. This era of Ottoman history is a highly complex one, characterized by tremendous political, social as well as architectural and urban changes. Traditionally, it has also been an era that has been perceived by most Ottoman historians as one of decline. In recent scholastic works, however, historians are reevaluating the events of the last century of the Empire's existence and allowing for other, more complex, frameworks of historical analyses other than that of a gradual decline. My own interest in the architecture of this period began because I continually found in the architectural history written about the nineteenth century structures of Istanbul that this bias of a historical decline was generally the basic starting point for most scholars of nineteenth century Ottoman architecture. Occasionally, one finds buildings

designed by Ottoman architects are cursorily dismissed as "degenerate" or "bombastic" European imitations.[1] Alternatively those structures built by European architects working in the capital city of the Empire are seen as concrete manifestations of European imperialistic ambitions in the Near East.[2] Too often the architectural works of the last century are allotted a few pages at the back of a book on Ottoman architecture or, worse yet, completely ignored.

In order to better understand the architecture built during this era of great change and transition, I suggest that we put aside our traditional historical and political biases and broaden our avenues of inquiry in a number of ways.

First, any study of nineteenth century Ottoman architectural history must include an investigation into the corresponding architectural movements of Europe. Several of the Ottoman palace architects, who built during the nineteenth century. if they were not Europeans themselves, were trained in Europe. Additionally, the patrons of many of Istanbul's nineteenth century structures were members of the Empire's European community that was located in the Galata area. In order to fully understand the European

influence on Ottoman architecture and the synthesis of the two, a knowledge of architecture in both regions is necessary.

Secondly, an obvious point but one that is many times overlooked, is that architecture can be used as an invaluable measure of historical change. It is essential, however, that it be treated differently than documents, treaties, wars and other standard materials historians use to help reconstruct history. Architecture and art have another dimension - that of the aesthetic which requires additional tools of analysis and sometimes a very different framework altogether. It is for this reason that the discipline of art history has emerged in the last century. While peoples and languages may be divided by borders, artistic changes are extremely fluid and generally do not remain constricted by geographical or political boundaries.

Thirdly, we must remember that the very essence of architecture lies in its composite nature. All architects draw inspiration and ideas from previously built structures either by adopting, rejecting or somehow modifying earlier architectural concepts. In some eras, such as the nineteenth century, the eclectic nature of artistic creations was greater than in other centuries where individuality and

uniqueness in architectural expression was more highly valued. Architects, both European and European-trained Ottomans, designed their buildings according to a set of architectural principals which encouraged the use of a variety of historicizing architectural motifs. This historicizing eclecticism eventually evoked a reaction among twentieth century architects and architectural historians alike. Thus, one must be careful, not to let the biases of the present century minimize the achievements of architects who built a century earlier when a different type of architecture was valued.

In the final analysis, the architects working in Istanbul during the nineteenth century were the builders of new types of buildings in the Empire: palaces, military barracks, train stations, apartment buildings, hotels, banks and government buildings. Some of these architects acted as mediators of culture and technological change between Europe and the Ottoman Empire; others were responsible for the foundation of the architectural schools in the Empire that trained and produced the first members of the new Turkish architectural profession. In short, both the Ottoman and European architects of nineteenth century Istanbul "planted the seeds of a new architectural era and thus should rightly be considered the bridges between the old world and the new."[3]

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES (cont.)

I. A REVIEW OF OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE IN THE SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH, AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE EUROPEAN BAROQUE

A. OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE: THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

In order to fully understand the changes that occurred in Ottoman architecture in the nineteenth century, a synopsis of Ottoman architecture from the classical Ottoman period to the turn of this century is necessary. For this purpose, I have selected buildings from each century which are important examples of either classical prototypes or, alternatively, serve as indicators of architectural change.

As Aptullah Kuran has stated, "The basic characteristics of Ottoman architecture are rationality, modularity and centrality."[4] These characteristics are particularly evident in the works of the great classical Ottoman architect, Mimar Sinan. Sinan's architectural style, a creative synthesis of Byzantine, Selçuk and earlier Ottoman works, is generally acknowledged to represent the classical

style of Ottoman architecture, the apogee of Ottoman architectural achievements. In Sinan's great works, among them the Şehzade, Süleymaniye and the Selimiye, the classical principles of Ottoman architecture were manifested, proportions and modules were established. According to Hoag, Sinan,

> ... created an exterior which corresponds exactly to the interior spatial divisions and to the structural functions of the assemblage of buttresses, arches, vaults, and counter-weights needed to create them. The lessons he learned from the Haghia Sophia are abundantly clear in the great east and west tympanums, but even without its later accretions, Haghia Sophia never expressed on the outside the much greater complexity of its interior divisions with equal clarity.[5]

Değan Kuban has also commented upon the relationship between the interior and exterior of classical Ottoman architecture. He states that "... the hallmark of this architecture was the structural clarity and integrity of the domed space.... The interiors are not complex: The whole geometrical structure and the spatial boundaries could be clearly perceived.... Decorative effects were totally subordinated to the structural articulation."[6]

Perhaps the most important characteristic of Ottoman architecture built in the sixteenth century is this fact that all structural elements on the interior were

made manifest on the exterior and except for the Şehzade, the exterior decoration of classical Ottoman architecture is generally limited to the porticos, capitals, tympanas of the arches over the doors and windows, surmounting crenellations, and the minaret balconies.

Following the sixteenth century works of Sinan's, the two major structures of the seventeenth century were the Yeni mosque and the mosque of Sultan Ahmet. Davut Ağa, a pupil of Sinan's, began work on the former mosque in 1598 but the structure was finally completed by Mehmed Ağa in the mid 1660's. Mehmed Ağa was also responsible for the design of the Sultan Ahmet, built between 1609 and 1616.

Both of these structures are of classical Ottoman inspiration as they were modelled after Sinan's plan for the Şehzade where the Central dome is carried by four interior pillars and buttressed by four half-domes. Some deviations from Sinan's designs are visible in these two later structures. As an example, the importance and size of the hunkar mahfili has increased in the later mosques.

Basically, these changes were minimal when compared to those that occured in Ottoman architecture during the eighteenth century. During this era, known in the Ottoman

Empire as the Tulip Period, the simple and strong classical lines & sedate restraint of the exterior that was so characteristic of Sinan's and his immediate successors' works, began to be overshadowed by a new repertoire of European forms collectively known as the Turkish Baroque. Ottoman Baroque architecture borrowed from Europe many of the decorative elements, but in some of the buildings constructed in this era, the new spatial concepts of the European Baroque were also employed.

B. THE EUROPEAN BAROQUE: VERSAILLES

In order to understand the elements that were borrowed by Ottoman architects from European Baroque architecture, it is necessary to turn for a moment to Europe and the Baroque architecture created there. For our purposes, I have chosen the example of Versailles to demonstrate the architectural elements and fundamental tenets that comprised the Baroque movement of Europe.

In secular Baroque architecture, France was the leader in Europe and produced some of the most formidable examples; one such outstanding example is the Palace of Versailles. During this period of Louis XIV, the building was greatly expanded to accomodate new ceremonial requirements

of an absolute monarch. In this structure, as well as other Baroque buildings the emphasis upon theatrical spaces and exterior plasticity was fundamental. Magnificent wrought iron gates, through which the crowds gazed, served as the dividing line between the actor-emperor and his audience, the people. State rooms, reception rooms, ball rooms, porcelain rooms and a gallery of mirrors where guests could watch themselves and watch others, became indispensible spaces within a palace structure. As Frankl has stated, it was in the European palace of the eighteenth century where "man's objective in life was to be observed. The mirror was indispensible: it was the most distinctive feature of the period. The essential purpose was to be mirrored, to be seen."[7]

An integral part of the plan of Versailles was the extensive garden planned by André Le Notre. Like the numerous mirrored halls that created an interior expanse, the vistas created by Le Notre continued the giant perspective. Tightly designed geometric groups of trees, lawns, fountains and pools are contrasted with more informal open meadows. "As a symbol of the power of absolution, Versailles is unsurpassed. It expressed the rationalistic creed, based upon the mathematical philosophy of Descartes,

that all knowledge must be systematic and all science the consequence of the imposition of the intellect upon matter."[8]

Most art historians will agree that in Europe, by the eighteenth century, not only a new artistic style but also a revolutionary social philosophy was emerging. Man's relationship to his world and to God had changed from the Renaissance and the architecture of the Baroque reflects these new changes in attitude. Once a disparaging term derived from the Portuguese word "barroco," an irregularily shaped pearl, Baroque now connotes in architecture all that is spacious, theatrical and dynamic. New experimentation with space and the manipulation of it became an obsession with Baroque architects. As new discoveries in physics and astronomy were made, man began to push past his existing limitations and rethink concepts of space and movement. When these new concepts and new ideas were applied to architecture, the results were secular structures such as Louis XIV's Versailles. This structure, as well as the famous Baroque creations of the papacy in Rome, were prompted by a desire for a theatrical alternative to the rational confines of Renaissance space. Often their overwhelming presence was used for political purposes. As we have seen in Versailles, Louis XIV chose this type of architecture to secure his position as an absolute

monarch. In Rome, the Counter Reformation popes from Pope Paul III to Sixtus V chose Baroque architecture to stimulate the pious emotions and thus the faith and support of their people.

In the Ottoman Empire, the use of European Baroque architectural elements for palaces did not necessarily reflect the Sultan's desire to establish himself as an absolute monarch; in Ottoman Baroque religious architecture it was not used in the same way that the Counter Reformation popes utilized European non secular Baroque structures.* In short, little of the scientific thought and philosophy behind the European Baroque movement generated the creation of the Ottoman Baroque. If we divide the European Baroque architecture into three categories - first, the philosophical, second, the spatial experimentation, and third, the exterior

---

*Perhaps drawing a comparison between the Baroque Ottoman architects and Sinan will clarify my point. Sinan drew from the Aya Sophia certain concepts of architecture such as the domical structure when building the Süleymaniye. His building, however, reflects very different concepts of worship and different liturgical requirements unique to the Ottoman Empire when compared to those expressed by Justinian's building. Likewise, the Ottoman Baroque architects borrowed elements, both decorative and spatial, from the European Baroque architecture, but these are adapted to fit certain requirements in their particular society and religion. In the following pages we shall see how and what these Ottoman Baroque buildings borrowed from the European Baroque architecture.

decorative elements, it becomes apparent that the Ottoman architect did not wholly adopt the first, experimented at times with the second, and was most skilled at the execution of the third.

C. THE OTTOMAN BAROQUE

Sultan Ahmet III (1703-30) was among the earliest Ottoman enthusiasts of this new style. He had initially been exposed to the French Baroque architecture by the first Ottoman ambassador to France, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi. Mehmed Çelebi's 1721 embassy to Europe had been prompted by a series of Ottoman military defeats and thus its main goal was the acquisition of information concerning Europe's superior wartime technology. The ambassador was also ordered by the Sultan to investigate other aspects of European life and to "make a thorough study of the means of civilization and education and report on those capable of application."[9]

When Mehmed Çelebi returned from Louis XIV's Paris, he brought back descriptions of military and technical establishments as well as tales of the splendid gardens, parks, fountains, and palaces in the French capital. Plans of the palace at Fontainbleu, Versailles and Marley-Le-Roi

were part of the architectural package he brought back with him from Europe. The impact Mehmet Celebi's reports had upon architecture in the Empire was significant and the European influences can be detected in the first major monument of the eighteenth century, the Mosque of Nuruosmaniye (1748-55).

1. The Nuruosmaniye Complex

The Nuruosmaniye mosque's plan is a simple traditional Ottoman one with a single domed square covering the prayer area. (Figure 1) This adherence to traditional forms was allegedly stipulated by the ulema. Goodwin claims that Sultan Mahmut I, when he commissioned the mosque, "was said to have wanted a building in the Western manner but was dissuaded from such a folly by the ulema."[10]

Whether the adherence to a traditional design for the prayer area was due to the influence of the ulema or pre-existing structures surrounding the mosque is difficult to determine, but Sultan Mahmut must have arrived at some kind of compromise as the Nuruosmaniye's avlu was designed in a horseshoe shape rather than in the traditional rectangular plan. Additionally, the mosque and the courtyard are not on one single level but are slightly split; these

levels are then reached by oddly shaped staircases. The thrust of the four large exterior lateral arches are stabilized by four square turrets and interspersed between these are six "S" shaped buttresses which impart a sense of movement and plasticity to the exterior of the structure. Brick mouldings, decorative arches, and the unorthodox plastic articulation of the facades indicate a break from the earlier and more conservative classical exterior articulation.

Some fundamental elements of Sinan mosque design, such as the eight-arched arcades that serve as porches to the north portals, are retained in the Nuruosmaniye's plan. Additionally, as previously mentioned, the interior remains true to the more static quality of traditional Ottoman mosque interiors. Here, inside the prayer area, when compared to the adjacent courtyard space, there is little dynamic movement.

For our purposes, the Nuruosmaniye is particularly interesting as it is in this structure where we can first see the ways in which the Ottoman architect reinterpreted the architectural influences of Europe to the requirements of his own society. Unlike the European Baroque movement,

whose dynamic spatial concepts were supported and propagated by both the political and religious hierarchy, the Ottoman Sultan and hence his chief architect, most probably, had to accomodate building plans to the requirements of a conservative ulema and|or to extant vaKif property surrounding the structure. This could explain the tension that one senses in the different handling of spaces within the Nuruosmaniye complex.

As Aptullah Kuran has stated, in this mosque, "The principles of Turkish classical architecture still dominate the Ottoman architecture, but foreign influences penetrate the skin leaving the interior still uneffected."[11]

2. The Laleli Complex

The Laleli mosque, built by Mustafa III and his architect Mehmet Tahir Ağa, repeats many of the Nuruosmaniye details: the form of the windows, the curvaceous buttressing of the domes, and the irregularly shaped stairs all appear in the complex. (Figure 2) Additionally, the entire complex is elevated on a platform above a han. The intentional elevation of a structure was a common architectural device used by Baroque architects in Europe and in the Laleli, this spatial technique was quite successfully used by

the Ottoman architect.

Yet overall, the Laleli's plan, like the Nuruosmaniye's, retains the basic concepts of the traditional Ottoman mosque. The courtyard here, compared to the Nuruosmaniye's is more conservative and there doesn't appear to have been any attempt to stretch the fundamental spatial proscriptions of the traditional Ottoman mosque. Surface plasticity, however, has increased on the Laleli's exterior and certain elements, in particular, the platform elevation reveal that elements of European Baroque have been tailored to the requirements of Ottoman architecture.

3. The Beylerbeyi Complex

A final example of an eighteenth century mosque that explores, not only the decorative aspects of European Baroque but also, to some degree, the spatial concepts, is the Beylerbeyi mosque. (Figure 3) Built in 1778 by Mehmet Tahir Āga, its plan is that of the traditional domed square but with a rectangular mihrab area. In terms of the influence of the European Baroque, this structure is remarkable in that it is the first of the major mosques of the eighteenth century which utilized the expanse of the Bosphorous waterfront in its design. Earlier mosques had

certainly been constructed on the Bosphorous shores; the Üsküdar Mihrimah and the Şemsi Ahmet Mosque are but two examples. But the Beylerbeyi was the first mosque built where the courtyard was conceived of as an integral part of the landscape, and thus the expanse of the open sea was exploited in the architectural design.

This utilization of the landscape and the emphasis upon infinite and expanding space was a quality which we have seen earlier in Le Notre's gardens of Versailles. Compared to the Beylerbeyi, the control and manipulation of space and natural elements in the French palace was greater, but it is readily apparent that Mehmet Tahir Ağa both understood and intended to incorporate into his structure a sense of an infinite expanse - one of the fundamental characteristics of European Baroque architecture.

When considering these three major examples from the eighteenth century - the Nuruosmaniye, the Laleli and the Beylerbeyi, and the Europeanizing changes that their respective architects incorporated into their plans, some authors have concluded that the Ottoman architects did not have an adequate understanding of the European Baroque movement. Goodwin, for example, has stated that

this initial response to the European Baroque produced "clumsy imitations of only partially understood ideas."[12] This type of conclusion is, perhaps, too simplistic and fails to take into account the fact that the Ottoman and the European architects responded to different demands from a society with different requirements. It cannot be denied that, in addition to the exterior plasticity characteristic of European Baroque architecture, the Ottoman architect also experimented with some of the spatial concepts of the Baroque. We have seen this in the Nuruosmaniye horseshoe courtyard, the elevated Laleli complex and the Beylerbeyi's use of the waterfront. In all of these structures there was a certain amount of tension created between the traditional forms of Ottoman architecture and the experimentation with new Baroque elements but none of these structures are what I would call "clumsy imitations." In the final analysis, it is apparent that the Ottoman architect of the eighteenth century did not adopt the political rhetoric of the Baroque architecture of Europe, but he seemed to have understood and thus was capable of incorporating into his own buildings some of the spatial and decorative elements of the European Baroque.

D. OTTOMAN BAROQUE - THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

As we move into the nineteenth century we will see additional examples, both in secular and non-secular structures that attest to the fact that the Ottoman architect, who was exposed to European forms, did not produce poor European imitations, but rather, he created a unique Ottoman synthesis from both European and Ottoman architectural elements.

1. The Küçük Efendi Complex

A particularly interesting example of a building that demonstrates the above point is the complex of Küçük Efendi, built in 1828 and located in Yediküle. (Figure 4) The complex is composed of a library, fountain and mosque. In the latter structure the architect incorporated into the design an elliptical space covered by a wooden dome of a similar shape. The architect's choice of an ovoid interior indicates that, when allowed, the Ottoman architect was informed of, and could experiment with, not only Baroque decoration, but spatial concepts as well. The oval, a more dynamic relative of the circle was a basic theme in several European Baroque buildings, most notably the San Carlo

alla Quattro Fontane. (Figure 5)

Very little is known about the Küçük Efendi Complex as its interior burned in 1957 and the building has suffered through several restorations. Aptullah Kuran however, has concluded that the date on the fountain, itself an impressive, undulating work of Ottoman Baroque, is 1825 and was probably a gift from Sultan Mahmud II to Abdul Resid Efendi or Küçük Efendi.[13] Although not a major royal mosque, the existence of a Hunkar Mahfili (now gone) indicates that the Sultan must have visited the Küçük Efendi periodically.

While the complex is now owned by the Naksabendi order, it would be presumptuous to conclude that the structure was originally built for a "tarikat" and explain its unusual shape in this manner. Yet, when one considers that the only other example of this type of ovoid interior prayer area is found in the 1812 Kapı Mosque of Konya, historically a center for less institutionalized religious orders, this could possibly be considered as part of the explanation.

2. The Nusretiye Complex

Mahmud II's imperial mosque, the Nusretiye was constructed a year after the Küçük Efendi in 1826. (Figure 6) While the core of this imperial mosque was based on the plan of the traditional domed square, every other element of the structure is of Baroque inspiration. Three elliptical domes in lieu of vaults, have been placed under the müezzin's mahfil and the courtyard has been replaced by a two-storey palace facade behind which lies the Sultan's private apartments.

In the Nusretiye, pointed arches have all but disappeared and each structure of the complex exhibits the undulating curves and exterior plasticity of the Baroque. Its architect, Kirkor Balyan, was the earliest of an Armenian Ottoman dynasty of royal architects. Kirkor Balyan and his progeny, Karabet, Nikogos, Sarkis and Agop would become the architectural mediators between the Sublime Porte and Europe throughout the nineteenth century. Not only did they design the majority of imperial mosques erected in the Empire during the nineteenth century, they were responsible for the introduction of new typologies of buildings into the urban fabric of Istanbul.

II. THE MID NINETEENTH CENTURY

The changes that occurred in the Empire during the nineteenth century affected not only the architecture, but every aspect of Ottoman life. The increasing involvement of the European powers in the fiscal and political affairs of the Sublime Porte, as well as the changes ushered in during the Tanzimat Era, served to disband or reorganize many of the established judicial, educational and administrative institutions in the Empire. Concepts of liberty, equality and human rights were introduced into the Ottoman judicial system and educational institutions, particularly those of the military were patterned after contemporary European models.

The discussion of architecture in the Ottoman Empire becomes increasingly complex by the mid nineteenth century for a number of reasons. First, the increasingly complex spatial demands of the reforming Empire required the introduction of new architectural types. Military reforms, for example, required the construction of large barrack structures, innovations in transportation necessitated the construction of train stations, increased international trade, insurance and banking all called for new types

of office buildings. In the quarter of Pera, hotels, opera houses, theatres and embassies were built to meet the various needs of the growing European population in the capital. Finally, the impression that the European palaces had made upon the Sublime Porte had sparked an interest in the latter for a royal abode of more majestic proportions that the Topkapı Saray.

Traditional Ottoman urban architecture did not include in its repertoire the many complex architectural forms for these new functions. Külliye complexes such as the sixteenth century Süleymaniye or the seventeenth century Sultan Ahmet, had housed the many municipal functions of Ottoman life in the past and thus the vocabulary of architectural forms with which earlier Ottoman architects such as Sinan and Mehmet Ağa conversed had been sufficient for the construction of baths, medreses, hospitals, mosques, etc. These traditional forms did, however, have their limitations and thus did not allow for the new and more complex spatial demands required by both the reforming Sultan, the Ottoman elite and the European expatriots residing in Pera.

The second problem one encounters when studying nineteenth century Ottoman architecture is that the work of

both Ottoman and European architects in the capital is often discussed in the framework of the political events that transpired in this era. Rather than discussing this architecture in the context of architectural history, it is often discussed in the terms of European imperialism or minority nationalist movements. Perhaps some examples of this type of politically biased architectural history will clarify my point.

In Yıldırım Yavuz and Suha Özkan's article, "The Final Years of the Ottoman Empire,"[14] the authors have used architecture of the nineteenth century to support their contentions concerning both European imperialism and the detrimental effect of Ottoman minority architects in Istanbul during this era. The Armenian Ottoman palace architects, the Balyans, along with the European architects working in the capital are held accountable for the perceived architectural decline in the nineteenth century. They state, "The art of building became a popular profession, especially among the Christian subjects trained abroad. Thus the nineteenth century witnessed the gradual decline of the traditional Turkish architect and a break in the evolution of traditional architecture."[15]

Zeyneb Çelik, in The Impact of Westernization on

Istanbul's Urban Form 1838-1908 and Sezer Tansuğ, author of Cağdaş Türk Sanatı, are also critical of the Balyan's works. Çelik describes the two military barracks built by Sergis Balyan as "overscaled structures that marked the otherwise bare hills of the Bosphorous."[16] (Figures 7, 8) Tansuğ can only regard the importance of the Balyans' structures as symbols of the collapse ofthe Ottoman Empire. Rather than devoting his concerns to a study of the actual structures he informs the reader of the fact that Sergis Balyan was a greedy scoundrel who worked with figures in business, swindled funds from the Ottoman treasury and finally had to flee to Europe.[17]

An alternative stance regarding the Balyans' architecture is taken by Pars Tuğlacı in his book entitled Osmanlı Mimarlığında Batılılaşma Dönemi, ve Balyan Ailesi. Here, the author has taken great pains to attribute buildings such as the Yeşil Mosque in Bursa and the Sultan Ahmet Mosque in Istanbul to the Armenian architects, Yeğyazan and Mehmed Ağa respectively. Mimar Sinan was also, allegedly, of Armenian origin. According to Tuğlacı the Balyans worked as palace architects for 200 years and were responsible for the construction of works such as the Aynalı Kavak Kasrı, the Beşiktaş Palace and the Çağlayan

Kasrî.[18] Several of these statements are apocryphal and in the final analysis this author's treatise appears to have been written primarily as a political panegyric about the Armenian minority contributions to the Ottoman Empire. Certainly, there were significant contributions made by many minorities, including Armenian architects, but belaboring this point and mis-attributing works only serves to weaken Tuğlacı's argument.

In order to better understand the works of these early European-educated Ottoman architects and the context in which they built, we must first look at a few of the buildings they constructed, devoid of any political biases concerning minorities or European imperialism.

A. ARCHITECTURAL MEDIATORS: THE BALYANS

Nikogos Balyan and his brothers Sarkis and Agop, all attended St. Barbe College in Paris where the former Balyan came under the influence of Henri Labrouste, the architect of the Bibliothèque St. Genevieve (1840) and the Bibliothèque Nationale (1855). During their academic tenure in Europe, the Balyans were exposed to the architectural theories of the École des Beaux Arts in Paris.

The basic tenets of this school of architecture emphasized symmetry, clarity, axiality and regularity in a structure. The impetus behind Europe's new architectural schools and the sudden interest in Classical Greek and Roman architecture had been the discovery of the ancient cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum in the mid-eighteenth century by European archeologists. Initially, Neoclassical architecture during the late eighteenth century was regarded by western architects to be the symbol of new democratic governments, such as those in France and America and this classical-inspired architecture came to be seen as the concretization of certain democratic principles that were harmonious and just in society.

One hundred years after the discoveries that launched the Neoclassical movement, much of the social and political beliefs that had fueled the ideology of Neoclassicism had dissipated and architects from the European architectural schools were engaged in a search through the cultural luggage carried by earlier buildings to find an appropriate style for their buildings.

According to Summerson, the majority of late nineteenth century architects, when choosing a style for their building, "looked back not only to Greece and Rome

but to nearly every succeeding phase of classical development, as one glorious quarry of ideas ... Classical designers were circling around the achievements of the past looking for things which could be done again, in a different way or in different combinations."[19]

The results were Neo-Baroque, Neoclassical, Neo-Gothic, and Neo-Renaissance buildings that were draped in a historical vocabulary of decorative forms which, at one time had had a symbolic message, but now reflected an indiscriminate reverence for the past and a simple accepted historicizing formula for decoration. It would not be until the early decades of the twentieth century and the appearance of architects such as Behrens and the members of the Vienna Sessionist Movement that the classical orders would be retrieved from the eclecticism of the nineteenth century and again infused with a more symbolic meaning.

1. The Dolmabahçe - A New Concept in Royal Housing

When Nikogos Balyan returned to the Ottoman Empire from Europe early in 1850, he began working with his father, Karabet, on Sultan Abdulmecid's Dolmabahçe Saray and the adjacent mosque of Valide Bezmialem. The palace was completed in 1853 whereupon the residential functions, located at

the Topkapı Saray relocated to the palatial waterfront structure at Beşiktaş.

The introduction of European palace architecture marked a dramatic break in the Ottoman tradition concept of royal living quarters. As Doğan Kuban has stated, "From old descriptions, minature paintings and the existing remains at the Topkapı, it may be assumed that the idea of a single, integrated monumental palace was alien to the Turkish spirit."[20]

The Topkapı Saray, the main residence of the Ottoman Sultans until the construction of the Dolmabahçe, was composed of several small kiosks, arranged around courtyards. Within the palace grounds are baths, libraries, kitchens, harem quarters, a bakery and several other structures. All of them are detached from one another and, except for the harem, stand as autonomous units.

The Dolmabahçe, however, was a large integrated structure. Divided into three main sections, the Selamlik, the Throne Room, and the Harem, the overall plan of the palace embodied the basic principles of symmetry and axiality in Beaux Arts planning. (Figures 9, 10, 11)

Zeyneb Çelik has suggested that the interior plan of the Dolmabahçe was influenced by the Turkish domestic architecture, an arrangement where all rooms open up to a central hall.[21] Alternatively, Godfrey Goodwin has suggested that the Çinili kiosk plan, a cruciform with a room in each of the four corners, served as the model for the internal organization of the palace.[22]

It is difficult to prove the validity of either of these hypotheses concerning the incorporation of Ottoman vernacular architecture into the Balyans' Dolmabahçe. We must remember that the attention given by Turkish architects and architectural historians to the synthesis of the Turkish house plan with modern architecture is a fairly recent phenomenon that evolved from Sedad Hakki Eldem's work in the 1930's.

Even though some of the Sultans who took up residence in the Dolmabahçe palace continued to live in an Ottoman fashion, the architectural planning done in the Empire by the Balyans was most probably not based on traditional Ottoman architectural models but drawn from European structures and influenced by architectural treatises such as Jean Nicolas-Louis Durand's 1802 work entitled Précis des

leçons d'architecture which illustrated the current theories of architectural design. (Figure 9)

The exterior decoration of the Dolmabahçe reveals very little Ottoman influence. Like European buildings of that era, its facade is covered in an eclectic melange of Doric and Ionic pilasters, Neo-Renaissance pediments, Neo-Baroque twisted columns and plastic floral and vegetal carvings.

The Balyans' other palaces along the Bosphorous, most notably, the Çırağan, the Beylerbeyi and the Küçüksu are all further examples of European palace structures situated in an Ottoman milieu. All of these smaller palaces display the same axiality and eclectic rendering of the facade that is found at the Dolmabahçe.

It is surprising then to find the label Neo-Ottoman has been attached to buildings such as the Çırağan Palace and Nikogos Balyan's Hamidiye Mosque by certain art historians.[23] As mentioned previously, the Çırağan exhibits little Ottoman influence and embodies few of the principles of Ottoman architecture and thus it is difficult to consider it an example of an Ottoman renaissance.

2. The Hamidiye Mosque: Neo-Gothic or Neo-Ottoman?

The Hamidiye Mosque of Nikogos Balyan is more a Neo-Gothic structure than a Neo-Ottoman one. (Figure 12) Here Nikogos Balyan tried to merge the two architectural styles, the Ottoman and the Gothic, and was largely unsuccessful as in Ottoman and Gothic architecture the way in which verticality was achieved was almost antithetical.

The Gothic architect tried to dematerialize the walls and deemphasize the structural and supporting elements of a building. As previously mentioned, the fundamental tenets of Ottoman architecture included the articulation of the relationship between both interior and exterior architectonics. Additionally, the Gothic and Ottoman styles for non-secular architecture differed in that Ottoman construction was based upon a centering domical construction whereas the Gothic is based upon pointed rib-vaulting and incorporates a forward movement and directionality into its design for specific liturgical practices. (A true structural synthesis between the Gothic constructional ethos and that of the Ottoman was therefore an impossibility; the marriage that Nikogos Balyan created between these two very different architectural traditions was one composed primarily of exterior decorative elements drawn from European

Neo-Gothic architecture.

In summation, the architecture produced by the European educated Balyans is really more European architecture than it is Ottoman or Islamic. But for this reason the Balyans should not be criticized by present day architectural historians. We must first consider the context in which they built. They were educated in European architectural schools and instructed by their patron, the Ottoman Sultan, to create an image of a powerful empire dedicated to a Western concept of progress and reform. Thus, they brought back with them the European formula for military barracks and palaces. These new types of structures that they built in Istanbul were basically European ones and when compared to contemporaneous structures in Europe they are successful buildings in terms of both style and function. In a positive light then, the Balyans served as the first mediators of the new types of European buildings. If there is any criticism to be made concerning the Balyans, it is that their works in the Empire were predominately immitative ones. They did not attempt any further exploration of the new spatial concepts of European architecture; nor did they work to redefine Ottoman architecture with a modern architectural vocabulary. When searching through the "cultural luggage" of the past for exterior decoration,

the Balyans chose the motifs and architectural decorations of Europe and produced Neo-Gothic mosques and Neoclassical palaces, but certainly not Neo-Ottoman architecture.

Ironically, the synthesis between the exterior and interior of Ottoman buildings would first be initiated by Europeans who were, themselves, living in the capital of the Empire. Unlike the Balyans who were educated, and apparently overwhelmed by the styles there, some of the European architects working in Istanbul incorporated into their eclectic architectural packages decorative elements drawn from Islamic and Ottoman architectural designs.

These Europeans have been criticized for appropriating only the superficial exterior veneer of Ottoman and Islamic architecture. Yet, by doing that, they began a process, a search for an appropriate synthesis between modern European and traditional Ottoman architecture.

III. THE EUROPEAN ARCHITECTS OF ISTANBUL

By the mid-nineteenth century the Ottoman Sultanate's attitude towards the mediating class of Armenian financiers, entrepreneurs and architects took a turn for the worse. Bernard Lewis has commented upon the chilling of minority relations in the Empire.

> With the visible decline of Ottoman power and the rise of European influence, there was a catastrophic change for the worse in the position of Ottoman non-Muslims. ... The old mutually accepted relationship between Muslims and Zimmis conferring a definite and agreed status and right on the latter, had been undermined and destroyed by new ideas and new ambitions. Liberal principles required the Turks to give the subject peoples full equality of rights in the state: national principles entitled these peoples to rebel against it and set up independent states of their own.[24]

The Armenians in the Empire had been known as the Millet-i Sadeka or the "loyal community" and had been the most trusted of the minority groups. As mentioned earlier, members of the Millet-i Sadeka had been given some of the most influential positions in the Ottoman administration. Increasing nationalist fervor among the Armenian minorities created a significant amount of tension between the Turks and the Armenians. Coincident with the

rising nationalism of the Empire's minorities, the European countries began to strengthen their role as the protectors of Ottoman Christians. Gradually the Westernizing reforms that had initially been generated by internal forces within the Empire, came under the auspices of foreign governments. Western powers, and particularly England and France, began to take a more active role in the modernizing reforms of the Empire and demanded further reforms as a precondition to admit the Ottoman Empire into the Council of Europe. At the same time the Empire's dependency upon Europe increased as a result of debts incurred during the Crimean War.

By 1863, the right to issue bank notes was conceeded to the Franco-British Ottoman Bank and finally, in 1881 the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (Düyün-i Umumiye) was established. Once bankrupt, the Ottoman treasury no longer had the resources for the massive building campaigns of the past. Unlike Europe, the Ottoman Empire did not have a large private sector to fund the new architectural ventures. Centralizing reforms of the vakif system had discouraged private investment into public works and thus the Ottoman patron who had earlier put capital into the building of public institutions now invested in land. Moreover, the inflation of land prices as well as the

continued impoverishment of those classes which could have built public institutions resulted in a very slowly developing construction and architectural activity.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century the European physical presence in the Empire had greatly increased. The area of Galata and Pera, where many of the non-Muslim minorities lived, became increasingly populated with European expatriots. De Amiciis's description of the Grande Rue de Pera attests to this new presence.

> The West End of the European colony is the quarter where are to be found the comforts and elegancies of life. (The Grande Rue) is lined on both sides with English and French hotels, cafes of the better sort, brilliantly lighted shops, theatres, foreign consulates, clubs and the residences of various ambassadors.[25]

Among this new influx of foreigners were several European architects who built, not only for European patrons, but for the Ottoman sultan as well. Thus, the introduction of new building types, initiated by the Balyans, was continued by French, German, English and Italian architects and patrons. On February 8th, 1875, one of the French papers of Galata announced the arrival of these architects.

> We have recently seen the arrival of architects from Paris who are not only skillful builders, but also persons of

> taste who have been well schooled at the École-des Beaux Arts and who know about art ... they will give to the facades of our buildings the appropriate decoration and the stamp of grandeur.[26]

It was not long before opera houses, embassies, hotels, banks, train-stations and multi-storied apartment houses, were added to the Balyan's list of European inspired structures built in the capital.

A. PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION

Along with the Balyans' works, these buildings "became the architectural representation of new functions which were the result of industrialization and of integration into the world economy."[27] By the late nineteenth century, names like Fossati, Vallaury, Jachmund, Ritter, Smith and D'Aronco began to dominate the architectural scene of Istanbul. These architects had all been trained in Europe and built in the historicizing eclectic manner that we have witnessed in the Balyans' works.

Unlike the Balyans, several of these European architects incorporated Ottomanizing or Islamicizing architectural elements into their buildings and thus added yet another style to their repertoire of designs. Tekeli

has stated, "There was no specific demand by the Sultan or by the ideology of Islam for such a reinterpretation of European neoclassicism to fit particular local conditions." He concludes that this reinterpretation could possibly "have come from the owners of the buildings who were often foreign companies which may have hoped to gain greater acceptance."[28] It is more probable that these European architects had recently been exposed to the various architectures of the Near East through literary works such as Owen Jones's Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra (1842-45) and concrete examples such as John Nash's famous Royal Pavilion at Brighton, England and were adding elements from Near and Far Eastern architecture into their stylistic repertoire. As Çelik has stated, "Nineteenth century European architects were primarily attracted to the decorative aspects of Islamic architecture and thus applied Islamic decorative elements to their buildings as surface veneer."[29]

Other authors, such as Yıldırım Yavuz and Suha Özkan, believe the European architects' practice of orientalizing the architecture they built in the Ottoman Empire was not an innocent borrowing of aesthetics but, rather, a reflection of subversive imperialist motives.

In their article entitled "The Final Years of the Ottoman Empire," they suggest that the German architect Jachmund, had these less innocent motives. The Deutsche Orient Bank is described by the authors as a structure that, "still stands witness to the German expansionist ambition of the late nineteenth century."[30] In a similar vein, the Sirkeci Train Terminal is an example of an "ill-bred style followed by foreign architects working for the Ottoman government who were quite ignorant of the Ottoman and Islamic architectural traditions."[31]

These two authors have assumed that the relations between the European architects building in Istanbul and their Ottoman patrons and colleagues were antagonistic ones. They are not alone in their opinions. Sedad Hakki Eldem also states that the civilization which produced these European architects, "crushed the delicate structure of Islam and reduced it to a second-class civilization."[32] Also implicit, in Yavuz and Özkan's criticism, is that the European architects had the intentions of building Ottoman structures but were unable to understand them.

As I have previously mentioned, European architects were basically looking to Islamic and Ottoman architecture only for certain decorative elements. They did not intend

to build their structures according to all the architectural principles of Ottoman architecture and, even if they had those intentions, it would have been an impossibility to build a train station according to architectural principles which had never included the design for this new typology of building. In short, the criticism of these two authors is rather inappropriate.

In the following section I will discuss several buildings designed by European architects working in the Ottoman capital. I believe a closer look at some of these buildings will demonstrate my point that these buildings were not built primarily as concrete manifestations of European imperialist ambitions but are further examples of European eclecticism, which merely added additional ingredients drawn from Ottoman and Islamic architecture, to their structures. To begin, we will take a closer look at the Sirkeci Train Terminal.

B. THE ARCHITECTURE

1. The Sirkeci Train Terminal (Figures 13, 14, 15, 16)

The Sirkeci Train Terminal, perhaps Jachmund's best known work in the capital was the final stop of the

legendary Orient Express - a train line owned by the French Wagon-Lit company. The design for the station was based upon the Neo_classical principles of symmetry and axiality. The center room is square and flanked by two narrow halls which terminate in two, slightly projecting, rectangular sections. The central section is surmounted by a Mansart-roof while the two end sections' roofs are flat. The overall plan is similar to contemporaneous stations in Europe but Jachmund's Sirkeci station differs somewhat in that the tracks of Sirkeci run parallel to the main building and not perpendicularly. It is difficult to explain the reason for this atypical arrangement but perhaps existing structures, or a sea view for disembarking passengers was considered in the design.

On the exterior of the building, the architect experimented with several Islamicizing decorative elements. Five different types of Islamic arches, drawn, not only from the Ottoman Empire, but also from Moorish and Mamluk sources, can be found on the facade of the terminal. The use of alternating colors of stone on the facade also recalls Syrian, Mamluk, or perhaps the local Byzantine architecture. Originally, the clock towers that flank the central section of the building were higher and resembled minarets. Finally, the central section displays a large

rose window that is set prominently between the two clock towers.

As we can see from the above description, Jachmund did not intend to imitate Ottoman architectural works. The presence of a Mansart roof and rose window, architectural elements which are entirely derived from European sources, attest to this fact. The inclusion of the "Bursa type" Ottoman arch and the alternating colors in the masonry reveals that the architect did look to surrounding Ottoman and possibly Byzantine architecture for some inspiration but basically his structure is an eclectic melange of several different styles - both European and Islamic. While it may appear to some authors, such as Yavuz and Özkan, as an "ill bred style,"[33] this building, at the time of its erection, was enthusiastically received by the Ottoman Sultan and elite. It was a building which represented the increasing communication and contact between the Empire and Europe. As Holod and Evin have stated, the Sirkeci Terminal, "can be taken as an implantation of imperialism but, it was, in fact, the latest product of a new function and of a technology that was in no way retardataire or different from railroad technology anywhere else."[34]

2. The Ottoman Public Debt Building (Figures 17,18,19,20,21)

Along with Jachmund, Alexandre Vallaury, a Frenchman educated at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris, was responsible for several of the first major European-built structures in the Ottoman capital. Located above the Sirkeci Terminal, the Ottoman Public Debt Building (now the Istanbul Erkek Lisesi) was a large building which served as the financial headquarters of the Empire in the last years of the Ottoman Empire. The building is composed of three stories, all tied together with a large marble staircase. The central section is flanked by two sections of equal proportion. A single projecting octagonal tower, that served as the library is attached to the rear of the central section and two similar towers are attached to the flanking sections. Their function was most probably that of meeting rooms. The entry-way was marked by a great portal that recalled those of Selçuk buildings. Above the foyer area is located a dome which is punctuated by small circular glass apertures and was undoubtedly inspired by the domes of the Ottoman hamams. The small stairwells on either side of the central staircase were illuminated from the roof to the basement by the insertion of small, light-filtering glass panels into the roof and floors. Some of the earliest central heating units in Istanbul can be found here, as well as

an elevator, a revolving wood theatre, and a ventilating system that consisted of a large iron wheel, located in the basement, which could be turned to circulate cool air through the many ventillating ducts in the building. Turquoise tiling and a fine wooden veneer, designed by Philippe Bello, complete the interior.

The exterior facing is of a rusticated stone which is punctuated by several arches of Islamic and Ottoman inspiration and wooden grills. Wide undulating eaves were used around the building's flat roof.

At the time of the Ottoman Public Debt Building's construction, the finances of the Ottoman Empire were largely under the control of several European banks. This has given that particular building a certain significance in the political and economic history of the Empire. Like the Sirkeci Terminal, Yavuz and Ozkan, have concluded that this building too, was a subversive concretization of imperialist ambitions. They claim that the architect, "carefully styled in pseudo-Islamic style"[35] his structure and utilized orientalizing motifs in order to palliate to the Ottoman people and government the European control of Ottoman finances. Certainly, there are elements of Islamic and Ottoman architecture in the design of the

Ottoman Public Debt building, but it is my belief that, like the Sirkeci Terminal, the reason for the use of such Islamic motifs was more a reflection of the eclectic architectural practices of the nineteenth century, rather than any desire to mask the political ambitions of European countries.

To read into this building, as Yavuz and Özkan have done, the political biases of the architect, is not only erroneous but it does not take into account the various styles of Vallaury's other major works in the capital - the Archeology Museum and the Haydarpaşa Imperial College of Military Medicine. The former building was commissioned by the Ottoman government and was built in a completely Neo-classical style that had no Islamicizing elements, and the latter structure, which Vallaury built in collaboration with Raimondo d'Aronco, was built for the Sublime Porte and reflects the same orientalizing approach as the Ottoman Public Debt Building.

In conclusion, there are too many exceptions to Yavuz and Özkan's theory of imperialist architecture for it to be a valid framework of analysis. These buildings are perhaps best seen as eclectic reflections of certain European architects' interest in the combination of

European and Islamic aesthetics.

3. The Archeology Museum (Figures 22, 23, 24)

In Europe, the question concerning the appropriate style for a museum building had been answered by European architects as early as the late eighteenth century. The museum institution itself was a product of an eighteenth century European compulsion to systematize and classify accumulated knowledge. Like the new enthusiasm for Greek and Roman architectural forms, the museum was the immediate result of the excavations of the sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum that yielded art objects requiring classification and display. Thus a style and form, usually that of the Classical temple was acknowledged to be the appropriate expression for the museum institution.

It is apparent that Vallaury, the architect of the Ottoman Empire's first major museum, used this accepted formula. Perhaps the fact that this structure was intended to house the Empire's collection of Roman and Greek antiquities also influenced the decision to build in a Neoclassical style. While it is difficult to prove, it appears that the decision concerning both the location and style was made by the architect, the Ottoman director of the

museum, and the Sultan, Abdulhamid II.

The first Ottoman museum had been located in the Byzantine church of Aya Irene that had been converted in Ottoman times into an armoury. This structure contained antiquities collected by Fethi Ahmed Pasa, the Minister of War in 1897. The museum, because it was located in the armoury remained closed to the public until Subhi Pasa, the Minister of Education obtained a firman from the Sultan which allowed for the transfer of antiquities from the Aya Irene to the Çinili Kiosk. From the translation of the 1869 decree, it appears that the Çinili Kiosk was only regarded as a temporary storage area, as this document expresses an intent to construct a museum based upon "the example in European countries."[36]

Once the antiquities collection outgrew the confines of the Çinili Kiosk, another firman was obtained in 1887 from Abdulhamid II by the director of the museum's collection, Osman Hamdi Bey. With this firman, the construction of the present Archaeology Museum began.[37]

Vallaury's original museum structure was a 200 meter long, two storey edifice. In 1902 and 1908 two separate

wings were added, perpendicularily to either end of the long hall. The interior of the museum was divided into six sections.

> The first sheltered the Greek, Roman and Byzantine artifacts, the second the Assyrian, Egyptian, Phoenician, Hittite, African and Asian ones, the third belonged to the Islamic civilizations, the fourth had the antique coins, in the fifth, samples of natural history were exhibited and in the sixth section was a library with a large collection of books on historical and scientific topics.[38]

On the exterior of the museum are two evenly spaced porticos, each with four Corinthian columns. All three facades are decorated with alternating engaged Ionic columns that flank the windows and engaged square pilasters that flank pieces of sculpture. As mentioned earlier, there is no element of Ottoman or Islamic architecture used in this structure and except for the Ottoman writing above the portico, the museum is comparable to those built in Europe in the same era.

4. The Imperial College of Military Medicine
(Figures 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30)

Vallaury collaborated with the Italian-born architect, Raimondo D'Aronco (the latter architect will

be discussed shortly) on the Imperial College of Military Medicine, an immense hospital and school complex, located on the hill above Haydarpaşa. Completed in 1903, the building is composed of five floors: the first and second basement, the mezzanine, first floor, second floor and the attic.

All floors are arranged around a large central courtyard. The western facade of the building faces the Marmara Sea and is divided by three projecting sections, each containing a large central arch that is flanked by two minaret-like clock towers. The eastern facade of the Imperial College faces towards the land and is punctuated by several types of Islamic-inspired arches. The monumental entrance of the eastern facade is of Selçuk inspiration and is comparable to the entrance of the Ottoman Public Debt Building. Above the portal are three small domes, the central one derived from Ottoman architecture and the flanking ones of Russian origin. The interior halls of the College are long cavernous spaces that are occasionally interrupted by iron staircases. The central iron staircase is particularly ornate and dominates the central foyer area. At present, this building is undergoing massive interior restoration and it is difficult, therefore, to discern how the interior originally looked at the time of construction.

Like Vallaury's Public Debt Building, this structure is built with the axial symmetry inherent in Beaux Arts planning principles and thus its conception and manipulation of space is essentially European.

Yet, in the spirit of late nineteenth century eclecticism, the architects, Vallaury and D'Aronco, incorporated Islamic and Ottoman decorative elements such as arches, domes and minaret - clock towers into their building. As mentioned earlier, the choice of this orientalizing style does not reflect a European attempt to hide imperialist motives behind an Oriental facade. Rather, it reflects the architects' desire to respond to both the surrounding architectural environment, and to experiment with architectural trends of the late nineteenth century.

Most of the European architects working in the Ottoman capital in the late nineteenth century were constructing various types of architecture that had never previously existed in the Ottoman urban environment. As they had no Ottoman prototype upon which to base their designs, they naturally looked to European models for their basic spatial arrangements. Jachmund, Vallaury, D'Aronco, as well as other European architects did this. As we have seen, the results were either buildings such

as the Archaeology museum that were entirely of Neoclassical inspiration or alternatively, European structures with orientalizing exteriors. An exception to this pattern was Raimondo D'Aronco, an Italian architect who worked as the chief architect to the Imperial Court from 1896 to 1908.

5. The Complex of Şeyh Zafir (Figures 31, 32, 33)

As we have seen, D'Aronco, along with Vallaury, responded to the Empire's demand for a large military medical college with a European-plan/Islamic-exterior type of structure. D'Aronco, however, went further than the other European architects working in the capital in the creation of a synthesis between modern European architecture and the traditional Ottoman building types. While he is best known for his Art Nouveau creations, the Casa Botter in Beyoğlu being the most notable example of the style, D'Aronco's approach to the complex of Şeyh Zafir, located in Beş iktas reveals a combination of Neo-Rationalism and Ottoman architectural elements. D'Aronco was undoubtedly inspired by Olbrich's Sessionist Building in Vienna (1898) and united the Ottoman türbe design with some of the major design innovations of the era. The layout of the individual structures of the complex, the fountain,

tomb, and library was influenced by earlier Ottoman complexes while the basic "H" shaped plan of the tomb and library, with their low connecting link bears some resemblance to Frank Lloyd Wright's plan for Unity Temple in Oak Parks (1905).[39] Some of the decoration on the tomb, such as the eave over the portal and the inverted muquarnas are drawn from Selçuk architecture. Other motifs, such as the triangles and the three parallel bars below the fence posts, the Greek-key pattern repeated on the fences and the three projecting vertical bars on the top of the corner projections, are not unlike some of Wright's work of the same period.[40]

In the complex of Şeyh Zafir, D'Aronco did not have to contend with any new spatial demands as this complex did not exemplify a new typology of structure in the Ottoman Empire. Yet, he did redefine certain elements of Islamic and Ottoman exterior decoration. Additionally, he was able to incorporate into the structures themselves some of the classical principles of Ottoman architectonics. In the final analysis, his building complex in Beşiktas successfully synthesizes elements of modern European architecture with traditional Ottoman ones.

IV. CONCLUSION

As is evident from the preceeding chapters, the Europeanization of Ottoman architecture was an extremely complex process. As we have also seen, the study of it has been made even more complex by architectural historians who have used the architecture built during this period of accelerated change to support their various political reasons for the decline of classical Ottoman architecture. My main criticism of these frameworks of analysis is firstly, that all of them assume a decline in Ottoman architecture after the sixteenth century and secondly, that both the European educated Ottoman architects and the European architects of Istanbul are held responsible for this decline.

Granted, the Balyan architects may not have been successful in synthesizing modern European and traditional Ottoman architecture, but they did introduce the first European type buildings and more complex spacial concepts into the urban environment of Istanbul. In this respect, they acted as the invaluable, early mediators of architectural technology and change between the Ottoman Empire and Europe.

Furthermore, the European architects who were building in the capital, should not be regarded as mere implementors of European imperialist policies. They continued the process of modernization and change that the Balyans had begun by building even more complex typologies of buildings. One of them, Raimondo D'Aronco, successfully synthesized some of the Ottoman and Islamic decorative and structural elements with modern European ones. Two others, Vallaury and Jachmund, by incorporating certain decorative elements from Ottoman and Islamic architecture into their structures, also acted as catalysts in the process of synthesizing modern building materials and concepts with traditional Ottoman forms. Additionally, these two architects were responsible for much of the curriculum in the first two architectural schools of the Ottoman Empire, the Academy of Fine Arts and Istanbul Technical University. From these schools came the leaders of the First Nationalist Architectural movement in Turkey, Vedat Bey and Kemalettin Bey. Their search for an appropriate Ottoman architectural expression that allowed for the incorporation of modern European technology, materials and spatial concepts was initially instigated by their European professors - Vallaury and Jachmund.

Perhaps, we, as Ottoman architectural historians,

have, in the past, placed too much importance upon the Ottoman achievements of the classical period and have thus failed to fully appreciate the efforts made by later architects who were experimenting with radically new concepts in architecture. To only consider the architecture built in the last 200 years as symbols of a gradual decline from a classical pinnacle, is unfortunate as this perspective not only closes our eyes to several important and beautiful buildings of this era, but it does not take into account the complex dynamics of artistic and architectural change.

ENDNOTES

1. Goodwin, G., A History of Ottoman Architecture, London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1971, p. 421.

2. Yavuz, Y. and Suha Özkan, "The final years of the Ottoman Empire," Modern Turkish Architecture, ed. R. Holod, A. Evin. Philadelphia: University of PA Press, 1984.

3. Ibid., p. 8.

4. Kuran, A. "The Turkish Architecture, Past and Present: A Brief Account," Conservation as Cultural Survival, Seminar 2, The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, Istanbul, September 26-28, 1978, p. 82.

5. Hoag, J. D. Islamic Architecture New York: Abrams, 1977, pp. 333-334.

6. Kuban, D. "Architecture of the Ottoman Period" The Art and Architecture of Turkey ed. E. Akurgal, New York: Rizzoli, 1980, p. 165.

7. Frankl, P., Principles of Architectural History: The Four Phases of Architectural Style - 1420 - 1900, MIT Press, 1968, p. 181.

8. Gardner, H., Art Through the Ages, New York: HBJ, 1936, p. 628.

9. Lewis, B., The Emergence of Modern Turkey, London: 1961, pp. 45-46.

10. Goodwin, G., op. cited, p. 383.

11. Kuran, A., "A Study of Turkish Architecture of Modern Times," First International Congress of Turkish Art (19th-24th October, 1959) Ankara: T.T.K.B. 1961, p. 240

12. Goodwin, G. op. cited, p. 373.

13. Kuran, A., "Küçük Efendi Manzumesi," Belleten, Cilt XXVII, Temmuz 1963, No. 107, pp. 467-476.

14. Yavuz, Y. and Özkan, S. op. cited.

15. Ibid., p. 36.

16. Çelik, Z. The Impact of Westernization on Istanbul's Urban Form 1838-1908, PhD. Dissertation, University of California, 1984, p. 264.

17. Tansuğ, S. Cağdaş Türk Sanatı, Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1986, pg. 68.

18. Tuglaci, P. Osmanlı Mimarlığında Batılılaşma Dönemi ve Balyan Ailesi, Istanbul, 1981.

19. Summerson, J. The Classical Language of Architecture London: Methuen and Co., 1964, pg. 43.

20. Kuban, D. op. cited, pg 166.

21. Çelik, Z. op. cited, pg. 267.

22. Goodwin, G., op. cited, pg. 422.

23. Eldem, S. H. "Toward a Local Idiom: A Summary History of Contemporary Architecture in Turkey," Conservation as Cultural Survival, op. cited, pg. 89.

24. Lewis, B. op. cited, pg. 349.

25. Amicis, E. Constantinople. New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1888, pp. 190-191.

26. Le Moniteur Orientale, 8 Feb. 1875, (translation by author).

27. Tekeli, I. "The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey," in Modern Turkish Architecture, op. cited, pg. 12.

28. Ibid., pg. 11.

29. Çelik, Z. op. cited, pg 278.

30. Yavuz, Y. & Özkan, S., op. cited, pg. 36.

31. Ibid., pg. 36.

32. Eldem, S. H., op. cited. pg. 89.

33. Yavuz, Y. & Özkan, S., op. cited, pg. 36.

34. Holod, R. & Evin, A. (ed.) Modern Turkish Architecture, op. cit., pg. 8.

35. Yavuz, Y. & Özkan, S., op. cited, pg. 38.

36. Çelik, Z., op. cited, pg. 270.

37. Ogan, A., "Turk müzecilğinin Yüzüncü yil Dönümü," Türkiye Turingve otomobil Kurumu Belletemi, No. 61, February 1947, pg. 8-19.

38. Çelik, Z., op. cited, pg. 270.

39. Gebhard, D., "Raimondo D'Aronco e l'Art Nouveau in Turchia," Casa Bello Febraio, 1967, #10, pg. 690.

40. Ibid., pg. 690.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF REFERENCES NOT CITED

Abu-Lughod, J.L., "Problems and Policy Implications of Middle Eastern Urbanization," Studies on Development Problems in Selected Countries of the Middle East, 1972.

Arkoun, M., "Positivism and Tradition in an Islamic Perspective: Kemalism," Diagones 127, (Offprint).

Barey, A., "Istanbul, 1453-1980," Archives d'Architecture, No. 23 (Special Issue), 1982.

Cezar, Mustafa. Sanatta Batıya Acılıs ve Osman Hamdi. Istanbul, 1971.

Cezar, Mustafa. Personal interview. 12 June 1986.

_____ D'Aronco Architetto, ed., Selvafolta, O. Milano: Electra Editrice, 1982.

Eyice, S. Istanbul: Petit Guide. Istanbul, 1955.

Frampton, Kenneth. Modern Architecture: A Critical History. Rev. Ed. London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 1985.

Girouard, M., "Neoclassicism from the Revolutionary to the Fancy Dress," Architectural Review, pp. 169-180, September 1972.

Goodwin, G., "Turkish Architecture 1840-1940," Art and Archeology, pp. 6-14, June 1977.

Göze, Halcuk N., "Modernism and Traditionalism in the Ottoman Empire 1790-1922," Ph.D. Dissertation, The American University, 1964.

Hitchcock, H.R. Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Pelican History of Art, Baltimore: 1958.

Inalcik, H., "Istanbul," Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. 4, pp. 224-248, 1978.

Kuban, D. Türk Barok Mimarısı Hakkında Bir Deneme. Istanbul, 1954.

Kuran, A. "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Architecture," Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History, ed. Naff, T. & Owen, R. Southern Illinois University Press: 1977.

Lewis, Bernard. The Middle East and the West. New York: Harper and Row, 1964.

Lewis, B., "The Ottoman Empire in the Mid-19th Century: A Review," International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. I, No. 3, April 1965.

Mumford, L. The Culture of Cities. New York, 1970.

Naum-Duhani, S. Vielles Gens, Vielles Demeures, Topographie Social de Pera au XIXème Siecle. Istanbul, 1947.

Norberg-Schulz, L. Meaning in Western Architecture. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975.

Pevsner, N., "Karl Friedrich Schinkel," From Mannerism to Romanticism, Vol. 1 of Studies in Art, Architecture and Design. New York: Walker and Company, pp. 175-195, 1968.

Pevsner, N., "The Doric Revival," From Mannerism to Romanticism, Vol. 1 of Studies in Art, Architecture and Design. New York: Walker and Company, pp. 197-211, 1968.

Raccagni, M., "The French Economic Interests in the Ottoman Empire," International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 11, pp. 339-376, 1980.

Rosenthal, S. The Politics of Dependency, Urban Reform in Istanbul. Westport, Conn., 1980.

Saalman, Howard. Haussmann: Paris Transformed. New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1971.

Said, Edward W. Orientalism. New York: Random House, Inc., 1979.

Shaw, S. and E.K. Shaw. History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. 2 vols. New York, 1977.

Sözen, M. Türk Mimarlığı, Ankara: Türkiye İs Bankası, Kültür Yayınları, 1984.

Sözen, M. and Tapan, M. 50 Yilin Türk Mimarısı. Istanbul: Is Bankase Kultur Yayinlari 122, 1978.

Tekeli, I., "Evolution of Spatial Organization in the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic," From Medina to Metropolis, Ed. L. Carl Brown. Princeton, pp. 244-276, 1973.

Tekeli, I., "Türkiye'de Kent Planlamasının Tarihsel Kökleri," Türkiye'de Imar Planlaması. Ed. T. Gök. Ankara, 1980.

Yavuz, Yıldırım. Mimar Kemalettin ve Birinci Ulusal Mimarlik Dönemi. Ankara, 1981.

Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi su Raimondo D'Aronco e il suo tempo" Udine 1/3 Giugno 1981.

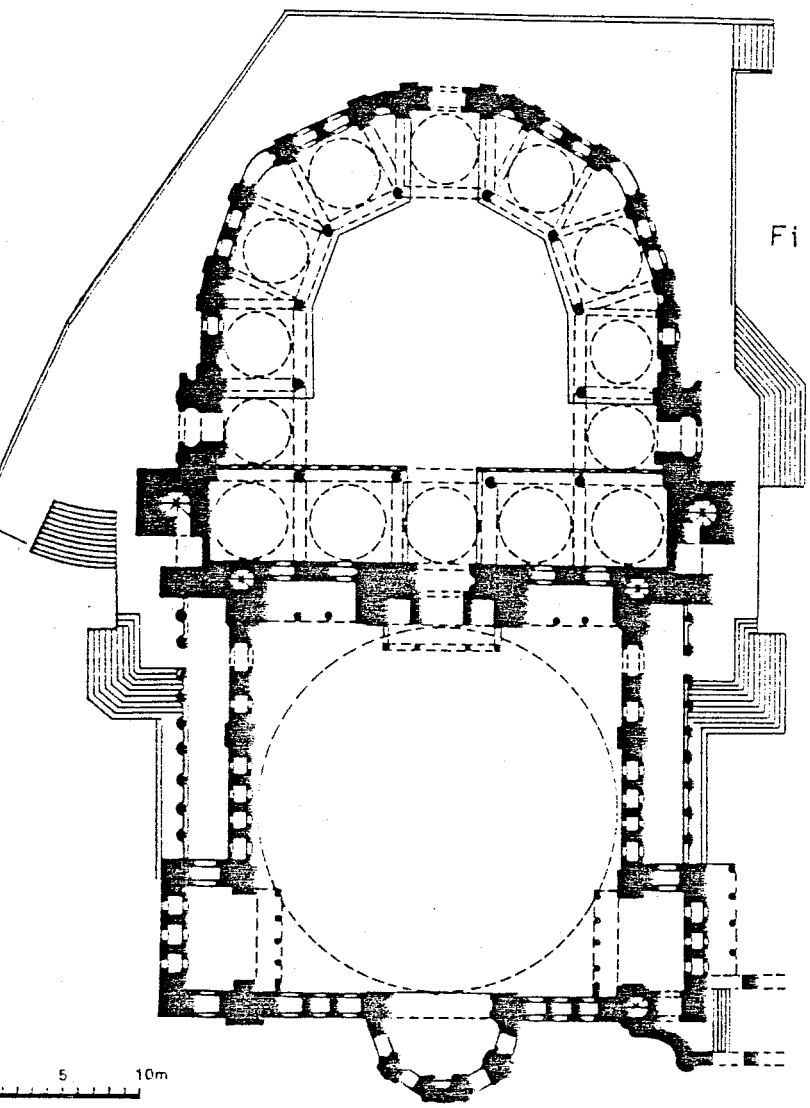


Fig.1 Plan of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque

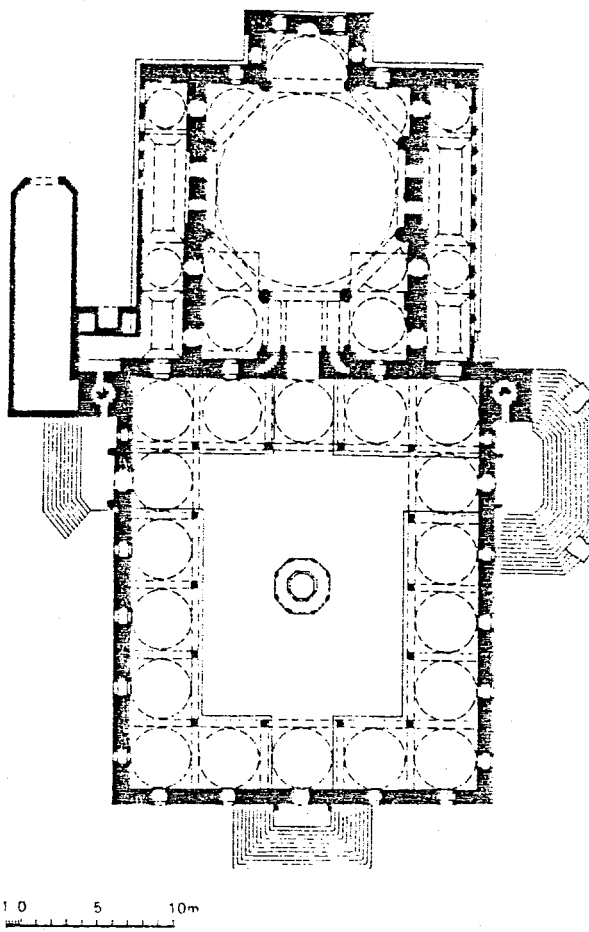


Fig.2 Plan of the Laleli Mosque

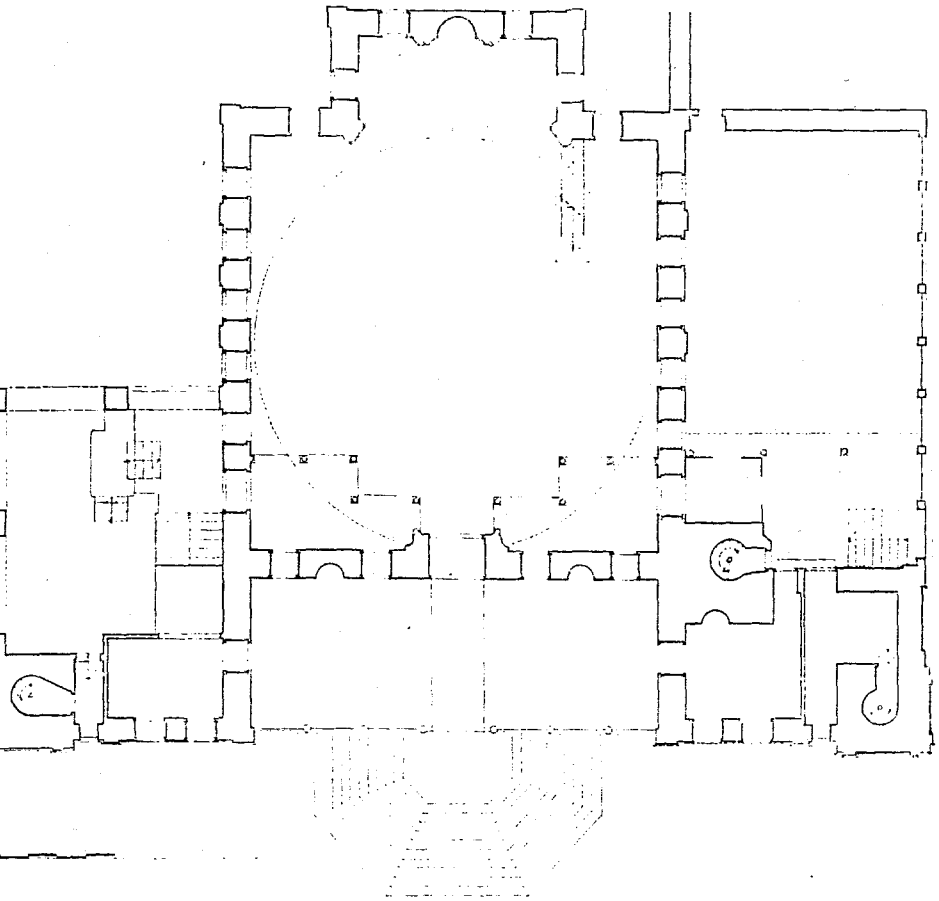


Fig. 3 Beylerbeyi Koscu

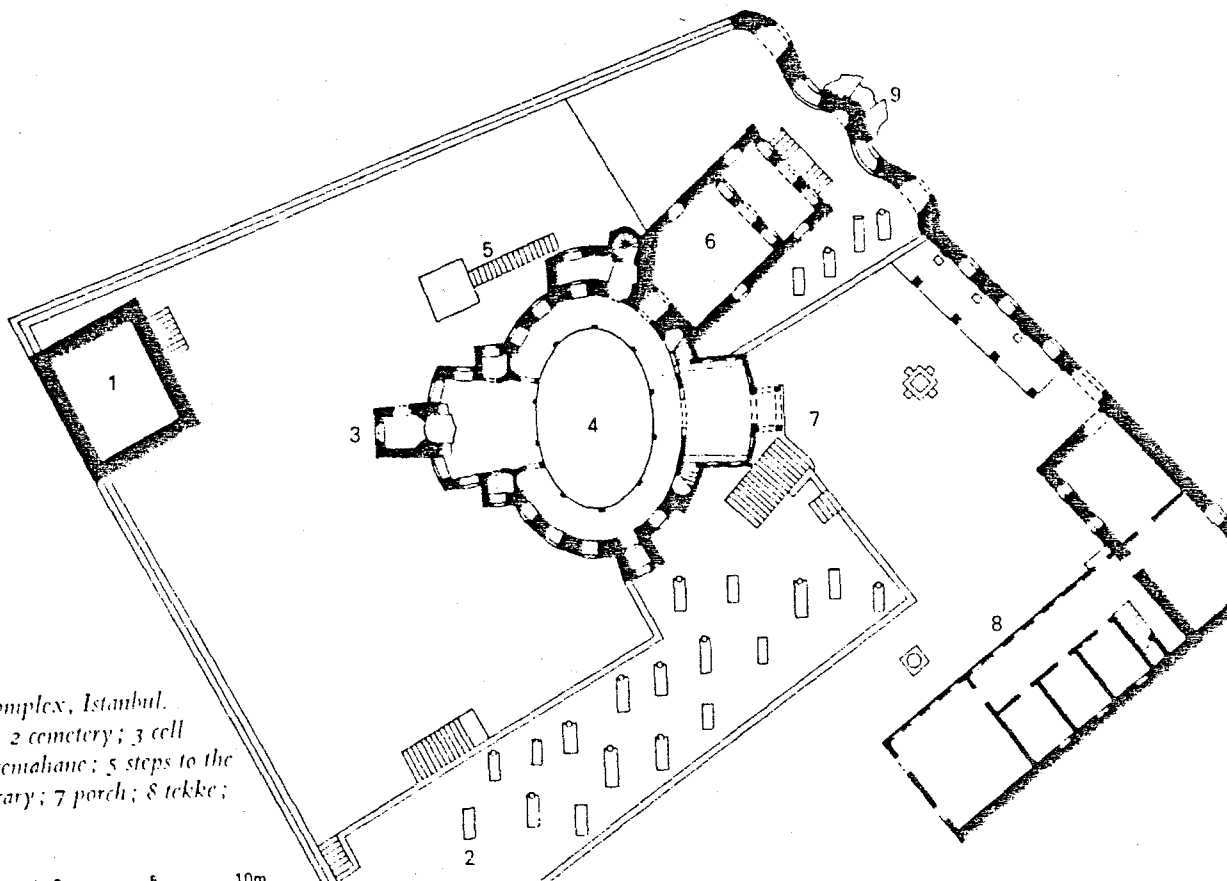


Fig. 4

Küçük Efendi Complex, Istanbul. ale 1:400. 1 Cistern; 2 cemetery; 3 cell hind the mihrab; 4 semahane; 5 steps to the mishment cell; 6 library; 7 porch; 8 tekke; fountain.

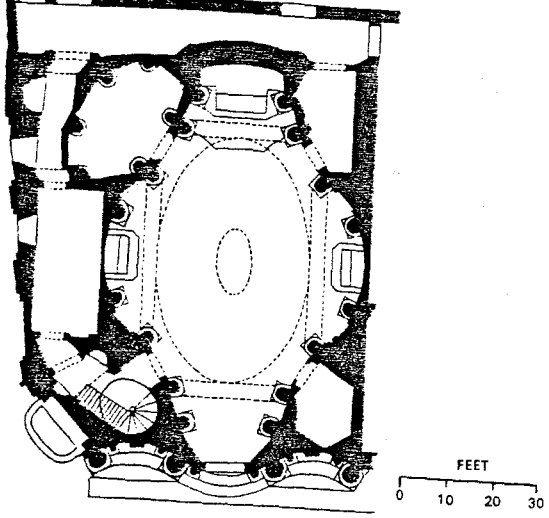
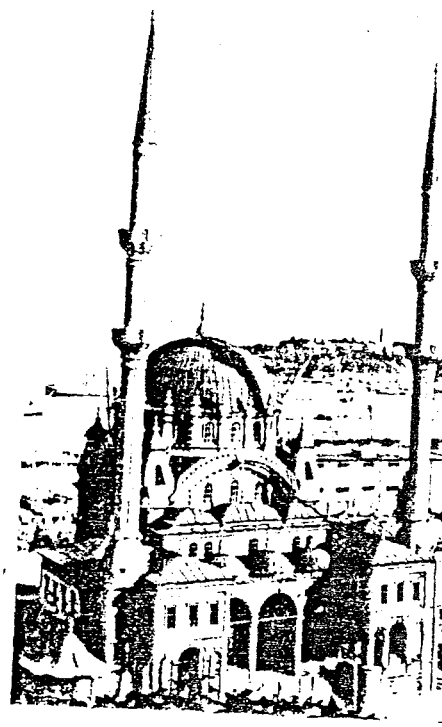


Fig. 5 Plan of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane,



Nuestipe Complex,

Fig. 6

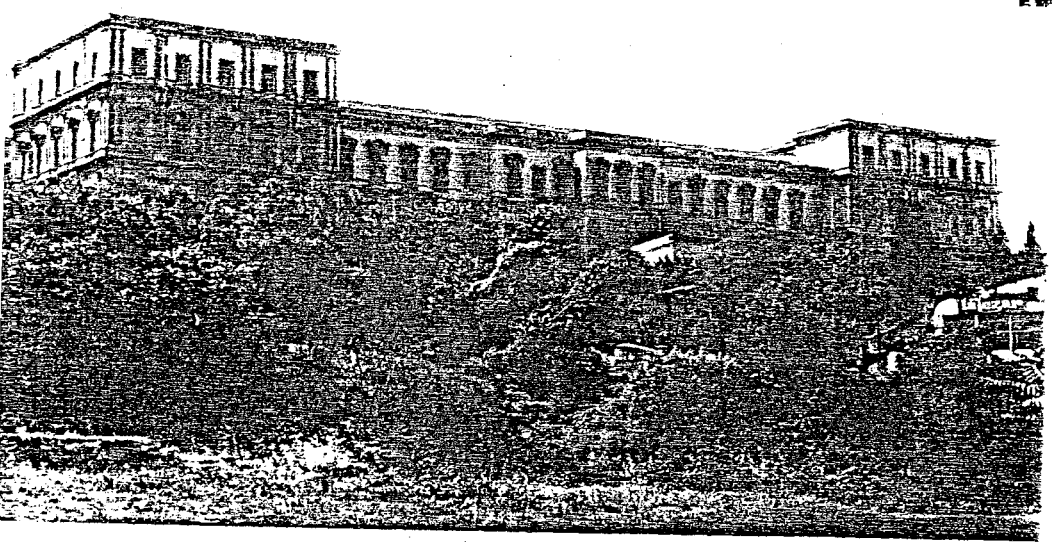
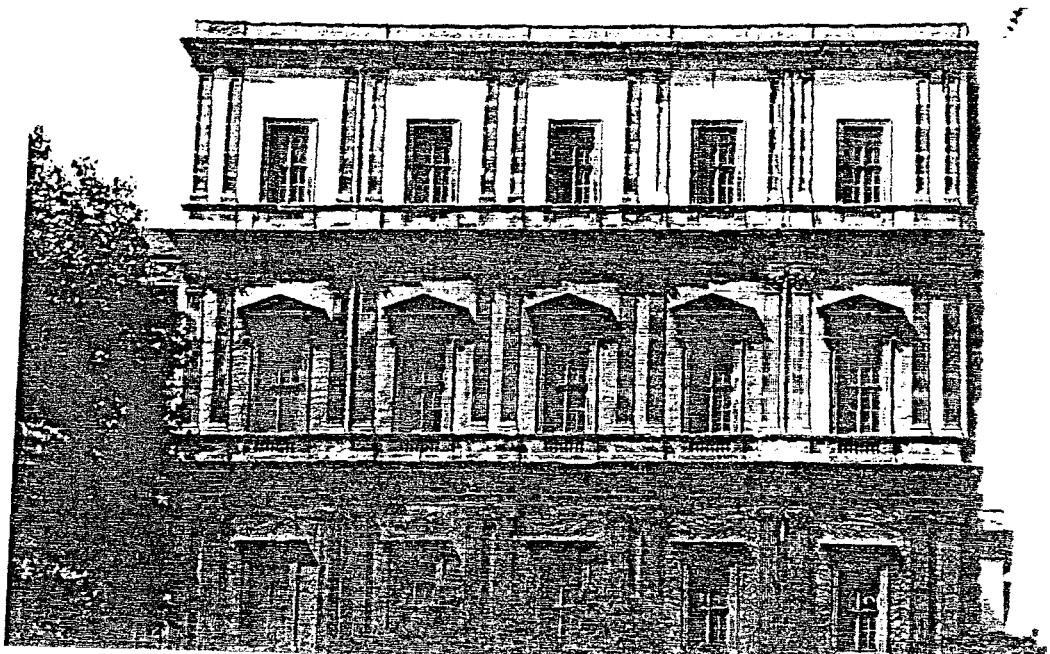


Fig. 7 Military Barracks - Sergis Balya

. 8 View from South



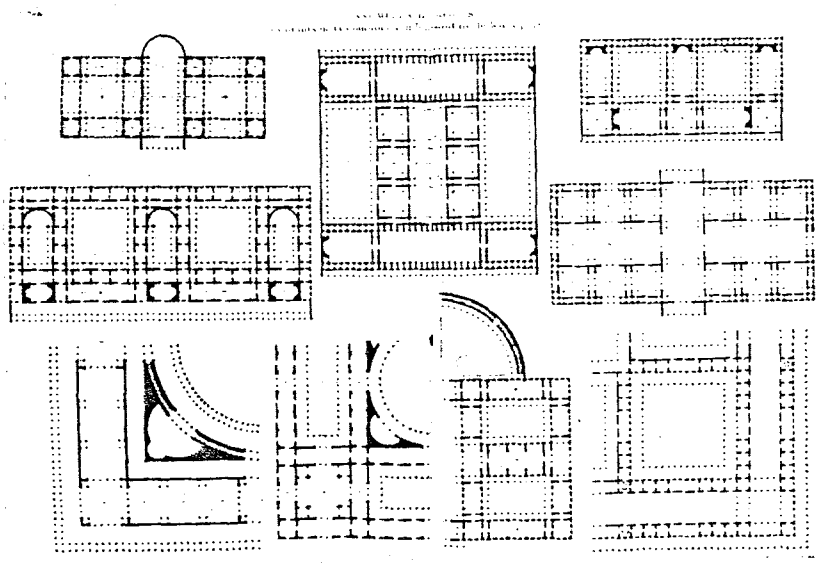


Fig.9 Plate from Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand's Precis des lecons d'architecture, 1802-5, illustrating his theories of architectural design

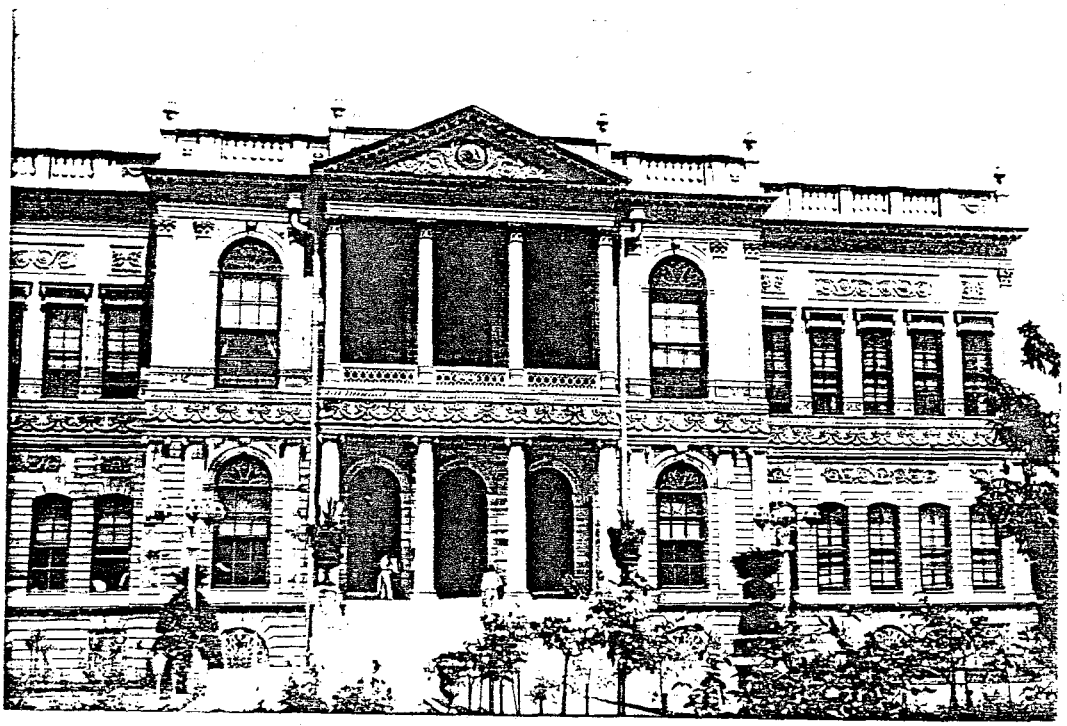


Fig. 10. Entrance to Dolmabahçe

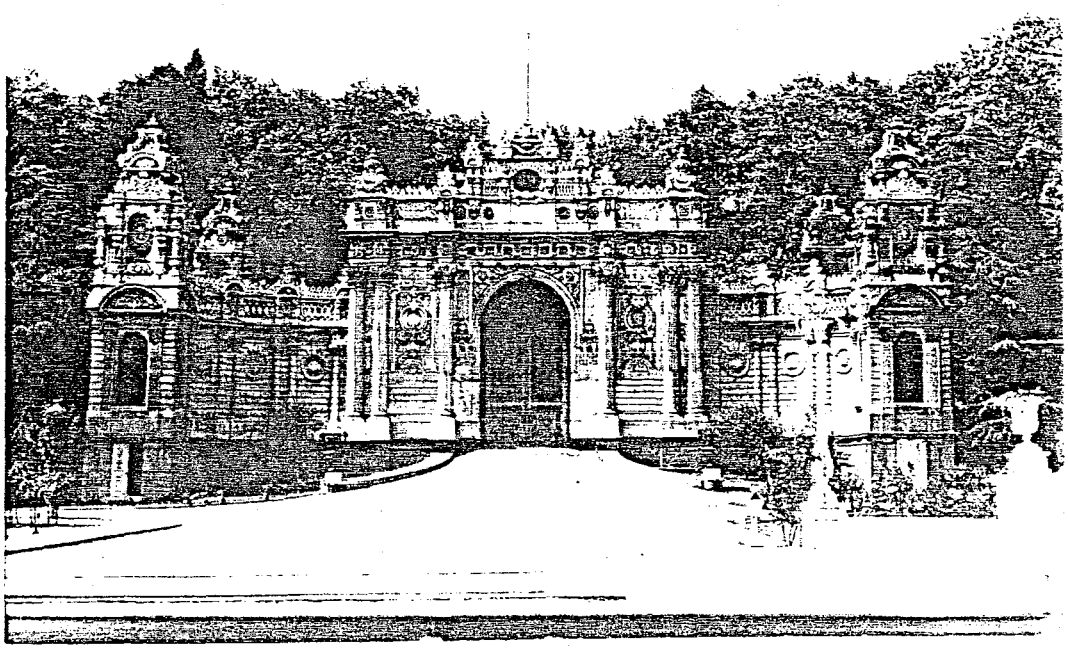


Figure 11. Gate of Dolmabahçe

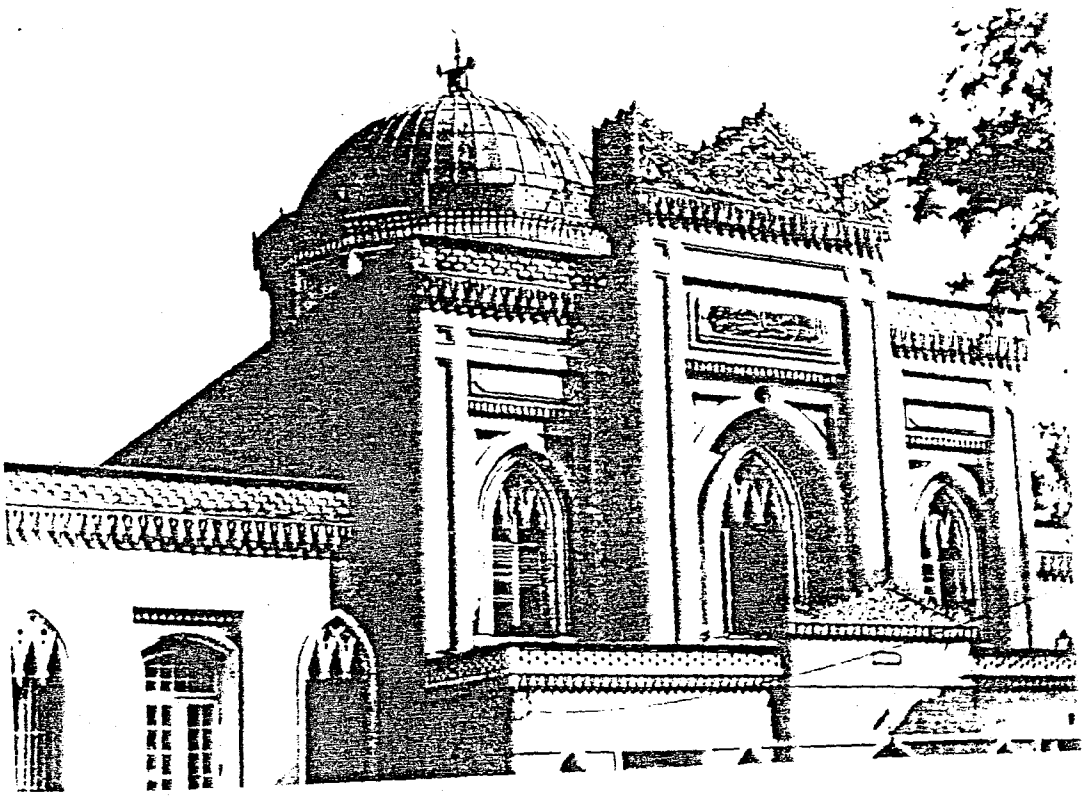


Fig. 12 Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque

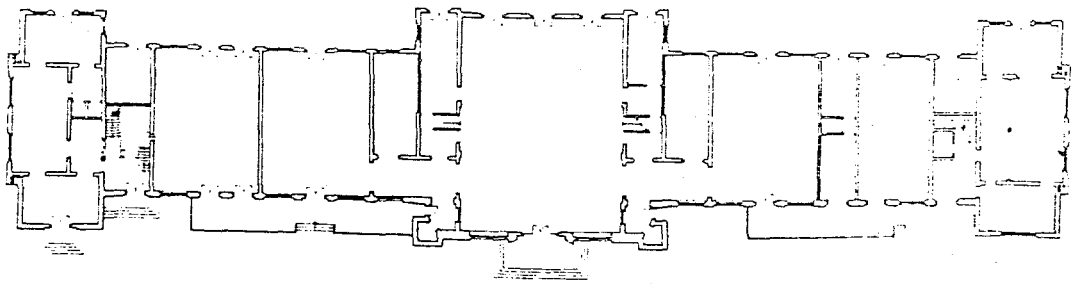


Fig. 13 Ground Floor

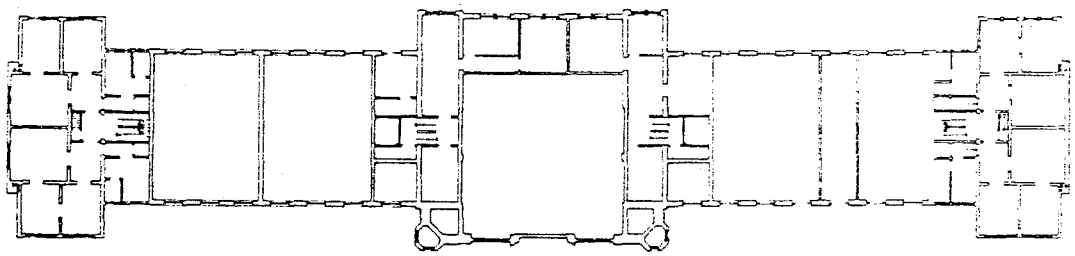


Fig. 14 First Floor

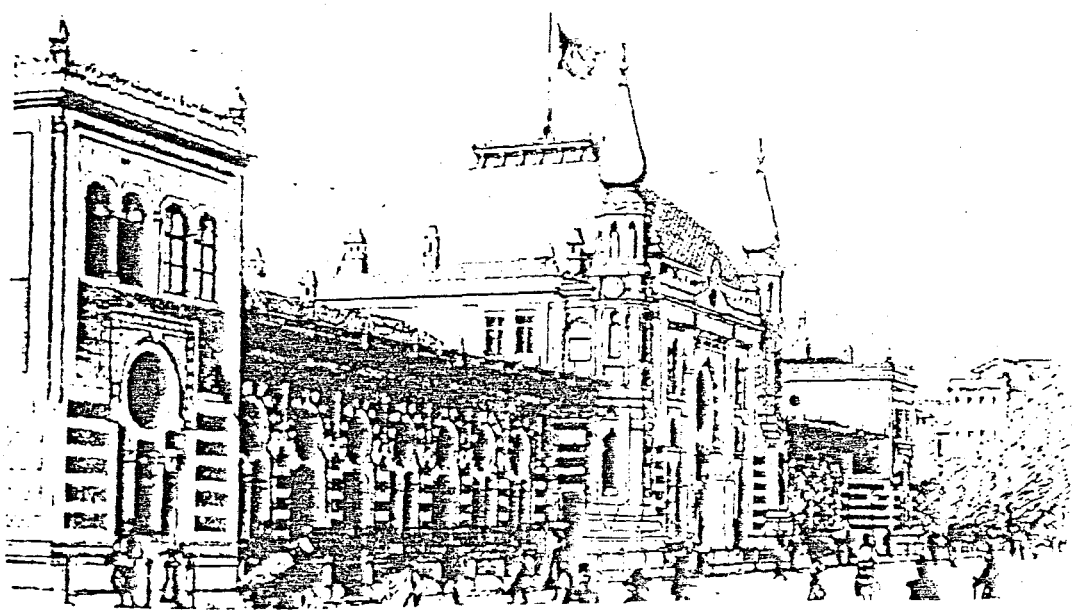


Fig. 15 Drawing of Original Design showing minaret-clock towers

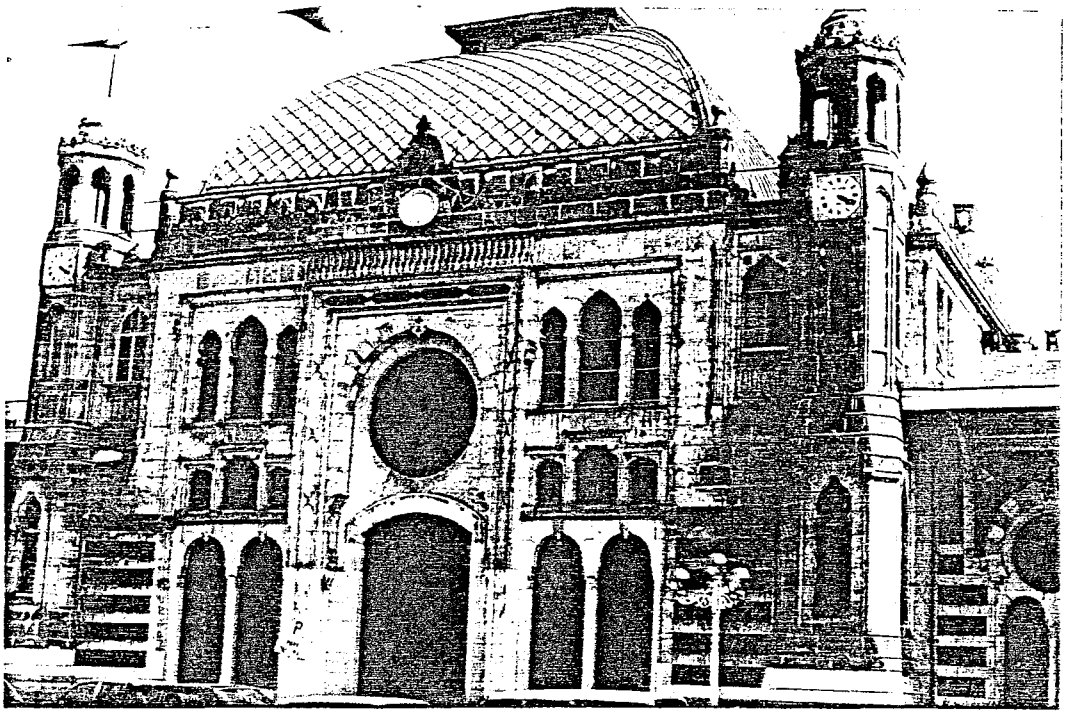


Fig. 16 Facade of Sirkici Terminal

Rose Window
Islamic Arches
Mansart Roof

Ottoman Public Debt Administration Building

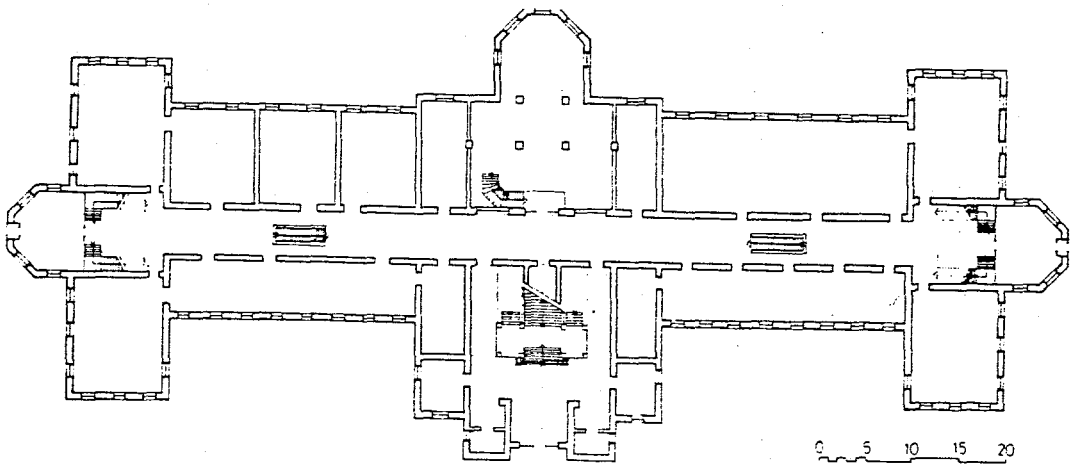


Fig. 17 Ground Floor

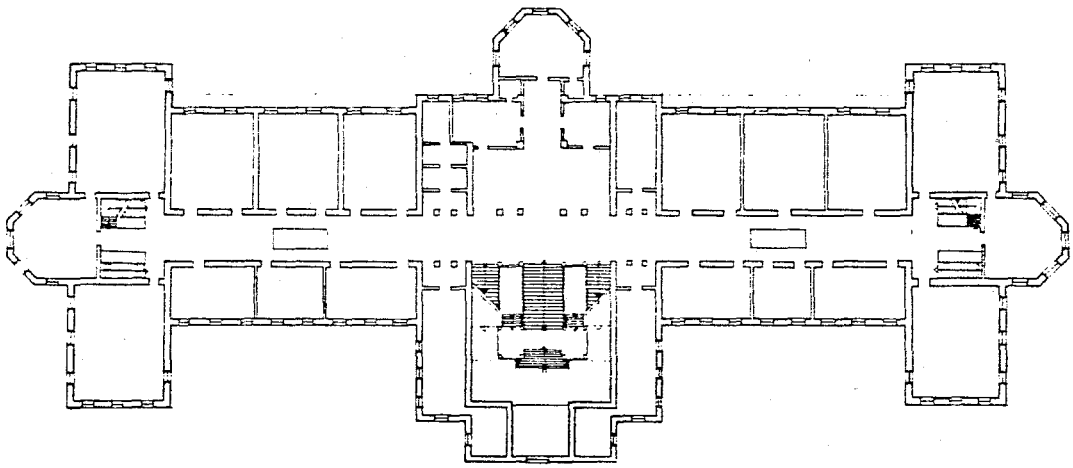


Fig. 18 First Floor

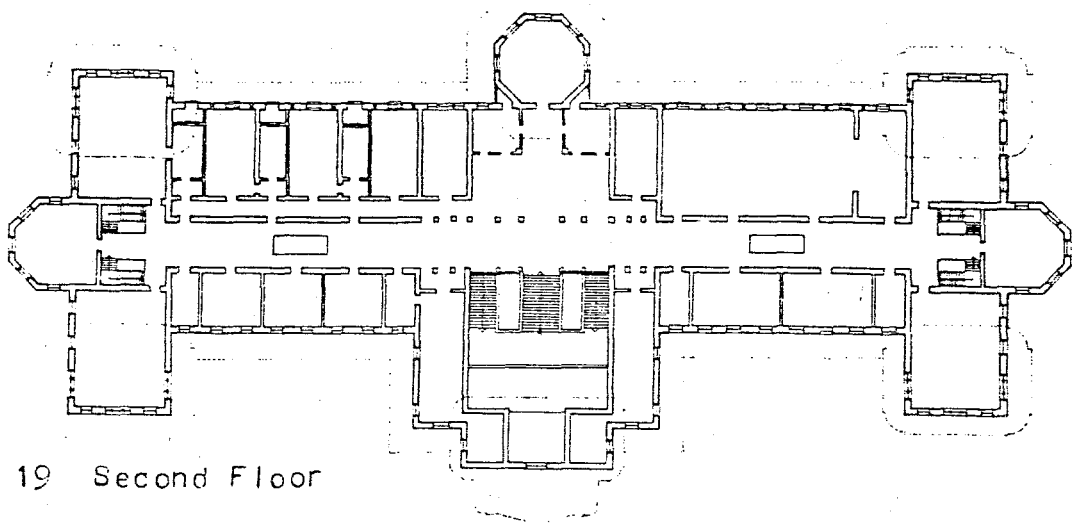


Fig. 19 Second Floor

Ottoman Public Debt Administration Building

Fig. 20 Selçuk-inspired portal

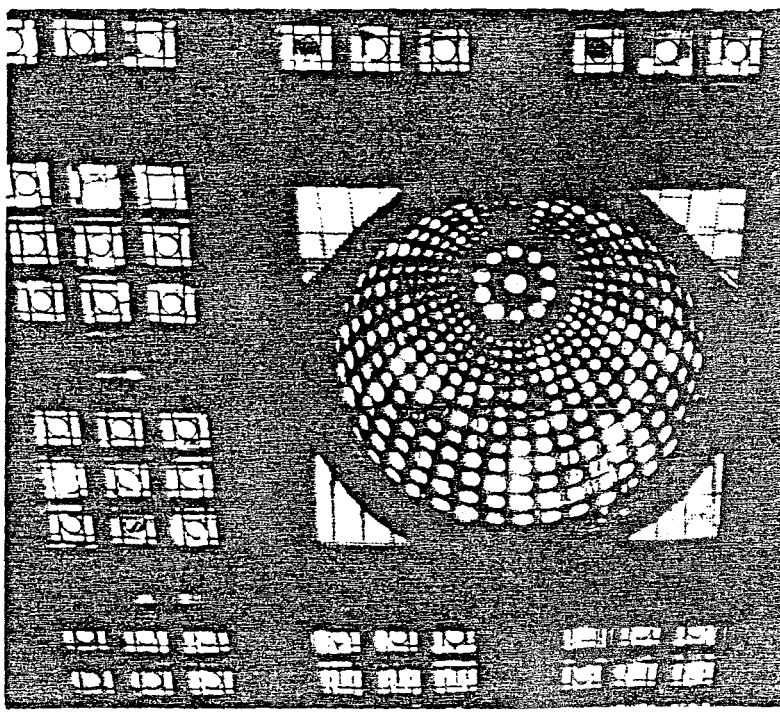


Fig. 21 Ottoman 'hamam' dome

Archeology Museum

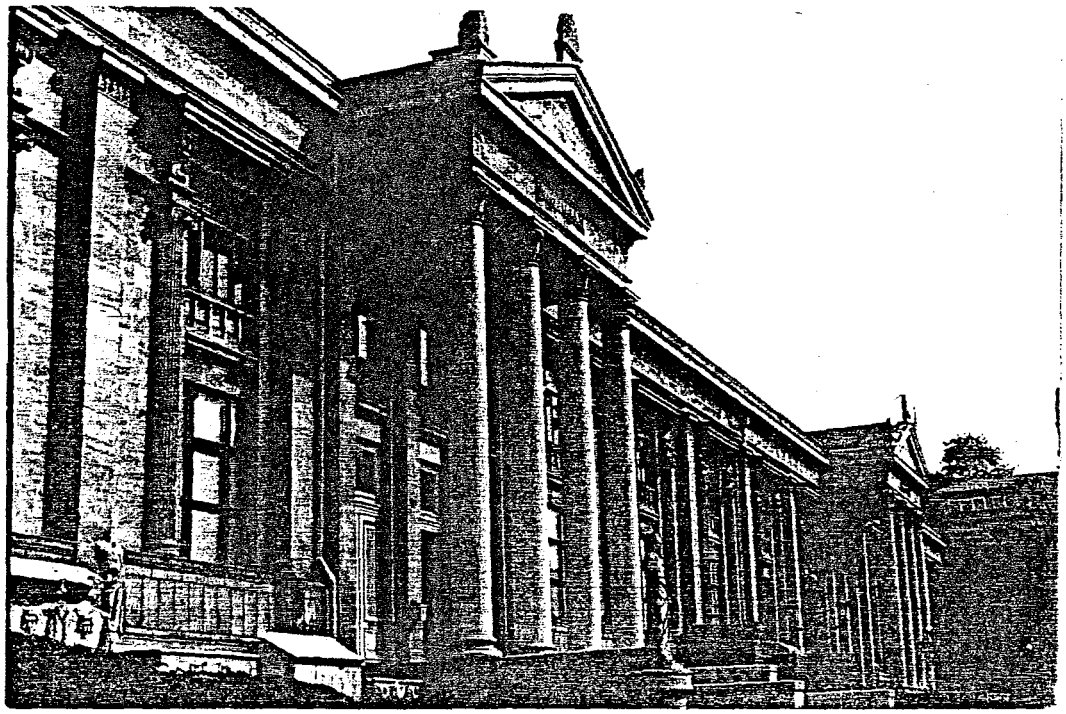


Fig. 22 Neoclassical Facade

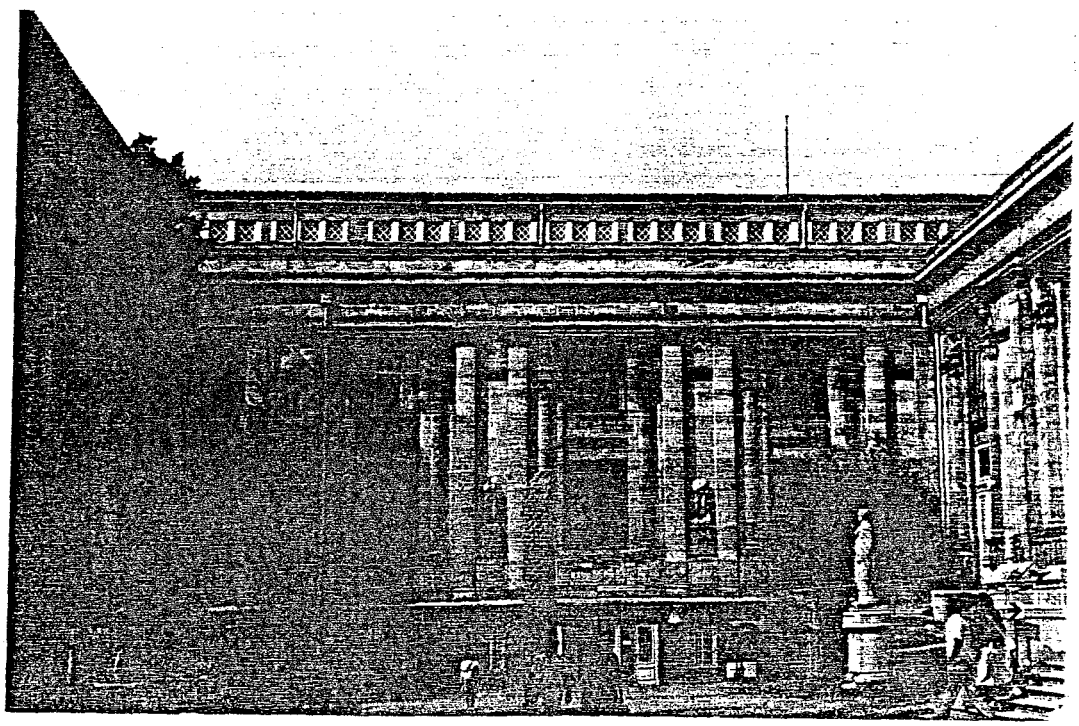


Fig. 23 East Wing

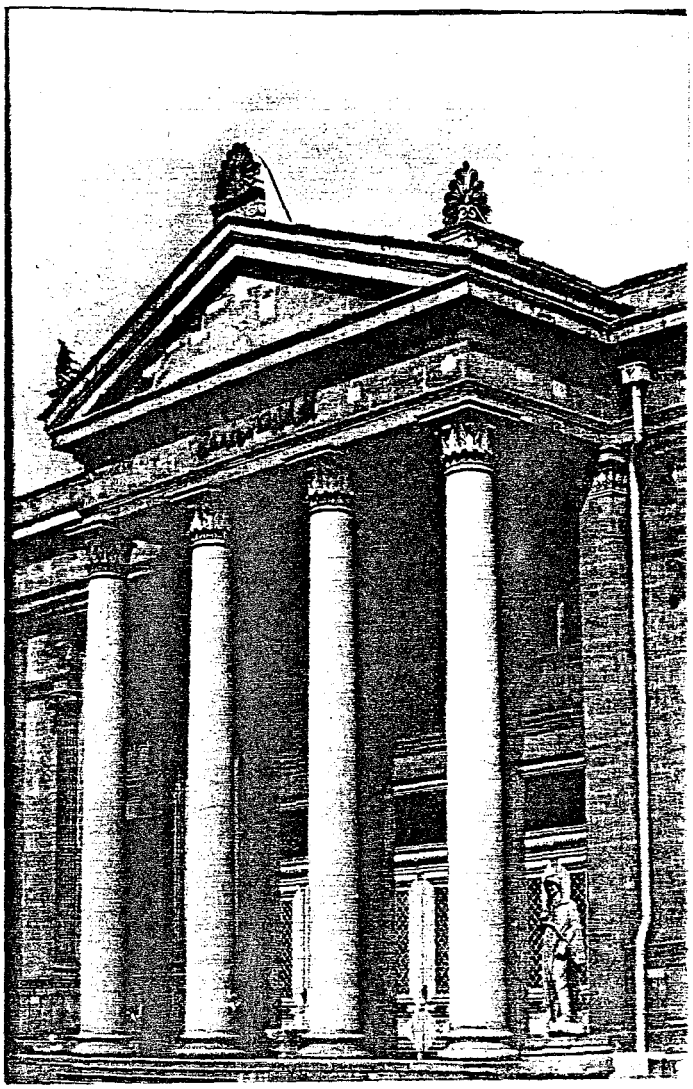


Fig. 24 Projecting Portico with Corinthian Columns

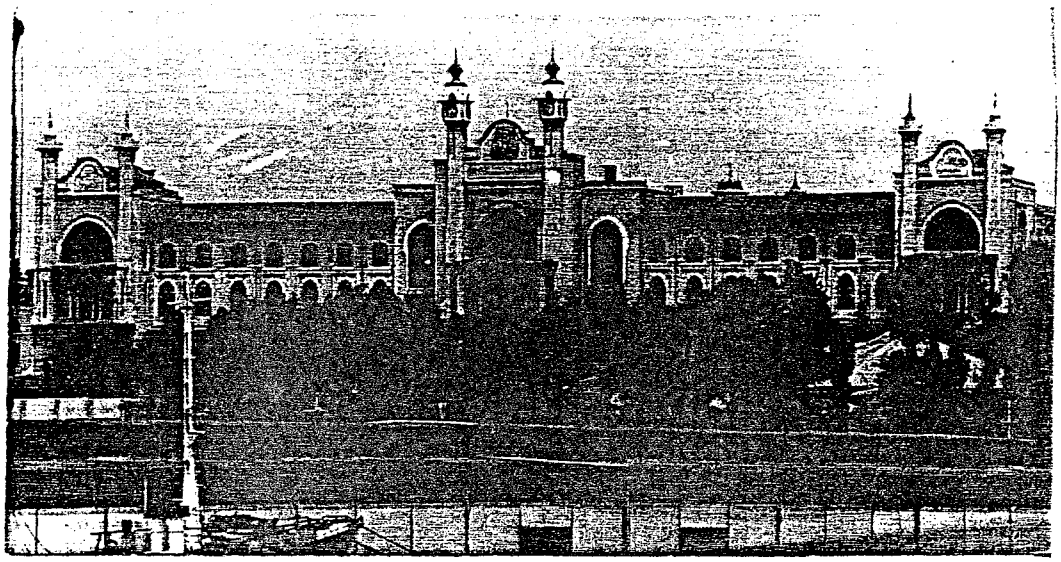


Fig. 25 View from West

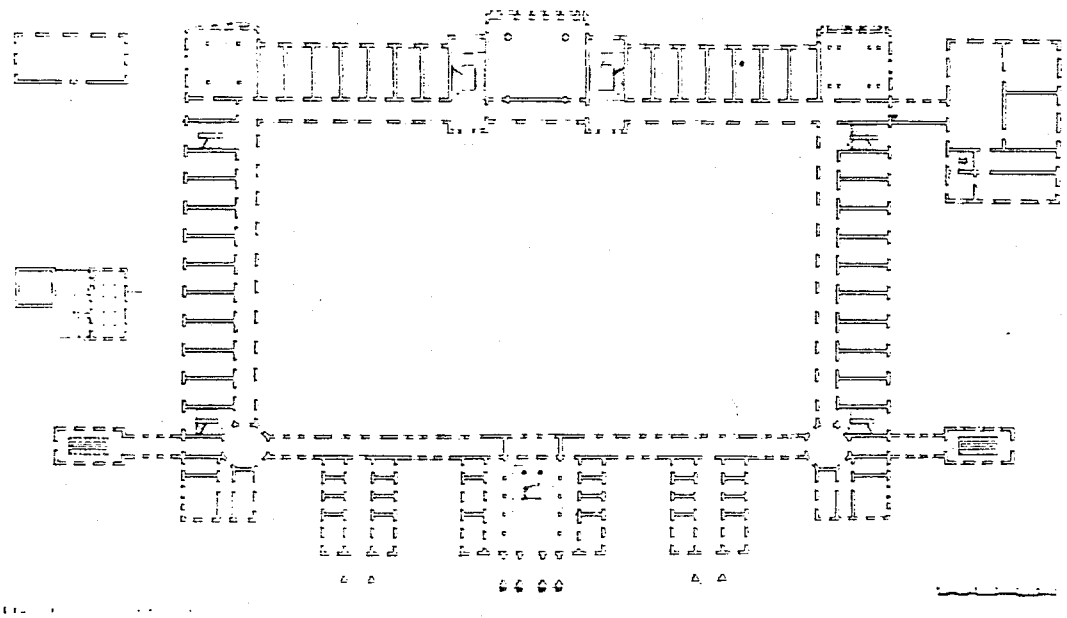


Fig. 26 Ground Floor

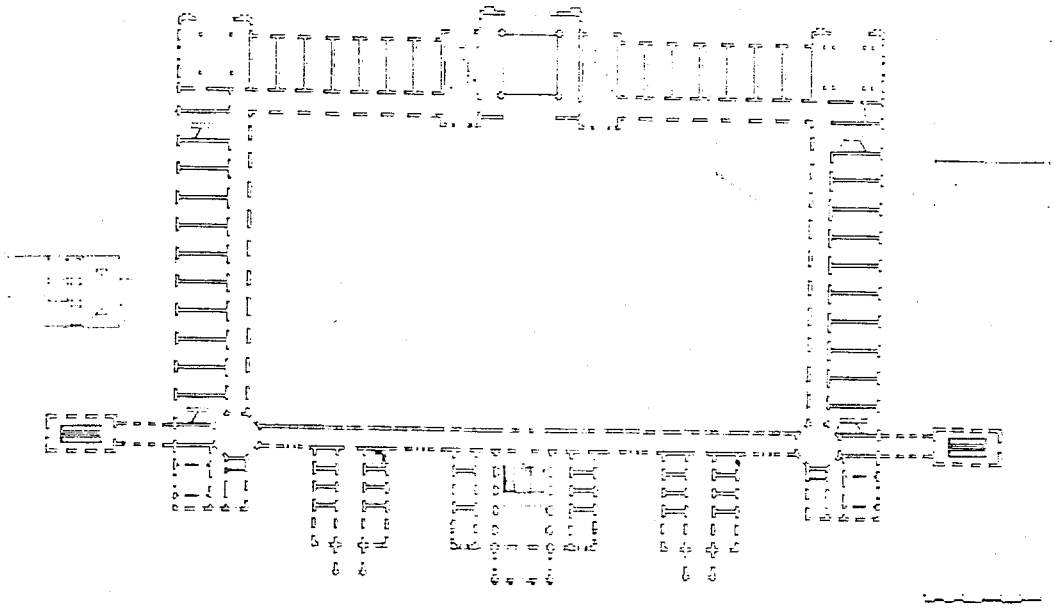


Fig. 27 First Floor

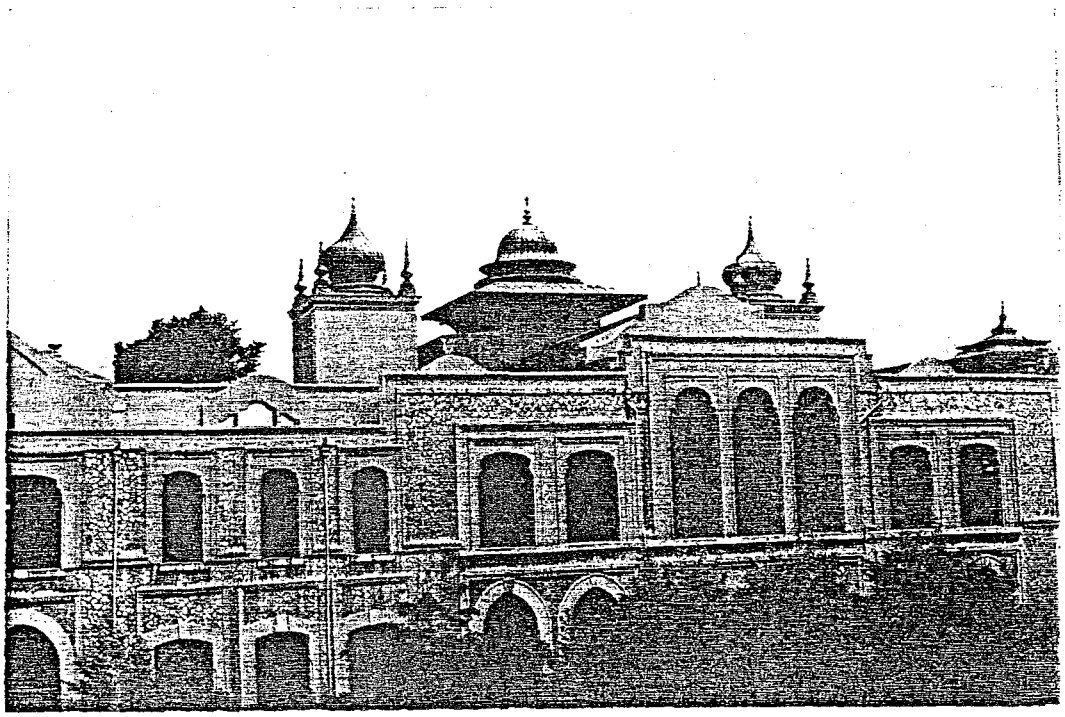


Fig. 28 Domes above Entry Portal

Fig. 29 Entrance portal

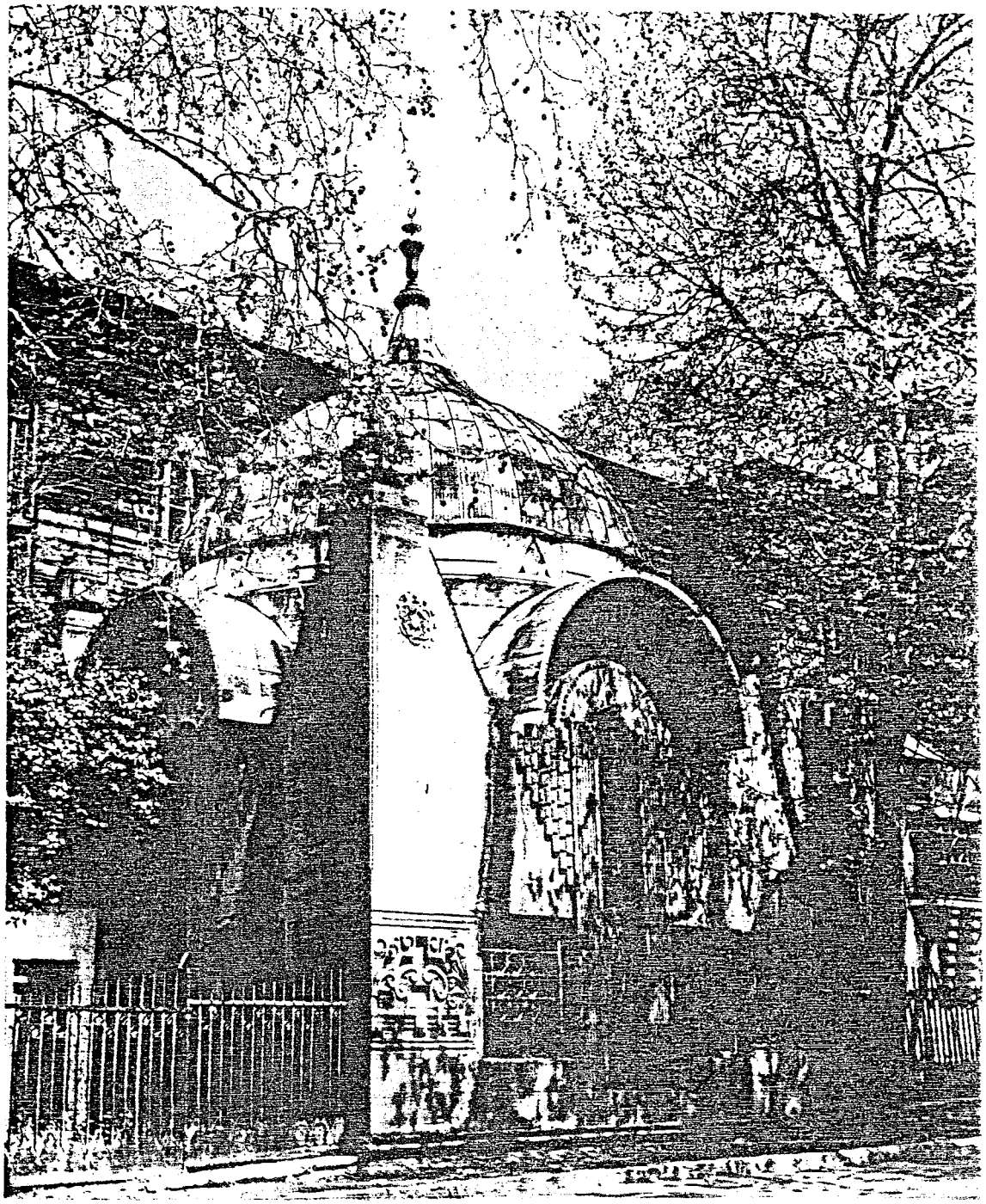


Fig. 30 Türbe

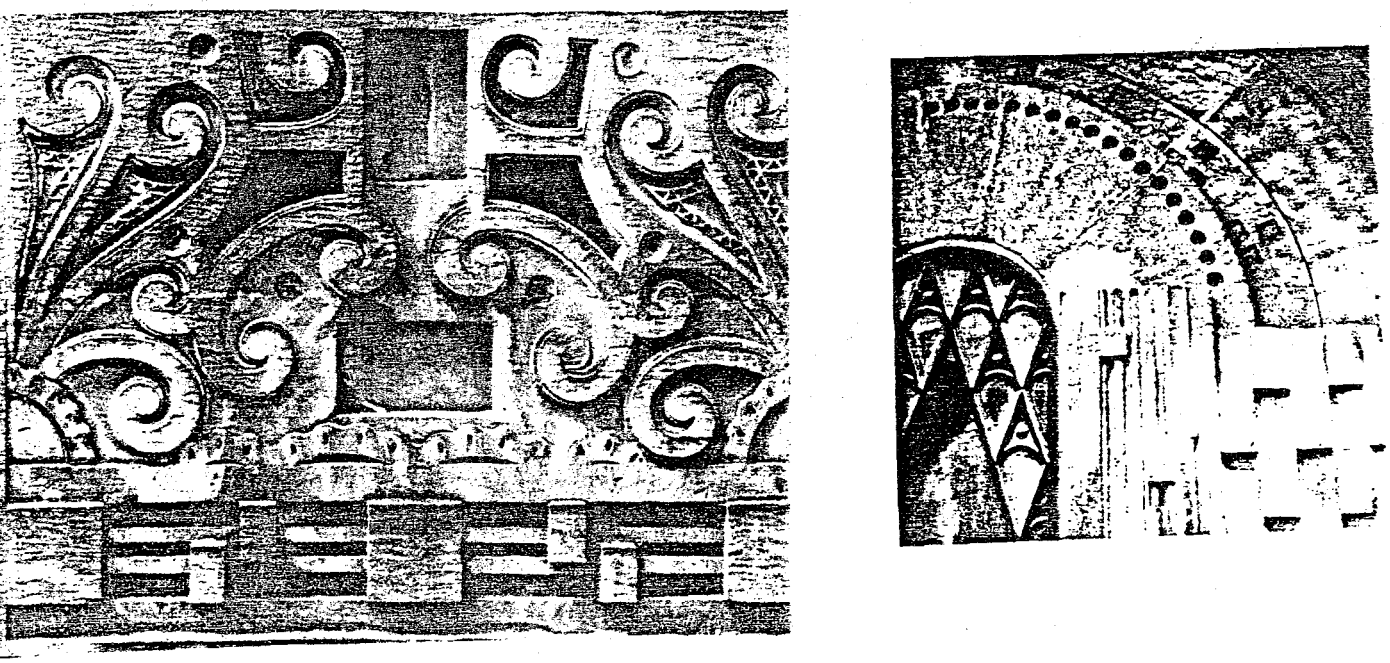


Fig. 31 Details of Decorations on Türbe

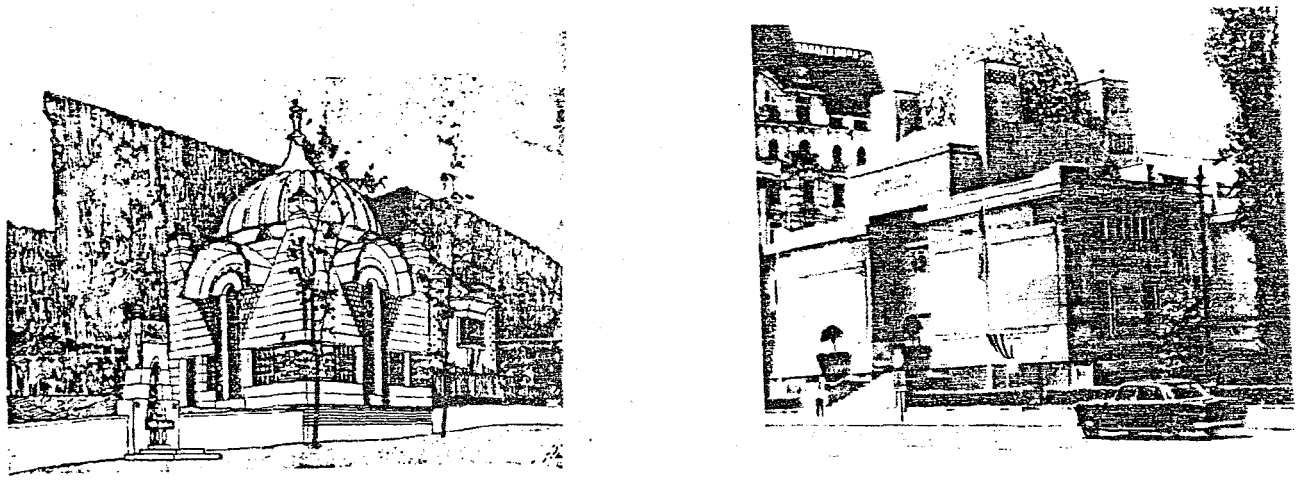


Fig. 32 Comparison between D'Aronco's design and Olbrich's Vienna Sesession building.

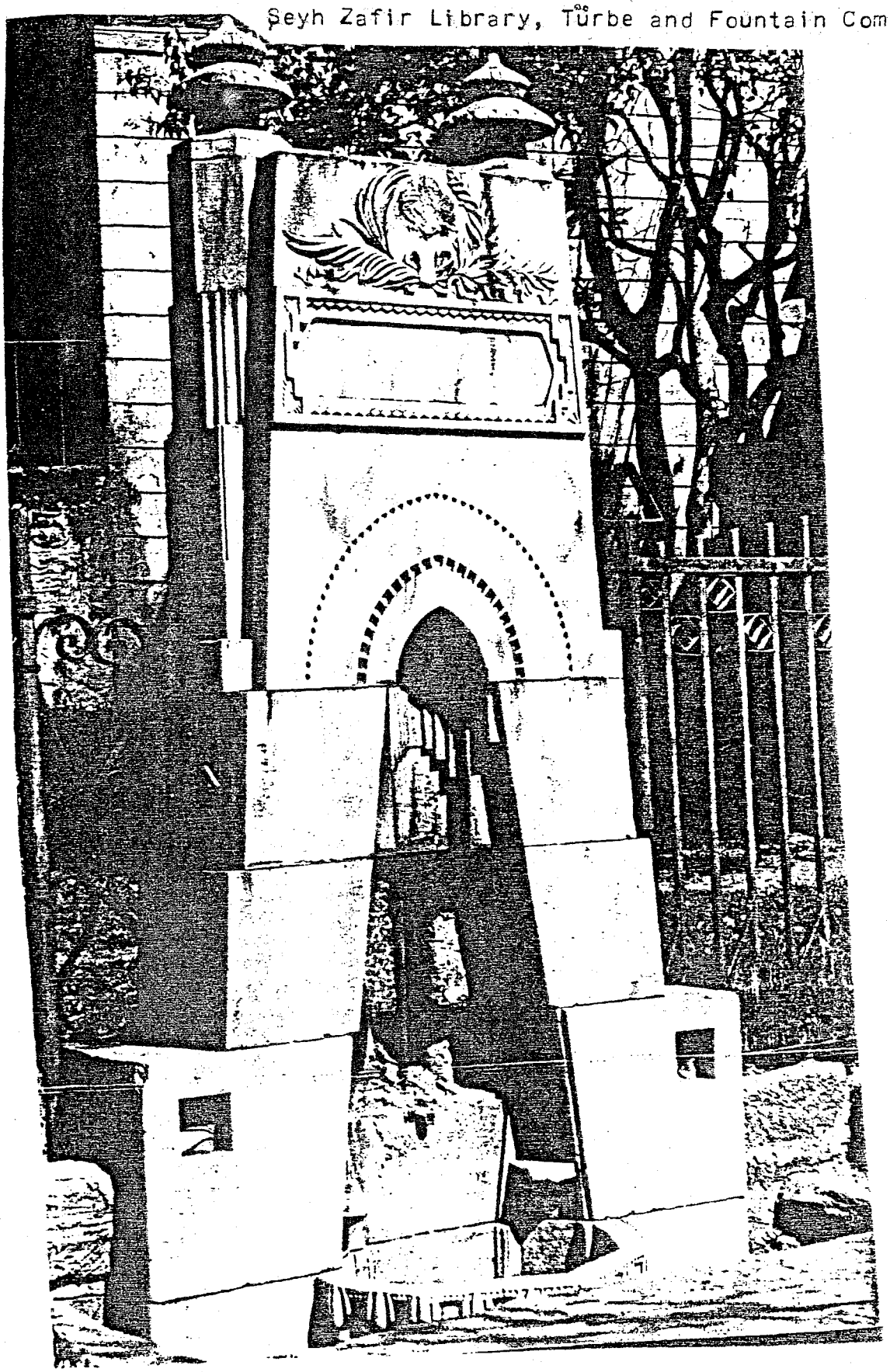


Fig. 33 Fountain