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PUBLIC MONUMENTS IN TURKEY AND EGYPT, 1840–1916

The most striking thing about monuments is how little they are noticed. Nothing in the world is as invisible as a monument. Although they are erected to be seen, to draw attention to themselves, some substance seems to render them attention-proof.

Robert Musil, "Essay on Monuments" (1927)

In 1840, one year after the proclamation of the Tanzimat, the Ottoman court historiographer Ahmed Lütfi, in recounting the events of the year just past, mentions the promulgation of an imperial rescript requiring the annual commemoration of Sultan Abdülmejid's (r. 1839–61) reforms with a *kandil* (a night feast with illumination); in addition, a "stone of justice" (*seng-i 'adâlet*) was to be erected in the palace gardens of Gülhane where these "beneficial reforms" had first been announced. Since this stone would be inaccessible to the majority of citizens, another "symbol of justice" (*nişân-i 'adâlet*) was to be erected in Bayezid Square on which the full text of the imperial rescript (*hatt-i şerif*) would be recorded, together with the *tuğra*, eulogies, and rhymed chronograms. About this project, which was never realized, Ahmed Lütfi remarks: "It is obvious that the erection of triumphal arches and other such symbols serves to perpetuate glory. In the unfounded opinion of the people, however, these practices are seen as European customs and give rise to idle talk. Nevertheless, even among us these practices are familiar."¹ As an example he cites the stela-shaped markers used in archery to mark the distance reached by the record holders (*nişân taşları*), inscribed with eulogies, odes (*kasâ'id*), and chronograms.²

Ahmed Lütfi does not mention who designed the "symbol of justice," but among the papers left behind by the prolific architect and painter Gaspare Fossati (1809–83), who worked over twenty years in Istanbul (1837–58), is a *Progetto per il monumento di Hatt-cheriff di Ghulhanè in 1840*, with the notation, "*non eseguito*"³ Fossati's design shows an obelisk on a pedestal (fig. 1), whose base is guarded by couchant lions serving as fountain-heads. The Ottoman character of this rather conventional *progetto* is restricted to a crescent and star crown-

ing the obelisk; the base was to be decorated with the text of the rescript and the *tuğra* of the ruling monarch.

Another Tanzimat memorial was the successful submission to the Paris Exposition of 1855 by the young Ottoman Armenian architect Artin Bilezikçi, a student of Félix Duban (1787–1870).⁴ In appearance it is a combination of a French constitutional column and a war and victory memorial (fig. 2). It was composed of a cylindrical base and a hexagonal upper part. Like Fossati's project, Bilezikçi's monument served primarily as a vehicle for inscriptions and was crowned by a crescent. The French journal *L'Illustration* recorded the intentions of the artist as follows:

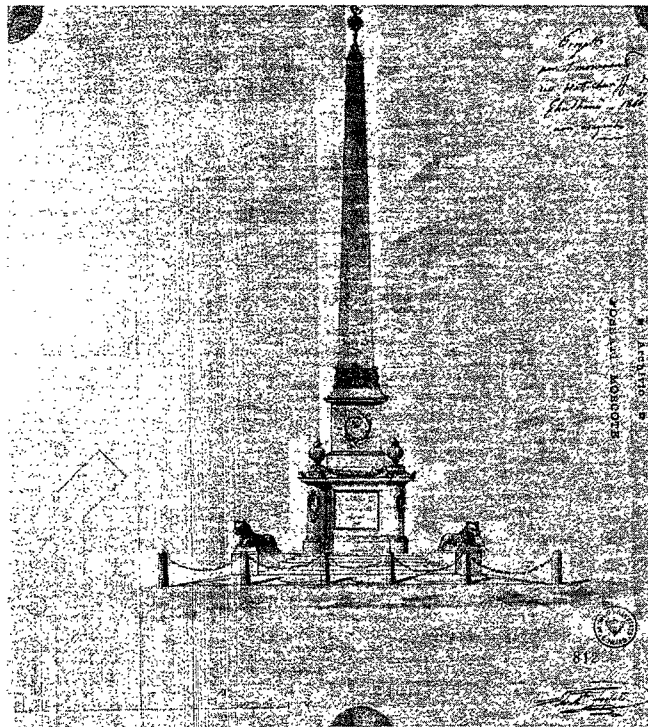


Fig. 1. Gaspare Fossati. Project for the Hatt-i Sherif monument in Istanbul, 1840. (Drawing: courtesy Archivio Fossati-Morcote, Switzerland)

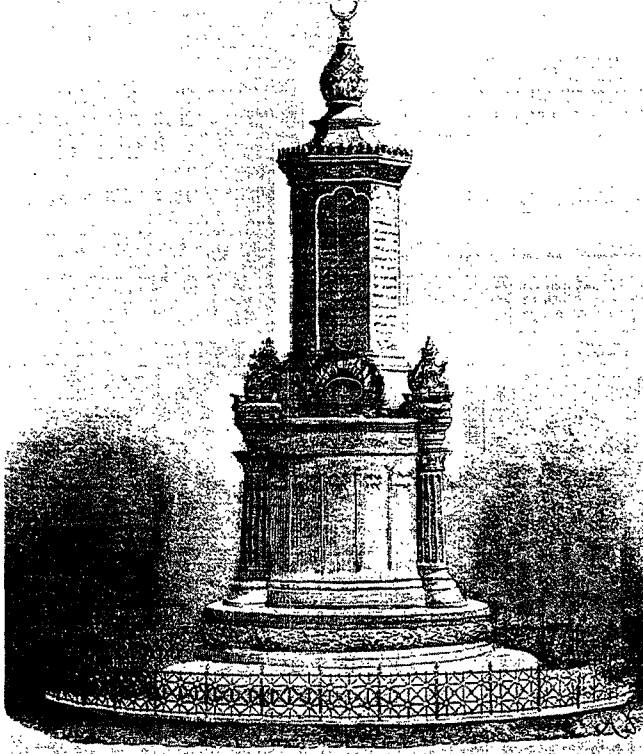


Fig. 2. Artin Bilezikçi. Project for a Tanzimat memorial. (Drawing: from *L'Illustration* 26, no. 654 [September 9, 1855] p. 176)

L'alliance de la France, de l'Angleterre et de la Turquie [during the Crimean War] ayant donné une nouvelle force à cet acte [of the Tanzimat], M. Bilezikdji a cru devoir consacrer l'heureuse influence résultant de l'union de ces trois puissances en laissant figurer sur son monument les emblèmes qui les distinguent, et en y inscrivant, avec les noms de batailles gagnées et des villes prises ou défendues, les noms des braves qui ont succombé dans la lutte soulevée pour assurer l'indépendance de la Turquie.⁵

The people of the Ottoman capital found both projects odd: the confirmation in the form of inscriptions of rights granted was not new to the Turkish Islamic world, but using an obelisk with its explicitly secular symbolism and mentioning Western allies ("auxiliaries" in Ottoman usage) was perhaps going too far. Although the Ottomans were inclined to glorify significant military events and court life in poetry and history and although they had a highly elaborated epigraphy, they did not leave behind many historical inscriptions. There seems to be only one "autonomous" war memorial, a stone inscription of an (unsuccessful) Ottoman campaign

against Poland under Osman II in 1621, found in Dimotika (Thrace) and brought to Istanbul.⁶ In, or shortly after, 1833 a monument commemorating the Russian-Turkish friendship treaty of Hünkâr İskelesi — a necessary rapprochement because Muhammad 'Ali's armies were threatening the southern provinces of the empire — was erected in the Bosphorus village of Beykoz on the Asiatic shore.⁷ On one side of it were inscribed distichs composed by the influential statesman and poet Pertev Pasha saying that the Russians had come as *misâfir* (guests) to the field of Beykoz;⁸ on the reverse was the Russian version of the same text. The slab, approximately 4 meters high, survived until the outbreak of the First World War, when it was destroyed by students of the nearby İttihâd-ı 'Osmanî school (fig. 3).

Figural outdoor sculpture did not exist in the last Ottoman century. Mahmud II (1808–39) did, however, send his portrait to other rulers and to provincial ad-

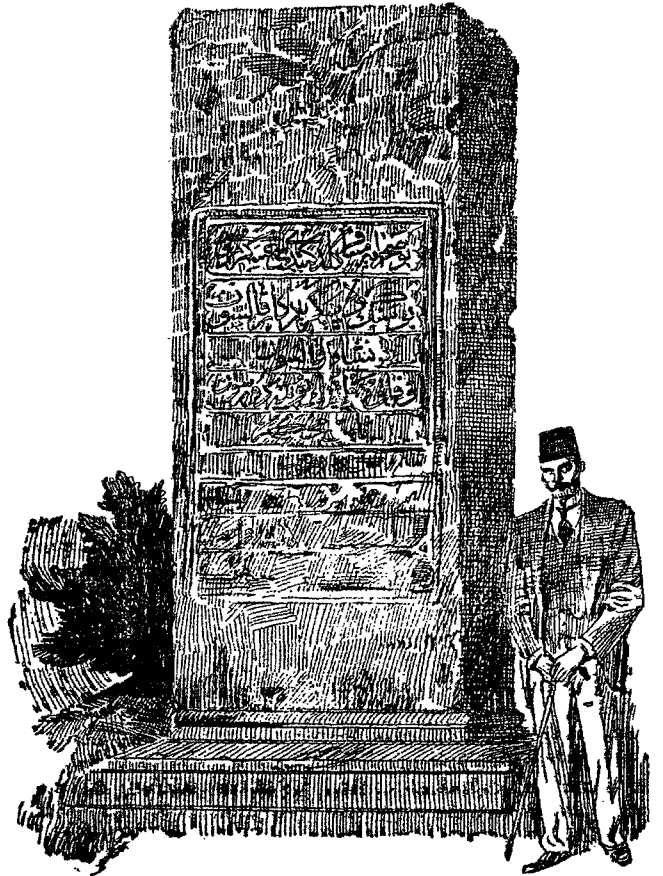


Fig. 3. Monument celebrating Russo-Turkish friendship. Beykoz/Istanbul 1833(?). (Drawing: from Halûk Y. Şehsuvaroğlu, *Asırlar boyunca İstanbul. Saraylar, camileri, abideleri, çeşmeleri* [Istanbul 1953], p. 63)

ministrators and soldiers. Ill feeling at the ceremonial presentations of these imperial portraits, especially in the Arab provinces, was avoided by omitting religious formulas.⁹ His son Abdülaziz (b. 25 April 1825, r. 1839–61) was the only Ottoman ruler who commissioned or consented to the commissioning of sculpture. When the sultan traveled to European capitals in 1867 he was confronted with a large number of public monuments and sculptures in museums (fig. 4),¹⁰ although “statue mania” as an obsessive form of *horror vacui* did not attack Paris, London, and Vienna until somewhat later (mainly in the decades between 1880 and 1910).¹¹ At the end of the Second Empire, Paris had no more than nine statues, of which Abdülaziz must have seen at least a few, including the equestrian statues of Henri IV, Louis XIII, and Louis XIV.¹² In addition, one of the highlights of the exposition itself had been a colossal statue of Charlemagne on horseback, the creation of Louis and Charles Robert, seeking to repeat the success they had had in 1851 with their oversized equestrian statue of William the Conqueror in Falaise, Normandy.¹³ Abdülaziz’s visit to Napoleon III is described in the official Turkish publication for the exposition as a belated response to the presents Charlemagne had sent in the ninth century to Harun al-Rashid.¹⁴

The model for a monument destined for the entrance of the Suez Canal was displayed at the Paris exposition of 1867 (fig. 5). Its creator, Faustin Glavany, was an Ottoman and *secrétaire d’ambassade du Sultan*.¹⁵ The Glavanis were a well-known Levantine family with considerable influence in commerce and banking.¹⁶ Faustin (or

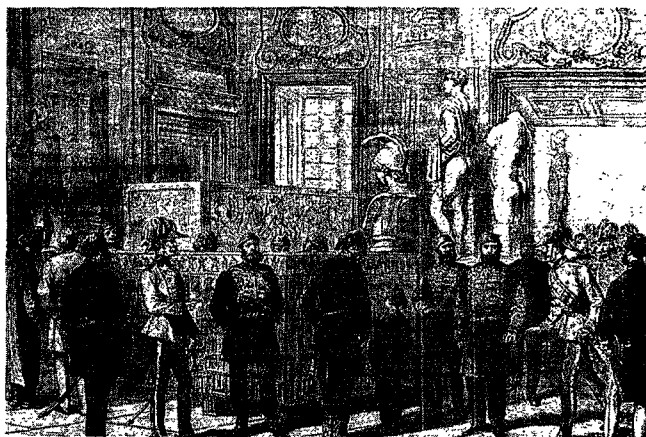


Fig. 4. Abdülaziz visits the Egyptian, Greek and Roman collections in the Marmorsaal of the Untere Belvedere, Vienna 1867. (Photo: from Taner Timur, “Sultan Abdülaziz’in Avrupa Seyahatı,” *Tarih ve Toplum* 11–12 (1984), ill. on p. 23)

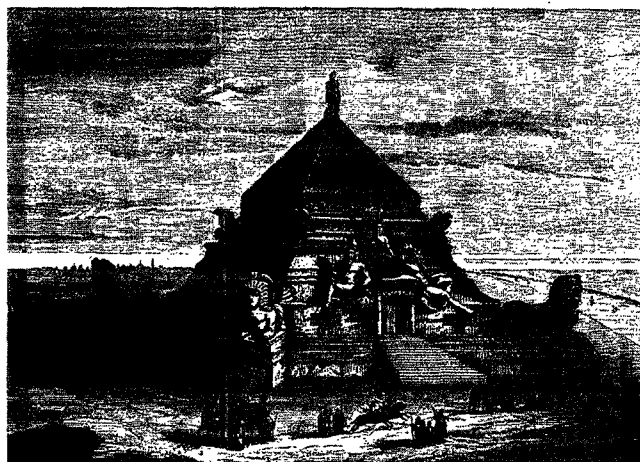


Fig. 5. Faustin Glavany, Suez Canal Monument. (Photo: from *L'Illustration*, 1867, p. 336)

Fausto?) called his pyramidal monument the Temple de la Paix. Peace was represented by a female figure on the top; the pyramid was covered with inscriptions in hieroglyphics, a cuneiform script, Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Latin, Turkish, and French. The entire structure was surrounded by allegorical figures and four huge sphinxes. The commemorative inscription read:

L’an de l’hégire 1282–1866 sous le règne glorieux de l’illustre padischah Abdul-Azis Khan, empereur des Ottomans, et sous le gouvernement éclairé de son Altesse Ismail-Pacha, vice-roi d’Égypte, ce monument consacre le souvenir de la construction de la Canal de Suez, qui rapproche l’Europe de l’Asie, développe les conquêtes de la civilisation, et favorise l’union plus intime de tous les membres de la famille humaine. Cette grande oeuvre de paix, due à la courageuse initiative de Ferdinand de Lesseps, a été exécutée avec le concours des principales nations maritimes, sous le patronage de Napoléon III, empereur des Français.

This universal and progressive message openly refers to the relations between Istanbul and Cairo. Abdülaziz had visited Egypt in 1863 where he met Ismail, the second son of Ibrahim Pasha and grandson of Muhammad ‘Ali, who had become viceroy some months before. Ismail’s first-hand experience of European and Ottoman politics is often mentioned.¹⁷ A firman of Abdülaziz of 27 May 1866 had changed the succession in Egypt from the seniorate to the eldest son succeeding his father. In April 1867 Ismail addressed the statesman Nubar Pasha in the following words: “Nous sommes tous convaincus que le bonheur de l’Égypte dépend de sa séparation définitive d’avec la Turquie. En faisant le bonheur de la

patric auquel l'Égypte est appelée tôt au tard, c'est nous qui immortaliserons notre nom."¹⁸ Another firman dated 8 June 1867 extended Ismail's rights and gave him the title of khedive and the rank of grand vizier. In any case the inscription proposed by Glavany was a reminder of the still limited sovereignty of the "vice-roi d'Égypte."

It goes without saying that the Egyptian rulers wanted to express the shift in political power in their own way and that public sculpture was part of this immortalization of the new Egyptian dynasty. Ismail must have been inspired by the equestrian statues he had seen in Paris when he decided in the year of the exhibition to erect an appropriate monument to his ancestors in Alexandria and Cairo. Nonutilitarian monuments were expected to outlive their constructors, "and so partly take on the aspect of a bequest or testament. This means that monuments are really ways of mediating between particular types of past and futures," observes Benedict Anderson, referring to Indonesia in the 1970's.¹⁹ When Ismail decided to commission equestrian portraits of his grandfather and father he did so in part to define his own position in the dynastic chain of succession, a purpose quite different from rulers celebrating themselves in portraits and statues. A great number of contemporary portraits of Muhammad 'Ali²⁰ still exist, and a bust said to be "fait d'après nature au Caire" by Jean-Pierre Dantan (1800–49) was exhibited in the Salon of 1849.²¹ Ismail commissioned equestrian statues from Cordier and Jacquemart, but he rejected two projects submitted by a third French sculptor Frédéric Bartholdi.

Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi (1834–1904) made his name at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1855, where his bronze statue of General Rapp for his native town of Colmar had been shown.²² In 1855–56 he went to Egypt and Yemen with the painter Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904). An important result of this first voyage to Egypt was the statue of Jean François Champollion (1790–1832; the famous French Egyptologist who deciphered the hieroglyphics on the Rosetta Stone) that Bartholdi was commissioned to make for the city council of Figeac, Champollion's native town. The plaster model was exhibited in the Egyptian park at the Paris exposition in 1867.²³ By the time Ismail visited Paris in that year, Bartholdi had already approached the viceroy to obtain a commission to design a monumental lighthouse to commemorate the opening of the Suez Canal (fig. 6). The resemblance between Bartholdi's Egyptian countrywoman (*fellāha*), presented unsuccessfully to Ismail during a second trip to Egypt in 1869, with his



Fig. 6. Frédéric Bartholdi. "Egypt Carrying the Light to Asia." Lighthouse project for the Suez Canal (1869). (Photo: courtesy Musée Bartholdi, Colmar)

most famous work, the Statue of Liberty (originally entitled "La Liberté éclairant le monde," unveiled in New York harbor in 1886), is striking, but Bartholdi insisted later that the similarity was a coincidence.²⁴

In the Bartholdi Museum at Colmar are two drawings dating from 1869 that show a monumental building with caryatids surmounted by a colossus and a lion (fig. 7). The personage in Oriental dress was wrongly identified as Ismail Pasha, who rejected the project; in 1993 Régis Hueber convincingly demonstrated that the figure should instead be identified as Muhammad 'Ali.²⁵ The drawing shows the cupola and the minaret of the mosque of Sultan Hassan (left) and the mosque of

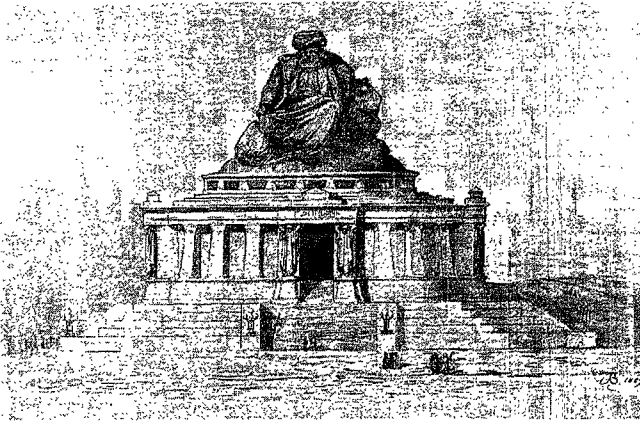


Fig. 7. Frédéric Bartholdi. Mausoleum project for Muhammad 'Ali. Engraving (1869). (Photo: courtesy Musée Bartholdi, Colmar)

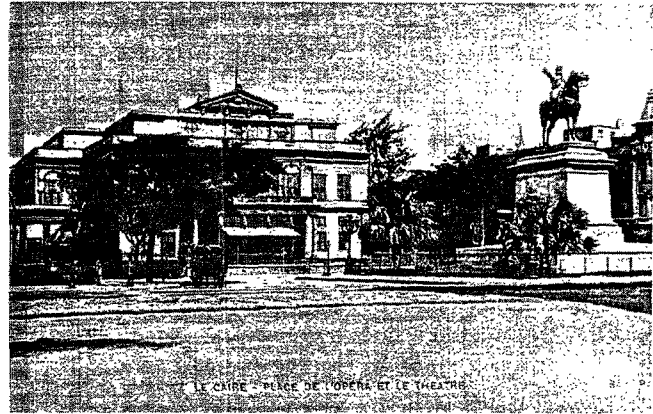


Fig. 8. Charles Cordier. Equestrian statue of Ibrahim Pasha in Cairo. (Photo: Historical Postcard Collection Lemke, Istanbul/Beirut)

Muhammad 'Ali (right). Bartholdi's monumental building had obviously been meant for the cemetery of Imam Shafi'i in southeastern Cairo, where other members of the khedival family were interred.²⁶

Relations between Charles-Henri-Joseph Cordier (1827–1905) and the Egyptian ruler were more successful. Cordier had become famous for his polychromatic busts of Arab and black African men and women. From the early 1850's he devoted most of his efforts to the Galerie Anthropologique in the Muséum national d'histoire naturelle in Paris, but he also made the acquaintance of Ismail Pasha, who commissioned from him both the equestrian statue of Ibrahim and a bust of himself.²⁷ Relations with Ismail were so cordial that, after the exposition closed, the Egyptian viceroy gave the artist the Egyptian pavilion as a present; Cordier's family used this *maison arabe* as their private house in Orsay.²⁸

Even before the Ibrahim Pasha statue (fig. 8) was erected in the center of Cairo's Azbakiyya Square,²⁹ an Istanbul daily informed its readers in late September 1868 about the details of this "three-dimensional figure" (*resm-i mücesssem*). The article describes it as a "cut-out figure" (*resm-i menhût*) surrounded by four lions.³⁰ Two bas-reliefs on the pedestal display Ibrahim's important battles against the Ottoman Turks: the capture of Akka after a six-month siege (27 May 1832) and the battle of Konya (21 December 1832). The undisguised anti-Ottomanism of these sculptures is astonishing considering the improved relations between Cairo and Constantinople. The message of the bas-reliefs is not visible from a distance, but the gesture of the rider pointing to the northwest is unmistakable.

Henri-Marie-Alfred Jacquemart³¹ (1824–96) was, like Bartholdi and Cordier, already a renowned artist when he was entrusted with the creation of an equestrian statue of Muhammad 'Ali (fig. 9) for Alexandria.³² Jacquemart was one of the great *animaliers* of the Second Empire,³³ but he had also modeled large-scale sculptures of historical personalities, including equestrian



Fig. 9. Alfred Jacquemart. Equestrian statue of Muhammad 'Ali in Alexandria. (Photo: contemporary photograph, date and photographer unknown, private collection, Bamberg)

statues of Louis XII (in Compiègne) and Napoleon III. The sphinxes for the fountain in the Place du Châtelet (ca. 1857) are another well-known creation of Jacquemart and testify to his interest in Egyptian art.³⁴ The horse and rider in Alexandria was not his only Egyptian commission. He also created the four gigantic lions for the Qasr al-Nil Bridge³⁵ (1873) and the statue of Muhammad Bey ("Lazoğlu", Salon 1875). Muhammad ʿAli's statue was to be erected on the Place des Consuls (later Muhammad ʿAli Square) in "la ville européenne, de création toute récente," in the words of a contemporary guidebook.³⁶

Originally, the Egyptian government had charged the Institut égyptien with commissioning a monument to be placed beside the two obelisks ("Cleopatra's Needles") in Alexandria. Jacquemart's Muhammad ʿAli and Cordier's Ibrahim Pasha, both finished in 1872, were first shown to the public in Paris and then sent to Egypt to fulfill this commission. The boat carrying Muhammad ʿAli's statue reached Alexandria harbor on 2 July 1872, but the official unveiling of the statue did not take place until over a year later (16 August 1873). The report underlines the absence of members of the khedival family and the representatives of the government on that occasion. The highest officials present were the governor of Alexandria and an Egyptian general.³⁷ It is perhaps worth mentioning that Muhammad ʿAli's native town of Kavalla in Macedonia boasts a second equestrian statue of the father of modern Egypt, erected there by his great-grandson Fuʿad (r. 1923–36).³⁸

Princess Shivekar decorated her palace in Cairo with a *galerie des ancêtres* composed of the busts of the khedives leading up to a colossal statue of King Faruk (r. 1936–52).³⁹ But it seems to have been another earlier upstart dynasty that developed the idea of a gallery of busts. In the Golestan palace in Tehran are displayed the busts of the third and the fourth Qajar rulers: Muhammad Shah (r. 1834–48), by the Italian Benedetto Civiletti (1846–90), and Nasir al-Din Shah (r. 1848–96), by the French sculptor Gustave Craux (1827–1905).

The statue of Muhammad ʿAli in Alexandria was torn down or at least damaged during the Urabi revolution of 1882. In Cairo, at the instigation of Shaykh ʿUllaish, the mob also removed Jacquemart's lions from the Qasr al-Nil Bridge and pulled down the equestrian monument of Ibrahim Pasha in Azbakiyya. The severe shaykh allowed no images, least of all that of the grandfather of the despised Khedive Taufiq. The iconoclasts set to work carefully, however; they must have brought the statue unscathed to the basement of the Egyptian Museum in

Bulaq,⁴⁰ because after the suppression of the uprising both statues were returned to their places with horse and rider intact.

Unlike his Egyptian *wali*, Sultan Abdülaziz had no intention of erecting a public statue of himself. His half-size equestrian statue in bronze could not show a larger public the ability of the sultan to rule (fig. 10a-b). It is the work of the English sculptor Charles Fuller (1830–75), a now almost forgotten artist who, himself the son of a general, had entered the army at the age of seventeen, but left it at the outbreak of the Crimean war in 1853 to go to Florence and become the student of the prominent American sculptor Hiram Powers. His work first appeared in the Royal Academy Exhibition in 1859.⁴¹

We do not know how Fuller attracted the sultan's patronage after his arrival (probably in 1869) in Istanbul. But there are some details of his stay in the Ottoman capital preserved in the memoirs of the Bavarian founder and sculptor Ferdinand von Miller (1813–87),⁴² whose family workshop acquired worldwide renown for casting the gigantic Bavaria monument (18m) in Munich (1844–50).⁴³ The inscriptions on the base of the Istanbul horse clearly establish the connection by recording the name of the sculptor and founder, and place and year of the final modeling and casting:

C.F. FULLER inv. et mod. FIRENZE 1871
FERD. v. MILLER fudit MÜNCHEN 1872

Others of Miller's equestrian statues cast in bronze are the monuments for George Washington in Richmond, Virginia (1852), and of Ludwig I in Munich (1862).

It is not clear if Miller and Fuller actually met, but some episodes of Fuller's sojourn in Istanbul were recounted to him. According to Miller, Fuller was first commissioned to produce a sculpture of the head of the sultan. Then after his arrival he was told that Pertev Valide, the sultan's mother, objected to her son's sitting for a portrait. Fuller was advised by a high court official to start with a clay model: the sultan would then come by now and again as if by chance, giving Fuller the opportunity to correct his clay model. Fuller used photographs to shape the bust; then whenever the sultan came by to view it, Fuller would seize the chance to correct it. He also managed to see the sultan in various processions around town, and fascinated by the colorful sight, he decided to produce an equestrian statue of the sultan as well. The sultan's favorite horse was measured, and Fuller represented the sultan on horseback. When the

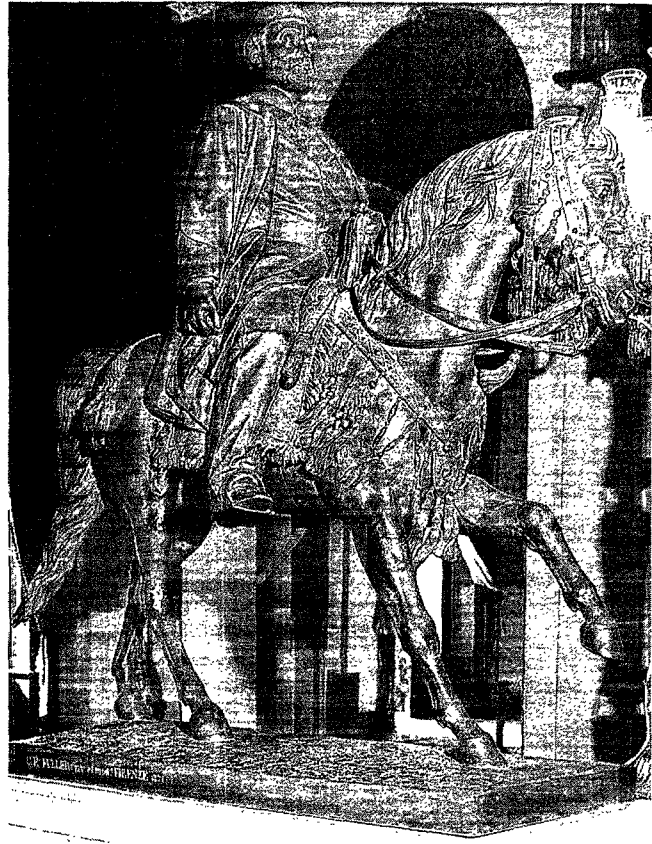


Fig. 10a-b. Charles Fuller. Equestrian statue of Sultan Abdülaziz. Istanbul, Beylerbeyi Palace. (Photo courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul)

sultan saw the equestrian statue he took such a fancy to it that he ordered a metal casting; after finishing the model in Florence, Fuller went to Munich to bring it to Miller's foundry to have it cast. When the boat with the statue reached the Bosphorus, word reached the sultan's mother that the ship had an equestrian statue of her son on board, and, according to von Miller's informant, the *valide* had the crated statue thrown overboard, but it was subsequently rescued.⁴⁴

After the sultan's death in 1876, the statue found its way from Beylerbeyi to the palace of Prince Abdülmecid (1866–1944), the son of Abdülaziz, in Bağlarbaşı.⁴⁵ Its outlines are visible in the background of Abdülmecid's painting "Beethoven in the Harem" (fig. 11).⁴⁶ Abdülmecid was still a child when his father committed suicide, but he venerated his memory. One of Abdülmecid's own paintings shows Abdülaziz on a white horse.⁴⁷ After 1924 the statue was transported to the Topkapi Palace, but today it can again be seen in its original location in the Beylerbeyi.

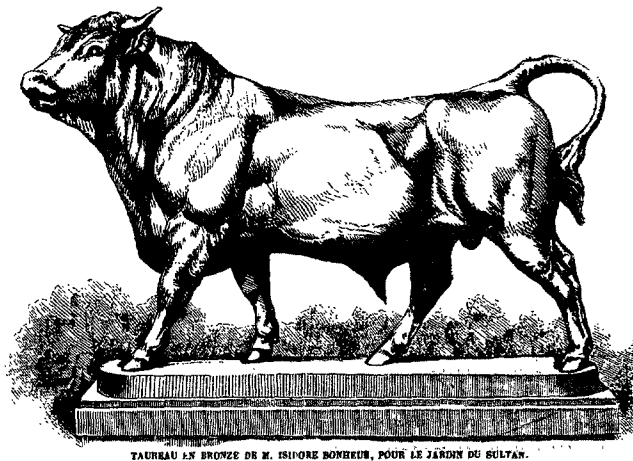
The fact that, in contrast to Egypt, there were neither figural nor even non-figural public monuments in the Ottoman capital does not mean that sculpture was unknown there. On the contrary, in the last decades of the nineteenth century a growing number of bust portraits of historical and living personalities could be found in the palaces of Istanbul. Serially produced statuettes had reached the Ottoman capital by at least the 1860's.⁴⁸ Lions, stags, and bulls came to populate the gardens of the ruler and the aristocracy. The commercialization of Antoine-Louis Bary's (1795–1875) sculptures was not limited to the West.⁴⁹ A copy of his *Cheval turque* went to the Beylerbeyi palace. Pierre Louis Rouillard (1820–81) created marble lions for the same palace in 1864.⁵⁰ Another *sculpteur animalier*, Isidor-Jules Bonheur⁵¹ (1827–1901), sent two bronze bulls (fig. 12) to Istanbul where they adorned the garden of Abdülaziz's palace in Beylerbeyi. A certain Victor Borie published an article on the bulls which had been shown in the Salon of 1865 in *L'Illustration* and commented: "Je



Fig. 11. Abdülmecid Efendi. "Beethoven in the Harem." Collection Resim ve Heykel Müzesi, Istanbul. (Photo: courtesy Resim ve Heykel Müzesi, Istanbul)

trouve que le Grand Turc, comme on disait autrefois, a montré un goût parfait, et qu'il donne un bon et salutaire exemple aux autres monarques de l'Europe, moins absolus et plus civilisé.⁵²

During the long rule of Abdülhamid II (1876–1908) fountains and clocktowers⁵³ were built all over the country to glorify the ruler. Building these monuments allowed the governor and notables of a province to express their loyalty to the sultan-caliph. In particular Abdülhamid's jubilee in 1901 gave rise to the inauguration of a great number of these urban landmarks, which had the virtue both of being clearly utilitarian and of avoiding figural elements. That they were meant to be



TAURAU EN BRONZE DE M. ISIDORE BONHEUR, POUR LE JARDIN DU SULTAN.

Fig. 12. Isidor-Jules Bonheur. Bronze bull for the Beylerbeyi Palace gardens. (Engraving: from *L'Illustration* 45, no. 1141 [7 January 1865]: 16)

comparable to monuments is evident when one finds fountains combined with a large column, sometimes in the form of an obelisk. A case in point is the Hamidiyye fountain in Saloniki inaugurated in 1889 (fig. 13), located at the upper end of the new boulevard of the same name.

Exceptional are the two monuments associated with Abdülhamid II to commemorate his achievements in modern communications. One monument in Haifa was constructed immediately after the transfer of the Haifa–Damascus railway from a private company to Ottoman hands (March 1902).⁵⁴ It consists of a group of four fluted Ionian columns with a square entablature on top of which is an architrave supported by the four columns, *geisipodes*, *geison*, and *sima* (fig. 14). The entablature is crowned by four stone balls; a fifth stone ball is wreathed with flowers and supports the crescent. The pedestal has a bas-relief of a steam locomotive with a tender and a winged wheel. *Tuğras* appear on various parts of the monument. A Turkish inscription on the second level of the base reads:

Our lord and master . . . Abdülhamid . . . has commanded the construction of a railway line from Damascus to facilitate for the nation of Muhammad the pilgrimage to the house of God [i.e., Mecca] and to visit the garden of the messenger of God [i.e., Medina] . . . The Sultan then gave his grand command, may God lengthen his rule, that a railway line should be laid from Haifa to connect with the Hamidiyya Hijaz line. Therefore it is the duty of every Muslim who made his pilgrimage to the house of God and availed himself of the visit to the grave of the Prophet to pray to God to support the Sultan's Grand Caliphate and to raise his high hand over the heads of the people. Inscribed in 1319/20 April 1901–9 April 1902.⁵⁵

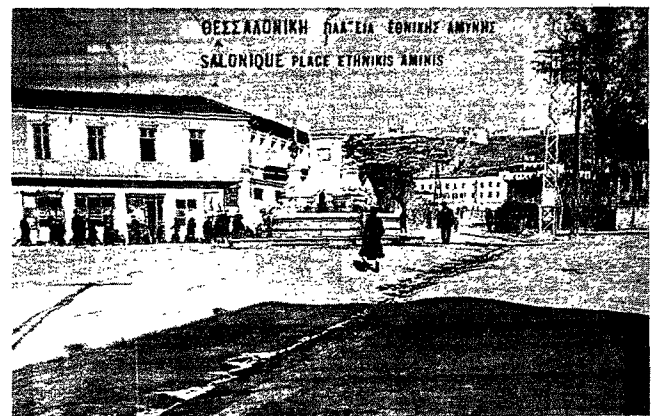


Fig. 13. Hamidiyye fountain in Saloniki. (Photo: from the Historical Postcard Collection, Meropi Anastassiadou, Strasbourg)

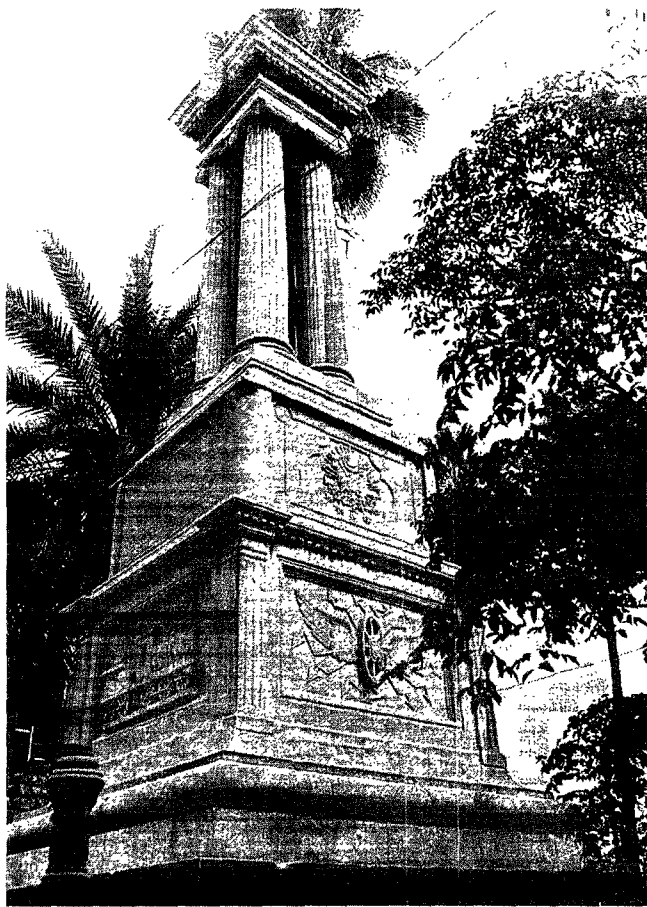


Fig. 14. Railway monument in Haifa. (Photo: courtesy Yael Halfon, Haifa)

Better known than the Haifa monument is the so-called Telegraph Column in Damascus. The sultan's Italian architect, Raimondo d'Aronco (1857–1932), came to Turkey in 1893 to organize an Ottoman national exhibition. That project could not be realized because of a terrible earthquake in the following year, but d'Aronco, who would later enjoy considerable fame, stayed on to design a number of buildings in Istanbul.⁵⁶ He also designed a monumental fountain in Damascus in the form of an obelisk sitting on a base in Ottoman baroque style, for which a drawing exists (fig. 15a), and the most original pre-war monument in the Islamic world: a huge cast-iron column erected in commemoration of the finishing of the telegraph line between the Syrian capital and the holy sites in the Hijaz (fig. 15b). The most striking feature of the latter is the mosque on top of the column (fig. 15c) in the place on the upper part of the capital traditionally reserved for emperors,

kings, saints, war heroes (such as Lord Nelson, London 1834), and explorers (Christopher Columbus, Barcelona, 1888),⁵⁷ and other great men, a clear statement that a Western model was not always acceptable without fundamental change. The mosque is a faithful replica of the Hamidiyye mosque at the entrance of the Yıldız palace in Istanbul (1885–86). The inscriptions on the base of the column in Arabic and Turkish proclaim that now it is the sultan-caliph who makes the decisions about highways, railroads, and telegraph lines and no longer the Europeans.⁵⁸

The number of busts and small sculptures in private Turkish households must have been considerable, but, though the readers of Ottoman illustrated journals were continuously confronted with European sculptures, for the teachers and students of the sculpture classes at the Academy of Beaux Arts⁵⁹ the market for public works remained quite limited. The Young Turk revolution of 1908 brought no dramatic change; only two important public monuments were erected in Istanbul between

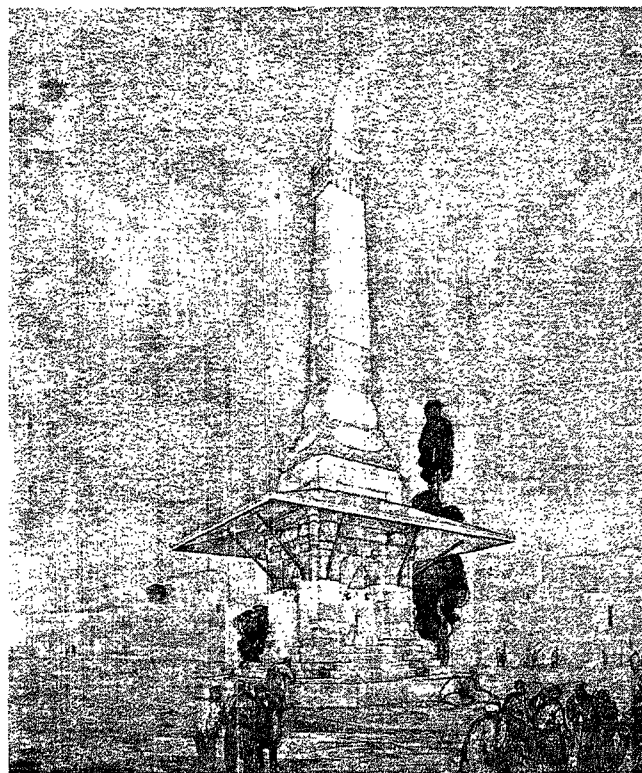


Fig. 15a. Raimondo d'Aronco. Telegraph monument in Damascus. Unrealized project in the form of an obelisk. (Drawing: from Manfredi Nicoletti, "D'Aronco e la Turchia," in *D'Aronco Architetto* [Milan, 1982], fig. 55)

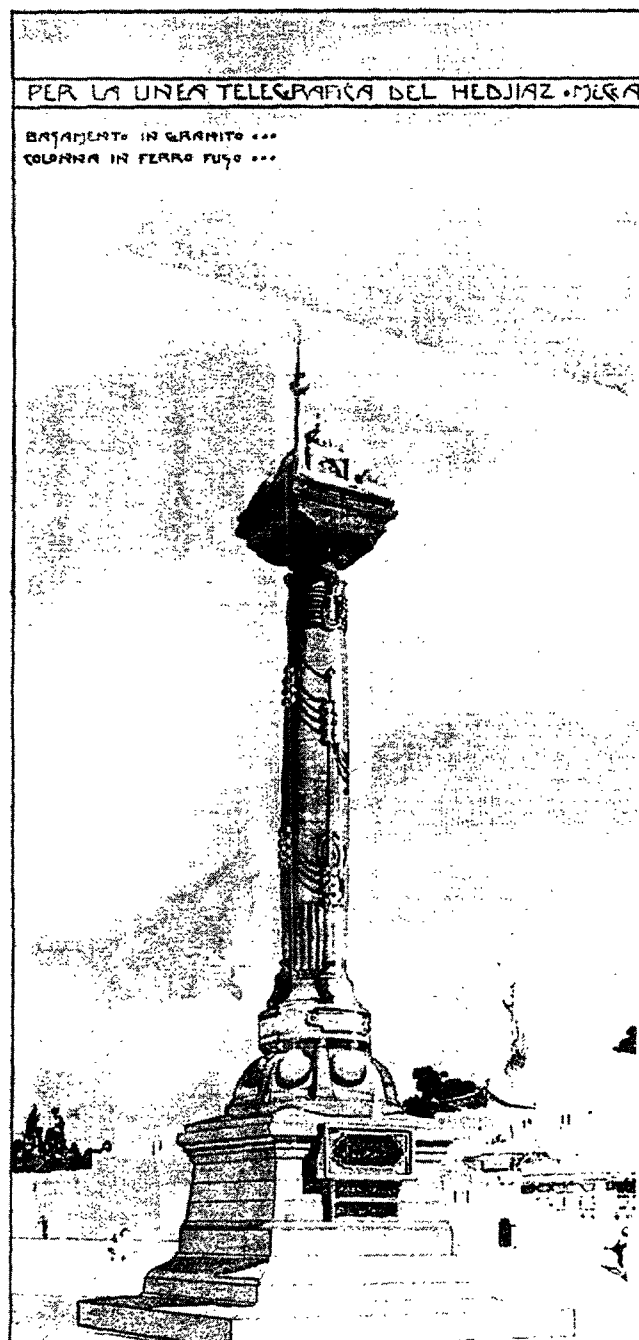


Fig. 15b. Raimondo d'Aronco. Telegraph monument in Damascus. Sketch of the column in Shahada Square, Damascus. (Drawing: from Manfredi Nicoletti, "D'Aronco e la Turchia," in *D'Aronco Architetto* [Milan, 1982], fig. 60)

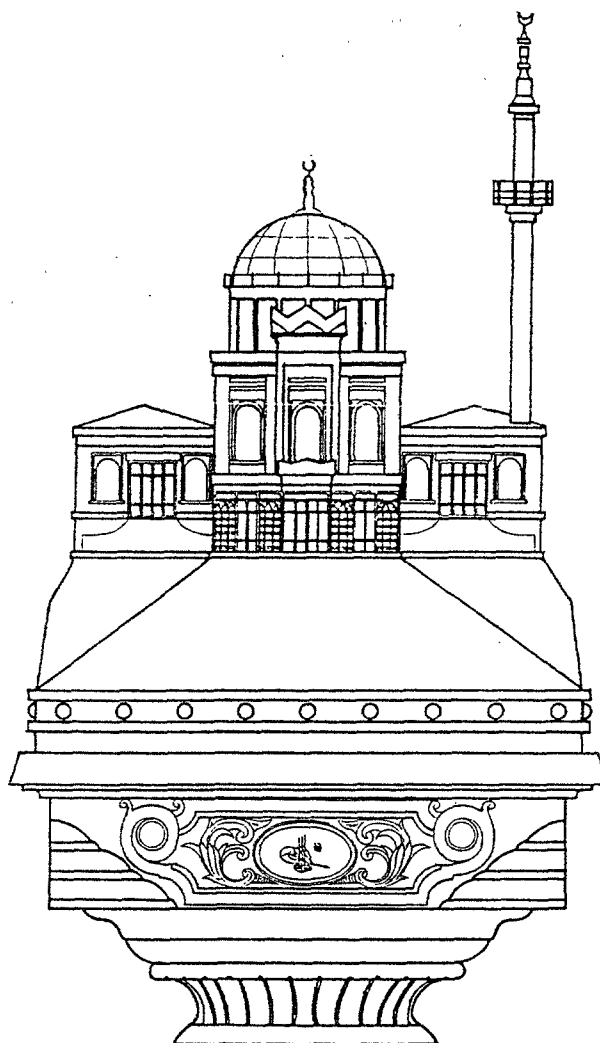


Fig. 15c. Raimondo d'Aronco. Telegraph monument in Damascus. Detail of the replica of Yıldız mosque on the column head. (Drawing: from 'İsmat Mastrük, "al-naşb al-tadhkârî l-il'ittişâlât al-barîyya bain Dimashq wa'l-Madîna al-munawwara, Sâha al-shuhâdâ, Dimasqh," diss. Eng., University of Damascus, 1992-93)

1908 and 1918 — the Âbide-i Hürriyet (Monument of Freedom) and the Tayyare Şehidleri Abidesi (Monument to the Victims of the Air). An application of the municipality of Basra to erect a statue for the rehabilitated "father of the 1876 constitution" Midhat Pasha (1822-82) was turned down on the basis of a fatwa issued by the mufti of Beirut against figural sculpture.⁶⁰ The Ministry of Home Affairs was advised to order a non-figural monument to the pasha instead.

The Monument to Freedom (fig. 16) was the result of

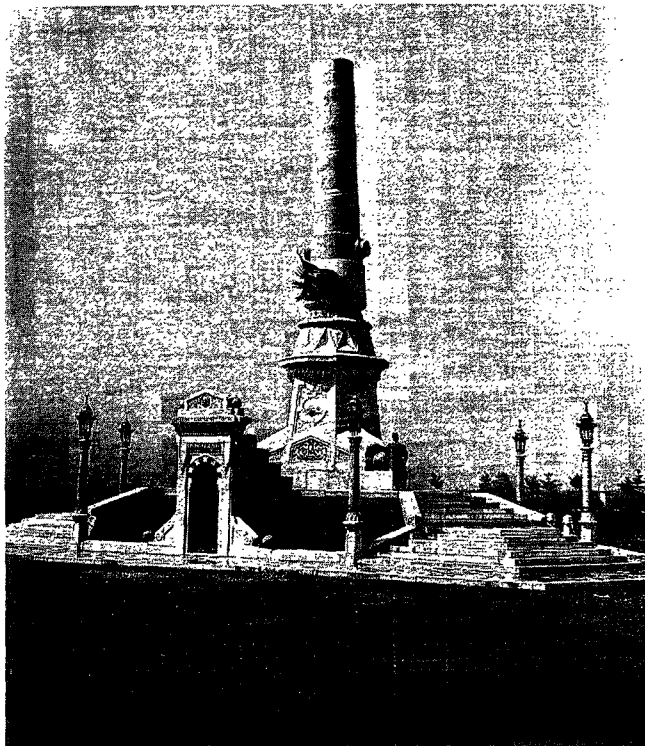


Fig. 16. Muzaffer Bey. Âbide-i Hürriyet. Istanbul, Şişli. (Photo: courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul)

a competition for which many prominent representatives of the new Ottoman school of architects (Kemalettin, Vedat, Konstantin Kiryaki, Vallaury) had submitted designs. The winner was a young architect named Muzaffer Bey (1881–1920),⁶¹ who was then commissioned to design a monument in memory of the victims of the so-called intervention army against a reactionary mutiny (1909). The Âbide-i Hürriyet was the earliest example of what became a wide variety of non-figural monuments erected in central locations in national capitals throughout the Arab world, such as the Tahrir squares in Cairo and San'a. The Young Turks in Istanbul in 1909, however, did not choose a central location, but placed the Âbide-i Hürriyet in the outermost northern suburb of Istanbul. At the official opening the strong man of the Young Turk regime Enver Bey proclaimed that since the men who had fallen in the fighting had been solemnly buried in a public ceremony in a common grave, "Muslims and Christians lay side by side, a token that they, living or dead, were henceforward fellow patriots who would know no distinction of race or creed." In this way the Âbide-i Hürriyet assumed the

double function of *şehîdlik* (martyrium, or monument for those who died in battle) and Constitution column.⁶²

The remaking of the Fatih-Sarraçhane quarter in Istanbul after a great fire provided the opportunity for the erection of another memorial, this time in front of a small district hall designed by Yervant Terzaniyan and finished in 1913. The so-called Tayyâre Şehidleri Âbidesi (fig. 17), built in the conventional broken column form, is also a martyrium, this time commemorating three Turkish officers who had lost their lives when their planes crashed somewhere between Istanbul and Cairo in February and March 1914, the first Turkish victims of modern aviation. The foundation stone for the monument was laid on 2 April 1914; the designer was Mimar Vedat (later Tek, 1873–1942), who graduated from the École des Beaux Arts in 1899.⁶³

Muzaffer Bey erected another monument in the provincial town of Konya as a tribute to the agricultural wealth of the region (fig. 18). It was crowned ten years later with a statue of Mustafa Kemal. In the time of Atatürk (1920–38) all monuments to the founder of modern Turkey (and there were no other historical or living persons honored by public statues) were commissioned to foreign sculptors, particularly Pietro Canonica (1869–1959) and Heinrich Krippel (1883–1945). Some years after the erection of his first statue at Sarayburnu, Mustafa Kemal declared in Bursa (January 1923):

Any nation that claims to be civilized (*mütemeddin*) will in any case (*behemehal*) erect statues and train sculptors. Some people maintain that the erection of statues for historical commemoration is against our religion. These people do not sufficiently understand canonical law.



Fig. 17. Mimar Vedat [Tek]. Tayyâre Şehidleri Âbidesi (Air Victim's Monument). Istanbul-Fatih, 1914. (Photo: Historical Postcard Collection Lemke, Istanbul/Beirut)



Fig. 18. Muzaffer Bey. Agricultural Monument. Konya, 1916. Unveiling of Heinrich Krippel's Atatürk statue, 29 October 1926. (Photo: from Gültekin Elibal, *Atatürk ve Resim-Heykel* [Istanbul, 1973], p. 197)

Then he went on to say that it was degrading to Islam to assume that after 1,300 years a Muslim could possibly fall into the error of venerating pieces of stone, so Turkish artists were now free to immortalize their ancestors (*ecdâdımız*) for future generations. Setting up statues as historical monuments was, so far as Mustafa Kemal was concerned, no longer a subject of dispute in the Islamic world. He refers to a "wonderful" statue on the road between Sivas and Erzurum.⁶⁴ "And by the way, are not the Egyptians good Muslims? Is Islam limited to the people of Turkey or Anatolia? People who travel know perfectly well that there are statues of great men (*eʿazim*) in Egypt." He ended his lengthy speech with the sentence: "A nation that ignores painting, a nation that ignores statues, and a nation that does not know the laws of positive science does not deserve to take its place on the road to progress."

In contrast to Turkey, in Egypt the controversy over erecting statues had been extensively treated in books and pamphlets of reformists. Muhammad Rashid Rida argued in his work on the caliphate that statues were forbidden, partly because they involved wasting the people's money on useless things and partly, as he says in one of his fatwas, because they belonged to European culture which was not to be imitated. He fought against the erection of a statue for Mustafa Kamil Pasha, the leader of the nationalist movement, who had died in 1908. According to Rashid Rida, statues belonged to pagan ceremonies and were therefore forbidden.⁶⁵

The conflict in the Egyptian case was the result of the attitude against figural memorials, although the equestrian statues of the viceroys should have had a healing effect on the Egyptian elite, helping them to forget their Ottoman past.⁶⁶ The attitude of the Ottoman center towards monuments was extremely cautious. Even the equestrian statue of Abdülaziz can be interpreted as an oversized table statuette. During the long reign of Abdülhamid no foreign-born sculptor received a commission for a life-sized monument. The Young Turk regime introduced new kinds of monuments, but none were figural.

This very broad picture of the beginnings of public monuments in Ottoman Turkey and Egypt does not claim to be more than a first approach to an unfamiliar subject. One conclusion that can be drawn from this first *sondage* is that in different times and places in the Islamic world people react to the idea of public monuments in different ways. Further research needs to be done based on archival evidence and on a more extensive use of the popular press before any definitive picture can be drawn, but it does seem clear that every statue, whether left as a project or realized, made a political statement.⁶⁷

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NOTES

Author's note: This article was first presented in somewhat different form to the Tenth International Congress of Turkish Art in Geneva in 1995. Members of the staff in a number of institutions have been helpful in putting it together. I am particularly grateful to Régis Hueber (Musée Bartholdi, Colmar), Wolf-Dieter Lemke (Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft Beirut/Istanbul), and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul (Dr. Wolfgang Radt, Ahmet Aydın). Angela Zerbe (Bamberg) has

improved my English. Katharina Kreiser provided photographs from the Jardin des Plantes, Eckhard Schiewek from the Golestan palace. My thanks also go to my students Christine Jung, Kirsten Timme, and Hakan Karateke. I came across the quotation from Robert Musil in a learned and entertaining article by Rolf Selbmann (Bamberg), "Versteinerte Poesie oder Verkehrshindernis? Zur Geschichte der Dichterdenkmäler in Deutschland," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 76 (1994): 365–88.

1. Ahmed Lütfi, *Tarih*, 8 vols. (Istanbul, 1290–1328/1873–1910), 6: 126–27.
2. İsmail Fâzıl Ayanoglu, *Ok Meydanı ve Okçuluk Tarihi* (Ankara, 1974). The majority of the documented examples belong to the reigns of Selim III and Mahmud II.
3. For Fossati, see the literature at the end of the article in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1993–94), vol. 3, by Cengiz Can. The same author contributed to the Tenth International Congress of Turkish Art (September 17–23, Geneva) with a paper on "Mustafa Reşit Paşa and Architect Gaspare Traiano Fossati." The sketch was published by Lucia Pedrini and Stanga e Rosella Grassi (*1809–1883 Gaspare Fossati. Architetto, Pittore, Pittore Architetto* [Züst, 1992] fig. 33). The authors note the close resemblance to the obelisk realized by Luigi Valadier for the Piazza del Popolo in Rome (p. 117).
4. I have been able to collect only a few details about "Pascal-Artin" Bilezikçi. He was probably related to the well-known Bilezikçiyan money-changer/banker (*sarrâf*) family in Istanbul. He received his diploma in 1856, the year of the peace of Paris (L. Dussieux, *Les artistes français à l'étranger*, 3rd ed. [Paris, 1876], p. 389). In 1857 "Bilezikçi Artin" was mentioned as an architect in the service of the Istanbul municipality (*mi²mâr-i dâ²ire-i beledîye*) (Osmân Nûri [Ergin], *Mecelle-i umûr-i beledîye* [Istanbul, 1338/1922], 1: 1241). M. Cezar, quoting the *Journal de Constantinople* (17 September 1860), no. 1349, says that he worked in 1860 with (Gaspare) Fossati on the enlargement of a police station. The figure in *L'Illustration* was reproduced and commented on much later by İhsân [after 1935, Özsoi], the director of the teacher's college (Dârûlmu²allimin tatbikât mektebi müdürü): "Tasavvurda kalmış bir tanzimât âbidesi. Topkapı sarayı parkında inşası münâsebetyile" *Şehbâl* 4, no. 84 (1929/1914–15): 210–12.
5. *L'Illustration. Journal Universel* 26, 654 (8 September 1855): 176.
6. Halil Edhem, "Sultân 'Osmân Hân-ı sâni²'nin Leh seferine dâ²ir Türkçe bir kitâbesi," *Tarih-i 'Osmânî Encümeni Mecmû²ası* 1 (1326 H.): 223–32.
7. Halûk Y. Şehsuvaroğlu, *Asırlar boyunca İstanbul. Saraylar, camileri, âbideleri, çeşmeleri* (Istanbul, 1953), p. 63.
8. Pertev Pasha's *Divan* (Istanbul 1256/1840) does not include the Beykoz inscription: *Bu sahrâya misâfir geldi gitti asker-i Rusi / Bu seng-i kühtpeyker yâdigâr olsun / nişân kalsın / Vişâh-ı devletey-nin böyle dursun / sâbit-i muhkem / Lisân-ı dostânda destânı çok zamân kalsın* ("As a guest came the Russian soldier to this plain and went [again] / This gigantic stone may stay as a souvenir / The concord of both states may last firmly in this way / The story [of this agreement] may last on the tongues of the friends").
9. According to Ahmed Lütfi's extensive report in Klaus Kreiser, "... dan die Türkhen leiden khain Menschen Pildnuss": Über die Praxis des "Bilderverbots" bei den Osmanen," in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art* (Budapest, 1978) pp. 549–56. Archival evidence for the innovation of hanging Mahmud's portrait in state offices has been collected by Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Tanzimat devrinde Meclis-i Valâ <1838–1868>* (Ankara, 1994), p. 38, n. 12. A.D. Mordtmann reports, on good authority, that a governor of Saloniki on an inspection tour in his province during the first years of Abdülaziz's reign, obliged the notables of towns and villages to kiss the portrait of the sultan and to keep records of their names (Anonymous, *Stambul und das moderne Türkenenthum* [Leipzig, 1877–78], 2: 25).
10. For the historical background, compare Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876* (New York, 1973), pp. 235–37. More detailed are Ali Kemal Aksüt, *Sultan Aziz²'in Mısır ve Avrupa Seyahati* (Istanbul, 1944); and Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batı²ya açılış ve Osman Hamdi* (Istanbul, 1971; rev. rpt. 1995), pp. 91–95; see also Taner Timur, "Sultan Abdülaziz in Avrupa Seyahati," *Tarih ve Toplum* 11–12 (1984), pp. 42–44, 16–25; i H. p. 23.
11. Maurice Agulhon, "La 'statuomanie' et l'Histoire," *Ethnologie française* (1978): 145–72; Gustave Pessard, *Statuomanie Parisienne, Étude critique sur l'abus des statues* (Paris, 1911). See also June Hargrove, *Les statues de Paris: La représentation des grands hommes dans les rues et sur les places de Paris* (Anvers, 1982).
12. Refik A. Sevensil seems to be the only author who connected the European trip of the sultan, "where he saw the statues of great men" with the commission of a statue of himself; see his *Saray tiyatrosu* (Istanbul, 1962), pp. 81–82.
13. Fernand Bournon, *La voie publique et son décor: Colonnes, tours, portes, obélisques, fontaines, statues etc.* (Paris, 1909), pp. 169–74.
14. See my article, "Le Paris des Ottomans à la Belle Époque," *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* (forthcoming).
15. Léon Creil in *L'Illustration. Journal Universel*, 1868, p. 336.
16. Behzat Ünsal, "Glavani Ailesi," in *Dünden bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 3: 402.
17. Cf. P.J. Vatikiotis, "İsmâ'îl Pasha" in *Encyclopædia of Islam* (henceforth cited as *EI*), 2nd ed., 4: 192–93.
18. On the title page of the official biography of Ismail (not mentioned in the article in *EI* cited in n. 17), see G. Douin, *Histoire du Règne du Khédive Ismail* (Rome, 1934), vol. 2.
19. Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, "Cartoons and Monuments: The Evolution of Political Communication under the New Order," in *Political Power and Communications in Indonesia*, ed. K.D. Jackson and L.W. Pye (Berkeley, Calif. 1978), p. 301.
20. Gaston Wiet, *Muhammad 'Ali et les Beaux-Arts* (Cairo, 1950).
21. Muhammad 'Ali died in Alexandria on 2 August 1849 after having been removed from power in 1847. Dantan traveled in Egypt in 1848. During his stay he produced a number of busts and medallions of other personalities: Stanislas Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'École française au dix-neuvième siècle*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1914–1921, rpt. 1970), 1: 24–46. Lami (p. 41) says that there is a plaster copy of the bust in the Rouen museum, but it is not mentioned in Edmond Lebel, *Catalogue des Ouvrages de Peinture, Dessin, Sculpture et Architecture* (Rouen, 1890). The inventory of the Musée des Beaux Arts in Rouen has no bust of Muhammad 'Ali (communication, January 26, 1996), nor did Wiet find any record of it half a century ago.
22. Pierre Kjellberg, *Les Bronzes du XIXe siècle. Dictionnaire des sculpteurs* (Paris, 1987), p. 55.
23. Catherine Chevillot, *Peintures et sculptures du XIXe siècle; la collection du musée de Grenoble* (Paris, 1995), pp. 290–93.
24. Marvin Trachtenberg, *The Statue of Liberty* (London, 1976), p. 49; *La Statue de la Liberté. L'exposition du centenaire. Catalogue*

- (Paris, 1986), Eng. ed., *Liberty. The French-American Statue in Art and History* (New York: New York Public Library, 1986).
25. Régis Hueber, "La Turquerie Fatale. Nouvelle considération sur les deux projets Bartholdiens d'un monument pour la ville du Caire <1869>," *Mémoire Colmarienne. Bulletin trimestriel de la liaison de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Colmar* no. 52 (December, 1993): 5–11. Erroneous attributions in Trachtenberg, *Statue of Liberty* (London, 1976), p. 55, and Pierre Provoyeur, "Artistic Problems," in *Liberty. The French-American Statue in Art and History* (New York, 1986), p. 91.
 26. The German architect Karl von Diebitsch (1819–69), who had met the viceroy at the London exhibition of 1861, built for Said Pasha a funerary monument in fine cast-iron (H. Stier, "Karl von Diebitsch," *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 3 [1869]: 418–20, 432–36).
 27. Jeanine Durand[Revillon], "La galerie anthropologique du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle et Charles-Henri-Joseph-Cordier," in *La Sculpture ethnographique. De la Vénus hottentote à la Tehura de Gauguin*, ed. Antoinette Le Norman-Romain (Paris, 1994): 51–64. The catalogue, *Les Oubliés du Caire. Chef-d'oeuvres des musées du Caire* (Paris, 1994), has three objects (pp. 122–23, 191) including the marble bust of Ismail Pasha. The bust in the museum of the Manial Palace is signed "Cordier 1866".
 28. Cordier's "Luxusbildhauerei" in Algerian onyx marble impressed the authors of a German catalogue: *Illustrierter Katalog der Pariser Industrie-Ausstellung von 1867* (Leipzig, 1868) with three drawings of Cordier's sculptures (p. 173). The model of Ibrahim Pasha on horseback seems to have been exhibited in the Salon as late as 1872 (Lami, *Dictionnaire*, p. 421).
 29. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Azbakiyya and Its Environs. From Azbak to Ismā'īl 1476–1879* (Cairo, 1985), p. 92. Plate XII shows the statue with remains of the mosque of Azbak before its destruction.
 30. *Rūznāme-i Cerīde-i Havādis*, no. 998 (II C II 1285 [29 IX. 1868]), cited by M. Cezar, *Osman Hamdi*, p. 95.
 31. Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs* 3: 191–94; Kjellberg, *Les Bronzes du XIXe siècle*, pp. 387–88.
 32. For the monument in the context of nineteenth-century urbanization of Alexandria: E. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum: Guide de la ville ancienne et moderne et du musée gréco-romain* (Bergamo, 1914), pp. 6–7; M.F. Awad, "Le modèle européen: l'évolution urbaine de 1807 à 1958," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman* 46 (1987): 95–101.
 33. Jean Louis Hachet, *Les bronzes animaliers. De l'antiquité à nos jours* (Paris, 1986), pp. 103–5.
 34. See *Egyptomania. L'Égypte dans l'art occidental 1730–1930* (Paris, 1994), pp. 332–33.
 35. Jacquemart rejected his original idea of putting lions on the pedestal of the statue and proposed instead enlarging them to the height of four meters and placing them on either side of the Nile bridge (Wiet, *Mohammed Ali*, p. 404). The Ottoman review *Resimli Kitâb* (5, 14 [1326/1910–11]: 165) published photographs of Cairo including the bridgehead of the Qasr al-Nil.
 36. François-Levernay, *Guide-annuaire d'Égypte. L'année 1872–1873* (Cairo). Reprinted in Robert Ilbert and Ilios Yannakis, eds., *Alexandrie 1860–1960. Un modèle éphémère de convivialité: Communauté et identité cosmopolite* (Paris, 1992), p. 244.
 37. Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail*, 3: 740–71.
 38. Machiel Kiel kindly sent me a slide and a postcard of the monument in 1995 with the information that the pedestal of the Kavalla monument has an undated Greek inscription on it and that it had been erected under Fu'ad I (1917–36).
 39. Philipp Mansel, *Sultans in Splendour* (London, 1988), p. 176.
 40. Alexander Schölch, *Ägypten den Ägyptern. Die politische und gesellschaftliche Krise der Jahre 1878–1882 in Ägypten* (Zürich, 1972), p. 244.
 41. For information on Fuller, see Samuel Redgrave, *Dictionary of Artists of the English School* (rpt., Bath, 1970), pp. 161–62, which summarizes his obituary in the *Art Journal*, 1875, p. 178. For a list of Fuller's sculptures exhibited in the Royal Academy, see *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769 to 1904* (London, 1905) pp. 180–81. An obituary note in the *London Times* (cited in the *Art Journal*, 1875) refers to his visit to Istanbul, where he "in defiance of the Koran was allowed to make a statue (an equestrian one) of the sultan. The stipulation was, if we are rightly informed, that the statue should not be lifesize; a little larger or smaller it might be."
 42. Peter Volck, art. "Miller, v. Ferdinand," *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Munich, 1994), 14: 516–17; *Ferdinand von Müller erzählt. Aufgezichnet und herausgegeben von Eugen Stollreither mit einem Lebensbild von Alexander Heilmeyer* (Munich, 1932), pp. 188–89.
 43. It is mentioned in a contemporary Ottoman encyclopedia dedicated to Sultan Abdülhamid II Emrullah, *Muhîrî'l-M'ârif* (Istanbul, 1318/1901), art. *âbide*, pp. 190b–192a: "the most important monuments in our time are the following" (*zamanın en cesim âbideleri şunlardır: Münih'deki Bavarya, Regensburg'deki Walhalla, Kehlheim'deki Befreiungshalle . . .*).
 44. Further research will make clear whether or not von Miller received the *Mecidiye* order in 1875 in recognition of his achievement in casting Abdülaziz's statue. "Gedenkfeier für Ferdinand von Miller," *Zeitschrift des bayr. Kunstgewerbe-Vereins München*, vol. 36, 5–6 (1887): 46.
 45. The estate on which the palace was built once belonged to Khedive Ismail. Abdülmecid commissioned the well-known architect Alexandre Vallauray to build him a palace in Moorish style; it was finished around 1901 (see İsmail Hakkı Konyalı, *Âbideleri ve kitabeleriyle Üsküdar tarihi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1976–77), 2: 229–37, and Afife Batur, "Abdülmecid Efendi Köşkü," in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1).
 46. "Haremde Beethoven" reproduced in *Başlangıcından Bugüne Çağdaş Türk Resim Sanatı Tarihi*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1980–89), 1: 164, fig. 134. The authors give no date for the painting (154–211 cm) which, like its equivalent "Haremde Goethe," is part of the collection of the İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi. It shows a male and two female musicians playing a trio for piano, violin, and cello, while three ladies and a senior Ottoman official (probably Abdülmecid himself) listen attentively. The statue is seen from the front in the opening of an arcade. In 1939 during his Parisian exile, Abdülmecid directed his secretary to sell sculptures inherited from Abdülaziz (*pederin heykelleri*). See S. Keramet Nigâr, *Halife İkinci Abdülmecid* (Istanbul, 1964), p. 44.
 47. Photograph of Abdülmecid with brush and palette sitting on the rung of a ladder in front of the nearly finished painting in his atelier in *La question du Califat = Les Annales de l'autre Islam*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1994), p. 173.
 48. About the industrial exploitation of works of art, Jacques de Caso, "Serial Sculpture in Nineteenth-Century France," in Jeanne L. Wasserman, ed., *Metamorphoses in Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), pp. 1–27.
 49. Glenn F. Benge, *Antoine-Louis Barye. Sculptor of Romantic Real-*

- ism (London, 1984); Kjellberg, *Les bronzes du XIXe siècle*, pp. 55–84.
50. Illustration in Chris Hellier and Francesco Venturi, *Splendeurs d'Istanbul. Palais et demeures du Bosphore* (Paris, 1993), p. 189.
 51. Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs*, I: 127–30.
 52. Victor Borie, "Le Jardin du Sultan," *L'Illustration. Journal Universel* 45, no. 1141 (7 January 1865): 16. The other bull — with bowed head — is today in front of the district building of Istanbul-Kadıköy (reproduction in Hüseyin Gezer, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Heykeli* [Ankara, 1984], p. 13).
 53. Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, "Minaret und Uhrturm," *Schöndruck-Widerdruck=Schriften-Fest für Michael Meier zum 20. Dezember 1985* (Munich, 1985), pp. 82–85, fig. 36–38; Kemal Özdemir, *Ottoman Clocks and Watches* (Istanbul, 1993); Hakkı Acun, *Anadolu Saat Kuleleri* (Ankara, 1994).
 54. David Kushner, "The Haifa Damascus Railway: The British Phase, 1890–1902," in *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Caesar E. Farah (Kirksville, Mo., 1993): 193–213; Ufuk Gülsoy, *Hicaz Demiryolu* (Istanbul, 1994), p. 130.
 55. A contemporary photograph appeared in *Servet-i Fünûn*, vol. 30, year 15 (2 Teşrin I 1321 [1905]). I owe new photographs of the still-existing structure and an English version of the Turkish inscription to Professor Avner Giladi of the University of Haifa. The photographs do not allow a control of the translation and do not show all sides of the monument.
 56. Manfredi Nicoletti, *D'Aronco e l'architettura liberty* (Rome, 1982); Afife Batur, "Raymondo d'Aronco," *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi* 2 (1993–94).
 57. The main part of the Barcelona monument is a Corinthian column (51.30m).
 58. Manfredi Nicoletti published d'Aronco's design of 1900 with the erroneous annotation: "*progetto no realizzato*": "D'Aronco e la Turchia," in *D'Aronco Architetto*, ed. M. Nicoletti (Milan, 1982): 13–17, fig. 60. I am indebted to Dr. Abd al-Razzaq Moaz (Damascus) for providing a copy of an unpublished dissertation directed by Dr. Talâl Aqîlî (*Al-nasb al-tadhkârî li-ittisâlât al-barakîyya bain Dimashk wa'l-Madîna al-munawwara, Sâha al-shahâda, Dimashq*. This study has very detailed measurements of the monument and places it in the urban context. For a number of historical and modern photographs of the monument, see Abdullah Manaz, *Suriye'nin başkenti Şam'da Türk dönemi eserleri* (Ankara, 1992).
 59. See the curriculum of the Sanâ'î-i Nefise Mektebi in the year-book of the Ministry of Education: The sculpture class (*heykeltî-râsî*) met three days a week for eight hours (*Sâlnâme-i Nezâret-i Ma'ârif-i Umûmiye*, vol. 1 [Istanbul, 1316/1898], p. 106). Ervant Osgan (1855–1914), who was Osman Hamdi's deputy, directed the sculpture class until his death (Onnig Avédissian, *Peintres et sculpteurs arméniens du 19ème siècle à nos jours* [Cairo, 1959], pp. 483–84). Some sculptures of Osgan such as "Zeybek" and "Saz şairi" are reproduced in the journal of the Society of Ottoman Painters (*Osmanlı ressamlar cem'iyeti gazetesi* no. 12 [1326–39/1911–14], pp. 114, 221).
 60. *Sirât-i müstakîm*, no. 129 (19 November 1910): 406: "Basra'da Midhat Paşa namına heykel rikzinin lüzum-i men'î hakkında Dahiliye Nezâretinin gazetelerde neşrolunan telgrafi üzerine Şam'da müntehîr <al-Hakâ'ik> refikimiz tarafından vukû'bulan istiftâdan dolayı Beyrut müftisi Mustafa Necâ Efendi hazretleri canibinden heykel rikzinin şer'îen 'adem-i cevâzına da'ir verilen fetva-i şerif sûretidir 15 Zilka'de 1328." The mufti had answered that the erection of *tamâthil* for the deceased at cemeteries was forbidden; he said that the ulema of Egypt had not allowed a statue of Muhammad 'Ali to be erected in the time of Abbas (Hilmi) and had ordered the removal (*al-izâla*) of the idol (*sanam*) of the same sultan from Azbakiyya Square; they also ordered the heads (of any statue?) to be smashed and the statue sunk in the Nile at the height of its flood. This fatwa reflects the event during the Urabi rebellion. The editors of *Sirât-i müstakîm* added a vote of thanks for the news. The periodical reminded the readers that pious and permanent works (*hayrî dâ'im ve bâkî âsâr-i nâfi'e*) are suitable to commemorate (verbatim: *ihyâ*) the name of a person.
 61. Erdem Yücel, "Mimar Muzaffer <1881–1920>" *Bizim Anadolu* (4. Eylül 1971), p. 6.
 62. See, for more details, my forthcoming article in the *Istanbulur Mitteilungen*.
 63. There is no monograph on Vedat Tek's contributions to Turkish architecture.
 64. For details and photograph of the bust of Osman Gazi erected in Hafik by the *wali* of Sivas Ahmed Muammer [Kardaş] (1875–1928), during the World War: Ali Çankaya, *Yeni Mülkiye Tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler*, vol. 4 (Ankara, 1968–69), pp. 819–22: "Rahmetli, Memleketimizde ilk defa büst yaptırıp diktiren idâre âmiridir" ("The deceased was the first senior administrator in our country who had a bust made and erected it").
 65. *Fatâwâ 'l-İmâm Muhammad Rashîd Ridâ*, ed. Salâh al-Dîn al-Munadjjid and Yûsuf K. Khûrî (Beirut, 1970) vol. 4; 'Abdelhamîd Muhammad Ahmad, *Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen al-Azhar und der modernistischen Bewegung in Ägypten von Muhammad 'Abdûh bis zur Gegenwart*, Phil. Diss. (Hamburg, 1963), pp. 23–31: "Al-Azhar und die Bilderfrage."
 66. From an unpublished study by Ehud E. Toledano, "Forgetting Egypt's Ottoman Past."
 67. Compare Robin Jeffrey, "What Statues Tell: The Politics of Choosing Symbols in Trivandrum," *Public Affairs* 53 (1980): 484–502.