

RE-THINKING HISTORIOGRAPHY ON OTTOMAN MOSQUE
ARCHITECTURE:
NINETEENTH CENTURY PROVINCIAL SULTAN MOSQUES

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

RE-THINKING HISTORIOGRAPHY ON OTTOMAN MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE: NINETEENTH CENTURY PROVINCIAL SULTAN MOSQUES

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The main objective of this dissertation is to propose an alternative historiography on the 19th century Ottoman mosque architecture, free from the biased Eurocentric paradigms, by means of including the ‘unseen’ actors of this history, namely the disregarded provincial mosques. Provincial mosques constituting the case studies of the dissertation, point out to a previously neglected part of historiography by changing the emphasis from the capital to the provinces. Within the scope of this dissertation the following questions are discussed in depth: How the sultan and/or state ideology was represented in the Ottoman provinces during the 19th century? What kind of a power relation can be observed between the capital and its provinces through studying the characteristics of mosques architecture? In which aspects are the sultan’s mosques in the capital and in the provinces differ from or resemble each other? Can we discuss about distinguishing 19th century mosque architecture contrary to the established interpretations such as tasteless or imitation of western modes?

In this frame, the dissertation is structured in two main parts. The first part, titled as ‘questioning’ aims to discuss the political relation between the central authority and the provinces, the building process of provincial mosques, the acts and the responsibilities of the institutions in this process and the responsibilities and limitations of the architects. In the second part, titled as ‘evaluation’, the provincial mosques are examined in terms of their construction dates and locations, the site choosing preferences in the cities, plan schemes, space configuration and facade designs. In the meantime, this evaluation is considered as a critical reading of the conventional historiography on the 19th century Ottoman mosques.

Keywords: Ottoman provincial architecture, mosques, 19th century, architectural historiography

ÖZ

OSMANLI CAMİ MİMARİSİ ÜZERİNE TARİH YAZIMININ YENİDEN DÜŞÜNÜLMESİ: ONDOKUZUNCU YÜZYIL OSMANLI TAŞRASINDAKİ SULTAN CAMİLERİ

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Bu tezin amacı 19. yy Osmanlı camileri üzerine kurgulanan mevcut mimarlık tarihi yazımına alternatif olarak, Avrupa kökenli paradigmalardan ve önyargılardan bağımsız, Osmanlı cami mimarisinin 'görünmeyen' aktörlerini, yani taşra camilerini, içeren alternatif bir mimarlık tarihi yazımı önermektir. İncelenmek üzere seçilen taşra camileri, tarih yazımındaki başkent vurgusunu eyaletlere doğru değiştirerek, önceden ihmal edilmiş bir alana işaret etmektedir. Bu tez kapsamında şu sorular derinlikle tartışılmaktadır: Sultan ve/veya devlet ideolojisi eyaletlerde nasıl temsil edilmektedir? İncelenen eyalet camilerinin mimari özellikleri üzerinden başkent ve eyaletler arasında nasıl bir güç ilişkisi gözlemlenmektedir? Hangi açılardan başkentteki ve eyaletlerdeki Sultan camileri birbirine benzemekte veya farklılaşmaktadır? Yerleşmiş mimarlık tarihi yazımındaki 'tatsız' veya 'batı biçimlerini taklidi' benzetmelerine karşı, ayırt edici bir 19.yy cami mimarisi tartışılabilir mi?

Bu çerçevede tez iki temel kısım üzerine kurgulanmıştır. 'Sorgulama' başlığı altındaki ilk kısım merkezi otorite ve eyaletler arasındaki politik ilişkiyi, eyalet camilerinin yapım süreçlerini, bu süreçte kurumların ve mimarların rolleri ve sorumlulukları tartışmaktadır. 'Değerlendirme' başlığı altındaki ikinci kısımda ise eyalet camileri yapım yılları, buldukları şehir, yer seçim kriterleri, plan şemaları, mekân organizasyonları ve cephe tasarımları başlıkları altında incelenmektedir. Bu değerlendirme aynı zamanda 19.yy Osmanlı cami mimarisi üzerine alışla gelmiş tarih yazımının eleştirel bir okuması olarak ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı taşra mimarisi, camiler, 19. yüzyıl, mimarlık tarihi yazımı

To Cengiz Özmen

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Approach and Definition of the Problem

There is a strong tendency among Ottoman historians to describe and define the 19th century Ottoman Empire with the decline-dissolution paradigm. A similar attitude can also be observed in the Ottoman architectural historiography for the 'distinct' architectural languages of the era. For many years, with the proclamation of the republic, architectural historians have created a main stream historiography for Ottoman architecture which was primarily shaped under the absolute supremacy of Sinan's architecture. This kind of historiography inevitably considers each variation from Sinan's architectural language as a deviation from the right path; a disintegration or degeneration of the pure. The intensity of the criticisms increases when the 19th century's 'unorthodox' (with reference to the main stream historiography) architectural and artistic activities are concerned. Until recent decades, the idea of 'westernization' has been used for explaining this kind of a 'deviation' within the architecture. The term 'westernization' was used primarily in the areas of sociology and political history to understand the reason behind the transformation of the empire with the Tanzimat reforms. (A. Batur 1999, 143) It can be thought that the main argument behind the use of the term 'westernization' for architecture is to emphasize the degeneration and disintegration in the quality of architecture by referring to them as a worthless imitation of western modes. Also the term 'eclecticism' is used often in a similar connotation to identify the plurality in the use of stylistic features. The roots of the eclecticism are found in the cosmopolite milieu of Istanbul and in the architects who came from the different countries of Europe in the 19th century. Architectural historians were competing with each other to define the architectural styles of buildings and trying to answer how those styles had penetrated into the Ottoman architectural vocabulary. The debates on finding the right definition for the changing architectural modes were continued with discussing the terms 'orientalism' and 'historicism'.

It is noteworthy that a significant proportion of these discussions were about the stylistic features of mosques. The subject was often kept limited to monumental mosques, the 19th century's 'masterpieces', constructed in the Ottoman capital. These buildings, as

notable as they might be, constitute only a fraction of Ottoman architectural production of this era. Additionally, the fact that discussions were mainly conducted from a stylistic point of view constitutes a deficiency in the narration of Ottoman architectural history. In view of that, *three* principal points, which seem to be lacking in current architectural historiography are identified as worthy of discussion in this dissertation. While the first two points mainly emphasize the problematic issues of the architectural historiography in general, the third one is pointed out a specific concern for the 19th century Ottoman architectural historiography. Within this frame, these three points are going to be highlighted with their interrelated statements and relevant derivations.

First problem on 19th century Ottoman architectural historiography is that ‘other’ buildings which are not considered big or monumental ‘enough’ or which weren’t defined as ‘masterpieces’ are not included in the narration. It is obvious that the existing architectural historiography on the 19th century mosque architecture is formulated along the particular, known and recognizable monumental examples in Istanbul. Furthermore, the identities and personal histories of the notable builders of the 19th century such as the famous Balian family were often incorporated into the historical narration of these buildings. Thus one of the questions, this dissertation asks is whether it is possible to formulate an alternative historiographic narration which includes buildings that do not fit the definition of ‘masterpiece’ and the buildings of ‘unknown’ architects whose identities are not as important as the building itself.

Second problem is that the mosques that are scrutinized to understand the development of the Ottoman architecture are often chosen from the ones located in the capital. All interpretations and definitions are limited with the characteristics of the mosques in İstanbul; yet there was a significant construction activity in the provinces particularly during the Abdülhamid II’s era. Evidently the provincial mosques which are the main focus of this dissertation present valuable information to understand the architectural evolution in the 19th century. What this dissertation does is to contribute a missing piece into the present narration of 19th century Ottoman mosque architecture by telling the history of provincial mosques which were constructed during the same period. While doing so, the relation between the capital and provinces during the 19th century plays an important role. In current architectural historiography, due to its abundance of monumental buildings and its proximity to central authority, the architecture of the ‘capital’ is often favored with respect to that of the ‘provinces’. The aim of this thesis is to reinterpret the architecture of the province within the framework of a reciprocal center-periphery relationship instead of a hierarchical and polarized one.

Third problem is related with the stylistic nature of the existing debates on the 19th century Ottoman architecture. The majority of these debates focus on categorizing the stylistic features of the mosques under known and well established western architectural styles, such as the neo classical, neo gothic or neo baroque in order to explain the use of these 'alien' styles in the Ottoman architecture. Because most of these debates on stylistic features concentrate solely on the facades of the mosques, the mutual relation of the facade with the spatial configuration of the building remains largely unexplored. In addition, the role the building plays within the surrounding urban context is also overlooked. For this reason, this dissertation aims to scrutinize the provincial mosques not only according to their stylistic features, but also according to their spatial configurations, and in the nearby and urban context.

1.2. Objective, Scope and Methodology of the Dissertation

The main objective of this dissertation is to show a broad picture that will help to develop an overall consideration and to propose an alternative historiography on 19th century Ottoman mosque architecture, free from the biased Eurocentric paradigms, by means of including the 'unseen' actors of this history, namely the disregarded provincial mosques of 19th century Ottoman architecture. The choice of case studies aims to move the emphasis of the architectural historiography from the capital to the provinces in order to achieve a thorough understanding Ottoman architectural mentality concerning mosque architecture and imperial construction. Within the scope of this dissertation the following questions are going to be discussed in depth: How the sultan and/or state ideology was represented in the Ottoman provinces during the 19th century? What kind of a power relation can be observed between the capital and its provinces through studying the characteristics of mosques architecture? In which aspects are the sultan's mosques in the capital and in the provinces differ from or resemble each other? Can we discuss about distinguishing 19th century mosque architecture contrary to the established interpretations such as tasteless or imitation of western modes?

The chronological bracket of this dissertation is defined as the years between 1839 and 1914. The year 1839 is critical in the sense that it has witnessed the declaration of the Tanzimat Edict (*Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerifi*) by Sultan Abdülmecid. This edict has ushered in a new era for the empire particularly in terms of administrative reforms which have changed the balance of power between the capital and provinces. This new and final era of the Ottoman Empire has come to an end with the participation of the empire in World War I in 1914.

Although the Empire has survived for a few more years after the declaration of war, the dynamics of architectural production in the imperial provinces have been radically altered by the military requirements of the war effort thus practically ending the era on which this dissertation focuses.

Although it would have been preferable to include all provincial mosques built within the former borders of the Ottoman Empire from 1839 till 1914, the case studies for this dissertation are chosen among the examples located in the former Anatolian provinces of the Empire including a few cases from the Balkans. There are architectural and practical reasons underlying this limitation. In case of the mosques located in the Balkans, most of the buildings in this category are now under the jurisdiction of foreign countries for over a century. Due to a range of reasons including cultural resentment towards former Ottoman rule, reuse of the buildings with a different function, or simply lack of funds, these mosques have experienced significant changes or complete loss of their architectural characteristics rendering them irrelevant with respect to the methodology of this dissertation. In case of the former Arabic or African provinces the problem is that of physical access. The ongoing political turmoil and conflicts in these regions render it next to impossible to conduct a field survey in countries like Iraq, Syria, Egypt and Libya. As a result the scope of cases selected for this dissertation is limited; however the number and architectural variety of the studied examples are enough to reach satisfactory conclusions within the context of the thesis' methodology. Within this frame, the geographic area includes the provinces (*vilayets*) of Hüdavendigâr, Konya, Trabzon, Aydın, Mamuretü'l Aziz (Elazığ), Thessaloniki, Halep, Sivas, Ankara and Kosovo. More specifically the studied mosques are cited in the districts (*liva*) of Biga, Konya, Samsun, Kütahya, İzmir, Karasi (Balıkesir), Malatya, Aydın, Halep, Sivas, Ertuğrul (Bilecik), Kayseriye and Üsküp.

Based on this geographical limitation, the provincial mosques researched in this dissertation are also selected according to their construction dates and founders. In this respect sultan mosques in the mentioned provinces which were constructed or which underwent comprehensive restoration after the Tanzimat era are taken into consideration. The inscription panels of the mosques, the documents found in VGM (*Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü* - General Directorate of Foundations) archives and the existing literature are used as the main sources for the inquiry on these mosques. The photographs of these mosques are taken by the author during a comprehensive field study. Architectural drawings such as plans, sections and elevations, for some of the mosques are readily available in the form of restoration projects in VGM archives. For other mosques, restoration projects of which are not available scaled drawings are prepared by the author based on archival documents and data obtained during the field study. These mosques, considered as

the case studies of this dissertation, are discussed in Appendix 1, under five main titles; the construction date, the location in the city, the founder, the plan scheme and the facade design.

Seen in this light, the dissertation is structured in six chapters and complementary appendices parts. The thesis can be outlined in two main parts. The first part, which could be titled as 'the questioning', aims to discuss the relevant concepts and issues. These concepts are about the problematic issues in current architectural historiography, the changing power relations between the center and the provinces, and the planning and construction process of provincial mosques. This is done in chapters 2, 3 and 4. The second part can be named the 'evaluation'. In this part, a detailed evaluation of the mosques - presented in detail in Appendix 1- is conducted within the frame of the concepts identified in the first part. This is done in chapter 5. As an extension of the second part results obtained from the evaluations are gathered and concluded in chapter 6 named as the conclusion.

Chapter 1 as the introduction chapter provides a general view of the aim, the main argument, approach and the definition of the problem. The conceptual framework, sources, methodology and the focus of the thesis are stated in this chapter. The chapter is concluded with the structure of the dissertation and the structure of its chapters.

Chapter 2 as the initial chapter of the first part aims to question the notions of decline, style and westernization paradigms in the Ottoman architectural historiography in order to indicate the problematic part of the historiography, specifically in the narration of the architecture of the 19th century mosques, as one of the main issues of this dissertation. Ottoman architectural history survey books and the interpretations of the 19th century mosques are questioned with a critical approach as the literature review of the dissertation.

Chapter 3 is the second step for a comprehensive survey into the capital and province relations as one of the main subjects of this dissertation. Since the provincial architecture is the main focus of this thesis, the inquiry on the architectural production in the Ottoman provinces requires a survey on the background of the hegemonic relations between the capital and its provinces. In the first section of the chapter the conceptual and theoretical meanings of a 'center' and 'periphery' are discussed focusing on the Ottoman case. In the second section of the chapter the Tanzimat and late-Tanzimat regulations and their effects on the hegemonic relationships between the capital and provinces are considered. In the last section, the dynamics of the center-periphery relations are explored and the established approach of the Ottoman architectural historiography towards the architectural productions in the Ottoman provinces is reviewed.

Chapter 4, as the last chapter of the questioning part, discusses the building process of provincial mosques, the acts and the responsibilities of the institutions in this process and responsibilities and limitations of the architects. Tanzimat regulations which have radically changed the rules and devices of the systems and institutions are scrutinized under the three main headings as pre-Tanzimat, Tanzimat and Post Tanzimat eras.

Chapter 5 belongs to the second part of the dissertation. In this chapter, the provincial mosques discussed in Appendix 1, are evaluated and discussed in terms of their construction dates and locations, the site choosing preferences in the cities, plan schemes and space configuration and facade designs.

Chapter 6 is the final and concluding chapter of this dissertation. As a part of the evaluation section, in this chapter, the main questions formulated at the beginning of the dissertation are answered. The analysis and evaluation of the provincial mosques are discussed within the frame of the capital-province relations, building process in the provinces and the conventional historiography on the 19th century mosques.

CHAPTER 2

QUESTIONING THE HISTORIOGRAPHY ON THE NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE: THE PARADIGMS OF DECLINE, STYLE, AND WESTERNIZATION

It is difficult to discuss the paradigms, accepted notions and biases in architectural historiography without discussing the same issues in historiography since they share similar bases. Thus the places and connotations of these notions, cited in the title of this chapter, are going to be considered briefly within the context of 19th century Ottoman historiography, and the discussion will be continued with the 19th century Ottoman architectural historiography within the same framework.

The narration on Ottoman historiography has been constructed on a very well established, traditional scholarship or a great canon, which is based on the periodization of the empire's historical progression namely the periods of rise, growth, stagnation and decline. The common agreement on the need for this kind of periodization can be traced back to the principal Ottoman history survey books such as the works of Lewis, İnalcık, Gibb-Bowen and Shaw¹. All of these works have structured their texts following this substantial periodization by giving new titles to these periods such as the 'golden age', 'apogee of power', or 'age of decentralization'. Even though these new titles can be interpreted with a new reading, the titles cannot go beyond a repetition of the accepted periodization of the historical progression. Inevitably, the narration based on this periodization has forced the discussion of the 19th century Ottoman history on the basis of the decline paradigm. The main reason behind the emphasis on this decline paradigm has been to give a satisfying explanation for the final disintegration of the empire. The territorial losses, fiscal decline, economic difficulties and military weakness have convinced many historians to describe the 19th century as an era of 'decline'.

One of the first criticisms of this decline paradigm is mentioned by Douglas who claims that the theory of decline rests primarily on the accounts of the 17th and 18th century Ottoman political writers, or Ottoman intellectuals, who complained about the corruption,

¹ Lewis *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 1968; İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600* 1973; Gibb and Bowen *Islamic Society and the West*, 1950; Shaw *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 1976.

venality and incompetence of the ruling government in those years. (Douglas 1988) He also states that after the translation of these literatures in western languages, scholars used these documents in their works without any critical approach to the 'already accepted' decline paradigm. (Ibid) In his article, Quataert agrees with this idea and adds that western scholars used this Ottoman literature with the western standard of measures which basically discuss the decline notion within the framework of another paradigm, modernization, as it can be seen in Lewis's book, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. (Quataert 2003) For western scholars who place the accepted notion of Western model remains at the center of their historical studies, modernization of the empire went parallel with westernization of the political system of the empire. The key to Ottoman success depends on the imitation of westernization patterns of change which are based on the historical path of Great Britain's and France's western democracies, thus the decline of the Ottomans was an inevitable end for the empire due to their insufficient westernization process. (Quataert 2003) Neumann called this tendency as the 'paradigm of reform' in Ottoman historiography which incidentally was shared by many contemporary European observers, for separating the reformists and modernist - the 'good guys'-, from the reactionaries and traditionalists - the 'bad guys'- of the Ottoman Empire. (Neumann 2002, 58)

While the 'decline' paradigm in Western historiographers' narrations have been discussed with its connotations of modernization and westernization notions, another pattern has been added to the discussion, namely the nationalist approaches in the construction of Ottoman historiography by Turkish authors. How the Ottoman past was treated by Turkish historians is a significant subject for the evaluation of Ottoman historiography. In her article, Ersanlı summarizes these approaches under four main titles² and analyzes the dominating 'official line' historiography. (Ersanlı 2002) Based on her argument, the end of the 19th century is accepted as a starting point of a new era which emphasizes the beginning of the secular and national Turkish Republic. Thus, within this linear development, it is preferred to acknowledge empire's last century as a stage of corruptions and degenerations in order to celebrate the subsequent reforms of the republic³. This tendency concluded with a similar narration of decline paradigm, yet looking

² The origin problem, the notion of corruption and reform, the problematic role of the religion in Ottoman polity and evaluating the past only through the archival documentation are stated by Ersanlı as four main problematic issues in the historiography. (Ersanlı 2002)

³ It is also worthy of note that the Ottoman architectural history survey books, written by Turkish scholars between 1950's to 1980's, started to publish with the general name 'Turkish Architecture' instead of Ottoman Architecture. Even though these books concentrated on the architectural progress of the Ottoman Empire and the republican era is not included into the

from another perspective. It should be also noted here that in the last two decades, the generic and accepted notion in the 19th century Ottoman historiography have started to be challenge by historians dealing with this historiographical problem without Eurocentric or nationalistic biased.⁴

The architectural historiography, on the other hand, has also followed the same problematic issues in its own narration. The canon or great narration in architectural historiography was also a part of the western architectural tradition, mainly based on the historical periodization and separation of cultures, the stories of great masters and their masterpieces⁵. While canon imposing a hierarchical relationship on a specific group of structures (or objects) and also categorizes them with periods, it usually constructs this relation by settling the individual genius and the idea of ‘masterpiece’. The tendency for the periodization of the historical events brings another paradigm in architectural historiography; the issue of ‘style’. Fletcher’s ‘tree of architecture’ as a prominent figure for architectural historiography represents the historical methodology based on stylistic periodization and categorization. Different from the order of the historical periodization (rising-growth-stagnation-decline), in Fletcher’s tree of architecture, the styles are constructed or rooted from the bottom towards the top for describing a constant progress. (Figure 1) Since the tree shows how styles evolved from each other, it represents a linear development in history. The tree, as the backbone of the Eurocentric great canon⁶, constructs an architectural history narration based on ‘great master pieces’, designed by ‘great masters’ in specific parts of lands. In order to catch the linearity in the architectural history, the styles help to methodically identify the structures within the limited time

narration, the title of the ‘Turkish Architecture’ can be evaluated as a part of this nationalist ideology. The works of Celal Esad Arseven, 1872 (*Türk Sanatı*), Behçet Ünsal, 1973 (*Turkish Islamic architecture: in Seljuk and Ottoman times (1071-1923)*), Oktay Aslanapa, 1971 (*Turkish Art and Architecture*), Oluş Arık, 1985 (*Turkish Art and Architecture: Seljuk, Interregnum and Ottoman Empire Periods*), Sedad Hakkı Eldem (*Works of Turkish Architecture*), Metin Sözen, 1987 (*The Evolution of Turkish Art and Architecture*).

⁴ The books of Karpaz and Deringil can be counted as one of these works: (Karpaz, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Fate and Community in the Late Ottoman State* 2001, Deringil, *The Well Protected Domains* 2004)

⁵ In their article, Bozdoğan and Necipoğlu discuss the great canon, cultural biases and also the orientalist and nationalist discourses in the Ottoman architectural historiography by focusing on the .predisposition categories in historiography. (Bozdoğan and Necipoğlu 2007, 1-6)

⁶ With the post-colonial era in 1980’s, the critic of Fletcher’s tree was criticized by many architectural historians, yet it is a difficult mission to write an alternative history by separating the canon from historiography itself. The architectural survey book, *A Global History of Architecture* is published as response to this challenge, yet the historical narration of this book is criticized by scholars for the same defects of the other survey books for being another interpretation of the great canon.

period. Thus it is obvious that both the stylistic categorization and the style itself are the backbone of the architectural narration.

When it comes to Ottoman architectural historiography, similar paradigms can also be observed in the use of terms like 'Ottoman architecture'. Is it possible to talk about a universal, common architectural language for Ottoman buildings without mentioning a specific structure, architect, location or time? Fletcher's tree has such Eurocentric roots that, if an Ottoman architecture tree is drawn, the biggest branch of the trunk of this tree will be Sinan's 'master' pieces. The narration on Ottoman architecture was built on sultanic projects which were attributed to Sinan. Both before and after of the 16th century, Ottoman architecture was stylistically identified by those projects most of which were built in the capital except Selimiye in Edirne. It has been accepted by architectural historians that a certain imperial identity, the 'Ottoman way', was created by these buildings, under Sinan's supervision during 16th century which is called 'the classical Ottoman style'. Certain archetypes, codes and canons of this 'classical style' were taken as the basic norms to define the whole Ottoman architecture or the ideal one, and it was claimed that these codes in architecture were disseminated all around the empire. Within the historical course, the architectural edifices of the 15th century are described as a step towards Sinan's plan typologies. Even his own variations from his usual architectural forms were evaluated as deviations from mainstream architecture such as his late period structures, which is also called as his mannerist era by historians. Furthermore, the 16th century provincial structures were also not counted as a part of the 'classical Ottoman style' and the provincial architects or builders were held responsible for the dissimilarities of the structures from the 'classical style'.

Under the heavy burden of Sinan's classicism in architectural historiography, the 19th century Ottoman architecture faced with all those paradigms of the conventional historiography such as decline, style, westernization paradigms, or the hegemony of the 'great masters' or 'master pieces'. The strongest and common argument on the 19th century Ottoman architecture is the loss of the artistic and architectural characteristic and identity of the empire which went parallel with the loss of the imperial power and the dismantling of the empire. It is believed that the decline of the empire was echoing in the quality of the buildings. The paradigm which is criticized by this dissertation, analyses the decline of the architectural taste as a reflection of the decline of the empire. In other words the degeneration of the architectural works goes parallel with the political failure of the empire.

This kind of a perception embodies both the style and westernization paradigms. The architecture of the period is evaluated as a process of contamination by European forms (or

European rooted styles) as a result of the political tendencies towards westernization. Since Ottoman westernization remains as the principle idiom in interpretations of the 18th and 19th centuries, any consideration of the late period Ottoman architecture mostly addresses this inevitable question. (Hamadeh 2004) For instance, most of the survey books claim that the architectural 'originality' of the empire, the 'classical period', has ended with the corruption of the Ottoman classical forms. In his book 'Ottoman Architecture', Kuban states that the 19th century was an era of European-imported architecture, controlled by the foreign and non-Muslim architects. (Kuban 2007, 605-6) He adds that in Ottoman architectural history, 19th century architecture proved not only the government's support to the westernization and modernization movements but also shows that some parts of the capital such as Sirkeci, Galata, Pera, Haliç and Bosphorus were colonized by European powers. (Ibid) Kuban aims to develop his claim by giving examples of the implementation of the European popular architectural styles in the Ottoman monuments constructed in the capital. He surveys these monuments in two main parts as palaces and mosques. All the mosques he researched in his book have been the prominent sultan mosques in the capital such as Dolmabahçe, Teşvikiye, Ortaköy, Pertevniyal and Yıldız Mosques. (Ibid, 629-45) He mainly defines these mosques with some attributed styles such as baroque, neo-classic, or neo-gothic.

Similar to Kuban who has written the latest Ottoman architectural history survey book, Aslanapa and Arseven have also a similar conception for 19th century Ottoman architecture. Aslanapa calls the architectural edifices of the period as 'poor' and 'worthless buildings in a style alien to Turkish taste'. (Aslanapa 1971, 236-7) While he defines Nusretiye, Ortaköy and Dolmabahçe Mosques as the examples of Baroque and Empire styles, Pertevniyal Valide Mosque is represented as an example for the eclectic style, a mixture of all sorts of styles from Indian to Gothic. (Ibid) He also mentions one of the provincial mosques, Kütahya Great Mosque which was restored and repaired on its 15th century columns, as a structure constructed in 19th century, and states that this mosque shows the strongest aspect of 'classical Turkish architecture' even in a very stylistically complex period. At the end, he celebrates Kemalettin and Vedat Bey's buildings as the beginning of the 'Turkish Renaissance', which finally brought about the birth of a 'neo-classical style'. (Ibid) Here Aslanapa uses the terms 'neo-classical' and 'classical Turkish architecture' with reference to 'Ottoman classical style'. In the same way, Arseven criticizes the period under the light of 'style debate' by describing the monuments with the words 'without a style, tasteless and rough'. (Arseven 1984, 180) Goodwin, who has also written a survey book on Ottoman architecture, discusses the issue without prejudices of the paradigm of 'Turkish Classical Style'. He describes the architectural features of the monuments in a very detailed

manner by focusing on the forms that are used. Like the Turkish scholars, he also mentions the styles, yet he tries to understand the aim for using these 'alien forms'. (Goodwin 1971) He emphasizes the role of the foreign and non-Muslim architects in the empire and attributes the 'western' forms mainly to those architects by saying that *'the mid-century produced no Ottoman work of value, yet more foreigners arrived and local talent was eclipsed...'* (Ibid, 421) Furthermore, he asserts that *'the eclecticism and European appearance of the new neighborhoods of the capital, for which mostly foreign or Armenian architects were responsible, provoked a reaction.'* (Ibid, 425) Montani's Pertevniyal Valide Mosque is evaluated as an example of revivalist movements, and as a response to the eclectic style.

The argument on the revivalism of the 'Ottoman Renaissance' has been also enhanced by Ersoy. In his dissertation he argues about Ottoman revivalism under the term of 'historicism' with reference to the architectural text *Usul-i Mimari Osmani* (The Fundamentals of Ottoman Architecture) which was published by the Ottoman government in 1873, by Sultan Abdülaziz, under the supervision of Montani, in order to represent the architecture of the Empire in the Vienna world exposition. (Ersoy 2000) The historical overview of the text, written by Marie de Launay, aims to define the architectural past of the empire starting from the architectural edifices in Bursa. (Ibid) Launay evaluates Ottoman architecture along a continuous structure of stylistic progression which is based on the 'beginning, rise and fall' of the Ottoman style. (Usul-i Mi'mari-i Osmani 2010) While Bursa Green Mosque and Great Mosque are praised as the very refined and stylistically successful examples of Ottoman architecture, Sinan's era is considered as a time remembered for the unique and mature examples of the empire. 18th century monuments, on the other hand, monuments such as Nur-u Osmaniye or Laleli Mosques, are depicted as deviations from the Ottoman style of the 15th and 16th centuries. (Ibid) The text refers to the monuments of the Abdülaziz era as the 'Ottoman Renaissance' in architecture. The main objective of *Usul* was to depict and also advocate a settled Ottoman style based on Eurocentric orders. The drawings of the columns capitals and arches of the Ottoman monuments were categorized under specific orders such as *müstevi* or *mücevheri* style. Within this there was an effort to find an order based on European concepts in Ottoman architecture, the edifices Pertevniyal Valide Mosque were given as examples for the redevelopment of Ottoman architecture, also called as revivalism. Ersoy believes that towards the end of the 19th century, Ottoman architecture aimed to adopt the European concept of revivalism in its own official building program with the new array of forms. (Ersoy 2000) He asserts that the 15th century Bursa style was *'re-invested with meaning within the emergent discourse on artistic change as the Late Tanzimat state's novel expressions of belonging and difference vis-a-vis the modern west.'* (Ibid, 307) His argument brings a new and significant perspective to the 19th century

Ottoman architectural historiography which had carried some profound biased perceptions. He continues his argument in one of his articles and claims that Pertevniyal Valide and Yıldız Hamidiye Mosques represent a new consideration of historicism in Ottoman architecture searching for their roots in the early Ottoman architectural typology. (Ersoy 2010, 108) The mosques prismatic high mass, single dome heightened with a drum and gothic windows are evaluated as a reference to 14th and 15th century Ottoman architecture. (Ibid) He states that in the aftermath of the heavy restoration program of the old monuments, specifically in Bursa and the written architectural text, *Usul*, a new interpretation of the revivalism was established based on the rediscovery and recreation of their own architectural history. (Ersoy 2000 and 2010) He asserts that the large sultan pavilions can be interpreted as a reflection of the early Ottoman reverse T plan typology. As parallel to the main argument of this dissertation, he gives an example from a totally restored 19th century provincial mosque, İnegöl Yıldırım Mosque, and emphasizes its prismatic mass and high drum as a processor of Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque. (Ersoy 2010) Ersoy believes that the revival of early Ottoman architecture both determines the agenda of the new Ottoman eclecticism and reconstructs Ottoman architectural legacy in the 19th century. (Ibid, 108) Even though Ersoy includes in his historiographical reading one of the provincial mosques, this singular example remains incapable of proving such a generalization. When the other provincial mosques are scrutinized in terms of their formal characteristics, site properties and relation with their built environments, a significant variety of new captions and conclusive remarks can be added to Ersoy's approaches.

Besides Ersoy's contribution to the area, which challenges the Eurocentric and biased perspective in the 19th century Ottoman historiography, Erkmen's and Çelik's researches also provide a new viewpoint by discussing the issue of 'Ottomanism' and its relation with architecture. In both of these works the architectural productions in the second half of the 19th century are discussed with the ideological agenda of the empire. (Erkmen 2011, Çelik 2008) Erkmen scrutinizes Abdülhamid II's jubilee structures which were constructed in almost all parts of the empire and in a very wide range of the scale, function, expenditure and quantity. She interprets this construction activity as a deliberate attempt towards emphasizing the power and dominant ideology of the sultan himself. (Erkmen 2011) Since most of the provincial mosques, cited in this dissertation, were also constructed as part of the jubilee celebrations, it can be said that the main argument of this dissertation supports Erkmen's study. Similarly, in her research on the architectural productions and urban transformation of the 19th century Ottoman provinces in North Africa, cities of Maghrib under French colonial rule, and Arab provinces, Çelik explains how the official images of the empire were defined and disseminated in those provinces. (Çelik 2008) She states that 'the

mapping and repeating of a legible pattern hence promoted and made concrete the centralized control of the empire over its territories'. (Çelik 2008, 10) Both Erkmen and Çelik believe that there was a 'legible pattern' in 19th century Ottoman architecture displaying the presence of the government power in the provinces. While Erkmen builds her research on archival documents and keep the formal analysis of the structures in the background, Çelik uses the formal and stylistic details of the monuments to explain her claim. Besides Erkmen's and Çelik's researches, Akyürek's PhD dissertation also provides a new perspective to the 19th century Ottoman architectural historiography by discusses how the discursive field on West was experienced in Ottoman architectural practice in the capital throughout the Tanzimat era. (Akyürek 2011)

CHAPTER 3

QUESTIONING THE CAPITAL - PROVINCE RELATIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE

3.1. 'Capital' and 'Province' Relations in the Ottoman Case

Starting from the earlier Muslim states, all classes of society and all sources of wealth were in the service of the absolute ruler, in the Ottoman case, this was the sultan himself. (İnalçık 1969, 97) All of the tools of the governmental system were adopted for a centrally controlled state mechanism. (İnalçık 1976, Heper 1980) The inquiry on the architectural production in the Ottoman provinces inevitably requires a survey on the hegemonic relations between the capital and its provinces. Ottoman Empire's political history proves that there was always a dynamic and ambivalent relationship between the capital, and its provinces. As a generally accepted definition, while capital, or center, represents the hegemonic, defining, supervising and formative body, the provinces, or periphery, represent the ruled, supervised and structured one. Even the origin of the word 'periphery' derives from -peri, meaning 'around', to describe the outer position of a main core, similar to its Turkish meaning, *taşra*, from the Persian affix -ra, to refer also to the outside of a thing. (Tanyeli 2013, 97)

While describing the relationship between these two bodies, it is necessary to point out the meaning and referring notion of the capital in the Ottoman political regime during its six hundred years of history. In the Ottoman case, political supremacy and dominant ideology both gathered on the person of the ruler himself, thus on the capital of the empire. From the very beginning of the empire to the end of the 18th century, the center mainly referred to the sultan or *Osmanoğulları* which is another word for the authority of the dynasty, synonymous with the empire. As a single dynasty's empire, Ottomans had the political strength to prevent other political institutions from developing in the provinces. (Kunt 2003, 218) This fact is the very reason of the capital-province dichotomy for the Ottoman Empire in the classical period. The conflict between two bodies increased when the Ottoman power reached and conquered parts of Europe, Asia and the Arab lands. While the Byzantine Roman Empire also ruled over a similar territory like that of the Ottomans, their dynasties often changed and adapted, while in the same time the political system endured in

order to solve the capital-province dichotomy. On the other hand, for Ottomans, solving this challenging issue was only possible through the establishment of a strong, centralized authority ruling over their territories with absolute power. (Heper 1980, 82)

At the end of the 18th century, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, the meaning of the center shifted from the absolute authority of the sultan to the executive organs of the government, or in other words, to *Bab-ı Ali*. (Kırmızı 2007, 2) Tanzimat reforms enhanced this political structure and separated the body of the government and the sultan which referred to each other afore. The separation of those two powers continued until the reign of Abdülhamid II. After 1876 Abdülhamid's well-founded centralization rules dismissed the authority of the executive organs, and collected all power to the sultan himself one more time. (Ibid) In the following pages, the history of the centralization policy and the changing body of the 'center' from the beginning of the empire to the end of the 19th century is going to be described in a concise manner.

One of the first tools for the sultan's well-controlled state was Ottoman *kul* (servant) system which also existed in Seljuks and Mamluks. This system was based on the absolute power of the sultan. The slaves who were captured in war or recruited from the children of the Christian subjects were trained and some of them were appointed to important military and administrative positions. (Ibid) They were also appointed as governors of provinces by the order of the sultan himself. Their absolute loyalty was always to their master, the sultan. The implementations of the system which date back to the reign of Beyazid I, can be traced in the Ottoman city accounts (*defters*). (İnalçık 1954, 120) Particularly after Mehmed II's reign, sultan's *kuls* became dominant all over the empire thus the influential families in the provinces lost their controls over their homelands.

Devşirme (recruitment) system and the Janissary Army were the extensions of this *kul* system which was used for both getting the military servant to the sultan, and dissolving the ethnic and religious diversities within a single pot in the corps. This can be also counted as one of the main tools of the centralized empire. Ironically, the Janissary Corps, which consisted of the *devşirmes* from the peripheries, was the core element of the sultan's military force in the center. The Janissary Corps which was directly controlled by the sultan himself can be evaluated as the military assurance of the central authority in the classical period of the empire.⁷

Besides the *kul* system, both the land regime and the military system were also directly linked to each other and to the center (the sultan) until the beginning of the 19th

⁷ For further information on Janissaries, see (Goodwin, The Janissaries 2006)

century and enhanced the effect of the sultan's authority. Since there was no private land ownership as in the European feudal system and all the cultivated lands in the Ottoman dominions were declared as sultan's property, the system provided the sultan with full control over the entire empire. The only exception was the *waqf* (charitable foundations) lands, which were administered by a signed board of trustees. The Ottoman *timar system* (fief system) which was based on the recording of the population and resources on the related territory can be considered as the key element for the centralized authority. Ottomans adopted this system from Selcuk's *ikta* system. (Ergenç 2000) While each *timar* holder was given a small land (*ciftlik*) for cultivation by himself or the peasants of the district, they were responsible for collecting taxes and preparing the cavalymen which was a significant part of the army. Through this means, the economic, financial, military systems and also taxation were all directly connected with each other and closely dependent on the agricultural economy. (İnalçık 1955) Beside the timar holder, *kadı* (district judge) who was appointed by the sultan and controlled from the capital was the other provincial authority in the city.

Between the years 1481 and 1571, the center periphery relations entered a new phase after the conquest of Eastern Anatolia, Aleppo, Damascus, Egypt, Mecca and Medina. Since those newly captured lands had already had a localized culture and an accepted local leadership, Ottomans had to adapt the centrality policy in these lands to a certain extent. (Yücel 1974, 661) Even though the tools of the centralization structure were applied, the administrative system sometimes allowed a 'consensus' with those local identities. (Agoston 2003) For example, in some parts of Eastern Anatolia, while the old *timar* system continued, the former tribal leaders were appointed as the governors of those cities. (Yücel 1974, 661) At first sight, this regulation can be considered as the decentralization of the government, however it should be remembered that if the Ottoman rulers in the provinces recognize the sultan as suzerain, central government might prefer a flexible and adaptable policy for those lands, since in the Ottoman imperial system, the main goal was to maintain the sultan's rule on the whole of the Ottoman dominions. (Karpát 2003, 4) Because of this adaptable administrative structure, Karpát believes that the relationships of the Ottoman provinces with the center cannot be grouped into a single category, but instead must be considered that each province had a peculiar relation with the center in terms of international and internal respects. (Karpát 2003, 1) Yücel continues this argument and states that Ottoman provinces can be grouped in four categories; the vassal states, such as Wallachia, Moldavia and Erdel, which were called '*Hanlık*' or '*Voyvodalık*' which paid their taxes, yet had a high degree of local autonomy; the semi-autonomous Arab provinces (such as Egypt, Aleppo, Damascus, Mecca), on whose territories the timar system did not apply,

instead they paid a regular tax, called *salyane*; and *hükümet*s which were relatively small, semi-autonomous administrative units in Eastern Anatolia, ruled by hereditary *beys*, usually not adjacent to any foreign countries, which did not pay tax to the central government; the rest of the provinces were directly linked to the sultan, and had a standard implication of *timar* system. (Yücel 1974, 668-9)

The Ottoman Sultans themselves realized the peculiar identities and fragility of some districts that they had to centrally control, thus they allowed for this kind of a semi-autonomous rule for those districts. For example, in one of his letters, Süleyman the Magnificent used the term *Memalik-i Mahrusem* (my well-protected domains) as the name of the Ottoman Empire. (Neumann 1999) Also, the court historian Selaniki used the similar term *Memalik-i Mahruse-i Osmani* (Osman's well-protected domains) in one of his records when he referred to the Empire. (Ibid) It can be said that even the Ottoman Sultans saw the lands of the Empire as contents of the conquered territories under their guardianship. In a certain extent, this title is an acknowledgment of the different identities of each province in the Empire.

The semi-autonomous status of those lands can also be considered as a sign for the beginning of the decentralization of the system. Some of the Ottoman historians believe that decentralization started after the reign of Selim II in the end of the 16th century, which ended with the riots of the *ayans* (provincial notables) in the 18th century. (Akşin 2000, İnalçık 1973) The corruption of the *timar* (fief) system in the 17th century is designated as one of the main reason for the decentralization process. (Çadırcı 2011) The loss of the *timar* system caused the abuse of the *reaya* (tax paying Ottoman subjects) in the provinces by the *ayans*, so tax incomes which were very significant for the government, could not be sent to the center properly. It was known that the provincial notables had a close relationship with the main authority of the province (governor and *kadı*). While the notables included the decision related with the protection of the city or taxation amounts, they also express their opinion to the sultan about the appointed governor or *kadı* on behalf of the townsmen. (Yücel 1974, 687-8)

In order to prevent the dispersment of the provinces, the central government tried to adopt some measures and aimed to gain the central authority again over its territories. (İnalçık 1977, 27) İnalçık describes the Ottoman dichotomy and the attempts for recovering the system as follows:

“To change the traditional Ottoman system in any radical manner was out of the question. In the Ottoman scheme, governors always constituted the corps of commanders who led the provincial armies in campaigns. Consequently, when in the 17th century governors ceased to be the loyal instruments of the

sultan's authority in the provinces, the sultan, lacking the power to alter the traditional system even he had wanted to, was compelled instead to create counter vailing forces to limit the governors' growing autonomy. Thus, in this period, the two remaining pillars of provincial government namely the *kadı* (judge) and the *defterdar* (provincial treasurer), gained unprecedented importance." (İnalçık 1977, 28)

Besides the *kadı* and *defterdar*, the sultan appointed tax collectors (*muhassıl*) who began to gain a wide range of authority in the provincial administration, for getting the taxes without involving *ayans*. (Ibid) By this mean, the *timar* system was gradually replaced by a tax collection and tax-farming system. (Heper 1980, 87) As it can be seen, the authority in the provinces was compartmentalized by the center; this tendency caused the weakening of the absolute power of the sultan in the provinces which is led to the riot of the *ayans* in the 18th century.

The *ayans* riot ended during Mahmut II's era with *Sened-i İttifak* (Deed of Alliance) which was signed between the *ayans* and the Sultan in 1808. Until recent times, *Sened-i İttifak*, has been evaluated as an agreement between two parties who had equal strength, or as the cause of constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire. (Shaw and Shaw 1977, 3) However, Heper, İnalçık and Karpas believe that the Deed should be assessed as an agreement between a center which aims to get the dominance at all costs and a periphery which was only concerned with obtaining its influence in the localities. (Heper 1980, 91, İnalçık 1964, 52-3, Karpas 1968, 80) The aim of the provincial notables was not to participate in the central authority; instead they wanted to be autonomous in their own activities. Thus, it can be said that the center, the Sultan Mahmut II himself, made a consensus with the *ayans*, like his predecessors had done in the 16th and the 17th centuries; yet the provincial notables did not get any autonomy after the Deed, instead the center continued to use those notables by appointing them governors of a province (*eyalet*) or a district (*sancak*) in order to assure the central authority. (Özkaya 1994, 237)

Consequently, it can be said that during the classical period of the Ottoman Empire the body of the center was directly linked to the Sultan, as the absolute power of the State. All the tools of the administrative system were adapted for the Sultan's control over the whole territory as regards to the sultan-subject relationship. The system was modified in some newly conquered provinces in the 16th century to compensate for the local powers' demands. However, in the 17th and the 18th centuries, with the enlarging borders of the Empire, the centrality polity was getting weaker, yet the sultan was still the only representative of the center of the Empire until Tanzimat Reforms in the 19th century.

From this perspective, it can also be argued that, similar with the modification of the system and the policies in the ruling of the provinces, the architectural productions of those

provinces of the Ottoman Empire also showed some varieties. It is a multi-faceted issue which has to be discussed along with the actors and the system of the construction activities, the administrative rules of the waqf foundations and also the patrons of the buildings, taking into account the changing regulations of the state's institutions during the 19th century. In the chapters 4 those issues are going to be discussed further within the scope of the center-periphery relations.

3.2. Centrally-Controlled Provinces; Tanzimat and Late Tanzimat Regulations

Many historians consider the 19th century as a time of substantial changes in the Ottoman Empire. While Ortaylı supports this idea by calling the era as 'The Longest Century of the Empire', Quataert called it 'The Age of Reforms', in order to emphasize the restructuring of the administration system. (Ortaylı 2009, İnalçık ve Quataert 1994) Each scholar has a different approach to identify the reason of the reform movements. Westernization, modernization, Ottomanization, imperialism, and integration into the capitalist system are some of the terms used for the reforms of the century. In this part of the chapter, the reasons or the contents and the meanings of all these reforms will not be discussed. Instead, the Tanzimat and Abdülhamid II's reform attempts for the centralization of the system are going to be described briefly, regarding the capital-province relation of the Empire.

Almost all Ottomanists agree that the main objective of the reforms was to enforce the centralization of the Empire. Karpas believes that the first attempt to expand the authority over the Ottoman lands was to create the *Nizam-ı Cedid* (Army of the New Order) by Selim III, as an alternative to the Janissary Corps which was beginning to get out of control. It was believed that while the abolition of the Janissaries subdued the control of *ayans* and sheiks over provinces, it also restored the state's control over the land system and the power of the taxation. (Karpas 2003, 11) Since Selim III failed to achieve these objectives, the new army, *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* (The Victories Soldiers of Mohammed) was established in 1826 by Mahmud II who was the most important figure for the centralization project of the state. (Kırmızı 2007, 21) Mahmud II's second attempt towards the centralization of the state was the regulation of the governors' appointments in 1836. Based on the new system, called *müşavir valiler sistemi*, the governors were selected from the seniors of the army who were not from the provinces they were appointed to. (Çadırcı 2011, 16-7) In this way, the provincial government was militarized for a centrally

controlled system. The governors were both aware of the political structure of the capital and also the ideology of the state, contrary to the previous ones.

One of the most important reforms regarding the shifting representation of the 'center' from the absolute authority of the Sultan to *Bab-ı Ali* (Supreme Port) was realized in March 1838, by Mahmud II. The duties and the authorities previously held by the grand viziers were delegated to individual ministries. In a way, the grandviziership (*Sadaret Sistemi*) was institutionalized in the form of the system of a prime minister and the related ministries (*Başvekalet Sistemi*). The proclamation of the Tanzimat Fermanı (The Ottoman Imperial Edict of Reorganization or *Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerifi*) on November 3rd, 1839, and a series of edicts which came after the Ferman, enhanced the institutionalization of the governmental system. The establishments of the Meclis-i Maarif-i Umumiye (Ottoman Parliament) in 1841, the Council of Public Instruction in 1845, the Ministry of Education in 1847, the Ministry of Health Care in 1850, the Municipality of Istanbul in 1854 were parts of this new body of the 'center'. It is obvious that institutionalism created a new bureaucracy which was four or five times larger than the size of the old imperial bureaucracy. (Findley 1980) Mahmud II's initiations and the new bureaucracy which was brought by the agenda of the Tanzimat reforms changed idea of the absolute power of the sultan. Therefore the meaning of the center was altered with the shared authority of the executive organs of the government, *Bab-ı Ali*. The leading role of the *Bab-ı Ali* continued until the reign of Abdülhamid II.

Since the main objective of the Tanzimat reforms was to extend the central authority over the Empire, the reforms in the administration of the provinces was also significant for the continuation of Tanzimat's objectives. Besides Mahmut II's appointed governors, *Müşavir Valiler*, an imperial order (*irade*) was sent to each province in 1840, in order to originate a council for discussing the needs of the city, called *Muhassılhk Meclisleri*. The member of these councils consisted of the representatives of the local groups in the cities including the non-Muslim subjects. Chosen representatives reported their demands in these local councils, and then the demands were shared with the center by the governor. This centrally controlled mechanism worked for the first two decades of the Tanzimat, yet in the beginning of the 1850's, governors' requirements for the approval of the center for all their decisions, confined them seriously and hitched the works of the province. (Kırmızı 2007, 24) The need for the expansion of the authority of the governors developed with the influence of the Egypt governor Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha. In 1852, an order by the sultan was enacted for increasing the authority of the governors. (Wickward 1963, 21) Based on a second order in 1858, the governor was declared as the only and main authority of the province as the

representative of the center. In 1859, the numbers of the provinces were reduced because of this broad authority given to governors.

Müşavir Valiler, Muhassıllık Meclisleri and the regulation to enhance authorities of the governors can be considered as the signs for the new and significant provincial regulations that were applied in 1864 and 1871. The first regulation, which was enacted in 1864, started with an order for the *Tuna* Province. Based on this regulation, the provinces were divided into local administrations which were hierarchically organized into sub-units such as districts (*liva*), sub-districts (*kaza*) and villages (*karye*). (Y. Köksal 2002, 113) Furthermore, the term for the province was changed to “*vilayet*” from “*eyalet*”. Three years later, in 1867, the new regulation was enacted as a law called *Vilayet Nizamnamesi*, and started to be implemented in all the provinces of the Ottoman Empire. By this law, each town (*kaza*) which had its own council, was reporting its own wills and sent two representatives to the provincial capital. The reported demands in the provincial councils which were on a broad range of issues such as architectural works, taxation or misbehavior of a state official, were discussed in the *Meclis-i Vala* in Istanbul. (Y. Köksal 2002, 118) The provincial regulations took their last shape with the *İdare-i Umumiyye-i Vilayet Nizamnamesi* in 1871, in which the local administration was divided into five parts; province (*vilayet*), district (*liva*), sub-district (*kaza*), town (*nahiye*) and village (*karye*). Based on this regulation, a council was formed in the capital called *meclis-i icraat*, in order to control the actions in the provinces. Since both the administrator of the provinces, districts and sub-districts were appointed and supervised by *Bab-ı Ali* (by the ministry of interior affair - *dahiliye nezaretî*), it can be said that the 1871 Provincial Law increased the control of the central authority over their territories. Even though this law was enacted with the influence of the European Powers because of their will to get the autonomy and independence for the Ottoman Christian subjects⁸ and the system was adapted from French *département* system, the ultimate objective of the Empire was to enhance its authority towards the Ottoman Lands by institutionalizing the provincial administration along with the Tanzimat Reforms.

It is obvious that the Ottoman Empire aimed to protect the integrity of its lands against the aims of the European Powers on Ottoman provinces. The increasing demand for the raw materials and new markets for their products made the Ottoman provinces valuable. Ottoman lands were exposed to capitalism and the threat of European occupation in the 19th century. (Karpas 2001, 3) In the previous paragraphs, the struggle of the Ottoman

⁸ Kırmızı claims that the Lebanon riot in 1860 and the French military intervention by Napoléon III was one of the trigger for the preparation of a detailed provincial law. For further information (Kırmızı 2007, 25-43)

bureaucracy for regulating and controlling the provinces can be observed with the enacted laws. Between the years 1839 and 1876, until the reign of Abdülhamid II, both the sultan and the bureaucrats (*Bab-ı Ali*) shared the whole control over the Ottoman lands. Thus, the word 'center' for these forty years refers both to the sultan and the executive organs of the state. However, two years after the promulgation of the First Constitution in 1876 (*Kanun-i Esasi*), Abdülhamid II gathered the whole control on himself. All Ottomanists would agree that the thirty-three years of Hamidian Era (1876-1909) represents the very meaning of a centralized state. (Karpaz 2001, Deringil, *The Well Protected Domains* 2004, Ortaylı 2009). The political atmosphere of the late 19th century, specifically nationalist movements, forced the Sultan to maintain unity in the Ottoman lands against the fragmentation of the Empire into national states. Thus on the one hand, Abdülhamid continued the structural transformation of the system, which started with Mahmud II's reforms and continued with Tanzimat, to use every means of the institutions to strengthen the state; on the other hand, he planted the seeds for a very well-controlled personally ruled empire by regulating the responsibilities of the governors in the provinces. (Deringil 1991, 345, Karpaz 2001, 308) Thus between the years 1880 and 1909, Yıldız Palace can be considered as the new 'center' of the Empire.

Abdülhamid avoided a possible war with the European powers, yet prevented their intervention in Ottoman domestic affairs. (Karpaz 2001, 308) During his era, the Ottoman Empire did not lose any land except Romania, Serbia, Montenegro and Crete which proclaimed their independence after the Russo-Ottoman war in 1877-8. In the 1890's, the most significant issue for Abdülhamid was the Armenian riots in the eastern cities. The first riot by the Armenian Militia started in Erzurum, continued in Kayseri, Yozgat, Çorum, Merzifon and the other eastern cities of Anatolia. The social disorder in these provinces got the attention of the European Powers, thus in 1895 France, Britain and Russia sent a diplomatic note for regulating the security policies in those provinces to protect the Armenian society against the Kurdish and Circassian tribes. (Kırmızı 2007, 36) In this political circumstance, Abdülhamid had to make some regulations on the provincial administration system and increase control over the appointed governors on provinces. In March 1896, Anatolian provinces inspector Şakir Pasha sent a report from Erzurum in which he mentioned the need for an increase in the authority of the governors in order to give them the right to intervene in the riots without waiting for the permission from the center. (BOA Archive, cited in Kırmızı 2007, 38) It is obvious that Abdülhamid realized that the European powers used the issue of the rights of the non-Muslim Societies in the provinces as an excuse to interfere with Ottoman domestic affairs, thus he had to eliminate the hierarchical structure of the institutionalized provincial system (sultan- ministry of

interior affairs-governor) In this way, each governor became directly linked to Abdülhamid himself. (Kırmızı 2007, 39) It is critical to point out that the requirements for being a governor was strictly regulated in the reign of Abdülhamid II. His governors were chosen from highly educated and experienced bureaucrats. Kırmızı believes that the curriculum of the School of Political Science (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*) which was established in 1859, was rearranged in 1877, upon the request of Abdülhamid for the education of his bureaucrats. (Kırmızı 2007, 46)

The well-controlled Governors of Abdülhamid and the new provincial system increased the dichotomy between *Bab-ı Ali*, which wanted to be included in the control mechanism of the state, and the Sultan who wanted the whole authority for himself. Both the vizier and the ministries stayed out of the central polity; and the central authority was represented by the Sultan.

3.3. Placing the 'Provinces' in Ottoman Architectural Historiography

The challenging center-periphery relation for the empires, which had to rule vast domains, is also a problematic and debatable subject for the historians who want to locate the 'periphery' within the historical narrative. Since the conventional division is inevitably based on a dominating culture, -center- and a dominated one -periphery-, these two concepts are contextualized as two antagonistic units in the narrations. This center-periphery duality can be also observed in the narration of architectural history. In surveying the architectural productions of the empires, the main focus of many scholars has been the monuments founded in the capitals. From a mainstream perspective, it is hard to include the architectural productions of peripheries in the 'great canon' of the history as equally important with those of the center. Thus, provincial architecture has been collected in survey books under a single title called 'the other' as in Kostof's book, or 'architecture in the provinces' as Kuban's work.⁹ Since the stylistic development is the backbone of the canon, in one respect, the difficulty of including the small scale provincial architecture in the narration can be understood. The monuments in the provinces cannot compete in size or sophistication with the monuments in the Ottoman capital. In Ottoman architectural

⁹ In Kostof's survey book, *A History of Architecture*, Roman architectural edifices in provinces are defined under the main title 'the World at large, Roman concurrences' and the subtitles 'beyond the empire' and 'the other ancient World'. (Kostof 1995) In Kuban's survey book, the seven centuries Ottoman architectural edifices in the vast domains of the periphery are all collected under the title 'architecture in the provinces'. (Kuban, *Osmanlı Mimarisi* 2007)

historiography, since the main focus is on the well-preserved and studied monuments of the capitals (Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul), the difficulty of placing the 'other' into the canon can be considered as the main reason for the dismissal of the provincial architectural heritage. For that reason, when the architectural productions of a provincial territory are scrutinized, these buildings are described either as a continuation of the preceding cultures or a provincial imitation of the capital's bigger and more complex prototypes. (Hartmuth 2010, 18-20) For example, in his comprehensive work 'Ottoman Architecture', Kuban evaluates the whole periods of Ottoman provincial architecture as "daily objects which have no sign of creative spark¹⁰" and he gives a few examples emphasizing their relation with the regional construction techniques and materials which had been used before the Ottoman era. (Kuban 2007, 571) Both approaches, namely considering as an imitation and highlighting the different characteristics, are basically founded on a comparative method which makes a comparison between a well-defined architecture of the center and a rather 'ambiguous' province.

In order to make this kind of a comparison, a generally accepted characteristic of the architecture is needed for the capital. For this aim, the term 'imperial style' or 'Ottoman style' has been introduced by Ottoman architectural historians in order to refer to the characteristics of the official architectural style used in the foundation buildings erected in the name of the members of the dynasty in the capital.¹¹ In her article 'A *Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts*', Necipoğlu states that the quatrefoil plan which is represented primarily in Şehzade Mosque and also the artistic style developed in the 16th century, in the capital are accepted as the canon for the Ottoman architecture during this era. (Necipoglu 1992) Grabar adds that "[t]his type almost certainly a creation of Ottoman capital is best expressed in the great mosques of Istanbul [...]. It serves an Islamic function, but its architectural forms signify a specific empire". (Grabar 2005, 76) Kafescioğlu goes along with this term and enhances that in the 16th century, even Ottomans themselves called their architectural style in the capital as '*diyar-ı Rum cevami tarzı*' or '*tarz-ı Rum*' (Rumi manner or style) in travelers' accounts. (Kafescioglu 1999, 70) During his trip to Syria at the end of the 16th century, traveler Mehmet Aşık described the Sultan's Mosque in Damascus as "*[Ottoman Sultans] building style and essential image are not the style and image of the mosques of Arab land; they are in the style and image of Ottoman mosques (diyar-ı Rum*

¹⁰ The original quotation is as follows: "[...] yaratıcı hiçbir kıvılcım işareti içermeyen, günlük eşyalar [...]" (Kuban 2007, 571)

¹¹ Necipoğlu, Grabar, Kafescioğlu, Kiel and Watenpaugh use this term to identify the classical characteristic of the official architectural style of the mosques in the capital. (Necipoglu 1992, Grabar 2005, Kafescioglu 1999, Kiel 2002, Watenpaugh 2004)

cevami tarz ve resminde)". (Ibid) A few decades later, Evliya Çelebi used the same words, Rumi manner (*tarz-ı Rum*), for the congregational mosques and their minarets in Damascus and Aleppo. (Ibid) The 'Ottoman style' that is referred to as having a centralized praying hall which with a single lead dome, surmounted by half domes, preceded by a domed-portico and flanked by a slender minaret. Sultans' mosques in the 'imperial style' are considered as the common style for all provinces representing the most iconic architectural language of Ottoman power for the 16th and 17th centuries. (Watenpaugh 2004)

While architectural historians structure a canon for Ottoman architecture, the already difficult task of including the 'other' architecture, namely the provincial architecture into the Ottoman architectural historiography becomes even more difficult when one takes into consideration the peculiarities of different principles governing the architectural productions of various provinces. As it is observed in the political history of the Ottoman Empire, the center developed different policies and attitudes towards each of the provinces. These policies for the different territories were defined by both the social and cultural identities of the regions and the interests of the Ottomans for the related regions. Yet, on the one hand, while the geographical and cultural differences originated a particular architectural tendency for those provinces, on the other hand, there was also a universal message concerning the absolute hegemony of the center aimed to be delivered through a unique architectural style, that was the 'imperial style' as described above. Thus, the evaluation of the architecture in the provinces cannot be collected under a single category. Moreover, the diversities based on the geographical differences (such as Arab lands, Balkan cities and Anatolia) can be articulated according to time periods in which Ottoman central government changed its stand regarding different political situations. Hartmuth makes this division based on the changing perspectives towards Ottoman Provinces. (Hartmuth 2010, 29) He claims that Ottoman architectural heritage can be grouped under four main periods regarding the relationship of the capital with the provinces and also its impacts on architectural productions. He names these periods as polycentrism (ca. 1350 to 1453), centralism (late-15th to mid-18th centuries), decentralization (mid-18th and mid-19th centuries), and recentralization (mid-19th century to WWI). (Ibid) He states that the single-spaced mosques with a hemispherical dome and three or five bays portico which was the typical plan for the Balkan territories' architecture continued to be constructed during the 18th century while the Ottoman Baroque mosques (such as Nur-u Osmaniye or Laleli Mosques) were beginning to be built in the capital. (Harthmuth 2009, 298) He believes that the lack of synchronicity with the capital can be attributed to the patrons or to the absence of contact with the local builders and capital. (Ibid, 299) A similar argument is also presented by Yenişehirlioğlu for the mosque architecture of the *ayan* families, such as

Cihanoglu or Karaosmanoğlu families in Anatolia. She states that even though the *ayan* families' mosques are relatively modest buildings with small rectangular prayer halls having flat wooden ceilings and constructed in rubble stone, they have distinctive highly elaborated mihrab designs which are not seen in the capital in this period. (Yenişehirlioğlu 2005) She claims that since those *ayan* families, were in direct commercial relation with Europe in the 18th century, this could have been the reason for these European decorative forms which were directly used in the provinces, to the contrary of Istanbul, where the forms were infiltrated by the architects of the court. (Ibid, 328) In another article, Bierman describes the architectural atmosphere and the urban development of the newly conquered island of Crete in the 17th century with the title 'Franchising the Ottoman Istanbul'. (Bierman 1999) She says that, the sultan's mosques on the island which were constructed in 'the imperial style', were located in the most noticeable and also the most visible site of the island both from land and sea approaches. (Bierman 1999, 201) It is a sign for the visitors of the city, which show the identity of the ruling hegemony, the Sultan of the Empire. Although the sultans' mosques in Crete had a privileged status both in the cityscape and by their large scale; Bierman draws our attention to the waqf reports of the island's mosques which proves that the largest congregations and the largest endowments of the island belonged to the viziers and pashas (governors) mosques, while the sultan's mosque in the island did not function as a mosque, but as a storage for black powder. (Bierman 1999, 202) It is significant to point out the symbolic presence of the sultan in the provinces, yet it also shows the supremacy of the governors as the ruling elite who shared the power of the central authority in the 17th century. All those provinces in different geographies show an independent architectural development from the center in the 17th and 18th centuries. This was a direct influence of the political positions of the capital towards the provinces. A similar situation is also observed in the Tanzimat and late Tanzimat eras. The centralization policies aimed to control the whole of the Empire, including the production of architectural edifices in the provinces. Particularly, the Abdülhamid era witnessed a strict hegemony of central authority which was represented by the sultan himself. The influences of those policies on the architectural productions of the provinces, the stylistic developments, using of architectural language are going to be discussed in the following chapters of this dissertation regarding the architecture of mosques which was an important instrument for the sultan who wanted to reconstruct the unity of the empire by using an orthodox Sunni interpretation of Islam.

Last but not least, scrutinizing the role of the center in the organization of architecture and construction has to involve the questioning of the role of the imperial architectural office (*cemaat-i mimaran-i hassa*), city architects, building supervisors (*bina*

emini), and the waqf system as well. The office was the only responsible unit for the design and the construction of the architectural endeavors of the imperial family and the ruling elites until the Tanzimat Era. Its working process for the construction in the provinces is very instrumental in understanding the capital-province relations regarding architectural production. In order to understand this relationship, some points should be clarified such as; who was responsible for the design of the architectural projects constructed in the provinces or which representational tools (plans, elevations, sections, models etc.) were used for transferring the information from capital to provinces. Based on the researches and archival documents, in the classical period of the empire, most of the drawings are limited with the ground plans of the structures.¹² The details on the elevations should have been elaborated by the city architect, who was generally a local architect, in charge for the constructions and renovation works of the city. (Ş. Turan 1964, Orhonlu 1978) Kuran believes that while the key decisions regarding the diameter of the dome, the transition system and the thickness of the walls were represented on the plans, the elevations and the decorative elements took their last shapes in the hand of the city architects who played a major role in the design of the buildings in the provinces. (Kuran 1988, 21) He adds that this is the main reason for the deviations from the main stream architectural type in the capital. (Ibid)

After the Tanzimat reforms, with the other parts of the empire, the imperial architectural office was institutionalized and reorganized under the name Directorate of Royal Buildings (*Ebniye-i Hassa Müdürlüğü*) in 1831. Since the scope of this dissertation involves the Tanzimat and late Tanzimat Eras, it is very significant to point out the new functions and assignments of this organization, the new methods for the graphic representation of design ideas and also the institutional structuring of architectural productions in the peripheries which are going to be discussed in the following chapter.

3.4. Mosques Reperformed in the Ottoman Provinces; Islam as a Tool to Legitimize the Central Authority in the 19th Century

The idea of Islamic unity or using Islam as a legitimizing tool for the central authority was not an alien concept for the Muslim rulers, specifically for Ottomans until the Tanzimat era. Particularly, after the conquest of the Arab lands of Asia and Africa by Selim I in 1517

¹² For the drawings used in the Ottoman architecture classical period see; (Necipoğlu-Kafadar 1986)

and Süleyman I's subsequent conquest of central Mesopotamia, the Ottoman state was transformed into an Islamic Empire, and also Selim I and his followers became the supreme caliph of all those Muslim lands. Necipoğlu believes that these claims required reinforcing the emphasis of Islam through state regulation and also through monumental architecture. (Necipoğlu-Kafadar 1985, 96) Yet, it is significant to point out here that the adopted Islamic principles were based on orthodox Sunni interpretation of Islamic faith as an ideological support for the central control of Arab lands of the Empire. Thus, during Selim I and Süleyman I's eras, the Ottoman Empire adopted a new ruling policy which promoted a strong resistance against the other sects of Islam such as Shiism or heterodox movements of Anatolia in order to provide the absolute authority of Sunni center. One of the significant reasons for the emphasis of the Sunni Islam against Shiism was the threat of Shii Safavid dynasty of Persia which Ottomans attempted to defeat between 1532 and 1555. The architectural reflections of the emphasis on Sunni Islam can be observed in the layout of the mosques and also the layout of the complexes (*külliyeler*) and the organization of its dependencies.¹³

Towards the Tanzimat era, the strong emphasis on the Sunni interpretation of Islamic faith was continued against the other sects of Islam and faiths, namely Shiism, Yezidism, Zeyidism or Crypto Christianity. However, the reform movements in the Tanzimat era forced the empire to construct a more secular state system for all its subjects. The Tanzimat edict granted freedom of worship all forms of religions. The 1856 Paris Treaty also confirmed the rights of the Ottoman Christian subjects as a continuation of the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire. The new codes on commercial and penal laws and also the new education system enhanced the secularization of the state between the years 1839 and 1876. Tanzimat bureaucrats aimed to unite all Ottoman subjects under the very idea of 'Ottomanism' which was used by the state against the nationalist movements which were propagandized by the European powers. (Somel 1999, 179) From this perspective, it can be said that 'Ottomanism' came up as an alternative to the role of Sunni Islam for central authority. Despite the promoted 'ottomanist' idea, the nationalist and secessionist movements caused the repeated failures of Ottoman governors and loss of large European territories throughout the 19th century. (Deringil 2004) Karpas states that

"The loss of the Balkan provinces [after the war in 1877-78] deprived the country of over one-third of its population and of substantial revenues, reducing the once mighty Empire to a second-class power, with its main

¹³ Necipoğlu states that the hierarchical order among the madrassas in the Süleymaniye Complex represented the growing political role of ulema in legitimizing Süleyman I's rules depended on the Sunni doctrine of Islamic State. (Necipoğlu-Kafadar 1985, 96)

strength now in Asia [Arab Lands] and in its Muslim population and its survival dependent upon England. [...] At that point, if Abdülhamid had continued the nation-state discourse to the Arab Lands, and if Muslims had accepted ethnicity as a foundation for nationhood, the result would have been total disintegration of the Ottoman state.” (Karpas 2001, 183)

For this reason, Abdülhamid’s first goal was to prevent the fragmentation of the Ottoman lands into territorial states. He emphasized the Ottoman Sultan’s title ‘Caliph of Islam’ as a unitary motif for the integration of Muslim population and for the maintenance of the Empire’s territorial integrity against the intervention of European powers. (Karpas 2001) Sunni orthodox interpretation of Islamic faith was used and propagandized as the main ideological tool of the Ottoman State. When the then Ottoman geography is considered, it can be said that fear of an Arab Caliph originally provoked that kind of an Islamic manifestation for the Ottoman State. (Çetinsaya 2006, 11)

On the other hand, the fear of an assassination was also making Abdülhamid very obsessed about his own security. Historians believe that, the obsession forced him to close himself within the secure boundaries of the Yıldız Palace. (Ortaylı 2009, Akşin 2000) This fear caused the isolation of the sultan from his people and created a representation problem for the state. Particularly after the lengthy wars and defeats during the 18th and 19th centuries, it was very significant for the state to reconstruct the belief in the absolute strength of the sultan.

Within these circumstances, Abdülhamid developed his own imperial symbolism in a more powerful manner than his predecessors. He used it as a propaganda tool to strengthen his authority, and to manifest and spread his policy over the whole territory. The ideological and the political messages of the sultan were both spread to his subjects through a rich world of symbolism. This world manifested itself in many different ways such as the newly designed coat of arms, commemorative medallions, even in military march that was composed by European composers. (Deringil 1991, 26-7, Karpas 2001, 227) Among these legitimacy structures, architectural endeavors played a significant role. Both the waqf records and the other archival documents prove that during his era, there was a substantial construction activity in the whole of the empire. (Önal and Bekçi 2007) Clock Towers in city centers, fountains, city gardens, schools, railway stations, hospitals, government halls and also mosques were the examples of this construction activity. Erkmen states that there was an increase in these activities all around the empire near the 25th jubilee of Abdülhamid’s ascension to the throne. (Erkmen 2011). She considers that based on a construction list prepared for his 25th jubilee, 1376 buildings were constructed or renewed in Ottoman lands, mainly in the provinces. (Erkmen 2011, 124) Even if it is unlikely that all of the buildings in that list were constructed, this list is still significant to understand how the construction

activities were important for Abdülhamid II. The new and modern buildings in the cities were reminding people of the existence of a strong central authority in the capital. Among those immense building activities, particularly two types of buildings drew attention in the cities; mosques and schools. While schools (both the high schools- *idâdi*, secondary schools- *rüştiye* and primary schools-*iptidâî*) were considered as the new face of the modernized state (Parmaksız 2008), the construction of the mosques enhanced the official state message which was based on the Sunni Islamic faith of the empire. Furthermore, it can be claimed that the traditional mosque complexes which consisted of a mosque and madrassa evolved into *idâdi*-mosque complexes as it is seen in Söğüt. (Figure 155) Söğüt Hamidiye Mosque and Hamidiye High School were constructed face to face and a small piazza is identified between those two structures. Both mosque and modernized schools can be considered as the legitimacy structures of the Hamidian era. The official ideology of the state was represented through those buildings, specifically in the provinces.

According to Uluçam, both the archival documents and researches prove that during the Abdülhamid II's era there were considerably large numbers of construction projects prepared for the Ottoman territories of the Middle East, particularly in Iraq and also for Anatolia. (Uluçam 1989, Ekici 2006) The majority of the architectural drawings found in Ottoman archives consist of the projects for schools and mosques. While the school projects were for new buildings, the prepared projects for the mosques were mostly for restoration works. (Ekici 2006) The interests of the British towards Iraq forced Abdülhamid to take provisions against the separatist ideas. Furthermore, the intervention of the Shi'i Iran on the east was becoming a significant threat for the state. (Çetinsaya 2006) In these circumstances, Abdülhamid aimed to use schools and mosques as a sign both for his symbolic representation in those provinces and also as the sign for Sunni Islam and for the Caliph of all Muslims. A similar view can also be adopted for the Anatolian mosques. The mosques represented the religious/dynastic legitimation of the ruler and also manifested the authority of the sultan at the local level.

CHAPTER 4

QUESTIONING THE PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION PROCESS OF MOSQUES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN PROVINCES

As it was scrutinized in the previous chapter, political relations between capital and provinces are also observed in the works of the institutions which were responsible for the construction works all around the empire. The building process of the provincial mosques, the acts and the responsibilities of the institutions or the role of the architects were affected by the government's political agenda. After the reform movements introduced by Tanzimat edict and the movement of centralization which was getting stronger during Abdülhamid II's reign changed the technical processes of the construction activities. The main aim of this chapter is to search for the system, tools and actors of the 19th century Ottoman mosque architecture by looking at the roles of the institutions and the relations between the provinces and the capital.

In the first part of the chapter, the process of the construction and repair activities in the provinces, from the 16th to the 19th centuries, is going to be briefly discussed. The architectural system in the classical period, the role of the *Hâssa Mimarlar Ocağı*, the chief architect and the other actors of the construction system who had responsibilities on the designs of the edifices in the provinces will be the main issues for this part of the chapter.

In the second part, the changes and developments in the Ottoman architectural organization after the Tanzimat era are going to be discussed in the light of the changing roles and responsibilities of the architects, *kalfas* or contractors. The discussions on the identities and the limits of the authorities of architects who worked or were involved in the construction activities in the provinces are very significant in order to understand the nature of the relationship between the capital and the provinces in the Ottoman Empire. It is also important to discuss the architectural representation tools used in the design of the buildings (plans, sections, elevations or models etc.) in order to get the idea on how the information on the construction works are transferred from the capital to the provinces.

In the third and last part, those information are going to be discussed with the light of the archival documents which are cited in related appendixes as a part of this research. This archival document which includes architectural drawings and cost-estimate notebooks help

to identify the relation with capital and provinces, thus the architectural agenda of the empire.

4.1. Pre-Tanzimat: Construction and Repair Activities in the Provinces

Ottoman construction system is one of the most puzzling issues in the Ottoman History, even though recent researches¹⁴ reveal a significant amount of archival documents. While each document brings to light another unfamiliar practice in the construction activity, it also shows the irregularities and complexities of the system. The roles and responsibilities of the actors of the construction system also changed within the centuries. The assigned roles for an architect or a *kalfa* in a construction in the 16th century were significantly different from the roles in the late 19th century's Ottoman culture. This kind of a transformation on the roles of the actors of the construction system was also observed in the architectural productions in the provinces. This part of the chapter aims to give very brief information on the Ottoman construction and repair activities in the provinces in the pre-Tanzimat era.

The architects who were responsible for the construction, repair and the supervision of the ongoing constructions in the provinces of the Ottoman Empire were categorized under two main categories by Dündar; the provincial personnel of the *Hâssa Mimarlar Ocağı* (The Corps of Royal Architects) and the architects who work independently or for the waqf. (Dündar 2000, 55-73) In his work, Dündar defines the local elements of *Hâssa Mimarlar Ocağı* in two folds; 'provincial architects' and 'city architects'. (Ibid) Based on the documents found in Ottoman Archives, the center of the each province had an architect who was appointed by *Hâssa Mimarlar Ocağı* in Istanbul for undertaking the construction activities in the cities of the connected to that province. (Ibid, 55-6) These documents, of which the oldest one was dating from 1516, also show that there was a hierarchical order within the provincial architects since the title of 'chief architect' was also used in these documents. (Ibid) It can be said that, there was a small version of *Hâssa Mimarlar Ocağı* in the center of the provinces, which coordinated the local efforts with Istanbul. One of the documents verifies that in some cases, the architects in the provinces were summoned by the chief architect in the capital, when their presence was needed for a construction work in the

¹⁴ In the last fifteen years, the PhD dissertations of Abdulkadir Dündar (1999, Ankara University), Selman Can (2002, Istanbul University) and Oya Şenyurt (2006, Yıldız Teknik University) provide significant information on the construction system of the late Ottoman Empire.

capital. (Ibid, 57) While Dündar believes that there was another group of architects in the cities of the province, called city architects (Ibid), another scholar, Orhonlu, by interpreting the same documents with Dündar, groups city architects together with the provincial architects and called the entire group as city architects without making any distinctions in between. (Orhonlu 1981) Both Orhonlu and Dündar believe that the city architects were appointed by *Hâssa Mimarlar Ocağı* when there was a need for a construction in the cities. (Orhonlu 1981, Dündar 2000) This demand was presented by a letter from the city council or a representative of the government to the center. The archival documents on the city architects also reveals that during the first decades of the 17th century, the number of the city architects increased due to the growing construction activities in the cities caused by the migration movement from towns to cities. (Orhonlu 1981, 2)

The first puzzling part on the actors and the roles of the construction activities in the provinces starts with the responsibilities of the architects. While Dündar and Orhonlu (Orhonlu 1981, Dündar 2000) believe that there were also waqf architects in the cities who were responsible for the conservation and restoration of the related waqf buildings and prepared the estimates costs (*keşif*), Şenyurt (Şenyurt, Osmanlı Mimarlık Örgütlenmesinde Değişim ve Dönüşüm 2011) does not consider this kind of a division when she describes the architectural organization in the provinces. The archival documents founded by Dündar reveal two significant points on the waqf architects; firstly they were appointed by the board of trustees (*mütevelli heyeti*) to the related waqf instead of the *kadı* or any authority from the center. Secondly the documents show that both waqf architects and city architects worked in the same city within the same time period. (Dündar 2000, 68-71) Thus it is a complicated issue to identify the areas and limits of the responsibilities of waqf architects and province/city architects. Even Dündar himself makes two different interpretations in his works. While he states that restoring the buildings and presenting the estimates costs for the repair works was among the duties of the waqf architects (Dündar 2000, 71), in his another work, Dündar states that the estimates cost was done by the architects who were appointed from the capital by *Hâssa Mimarlar Ocağı*. (Dündar 2002, 119-20)

The discussions on the responsibilities of the architects in the provinces also continue on the relation and link between the design and construction process for the provincial mosques. Even though the recent research reveals new documents on the Ottoman construction system, it is not enough to clarify the whole design and application process. Based on a generally accepted view, between the years 16th and 18th century, the sultan's mosques in the provinces were designed by the chief architect in the central office (*Hâssa Mimarlar Ocağı*), yet the mosques were built under the management of the supervising architect in the provinces. (Kuran 1988, Kafescioglu 1999, Kuban 2007) When the limited

architectural drawings belong to the classical period of Ottoman architecture are observed, it is seen that these documents only consists of plans and also some notes written on these drawings by central office. The plans that were sent to the provinces were included the key decisions regarding the diameter of the dome, the transition system and the thickness of the walls. On the other hand, in the absence of elevation or section drawings, the written notes on these plans verbally described what the elevation or the section of critical areas of the building should look like. In Figure 2 the plan of an Ottoman bath which is dated 1584-6 presents this kind of a situation. The small niches for placing shoes on the raised L-shaped platform in the single domed disrobing room (no.1) were represented by an elevation view in the plan. Furthermore, the empty spaces for showing the windows are hatched with a grid, like the meshwork representing the Ottoman windows. For showing the doors, an arch was used giving reference to its arched-top view. The latrine (no.3) was represented by a 'V' shape but to make this rooms function clear, the name of the room (*hela*) was written on the plan, similar to the representation of the furnace (*külhân*) in the hot-water reservoir room (no.7). Since this plan was found in Vienna, Necipoğlu believes that the notes were taken for someone in Vienna who was interested in Turkish Baths. (Necipoğlu-Kafadar 1986, 225) In this particular case, the written notes were possibly used for introducing the unfamiliar furnishings and functions of the Turkish bath to a foreigner. However, the use of partial elevation views for the representation of the windows, doors and even the niches was customary for Ottoman architects in the capital when describing the design of their buildings to the provinces during the classical period. Kuran believes that everything except some points that were shown on the plan such as the places and sizes of the domes, the transition systems, windows and the thickness of the walls, were decided and devised on the construction site by the supervising architect who played a significant role in the formation of the architecture in the provinces. (Figure 2 and 3) (Kuran, Ottoman Classical Mosques in Istanbul and in the Provinces 1988, 21) Thus it is believed that the features of the elevations and the decorative elements on the facades were chosen by the architect who was in charge for the application of the building on the site. (Kuran, Ottoman Classical Mosques in Istanbul and in the Provinces 1988, 21, Kafescioglu 1999, 82)

4.2. Tanzimat Regulations: Changes and Transformations in the Ottoman Architectural Organization

One of the most significant changes on the Ottoman construction system was the merger of *Şehremaneti* (İstanbul Municipality) and *Hâssa Mimarlar Ocağı* into a single

directorship called *Ebniye-i Hâssa Müdürlüğü* (Directorship of Royal Buildings) during the reign of Mahmud II. (Ş. Turan 1964, 178, Dündar 2000, 11, Can 2010, 25) In the beginning of the 19th century *Ocak's* poor reputation related with the claims of corruption and bribery, and the conflict between *Şehremini* (İstanbul Mayor) and the chief architect about the sphere of their responsibilities were the main reasons behind the establishment of the new organization, *Ebniye-i Hâssa*, which was founded on November 4, 1831. (Can 2010, 24) The last chief architect of the *Hâssa Mimarlar Ocağı*, Seyit Abdülhalim Efendi, was appointed as the director of the *Ebniye-i Hâssa Müdürlüğü*. The director was responsible for preparing the plans, estimates costs and supervising the construction process of the state's construction activities. (Can 2010, 25) He was also in charge of controlling the plans of private buildings. (Ibid) The establishment of the new organization can be considered as a step towards centralization and reformation movements, which were mainly started by Mahmud II who has also abolished the Janissary Corps in 1826. Because each member of the court architects was also a member of the Janissary corps there was a mutual relationship between the Janissary corps and imperial court architects. (Ş. Turan 1964, 173) As a result, the abolishment of the Janissaries has deeply influenced the architectural institution in the Ottoman Empire. In the classical period, the architects of the imperial courts joined the army in order to construct the bridges, roads, small fortresses (*Hâvâle*) around cities under siege, open wells and built camps for the army. (Ş. Turan 1964, 173) These works were also a part of the education of the court architects as it can be observed from Sinan's life.

With the proclamation of the Tanzimat edicts in 1839, the construction works all around the empire was institutionalized under the authority of the *Ebniye Müdürlüğü*. (Şenyurt 2009, 491) In the same year, the architects and other workers of the *Ebniye* moved to their new building in the courtyard of the Yeni Mosque (Can 2010, 26-7), since the old atelier in the Topkapı Palace¹⁵ was demolished. (Öz, Eski Cami Planları ve Tarihi Vasikalar 1936) As a part of Tanzimat reform's institutionalization program, *Nâfi'a Nezâreti* (Ministry of Public Works) was established in 1848 in order to centralize and control the agriculture, industry and architectural works all around the empire under a single roof. The name of the *Ebniye Müdürlüğü* was changed as *Ebniye Mu'avinliği* and was subordinated to the *Nâfi'a Nezâreti* in the same year. (Akyıldız 1993, 142) In 1849, a list of codes was prepared by the *Ebniye Meclisi* (Building Council) which aimed to regulate and define the missions and charges of the architects in the construction works. (Akyıldız 1993, 141-3) Based on this list,

¹⁵ Necipoğlu states that *Hâssa Mimarlar Ocağı* had two foci; Topkapı Palace and the office at Vefa. (Necipoğlu 2005, 154) She believes that the office in the Palace was used as a royal storehouse, yet the office in the Vefa district (near the Old Palace) was used by the chief architects for their initial training. (Ibid) Sinan himself had received his training in this office as a carpenter and Janissaries employed him as a construction worker. (Ibid)

the missions of this council were to organize bidding (*münakasa*¹⁶) for the planned buildings, to prepare the contracts with assigned contractors (*müteahhid*¹⁷), and to act as the technical control authority for the price and the quality of the construction materials. (Ibid) As it can be understood from this list, the construction system and also the responsibilities of the architects significantly changed compared to the classical period. The most substantial issue among this new arrangement can be considered as the *münakasa* system which completely changed the construction process within the empire. Based on *münakasa* system the architects of the *Ebniye Meclisi* prepared the architectural projects for the planned buildings and presented an estimated cost for the construction. (Can 2010, 67) The contracts were awarded to the lowest bidder with respect to the estimated cost.

Within this perspective, since the architects of the *Ebniye Meclisi* prepared the architectural projects of the buildings, it can be claimed that the designers of the buildings should be considered as those architects instead of the contractors whose names are mentioned as the architects of all these buildings such as the Balian family. In his book, Can defends this idea under the light of the evidence found in the archives. (Can 2010) He believes that contrary to the general opinion on the ascendancy of the Balian family; Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque was designed by Nikolaki Kalfa who worked as an architect in the *Ebniye-i Hassa Ambarı* and Büyük Mecidiye (Ortaköy) Mosque was designed by Seyit Abdülhalim Efendi who was the chief architect of the *Ebniye Müdürlüğü* during the construction of the mosque. (Can 2010) There is a similar argument for the Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque in Ersoy's article where he reveals an unsigned letter dated in 1881, from the Dolmabahçe Palace Archives. (Ersoy 2010, 104-17) Based on this letter the construction was started after the plan and models of the mosques, which was prepared by Nikolaki Jelepulo, was approved. (Ersoy 2010, 105) This kind of example, particularly for buildings, attributed to Balian family, can be enhanced under the new evidence, which is presented by Can in his book. (Can 2010)

¹⁶ The term '*münakasa*' was the Ottoman equivalent of bidding which basically means the offering of the lowest possible price for a particular item or job. There were two types of governmental or institutional bidding. The first was open bidding where participants offered their lowest possible prices face to face in an open auction. The second was closed bidding where participants offered their price proposals in closed envelopes; the party offering the lowest price is awarded with the contract.

¹⁷ In Devellioğlu's Ottoman-Turkish dictionary, the word '*müteahhid*' derives from Arabic name and adjective '*ahd*' which means that the one who gives a commitment for a job with a sign or with a vow. (Devellioğlu 2006, 758) Based on the archival documents the term '*müteahhid*' used for the people who provided supplies such as meat, boots and bread for the army in the 18th century. (Şenyurt 2011, 282) In the same century, for the people who committed for constructions were mentioned as they were 'authorized' (*memur edilmek*) for the work. (Ibid) From the middle of the 19th century, the term '*müteahhid*' was starting to use for the contractors. (Ibid)

Furthermore, another evidence to support the idea that the architects of the *Ebniye Meclisi* were the designers, thus the real architects of the buildings, is a cost-estimate notebook, which was found by Dündar. (Dündar 2004) Dündar reveals the plan and one of the facade drawings and cost-estimate notebook of a tomb in Edirne, which was dated to 1884 and never built. (Figure 4 and 5) (Ibid) The Turkish transcription of the cost-estimate notebook of Kadri Pasha Tomb shows that every detail on the building such as the numbers, width and length of the windows, the construction materials, the materials, numbers and form of the decorative elements, the material of the eaves, the amount of the timber used for the construction of the domes, even the numbers of the dove tails were listed for the estimated budget. (Dündar 2004, 146-51) To prepare this kind of a comprehensive list, it is necessary to have a detailed plan and elevation drawings of a building. Since estimates costs and architectural drawings were prepared by the architects of the *Ebniye Müdürlüğü* (or *Mu'avinliği*), it can be claimed that they were the ones who were responsible for the designs of the related buildings.

In her dissertation, Şenyurt scrutinizes the same documents, however; she remains distant to the idea that the architects of the *Ebniye Müdürlüğü* (or *Mu'avinliği*) can be called as the real architects of the related buildings. (Şenyurt 2011) She believes that evaluating the late 19th century's Ottoman architectural culture with today's definitions of architect, designer or contractor causes a significant delusion to our perception. (Şenyurt 2011, 213) In a construction industry where the designer as a professional was not as prominent as the contractor, professional titles such as architect, *kalfa* or contractor did not necessarily indicate distinct fields of specialization as they do today¹⁸. In most cases, the names of the building contractors were mentioned as the architects, even though the documents suggest that they had little to do with the actual design process. Instead, the most appreciated professional quality for the contractors of those times was to complete the construction in a quick, efficient and economical manner. (Şenyurt 2011, 214) The French magazine, *Le Monde Illustré* mentions that the Ottoman Sultan had his buildings constructed by Sarkis

¹⁸ It is also important to point out here that the terms, which define various actors of the construction system, have changed meaning, like the changing building system and codes, from the 15th century to the end of the empire. While in the classical Ottoman architectural culture, the term *kalfa* (or *halife*) referred to a person who assists the architects, in later periods, *kalfa* indicates mostly a non-Muslim practitioner of the building arts. The construction notes of Nur-u Osmaniye Mosque, '*Tarih-i Camii Şerif-i Nur-u Osmani*', provide us a first-hand account on the architectural organization of the 18th century Ottoman culture. Based on this document, the professional responsibilities of Simeon Kalfa included both the design of the mosque and its construction. (Kuban 1981, 275) It is seen that the title *kalfa* was used in the place of the architect during the 18th century. In the 19th century, on the other hand, with the adoption of the *münakasa* system, the lines between the professional positions of architects, contractors and *kalfas* have blurred and the terms have been used interchangeably with each other. (Şenyurt 2011, 213)

Balian in a short time with a small budget. (Ibid) This contributed to Balian's professional reputation in a positive manner. It is notable that several members of Balian's family were referred to as architects, even though they had no formal professional training. (Ibid)

Until now, only one part of the construction system is described, however, the waqf institution is also a significant part of the system since a high portion of urban space and all state buildings, including mosques, throughout the empire were registered as waqf property. Until the 18th century, the sultanic and imperial endowments were under the supervision of high state officials or an appointed board of trustees in the cities. As it is defined in Chapter 4.1, the waqf architects were responsible for the restoration works of the assigned waqf buildings until Tanzimat reforms. The first significant change in this system was observed during Abdülhamid I's era (1774-1789). He placed all his own waqf endowments under a single newly created institution which was called as *Evkâf-ı Hamidiye* in 1775. (Akyıldız 1993, 145) In 1826, Mahmud II united the administration of foundations formerly belonging to the Janissary corps and that of his own endowments under a new administrative body, which was called *Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Nezareti* (Ministry of Sultanic Endowments). (Meier 2002, 211) Even though the new *Nezaret* (Ministry) was initially founded for the administration of the imperial endowments in the capital, in 1835 the provincial waqf endowments, which were categorized under two main parts as Rumelia and Anatolia, were brought under the central control of the *Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Nezareti*. (Kahraman 2006, 7) With the enactment of the new law (*nizamname*) prepared by the ministry in 1836, the responsibilities and missions of the new institution was arranged. One of the most significant subjects¹⁹ of this regulation was the introduction of a hierarchical system of approval for the budget of repair and construction works. In this system, the approvals of expenditures up to 500 *kuruş* were within the prerogative of the board of trustees; expenditures between 500 to 2500 *kuruş* were approved by the provincial councils; expenditures more than 2500 *kuruş* were approved by the *Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Nezareti* in the capital. (Kahraman 2006, 9) It can be said that this kind of a control mechanism on the incomes of the whole waqf endowments indicates a very strong centralization attempt. By this mean, the expenditure for the almost all kind of restoration works of the waqf buildings were received from the state treasury. Lewis believes that Mahmut II's main target was to reduce the power of ulema class by controlling the religious foundations under a central authority. Members of the ulema class were involved in the board of trustees of the most profitable waqf in İstanbul and they were against the westernization reforms. (Lewis 1968, 93-4) It is also known that in the 18th century, the

¹⁹ The full list of the regulation can be founded in Kahraman's book. (Kahraman 2006, 6-11)

corruption and failures in the administration of the waqf foundations caused degeneration of the old system. (Öztürk 1995) This constitutes another reason for the centralization of the waqf system.

The consequences of the central control over all waqf foundations around the empire and centralization of the incomes are interpreted in different ways. On one hand, it is believed that the centralization of the system helped to protect some of the waqf buildings which did not get enough income from their own sources for repair or renovation works (Madran 2002, 11); on the other hand it is known that some waqf lands and lots were sold after the establishment of the *Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Nezareti* in order to cover the expenses of the all of the buildings' repair and works. (Öztürk 1995) Furthermore, Hatemi states that the reform of the waqf system created a redundant bureaucracy and increased unnecessary payments in the ministry. (Hatemi 1985, 1668) As it can be understood from these interpretations, the overall consequence of the centralization of the waqf foundations is a debatable subject, which had both positive and negative outcomes.

4.3. Post Tanzimat: Construction and Repair Activities in the Provinces Regarding the Capital-Provinces Relations

Tanzimat reforms and the new regulations which were applied after the reform movement caused significant changes on the construction and repair activities in the provinces. As it is briefly argued in Chapter 4.1, before the Tanzimat era, even though the written rules show that the chief royal architect and the office was responsible for the all kind of construction and repair activities around the empire, in reality, the dissimilarities in the use of construction techniques, spatial configurations and facade elements between the capital and provinces prove that each province has created its own languages which was not completely different from the language of capital, yet had its own peculiar characteristics²⁰. Cerasi explains that these peculiarities emerged as a result of the effect of both the architects (town architects in provinces) and the master builders who tended to used

²⁰ Particularly this kind of a differentiation is observed in the architectural productions in the provinces during the 18th century. As Yenişehirlioğlu states in her article that the *ayan* families' mosques such as Cihanoglu Mosque has a very distinctive highly elaborated architectural language which is not observed in the mosques in capital during the same period. (Yenişehirlioğlu 2005) She interprets this decorative program with *ayan* families' direct commercial relations with Europe. (Ibid, 328) Cerasi also extends the discussion and adds that the heterogeneous influences of post eighteenth century scene changed the space and typology of the Ottoman Balkan architecture. (Cerasi 1988, 88) He believes that the reason behind this transformation can be explained by both the foreign architects and the master builders. (Ibid)

popular modes in 18th century. (Cerasi 1988, 88) He believes that in the provinces, local architects used both local and popular styles in their own provinces which sometimes show differences from the capital. (Ibid) Lewis takes this claim a step further and states that the decline of the Ottoman culture at the beginning of the 19th century was restricted to court culture. (Lewis 1968, 35) He puts a clear division between the court culture, here the capital, and its surrounding while he is describing the last century of the empire.

However the strong movement of centralization which was observed after the Tanzimat era, particularly during Abdülhamid II's reign, caused a significant control mechanism in the all institutional works around the empire, including the construction activities. Here in this part of the chapter, the archival documents which are founded by Kahraman, Can, Dünder, Yazıcı, Safi and Şenyurt²¹ are going to be discussed within the frame of the hierarchical relation between the capital and the provinces. Those documents prove that the reforms enhanced the control mechanism of the capital on the construction activities around all of its territories. As a consequence, the effects of the local decisions in architectural productions were reduced.

Firstly, the documents, founded by Kahraman reveals that the new *Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Nezâreti* was the main and only responsible organization on the construction works all around the empire. (Kahraman 2006) He also claims that the establishment of *Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn* and the new law in 1836 significantly affected the restoration works of the waqf buildings in the provinces. (Ibid) Before the centralization of the waqf system, each foundation used their own incomes for the construction works of their edifices. Yet after 1836, almost all large-scale restorations were realized by the approval of the center. Furthermore, it is also believed that if *Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Nezâreti* approved the allocation of the budget, the architects of the *Ebniye Müdürlüğü* prepared architectural projects and estimate costs of the buildings. (Kahraman 2006) The documents founded by Can and Dünder also support this statement. (Can 2010, Dünder 2000) Can states that the *Ebniye Müdürlüğü* was in charge for all kind of construction activities around the empire. (Can 2010) The appointed chief architect and the other architects whose titles were *kalfa* during the 19th century were responsible for preparing the estimate costs and also preparing the

²¹ The archival documents which are going to be used for this part of the chapter are cited in the Seyit Ali Kahraman's book (Kahraman, *Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Nezâreti* 2006), Selman Can's published PhD Thesis (Can, *Bilinmeyen Aktörleri ve Olayları ile Son Dönem Osmanlı Mimarlığı* 2010), Abdülkadir Dünder's book (Dünder, *Arşivlerdeki Plan ve Çizimler Işığı Altında Osmanlı İmar Sistemi (XVIII. ve XIX. Yüzyıl)* 2000) and his article (Dünder, *Son Dönem Osmanlı Mimarisinde Uygulanmayan Bir İnşa Projesi: Edirne Kadri Paşa Türbesi* 2004), (Yazıcı, *Ocak 1989 Balıkesir Depremi* 2003), (Safi, *Rize-Güneysuyu (Potomya) Büyük Hamidiye Camisi ve Medresesi* 2008) and Oya Şenyurt's published PhD Thesis (Şenyurt, *Osmanlı Mimarlık Örgütlenmesinde Değişim ve Dönüşüm* 2011).

architectural projects based on this calculation. This process was not only valid for the capital; the provincial constructions also followed the same path. The correspondences between *Hazine-i Hassa Nezareti* (the ministry of sultan's private treasury) and the provincial authorities, who demanded a mosque in their cities, show that the all parts of the construction process were carried out under the control of the capital. Documents correspondences for Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha, Samsun Hamidiye, Ayvalık Hamidiye and Rize Potomya Hamidiye Mosques and also Edirne Kadri Pasha Tomb prove this idea.

As it is described in Appendix 1.12, aftermath of the Balıkesir earthquake in 1898, the construction works for the ruined buildings started. Zağnos Pasha Mosque, which was the biggest mosque in the city was also destroyed during this earthquake. The ongoing correspondences between the *Evkâf Nezareti*, *Hazine-i Hassa* and Balıkesir governor Ömer Ali Bey show that a group of architects and *kalfas* were sent to Balıkesir from the capital to prepare the cost-estimate notebook and projects of the buildings. (Yazıcı 2003) (Appendix 3)

A very similar process can be also observed in the construction orders of the two unconstructed buildings; Rize Potomya Büyük Hamidiye Mosque and Edirne Kadir Pasha Tomb. Based on the archival documents found by Safi, the cost-estimate book and the projects of the Rize Potomya Büyük Hamidiye Mosque (Figure 6, 7, 8 and 9) was prepared by an engineer (?) who was appointed by *Hazine-i Hassa* and sent to Rize to survey the construction site. (Safi 2008) The correspondences show that there was a strong hierarchical relation in Ottoman bureaucracy to keep governors' actions within the control of the central authority. Besides the central control of the budgets for the construction works (*Hazine-i Hassa*) also prevent the uncontrolled constructions in the provinces. In short, it can be said that both the preparation of the cost-estimate notebooks and the projects of the provincial mosques were carried out under the control of the architects working in the *Ebniye Müdürlüğü*. Yet the identity of the responsible party for the application of these projects in the provinces remains an important question for the 19th century Ottoman architecture.

At that point, Şenyurt's study aimed to answer this question. (Şenyurt 2011) She states that the construction works were awarded to contractors (*mültezim* or *müteahhid*) in the provinces. (Ibid, 11-23) Most of these contractors had professional knowledge on construction works and they took a certificate for their works which was called as *berat*. Even though Şenyurt introduces the provincial system in her work, she also states that in reality there were too many exceptions during the construction works of the structures. (Ibid)

As it can be understood from all these archival documents, there was a strict control on the planning process of the constructions in the provinces which was done by the institutions of the central authority. The detailed cost-estimate notebooks and architectural drawings which included detailed elevations and plans of the buildings prove this claim. However, the same control mechanism cannot be observed in the application of the projects. The local construction workers were involved in the process.

CHAPTER 5

EVALUATION: THE ARCHITECTURE OF SULTANS' MOSQUES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN PROVINCES

This chapter of the dissertation is written based on the information on the provincial mosques given in Appendix 1, its related figures and also Tables 1, 2 and 3. In this chapter, nineteen provincial mosques are scrutinized and discussed with respect to their construction dates, locations, site choosing preferences within the cities, plan typologies, spatial configurations and also their facade designs. Since the given information on the provincial mosques is the main data for the evaluation process, this chapter should be considered and assessed together with the before mentioned appendix and tables.

5.1. Evaluation of the Mosques with Respect to the Construction Dates and Locations

The cited provincial mosques are assessed based on their construction dates and the administrative centers (their attached provinces) for the first part of the evaluation. It can be claimed that the general overview to these mosques briefly reveals four significant points.

Firstly, the list in Table 1 shows us that except for two examples, Konya Aziziye and Çanakkale Fatih Mosques, all of the mosques in the provinces were constructed after 1876, during the era of Abdülhamid II. Even though this dissertation comprises the time period between 1839 and 1914 (the year when Ottoman Empire entered the first world war), a vast majority of the mosques were constructed, renewed or rebuilt between the years 1884 and 1913 in the provinces. The construction dates of the mosques clearly point out that there was a major construction activity during Abdülhamid II's era. The reason behind this vast construction activity can be identified with Abdülhamid II's political agenda. Ottoman historians believe that Abdülhamid II's skepticism and fear of assassination caused him to distance himself from his peoples. This created a contradiction with his ideal of central state power and sultan's absolute authority. (Karpas 2001, Deringil 2004) In this atmosphere of self-isolation it is not surprising that he aimed to build a 'world of symbols' (Deringil, 18) to communicate with his peoples and also with western powers. From this perspective,

architecture can be considered as the very tool of this strong urge to make his propaganda and manifest his power in a concrete manner for everyone to see²².

Erkmen explains the increasing numbers of the construction works in Abdülhamid II's era with the sultan's jubilees which were celebrated as national festivals all around the empire. (Erkmen 2011) She states that even though the anniversary of the sultan's accession to the throne could not be accepted as a traditional festival in Ottoman culture, the jubilees became official state routine starting from the last years of the Mahmut II's enthronement. (Erkmen 2011, 81) She also believes that the invention of the jubilees coincided with the period when the legitimacy of the Ottoman monarchy started to be questioned. (Ibid, 89) Within these circumstances, the jubilee festivals were used as tools to restore the visibility of the sultan and gained him publicity around the state. Turning the jubilee activities into empire-wide national festivals started with Abdülhamid II in 1893. The state had to specify a date as the 'Ottoman national holiday' for the Chicago World's Fair. The Palace decided that the date of Abdülhamid II's accession to the throne, on the date of 31st August was appropriate for the date of a national holiday. (Ibid, 77) After 1893 the jubilees were celebrated enthusiastically, not only in the capital but also in the provinces. Particularly, the sultan's 25th year silver jubilee in 1900 was celebrated not only in the Ottoman territories, but also in Europe as a part of the international protocol. (Ibid)

The relation between the jubilee festivals and the production of architectural edifices became more visible and direct during the Hamidian era. Architecture was turned into one of the two major publicity tools of the central authority, along with the Ottoman press. (Ibid, 112) The main reason behind the jubilee celebrations was to stress and enhance the political agenda of Abdülhamid II which was basically based on the sultan's role and political leadership on all of the Islamic states as the caliph of Islam. Architecture, particularly mosque architecture can be interpreted as a valuable symbolic instrument to make the very message of the sultan's agenda visible all around the empire. On one hand, the sultan's absolute central authority extended through the Ottoman provinces by the appointed governors emphasized as it was described in Chapter 3, on the other hand, the presence of the central power was also emphasized through the architectural productions in those

²² Until today, only a single list was discovered in the Ottoman archives, in the Baghdad annual book of 1900, which gives an account of Abdülhamid II's construction activities which were financed from his own private treasury. (Önal and Bekçi 2007) All kinds of renewed or newly built public edifices were named in this list. Even though hundreds of edifices were cited in this list, only half of the mosques which are scrutinized in this dissertation are mentioned in it. It is obvious that this was not the only list prepared for the accounts of sultan's waqf works. Furthermore, the end note in the list which mentions that '*mabadi var*' (continued) proves that there should be some other lists giving the accounts of his edifices.

provinces to increase the publicity of the sultan as well. It can be also seen in Table 1 that half of the mosques were constructed after the year 1900 coinciding with the year of the silver jubilee of Abdülhamid II. Also the construction of two mosques, Kütahya Hamidiye (Appendix 1.5) and Söğüt Hamidiye (Appendix 1.16) provides a new point of view in understanding Abdülhamid's agenda. In both cities a significant restoration work had been done for the great mosques of the cities (for Kütahya Great and Söğüt Çelebi Sultan Mehmet Mosques merely) ten years ago. Even so Abdülhamid II wanted to construct two new mosques, on the newly developed part of those cities as a part of his silver jubilee activities.²³ This can be considered as a sign that he aimed to use his jubilee as an additional tool to specifically emphasize his authority in the cities by distinguishing between the old and the new edifices that he built.

Secondly, when the location of the construction activities is considered it can be seen that all Ottoman territories (Figure 10 and 11) witnessed a significant urban development process during the Hamidian era. For instance, the Balkan Peninsula has undergone a serious modernization process starting with the ongoing railroad project; Thessaloniki became one of the most significant ports of the empire. (Tanyeli 2013, 97, Colonas 2005, 127) Similarly İzmir and Samsun witnessed an urban development project during the 19th century. The Ottoman Arab Lands, on the other hand, have also undergone a significant renovation process during Abdülhamid era. Half of the Arab peninsula, the haj places and Iraq were still Ottoman lands at the end of the 19th century. While Ottomans established their ascendancy in the Arab Lands from the 16th century on and claimed their legitimacy as the universal leaders of the Sunni Muslim States, the contiguous country Iran or the Persian Monarchy represented the principal Shii Muslim authority. Since Ottomans controlled major Shii centers such as Baghdad, Najaf, Kerbela and Kazımiye there was a significant struggle between the Ottomans and Iran for the major frontier zones and also some enclaves where Sunnis or Shiis lived as minorities. (Deringil 1990, 46-7) Because of the Shii challenge for the control of the Muslim States Ottomans took some precautions over Iraq territories. Starting from 1870s, Abdülhamid II started to construct new primary, secondary and high schools in the Baghdad and Basra provinces for the education of the Shii families in order to include them to the state's bureaucracy which was one of the main aspects of the absolute hegemony of the State. (Somel 1999, 182) The new school buildings were also part of major construction projects that were undertaken by the center. The drawings of the planned projects that were found in the Istanbul Ottoman Archives and published in 2006, (Osmanlı

²³ The properties of these sites are going to be discussed in the following chapter. (Chapter 5.2. Evaluation of the Mosques with Respect to the Site Choosing Preferences in the Cities)

Döneminde Irak 2006) provide us with a comprehensive source and a new perspective to see the scale of the planned construction activities in Baghdad, Basra and Mosul. It is significant to point out that, among all those projects almost half of them were mosque drawings. While some of them were restoration projects, others were prepared for new constructions. (Figure 12, 13 and 14) Based on the list which is prepared by Uluçam on Ottoman architectural heritages in Iraq, we learn that there were 21 mosques which were constructed between the years 1839 and 1914. (Appendix 4) (Uluçam 1989) However, since today Iraq has witnessed a nationwide war and in consequence has lost most of her cultural heritage, these mosques, as significant as they might be, had to be kept out from the cited mosques for this dissertation. Given the struggle of the Ottoman state against the Shii Islam, 21 mosques built during the Hamidian era and also the planned ones which are not known whether constructed or not, cannot therefore be considered. The demands of European powers on those territories on the one hand, and the threats of Shii Islam forced Abdülhamid to maintain the territorial integrity of these provinces by propagating his manifestation which was based on his leadership of the Sunni Muslims as their caliph, through architecture specifically by constructing new mosques. Both Abdülhamid II's Photograph Albums and Çam's researches prove that there were schools and mosques constructed on Rhodes Island during the Abdülhamid era. (Figure 15 and 16) Since the inscription panels of the mosques could not be read, the exact construction date and their patronages cannot be known. However because photographs of those two anonymous mosques were found in Abdülhamid's Albums, Çam believes that those edifices were built during the Abdülhamid era.

Thirdly, when the locations of the mosques are categorized by the related provinces and the cities, it can be said that construction activities were concentrated on some of these provinces and some of these cities on purpose. The map in the Figure 11 and the list in the Table 1 approve that Hüdavendigar province has witnessed significantly more construction activity than the other provinces in Anatolia. When the population of the minorities in Anatolia is considered, it can be claimed that, the mosques in Ayvalık (Appendix 1.9) and Burhaniye (Appendix 1.7) were constructed as a display of the dominant religion, Islam, against those minority groups. Particularly Ayvalık Hamidiye mosque, which was the first Ottoman mosque in the city located on a hill where it can be seen from the shoreline clearly is a very worthy example of this ideology. Even though the number of the Muslim population of the city was very small (based on census records in 1893, 90 Muslim people (Karpaz 1978, 264)) Abdülhamid II wanted a mosque constructed in the city. İzmir Karantina Hamidiye mosque (Appendix 1.6) can also be added to this category. Although there were too many great mosques in the city center (Konak), Hamidiye Mosque is the first and the

only mosque that was constructed under the name of a sultan. It is known that towards the end of the century, the Levantine population preferred to live in this Karantina district, and constructed three churches for the community. (Atay 1998, 81)

On the other hand, choosing Söğüt to build a new mosque (Appendix 1.16) and also to restore an old one (Appendix 1.15) in the same time period can be evaluated as a conscious emphasis on the substantial role of the city which was the birth place of the Ottoman Empire. Mülayim states that Abdülhamid II aimed to rebuild Söğüt during his reign to refer to its significance as the foundation city of the empire. (Mülayim 2007, 288) Inevitably, like his predecessors, Abdülhamid II also propagated the state's novel history and golden ages by emphasizing the old capitals of the empire such as Söğüt and Bursa²⁴. Dream of a 'lost golden age' or deeply felt 'nostalgia' for a past can be seen in the cultures when the present is seen to be imperfect and when the belief in progress is lost. However, this strong definition of nostalgic behavior cannot entirely describe Abdülhamid II's intention. In contrast with other sultans, he specifically aimed to reemphasize the Islamic components of the empire which were already there from the very beginning of the empire. His nostalgic references can be recognized towards the dream of a leadership of a unified Muslim State. Thus, restoring a mosque and constructing a new one with two minarets in the first capital of the Ottoman Empire can be evaluated a sign of this intention. Similarly, there is a parallel idea behind the two mosques in Kütahya one of which one is restored and one is newly built (Appendix 1.4 and 1.5). Kütahya as one of the most significant cities of the empire since its establishment with its Turkish and Islamic past represents similar connotations with Söğüt for Abdülhamid II.

5.2. Evaluation of the Mosques with Respect to the Site Choosing Preferences in the Cities

A basic categorization based on the last column of Table 1, can be helpful to understand the logic behind the construction sites of these mosques. The table clearly shows that two generally accepted approaches were used by Ottomans for constructing a mosque in the city. Mosques were either constructed on strategically chosen empty lots in the newly developed and popular neighborhoods of the city, or they were built in the place of an old one, or restored on the foundations of a previously existing mosque. Within the

²⁴ There were significant restoration works in Bursa that was undergone during the Abdülaziz and Abdülhamid II's eras, by Leon Parville.

context of these approaches, two significant points are going to be discussed in this part of the chapter; the relation between the urban fabric and the mosque within the 19th century city's urban development processes and the new kind of '*külliye* concept' which was introduced as a consequence of these urban developments and the political agendas of the Abdülhamid II's era.

As described in detail in Appendix 1, the urban transformation processes of some of the provinces such as Konya, Samsun, İzmir, Thessaloniki, Aydın, and Kütahya were initiated after the preparation of a regional plan which was done by an architect or an engineer, or for other provinces the city developed without a professional plan. In those examples, it is often seen that there were newly opened prestigious main streets, namely Hamidiye Streets, boundaries of which, in most cases, were defined by newly built public buildings such as schools, governor offices, military barracks and also clock towers. In a general view, it can be said that Hamidian mosques were located on very visible and focal points of these prestigious streets. Seen in this light, the site preference criteria of the 'Hamidian' mosques can be grouped under three main categories.

In the first group, it is observed that the Hamidian mosques were built within the newly developed neighborhoods even though they were constructed on the ruins of the old Friday mosques of the cities, as it is seen in Samsun, Aydın, Konya and Gaziantep examples. In the Samsun case, after the fire in 1869 which caused a great damage in the city, Samsun municipality has had a city plan prepared by a French architect based on modern city planning principles with wide and long streets on a grid plan. (Duymaz 2006, 453, Çadırcı 1990, 22) The new plan proposed a geometric grid which focused on *Saathane* square, the clock tower, also constructed in the 19th century. (Figure 32 and 33) On the other hand, construction of a new port was also proposed on the shoreline due to the increasing trade activity after the great migration from Caucasia to northern part of Anatolia. (Çadırcı 1990, 22) Samsun Hamidiye Mosque (Appendix 1.3) was constructed between this new shoreline and the *Saathane* square and the clock tower, on the ruins of an old Friday mosque. A very similar attitude is also observed in the site choosing preference of the Aydın Ramazan Pasha Mosque (Appendix 1.10). The city started to grow along the north-south axis; from the 'Government Plaza' which consists of newly constructed public buildings in the 19th century such as the city hall, recruiting office, post office and high school, and the railway station which was also a 19th century addition to the city. The restored Aydın Ramazan Pasha Mosque is also located on this developing prestigious axis. (Figure 100) The attitude towards constructing a prestigious axis along with monumental public buildings is also observed in Balıkesir Kışla and Hamidiye Streets. (Figure 116 and 117) Similarly, Konya Aziziye Mosque was constructed in a commercial area between Mevlana complex and the

ruins of the city walls which was known as the Bezirganlar Khan lot. Önge states that the site between the inner citadel and Mevlana Complex has begun to develop between the 16th and 18th centuries.²⁵ (Önge 2011, 53-80) (Figure 25) After the fire in 1867, the devastated area was restructured as a commercial district according to new city planning regulation (*Ebniye ve Turuk Nizamnamesi*). (Ergin 1995, 1673) Based on travelers' accounts,²⁶ after the fire, Konya had two main centers; the inner part of the city walls, and the site between the Mevlana complex and government hall. Uysal claims that (Uysal 2010, 154) the new plan was drawn by a non-Muslim engineer who has worked as Konya director of Public Works (*Konya Vilayet Nafia Müdürü*). During this time, Aziziye Mosque was built in the place of the burnt mosque also on a very significant location of the city.

In the second group, the mosques which were constructed on an empty lot can be discussed considering the ongoing urban development processes at that time. As it can be seen in İzmir, Ayvalık and Thessaloniki cases, the Hamidian Mosques were built on the very center of the newly developed part of the cities. For each of these cities which had important roles on the trade of the empire, an urban development project for the shoreline of the city was prepared and a corresponding new urban pattern was proposed. Particularly İzmir and Thessaloniki witnessed a large scale urban development, specifically on the shoreline part of the city. In İzmir, Karantina neighborhood was developed after the new tramline connected the district to the city center, and the population has increased as a consequence. Both the 19th century school building and Karantina Hamidiye Mosque (Appendix 1.6) were built on this neighborhood, just on the shoreline as a sign to show the authority of the sultan and the states ideology on this newly residential part of the city. The mosque dominated the sea perspective in the 19th century due to its close position to the shore. (Figure 62) It should be also noted here that the Levantine population of the city preferred to live in this neighborhood and three churches were constructed for the community. (Atay 1998, 81) Thus the site of the Hamidian mosque can be also evaluated as a sign of the manifestation of the Islamic ideology of the state. This kind of an effort to emphasize the domination of Islam on the empire was also seen in the site preference of Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque. Similar to Karantina neighborhood, Ayvalık was a city where a very small number of Muslim population lived in the 19th century²⁷. Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque (Appendix 1.9) was

²⁵ The dissertation written by Mustafa Önge clearly points out the development of the area by marking the edifices constructed between those centuries on the map. Selimiye Mosque, Şeyh Ahmet Efendi Khan, Şerafettin Khan, Bedelci Palace were some of the examples of the edifices.

²⁶ The travelers who had visited the city during the nineteenth century, such as Huart, Lindau, Sarre and Horvath, describe the bazaar district as the most crowded place of the city.

²⁷ Based on the census records in 1893, there was 20133 Greeks, 1454 foreigners and 90 Turkish people lived in the city. (Karpas 1978, 264)

constructed on a hill in one of the newly developed Greek neighborhoods. (Figure 86 and 87) Also similar with Karantina Hamidiye Mosque, the mosque was clearly seen from the sea when approaching the city. Özel states that this was the perfect spot for the visitors who entered the city when coming from Istanbul. (Özel 2011) Thus it is a deliberate choice for constructing the only mosque of the city to this highly 'visible' site. The site preference criteria of Thessaloniki Hamidiye Mosque can be also discussed within the same argument on the 'visibility' of the Hamidian mosques in the newly developed neighborhoods of the cities. Similar to İzmir, Thessaloniki witnessed a significant urban development project by the governor Sabri Pasha who was also the former governor of İzmir. In the 19th century, the city was the most important port of the empire. (Colonas 2005, 127, Yerolympos 1996, 62) Engineer Polykarpos Vitalis who made the İzmir plan has also prepared the new plan of Thessaloniki. In accordance with the new plan, a large section of the ancient city walls along the shoreline was demolished and a new city center was created beyond the city walls on the southeastern part of the city. The new Hamidiye Boulevard was opened in this new neighborhood which was the first suburb of the city to be built outside the Byzantine walls. (Yerolympos 1996, 62, Colonas 2005, 127, Baer 2010, 34) (Figure 107) The Hamidiye neighborhood contained wide streets, mansions, parks, cafes and also the New Hamidian Mosque on the main street. The connection between the new neighborhood and the old city was provided by a tramway very similar with İzmir Karantina neighborhood. (Baer 2010, 34) Differently from İzmir Hamidiye Mosque, Thessaloniki New Mosque (Appendix 1.11) was not constructed on the shoreline, yet it was on one of the new and prestigious streets of the city as well. Choosing newly developed part of the city, a prestigious street or a shoreline can be evaluated as a sign to manifest the imperial legitimacy of the Abdülhamid II's state to the people living in this city.

As the third group, the mosques in Söğüt and Kütahya can be given as notable examples to understand the intentions and main ideas on the site preference criteria of the Hamidian regime. In both cities, two 19th century mosques were constructed within ten years of each other, yet one of them was built on the ruins of the old one and the other was built on an empty lot. While in the old city centers of those provinces, the ruined great mosques were restored on their old foundations (Kütahya Great Mosque-Appendix 1.4 and Söğüt Çelebi Mosque-Appendix 1.15), ten years later new Hamidiye Mosques (Kütahya Hamidiye -Appendix 1.5 and Söğüt Hamidiye-Appendix 1.16) were constructed in the newly developed part of the cities. In the Kütahya case, with Tanzimat reforms which have generated a significant change in the structure of Anatolian cities, a new center of attraction in the city was created, namely the new Saray neighborhood. (Demirsar Arlı and Kaya 2012) (Figure 42) All of the 19th century public buildings such as Barracks (1839-40), Liva İdadisi

(1884-90), Post Office (1883), City Hall (1888), Prison (1890), and the Governor's Office (1907-8) were constructed along this new street. Abdülhamid II's new mosque was also constructed in this neighborhood in 1905 as a part of this prestigious part of the city. A similar approach was also observed in Söğüt; on the one hand the old Friday mosque was almost totally restored in the old city center, a new Hamidian mosque was constructed on the newly developed part of the city. Here it can be claimed that Hamidian regime wanted to show the existence and power of Islam and the central state by restoring the old and the historical as a sign of respect and praise to the 'golden age' of Ottoman empire, and also by constructing a 'new' one in the newly developed part of the city, with a 'new' architectural language as a manifestation of the 'modern' face of the state.

While observing the relation between the city's urban fabric and the site of the mosques, the new *külliye* (religious building complex) concept can be discussed with reference to the relation between mosques and school structures in the 19th century. As one of the oldest structural groups of the Ottoman towns, the term *külliye* refers to a group of buildings with different functions gathering around a mosque (Akozan 1969, 303). In her dissertation Caner Yüksel categorizes the main functions of the *külliyes* under four major groups: religious, public welfare, symbolic and settlement/development. (Caner Yüksel 2010, 84) During the early decades of the empire, *külliyes* in the newly conquered territories were constructed as a means of encouraging the urbanization of the city. (Barkan 1962-3) While the complexes served as the urban generators in Anatolian cities, they were also evaluated as the 'icons of imperial legitimacy' by Crane (Crane 1991) in the capital of the empire. *Külliyes* as the social and economic engines of the neighborhood settlements should be considered with waqfs which played a significant role in the establishment of the traditional neighborhood system. However with the economic recession after the military failures in the 18th century and with the new regulations bringing the centralization of the waqf institutions, the waqf system lost its role in the cities. (Barkan 1962-3) By the 19th century, the tradition of constructing large complexes including mosques, madrasas, fountains and also social functions such as soup kitchens, khans or public baths, was abandoned in the provinces. Similar to the provinces, in the capital, sultans' mosques such as Dolmabahçe, Teşvikiye and Ortaköy stand alone without any surrounding architectural dependencies. Yet it can be claimed that during the Abdülhamid era, a new kind of relation occurred between mosques and schools which were constructed across each other. It is obvious that the changes in institutions and bureaucracy caused a significant transformation of the administrative tools in the provinces. For example, until the 19th century *kadı* as the highest government official in the provinces, used a large house as both his residence and his office. (Ergenç 2012) As a result, there was no need for any other public building other

than *kadı's* mansion in the center of the city, however with the new administrative order and the vilayet system, the official center of the province became the Governmental Hall. (Ortaylı 1984) For the 19th century Ottoman cities, it can be claimed that a new urban spatial organization occurred around newly built official buildings. Governmental halls, court houses, barracks, prisons, hospitals, municipalities and schools (*rüştiyes* and *idadis*) were some of these new administrative structures creating major and minor focal points within the urban fabric. The Hamidian mosques, taking advantage from these new urban focal points, were built near these new governmental buildings. However in contrast with the old tradition where there was either no relation between the mosques and the school or the school with which the mosque interacted was a madrasa, it is observed that the 19th century mosques had a relationship with modern school buildings such as the *rüştiyes* during this period. Even though there are only two examples, Söğüt Hamidiye and İzmir Hamidiye Mosques, which can be grouped under this category the spatial and functional relation between the position of the mosque and the school building bears similarities with the classical *külliyeye*. In Söğüt, the Hamidiye Mosque and the high school which were constructed in the same year by Abdülhamid were located across each other. Between the mosque and the school, a small piazza is defined. (Figure 155) A similar relation can also be observed in İzmir between the Hamidiye Mosque and Mithad Pasha Sanayi Mektebi (Occupational Art and Craft School) even though they are not as directly related with each other as in Söğüt, due to the orientation of the mosque towards the south. (Figure 61) Although it is hard to claim that this kind of relationship promises a new kind of *külliyeye* concept in Ottoman architecture, the motive behind this architectural arrangement should be evaluated keeping in mind the political agenda of the sultan. In her dissertation on Abdülhamid II's educational institutions, Parmaksız concluded that the intention behind the major construction of education buildings (high schools- *idâdi* and secondary schools- *rüştiye*) in the provinces can be considered as the sign of a manifestation to his absolute authority. (Parmaksız 2008, 241-4) She believes that school buildings, as monumental architectural edifices in the provinces, became the symbol of the modernization within the hands of the sultan and were used as a public propaganda tool of the official ideology. (Ibid) In a similar vein, the construction of the Hamidiye Mosques can also be evaluated as another manifestation of his main ideology. This ideology mainly depended on the intention of being the leader of the World of Sunni Islam as the Caliph and provided a means of unification for the whole Ottoman territory. Gathering these two legitimacy structures on the same lot can be considered as a significant progress for Ottoman Architecture.

5.3. Evaluation of the Mosques with Respect to the Plan Schemes and Space Configurations

The spatial organization of an Ottoman mosque is tightly related with the ground plan. Ground plan gives its general forms to the mass and cover system, which in turn defines the volume of the building. Basically these two, the ground plan and the cover, define the major characteristic of a mosque and also define the space itself. Two of the written documents²⁸ that provide a guide to understand the essence and the logic of the Ottoman architecture in the classical period are *Tezkiret-ül Ebniye* and *Tezkiret-ül Bünyan* which were written by poet Sai Mustafa Çelebi in 17th century. Based on these two records, Sinan introduces the main task of Ottoman architecture as “*construct domes, half domes and bind them with arches in a satisfying way depending on the sufficiency or deficiency of pillars, columns and buttresses.*” (Meriç 1965, 21) This statement clearly suggests that the whole design mainly originated from the plan scheme which was generally very modest, and the cover which refers in Ottoman architecture to the organization of the domes, semi domes or in some cases vaults. The combination of those two specifies the height and width of the main space and also the position and numbers of the vertical elements.

Even though Renaissance architecture had a different logic and sense from the Ottoman architecture, Alberti’s definition of architecture in the 15th century shows some similarities with Sinan’s description. In his treatises, he divides architecture into two parts; ‘*lineamenta*’ and ‘*structura*’. (Lang 1965, 331) While the meaning of the latter one is translated as construction or the physical erection of the building, the meaning of the ‘*lineamenta*’ has been interpreted as drawing, design or form. (Ibid) In his article, Lang discusses the meaning and connotations of the term, ‘*lineamenta*’, used by Alberti in his works and meanwhile he aimed to indicate Alberti’s notion towards the architectural design. (Lang 1965) He concludes that for Alberti the ground plan mainly constitutes the design; the measurements of the ground plan would form the foundations for the dimensions of the height, thus the essential features of a building could be read from its plan. (Ibid, 334, 5)

Both Sinan’s definition for Ottoman architecture and Alberti’s descriptions for Renaissance architecture show that the examination of the plan schemes can provide a general idea on the space configuration. From this perspective, for this dissertation, the

²⁸ The other written documents can be listed as *Risale-i Mimariye*, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaatı Defterleri*, *Ayazma İnşaat Defterleri*, and *Usul-i Mimari Osmani*.

provincial mosques are categorized under three main groups (Table 4) based on their plan schemes and covers. Their space configurations are going to be evaluated within the light of both their ground plans and also the observations made by the author.

In group A, single domed mosques are gathered. Based on this plan scheme, the single dome covers the whole *harim* part of the mosque. Except Thessaloniki New Mosque, this single dome is the most dominant part of the whole mass. Almost in all the mosques of this category, the dome is elevated by an octagonal drum. While in the Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque (Appendix 1.9) the small unique dome sits on a cylindrical drum, in the Gaziantep Alaüddevle Mosque it is a polygonal drum which provides the transition between the main body and the dome itself. Though the single-domed mosques were commonly used in the classical Ottoman architecture, generally the three or five domed portico on the south facade accompanies this scheme. However in the 19th century provincial mosques, the absence of the porticos can be considered as one of the significant differences. The last prayer hall was eliminated from the main structure, not only in single domed mosques, but also in other types of mosques. Kütahya Hamidiye, Gaziantep Alaüddevle, Çanakkale Fatih, Burhaniye Great, Balıkesir Zağnos Paşa and Söğüt Hamidiye Mosques are constructed without any vestibule or preparation space. It is very significant to point out the contrast in architectural language between the capital and the province regarding the last prayer hall. Compared with the large spaces of the vestibule sections of the 19th century mosques in the capital, the eliminated last prayer halls in the provinces manifest a different design approach for the provinces.

Furthermore, this kind of a variation can be also observed in the spatial organization of the sultan lodges (*hünkar mahfili*). In the capital, the sultan's lodges are almost bigger than the main prayer halls and gained a slightly independent character from the rest of the mass. It is more suitable to entitle these sections as 'pavilions' since they have a separated spatial organization and cover system from the whole building. This separation is never observed in the provincial architecture except in the Thessaloniki New Mosque the architectural function of which showed some distinctions from traditional Sunni shrines. Since it was constructed for the Dönme community, it is believed that their different religious rituals carried some influences from the Jewish rituals, Muslim rituals and masonic rituals as well. (Baer 2010) The function of the large two-storied section of the building could have served for one of those particular rituals. Naturally it can be said that the reason for the need of an exaggerated pavilion can be explained by the presence of the sultan. Since he lived in the capital, there had to be a specific section for his worship in his own mosque, yet this was unnecessary for the provinces.

While the space organization of the provincial mosques which have single-domed plan schemes can be thought as a continuation of the classical period; the dome-vaults plan scheme in group B can be considered as a novelty which developed in the provinces in the 19th century. In this group, the space structured under a central dome is surrounded by vaults. In this plan scheme, the corners are covered with small domes or barrel vaults. Even though creating a comprehensive space for the congregation is the main goal for a mosque design, the dome and the vaults around it divide the main prayer hall. The high elevation of the inner space prevents the compartmentalization of the prayer hall such as in Burhaniye Great, Balıkesir Zağnos Paşa, Pınarbaşı Aziziye and Malatya Yeni Mosques. Here the central dome is much more symbolic and minor than the mosques constructed in the classical period of Ottoman architecture. The dominant view of the single dome is replaced by this new scheme in the 19th century provincial architecture. This scheme presents a new space concept as well as a novel approach to facade design.

In addition to the two different interpretation of the single-dome plan schemes in group A and B, there are also multiple domed plan scheme mosques in the provinces. While in Kütahya Great Mosque, the two big domes are supported by small domes and semi domes on its four sides, in the Söğüt Çelebi Sultan Mehmet Mosque 16 domes cover the main space. It is believed that for those two examples, the columns of the former mosque were used without changing their existing position in the building. This can be the reason for using multiple domed plan schemes in those mosques.

5.4. Evaluation of the Mosques with Respect to the Facade Designs

The evaluation of the facade arrangements of these mosques should be started with a discussion on the meaning and connotations of the term 'facade' with respect to the term elevation. While the word 'elevation' as a technical term mainly refers to the geometrical representation of an edifice measured vertically (Elmes 1826), the word 'facade' which derives from the Latin word 'facies', synonymous with the 'face' and 'appearance' is described as the front view or partial elevation of a building, that is seen by the eye at a single glance, mostly restricted to the principal front. (Elmes 1826) These two terms, elevation and facade, are differentiated from each other by indicating the later one as the public face of a structure. When discussing the 'facade' designs of the 19th century provincial mosques, it is important to point out the referring meaning and connotations of these terms. Krier believes that the facade is the most essential architectural elements capable of communicating the function and significance of a building. (Krier 1983, 52) He adds that the

facade never only fulfills the 'natural requirements' determined by the arrangement of the rooms behind; it talks about the cultural situation at the time when the building was constructed. (Ibid) Krier's statement is very significant in order to interpret the 'facade' designs of the provincial mosques. The facades of these mosques can be considered as a 'face' of the sultan himself who wanted to expand his appearance outside of the capital and also considered as a 'frame' that outlined the Sultan's ideology. For these reasons, the word 'facade' is used deliberately for the four sides of the provincial mosques in the place of 'elevation' throughout this dissertation.

While in the classical Ottoman mosque architecture, the elevations are mainly determined by the cover of the structure, the north elevation, which has the main entrance, can be distinguished from the other elevations with its more elaborated appearance. (Erzen 2004) Particularly the south elevation which generally has a mihrab projection is plain and less decorated than the others. However in the 19th century provincial mosques, all facades were equally enhanced and decorated including the mihrab facades. (Table 2) For instance in the Gaziantep Alaüddevlü Mosque (Appendix 1.13), a second layer of wall is added at the back of the mihrab section by which a small closure is created in the inside of the mosque. From the outside, two blind windows are placed at the mihrab facade in order to continue the same facade arrangement on all sides of the mosque. (Figure 138 and 139) A similar attitude can be also observed in the Burhaniye Great Mosque (Appendix 1.7) which has three entrances on its north, east and west sides. The architectural languages of those facades are continued in the whole sides including the mihrab facade. (Figure 73 and 74)

One of the reasons behind this obsession for designing consistent, uniform and equally elaborated facades in spite of creating blind windows can be interpreted as the idea that the facades of the provincial mosques were perceived as a public image of the Sultan's legitimacy during Abdülhamid II's era. Thus the 'faces' of those mosques became an imperial symbols for dissemination of the sultan's authority as a part of his centralization policy. While in the classical period of the Ottoman architecture, the size and the silhouette of the main dome and also the small domes around it (Appendix 5) were regarded as an approval for the presence of the sultan's authority in the provinces, in the 19th century, the dominance of the dome was replaced with the dominance of facades. This novelty on the facade design brings a new architectural mentality in the structural system of the mosques. Even though the space perception of the main prayer halls does not encounter a significant change, the new facade arrangement affected the cover of the structure as it can be observed in some of the referred mosques such as Burhaniye Great, Adiyaman Great, Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha, Pınarbaşı Aziziye, and Malatya Yeni Mosques. (See Appendix 1 and related figures) While the main domes are getting smaller, the vaults on the sides became part of the cover

for the main prayer hall. The arches of those vaults became gable walls at the top of the each facade of those mosques. (Table 2) In some mosques, the vaults are hidden at the back of another pediment like triangular wall on the all facades and a second pitch roof cover close the vaults on the top. This kind of a triangular pediment on four facades can only be seen in the Pertevniyal Valide Mosque in Istanbul. (Appendix 2.6) The mosques in the provinces are distinguished from the other mosques with their particular facade arrangements. This new design concept on the facades provides a heightened appearance for the entire building through the additional pediment-wall which can be evaluated as a development in Ottoman Architecture in the 19th century.

The other reason for the need of a facade organization can be explained with the urban development in the cities. As it is described in chapter 4.1 and 4.2, for some of the provincial mosques which were constructed in a newly urbanized part of the cities, to gain height became a necessity in order to be seen among the other three or four storied new government buildings such as high schools, governor's offices, city halls, port offices, hospitals which were constructed in a close position. The large and high windows on the facades and the vertical elements which surrounded the four sides of the mosque create a perception that there are several stories in the mosque can be evaluated as a reflection of this intention.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: AN ALTERNATIVE READING ON THE NINETEENTH CENTURY PROVINCIAL SULTAN MOSQUES

This dissertation proposes an alternative historiography on the 19th century Ottoman mosque architecture by emphasizing existing dualities in the great canon such as the notions of capital versus province and the narration of Ottoman Architecture before and after the 19th century. This thesis began by asking four questions namely: How the sultan and/or state ideology was represented in the Ottoman provinces during the 19th century? What kind of a power relation can be observed between the capital and its provinces through studying the characteristics of mosques architecture? In which aspects are the sultan's mosques in the capital and in the provinces differ from or resemble each other? Can we discuss about distinguishing 19th century mosque architecture contrary to the established interpretations such as tasteless or imitation of western modes? This chapter answers those questions.

Since this dissertation mainly discusses the 19th century provincial mosques, the power relations between the capital and provincial cities play a significant role to evaluate the architectural developments, particularly the architectural endowments of the sultan in the provinces, in a more accurate manner. As it has been discussed, as a Muslim State, Ottoman Empire had always constructed its own administrative system on a strong centralization policy. In the Ottoman case, Osmanogulları had always been the dynasty which represented not only political authority, but also the absolute power of the Empire itself. From the beginning of the empire, all institutions of the empire evolved with the idea of centralization such as *devsirme*, *kul* or *timar* systems. Despite this strong centralism in the administrative structure of the Empire, there had been some exceptions for peculiar identities of certain districts where semi-autonomous rules could be accepted in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. (Yücel 1974, 668-9) However with the Tanzimat edict, the meaning of 'center' shifted from the sultan's central authority to the executive organs of the government. Ottomanists believe that the main objective of the reforms was to enforce the centralization of the Empire which had already started during the reign of Mahmud II. (Karpas 2003, 11) However, this reformist ideology which depended on sharing of the authority by the sultan with the bureaucrats between 1839 and 1976 changed with the reign of Abdülhamid II. Contrary to the Tanzimat era, the Hamidian regime represented the

very meaning of a centralized state by the unique authority, the sultan himself. (Karpas 2001, Deringil 2004, Ortaylı 2009)

At this juncture, the background information on the centralization agenda of the Hamidian regime is very significant for the evaluation of the provincial architecture, since this kind of a strict centralization policy had created its own imperial symbolism within its own protected domains. Deringil and Karpas's researches on the political agenda of Abdülhamid II prove that he used architecture as a powerful legitimizing structure to propagandize his manifestos and to strengthen his policy over the territory²⁹. (Karpas 2001, Deringil 2004) Both waqf records and archival documents on the architectural developments of the era published by many researchers such as Erkmen, Önal-Bekçi, Uluçam, Parmaksız and Özgüven clearly establish that there was a substantial construction activity including clock towers, fountains, city gardens, schools, railway stations, hospitals, government halls and barracks in the Ottoman provinces during Hamidian era. (Erkmen 2011, Önal and Bekçi 2007, Uluçam 1989, Parmaksız 2008, Özgüven 2011) In this dissertation, scrutinizing 19th century provincial mosques almost all of which were raised during Abdülhamid II's era, prove that mosques can be counted as one of the most significant part of Hamidian regime's legitimacy structures in the cities, since they emphasized the official symbol for the Ottoman's Sunni-Islamic faith. Table 1 clearly show that Abdülhamid II emphasized construction of mosques, for both constructing the new ones and also restoration of the old one, more than any of his predecessors. It can be claimed that he used mosques as a part of his propaganda tool to strengthen his political message based on the ideology of the unifying role of the Sunni Islam and of the Caliphate of all Muslims all around the Ottoman territories.

Besides this construction campaign, the regime also undertook many urban development projects in the provinces such as İzmir, Samsun, Thessaloniki and Konya. Both of these examples, except in the İzmir case, the old city walls were demolished for the formation of a new urban pattern constituted by 19th century's official blocks. (Özgüven 2011, 510) Identification and discussion of the site choosing criteria for Hamidian mosques within these urban transformation processes is one of the contributions of this dissertation. Due to the political message intended by these mosques the fundamental idea underlying all the cases is to build or rebuild these buildings in the focal points of the cities. Here, one can observe a realistic assessment by the central government as to where this focal point is

²⁹ They believe that the ideological and the political messages of the sultan were spread to his subjects through a rich world of symbolism such as the newly designed coat of arms, commemorative medallions, even in military march that was composed by European composers. (Deringil 1991, 26-7, Karpas 2001, 227)

located. In the first group such as Samsun and Malatya Hamidiye mosques it is observed that these focal points coincide with the old and traditional centers of the city; as a result, the existing or damaged mosques were repaired or rebuilt with the architectural instructions of the Hamidian regime. In the second group such as İzmir, Kütahya and Thessaloniki Hamidiye mosques, where rapid urban developments shift the focal points of the city from the traditional center (the inside of the city walls as in Thessaloniki) to the borders, it is observed that new mosques are built along the newly created prominent pedestrian vehicular transportation axis such as main avenues. In the third group, such as the Söğüt and İzmir Hamidiye mosques, one can observe the tendency to create the beginnings of a new *küllîye* concept where the new mosque is built in the shape of a loosely formed complex with the high school. This last group presents a sharp contrast with the conclusions derived by the traditional historiography which focuses on the lack of *küllîye* complexes in the 19th century Ottoman architecture by looking at the singularity of the sultan's mosques in the capital such as Küçük Mecidiye, Bezm-i Alem Valide or Pertevniyal Valide Mosques. The message given by the coupling of mosque and school is that of a new modern but Islamic empire, emphasizing its central authority in its provinces. In this respect one cannot speak of the end of the *küllîye* concept but instead of a transformation or a metamorphosis within the dynamics of the modern era.

While speaking about this kind of a strong centralization policy and imperial symbolism represented through the built environment in the provinces, the role of the center in the organization of architecture should be considered in terms of following the construction procedures of the provincial mosques. As it is indicated in Chapter 4, the cited drawings of the provincial mosques, the correspondences and the notes in the city annual books prove that there was an approved Ottoman architectural language for the provincial mosques which was shaped by or under the control of the central authority. For the 19th century, it was *Evkâf-ı Hümayûn Nezareti* which organized all the construction works around the empire. The detailed plans and facade drawings of the mosques (Ayvalık Hamidiye-Figure 85 and two unknown mosques in Iraq - Figure 12-13-14) found in Prime Ministry Archive and the detailed cost-estimate notebooks (such as the documents of Edirne Kadir Pasha Tomb - Figure 4-5) prove this claim. One of the reasons behind this strict control mechanism was the centralization of the waqf endowments with the enactment of the new law in 1836. In this way all expenditures for the both restorations and construction works of the waqf buildings were controlled by the center. The detailed cost-estimates notebook and the attached drawings prove that all decisions for the buildings were taken by the central institution. Different than the preceding centuries, it can be said that Ottoman architectural graphic representation techniques evolved in the 19th century. (Özgüven 2011,

509) The detailed plan, facade and section drawings sent from the capital reach a level of detail and precision which didn't leave too much to the interpretation of the provincial architects.

Within the light of these observations one can speak of a certain canon or archetype consciously determined by the center. The mosques studied for this dissertation lead to the conclusion that the provincial archetype differs distinctly in certain aspects from the architectural language in the capital. The architectural analysis in this dissertation was conducted along two basic categories, namely plan type and facade design. The analysis concerning the plan types has led to the following results: It is possible to identify three distinct groups in terms of plan type or spatial configuration. In the first group there are the mosques where a single dome covers the *harim* section similar to the mosques in the capital with the three or five domed portico on the south facade accompanying this scheme. The significant difference is observed in the absence of the porticos. The last prayer hall was eliminated from the main structure, not only in single domed mosques, but also in other types of mosques. It is very significant to point out the contrast in architectural language regarding the eliminated last prayer hall in contrast with the large vestibule sections of the 19th century mosques in the capital. Similarly the variations observed in the spatial organization of the sultan lodges which are not observed as separate from the main building unlike the sultan's lodges in the capital which are bigger than the main prayer halls and gained a slightly independent character from the main building.

In the second group there is the dome-vaults plan scheme, a novelty which developed in the provinces in the 19th century. In this group, the space structured under a central dome is surrounded by vaults. Here the central dome is much more symbolic and minor than the mosques constructed in the classical period of Ottoman architecture. The dominant view of the single dome is replaced by this new scheme in the 19th century provinces. This scheme presents a new space concept as well as a novel approach to facade design. Although this plan is sometimes interpreted as similar to the reversed T plan scheme observed in the early Ottoman period, in Bursa, the high arches constituting the spatial cover have prevented the separation of the main prayer hall and created a homogenous architectural character in the *harim* section. It would be an over-simplification to interpret this dome-vaults scheme and its spatial configuration as a continuation of the early Ottoman-Bursa typology.

In the third group there are the multiple domed plan scheme mosques. Similar with the previous category, a mere formal similarity with the Bursa Great Mosque has led to interpretations of a return to the past; however the analysis has suggested a more practical

reason where the columns of the former mosques are used without changing their existing position in the building. This pragmatist approach in the use of a former structural configuration has led to the use of multiple domed plan schemes in those mosques.

Before mentioning the conclusions of the facade design analysis, there are a couple of general observations, independent from the categorization stated above, in terms of the size and scale of the 19th century provincial mosques compared to their counterparts in the capital. The first of these observations is concerned with the classical interpretation of the 19th century Sultan's mosques which suggests that there is a decrease in the size of the mosques, an interpretation derived from the comparison of 19th century Sultan's mosques in the capital with older mosques such as Süleymaniye or Sultan Ahmed. This decrease in size is not a generally observed principle in the provinces. It is true that some of the 19th century provincial mosques –especially those which are built on previously unoccupied lots such as Ayvalık Hamidiye and Söğüt Hamidiye mosques- are notably smaller from the ones built in previous eras. However, there are also significantly larger mosques such as the Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha, Kütahya Great and Malatya New mosques which are comparable in similar size to older Sultan's mosques. (Table 5) It should be noted here that these larger mosques are generally those which are built on the foundations of previous ones. In terms of number, these mosques constitute a significant percentage of studied samples. As a result, one cannot extend the general principle of decrease in size observed in the capital to the provincial mosques.

The analysis conducted with respect to facade designs does not strictly follow the three categories in terms of plan types. Instead it is possible to reach more general conclusions concerning the architectural principles governing the facade designs of the 19th century provincial mosques. One of the major distinctions of this dissertation from the existing literature is in its search for an alternative reading of the facades in contrast with the traditional stylistic analyses of Ottoman mosques. This dissertation aims to read the facades of the mosques with respect to their relations and interactions with their surroundings and the symbolic meanings and messages propagated by these facades towards the city.

A significant distinction in the facade design of the 19th century provincial mosques is observed in the equally enhanced and decorated approach to all the facades –including the mihrab facade- in contrast with the elaborated single facade tendency of the past. Two main reasons can be considered for this new obsession as designing consistent, uniform and equally elaborated facades. The first reason is that the facades were considered as the public manifestation of the Sultan in the cities. Thus the 'faces' of those mosques became an

imperial symbols for the dissemination of the sultan's authority. The dominance of the dome in the city silhouette was replaced with the dominance of the high facades. This emphasis on the facades was achieved by the modification of the structural system of the mosques. Main domes got smaller, vaults on the sides became part of the cover and the arches of those vaults became gable walls at the top of each facade. In some mosques, pitch roofs covered the vaults and those pitch roofs are seen as a pediment. These facade arrangements were the distinguishing aspects of the mosques in the provinces. They have provided heightened appearance for the entire building through the additional pediment-wall which can be evaluated as a new development in Ottoman Architecture in the 19th century.

The second reason for the need of higher and emphasized facade organization is the urban development in the cities. Mosques which were constructed in a newly urbanized part of the cities, with three or four storied buildings nearby had to be higher and visually more impressive than all the surrounded buildings to perform the symbolic function they were intended for. The large and high windows on the facades and the vertical elements which surrounded the four sides of the mosque create a perception that there are several stories in the mosque and can be evaluated as a reflection of this intention.

Along these evaluations, if a discussion of the historiography of 19th century provincial mosques were to be conducted along the framework of the existing style paradigm of the great canon, then, inevitably, a stylistic analogy based on the existing repertory of architectural historiography would interpret the architectural features (such as the engaged columns on the facades, quoins, balustrade lines, cornices, high and slim columns in certain last prayer halls, pediment-like triangular gable walls, colonnaded entries) as mere imitations influenced by the neo-classic style in Europe. A further step along such a discussion would have been to interpret these mosques as a deviation or a breaking point along the classical tradition of Ottoman architecture. Such a line of thought would conclude by stating that the characteristics of the 19th century provincial mosques were a reflection of the political decay of the Ottoman Empire on the field of architecture within the framework of the concepts of westernization and decline.

The alternative way of thinking this dissertation proposes is to see the architecture of 19th century provincial mosques not as a deviation but as a natural step within the continuity of the changing and evolving path of Ottoman architecture with their spatial characteristics, the relationships they establish with the city and the symbolic meanings imposed on them by the political agenda of the day. After all, based on the evaluations of this thesis, it is not farfetched to say that architectural features such as the layout of the harim section have not changed at all compared to the 16th century examples or that there is a

similar spatial relationship between the space covered by the main dome and the surrounding half-domes and vaults between these mosques and Sinan's late period works.

On the other hand, western modes used on facades with European origins should be considered as a reflection of the established taste of the times and the architectural language of the capital. This is a natural result within the dynamics of an architectural production mechanism dominated by the centralist approach of the capital with a strong political agenda. However, as demonstrated in the previous chapters, these architectural elements with foreign origins are used within the continuity of Ottoman architecture in the provincial mosques, whereas in the well-known mosques of the capital.

As a final statement I would like to state that this thesis was born out of a need to bring an alternative reading to the 19th century Ottoman mosque architecture. The existing historiography was dominated by the paradigms of the great canon. This was an oversimplification to the architectural production mechanisms in the imperial provinces of the 19th century. The strong centralization agenda of the Hamidian regime turned the mosques into a legitimizing structure symbolizing the official Sunni faith of the regime. The scrutinizing of the mosques revealed that the architecture of these buildings were not a deviation or degeneration of the Ottoman architecture but a natural process of architectural evolution governed by the forces of politics, urbanization and dominant architectural taste of the capital during the 19th century.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MOSQUES IN THE PROVINCES

1.1. Fatih Mosque in Çanakkale

Other Given Names: Büyük Mosque, Cami-i Kebir

Date: The first mosque in this site is dated to the reign of Mehmed II, in 1463 during the construction of Çanakkale fortresses (*Kal'e-i Sultaniye*). (R. Eren 1990, 16) According to the inscription panel on the west entrance door, the mosque was constructed in 1862-3 by Abdülaziz I. But the inscription panel on the two-storied dependency at the north-west corner of the mosque gives the date 1904 as the construction year. It can be assumed that after the earthquake in 1856 and the fire in 1860, the old Fatih mosque was damage and totally renewed by Abdülaziz I. According to the researches done by General Directorate of Foundations (*Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*, hereinafter referred as VGM), the bastions of Çimenlik fortress, which is sited close to the mosque, were renewed in 1862-3, thus Fatih Mosque could have been renewed in the same times with the renovation of those bastions. (VGM Reports 2011) Furthermore Sakaoğlu confirms this thesis and adds that the last renovation of the bastions was done in the reign of Abdülaziz I. (Sakaoğlu 2007, 140)

Location: During the construction of the mosque (1862-3), Çanakkale was under the control of Biga Sanjak which was one of the administrative districts of Hüdavendigâr Province.³⁰ (Korkmaz 2011, 4) Çanakkale, or *Kal'a-i Sultaniye*, was the center of Biga Sanjak in that time. Fatih mosque was located in one of the oldest districts of the city, called cami-i kebir. The name cami-i kebir was given to this neighborhood because of the mosque, the fortress and the residential district which had been developed around it. Until the

³⁰ During the nineteenth century, after the Tanzimat reforms, the administrative structure of Çanakkale had been changed frequently. 1848-67; Hüdavendigâr province, 1868-77; Cezayir Bahr-i Sefid Province, 1877-80; İstanbul Şehremaneti, 1881-88; Karasi Province, 1888-1923; Independent (*Müstakil*) Province.

nineteenth century, cami-i kebir neighborhood was the largest Muslim neighborhood of the city. (Korkmaz 2011)

Founder: The founder of the former mosque was Mehmed II. However, the fifteenth century's building collapsed due to the before mentioned fire and the earthquake. The construction of current mosque was founded by Abdülaziz I and Abdülhamid II. According to inscription panel, Hakkı Pasha who was the Governor (*mutasarrıf*) of Biga between the years 1862 and 1866 was appointed by Abdülaziz I for the construction. Furthermore, the name of Fatih Mosque is stated in a newly discovered document published in 2007, which reveals the list of Abdülhamid II's charitable architectural works financed by his own treasury. (Önal and Bekçi 2007, 71) Thus, it can be believed that the additional two-storied dependency which has a distinct window arrangement could be constructed during his reign.

Plan: As it can be understood from the ground plan of the mosque and the given information on the two inscription panels, the building mainly consists of two separate structures; while the main mosque building was constructed in 1962, the two-storied dependency at the north-west corner was constructed in 1904. (Figure 17) Both the mosque and the two-storied building were elevated 1 meter from the ground. Although there is not any document or drawings which show the original plan of the mosque, it can be said that the existing covered last prayer hall could have been added in recent times. (Figure 18) The ground plan of the mosque is practically square with sides of 20 meters. The main prayer hall (*harim*) is divided into 9 units. The dimension of each unit is 5x5 meters. While the unit in the middle is covered by a wooden dome structure, the rest of them are covered with plain wooden ceiling. (Figure 19) From the outside, the building is covered with pitched-roof. The mihrab projects from the south wall of the mosque. The *harim* section has an uninterrupted space except for the four relatively slender columns which carry the load of the dome. Fatih Mosque has a small timber-construction gallery on the upper-story of the entrance of the mosque. (Figure 20) The additional two-storied dependency was used by the Çanakkale mufti in Abdülhamid II's time. (Figure 21) The main building and two-storied dependency is connected each other by two doors in the western and northern sides of the mosque. The 23 meter-long minaret is attached to the west side of the mosque at the corner of the dependency and the main building. The entrance door of the minaret is on the south of the basement.

Building Materials and Construction Technique: The only document on the internal structure of the roof is the restoration and rehabilitation project of the mosque which was

prepared in 2009.³¹ As it can be seen from the section, both the dome and the remaining parts of the roof have timber frame structural system concealed by timber cladding. (Figure 20) The inner dome with a diameter of 6 meters is hidden within the geometry of a pitched roof. The perimeter walls of the mosque are load bearing walls built with cut stone masonry. The average thickness is 110 centimeters and remains constant through the height of the building. The weight of the roof cover is distributed between the perimeter walls and the four relatively slender timber columns located at the center of the plan.

Facade Design: Despite the pediment like triangular lines above the frame of the windows, the mosque has a very simple and modest facade design. (Figure 22, 23 and 24) The east, west and south facades of the mosque have a very similar window arrangement. In all three facades, while the lower windows are larger and rectangular, the higher ones are relatively small round-topped arch windows with white plaster grills (*fil gözü dışlık*). The cornices on the top and bottom part of the building and the vertical bands in the corners created by cut stones define the borders of the facade. While in the eastern and western facades, there are five rows of windows, in the south facade (mihrab facade) there are four rows due to the blind part of the mihrab which is accentuated with its projection. The north side of the building should be the front facade because this part contains the last-prayer hall and the portal. However due to the enclosure addition which appears to be added during the recent renovation this facade has lost its character as the front facade. With respect to the arrangement of the upper windows, it can be claimed that the same facade design is continued in the northern side of the mosque. The facade of the dependency, which was constructed in 1904 on the north-west corner of the mosque, has a distinct arrangement. (Figure 21) The division between two floors and also the borders of the facade are identified by the cornices and plasters. The rectangular large windows are framed with stone borders. The vertical stones are continued until the cornice in the upper floor, and until the basement in the lower floor.

1.2. Aziziye Mosque in Konya

Other Given Names: Abdülaziz Mosque

Date: The first mosque in this site, which was called as Yüksek (High) Mosque because of the shops under the mosque, is dated to the reign of Mehmed IV, in 1671.

³¹ The restoration and rehabilitation project of Çanakkale Fatih Mosque is prepared by Dor building contractor, architect Cem Bilginperk and Tolga Çolak.

(Konyalı 1997, 235) (Önder 1971, 251) The former mosque was constructed by Mustafa Pasha, who was one of the friends (*musahip*) of the sultan. After the great fire which was called *Çarşı Yangını* in 1867, Yüksek Cami was burned and today's mosque was constructed. Both Konyalı, Eyice and Goodwin date the beginning of the construction to the year 1872. (Konyalı 1997, 234) (Eyice 1991, 347) (Goodwin, A History of Ottoman Architecture 1971, 424) The inscription panel on the main entrance of the mosque gives the date 1874 under Sultan Abdülaziz's signature (*tuğra*). Besides, the year 1876 is written under the verse on the medallion above the mihrab. Thus, it can be said that the construction of the mosque was started in 1872 and continued until 1876.

Location: The mosque was constructed in a commercial area between Mevlana complex and the ruins of city walls where was known as Bezirganlar Khan lot. According to Önge (Önge 2011, 53-80) the site between the inner citadel and Mevlana Complex has begun to develop between the 16th and 18th centuries.³² (Figure 25) After the fire in 1867, the devastated area was restructured as a commercial district according to new city planning regulation (*Ebniye ve Turuk Nizamnamesi*). (Ergin 1995, 1673) Uysal claims that (Uysal 2010, 154) the new plan was drawn by a non-Muslim engineer who has worked as Konya director of Public Works (*Konya Vilayet Nafia Müdürü*). During this time, Aziziye Mosque was built in the place of the burnt mosque.

The travelers who had visited the city during the nineteenth century, such as Huart, Lindau, Sarre and Horvath, describes the bazaar district as the most crowded place of the city.³³ According to those accounts, the nineteenth century Konya has two main centers; the inner part of the city walls, and the site between the Mevlana complex and government office. This is the site which was rearranged after the great fire in 1867. It needs to be state here that all those travelers did not give any information on Aziziye Mosque even though they have visited the city after the construction of the Aziziye Mosque.

Founder: The mosque was founded by Abdülaziz I and his mother Pertevniyal Valide Sultan.

Plan: Aziziye Mosque has a very simple and modest plan. The square main prayer hall of the mosque is covered by an 18 m. diameter dome with four semi-domes on the corners. The octagonal base of the dome on which a high drum with eight windows is placed stands on the perimeter walls; thus there is no any auxiliary space around main hall. The octagonal

³² The dissertation written by Mustafa Önge clearly points out the development of the area by marking the edifices constructed between those centuries on the map. Selimiye Mosque, Şeyh Ahmet Efendi Khan, Şerafettin Khan, Bedelci Palace were some of the examples of the edifices.

³³ Eravşar has gathered the travelers' accounts on Konya in his article: (Eravşar 2001).

drum makes a round shape inside of the mosque. (Figure 26) In the inner space of the mosque, the arches of the baldachin create a visual unity in the *harim* section. The columns of the octagonal baldachin and the columns on the four corners are extended to support the upper structure and transformed into weight towers around the drum. Eight windows on the octagonal drum provide a lightened and extraverted space with the vast windows rising to the height of the main prayer hall. The mosque has a very small upper gallery in the *harim* part, above the entrance door. The mihrab is projected on the south facade. The five – parted last prayer hall is covered with three domes; the dome in the middle has an ellipse shape and taller than the others. (Figure 27) Two minarets of the mosque are attached to the two sides of the last prayer hall. The ablution fountains are placed around the basements of the minarets as a part of its basement.

Building Materials: The mosque is built with cut stone masonry with a specific type of stone called as *Göden Taşı*.

Facade Design: Konya Aziziye Mosque generally is evaluated by most of the art and architectural historians³⁴ as a typical example of Ottoman Baroque style, which was constructed outside of the capital, mainly due to its facade features. The west, east and south facades of the mosque have very similar facade designs. (Figure 28 and 29) On the east and west facades; two vast rounded arched windows (8 meter high, 3,5 meter wide) and the lateral entrances are arranged in a symmetrical manner. On the south facade, where the entrance would be in the other facades is occupied by the mihrab. The cornices which surround the mosque on the top and the bottom part of the facades, define the borders of the building with the help of the engaged columns. The capitals of those columns and also the columns in the last prayer hall have a peculiar ornamentation. The mosque has a very unique order of columns in its north facade. While the arch in the middle is taller and wider, the arches next to it are much more narrow and lower than the others. (Figure 30) This kind of a facade design is observed in another nineteenth century building in Konya built ten years later; Konya government office building which was constructed in 1883, has a very similar column order in its main facade. (Figure 31)

1.3. Hamidiye Mosque in Samsun

Other Given Names: Samsun Great Mosque, Valide Mosque, Cami-i Kebir

³⁴ These historians are Semavi Eyice (Eyice 1991), Remzi Duran (Duran, et al. 2006), Ali Baş (Baş 2003), Godfrey Goodwin (Goodwin, A History of Ottoman Architecture 1971).

Date: Since there is not any inscription panel, the construction date of the mosque is not known precisely. Yet the documents in the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive, hereinafter referred as BOA) provide detailed information on the construction process of the mosque. According to one of the correspondences between Anatolian inspector Ali Rıza Bey and the Sublime Port, dated to August 1, 1863, 'there was a substantial need for a large and masonry mosque with two minarets which would be founded by the sultan himself'. He also added that this demand was not only voiced by Muslim population, but also by some of the sultan's Christian subject as a symbol of the city's prosperity. (BOA, A.MKT.MHM.274/45; cited in Köksal 2011, 4) In his letter, Ali Rıza Bey indicated that the income obtained from some lots between the government office building, the bazaar and shoreline could finance the construction of the mosque. Despite the positive response to Ali Rıza Bey's letter, the construction of the two minarets was not accepted since no such mosque was constructed yet for Abdülaziz I in the capital. (Köksal, 4) In 1869, there was a great fire in the center of the city. Sarısakal states that after the fire, 10 mosques and 5 khans were burned. (Sarısakal 2003, 2) According to another document which was sent by the Waqf Foundation Ministry (*Evkâf-ı Humayun Nezareti*) to the capital at May 12, 1873, the need for a new 'masonry' mosque in the name of the sultan, in place of the burned great mosque (*cami-i kebir*) is repeated. (BOA, İ, ŞD, 27/1265; BOA, A, MKT. MHM. 455/60; cited in Köksal 2011, 4) He also adds in this document that the city overseers determined an estimated cost for the construction, and the incomes from waqf lots could be enough to afford a part of the total cost.³⁵ (Köksal, 4) The central government pronounced its decision to build the mosque with a letter written to governor of Samsun district (*Canik Mutasarrıfı*) at May 26, 1873. The letter stated that the construction should begin immediately and be finished before winter. Even though the correspondences continued among the government, Sublime Port, Waqf Foundation Ministry and İstanbul municipality (*şehremaneti*), the construction could not be finished until 1885³⁶. During these 22 years, the local authority encountered with various financial difficulties to finalize the work. Finally, the construction of the mosque was finished at the end of the 1885.

Location: After the Tanzimat era, particularly at the second half of the 19th century, Samsun witnessed a significant urban development. First the Crimean War (1853-6) and after that Ottoman-Russian War (1877-8) caused a great migration from Caucasia to northern part of Anatolia. (Çadırcı 1990, 22) The immigrants who were mostly settled

³⁵ While the estimated cost for the mosque was calculated as 551.000 *kuruş*, the incomes from the lots were 350.000 *kuruş*.

³⁶ For the detailed information on the correspondences; see Köksal 2011.

around Trabzon and Samsun, improved the agricultural activities in those cities, thus towards the end of the century, Samsun became a very important port city of the region from where the agricultural products were exported. (Ibid) The need for a new port was indicated on a 19th century city map which has no date and signature. (Figure 32) The most significant urban development occurred after the fire in 1869 which caused a great damage in the city. The vast part of the city, even the city walls, was burned during the fire. (Darkot 1966, 176) After the fire, Samsun municipality accelerated the construction of new buildings and had a city plan prepared to a French architect based on modern city planning principles with wide and long streets on a grid plan.³⁷ (Duymaz 2006, 453, Çadırcı 1990, 22) Samsun Military School (*Canik Askeri İdadisi*), Clock Tower (today's Saathane square), Ottoman Bank, Guraba Hospital, Municipality building and also Samsun Harbour are among the building constructed after 1869. The city plan which was drawn in the middle of the 19th century (Figure 32) shows a development pattern along the shoreline of the city. With reference to this map, Erkul interprets the plan as follows; “[after the fire] the new urban structure was composed of a geometrical pattern of streets focusing on a new (Saathane) square.” (Erkul 2002, 54) The new mosque of the city, Hamidiye Mosque, was constructed near to this square.

The exact construction site for the new mosque is not indicated in the first letter written by Ali Rıza Bey. Yet, it is claimed that there was a wooden construction mosque in the location of today's mosque which served as the great mosque of the city at that time. (Bayraktar 2009, 106) It is relevant to note that in the same year with Ali Rıza Bey's letter, a sultan order (*irade-i senniye*) was sent to Samsun for the construction of a government hall, a barrack and also a harbor in the city. Thus, it can be claimed that, the site choosing preferences for the great mosque of the city were related with the construction of the other public buildings and the new pattern of the city as well. The undated city plan shows both the buildings around the mosque and the general layout of the city. (Figure 32 and 33)

Founder: When the prolonged construction time of the mosque and the correspondences among governor, sublime port, waqf foundation ministry and İstanbul municipality are considered, it is hard to mention a single sultan's contribution. Even though the mosque is attributed to Pertevniyal Valide Sultan who is the mother of Abdülaziz I, there are no archival documents to support this claim. Yet she could have partially financed the construction cost of the mosque which reached 900 *kuruş* at the end. On the other hand, the correspondences were continued between the local government and capital between the

³⁷ Samsun governor did not accept French architect's plan as its original dimension; the width of the street in the original plan was reduced. (Darkot, Samsun 1966, 176, Samsun 1997, 30)

years 1863 and 1885. During this period three sultans – Abdülaziz I, Murad V and Abdülhamid II- have reigned. When Murad V's very short throne period is considered (three months), the mosque can be attributed to both Abdülaziz I and Abdülhamid II, but must likely to Abdülhamid II because of a document which suggests that in April 1, 1880 only one-third of the construction of the mosque was finished. (BOA, Y.PRK. AZI. 5/34; cited in Köksal, 6)

Plan: In one of the records kept by the Samsun city council dated December 30, 1874, Samsun Hamidiye Mosque was called as 'Samsun's Hagia Sophia'. (BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 470/80; cited in Köksal, 5) This analogy does not refer a structural or spatial similarity, but gives us an idea on the importance of the mosque for Samsun. The mosque is elevated 1 meter from the ground. The square main prayer hall which is covered with one big dome (16 meter diameter) is extended by a vestibule and last prayer hall throughout the north side of the mosque. The vestibule part is embedded into the main space as a gallery on the upper store which is covered by three small domes. (Figure 34)

From outside of the mosque, it seems that the mosque has a basic octagonal baldachin structure since the dome is carried by an octagonal drum which has two windows on each of its sides. However, as distinct from Architect Sinan's octagonal schema, the octagonal drum stands on the exterior walls of the mosque, instead of the octagonal baldachin's eight columns surrounding the prayer hall. This structural system provides an uninterrupted and unified space. The transition from the square base to the octagonal drum is provided by four semi-domes on the corners. Yet from the outside of the mosque, these four semi domes are hidden by four non-structural weight tower-like domed structures. (Figure 35)

The plan of the mosque extends towards the closed last prayer hall, the two 36 meters-long minarets are sited in the inner part of that hall on the northeast and northwest corners. (Figure 36) It is critical to point out the numbers of the minarets since it is accepted that multiple minarets are considered as the sign for the sultan's patronage.

Building Materials: The construction accounts of the mosque prepared by Nikola Kalfa, gives information about the materials that were used during the construction.³⁸ (BOA, ŞD. ML. 1829/2 cited in Köksal, 3) Even though the geographical source of the materials were not known, Köksal states that the Ünye stone from Tekke village, spolias obtained from

³⁸ Those materials were some brick types (kerpiç tuğla, kebir tuğla, battal tuğla, kireç tuğlası, delikli tuğla), lumber, stones, lime, plaster, horasan mortar, iron, cement, sand and some paints.

both the demolished Haci Halil Mosque and the ruins of the citadel have been used in the construction of the mosque. (A. Köksal 2011, 3)

Facade Design: Except its large and high windows, Samsun Hamidiye mosque has a very modest facade design. On the east and west facades of the mosque, four vast rounded arched windows (5 meter high, 3 meter wide) are arranged in a symmetrical matter. (Figure 37, 38 and 39) The south facade has no mihrab projection, but the rhythm of the windows is continued with a blind window on the backside of the mihrab recess. The cornices and moldings which surround the mosque on the top and the bottom, both separate the upper structure from the lower part and also define a frame for the facades. Besides, the vertical lines between the windows on the east, west and south facades, draw an outline for each of the windows. The similar window arrangement is continued in the entrance facade; the five rounded windows (5,2 meter high, 3,3 meter wide) are continued on the north (entrance) facade; but the window in the middle become a door. Since it is a closed last prayer hall, the rhythm in the arches or the order of the columns cannot be observed. Thus the entrance facade becomes a very simple and plain.

1.4. Kütahya Great Mosque

Other Given Names: Kütahya Yıldırım Beyazıt Han Mosque, Cami-i Kebir

Date: Since the original mosque was demolished and reconstructed a few times during the Ottoman era, there is a lot of debate on today's building's construction date. The construction of the first mosque was started by Beyazıt who was then governor of Kütahya (1381-9). (Goodwin, A History of Ottoman Architecture 1971, 424, H. Güner 1964, 18) But the construction could not be finished because of the Ankara War between Beyazıt and Timur. According to the pious foundation records, the mosque was finished by Musa Çelebi in 1410. (H. Güner, 18) Also, in his travel book, Evliya Çelebi mentions the mosque and states that the mosque was restored by Sinan in the time of Süleman I. (Evliya Çelebi 1971, 9:20)³⁹ He describes the mosque having 57 wooden posts, surrounded by galleries towards the mihrab wall both on east and west sides and one dome covered with lead. (Evliya Çelebi 1971, 9:20) As stated by Uzunçarşılı based on Kütahya *Kadı* records, the ruined mosque was restored with the help of the city council and town people as a structure covered with

³⁹ There is a record for Orhan Gazi Mosque in the buildings list of Architect Sinan, however it is not certain that this mosque is the same with Kütahya Great Mosque. For Architect Sinan's buildings list see: (Sai Mustafa Çelebi 2002, 60, Kuban, Batur and Batur, Sinan'a Ait Yapıların Listesi 1967, 39)

'cradle vault' in 1805. (Uzunçarşılı 1932, 107) The inscription panels on the mosque can be considered as the most reliable source for the construction times of the mosque. According to one of the two panels on the north entrance, the mosque was completely rebuilt by Mustafa IV who reigned for one year between 1807 and 1808, however the marble columns was added by Abdülmecid and the dome was added by Abdülhamid II in 1893, the year in which the then governor Celal Pasha initiated the construction .⁴⁰ (H. Güner 1964, 19) The third inscription panel on the minaret door gives the date 1554 as the restoration date of the minaret. (H. Güner, 20) Ayverdi interprets the story of the building with a scheme of the mosque. (Figure 40) He believes that the walls of the last prayer hall was from 14th, the minaret and the columns of the last prayer hall was from 16th, the library addition was 18th and the rest of the building was from 19th centuries. (Ayverdi 1966, 1:510)

It should be mentioned that, there is an ongoing debate on the construction and restoration dates of the mosque. Various dates have been proposed by different researchers.⁴¹ However, it is reasonable to assume that the inscription panels and the physical evidence show us that the cover system and supporting elements (such as columns and buttresses) are added to the building during the reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülhamid II through the nineteenth century. Furthermore the notes in the travel account of Mordtmann who visited the city in 1852, supports this idea by stating that the mosque has a collapsed dome. (Pınar 1998, 70) Further details are going to be described in depth in the part 2.4.5.

Location: After Kütahya was annexed by the Ottoman Empire in 1429, the city started to grow up towards the eastern part of the castle. Paşamsultan, Balikli, Servi and Piriler neighborhoods were the oldest settlements of the city. (Altun 1981, 185) (Figure 41 and 42) During the 19th century, the development of the city continued along the east. After *Tanzimat* reforms which have generated a significant change in the structure of Anatolian cities, created a new center of attraction in Kütahya with the construction of the Barracks (1839-40), Liva İdadisi (1884-90), Post Office (1883), City Hall (1888), Prison (1890), and

⁴⁰ The translation of the inscription panel: *İşbu Kütahya Camii beşyüz sene evvel bina etmiş idi ki hansultan Bayezid./Binikiyüz yirmi iki salinde sultan Mustafa,/ Kılmış Liveçhillah ata tamrine nakd-l mezid./ Amaki olmuş idi sebab-i mukadder hal'ini Handan, /Te'yid-i bunyana lazım oldu o esnada bedid./Emreyledi icabını ol mabed pak Han, / Abdülmecid Han kim anın asarı hayri ba'did./ Mermer sütun üzerine olup tak'ı kapı ile refi. / Virdi tenasüp vaz'ına hakkak bu tarsi cedit. / Hak bani'i zışanın eyyam-ı ömrü şevketin, itsün ilayevn ülkiyam taht-ı hilafette vedid./ Vali iken yazdı Celal tarihi cevher darını, / Kubbeli kıldı mabedi tecdid Abdülhamid.* The other inscription panel gives the date 1807 and 1808 as the starting and finishing dates of the restorations. (H. Güner 1964, 19-20)

⁴¹ Both Ayverdi, Goodwin, Güner, Uzunçarşılı and Altun have a different assumption on the restoration dates of the mosque. (Ayverdi 1966, Altun, Kütahya'nın Türk Devri Mimarsi "bir deneme" 1981, H. Güner 1964, Uzunçarşılı 1932, Goodwin, A History of Ottoman Architecture 1971)

the Governor's Office (1907-8). Both of these 19th century structures were in the Saray neighborhood. (Demirsar Arlı and Kaya 2012) Not only civil buildings, but also religious buildings were started to build in this neighborhood. Yeşil Mosque which is also known as Hamidiye Mosque (1905-6), is located in the same area as well. Thus it can be concluded that this neighborhood have become the new prestigious part of the city. On the other hand, even though today's Kütahya Great Mosque can be considered as a 19th century edifice, it is located in the old city center. Since it was not totally ruined, the mosque was restored above the foundation of the old edifice.

Founder: Because of the complicated construction and restoration history of the mosque, the founders can be listed as Beyazıt, Mustafa IV, Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz II respectively. Based on the list prepared for the Abdülhamid II's jubilee activities, the name of the mosque cites in the list of his jubilee structures. (Duymaz 2003, 115) Based on this archival document and also the architectural and structural features of the edifice, it can be assumed that today's building was taken its last form in the reign of Abdülhamid II. According to Güner the master builders of the mosque were Yorgi Usta and İlya Kalfa who were also the builders of Hamidiye Mosque in Kütahya which was constructed following years. (H. Güner 1964, 63) Furthermore in his book Çadırcı states that, in 1895 a non-Muslim architect has worked as a part of the administrative authority of the city with the other public servant such as doctor or book keeper, yet he doesn't give the name of the architect. (Çadırcı 2011, 171)

Plan: The mosque sits on a rectangular area of approximately 45x25 meters. The two large domes (10 meters diameter), six semi domes and the four small domes (4,6 meters diameter) on the four corners cover the rectangular main prayer hall. Under the one of those two large domes there is a hexagonal marble *mahfil* carried by six columns which has a small pool under it as if there had been a lantern on the dome. (Figure 43) The upper structure is carried by six free standing marble columns which are faceted not rounded.⁴² (Figure 44) The pendentives are used as the transition element from the two large domes to arches. The load of the cover system is also transferred by the six semi-domes to precinct walls which are supported by six large buttresses which are attached to surface of the outer walls. In the harim part, along the interior of the north side perimeter wall, there is a continuous upper gallery built with timber frame construction. The lower portion of the gallery coinciding with the main entrance is accentuated with a timber vault resulting in the middle portion of the platform being slightly higher than the rest. This difference in height is

⁴² According to Goodwin, the shape of the columns is considered as an indication that they are quarried freshly during the Abdülmecid era. (Goodwin, A History of Ottoman Architecture 1971, 425)

visually concealed by a decorated panel which also serves as a balustrade. (Figure 45) The polygonal mihrab apse which is covered with a lower sem-dome, projects from the south wall of the mosque. (Figure 46) There are three entrances of the mosque; two of them are on the eastern and the western sides which are accentuated by dome-covered porches. The main entrance is on the north facade of the building. On the north facade, the last prayer hall is divided into five sections which are covered with cradle vaults and a large dome (4 meters diameter). (Figure 47) The width of the sections are not equal, thus the rhythm of the columns creates an irregularity on the facade. The north-west corner of the last prayer hall is converted into a room in the 18th century. (Ayverdi 1966) Today, the last prayer hall is enclosed with a timber frame structure. The only minaret is located on the north-east corner of the last prayer hall. Due to the topography of the site, the last prayer hall is elevated 1 meter from the ground. In order to adjust the level differences, both three entrances have different numbers of steps in the staircases.

Building Materials: The mosque was partially demolished and rebuilt several times in its history. Some portions such as its foundation, last prayer hall, and minaret are original. The rest of the building was rebuilt; therefore it is hard to mention a precise technique or building material unity. As it can be observed from the existing structure, today's building is constructed with cut stone masonry except the body part of the minaret in which brick is used.

Facade Design: The restoration process of the mosque has resulted in a very articulated facade design. Since the buttresses which support the carrying arches of the two domes block the windows, it can be claimed that they were added after the renovation of the windows. These buttresses divide the side facades in three parts, yet the arrangement of the windows was not designed according to this configuration. (Figure 48) On the 46 meters long east/west facades of the mosque, the windows are basically set in two rows. The lower windows (1.6 x 3.2 m.) are taller and larger than the upper windows (1.2 x 2.4 m.). (Figure 49) Both types of windows are rectangular and topped with rounded arches with a projected key-stone in the middle. However the windows of the projected polygonal mihrab were arranged in a different manner. They are both lined from a lower height and designed with a different frame shape; the windows on the upper line of the mihrab wall are ogee arched. (Figure 50) The irregularity of mihrab projection, its lower height than the rest of the building and the different frame layout indicate an earlier construction date. The side entrances of the mosque are sited between the two buttresses on the east and west facades. These each entrances are defined with a porch covered with a small dome. (Figure 51) The south facade has a much more eclectic view. One of the four horse shoe shaped arches is

closed with walls⁴³, the others are closed with a wooden frame structure in recent years. (Figure 52) Furthermore the east and west sides of the last prayer hall are also closed with walls. In contrast with the traditional arrangement, the five parted last prayer hall is not divided equally. While the middle part is covered with a dome, the sides are covered with a different scale cradle vaults. This layout caused an irregularity to the facade design. The triangular pediment with its radial lines above the domed part on the facade refers an addition which can be dated to the 19th century. (Figure 53)

1.5. Hamidiye Mosque in Kütahya

Other Given Names: Yeşil Mosque, Recep Agha Masjid,

Date: Based on the inscription panels and waqf records, the first construction on this site was a masjid which was constructed in the 18th century by Governor Recep Agha. (H. Güner 1964, 61, Uzunçarşılı 1932, 136) 50 years later, the masjid was destroyed and a new masjid was constructed with an elementary school by Yahya Pasha who was also a Governor, in 1749. This masjid was burned in 1858 and a new timber structure mosque which was called Yeşil Mosque was constructed immediately after the fire. (H. Güner, 63) According to the inscription panel on the entrance door of the mosque, today's building was constructed by Abdülhamid II in 1905. (H. Güner, 65) Since it is a masonry building, it can be said that the former timber structure Yeşil Mosque was completely demolished and current mosque was built in the place of the old mosque.

Location: The mosque is sited in the Saray neighborhood which was a newly developed part of the city in the 19th century. (Figure 32) Most of the new buildings such as Barrack, High School, Post Office, City Hall or Governor's Office were constructed in this part of the city. (Demirsar Arlı and Kaya 2012) It is significant to point out here that this new prestigious part of the city was chosen for the site of Abdülhamid II's mosque.

Founder: The mosque was founded by Abdülhamid II and Kütahya Governor Ahmet Fuat Pasha. (Uzunçarşılı 1932, 135, H. Güner 1964, 63) Both Güner and Uzunçarşılı claim that Fuat Pasha was also the architect of the mosque. (Ibid) Furthermore Yorgi Usta and Ilya Kalfa who were also the builders of Kütahya Great Mosque worked during the construction of the Hamidiye Mosque. (Ibid) It is notable to point out that there was a special album

⁴³ According to Altun, this section was used as a library called Vahid Pasha Library in the 19th century. (Altun, Kütahya'nın Türk Devri Mimarsı "bir deneme" 1981, 199) On the other hand, Ayverdi believes that this part was closed in the 18th century. (Ayverdi 1966)

which consists of photographs taken during the opening ceremony of the mosque in Yıldız Photography Albums Collection⁴⁴. (Figure 54) In one of those photographs, governor Fuat Pasha is seen praying with the congregation in front of the entrance door of the mosque.

Plan: The mosque has a single dome which is carried by an octagonal baldachin. While from the outside of the mosque, the octagonal drum can be perceived, from the inside, the edges of the octagon are not seen. There is not any auxiliary space or a last prayer hall of the mosque. (Figure 55) The separated part on the upper floor of the north side of the mosque can be identified as a gallery. A spiral staircase on the north-east side provides access this gallery. The most significant part of the mosque is the gilded inner decoration. (Figure 56) The shining crescent and star figures creates a very attractive inner space. (Figure 57) This is a very unusual decoration attitude for a provincial mosque.

Building Material: The mosque and the minaret are constructed with cut stone masonry.

Facade Design: Stone-brackets placed on the four corners of the mosque provide a visual frame which defines the edges of the facades. (Figure 58, 59 and 60) Columns of the octagonal baldachin are thicker than the peripheral walls and therefore project from the outer facades. Those projections are covered with stone which have the same patterns with the brackets on the corners. The same kind of stone arrangement is also used for the construction of the window frames. Those stone surfaces both provide an integrated design on the facades and also give a third dimension to the facades. The same type of stone arrangement is also covered on the lower part of the minaret. The narrow and long windows are the dominant elements of the south and east facades. On the west facade, the domed entrance porch dominates the whole facade. On the contrary to the traditional mosque designs, the only entrance of the mosque is on the west side instead of the north. In Kütahya Hamidiye Mosque, the large body of the attached minaret occupies the north facade.

1.6. Hamidiye Mosque in İzmir

Other Given Names: Karantina Mosque, Küçük Yalı Mosque

⁴⁴ Yıldız Palace Album Collection consists 911 albums and 36.355 photographs taken all over the Ottoman land during the reign of Abdülhamid II. Today the collection is preserved in İstanbul University Library. The number of the related album is *Yıldız 90544*.

Date: Both Aydın city records (*salnameler*) and waqf records prove that the construction of the mosque started in 1889 and finished in 1890. (Aktepe 2003, 66)

Location: The mosque was constructed in Karataş district which is also called *Karantina* (quarantine) due to the existing contagious epidemic control center which was built in 1846. (Atay 1998, 187) From the middle of the 19th century, the city was starting to grow towards the west from its main center. (D. Güner 2005, 4, Atay 1998, 187) After epidemic control center was moved to Urla in 1864, Mithad Pasha Sanayi Mektebi (Occupational Art and Craft School) was constructed in the same lot facing Hamidiye Mosque. (Figure 61) The most significant development for the Karantina neighborhood was the new tramway line built in 1883 and connected the city center to this part of the city. The tramway line helped enlarge the prestigious of the neighborhood and also caused an increase in the population of the district. Besides, towards the end of the century, the Levantine population preferred to live in this neighborhood and three churches were constructed for the community. (Atay 1998, 81) Thus, it is meaningful to choose this site for the construction of the only sultan mosque in the city.⁴⁵ Furthermore, it should be pointed out that, the small Hamidiye Mosque was constructed just near to the sea, thus it can be easily identified from the cityscape in the shoreline. (Figure 62)

Founder: Without providing a full citation, Aktepe claims that the construction was started by Osman Pasha who was a member of one of the wealthy families in the city, yet it could not be finished for an unknown reason and Abdülhamid II completed the mosque. (Aktepe 2003, 66) However the inscription panel obviously indicates that it was founded by Abdülhamid II.

Plan: The mosque has a very simple and modest plan; the small main prayer hall is covered by a single dome. (Figure 63 Figure 64) The last prayer hall is also covered with three small domes and closed in a recent renovation work. Furthermore, during this renovation, the space on the last prayer hall was added to increase the total area.

Building Materials: The mosque was constructed with cut stone masonry.

Facade Design: While the north facade of the mosque occupy by last prayer hall, the east facade has three arched windows. The mihrab facade on the other hand has three small windows on its upper part. (Figure 65 Figure 66)

⁴⁵ It is relevant to note that the biggest mosques in the city, such as Hisar, Şadırvan, Başdurak, Kestane Pazarı and Kemeraltı Mosques are gathered to the Kemeraltı district which was a significant trade center in Ottoman İzmir for centuries. These mosques mostly contributed by the wealthy people of the city.

1.7. Burhaniye Great Mosque

Other Given Names: Koca Mosque, Muhittin Rumi Mosque, Cami-i Kebir

Date: Based on the inscription panel on the west entrance door, the mosque is constructed in 1890. (Maktal 1999, 540) Yet, another inscription panel on the same door, the year 1908 is given with a verse (*ayet-i kerime*) from Koran. It can be said that the mosque had been renovated in that year. (Maktal, 543) Besides in the list of Sultan's waqf works, the restoration of one of the mosques in Burhaniye is mentioned. (Önal and Bekçi 2007, 85) This mosque could be Burhaniye Great Mosque.

Location: Towards the end of the 19th century, Burhaniye became one of the developing towns of the Ottoman Anatolia after the construction of the Hamidiye Port which improved the trade activities of the town. (Mutaf 2003, 90) During Abdülhamid era, there were two high schools, two elementary schools and also two Greek schools for minorities in the town. The government hall was constructed in 1895 with the contribution of the people and sultan himself. (Mutaf, 89) According to the given information on the inscription panel, current mosque was constructed in the place of the former great mosque of the town which had been burned during a fire in the 19th century. There is not any further data on the site and the urban development of the town.

Founder: Neither the inscription panels nor Balıkesir city account (*salname*) does not give precise information on the founder of the mosque. Yet, it can be claimed that the mosque was founded by Abdülhamid II, because the construction of the mosque was during his reign and also it was the only great mosque of the town. As it can be seen from the other 19th century mosques in Anatolia, the great mosques of the cities founded by the sultan himself and called with the name of the reigning sultan of the time.

Plan: The mosque sits on a 23 x 20 meters rectangular site. The mosque is elevated 1 meter from the ground. (Figure 67 and 68) Like the Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha Mosque, the mosque does not have any last prayer. The 7.30 meters diameter dome rises above a baldachin which is supported by four vaults on its four sides. The windows on the four arches of those vaults provide a very illuminated prayer hall. (Figure 69) The four free standing columns of this baldachin have corinthian capitals. Pendentives are used as the transition element from the baldachin to the dome. The four corners of the mosque are covered by four barrel vaults. The minaret is attached near to one of those barrel vaults on the north-east corner. The north side of the prayer hall is divided with the supporting arches

of the upper gallery. (Figure 70) Since there is no last prayer hall of the mosque, the bottom part of the gallery becomes a transition area from the profane to the sacred one. The gallery and two rather deep vaulted cover structures, which are supported the dome on its east and west sides, divide the inner space in to three aisles.

Building Materials: The perimeter walls, the load bearing elements and also the body of the minaret are built with cut stone masonry.

Facade Design: As it can be understood from the photos taken from VGM archives, the mosque has undergone a significant restoration work which resulted in substantial change on the facade design, particularly on the window frames of the mosque. (Figure 71 and 72) The facade drawings and the information given for this part of the chapter are based on the former design of the mosque which can be seen from the old photographs obtained from the archives. The facades are framed by moldings on the basement level and at the lower part of the cover. (Figure 73 and 74) The cover structure is separated with an entablature from the lower part. The large pillars in the inner part of the mosque are projected from the facades, in this way; the facades are divided into three sections. While the middle sections are occupied with two windows and a door -except the mihrab facade-, the side sections have a single window. The four great arches of the vaults are the dominant elements of all four facades with two small arch-windows on its two sides. While, in the former design, which can be thought as the original facade organization, each window frame was divided by two rounded-arched narrow windows, in today's mosque, the frames are designed as single piece.

In Ottoman mosque architecture, the northern entrances are mostly opened to the courtyards and the organization of these facades is differentiated from the others, thus those entrances are considered as the main entrances of the mosques. However in Burhaniye Great Mosque, the organization of the west facade is much more ornamented than the other facades by means of the engaged columns with corinthian capitals on the two sides of the door, and the two decorated inscription panels. (Figure 72) This attitude is also seen in the Kütahya Hamidiye Mosque where the only entrance of the mosque is located on the west facade. Furthermore, the arch of the cover system is also modified in this facade with an additional secondary arch. Thus, it can be said that the west facade is designed as the main facade of the mosque.

1.8. Adiyaman Great Mosque

Other Given Names: Hısn-ı Mansur⁴⁶ Mosque, Alauddevel Mosque, Cami-i Kebir

Date: The first mosque in this site is dated to the era of Dulkadirli Principality which ruled the region during 15th and 16th centuries, until Selim I's conquest of the city in 1516.⁴⁷ Because of the seven different inscription panels of the mosque (on the minaret and the doors), it is hard to mention an exact date for the construction. (Figure 75) One of the inscription panels on the east door gives the year 1832-3 as the reconstruction date of the mosque with the help of the Muslim society in the city. Other two panels on the minaret indicate 1860-1 and 1862 for the reconstruction of the minaret by Hacı Molla. In 1890, the city witnessed a big earthquake and the mosque was totally collapsed. Based on the Malatya annual book (*Ma'muratü-l Aziz Salnamesi*), in the aftermath of the disaster, today's mosque was constructed with the help of Muslim society in 'new style'. (Işık 1998, 412) Also the third panel on the minaret supports this statement and points out the year 1895-6, for the reconstruction of the minaret. The other three inscription panels on the east and north doors of the mosque give the names of the artisans who produced ornaments and the years 1900, 1901 as the production date.⁴⁸ Thus it can be said that the construction of the mosque was finished around 1896 and the ornamental details continued until 1900.

Location: The mosque is sited on the exact place of the 16th century edifices, located in the Çarşı neighborhood, which is one of the oldest neighborhoods of the city. From the beginning of the 14th century, the city started to grow from the skirts of the old castle towards the nearby plains. (Alpaydın 2008, 94) The Çarşı neighborhood can be considered as one of those areas in the city.

Founder: Both the inscription panels and Malatya annual book indicate the contributions of two individuals, Kolağası Mustafa Ağa and Hacı Molla who were probably among the wealthy persons the city and the help of Muslim society in the city.

⁴⁶ During the Ottoman era, the city was called as Hısn-ı Mansur in the official correspondences.

⁴⁷ Even the exact construction date and the founder of the first mosque is not known, in the Malatya annual book (*Ma'muratü-l Aziz Salnamesi*) it was attributed to Allauddevle who was a prince of Dulkadirli Principality between the years 1479 and 1515. (Işık 1998, 405) Yet according to a document in the *BOA*, the waqf incomes of the mosque was donated by Durak Bey who was ruled the principality between 1506 and 1515. (Taştémir 1999, 241)

⁴⁸ For the detail on the information of the inscription panels see (Bayhan ve Salman, Adiyaman Yüzey Araştırması (2000-2004) 2010, 34-40)

Plan: The mosque has a rectangular plan of 21.20 x 24.40 meters. It has a very common plan type with a minor exception; a big dome (8 meters diameter) which is carried by a baldachin and situated on a cylindrical drum. It is supported by four vaults on the sides instead of semi domes. (Figure 76 and 77) While in the classical plan type, the load of the main dome is transferred by semi domes such as Şehzade or Sultan Ahmed, in Adıyaman Great Mosque the vaults are used to transfer the load and cover the main hall. More surprisingly, the vaults and the four small domes (4 meters diameter) on the corners are hidden with another hipped roof structure from the outside of the mosque. The elevated dome has eight windows on its drum. (Figure 78) The square based 29 meter-long minaret is attached to the north-east corner of the mosque. The last prayer hall of the mosque is divided into six unequal parts with vaulted structure. (Figure 79) Today it is closed with windows and the wall on the western end is demolished. There are three entrances of the mosque. Another interesting arrangement of the mosque is the open space prayer hall on its west side. There is a precinct wall and a niche on it towards the north. (Figure 80) This open space can be evaluated as an adaptation to the hot climate of the region. Furthermore the earth-fill roof of the mosque is also an adaptation for the climate and a traditional construction technique of the region.

Building Materials: The mosque and the minaret are constructed with straw yellow cut stone masonry.

Facade Design: The mosque has a very distinct facade design with its four triangular pediment-like facades. (Figure 81) The small domes and vaults are covered with a pitched-roof structure which is projected on the facades like an eave. Because of this triangular pediment, the dome cannot be seen clearly. (Figure 82) The window arrangements of the all facades are almost same with each other. The two rows rounded-arched windows are lined on the east and west facades which also have same design, except its entrances. The east, west and south facades are divided into two parts with moldings as if the mosque has two stories. (Figure 83) However, in the northern facade, instead of the cornice, the rather low last prayer hall divides the facade. The east entrance of the mosque is emphasized with a particular three-arched portico which is reached by six steps. (Figure 84) The middle arch is taller and larger than the side arches such as the order of the entrance portico of Konya Aziziye Mosque.

1.9. Hamidiye Mosque in Ayvalık

Other Given Names: Minareli Mosque, Cami-i Kebir

Date: Since the mosque has not any inscription panel, the exact construction date is not known. Only one document has been found in archives until today on Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque. (Dündar, Arşivlerdeki Plan ve Çizimler Işığında Osmanlı İmar Sistemi (XVIII. ve XIX. Yüzyıl) 2000, 206-7) This document is a drawing of a plan and a facade of a mosque in Ayvalık which is dated to 14 November 1897. (Figure 85) Even though the name of the mosque is not mentioned on the drawing, it has to be Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque, both because of the similarities with the existing building and because there is only one mosque in Ayvalık that was constructed during the Ottoman era.⁴⁹ According to the note on the drawing the construction of the mosque was almost finished in 1897. In his travel notes Dr. Mağmumi who had visited the city in the beginning of 1896, states that since there was not any mosque in the city, the small number of Muslim society used a special room in Rıza Pasha Khan for worshipping. He adds that the need for a mosque was reported to the government and the positive response was announced to Muslim society in those days. (Mağmumi 2008, 142). Another evidence on the construction date of the mosque is one of the issues of the Servet-i Fünun magazine which was published in 1894. In the article the city of Ayvalık is described with 11 neighborhoods, 1 mosque, 12 churches and 6 monasteries. It is obvious that the mentioned mosque is Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque. On the other hand, in his dissertation Duymaz suggests that there is a list of the building which were constructed or restored for the silver jubilee of Abdülhamid II, in 1900. (Duymaz 2003, 114-7) Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque is cited in this list as one of those buildings. In this regard, it can be claimed that the construction of the mosque was started around 1894 and finished before 1900.

Location: During the 18th and the 19th centuries, Ayvalık had a privileged status in the Ottoman Empire. After the Küçük Kaynarca Treaty in 1774, Ayvalık gained autonomy by an order of the sultan.⁵⁰ (Darkot, Samsun 1966, 78, Bayram 1998, 6) With the Kaynarca Treaty

⁴⁹ There is also one more mosque in the Cunda Island which is a very close island governed by Midilli Governor until 1908. The Cunda Hamidiye Mosque is constructed in 1905 as a load bearing masonry structure. Since this mosque is a small and pitched roof mosque, it is excluded from the case studies of this dissertation.

⁵⁰ The autonomy of the city in the 18th century is a controversial issue among historians because of there is not any document in Ottoman archives on the decision of this privilege status. The autonomy arguments are depended on the Greek archives. (G. Turan 2008, 17) The city continued its independent statute until 1821, the Greek riot. Aftermath, it became a *kaza* (township) of Karasi Sanjak, yet it took back its economic privileges after 1833. (Bayram 1998, 17)

and Tanzimat and also Islahat Reforms, Ayvalık followed a different path of progress regarding its economic development. With the increasing commercial activities on oil production, realized by non-Muslim population of the city, provided a well-developed prosperous city during 19th century. (Bayram 1998) The wealthiness of the city can be observed in the architectural production of that period. (Şahin Güçhan 2008, 55) As it can be understood from maps which shows the land use of 19th century's and today's Ayvalık, the city developed mainly linearly along the seashore from the northeast to southwest and also developed through the south in the inner part of the city during the 19th century. (Figure 86 and 87) The main center of the city is identified as Cumhuriyet Square where the official and administrative buildings are located. (Okur 1996, 15) The factories, industrial stores and shops which were mostly constructed at the end of the 19th century are also located in the coastal side of the city center. Furthermore, in the 19th century city's famous casinos and restaurants were also located on the costal side. (Mağmumi 2008, 143) The residential district developed from the center through the eastern side. The nine 19th century churches are sited within this housing pattern. In the 1889 Karasi annual book, the 11 neighborhoods took their names based on those churches where they were the center of each district. (Bayram 1998, 24) Almost whole population of the city consists of Orthodox Greek subjects except a few Ottoman families who were here due to their administrative duties. Based on the census records in 1893, there was 20133 Greeks, 1454 foreigners and 90 Turkish people in the city.⁵¹ (Karpas, Ottoman Population Records and the Census of 1881/1882-1893 1978, 264)

It is significant to point out here that even though the very small number of Muslim population of the city in the end of the 19th century, Abdülhamid II decided to build a mosque on one of the hills. Besides, as it can be observed from the maps, Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque is constructed on the skirt of a hill in the northern side, apart from the 19th century's city center. Even today this site is not a crowded part of the city. While the city mainly developed towards the south, it is crucial to point out the possible reasons of this decision. In his article, Özel claims that since this site is one of the hills of the city and also near to the coastal line, Abdülhamid wanted his mosque to be seen from the sea in the silhouette of the city. Furthermore, Özel adds that this site was also the entrance point of the city when coming from İstanbul. (Özel 2011) This attitude towards the site choice is similar to Tahtakale Rüstem Pasha Mosque which is elevated from the ground, near the shoreline.

⁵¹ Furthermore, the travelers' accounts confirm the majority of the orthodox-Greek population in the city. William Jowett, Charles Williamson, Vital Quinet, Arnold Toynbee are those travelers who gave the numbers approximately 30.0000 as the city's Greek Population. (Ahmet 1983, 36-37, Bayram 1998)

Rüstem Pasha Mosque is also distinguishable of the city silhouette, the site for Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque could also have been chosen in a similar intent.

Founder: Since the mosque was constructed during the reign of Abdülhamid II, most of the sources are attributed the mosque to him. In Şahin Güçhan's article, the construction of the mosque is attributed to a Greek trader named Georgias who was the owner of the Burgala Inn, the former hotel building across the mosque in the 19th century and also the construction date is given as the year 1905. (Şahin Güçhan 2008, 65) However the document found in BOA and the article in the Servet-i Fünun prove that the construction of the mosque was between the years 1894 and 1897. Furthermore, in the Ottoman tradition, a non-Muslim subject could not construct a mosque (or any public building) for the sultan, but a community of the city could donate such a building or complex. Besides, the donated public buildings could newer called with the sultan's name.⁵² (Özel 2011, 34-5) Along these lines, it is unlikely that the mosque constructed by Georgias.

Plan: The mosque has a rectangular plan covered with one dome (6,2 m. diameter) and enlarged with two vaulted structures on its north and south axis. A last prayer hall which is also covered with a vault is attached to the main space. From the outside of the mosque, the vaults are covered with a second cover that is a pitched roof on the sides, similar to Adiyaman Great Mosque. (Figure 88) Mainly a baldachin schema is enlarged on its north and south axis with vaults. (Figure 89) However these added vaulted spaces are very small and non-functional. (Figure 90) While the four pillars of the baldachin are projected from the precinct walls, they are also transformed into weight towers on the four corners of the roof. The dome is heightened with a cylindrical drum which has narrow rectangular windows. Due to the level differences on the lot, the last prayer hall is elevated with a platform which is reached with ten steps, however this level difference gets even in the south facade. (Figure 91) The mihrab niche is projected on the south wall. Today, there is a wooden structure, *mahfil*, in the mosque, yet it seems to be added in a recent renovation. (Figure 92) The free standing rectangular based minaret is attached to the mosque on its north-west corner. Yet in the facade drawing of the BOA document, the minaret is drawn on the north-east corner of the mosque; in the plan, the minaret is not located. This could be explained as an adaptation realized by the local builders in the construction site. When the 19th century plan and today's mosque is compared, it is seen that the plan and the building are almost the same except a few differences. The number of the windows on the drum or

⁵² The New Mosque in Thessaloniki is one of those examples that were built by Jewish society as a gift to the Sultan Abdülhamid II for his thirty year jubilee.

the number of the windows on the east and west facades of the building are some of these differences. (Figure 93)

Building Materials: The color and the fabric of the stone shows that the mosque is constructed with 'sarımsak' stone which is a local stone quarried from the town also known as Sarımsaklı. Most of the nineteenth century edifices of the city are constructed with this red stone.

Facade Design: The mosque has a very distinct facade design with reference to the classical period, as all the 19th century's mosques in Anatolian provinces. All four of the facades of the mosque are framed with a triangular pediment. (Figure 94, 95 and 96) The elevated entrance facade has four free standing columns which are not connected each other with arches, instead with an entablature at the top. The 4.25 meters height doric columns form the semi-open last prayer hall which is closed during a recent renovation with windows. (Figure 91) Similar facade arrangements can be observed in some of the 19th century buildings of Ayvalık and also Cunda such as Hagia Ioannes Church (today Saatli Mosque), Taksiyarkis Church and Despot's Villa. (Figure 97) Since there is an additional building attached to the east side of the mosque during one of the renovations, the original facade could not be seen. Yet the 19th century plan gives us an impression that the east and west facades could be identical. In the west side, the engaged columns, lancet arched window jambs and the pediment are the dominant elements of the facade. One of the three large windows is closed with the body of the minaret. The same window jamb arrangement can be seen in the former hotel Burgala (Georgias) Inn which was constructed across the mosque in the 19th century.⁵³ (Figure 98) The entablature is also continued both on the west, east and south facades. The only difference on the south facade is the mihrab recess in the place of one of the windows. The similar engaged columns are also placed on the south facade as a frame of the facade itself.

1.10. Ramazan Pasha Mosque in Aydın

Other Given Names: None

⁵³ The exact date of the construction of the hotel is not known, however Dr. Mağmumi states in his travel notes that during his visit in 1894, he settled at this hotel. (Mağmumi 2008) Thus it can be said that the mosque was constructed after the hotel building. Today the building is used as the tax office of the city. For further information on this building see (Şahin Güçhan 2008, 60-61)

Date: According to Erken, today's mosque was constructed in 1899. (Erken 1983, 659) On the other hand, Tuğlacı claims it was constructed in 1901. (Tuğlacı, Osmanlı Şehirleri 1985, 37) The former mosque which was demolished during the earthquake in 1899 was constructed in 1594.

Location: Aydın was an important commercial center during the 18th and 19th centuries, as a part of the hinterland of İzmir harbor. The railway connection increased the trade activities thus the city started to develop significantly during the 19th century. In the beginning of the 19th century, the regional capital was relocated from Tire to Aydın. In 1864, İzmir and Aydın were separated in terms of administratively and Aydın became a province after that time. Evliya Çelebi describes a crowded and wealthy city in his travel notes dated in 1671. (Evliya Çelebi 1971, 112-5) One of the tax reports (*avarız*) which shows that there was 22 neighborhoods in the city in 1677, confirming Evliya Çelebi's narration. (Emecen 1991, 235) In his travel notes, Evliya Çelebi also mentions the physical characteristic of the city and he states that the neighborhoods were developed towards the western side of the Tabakhane River. (Evliya Çelebi, 112-5) The choice of site for Süleymanbey Mosque (1683), which was constructed on the southern part of the city (today's train station), suggests that in the 17th century the city already developed towards the south. When the place of the city's 16th, 17th, and 18th century's mosques are observed, it can be stated that until the beginning of the 19th century, the city growth was on the axis of south and north; from Topyatağı to railway station. (Figure 99 and 100) In the 19th century, the new edifices of central government were built on the hills towards the north-east side of the city. The city hall, recruiting office, post office and high school were all gathered around a plaza which was called 'Government Plaza'. (Şimşek 2011, 86) Ramazan Pasha mosque was constructed on a central point; one of the main axes of the city. This axis starts from government plaza and ends at the railway station.

Founder: Today's mosque was founded by Halil Pasha who was one of the wealthy people in the city.

Plan: The mosque has a square main prayer hall which is covered with a 13 meters diameter dome. (Figure 101) The main dome carried by an octagonal drum which has two windows on its four sides. (Figure 102) There is a second cylindrical drum which has 16 round windows and arches, sits on the octagonal one. With the help of those two overlapping drums, the height of the mosque is increased. (Figure 103) The squinches on the four corners provide the transition from square hall to octagonal drum. In the main prayer hall, there is not any auxiliary space except for the gallery on the upper floor on the north side of the mosque. The large and high windows provide a well-illuminated space. The

mosque has a single entrance on the northern side. (Figure 104) The three-domed portico covers the last prayer hall on the north. In a similar manner with the heightened dome, the portico is also heightened with long columns. Furthermore, the mosque is also elevated with a platform which is reached by a five step staircase in front of the portico.

Building Materials: The perimeter walls and the body of the minaret are built with cut stone masonry.

Facade Design: Both the south, east and the west facades of the mosque have a very similar window arrangement. (Figure 105 and 106) The three large rectangular windows which have triangular arches at the top are placed on the each facade except for the south facade which is occupied by the mihrab section. The drop-shaped small window is also placed on the upper part of those rectangular windows. By this way, the plain surfaces of the facades are arranged with three rows of window frames. The three high and large arches of the portico form the north facade of the mosque. The columns of the portico have classical style diamond-shaped capitals. The four sides of the octagonal drum also have two windows. One of the most significant features of the mosque is its undulating edges of the cover of the dome.

1.11. Yeni (New) Mosque in Thessaloniki

Other Given Names: Dönme (Deunmeh) Mosque, Hamidiye Mosque

Date: Colonas gives the date 1902 as the construction year of the mosque. (Colonas, Vitaliano Poselli: An Italian Architect in Thessaloniki 1990, 163) On the other hand, Baer states that the inauguration ceremony of the mosque was done in 1904. (Baer 2010, 39) Based on the inscription panel, the construction of the mosque was started in 1900 and finished in 1902. The architect of the mosque, Vitaliano Poselli, has signed the panel with the date 1903. (Macar 1997, 29)

Location: The portion of the city of the where the mosque is located was called as Hamidiye neighborhood since it was built along the newly constructed roads of the city. Towards the end of the 19th century, Thessaloniki became the most important trade and economic center and also the most significant port of the empire. (Colonas 2005, 127, Yerolympos 1996, 62) With the Tanzimat reform movements, modernization process of the city has increased. This process started with the demolition of large section of the ancient city walls along the shoreline in 1870. Governor Sabri Pasha, who was appointed to Thessaloniki from Izmir in 1869, introduced a package of reforms including the extension of

the port and creation of a new city center in the place of the city walls. (Yerolympos 1996, 62) For these reformist interventions, the engineer Polykarpos Vitalis who has also produced the construction plan for the waterfront of Izmir, has prepared a similar plan for Thessaloniki in 1871. (Colonas 2005, 127) Construction of the quays and ports in the place of the city walls, opening up new road arteries and also widening existing streets were some of the parts of this new plan. (Ibid) The city was extended towards the southeastern part where the new Hamidiye Boulevard was opened that was the first suburb of the city to be built outside the Byzantine walls. (Baer 2010, 34) The Hamidiye neighborhood contained wide streets, mansions, parks, cafes and also the New Mosque on the street. (Figure 107) The connection between the new neighborhood and the old city was provided by a tramway. (Ibid)

Founder: The mosque was founded by Mayor Hamdi Bey, who was the members of one of the three sects of *Dönme* (Converts) families in Thessaloniki. (Baer 2010, 34) *Dönme*, Turkish Converts, refer to the descendants of Jews who converted to Islam along with Shabbatai Tzevi in 17th century. (Baer, x) After their conversion they were accepted as Muslims in Ottoman society, particularly in Thessaloniki. Baer believes that ‘the *Dönme* helped transform Ottoman Thessaloniki into a cosmopolitan city by promoting the newest innovations in trade and finance, urban reform, and modern education, combining morality and science, literature, architecture, and local politics’. (Ibid) In Thessaloniki, there were three different *Dönme* sects or families; Yakubi, Karakaş and Kapancı. The mosque was constructed by one of the members of Yakubi families, Hamdi Bey who was a leading figure in the sect. It is critical to point out that after the Tanzimat era, the increasing voices of the local representatives changes the relation between the Thessaloniki *Dönme* families and the central authority. Locally selected mayoralty, municipal council and other local political bodies lead the rise of the *Dönme*’s in the city. (Baer 2010, 86)

The *Dönme*’s had a hybrid religious practice; while they followed both the requirements of Islam and those of the Kabalistic rituals at the same time. Thus it is believed that they had distinct mosques and rituals. (Baer 2010, x) From this perspective, the most significant question is how the construction of this mosque can be interpreted. Have the *Dönmes* prayed exactly as a Muslim and constructed this mosque for themselves? Or did they want to endow the mosque to the Muslim society in the city as a manifestation of their power? While many speculations on this issue can be formulated, it can be said that the architectural characteristic of the mosque makes it a valuable testament to the history of the *Dönme* community of Thessaloniki. Even it was not a sultan mosque constructed under the imperial waqf foundation, the plan and the entrance facade of the mosque show a notable similarity with the Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque in Istanbul, which was the only sultan mosque

constructed during Abdülhamid era in the capital. (Figure 108) The Yeni (New) Mosque's Italian architect, Vitaliano Poselli, who was sent to Thessaloniki in 1886 by the Ottoman government to construct the *İdadi* in the city (Colonas 1990, 162), should have witnessed the construction of Yıldız Mosque during his work in the capital. However, there are some differences between the Poselli's sketch of the entrance facade and the existing facade of the mosque. It can be seen that while in the sketch, there was a pediment on the entrance door of the mosque, in the existing building the pediment was changed with a triangular portal, which is very similar with the portal of Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque. (Figure 109) Thus it can be claimed that the patron of the mosque, Mayor Hamdi Bey, aimed to manifest the existence of *Dönme* community in the city as equally important as the caliphate-sultan of the Ottoman in the capital.

Plan: The mosque consists of two main parts; the main prayer hall and the vestibule part. While the main prayer hall is covered with one big dome (10.40 meters diameter), the vestibule part has a flat roof. (Figure 110) There is a height difference between the main prayer hall and vestibule; the main prayer hall is approximately 5 meters higher than the other part. This level difference causes the mosque to be perceived as two separate bodies. Such compartmentalization of the spaces, where one of the spaces serves for praying, and the other functions as a last prayer hall and galleries, can be observed in the 19th century mosques in the capital. The plans of Küçük Mecidiye, Dolmabahçe, Teşvikiye, Ortaköy and also Yıldız Hamidiye Mosques show a very similar compartmentalization in their plans. (Table 3) The mosque has a high, well lightening and clear interior space. The two storied gallery is divided from the main prayer hall with arches. (Figure 111) The minaret of the mosque which was in the west part of the body was demolished in 1925.

Building Materials: The mosque is constructed with cut stone masonry.

Facade Design: The window arrangement of the mosque is repeated in all of the Facades. The two rounded arched high and narrow windows are gathered in one stone frame in the each facade. The vestibule part of the mosque is divided into two parts to reflecting its stories. On the other hand, around the main prayer hall part, all of the facades are divided into three by moldings. The huge arch can be traced on the facades. The entrance facade on the other hand has a portal like high and decorated entrance door. The W shaped portal top stands on the horseshoe arch door frame, like the portal of the Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque. The high and decorated entablature surrounds all sides of the mosque. (Figure 112, 113, 114 and 115)

1.12. Zağnos Mehmed Pasha Mosque in Balıkesir

Other Given Names: Zağnos Mosque, Pasha Mosque, Cami-i Kebir

Date: The first mosque on the same site was constructed in 1461, by Zağnos Pasha who was one of the grand viziers of Mehmed II. (M. Eren 1993, 103) The inscription panel placed inside of the mosque gives the construction date of the first mosque was 1461. The former mosque was demolished during the earthquake in 17 January 1898, which has caused substantial damage to the city. The construction of the current mosque started at 1902 and finished at 1904 by Ömer Ali Bey, who was the governor of the city between 1896 and 1905. (Yazıcı 2003, 66)

Location: According to Eren, the former Zağnos Pasha Mosque and its dependencies such as a bath, tomb and its two ablution fountains, were constructed outside of the 15th century's city with the intention of enlarging the city towards the complex, as it was often done during Ottoman classical period. (M. Eren 1994, 127, Kuban 2007) In the 19th century, the mosque was one of the central points of the city. Furthermore, the city continued to enlarge towards the west with new constructions. In the 19th century, the contemporary buildings such as governor's office, high school (*idâdi*), prison, barrack, clock tower, were sited on the city's two new axis; Kışla Street and Hamidiye Street. (Figure 116, 117 and 118)

Founder: After the 1898 earthquake, the ruined former mosque was rebuilt by the order of Abdülhamid II. Based on the archival documents founded in BOA, the imperial court and Balıkesir governor Ömer Ali Bey have corresponded many times for the reconstruction of the city. (Yazıcı 2003) One of the sultan orders which was issued on 3 April 1898 to Ömer Ali Bey, the appointment of an architect and a master builder was announced. It was said that the architect and the master builder were sent to the city and the letter of approbation which was a kind of license for starting the construction, was given to them. (Appendix 3) Similarly, another order issued on 18 February 1898 by İstanbul municipality (*şehremaneti*) who was responsible for the construction works in the provinces, informed on the shipment construction materials and the appointment of the architect and the master builder. (Appendix 3) Also, in another correspondence, the estimated cost for the reconstruction of the mosque, tomb and a school⁵⁴ was reported as 5.000 liras. Besides those correspondences the memoirs of Ömer Ali Bey also helps us to understand the construction process of the mosque. According to his memoirs, the expected financial support from the capital was late, thus Ömer Ali Bey begun the construction with the help of

⁵⁴ The school does not exist today, or it is possible that it was never built.

the Muslim community in 1902. (M. Eren 1994, 139) The money was sent from the capital arrived afterwards and the construction was finished in 1904. (M. Eren 1994) It is hard to make an assumption about the identity of the architect of the mosque, yet it can be said that the architect sent from the capital must have decided on the overall configuration of the mosque for the calculation of the estimated cost. There is a model of the mosque from 19th century preserved inside of the mosque. (Figure 119) However there are some differences between the model and today's mosque. While in the model, the dome is supported by four vaults on its four sides, the two vaults are replaced with one small dome on the south and one half-vaulted structure on the north side.

Plan: Zağnos Pasha Mosque sits on a large square area of 32 x 32 meters. (Figure 120 and 121) Its 17.30 meters diameter dome is raised on a baldachin scheme and sits on an octagonal drum, supported by two vaults on the east and north sides, one small dome on its south and one half barrel vaulted structure on its north side. Four small domes cover the four corners of the mosque. (Figure 122) Even though the plan gives the idea that the main dome provides a central space under it, the vaulted side aisles are integrated this central space because of the similar height of the vaults and the dome. (Figure 123) The mihrab section is also stressed with a small dome (6.8 m. diameter) which is raised with an octagonal drum. Interestingly, the transition from this small dome to the arches in its west and east sides is provided with two vaulted like structures. (Figure 124) The only gallery is placed on the upper part of the northern side. The middle section of this gallery is raised with two steps to accentuate the entrance of the mosque. It breaks the spatial integrity between the aisles and the central space. There is a non-functional gap between the columns of the baldachin and the gallery itself. (Figure 125) It can be assumed that the wooden structured upper gallery was added after the construction as a necessity for the worshipping of women. Even though two minaret basements were constructed with staircases on the northeast and northwest corners of the inside of the mosque, the construction of those two minarets was not completed. Instead, an independent minaret is attached to the mosque on its west facade. It is significant to point out that the multiple minarets are considered as the sign of the sultan's patronage, yet in Zağnos Pasha Mosque, the construction of the second minaret was not realized. Due to the sloping lot, the mosque is constructed on a platform under which is used for storage and shops today. While the east entrance of the mosque, which is heightened by 3,5 meters from the ground is reached by staircases. The north and west entrances are on the same level with the main prayer hall because of the platform. (Figure 126) The mosque does not have a last prayer hall, yet the west, east and north entrances have large porches. It can be claimed that the porches had been constructed for providing a transition space between the sacred and the

profane. There is not defined courtyard for the mosque, however the platform and one of the ablution fountain on this platform create a particular open space for the mosque on its west side. The other ablution fountain is placed on the north-east corner of the lower level of this platform.

Building Materials: The perimeter walls (or the load bearing walls) and also the body of the minaret are built with cut stone masonry. Based on the photographs taken during the restoration of the mosque in 1980's by VGM, some parts of the cover structures, such as the vaults on the east and west sides are constructed with brick and framed by a timber structure in order to get a smooth surface. (Figure 127)

Facade Design: All four facades of the mosque have a very similar arrangement except a few changes. (Figure 128, 129, 130 and 131) The white stones brackets on the edges of the mosque provide vertical frames to the facades. The moldings that surround the four sides of the mosque divide the facades into three parts as if the mosque has three stories. These moldings are enlarged like an eave at the second part. Both the brackets and the moldings make one perceive the facade in separate parts. While on the two sides of all facades, there is a single rounded arch window, in the middle part there are three windows. This order is broken by the attached minaret and the horology room (*muvakkithane*) in the west facade. Likewise the three entrance doors which are placed in the middle of the facades also introduce irregularity to the order. On the south facade where the entrance would be in the other facades is occupied by the mihrab, yet there is not a mihrab projection. Furthermore, the sizes of the windows on the uppermost part of the facades present some varieties in the arrangement. The windows of the vaulted structures in the east and west facades are much narrower and taller than the others. Yet, in the north facade, the vaulted structure is replaced with a half barrel vault, thus the octagonal drum of the main dome can be seen. There are some blind windows on the upper part of this facade. On the contrary to the general arrangement, the mihrab facade of Zağnos Pasha Mosque was designed as the main facade of the mosque. It is heightened with a kind of triangular gable wall which blocks the visibility of the small dome above the mihrab. The three narrow and high windows follow the order of the lower window's arrangement.

1.13. Alaüddevle Mosque in Gaziantep

Other Given Names: Ali Dola Mosque

Date: Based on the waqf records, the former mosque was constructed in the beginning of the 16th century, by the ruler of the Dulkadirli Principality Alaüddevle Bey who reigned during 1480 and 1515. (Altınöz 1999, 319, 322) By the end of the 19th century, the old mosque was considerably dilapidated thus the Muslim society in the city decided to build a new mosque on the same site. (Güzelbey 1992, 27) According to the inscription panel, the construction of current mosque started in 1903 and finished in 1909. (Çam 2006, 179, Çam 1988)

Location: The mosque is placed on a central location of the city where three main streets are intersected. (Akpolat, Mimarlık Yapıtlarının Mimarlık ve Mimarlık Dışı Rollerini: Gaziantep Alaüddevle Camisi (1903) 2003, 114) Also, the crowded bazaar area, called as *Uzun Çarşı* (long bazaar) in Gaziantep, is on the western part of the mosque. (Figure 132)

Founder: Based on the memories of the people, the construction of the new mosque was started with the help of the Muslim society in the city. However, during the construction of the dome, the local financial resources were depleted and the society has appealed for help to Abdülhamid II. (Güzelbey 1992, 28) Thus, the rest of the building was finished by the sultan.

Plan: The rectangular main prayer hall is covered with a single dome (15.30 meters diameter) which is carried on a sixteen-cornered drum. (Figure 133) From the inside of the mosque, the dome sits on a cylindrical transition element with the help of the eight arches. The squinches on the four corners block the upper corner windows of the four facades. Due to those squinches the thicknesses of the walls on the corners increase to 2.50 meters. (Figure 134) Despite its sixteen windows on the facades and also the eight windows on the drums, the mosque has a somber inner space. (Figure 135) The mosque does not have a last prayer hall or gallery. The existing upper gallery is a later addition. As an exceptional example, the mosque has a masjid on its north-west corner which was constructed around the same date with the mosque. Altınöz believes that the reason behind the construction of this masjid in such a close position is the absence of the last prayer hall. (Altınöz 1999, 118) The minaret of the mosque is attached to the northeast corner of the mosque. It is believed that the minaret is the original minaret of the former 16th century mosque. (Çam 2006, 179, Güzelbey 1992)

Building Materials: The mosque is constructed with white limestone and black basalt like many of the other buildings constructed in the city.

Facade Design: One of the most attractive features of the mosque is its two colored north (entrance) facade in which white and black stones are used alternatively. Yet, on the other facades, only white limestone is used except the pillars that are projected from

facades. (Figure 136 and 137) The north facade is arranged with a high and large arch, which is very similar to the portals in Seljuk architecture. This arch, which is formed with engaged columns, essentially frames the entrance door and two windows. The projections of the pillars divide the facade into three parts. In the each section, the large arched windows are placed at the base and the small windows on the second row. For all four facades, the small windows on the corners are blanked windows due to the low squinches. Other than the projected pillars which divide the facades vertically, the moldings in the middle surround all around the mosque and also divide the mosque horizontally. Another interesting point about the mosque is its mihrab facade arrangement. In order to provide integrity on the all facades, two blind windows are added at the back of the mihrab niche. Thus, a small closure is created at the back of the mihrab niche of which the entrance is provided with two small doors on two sides of this niche. (Figure 138 and 139)

Even though there are not any archival documents on the architect or the master builders of the mosque, Güzelbey believes that the Armenian architect Ermenak and master builder Krikor were responsible from the design and the construction of the mosque. (Güzelbey 1992, 28) Those builders also constructed the city's biggest Armenian Church, Meryem Ana Church in the 19th century that is used as a mosque today with the name Kurtuluş Mosque. (Altınöz 1999, 117) It should be noted here that the church and the mosque both have a very similar window arrangement. Thus, it can be said that the similarities between these two 19th century's edifices are results of the architectural understandings of the architect and master builder. (Figure 140)

1.14. Aziziye Mosque in Pınarbaşı

Other Given Names: Merkez Mosque, Yeni Mosque

Date: Based on the inscription panel on the entrance door, the mosque was constructed between the years 1903 and 1912. But another inscription panel found inside of the mosque shows the date 1870. (Figure 141) It can be said that the mosque was constructed in 1870 and underwent a restoration in 1903.

Location: The mosque was constructed in the historical center of the city.

Founder: Based on the old inscription panel, the mosque was constructed by Abdülaziz I and Sivas governor in 1870. The later inscription panel only addresses Sivas Governor Ahmet Mağmur as the founder of the mosque in 1903.

Plan: The mosque has a square prayer hall (12 m. x 12 m.) which is covered with a dome raised on a baldachin. (Figure 142) The baldachin is supported by four vaults and four small domes on the corners. (Figure 143 and 144) These four vaults are hidden with another hipped roof structure from the outside of the mosque. On the north, the last prayer hall is divided into three parts. While the two sides are covered with domes, the taller middle part is covered with a vault. Between the main prayer hall and the last prayer hall, the square based minaret of the mosque is placed on the top of the entrance door. Two staircases on the two sides of the door provide access the top of the minaret (to balcony). The plan of the mosque is very similar to Adiyaman and Burhaniye Great Mosques.

Building Materials: The mosque and the minaret were constructed with red cut stone masonry. The white stones in the last prayer hall were added during the later restoration. (VGM Reports 2011)

Facade Design: The four triangular pediments on four facades are one of the most distinct features of the mosque. (Figure 145, 146, 147 and 148) These four triangular walls hide the cover structures. The central dome can be seen from the outside with the help of the cylindrical drum which adds additional height. The window arrangements of the whole facades are almost the same to each other, except the mihrab facade. The five rounded arch windows are lined on the east and west facades. The molding which surrounds the mosque, divides the triangular pediment part from the lower body. There are two small windows on those triangular parts. The last payer hall is located on the north side of the mosque. It is facade has three ogee arches. The middle one is taller and larger than ones at the sides. The triangular pediment is also repeated on this facade.

1.15. Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Mosque in Söğüt

Other Given Names: Çarşı Mosque

Date: The former mosque on this site was constructed by Mehmed I (Çelebi Mehmed) in the beginning of the 15th century. (Erken 1977, II, 88) Erken states that today's mosque was constructed during Abdülhamid II's reign, yet he does not provide a full citation or an exact. (Ibid) In 1905, Abdülhamid II constructed a new mosque, Hamidiye Mosque very close to this mosque, on the northern part of the city. Thus it can be stated that the restoration of the former mosque could have started during the construction of the Hamidiye Mosque.

Location: The mosque is located in the center of the city. In the 19th century, the government hall is constructed across this mosque. (VGM Reports 2011) (Figure 149)

Founder: It is believed that the former mosque was totally ruined except the body of its minaret, and today's mosque was founded by Abdülhamid II. In the list of Sultan's waqf works, the restoration of one of the mosques in Bilecik is mentioned. (Önal and Bekçi 2007, 22) Furthermore, the name of the mosque also cites in the list of Abdülhamid II's jubilee structures. (Duymaz 2003, 115)

Plan: The mosque is covered with 12 small domes which is called as Bursa style in architectural history. However, the high and narrow supporting arches of domes create a distinguishable space perception than the multi-domes Bursa style mosque plan. (Figure 150 and 151) It is believed that during the restoration works in 1905, the already exits columns were used for the new mosque. Thus the old plan had to be reinterpreted with a new space concept similar to Kütahya Great Mosque.

Building Materials: The mosque is constructed with cut stone masonry. In the minaret which was constructed in the 15th century, the brick and cut stone is used alternatively.

Facade Design: The mosque has a very simple and plain facade arrangement. Round-arch large windows are used together with the elliptical windows on the upper row of the all facades. Three entrances of the mosque are on the east, west and north facades (Figure 152, 153 and 154)

1.16. Hamidiye Mosque in Söğüt

Other Given Names: Çifte Minareli Mosque

Date: Based on the inscription panel on the entrance door, the mosque was constructed in 1905.

Location: It is located on the newly developed northern part of the city. (Figure 149) The Hamidiye High School (*İdadi*) was constructed across the mosque. Between the mosque and the school, a small piazza can be defined. (Figure 155)

Founder: The inscription panel indicates Abdülhamid II as the founder of the mosque. Additionally, the name of the mosque also cites in the list of Abdülhamid II's jubilee structures. (Duymaz 2003, 115)

Plan: The square main prayer hall which is covered with one big dome (8,80 meter diameter) is extended by a two-storied closed last prayer hall. The four corners of the mosque are occupied by four weigh towers. The second floor of the closed last prayer hall is also used as the gallery of the mosque by its balconies extended above the main hall. (Figure 156)

Building Materials: The mosque is constructed with red cut stone masonry.

Facade Design: The mosque consists of two main body, the two storied closed last prayer hall part, and the main prayer hall which is slightly higher than the prayer hall part. This division can be observed in their facade arrangements. (Figure 157) The front part has a portal like high and decorated entrance door. Two colored construction material divides both three the facades into two parts. The windows are framed with the red color stone. The corners of the structure are beveled. On the two sides of the north (entrance) facade, the bodies of the two minarets are cited. While usually provincial mosques have one minaret, Konya Aziziye, Malatya Great and Söğüt Hamidiye Mosques have two minarets. The windows arrangements on west and south facades of the main body are elaborated with ogee arched windows frames on the upper row. Furthermore, those windows are much higher and larger than the south facade. (Figure 158 and 159)

1.17. Merkez Mosque in Tomarza

Other Given Names: None

Date: Based on the two inscription panels on entrance door, the former mosque was constructed in 1745 by Hacı Hüseyin. After the collapse of the old mosque in an unknown date, today's mosque was constructed with the help of *Müderris* (religious school teacher) Hacı Hafız in the name of Abdülhamid II in 1906. (Özbek 2011, 59)

Location: Today the mosque is located on the one side of a small square shaped by the mosque and the official building of *müftü*⁵⁵ (*müftülük binası*) which was constructed in the same years.

Founder: The mosque was founded by Abdülhamid II and Hacı Hafız.

Plan: The mosque is covered with one big dome (9 meters diameter) and a vault on the north side. While the main dome is heightened with a polygonal drum, the vaulted part

⁵⁵ *Müftü* was an official who was in charge of Islamic affairs for a province or a district.

is also hidden with a pitch roof. (Figure 160) The visual connection with the domed part and vaulted part is interrupted by the columns and arches. (Figure 161 and 162) The last prayer hall was closed during a recent renovation.

Building Materials: It was constructed with cut stone masonry.

Facade Design: Such as Adıyaman Great, Ayvalık Hamidiye, Balıkesir Zağnos Paşa, Burhaniye Great and Pınarbaşı Aziziye Mosque, Tomarza mosque has triangular pediment like facade on its south, east and west sides. The rounded arched windows are modified with engaged columns on the two sides, in the upper part of the each facade. (Figure 163 and 164)

1.18. Malatya Yeni (New) Mosque

Other Given Names: Teze Mosque, Great Mosque, Hacı Yusuf Mosque

Date: Based on Mamurat-ül Aziz (Malatya) annual book, there was a timber mosque on the same site which was called Hacı Yusuf Mosque which was demolished during the earthquake in 1893. (Işık 1998, 412, 499) The construction of the today's mosque was immediately started in the same year however the undrained ground caused a long delay. In the same annual book account, it is also said that the new mosque was built in 'new architecture style' with two fountains, 24-cells madrasa, one minaret and a summer kiosk. Today, the mentioned attributions are not seen except a free standing minaret which is former mosque's only remaining part. (Işık 1998, 500) However, Işık indicates a bath near the mosque, which was constructed in the same years. (Ibid, 502) In the 1908 annual book, it is stated that the mosque was almost finished except its cover system. (Ibid) Based on a construction photograph taken around 1909, the mosque seemed as almost finished except its minarets. (Figure 165)

Location: Işık claims that during the construction year, this neighborhood, called as *carsı* (bazaar), was the most central and crowded place of the city. (Işık, 502)

Founder: The construction was started during Abdülhamid II's reign, and was finished during Mehmed VI's reign.

Plan: The mosque has a large square main prayer hall with 20 x 22 meters. Its 9.70 meters diameter dome is raised on a baldachin scheme and sits on a cylindrical drum, supported by four vaults on the four sides. (Figure 166) Four small domes cover the four corners of the mosque. The mihrab section is also stressed with its lower height than the

rest of the building. The only gallery is placed on the upper part of the northern side. (Figure 167 and 168) The five parted last prayer hall, covered with five small domes is ended with minarets in its east and west sides. There is not a defined courtyard for the mosque today. Due to the sloppy lot, the northern part is elevated, thus there are staircases in front of the three entrances of the mosque. The ablution fountains are placed on those lower parts. The free standing minaret on the north-east corner is the former Hacı Yusuf Mosque's minaret.

Building Materials: The mosque is constructed with cut stone masonry.

Facade Design: All four facades of the mosque have a very similar arrangement except a few changes. (Figure 169 and 170) Two rows of large and high windows are placed in symmetry. On the east and west facades, windows are cited on the projection of the large load bearing arch in three row. The windows of the vaulted structures are much narrower and shorter than the others. On the south facade, the mihrab projection is framed by arches. Similar to east and west facades, the traces of the inner arches can be read form outside.

1.19. Firzovik (Ferizaj-Ferizovik) Great Mosque

Other Given Names: Merkez Mosque

Date: Even though the exact construction date of the mosque is not known, it is believed that the mosque was constructed during Abdülhamid II's era, since the name of the mosque is cited in the list of the charity works of the sultan. (Önal and Bekçi 2007, 12)

Location: The mosque is located on the center of the city, near to the clock tower which was also constructed during the 19th century. (Figure 171) (İbrahimgil and Konuk 2006, 197) Furthermore, it is located near the railway which was originally started in Thessaloniki and reached Kosovo in 1873. (Figure 172)

Founder: Since the name of the mosque is listed in the charity works of Abdülhamid II, it can be said that he is the founder of the mosque.

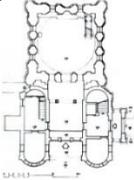
Plan: The mosque has a rectangular plan type which covered with single dome. There is a last prayer hall in front of the mosque. (Figure 173) One of the interesting points of the mosque is its double minarets. The minarets are placed on the northeastern and northwestern corners of the mosque, yet one of them was ruined. Another interesting point is the double-shell dome of the mosque. While the mosque was covered with a large and lower dome from the inside, another high dome stands on the octagonal drum from outside. (Figure 174)

Building Materials: The mosque is constructed with cut stone masonry.

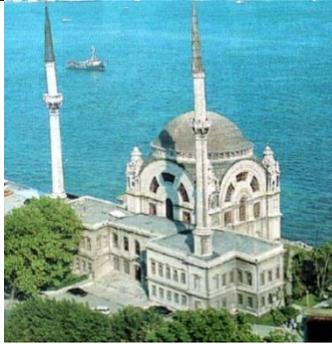
Facade Design: The east, west and south facades of the mosque have a similar window arrangement; the high and large pointed arched windows are placed on those facades. Yet the windows of the closed last prayer hall have a distinct arrangement with its rounded arch high and narrow frames. (Figure 175)

APPENDIX 2

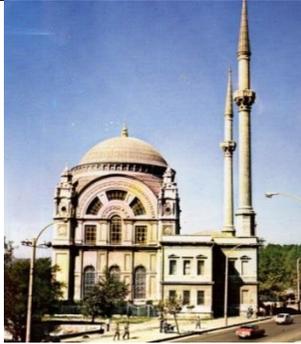
BRIEF INFORMATION ON THE SULTANS' MOSQUES IN THE CAPITAL

2.1. Küçük Mecidiye Mosque			
			
(Author 2011)	(Author 2011)	(Author 2011)	(Tuğlacı 1990, 380)
<p>Date, Founder and Architect: The mosque is constructed in 1848. (Kuban 2007, 634) While Kuban states that Garabet Balian is the architect of the mosque (ibid), Tuğlacı claims that the mosque was commissioned to Nigoğos Balian by Abdülmecid I. (Tuğlacı 1990, 378)</p>			
<p>Plan and Elevation: Where the single unit, square structure was repeated in the prayer halls of the mosques designed by Balian family in this century, the architectural interpretation of the façades and sultan's lodges were unique solutions for each case. In Mecidiye Mosque, rooms were located on both sides of a long entrance sofa in the center. A royal entrance for the Sultan was designed from the West, Yıldız Parkı. (Kuban 2007, 634) The square main prayer hall is covered with single 11.20 meters diameter dome. Large and high rounded arched windows are placed symmetrically in the all facades of the mosque.</p>			
			
(Author 2011)	(Author 2011)	(Author 2011)	(S. Batur, Mecidiye Cami 1994, 315)

2.2. Bezm-i Alem Valide (Dolmabahçe) Mosque



(A. Batur 1994, 88)



(Tuğlacı 1990, 111)



(Tuğlacı 1990, 111)



(Tuğlacı 1990, 111)

Date, Founder and Architect: Dolmabahçe Mosque was commissioned by Bezm-i Alem Valide Sultan, the mother of Abdülmecid in 1852-53 on the old Beşiktaş Palace grounds. Yet, the construction of the mosque was completed under the commission of Abdülmecid in 1855 after the passing away of the mother Sultan. Garabet Balian built his first palace at Dolmabahçe in 1853 together with the Dolmabahçe Mosque. (Kuban 2007, 634) (Tuğlacı 1990, 109)

Plan and Elevation: The mosque is located in a courtyard, on whose northeast corner a *sebil* and a *muvakkithane* was placed among the dependencies of the mosque. The court is set beside the palace garden where the clock tower stands. It can be interpreted that the mosque was composed of two distinct attached masses. First was the prayer hall, the single unit domed space of Baroque style. Second if the sultan's lodge attached on the entrance of the mosque in Neoclassical style. In the mosque, the sultan's lodge was designed in a way to totally replace last prayer hall's portico in the front. Now that, the entrance to the mosque is through the center of the arcade in the middle of the symmetrically arranged lodge. Hence, both the mosque and the sultan's lodge were accessed from this same space. In addition, the lodge had secondary entrances from the rear façade, in other words from the sea side. Similar to other examples from the same period, the minarets were constructed on the corners of the lodge not on those of the mosque. (Kuban 2007, 634)

2.3. Teşvikiye Mosque



(Author 2011)



(Author 2011)



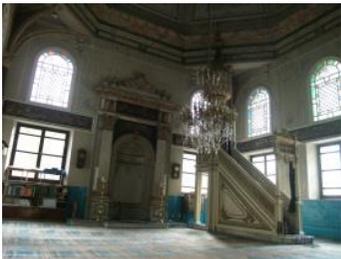
(Author 2011)



(Author 2011)

Date, Founder and Architect: Teşvikiye Mosque was commissioned by Abdülmecid in the newly developing Teşvikiye district in 1854-55 in the place of the mosque founded by Selim III in 1794-95. (Kuban 2007, 639, A. Batur 1994, 257)

Plan and Elevation: In Teşvikiye Mosque as well, a sultan's lodge, which occupied twice the space of the single unit, domed prayer hall was constructed in its front. The façade of the building reminds that of a mansion, which is articulated with triple arcaded openings. The elevated arcades and the pediment on their top resemble triumphal arches. Apart from the sections on both sides of the entrance, the mosque, the dome, and the minaret, the mansion-like character of the façade is evident.



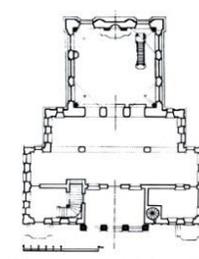
(Author 2011)



(Author 2011)



(Author 2011)



(A. Batur 1994, 257)

2.4. Büyük Mecidiye (Ortaköy) Mosque



(Author 2011)



(VGM Archive retrieved in 2011)



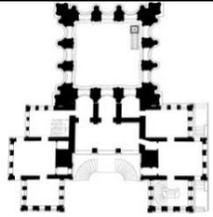
(VGM Archive retrieved in 2011)



(A. Batur 1994, 143)

Date, Founder and Architect: Ortaköy Mosque was commissioned by Abdülmecid in 1853 to Nigoğos Balian. (Kuban 2007, 638, Tuğlacı 1990, 381) Pamukciyan believes that Hovhannes Serveryan was the architect of the mosque. (Pamukciyan 2003, 143-5) However, Can claims that Artin Kalfa prepared the architectural project of the mosque. (Can 2010, 108)

Plan and Elevation: Ortaköy Mosque, as well, was designed in two distinctive attached masses. The single unit, square based prayer hall is flamboyantly designed in terms of its façade plasticity in particular. Even, this architecture can be likened one of the previous designs of the architect, which was the Grand Ceremonial Hall and its monumental entrance of the Dolmabahçe Palace. The sultan's lodge of Ortaköy Mosque which was divided by the entry, was twice the size of the prayer hall. This lodge, neoclassical in style, was built symmetrically, where a monumental entrance was situated in its center. The minarets have stone finials and they have only one şerefe (minaret balcony). The corner piers with large turrets frame the tympanums which have three big windows in each of its two stories. The interior is lit and rich in marble.



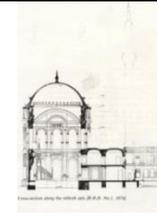
(Kuban 2007, 638)



(Tuğlacı 1990, 390)

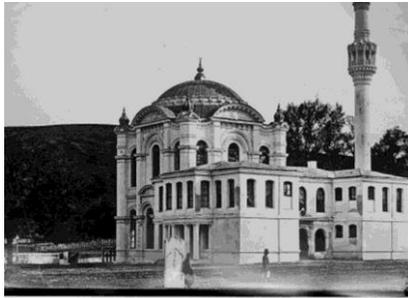


(Tuğlacı 1990, 391)



(Tuğlacı 1990, 391)

2.5. Sadabat (Aziziye, Çağlayan) Mosque



(Source: www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/ggbain.03307)



(Source: www.panoramio.com/photo/36026398)



(S. Batur 1994, 387)



(S. Batur 1994, 387)

Date, Founder and Architect: Sadabat Mosque was commissioned by Abdülaziz in 1862 to Sarkis and Agop Balian in the place of the first Sadabat Mosque, which was constructed together with the Sadabat Kasrı in 1722. (Kuban 2007, 639) Batur and Tuğlacı give only Sarkis Balian's name as the architect of the mosque. (S. Batur 1994, 386, Tuğlacı 1990, 485)

Plan and Elevation: Similar to the other façade designs of the mosques they designed, Balian's displayed their desire for articulating a new façade composition in each of the mosque buildings. This façade of this mosque can be regarded as a quite unsuccessful version of the façade of Ortaköy Mosque. The arrangement of the window openings for the most part reflects influences of the church façades of the late baroque style. Opposed to the extravagance of the exterior articulation inside the main prayer hall is rather modest. Yet, the minaret of the mosque has an ornate balcony. However, the sultan's lodge attached to the mosque on its side displays an ordinary exterior articulation of a civic building.

2.6. Pertevniyal Valide Mosque



(A. Batur 1994, 360)



(Author 2011)



(Author 2011)



<http://www.discoverislamicart.org>

Date, Founder and Architect: The Pertevniyal Valide Mosque, commissioned by the mother of Abdülaziz in Aksaray in 1871 is attributed to Montani by Eyice and Kuban and to Agop Balian by Pamukciyan. (Kuban 2007, 640) Tuğlacı states that Agop and Sarkis Balian were the architects of the mosque. (Tuğlacı 1990, 538)

Plan and Elevation: The widening of the streets diminishes the courtyard and dismantles the elaborate gates. The last prayer hall is a domed square which is painted with massed rich color. Hence, Pertevniyal Mosque is a significant example of the period, for the main prayer hall is the mosque gets bigger while the sultan's lodge does not, unlike the other nineteenth century mosques. Still, there is a large sultan's lodge, which is emphasized with the corner lodges on the sides of the mosque. The entrance to the mosque is through the three sofas on the same axis. The main prayer hall is widened with narrow and deep branches under the dome. Hence, the mosque becomes one of the landmarks in one of the oldest centers of the city due to the articulation and ornamentation of its façade. The retaining walls of the courtyard of the mosque no longer exist. The only remaining part of these walls is the ornate entrance, which is similar to triumphal arches.



(Tuğlacı 1990, 540)



(Tuğlacı 1990, 541)



(Tuğlacı 1990, 541)



<http://www.discoverislamicart.org/zoom.php?img>

2.7. Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque



(Kuban 2007, 641)



(Kuban 2007, 641)



(Author, 2011)



(Tuğlacı 1990, 500)

Date, Founder and Architect: Hamidiye Mosque was commissioned by Abdülhamid II in Yıldız Palace in 1885 is attributed to Sarkis Balian. (Tuğlacı 1990, 497, Kuban 2007, 641) Both Can and Ersoy states that based on the archival documents the plan and the models of the mosque prepared by Nikolaki Kalfa who was the chief architect of the *Ebniye Müdürlüğü* during the construction years. (Can 2010, 84-5, Ersoy 2010)

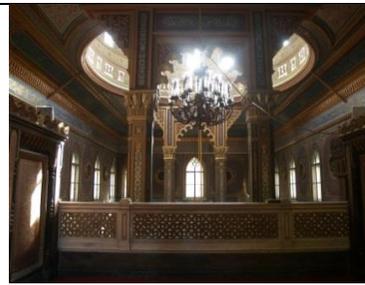
Plan and Elevation: Hamidiye Mosque is the last example of the dominated sultan lodge structure in the Ottoman Mosques. Late Gothic style ornamentation and orientalist figures are observed on the huge portal-like gate of the entrance façade of the mosque. This kind of a portal-gate has never seen again in the Ottoman Mosque.



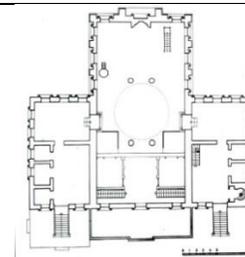
(Tuğlacı 1990, 501)



(Author, 2011)



(Author, 2011)



(Metu F.A. Dia Archive, retrieved in 2013)

2.8. Hidayet Mosque



http://www.hayalleme.com/wp-content/uploads/dsc_0114.jpg



http://wowturkey.com/t.php?p=/tr567/yasinyilmaz_hidayet_camii_3.jpg



<http://www.panoramio.com>



http://wowturkey.com/t.php?p=/tr344/ridvan_k_Goruntu085.jpg

Date, Founder and Architect: The mosque is constructed by Vallaury in 1887. (Akpolat 1991, 59) There was a wooden structure mosque in the same site which was constructed by Mahmut II in 1813. (Öz, İstanbul Camiler I, II 1987, 71) The former mosque was ruined and today's mosque is constructed by Abdülhamid II. (Akpolat 1991, 59)

Plan and Elevation: The two storied mosque is covered with single dome. It has a very modest harim part and last prayer hall in its second story. The horseshoe and gothic arched large and wide windows constitute the facades. This kind of a window arrangement causes an eclectic structure to the mosque.



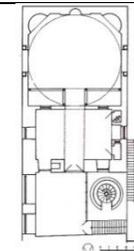
http://farm6.staticflickr.com/5096/5440102312_4f34db9d7a_o.jpg



http://wowturkey.com/t.php?p=/tr344/ridvan_k_Goruntu096.jpg

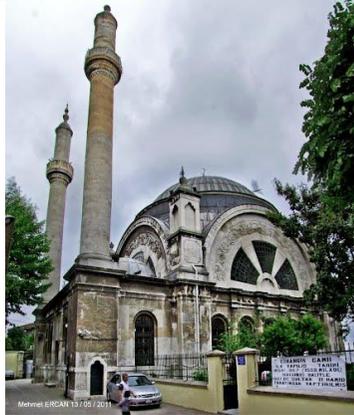


http://wowturkey.com/t.php?p=/tr344/ridvan_k_Goruntu089.jpg



(Akpolat 1991, 281)

2.9. Cihangir Mosque



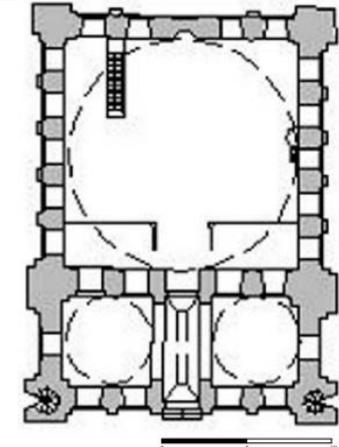
(Author, 2010)



(Arlı 1994, 430)



(Uzun 2008, 37)



(Arlı 1994, 430)

Date, Founder and Architect: The first mosque in this site was constructed in 1559, founded by Süleyman I for his departed son Cihangir. The mosque is listed in *Tezkiret-ül Ebniye* as a work of architect Sinan. Both the first mosque and other four mosques constructed in the same site were burned. (Arlı 1994) Today's mosque was constructed in 1889, by Abdülhamid II. It is believed that Sarkis Balian is the architect of the mosque (Arlı 1994), yet Tuğlacı does not mention the mosque in the Balian family's construction list.

Plan and Elevation: The mosque has a very basic plan type that shows very strike similarity with the 16th century mosques with its three domed last prayer hall and small single dome harim part. On the other hand, the large and high windows on the east and west facades and also the three windows in the inner part of the arches are very consistent with the facade characteristic of the other 19th century mosques in the capital.

APPENDIX 3

ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS ON BALIKESİR ZAĞNOS PASHA MOSQUE

Belge - VIII Balıkesir'e Gönderilecek Kerestelerle İlgili Şehremanetinin Tezkiresi
(Y. MTV., 172/108).

Şehremaneti

Geçende arz ve iş'âr kılındığı üzere Balıkesir ve civarında vukûa gelen hareket-i arzdan musâb olan ahalinin îvâ ve iskânları (yerleştirme) ile münhedim olan hanelerinin tamiri zımında orada memûren bulunan yâverân-ı hazret-i şehriyârîden Ferik Vehbi Paşa hazretleri tarafından irsâli lüzûmu iş'âr olunan otuz bin kaplama ve yirmi bin sandıklı tahtasıyla muhtelif çapta on bin lâta mübâyaa edilip taleb olunan levâzımât-ı sıhhiyye ve tıbbiyye dahi tesyâr kılınmış (gönderilmiş) ve kerestelerle levâzımât-ı mezkûre Bandırma'ya vâsıl olduğu ve ahz ve kabzına mübâderet olunduğu (teslim alınıp yerine ulaştırılmasına başlandığı) ve şimdilik levâzımât-ı sâireye lüzum ve ihtiyaç olmadığı Balıkesir'de bulunan müşârun-ileyh Vehbi Paşa hazretleriyle rüfekâsından (arkadaşlarından) cevaben alınan telgrafnamede bildirilmiş olduğundan ve îzâmı muktezâ-yı irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i hilâfet-penahîden olduğu geçen gün pîrâye-bahş-i enâmîl-i ibcâl olan tezkire-i aliyye-i atûfleriyle tebliğ buyurulan bir mimar ile müstaid (kabiliyetli) bir kalfa intihap (seçilip) ve tayin ve harcirahları dahi itâ (verilmesi) ve teslim edilmiş ise de o günden beri Bandırma'ya vapur olmadığı cihetle bi-mennihi'l-kerîm (kerem sahibi Tanrı'nın bağışlamasıyla) yarınki Cumaertesi günü hareket edecek vapurla azîmetleri mukarrer (görmeleri kararlaştırılmış) bulunduğundan arz-ı keyfiyete cür'et kılınmış olmağla ol-babda emr-u ferman hazret-i veliyyü'l-emrindir.

Fî 27 Ramazan sene 315 ve fî 6 Şubat sene 313 (18 Şubat 1898)

Şehremini Rıdvan

3.1. The Turkish translation of the document which was sent by İstanbul Municipality (*Şehremaneti*) to Balıkesir in 18 February 1898 for the reconstruction of the city after the earthquake. Source: (Yazıcı 2003, 115)

**Belge-X Hey'et-i Mahsûsa'nın Balıkesir'den Ayrılışı ve İşlerin Ömer Âlî
Bey'e Havalesi İradesi**
(İrade, Hususi, 1315 Zilkâde, 117).

Yıldız Saray-ı Hümayûnu
Başkitâbet Dairesi
13711

Barakalar inşâatı kâmilen hitam bulduğu misillû harab olan emâkinin icrâ-yı keşfi zımında Dersaâdet'ten îzâm kılınan **kalfa ve mimar dahi vazifelerini itmam ederek kendilerine ruhsat verilmek üzere bulunduğu ve hastahane** nede tedavi edilen **malûlîn** ve mecruhînin dahi kâmilen itâkat-yab (saglığına kavuşmuş) olmalarına mebnî etibbânın vücuduna dahi hacet kalmadığı cihetle gerek kendilerinin gerek etibbâ-yı mumâ-ileyhimin avdetleri Balıkesir'de bulunan Hey'et-i Mahsûsa tarafından arz ve istîzân edilmiş ve hey'et-i mezkûreyi teşkil eden zevât ile etibbâ-yı mumâ-ileyhimin Dersaâdet'e avdetleri ve Mutasarrıf-ı livânın istihsâl-i esbâb-ı mâmûriyet-i memlekete sarf-ı makderet ve gayret eylemesi ve inşâ olunan barakalar muvakkat şeyler olmasına ve ahâlfînin tûl (uzun) müddet barakalar altında kalmaları muvafık olamayacağına binaen keşfiyyâtı icra ve ikmal edilmiş olan emâkin-i mezkûrenin tadrîcen inşâatına başlanılmak üzere Meclis-i Mahsûs-ı Vükelâca müzakere-i keyfiyyet ve ittihaz-ı karar olunarak arz-ı atabe-i ulyâ kılınması hususlarına irade-i seneyye-i cenâb-ı hilâfet-penahî şeref-müteallık buyurulmuş olmağla ol-babda emr-u ferman hazret-i veliyyü'l-emrindir.

Fî 11 Zilkâde sene 315 ve fî 22 Mart 314 (3 Nisan 1898)

Serkâtib-i Hazret-i Şehriyarî
Tahsin

3.2. The Turkish translation of the document which was sent by Imperial Court (*Yıldız Hümayunu*) to Balıkesir Governor in 3 April 1898 for the reconstruction of the city after the earthquake. Source: (Yazıcı 2003, 118)

APPENDIX 4

THE LIST OF THE MOSQUES CONSTRUCTED BETWEEN 1839 AND 1914 IN IRAQ

1826 - 1830	Bağdad, Asafiye Camii.
1831	Bağdad, Esmâ Hanım Mescidi.
1832	Bağdad, Yuşa Nebi Camii.
1842	Musul, Abdullah Bey Camii.
1843	Bağdad, Arif Ağa Camii.
1846	Bağdad, Nazende Hatun Camii.
1850	Bağdad, Münevver Hatun Camii.
1851 - 1852	Bağdad, Saray ve Kışlası.
1852	Bağdad, Cüneyd Bağdadi Camii ve Türbesi.
1874	Bağdad, Muradiye Medresesi. Bağdad, Naile Hatun Camii.
1886	Bağdad, Şâbender Camii.
XIX. yy.	Bağdad, Kâzım Paşa Konağı. Bağdad, Süleyman Paşa Konağı. Bağdad, Eyyubi Ahmed Paşa Konağı. Bağdad, Ayşe Hatun Camii. Bağdad, Kanber Ali Camii. Bağdad, Sikkehane Mescidi. Bağdad, Keten Hanı. Erbil, Kale Camii. Erbil, Şeyh Abdülkerim Tekkesi. Erbil, Ömer Ağa Medresesi.
1900 - 1903	Bağdad, Hızır Bey Camii.
1902	Bağdad, Kâhya Camii.
1929	Bağdad, Osman Efendi Camii.
1933	Musul, Sabuncu Mehmed Paşa Camii.
XX. yy.	Bağdad, Paçacı Hanı.

The list taken from Uluçay's book *'Irak'taki Türk Mimari Eserleri'* (Turkish Architectural Heritage in Iraq). (Uluçam 1989, 228-9)

APPENDIX 5

SOME EXAMPLES ON THE OTTOMAN PROVINCIAL MOSQUES BETWEEN 15TH -18TH CENTURIES

				
<p>Niğde Diş Mosque (15th century). (Goodwin 1971, 316)</p>	<p>Gebze Çoban Mustaf Pasha Mosque (1510)</p>	<p>Tekirdağ Rüstem Pasha Mosque (1552)</p>	<p>Çankırı Great Mosque (1558) (Bayhan 2013)</p>	<p>Tokat Ali Pasha Mosque (1573) (Goodwin 1971, 314)</p>
				
<p>Kayseri Kurşunlu Mosque (1576) (Goodwin 1971, 316)</p>	<p>Manisa Muradiye Mosque (1578) (Goodwin 1971, 317)</p>	<p>Konya Şerafettin Mosque (1636) (Goodwin 1971, 351)</p>	<p>Van Kaya Çelebi Mosque (1663)</p>	<p>Nevşehir İbrahim Pasha Mosque (1726) (Goodwin 1971, 371)</p>

FIGURES

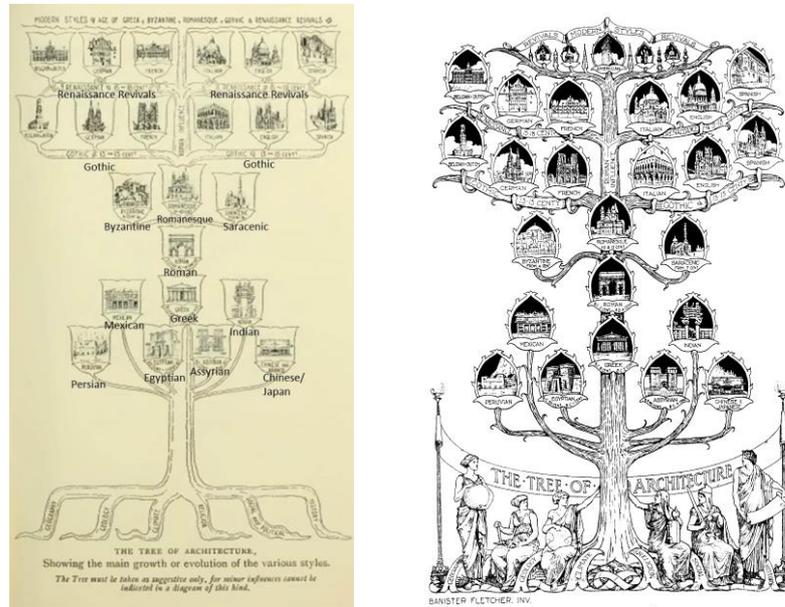


Figure. 1 Left: Tree of Architecture Source: Sir Banister Fletcher, A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method, 5th Edition, London, 1894. Right, Tree of Architecture in another edition of the same book.

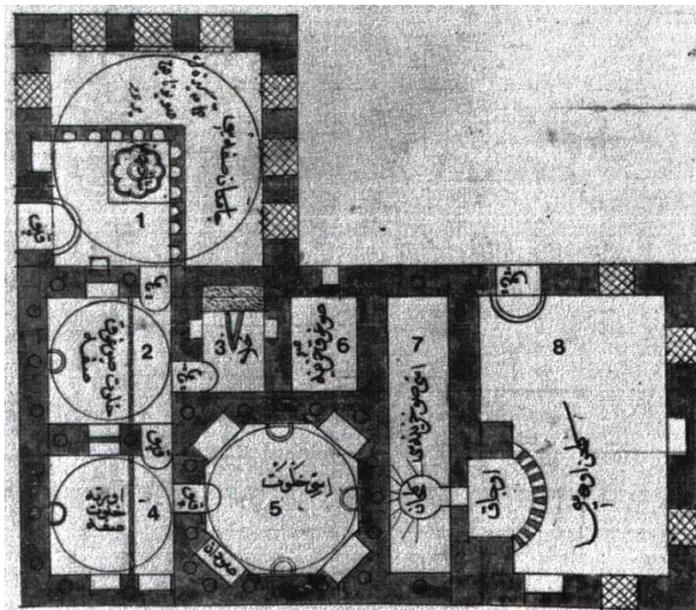


Figure. 2 Plan of an Ottoman bath, Vienna National Library, 1584-6. Source: (Necipoğlu-Kafadar 1986, 225)

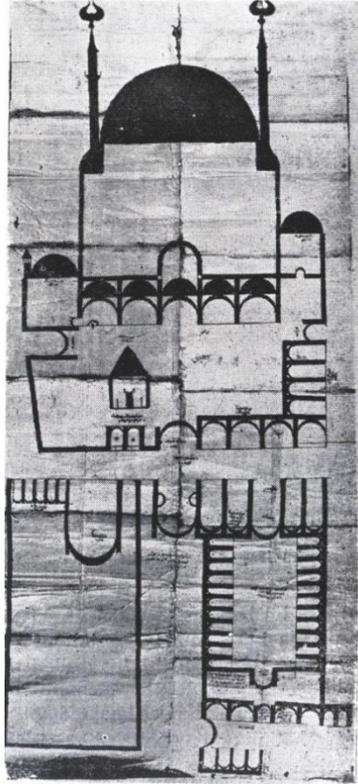


Figure. 3 Plan of an Ottoman mosque and its dependencies. Date is not known Source: (Ünsal 1963, 186)

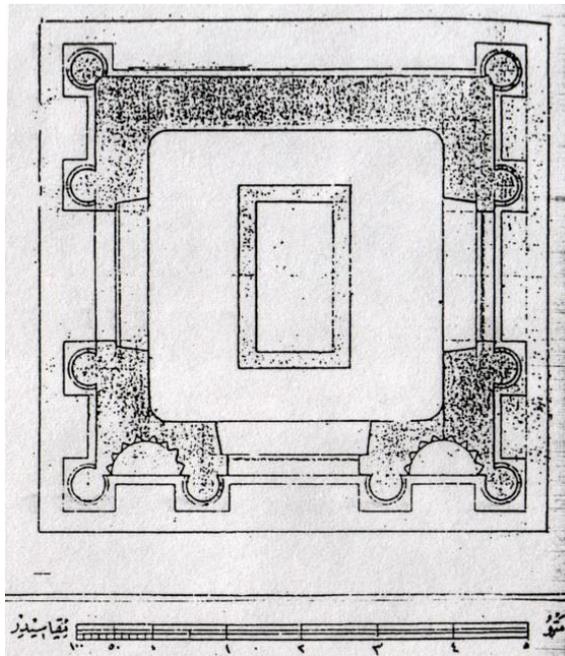


Figure. 4 Plan of the Edirne Kadir Pasha Tomb. Source: (Dündar 2004, 154)

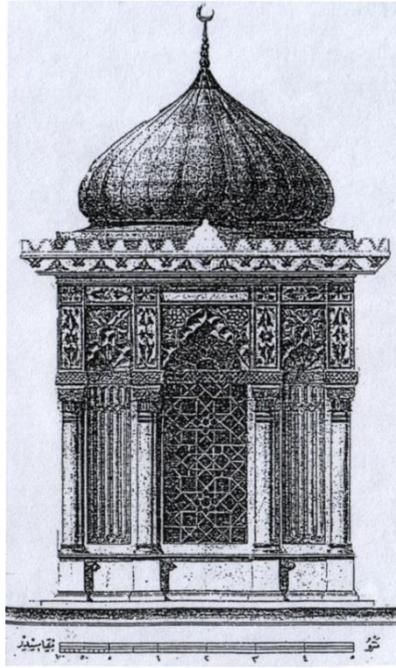


Figure. 5 Facade of the Edirne Kadir Pasha Tomb. Source: (Dündar 2004, 155)

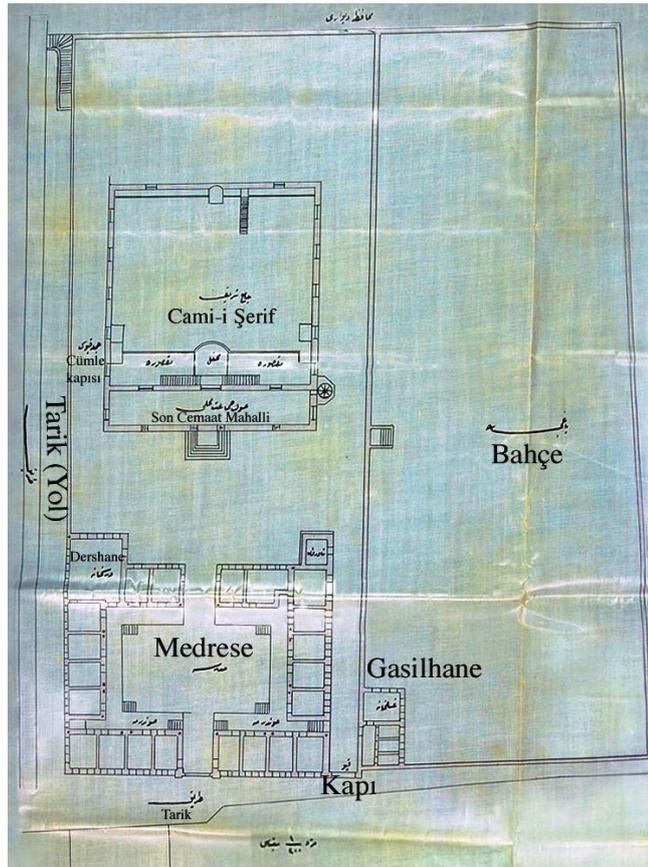


Figure. 6 Plan of the Rize Güneysu (Potomya) Hamidiye Mosque. Source: <http://muhammetsafi.blogcu.com/guney-su-potamya-buyuk-hamidiye-camisi-ve-medresesi/141565>

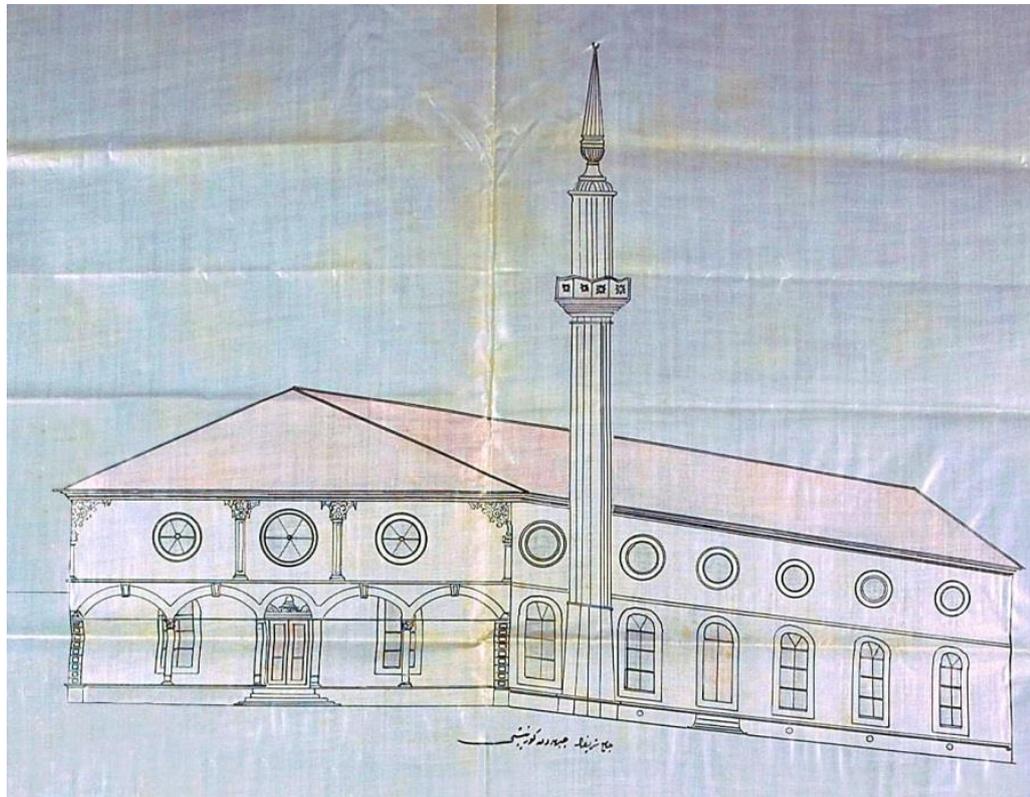


Figure. 7 Facade drawing of the Rize Güneysu (Potomya) Hamidiye Mosque. Source: <http://muhammetsafi.blogcu.com/guney-su-potamya-buyuk-hamidiye-camisi-ve-medresesi/141565>

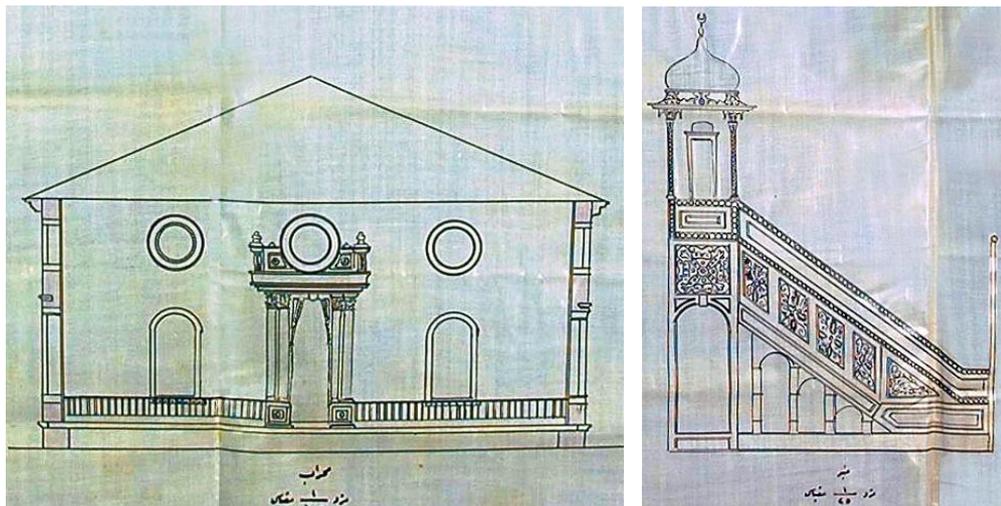


Figure. 8 Facade and minber drawings of the Rize Güneysu (Potomya) Hamidiye Mosque. Source: <http://muhammetsafi.blogcu.com/guney-su-potamya-buyuk-hamidiye-camisi-ve-medresesi/141565>

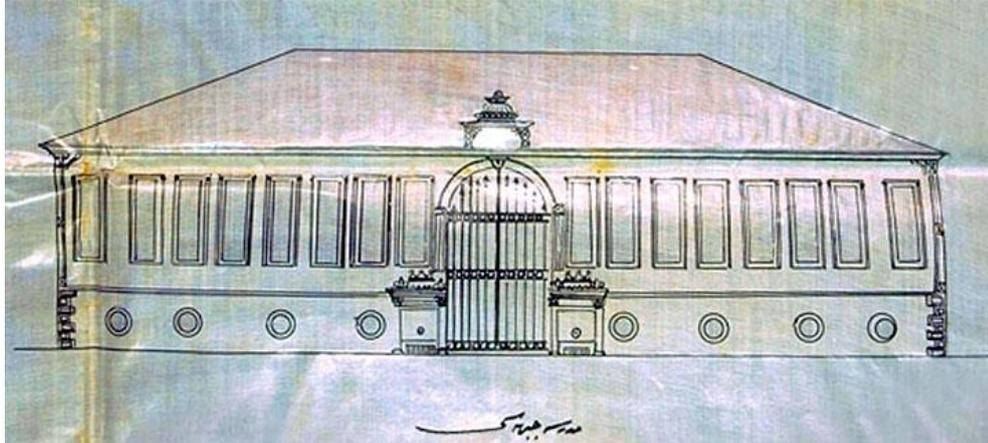


Figure. 9 Facade drawing of the Rize Güneysu (Potomya) Hamidiye Mosque. Source: <http://muhammetsafi.blogcu.com/guney-su-potamya-buyuk-hamidiye-camisi-ve-medresesi/141565>

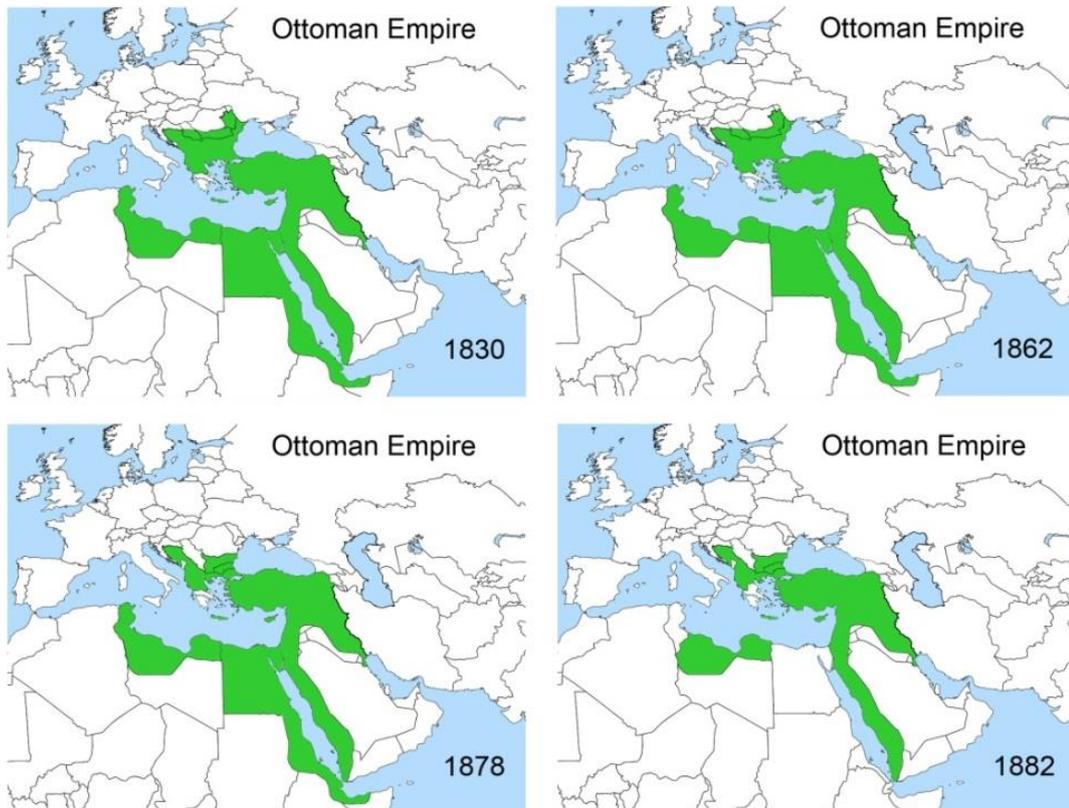


Figure. 10 Territorial changes of the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org>

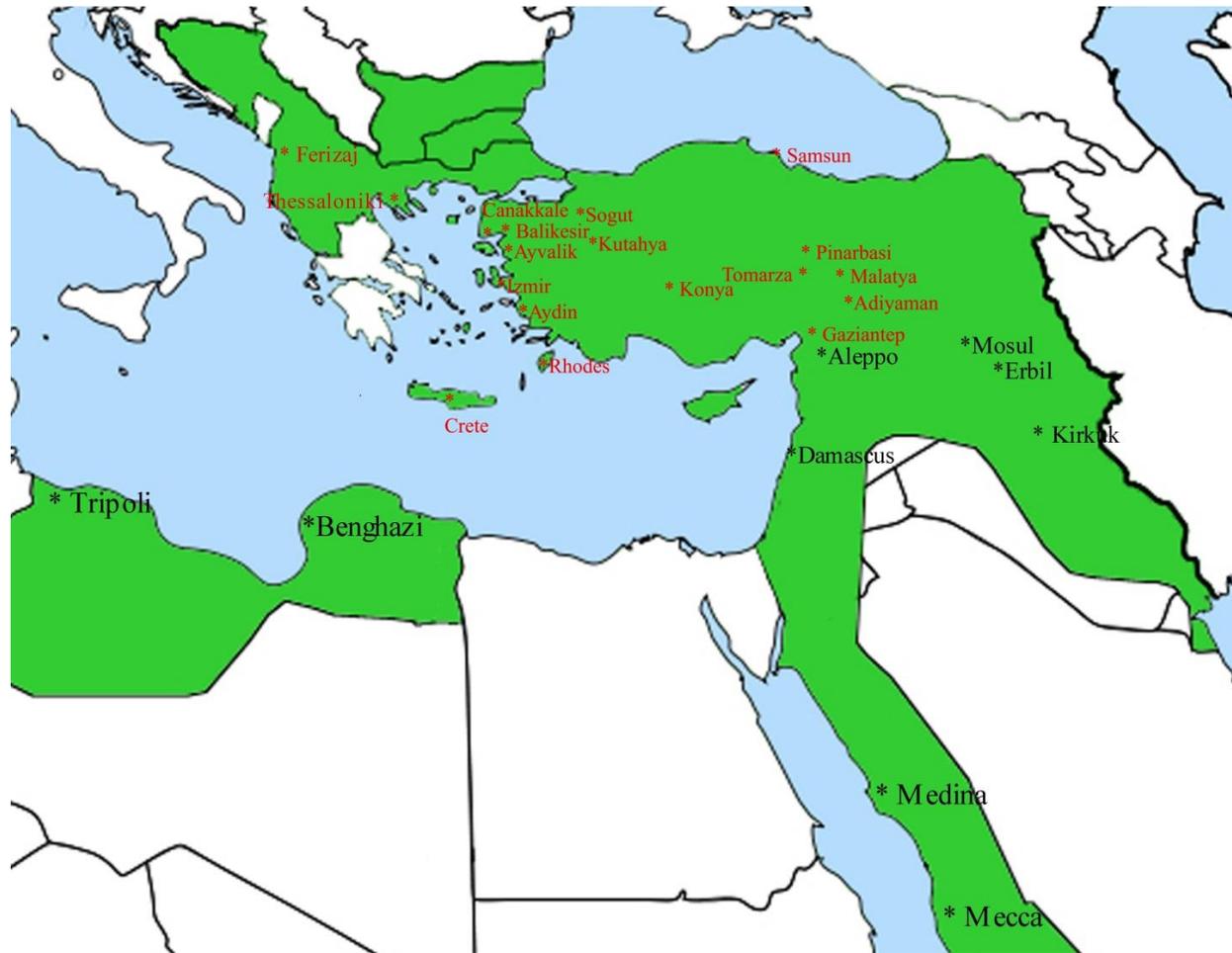


Figure. 11 Territorial map of the Ottoman Empire in 1882. The mentioned cities and some of the important centers are cited on the map by the author. The red ones are the cities of the cited mosques. Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org>

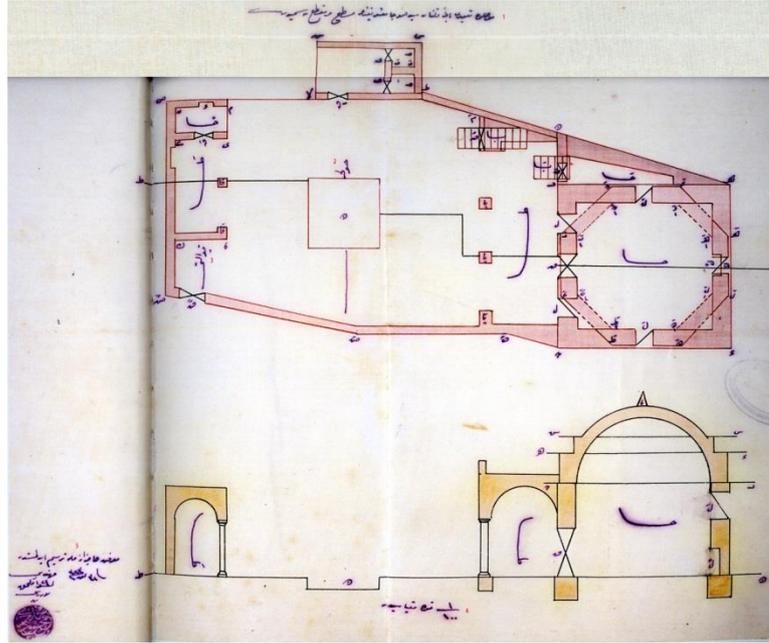


Figure. 12 Plan of the restored Seyyid Hamo Mosque in Mosul, founded in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives. Translations of the Ottoman writings on the plan: 1. The plan and section of the restored Seyyid Hamo Mosque in Mosul. 2. Courtyard 3. Under door 4. Scale is 1/100 5. It is drawn by me. (August 13, 1907_Rumi-July 31, 1323) Engineer 24 District Lieutenant Mehmed bin Mahmud. (Osmanlı Döneminde Irak 2006, 142-3)

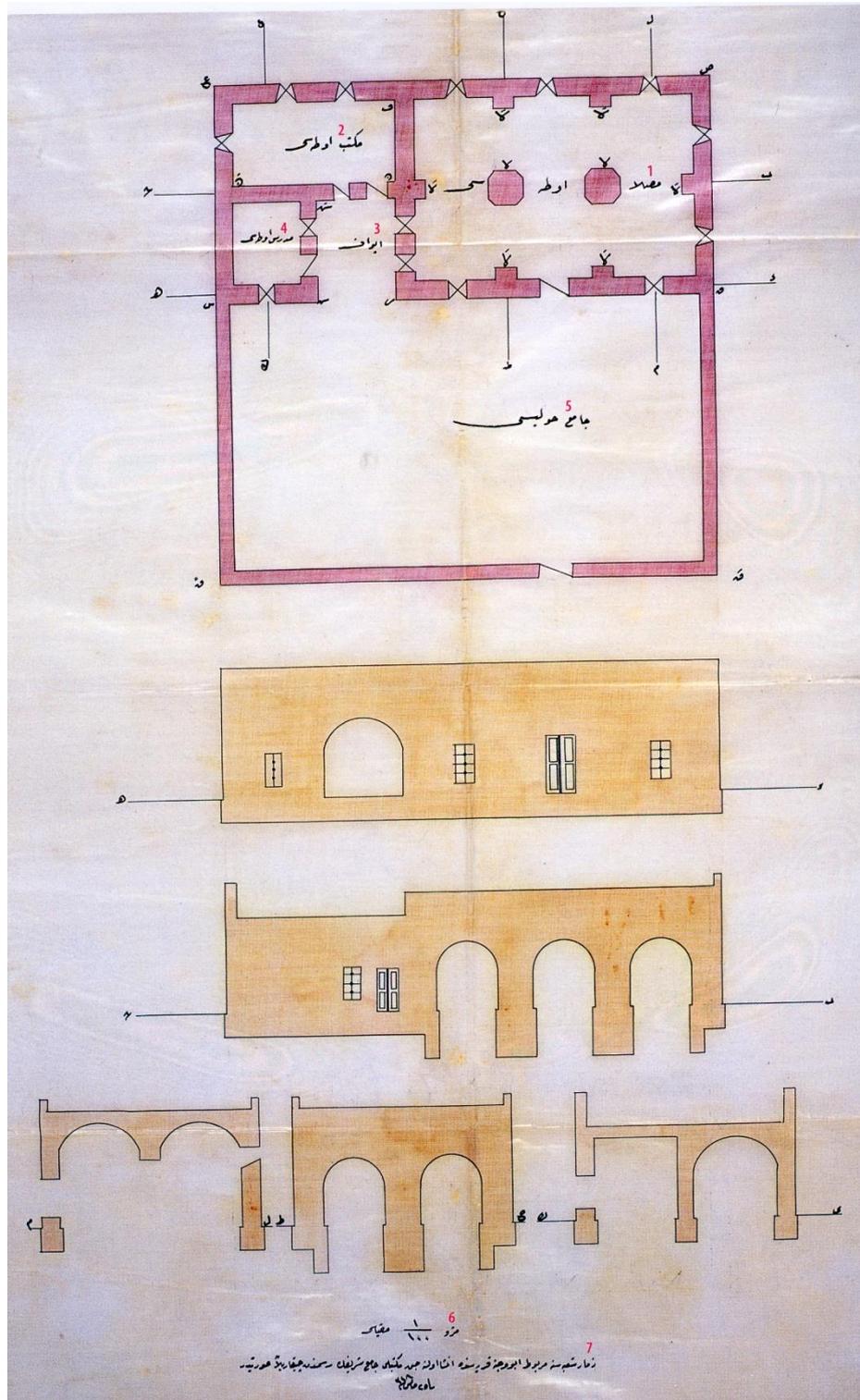


Figure. 13. Plan of the mosque with school to be built in Ebuvecne village in Zummar. Translations of the Ottoman writings on the plan: 1 Coffin Room, 2. School Room, 3. Iwan, 4. Director Room, 5. Mosque Courtyard, 6. Scale is 1/100, 7. This is the copy of the mosque with school project that will be constructed in Ebuvecne village in Zummar. (Osmanlı Döneminde Irak 2006, 144-5)

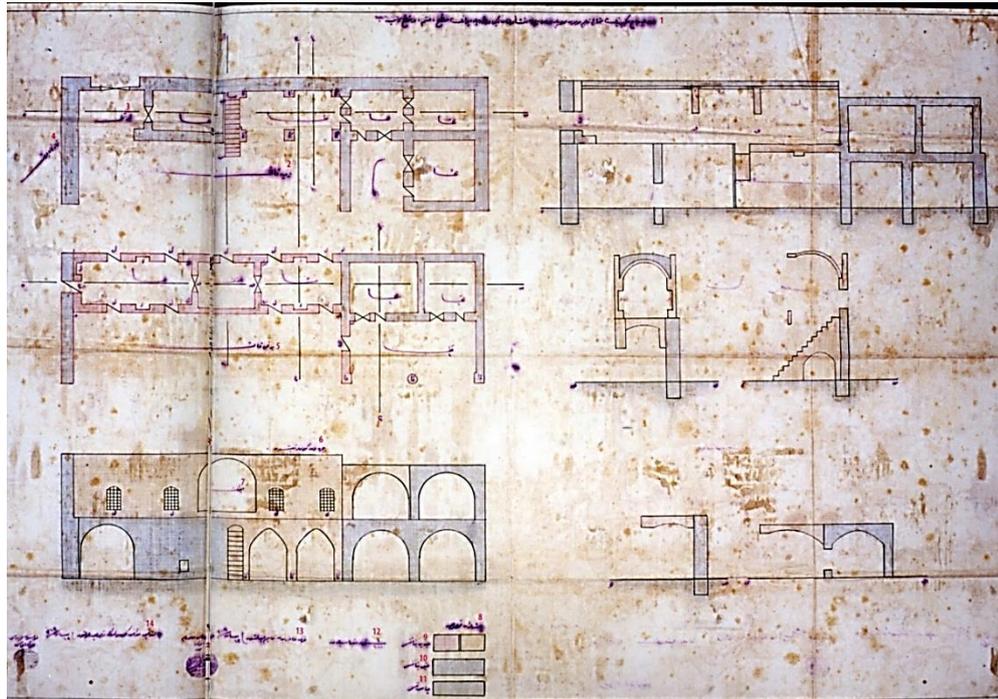


Figure. 14 Drawings of the Great Mosque in Salahiye. Translations of the Ottoman writings on the plan: 1. Plan showing the parts of the Great Mosque in Salahiye in need of restoration and of the room to be built for professors, 2. Ground Floor, 3. Under door, 4. Prayer hall, 5. First Floor, 6. Facade view, 7. Iwan, 8. Special Signs, 9. New building's parts, 10. Old building's parts, 11. Mud part, 12. Scale is 1/100, 13. It is drawn by me. (April 25, 1903_Rumi-April 12, 1319) Engineer First Lieutenant Mehmed bin Mahmud. 14. It is controlled and approved. (April 25, 1903_Rumi-April 12, 1319) (Osmanlı Döneminde Irak 2006, 166-7)



Figure. 15 An anonymous mosque at Rhodes from Abdülhamid II's photograph albums. The exact construction date is not known. (Çam 2000, 256)

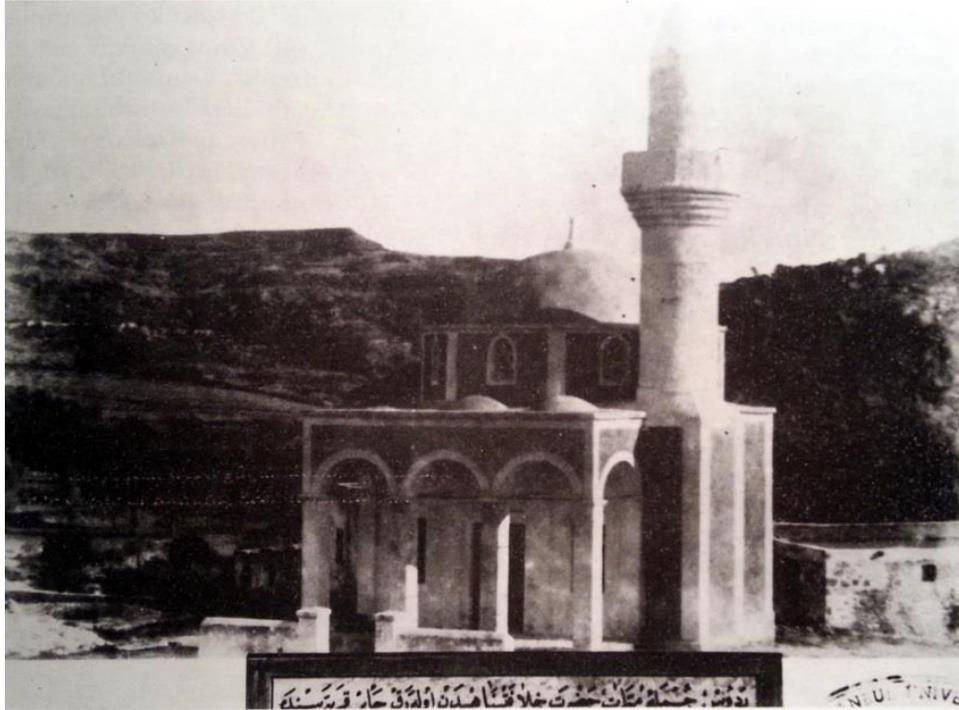


Figure. 16 A mosque constructed by Abdülhamid II (?) at the village of Çayır (?), Rhodes from Abdülhamid II's Photograph Albums. The exact construction date is not known. (Çam 2000, 281)

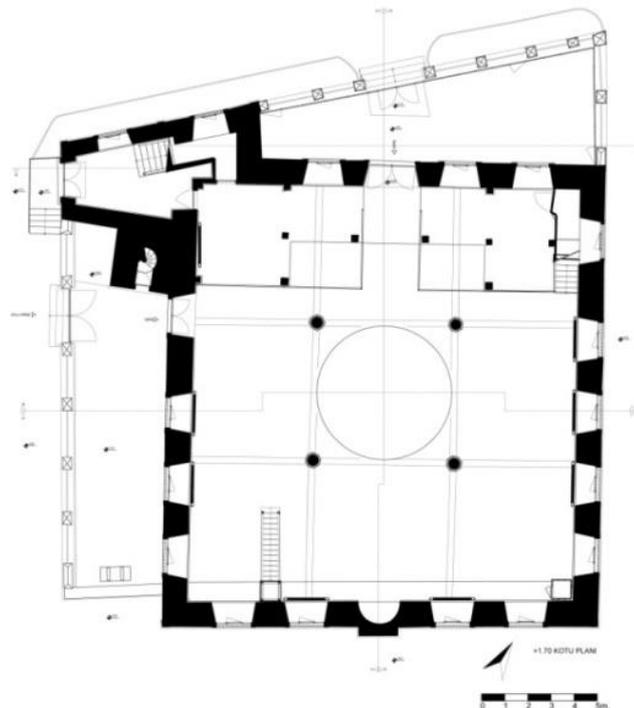


Figure. 17 The plan of the Çanakkale Fatih Mosque. Drawn by Dor Building Contractor, 2010. (Courtesy of Dor Building Contractor)



Figure. 18 Left: Çanakkale Fatih Mosque from the north-east corner. Source; VGM archive
 Right: The north facade of the Çanakkale Fatih Mosque. (Author, 2011)



Figure. 19 The main prayer hall of the Çanakkale Fatih Mosque. The wooden ceiling and the hidden dome is seen. (Author, 2011)

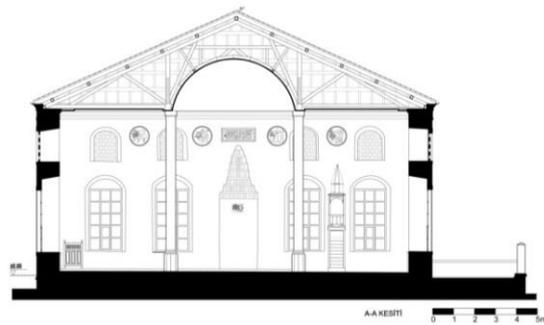


Figure. 20 Left: The timber-construction lodge of the Çanakkale Fatih Mosque. (Author, 2011)
 Right: The section of the Çanakkale Fatih Mosque. Drawn by Dor Building Contractor, 2010.
 (Courtesy of Dor Building Contractor)



Figure. 21 Left: The drawing and the photograph of the north facade of Çanakkale Fatih Mosque. Drawn by Dor Building Contractor, 2010. (Courtesy of Dor Building Contractor) Right: The dependency which was constructed for the Çanakkale mufti in 1904, is attached to the north facade. Author, 2011



Figure. 22 The drawing and the photograph of the east facade of Çanakkale Fatih Mosque. Drawn by Dor Building Contractor, 2010. (Courtesy of Dor Building Contractor) Right: Author, 2011



Figure. 23 Left: The drawing of the west facade of the Çanakkale Fatih Mosque. Drawn by Dor Building Contractor, 2010. (Courtesy of Dor Building Contractor) Right: The minaret on the west facade of the mosque. (Author, 2011)

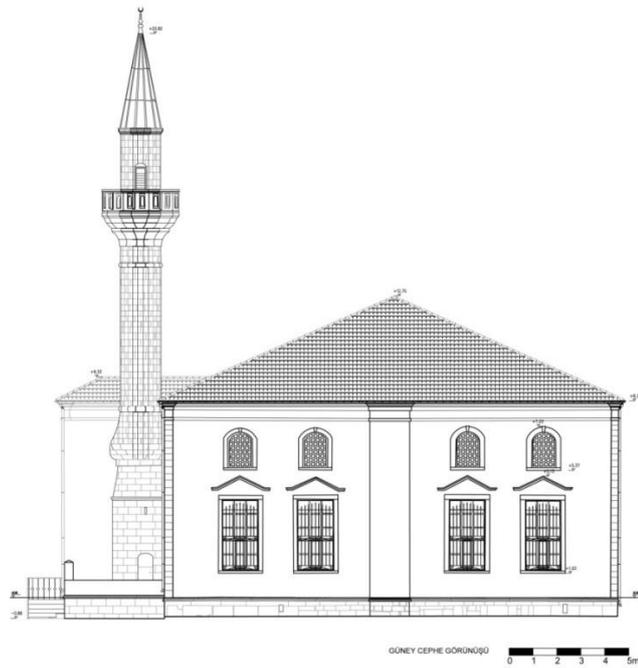


Figure. 24 The drawing of the Çanakkale Fatih Mosque. Drawn by Dor Building Contractor, 2010. (Courtesy of Dor Building Contractor)

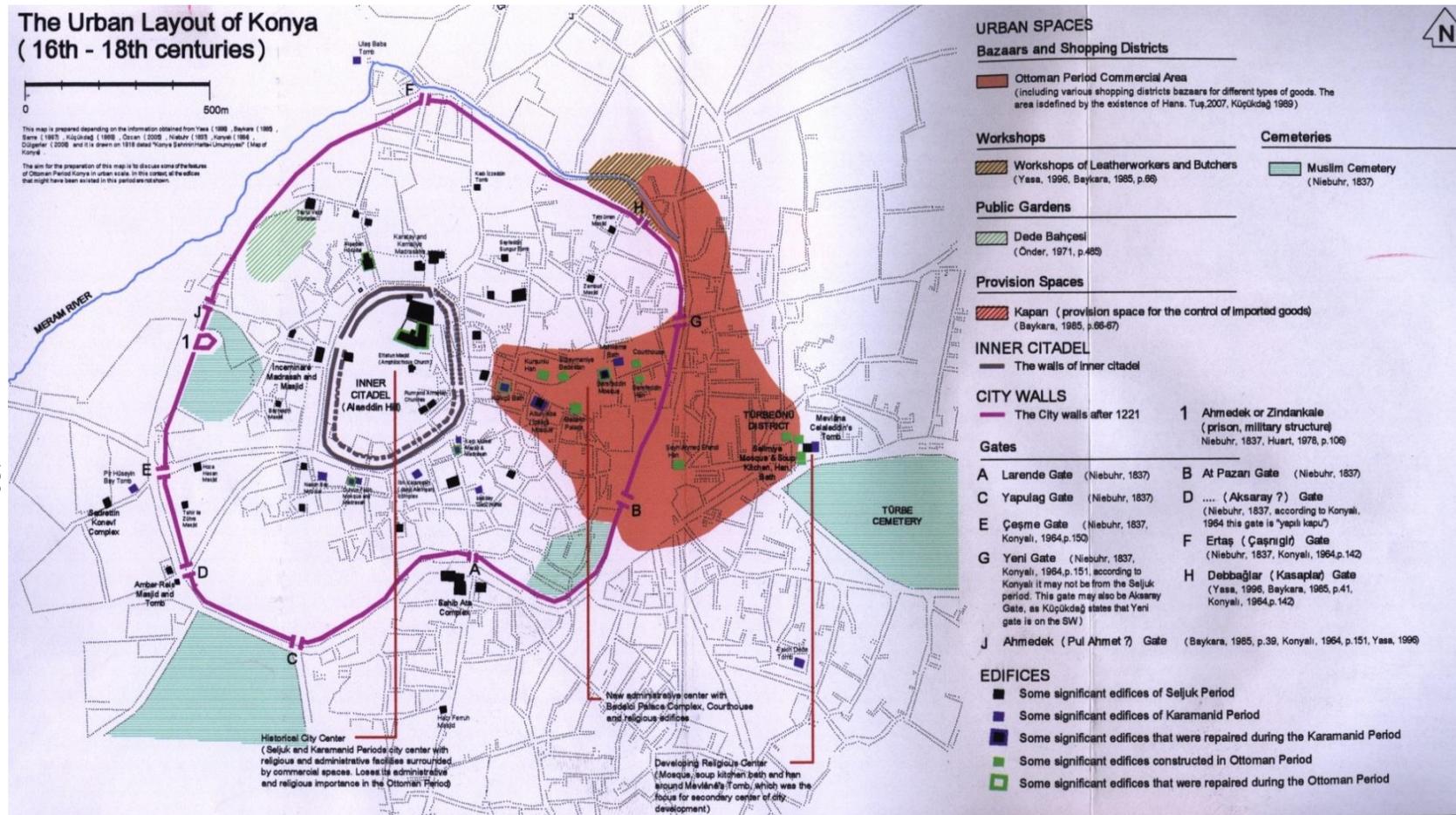


Figure. 25. The urban layout of Konya between 16th and 18th centuries. (Source: Önge 2011, 63)

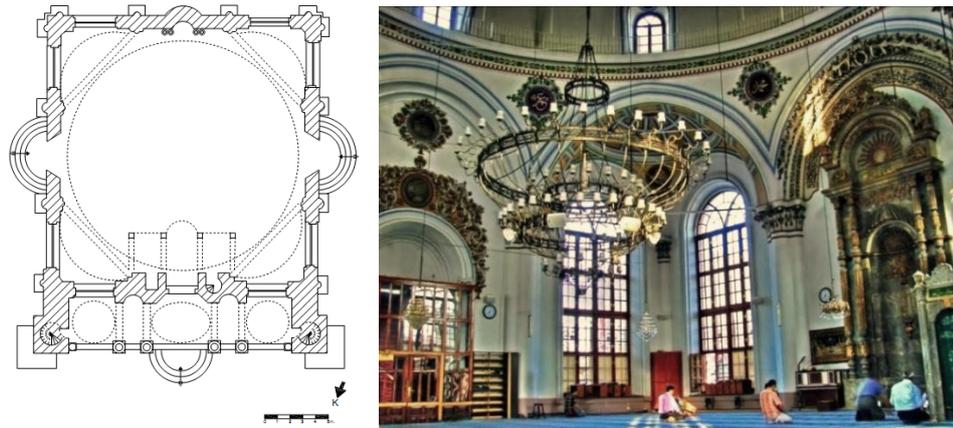


Figure. 26. Left: The Plan of Konya Aziziye Mosque. Source: Konya Koruma Kurulu, retrieved in 2012. Right The prayer hall of Konya Aziziye Mosque. (Author, 2011)



Figure. 27 Left: The east facade of Konya Aziziye Mosque. (Author, 2011) Right: The last prayer hall of Konya Aziziye Mosque. (Author, 2011)

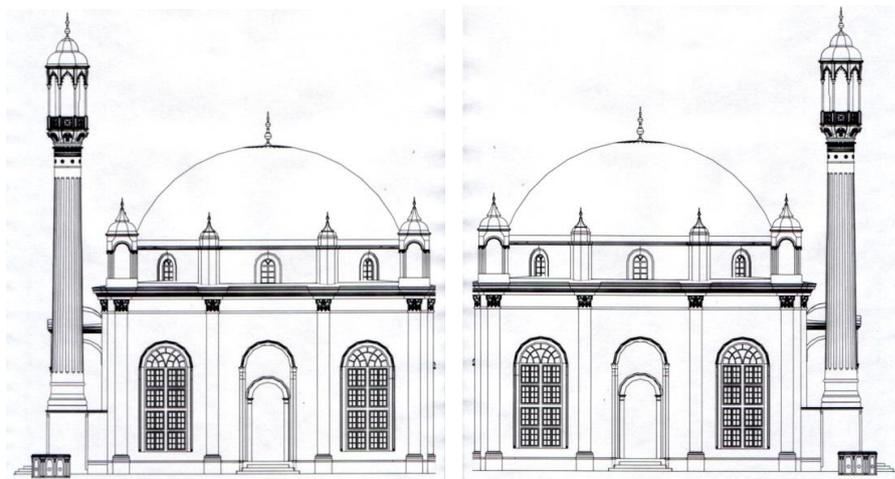


Figure. 28 The drawing of west and east facades of Konya Aziziye Mosque. Source: Konya Koruma Kurulu, retrieved in 2012.

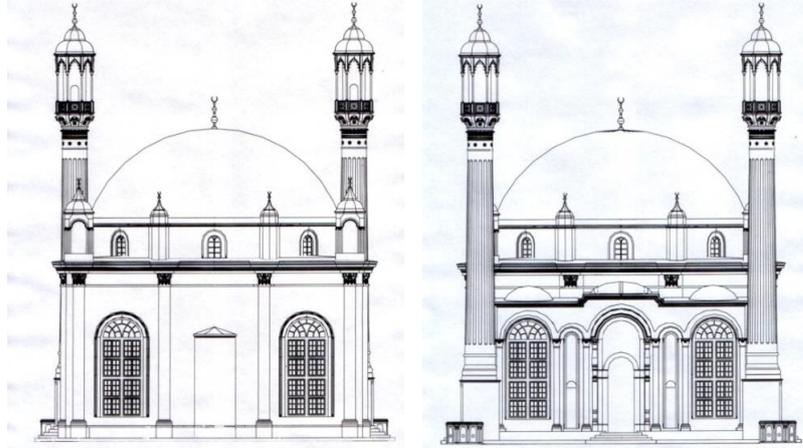


Figure. 29 The drawing of south facades of Konya Aziziye Mosque. Source: Konya Koruma Kurulu, retrieved in 2012



Figure. 30 The north facade and some details from the facade of Konya Aziziye Mosque (Author, 2011)

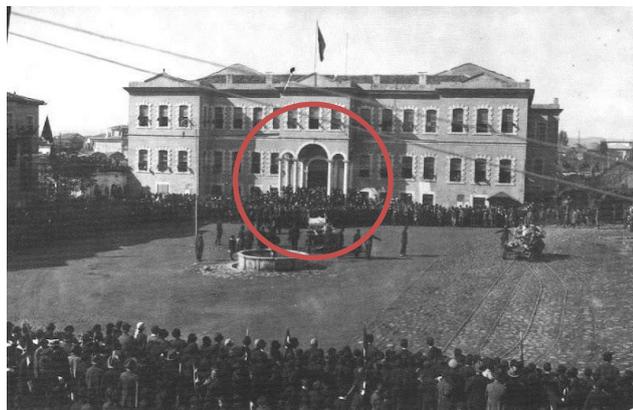
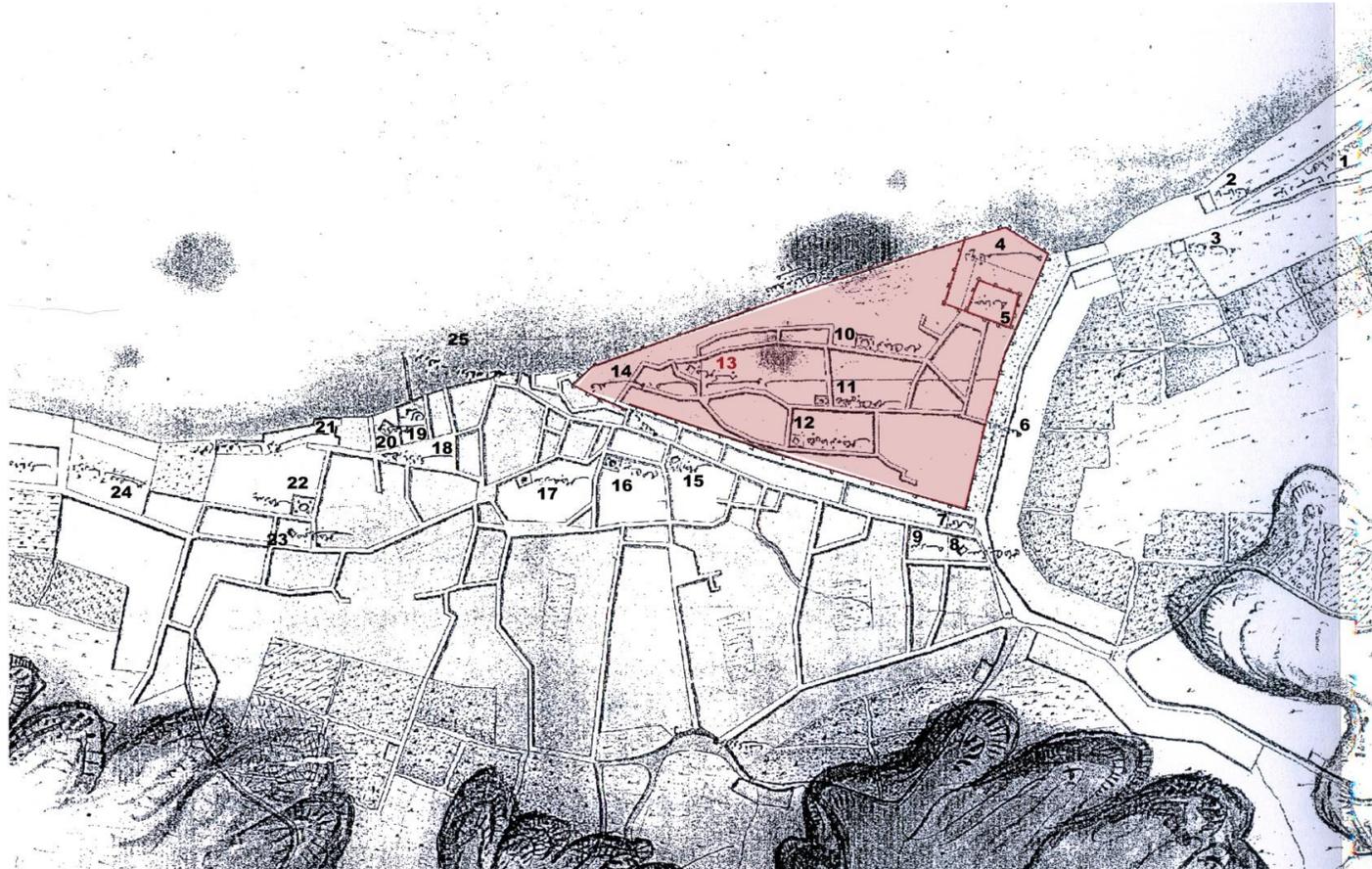


Figure. 31 The government office in Konya. Photograph by H. Karpuz. Retrieved from http://mehmet-urbanplanning.blogspot.com/2012/03/tarihsel-cevre-koruma-politikalari_03.html, on October 16, 2012.



1.Cemetery 2.Coppersmith 3.Quarantine House 4.Inner Citadel 5.Arsenal 6.Citadel Entrance 7.Court of Justice 8.Sadi Bey Mosque 9.Madrasa 10.Küçük Bath 11.Mustafa Bey Bath 12.Hacı Hatun Mosque 13.Great Mosque (Cami-i Kebir) 14.Citadel Entrance 15.Pazar Mosque 16.Büyük Bath 17.Medrese Mosque 18.Wheat Market (Buğday Pazarı) 19.Customs 20.Bali Mosque 21.Abdullah Pasha Mension 22.Yıldız Bath 23.Hancerli Mosque 24.Cemetery 25.The port which was newly constructed

Figure. 32 Samsun city plan in the early 19th century. Source: BOA, Plan-Project Catalogue, no: 810. The red plot shows the inner citadel.



Figure. 33 The detail from Samsun city plan. Source: Samsun Municipality, 2011.

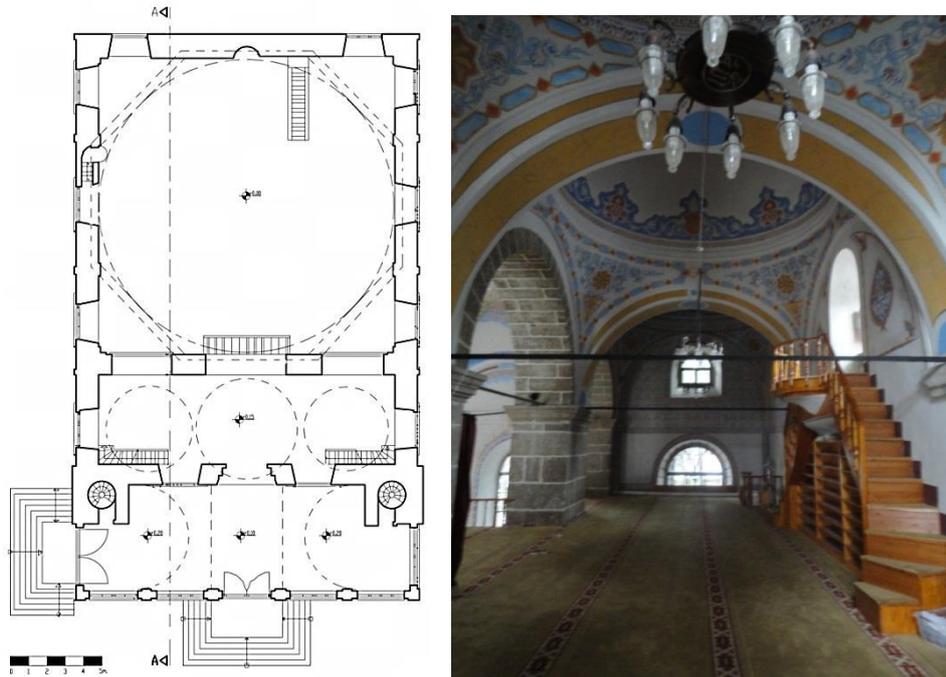


Figure. 34 Left: The plan of the Samsun Hamidiye Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011. Right: The lodge of the Samsun Hamidiye Mosque. (Author 2011)

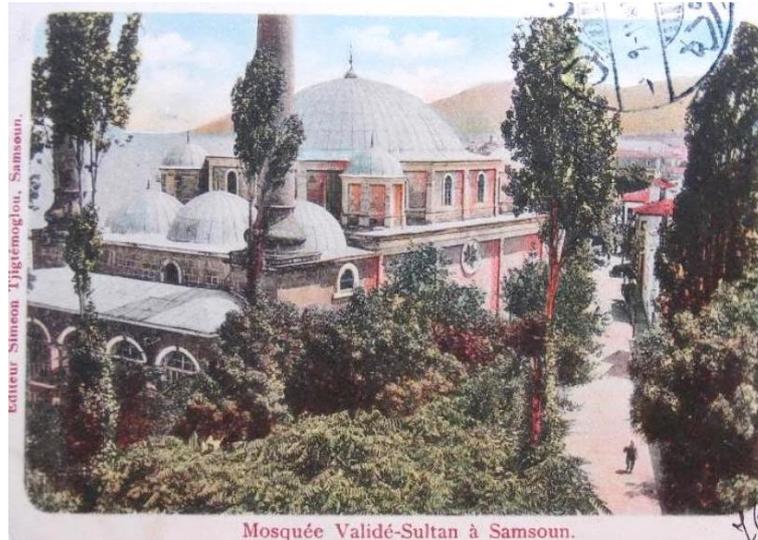


Figure. 35 Samsun Hamidiye Mosque in an old postcard. Source: www.wowturkey.com



Figure. 36 Left: The main prayer hall of the Samsun Hamidiye Mosque. (Author 2011). Right: The last prayer hall of the Samsun Hamidiye Mosque. The basement of the minaret can be seen near the side door of the mosque. (Author 2011)

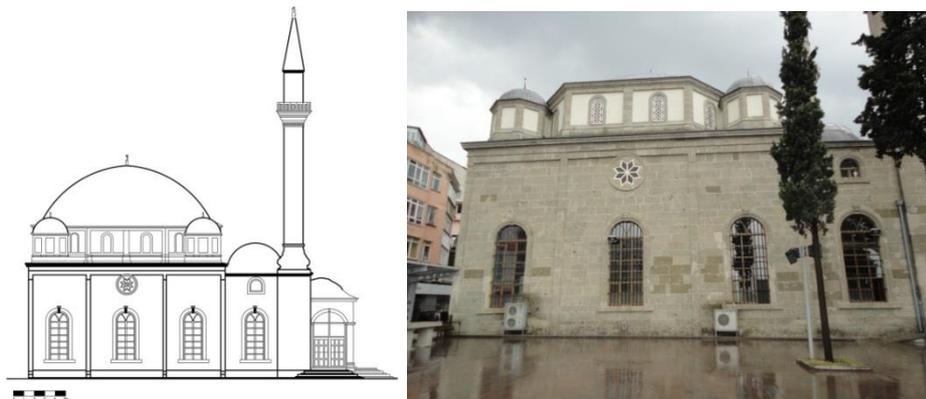


Figure. 37 The drawing and the photograph of the east facade of the Samsun Hamidiye Mosque. Drawing by the author based on the information in VGM Archive. Photograph (Author 2011)

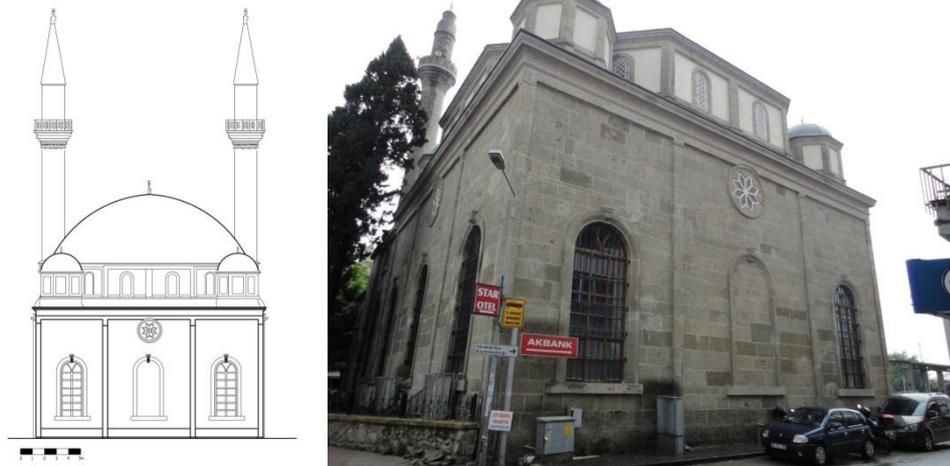


Figure. 38 The drawing and photograph of the south facade of the Samsun Hamidiye Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011. Drawing by the author based on the information in VGM Archive. Photograph (Author 2011)



Figure. 39 The drawing and photograph of the north facade of the Samsun Hamidiye Mosque. Source: Drawing: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011, Photograph: (Author 2011)

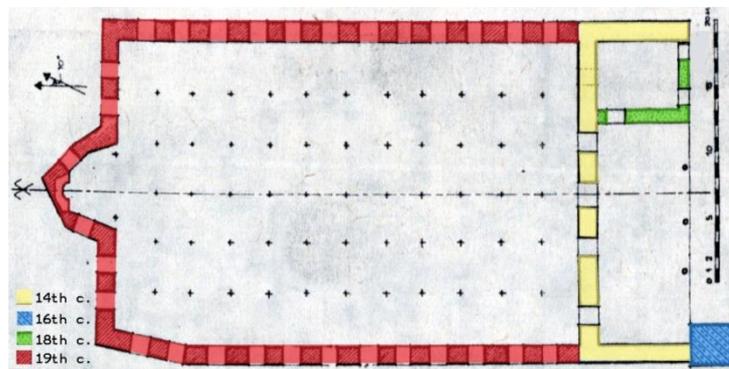


Figure. 40 The plan of the Kütahya Great Mosque. The colors show the construction dates of the building's sections according to Ayverdi. (Ayverdi 1966)



Figure. 41. The general view of Kütahya at the beginning of the 20th century. Source

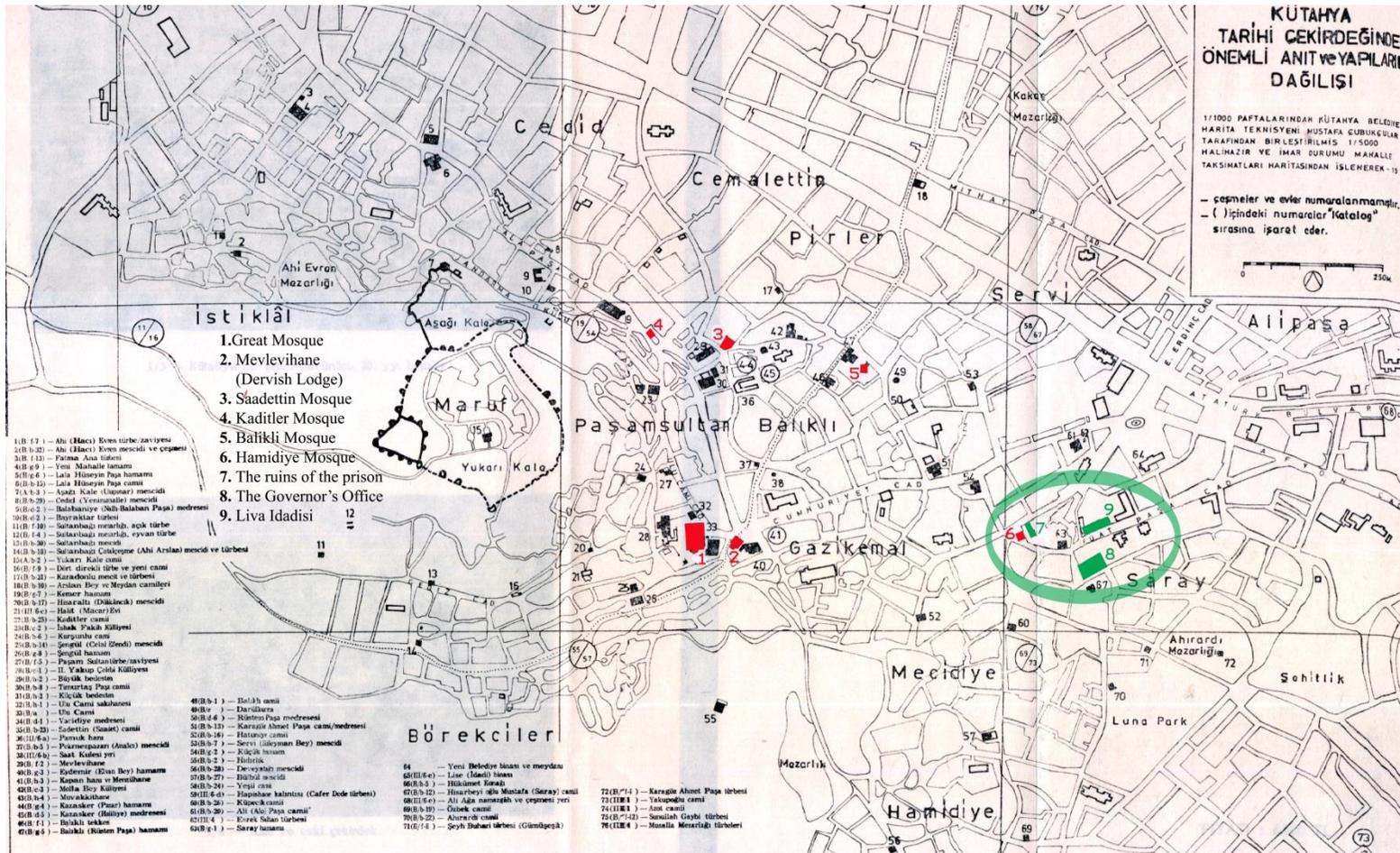


Figure. 42 The city plan of Kütahya. The historical buildings are listed on the left side of the plan. While the red points indicate the religious buildings, the green points show the civil structures. The green circle also point out the developing center of the 19th century Kütahya. Source: (Altun, Kütahya'nın Türk Devri Mimarsi "bir deneme" 1981)

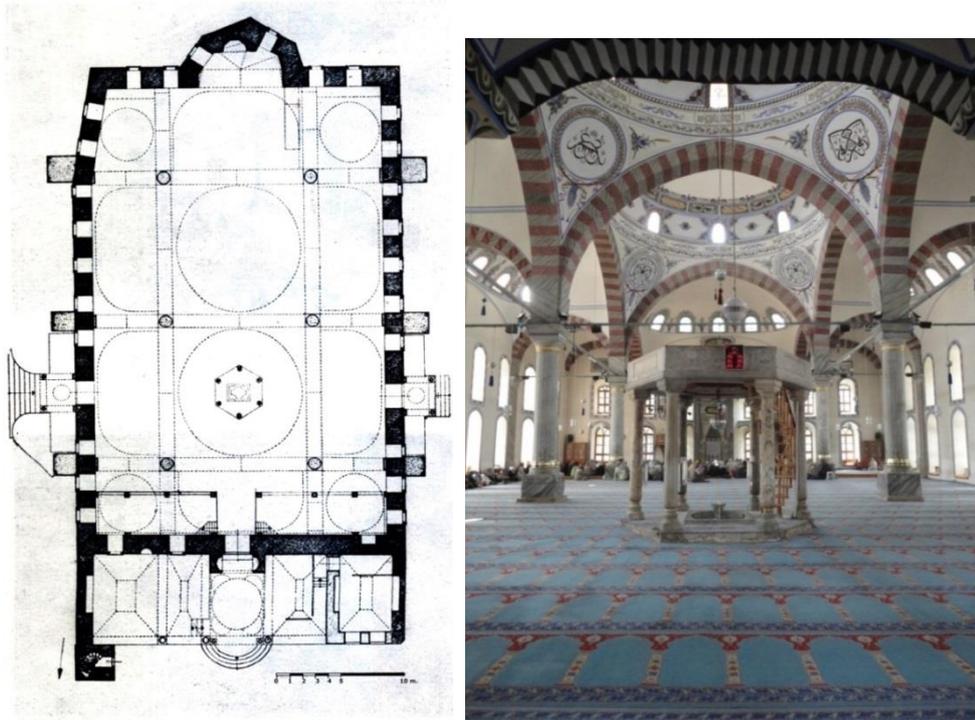


Figure. 43 Left: The plan of the Kütahya Great Mosque. Source: (Atatürk'ün Doğumunun 100. Yılına Armağan Kütahya 1982, 480) Right: The small pol under the dome in the interior of the Kütahya Great Mosque. (Author 2011)

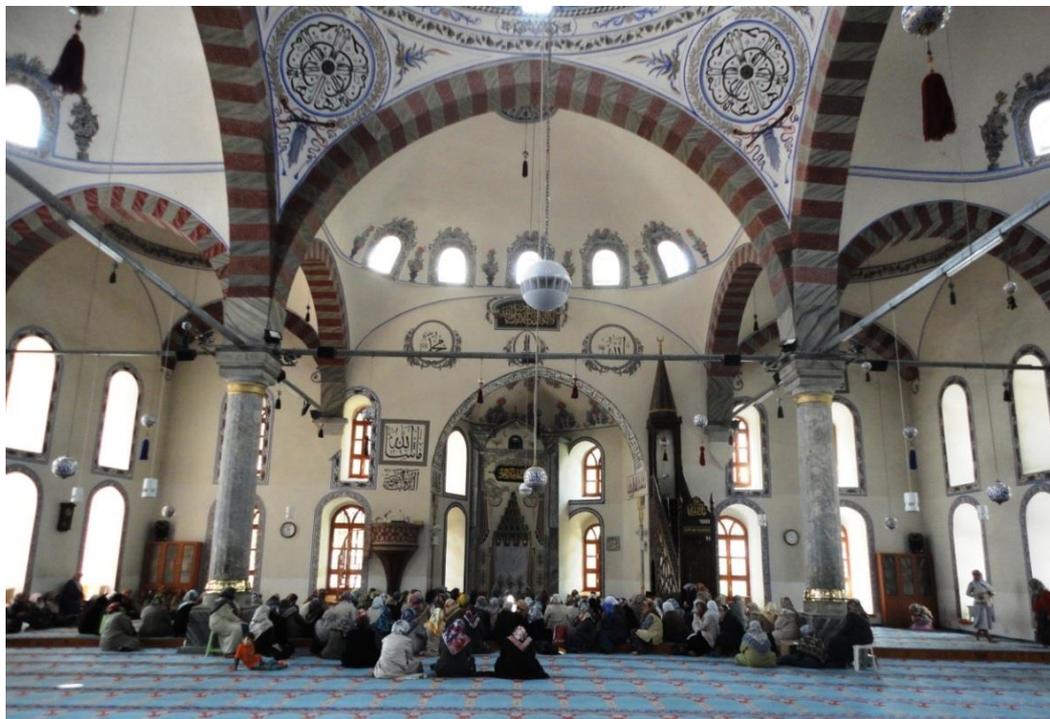


Figure. 44 The interior of the Kütahya Great Mosque. (Author 2011)



Figure. 45 The sultan lodge of the Kütahya Great Mosque. (Author 2011)

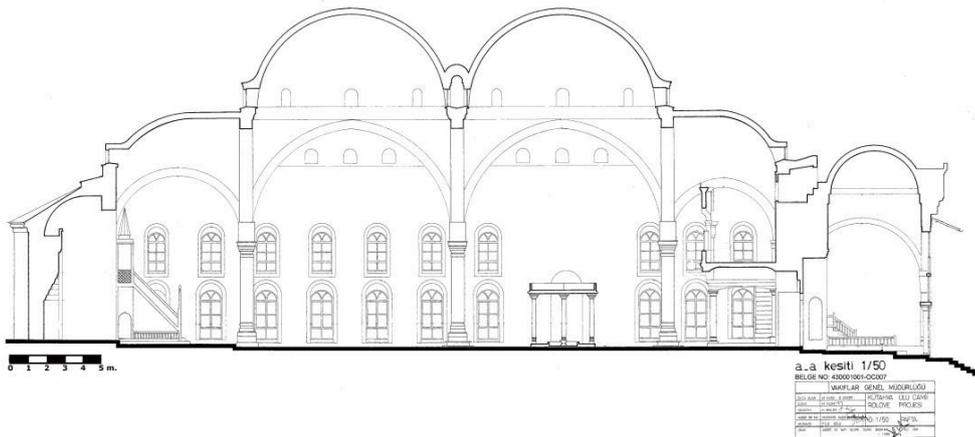


Figure. 46 The section of the Kütahya Great Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011

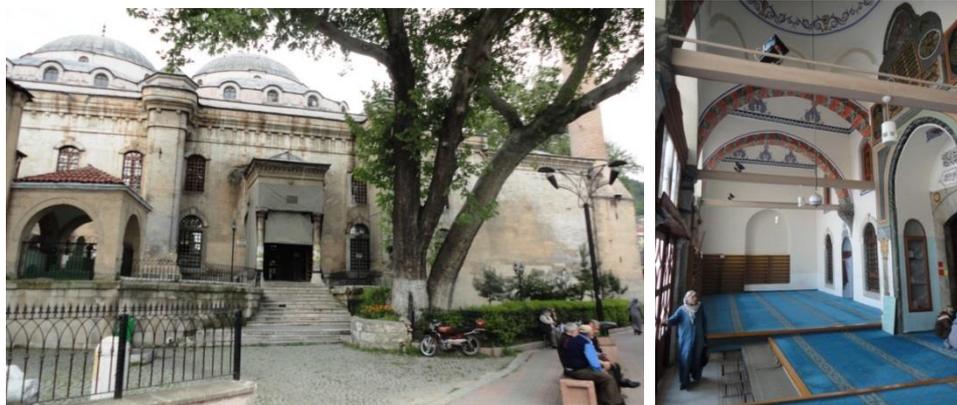


Figure. 47 Left: The east entrance of the Kütahya Great Mosque. (Author 2011) Right: The last prayer hall of the Kütahya Great Mosque. (Author 2011)



Figure. 48 Left: The east facade of the Kütahya Great Mosque. (Author 2011) Right: The buttresses on the east facade of the Kütahya Great Mosque. (Author 2011)

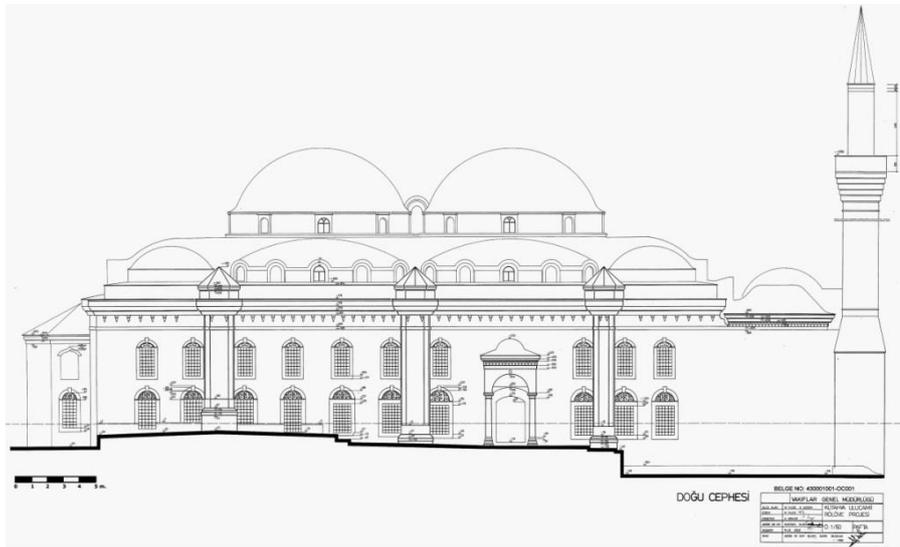


Figure. 49 The drawing of the east facade of the Kütahya Great Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011



Figure. 50 The mihrab facade and projection of the Kütahya Great Mosque. (Author 2011)



Figure. 51 The west entrance and facade of the Kütahya Great Mosque. (Author 2011)

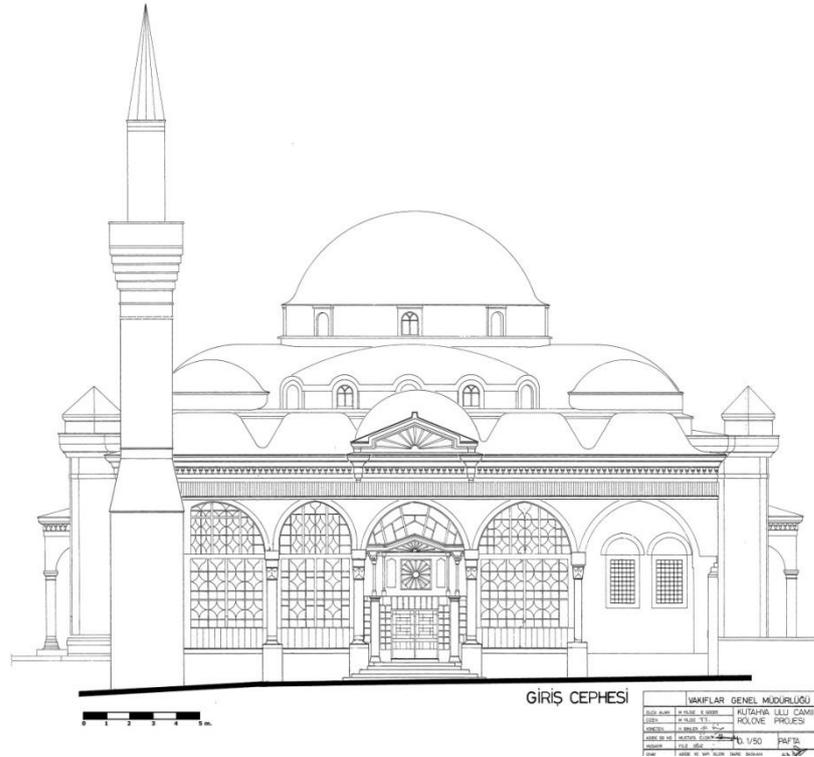


Figure. 52 The drawing of the north facade of the Kütahya Great Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011



Figure. 53 The triangular pediment on the north facade of the Kütahya Great Mosque. (Author 2011)



Figure. 54 A photograph taken during the opening ceremony of Kütahya Hamidiye Mosque. Governor Fuad Pasha opened the mosque with prays. From the Yıldız Palace Album Collection, no: 90544.

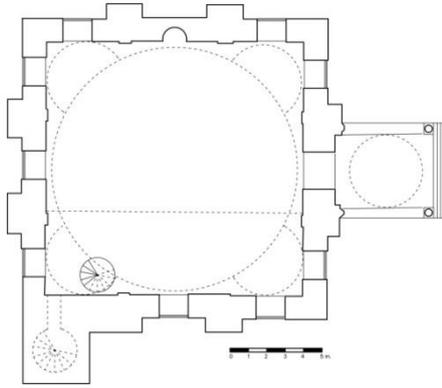


Figure. 55 Left: The plan of Kütahya Hamidiye Mosque. Drawn by the author using the dimensions on the sketch taken from VGM Archive. Right: The inner space of Kütahya Hamidiye Mosque. Photograph taken from the southeast corner of the mosque. Source: www.wowturkey.com, retrieved in 2011.



Figure. 56 The inner space of Kütahya Hamidiye Mosque. Photograph taken from the sultan lodge of the mosque. Source: www.wowturkey.com, retrieved in 2011.



Figure. 57 The gilded inside decoration of the Kütahya Hamidiye Mosque VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011.

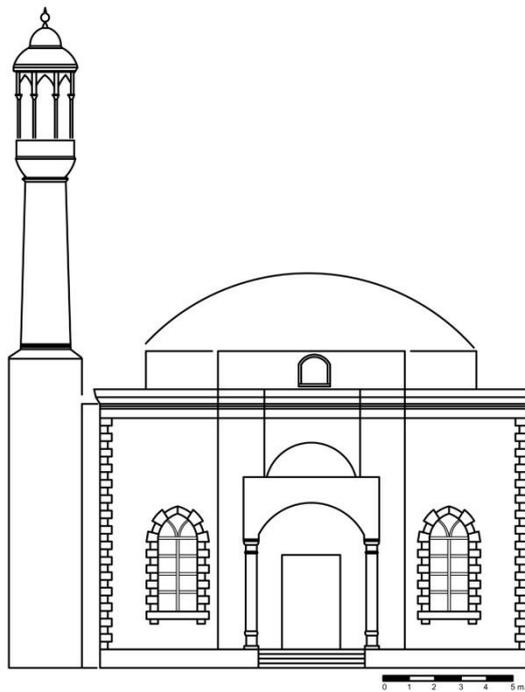


Figure. 58 The west facade of the Kütahya Hamidiye Mosque. Left: Drawn by the author using the dimensions on the sketch taken from VGM Archive. , Right: VGM Archieve, retrieved in 2011.

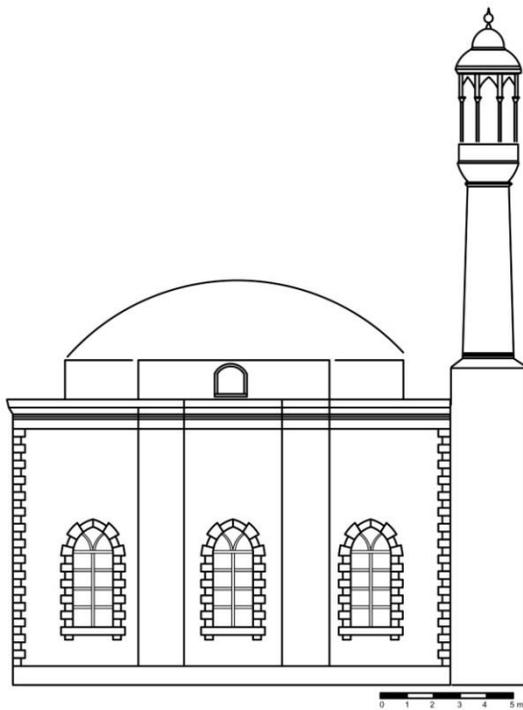


Figure. 59 The east facade of the Kütahya Hamidiye Mosque. Left: Drawn by the author using the dimensions on the sketch taken from VGM Archive. , Right: VGM Archieve, retrieved in 2011.

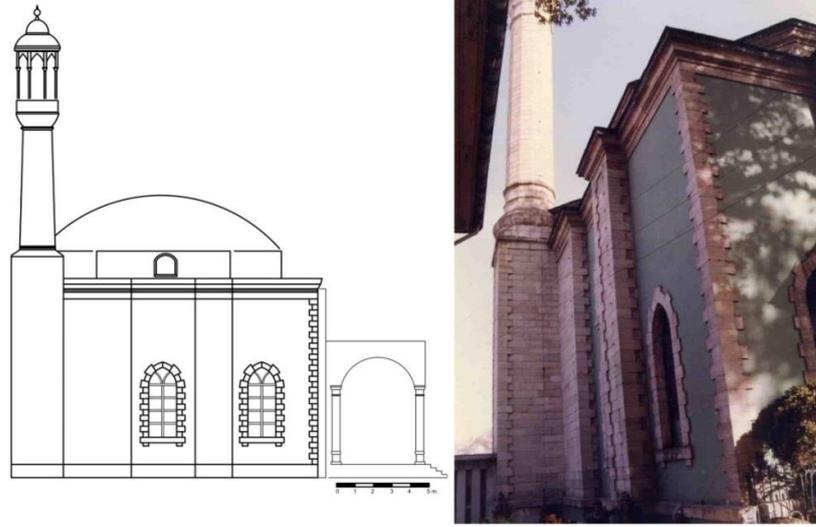


Figure. 60 The north facade of the Kütahya Hamidiye Mosque. Left: Drawn by the author using the dimensions on the sketch taken from VGM Archive. , Right: VGM Archieve, retrieved in 2011.



Figure. 61 Left: İzmir Mithat Pasha *Sanayi Mektebi* (Occupational Art and Craft School), (Author 2011), Right: Hamidiye Mosque on the left hand side and Art and Craft School on the right hand side, retrieved from [www. maps.google.com](http://www.maps.google.com), in June 2013.



Figure. 62 İzmir Karantina neighborhood and Hamidiye Mosque from sea. Courtesy of Ahmet Priştina City Archive Museum in May 2011.

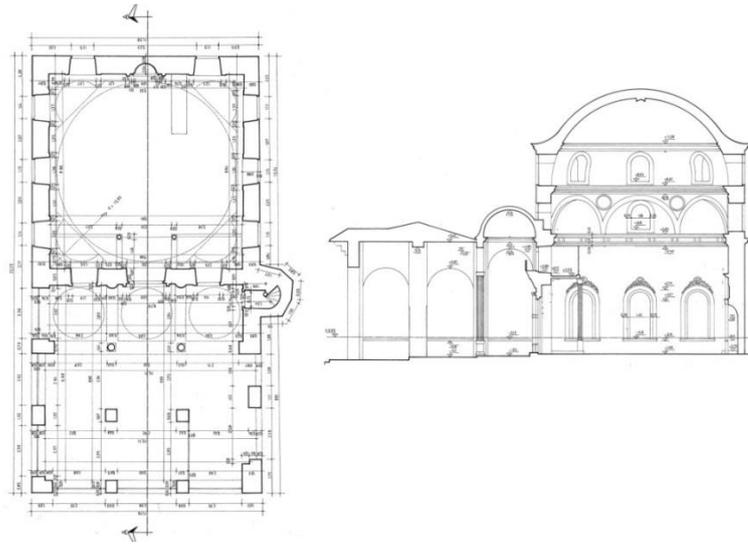


Figure. 63 Plan and section of İzmir Hamidiye Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011.



Figure. 64 The interior of the İzmir Hamidiye Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011.



Figure. 65. İzmir Hamidiye Mosque. (Author, 2011)

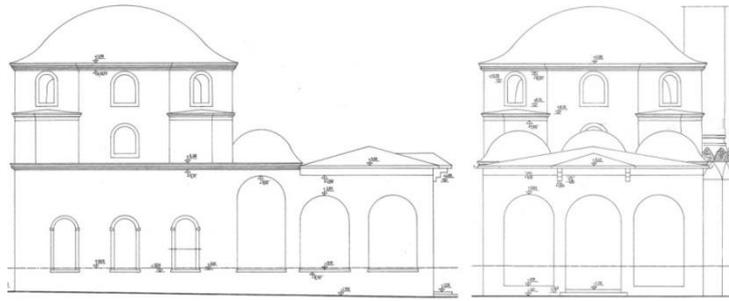


Figure. 66 Left: East facade of the İzmir Hamidiye Mosque. Right: North facade of the İzmir Hamidiye Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011.



Figure. 67. Burhaniye Great Mosque from its south east corner, in 1980's. Source: VGM Archives, retrieved in 2011.

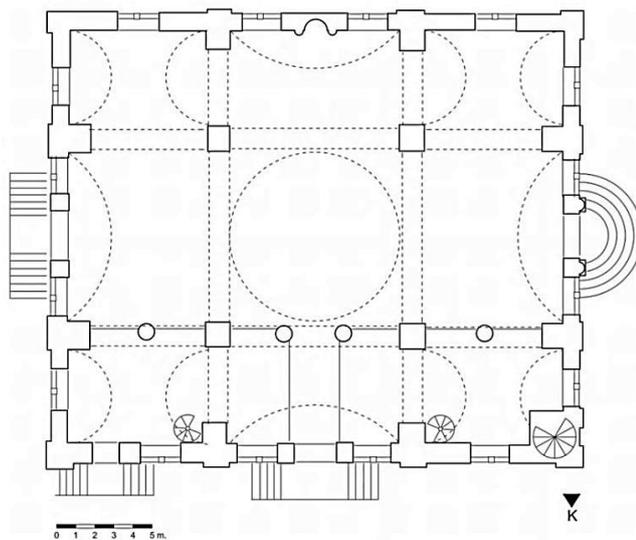


Figure. 68. The plan of the Burhaniye Great Mosque. Drawn by the author using the dimensions on the sketch taken from VGM Archive.



Figure. 69 The interior of Burhaniye Great Mosque. Sources: Author 2011, VGM Archives.



Figure. 70 Left: The sultan's lodge of Burhaniye Great Mosque. The barrel vaulted cover structure on the corners is seen. (Author 2011) Right: The lodge rising above the arches, VGM Archives.



Figure. 71 The former (on the left) and today's views of the north facade of the Burhaniye Great Mosque. Sources: Left: VGM Archive, Right: Author 2011.



Figure. 72 The former (on the left) and today's views of the west facade of the Burhaniye Great Mosque. Sources: Left: VGM Archive, Right: Author 2011.

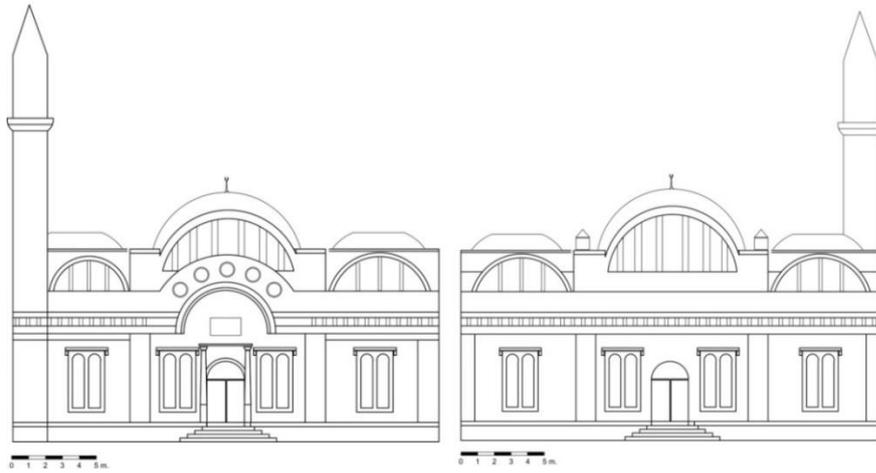


Figure. 73 The west (on the left) and east facade drawings of the Burhaniye Great Mosque. Drawn by the author using the dimensions on the sketch taken from VGM Archive.

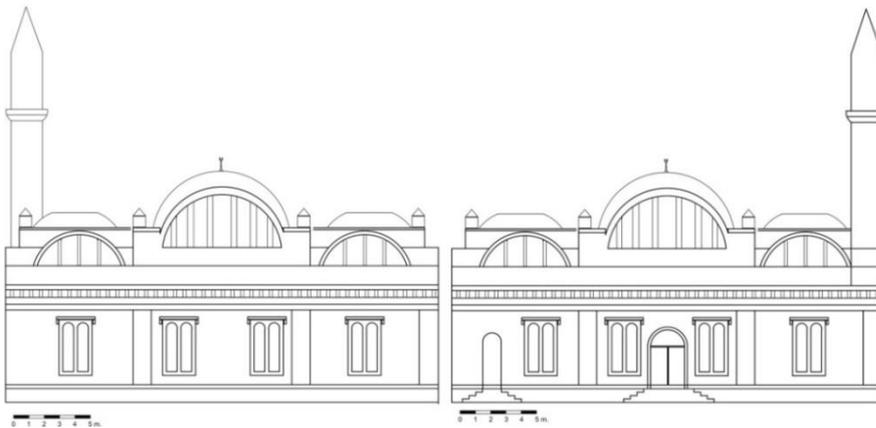


Figure. 74 The south (on the left) and north facade drawings of the Burhaniye Great Mosque. Drawn by the author using the dimensions on the sketch taken from VGM Archive.



Figure. 75. The inscription panels of the Adiyaman Great Mosque. Left: The panel on the north entrance door. Right: The panels on the eastern face of the minaret. (Author 2011)

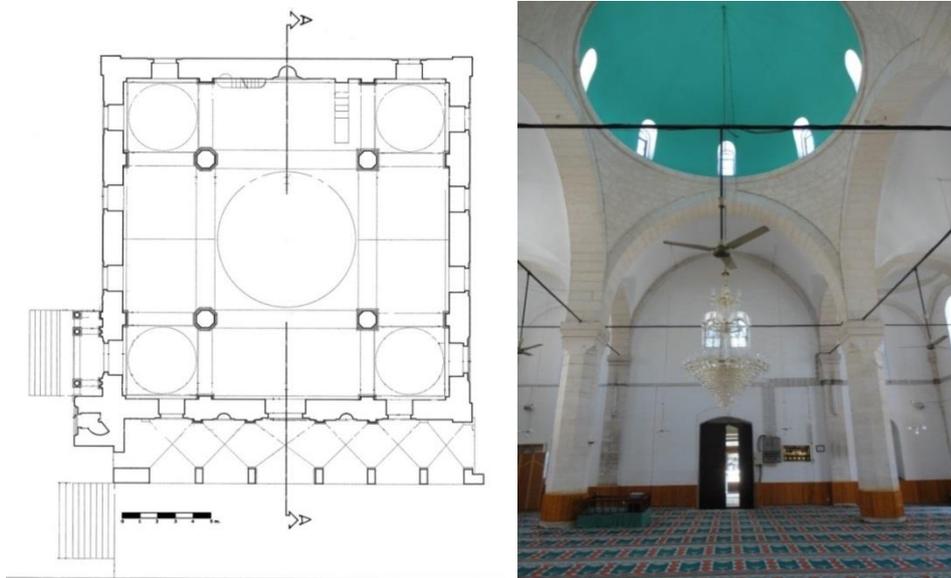


Figure. 76 Left: The plan of the Adiyaman Great Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011 Right: The baldachin of the Adiyaman Great Mosque. (Author 2011)

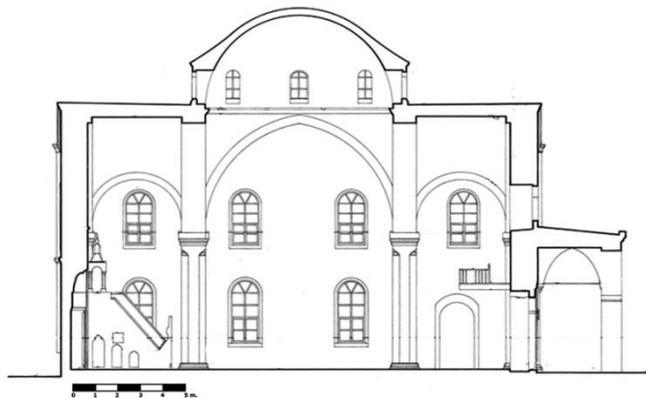


Figure. 77 The section of the Adiyaman Great Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011



Figure. 78 The north facade of Adiyaman Great Mosque, 1983. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011



Figure. 79 The last prayer hall of the Adiyaman Great Mosque, date unknown. Source: VGM Archive, 2011



Figure. 80 The open prayer hall niche on the west side of the Adiyaman Great Mosque. (Author 2011)

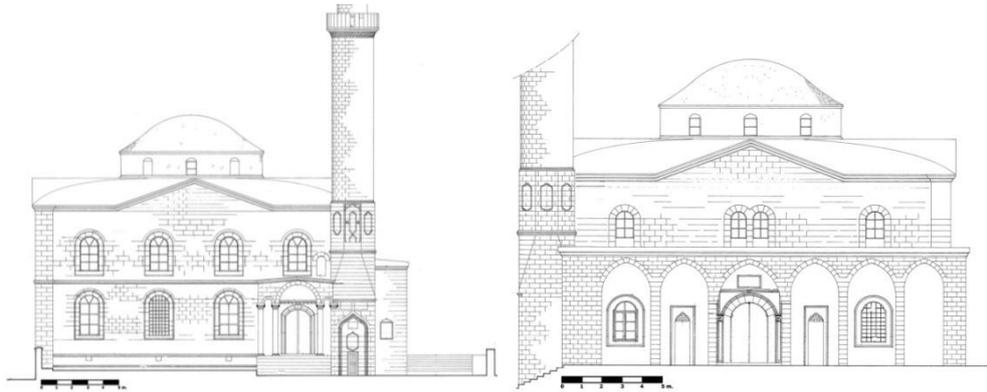


Figure. 81 Left: The east facade of the Adiyaman Great Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011. Right: The north facade of the Adiyaman Great Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011



Figure. 82 The south and west facades of the Adiyaman Great Mosque. (Author 2011)



Figure. 83 The east and west facades of the Adiyaman Great Mosque. (Author 2011)



Figure. 84 The east entrance of the Adiyaman Great Mosque. (Author 2011)

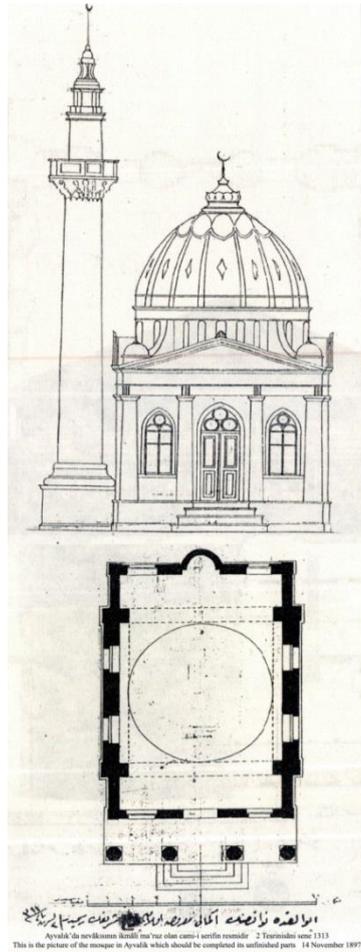


Figure. 85 The plan and the facade drawings of Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque, BOA, PPK, sn: 47. English Translation: "This is the picture of the mosque in Ayvalık which should be completed its unfinished parts. 14 November 1897. Source: (Dündar 2000, 97,327)

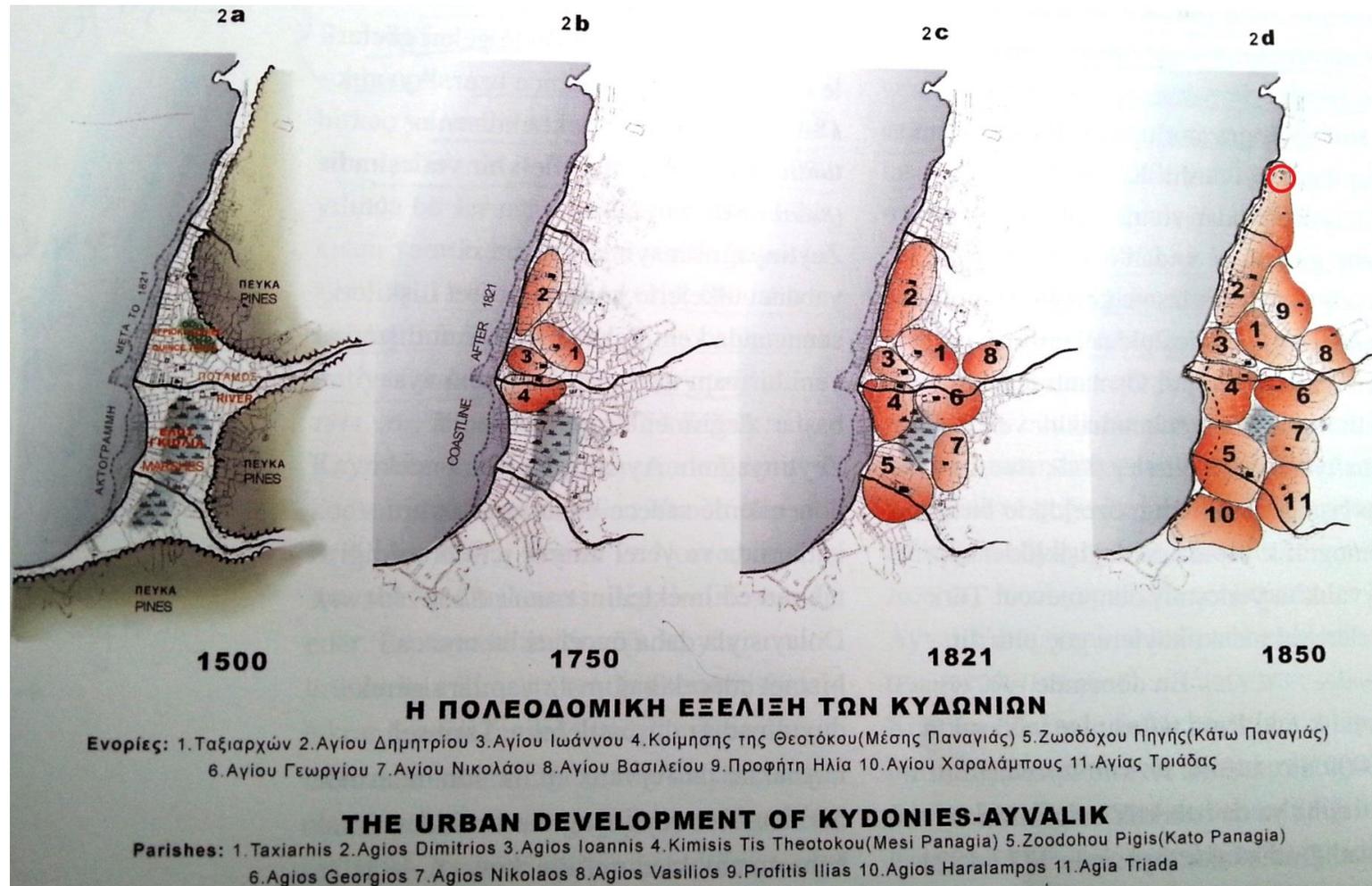


Figure. 86 The urban development of Ayvalık from 1500's to 1850. The red circle shows the site of Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque. Source: (Psarros 2004, 10)

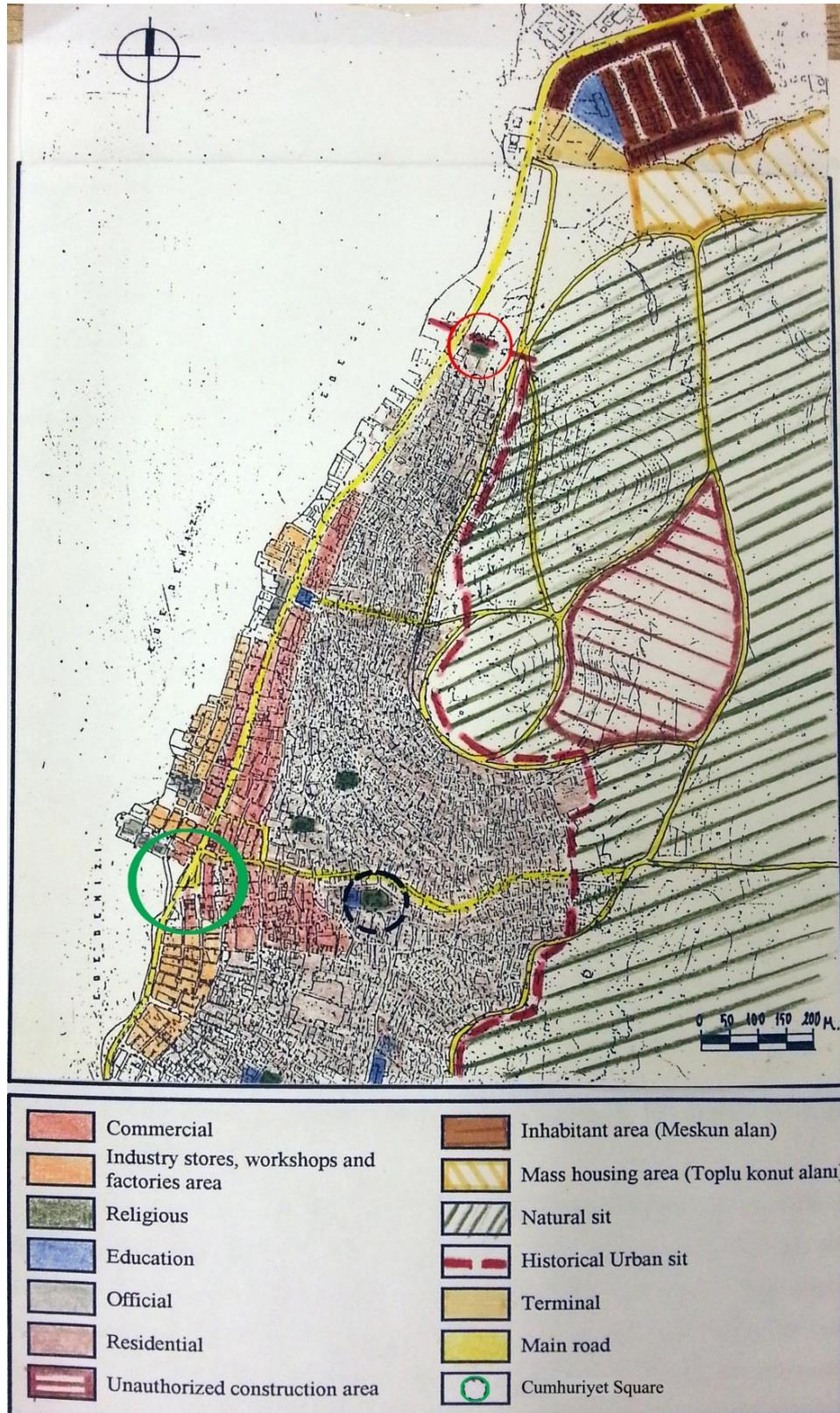


Figure. 87 The city map and land use of today's Ayvalık. The red circle shows the site of Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque. Source: (Okur 1996, 17)

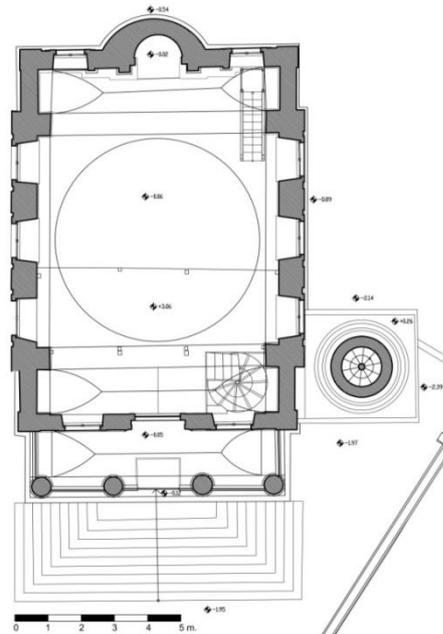


Figure. 88 Left: The plan of the Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011. Right: Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque. (Author 2011)

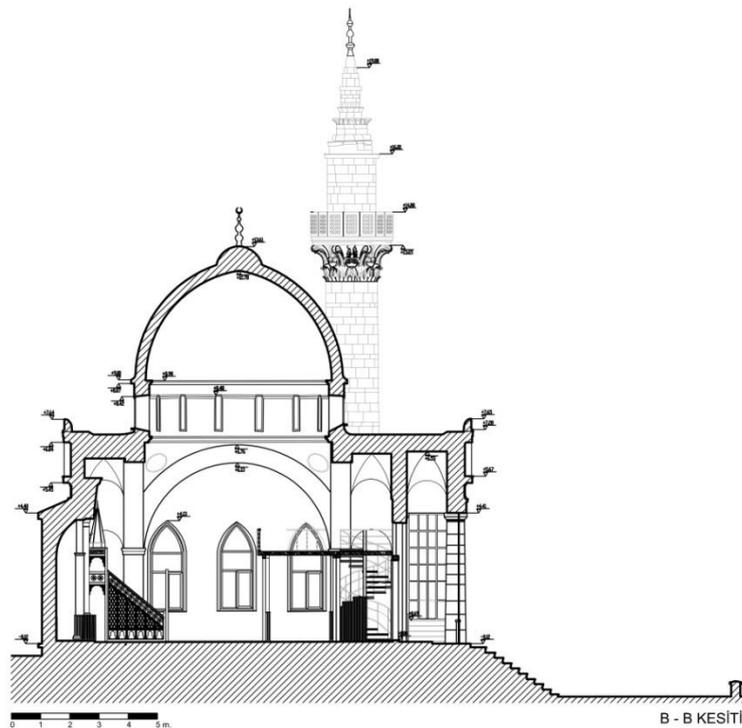


Figure. 89 The section of the Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011



Figure. 90 The inside of the Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque. (Author 2011)



Figure. 91 The elevated last prayer hall of the Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque (Author 2011)



Figure. 92. The wooden mahfil of the Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque. (Author 2011)

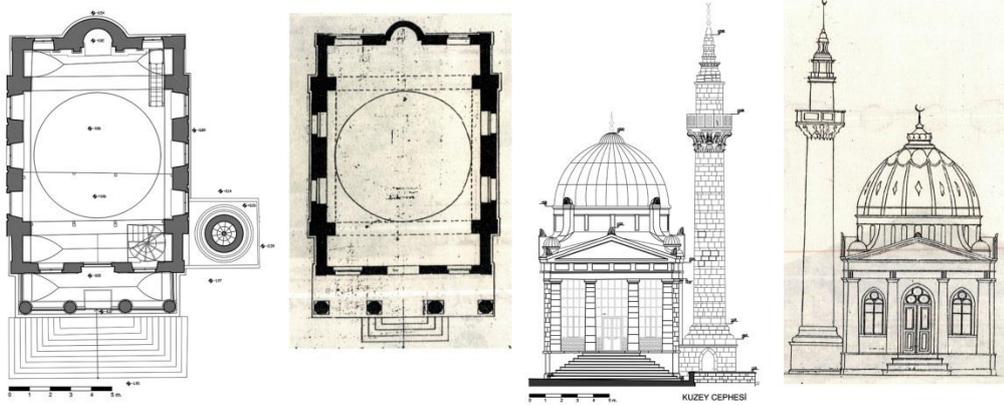


Figure. 93. Today's plan – main facade and the proposed 19th century plan –main facade of Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque.

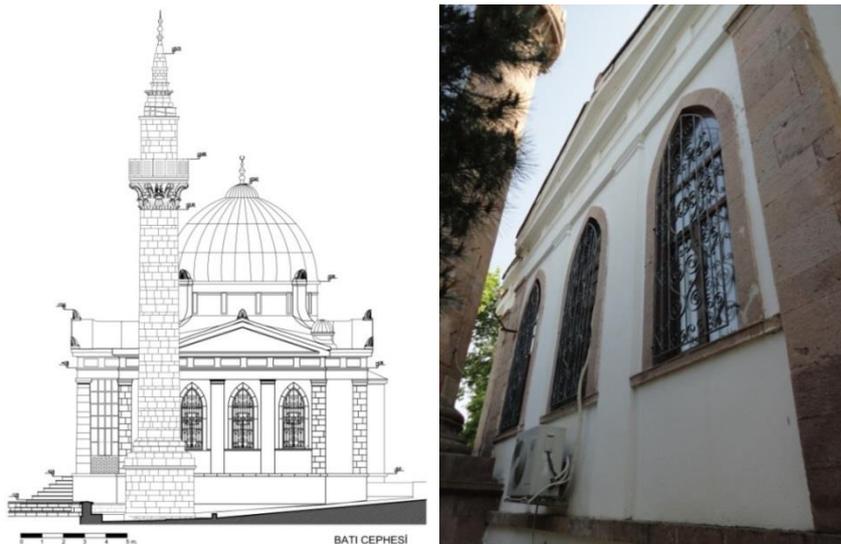


Figure. 94 The drawing and the photograph of the west facade of the Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque. Sources: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011, Author 2011.

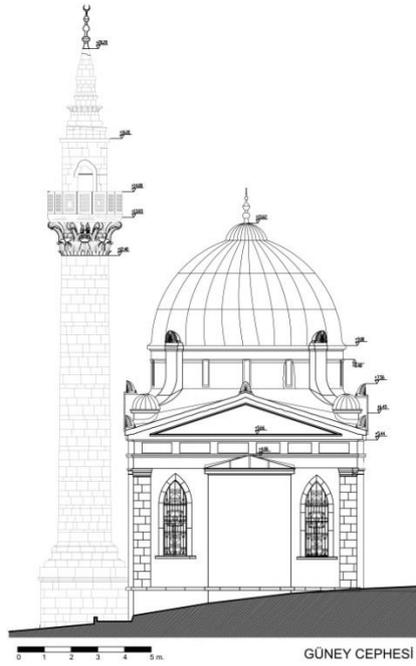


Figure. 95 The drawing and the photograph of the south facade of the Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque. Sources: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011, Author 2011

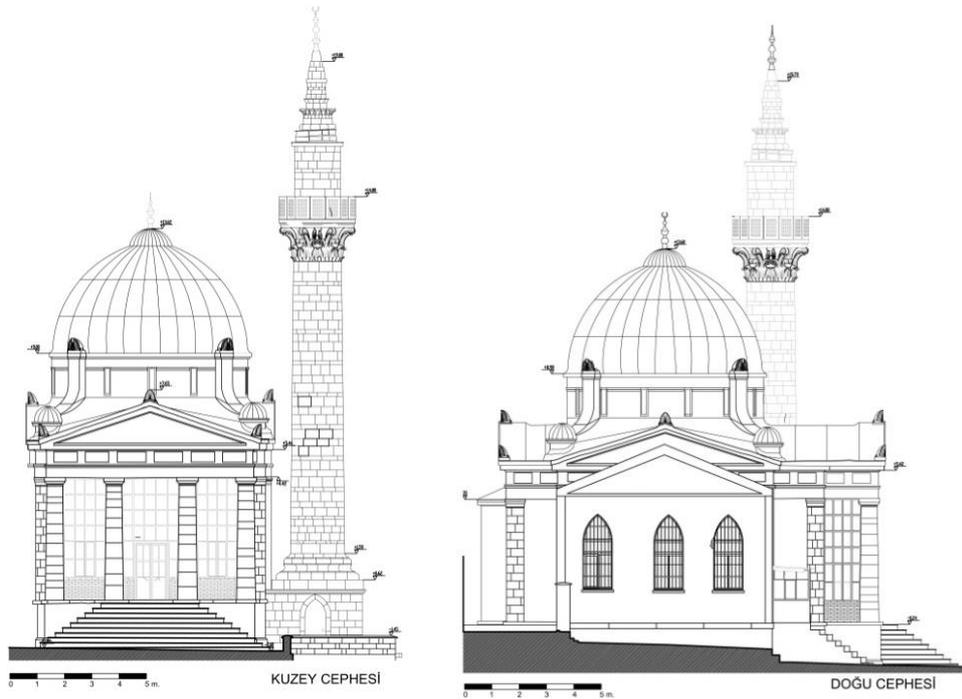


Figure. 96 The drawings of the north and the east facades of the Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque. Source: VGM Archive retrieved in 2011.



Figure. 97. Images from left; Taksiyarkis Church in Cunda, Despot's Villa in Cunda and Hagia Ioannes Church (Saatli Mosque) in Ayvalik. Sources respectively; Erdem, Özakin, Yergün, 2007, p. 93, 94 and author 2011.



Figure. 98 The former Burgalla Inn, Georgias Hotel. today the building is used as the tax office of the city. Author 2011



Figure. 99 Aydın city from the government hall on the north. Ramazan Pasha Mosque is seen in the red circle. Source: (Ünlü 2007)



Figure. 100 Aydın city plan. After (Şimşek 2011, 86) 1. Preliminary School, 2. Üveys Paşa Mosque, 3. Cihanoğlu Mosque, 4. Government Hall, 5. Post Office, 6. Government Hall, 7. Recruiting Office, 8. Ramazan Pasha Mosque, 9. Square in front of train station, 10. Train Station, 11. Süleyman Bey Mosque.

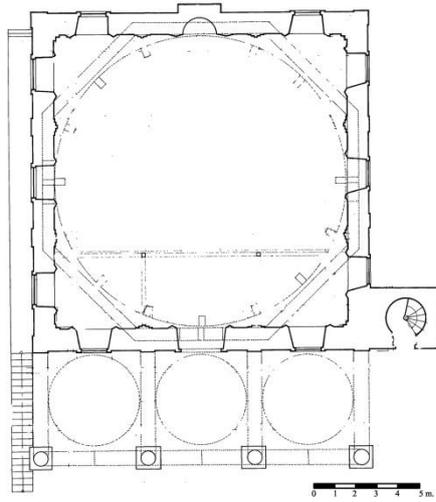


Figure. 101 The plan and exterior view of the Aydın Ramazan Pasha Mosque. Source: VGM Archive retrieved in 2011.

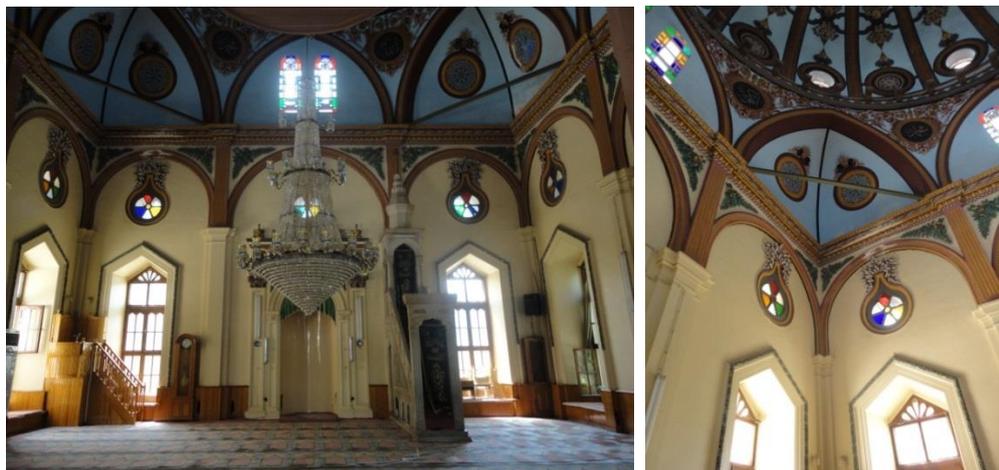


Figure. 102 Aydın Ramazan Pasha Mosque from the inside. Author 2011

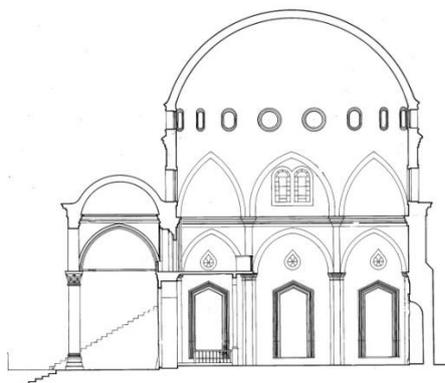


Figure. 103 The section and interior of the Aydın Ramazan Pasha Mosque. Source: Left: VGM Archive retrieved in 2011. Right: Author 2011



Figure. 104. The last prayer hall of Aydın Ramazan Pasha. Author, 2011.

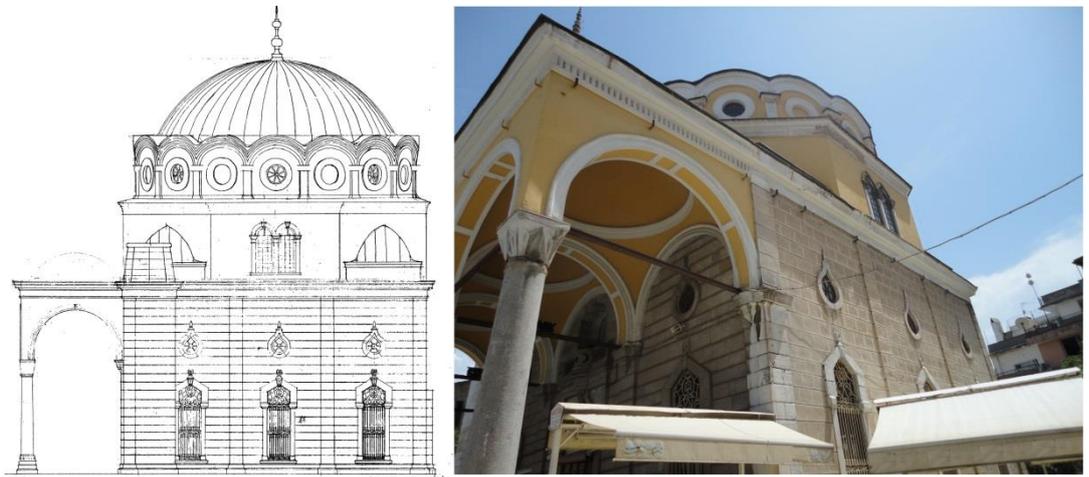


Figure. 105 The drawing and photograph of west facade of Aydın Ramazan Pasha Mosque.
Source: Left: VGM Archive retrieved in 2011. Right: Author 2011



Figure. 106 The drawing and photograph of east facade of Aydın Ramazan Pasha Mosque.
Source: Left: VGM Archive retrieved in 2011. Right: Author 2011



Figure. 107 The plan of the Thessaloniki. The red zone shows the demolishing old city walls. The city was expanded towards the southeastern part. The site of the New Mosque is shown in the green circle. Map from Kampanakis, 1889. Source: (Colonas 2005, 143)



Figure. 108. Left: The entrance facade of the Yeni (New) Mosque. Source: www.wowturkey.com. Right: the entrance facade of Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque. Source: (Kuban 2007, 641)

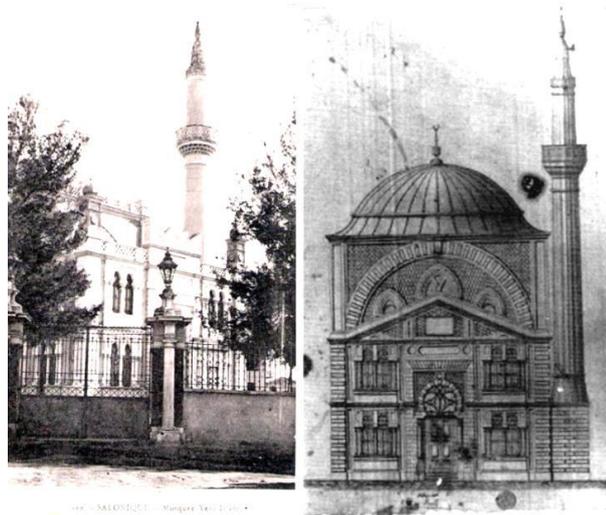


Figure. 109 Left: A photograph of the Yeni (New) Mosque, from a postcard in 1900s. Source: www.wowturkey.com. Right: Sketch of the Yeni (New) Mosque, drawn by its architect Poselli. Source: (Colonas 1990, 168)

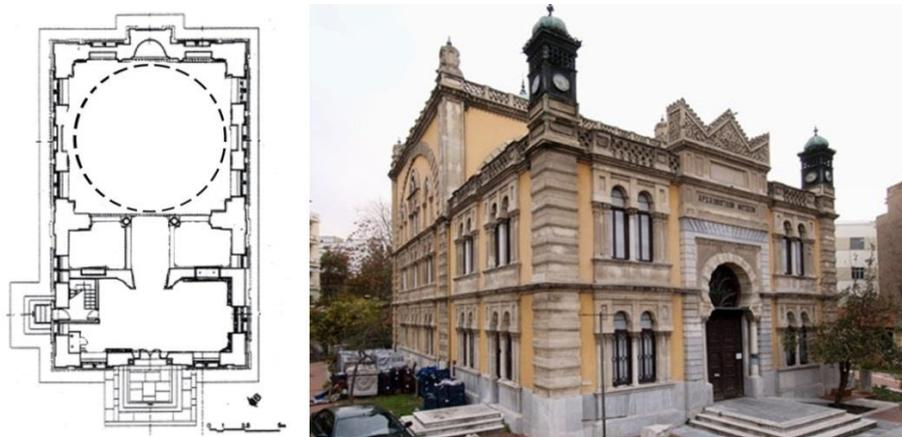


Figure. 110 Left: The plan of the Yeni (New) Mosque. Source: (Colonas 1990, 168) Right: The Yeni (New) Mosque. Source: www.wowturkey.com.



Figure. 111 The interior space of the Yeni (New) Mosque. Sources Left: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr> Right: <http://radamanth.fotki.com/1/architects/1/vitaliano-poselli/124200911648.html#media>



Figure. 112 The east and west facades of the Yeni (New) Mosque. Source: <http://radamanth.fotki.com/1/architects/1/vitaliano-poselli/114200914256.html#media>

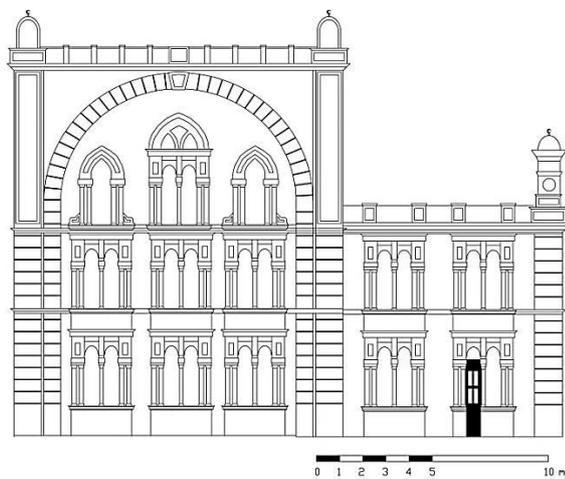


Figure. 113 The drawing of the west facade of the Selanik Yeni (New) Mosque. Drawn by the author with the plan and the information taken VGM Archive.

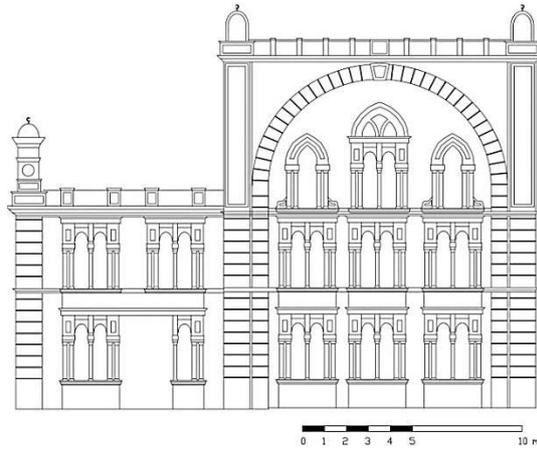


Figure. 114 The drawing of the east facade of the Selanik Yeni (New) Mosque. Drawn by the author with the plan and the information taken VGM Archive.

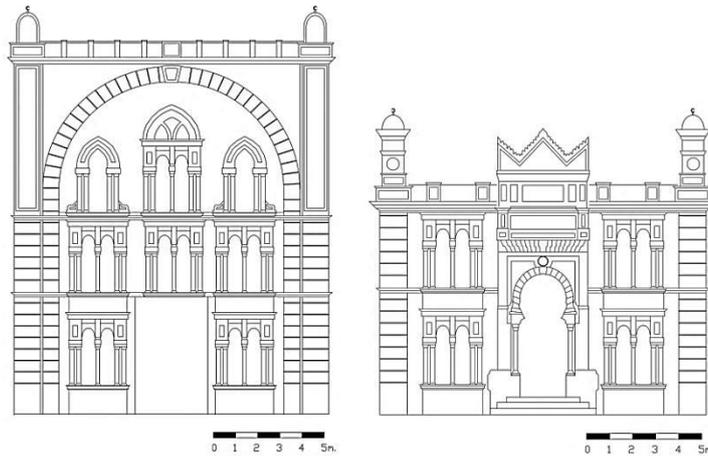


Figure. 115 The drawing of the north and south facades of the Selanik Yeni (New) Mosque. Drawn by the author with the plan and the information taken VGM Archive.



Figure. 116. The city of Balıkesir in the beginning of the 20th century. 1. Barrack, 2. High School, 3. Christian cemetery, 4. Teacher school, 5. Marlı Mosque, 6. Prison, 7. Governor Office, 8. Ziraat Bank, 9. Watch Tower. Source: (Ergin 1995, 206)

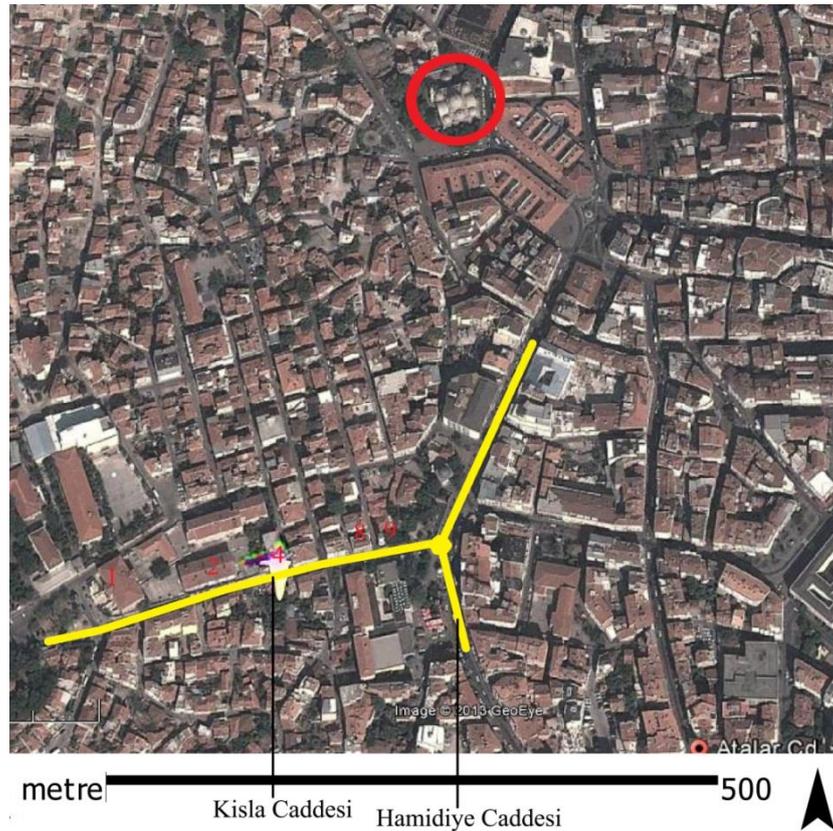


Figure. 117. Today's Balıkesir. The red circle shows Zağnos Pasha Mosque 1. Barrack, 2. High School, 4. Teacher school, 8. Ziraat Bank, 9. Watch Tower. Retrieved from Google Earth in November 2012.



Figure. 118 The view of the city in the beginning of 20th century. The Zağnos Pasha Mosque dominated the urban fabric with its large and high mass. Retrieved from <http://www.balmim.org.tr/galeri.html>, in November 2012.



Figure. 119. The model of the Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha Mosque. Source: (M. Eren 1994, 143)

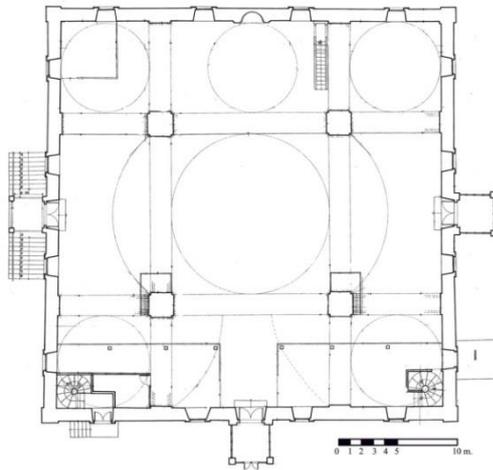


Figure. 120 The plan of the Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011



Figure. 121 On the left: Photograph of Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha Mosque in 19th century. Taken by Batmanides & Brother. Source: <http://www.balikesirpolitika.com/buyut.asp?link=http://www.fugamedya.com/emlaklar/pol/buyuk/16645.jpg> On the Right Photograph of Zağnos Pasha Mosque taken in 1980's. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011



Figure. 122 The cover structure of Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha Mosque. On the left the half barrel vault and two small domes on the north part is seen. On the right, the vault and the small dome is seen. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011



Figure. 123 The interior space of Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha Mosque. Author 2011.



Figure. 124. The dome and the transition element of the cover of Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha Mosque's mihrab section. Author 2011.



Figure. 125. The sultan's lodge of Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha Mosque. Author 2011.



Figure. 126. Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha Mosque from north-east corner. Author 2011.



Figure. 127 The half barrel vault on the north side of the Zağnos Pasha Mosque during the restoration work in the 1980's. The brick and the timber frame can be seen. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011.

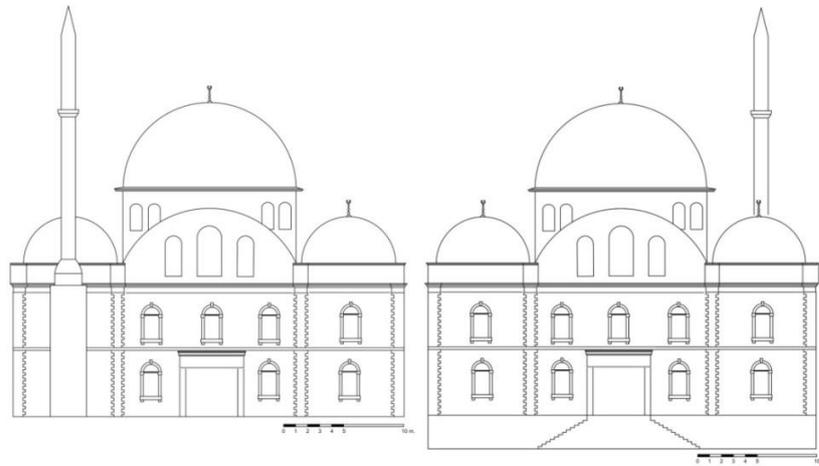


Figure. 128 The drawing of the west and east facades of Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha Mosque. Drawn by the author using the dimensions on the sketch taken from VGM Archive.

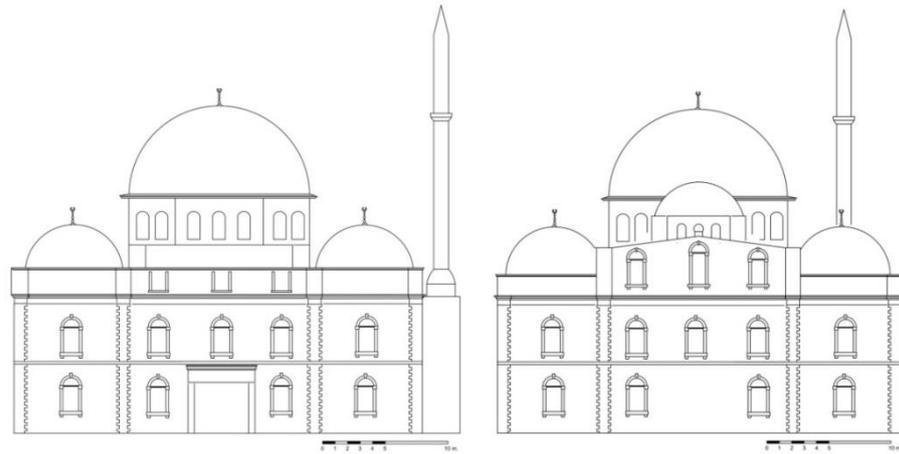


Figure. 129 The drawing of the north and south facades of Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha Mosque. Drawn by the author using the dimensions on the sketch taken from VGM Archive.



Figure. 130 The south and east facades of the Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011.



Figure. 131 The north and west facades of the Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011.

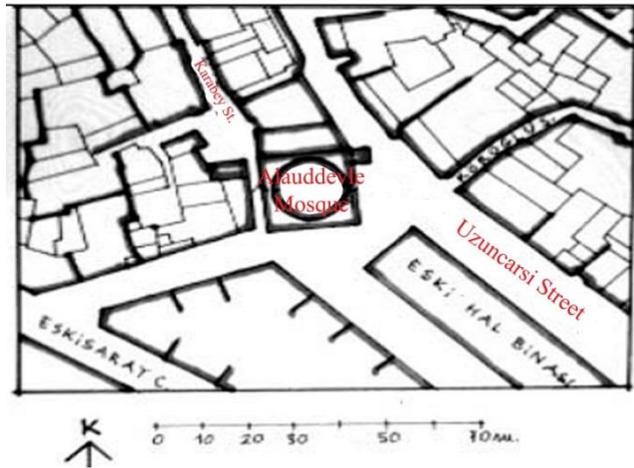


Figure. 132 The sketch shows the site plan of the Gaziantep Alaüddevle Mosque. After: (Akpolat, Mimarlık Yapıtlarının Mimarlık ve Mimarlık Dışı Rollerini: Gaziantep Alaüddevle Camisi (1903) 2003, 120)

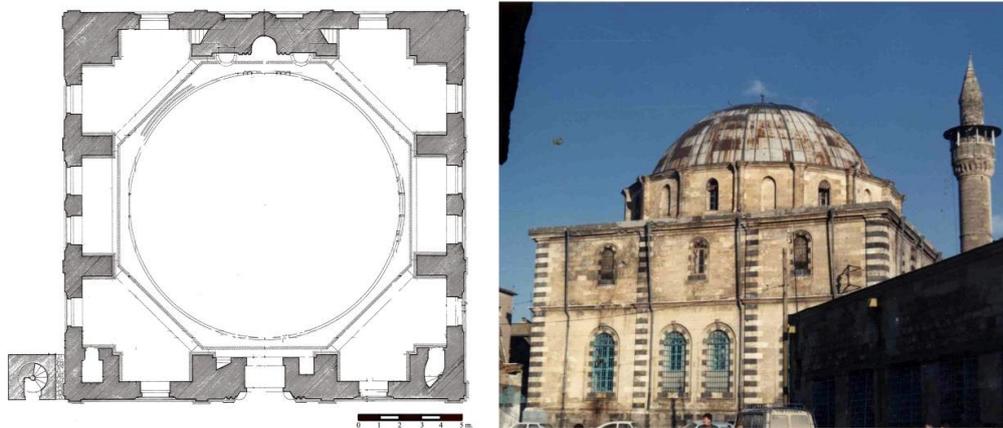


Figure. 133 The plan and the exterior view of Gaziantep Alaüddevle Mosque. Source: Left: VGM Archive retrieved in 2011. Right: Author 2011.

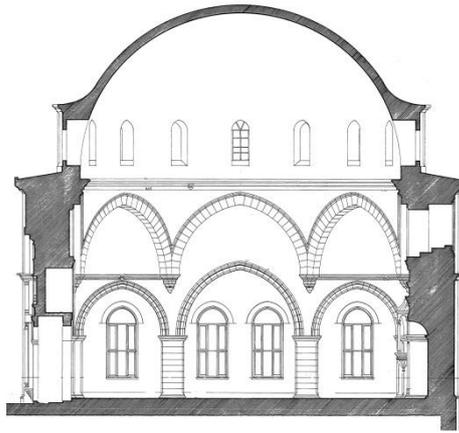


Figure. 134 The section of Gaziantep Alaüddevle Mosque. Source: VGM Archive retrieved in 2011

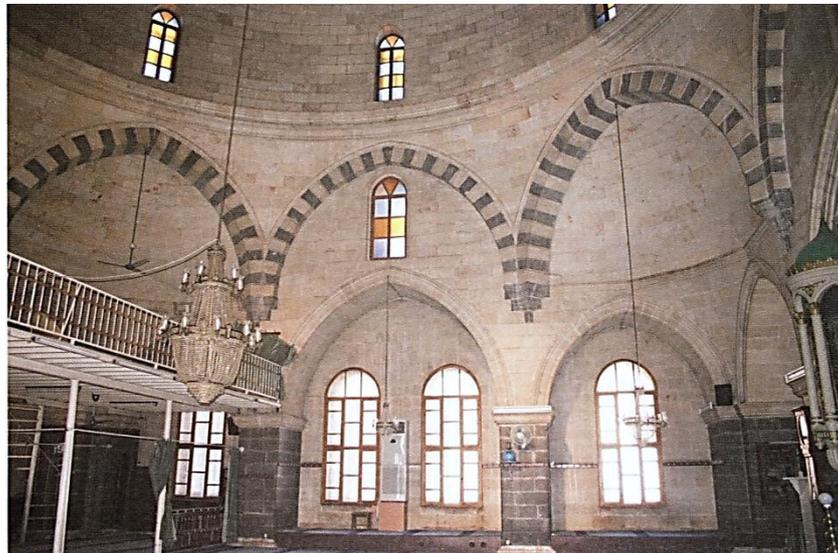


Figure. 135 The interior of Gaziantep Alaüddevle Mosque. Author 2011.

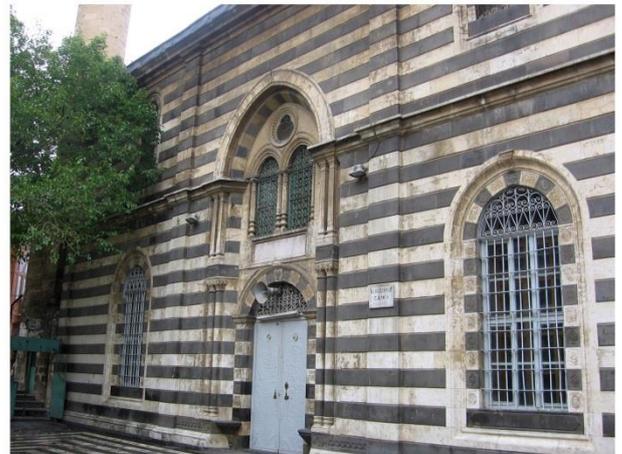
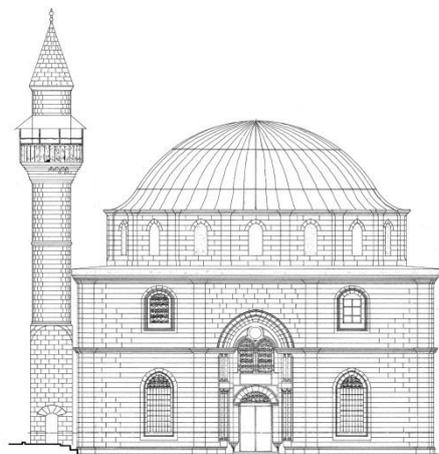


Figure. 136 The drawing and photograph of the north facade of Gaziantep Alaüddevle Mosque. Source: Left: VGM Archive retrieved in 2011. Right: Author 2011

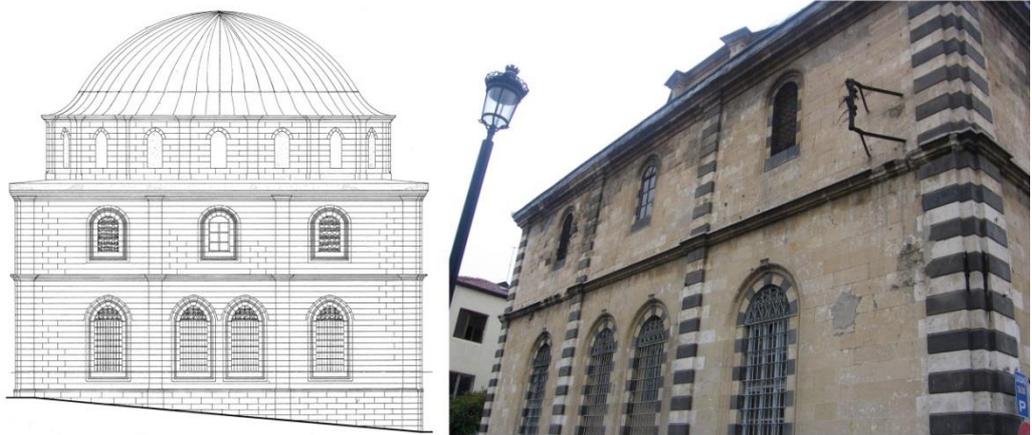


Figure. 137 The drawing and photograph of the west facade of Gaziantep Alaüddevle Mosque. Source: Left: VGM Archive retrieved in 2011. Right: Author 2011

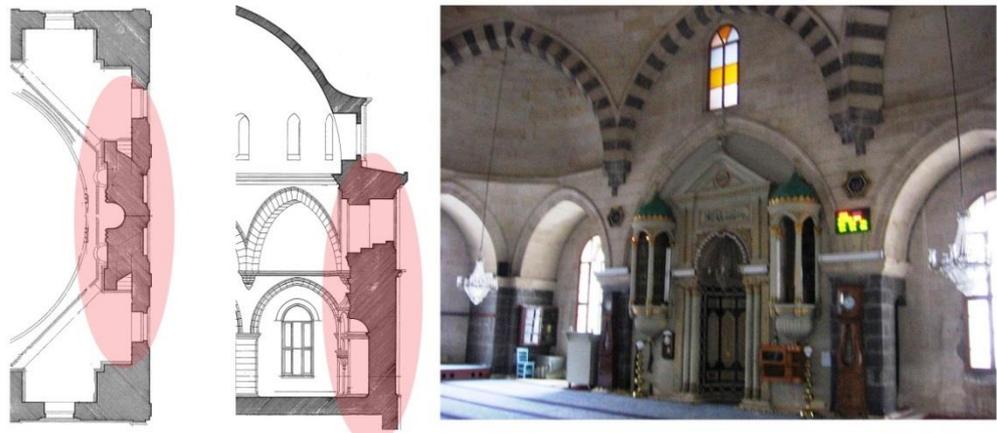


Figure. 138 The plan, the section and photograph of the mihrab section of the Gaziantep Alaüddevle Mosque. Source: Drawings: VGM Archive retrieved in 2011. Photo: Author 2011



Figure. 139. The mihrab facade of the Gaziantep Alaüddevle Mosque. Source: VGM Archive retrieved in 2011



Figure. 140 Kurtuluş Mosque (Meryem Ana Church) in Gaziantep. Source: wowturkey.com, retrieved in 2012.

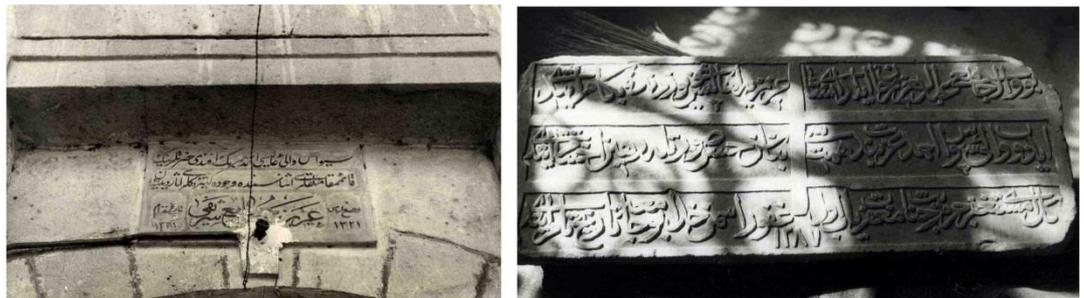


Figure. 141 The inscription panels of Pınarbaşı Aziziye Mosque. The left one is on the entrance door. The right one was founded inside of the mosque during a restoration in 1980's. Source: VGM Archive retrieved in 2011.

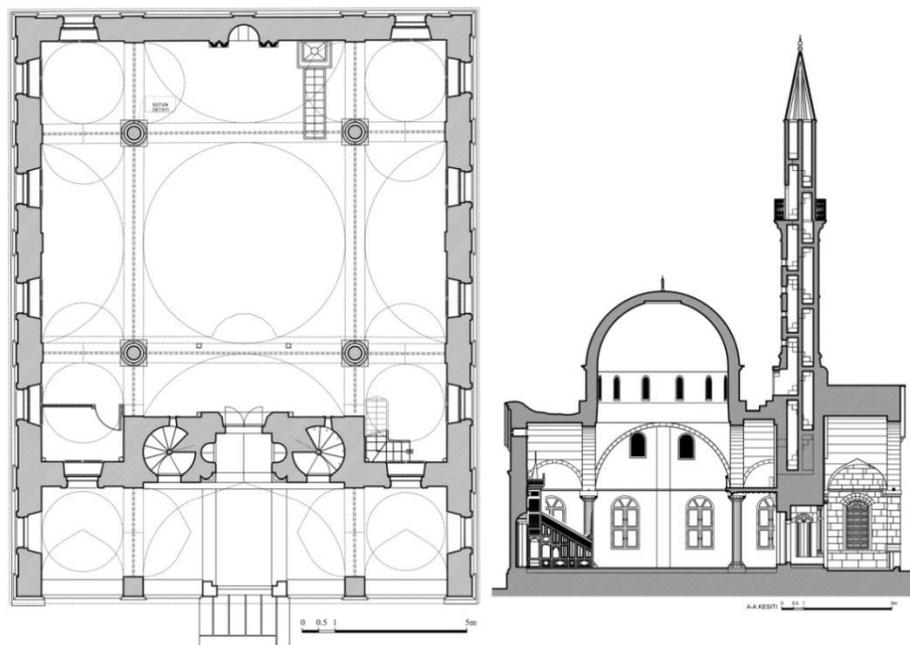


Figure. 142 The plan and section of Pınarbaşı Aziziye Mosque. VGM Archive retrieved in 2011.



Figure. 143 The inside of Pınarbaşı Aziziye Mosque. VGM Archive retrieved in 2011.



Figure. 144 The inside of Pınarbaşı Aziziye Mosque. VGM Archive retrieved in 2011.



Figure. 145 The north facade of Pınarbaşı Aziziye Mosque. VGM Archive retrieved in 2011.

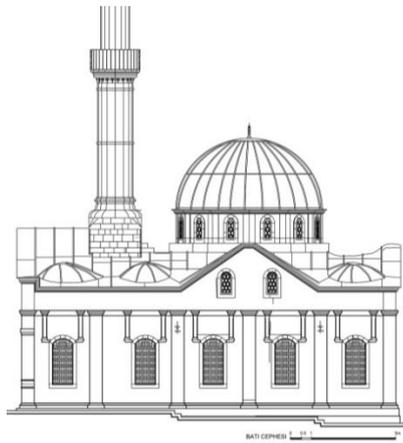


Figure. 146 The west facade of Pınarbaşı Aziziye Mosque. VGM Archive retrieved in 2011.

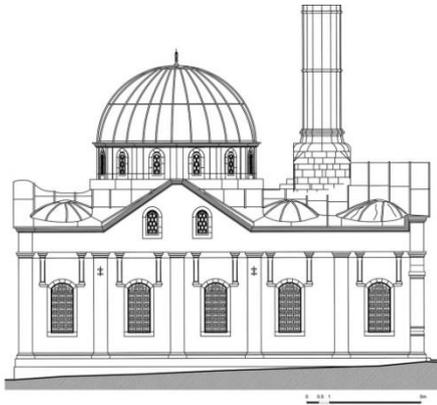


Figure. 147 The east facade of Pınarbaşı Aziziye Mosque. VGM Archive retrieved in 2011.

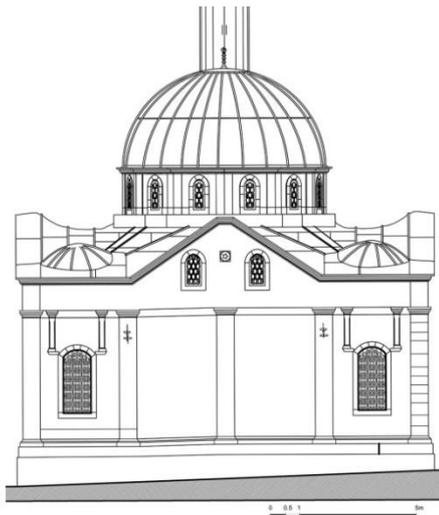


Figure. 148 The south facade of Pınarbaşı Aziziye Mosque. VGM Archive retrieved in 2011.

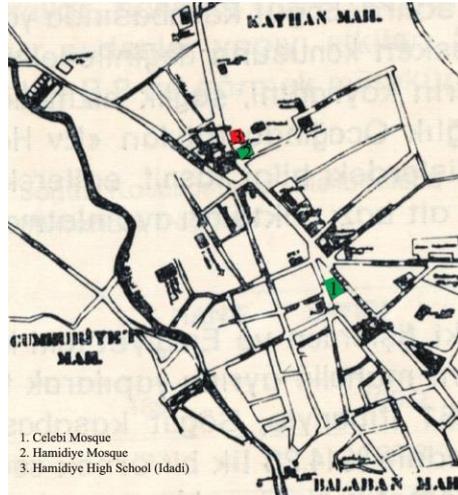


Figure. 149. The map of Söğüt. After (Akkayan and Aydın n.d., 27)

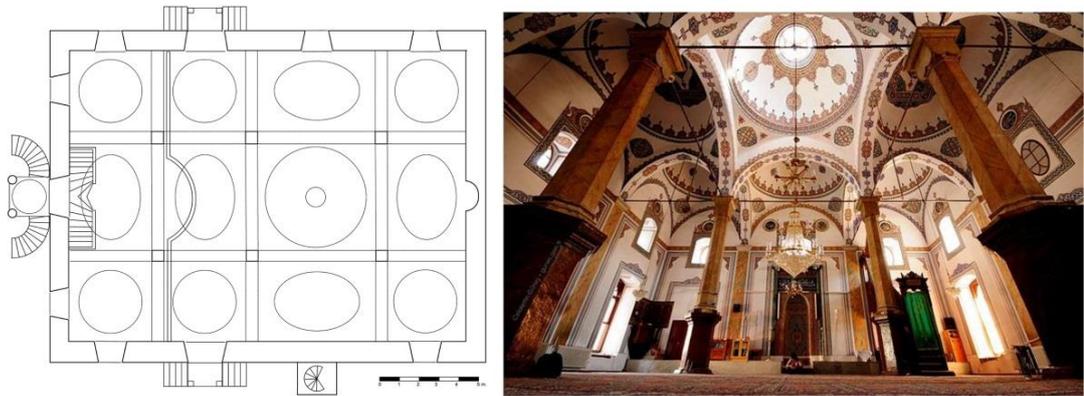


Figure. 150 The plan and the interior view of Söğüt Çelebi Mehmet Mosque. Source: Left: Drawn by the author based on the information in VGM Archive. Right: wowturkey.com, retrieved in 2012



Figure. 151 the interior of Söğüt Çelebi Mehmet Mosque. Source: wowturkey.com, retrieved in 2012

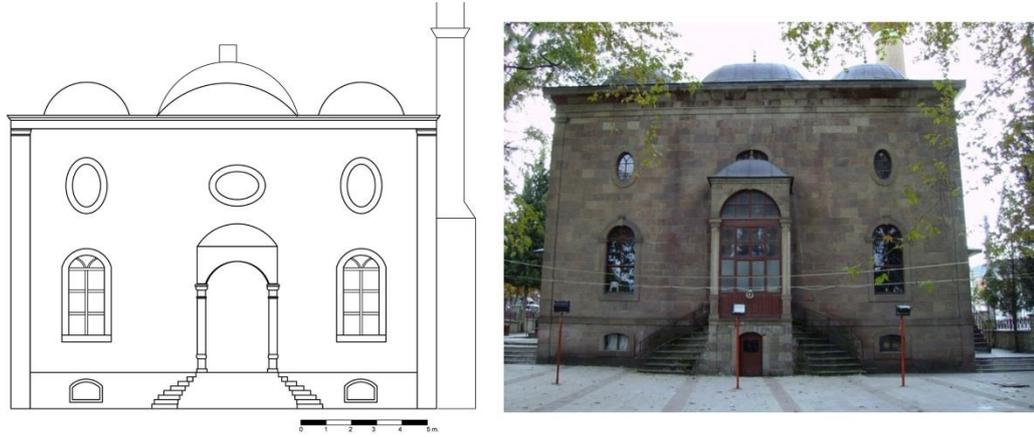


Figure. 152. The drawing and photograph of north facade of Söğüt Çelebi Mehmet Mosque. Drawing; by the author based on the information in VGM Archive. Photograph: Author 2011.

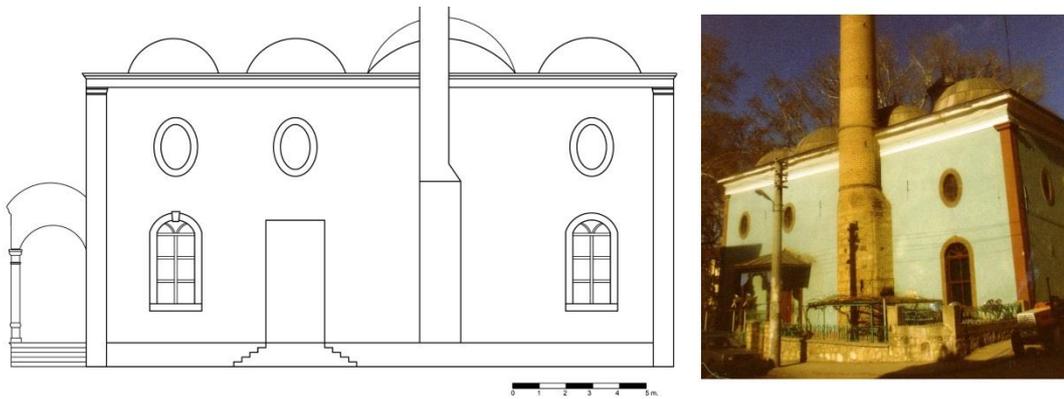


Figure. 153 The drawing and photograph of west facade of Söğüt Çelebi Mehmet Mosque. Drawing by the author based on the information in VGM Archive. Photograph: Author 2011.



Figure. 154 The drawing and photograph of north facade of Söğüt Çelebi Mehmet Mosque. Source: Drawing by the author based on the information in VGM Archive. Photograph: Author 2011.



Figure. 155 Sögüt Hamidiye Mosque on the left and Sögüt Hamidiye High School on the right. Author, 2011.

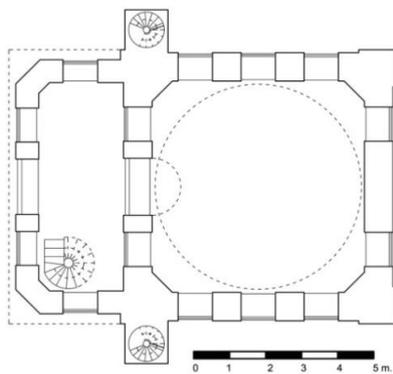


Figure. 156 The plan and the interior view of Sögüt Hamidiye Mosque. Drawing by the author based on the information in VGM Archive. Photograph: Author, 2011.

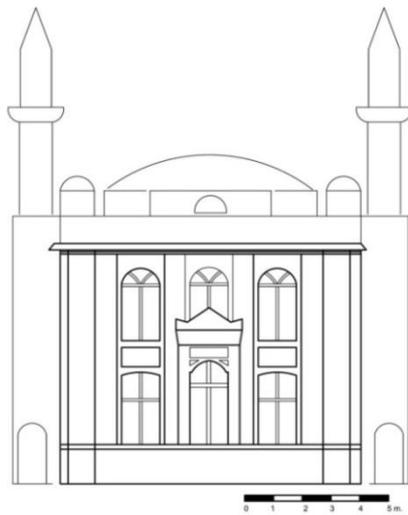


Figure. 157 The drawing and photograph of north facade of Sögüt Hamidiye Mosque. Drawing; by the author based on the information in VGM Archive. Photograph: Author 2011.



Figure. 158 Left: Söğüt Hamidiye Mosque from its northeast side. Right: Söğüt Hamidiye Mosque from its south facade. Photograph: Author 2011.

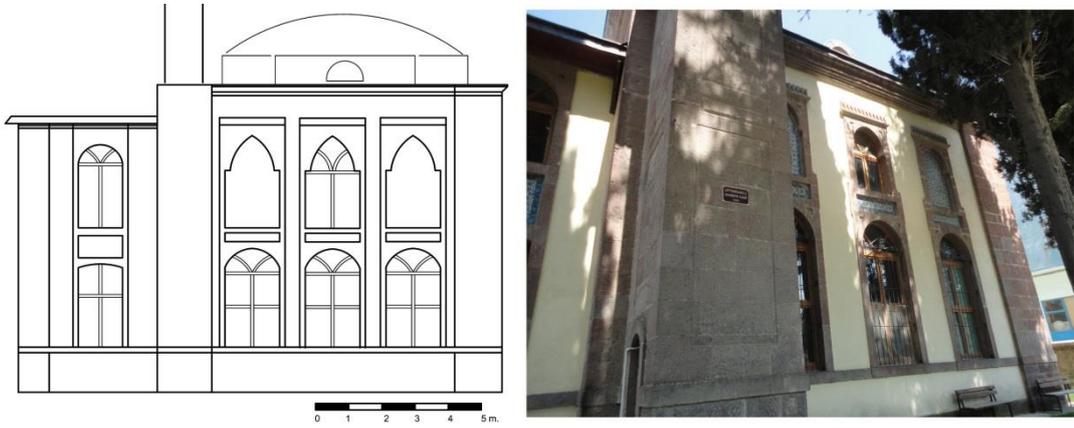


Figure. 159 The drawing and photograph of west facade of Söğüt Hamidiye Mosque. Drawing; by the author based on the information in VGM Archive. Photograph: Author 2011.

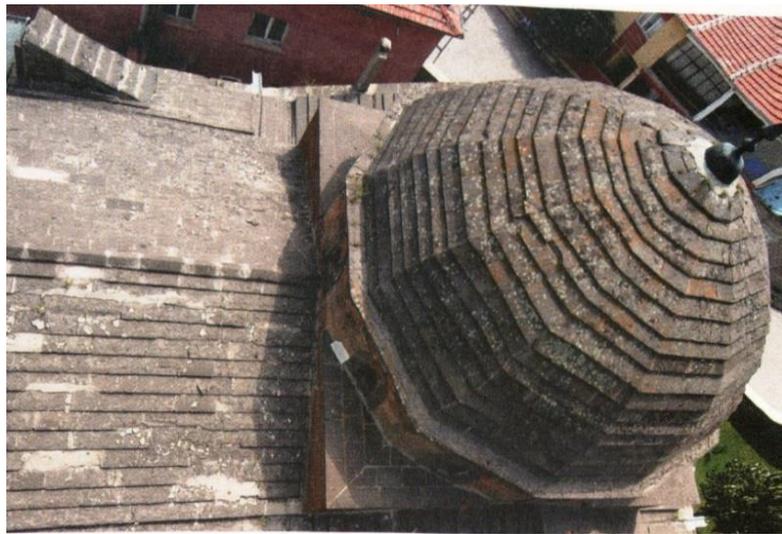


Figure. 160 The cover of Tomarza Merkez Mosque from its minaret. Source: (Özbek 2011, 60)

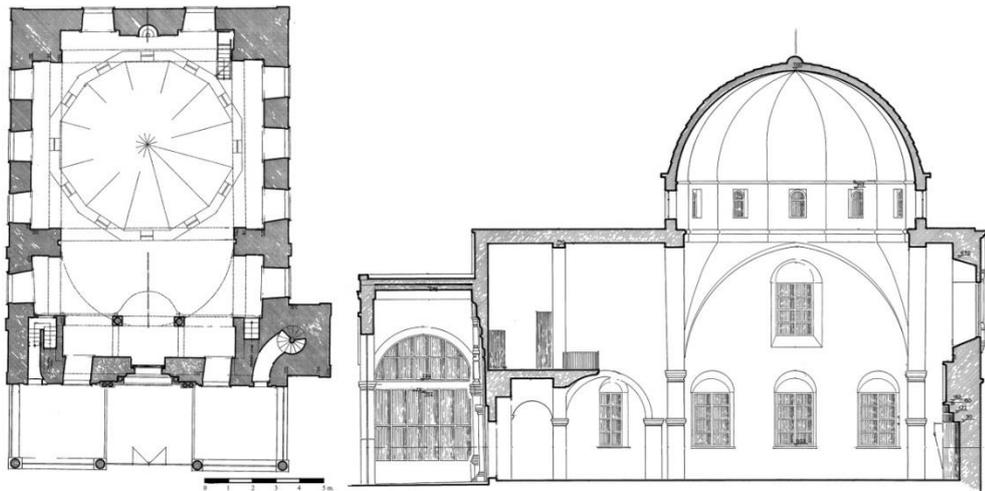


Figure. 161 The plan and the section of Tomarza Merkez Mosque. Source: VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011.



Figure. 162 The interior of Tomarza Merkez Mosque. Source: (Özbek 2011, 60)



Figure. 163 The west facade of Tomarza Merkez Mosque. Source: VGM Archive retrieved in 2011.

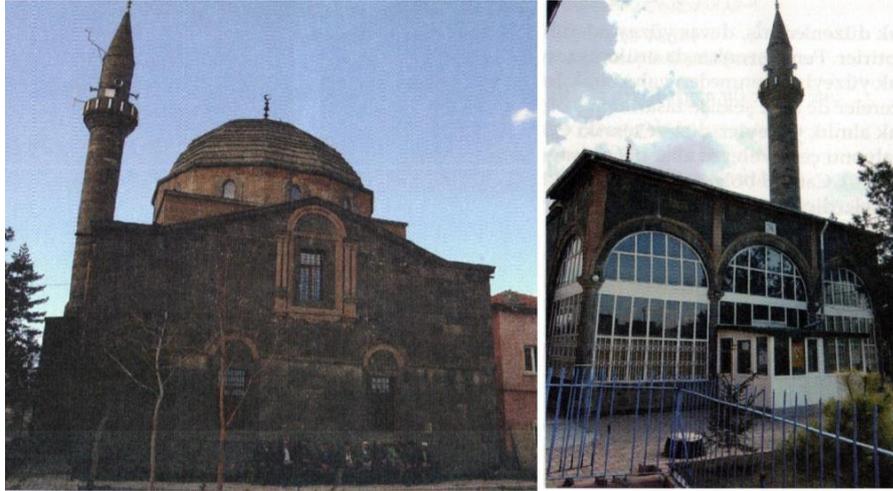


Figure. 164 Left: The south facade of Tomarza Merkez Mosque. Right: The north (entrance) facade of Tomarza Merkez Mosque. Source: (Özbek 2011, 57)



Figure. 165 Malatya Yeni Mosque during the construction of its minarets in 1919. Source: (Işık 1998, 499)

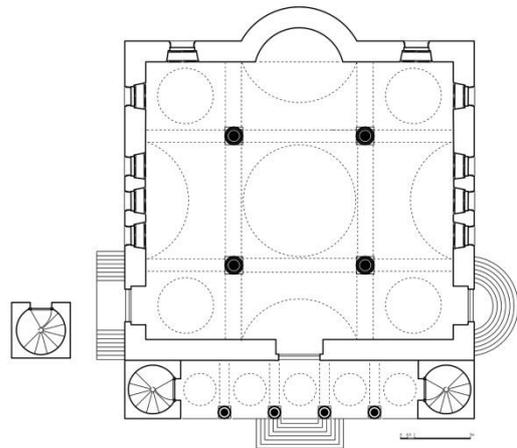


Figure. 166 Left: Malatya Yeni Mosque, retrieved from www.wowturkey.com, 2011. Right: Plan of the Malatya Great Mosque, Drawn by the author using the given dimensions in the documents taken from VGM Archive, retrieved in 2011.

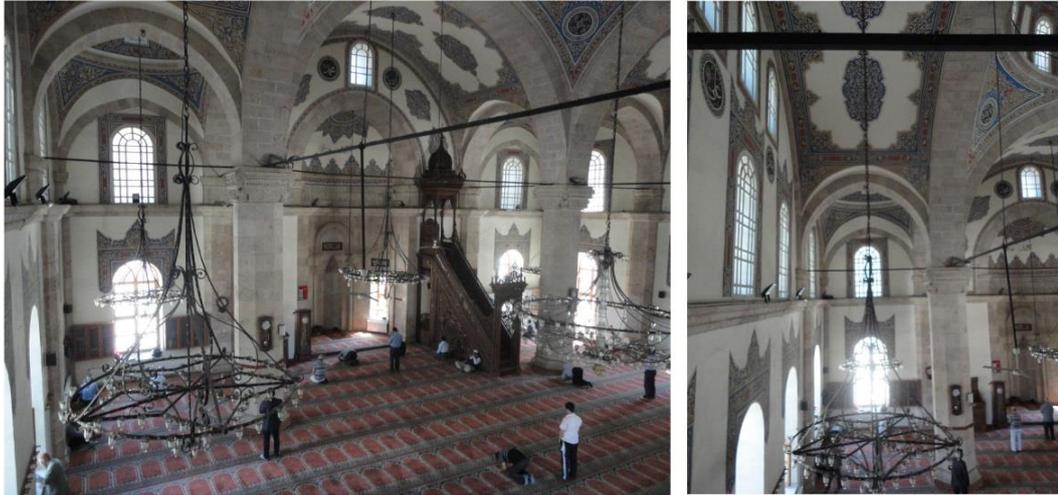


Figure. 167 The interior of Malatya Yeni Mosque. Photograph: Author 2011.



Figure. 168 The interior of Malatya Yeni Mosque. Photograph: Author 2011.



Figure. 169 Left: The south facade of Malatya Yeni Mosque. Right: The east facade of Malatya Yeni Mosque. Author 2011.



Figure. 170 The north facade of Malatya Yeni Mosque. Right: The west facade of Malatya Yeni Mosque. Author 2011.



Figure. 171 The map of the city of Firzovik. Red circle shows the site of the mosque. Source: (İbrahimgil and Konuk 2006, 196)



Figure. 172 Firzovik Great Mosque and watch tower which is used as a church bell today. Source: (İbrahimgil and Konuk 2006, 199)



Figure. 173 The plan and interior of Firzovik Great Mosque. Source: (İbrahimgil and Konuk 2006, 201)



Figure. 174 From the inside of the Firzovik Great Mosque. (İbrahimgil and Konuk 2006, 200)

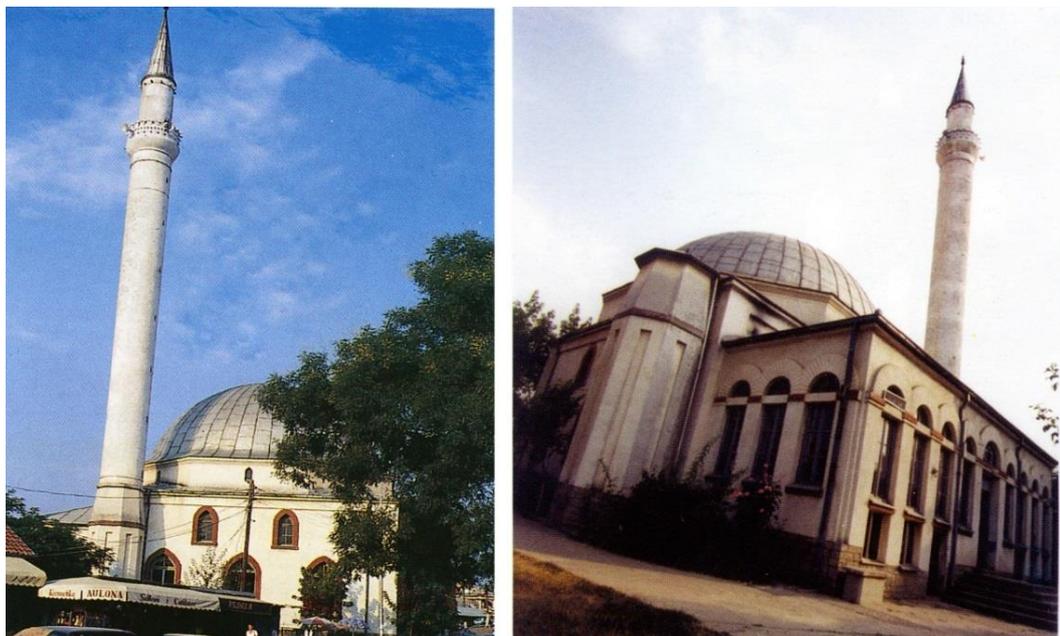


Figure. 175 Left: The west facade of the Firzovik Great Mosque. Right: The north facade of the Firzovik Great Mosque. Source: (İbrahimgil and Konuk 2006, 199)

TABLES

TABLE 1 - BRIEF INFORMATION ON THE MOSQUES IN THE PROVINCES

	Name of the Mosque	Province (Vilayet)	District (Liva)	Sub-District (Kaza)	Construction Date	Reign	Founder / Contributor	Cover System	Total Area (m ²)	Last Prayer Hall (m ²)	Gallery (m ²)	Dome (Diameter) (m)	Constructed on the site of an old mosque
1	Çanakkale Fatih Mosque	Hüdavendigâr	Biga	Kal'a-i Sultaniye	1862-3 / restore in 1904	Abdülaziz (restore Abdülhamid II)	Biga Governor Hakkı Pasha (1862-6)	9-units, one small dome in the middle	432 m ²	none	90 m ²	6.00 m.	yes (restored-repaired)
2	Konya Aziziye Mosque	Konya	-	-	1872-76	Abdülaziz	Abdülaziz I and Pertevniyal Valide Sultan	one dome supported by 4 semi-domes	483 m ²	72 m ²	26 m ²	18.12 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
3	Samsun Great (Hamidiye, Valide) Mosque	Trabzon	Samsun (Canik)	-	1884-6	Abdülhamid II	Abdülaziz I (?), Pertevniyal Valide (?), Abdülhamid II	covered by one big dome	530 m ²	90 m ²	90 m ²	16.10 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
4	Kütahya Great Mosque	Hüdavendigâr	Kütahya	-	1888-93	Abdülhamid II	Abdülmeccid and Abdülaziz II, Abdülhamid II	two domes supported by 6 semi-domes	1070 m ²	114 m ²	145 m ²	10.05x2 m.	yes (restored-repaired)
5	Kütahya Hamidiye Mosque	Hüdavendigâr	Kütahya	-	1905	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome	260 m ²	none	60 m ²	13.40 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
6	İzmir Hamidiye Mosque	Aydın	İzmir	-	1890 (1892?)	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome	138 m ²	27 m ²	14 m ²	9,70 m.	no
7	Burhaniye Great (Koca) Mosque	Hüdavendigâr	Karasi (Balıkesir)	Burhaniye (Kemer Edremid before 1894)	1891 -1908?	Abdülhamid II	not known	one dome, supported by 4 vaults and 4 small barrel vaults on the corners	473 m ²	none	110 m ²	7.30 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
8	Adıyaman Great Mosque	Mamuretü'l Aziz (Elazığ)	Malatya	Adıyaman	1895-6	Abdülhamid II	Kolağası Mustafa Ağa and Hacı Molla	one dome, supported by 4 vaults and 4 small domes on the corners	397 m ²	70 m ²	none	8.00 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
9	Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque	Hüdavendigâr	Karasi (Balıkesir) (since 1843)	Ayvalık	1894-7	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome enlarged by 2 vaulted structure on the south north axis	86 m ²	10 m ²	none	6,17 m.	no
10	Aydın Ramazan Pasha Mosque	Aydın	Aydın	-	1899	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome	307 m ²	80 m ²	42 m ²	13.30 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
11	Thessaloniki New Mosque	Selanik	-	-	1900-3	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome	316 m ²	60 m ²	98 m ²	10.40 m.	no
12	Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha Mosque	Hüdavendigâr	Karasi (Balıkesir) (since 1864)	-	1902-3	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II and Governor Ömer Ali Bey	one dome supported by three vaults and one small dome, and also 4 small domes on the corners	1059 m ²	144 m ²	144.6 m ²	17.3 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
13	Gaziantep Alaüddevle Mosque	Halep	Halep	Ayıntab	1903-9	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome carried by octagonal baldachin	300 m ²	none	none	15.30 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
14	Pınarbaşı Aziziye Mosque	Sivas	Sivas	Aziziye (Pınarbaşı)	1903-9	Abdülhamid II	Abdülaziz I, Abdülhamid II	one dome, supported by 4 vaults and 4 small domes on the corners	218 m ²	34 m ²	none	6.11 m.	?
15	Söğüt Çelebi Sultan Mehmet Cami	Hüdavendigâr	Ertuğrul (Bilecik)	Söğüt	19th century ?	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	12 domes	461 m ²	none	86 m ²	5.40 m./3.10 m.	yes (restored-repaired)
16	Söğüt Hamidiye Mosque	Hüdavendigâr	Ertuğrul (Bilecik)	Söğüt	1905	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome carried by octagonal baldachin	142 m ²	31 m ²	30 m ²	8.80 m.	no
17	Tomarza Merkez Mosque	Ankara	Kayseriye	Develi	1906	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one big dome supported by a semi dome on the north side	200 m ²	40 m ²	15 m ²	9.0 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
18	Malatya Yeni Mosque	Mamuretü'l Aziz (Elazığ)	Malatya	-	1893-1913	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome, supported by 4 vaults and 4 small domes on the corners	596 m ²	68 m ²	88 m ²	9.70 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
19	Firzovik Great (Merkez) Mosque	Kosovo	Üsküp	Firzovik	19th century ?	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one big dome	252 m ²	59 m ²	25 m ²	10,5 m.	?

TABLE 2 - DRAWINGS OF THE MOSQUES IN THE PROVINCES

Name of the Mosque	Construction Date	Reign	PLAN	Diameter of the Dome	AREA	SECTION	EAST FACADE	WEST FACADE	NORTH FACADE	SOUTH FACADE
1	Çanakkale Fatih Mosque	1862-3 / restore in 1904	Abdülaziz (restore Abdülhamid II)		6.00 m. 342 m ² + 90 m ² (gallery) = 432 m ²					
2	Konya Azizye Mosque	1872-76	Abdülaziz		18.12 m. 385 m ² + 26 m ² (gallery) + 72 m ² (last prayer h.) = 483 m ²					
3	Samsun Great (Hamidiye, Valide) Mosque	1884-6	Abdülhamid II		16.10 m. 260 m ² + (90x2) m ² (gallery+last prayer h.1) + 90 m ² (last prayer h.2) = 530 m ²					
4	Kitahya Great Mosque	1888-93	Abdülhamid II		10.05 m x2 811 m ² + 145 m ² (gallery) + 114 m ² (last prayer h.) = 1070 m ²					
5	Kitahya Hamidiye Mosque	1905	Abdülhamid II		13.40 m. 200 m ² + 60 m ² (gallery) = 260 m ²					
6	Izmir Hamidiye Mosque	1890 (1892?)	Abdülhamid II		9.70 m. 97 m ² + 14 m ² (gallery) + 27 m ² (last prayer h.) = 138 m ²					
7	Burhaniye Great (Koca) Mosque	1891 -1908?	Abdülhamid II		7.30 m. 363 m ² + 110 m ² (gallery) = 473 m ²					
8	Adyaman Great Mosque	1895-6	Abdülhamid II		8 m. (4 x4 m) 327 m ² + 70 m ² (last prayer h.) = 397 m ²					
9	Ayvask Hamidiye Mosque	1894-7	Abdülhamid II		6.17 m. 76 m ² + 10 m ² (last prayer h.) = 86 m ²					
10	Aydin Ramazan Pasha Mosque	1899	Abdülhamid II		13.30 m. 185 m ² + 42 m ² (gallery) + 80 m ² (last prayer h.) = 307 m ²					
11	Thessaloniki New Mosque	1900-3	Abdülhamid II		10.40 m. 158 m ² + 60 m ² (gallery-1) + 38 m ² (gallery-2) + 60 m ² (last prayer h.) = 316 m ²					
12	Bahkesir Zaghos Pasha Mosque	1902-3	Abdülhamid II		17.3 m. 914.4 m ² + 144.6 m ² (gallery) = 1059 m ²					
13	Gaziantep Alüdddevle Mosque	1903-9	Abdülhamid II		15.30 m. 300 m ²					
14	Pınarbaşı Azizye Mosque	1903-9	Abdülhamid II		6.11 m. 184 m ² + 34 m ² (last prayer h.) = 218 m ²					
15	Söğüt Çelebi Sultan Mehmet Mosque	19th century?	Abdülhamid II		5.40 m. 3.10 m. 375 m ² + 86 m ² (gallery) = 461 m ²					
16	Söğüt Hamidiye Mosque	1905	Abdülhamid II		8.80 m. 80 m ² + 30 m ² (gallery) + 31 m ² (last prayer h.) = 142 m ²					
17	Tomarza Merkez Mosque	1906	Abdülhamid II		9.00 m. 145 m ² + 15 m ² (gallery) + 40 m ² (last prayer h.) = 200 m ²					
18	Malatya Yeni Mosque	1893-1913	Abdülhamid II		9.70 m. 440 m ² + 88 m ² (gallery) + 68 m ² (last prayer h.) = 596 m ²					
19	Firzovik Great Mosque	19th century?	Abdülhamid II		10.5 m. 168 m ² + 25 m ² (gallery) + 59 m ² (last prayer h.) = 252 m ²					

TABLE 3 - BRIEF INFORMATION ON THE MOSQUES IN THE CAPITAL

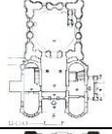
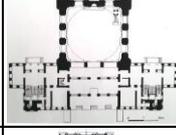
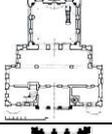
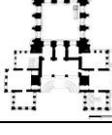
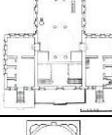
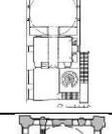
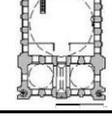
	Name of the Mosque	Construction Date	Founder	Architect	Total Area (m ²)	Dome (diameter)	Plan
1	Küçük Mecidiye Mosque	1848	Abdülmecid	Garabet Amira Balian? (Kuban 2007), Nigogos Balian? (Tuğlacı 1990)	138 m ² + 278 m ² (sultan lodge) + 78 m ² (vestibule) = 494 m²	11.20 m.	
2	Bezm-i Alem Valide (Dolmabahçe) Mosque	1852-3	Bezm-i Alem Valide (Mother of Sultan Abdülmecid)	Garabet Amira Balyan? (Kuban 2007), Sarkis Balyan? (Öz 1987)	315 m ² + 540 m ² (sultan lodge) + 105 m ² (vestibule) = 960 m²	16.60 m.	
3	Teşvikiye Mosque	1854-5	Abdülmecid	not cited	110 m ² + 398 m ² (sultan lodge) + 33 m ² (vestibule) = 541 m²	10.40 m.	
4	Büyük Mecidiye (Ortaköy) Mosque	1854	Abdülmecid	Nikogos Balian (Kuban 2007), (Tuğlacı 1990)	248 m ² + 680 m ² (sultan lodge) + 190 m ² (vestibule) = 1118 m²	16.50 m.	
5	Sadabat (Aziziye, Çağlayan) Mosque	1862	Abdülaziz	Sarkis and Agop Balian? (Kuban 2007), Sarkis Balian? (Tuğlacı 1990)			
6	Pertevniyal Valide Mosque	1871	Abdülaziz	Sarkis and Agop Balian? (Tuğlacı 1990), Agop Balian and Montani? (Kuban 2007)	167 m ² + 240 m ² (sultan lodge) + 110 m ² (vestibule) = 517 m²	10.00 m.	
7	Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque	1884-6	Abdülhamid II	Sarkis Balian (Kuban 2007), (Tuğlacı 1990)	258 m ² + 312 m ² (sultan lodge) + 50 m ² (vestibule) + 80 m ² (last prayer hall) = 700 m²	8.00 m.	
8	Hidayet Mosque	1887	Abdülhamid II	Alexandre Vallauray (Akpolat 1991, 59)	104 m ² + 15 m ² (gallery) + 48 m ² (last prayer hall) = 167 m²	10.40 m.	
9	Cihangir Mosque	1889	Abdülhamid II	Sarkis Balian ? (Arı 1994, 430)	196 m ² + 15 m ² (gallery) + 75 m ² (last prayer hall) = 286 m²	14 m.	

TABLE 4 - GROUPS BASED ON PROVINCIAL MOSQUES' PLAN SCHEME

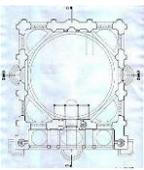
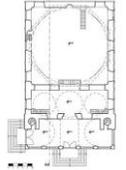
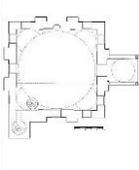
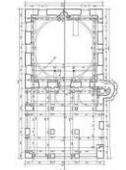
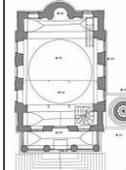
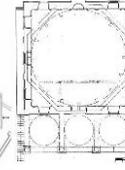
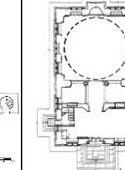
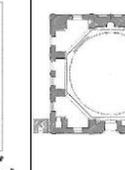
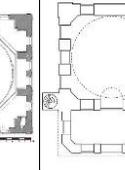
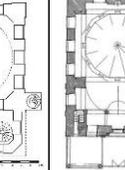
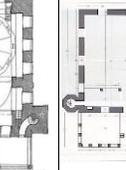
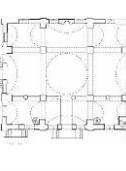
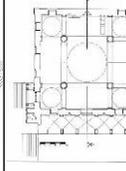
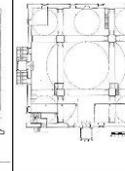
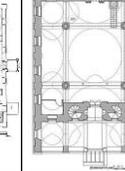
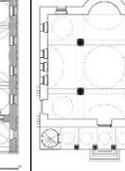
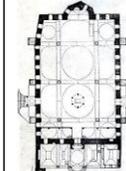
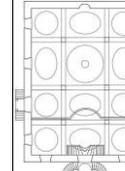
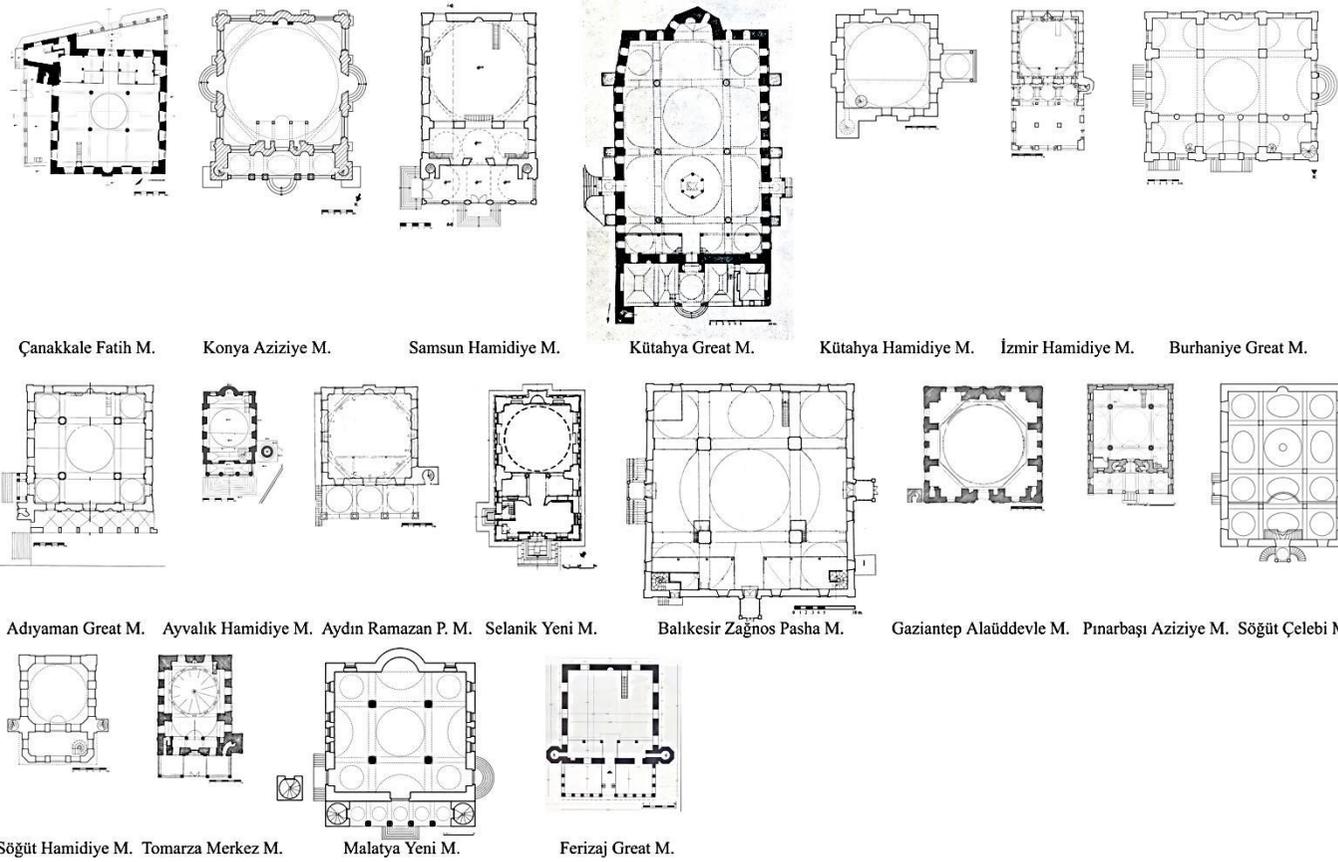
A. Space Structured under Single Dome										
										
Konya Aziziye Mosque	Samsun Great (Hamidiye, Valide) Mosque	Kütahya Hamidiye Mosque	İzmir Hamidiye Mosque	Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque	Aydın Ramazan Pasha Mosque	Selanik Yeni Mosque	Gaziantep Alaüddeve Mosque	Söğüt Hamidiye Mosque	Tomarza Merkez Mosque	Firzovik Great Mosque
B. Space Structured under a Dome Surrounded by Vaults										
										
	Çanakkale Fatih Mosque	Burhaniye Great (Koca) Mosque	Adıyaman Great Mosque	Balıkseri Zağnos Paşa Mosque	Pınarbaşı Aziziye Mosque	Malatya Yeni Mosque				
C. Space Structured under Multiple Domes (Bursa Type)										
										
		Kütahya Great Mosque	Söğüt Çelebi Sultan Mehmet Cami							

TABLE 5 – COMPARATIVE PLAN LAYOUTS OF THE PROVINCIAL MOSQUES



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PUBLICATIONS

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TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu tezin temellerini 19. yy Osmanlı camilerine dair mimarlık tarihi yazımının eleştirel bir bakış açısı ile yeniden ele alınması oluşturmaktadır. Mevcut tarih yazımında gözlemlenen üç ana sorun bu tezin esas olarak inşa edildiği üç ana nokta olarak görülebilir. Burada sözü edilen üç ana sorundan ilk ikisi mimarlık tarihi yazımının genel sorunları olarak ele alınırken, üçüncü problem Osmanlı mimarlık tarihi yazımına özgü bir sorun olarak okunabilir.

Bu sorunlardan birincisi mimarlık tarihi yazımının ana aktörleri olarak kabul edilen binaların anıtsal yapılar arasından seçilmesi ve büyüklük olarak bu anıtsal yapılar ile yarışamayacak 'diğer' örneklerin tarihsel anlatımın içinde değerlendirilmemesidir. 19. yy mimarlık tarihi yazımına bakıldığı zaman açıkça görülmektedir ki mevcut anlatım İstanbul'da belirli, bilinen ve ayırt edilebilir anıtsal yapıların üzerine inşa edilmiştir. Bu sebepten bu tez ilk olarak anıtsal ve 'başyapıt' olarak tarihsel anlatımda yeri olmayan veya 'tanınmış' bir mimar tarafından yapılmayan yapıların da dâhil olabileceği alternatif bir mimarlık tarihi yazımının ve tarihsel anlatımın mümkün olup olmadığını sorgulamaktadır.

Tarih yazımına ait, bu tez çerçevesinde tariflenen, ikinci sorun Osmanlı mimarlık tarihinin anlaşılması ve gelişimi üzerine yapılan çalışmaların çok büyük bir çoğunluğunun Osmanlı başkentinde yapılmış olan mimari eserlerin incelenmesi ve değerlendirilmesi sonucu ortaya çıkmasıdır. Özel olarak cami mimarisinin gelişimi üzerine yazılmış olan literatür değerlendirildiği zaman, başkentteki sultan camilerinin dışına nadiren çıktığı açıkça gözlemlenmektedir. Oysa geniş bir coğrafya üzerinde hâkimiyet kurmuş olan Osmanlı imparatorluğunun mimari üretimine dair bilgi, taşra⁵⁶daki yapılar üzerinden okunduğunda başka bir kurgu veya sonuca ulaştırabilir. Bu tez kapsamında incelenen taşra camilerinin sayısal çokluğu da göstermektedir ki 19.yy boyunca taşrada çok önemli inşaat faaliyetleri yürütülmektedir. Tezin odak noktasını oluşturan bu camilerin incelenmesi, 19. yy'daki mimari gelişimi anlayabilmemiz için değerli bir araçtır. Bu nedenle, bu tezin mimarlık tarihi çalışmalarına katkısı başkentteki camiler üzerine yazılan 19. yy Osmanlı cami mimarisi tarih yazımına alternatif olarak taşradaki camilerin anlatımı çerçevesinde gelişen bir tarih yazımı olarak tanımlanabilir.

⁵⁶ Burada 'taşra' sözcüğü barındırdığı kavramsal ve teorik tartışmaların gerisinde, genel olarak Osmanlı eyalet, vilayet, kaza ve nahiyelerini yerine kullanılmıştır. Tezin ana kısmında kullanılan 'province' sözcüğü yerine geçmektedir. Burada 'province' sözcüğü anlam karmaşasını önlemek amacı ile bilinçli olarak 'eyalet' şeklinde çevrilmemiştir.

Üçüncü problem olarak ele alınan konu 19. yy Osmanlı mimarisi üzerinden yürütülen mevcut tartışmaların stiller çerçevesinde ele alınmasıdır. Son on yıla dışındaki tarih yazımı incelendiğinde 19.yy Osmanlı mimarisinin tanımlamak için en çok başvurulan yöntemin, batıdaki tarih yazımının bir paraleli olarak gelişen stiller okuması olduğu görülür. Stil paradigması olarak adlandırılabilir bu yaklaşım beraberinde batılılaşma paradigması veya çöküş dönemi paradigması gibi pek çok alt kavramı da beraberinde getirir. Mimarlık tarihçilerinin 19. yy Osmanlı mimarisi için vardıkları genel geçer yargı çoğunlukla bu dönemde mimaride Osmanlıya tamamen yabancı olduğu sıklıkla vurgulanan 'neo-klasik', 'neo-barok' veya 'neo-gotik' öğelerin cömertçe kullanılması ve bu sebeple mimari geleneğin bozulması ve gerilemesi olarak sunulur. Mimarlığın gerilemesi söyleminin ardında tarih yazımındaki yükselme-durakla-gerileme kurgusunu benimseyen lineer tarih yazımı söylemi olduğu düşünülebilir. Bu bağlamda, stiller arşivinden devşirilmiş bu okumanın kökenlerine inildiğinde, bu okumayı temellendiren olgunun camilerin cephelerine odaklı bir yaklaşım olduğu görülmektedir. Cephe düzenlerinin genel yaklaşımı belirlediği bu okuma, camilerin mekânsal özelliklerini, geçmiş dönemdeki mekân kurgusu ile ilişkilerini ve hatta yakın çevresindeki yapılar ile kurduğu ilişkiyi dışlamaktadır. Bu sebeple, bu tezde yapılmak istenen, cephe özellikleri ve stil tartışmalarının ötesinde camilerin mekânsal kurgularını, yakın çevresindeki yapılar ile olan ilişkilerini kentsel bağlamı da içine katarak tartışmaktır.

Bu çerçeveden ele alındığında, bu tezin amacı ön yargılı batı kökenli mimarlık tarihi yaklaşımının getirdiği paradigmalardan bağımsız, mimarlık tarihinin 'görünmeyen' aktörlerini de kapsayan alternatif bir mimarlık tarih yazımı sunmaktır. Tez kapsamında şu sorular derinlemesine tartışılacaktır: 19. yy boyunca sultan ve/veya devlet otoritesi taşrada nasıl temsil ediliyordu? Başkent ve taşra arasında cami mimarisi üzerinden nasıl bir güç ilişkisi tariflenebilir? Hangi açılardan başkentteki sultan camileri taşradakiler ile benzerlik veya farklılık göstermektedir? Mevcut mimarlık tarihi yazımındaki 'zevksiz' ve 'batı stillerinin taklidi' benzeri tartışmaların ötesinde 19. yy cami mimarisine dair ayır edici bir özellikten bahsetmemiz mümkün olabilir mi?

Yukarıda sorulan soruların temelinde tartışılan bu tez altı bölüm ve tamamlayıcı ek kısımlardan oluşmaktadır. Genel olarak bu altı bölüm iki ana başlık çerçevesinde tartışılmaktadır. Bu başlıklardan ilki 'sorgulama' adı ile mimarlık tarihi yazımının getirdiği sorunların tartışıldığı ikinci bölümü, başkent ve taşra eyaletlerinin arasındaki güç ve iktidar ilişkilerinin tartışıldığı üçüncü bölümü ve taşradaki mimarlık, tasarım ve inşa süreçlerinde rol alan aktör ve kurumların ve yetkilerinin tartışıldığı dördüncü bölümü kapsamaktadır. İkinci ana başlık ise 'değerlendirme' adı altında ek-1'de tariflenen bu camilerin detaylı incelendiği ve çizilen kavramsal çerçeve etrafında tartışıldığı beşinci bölümden ve tüm tezin genel olarak sonuçlandırıldığı altıncı bölümden oluşmaktadır.

Tezi oluşturan bu altı bölümün içerikleri ve tartışılan kilit konular aşağıdaki şekilde özetlenebilir. Tezin giriş bölümünü de oluşturan birinci bölüm, tezin amacını, ana tartışma konularını, problemin tanımlanmasını ve sınırlarının çizilmesini, ele alınan örnek çalışmaların seçim kriter ve kıstaslarını tanımlar. Bu tezin zamansal sınırları dönemin en kritik dönüm noktasını oluşturan Tanzimat Reformunun ilanı (1839) ile başlamakta ve Osmanlı imparatorluğunda taşradaki mimari üretimin durma noktasına geldiği, Osmanlı imparatorluğunun I. Dünya Savaşı'na girdiği tarihte (1914) son bulmaktadır. Her ne kadar tezde tartışılan camiler esas olarak bahsi geçen zaman aralığında taşrada sultan adına inşa edilen tüm camileri kapsama ilkesinde olsa da, bazı camilerin var olan zaman içinde yapıldığı yıla özgü durumlarının yol olması ve bu karşılaştıkları kötü restorasyon uygulamaları, bu camilerin dahil edilmemesine neden olmuştur. Bir diğer önemli nokta, 19. yy'da Osmanlı sınırlarında olan bugünkü Irak ve Suriye topraklarına, bu ülkelerdeki mevcut savaş ortamı nedeni ile ulaşılammış olmasıdır. Bu sebeple, bu ülkelerde bulunan dönem camileri inceleme dışında kalmıştır.

'Sorgulama' ana başlığı altında tartışılan ilk kısım tezin ikinci bölümüdür. Bu bölümde 19. yy Osmanlı mimarlık tarihi yazımının gerileme, stil ve batılılaşma paradigmaları, cami mimarisinde tezin temelini oluşturan tarih yazımı sorularının işaret ettiği alan çerçevesinde tartışılmaktadır. Tezin bu bölümü, döneme ait literatür araştırmasını ve bu literatürün eleştirel bir şekilde ele alınmasını da içermektedir.

Tezin üçüncü bölümünü oluşturan '19. yy Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Başkent-Taşra İlişkilerinin Sorgulanması' başlıklı kısım, dört alt başlık altında ele alınmıştır. Bu başlıklar altında sırası ile Osmanlı imparatorluğunda süre gelen başkent-taşra ilişkilerinin tarihsel özeti, Tanzimat ve Geç Tanzimat dönemlerinde yapılan düzenlemeler ile değişen güçlü merkezi yönetim, Osmanlı mimarlık tarihi yazımı içinde taşranın ele alınması ve II. Abdülhamid döneminde taşradaki camilerin, Sünni İslam aracılığı ile merkezi otoritenin güçlenmesi için bir araç olarak kullanılması tartışılmıştır. Temel olarak bu bölümdeki tartışmalar göstermiştir ki II. Abdülhamid dönemi merkezi otoritenin, Tanzimat'tan farklı olarak devletin değil Sultan'ın kendi otoritesinin güçlenmeye başladığı bir dönemi işaret etmektedir. Bu durumun özellikle taşradaki mimari faaliyetler üzerinden okunabileceği görülmüştür. II. Abdülhamid'in temsil ettiği iktidarın siyasi amaçlarının ifşasında taşrada mimarının çok önemli bir araç olarak kullanıldığı ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu meşrulaştırma aracı, Sunni İslam'ın imparatorluğun bütünlüğünü korumak için güçlü bir bileşen olarak kabul edilmesi ile birlikte daha da kritik hale gelmiştir. Tezde ele alınan camilerin yapım yılları dikkate alındığında, 1839'dan II. Abdülhamid'in tahta çıkış yılı olan 1876 yılına kadar geçen zaman aralığında taşrada sadece iki adet cami yapılmış iken, 1876'dan 1908 yılına kadar on yedi caminin taşra eyaletlerinde inşa edildiği veya mevcut eski ya da yıkılmış camilerin

temelden yenilendiği görülmektedir. Bu durum açıkça göstermektedir ki politik rejim, taşrada uygulamak istediği baskın Sunni İslam görüşünü cami mimarisi üzerinden güçlendirmeyi ve yaymayı amaçlamaktadır. II. Abdülhamid'in tahta çıkış yıldönümü olarak kutlanan ve özellikle tahta çıkışının yirmi beşinci yılında gerçekleştirilen jübile törenleri bu bağlamda önemli bir kırılma noktasıdır. Arşiv belgeleri göstermektedir ki bu yıla rastgelen kutlamalarda Osmanlı eyaletlerinde saat kuleleri, çeşmeler, kent bahçeleri, okullar, tren istasyonları, belediye binaları, hastaneler, barakalar ve hükümet konaklarını da içeren çok büyük çaplı inşa faaliyetleri gerçekleştirilmiştir.

'19. yy'da Osmanlı Eyaletlerindeki Tasarım ve Yapım Süreçlerinin Sorgulanması' başlıklı dördüncü bölüm, güçlü merkezileşme politikasının ve resmi ideolojinin yapıları çevre üzerinden meşrulaştırılması sürecine mimarlık organizasyonundaki ilişkiler ve süreçler üzerinden incelemektedir. Eyalet camilerinin arşivlerde bulunan çizimleri ve salnamelerden edinilen bilgiler ışığında, bu camilere ait mimari dilin merkez tarafından şekillendirildiği, onaylandığı ve kontrol edildiği iddia edilebilir. 19. yy için imparatorluk çapında tüm mimari yapıların ihale sürecini takip eden bu merkezi kurumun Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Nezareti olduğu söylenebilir. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivinde bulunan detaylı plan ve cephe çizimleri (Ayvalık Hamidiye Cami-Figür-69 ve Irak'ta adı bilinmeyen iki cami - Figür 12-13-14) ve detaylı keşif defterleri içinde yer alan ve bu keşif defterinin oluşturulmasını sağlayan çizimler (Kadir Paşa Türbesinin çizimleri - Figür 4-5) bu iddiayı kanıtlamaktadır. Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Nezareti'nin merkezileştirilme girişiminin temelleri 1836 yılında çıkarılan kanun ile atılmıştır. İmparatorluk topraklarındaki tüm vakıf yapılarına dair her türlü harcamanın başkentteki tek kurumdan yapılmasını öngören bu değişiklik, hangi eyalette olursa olsun tüm camilerin yeniden inşa ve onarım işleri için bu Nezareti yetkili kılmaktadır. Maliyet çıkarılması için detaylı keşif defterleri hazırlanmasının zorunluluğu, tasarım sürecine dair karar ve yetki mekanizmasının Evkâf-ı Nezareti'nin elinde olması anlamına gelmektedir. Arşivlerde bulunan mimari çizimlerin grafik anlatımları incelendiğinde, önceki dönemlere kıyasla çok daha gelişkin bir gösterim dilinin kullanılması dikkat çekicidir. 16. yy mimari çizimlerinde görülen, plan üzerine alından notlar ile cephe elemanlarının anlatıldığı basit dilin ötesinde profesyonel bir şekilde aktarılan çizimlerdeki kesinlik, eyaletlerdeki uygulama yapan usta ve mimarlar için yoruma yer bırakmayacak niteliktedir.

Taşra camilerinin yapım tarihleri, yerleri, şehir içerisindeki arazi seçim tercihleri, plan semaları, mekânsal düzenlemeleri ve cephe tasarımları açısından değerlendirmesi tezin ikinci kısmının başlangıç bölümü olan Bölüm beşte yapılmaktadır. Taşra camilerinin konum ve arazi seçimlerinde önemli rol oynayan etkenlerden biri de II. Abdülhamid yönetiminin İzmir, Samsun, Selanik ve Konya gibi şehirlerde başlattığı büyük imar çalışmalarıdır. İzmir hariç bu şehirlerin hepsinde eski şehir duvarları yıkılarak 19. yüzyıl şehir planlamasına özgü şehir

bloklarına dayanan yeni bir kent dokusu oluşturulmuştur. Bu tezin katkılarında biri de bahsedilen kentsel dönüşüm süreci içinde II. Abdülhamid dönemi taşra camilerinin yer seçim kriterlerini tanımlamak ve tartışmaktır.

Bu camiler yapılaşmalarının altında yatan politik mesaj nedeniyle ister yeni yapılıyor olsunlar, ister daha önceki bir cami üzerine tekrar inşa ediliyor olsunlar hep şehrin odak noktalarında olmuşlardır. Bu odak noktalarının seçiminde merkezi yönetimin son derece gerçekçi bir yaklaşımı olduğunu söylenebilir. Samsun ve Malatya Hamidiye camilerinin yer aldığı ilk grupta seçilmiş olan odak noktalarının kentin eski merkezleriyle çakıştığı görülür. Sonuç olarak bu şehirlerde yeni camiler yıkılmış eski camilerin temelleri üzerine yapılmış ya da hasar görmüş eski camiler rejimin yeni mimari anlayışına uygun olarak onarılmıştır. İzmir, Ayvalık, Kütahya ve Selanik Hamidiye camilerinin bulunduğu ikinci grupta yeni kentsel odakların eski şehir merkezlerinden farklı yerlere kaydığını ve buna paralel olarak yeni yapılan camilerin şehirlerin yeni ulaşım aksları olan ana caddeler veya bunların kesişim noktalarında yer aldığı gözlemlenir. Söğüt ve İzmir Hamidiye camilerinin yer aldığı üçüncü grupta ise yeni yapılan camiler ile rüştiyeler bir yapı grubu oluşturarak yeni bir külliye anlayışının temellerini atarlar.

Bu son gruptaki yapılar geleneksel 19. yy Osmanlı tarih yazımında başkentteki Küçük Mecidiye, Bezm-i Alem Valide veya Pertevniyal Camileri gibi sultan camilerinin tekil karakterinden yola çıkılarak varılmış olan bu devirde külliye inşası olmadığı sonucuyla keskin bir tezat oluşturur. Rüştiye ve caminin eşleştirilmesiyle modern ve merkezi otoriteye sahip bir İslam imparatorluğu mesajı verilmek istenmektedir. Bu nedenden ötürü bu devirde külliye fikrinin sona erdiğinden değil modern çağın gereklilikleriyle uyumlu yeni bir formata dönüştüğü sonucuna varılabilir.

Bu tezdeki mimari analiz plan tipolojisi ve cephe tasarımı üzerinden olmak üzere iki alanda yapılmıştır. Plan tipolojisi üzerinden yapılan analiz mekânsal kurgu açısından farklı üç plan tipinin varlığını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Birinci grupta, başkentteki, harim kısmının tek bir kubbeye örtüldüğü, güney cephesinde ise üç veya beş kubbeli son cemaat yerinin bulunduğu camilere benzer yapılar yer almaktadır. Aradaki temel fark bazı camilerde son cemaat yerlerinin ortadan kalkmış olmasıdır. Son cemaat yerinin ortadan kalkmasıyla oluşan mimari fark başkentteki camilerde bulunan ve neredeyse caminin ana külesinden ayrılarak farklı bir karaktere bürünen hatta harim kısmıyla büyüklük açısından yarışan sultan mahfillerinin taşra camilerinde olmayışıyla daha da belirginleşmektedir.

İkinci grupta, 19. yüzyılda ortaya çıkan bir yenilik olan, çatı örtüsünde merkezi bir kubbe ve onu çevreleyen tonozların beraber kullanıldığı camiler bulunmaktadır. Bu yapılarda merkezi kubbe Osmanlı Mimarisinin klasik dönemindeki camilerde görülen merkezi

kubbelere göre daha küçüktür ve sembolik bir görevi vardır. Merkezi kubbenin yapıya hâkim görüntüsünün yok olduğu bu yeni mekân anlayışı aynı zamanda yeni bir cephe anlayışını da beraberinde getirmektedir. Bu yapıların plan şemaları erken Osmanlı dönemindeki ters T planlı Bursa camilerine benzetilse 19. yy. camilerinin yüksek kemerleri mekansal bölünmeyi engellediğinden bu benzetme çok yerinde değildir. Bu tür yapıları erken dönem Bursa camilerine benzetmek ancak fazla basitleştirilmiş bir bakış açısını temsil edebilir.

Üçüncü grupta ise çok kubbeli plan tipine sahip camiler bulunmaktadır. Bir önceki gruptaki camilere benzer olarak sadece şekilsel olarak yapılan Bursa Ulu Cami benzetmesi mimaride geçmişe öykünme şeklinde yorumlanmıştır, ancak yapılan derinlemesine analiz göstermiştir ki bu plan şemasının varoluş nedeni mimari bir öykünme değil aynı arazide bulunan daha eski bir caminin kolon temellerinin yeniden kullanılması gibi pratik bir nedendir.

Cephe tasarımına dayalı analizin sonuçlarına geçmeden önce, yukarıdaki sınıflandırmadan bağımsız olarak, 19. yy. taşra camilerinin boyut ve oran açısından başkentteki muadilleriyle ilişkisi üzerine yapılması gereken bir gözlem bulunmaktadır. Bu gözlem 19. yüzyıl sultan camilerinin boyutlarıyla ilgilidir. Geleneksel tarih yazımı 19. yüzyıl sultan camilerinin boyutlarında, Süleymaniye veya Sultan Ahmed gibi klasik dönem camileriyle karşılaştırıldığında, bir küçülme olduğunu söyler. Bu boyutsal küçülme taşra camilerinde gözlenmemektedir. Bazı 19. yüzyıl taşra camilerinin, özellikle de daha önce üzerinde yapı bulunmayan arazilere yapılan Ayvalık Hamidiye veya Söğüt Hamidiye gibi camilerin, daha önceki camilere göre boyut açısından küçük olduğu doğrudur. Ancak bu dönemde yapılmış olan Balıkesir Zağanos Paşa, Kütahya Ulu Cami ve Malatya Yeni Cami gibi yapılar boyut açısından daha önceki dönemde yapılan camileri aratmamaktadır. Burada dikkat çekilmesi gereken husus boyutsal olarak büyük camilerin genelde erken dönem yapılarının temelleri üzerine inşa edilen yapılar olmasıdır. Ancak bu yapılar sayısal olarak bu tez kapsamında incelenen camilerin büyük bir oranını oluşturmaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu dönem camileri için geleneksel tarih yazımında bahsedilen boyutsal küçülme taşra camileri açısından genel geçer bir prensip oluşturmamaktadır.

Cephe tasarımı açısından yapılan analiz plan tipolojileri üzerine yapılan sınıflandırmayı birebir takip etmemektedir. Bunu yerine 19. yy. taşra camilerinin cephe tasarımında etken olan faktörler üzerine daha genel prensiplerden bahsedilebilir. Bu tezi daha önce yapılan çalışmalardan ayıran özelliklerden birisi de taşra camilerinin cephe okumasında geleneksel stil analizlerine alternatif yeni bir okuma getirmesidir. Bu tezde amaçlanan cami cephelerinin çevreleriyle olan etkileşimleri, sembolik anlamları ve verdikleri politik mesaj bağlamında değerlendirmektir.

19.yüzyıl taşra camilerinin cephe tasarımında karşılaşılan önemli özelliklerden birisi geçmiştekilerin aksine sadece mihrab cephesinin değil bütün cephelerin tasarımında eşit oranda vurgu ve süsleme bulunmasıdır. Tümü birbirleriyle vurgu ve süsleme açısından uyumlu cephelerin varlığının arkasında iki neden vardır. Bu nedenlerden ilki bu dönemde cami cephelerinin sultanın o şehirdeki varlığının sembolü olarak algılanmasıdır. Sultanın otoritesinin sembolleri olarak görülen merkezi kubbelerin yerini bu dönemde şehrin her yerinden görülmesi istenen cepheler almıştır. Bu vurgu camilerin yapısal sisteminin modifiye edilmesiyle elde edilmiştir. Ana kubbeler küçülmüş, kenarlardaki tonozlar üst örtünün parçası haline gelmiş, bu tonozların altındaki kemerler her cephenin üzerinde yer alan kalkan duvarlarına dönüşmüştür. Bazı camilerde kırma çatılar tonozları örterek birer alınlık vazifesi görmeleri sağlanmıştır. Alınlıklarla yükseltilmiş bu cepheler bütün yapı için yükseltilmiş bir algı yaratmış ve 19. yy taşra camisi mimarisinin getirdiği yeniliklerden biri olmuştur.

Bu yeni yükseltilmiş cephelerin ikinci varlık nedeni de 19. yy Osmanlı şehirlerinde görülen kentsel gelişim hamlesidir. Özellikle şehirlerin yeni gelişen mahallelerinde bulunan camiler önceki devirdekilerden daha yüksek üç ya da dört katlı yapılarla çevrilmiştir. Bu yapıların amaçlanan sembolik ve politik etkiyi yaratabilmeleri için çevrelerindeki yapılardan daha yükseğe ulaşmaları gerekmiştir. Bütün cephelerdeki büyük ve yüksek pencereler ve yardımcı dikey mimari elemanlar caminin içerisinde birkaç kat olduğu algısını yaratarak bu yükselme isteğini desteklemiştir.

Bu bilgiler ışığında eğer 19. yy taşra camilerinin geleneksel tarih yazımının stilistik paradigmaları ışığında mimari bir değerlendirmesi yapılsaydı şüphesiz Avrupa'da bu dönemde görülen neo-klasik akımdan ödünç alınmış pilastr, köşe taşı, kat çizgisi, korniş gibi mimari elemanlar üzerinden taklitçilik sonucuna varacak yorumlar yapılabilirdi. Hatta bu yorumlar daha ileri götürülerek bu taşra camilerinin mimarisi Osmanlı klasik mimari tarihinde bir dejenerasyon ya da kırılma olarak yorumlanabilirdi.

Bu tezin önerdiği alternatif düşünce şekline göre 19. yy taşra camileri Osmanlı mimarisinde bir kırılmayı değil mimari evrimin doğal akışı içerisindeki bir sonraki aşamayı temsil etmektedir. Yüzeyde çeşitli Avrupa kaynaklı mimari akımlardan ödünç alınma elemanlar kullanılmış olsa da temel mimari ilişkilerde çok büyük değişiklikler olmamıştır. Örneğin harim alanının mekânsal yapısı 16. yy camilerine göre pek az değişmiş; merkezi kubbenin çevreleyen tonozlarla olan mekânsal ilişkisi Sinan'ın camilerindeki merkezi kubbenin etrafındaki yarım kubbelerle olan ilişkisine çok benzer olarak kalmıştır.

Cephelerde kullanılan batı stilleri bir dejenerasyonun değil bu binaların yapıldığı zamanın hakim mimari zevkinin ve başkentten mimari anlayışının bir yansıması olarak

görülmelidir. Bu kararlı ve merkezîyetçi bir politik amaca sahip bir siyasal otoritenin kontrolünde gerçekleşen bir mimari süreç için doğal bir sonuçtur.

Son olarak denilebilir ki bu tez 19. yy. Osmanlı cami mimarisi hakkında geleneksel tarih yazımına alternatif bir bakış açısı getirme gereğinden doğmuştur. Mevcut tarih yazımı uzun zamandır yerleşmiş ve sıklıkla sorgulanmayan görüşlerin etkisi altındadır. Bu tarih yazımı 19. yy. Osmanlı taşra mimarisine aşırı basitleştirilmiş bir bakış açısından yaklaşmaktadır. Hâlbuki II. Abdülhamid rejiminin politik gündeminde taşra camileri iktidarın merkezîyetçi ve Sünnî İslam anlayışına dayalı yeni imparatorluk anlayışının siyasal propaganda araçları olarak geniş yer tutmaktadır. Bu camilerin mimarisini Osmanlı mimarisinin doğal evriminin bir parçası olarak yorumlamak mimarlık tarihinin bu dönemi doğru olarak değerlendirmesinde büyük rol oynayacaktır.

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1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

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