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FRONTIERSCAPE: RECONSIDERING BITHYNIAN STRUCTURES AND THEIR BUILDERS ON THE BYZANTINE–OTTOMAN CUSP

> A moon arose from the holy man's breast and came to sink in Osman Ghazi's breast. A tree then sprouted from his navel, and its shade compassed the world… [When Osman awoke] he went and told the story to the sheikh, who said, 'Osman, my son, congratulations for the imperial office [bestowed by God] on you and your descendants.'
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> —ʿAşıkpaşazade[1]
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> For a long time it has been said that the Ottomans do not have an architecture particular to their nation; being tribes with tents, they remained strangers to the art of construction, and their public edifices are the works of foreigners, Arab and Persian architects initially, and Greek architects afterwards. No other type of edifice provides better proof of this fact than their religious monuments.
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> —Charles F. Texier[2]

We return once again to the dream of Osman (d. 1324), in which the eponymous founder of the Ottomans inherits the responsibility to lead his people forward. The imagery in the dream, as noted by many previous commentators, is sublime and mythic, and it is delivered through a divine medium. But the rise to power of the Ottomans, which took place at least a couple of decades after the purported dream, required more than myth or the intervention of a divine hand; it necessitated the conquest of people, villages, and cities.

Cultural overlays and a political wilderness in which rivalries played themselves out may be said to characterize the Ottoman-lands-to-be in the late thirteenth century, the time of Osman's dream. Clusters of Byzantines, Mongol-Ilkhanids, and Seljuks still held on to power in select areas, and various groups cooperated amongst themselves to keep their political and stately careers alive. Osman himself took part in this chaotic scene, leading raids by his forces, seizing booty, and constructing a set of alliances and allegiances to fulfill his dream of spreading his domain and influence.[3] In particular, as noted by Cemal Kafadar, Osman's political career seems to have been given a jolt in the last years of the thirteenth century, when he rose from leading a group of nomadic warriors to become chieftain of a *beylik* (principality) after seizing a number of fortresses in Bithynia.[4] Ultimately, the success and sovereignty[5] of the Ottomans would culminate in the expansion of their lands into the region of Bithynia (northwest Anatolia, today). This occurred mainly in the years following Osman's death.

The Ottomans' far-reaching success heralded more than just a political transition; it also brought about the many shifts in aesthetics and commerce that attend to any change in regime. One of these shifts involved the architectural culture of the region. Where Osman's dream may deceive us in its suggestion of a mythic people arising from a void, an equally problematic situation confronts us when we extend the discussion to architecture. The Ottomans could trace their origins to a humble nomadic tribe in Central Asia, and this lack of rootedness helps to explain Texier's claim that the Ottomans did not have "an architecture particular to their nation."[6] Of course, the idea that the Ottomans lacked an architecture is what I will attempt to challenge here.

In this essay, I focus on the transformation of the Bithynian region beginning in 1326, when the Ottomans established their first capital at Bursa (known to the Byzantines as Prousa),[7] and lasting until 1402, when Timur's army sacked the city. In Bithynian cities such as Nicaea and Yenişehir as well as Bursa, the construction, placement, and orientation of a series of edifices

had by 1380 already altered the urban landscape dramatically. Given this background, I plan first to discuss historiographical approaches to the structures before and during the Turkish Republican era (roughly, from the late nineteenth century through the early 1960s). The texts produced by this select group of scholars, while highly valuable in many respects, have contributed to reinforcing historiographical impasses in the study of early Ottoman architecture. Second, I will consider three prominent structures from the fourteenth-century Bithynian landscape: the mosques of Orhan Gazi (1339) and Murad I (1365–85) in Bursa and the church of the Panagia Pantobasilissa (built after 1336) in Trigleia (Zeytinbağı, also known as Trilye, located in Mudanya). In revisiting early Ottoman architecture in view of the scholarly discourse, this piece offers a fresh interpretation for the routes along which architectural styles and their practitioners traveled in the early decades of Ottoman power in Bithynia.

Accordingly, I would like to argue that it is possible to view fourteenth-century Bithynian structures through two cultural lenses. From a Byzantine perspective, late Byzantine architecture in Bithynia represents the end of a regional tradition, while, from the Ottoman viewpoint, early Ottoman buildings mark the beginning of a syncretic tradition that endured for about a hundred years: the Ottoman buildings in Bithynia are distinct from the canons of the later, classical Ottoman architecture to emerge in Istanbul.

Moreover, while scholars have traditionally viewed the Byzantines and Ottomans as separate peoples and their architecture as belonging to distinct traditions, a study of Bithynia's material culture serves to eliminate such divisions imposed by political history. The similarities between the regional styles in art and architecture are so striking that they must be studied in tandem.

A CHECKLIST FOR EARLY OTTOMAN BUILDINGS: ARCHITECTURAL STYLE AND CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES

Key elements in the architectural style of early Ottoman buildings are alternating brick- and-stone masonry, banded voussoirs, dogtooth friezes, decorative roundels (or bull's eyes), brick patterning, and spoliated elements such as those that appear in the mosques of Alaeddin (1335), Orhan Gazi, and Murad I in Bursa, and Hacı Özbek (1333) in Iznik. This architectural style has been identified as both "hybrid" and "semi-Byzantine,"[8] but oftentimes comparisons between Byzantine and Ottoman buildings fail to go beyond a discussion of superficial similarities, such as the development of the portico façade and decorative brick patterning. As a result, the appearance of Byzantine forms in Ottoman architecture is attributed principally to imitation,[9] as if the Ottoman builders "simply looked and copied, just as they borrowed columns, capitals, and other building materials."[10] In line with this viewpoint, it has been proposed that the alternating brick-and-stone masonry in early Ottoman buildings actually did not follow the Byzantine practice, because in the Byzantine style the stones are roughly cut and the bricks are longer, thicker, and embedded in wider mortar beds, whereas the early Ottoman buildings, by contrast, have ashlar blocks, which are short, thin, and jointed, and set in shallower mortar beds.[11] A more convincing interpretation is that the early Ottoman builders—some of whom almost certainly served as late Byzantine builders—borrowed from previous styles, translating them for a new context. In addition, whether the early Ottoman buildings bore superficial details or followed Byzantine workshop practices, they represented a "dual heritage," through which masons were able to work in an essentially unchanged masonry tradition for Ottoman patrons. While the layout of the buildings proclaimed Muslim decorum and ritual, their "skin" was Byzantine and reflected the mixed ethnicity of the groups in Bithynia under Ottoman rule.[12]

Yet the Ottoman buildings of this period reveal different function and design ideals alongside surface similarities to their predecessors. And, as this paper demonstrates, the Ottomans did not simply look and copy. It is crucial to recognize to what extent masons preserved their own local knowledge—that is, the ways in which Byzantine construction techniques, decorative details, and forms were transmitted or translated into their new works. For example, the façade and window arch in the mosque of Murad I in Assos (built after 1363) in Mysia, the region that neighbors Bithynia, and

the mosque at Lentiana (Tophisar) (built around 1400) in Bithynia, among others, follow the Byzantine construction method known as "brick-filled mortar joints."[13] Who were the practitioners in charge of producing and reproducing Ottoman buildings? Often Christian builders-turned-slaves are credited with this role. Yet would "Nikomedianus," "Christodoulos," and "Stephanos"[14] really have been the master builders working for Ottoman sultans? And, if so, how can we explain why their work was limited to the construction of walls and the insertion of spoliated pieces in appropriate places, while they did not take part in other construction activities, such as the execution of vaulting systems and other decorative details?[15] Did the Christian builders act in this way in order to evoke particular meanings through the architectural forms they were creating—by fragmenting the prototypes into individual elements and then reassembling them, so that they bore different relationships to one another, hence building completely new structures?[16] The continuity in masonry techniques underlines the role of masons and workshops in the transmission and translation of Byzantine construction styles. The study of the materials and workshop practices of the Byzantines and Ottomans to be conducted in this essay helps to clarify the patterns of transmission of Bithynian local knowledge.

In a sense, this study was begun in 1968, when Professors Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko, with the financial support of the Byzantine Studies Program at Dumbarton Oaks, initiated a three-year study of surviving Byzantine churches and monasteries on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmara. Following in the footsteps of F. W. Hasluck, who suggested continuity in construction techniques from the Byzantine to the Ottoman periods,[17] Mango and Ševčenko were the first Byzantinists to draw our attention to the similarities between late Byzantine and early Ottoman architecture in Bithynia.[18] Another scholar to address the issue was Richard Krautheimer, who wrote a seminal work on the history and development of Byzantine architecture. In the chapter he devotes to the late Byzantine period, however, he cautions that the "after-life of Byzantine culture in the Ottoman Empire and the architecture it produced is beyond the [book's] scope." All the same, Krautheimer covers Byzantine architecture from 324 to 1450, with content stretching beyond the last Byzantine dynasty (the Palaiologan [1261–1453]) and including the architecture of Balkan lands such as Bulgaria and Serbia, outside Byzantium's borders.[19] Much later, Slobodan Ćurčić, in an article examining regional workshops in fourteenth-century architecture, analyzed the similarities between early Ottoman and late Byzantine monuments, heralding the then-forthcoming studies of these monuments by Robert Ousterhout. The latter scholar elaborates on the similarities mentioned by Ćurčić in two works, one from 1991, the other from 1995, arguing that the emerging Ottoman architecture of Bithynia in the 1300s was rooted in a strong local tradition. Ousterhout points to continuity in workshop practices (and the role of masons in this continuity) from the late Byzantine to the early Ottoman period, albeit with certain changes in religion and patronage.[20]

Let it be noted that considering buildings as cultural artifacts offers an alternative to textual study and another window into the complexities of the period. In Bithynia, architecture provides insights that texts cannot and do not. Indeed, historian Colin Imber has called the fourteenth century a "black hole" in the formation of the Ottoman state in Bithynia because of the paucity of textual evidence. And yet no recent studies on the early Ottoman state have looked beyond the scarce written evidence in constructing a history.

Further, a glance into the region's built environment indicates how the Byzantine heritage and urbanism significantly shaped the architectural tradition of the emerging Ottoman state. Many Ottoman buildings in the region borrow from Byzantine construction techniques, sometimes simply for aesthetic reasons, sometimes to make a political statement, and in all cases suggesting an overlay between the Byzantines and Ottomans. In effect, the buildings function as "synecdoche" in place of their builders, and enjoyed a public profile that could be appreciated by all members of society, Christian and Muslim alike.[21]

The Byzantine legacy in Bithynia is represented primarily in churches and city walls, the latter of which include Pegea (Kara Biga),[22] Lentiana (Tophisar),[23] and Katoikia (Ürünlü),[24] built during the Laskarid period (1204–1261), and Lopadion (Ulubat),[25] constructed in

the 1130s. Throughout the fourteenth century, such fortresses were meant to form a chain of security posts for the Byzantines—particularly those located along the Sangarius River, which provided the final defenses protecting Nicaea and Constantinople. In the 1280s and 1290s, Osman took complete control of the city of Dorylaion by conquering a series of forts and fortresses. By the early 1300s, the remaining fortresses were captured and the blockade of Nicaea (Iznik) was complete.[26] Overall, the construction of walls and fortification architecture is virtually identical before and after the arrival of the Ottomans, suggesting continuity in workshop practices through the transition.

A similar pattern of continuity existed for religious buildings as well. Details of the church of Panagia Pantobasilissa in Trigleia, for example, demonstrate that Christian construction persisted well after the Ottoman conquest of the region.[27] At the same time, the church of Pantobasilissa (fig. 1), and the Orhan Gazi mosque in Bursa (fig. 2), built to honor the second sultan of the Ottoman state (r. 1324–61), are virtually identical in construction techniques (as shown by alternating brick-and-stone masonry, with occasional cloisonné and banded voussoirs), suggesting that masons from the same workshops may have constructed buildings for patrons of both religions. Furthermore, the mosque of Murad I (r. 1362–89) closely resembles the façade articulation and monumentality of contemporaneous Byzantine churches. Buildings in transition that were both symbolically appropriated and actually transformed from churches into mosques and mausolea offer important clues into the Ottoman strategies of using structures to legitimate power and landownership. Examples of such conversions to mausolea are found in the tombs of Osman and Orhan Gazi in Bursa and Lala Şahin in Mustafakemalpaşa. These buildings were appropriated for reuse, creating a new syntax of visual elements by which the Ottomans could identify themselves, while at the same time preserving aspects that likely kept the structures relevant to the Byzantines.[28]

The early Ottomans intervened in the urban environment for multiple purposes. Individual building types fall into this category, such as multifunctional inverted-T or reverse-T plan buildings and mosques, which proclaim the presence of a new religion and a new culture. Nevertheless, these structures share certain features with earlier regional developments, such as alternating brick-and-stone masonry and banded voussoirs, as well as spoliated architectural elements; they also contained new vaulting and planning concepts, including so-called Turkish triangles (the transformation of the curved space of the traditional pendentive into a fan-like set of long and narrow triangles built at an angle from each other). Examples of such structures include the Mehmed Dede zawiya (hostel) in Yenişehir (1360–89) and the Nilüfer Hatun imaret (hospice) in Iznik (1380s), both of which were constructed with Byzantine-style façades. These two buildings, which have the inverted-T or reverse-T plan of the multifunctional mosque, facilitated both social and ritual use, irrespective, as will be seen, of religious affiliation.

Indeed, from a spatial perspective, one of the most interesting and original of the early Ottoman mosque types is the aforementioned inverted-T plan.[29] In scholarship, this architectural type—which served functions beyond the religious—has been referred to by many names, including "special,"[30] "Bursa type," and "multifunctional."[31] Beginning in the 1960s, new terms were introduced as a way to better explain the forms and functions of these fourteenth- and fifteenth-century structures. Assessing Orhan Gazi's's imaret in Iznik, Oktay Aslanapa proposed the term "mosque with side spaces."[32] We also see monikers such as "mosque with subsidiary spaces," and "zawiya mosque,"[33] as well as—by Aptullah Kuran—"cross-axial mosque," "eyvan or iwan mosque," and even "axial eyvan mosque."[34] Much later, in 1994, Sedat Emir followed Kuban in labeling these buildings "multifunctional."[35] In my view, a central problem with the existing terminology is its emphasis on religious identity. Semavi Eyice, for example, suggests that we examine the development of this form with respect only to its central iwan and mihrab niche,[36] an approach that neglects the side rooms, which functioned as guestrooms and kitchens open to people of all religious persuasions. Calling the buildings "mosques" leads one to assume incorrectly that they bore only a religious function, whereas their actual uses were much broader.

Fig. 1. South wall, church of the Pantobasilissa (after 1336), Zeytinbağı, Bursa. (Photo: Suna Çağaptay)

Fig. 2. North wall, Orhan Gazi mosque (1339), Bursa. (Photo: Suna Çağaptay)

THOUGHTS ON HYBRIDITY: DIGGING DEEPER INTO THE CULTURAL ENCOUNTER

By appreciating hybridity, one imagines simultaneously the pre-Ottoman histories of Bithynian residents and the enormous cultural and urban transformation that occurred in the early fourteenth century. The region's architectural hybridity hints further at the emergence of a new culture of Byzantine–Ottoman frontier society, one quite different from that depicted in the models offered in older historiographical studies of the period, such as those of Wittek, Vryonis, or İnalcık.[37] More recent studies, especially Kafadar's historiographical narratives,[38] have claimed that "if anything characterized Bithynian frontiers, it was mobility and fluidity."[39]

The idea of the frontier was not only spatial but also conceptual. The Ottomans' success in Bithynia, which owed in part to a series of poorly defended fortresses, had a flipside. Bands of warriors and townsmen from the Byzantine realm, as well as dervishes and religious leaders from the centers of Islamic culture, were attracted to an area in ferment. The Ottomans' conquest of Prousa (Bursa) (1326), Nicaea (Iznik) (1331), and Gallipoli (Gelibolu) (1354), the last being the strongest of the Byzantine forts, elicited challenges not from the Byzantine emperors in Constantinople but from the better established *beylik*s such as Aydın and Menteşe.[40] This was a fragmented and diverse social and political landscape marked by small units such as hamlets, small towns, nomadic tribes, dervish communities, monastic establishments, and attached estates. Local leadership, therefore, made the decisions regarding "war and peace" and "alliance and conflict."[41] As Kafadar has noted, natural and social constraints on mobility existed on both sides of the frontier, "but still one could move from place to place, allegiance to allegiance, and identity to identity with an ease and acceptability hard to imagine in more settled societies. People not only crossed from one side of the frontier to the other but also moved from one faith to another and even from one ethnic identity to another."[42] The Bithynian frontier in this period might therefore be described as a "melting pot" of religions, races, and cultures.[43] Over the centuries, the two sides of the frontier would form overlapping planes of social and cultural interaction; in many respects, people of varying backgrounds living on either side of the border might have had more in common with one another than with members of their own ethnicity who lived farther away.[44]

FROM EAST TO WEST: HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TREATMENT OF THE BYZANTINE AND OTTOMAN ENCOUNTER IN ARCHITECTURE

From the perspective of frontierism, the built environment in Bithynia offers an alternative to conventional Turkish historiography, which views the early Ottoman period through the lens of the later Ottoman Empire, often depicting the demise of the centuries-old Byzantine state in an Ottoman-centric way. As far as archi-

tecture goes, this means highlighting ethnic "Turkish" and "Islamic" elements from the early Ottoman period over Byzantine or Christian ones.

But this does not mean that Ottoman sources ignore the Byzantine contribution to architecture entirely. It is interesting that such a contribution is addressed openly, though briefly, in *Uṣūl-i miʿmārī-i ʿOs̱mānī* (Fundamentals of Ottoman Architecture, hereafter *Uṣūl*, or *L'architecture ottomane*), the famed study of Ottoman architecture commissioned by Ottoman officials for presentation at the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna.[45] This text was composed in the waning years of the Tanzimat reforms of the mid–nineteenth century, through which the Ottoman leadership attempted both to bring the empire up to date and to craft a coherent and convincing cultural and artistic historical narrative on which contemporary Ottomans could draw. While acknowledging that the Byzantine role had clear value, the *Uṣūl* did so to a limited extent, mentioning the commissions of the early Ottomans only in passing. The French version of the text describes early Ottoman architecture as "massive, heavy, and certainly not reminiscent of any school of architecture."[46] The text attempted more broadly to redefine the Ottoman building tradition, identifying perfection of style and technique in the Yeşil (Green) Mosque built by Mehmed I (r. 1413–21) in Bursa.[47]

An Ottoman focus on architectural scholarship continued into the next several decades. Such an emphasis is especially apparent in the early- to mid–twentieth century works of Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, who was a former student of Mimar Kemaleddin, an influential educator at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, as well as a restorer for the Evkaf (Pious Foundations) Ministry and a professional architect.[48] Ayverdi undertook a major study of early Ottoman architecture, categorizing it as purely Turkish and Ottoman and rejecting any suggestions of a Byzantine impact in the Bithynian region. Likely encouraging Ayverdi in his vehemence were the historically contemporaneous strains of nationalism then infiltrating Europe. Influenced by Kemaleddin, Ayverdi harshly criticized both the revolutionary modernizing reforms of the Republican era (1923–60) and the accompanying hostility of the reforms' proponents toward Ottoman culture.[49] The case of Ayverdi offers a clue into the ways in which the perpetual neglect and denial of the impact of Byzantine culture in both general cultural studies and Ottoman cultural studies in particular has been mostly ideological.[50]

Both the early years of the Turkish republic and the decade of the 1950s were, for complex reasons, marked by an ambivalence regarding nationalist historiography.[51] Scholarly and literary circles gave an impetus to the notion that the Turks were a sealed cultural and ethnic entity whose motherland was inherently Turkish before the arrival of the Ottoman Turks and simply reverted to its natural "Turkishness" after the "invaders" (read Byzantines) had been expelled. Against this notion, a group led by Remzi Oğuz Arık supported the idea of Anatolianism,[52] which is based on a historical and racial principle that celebrates the shared cultural background of all Ottoman residents. Yet, to a certain extent, Arık's reading lumped the Ottomans and the Byzantines into a camp of similarly discarded groups. In these ways and others, Turkish scholars hoped to create a revised historical memory through which citizens could justify and celebrate their emerging state by remolding past traditions and images for the present day.[53] Anatolia's architectural heritage was made to fit this "invented tradition." According to Sibel Bozdoğan, the message to be conveyed through art, architecture, and ritual was that the "Turkish nation had existed from time immemorial, albeit in a latent state, and that the new republic was the political expression of this 'national essence.' "[54]

The pan-Turkism of the early years of the Republic, which posited racial connections with distant Sumerian and Hittite cultures while rejecting the legacy of more recent civilizations such as the Byzantines and Ottomans, benefited to a great extent from Kemal Atatürk's direct support beginning in the 1930s.[55] In Republican-era texts on architectural history, the term "Ottoman" was identified only as a period. Then, as the multiethnic and multireligious Ottoman Empire was transformed into a nominally homogenous and presumably idyllic Turkish nation, "Ottoman" lost even its designation as a period, and Ottoman architecture became "Turkish architecture."[56]

Scholarly ambivalence toward the study of Ottoman architectural culture has meant that the origins and evo-

lution of Ottoman architecture remain a matter of debate. During the early Republican period, Turkish scholars attempted to argue against a broad, blurring "Orientalist" classification by emphasizing the "Turco-Muslim" element in, respectively, Seljuk, Turkish *beylik,* and Ottoman architecture. Writing in the late 1920s and early 1930s as part of a cultural nationalist push, Celal Esad Arseven sought to distinguish Turkish and Ottoman art by regarding it as separate from Persian and Arab art and having roots in Central Asia.[57] According to Bozdoğan, the Republican framing of Ottoman architecture helped constitute a "Turkic genealogy for its citizens—a national essence" that was distinct from both Byzantine and other Islamic architectural traditions.[58] Such an analysis follows Fuad Köprülü's foundational thesis, which constructs an uninterrupted continuum of Asiatic Turco-Muslim power from the prehistoric Central Asian cultures to the limits of Seljuk Anatolia[59] and up until the modern era, a classification that encompasses Ottoman/Turkish art and architecture. In this formulation, Arseven and others praised the Seljuk architectural tradition as the vehicle for transmitting Central Asian themes and details into Anatolia, even as they agreed that Ottoman architecture "transcended [that of] the Seljuks in creating a purer and more tectonic architecture."[60] To show that early Ottoman architecture surpassed that of contemporaneous cultures such as the Karamanids, as well as predecessors such as the Seljuks, scholars have often discussed Ottoman architects' interest in the problems of space, form, and structure, whereas, in their estimation, Karamanid architects were unable to move away from Seljuk tendencies such as stone masonry and an introverted façade appearance.

From the 1940s to the 1960s, another group of scholars, led by Sedat Çetintaş, countered Arseven and his peers by arguing that the architectural and artistic achievements of the Ottomans between 1324 and 1923, which they openly praised,[61] should be appreciated in isolation from their Islamic connotations. The movement drew its energy from secularizing Kemalist reforms centered on the abolition of the sharia in 1924 and the adoption of the Swiss civil code in 1926.[62] By the 1940s, paraphrasing Bozdoğan, social, functionalist, and secularist readings of the Ottoman architectural tradition reached such an extreme that the religious connotations of buildings were shunned entirely.[63]

This scholarly neglect continued for several decades, with one exception, among others, being the work of Eyice in the early 1980s. Eyice has made an important contribution by examining the possible ties between Byzantine forms, construction techniques, and decorative details in Constantinople and early Ottoman monuments in Bithynia. But even he has strongly opposed the idea of continuity between the Byzantines and Ottomans, aligning himself with those who posit a rupture between the two cultures. His first basis for this position is what he judges to be a time lapse of at least two or three generations separating the end of the Byzantine period (the fall of the city to the Ottoman Turks in 1453) from the start of the Ottoman period in Bithynia around the 1300s. He nevertheless compares late Byzantine monuments in Constantinople with early Ottoman monuments in Bithynia, despite the large gap in time and the wide geographical horizon, rather than concentrating on the Bithynian context alone. It is reasonable to assume that temporal and geographical parameters posed a problem for Eyice: although he discusses the Bithynian monuments, he fails to adequately acknowledge the role of Byzantine architectural vocabulary in their reconceptualization at a point when the interaction between Byzantine and Ottoman construction techniques was richest. Eyice has further proposed that even if one accepts Byzantine masons' participation in the construction of Ottoman monuments, their contribution was insufficient to affect the Ottoman character of the buildings, thereby implying the emergence of a distinctively Turkish architectural identity. Moreover, Eyice has argued that Ottoman architecture, which was well recognized before the conquest of Constantinople, led Byzantine builders to adopt the tastes and ideals associated with Ottoman construction.[64]

In contrast with Turkish scholarly approaches to the Byzantine–Ottoman divide—emphasizing either mythic roots in Central Asia or divesting structures of their religious character—the common approach of early twentieth-century Western scholars such as Heinrich Glück (d. 1930) and Hans Wilde (d. 1935) was to emphasize the Ottomans' "Oriental" nature and to accept the essentially Turco-Muslim identity of the

founders of the Ottoman state.[65] The Ottomans are thus distinguished from "nomadic" Turks. Turkish historiographers, by contrast, called upon "Turkic" and "Islamic" roots to validate Ottoman architecture alongside that of Persian and Arab civilizations, which were regarded by Western Orientalists as encompassing purer and more sedentary concepts in architecture. Such claims are often made as though the Ottomans did not posses an architecture in durable materials,[66] an outlook evoked by the nineteenth-century French archaeologist and historian Charles Texier (d. 1871) (excerpted at the start of this paper). Albert Gabriel (d. 1972) focused on the rationality, creativity, and formal purity of Ottoman architecture, which he viewed as "unique among other Islamic civilizations."[67]

However, the historical and archaeological evidence demonstrates that as soon as the Ottomans first established themselves on the outskirts of Phrygia at Bilecik and in other fortified towns, their new architecture projected a style and technology comparable to that of the contemporaneous Turkish *beylik*s of western Anatolia,[68] following Byzantine models. Upon closer inspection of the architectural heritage of the other emirates sharing borders with the Ottomans in Bithynia, such as Saruhan, Karesi, Menteşe, and Aydın, one notices a similar strategy in reusing and translating the architectural heritage of Byzantium. These buildings also reveal alternating brick-and-stone construction and decorative details, as well as the reuse of Byzantine architectural elements such as *opus sectile* floors and columns. Circulation of Byzantine construction techniques and decorative details in the region's *beylik*s shows that the legacy of Byzantium was quite strong not only in Bithynia but also in regions of Western Anatolia such as Ionia, Lydia, Pisidia, and Mysia. Ottoman architecture of this period surpassed that of the Turkish *beylik*s in quality and originality because of the resources Ottoman artisans had at their disposal as a result of Ottoman political hegemony.

Moreover, unlike a number of Seljuk and *beylik* buildings[69] that were converted from earlier structures, only a few of which displayed antique fragments in prominent locations, entire structures in fourteenth-century Bithynia were recycled. Such a practice, as in the case of the founders' mausolea in Bursa, included the genealogy of Christian believers in the Ottoman built environment,[70] giving residents reason to imagine a shared past between Byzantines and Ottomans rather than a clean break between two civilizations.

PRESENT DISCUSSIONS: LOCAL KNOWLEDGE AND TRANSLATION

Eyice's work was conducted during a period when nationalism and the propagation of the concept of a purely Ottoman origin for Ottoman architecture had begun to ebb somewhat. Contemporary Turkish scholars such as Doğan Kuban—who has written on Ottoman architecture since the 1960s—suggested the local nature of this period's architecture and the role of both Muslim and non-Muslim masons in creating this style.[71] Afife Batur[72] in 1970 and Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu in the mid-1980s openly acknowledged the possibility of Byzantine "influence" on Ottoman architectural practices. Batur pointed out not only likenesses obvious at a glance but, in particular, similarities in wall construction. Although Yenişehirlioğlu recapitulated the similarities between the two architectures of the region, she was careful not to identify the workers as "Christian" or "Greek" mason(s) and to mention continuity without including the Byzantine churches and fortifications of Bithynia in her discussion.[73] This statement in itself suggests a slant against the notion of cultural interaction during the fourteenth-century political transition, although Yenişehirlioğlu acknowledges elsewhere in her work a certain level of continuity for builders between the Byzantine and Ottoman eras.

Moving from the 1980s to the present day, it is worrying to see that the dominant scholarly attitude has remained unchanged. For example, in the recently published *Early Ottoman Art and the Legacy of the Emirates*, which appeared in the series Museum with No Frontiers, little attention is drawn to the contribution of non-Muslim masons to the construction of new buildings. This work focuses instead on the role of Ottoman rulers and patrons of other Turkish principalities in shaping the architectural tradition of the region.[74] There is a kernel of truth in this focus, but money may well have been the most important contribution of the

emerging cadre of Ottoman patrons, rather than stylistic choices. More often, architectural style was defined by the experience of the masons and the builders—including where and by whom the master mason was trained and the particular structures he had seen. These were the men who built and decorated buildings and advised their patrons on the most current and suitable models. This is not meant to imply that the new Ottoman patrons offered no creative input, but rather acknowledges that local masons already living in Bithynia took steps to identify the aspirations of these patrons as a means of survival and adaptation in a changed political–cultural scene. The use of brick-and-stone masonry, therefore, can be viewed not only as a practical decision deriving from the experience of the workers but also as the result of an aesthetic choice. Stated differently, it may be beneficial to consider the effect of transregional and transcultural phenomena in shaping local architecture, whereby the details of visual language "can be imported and exported, and combined with other goods to create whatever ensemble is in fashion at the moment."[75]

In Bithynia, monuments that were built simultaneously during the transition in power shared the same masonry technique, redeployment of *spolia*, structural features, and other styles, all demonstrating the heterogeneity of the builders' backgrounds. The inverted-T plan and Turkish triangles and pendentives characterized these structures, and decorative innovations included the arcaded portico, which was likely imported from Syria–Palestine[76] but inspired by the local Byzantine tradition of classical narthexes. This courtyard example shows that while architectural production occurs locally, not all of its idioms or choices of design are rooted in a particular place's building traditions.[77] The vibrancy of architectural production in fourteenth-century Bithynia can thereby be explained by the term "local Bithynian knowledge," even as members of this "local" scene were open to outside currents as well.[78]

My aim is not to attribute the architectural idiom in the early Ottoman era to indigenizing features, claiming that the Ottomans were an empty vessel in cultural terms, eager to assimilate the architectural details and techniques of the various peoples with whom they came into contact. On the contrary, instead of identifying the Byzantines and Ottomans as monolithic groups that produced static works of architecture, we can emphasize the dynamic patterns of their encounters. Instead of focusing on origins, we can observe areas of confluence, divergence, and resulting transformation in Bithynia—"routes rather than roots," as James Clifford has suggested.[79]

Borrowing from Ousterhout, who has claimed that building is a conservative profession and that masons learn by doing and by participating in workshop production,[80] we can focus on the practices of circulation, transmission, and translation of Byzantine construction and decorative details in an Ottoman context:

> As far as Anatolia is concerned, whatever the neologism one chooses to describe the cultural experience of the Muslim Turks in the region, whether transplantation, osmosis, diffusion, or acculturation, the most widespread and on-going process was one of translation.[81]

Here, "translation" is not meant in its linguistic sense[82] but rather as a means of mediating between and within cultures. In particular, we can invoke the term to indicate how a Byzantine architectural detail or form is translated in an Ottoman context. As Ousterhout wrote, "style is something that can be learned through observation" but construction practices "could be learned through active participation in the construction process."[83] Alternating brick-and-stone masonry is an example of the former case, whereas detection of a Byzantine construction detail, such as brick-filled mortar joints, exemplifies the latter. Hence, architectural style and construction techniques are two different components, although they are often confused. This understanding can be crucial in differentiating between superficial similarities such as displaced details of translation and the actual application of construction techniques.

THE QUESTION OF CHRISTIAN BUILDERS: TEXTUAL AND MATERIAL EVIDENCE

The material evidence extant today is confirmed by Gregoras, one of the most versatile Byzantine writers of the fourteenth century, who discussed the extensive and

lavish architectural program carried out under the Laskarid dynasty, which in the thirteenth century extended from Magnesia on the Meander to Smyrna and Prousa.[84] Analyzing the textual record on the movements of masons and builders as they contributed to Palaiologan architecture in Constantinople, Ousterhout contended that the regulations promulgated by the major guilds do not seem to have held much authority outside the capital. Nevertheless, our limited knowledge of the era's masons and their guilds suggests that the former were quite mobile, often traveling great distances to earn a living in line with the financial means of their patrons.[85] Several references support the idea that over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries certain Christian architects of Greek and Armenian heritage—though they may have converted to Islam—worked alongside Muslim architects. Perhaps the best known of these Christian architects is one Kaloyan, a Greek from Iconium, who worked on two major Seljuk buildings.[86] Besides royalty, religious figures and community leaders also hired local talent liberally. Shams al-Din Ahmad Aflaki's mid–fourteenth-century hagiographical text based on the oral and written records of Jalal al-Din Rumi, a famous poet and theologian of the preceding century, mentions that Rumi employed one Greek architect to build a chimney for his house and another to pave his terrace. In a different incident, Aflaki cited Rumi, saying,

> For this construction, the Greek workmen should be employed; for the demolition, on the contrary, the Turkish workmen are necessary; because construction is a talent special to the Greeks, and demolition is something reserved to the Turks.[87]

In sum, the comparative study of construction techniques in the Byzantine and Ottoman architectural cultures suggests a strong continuity. The textual evidence takes this assertion to another level. For example, a story in Haci Bektaş Veli's *Vilayetnāme* (Book of Sanctity), a semi-legendary autobiography written in the late fifteenth century, centers on the figure of a Christian mason by the name of Nikomedianus (as transliterated by Vryonis and Gross) or Yanko Madyan (as transliterated by Gölpınarlı),[88] who supposedly played a prominent role in the construction campaigns of Orhan Gazi and Murad I in Bursa. I am not sure whether Nikomedianus was actually involved in the building of this mosque but, whatever the case, the likely presence of a Christian mason in the Ottomans' service is significant.

Yet another reference speaks to the likelihood of Byzantine masons' active involvement in construction activities once the Ottomans had fully established themselves in Bithynia. Hoca Saadeddin, a late sixteenth-century Ottoman historian, noted in his *Tācüʾt-tevārīḫ* (Crown of Histories) that Murad I had heard of a very skilled mason by the name of Christodoulos, or Hristovoulos, among the captives from the siege of Yalova.[89] He adds that the Ottoman ruler decided to put the Byzantine mason in charge of the construction of his mosque complex in Bursa in 1365. An equally instructive case is the now-destroyed mausoleum of Malkoçoğlu Mehmed Bey in Gebze, which was built in 1385 and had an inscription that followed Byzantine writing practices—that is, the Ottoman letters were inscribed in low relief rather than high. The inscription is also said to have borne several words in Greek in the margins, including the name Istephanos (Stephanos), who is referred to as the "master." The construction of the mausoleum by a Christian mason is indicated in the modern architectural drawings and reports, along with its Byzantine details: the columns, capitals, imposts, and stringcourses were all reused Byzantine materials and had alternating brick-and-stone masonry with voussoirs.[90]

In a chronicle by Ruhi Edrenevi, we find mention of a Muslim architect collaborating with a Greek Christian architect named "Yani" in the construction of the Great Mosque (1396–1400) of Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402) in Bursa.[91] Yet another project commissioned by Bayezid I is known to have provided employment to an unnamed Genoese architect from the Di Negro family, who constructed a castle on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus.[92]

One way to understand the masons' background would be to examine their marks (i.e., symbols and patterns) in early Ottoman buildings, though no such systematic study has yet been conducted.[93] While the evidence points strongly to continuity in architectural practices, we cannot speak of continuity in other forms

Fig. 3. Five-bay portico, Orhan Gazi mosque (1339), Bursa. (Photo: Suna Çağaptay)

of material culture, such as epigraphy and numismatics.[94]

DISPELLING THE MYTHS: THE MOSQUES OF ORHAN GAZI AND MURAD I

The Orhan Gazi mosque in Bursa (fig. 3) is one of the earliest surviving buildings from the Ottoman period. Constructed in 1339,[95] it was repaired in 1417 and underwent heavy restoration in the nineteenth century following a massive earthquake in 1855.[96] Nevertheless, most of the wall construction visible today seems original, although rather intricate forms of vaulting must have been added in later periods. The mosque follows an inverted-T plan (fig. 4), characteristic of early mosques in Bursa.[97] The plan of the building incorporates four side rooms along with two subsequent domed spaces on the entrance axis, the second of which is elevated by a few steps. Two small chambers are accessed via a central space enveloping the vestibule. These chambers lead to laterally vaulted rooms, symmetrically arranged on either side, which were used as passages to domed side rooms. Thick double arches to the north and south of not only the central space but also the domed side space contribute to a sense of axiality and recall somehow a Byzantine building interior. The façade is articulated with blind arcades and banded voussoirs of alternating brick and stone. Many of the arches are semicircular and outlined with dogtooth bands. The building also has a decorative roundel with radiating elements of brick and stone; a more intact example of this feature can be seen at the church of Panagia Pantobasilissa in Trigleia and the church of Pammakaristos in Constantinople.

Another striking feature on the façade of the Orhan Gazi mosque is the widespread appearance of a variety

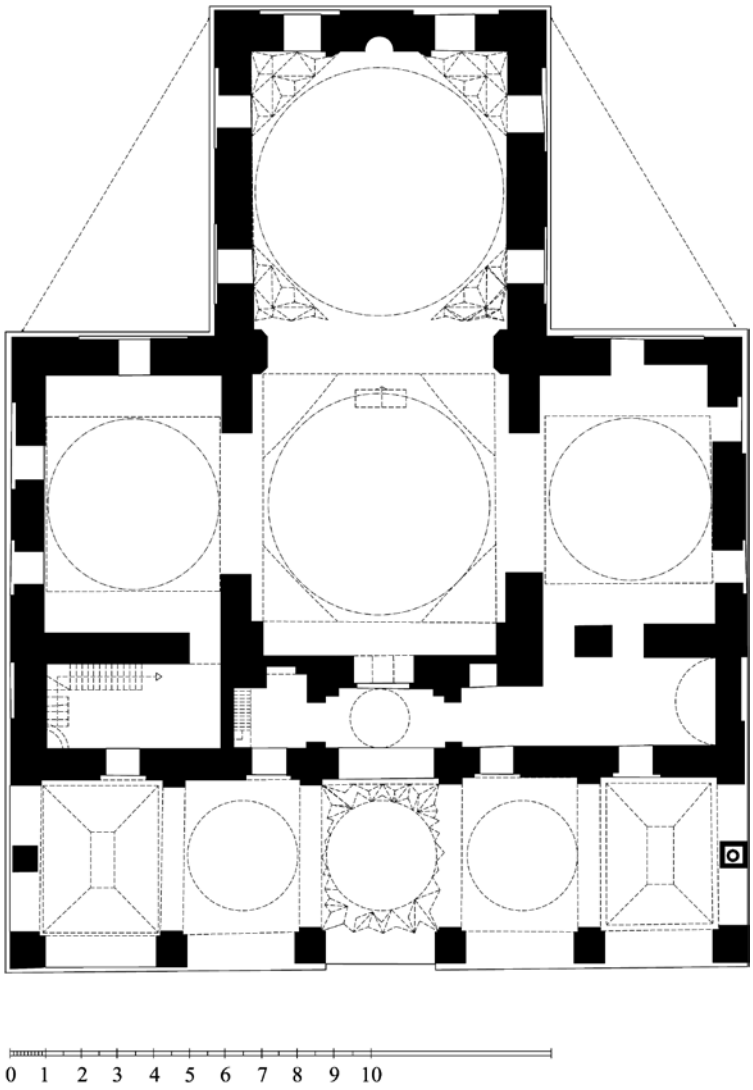


Fig. 4. Ground plan, Orhan Gazi mosque (1339), Bursa. (Drawing: Safa T. Demirkan and Çağda Özbaki)

of juxtaposed arches (fig. 5), including slightly pointed, ogival, and round ones. For decades, scholars, ignoring the large number of round arches on the façades of early Ottoman buildings, claimed that one of the characteristics of this period in Bithynia was the regular use of slightly pointed arches.[98] They further asserted that the "Ottoman" builders in this period were not trained in the execution of round arches. Yet round arches can be found in early Ottoman buildings in Bursa, Iznik, Yenişehir, and Bilecik.[99] And on the walls of the Orhan Gazi mosque we see the successive use of this architectural feature: a small pointed arch is covered by a slightly larger round arch, both of which are topped by an even slightly larger round arch; all of these arches are framed by a slightly pointed arch lined with a dogtooth frieze. In a study of late medieval arches, Ćurčić claimed that in early Ottoman buildings the Byzantine round arch was suppressed. I propose that the round arch form was not suppressed but rather framed, so that it could be set side by side with other arches, thereby helping to strengthen an architectural pedigree for burgeoning Ottoman architecture.[100] The "orderliness" provided by

Fig. 5. Juxtaposed arches, Orhan Gazi mosque (1339), Bursa. (Photo: Suna Çağaptay)

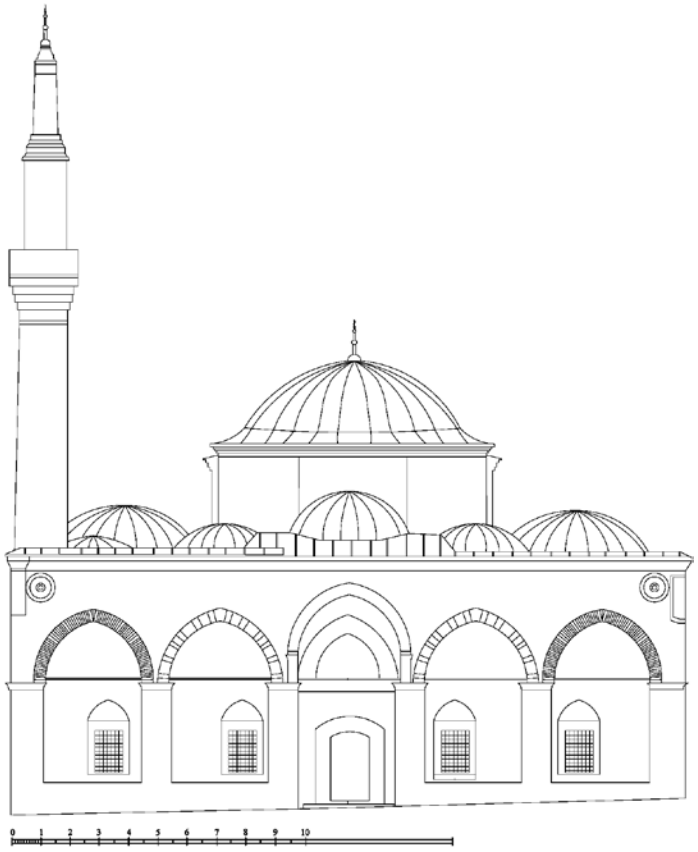


Fig. 6. Survey drawing of the front façade, Orhan Gazi mosque (1339), Bursa. (Drawing: Safa T. Demirkan and Çağda Özbaki)

this kind of formal integration in the simultaneous disposition of different types of arches at the mosque of Orhan Gazi would suggest this was a deliberate aesthetic choice, rather than the result of a technical process and experimentation.[101] A similar debate persists, it bears noting, in the transitional period from Romanesque to Gothic architecture.[102] Accordingly, the juxtaposition of different types of arches cannot be taken as signifiers that the buildings were erected either by a single group of masons working over a long period of time or by several groups of masons operating at the same time. It is also plausible that the juxtaposition of different arches was almost an endemic tendency in the architecture of Palaiologan Constantinople, one that may have been transported to Bithynia.[103] While the Bithynian architectural enterprise continued under the aegis of the Ottomans, the architectural vocabulary in Constantinople included ogival, round, and pointed arches in the fourteenth-century church of the Pammakaristos and church of the Chora.

Comparable Byzantine architectural details are not limited to the masonry and the use of a variety of arches. The five-bay portico (fig. 6) supported by piers is another curious feature of the mosque that recalls the exonarthexes of Byzantine churches. The arcades are characterized from left to right as follows: banded voussoirs with setbacks; arch with a tooth pattern; arch with a zigzag pattern (a detail erroneously omitted in figure 6); arch with a tooth pattern; and banded voussoirs with setbacks. The arcades on the lateral ends of the façade have pointed arches with twin openings, which are decorated with brick and stone. Baha Tanman has labeled this as the work of Mamluk masons and compared it to the mausoleum of Abu Hurayra, circa 1274, in Jamnia in Israel (fig. 7).[104] Although scholars such as Tanman have noted that new architec-

Fig. 7. The mausoleum of Abu Hurayra (ca. 1274), Jamnia, Israel. (Photo: Suna Çağaptay)

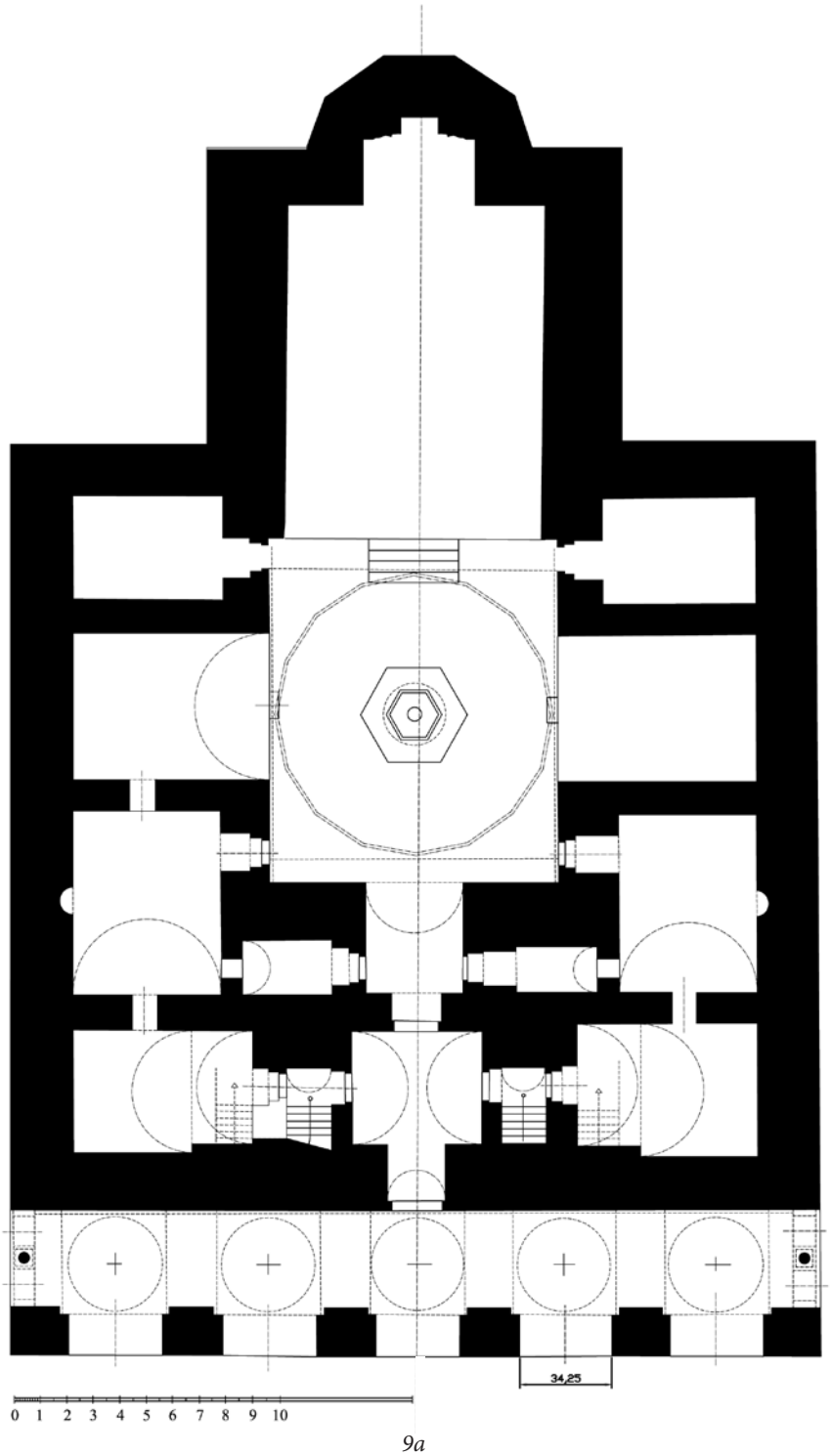
tural campaigns in Bithynia stimulated a demand for Mamluk stonemasons from Syria, such a thought-provoking proposition nevertheless leaves questions unanswered—regarding, for example, the importance of craftsmen and builders who were responsible for stylistic innovations but limited in their ability to copy from other regions. One wonders, in addition, why the evidence of such workers' contributions appears only on the front portico and not in the support system and other decorative details.[105]

Interestingly enough, just as Greek participation is evident principally in walls and masonry and in elevation compositions—rather than in plan and layout—Mamluk participation was limited to the front portico, as in the case of the Orhan Gazi mosque in Bursa, and to decorative details, as on Bayezid's Great Mosque in Bursa and the mosque of Mehmed I in Didymoteichon (circa 1420).[106] Whatever the limitations of the Mamluks' work, it is important to note that not only Byzantine but also other masons and builders added their efforts to Ottoman buildings in elevation and plan, decoration, and construction techniques. As Gülru Necipoğlu discusses in her *Age of Sinan,* in Ottoman buildings starting with the Green Mosque (1419–21), established by Mehmed I, we witness a combination of Syrian, Timurid, and local Anatolian–Balkan elements.[107] Circulation of Mamluk artisans in Ottoman territory was especially evident before 1453, with Syrian motifs also visible during the Seljuk period.[108] Even much later, we observe references in the Süleymaniye *defter*s (registers) showing the collaboration of multiethnic builders.[109]

The mosque of Murad I discussed in this study (fig. 8) is located three kilometers to the west of the city of Bursa. The two-story structure houses the mosque on the first floor, while a madrasa occupies the second floor. The first level is symmetrically organized around a domed space entered via two successive vestibules. With the exception of the two lateral rooms that are entered through the first vestibule, all of the spaces are accessed through the domed central space, which ends with a protruding pentagonal niche functioning as a mihrab, and four more rooms are located on either side. On the upper floor, circulation is provided by a corri-

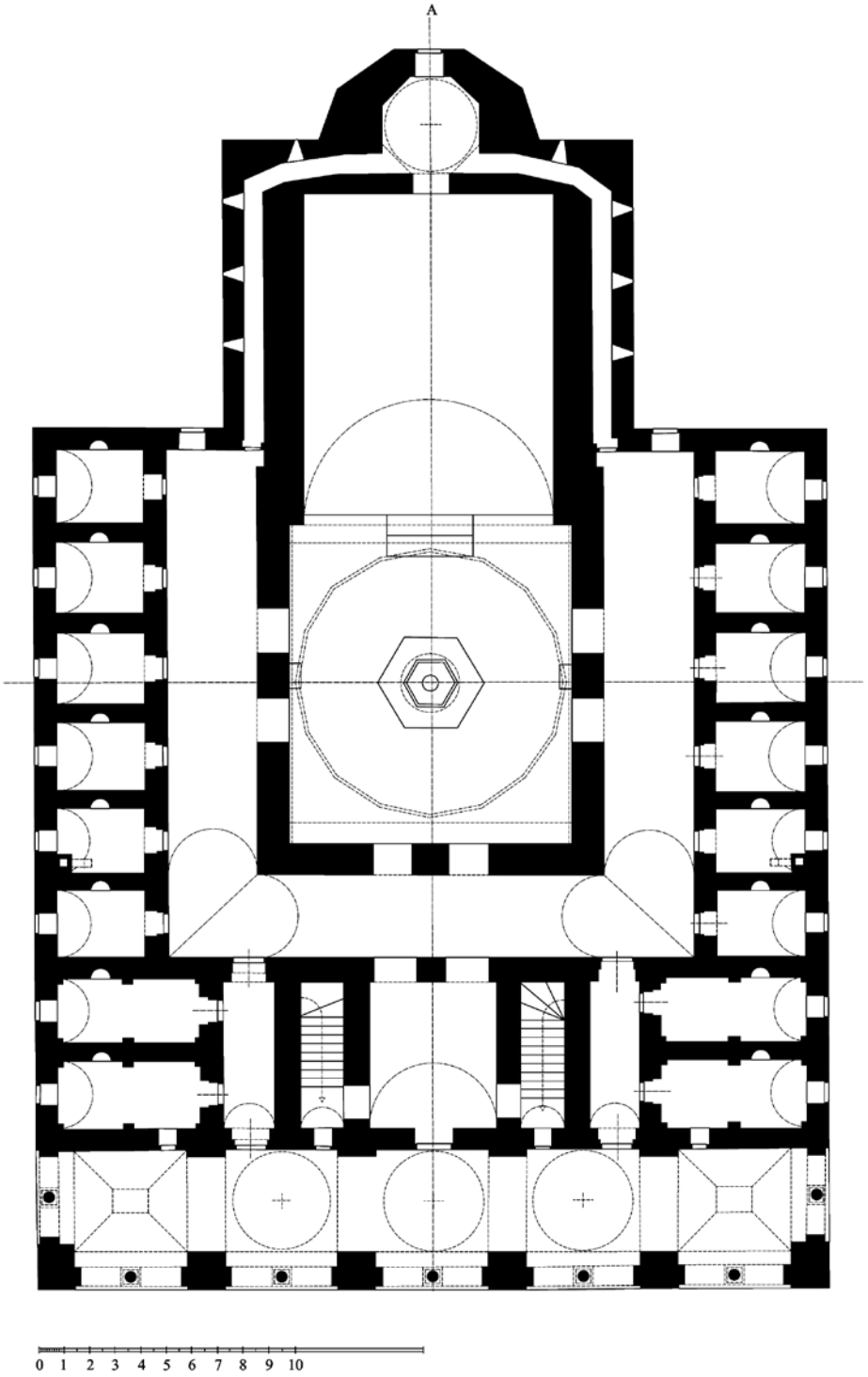
Fig. 8. Front façade, Murad I mosque (1365–85), Bursa. (Photo: Suna Çağaptay)

dor that envelops the domed space and the iwan below. Cells used by the students in the madrasa are located on both sides, with one on each side of the stairs and another over the mihrab; they are all arranged symmetrically, in harmony with the layout of the ground floor. According to foundation (*waqf*) records, Murad I commissioned the construction of the mosque in 1365, and the building was completed in 1385.[110] The overall plan (fig. 9 [a and b]) is unique among Ottoman mosques. Further details, such as alternating brick-and-stone masonry and the two-story layout, resemble those of the church of St. Sophia at Ohrid (1313–14) (fig. 10), with particular resemblances in the execution of the "multitiered arcade."[111] The structure has also been compared to the two-story church of Panagia Parigoritissa (1283–96) in Arta (fig. 11).[112] The double-window openings on the mosque's second story (fig. 12) bear similarities to several mid-thirteenth-century windows, such as those in the Canon's House in Porec in Dalmatia.[113] These apertures are among several decorative and



9a

Fig. 9, a and b. Ground plan, Murad I mosque (1365–85), lower level (9a) and upper level (9b), Bursa. (Drawings: Safa T. Demirkan and Çağda Özbaki)



9b

Fig. 10. Front façade, church of St. Sophia (1313–14), Ohrid Macedonia. (Photo: Suna Çağaptay)

construction details, such as the twin-window openings and double-storied elevation, in the vocabulary of medieval Dalmatian architecture, which had long been exposed to Apulian and Lombard influence.[114] While the masonry follows Byzantine practice and the comparisons are all with Christian buildings, no clear allusion to Christianity was apparent. More interestingly, the elevation is transformed with an artistic vocabulary unique to Islamic architecture in Asia Minor. The combination of a mosque and a madrasa in one building creates a design puzzle, and the architectural form heralds a scheme and façade decoration that seems logically conceivable as Byzantine alone, although with Latin flavor from the Balkan territories and beyond, stretching from Albania to Dalmatia, where Murad I conducted his campaigns.[115] Part of the uniqueness and originality of Murad I's mosque derives from this visual riddle—that is, Byzantine masonry and decorative elements that do not openly betray any associations with Christian practice and identity but hint at the presence of an "other" and the challenges associated with the confrontation of two (or more) cultures.

To scholars' knowledge, the unique plan of the building housing the mosque of Murad I was never repeated in its entirety in any later Ottoman buildings, except for the Ak Medrese in Niğde (fig. 13), built in 1409 by the Karamanid Ali Bey, whose wife was an Ottoman prin-

Fig. 11. Front façade, church of Panagia Parigoritissa (1283–96), Arta, Greece. (Photo: Suna Çağaptay)

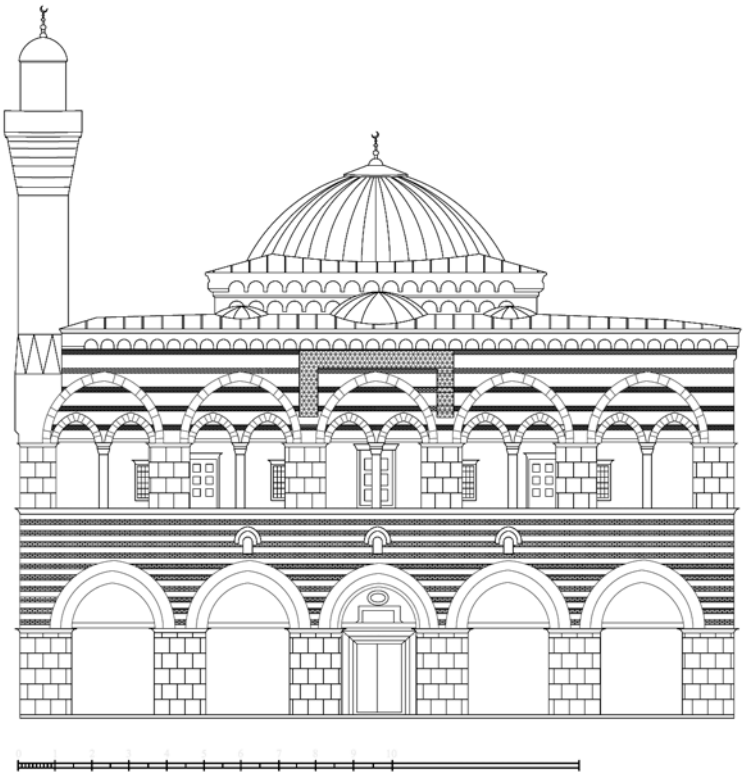


Fig. 12. Survey drawing of the front façade, Murad I mosque (1365–85), Bursa. (Drawing: Safa T. Demirkan and Çağda Özbaki)

cess.[116] As a result, descriptions of the mosque are speckled with references to other centers of production: "a curious mosque built in a semi-Byzantine style";[117] "recalls the Venetian palaces";[118] "Eastern like Cypriot or Western like Italian";[119] and "Mamluk in origin combined with features from Crusader–Ayyubid style."[120] It is curious to see that with the exception of the *Uṣūl*, all the sources attribute the building to a non-Byzantine pedigree. In attempting to delineate the routes and agency by which architectural forms could have found their way to Bithynia from either Italy, Latinized Western Byzantium, or Syria and Palestine, these scholars still fail to account for the transfer of specific details. Stated differently, "[a]rchitectural forms do not float freely across the regions; they require a human agent to effect the passage."[121] A portrait of the cultural interactions of the period could, therefore, be aided by an attempt to identify the ethnicities and places of origin of masons who worked on the Bithynian frontier beyond those known to us at present, such as, perhaps, Venetians and Mamluks. Given the Genoese alliance forged by Murad I, and the reference later to Bayezid I using a Genoese architect for fortifications, one can postulate a presence from that city-state as well. (The Genoese were well established in Pera, as well as in the Foça-Chios region.)[122] The project we begin to see here, however, may suggest an intent to create taxonomies and classifications of monuments into different "micro-styles" or "manners." We might likewise attribute such structures to a particular type of mason, from a particular background. In my view, though, an approach such as this could lead us to shift attention from the building as a whole to an overemphasis on its details.[123] As I have implied throughout this piece, I prefer to imagine the structures in question as the hybrid, "unrepeatable" outcomes of the techniques of masons and builders

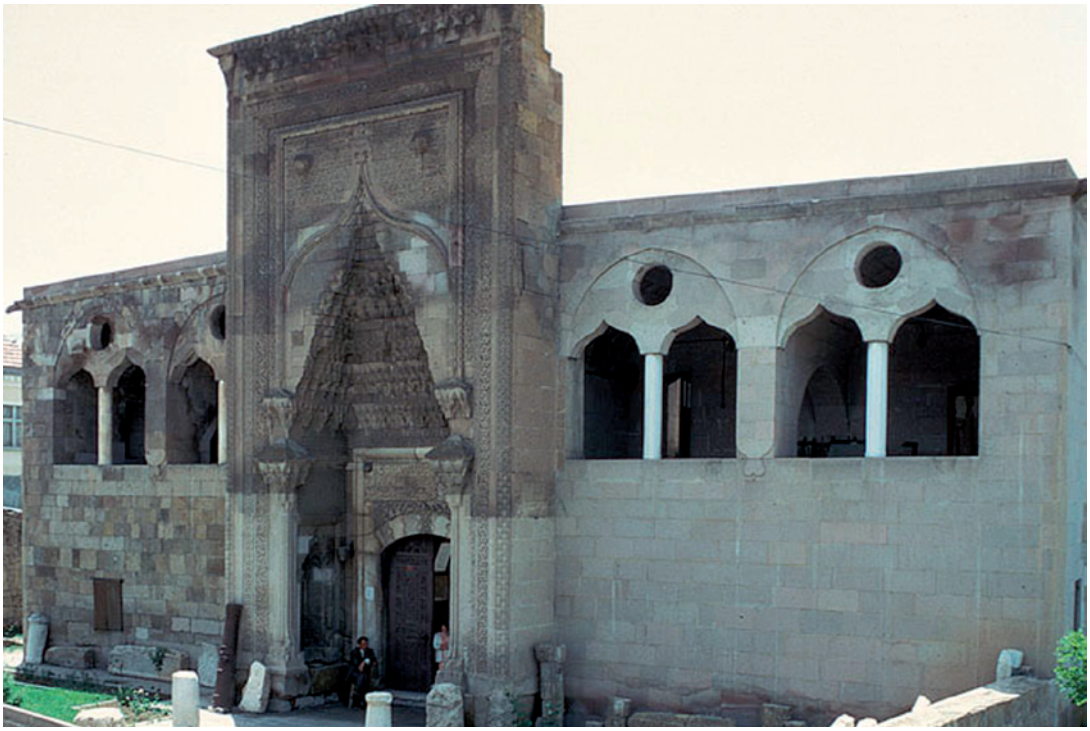


Fig. 13. Front façade, Ak Medrese (1409), Niğde. (Photo: courtesy of Walter B. Denny)

from many backgrounds. Thus, we should see a multifarious whole, rather than the sum of numerous, disparate parts.[124]

A close study of the details, however, is still necessary. In the case of Bithynia, an investigation of indigenous and nonindigenous forms reveals the emergence of a hybrid and synthetic style that combines the masonry technique and decorative vocabulary of Laskarid and late Byzantine architecture with the historicizing idioms of *spolia* and pseudo-*spolia*. At Murad's mosque, just as in numerous Ottoman examples in Bithynia, Byzantine *spolia* were used for the same purpose that they served in their original context.[125] Examples of these reused architectural pieces are column capitals, corbel friezes, cornice pieces, and marble doorjambs. The process of reuse suggests that these *spolia* were not simply surviving fragments or remnants of past styles. On the contrary, when used within a new Ottoman context, they demonstrated the continuity of workshop practices and traditions. Furthermore, the marble stringcourses (fig. 14) in the building were pseudo-*spolia*. Scholars have often miscategorized the marble stringcourses as genuine *spolia* because they were placed and carved onsite following Byzantine models.[126] Evidence that they are not *spolia* includes their crudeness and rough execution; indeed, only one small piece used in the lower-level mid-left arch may be a Byzantine original.

Another example of pseudo-*spolia* is the door panel decorated with rosettes and other floral ornaments adorning the entrance to the mausoleum of Lala Şahin Paşa (fig. 15) in Mustafakemalpaşa, constructed in 1348.[127] Ousterhout claimed that the mausoleum began its life as a Byzantine church, probably a single-aisled basilica.[128] In the early fourteenth century, it was reconstructed in its present form and transformed into a mausoleum. The tomb may have originally been a late Byzantine church that was destroyed in part due to its location on an unstable river bank—as implied by the Greek name of the city, Kremasti, or Kirmasti, meaning "a place suspended." While the panel on the entrance is an example of pseudo-*spolia* (fig. 16), a look to the

Fig. 14. Pseudo-*spolia* stringcourses, Murad I mosque (1365–85), Bursa. (Photo: Suna Çağaptay)

south wall (fig. 17) shows several features that can be related directly to Byzantine workshops, such as the alternating brick-and-stone construction with banded voussoirs in rounded arches, the use of blind arcades with stepped pilasters, and the decorative roundel. The marble stringcourses seem to have been specially made for the building, as they follow the outline of the stepped pilasters, which are comparable to the exonarthex wall of the Pammakaristos church (fig. 18). The sculpted arch window is also worth mentioning: it has counterparts in Constantinople, such as one with a curled leaf motif in the monastery of Chora.

Whether true or pseudo, the spoliation of Byzantine pieces prompts the following statements: first, Ottoman-era masons and builders placed an emphasis on the aesthetic qualities of each piece; second, the Christian connotations of the *spolia* were perceived; and third, each example's stated antiquity and affiliations with the region itself were embraced.[129]

PRODUCTIVE IN TRANSITION: THE EMERGENCE OF A BITHYNIAN ARCHITECTURAL IDIOM AND BEYOND

"Hybridity" in architectural vocabulary, as displayed in the structures discussed thus far, suggests more than an agglomeration of details from bordering religious and cultural spheres. Rather, it implies a deeper commonality held by people of different backgrounds in the frontier culture. The inclusion of Byzantine subjects, details, and architectural elements within the wider perspective of Ottoman architectural representations presages an overarching system of a shared visual vocabulary, with local Muslims and Christians serving as participants in and inhabitants of the same visual world. As a result, it is possible to perceive the architectural production of this period as something beyond the "overlap" principle suggested by "hybridity," and rising to the level of autonomous works of architecture rooted deeply in the rich architectural heritage of the region and receptive to new developments brought by mobile masons. The notion of the transposition and reemployment of architectonic features from one cultural-historical setting to another has often been ascribed by scholars either to "utilitarian opportunism" or to a "triumphalist" impulse posited on the basis of Islam.[130] It is with this narrow view that I will now raise objections.

Although the Ottomans had a well-developed architecture prior to their capture of Prousa, they looked to the Byzantines for inspiration as they gradually took control of the region. Prior to 1326, Ottoman attempts at construction focused on building mosques in Söğüt, Bilecik, and Yenişehir. Whereas the late thirteenth/early fourteenth-century mosque complex at Söğüt was renovated largely at the behest of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–76) in the nineteenth century, the Orhan Gazi mosque in Bilecik was built and rebuilt by Orhan Gazi after the first completed iteration of the mosque was destroyed by an earthquake. This latter mosque was composed of alternating brick-and-stone masonry and blind arches on the wall plane. Although the plan conforms to a church plan known as the "atrophied Greek cross," as has been identified by Ousterhout, the dome is supported on deep recesses under arches, suggesting an Ottoman structural system.[131] In Yenişehir, circa 1300, a bathhouse was also commissioned by the Ottoman sultans. Moreover, the Ottoman chroniclers ʿAşıkpaşazade and Neşri discussed an ambitious campaign of construction in and around Yenişehir that included houses, hans (inns), bathhouses, and palaces.[132]

The evidence strongly suggests that local former Byzantine builders helped to nourish a shared visual vocab-

Fig. 15. Distant view of the mausoleum of Lala Şahin Paşa (1348), Mustafakemalpaşa, Bursa. (Photo: Suna Çağaptay)

Fig. 16. Pseudo-*spolia* panel at the entrance to the mausoleum of Lala Şahin Paşa (1348), Mustafakemalpaşa, Bursa. (Photo: Suna Çağaptay)

Fig. 17. South wall, mausoleum of Lala Şahin Paşa (1348), Mustafakemalpaşa, Bursa. (Photo: Suna Çağaptay)

Fig. 18. Exonarthex wall, church of the Pammakaristos (1315), Istanbul. (Photo: Suna Çağaptay)

ulary in constructing the mosques of Orhan Gazi and Murad I. While following the designs put forth by their Ottoman patrons, the builders used their traditional workshop practices, for example, when constructing walls.

On the one hand, this shared vocabulary of construction methods, forms, and decorative details served as the visual vehicle for the Ottomans to lay claim to their newly conquered land; on the other hand, Byzantine masons seem to have continued producing buildings for inhabitants of both faiths. The Panagia Pantobasilissa at Trigleia was a Byzantine church built by Greek masons for the Greek community. Textual evidence shows that Trigleia was still in Byzantine hands in 1337 when the church was constructed, although the date of the town's ultimate capitulation is unknown.[133] The ground layout of the building is an elongated cross-in-square (fig. 19), a variation of the cross-in-square type seen frequently in the ninth-century monastic context of Bithynia.[134] The construction of buildings like the Pantobasilissa hints at the fluidity of the Bithynian frontier in the early fourteenth century. Perceived borders expanded and contracted, and the area was more porous than hedgelike, with trade, cultural interactions, and intermarriages and conversions occurring between the Byzantines and Ottomans.[135] After half a century, the region had successfully absorbed a generation of settlers and began to witness steady growth from within. Protected by water and hills and surrounded by rich farmland that had been neatly cultivated for generations, with fruit trees arranged in rows, the people of Bithynia could see, from every direction, order fashioned from chaos.

How can we interpret the architectural innovations that emerged as new building types in Bithynia? Are they steps leading to what we now think of as the classical Ottoman style, the foundations of which were laid in the second half of the fifteenth century? Or, instead of seeing them as steps, would it make more sense to analyze them as independent expressions? The latter stance is certainly closer to my own. To begin with, builders in Bithynia experimented with alternating brick-and-stone construction, a technique embedded in the rich, local architectural heritage of the region. But up to the present time, scholarly impasses have clouded our understanding of the architectural context of the period, even as regards a seemingly straightforward matter such as brick-and-stone masonry. Rather, today's textbooks treat early Ottoman buildings in Bithynia in a way that does not go beyond the discussion of formal and typological notions.[136] The fear may be that by considering these buildings as liminal, we strip them of their status as members of the canon. But perhaps it is our view of the canon that needs adapting.

The Bithynian structures under consideration here are the material expressions of early Ottoman civilization. For example, while the wall construction and decorative features resemble and refer to Byzantine techniques, the period also witnessed a conscious choice to omit these techniques and details. When, toward the end of the fourteenth century, a transition occurred from brick-and-stone to more expensive stone-and-marble masonry, and from juxtaposed arches to unified arch forms, this "[implied] a shift in taste and identity."[137] At first glance, this scenario would hint at nothing more than a change in workshop practices. But I believe an alternative reading exists, whereby the buildings constructed in the period between 1300 and 1402 become independent proclamations of the architectural culture of Bithynia, constituting a unique group. In displaying the aspirations of builders and patrons, the

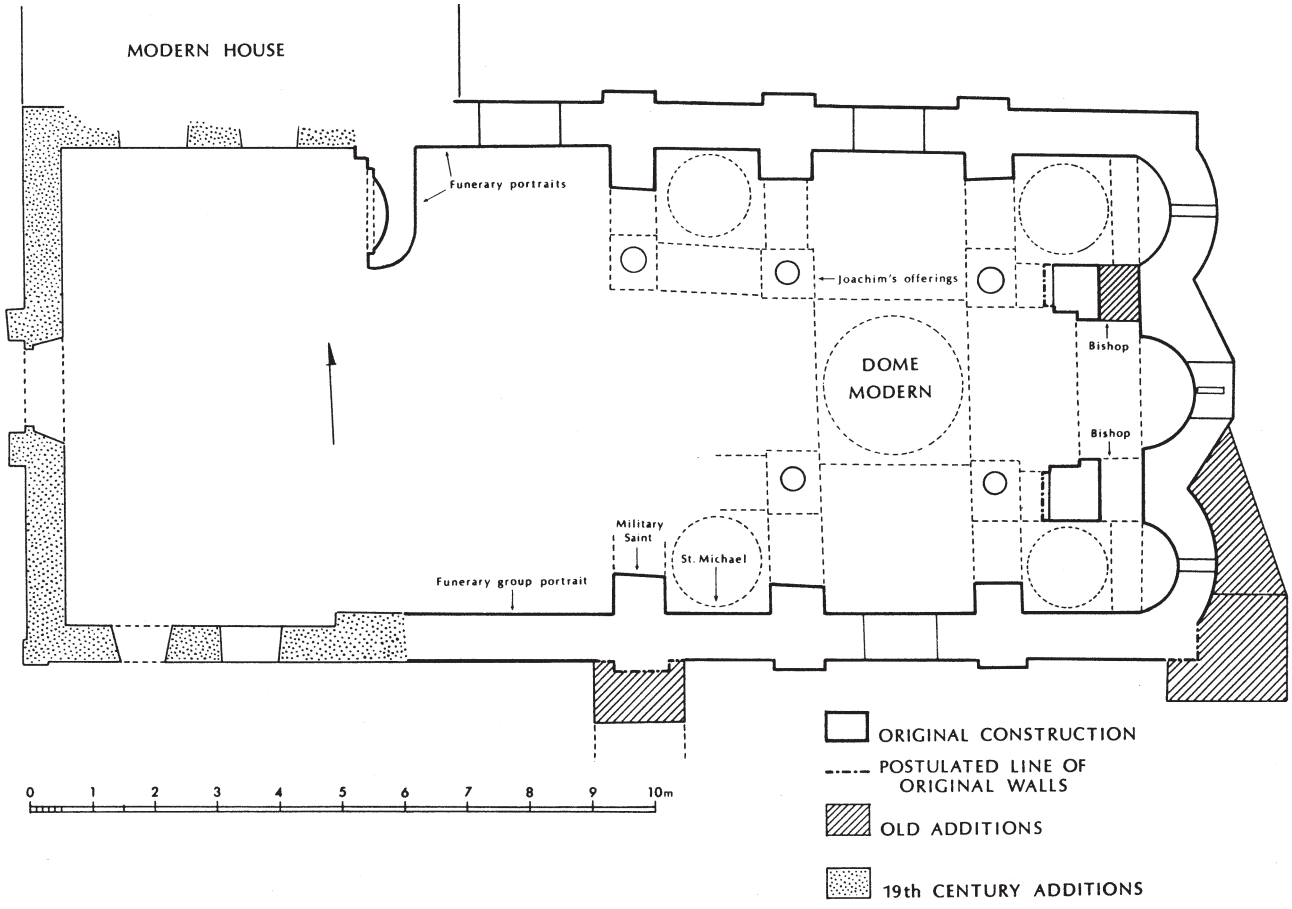


Fig. 19. Ground plan, church of the Pantobasilissa (after 1336), Zeytinbağı, Bursa. (Photo: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library)

architectural culture in Bithynia becomes distinctly "transitive," a process that entailed the transmission of several themes, such as alternating brick-and-stone masonry, spoliated items, and brick patterning, over the course of a century. This also reflects the rather limited economic and organizational means of the Ottomans at that time, a reality evident as well in the relatively small-scale construction projects they undertook. During the reign of Bayezid I between 1389 and 1402, the architectural culture experienced an important shift to stone-marble ashlar masonry. This leads us to the possible conclusion that the Timurid sack of 1402 did not so much disrupt the Ottoman empire-building project as mark a continuation carried out with similar materials but an evolving vocabulary.

The Ottoman imperial project was resumed in full when Timur left Asia Minor a few years later, in 1413, to pursue his longtime ambition of conquering Asia itself.[138] As for construction techniques, the use of alternating brick-and-stone masonry is a distinguishing feature in both early religious and nonreligious Ottoman buildings of Bithynia from the 1300s and 1400s. Several centuries later, the reappearance of this type of masonry coincided with a period during which the Ottomans began to redefine their dynastic building tradition in ways that were enshrined by historians in the nineteenth-century *Uṣūl*. This redefinition included a depiction of the rise of the Ottomans in late medieval Anatolia and the development of a Seljuk-inspired architectural style with Arab, Eastern, and Greek inflec-

tions.[139] Buildings commissioned during this nineteenth-century period encompass an eclectic array of forms, ranging from reinterpreted early Ottoman elements to details recalling the European Orientalist style. As Ahmet Ersoy discusses, the cultural hybridity apparent in this architectural revival allowed the Ottomans to view their own history as multilayered and complex.[140] The sudden proliferation of brick-and stone-masonry is further confirmation of Ersoy's argument, even though he does not mention this technique explicitly. Indeed, in the twentieth century, Bruno Taut's[141] 1937 design for the Faculty of Languages, History, and Geography Building at Ankara University's downtown campus made references to just such an Ottoman masonry technique.[142]

This story of brick-and-stone masonry may sound somehow humble when juxtaposed against Osman's momentous dream, with the moon rising from a man's breast and a tree "sprouting from his navel." But if we examine the details closely, we can gain deep insight into the ways in which reuse, translation, and innovation—when enacted concomitantly in Bithynian monuments—visually expressed not a mere mingling of two static cultures but rather a dynamic encounter in which the architectural idiom was "revived and rehistoricized and read anew."[143]

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NOTES

Author's note: This article was inspired by some of the issues I explored in my doctoral dissertation, "Visualizing the Cultural Transition in Bithynia: Architecture, Landscape, and Urbanism" (University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, December 2007). I am grateful to my advisor, Professor Robert Ousterhout, and the members of my dissertation committee, Professors D. Fairchild Ruggles, Anne D. Hedeman, and Richard Layton, as well as my husband, Dr. Bülent Arıkan, and my brother, Dr. Soner Çağaptay, for their comments on earlier drafts. Special thanks go to Professor Gülru Necipoğlu, the anonymous reader for *Muqarnas,* and Dr. Karen A. Leal for the extremely helpful comments and suggestions. Research for this paper, as well as for my dissertation, was made possible by grants from the University of Illinois, the Dan David Foundation at Tel Aviv University, the American Research Institute in Turkey, the Barakat Foundation at the University of Oxford, the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations at Koç University, Dumbarton Oaks, and the Turkish Cultural Foundation. For all of these grants I am grateful. This article is dedicated to the loving memory of my mother, Sultan, who kindled my interest in the ancient buildings of Anatolia when she showed her respect by kissing the thresholds and piers of the Ulu Cami in Malatya, "sacred as they are, as though they were relics."

1 Critical edition by Friedrich Giese, *Die altosmanische Chronik des Āṣıkpaşazāde* (Leipzig, 1929), 9–10. Translation is by Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, 1995), 8.

2. As cited by Gülru Necipoğlu, "Creation of a National Genius: Sinan and the Historiography of 'Classical' Ottoman Architecture," in "Historiography and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the 'Lands of Rum,'" ed. Gülru Necipoğlu and Sibel Bozdoğan, special issue, *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 143, from the second edition of Charles F. Texier, *Asie Mineure: Description géographique, historique et archéologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnèse d'Asie* (Paris, 1862), 125.

3. See, among others, Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*; Rudi P. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983); Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany, N.Y., 2003).

4. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 15.

5. For more on the interpretation of the dream, see Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 8–9 and 29–30. On sovereignty, see Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 132–33, and Roy Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), 69–70. Also see Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1923* (New York, 2006).

6. See n. 2 above.

7. For additional context on the Ottomanization of Byzantine Prousa, including the conversion of Byzantine buildings for the Ottoman state founders Osman and Orhan Gazi and the development of the urban program, see Suna Çağaptay, "Prousa/Bursa, a City within the City: Chorography, Conversion, and Choreography," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 35, 1 (2011): 45–69.

8. Çağaptay, "Visualizing the Cultural Transition" (cited in the author's note); Robert Ousterhout, "Constantinople, Bithynia, and Regional Developments in Later Palaeologan Architecture," in *The Twilight of Byzantium: Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire, Papers from the Colloquium Held at Princeton University, 8–9 May 1989,* ed. Doula Mouriki and Slobodan Ćurčić (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 75–110; Robert Ousterhout, "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 48–62; and, more recently, Robert Ousterhout, "The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture," *Gesta* 43, 2 (2004): 165–76; Necipoğlu, "Creation of a National Genius," 145; Gülru Necipoğlu, "Anatolia and the Ottoman Legacy," in *The Mosque: History, Architectural*

Development and Regional Diversity, ed. Martin Frishman and Hasan-Uddin Khan (London, 1994), 150.

9. The scholarly use of the concept of "imitation" gives the impression that certain construction details can be recreated or even photocopied. But it is almost impossible to duplicate something exactly: the copy never matches the original but is instead "coarse-grained" and "approximate." On the concept of imitation, see Douglas R. Hofstadter, *I Am a Strange Loop* (New York, 2007); Deborah Solomon, "The Way We Live Now: Questions for Douglas Hoftstadter, The Mind Reader," *New York Times Magazine*, April 1, 2007: 17.
10. Ousterhout, "Constantinople, Bithynia, and Regional Developments," 83–84.
11. As suggested by Mehmet İhsan Tunay, "Masonry of the Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Periods," *Zograf* 12 (1981): 79, as well as others.
12. I base my discussion heavily on D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Dual Heritage in Sicilian Monuments," in *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. Maria Rosa Menocal et al., Cambridge History of Arabic Literature (Cambridge, 2000), 373–74.
13. Semiha Yıldız Ötüken, "Bizans Mimarisinde Duvar Tekniğinde Tektonik ve Estetik Çözümler," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 21 (1990): 398, claims that the masonry technique employed at the mosque of Murad I consisted of brick-filled mortar joints. However, Ousterhout, "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation," 61 n. 40, pursues the possibility that these joints are a result of a recent restoration. This technique was commonly employed in Bithynia from the mid-fourteenth to the early fifteenth century. Examples include the mosques of Ibn-i Bezaz, Hacılar, and Çerağ Bey, and the tomb of Fethullah Paşa. One might add that the arch framing the window at the tomb of Lala Şahin in Mustafakemalpaşa was executed in the same fashion.
14. These names are mentioned in the textual record as builders of the Ottoman structures to which I will return shortly.
15. Necipoğlu, "Anatolia and the Ottoman Legacy," 150. These buildings bear "distinctive ground plans with clearly delineated square and rectangular units [and] are unlike the curvilinear, blending spaces of Byzantine churches."
16. "The disintegration of the prototype into its single elements, the selective transfer of these parts, and their reshuffling in the copy": Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 14.
17. Frederick William Hasluck, *Cyzicus: Being Some Account of the History and Antiquities of That City, and of the District Adjacent to It, with the Towns of Apollonia ad Rhyndacum, Miletupolis, Hadrianutherae, Priapus, Zeleia, etc.* (Cambridge, 1910).
18. Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 235–40.
19. Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th ed., with Slobodan Ćurčić (New Haven, 1986), 414.
20. Slobodan Ćurčić, "Architecture in the Byzantine Sphere of Influence around the Middle of the Fourteenth Century," in *Decani i Vizantijska umetmost sredinom XIV veka,* ed. Vojislav Djurić (Belgrade, 1989), 66. Also see Ousterhout, "Constantinople, Bithynia, and Regional Developments," and Ousterhout, "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation."
21. For the use of this term in the representation of women in promoting architectural commissions, see D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Vision and Power: An Introduction," in *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies,* ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (Albany, N.Y., 2000), 5.
22. Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 98–99. After the Ottoman conquest in the early 1320s, a vibrant commercial life continued under the Italians. Clive Foss and David Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* (Pretoria, 1986), 154. The results of the recent investigations at the site conducted by C. Brian Rose and William Aylward follow some of the datings by Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, "Pegea-Karabiga," in *Festschrift für Jale İnan = Jale İnan Armağanı,* ed. Nezih Başgelen and Mihin Lugal (Istanbul, 1989), 169–176, and offer new dating suggestions. See also William Aylward, "The Byzantine Fortifications at Pegae (Priapus) on the Sea of Marmara," *Studia Troica* 16 (2006): 179–203; and William Aylward, "Pegae: A Byzantine Fortress on the Sea of Marmara," in the *Proceedings of the International Sevgi Gönül Memorial Symposium on Byzantine Studies* (Istanbul, 2010): 342–56.
23. Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 100, 118; Robert Ousterhout, "Review of the Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48, 2 (1989): 182–83; see also Ousterhout, "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation," 58.
24. Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications,* 156.
25. Hasluck, Cyzicus, 78–83; Louis Robert, *A travers l'Asie Mineure: Poètes et prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographie* (Athens and Paris, 1980), 90–93; Clive Foss, "The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27, 2 (1982): 145–205, esp. 159–61; Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications*, 145–46; Jacques Lefort, "Tableau de la Bithynie au XIIIe siècle," in *The Ottoman Empire (1300–1389): Halcyon Days in Crete 1: A Symposium Held in Rethymnon 11–13 January 1991,* ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou (Crete, 1993), 111–13, and pl. A.
26. Halil İnalcık, "The Struggle between Osman Gazi and the Byzantines of Nicaea," in *Iznik throughout History,* ed. Işın Akbaygıl (Istanbul, 2003), 59–85.
27. For a discussion on the continuity of workshop practices and church construction in Bithynia around the time of the transition, see Suna Çağaptay, "The Church of the Panagia Pantobasilissa (ca. 1336) in Trigleia (Zeytinbağı) Revisited: Content, Context, and Community," *Annual Bulletin of the Istanbul Research Institute* (forthcoming), as well as Mango and Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries"; also see Ousterhout, "Constantinople, Bithynia, and Regional Developments"; Ousterhout, "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation"; and Ousterhout, "The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past."

28. Çağaptay, "Prousa/Bursa, a City within the City," 62–66.
29. A typical inverted-T building consists primarily of a domed space followed by an iwan and another domed space on an axis, with two smaller domed or vaulted chambers flanking the first of these spaces. In most cases, the buildings were fronted by five-bay porticoes and usually included *tabhane*s (side rooms reserved for lodging). All the rooms are symmetrically arranged around the main axis. A discussion of this building type and its origins is beyond the scope of this article. Some scholars have traced its plan back to a type of Central Asian house or a Mongol/Ilkhanid four-iwan form that was brought to Anatolia by the Turks, as claimed by Semavi Eyice, "İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dini–İçtimai Bir Müessesesi: Zâviyeler ve Zâviyeli Camiler," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23 (1962–63): 1–80, and others. The proliferation of the plan is evident from the tenth to the twelfth centuries in Central Asia; it also abounds in the residential architecture of Byzantine Cappadocia. Thomas Mathews and Anne-Christine Daskalakis Mathews, "Islamic-Style Mansions in Byzantine Cappadocia and the Development of the Inverted T-Plan," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56, 3 (1997): 294–315, have associated the Cappadocian residential complexes with those of the Islamic world, based on the common elements of the so-called inverted-T plan and the arcaded façades. Although their comparisons with the palaces at Ukhaidir (in Iraq) and Fustat (in Egypt) are compelling, one can also argue that this plan had been common across the Mediterranean for centuries. This might have been the result of a common language of power among the mobile elite, which can explain the nature of architectural borrowings and appropriations, as discussed by Robert Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C., 2005), 147–48.
30. Urs Hölscher "Enstehung und Entwicklung der osmanischen Baukunst," *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* 69 (1919): 365–70; Karl Wulzinger, "Die Piruz-Moschee zu Milas (Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte osmanischer Baukunst)," in *Festschrift anlässlich des 100 jährigen Bestehens der Technischen Hochschule Fridericiana zu Karlsruhe* (Karslruhe, 1925), 167–70.
31. Doğan Kuban, *100 Soruda Türkiye Sanat Tarihi*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul, 1973), 159.
32. Oktay Aslanapa, "İznik'te Sultan Orhan İmaret Camii Kazısı," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakultesi Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 1 (1965): 16–38.
33. Semavi Eyice, "Osmanlı Türk Mimarisinin İlk Devrinin Bir Cami Tipi Hakkında," in *Milletlerarası Birinci Türk Sanatları Kongresi, Ankara, 19–24 Ekim 1959: Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğleri* (Istanbul, 1962), 188; Eyice, "İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dini–İçtimai Bir Müessesesi."
34. Aptullah Kuran, *İlk Devir Osmanlı Mimarisinde Camii* (Ankara, 1964): 64; Aptullah Kuran, "Basic Space and Form Concept in Early Ottoman Architecture," *Atti del Secondo congresso internazionale di arte turca, 1965* (Venice, 1965), 181–87. For the other two terms, see Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture* (English trans. of *İlk Devir Osmanlı Mimarisinde Camii*) (Chicago, 1968), 71 and 77.
35. Sedat Emir, *Erken Osmanlı Mimarlığında Çok İşlevli Yapılar: Kentsel Kolonizasyon Yapıları Olarak Zâviyeler*, 2 vols. (Izmir, 1994), 1:15; Sedat Çetintaş, *Yeşil Cami ve Benzerleri Cami Değildir* (Istanbul, 1958).
36. Eyice, "İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dini–İçtimai Bir Müessesesi," 10.
37. Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1967); Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971); Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600* (London, 1973); Halil İnalcık, "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 2, 2 (1981–82): 71–80.
38. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 140–41.
39. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*. Two other studies worth mentioning are Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans,* 45–50, and Lowry, *Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, 55–94.
40. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 16, 133–34. For example, Michael VIII (r. 1259–82) spent time in the region in 1280–81, and Andronikos III (r. 1316–41) spent nearly three years there, between 1290 and 1293.
41. An excellent example is the ten-year-long siege of Prousa. Andronikos II (r. 1261–1328) reportedly had a plan to help the besieged inhabitants of Prousa, but it was never enacted. Angeliki Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 292–93, and Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 125.
42. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 140–41. On peripheries as a nexus of different cultural and artistic networks, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago, 2004): 233–34.
43. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 51, 86, 114.
44. Ibid., 89.
45. *Uṣūl-i miʿmārī-i ʿOṣmānī = L'architecture ottomane* (Istanbul, 1873). As noted by Ahmet Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 125 and 137 n. 29; for a study of the *Uṣūl,* see 125–39. See also Necipoğlu, "Creation of a National Genius," 144. For a study of this period, see Michael Ursinus, "Byzantine History in Late Ottoman Historiography," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 10 (1986): 211–22; Michael Ursinus, "From Süleyman Paşa to Mehmet Fuat Köprülü: Roman and Byzantine History in Late Ottoman Historiography," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988): 305–14. The matter of the Byzantine legacy probably came onto the Ottoman historiographical scene as a result of contemporaneous nationalist Greek claims.
46. Victor Marie de Launay, *L'architecture ottomane*, 3.
47. The construction technique for this mosque does not reveal Byzantine or Byzantinizing details: Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins"; *Uṣūl,* 5.

48. İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları* (Istanbul, 1997). Kemaleddin, an ardent nationalist of his time, ascribed national significance to the Ottoman buildings, as noted by F. Nur Altınyıldız, "The Architectural Heritage of Istanbul and the Ideology of Preservation," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 286–87.
49. Benjamin Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983), 11; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Makaleler* (Istanbul, 1985), 488; Altınyıldız, "Architectural Heritage of Istanbul," 293.
50. One such example is Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi; see his *İstanbul Mi'mârî Çağının Menşe'i: Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinin İlk Devri (1230–1402)* (Istanbul, 1966). For a review of national and ideological barriers in studying and promoting the Byzantine legacy, see Nevra Necipoğlu, "The State and Future of Byzantine Studies in Turkey," in *Aptullah Kuran için Yazılar = Essays in Honor of Aptullah Kuran*, ed. Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak (Istanbul, 1999), 23–26, and Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 20 and 80–82.
51. Ziya Gökalp is considered the father of Turkish nationalist historiography. See his *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (Basics of Turkism) (Istanbul, 1923), in which he formulates his thoughts on the Turkish nation. For an analysis of Republican ideology and its impact on cultural and historical studies, see Halil Berktay, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuad Köprülü* (Istanbul, 1983).
52. Defining Turkishness versus Ottomanness goes beyond the scope of this paper. For a recent reading of Turkish nationalism in the early Republican period, see Soner Çağaptay, *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who Is a Turk?* (London and New York, 2006). Çağaptay contends that while Kemalism outwardly favored a race-inspired Turkishness, in reality it sought to give to the Turkish *ethnie* that had been developing since the late nineteenth century a more concise scientific, cultural, and territorial expression.
53. Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1990); Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition,* ed. Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, 1983), 1–14.
54. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle, 2001), 242; Sibel Bozdoğan, "Reading Ottoman Architecture through Modernist Lenses: Nationalist Historiography and the 'New Architecture' in the Early Republic," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 199–221, esp. 202. Bozdoğan calls the nationalization process the "Sleeping Beauty theory of nationalism."
55. Atatürk himself was extremely instrumental in promoting the study of archaeological remains, ruins, decorated reliefs, and artifacts dating from the Hittite, Urartu, Phrygian, and Lydian periods. With the help of the ideologically motivated "Turkish history thesis" (1932) and the "sun language theory" (1936), both of which had a major impact on official views of history, culture, and archaeology in the early Republican era, it was postulated that the first indigenous people of Anatolia, the Hittites, were in fact ancestors of Turks: Büşra Ersanlı Behar, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de "Resmi Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu, 1929–1937* (Istanbul, 1992); Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building,* 243–44.
56. Bozdoğan, "Reading Ottoman Architecture," 202.
57. Celal Esad Arseven, *Türk Sanatı* (Istanbul, 1928), also was translated into French in 1939.
58. Bozdoğan, "Reading Ottoman Architecture," 202.
59. Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Türkiye Tarihi* (History of Turkey) (Istanbul, 1923).
60. Bozdoğan, "Reading Ottoman Architecture," 205. The most recent example of such a reading is Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (New York, 1971).
61. Ottoman studies developed as a self-contained, exclusionary subject, unlike other fields of Islamic studies, and as a result it flourishes as an autonomous subfield within the scholarship of Islamic art and architecture. For an analysis of the state of Ottoman studies, see "Architectural Heritage of the 'Lands of Rum,'" ed. Necipoğlu and Bozdoğan, special issue, *Muqarnas* 24.
62. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building,* 44, bases her discussion on Şerif Mardin's studies. This context is now seen as part of a global trend and a new form of conservatism that emphasizes traditional values in reaction to political and social developments in the 1960s and 1970s: see Binnaz Toprak, "Religion as State Ideology in a Secular Setting: The Turkish–Islamic Synthesis," in *Aspects of Religion in Secular Turkey,* ed. Malcolm Wagstaff, Occasional Paper Series 40 (Durham, 1990), 10–15.
63. Bozdoğan, "Reading Ottoman Architecture," 209.
64. Semavi Eyice, *Son Devir Bizans Mimarisi: İstanbul'da Palaiologos'lar Devri Anıtları* (Istanbul, 1980), 101–3. Like Eyice, Mehmet İhsan Tunay ignores the Bithynian evidence and, by conducting a brick-by-brick and stone-by-stone study of the buildings of Palaiologan Constantinople, compares early Ottoman buildings in Bithynia with those in Constantinople: Tunay, "Masonry of the Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Periods," 77 and 79; Mehmet İhsan Tunay, "Türkiye'de Bizans Mimarisinde Taş ve Tuğla Duvar Tekniğine Göre Tarihlendirme" (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 1984), opposes the idea of continuity.
65. Heinrich Glück traced Seljuk and Ottoman art back to certain Central Asian motifs and monuments; see Heinrich Glück, *Die Kunst der Osmanen* (Leipzig, 1922); Hans Wilde, *Brussa: Eine Entwickelungsstätte türkischer Architektur in Kleinasien unter den ersten Osmanen* (Berlin, 1909).
66. Charles F. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure, faite par ordre du gouvernement français de 1833 à 1837, et publiée par le Ministère de l'instruction publique*, 3 vols. (Paris 1839); Charles F. Texier and Richard P. Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture: Illustrated by Examples of Edifices Erected in the East during the Earliest Ages of Christianity* (London, 1864).
67. Albert Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1931–34); Albert Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale* (Paris, 1940).

68. For a study on *beylik* architecture, see İlknur Aktuğ Kolay, "The Influence of Byzantine and Local Western Anatolian Architecture on the 14th-Century Architecture of the Turkish Principalities," in *Okzident und Orient*, ed. Semra Ögel and Gregor Wedekind = *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 6 (2002): 199–214; İlknur Aktuğ Kolay, "14 Yüzyıl Batı Anadolu Beylikler Mimarisi Duvar Örgüsü Bezemesinde Görülen Bizans İzleri üzerine Görüşler," *Metin Ahunbay'a Armağan, Bizans Mimarisi üzerine Yazılar = Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 8 (2004): 263–73.
69. On the spoliation of buildings and the use of *spolia*, see G. Öney, "Anadolu Selçuklu Mimarisinde Antik Devir Malzemesi," *Anadolu* 12 (1968): 17–38, and, more recently, Scott Redford, "The Seljuqs of Rum and the Antique," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 148–56, which incorporates more visual evidence with the reuse of architectural sculpture and buildings themselves in Sinop, Alanya, Aspendos, and Konya. On the use of Roman and Byzantine *spolia* in works of Islamic architecture in Anatolia, see Ethel Sara Wolper, "Khidr, Elwan Çelebi and the Conversion of Sacred Sanctuaries in Anatolia," in "Sufi Saints and Shrines in Muslim Society," ed. Jamal Elias, special issue, *Muslim World* 90, 3–4 (2000): 309–22.
70. For a discussion of the mausolea of the founders and the development of early Ottoman Bursa, see Çağaptay, "Prousa/Bursa, a City within the City," 65.
71. Doğan Kuban, *Osmanlı Mimarisi* (Istanbul, 2007), 60, and the bibliography.
72. Afife Batur, "Osmanlı Camilerinde Almaşık Duvar üzerine," *Anadolu Sanatı Araştırmaları* 2 (1970): 135–227.
73. Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "XIV Yüzyıl Mimari Örneklere göre Bursa Kentinin Sosyal, Kültürel Gelişimi," *Türk Tarih Kurumu Kongresi Bildirileri* 3 (1989): 1345–55, esp. 1348.
74. Aynur Durukan et al., *Early Ottoman Art: The Legacy of the Emirates*, Islamic Art in the Mediterranean (Madrid, 2002).
75. Finbarr Barry Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter* (Princeton University Press, 2009), 185, calls this process a "cognitive filter," whereby the mason's understanding of the patron's wish was mediated by the conceptual categories of architectural practice in the Ghurid mosques of India. Anthony Cutler, "Gifts and Gift Exchange as Aspects of the Byzantine, Arab, and Related Economies," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001): 245, as cited by Flood, *Objects of Translation,* 219
76. As noted in Necipoğlu, "Anatolia and the Ottoman Legacy," 153.
77. Two illuminating cases are Ghurid architectural production in India and Afghanistan, and Mamluk production in Egypt: Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 225 and 304 n. 307, respectively.
78. This term was coined by Gordon Ryle and popularized by Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York, 1983). It denotes that knowledge is historically constrained and produced within particular material settings, including a specific geographical zone. For use of the term in an architectural history context, see Heather E. Grossman, "Syncretism Made Concrete: The Case for a Hybrid Moreote Architecture in Post–Fourth Crusade Greece," in *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker,* ed. Judson J. Emerick and Deborah M. Deliyannis (Mainz, 2005), 65–73.
79. As noted by Finbarr Barry Flood, "Lost in Translation: Architecture, Taxonomy, and the Eastern 'Turks,'" *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 79–115, and more recently, the introduction to *Objects of Translation*, 1–14. On problems of "origins" and "originality," see Cemal Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 7–25; Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülru Necipoğlu, "Entangled Discourses: Scrutinizing Orientalist and Nationalist Legacies in the Architectural Historiography of the 'Lands of Rum,'" *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 1–6; Necipoğlu, "Creation of a National Genius."
80. On the transmission/nontransmission of architectural forms and techniques, see Robert Ousterhout, "Review: In Pursuit of the Exotic Orient," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 35, 4 (2001): 113–18, esp. 115 (this is a review of *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500,* by Deborah Howard [New Haven, 2000]). For modes of transmission of architectural forms, see Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" 17 and 19. Krautheimer claims that literary descriptions played a role in architectural copying in the Christian medieval world, but such descriptions were often complemented by plans. The modes of transmission between Byzantine and Islamic architecture have been dealt with extensively by Finbarr Barry Flood, "Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals: Qalawunid Architecture and the Great Mosque of Damascus," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 57–79, and Jonathan M. Bloom, "On the Transmission of Designs in Early Islamic Architecture," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 21–28.
81. Yorgos (George) Dedes, "The Battalname, an Ottoman Turkish Frontier Epic Wondertale: Introduction, Turkish Transcription, English Translation and Commentary" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1996).
82. As noted by Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 8.
83. Ousterhout has encouraged this distinction elsewhere: Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, N.J., 1999), 200; Robert Ousterhout, "French Connection? Construction of Vaults and Cultural Identity in Crusader Architecture," in *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades,* ed. Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore, 2004), 77–79 and 91–92.
84. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia,* ed. Ludwig Schopen and Immanuel Bekker, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1829–55), 1: 44–45. H. Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," *Jahrbuch österreichischen Byzantinistik* 28 (1979): 261–96, suggests a relative chronology and it bears inaccuracies. For a long time, the geographical boundaries of the Laskarid empire-in-exile were confined to Bithynia, Mysia, Ionia, and the island of Chios. Postdating Buch-

wald's publication, a discovery made in the mid-1980s by Argyrios Petronitis on the island of Samos, at the church of the Panagia near Karlovasi, leads us to reconsider the boundaries of the architectural and spatial context of the emperors-in-exile; see G. Velenis, "Building Techniques and External Decoration during the Fourteenth Century in Macedonia," in *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIVe siècle: Recueil des rapports du IVe Colloque serbo-grec, Belgrade 1985*, ed. Radovan Samardžić (Belgrade, 1987), 95–110. Velenis's book also provides a solid account of Laskarid architecture: Geōrgios M. Velenēs, *Hermēneia tou exōterikou diakosmou stē vyzantinē architektonikē*, 2 vols. (Thessaloniki, 1984), 1:90–96, 152–53, and 300–301. It should be noted that our knowledge about the scale of architectural activity in Constantinople and its immediate surroundings in Thrace and Macedonia before the capture of the capital is flimsy: see suggestions by Charalambos Bouras, "The Impact of Frankish Architecture on Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Architecture," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World,* ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy. P. Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C., 2001), 247–62, and, much earlier, Ousterhout, "Constantinople, Bithynia, and Regional Developments," 75.

85. Ousterhout, "Constantinople, Bithynia, and Regional Developments," 76, draws from a tenth-century text to make this claim, prompting him to warn that the same may not have been true for the Palaiologan period. This view has also been encouraged by Velenēs, *Hermēneia tou exōterikou diakosmou*, esp. chap. 1. Quoting Ousterhout, "Constantinople, Bithynia, and Regional Developments," 79, but contradicting his conclusion on the question of whether Constantinopolitan masons worked elsewhere in the late Byzantine period, Ćurčić underlines the importance of a builder's mobility in earning his living: see Slobodan Ćurčić, "Architecture in the Age of Insecurity," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans (1300–1500) and Its Preservation,* ed. Evangelia Hadjitryphonos and Slobodan Ćurčić (Thessaloniki, 1997), 25.

86. On hiring Christian architects, see Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism,* 235–38. On the controversy concerning the Greek or Armenian identity of masons and artists working for the Seljuk and Ottoman courts, see Kafadar, "Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum," 11 n. 18.

87. Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs (Manâqib ul-ʿârifîn),* trans. Clément Huart, 2 vols. (Paris, 1918–20), 2:208. The contemporary literal interpretations of this passage notwithstanding, I do not intend to imply that "the Turks" in this quotation are interchangeable with residents of twenty-first-century Turkey. Rather, I would like to suggest that one has to problematize and systematically historicize the concept and challenge its meaning over time and across place.

88. For different transliterations of this name, see Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism,* 236; Eric Gross, *Das Vilâjet-nâme des Hâğği Bektasch: Ein türkisches Derwischevangelium* (Leipzig, 1927), 151–52; Abdülbāki Gölpınarlı, *Manakıb-ı Hacı Bektâş-ı Veli: Vilâyet-nâme* (Istanbul, 1958), 91. Stephanos Yerasimos, *Türk Metinlerinde Konstantiniye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri* (Istanbul, 1998), claims that the reading "Yanko Madyan" would result from a mistake in the transliteration of the term "Nicomedia." For the representation of Yanko Madyan as the mythical founder of Byzantium and the origin of this name, see pp. 63–68, esp. 67.

89. Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tâcü't-Tevârîh*, trans. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, 5 vols. (Ankara 1992) 1:81. For a critical introduction to the primary sources involving the name of Christodoulos, see Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinin İlk Devri,* 232 and 235. Ahmet Ersoy claims that attributing Murad I's mosque to a Greek architect named Christodoulos is a groundless assumption fabricated by Ottoman and foreign authors. The name Christodoulos is encountered in other Ottoman building projects, such as the Fatih mosque in Istanbul: see Mehmet Aga-Oglu, "The Fatih Mosque at Constantinople," *The Art Bulletin* 12, 2 (June 1930): 179–95. In Bithynia, we occasionally find the names of the builders and masons in the *waqf* charters and court registers (e.g., Hacı Ivaz Paşa worked on the Green Mosque in Bursa, Hacı Ali on the Hacı Hamza mosque in Iznik, and Hacı bin Musa on the Green Mosque, also in Iznik). The only Christian name associated with building in Bithynia that was not Turkicized is Stephanos, who was in charge of the construction of the mausolea of Malkoçoğlu Mehmed Bey, dated to the late fourteenth century, as mentioned in n. 90 below, and Wilde, *Brussa,* 12–20.

90. Halil Edhem, "Gekbūze'de 787 Tārīḫli bir ʿOṯmānlı Kitābesi," *Tārīḫ-i ʿOṯmānī Encümeni Mecmūʿası* 40 (1332 [1917]): 228–35, claims that this title might refer to the individual in charge of inscribing the stone rather than the architect. Hasan R. Ergezen, "Malkoç Türbesi," *Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni* 73 (1948): 15–17. Unfortunately, Ergezen did not provide a photograph of the inscription but rather a transliteration of the text in Ottoman Turkish. For a photo of the building before it was destroyed, see Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinin İlk Devri,* 460 R.

91. V. L. Ménage, "Edirne'li Ruhi'ye Atfedilen Osmanlı Tarihinden İki Parça," selections in *İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan* (Ankara, 1976), 311–33.

92. In a forthcoming piece by Gülru Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and the Aesthetics of Fusion: Artistic Interactions with Renaissance Italy at the Court of Mehmed II." I am indebted to Professor Necipoğlu for sharing a portion of her work with me prior to its publication.

93. For an introductory study, see Demet Ulusoy Binan, "Osmanlı'da Beylikten İmparatorluğa Geçişte Yapı Üretim Süreci ve İlişkileri Üzerine Bir Deneme," in *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı: Uluslarüstü Bir Miras,* ed. Nur Akın et al. (Istanbul, 1999), 387–95. The author briefly summarizes the distinctions between masons' marks in Seljuk Ana-

tolian buildings and the ways in which such marks refer to different backgrounds. For the Ottoman period, only the masons' marks in the Muradiye complex in Bursa were examined.

94. Only one piece of such epigraphic evidence exists: the bilingual inscription plate from the mausoleum of Malkoçoğlu Mehmed Bey, as mentioned earlier. For the numismatic evidence, see Konstantin Zhukov, "Ottoman, Karasid, and Sarukhanid Coinages and the Problem of Common Currency in Western Anatolia," in Zachariadou, *Ottoman Emirate (1300–1389),* pl. 1b. For more on the numismatic evidence, see Scott Redford, "Byzantium and the Islamic World, 1261–1557," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power, 1261–1557,* ed. Helen C. Evans (New York, 2004). The three-dot pattern on these coins is attributed to the Mongol-Ilkhanid standards of the time, while the bow is identified as a Turco-Mongol symbol of sovereignty. Redford also describes the mobility of the three-dot pattern in the Byzantine context. A study by Rudi Paul Lindner fleshes out the numismatic evidence around the transition of power. Among the coins he describes, some bearing Orhan's name are imitations of coins struck by the Seljuk sultan Alaeddin I a century earlier, and yet another group, struck before Bursa's fall, are imitations of Ilkhanid predecessors. At the time, the city was still in Byzantine hands, while the Ottomans were based in the immediate surroundings of the city walls; see Rudi Paul Lindner, *Explorations in Ottoman Prehistory* (Michigan, 2007), 95–97.
95. The inscription on the door indicated the date of construction as 740 (1339). Ousterhout, "Constantinople, Bithynia and Regional Developments," 85, identified the construction date as 735 (1334). For analyses of the inscription and the date, see Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinin İlk Devri,* 61–89; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, "Bursa'da Orhan Gazi Camii ve Osmanlı Mimarisinin Menşei Meselesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 6 (1965): 75; Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (New York, 1971), 34–35; Kuran, *İlk Devir Osmanlı Mimarisinde Camii*, in English transl., *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, 98–101. The dedicatory inscription has been studied by Robert Mantran, "Les inscriptions arabes de Brousse," *Bulletin d'études orientales de l'Institut français de Damas* 14 (1952–54): 90, and, more recently, by Colin Heywood, "The 1337 Bursa Inscription and Its Interpreters," *Turcica* 36 (2004): 215–30.
96. Scholars seem to disagree on the extent of the damage and how much of the present-day structure was rebuilt in 1417–18 and after the 1855 earthquake. For example, see Wilde, *Brussa,* 11–12; Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinin İlk Devri,* 62; and Sedat Çetintaş, *Türk Mimari Anıtları, Osmanlı Devri: Bursa'da İlk Eserler* (Istanbul, 1946), 18–19. For a recent view on the function and timeline, and the extent of the repairs, see Emir, *Erken Osmanlı Mimarlığında Çok İşlevli Yapılar,* 35 and 44, who claims, on the basis of textual evidence and structural analysis, that the edifice was built to function as a convent and regained the status of a mosque in the second half of the sixteenth century, when a minaret was added.
97. See n. 29 above. Although the origins of this plan have been traced to Anatolian Seljuk domed cruciform madrasas, I must add here that no such prototype exists with quite the same arrangement. Emir, *Erken Osmanlı Mimarlığında Çok İşlevli Yapılar,* 3–5 and 13, analyzes earlier approaches, such as that of Eyice, arguing that the initial plan came from Ilkhanid/Mongol planning principles, rather than from those of the Central Asian Turks. Emir describes the plan as having come from the Mongols, but he does not establish any links supporting this connection. Although he makes a compelling case for continuity in the treatment of building divisions in central Anatolia—namely between central and northwest Anatolia—the formal relationship between the types emerging in both regions remains uncertain. Ousterhout, however, following the historical details outlined by Lindner, suggests that the design of this plan may have been created by a Muslim master who came from inner Anatolia in the 1320s and 1330s along with other immigrants, including schoolmasters and elites fleeing the disorder of Mongol rule: see Ousterhout, "Constantinople, Bithynia, and Regional Developments," 78; Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans,* 6–7.
98. Tunay claimed that the key to distinguishing fourteenth-century Byzantine buildings from their Ottoman counterparts is to analyze the form of the windows and openings, which were round in the former and had pointed arches in the latter: see Tunay, "Masonry of the Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Periods," 76–79. For a penetrating reply to Tunay's statements, see Robert Ousterhout, "The Byzantine Heart," *Zograf* 17 (1986): 36–44. Ousterhout developed this theory further in *Master Builders of Byzantium,* chap. 6, esp. p. 200.
99. To name a few examples: the mosques of Alaeddin, Orhan Gazi, and Murad I in Bursa; the Hacı Özbek mosque and the Nilüfer Hatun imaret (hospice) in Iznik; the Mehmed Dede zawiya (hostel) in Yenişehir; and the Orhan Gazi imaret in Bilecik.
100. Ćurčić, "Architecture in the Age of Insecurity," 49. Although at first glance the use of the Byzantine round arch at the mosque of Orhan Gazi seems to be overshadowed by the slightly pointed arch, in some of the wall planes of the same period, such as those mentioned in n. 98 above, the Byzantine round arch form overpowers the other types of arches.
101. Ibid.
102. In the late Romanesque and early Gothic periods, both types of arches existed side by side, such as in Notre Dame la Grande at Poitiers and St. Denis. These may reflect eclectic uses of architectural forms from different cultures: see Marvin Trachtenberg, "Gothic/Italian 'Gothic': Toward a Redefinition," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 50 (1991): 22–37.
103. The juxtaposition of different types of arches was common not only in the capital but also in other centers of production such as Greece and Serbia. For the church of Hagia Moni near Nauplion (1149, although it may actually

have been built in the thirteenth century under the Latins) and the chapel of the Virgin and refectory of St. John the Theologian on Patmos, see Anastasios K. Orlandos, *Hē architektonikē kai hai Vyzantinai toichographiai tēs Monēs tou Theologou Patmou* (Athens, 1970). In "The Impact of Frankish Architecture" (p. 258), Bouras has suggested the presence of two centers of production for the juxtaposed arches, one Byzantine, the other Islamic. The development of side-by-side arches was very much in evidence in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century architecture of the Ottoman Balkans—namely, in the fortification systems, such as the so-called Jezava Gate (1430–39) in Serbia and the westernmost tower of the Heptapyrgion in Thessaloniki, with round arches finished with a slightly pointed arrangement of cover tiles: See Ćurčić, "Architecture in the Age of Insecurity," 48–50. For its appearance in Islamic architecture, see K. A. C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1958), 55, 58–86, 101–104, 116, 131, 143, 157, and 195.

104. Baha Tanman, "Erken Dönem Osmanlı Mimarisinde Memlûk Etkileri," in Akın, *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı: Uluslarüstü Bir Miras*, 85, fig. 12.
105. Tanman, "Erken Dönem Osmanlı Mimarisinde Memlûk Etkileri," 82–90. In discussing "influence" from the East using a wide geographical spectrum (p. 85), Tanman strengthens his argument by citing Michael Meinecke, *Patterns of Stylistic Changes in Islamic Architecture: Local Traditions versus Migrating Artists,* Hagop Kevorkian Series on Near Eastern Art and Civilization (New York and London, 1996), 102.
106. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 79.
107. Ibid., 223–24; 227–28. As Necipoğlu mentions (p. 79), this is the case not only in Ottoman architecture but also in the architecture of other emirates, such as that of the Aydınids (Aydınoğulları) at the İsa Bey mosque near Selçuk. We know that the architect of this project was of Damascene origin.
108. Scott Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque in Konya Reconsidered," *Artibus Asiae* 51, 1–2 (1991): 57–74, esp. 59 and 70. Several examples dating to the Seljuk period are attributed to Syrian builders, such as the castles of Alanya, Antalya, and Sinop, the Sultan Han near Aksaray, and the Alaeddin mosque in Konya.
109. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 564.
110. Albert Gabriel, *Une capitale turque: Brousse, Bursa*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1958), 1:59; Ayverdi, *İstanbul Mi'mârîsinin İlk Devri,* 231–64.
111. Ćurčić notes similarities such as the banded wall construction technique. The banded voussoirs, the occasional use of brick patterning, and the large decorative tympana recall several Palaiologan churches. Ćurčić, "Architecture in the Byzantine Sphere," 66.
112. For a discussion of the Ohrid Hagia Sophia, see Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 417–28; also see Oktay Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi: Orhan Gaziden Başlayarak Sonuna kadar Padişahlara göre Gelişmesi* (Istanbul, 1986), 18.
113. R. Ivančević, "Two Thirteenth-Century Portals in Istria: Models of Traditional and Innovative Uses of Classical Art," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 2 (1996): 57–64.
114. Bratislav Pantelić, *The Architecture of Dečani and the Role of Archbishop Danilo II* (Wiesbaden, 2002), 4 and 26–29.
115. Halil İnalcık, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (henceforth *İA*) (Istanbul, 1988–), s.v. "Murad I."
116. As discussed by Nermin Şaman Doğan, "Bursa Murad Hüdavendigâr Camii ve Niğde Ak Medrese'nin Düşündürdükleri," in *Prof. Dr. Zafer Bayburtluoğlu'na Armağan—Sanat Yazıları*, ed. Mustafa Denktaş and Yıldıray Özbek (Kayseri, 2001), 211–20. It must be noted that the building in Niğde is constructed completely of stone masonry and functioned only as a madrasa and not as a mosque. In addition, although the building has two stories, the first floor lacks openings and the second has twin pointed openings carried on single colonnettes.
117. *Uṣūl,* 10; Wilde, *Brussa*, 12–13.
118. Ali Saim Ülgen, *Bursa Abideleri: Bursa Albümü* (Istanbul, 1950), 17; Albert Gabriel, "Bursa'da Murad I Camii ve Osmanlı Mimarisinin Menşei Meselesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942): 3, 36.
119. Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinin İlk Devri*, 235.
120. Tanman, "Erken Dönem Osmanlı Mimarisinde Memlûk Etkileri," 85–88. Sedat Çetintaş, *Türk Mimari Anıtları, Osmanlı Devri: Bursa'da Murad I ve Bayezid I Binaları* (Istanbul, 1952), 28, attributes the structure to Turkish builders.
121. Ousterhout, "Review: In Pursuit of the Exotic," 113–18.
122. See Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and the Aesthetics of Fusion" (forthcoming). For Murad I's campaigns in the Balkans, and his alliance with the Genoese against the Venetians, see İnalcık, *İA*, s.v. "Murad I."
123. Eva Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," *Art History* 24, 1 (2001): 17–50; Jas Elsner, "Significant Details: Systems, Certainties, and the Art-Historian as Detective," *Antiquity* 64 (1990): 950–52; Dimitra Kotoula, "'Maniera Cypria' and Thirteenth-Century Icon Production on the Island of Cyprus: A Critical Approach," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 28 (2004): 89–100.
124. James R. Sackett, "Style and Ethnicity in Archaeology: The Case of Isochretism," in *The Uses of Style in Archaeology,* ed. Margaret W. Conkey and Christine A. Hastorf (Cambridge, 1990), 32–43.
125. As previously noted by Ousterhout, "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation," 55; Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, 140–45; and Ousterhout "The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past," 121.
126. The use of pseudo-*spolia* was common in Anatolian Seljuk architecture, with the Alaeddin Camii in Konya providing a good example of this phenomenon. I would like to thank Scott Redford, who shared his knowledge and thoughts on the pseudo-*spolia* in Seljuk architecture with me. Pseudo-*spolia* in the context of Crusader Jerusalem has been examined by Robert Ousterhout, "Architecture as Relic and the

Construction of Sanctity: The Stones of the Holy Sepulchre," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, 1 (2003): 4–23, esp. 21–23.

127. The building inscription offers 744 (1348) as the date of construction. This would imply the complete reuse of the south wall of the single-aisled Byzantine church and the complete reconstruction of new walls on the other three sides.
128. There are several takes on the building's uses and history. According to Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinin İlk Devri*, 303–5, it was a typical Seljuk iwan tomb, with a clearly defined square interior, topped by a conical roof. As to the construction, Ayverdi regarded it as "Byzantinizing" in style, and this seems to be the commonly held opinion. For a recent analysis, see Ousterhout, "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation," 53–55.
129. For comments on the misuse of the terms "survival" and "continuity," see Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (London, 2000), 27 and 308–311, and Wolper, "Khidr, Elwan Çelebi, and the Conversion of Sacred Sanctuaries," 309–22.
130. Finbarr B. Flood, "The Medieval Trophy as an Art Historical Trope: Coptic and Byzantine 'Altars' in Islamic Contexts," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 41–72, esp. 41. Flood also notes that reused architectural material in Islamic contexts has been systematically examined. For two works that contain a detailed analysis of *spolia* in the Islamic context, see Redford, "Seljuqs of Rum," 148–156, and Godfrey Goodwin, "The Reuse of Marble in the Eastern Mediterranean in Medieval Times," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1977): 17–30.
131. Ousterhout, "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation," 57. For a general introduction to the building, see Goodwin, *History of Ottoman Architecture,* 16–19, who also notes that the second phase was built after the Orhan Gazi mosque in Bursa, though its plan is older.
132. In Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinin İlk Devri*, 15; ʿĀşıkpaşazāde, *Die altosmanische Chronik des Āšıkpašazāde*, ed. Friedrich Giese (Osnabrück, 1972), 21; Neşrī, *Kitâb-ı Cihan-Nümâ*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1949–57), 1: 215.
133. Considering the dates when other Bithynian towns and cities fell—Prousa in 1326, Nicaea in 1331—and keeping in mind that Trigleia was an unfortified site open to both sea and land attacks, one may assume that it did not remain under Byzantine control for long. Nonetheless, records suggest that the Christian community remained vital—note the conversion of the Hagia Stephanos (the present-day Fatih Camii) into a mosque in 1560–61 (968)—whether under Ottoman rule or not. For a discussion of the demographic evidence and thriving Christian architectural and artistic efforts postdating the Ottoman conquest in Trigleia, see Çağaptay, "Church of the Panagia Pantobasilissa" (forthcoming).
134. For the proliferation of monasteries on holy mountains in the ninth century, see Klaus Belke, "Heilige Berge Bithyniens," in *Heilige Berge und Wüsten: Byzanz und sein Umfeld*, ed. Peter Soustal (Vienna, 2009), 1–14. Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko attributed the Pantobasilissa to the "Greek school"—and in particular to Mistra in Greece. They explain the connection in terms of the lengthening of the nave, the presence of six columns instead of four, and the interpenetration of the nave and sanctuary areas: Cyril Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), 178–80. Also see Vincenzo Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture (582–867): Its History and Structural Elements* (Rome, 1991), 139–41; Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, 17 and 29–30, claims that the association of this type with monastic purposes fails to explain the wide diffusion of the building type and its use for a variety of other purposes, including as palace churches and burial chapels. In Çağaptay, "Church of the Panagia Pantobasilissa" (forthcoming), I have proposed that the lengthening of the nave may have been intended to provide more space for tombs and burials.
135. For discussions on courtly chivalric ethos, cultural overlays, and conversions in Anatolia, see Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*; Redford, "Byzantium and the Islamic World"; for intermarriages, see Anthony Bryer, "Greek Historians on the Turks: The Case of the First Byzantine-Ottoman Marriage," in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford, 1981), 471–93.
136. Books by Goodwin, *History of Ottoman Architecture;* Çetintaş, *Türk Mimari Anıtları*; Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinin İlk Devri*; and Gabriel, *Une capitale turque,* respectively.
137. Necipoğlu, "Anatolia and the Ottoman Legacy," 153. It must be noted that the change in "identity" reflects growing "sultanic" ambitions under Bayezid I, who adopted ashlar stone masonry—a sign of high-status construction in Anatolian Seljuq architecture and in Syria–Palestine.
138. For a detailed analysis of this period, see Dimitris J. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–1413* (Leiden, 2007), introduction and chap. 1.
139. For the revival of Bursa-type mosques and an emerging fascination with early Ottoman architecture at the time the *Uṣūl* was written, see Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins," esp. 125, 127, 132, and 133; Ahmet Ersoy, "Ottoman Modernization and the Politics of Cultural Representation in the Nineteenth Century" (in Greek, trans. Elektra Kostopoulou), in *Istorika, Supplement to Elefterotypia* (Athens) 286 (May 19, 2005); and Ahmet Ersoy, "The Idea of Revival in Late Ottoman Architectural Discourse," in *Rethinking and Reconstructing Modern Asian Architecture: Proceedings of the Fifth International mAAN (Modern Asian Architecture Network) Conference* (Istanbul, 2005), 29–31. Derivative techniques have thrived in Turkish capital cities in more recent centuries, in both religious

and nonreligious buildings in Edirne and in nonreligious buildings in Istanbul. The masonry style had been out of fashion for several centuries when it reemerged as a favorite in Istanbul's nonreligious buildings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: see Zeynep Ahunbay, "Decorative Coatings on Some Eighteenth-Century Buildings in Istanbul," in *Afife Batur'a Armağan Mimarlık ve Sanat Tarihi Yazıları*, ed. Aygül Ağır et al. (Istanbul, 2005), 205–11.

140. Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins," 129.

141. For an analysis of Taut's projects and his writings, see Gian Domenico Salotti and Manfredo A. Manfredini, eds., *Bruno Taut, der Weltbaumeister: L'interno e la rappresentazione nelle ricerche verso un'architettura di vetro* (Milan, 1998). For his works in Turkey, see the exhibition catalogue *Atatürk için Düşünmek: İki Eser—Katafalk ve Anıtkabir ve İki Mimar—Bruno Taut ve Emin Onat*, 2nd ed. (Istanbul, 1998), which also appeared in English (*Thinking for Atatürk: Two Works: The Catafalque and Anıtkabir: Two Architects, Bruno Taut and Emin Onat*) and German (*Für Atatürk gedacht: Zwei werke: Katafalk und Anıtkabir: Zwei Architekten, Bruno Taut und Emin Onat*).

142. As noted by Bozdoğan, "Nationalist Historiography," 217 and nn. 52 and 53, the style was received ambivalently by historians of the era. Critics described "a historicist style" imitating the old mosque and madrasa construction for a modern building that "[evoked] the soul of the old in a new body."

143. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York, 1994), 37. Bhabha illuminates the ways in which the concept of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing and unifying force was kept alive in the national tradition.