

The Aesthetics of Ottoman Architecture in the Twenty-First Century

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Is modern aesthetics or art (and architectural) criticism linked to current politics? Philosophically, the answer seems to be 'yes', in that the efficacy of philosophy is to find and refine correspondences between all experiences with the terms of the unitary character of experience. However, the practice of much art criticism and scholarship is dependent on the scientific programme of reduction and the claim of objectivity to mention but two, where any such link to politics is implicitly denied, at least in conformity with Anglophone liberalism. But architecture is the most political of arts, usually commissioned by the powerful, and critics are well equipped with an ulterior agenda – the example of the historian Nicolas Pevsner in the U. K. as a prophet of modernism is well known. The unselfconscious criticisms of someone like Pevsner can be compared to the warning of Hans-Georg Gadamer regarding the role of prejudice as a constituent part of the hermeneutical process. This means that while attending to these ineluctable prejudices, we must also embrace a wider perspective in considering the role of art in context, especially its social context, where of course the political is the most easily tangible, either historically or in contemporary terms.

This is indeed a double task, as to determine the aesthetics of, for instance, Ottoman architecture means considerations of 'then' and 'now', i.e. what did it mean then and today, as Ottoman building as long been recognised as an important part of world architecture. Both tasks are demonstrations of what should be the relevance of the discipline of art scholarship today, but absent from the prevalent tenor of the contemporary appreciation of Ottoman architecture and Islamic art with some egregious exceptions.

ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE: DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS

The first question to be approached in the search for an aesthetics of Ottoman architecture is, what is Islamic architecture, and is Ottoman architecture to be considered Islamic? The answers to these questions are central to our quest, and the ostensible answer to both at this stage is, 'yes'. In the time-worn formula, Islamic art is that produced by Muslims for Muslims, and Ottoman architecture clearly fills that simple criterion. Beyond that, we are faced with a number of qualifications and possibilities that are the substance of this enquiry. The main reason for this is that almost all the criteria for Islamic art, as Prof. Oleg Grabar has pointed out, have been framed by Western, non-Muslim commentators and scholars, in which cracks appeared in the 1970s and 80s, especially on the unitary character of the phenomenon over time and space of an Islam which was not politically united, nor did the original Arabic hegemony pertain.⁽¹⁾ Instead, these scholars 'sought to create a genuine "history" based on the national models of 19th-century Europe.' Despite the evidence of disunity on the ground 100 years ago (colonial control and weak Ottoman power outside of Persia), 'it was

useful and natural, if not always necessary, to emphasize the worldwide character of a mode of life, and therefore, of an art, because to simplify it means to control it. It is not surprising that in the 1920s both the Archaeological Survey of India and the French mandatory powers of Morocco sponsoring studies in geometry of the arts as typical of Muslim culture, for such studies substituted a set of abstract and generalized formulae for the complexities of local experience.' Grabar points out that the first scholars in the field were Semiticists and therefore dealt only with the early centuries of Islam, when a 'universal' caliphate was viable, but which also led to the demand for a national identity for Islamic art in contrast to studies of the arts in continental Europe. 'The general and universal idea of an all-encompassing Islamic ideology satisfied the need of colonial rule, and ironically it was picked up by revivalist religious establishments in the late 20th-century.' Grabar declares that up until the 13th-century one can support 'the notion of universal values across time and space' but after that, it 'hardly seems to explain the Alhambra [. . .] and the Taj Mahal [. . .], Iznik ceramics [. . .] and Iranian book illustration [. . .].'⁽²⁾ Grabar has wittingly and adroitly exposed the prejudice-laden presumptions of Islamic art scholarship as well as pinpointing the problem for later 'Islamic' art, i.e. the need to establish what ideology motivated the different ethnical regions of later 'Islamic' art, for us – Ottoman architecture.

However we are still left with the task of defining what might be these 'universal values across time and space' that is shared by Islamic art, at least in terms of architecture. Without indulging in an overall survey of all the positions in the literature, I will adduce three values or formulae that appear to fulfil the criteria of relevance and distinctiveness over a range of production and deep attitudes that are essential to both the art and religion of Islam. These three are; the spiritual dimension, the veiled world, and baldacchino form, and should be considered as parts of the *theory of cosmic mimesis* common to all traditional art, celebrated by many commentators (Eliade, Gadamer).

Spiritual Abstraction

The first of these tends towards the mystical and religious, which is of course an undeniable reality of any transcendent religion; I refer here to **spiritual abstraction in Islamic art**. While the expression, 'God, being beautiful, loves the beauty',⁽³⁾ was used in early Islam, it seems that the ascetic and submissive tendencies of the faith found early support in the tenets of Platonism. Artists are not creators but only reflect the ideal beauty of creation,⁽⁴⁾ to which may be added the belief that artistic production is a dangerous emulation of Divine power, and is certainly not permitted for living creatures. The force of tradition and emulation of acceptable models was thereby strengthened. Thus Islamic art is quite distinct from Christian art, 'where diversity rather than uniformity was the characteristic.'⁽⁵⁾ This diversity in Western art

led to ethnic expression and eventually the emancipated artist of modernity, but it is well to remember at this point that there are numerous connections down history between the Islamic world and the Christian, not to mention certain common iconographical and thematic issues shared because of religious and metaphysical commonplaces, some of which we will comment on below.

A Muslim philosopher writes: 'The substance of art is beauty; and this, in Islamic terms, is a divine quality and as such has a double aspect: in the world, it is appearances; it is the garb which, as it were, clothes beautiful buildings and beautiful things; in God, however, or in itself, it is pure inward beatitude; it is the divine quality which among all the divine qualities manifested in the world, most directly recalls pure Being.' This abstracted appearance, he continues, has been frequently misinterpreted by modern artists:

Those who became interested in Islamic art for its so-called 'abstract' nature often did so for the wrong reasons. They thought that Islamic art is abstract in the same sense as modern art, whereas the two stand at opposite poles. The result of the one form of abstraction is the glass skyscraper in most modern cities, and the other is the Shah Mosque and the Taj Mahal. The one seeks to . . . condense forms of nineteenth century European art by appealing to a mathematical abstraction of a purely human and rationalistic order. The other sees in it archetypes residing in the spiritual empyrean, the concrete realities of which the so-called realities of the world are nothing but shadows of abstraction.'(6)

In these words of Seyyed Hossein Nasr, we confront two different cosmologies, the complex double or even triple worlds of the ancients, shared with Christians until the eighteenth century, to be compared with our confusing infinite world, only resolved in some kind of pantheism – a commonplace of post-Romantic ideology.

To exemplify this process of abstraction, the concept of 'measured writing' can be seen as the implementation of calligraphy with the 'didactic purpose of guiding people towards salvation through a stage-by-stage mastery of religious and philosophical concepts.'(7) The most meaningful application of measure was continuous proportion, or the relationship between mean and extreme ratio, later described the Golden Number ratio.(8) There are a number of geometrical procedures available to secure this goal, and continuous proportion was the pinnacle of Euclidean mathematics, and therefore treasured by the most adept and courtly of intellectual and courtly circles, sources of patronage and direct overseeing of important works.(9)

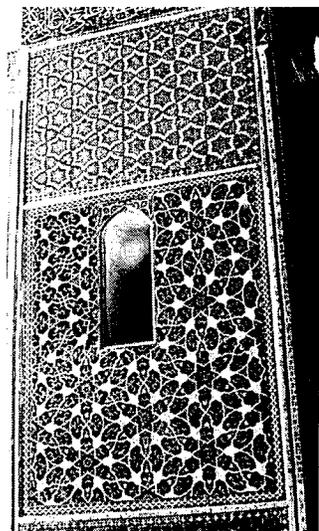


Fig. 1. Carpets rendered in mosaic faience, Yazd Grand Mosque, fourteenth-fifteenth century (Courtesy Liza Gombolek)

Draped World

The second quality of Islamic art is recognised in the 'draped world of Islam', as proposed by Lisa Golombek.(10) Most probably stemming from the *kiswah* that is still annually renewed to cover the Holy Ka'aba in Mecca,(11) as well as the opulent draperies, carpets, silks and canopies that were produced by the Sassanid and Byzantine lands inherited by the conquering Arabs, this predilection for rendering the surface as a field of decoration whatever its situation, is of course especially remarkable in architecture.(Fig. 1) This tendency, reinforced by nomadic transformation of encampments as much as urban decoration using all sorts of textiles, was abetted by the full deployment of incrustation and revetment techniques directly borrowing from carpets,(Fig. 2) not to mention the exercise of arabesque, calligraphic and geometrical patterns as well as organic, to give perhaps the most distinctive and even unique quality to medieval Islamic art and architecture. This singularity can be seen in the innovative use of such a precedent in the architectural theory of Gottfried Semper and its practice by Otto Wagner and other members of the *Sezession* before the First World War. The draped effect of Islamic art is alien in style to that of the Graeco-Roman world(12) and is completely antithetical to the architectonic characteristics of post-Baroque interior and exterior decoration in the West. It is symptomatic of modern pluralism that 'truth to material' and the 'veiled wall' can arise together in modern architecture, though of course the later has lost out, and is now the subject of arcane reflection of secondary interest or a means to shock or provoke in today's practice.(Fig. 3)

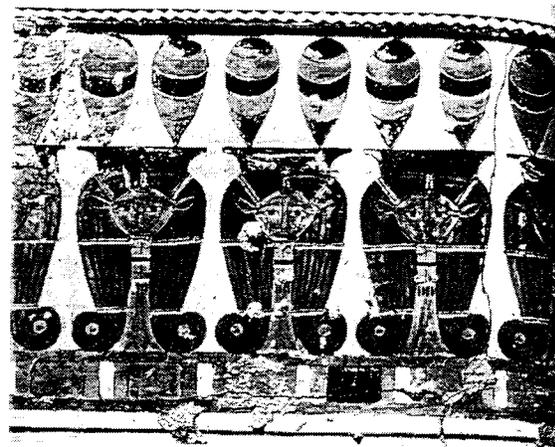


Fig. 2. Stone flooring featuring tasselled carpet, Nineveh, seven century B. C. (Courtesy British Museum).

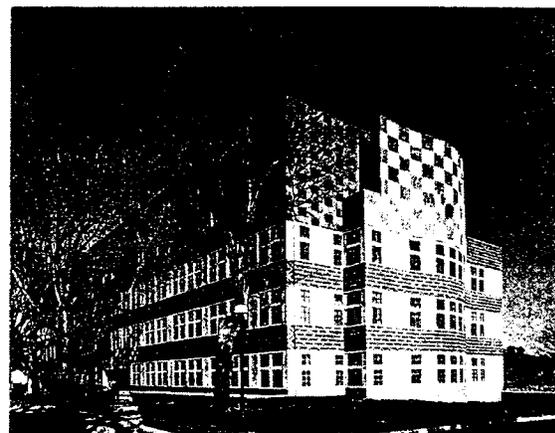


Fig. 3. Molecular Biology Laboratory, University of Princeton, Venturi/Scott Brown architects (Photo Matt Wargo).

Baldacchino Form

The third element of Islamic art is what I choose to call **baldacchino form** (sometimes 'baldachin' in the literature). Indeed it may be realised that this proposition can be seen as the synthesis of the former two set out above. It is a commonplace to refer to the ubiquity of domes in Islamic art but rarely is their meaning ever explained. However it is also clear that the dome or better its ulterior meaning as the 'dome of heaven' is a universal symbol in architecture and all kinds of ritual art, such as royal parasols and imperial insignia, from China to Central Asia to Syria, (13) where experiments with timber domes gave way to brick and concrete experiments of the Sassanids and the Romans. (14) The term 'baldacchino' is quite fitting for its architectural rendition, since any dome needs support (the four pillars of the world) and a foursquare layout conforms to the cardinal points and the corners of the earth. The term is Spanish (*baldaquin*) and Italian (*baldacchino*) for Damascus and referred to a type of damask used presumably for ciboria and sacred canopies, thus referring in its exotic origin to the draped world of Islam. Baldacchino form is explicit in the development of Christian art, where the dome, constrained to mark *martyria* and baptisteries, is imposed on the linear basilican plan of the church/assembly building. Both Christianity and Islam are alike in having no Divinely prescribed form of building for worship, so the complex development of domical form is a consequence of this ritual omission. Haghia Sophia, built by Justinian in Constantinople, was the terminus of liturgical experiments on a large scale not to be repeated in Byzantine art; so it was the Ottomans who took up the challenge in bringing this famous paradigm to a glorious affirmation of space and form, but in the non-hierarchical space of the mosque rather than the focused space of the Christian basilica. (Fig. 4)

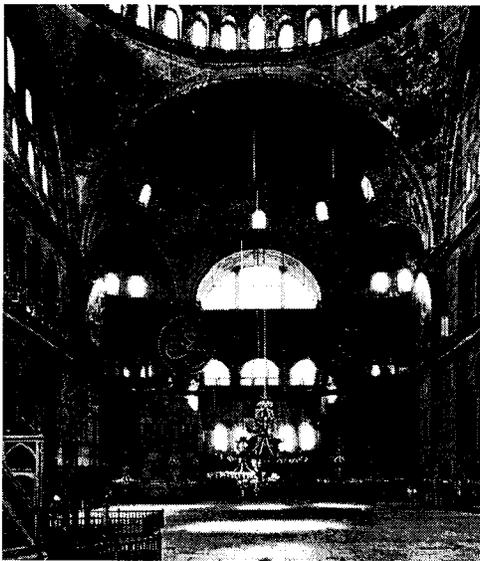


Fig. 4. Semi-domical deployment, Haghia Sophia, Istanbul. (Courtesy McGraw-Hill)

All this is in contrast to the very different developments of the Western medieval great church and the more centralised Renaissance and Baroque explorations in the West. Yet medieval Islam was able to exhibit a parallel diversity in the application of the dome to the far-flung hypostyle mosque and the development of transition zones (between dome and square-plan supporting form), the most distinctive being the use of *muqarnas* and Turkish triangles. The continuation of the *iwan* or *aiwan* from older civilisations stimulated new interpretations of many building types and again lends a distinctive character to Islamic architecture, (15) but since the *iwan* was not indigenous to the new lands conquered by the Ottomans, i. e. Western Anatolia and Europe, it tended to disappear in Ottoman architecture. The influence of the

Aegean and Byzantine civilisation, and the classical (Graeco-Roman) as well, gradually came to the fore in lands where there were no local Islamic traditions. (16)

THE CONSTITUTION OF OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE

Seljuq architecture in Asia Minor was vigorous and very exploratory, ranging over several permutations of the canon of forms allied to specific types, even to the appearance of the 'basilical' mosque. (17) This may attest to the conundrum of the Turkish conquest of Anatolia, where the small number of Turks exercised their power by the rapid and successful assimilation with the local inhabitants. This did not prevent them at the same time of advancing the cause of Islam and laying the cultural foundations of the modern Turkish state. Eventually the Ottoman sultanate overcame the Seljuqs, and adapted their administration in line with Byzantine models, through marriage to Christian princesses who brought along their own courtiers. (18) These dynastic and administrative innovations can be taken as a foretaste of the developments in architecture that were to follow on the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

Two Personalities

These developments can be personified in the personalities of two men, one a ruler, the other an architect. Known to the West as *El Gran Turco*, the Sultan Mehmet Fathi, the Conqueror of Istanbul, tried to emancipate his court style from direct Turkish mythology, and if such policies were not ostensibly maintained by his successors, his forceful presence must have had some exemplary impact. (19) The architect was the Great Architect (*Koca Mi'mar*), Sinan, 'whom the example Turks laud as their great genius and the Greeks claim as a compatriot' (20) (he was most probably recruited into Imperial service from a Christian community and his family came from the Karaman region). The multicultural aspect of his origins, not at all unusual in an Empire that sought to exploit the talents of the diverse peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia, brought to term, as it were, certain traits that already existed in the Muslim art of Anatolia, which seemed to partake of a *universal character* or an *international style*. According to Goodwin, the fortifications of Rumeli Hisar (Fig. 5)

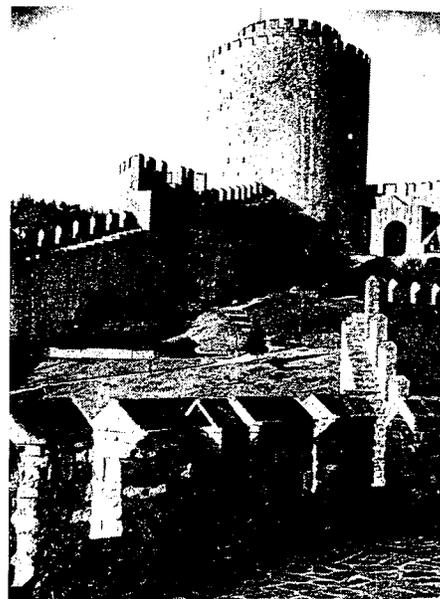


Fig. 5. Rumeli Hisar, the Karaküle or Black Tower, example of international style of fortification built by the Ottomans, 1452. (Courtesy Geoffrey Goodwin)

'owes much to the experience gained from the great Armenian and Syrian fortifications such as castles at Pertek and Bakras, the walls of Diyarbakir with its Ulu Badein, and the Kraks of the Crusaders, which had themselves derived from a Christian study of Islamic defences as well as Roman. Rumeli Hisar . . . belongs rather to the international style which had spread all over the Near East and Europe. Detached from its setting, it would be hard to find many of its details which were not universal, apart from decorative details.'(my emphasis)(21)

So, there was already established within Ottoman civilisation manifestations of an international or universal architecture that shares with the early Renaissance that claim an autonomy and rationality that we have come to know so well. Without a laborious examination of the buildings of Sinan (there is an ever-growing literature in English), their distinction relies in great measure on certain qualities not found in Muslim architecture but already hinted at above, while his works remain undeniably Islamic in function and general conformity to decorative norms. However in Sinan's art, the architectonic assertiveness of exteriors, the emphatic celebration of the central dome, especially in the Mihrimah mosque in Istanbul, the use of the giant order symbolic of another civilisation, extend the vocabulary of Ottoman architecture in a most subtle yet unmistakable way (Fig. 6). Sinan opened the door for looser or more daring developments which was later overcome by direct importation of more dramatic decorative forms, giving rise to the so-called Baroque phase of Ottoman art (Fig. 7), which has found few defenders.

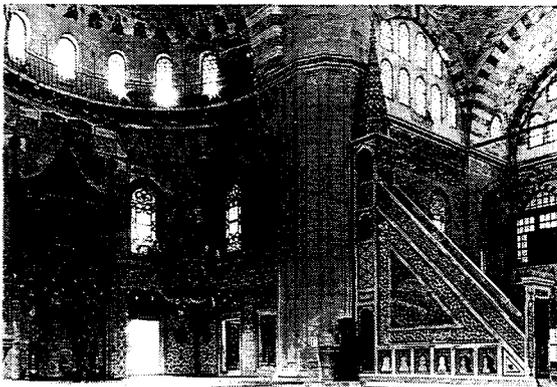


Fig. 6 Interior of Selimiye Camii by Sinan, Edirne, showing classical and Islamic décor, 1569-75. Note giant panels or pilasters to the pier, and tympanum over mihrab. (Courtesy Geoffrey Goodwin)

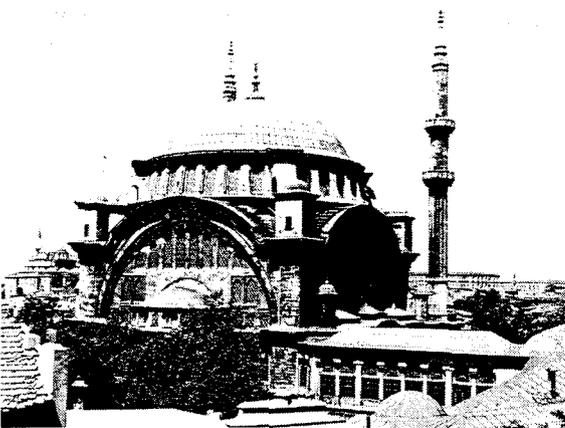


Fig. 7. Nuruosmaniye Camii, Istanbul, 1755: 'epitome of the baroque'. (Courtesy Geoffrey Goodwin).

Architectural Triumph

From Sinan onwards, it is this alterity in later Islamic art that Grabar has already identified in general terms, which questions the alleged unity of Islamic architecture after the 14th century, as we have seen above. Further considerations need to be established, such as some analogies with the Renaissance in Italy – the rise of an architectural profession (the Ottoman bureaucracy and military organisation was more 'advanced' than anything in the West at the time), the humanist setting of both Renaissance and Ottoman visual art, for the later well exemplified by the poetry and other purely literary material incorporated in the *Risale-i Mi'mariyye*, (22) and other factors, still awaiting synthesis today. The most recent assessment of Ottoman achievement is, in the words of Prof. Hillenbrand, asserts that 'these highly articulated exteriors are a triumphal reversal of the standard Islamic preference of mosque architecture at the expense of the exterior'. (23) He rightly celebrates the Ottoman triumph over the Byzantine failure of devising an appropriate 'exterior profile worthy of the splendours within,' which 'can be read along the Istanbul skyline to this day'. (24)

CONCLUSION

The 'secret' of great art lies in its power of reconciliation between the higher, transcendent realities and the concrete givens of mundane existence. This reconciliation can always be achieved first through narrative that supports architectural action and intervention. For Ottoman art such a narrative was firmly located in the dogmatics and practice of the faith, personified in the figure of the Padishah and the Caliph, legitimised by constant victories and military organisation. Once such external supports such as military success began to falter after the seventeenth century, the sustaining narrative of its civilisation began to falter too. This has led to perhaps the most amazing ideological changeover conducted without coercion, of the Turkish people from Asiatics to Europeans. 'They [the Turks] seem to me the most interesting, because they alone, in our time, have made an all-out effort to transfer from one civilisation to another. They were Asiatics; they are Europeans. . . they want to be integrally once and for all, part of Europe. . . There is no obvious reason why this should not be so.' (25) The connection between art and politics comes full circle. The multicultural character of the Ottoman Empire has resulted in a staggering transformation in the past 100 years, but there are still lessons to be learned.

In my own definition from the standpoint of philosophical hermeneutics, architecture provides the setting for almost every other activity but is not an autonomous art such as painting or sculpture, because of its dependence on spatial situations – centre, boundary, above, below – and cultural conditions necessary for the identification of *place* – usually the ethnical background that is quite specific and particular. The attention given to early Islam – a perfect target for linguistic and artistic historicism due to the weakness of crucial evidence is a challenge that we can put behind us, and turn to the understanding of architecture in the rich context of Ottoman power, which enjoyed a particular multicultural ambience that is rarely found today. Such an understanding should overcome the tedium of much of the survey work that may necessarily dominate the current historiography of Turkish architecture, and in turn, reinvigorate the self-image and identity of modern Turkish architects in the fruitless struggle between faith and secularism, and the resolution of similar conflicts faced by architects all over the world today, where a new multiculturalism is struggling to emerge.

As an example of the sensitive treatment of such complex issues, Prof. Grabar explores a paradox, with an implicit contrast to Western art:

The [Islamic] artist was regarded not as a prophet or a genius but as a technically equipped individual who succeeds in beautifying the surroundings of all men. It is in this manner that one can perhaps best define the Muslim artistic tradition: it avoided the conscious search for a unique masterpiece, and it did not build monuments for the eternal glory of God. It sought instead to please man and to make every moment of his life as attractive and enjoyable as possible. There is a hedonistic element in Islamic art, therefore, but this hedonism is intellectually and emotionally mitigated by the conscious knowledge of the perishable character of all things human. In this fashion, Islamic art seen as a whole is a curious paradox, for as it softened and embellished life's activities, it was created with destructible materials, thereby reiterating Islam's conviction that only God remains.(26)

Only through a realisation of cultural achievement in its relevant political and social context and fullest meaning, e. g. Ottoman departures from 'Islamic architecture' as sketched above, can we face the challenges of the future, a strategy that should replace the misplaced faith in technology that has devalued and even manipulated the social world, and can rarely solve the great problems that beset us today – ecological, intellectual, and metaphysical. Such a strategy lies in the provision of and participation in a narrative that takes account of time. Time destroys everything and makes everything, but as Aristotle discovered so long ago in his poetics, it is the integrating power of narrative among the other arts - the encompassing power of *mythos* that we must find or renew in the dilemmas that confront us all.

As the first step on this road, let us recognize the difficulties of contemporary architectural pedagogy already referred to above. There has been a failure to transmit the findings of modern art scholarship, some of which have been laid out here, to the general academic community in architecture. We are legatees of neoclassicism in our reduction of symbolic meaning in favour of structural architectonics. Equally as legatees of Romanticism we tend to erect barriers whereby 'every civilisation was seen as having had its distinctive architecture, creating the need for a word that could designate this phenomenon.' In this regard the term 'Islamic' has validity as characterised here, but since the 'draped world' is not characteristic of later Ottoman architecture, Turkish architecture has lost a distinctive feature. The crystalline and prismatic forms of Ottoman architectural sculpture declare a more classical allegiance, never found before in Islamic art. Hence in the context of a fresh narrative a new architecture may emerge in our own time in Turkey, the demands of which only now we can recognise, and then supply.

NOTES

¹Oleg Grabar, 'Islamic art: Definition: Objections', *The Dictionary of Art* (New York and London: Grove, 1996), Vol. 15, (99-102), 101.

²*Ibid.*

³Ascribed to Aristotle by the Greeks and to H'frn (Chairemon?) by the Arabs, Franz Rosenthal, 'Art and Aesthetics in Graeco-Arab Literature,' *Four Essays on Art and Literature in Islam* (Leiden, Brill, 1971), (1-19), 11.

⁴Priscilla Soucek, 'Islamic Aesthetics, Visual Experience in Islamic Culture', *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, Michael Kelly, Editor in Chief (New York, Oxford: 1998), Vol. 2, (538-541), 539.

⁵David T. Rice, *Islamic Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), p. 7. The most formal diversity arose in the 4 th. century with the experiments in the liturgy in different ethnic situations throughout the Roman empire.

⁶Titus Burckhardt, *Art and Islam; Language and Meaning*, with photographs by Roland Michaud, tr. by J. Peter Hobson, Foreword by Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Westerham, Kent: World of Islam Festival Publishing Company Ltd., 1976), xv.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸For the best overview of the mathematical tradition worldwide despite some omissions, see Roger Herz-Fischler, *A Mathematical History of the Golden Number*, (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications; 1998).

⁹See Prof. Alpay Ozdural's important study on applied continuous proportion, 'A Mathematical Sonata for Architecture: Omar Khayyam and the Friday Mosque of Isfahan', *Technology and Culture, the International Quarterly of the Society for the History of Technology*, 39, 4 (Oct. 1998).

¹⁰In 'The Draped World of Islam', *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World, Colloquium in memory of Richard Ettinghausen*, ed. Priscilla P. Soucek, (University Park, PA and London: 1988), 25-49.

¹¹Burckhardt, 3.

¹²Burckhardt, 4.

¹³The *parasol*, or umbrella, is generally a symbol of the vault of heaven, as in India and China; the domes of *stupas* are often surmounted by parasols (chaitras). In its symbolic and protective role the umbrella can be compared to the baldachin (canopy) in many of its forms. Whether it covers the altar, the statue or symbol of a deity, or even the imperial throne—as in Zoroastrian Iran during the Sasanian period (3rd-7th centuries) and Orthodox Byzantium (during the 4th-15th centuries) — the *baldachin's* celestial symbolic ornamentation is generally explicit, and its cosmic character is apparent.' 'Types of Sacred Settings for Ceremonial and Ritualistic Objects,' *Britannica CD Multimedia Edition 1994-1999*, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.

¹⁴The rationalist explanation that domes are efficient or alternative ways to span a space is hardly justifiable, as large arched vaults are difficult to build and to support laterally. The modern misunderstanding of domes can be traced back to the notorious criticism of the Neoclassicist Francesco Militizia, who condemned them for wasting space.

¹⁵For the social utilisation and meaning of Eastern Islamic space, see B. A. Kazimee and James McQuillan, 'Diurnal Rotation: The Living Tradition of Afghan Court and Aiwan', *Proceedings of the International Research Symposium, Architecture + Culture, Carleton University, Ottawa, September 23-27, 1992*, editors Tim Donais et al., (Ottawa: 1992), 198-206.

¹⁶M. Olus Arik, 'Turkish Architecture in Asia Minor in the Period of the Turkish Emirates', E. Akurgal, editor, *The Art and Architecture of Turkey*, (111-136), 135, 136.

¹⁷Arik, 116-117.

¹⁸A particularly important source of Christian influence during the 14th century came from the close marriage ties between the Ottoman and Christian courts. Orhan was married to the Byzantine princess Nilüfer, mother of Murad I. Murad married Byzantine and Bulgarian princesses, and Bayezid I married Despina, daughter of the Serbian prince Lazar. Each of these marriages brought Christian followers and advisers into the Ottoman court, and it was under their influence that Bayezid I abandoned the simple nomadic courts and practices of his predecessors and isolated himself behind elaborate court hierarchies and ceremonies borrowed primarily from the Byzantines, setting a pattern that was continued by his successors'. 'Ottoman institutions in the 14th and 15th centuries,' *Britannica CD 1994-1999*.

¹⁹See Julian Raby's unpublished doctoral thesis, *El Gran Turco: Mehmed the Conqueror as a Patron of the Arts of Christendom*, 2 Vols. (Oxford: British Thesis Service, 1980)

²⁰Rice, p. 186.

²¹Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971, repr. 1992), 104.

²²This is a treatise written by the architect of the Sultan Ahmed complex in Istanbul, Mehmet Aga or Ca'fer Efendi, see Howard Crane, *Risale-i Mi'mariyye, An Early Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Treatise on Architecture, Facsimile with Translation and Notes*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill; 1987).

²³Hillenbrand, p. 123.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵David Hotham, *The Turks*, London: John Murray, 1972, 1.

²⁶Oleg Grabar, 'Islamic Arts, Late Period, Evaluation', *Britannica CD Multimedia Edition 1994-1999*.

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