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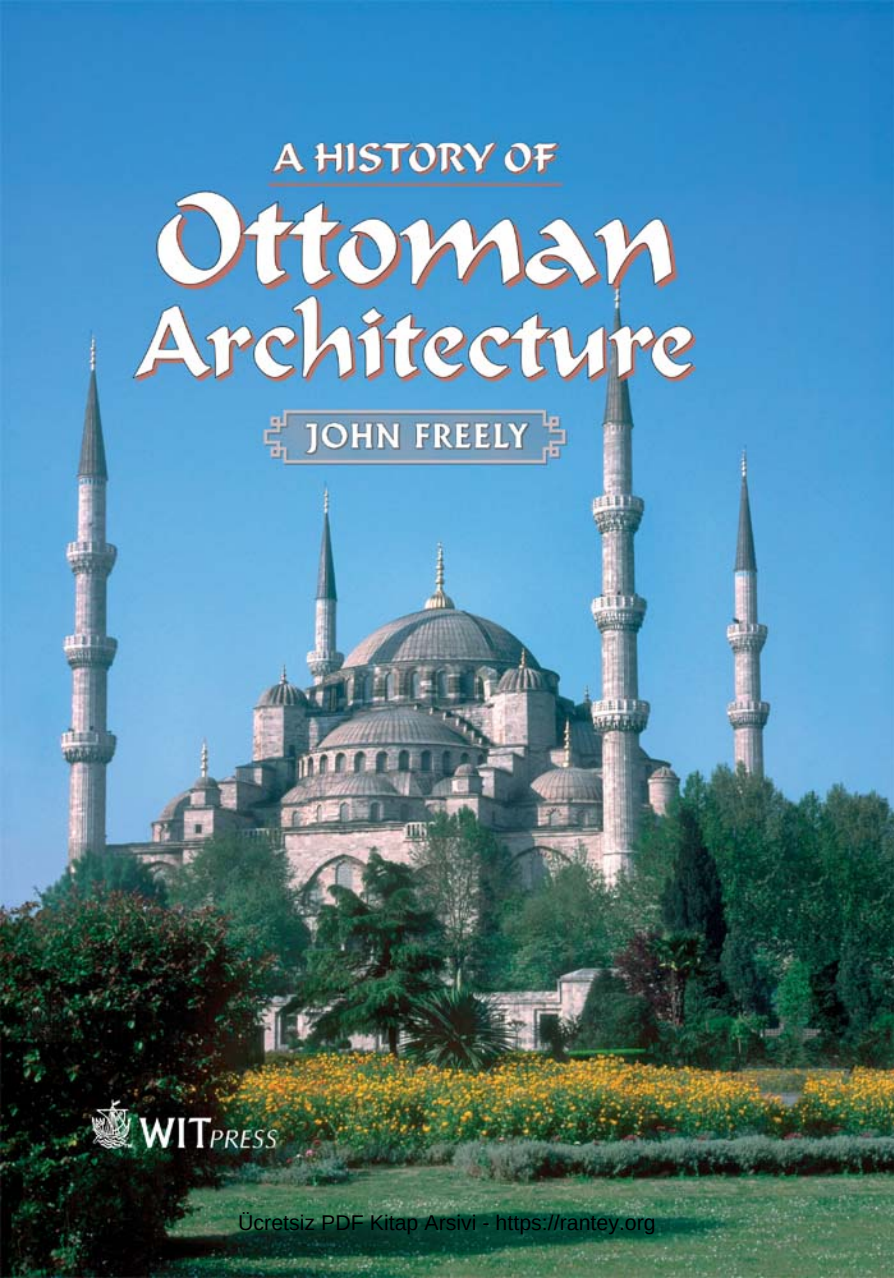
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A HISTORY OF

# Ottoman Architecture

JOHN FREELY

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A HISTORY OF  
**Ottoman**  
**Architecture**

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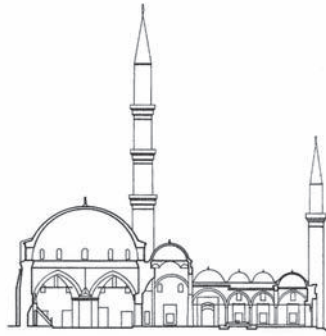
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A HISTORY OF  
**Ottoman  
Architecture**



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*In Memorium*

*Godfrey Goodwin, Aptullah Kuran, and Hilary Sumner-Boyd*

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# Acknowledgements

I first learned about Ottoman architecture from my departed colleagues at Robert College-Bosphorus University: Godfrey Goodwin, Aptullah Kuran, and Hilary Sumner-Boyd, and I have relied heavily on their works in writing this book, which is dedicated to them. Their writings have played a seminal role in the study of Ottoman architecture in Turkey, and I hope that my book will encourage readers to consult their magisterial works on this subject, which are listed in the bibliography.

I would like to thank Emre Gençer for all of the technical help he has given me in preparing the manuscript for publication.

Istanbul, 2010

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# Turkish Spelling and Pronunciation

Throughout this book, modern Turkish spelling has been used for Turkish proper names and for things that are specifically Turkish, with a few exceptions for Turkish words that have made their way into English. Modern Turkish is rigorously logical and phonetic, and the few letters that are pronounced differently from how they are in English are indicated below. All letters have but a single sound, and none is totally silent. Turkish is very slightly accented, most often on the last syllable, but all syllables should be clearly and almost evenly accented.

Vowels are accented as in French or German: i.e. **a** as in father (the rarely used **â** sounds rather like **ay**), **e** as in **met**, **i** as in **machine**, **o** as in **oh**, **u** as in **mute**. In addition, there are three other vowels that do not occur in English: these are **ı** (undotted), pronounced as the **u** in **but**; **ö** as in German or as the **oy** in **annoy**; and **ü** as in German or as the *ui* in *suit*.

Consonants are pronounced as in English, except for the following:

- c** as **j** in **jam**: e.g. **camı** (mosque) = jahmy;
- ç** as **ch** in **chat**: e.g. **çorba** (soup) = chorba;
- g** as in **get**, never as in **gem**;
- ğ** is almost silent and tends to lengthen the preceding vowel; and
- ş** as in **sugar**: e.g. **şeker** (sugar) = sheker

Turkish words take a slightly different form when they are modified by a preceding noun; for example, **Sultan Ahmet Camii** (the Mosque of Sultan Ahmet), whereas **Yeni Cami**, the New Mosque.

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# Introduction

This is a study of the architecture produced under the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish Muslim state that supplanted the Greek Christian Byzantine Empire in Anatolia and the Balkans at the end of the medieval era, continuing in existence into the first quarter of the twentieth century. The book will describe the extant Ottoman buildings in the northwestern part of the Republic of Turkey, where the Ottomans had their origins, particularly in Bursa (Prusa) and Edirne (Adrianople), the empire's first two capitals, and then going on to Istanbul (Constantinople), the capital from 1453 until 1923, when the modern Republic of Turkey was founded.

The book will begin with a short history of the Ottoman Empire, followed by an outline of the main features of Ottoman architecture and its decoration, principally the famous Iznik tiles, as well as a brief biography of the great Ottoman architect Sinan. The successive chapters will follow the development of Ottoman architecture through its successive periods, particularly the reigns of Süleyman the Magnificent and his immediate successors, whose chief architect Sinan erected the most splendid of the mosque complexes that still adorn Istanbul and the other cities of Turkey.

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## CHAPTER I

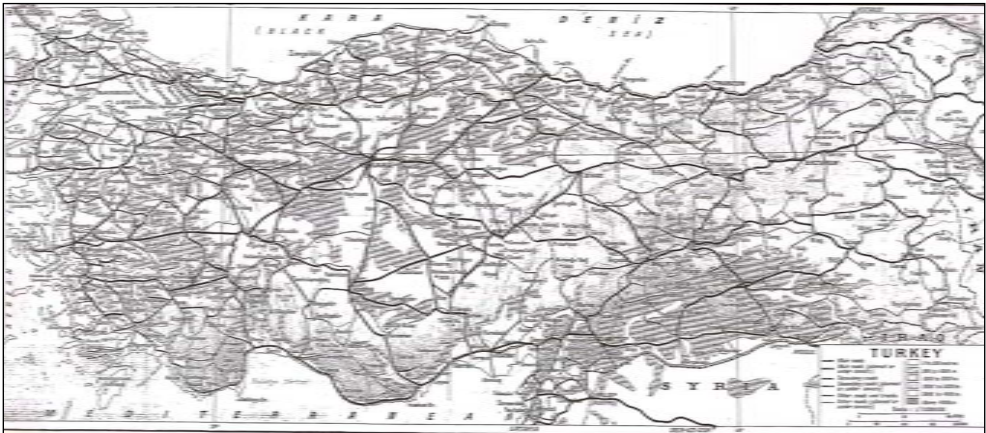
# The Ottoman Turks and their Architecture

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Turkey has ninety-three percent of its land-mass in Asia and the remainder in Europe. The Asian and European parts of the country are separated by the Hellespont (Dardanelles), the Sea of Marmara, and the Bosphorus, the historic waterway that the sixteenth-century French scholar Pierre Gilles called 'the strait that ends all straits'. The European fraction of Turkey is part of the region that has since antiquity been known as Thrace, while the rest makes up the huge peninsula known to the Greeks and Romans as Asia Minor, now more generally called Anatolia, bounded on the north by the Black Sea, on the west by the Aegean, and on the south by the Mediterranean.

Anatolia was the heartland of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian and predominantly Greek-speaking continuation of the Roman Empire in its eastern provinces. This realm dated its origin to A. D. 330, when the emperor Constantine the Great shifted his capital to the city of Byzantium on the Bosphorus, which was thenceforth known as Constantinople. The Byzantine Empire lasted for more than a thousand years, reaching its peak during the reign of Justinian I (r. 528–65) though it was continuously attacked by enemies in both Europe and Asia. Constantinople was captured in 1204 by the

*Figure 1: The Republic of Turkey.*



knights of the Fourth Crusade and their Venetian allies, who held the city for more than half a century, during which time there were two small Byzantine empires in exile, one of them with its capital at Nicaea in north-western Anatolia, the region known as Bithynia, the other with its capital at Trebizond on the Black Sea. The Greeks of Nicaea recaptured Constantinople in 1261 and restored it as their capital, though their empire was only a small fraction of what it had been in its prime, much of their lands in Europe taken by the Slavs and the Latins, with most of Anatolia occupied by the Turks.

## 2 HISTORY

### 2.1 The Seljuks

The first Turks to invade Anatolia in force were the Seljuks under Sultan Alp Aslan, who in 1071 defeated a Byzantine army under the emperor Romanus IV at Manzikert, north of Lake Van near what is now the eastern border of Turkey. The Seljuks overran Anatolia and reached the Sea of Marmara before establishing their capital at Nicaea. They were driven out of Nicaea in 1097 by the emperor Alexius I Comnenus and the knights of the First Crusade. The Seljuks then regrouped at Konya (Iconium), which became the capital of the Sultanate of Rum, a realm that comprised most of central and eastern Anatolia.

The Sultanate of Rum reached its peak under sultan Alaeddin Keykubad I (r. 1220–37), who built caravanserais along the highways of central and eastern Anatolia to handle its greatly increased trade, while he and his vezirs adorned Konya and the other cities of the empire with beautiful mosques, medreses (colleges), hospitals, tombs, palaces and bridges, as well as mighty fortresses. But the year after Keykubad's death the Mongols invaded Anatolia, and in 1243 they defeated a Seljuk army at Köseadağ in eastern Anatolia, breaking the power of the Sultanate of Rum. The Seljuk sultanate lasted until the beginning of the fourteenth century, though in name only after Köseadağ, when all of central and eastern Anatolia became a Mongol protectorate. But then the Mongols were defeated in 1277 by the Mamluks of Egypt under Sultan Baibars, breaking their power in Anatolia. Baibars himself died later that year, leaving a power vacuum in Anatolia.

### 2.2 The Sons of Osman

After the downfall of the Seljuks their former territory in Anatolia was divided up among a dozen or so Turcoman emirates known as beyliks. The smallest and least significant of these beyliks was that of the Osmanlı, the 'Sons of Osman,' meaning the followers of Osman

Gazi, whose last name means ‘warrior for the Islamic faith’. Osman was originally known in English as Othman, and his dynasty came to be called the Ottomans. He was the son of Ertuğrul, leader of a tribe of Oğuz Turks from central Asia, who in the late thirteenth century were resettled as Seljuk vassals around Söğüt, a small town in the hills of Bithynia, in north-western Anatolia, just east of the Byzantine cities of Nicomedia, Nicaea and Prusa. The humble origin of the Osmanlı is described by Richard Knolles in *The Generall Historie of the Turks* (1603), one of the first works in English on the Ottomans, who writes ‘Thus is Ertogrul, the Oguzian Turk, with his homely hearthsmen, become a petty lord of a countrey village, and in good favour with the Sultan, whose follower as sturdy hearthsmen with their families, lived in Winter with him in Sogut, but in Summer in tents with their cattle upon the mountains.’<sup>1</sup>

The only contemporary Byzantine reference to Osman Gazi is by the Greek chronicler George Pachymeres. According to Pachymeres, the emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus (r. 1282–1328) sent a detachment of 2,000 men under a commander named Muzalon to drive back a force of 5,000 Turkish warriors led by Osman (whom he calls Atman), who had invaded Byzantine territory. But Osman defeated Muzalon and forced him to retreat, which attracted other Turkish warriors to join up with him in the spirit of *gaza*, or holy war against the infidels, as well as the prospects of plunder. These reinforcements enabled Osman to defeat Muzalon in 1302 at Baphaeus, near Nicomedia. Soon afterwards Osman captured the Byzantine town of Belakoma, Turkish Bilecik, after which he laid siege to Nicaea, whose ancient defense walls were the most formidable in Bithynia. While the siege continued he captured a number of unfortified towns and pillaged the surrounding countryside, causing a mass exodus of Greeks from Bithynia to Constantinople.

### 2.3 Bursa, the first Ottoman capital

Osman Gazi died in 1324 and was succeeded by his son Orhan Gazi, the first Ottoman ruler to use the title of sultan, as he is referred to in a inscription. Two years after his succession Orhan captured Prusa, the ancient Greek city under Mt. Olympus of Bithynia (Ulu Dağı), which became the first Ottoman capital under the name of Bursa. He then renewed the siege of Nicaea, Turkish Iznik, which surrendered to him in 1331, after which he went on to besiege Nicomedia, Turkish Izmit, which capitulated six years later. This virtually completed the Ottoman conquest of Bithynia, by which time Orhan had also absorbed the neighbouring Karası beylik to the south, so that the Ottomans now controlled all of westernmost Anatolia, leaving the Byzantines with only a small stretch of territory along the Black Sea east of the Bosphorus. Then in 1354 Orhan’s son Süleyman captured Ancyra (Ankara), which



*Figure 2: Osman Gazi, founder of the Ottoman dynasty (from The Generall Historie of the Turks, by Richard Knolles).*

## The Ottoman Turks and their Architecture

had belonged to the Eretnid beylik, thus adding to the Ottoman realm a city destined to be the capital of the modern Republic of Turkey. Süleyman then crossed the Dardanelles and captured several Byzantine towns in Thrace before his untimely death in 1357, when he was thrown from his horse while hunting.

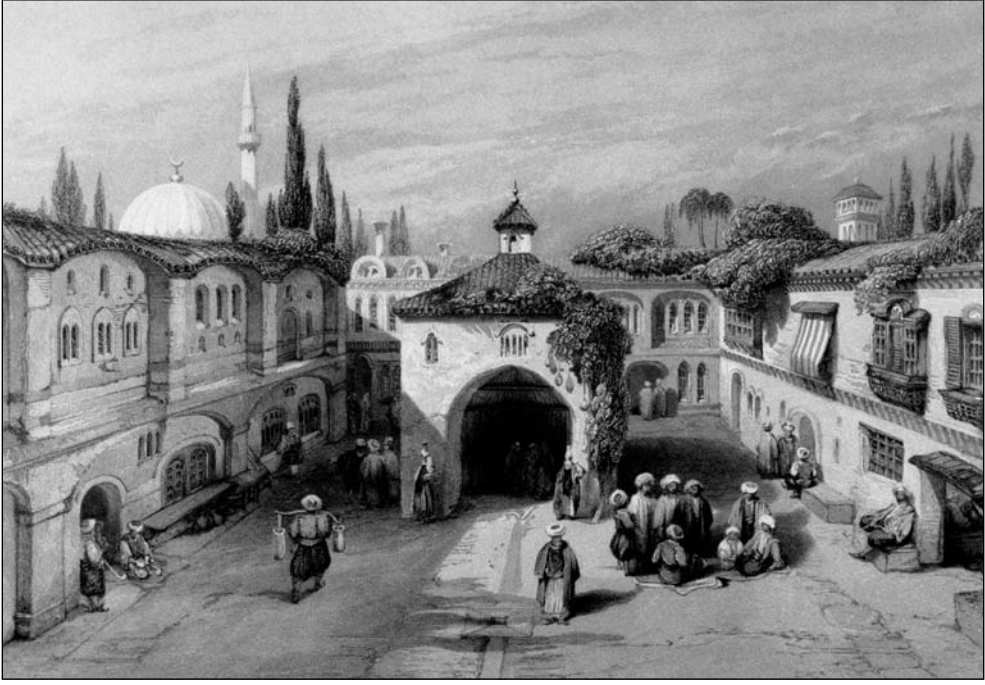
### 2.4 Edirne, the second Ottoman capital

Orhan Gazi died in 1362 and was succeeded by his son Murat, who had been campaigning in Thrace. Seven years later Murat captured the Byzantine city of Adrianople, Turkish Edirne, which soon became the Ottoman capital, supplanting Bursa. Murat used Edirne as a base to campaign ever deeper into the Balkans, and during the two decades after his accession his raids took him into Greece, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania, Serbia, Bosnia and Wallachia. At the same time his forces expanded the Ottoman domains eastward and southward into Anatolia, conquering the Germiyan, Hamidid and Teke beyliks, the latter conquest including the Mediterranean port of Antalya.

Murat's conquests led him into conflict with Prince Lazar of Serbia, who in 1385 organized the Christian rulers of the Balkans in an anti-Turkish alliance. Four years later Murat invaded Serbia, and on 15 June 1389 he utterly defeated Lazar's army near Pristina at Kosovo Polje, the 'Field of Blackbirds'. At the climax of the battle, which lasted only four hours, Murat was assassinated by a Serbian nobleman who had feigned surrender. Lazar was captured and beheaded by Murat's son Beyazit, who then ordered the execution of all the Christian captives, who included most of the noblemen of Serbia. Serbia never recovered from the catastrophe, and thenceforth it became a vassal of the Ottomans, who were now firmly established in the Balkans.



*Figure 3: (left) Orhan Gazi, the first sultan of the Osmanlı dynasty, conqueror of Bursa, the first Ottoman capital; (right) Murat I, conqueror of Edirne, the second Ottoman capital.*

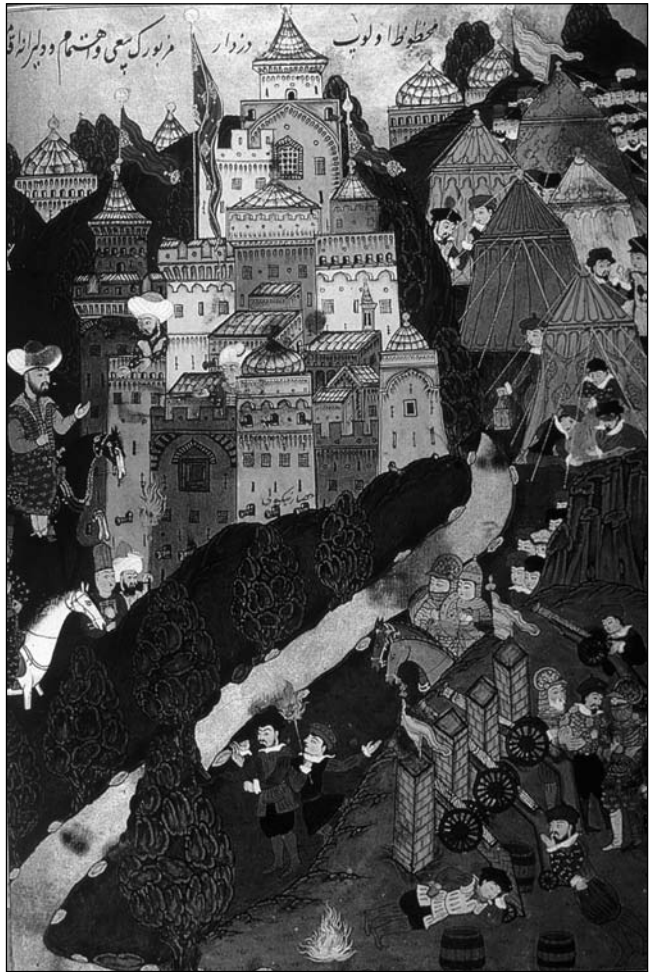


## 2.5 Beyazıt I

*Figure 4: Street scene in Ottoman Edirne (print by Allom).*

Soon afterwards Beyazıt murdered his brother Yakup to succeed to the throne, the first incident of fratricide in Ottoman history. Beyazıt came to be known as Yıldırım, or Lightning, from the speed with which he moved his armies, campaigning in both Europe and Asia, where he extended the Ottoman domains deeper into Anatolia.

Beyazıt's army included an elite infantry corps called *yeniçeri*, or 'new force', which in English came to be known as the janissaries. This corps had been formed by Sultan Murat from prisoners of war taken in his Balkan campaigns. Beyazıt institutionalized the janissary corps by a periodic levy of Christian youths known as the *devşirme*, first in the Balkans and later in Anatolia as well. Those taken in the *devşirme* were forced to convert to Islam and then trained for service in the military, the most able rising to the highest ranks in the army and the Ottoman administration, including that of grand vezir, the sultan's first minister. They were trained to be loyal only to the sultan, and since they were not allowed to marry or set up their own households they had no private lives outside the janissary corps. Thus they developed an intense esprit de corps, and for centuries they were by far the most effective unit in the Ottoman armed forces.



*Figure 5: Beyazıt I defeating the Crusaders at Nicopolis.*

Two years after his accession Beyazıt launched major campaigns into Greece, Macedonia and Albania. Early in 1392 his forces captured Skopje, after which most of Serbia accepted Ottoman suzerainty. Then in July 1393 Beyazıt captured Turnovo, capital of the Bulgarian Kingdom, after which Bulgaria became an Ottoman subject state, remaining under Turkish rule for nearly 500 years.

The Ottoman conquests had bypassed Constantinople until May 1394, when Beyazıt put the Byzantine capital under siege, erecting a fortress called Anadolu Hisarı on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus at its narrowest stretch. While the siege continued Beyazıt led his army into Wallachia, capturing the fortress at Nicopolis on the Danube in 1395. This led King Sigismund of Hungary to appeal for a crusade against the Turks, and in July 1396 an allied Christian

army of nearly 100,000 assembled at Buda under his leadership. Sigismund led his army down the Danube to Nicopolis to put the Turkish-occupied fortress under siege. Two days later Beyazit arrived with an army of 200,000, and on 25 September 1396 he defeated the crusaders and executed most of the captives, although Sigismund managed to escape.

Beyazit then renewed his siege of Constantinople, which he continued for another three years. But in the spring of 1399 he was forced to lift the siege and march his army back to Anatolia, which had been invaded by a Mongol horde led by Tamerlane. The two armies finally met on 28 July 1402 north of Ankara, where the Mongols routed the Ottomans and their Turcoman allies, many of whom deserted to the enemy at the outset of the battle. Beyazit himself was taken prisoner and soon afterwards he died in captivity, tradition holding that he had been penned up in a cage by Tamerlane.

### 2.6 Interregnum and revival

The Ottoman state was almost destroyed by the catastrophe at Ankara. After his victory Tamerlane reinstated the emirs of the Turcoman beyliks in Anatolia that had fallen to the Ottomans, while in the Balkans the Christian rulers who had been Beyazit's vassals regained their independence. The next eleven years were an interregnum in the Ottoman dynasty, as Bayazit's surviving sons fought one another in a war of succession, at the same time doing battle with the Turcoman emirs in Anatolia and the Christian princes in the Balkans. The struggle was finally won by Prince Mehmet, who on 5 July 1413 defeated and killed his brother Musa at a battle in Bulgaria, their brothers Süleyman and Isa having died earlier in the war of succession. Mehmet ruled for eight years, virtually all of which he spent in war, trying to reestablish Ottoman rule in Anatolia and the Balkans.

### 2.7 Murat II

Mehmet died in 1421 and was succeeded by his son Murat II, who although only seventeen at the time was already a seasoned warrior, having fought in at least two battles during his father's war of succession. Murat continued his father's efforts to regain the Ottoman dominions that had been lost in Anatolia and the Balkans. Between campaigns he returned to his capital at Edirne, though he also spent time in the old capital of Bursa, where in the years 1424–6 he erected an imperial mosque complex called the Muradiye. A decade later he built a mosque of the same name in his new capital as well as a palace called Edirne Sarayı, where he housed his harem.



*Figure 6: Murat II.*

## The Ottoman Turks and their Architecture

Murat's forces captured the Serbian capital of Smedervo in 1439, and within two years Serbia was annexed by the Ottomans and disappeared as a state until it gained its freedom in the mid-nineteenth century. Murat then mounted an expedition into Transylvania under his general Mezid Bey. But Mezid was defeated and killed by an army under John Hunyadi, the prince of Transylvania, who routed another Ottoman army sent against him the following year. These victories encouraged the Christian rulers of Europe to form an anti-Ottoman alliance, and on 1 January 1443 Pope Eugenius IV called for a crusade against the Turks, commanded by Hunyadi and King Ladislás, ruler of Hungary and Poland. The crusaders defeated the Ottoman forces twice in the winter of 1443–4, with both sides suffering heavy losses, after which Hunyadi and Ladislás led their forces to Buda and Murat returned with his army to Edirne. The two sides agreed to negotiate, and in the summer of 1444 Murat and Ladislás signed a treaty agreeing to a ten-year truce. Ladislás had no intention of honouring the agreement, for a few days after signing his copy of the treaty at Szeged, he took a vow before his assembled nobles to make war upon the Turks and drive them from Europe within the year, 'notwithstanding any treaty or negotiation whatsoever.'<sup>2</sup>

Early in September 1444 Murat stunned his court by announcing that he was abdicating in favour of his twelve-year old son Mehmet II, stating that 'I have given my all – my crown, my throne – to my son, whom you should recognise as sultan.'<sup>3</sup> He then retired to the provincial capital of Manisa in north-western Anatolia, leaving Mehmet to rule under the guidance of the grand vezir Halil Çandarlı Pasha, who had pleaded with Murat to reconsider his decision.

Murat's retirement lasted only till early October, when he was informed that Ladislás and Hunyadi were leading a crusader army into Ottoman territory. He immediately mustered the troops of the Anatolian army and led them to Edirne, where he left Mehmet and Halil Pasha to guard the capital while he marched into the Balkans along with reinforcements under Sihabeddin Pasha. Murat caught up with the crusaders near Varna on the Black Sea on 10 November 1444. During the first stage of the battle the crusaders defeated both wings of the Ottoman army, but Murat led the janissaries in a counter-attack that killed Ladislás. This turned the tide of battle, for when the crusaders learned that the king had fallen they fled from the field, while those who remained were either killed or enslaved by the Turks. Hunyadi was one of the few crusader leaders to escape, and the following year he was elected regent of Hungary.

After his victory Murat led his army back to Edirne. Soon afterwards he went back into retirement in Manisa, leaving Mehmet



to resume his rule as sultan under the guidance of Halil Pasha. But Halil kept sending messages to Murat telling him that his son was too young and inexperienced to rule, one example being his impetuous plan to attack Constantinople, from which he was dissuaded by the grand vezir. Another concerned the janissaries, who in April 1446 rioted and burned down the marketplace in Edirne when their demand for an increase in pay was refused, whereupon Mehmet relented, setting a dangerous precedent that would trouble the sultanate for centuries. After the latter incident Halil persuaded Mehmet to abdicate and recall his father to the throne. Murat reluctantly agreed, and at the beginning of September 1446 he returned to Edirne and resumed his rule as sultan, while Mehmet withdrew to Manisa as provincial governor.

Soon after Murat returned to the throne he launched a successful expedition into southern Greece, and then the following year his army regained parts of Albania that had been liberated by the Albanian leader Skanderbeg. This led Pope Eugenius IV to call for another crusade against the Turks, led by John Hunyadi, whose army was defeated by Murat at the second battle of Kosovo on 17–20 October 1448. Mehmet had his baptism of fire commanding the right wing of his father's army in the battle, which ended when Hunyadi abandoned his defeated troops and fled the field, living to fight on against the Turks for another eight years.

The following year Murat, accompanied by Mehmet, led a successful expedition into Albania against Skanderbeg, who was forced to give up most of his territory and flee into the mountains. Skanderbeg managed to hold out in the mountain fortress of Kruje, successfully resisting a siege by Murat. This made Skanderbeg a hero throughout Europe, and he wrote to his allies that he had given Christians hope that they could defend themselves 'from the oppression and cruel hands of the Turks, our enemies and those of the Catholic faith.'<sup>4</sup>

Early the following year Murat commenced work on several new pavilions in Edirne Sarayı. But the project had barely begun when he died suddenly on 8 February 1451, stricken by apoplexy after a drinking bout. He was forty-seven years old and had ruled for three decades, most of which he had spent at war, enlarging the bounds of the Ottoman Empire.

### 2.8 The accession of Mehmet II, the conqueror

Murat's death was kept secret at first by the grand vezir Halil Pasha so that Mehmet could be summoned from Manisa, where he was serving as provincial governor. All went well and Mehmet returned to Edirne, where on 18 February 1451 he was acclaimed as sultan, one month before his nineteenth birthday.



*Figure 7: Mehmet II, soon after his accession in 1451.*

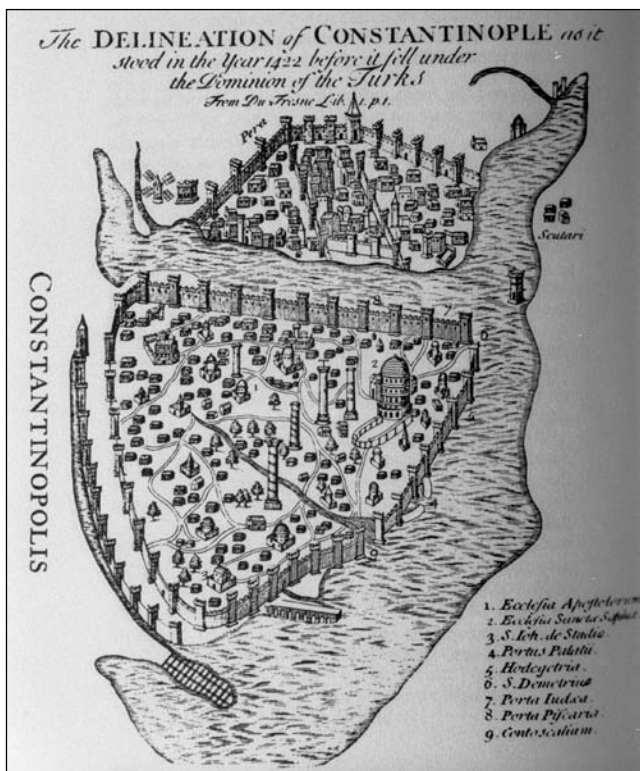


Figure 8: Map of Constantinople in 1422.

His first act as sultan was to order the execution of his fifteen-month-old half-brother, Küçük (Little) Ahmet, the only other surviving son of Murat, eliminating him as a possible rival to the throne. Mehmet justified the murder of Ahmet as being in accordance with the Ottoman code of fratricide, which on several occasions had been practiced by his ancestors to prevent wars of succession. Mehmet later had the code enacted into law, as stated in his imperial edict, where he refers to the Ulema, the highest-ranking Islamic clerics: 'And to whomsoever of my sons the Sultanate shall pass, it is fitting for the order of the world that he shall kill his brothers. Most of the Ulema allow it. So let them act on this.'<sup>5</sup>

During the first months of his reign Mehmet received a number of diplomatic mission at Edirne Sarayı, as news of his accession spread through Europe and led the Christian powers to send embassies to the young sultan. The first to arrive was an ambassador from the Byzantine emperor Constantine XI Dragases Palaeologus, who negotiated a peace treaty with Mehmet. But neither ruler expected the treaty to be long-lasting, for Mehmet already dreamt of conquering Constantinople, and Constantine knew that it was only a matter of time before the

sultan would attack the city, which was virtually all that remained of the Byzantine Empire except some possessions in the Peloponnesos ruled by his brothers Dimitrius and Thomas, along with the Byzantine Empire of Trebizond ruled by the Comneni dynasty.

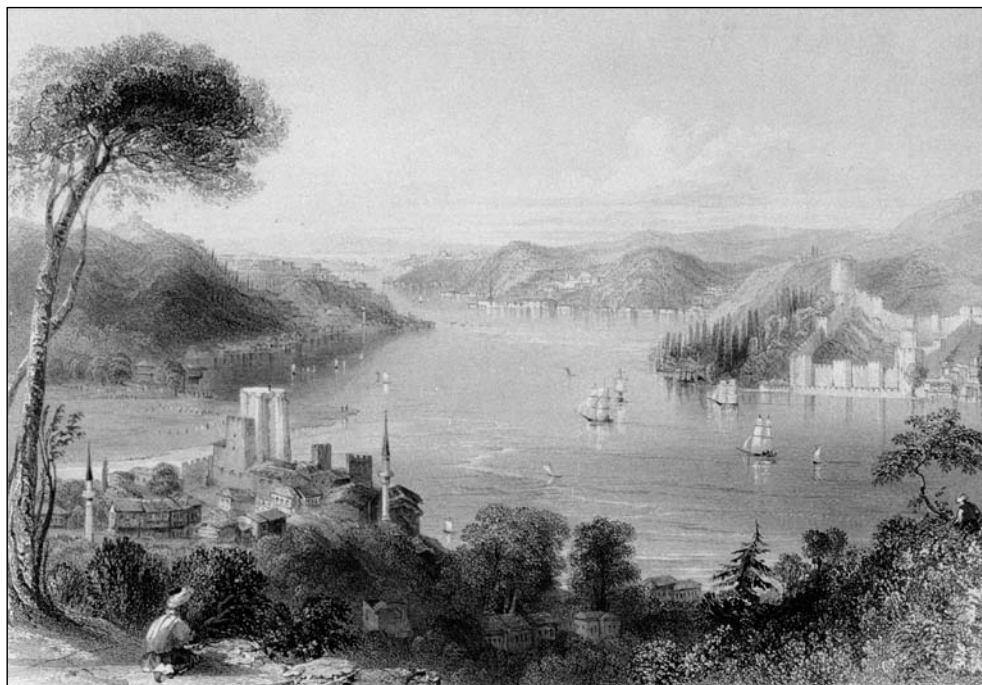
### 2.9 The conquest of Constantinople

The following winter Mehmet began implementing his plan to attack and conquer Constantinople, which was by then completely surrounded by Turkish territory. Constantinople, occupied a roughly triangular peninsula at the south-eastern tip of Europe, bounded on the south by the Sea of Marmara and on the north by the Golden Horn, a scimitar-shaped estuary that joins the southern end of the Bosphorus beneath the acropolis of the ancient city of Byzantium. The city was defended on its landward side by the great Theodosian walls, erected by the emperor Theodosius II in 448, and on its seaward sides by walls along the Marmara and the Golden Horn. These walls included seven hills, the same as in Rome. Pierre Gilles numbered the acropolis as the first of the city's seven hills, the first six of which rise from a ridge above the Golden Horn, the seventh rising above the shore of the Marmara in the south-western quarter of the city. The first six hills are separated from the seventh by the valley of the Lycus river [now canalized], which passes under the Theodosian walls at their mid-point and flows into the centre of the city before turning south to empty into the Marmara. The north shore of the Golden Horn was occupied by the town of Galata, which was originally part of Constantinople, but from the mid-fourteenth century onward it was occupied and fortified by the Genoese.

Mehmet's first step was the construction of a fortress called Rumeli Hisarı on the European shore of the Bosphorus directly opposite Anadolu Hisarı, the fort that Beyazıt had built in 1394. The fortress was completed in the summer of 1452, cutting off the Greeks from their grain supplies on the Black Sea. At the beginning of the following year Mehmet mustered his army in Thrace and began building a fleet at Gallipoli on the European shore of the Dardanelles. When preparations were complete the Turkish fleet made its way to the Bosphorus and anchored in a port on the European shore upstream from Constantinople, while Mehmet moved his army into position along the Theodosian walls, the ancient defence walls on the landward side of the city.

Meanwhile the Emperor Constantine had been making frantic preparations to defend the city, though he had only about 5,000 Greek soldiers and 200 foreigners, mostly Genoese and Venetians, while Mehmet had some 80,000 men under arms beside those in

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*Figure 9: The fortresses of Rumeli Hisari (right) and Anadolu Hisari (left) on the Bosphorus (Print by Bartlett).*

his fleet. Constantine's small fleet was made up largely of Venetian and Genoese warships in the Golden Horn, which was closed off by a huge chain.

The siege began on 7 April 1453 with a bombardment of the Theodosian walls by the Turkish artillery, which included a huge cannon that could fire a stone ball two feet in diameter more than a mile. The bombardment continued almost daily while the Turkish infantry repeatedly tried to storm the Theodosian walls, only to be driven back by the defenders. The tide of battle turned when Mehmet had his fleet pulled on rollers over the hill above Galata so as to circumvent the chain that closed the entrance to the Golden Horn. Thus the Turkish warships could now attack the sea walls along the Golden Horn, so that many of the defenders had to be drawn away from their posts on the Theodosian walls. The end came early on the morning of 29 May 1453, after an intense bombardment, when the janissaries forced their way through a breach in the land walls and made their way into the city, with the emperor Constantine dying in a last ditch attempt to stop them. Mehmet then gave his troops permission to sack the city for three days, but he soon stopped them when he saw the destruction they were wreaking. As his Greek biographer Kritoboulos wrote of Mehmet's reaction: "Tears fell from his eyes as he groaned deeply and passionately, "Whar a city have we given over to plunder and destruction".<sup>6</sup>

## 2.10 Istanbul, capital of the Ottoman Empire

Soon after he entered Constantinople, acclaimed by his soldiers as Fatih, or the Conqueror, Mehmet began rebuilding the city, Turkish Istanbul, which replaced Edirne as capital of the Ottoman Empire. Immediately after entering the conquered city Mehmet made a pilgrimage to Haghia Sophia, the great church that had been erected in the years 532–7 by the emperor Justinian. Within three days Mehmet converted Haghia Sophia into a mosque, the first step in converting Christian Constantinople to Muslim Istanbul, which he repopulated by bringing in large numbers of Greeks and Armenians as well as Turks. He soon erected a huge mosque complex known as Fatih Camii, the Mosque of the Conqueror, an example followed by several of his vezirs. At the same time he built several other large structures, including a fortress at the Marmara end of the land walls known as Yedikule, a naval shipyard and arsenal on the Golden Horn called the Tersane, a religious shrine called Eyüp on the upper reaches of the Golden Horn, and two *bedestens*, or market-halls, one of them the centre of a covered marketplace called the Kapalı Çarşı, known in English as the Grand Bazaar. He also laid out a palace known as Topkapı Sarayı on the hill above the confluence of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, a pleasure dome that would be the principal imperial residence of the Ottoman sultans for the next four centuries.

*Figure 10: The ancient land walls of Constantinople above the Golden Horn (Print by Bartlett).*





*Figure 11: Mehmet II, the Conqueror (Portrait by Gentile Bellini, 1480).*

### 2.11 The conqueror's immediate successors

During the remaining years of his reign, which ended with his death in 1481, Mehmet conquered the last fragments of the Byzantine Empire and extended his own realm in both Europe and Asia. His son and successor Beyazit II (r. 1481–1512) consolidated Mehmet's gains and developed the economy of the Ottoman empire, taking in most of the Jews who had been expelled from Spain in 1492 by Ferdinand and Isabella. He built an imperial mosque complex known as the Beyazidiye above the Grand Bazaar, which greatly expanded during his reign. Beyazit's son and successor Selim I (r. 1512–20) extended the empire to the south and east in two campaigns. In the first of these campaigns he defeated Shah Ismail of Iran on 23 August 1514, adding all of eastern Anatolia and western Persia to the Ottoman domains. He then defeated the Mamluks of Egypt, conquering Cairo on 20 January 1517, thus extending the boundaries of his empire around the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Tradition has it that at this time Caliph al-Mutawakkil transferred the rights of the caliphate to Selim, whose successors proudly added this to their title of sultan right down to the end of the Ottoman Empire.

### 2.12 Süleyman the magnificent



*Figure 12: Süleyman the Magnificent.*

The Ottoman Empire reached its peak in the reign of Selim's son and successor, Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), known to the Turks as Kanuni, or the Law Maker. The year after his accession Süleyman led his army in the capture of Belgrade, the gateway to all the lands along the middle Danube. The following year he captured Rhodes from the Knights of St. John, who subsequently moved their headquarters to Malta. Four years later he defeated the Hungarians at Mohacs, a battle lasting only two hours, in which King Lewis II and most of his army were killed, the few survivors executed on the orders of Süleyman. Then in 1529 Süleyman led his army in an attempt to capture Vienna, but he was forced to lift the siege after suffering heavy losses.

Süleyman's failure to capture Vienna was the only major setback he suffered in more than four decades of campaigning in Europe and Asia, while at the same time his fleet swept through the Mediterranean, capturing most of the Venetian-held islands of the Aegean under Barbarossa and his other admirals. Süleyman mounted a powerful expedition against Malta in 1565, but the Knights of St. John defeated his forces and compelled them to withdraw with heavy losses. The defeat at Malta marked the limit of Ottoman expansion in the Mediterranean, just as their failure at Vienna represented the high-water mark of their penetration into

Europe. By the end of Süleyman's reign his empire extended from the Danube to the Nile and from the Persian Gulf to Morocco.

Süleyman died a year after the failure of his Malta expedition, passing away on the night of 5/6 September 1566 while leading his army in another invasion of Hungary. The grand vezir Sokollu Mehmet Pasha kept the sultan's death secret until Süleyman's son Selim II secured his succession to the throne. Sokollu Mehmet continued as grand vezir throughout the reign of Selim, who died on 15 September 1574 after collapsing in his bath in a drunken stupor. Selim's favourite wife Nurbanu, aided by Sokollu Mehmet, kept his death secret until her son Murat III could secure his succession to the throne, after which he slaughtered his five surviving brothers to eliminate them as rivals. Nurbanu thereupon became Valide Sultan (Queen Mother), while Sokollu Mehmet was reappointed grand vezir, a post he held until his assassination on 12 December 1579, having served three sultans.

During his long and illustrious reign Süleyman adorned Istanbul and the other cities of his empire with mosque complexes and other religious, civil and military structures, most of them designed and built by his chief architect Sinan (ca. 1490–1588). The most magnificent of these foundations is the Süleymaniye, a huge mosque complex erected by Sinan on a ridge above the Golden Horn in the years 1550–57. Sinan continued as chief architect under Süleyman's two immediate successors, Selim II (r. 1566–74) and Murat III (r. 1574–95), working up until a few days before his death in 1588, when he would have been nearly a hundred years old. Sinan's crowning masterpiece was the Selimiye in Edirne, a superb imperial mosque that he built in the years 1569–75 for Selim II, who died before it was completed.

### 2.13 The Sultanate of Women

Selim II, known to the Turks as Sarhoş, or the Sot, was the first of a succession of weak and ineffective sultans, some of them insane, who ruled during the long decline of the Ottoman Empire that began after the death of Süleyman the Magnificent. The reign of Selim II began a period in Ottoman history known as Kadınlar Sultanatı, the Sultanate of Women, when the power behind the throne was either the sultan's favourite wife or his mother, the Valide Sultan. The most extraordinary of these powerful women was Kösem, wife of Ahmet I (r. 1603–17), who was Valide Sultan during the successive reigns of her two mad sons, Murat IV (r. 1623–40) and Ibrahim (r. 1640–48). Kösem continued to be the power behind the throne during the first three years of the reign of her grandson Mehmet IV (r. 1648–87), until she was murdered in 1651 by Mehmet's mother Turhan Hadice, who then replaced her as Valide Sultan.



*Figure 13: The Süleymaniye, the mosque complex of Süleyman the Magnificent above the Golden Horn (Print by Bartlett).*

### 2.14 Ottoman decline

Mehmet IV mounted an expedition against Vienna in the spring of 1683 under the command of Kara Mustafa Pasha, who had persuaded the sultan that when he took the Austrian capital 'all the Christians would obey the Ottomans.'<sup>7</sup> But after besieging the city for two months the Ottoman army was routed by a Christian force and fled in disorder, a defeat that cost Mustafa Pasha his head and Sultan Mehmet his throne, for he was deposed in 1687 in favour of his brother Süleyman II (r. 1687–91) and spent the rest of his life as a prisoner in Topkapı Sarayı.

The Ottoman defeat at Vienna encouraged the Christian powers of Europe to form a Holy League, and in March 1684 called for another crusade against the Turks. The following year the League, which included Austria, Poland and Venice, supported by the Papacy, invaded the Ottoman dominions on several fronts, beginning a war that would last for thirty years. The crusade mounted by the Holy League was followed by a series of wars between the European powers and the Turks that would continue until the end of the Ottoman Empire. The empire lost successive chunks of territory in the peace treaties that followed each of these conflicts, with the various subject peoples of the Balkans regaining their freedom beginning in the nineteenth century. This



led to a movement of reform in the Ottoman Empire, the so called Tanzimat, which began in the reign of Sultan Abdül Mecit I (r. 1839–61). But the decay of the Ottoman state had progressed too far to be halted, and the Treaty of Berlin in 1876, the first year in the reign of Abdül Hamit II (r. 1876–1909), cost the empire forty percent of its remaining territory in Europe. The leaders of the reform group known as the Young Turks took control of the government in 1909, deposing sultan Abdül Hamit II and replacing him with his brother Mehmet V Reşat (r. 1909–18). Five years later the Young Turks brought Turkey into World War I on the side of Germany and the Central Powers.

The Turks and their German allies turned back an attempt by the Allies to force their way through the Dardanelles in the spring of 1915, and by the end of the year they had forced the invaders to withdraw, with the loss of about 100,000 men on both sides. When the war ended with the surrender of Germany in the autumn of 1918 the Ottoman Empire was defenceless and in ruins, with the victors ready to divide up Turkey.

### 2.15 The fall of the Ottoman Empire

An armistice between the Allied powers and the Ottoman government was signed at Mudros to come into effect on 31 October 1918, eleven days before fighting between Germany and the Allies stopped on the western front. The Mudros Armistice called for the unconditional surrender of the Ottoman army, with all strategic positions in Turkey to be occupied by Allied forces. A large allied fleet steamed through the straits on 13 November, landing troops to begin the occupation of Istanbul.

At the Paris Peace Conference, which began in January 1919, the Allies considered various plans for dividing up what was left of the Ottoman Empire, supporting the claim of Greece for Izmir and its hinterland in western Asia Minor. An allied armada landed a Greek division in Izmir on 14 May 1919 and on 22 June they captured Bursa. Another Greek army invaded Turkish Thrace in July, and within a week they were within striking distance of Istanbul, from which they were held back only by Allied pressure.

The Ottoman government continued to function under the aegis of the Allied High Commissioner. Meanwhile a national resistance movement was developing in Anatolia under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. On 19 March 1920 Kemal announced that the Turkish nation was establishing its own parliament in Ankara, the Grand National Assembly. The new assembly met for the first time on 23 April 1920, choosing Kemal as its first president.

## The Ottoman Turks and their Architecture

The Allies agreed on the post-war boundaries of the Ottoman Empire at the Treaty of Sèvres, signed on 10 August 1920. The treaty greatly diminished the extent of the empire, putting the straits under international control, while leaving Istanbul nominally under the rule of Sultan Mehmet VI Vahidettin, who had succeeded on the death of his brother Mehmet V Reşat on 2 July 1918.

The Greek invasion of Asia Minor was finally halted by the Turkish Nationalists under Mustafa Kemal, who occupied Izmir on 9 September 1922 when the Greek army left the city, much of which was destroyed by fire in the following days. An armistice was signed in Mudanya on 11 October, in which it was agreed that the Nationalists would occupy all of Thrace east of the Maritza River except for Istanbul and a zone along the straits, which would continue to be held by the British until a final peace treaty was signed.

On 1 November 1922 the Grand National Assembly in Ankara passed legislation separating the sultanate and the caliphate, with the former being abolished and the latter reduced to a purely religious



*Figure 14: Mehmet VI Vahidettin, the last Ottoman sultan, stepping aboard the launch of HMS Malaya, the British warship that took him into exile, 17 November 1922.*

role subservient to the state. The Allied High Commissioners were informed that thenceforth Istanbul would be under the administration of the assembly and that Vahidettin was no longer sultan, though he retained the title of caliph. On 17 November Vahidettin left Istanbul aboard the British warship *HMS Malaya*, never to return. His brother Abdül Mecit II succeeded him as caliph on 24 November 1922.

### 2.16 The Turkish Republic

The final articles of the Treaty of Lausanne, signed on 24 July 1923, established the present boundaries of the Turkish Republic, except for the province of the Hatay in south-eastern Anatolia, which was acquired after a plebiscite in 1939. A separate agreement between Greece and Turkey provided for a compulsory exchange of their minorities, in which some 1.4 million Greeks and 400,000 Turks were uprooted. The only exceptions to the exchange were the Turks of western Thrace and the Greeks of Istanbul and the Aegean islands of Imbros and Tenedos.

The Allied occupation of Istanbul came to an end on 2 October 1923, when the last detachment of British troops embarked from the city. Four days later a division of the Turkish Nationalist army marched into Istanbul. On 13 October the Grand National Assembly passed a law making Ankara the capital of Turkey. Then on 29 October the assembly adopted a constitution that created the Republic of Turkey, and on that same day Kemal was elected as its first president, whereupon he chose Ismet İnönü as prime minister. Kemal subsequently took the name Atatürk, meaning 'Father of the Turks', symbolising his leadership in creating the new Turkish Republic from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire.



*Figure 15: Atatürk, the first president of the Turkish Republic.*

On 3 March 1924 the Grand National Assembly passed a law abolishing the caliphate, since it was not in keeping with the secular nature of the new Turkish state. The same law deposed Abdül Mecit II as caliph, and he and all his family and descendants were forbidden to reside within the boundaries of the Turkish Republic. The following day Abdül Mecit left Turkey, never to return. And thus the only remaining vestige of the Ottoman Empire was gone, with the departure of the last head of the Osmanlı dynasty that had ruled in Turkey for more than 700 years.

## 3 ARCHITECTURE

### 3.1 Early Ottoman architecture

The earliest Ottoman mosques were of the simplest plan, an oblong room covered by a tiled pitched roof or an interior wooden dome,

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though most of the domes were destroyed by fires and replaced by flat ceilings. Soon afterwards mosques were built in the form of a square room covered by a masonry dome resting directly on the walls, the domed square that became the archetype of Ottoman architecture. Aptullah Kuran explains how three different types of mosque developed by using the domed square in a variety of ways, i.e., the 'single unit mosque,' the 'multi-unit mosque,' and the 'eyvan mosque,' where an eyvan, derived from Seljuk architecture, is a vaulted or domed space recessed from a central hall or open court.

In the single-unit mosque, the prayer-hall is defined by only one domed-square unit. In the multi-unit mosque, the domed-square unit is repeated transversally, longitudinally, or both. In the eyvan mosque, it occurs at predetermined locations within an axial or cross-axial scheme. The units are generally of similar dimensions in the multi-unit mosque with the exception that the central unit may be larger than the others. On the other hand, except for the two side units – where they exist – the various units of eyvan mosques are, more often than not, different in size, height, and even structural and decorative details.<sup>8</sup>

The domed-square mosques were at first small and simple, but later they sometimes took on monumental proportions, evolving, as Aptullah Kuran sees it, in three successive stages reflecting 'the Ottoman concern for the integration of space.'

In the 15th century Ottoman architects began to search for means to contain large spaces with as few vertical supports as possible. In the first stage, deviating from the Seljuk practice of using a single dome in front of the mihrab [the niche indicating the direction of Mecca] or a row of triple domes for special effects, each bay of the traditional hypostyle mosque was placed under a dome. In the second stage, a larger dome was erected at the center of the hall. And in the final stage, the smaller bays surrounding the big central space were integrated under half domes on one, two, three, or four sides. The Ulucami of Bursa and the Üç Şerefeli [of Edirne] exemplify the first and second stages, respectively. The Mosque of Bayezid in Istanbul (1506) is an example of the third stage.<sup>9</sup>

The two-domed type is essentially a duplication of the domed square, forming a long room divided by an open arch, each unit being covered by a dome. This is derived from a style common in the Bursa period of Ottoman architecture and hence often known as the 'Bursa type'. A modification of the Bursa type appears in which the second unit has only a semidome; mosques of this type always have side chambers. Still another type – that of the Ulu Cami, or Great Mosque – derives from the architecture of the Seljuk Turks, who controlled Anatolia before the rise of the

Ottomans. This consists of a multiplicity of domes of equal size supported on pillars, of which there are monumental examples in Bursa and Edirne.

There are also a few examples of an outdoor place of prayer called a namazgah, which in its simplest type consists of little more than a mihrab. The grandest extant example is the namazgah of Esma Sultan, daughter of Ahmet III, built in 1779 below the ancient Hippodrome in Istanbul.

### 3.2 The classical period

The Beyazide, the imperial mosque complex erected in Istanbul by Beyazıt II in the years 1501–06, represents the beginning of the classical period in Ottoman architecture, which lasted well into the seventeenth century. The peak of the classical period came during the reigns of Süleyman the Magnificent and his immediate successors, Selim II and Murat II, when their chief architect Sinan adorned Istanbul and the other cities of the empire with superb mosque complexes and other structures. The last two imperial mosque complexes in the classical style are Sultan Ahmet I Camii: completed in 1616, and Yeni Cami, begun in 1597 by Safiye, mother of Mehmet III, and completed in 1663 by Turhan Hatice, mother of Mehmet IV.

The mosques of the classical period are more elaborate than those of earlier times. They derive from a fusion of a native Turkish tradition with certain elements of the plan of Hagia Sophia, the former cathedral of Constantinople, converted into a mosque in 1453 by Mehmet the Conqueror. The great imperial Ottoman mosques have a vast central dome supported on east and west by semidomes of equal diameter. Their plan strongly resembles that of Hagia Sophia, but with significant differences, dictated partly by



*Figure 16: The Beyazidiye, the mosque complex of Beyazıt II in Istanbul (Print by Bartlett).*



*Figure 17: The Mosque of Sultan Ahmet I in Istanbul (Print by Allom).*

native tradition, partly by the requirements of Islamic ritual. Despite its domes Haghia Sophia is essentially a basilica, clearly divided into a nave and side aisles by colonnades both on the ground floor and at gallery level. The mosques suppress this division by eliminating as many of the columns as possible, thus opening up the interior so that all parts of it are visible at once to the faithful during their prayers. Moreover the galleries, which in Haghia Sophia are as wide as the aisles, are in the classical imperial mosques reduced to narrow balconies against the side walls. This is the plan of two of the imperial mosques in Istanbul: the Beyazidiye and the Süleymaniye. Sometimes this centralization and opening-up is carried even farther by adding two extra semidomes to north and south, as in three of Istanbul's imperial mosques: Şehzade Camii, Sultan Ahmet I Camii, and Yeni Cami. A further innovation of the imperial mosques as compared with Haghia Sophia is in their monumental exteriors, which are in attractive grey stone rather than brick, with a cascade of domes and semidomes balanced by the attractive upward thrust of the minarets.

Another type of classical Ottoman mosque is also derived from a native Turkish tradition together with one from Byzantine architecture. This is the plan with a polygon inscribed in a square or rectangular area covered by a dome. The prototype is the former church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople, an inscribed octagon, erected by Justinian shortly before he began work on Haghia Sophia, and converted into a mosque known as Küçük Aya Sofya Camii after the Turkish Conquest. This plan

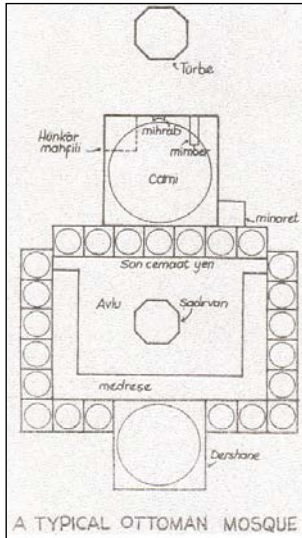
was first used by the Ottomans for Üç Şerefeli Camii in Edirne, an inscribed hexagon, erected by Sultan Murat II in the years 1437–47. In the classical mosques of this type (both octagon and hexagon being common), there are again no central columns or wide galleries, the dome supports being pushed back as near as possible to the walls so as to give a completely centralized effect. The most magnificent example of this type is the Selimye at Edirne, an inscribed hexagon.

### 3.3 Turkish baroque

The new baroque style of architecture came to Istanbul from Europe during the reign of Ahmet III (r. 1703–30), who was known as the Tulip King because of the extravagant festival he presided over each year to celebrate the blossoming of the tulips in the palace gardens. The baroque period produced many beautiful fountains, the grandest of which is in the square in front of the Imperial Gate of Topkapı Sarayı, built in 1728 by Ahmet III. The first imperial mosque complex in the baroque style was Nuruosmaniye Camii, begun in 1748 by Mahmut I and completed in 1755 by his brother and successor Osman III. The finest of all the baroque mosques in Istanbul is Laleli Cami, the Tulip Mosque, built for Mustafa III in the years 1759–64 by the architect Tahir Ağa, the greatest and most original of the Turkish baroque architects.

*Figure 18: Nuruosmaniye Camii, the first large baroque mosque in Istanbul (Print by Bartlett).*





**Figure 19:** *A typical Ottoman mosque.*

### 3.4 Ottoman mosques

Smaller Ottoman mosques have a single minaret which is almost always on the right side of the entrance. The great imperial mosques may have two, four or even six minarets, as Sultan Ahmet I Camii, in which case they may rise from the corners of the building and the courtyard. These minarets often have elaborately decorated şerefes, or balconies, from which the müezzın gives the call to prayer.

Almost all mosques of whatever type are preceded by a porch of three or five domed bays. The larger mosques always have a monumental courtyard, the avlu, which is usually surrounded on three sides with a domed arcade and with a large gateway opposite the main doorway to the mosque. In the centre of the courtyard there is usually a şadırvan, or ablution fountain, where the faithful perform their abdest, or ritual washings, before going into the mosque to pray. The stone platform on the side of the courtyard next to the mosque is called the son cemaat yeri, literally the place of last assembly. When the mosque is full on the occasion of the Friday noon prayer, latecomers perform their devotions on this porch, usually at one of the niches flanking the doorway leading into the mosque.

The interior furnishings of all mosques are essentially the same. The most important element in the interior of any mosque is the mihrab, a niche set into the centre of the wall opposite the main entrance indicating the kible, the direction of Mecca, toward which the faithful must face when they perform their prayers. (In Istanbul and the other cities of north-western Turkey the direction of the kible is approximately south-east, but for convenience it will be referred to as south.). The mihrab in the great mosques is invariably grand, with the niche itself made of finely carved marble and with the adjacent wall, revetted in ceramic tiles. To the right of the mihrab is the mimber or pulpit, where at the time of the noon prayer on Friday the imam, or preacher, stands to give the weekly sermon. The mimber is also very grand in the imperial mosques, sheathed in mable and ceramic tiles and surmounted by a conical-topped canopy carried on marble columns. Other elements of the interior include the Kuran kürsü, a high chair where the imam sits cross-legged when he is reading the Kuran to the congregation; and the müezzın mahfili, a covered marble pew from where the müezzın chants the responses to the prayers of the imam.

The imperial mosques always have a hünkâr mahfili, or imperial loge, a chamber screened off by a gilded grille so that the sultan and his party would be shielded from the public gaze when they attended services. This royal enclosure is usually in the far left corner of the gallery as one faces the mihrab, and it often has its own entrance from outside the mosque.



### 3.5 The külliye

All imperial mosques form the centre of a külliye, a complex of religious and philanthropic institutions comprising a vakıf, or pious foundation, often endowed with great wealth. These külliyes served as the civic centres of Istanbul and the other cities of the Ottoman Empire. A smaller külliye might be centered on a medrese, or college, in which the dershane, or lecture hall, served as the mescit, or small mosque. The vakıf was usually self-supporting, with the income from some of the elements supporting the rest of the foundations, as the case of the çarşı, or market, the hamam, or public bath, and the kervansaray and han, commercial buildings that served travellers and merchants.

### 3.6 The medrese

All of the great külliyes include a medrese, which is almost always built around the sides of a domed and arcaded courtyard, with the large domed dershane, or lecture-hall, in the centre of one side. The student cells, or hücre, each with its dome and fireplace, open off a courtyard with a fountain in the centre. Sometimes the medrese formed three sides of a mosque courtyard, while elsewhere it was an independent building, occasionally with an unusual shape, such as in the octagonal medrese of Rüstem Pasha in Istanbul. These medreses functioned at several academic levels, some being mere secondary schools, others teaching more advanced subjects, while still others were colleges for specialised subjects such as theology, law, medicine, learning the Kuran (darülkura) and the hadis (darülhadis), or traditions of the Prophet. There were also primary schools, or sibyan mektebi (sometimes simply called a mektep), which are usually small buildings with a single domed classroom and an apartment for the teacher, or hoca.

### 3.7 The darüşşifa, kervansaray and imaret

The larger imperial foundations included a darüşşifa, or hospital, a kervansaray, or caravansarai, and an imaret, or public kitchen. Large complexes like the Süleymaniye also included a timarhane, or insane asylum. The caravansarai was built to the same general plan as the medrese, with the domed rooms around the central courtyard used to house and feed travellers and merchants, who stored their goods in the rooms in the upper floors. The imarets had vast domed kitchens with very distinctive chimneys and large vaulted refectories. These provided free food for all the people associated with the külliye, as well as for the poor of the neighbourhood. The hospitals and caravansarais were free too, as were the medreses and primary schools, and at the prime of the Ottoman Empire they were very efficiently managed.

### 3.8 The kütüphane and the tekke

Sometimes these pious foundations were not part of a mosque complex but were independent institutions. One example was the Ottoman library, or kütüphane, of which three charming examples from the eighteenth century are still functioning in Istanbul. Another such institution was the tekke, or dervish monastery, of which there were more than 300 representing the 17 different religious orders represented in Istanbul. All of these were closed when the dervish orders were banned in the early years of the Turkish Republic, and most of the buildings have since been destroyed or have fallen into ruins. One of the grandest, the tekke of the Mevlevi order of dervishes in the Tünel district in Istanbul, has been restored and is now open as a museum.

### 3.9 The han

Another very important institution was the han, whose function closely paralleled that of the caravansarai. Like so many Ottoman structures, the han was built around one or more courtyards, but in two or three stories, with the lower chambers used as stables for the horses and camels of the caravans that brought goods to Istanbul, the upper ones serving as guest-rooms for the merchants and storage places for the wares that they sold there. These hans were virtually self-sufficient institutions, each of them with a kitchen, dining-hall, public bath, toilets, blacksmith, and mescit; they were the mainstays of Istanbul's commercial life all through the Ottoman period and scores of them are still functioning today.

### 3.10 The hamam

One of the most important of these Ottoman foundations was the hamam, or public bath, whose revenues were often used to pay for the upkeep of the other institutions in a külliye. There are well over one hundred of these old Ottoman hamams still functioning in Istanbul, as well as others throughout western Turkey, the oldest being in Bursa.

Turkish hamams are built to the same basic design as the baths of ancient Rome. Ordinarily, a hamam has three basic sections. The first chamber that one enters is the camekân, the Roman apoditarium. This is a reception chamber and dressing-room, a place in which one can relax and sip tea after bathing. Next comes the soğukluk, anciently known as the tepidarium, a chamber of intermediate temperature that serves as an anteroom to the bath, keeping the cold air out on one side and the hot air in on the other. Finally there is the hararet, or steam-room, the Roman calidarium.

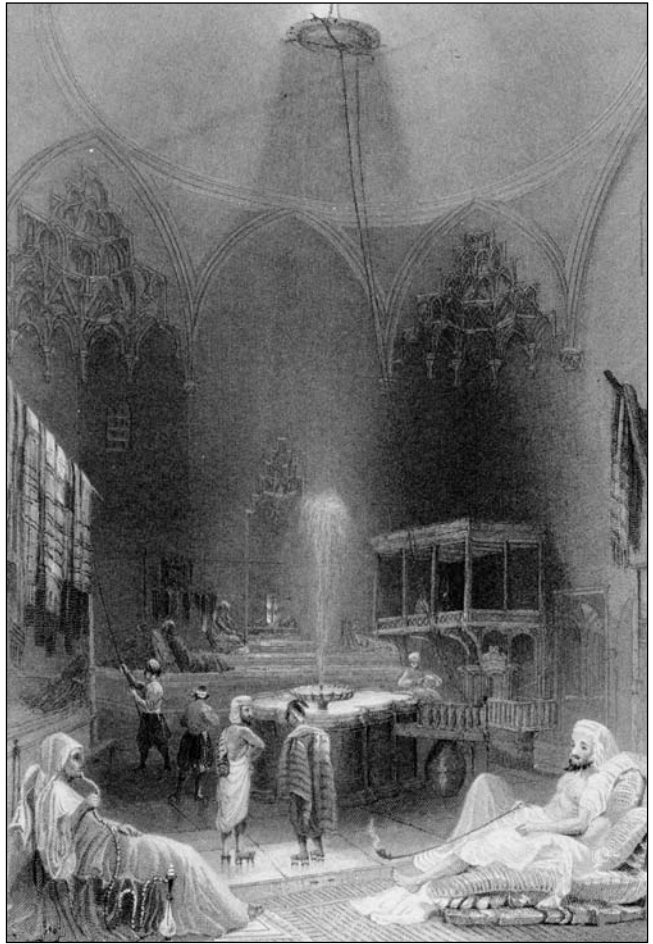


*Figure 20: Teahouse in the courtyard of an Ottoman ban (Anthony E. Baker).*

The camekân is usually the most monumental chamber in a Turkish hamam. It is typically a vast square room covered by a dome on pendentives or squinches, with an elaborate fountain in the centre; round the walls there is a raised platform with cubicles where the bathers undress and leave their clothes. The soğukluk is almost always a mere passageway, which usually contains the lavatories. In most Turkish baths the most elaborate chamber is the hararet, perhaps the most beautiful of which is that of the Cağaloğlu Hamamı in Istanbul. In the centre of the hararet there is usually a large marble platform, the göbektaş, or 'belly-stone', which is heated from below by a wood-fire in the küllhan, or furnace-room. Most of the large hamams are double baths, one for men and the other for women, with separate entrances; otherwise men and women use the bath on alternate days.

### 3.11 The çeşme and the sebil

The Turkish fountain, or çeşme, is ubiquitous, with more than 700 of them in Istanbul dating from Ottoman times, and even one or two that may be Byzantine. There are also many examples of the sebil, or fountain-house, most of them dating from the baroque period of Ottoman architecture. The grandest of the Ottoman street fountains, that of Ahmet III beside the Imperial Gate of Topkapı



*Figure 21: Reception room in an Ottoman hamam (Print by Bartlett).*

Sarayı, is actually a combination of these two types, with a sebil at each corner and a çeşme on each side.

The most common type of Turkish fountain is the simple çeşme. In its most basic form the çeşme may consist of a mere niche set into a wall, with water flowing from a spigot into a marble basin. The spigot is set into a marble tablet called the aynalı taş, or mirror-stone, which is often decorated with floral or geometrical designs in low relief. At the top of the façade there is usually a calligraphic inscription giving the name of the donor and the date of construction. These are often in the form of chronograms, in which the numerical values of the Arabic letters give the date of foundation. These chronograms became a favourite art form for Ottoman poets, who vied with one another in composing clever and original epigrams.

The word 'sebil' means literally 'way' or path', and to construct a sebil was to pave a path for oneself to paradise. Ottoman sebils are extremely attractive, with ornate bronze grilles and carved marble façades, almost all of them in the baroque style. The most charming of the sebils is that of Damat Ibrahim Pasha, son-in-law of Ahmet III, just behind the Şehzade mosque complex. These sebils were originally staffed with attendants who handed out cups of water to thirsty passersby, a practice that continued up until the end of the Ottoman Empire; now some of them serve as cafés or soft-drink stands, hopefully still paving their founders' path to paradise.

Another type of Ottoman fountain is the selsebil, or cascade-fountain, where the water flows down in rills along a sculptured marble surface into a basin. The most ornate extant selsebil adorns the Salon of Murat III in Topkapı Sarayı, a work of Sinan, with a chronogram comparing it to the cascade fountains of paradise. Other selsebils can still be seen in the gardens of old yalis, the waterfront mansions along the Bosphorus, evoking the grace and elegance of the last years of the Ottoman era.



*Figure 22: Sebil outside a türbe in the Karaca Ahmet cemetery at Üsküdar (Print by Bartlett).*

### 3.12 The türbe and the tombstone

The founder's türbe, or mausoleum, is invariably in a garden behind the mosque. These are simple in their plan, square or polygonal, covered by a dome and with a small entrance porch. The tombs are often decorated inside with Iznik tiles, as those of Süleyman and his wife Haseki Hürrem, which stand side-beside behind the mosque of the Süleymaniye. The most magnificent of all the royal tombs is that of Prince Mehmet, behind Şehzade Camii, built by Sinan in 1548 for Süleyman in commemoration of his son Mehmet, who died at the age of twenty-one. The tomb of Prince Mehmet is celebrated for its exquisite Iznik tiles, its stained-glass windows, arabesque paintings, and its carved and inlaid woodwork.

The türbes usually stand in a graveyard garden behind a mosque or in large cemeteries such as those of Eyüp above the Golden Horn or Karaca Ahmet on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus in Üsküdar. The older tombstones in these burial grounds are beautifully carved, each of them surmounted by a representation of the headdress of the deceased, a turban for men if they died before the reign of Mahmut II (r. 1808–39), who banned the turban in favour of the fez, which in turn was banned in the early years of the Turkish Republic. The different types of headstone identify the rank and office of the deceased: the huge folded turban of the grand vezir, the large conical turban of the chief black eunuch, the distinctive headdresses of the various dervish orders, the tiara of a princess. The tombstones of women are decorated with floral



*Figure 23: Old Turkish tombstones  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

reliefs, with the number of roses representing the children they have borne. Most of the older tombstones have epitaphs, many of them very witty, as in one translated by the great Turkish man of letters Cevat Şakir Kabaağaç, the Fisherman of Halicarnassus: 'A pity to good-hearted Ismail Efendi, whose death caused great sadness among his friends. Having caught the illness of love at the age of seventy, he took the bits between his teeth and dashed full gallop to paradise.'<sup>10</sup>

### 3.13 Ottoman architectural forms

In Ottoman architecture there are no 'orders' as these are understood in the West, such as those of the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders in ancient Greek architecture. Nevertheless, in the great period of Ottoman architecture there are two recognized types of capital: the stalactite and the lozenge. The stalactite is an elaborate geometrical structure composed chiefly of triangles and hexagons, which is built up so that it resembles a stalactite formation or honeycomb. It is derived directly from Seljuk architecture and is used for portal canopies, cornices, and even pendentives and squinches. The lozenge capital, apparently introduced by Sinan or anyway not much used before his time, is a simple structure of juxtaposed lozenges. Neither capital is very satisfactory compared with those of the ancient Greek orders, because both, especially the lozenge, give an overly smooth and weak transition from the cylinder of the column to the square of the impost, the block from which the arch of the arcade springs. During the baroque period of Ottoman architecture bad imitations of Western types of capitals came into vogue, almost all of them hopelessly weak.

Until the baroque period all Turkish arches had not been round like the Roman ones but pointed like the Gothic, and sometimes of the ogive or 'broken' type that is often so effectively used by Sinan. It should also be noted that the Ottoman dome resembles the hemispherical Roman, Byzantine, and Syrian type, not the more common Western ovoid type created by Brunelleschi, which is structurally double. Even when Ottoman domes are double, as in some *türbes*, each dome is structurally independent.

### 3.14 Turkish tiles

Turkish ceramic tiling is far and away the most brilliant and striking element of decoration applied to Ottoman architecture. Only fairly recently have the full importance and uniqueness of Turkish tiles been recognized; they often used to be called Rhodian ware or else lumped together with Persian pottery. Even though the potters were sometimes Persian – as well as Greek, Armenian, and Turkish – the Ottoman tiles were altogether different from

Persian ceramics. They were manufactured chiefly at Iznik, ancient Nicaea, but also at Kütahya and Istanbul.

Broadly speaking, there were three periods of Turkish ceramics represented in Istanbul. In the early period, from the Conquest to the mid-sixteenth century, the tiles were extremely plain and without design. These early tiles were usually hexagonal, a deep blue or a lighter green or turquoise, and sometimes overlaid with an unfired pattern in gold. More interesting are tiles in the *cuerda seca* technique. Here, instead of a painted design covered by a painted glaze, the glazes themselves were coloured. The colours were prevented from running into each other by a hair-like dividing line of permanganate of potash outlining the design (hence the name *cuerda seca*, or dry cord); if visible at all this line is deep purple or black. They are very beautiful and very rare in Istanbul, and the only extensive examples are in the türbe of Prince Mehmet at Şehzade Camii and in the porch of Çinili Köşk, the oldest extant building at Topkapı Sarayı.

Around 1550 this lovely technique gave place to the beautiful and more famous Iznik style, where the design is painted on the clay and covered with an absolutely transparent glaze. Here the predominant colours are: on the purest, most unblemished white ground, deep blue, shades of green, and above all the matchless tomato red. This was made with a clay called Armenian bole, found near Erzurum in eastern Anatolia. It had to be laid on very thickly so that it protrudes from the surface like sealing-wax. The technique of using it successfully is extremely tricky, so much so that it was only completely mastered around 1570 and lost again in about 1620, so that the absolutely perfect tiles of this period are confined to this half-century. Tile before or after that time tend to be a bit muddy or brownish and lacking in clear outline. But at their best Iznik tiles in the period 1570–1620 are incomparably beautiful.

After that the quality of Turkish tiles began to decline, like most other things in the empire. A short revival was made about 1720 at Tekfursaray in Istanbul, but this hardly outlasted the first generation of craftsmen. Thereafter inferior European tiles or even more inferior imitations of them became the vogue. There has been a considerable and praiseworthy revival of the old style in recent years, so that really good modern tiles (now made at Kütahya and even more recently at Iznik) are sometimes hard to distinguish, at first glance, from the great ones.



*Figure 24: Turkish tiles: (left) mibrab of Piyale Pasha Camii, Istanbul; (right) Takkeci Ibrahim Ağa Camii, Istanbul (from Albert Gabriel, Les Mosquées de Constantinople).*

### 3.15 Sinan the Architect

No discussion of Ottoman architecture would be complete without at least a brief biography of the great Sinan, known in

Turkish as Mimar (the Architect) Sinan, who created most of the masterpieces founded by Süleyman and his immediate successors. Sinan was born of Christian parents, probably Armenian, at Ağırnas in Cappadocia around 1490. When he was about twenty he was caught up in the devşirme, the periodic levy of Christian youths who were taken into the Sultan's service. As was customary, he became a Muslim and was sent to one of the palace schools in Istanbul. He was then assigned to the janissaries as a military engineer and served in five of Süleyman's campaigns. Around 1538 Süleyman appointed him Chief of the Imperial Architects, a post he held for half a century under Süleyman and his immediate successors, Selim II and Murat III. Sinan built his first mosque in 1538 in Aleppo, and the following year he completed his first mosque complex in Istanbul: Haseki Hürrem Cami, commissioned by Süleyman for his wife Roxelana. During the following half-century Sinan would adorn the Ottoman Empire with an incredible number of mosque complexes and other buildings, most notably the Süleymaniye in Istanbul and the Selimiye in Edirne, which he considered to be his masterpiece.

A catalogue entitled *The Buildings of Mimar Sinan*, compiled and edited in 1989 by Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu and Emre Madran, with drawings by Ali Saim Ülgen, notes that 477 buildings by Sinan are listed in all three of the sixteenth-century manuscripts devoted to his works: the *Tezkeret-ül Ebniye*, *Tezkeret-ül Bünyan*, and *Tezkeret-ül Mi'marin*. The first two were written by the poet Mustafa Sa'î Çelebi, a close friend of Sinan, who in the *Tezkeret-ül Ebniye* credits him with 84 large mosques, as well as 52 mescits, 63 medreses, 7 Kuran schools, 22 türbes, 18 public kitchens, 20 caravansarais, 3 hospitals, 35 palaces, 8 storehouses, 52 public baths, 6 aqueducts, and 8 bridges – a total of 378 structures, of which 86 still remain standing in Istanbul alone – his other extant buildings spreading across the former Ottoman Empire from the Balkans to the Middle East. Sinan was the architect of the golden age of the Ottoman Empire, whose finest surviving monuments are a testimony to his supreme genius, ranking him among the greatest architects of all time.

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(Please refer to the Bibliography at the end of the book)

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3. Ibid., p. 14
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## CHAPTER II

# Early Ottoman Architecture in North-western Anatolia

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The earliest extant Ottoman buildings are in north-western Anatolia, where the Osmanlı Turks first appeared toward the end of the thirteenth century. This chapter will examine the development of Ottoman architecture in north-western Anatolia, particularly in Bursa, their first capital, and in Iznik, the second important city that they captured. The following chapter will study the subsequent development of Ottoman architecture in Thrace, particularly in Edirne, the second Ottoman capital, which was the centre of government up until 1453, when it was supplanted by Istanbul. Even after Edirne became the capital the Ottoman sultans continued to built mosque complexes in Bursa, as did their grand vezirs and other high-ranking officers. And long after Istanbul became the capital the sultans continued to found imperial mosque complexes in Edirne, while their grand vezirs erected caravansarais and other buildings along the highroads of Thrace.

## 2 BURSA

### 2.1 History

The region in north-western Anatolia where the Osmanlı Turks first appeared was known in antiquity as Bithynia. The principal cities in this region were part of the ancient Kingdom of Bithynia, founded in 297 B. C. by the local dynast Zipoetes, who had defeated two successors of Alexander the Great in carving out his realm. Zipoetes was succeeded in 279 B. C. by his son Nicomedes I, who first established his capital at Nicaea, Turkish Iznik. Nicomedes then founded the city of Nicomedes, Turkish Izmit, which became his capital in 265 B. C. The kingdom of Bithynia reached its peak under Nicomedes' grandson, Prusias I, who founded the city of Prusias ad Olympus, so called because it stood under Mount Olympus of Bithynia, Turkish Ulu Dağ. Known to the Greeks as Prusa, after its conquest in 1326 by Orhan Gazi, the first Osmanlı sultan, it became Bursa, the first Ottoman capital. Osman Gazi had died two years before in Söğüt, and he was reburied by his

## Ottoman Architecture in North-western Anatolia

son Orhan in Bursa, in what had been the baptistry of the former church of St. Elias the Prophet, converted into a mosque after the Conquest. Orhan then built the first imperial mosque complex in Bursa, though when he died in 1359 he was buried beside his father and not in his own külliye.

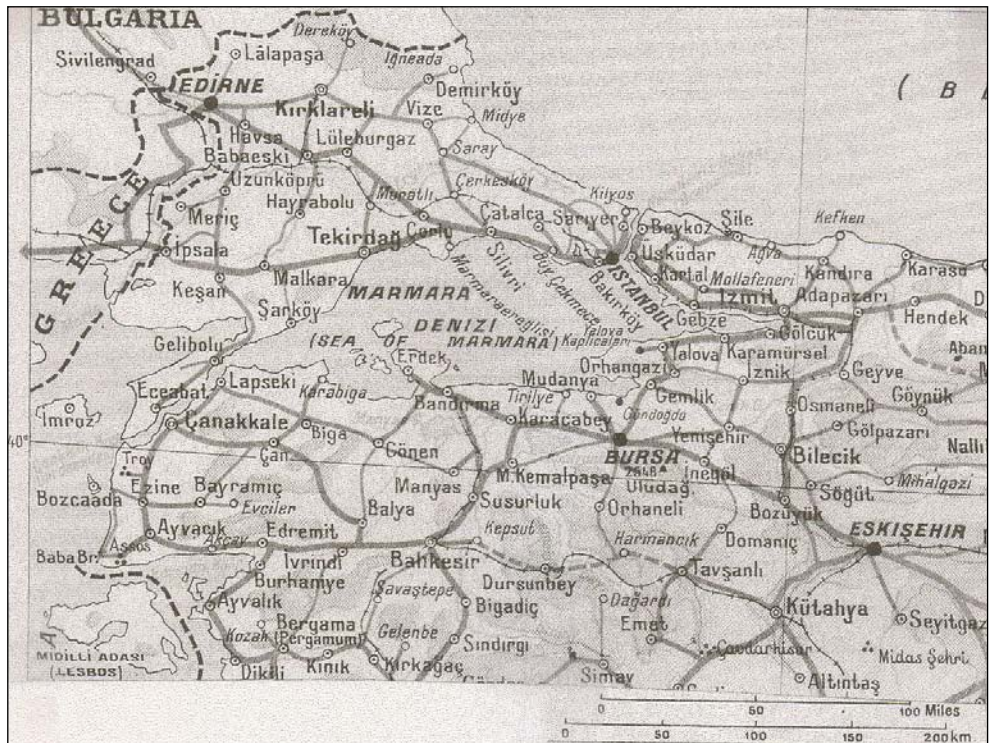
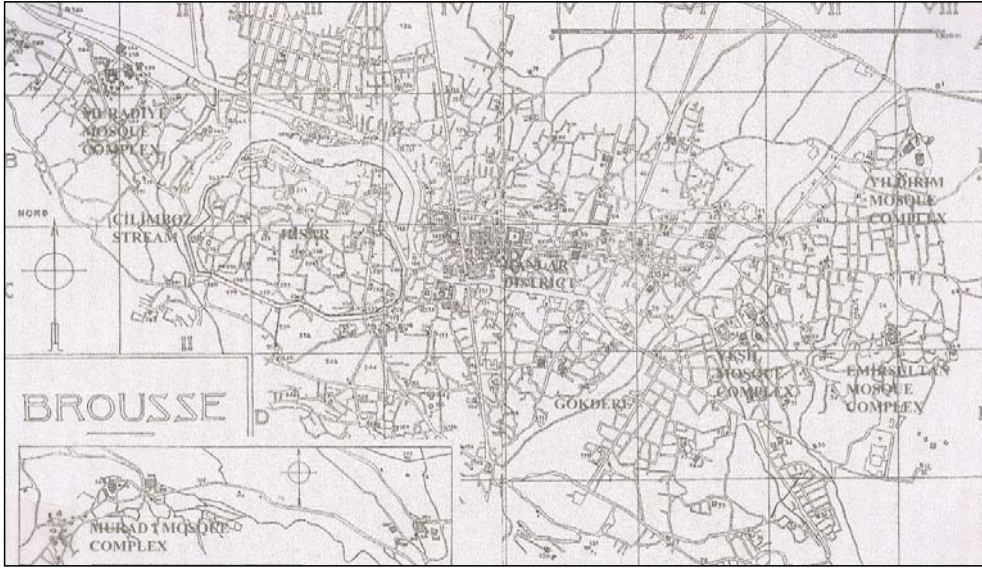


Figure 1: North-western Turkey.



Figure 2: View of Ottoman Bursa, with Mount Olympus of Bithynia (Ulu Dağ) in the background (Print by Allom).



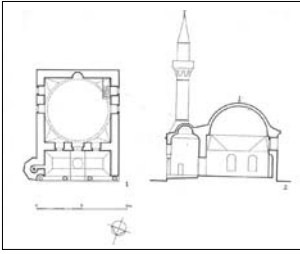
*Figure 3: Historic civic-centre of Bursa (from Gabriel, revised by Şehitoğlu).*

Bursa remained the capital until around 1369, when Murat I captured Adrianople, Turkish Edirne, and moved his capital there. Nevertheless Murat continued to spend some of his time in Bursa, and in the year 1385 he completed the city's second imperial mosque, Hüdavendigar Camii, in whose türbe he was buried after he was killed in 1389 following his victory at the first battle of Kosovo. Murat's son and successor Beyazıt I built two large mosques in Bursa, Ulu Cami and Yıldırım Beyazıt Camii, in whose türbe he was finally laid to rest in 1406, after his son Mehmet recovered his body following Tamerlane's defeat of the Ottomans at the battle of Ankara in 1402.

During the interregnum following Beyazıt's death, the emir of the Karamanid Turcoman beylik set fire to the lower town while besieging its kale, or citadel, in June 1413. Later that year, after Mehmet I finally won the war of succession against his brothers, he came to the relief of Bursa and defeated the Karamanid emir. The sultan, who was known as Çelebi Mehmet, endowed an imperial mosque in Bursa, Yeşil Cami, and he was buried in its türbe after his death in 1421. His son and successor Murat II also endowed an imperial mosque in Bursa, the Muradiye, in whose türbe he was laid to rest when he passed away in 1451, two years before his son and successor Mehmet II conquered Constantinople.

## 2.2 Alaettin Bey Camii

The oldest dated mosque in Bursa is Alaettin Bey Camii; according to a plate above the entrance it was erected in 1335 and restored



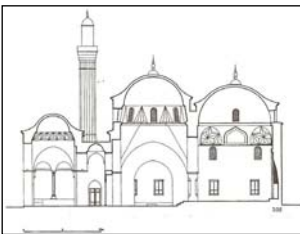
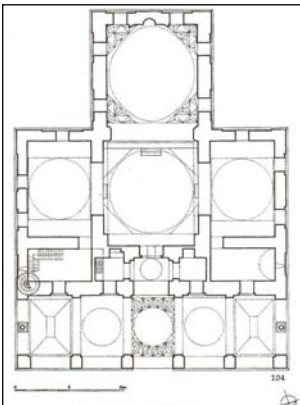
*Figure 4: Mosque of Alaettin Bey, plan and section (from Kuran).*

in 1892. The mosque was built in honour of Alaettin Bey, Orhan Gazi's younger brother, who died in 1331 after having served as both first vezir and commander of the army. It is of the simple type that the architectural historian Aptullah Kuran calls a single-unit mosque; i. e., a domed square structure, with the addition of a porch and minaret. The mosque is preceded by a porch of three bays, whose portico is supported by four columns with Byzantine capitals. The interior is a square room 8.2 metres on each side, covered by a hemispherical dome carried on a sixteen-sided belt of large triangular planes. The minaret, which rises from the left side of the porch, is part of the original structure up as far as the şerefe, which is a modern replacement along with the upper shaft. Aptullah Kuran reckons that this is the earliest minaret in Ottoman architecture.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.3 Orhan Gazi Camii

Orhan Gazi Camii, the first imperial mosque in Bursa was begun in 1339. The mosque was destroyed by the Karamanid Turcoman emir when he besieged Bursa in 1413, but it was repaired four years later. It was repaired after suffering serious damage during an earthquake in 1855, and nine years later it underwent an extensive restoration. Nevertheless, the plan of the mosque is essentially the same as that of the original, characterized by Aptullah Kuran as the 'cross-axial eyvan' type. Aptullah Kuran classifies eyvan mosques into two types: the 'axial eyvan mosque', in which the axes of the eyvans are parallel, and the 'cross-axial eyvan mosque', of which Orhan Gazi Camii is an example, where the axis of the two side eyvans is perpendicular to that of the main eyvan.<sup>2</sup>

The five-bayed porch is supported by six piers, with a slender column separating the two arches at either end, the three central bays of the arcade domed and those at the ends covered by flat-topped vaults. The minaret at the south-east corner of the mosque is a nineteenth-century restoration. The walls are of composite brick and stone surmounted by saw-tooth cornices.



*Figure 5: Mosque of Orhan Gazi, plan and section (from Kuran).*

A domed antechamber leads to the central hall of the mosque. This is a rectangular space with a deep arch on the north that creates a square space on the upper level for the hemispherical dome. The main eyvan to the north, which serves as the prayer hall, is raised by three steps from the central chamber; it is rectangular in plan at both the lower and upper levels, so that its dome is ellipsoidal rather than spherical; a niche in the kible wall contains the mihrab. Two more eyvans flank the central hall, both of them with deep arches to north and south to provide a square at the upper level for the hemispherical dome. Here as elsewhere these side eyvans were used as hospices for mendicant dervishes. The central hall and the three eyvans differ in their dome heights, as well as the manner in which the transition is

made from the square or rectangular base to the circular or elliptical cornice. All of the domes are carried on drums that are octagonal on the exterior. The central hall has the largest and highest dome, 8.45 metres in diameter and 16.00 metres high at the crown, resting on a belt of eight fan-shaped panels of triangles between tall round-headed windows. This belt does not rest on the walls, but is reinforced by pendentives. The ellipsoidal dome of the main eyvan is nearly the same average diameter as that of the central hall but its crown is only 13.50 metres high; the transition is made by squinches decorated inside with broken triangular panels. The lowest are the domes of the side eyvans, which rest on pendentives.

### 2.4 Hüdavendigâr Camii

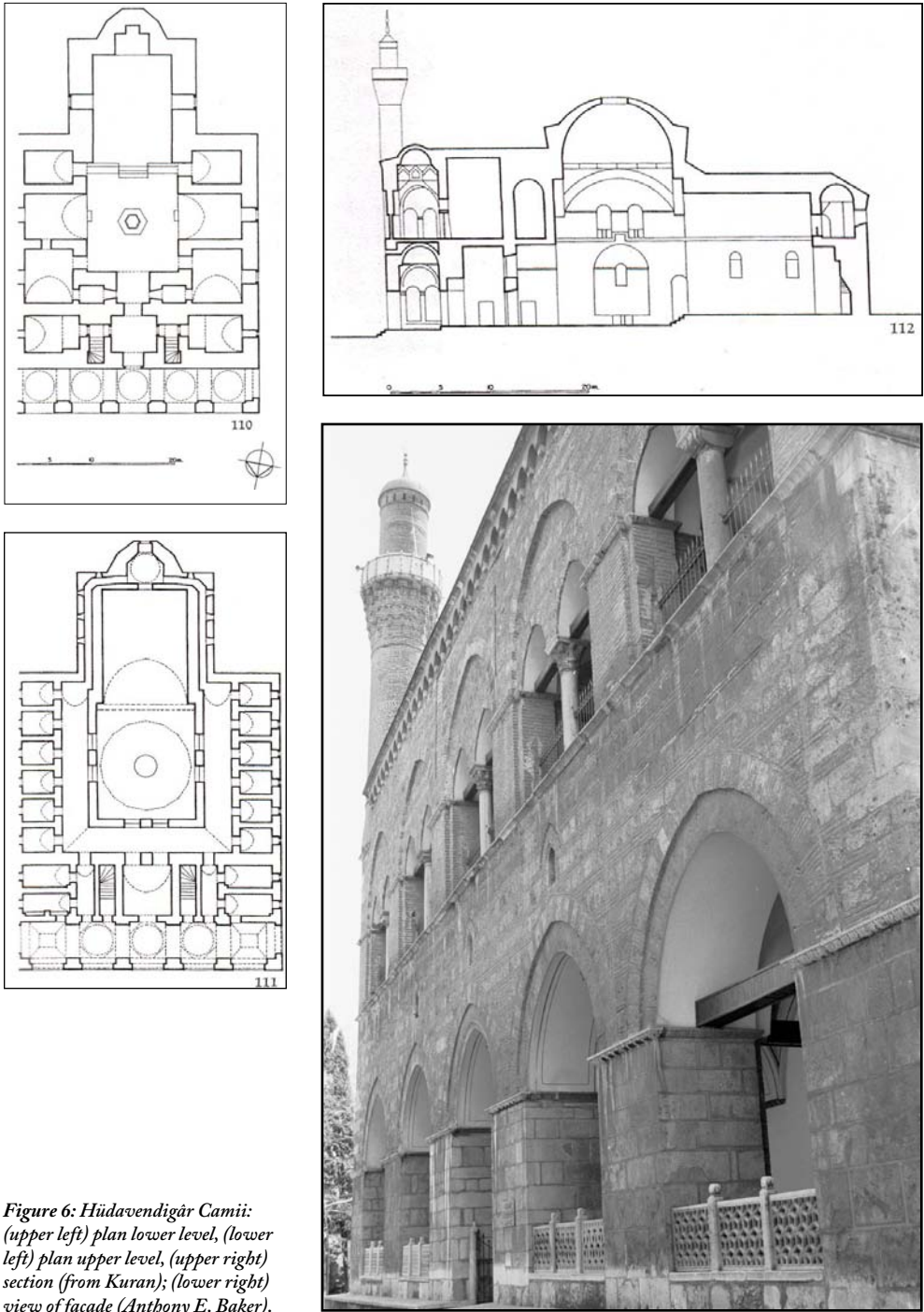
Hüdavendigâr Camii was built by Murat I in the years 1365–85. The long delay in its completion was due to the fact that Murat spent most of his reign on campaign in the Balkans, leaving him little time for the construction of his külliye. The name Hüdavendigâr was an Ottoman imperial title meaning Creator of the Universe taken by Murat after he became sultan, and which appear in the dedicatory inscription of this and other mosques that he founded.

Hüdavendigâr Camii is a two-storied building with a mosque-hospice on the ground floor and a medrese above, a design without parallel in Ottoman architecture. The mosque was badly damaged in the 1855 earthquake, when the original upper structure collapsed. Subsequent restorations have altered the appearance of the interior, and there is some disagreement about the original plan of the upper structure.

The exterior walls are constructed of stone and brick, with a cornice of small blind arches rather than the usual saw-toothed design. A number of Byzantine architectural pieces were incorporated into the building, including all of the columns and capitals as well as the marble door jambs or heads decorated with acanthus leaves. The mosque is preceded by a porch of five bays, each covered by a dome, the central bay opening into a vestibule with staircases on either side. Above the porch there is a five-bayed gallery, the three central bays domed, the outer ones covered by flat-topped cross-vaults. All arch openings of the gallery, five in front and one at each end, have a double arch springing from a column at the centre. The minaret rises from the left side of the gallery.

Aptullah Kuran classifies Hüdavendigâr Camii as a cross-axial eyvan.<sup>3</sup> The interior of the ground floor consists of four eyvans around a fountain court, as well as six other rooms, three on either side, all of them barrel-vaulted. The small barrel-vaulted entrance eyvan leads to the two-storied central hall, a square space surmounted by a dome





*Figure 6: Hüdavendigâr Camii: (upper left) plan lower level, (lower left) plan upper level, (upper right) section (from Kuran); (lower right) view of façade (Anthony E. Baker).*

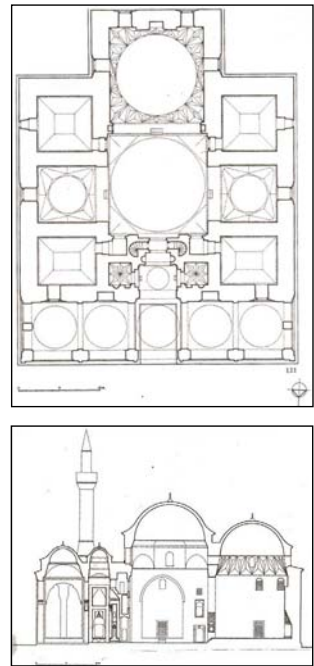


11 metres in diameter and 22 metres high, resting on a sixteen-sided belt on pendentives, with an oculus in its crown over an hexagonal marble pool with a fountain. A flight of four steps leads up from there to the main eyvan – the prayer-hall – a rectangle covered by a barrel-vault, with the mihrab placed inside a niche that forms a pentagonal protrusion at the back of the building. There are also barrel-vaulted eyvans on either side of the central hall, from which they are raised by two steps, completing the cross-axial arrangement. The medrese on the second floor occupies a large room between the staircases, with eight hücre or cells on either side of the central hall, and a small room above the mihrab which probably served as the dersane, altogether a most original building.

## 2.5 Yıldırım Beyazıt Cami

The imperial külliye of Yıldırım Beyazıt Cami was built in the years 1390–6 by Beyazıt I, erected on a hilltop site to the east of the city centre. It was badly damaged in the 1855 earthquake and has since been repaired twice, in 1878 and 1948. Nevertheless the mosque seems to have retained its original appearance except for the loss of its two minarets, one of which was destroyed in 1855 and the other in 1949, neither of them replaced, their bases remaining at the north-east and north-west corners of the building. The original külliye consists of the mosque with its zaviye, or dervish hospice, along with two medreses, an imaret, or refectory, a palace, and the türbe of its founder. Today all that remains is the mosque, one of the medreses (which now serves as a dispensary), and the türbe.

The exterior of the mosque is particularly handsome, with its shining façade of marble and cut stone. The mosque is preceded by a porch of five domed bays through which one passes via the domed vestibule into the central hall, with all six domes sitting on pendentives. The interior plan is of the cross-axial type, with the side eyvans flanked by zaviyes covered by flat-topped cross-vaults equipped with fireplaces and storage niches. All three of the eyvans are raised three steps higher than the central hall. The two zaviyes to the south open directly onto the central hall, while those to the north are reached by passageways that also lead to two cells. The dome of the central hall is placed on squinches, those of the side eyvans are on triangular corner panels, and that of the main eyvan are on a belt of what are called 'Turkish triangles'. The side eyvans open into the central hall through typical pointed arches, while the main eyvan is framed by a so-called 'Bursa arch,' a shallow arch flattened at the top, looking rather like the drawn bow of a Turkish archer. This is the first appearance in Ottoman architecture of the 'Bursa arch,' which is seen in a number of Seljuk buildings built in the thirteenth century.



*Figure 7: Yıldırım Beyazıt Camii, plan and section (from Kuran).*

## Ottoman Architecture in North-western Anatolia

The medrese and the türbe of the külliye are just below the mosque to the north. The medrese is a long and narrow building, with 16 of its 20 cells arranged on either side of a porticoed courtyard with a fountain at the centre, the other four flanking the entryway, facing the domed dershane at the far end. The türbe is a domed cube preceded by a porch of three bays, the portico supported by piers at the corners and between them two Byzantine columns. Beyazıt was not buried here until 1406, when his son Çelebi Mehmet, the future Mehmet I, finally recovered his father's remains and brought them back to Bursa for burial.

### 2.6 Ulu Cami



Ulu Cami, 'the Great Mosque', was built in the years 1396–9 by Beyazıt I. The sultan financed the construction with the spoil from his victory at the battle of Nicopolis on 24 September 1396, when he defeated a crusader army led by King Sigismund of Hungary. It is the grandest of all the great mosques erected in Anatolia during the two centuries preceding the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, demonstrating the ascendancy of the Ottomans among the Turcoman emirates.



*Figure 8: (above) Ulu Cami (Anthony E. Baker), (below) Fountain court of Ulu Cami (Anthony E. Baker).*

The mosque is a rectangular building measuring 60 by 56 metres; the exterior is very handsome, with its façade of honey-coloured limestone from Mount Olympus. The two minarets rise from the north-west and north-east corners of the building; an inscription on the first of these records that it was built by Beyazıt I; the second, which stands free of the building, was probably erected by Mehmet I. The impressive main gateway is apparently not part of the original structure, and it too may have been added by Mehmet II.

Twelve great piers divide the vast interior of the mosque into twenty domed areas, five of them in each of the four rows between the main entrance and the mihrab, with the second row in extending between the two side doors. The domes rest on pendentives and on the exterior they are carried on octagonal drums, with a window on each face of the drum as well as two tiers of windows in each exterior bay. The domes on the longitudinal axis are higher than those flanking them, which diminish in height progressively out to the sides of the building. The crown of the dome over the central bay of the second row was originally open to the elements, but in a modern restoration the oculus was glassed in. Below it there is a circular şadırvan, with a cascade fountain supplying water for the ablutions of the faithful. The minber is a superb work in carved walnut, one of the finest in Turkey.

### 2.7 The Market Quarter

The principal market quarter of Bursa is situated just to the north of the area between Ulu Cami and Orhan Gazi Camii. The entire

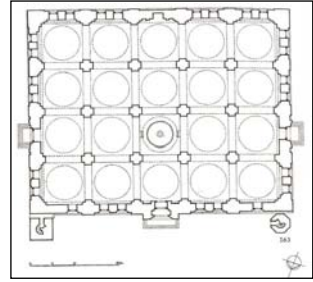
area was gutted by fire in 1955, but since then most of it has been restored to its original condition, including some of the oldest Ottoman hans and public baths in existence. The Bursa market quarter is described in detail by the seventeenth-century Turkish chronicler Evliya Çelebi in his *Seyahatname*, or *Narrative of Travels*, in which he mentions the bedesten, or covered market.

There are nine thousand shops [in the Bursa market quarter]. The bedesten is a large building with four iron gates secured with iron chains; its cupolas are supported by strong columns. It contains three hundred shops [a typical Evliyan exaggeration] in each of which merchants reside, who are as rich as the kings of Egypt. The market of the goldsmiths is outside the bedesten, and separate from it; the shops are all of stone. There are also the markets of the tailors, cotton beaters, cap makers, thread merchants, and that called the market of the bride, where essence of roses, musk, ambergris, etc. are sold. The brains of the passersby are refreshed with the most delicious odors, and nobody is willing to leave it on account of the fragrance of the perfumes and the politeness of its merchants. These markets are arranged around the bedesten and the shops are arranged in rows... According to the description of travellers there is nowhere to be found so pleasant a market.<sup>4</sup>

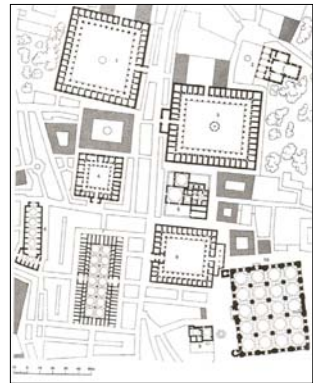
The little domed building in front of Ulu Cami on the right is the Şengül Hamamı, a public bath dating from the early sixteenth century. The huge structure that abuts the north-east corner of Ulu Cami is Bey Hanı known also as Emir Hanı. This was erected in 1339 as part of the külliye of Orhan Gazi Camii. The han, the oldest in Bursa, measure 48.7 by 46.2 metres and has thirty-seven chambers around its arcaded courtyard. The building directly to the east of the han is Bey Hamamı, which was also built in 1339 as part of the külliye of Orhan Gazi Camii. It is the oldest Ottoman bath in existence, though in recent years it has been restored and turned into a shopping arcade.

The huge structure immediately to the east of the Bey Hamamı is the Koza (Silk Cocoon) Hanı, built by Beyazıt II in 1490 for the silk trade. This is the largest han in Bursa, measuring 70.5 by 62.8 metres and with fifty chambers arrayed round its porticoed court. At the centre of the court there is an octagonal şadırvan surmounted by a classical Ottoman mescit carried on an arcade supported by eight piers, a feature derived from the Seljuk caravanserais of the thirteenth century.

A short way to the north-east of the Koza Hanı is the Fidan Hanı, built around 1470 by Mahmut Pasha, grand vezir of Mehmet II. This is the second largest han in Bursa, measuring 67.9 by 65.4 metres, with forty-eight chambers arrayed around its porticoed courtyard, which has a circular şadırvan pool at its centre.



**Figure 9:** Ulu Cami, plan and section (from Kuran).



**Figure 10:** The Market quarter. 1 Fidan Hanı; 2 Orhan Gazi Camii; 3 Koza Hanı; 4 Geyve Hanı; 5 Bey Hamamı; 6 Sipahiler Çarşısı; 7 Bedesten; 8 Bey Hanı; 9 Şengül Hamamı; 10 Ulu Cami (from Goodwin).



*Figure 11: Koza Hanı, şadırvan-mescit (Anthony E. Baker).*

There are two other old market buildings on the first block to the east of the Fidan Hanı, separated from it by the fruit and vegetable market. These are the Tuz (Salt) Hanı, founded around 1455 by a dignitary named Umur Bey, and Tuzpazarı Camii, 'the Mosque of the Salt Market,' erected in the second half of the fifteenth century by one Kara Ali.

Beyond an intervening building to the west of the Fidan Hanı is the Geyve Hanı. This is a square structure measuring 35.9 metres on each side, with twenty-four chambers around its arcaded courtyard. The Geyve Hanı was built in the second decade of the fifteenth century by the architect Hacı Ivaz Pasha, who also erected the Yeşil Cami for Mehmet I. Hacı Ivaz Pasha also founded and built the mescit and covered market that bear his name a short distance to the north-west of the Geyve Hanı. Just to the west of Hacı Ivaz Cami are three other old market buildings: Ipek (Silk) Hanı, founded by Mehmet I; Piring (Rice) Hanı, built in 1507, during the reign of Beyazıt II; and Meyhaneli Hamam, 'the Bath with a Tavern,' erected by Murat II around 1425.

The long and narrow multi-domed building east of the Geyve Hanı and north of the Bey Hanı is the bedesten, a covered market

building. The bedesten was built during the reign of Beyazıt I and was used to store and display only the most valuable goods, such as brocades, jewelry and other objects of gold and silver. It covers an area of 70 by 33 metres, its interior divided into fourteen domed spaces in two rows of seven each, the domes supported internally by a row of seven piers along its central axis. There are fifty-six large shops arrayed around the four sides of its exterior and thirty-two smaller ones lining the sides of its exterior, with gateways in the middle of its two long sides.

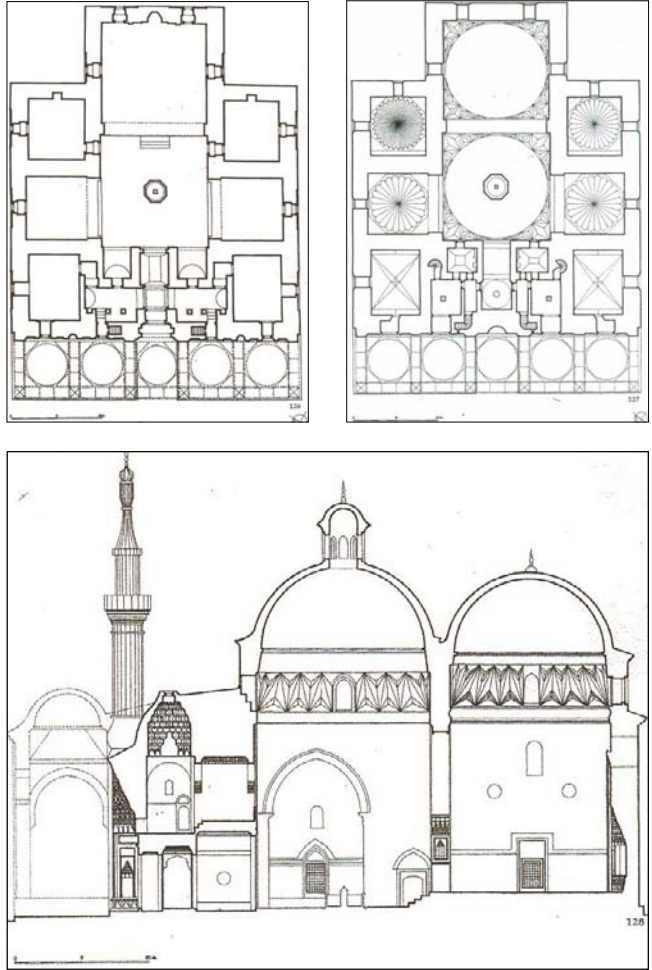
North of the bedesten is the Sipahiler Çarşısı, a covered bazaar built by Mehmet I. This long and narrow building, oriented with its major axis east-west, consists of a line of four domed areas with shops on either side, its entrance on the west end, and with five more shops in the slightly skewed western wing.

### 2.8 Yeşil Cami

Yeşil Cami, 'the Green Mosque,' was commissioned in 1412 by Çelebi Mehmet, who the following year would become sole ruler of the Ottoman empire as Mehmet I. The architect was Hacı İvaz Pasha. The mosque was not finished when Mehmet died in 1421, with decorative work continuing for another four years before the project was completed. Arch springs still visible on the façade of the mosque indicate that the design called for a five-bayed porch, but this was never built. The two minarets date from the nineteenth century; the original mosque apparently had only one. The mosque is constructed entirely of hewn stone and marble, and the ornate entryway as well as the window frames and exterior mihrabs on the main façade are decorated with carvings.



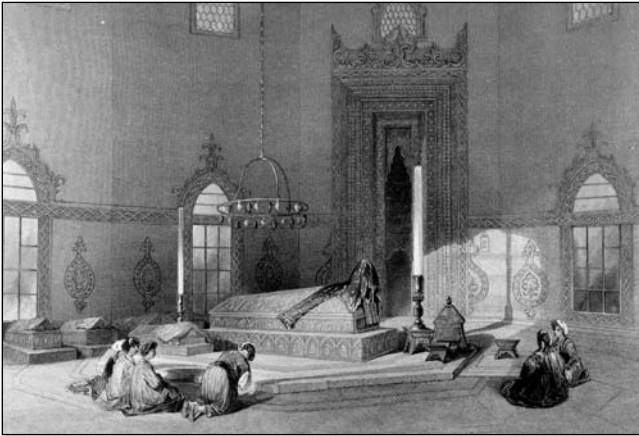
*Figure 12: Yeşil Cami (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 13: Yeşil Cami, plan, lower level (left), upper level (right); (below) section (from Kuran).*

The plan of the mosque is a variation of the cross-axial eyvan type. The entryway opens into a lobby flanked by halls from which stairs lead up to the hünkâr mahfili, or royal loge. Each of the stairways leads up to an anteroom with a small water basin in the centre of the floor. Between them is the royal loge in two sections, a domed chamber to the rear and in front a barrel-vaulted eyvan looking into the interior of the mosque. Beneath the antechambers are a pair of vaulted chambers flanking the entrance eyvan; these were for the royal attendants when the sultan was present in the loge above.

The lobby leads to a low vestibule of square plan, beyond which there is the small barrel-vaulted entrance eyvan. This leads into the central hall, a domed square with an octagonal şadırvan pool at its centre. This is flanked by side eyvans elevated by a single step from



*Figure 14: (above) rear view of Yeşil Türbe (Anthony E. Baker) ; (below) interior of Yeşil Türbe (Print by Allom).*

the central, while the main eyvan – the prayer-hall – is raised by four steps. Each of the side eyvans is flanked by a pair of rooms, all four of which originally served as zaviyes for itinerant dervishes. The dome over the central hall, which is slightly higher than the one over the prayer-hall, is surmounted by a lantern, a replacement of the original open oculus. The hemispherical domes of the central hall and the prayer-hall are set on prismatic triangles; the two side eyvans have fluted domes resting on stalactite squinches, as do the pair of zaviyes at the south-east and south-west corners of the mosque, while the other pair of hospice rooms have transverse vaulting.

Yeşil Cami is renowned for its beautiful faience tiles, principally in deep blue and the green from which the mosque takes its name, although other colours are used as well, including a golden yellow, turquoise, lapis lazuli, a yellowish white, cobalt blue, and a purplish black. The polychrome ceramics are fabricated in the *cuerda seca* technique. The designs include geometrical interlaces, plumed

## Ottoman Architecture in North-western Anatolia

arabesques, complex and interwoven inscriptions, peonies, rosettes with flowers and foliate motifs, and five-petaled lotuses inside lacy cartouches formed by leaves interspersed with other stylized flowers. The magnificent mihrab with its moulded niche and frame, which rise to a height of 15 metres, is covered with tiles in which foliate motifs and arabesque scrolls predominate in white, turquoise, lapis lazuli and gold. The tile decoration is particularly beautiful in the royal loge, where a calligraphic inscription identifies the artist who decorated the ceramics as Mehmet el-Mecnun, 'Crazy Mehmet.' Another inscription identifies Nakkas (the Artist) Ali ibn Ilyas Ali, who apparently supervised the entire tile decoration of the interior. This is without doubt the most beautiful mosque interior in Bursa, with the magnificent mihrab framed in the great arch of the prayer hall, the still waters of the şadırvan pool mirroring the brilliant colours of the faience tiles in the main eyvan and the stained-glass windows in the kible wall.

Yeşil Türbe, the mausoleum of Mehmet I, stands on the top of the hill across the street from Yeşil Cami, a tall octagonal structure with a low lead-covered dome. The türbe was commissioned by Murat II following the death of his father Mehmet I in May 1421, and the building was designed and built by the architect Hacı İvaz Pasha. Originally its exterior walls were revetted in the deep blue and green tiles from which the türbe and the mosque take their name, by these were destroyed in the 1855 earthquake and replaced by much inferior modern tiles from Kütahya. The interior decoration of the türbe rivals that of the mosque itself, particularly the finely carved doors, the tile revetment of the walls, the beautifully decorated mihrab, and the sultan's cenotaph, with its beautiful inscription in golden calligraphy on a deep blue ground.

The külliye of Yeşil Cami also included a medrese, an imaret and a hamam, but of these only the imaret remains intact. The imaret now houses the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, whose exhibits



*Figure 15: Emir Sultan Camii  
(Print by Allom).*



include Ottoman armaments, kitchen utensils, jewelry, calligraphy, costumes, embroidery, dervish memorabilia, carpets, kilims, and antique books, most notably early decorated Kurans.

### 2.9 Emir Sultan Camii

The mosque complex of Emir Sultan is east of Yeşil Cami. The külliye is named for a sainted cleric whose real name was Mehmet Şemsettin. He was born in Bukhara and as a young man settled in Bursa, where he married the princess Hundi Hatun, a daughter of Beyazıt I. Hundi Hatun founded the külliye in the name of her husband. Besides the mosque, the complex included a medrese and a hamam, the latter now replaced by a modern bath house. The present mosque is the result of a complete rebuilding by Selim III (r. 1789–1807) after the original structure was destroyed by fire in the late eighteenth century. The mosque was rebuilt again after being damaged by an earthquake in 1855.

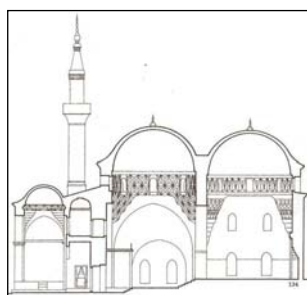
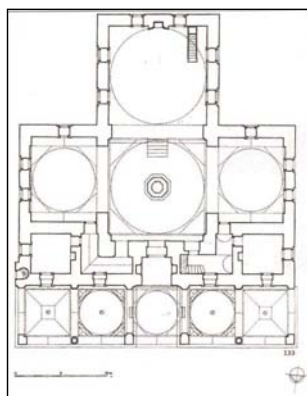
### 2.10 The Muradiye

The Muradiye külliye was built by Murat II in the years 1424–6, the last imperial mosque complex to be erected in Bursa. Besides the mosque itself, the külliye includes a medrese, an imaret, the türbe of the founder, and numerous other tombs, some of which were added in later times.

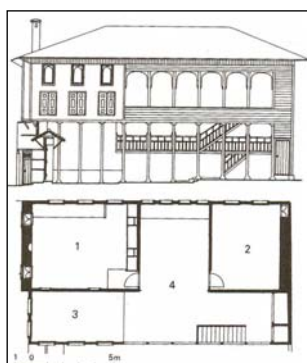
The mosque is preceded by a five-bayed porch, with the three central bays covered by domes and the two on the sides by cross vaults. The portico is carried by four piers and two columns, the latter placed between the two outer bays. The two minarets, both of them nineteenth-century replacements of the originals, rise from the north-east and north-west corners of the mosque.



*Figure 16: The Muradiye mosque  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



**Figure 17:** *The Muradiye mosque, plan and section (from Kuran).*



**Figure 18:** *Muradiye Konağı (from Goodwin).*

The mosque is of the cross-axial eyvan type, with the central hall and the main eyvan covered by domes of almost equal dimensions, both of them 10.5 metres in diameter, but that of the central hall slightly higher. The dome of the central hall rests on a system of triangles springing from the corners, while that of the main eyvan sits on a belt of Turkish triangles set above tiers of corbels. The main eyvan is raised by six steps from the central hall, which is on the same level as the side eyvans. Beside the two side eyvans there are a pair of zaviyes at the north-east and north-west corners of the mosque, reached by passages from the central hall.

The medrese of the Muradiye is the most beautiful of the Islamic theological schools in Bursa. The courtyard is square with five cells each on the east and west sides of the entryway; the little dershane opposite the entrance is noted for its brilliant tile decoration. The medrese now serves as a dispensary, its courtyard converted to a garden with a fountain at its centre. Little now remains of the imaret that once served food to the students and teachers of the medrese and the clergy and other employees of the mosque.

The türbe of Murat II stands in the garden between his mosque and medrese, surrounded by a dozen other tombs, one of them the türbe of Murat's son Alaettin, his favourite, who died when he was thirteen. After Murat's death in Edirne he was brought back to be buried in his türbe, the last Ottoman sultan to be laid to rest in Bursa. The tomb has a simple grandeur about it, his earth-filled marble catafalque lying alone under the open oculus of the dome, whose octagonal drum is carried on four piers and four Byzantine columns with Byzantine capitals, supporting an arcade of eight pointed arches. Murat's tomb was left open to the elements because of the request he made in his last will and testament: 'Bury me in Bursa near my son Alaettin. Do not raise a sumptuous mausoleum over my grave...but bury me directly in the ground. May the rain, sign of the benediction of god, fall on me.'<sup>5</sup>

## 2.11 Muradiye Konağı

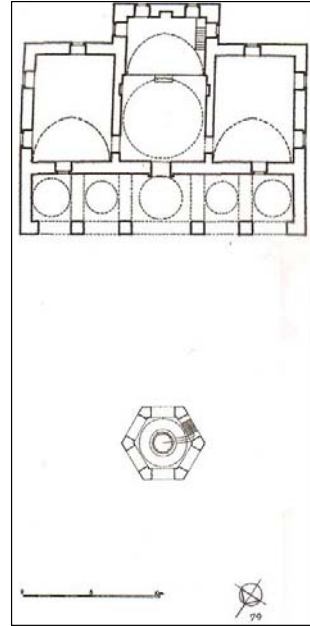
Across the square from the mosque is the Muradiye Konağı, a beautiful Ottoman mansion of the early eighteenth century, which takes its name from the fact that it is close to the Muradiye. The principal rooms are the winter salon, the bedchamber, and the summer salon, all of which are on the upper floor and open onto a wide gallery. The konak has been restored to its original condition and is now open as a museum, with some of its beautifully decorated rooms furnished as they were in the eighteenth century.

## 2.12 Kara Timurtaş Camii

One of the more interesting of the smaller mosques in Bursa is Kara Timurtaş Camii. The founder, Kara Timurtaş Pasha, was commander of the Ottoman army under both Murat I and Beyazıt I. Kara Timurtaş was captured by Tamerlane at the battle of Ankara in 1402 and died the following year. His türbe is in the garden of his mosque, which dates from the reign of Beyazıt I.

The mosque has been restored several times, and in the process the five-bayed porch has been totally rebuilt. Nevertheless the interior has retained its original plan, which is of the axial eyvan type. The square central hall is covered by a dome rising above squinches with stalactite decorations; the latter probably being a later addition. The main eyvan, which is wider than it is deep, is raised from the central hall by three steps and is covered by a pointed barrel-vault. The two sides were originally covered with barrel-vaults too, but now only the one on the west has retained this, the other having acquired a modern roof.

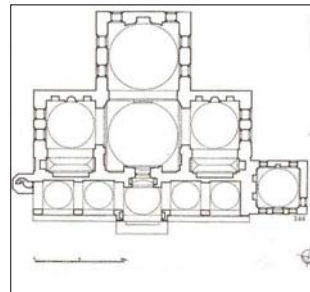
The minaret stands isolated some 20 metres south of the mosque porch. Its base is an open domed hexagonal structure carried on a circlet of five piers, with a circular şadırvan at its centre. This unique structure may not be part of the original külliye. The külliye also includes an imaret and a hamam, both of them in poor condition, the latter being the impressive structure on the main corner beyond the mosque.



*Figure 19: Kara Timurtaş Camii, plan (from Kuran).*

## 2.13 Hamza Bey Camii

Another interesting minor mosque is Hamza Bey Camii. This mosque was founded in the mid-fifteenth century by Hamza Bey, who held important posts under both Murat II and Mehmet II. The mosque is preceded by a five-bayed porch, the dome covering the central bay being larger than the others. The minaret rises from the north-east corner of the mosque, while on the south-east corner there is a domed square türbe, which contains the sarcophagi of Hamza Bey's wife and two of his daughters. The octagonal structure to the right in front of the mosque is the tomb of Hamza Bey himself, who died in 1461.



*Figure 20: Hamza Bey Camii, plan (from Kuran).*

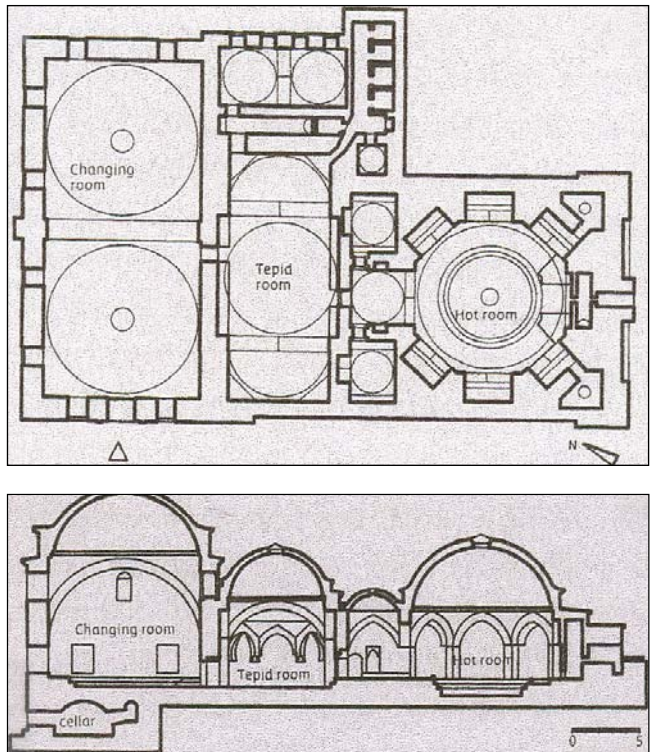
The mosque is of the cross-axial eyvan type with four units: the central hall, the main eyvan, and the two side eyvans. The central hall and the main eyvan both have domes 8.5 metres in diameter; the first of these, which sits on squinches decorated with stalactites, is somewhat higher than the second, which rests on a belt of Turkish triangles. The main eyvan is raised by two steps from the central hall, and has two sets of superposed windows in each of its three exterior

walls. The two side eyvans open into the central hall through Bursa arches. The southern parts of these eyvans, which are rectangular in form, are covered with low domes 5 metres in diameter, while the smaller northern parts, separated from the domed front parts by arches, are covered by long barrel-vaults.

### 2.14 Yeni Kaplıca Hamam

Bursa is renowned for its thermal baths, the most famous of which is the Yeni Kaplıca Hamam. This hamam was built in 1552 by Rüstem Pasha, twice grand vezir under Süleyman the Magnificent and husband of the sultan's favourite daughter Mihrimah. Evliya Çelebi writes that Süleyman was cured of the gout by bathing at the hot springs here, whereupon he directed Rüstem Pasha to build the Yeni Kaplıca Hamam. Evliya describes the delights of bathing here in his time.

Though this hot bath is not in such good repute as the former [Eski Kaplıca], yet it is a pleasant place, where lovers delight with their beloved, especially in the long winter nights; when these baths are lighted with candles, a thousand tricks are played by the bathers, some diving, some swimming, some wrestling in

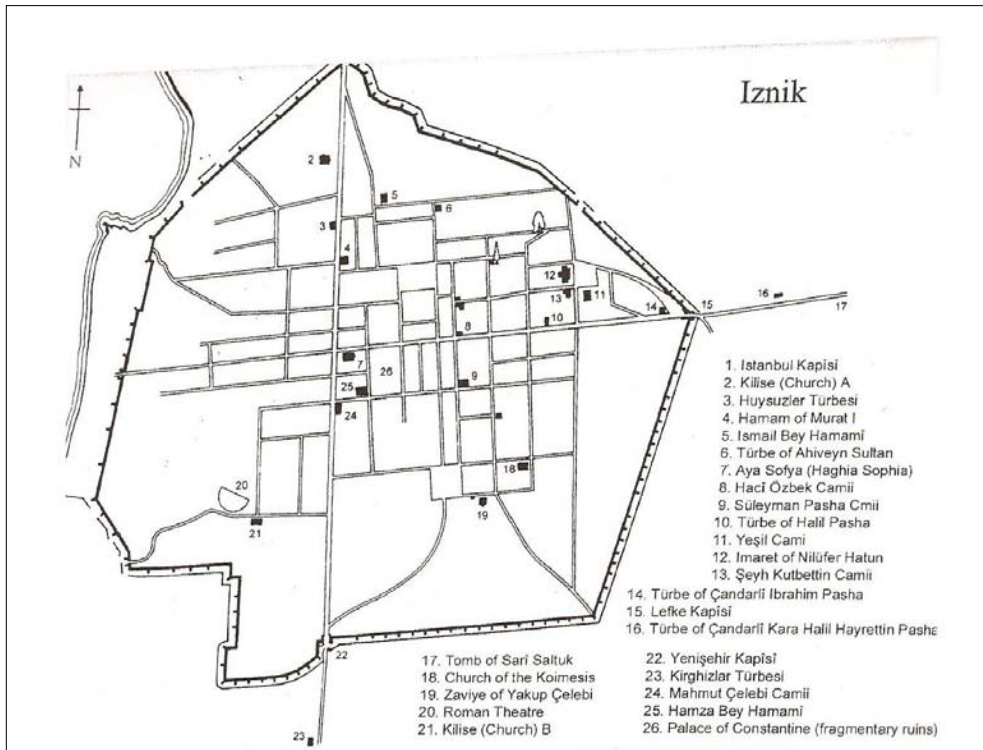


*Figure 21: Yeni Kaplıca Hamam, plan and section (from Gabriel, revised by Şebitoğlu).*

the water, some swelling their aprons into sails, others joining hands and imitating the cries of boatmen, 'Tira Mola!', drive the water around like a whirlpool, which forces all of those who are in the water to follow the quick rotation of it.<sup>6</sup>

The camekân is covered by two domes each with a diameter of 11.00 metres, separated by a large arch beneath which there is a marble pool with a fountain. The soğukluk is covered by a dome 9.00 metres in diameter, extended by semidomes to north and south, with a small marble çeşme in the centre of the room and a marble drinking-fountain in its north wall; on the north side two small domes cover the lavatories and shaving-room. An antechamber covered by three small domes leads into the hararet, the chamber on the left revetted with beautiful turquoise tiles. The domed hararet is octagonal in form, with a marble pool 8.00 metres in diameter raised on a three-stepped platform at its centre, fed by hot water from a 'lion's mouth spout' on the wall facing the door; on the other six sides of the room ogival arches frame eyvans, those in the north-east and south-east corners with triangular cells used as wash-rooms. The east and west walls are revetted with tiles of the mid-sixteenth century forming a dado two metres in height, while the pavement is in muticoloured veined marble

Figure 22: The monuments of Iznik.



### 3 IZNIK (NICAEA)

#### 3.1 History and topography

Iznik is still almost entirely surrounded by the powerful defence walls of ancient Nicaea. These walls were first erected in the third century B. C., but for the most part the present fortifications date from Roman and Byzantine times, with repairs by both the Seljuk and Ottoman Turks. Iznik was the Seljuk capital from 1081 until 1097, when the Byzantines recaptured it with the aid of the knights of the First Crusade. It then remained in Byzantine hands until it was taken by by Orhan Gazi in 1331. Three of the four main gateways of ancient Nicaea are still standing and in good repair: on the north Istanbul Kapısı, on the east Lefke Kapısı, and on the south Yenişehir Kapısı. The only one missing is the Lake Gate, which opened onto the shore of Lake Ascania, Turkish Iznik Gölü. One of the two main streets of the town runs between Istanbul Kapısı and Yenişehir Kapısı, while the other extends between Lefke Kapısı and the former site of the Lake Gate, where a shore drive extends along the lakeward side of the town. At the intersection of the two main streets in the centre of the town is the most important extant monument of Byzantine Nicaea, the former church of Haghia Sophia, converted into a mosque after the Turkish conquest, and now open as an archaeological site.

*Figure 23: Yenişehir Kapısı  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

After his capture of Iznik Orhan Gazi and his vezirs built mosques, medreses, hamams, türbes and other buildings in the city,



which in the early years of the empire was second in importance only to Bursa. But after the capture of Constantinople in 1453 it was gradually reduced to the status of a provincial town, as many of its residents gravitated to the new capital at Istanbul. Iznik revived to a certain extent in 1514, when Selim I resettled there some Persian (probably Armenian) potters and their families whom he had taken when he captured Tabriz. The potters set up their kilns in Iznik, and for the next century the town was famous for the superb tiles produced there to adorn the mosque complexes and palaces of the Ottoman Empire. Iznik tiles, which reached the peak of their perfection in the years 1570–1620, were used to decorate virtually all of the buildings erected by the great Ottoman architect Sinan. The quality of Iznik tiles declined sharply after 1620, when the local potters seem to have lost the mastery of their art, and though the kilns continued to work on into the mid-eighteenth century their products never again came close to the perfection of the great age. By that time Iznik had been reduced to the status of a mere village, whose humble houses clustered within the imposing circuit of its ancient defence walls. In 1922 it was devastated in the fighting that took place during the Turkish War of Independence, leaving it in ruins as the Ottoman Empire came to an end. The town has recovered considerably since then, helped by the increased prosperity of the region as well as by the income from the visitors who come to see the historic monuments of Iznik. The Iznik Foundation has revived the lost ceramic art of the town, and its workshop is turning out tiles of outstanding quality.

### 3.2 Kırğızlar Türbesi

About 200 metres outside Yenişehir Kapısı on the right side of the road there is a tomb known as Kırğızlar Türbesi. According to tradition, it was built as a burial-place for the Kırğız warriors who died fighting as allies of the Ottomans in the attack on Yenişehir Kapısı during the capture of Nicaea in 1331. The tomb, which dates from the early Ottoman period, has two chambers, one barrel-vaulted and the other with a hemispherical drum, both of them containing outstanding examples of seventeenth-century Ottoman painted decoration.

### 3.3 Külliye of Orhan Gazi

Across the road from the tomb are the remains of a külliye built by Orhan Gazi in 1334–5. The külliye, the earliest in Ottoman architecture, originally consisted of a mosque, an imaret and a hamam. The imaret was demolished, but an excavation in 1963 uncovered its foundations and dedicatory inscription. The hamam is partially in ruins. The mosque of Orhan Gazi is the earliest extant example in Ottoman architecture of the axial-eyvan type. The

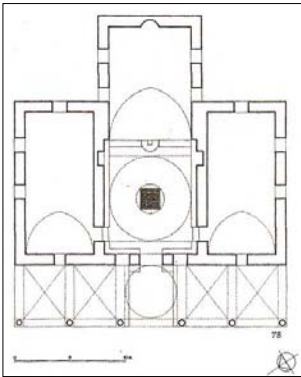




*Figure 24: Kırğızlar Türbesi  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

restored plan by Aptullah Kuran shows that it originally had a porch of five bays, the central one domed and the others cross-vaulted, all of them now vanished. The central interior space was divided into two rectangular units, with the barrel-vaulted inner chamber two steps higher than the domed central hall, which is flanked by two barrel-vaulted side chambers.

### 3.4 Hacı Özbek Camii



*Figure 25: Orhan Gazi Camii,  
restored plan (from Kuran).*

Hacı Özbek Camii is the oldest Ottoman mosque in existence that still preserves most of its original structure, dated by an inscription on the building to 1333. The brick dome is covered with terra-cotta tiles, many of them original, which are carved to fit the spherical surface, a typical feature of early Ottoman mosques. The mosque is unusual in that it never had a minaret. The building originally had a three-bayed porch whose arches were carried by two marble columns with Byzantine capitals, but this was demolished when the street was widened in 1959. The porch was replaced by a very ugly vestibule, which mars the exterior. Fortunately the interior has for the most part retained its original appearance, except for the addition of a gallery and some minor renovations done in 1959. The mosque is of the single-unit type, covered by a hemispherical dome resting on a belt of Turkish triangles. There are three niches in the kible wall, the central one containing the plain and unattractive mihrab, part of the modern restoration.



### 3.5 Hamza Bey Hamamı

Hamza Bey Hamamı is a double bath, with bathing facilities for both men and women. It was part of a külliye founded in 1345-6 by Hamza Bey, who died in 1349. Besides the hamam, the külliye also included a mosque, a fountain, and the türbe of the founder, but only the bath has survived. It is the second oldest Ottoman bath that is still in use, surpassed in age only by the Bey Hamamı in Bursa.

### 3.6 Ancient Iznik tile kilns

Across the street from the side of the hamam there is an archaeological excavation begun in 1981 by Professor Oktay Aslanapa. The dig uncovered a building of the fourth century A. D. that from the fifteenth century through the seventeenth was used for the manufacture of the famed Iznik tiles. Some of the kilns in which these tiles were made can still be seen in the excavation site.

### 3.7 Medrese of Süleyman Pasha

The Medrese of Süleyman Pasha was built a few years after the conquest of Nicaea by Süleyman Pasha, Orhan Gazi's eldest son. It was the first Ottoman building to be designed specifically as a medrese, and is thus of particular interest in the history of Ottoman architecture. Its three-sided porticoed courtyard is now open on one side, but originally it was almost certainly walled in. The dersane

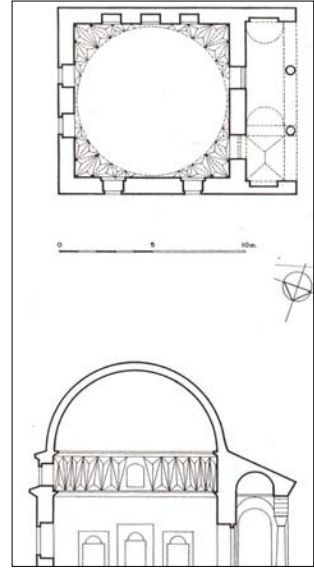


Figure 26: Hacı Özbek Camii, plan and section (from Kuran).

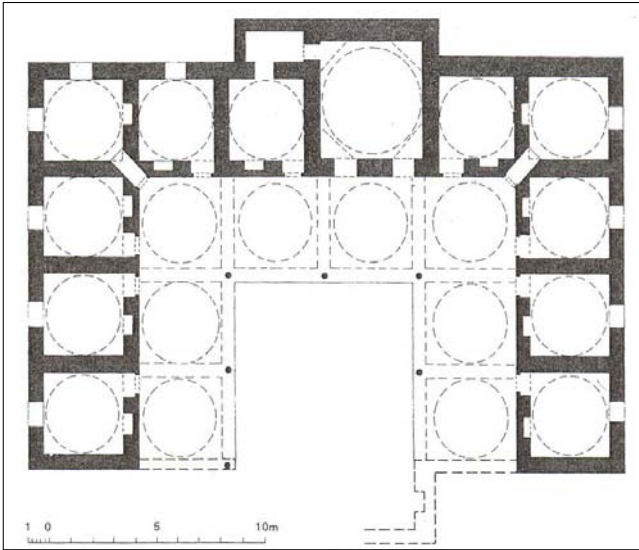


Figure 27: Medrese of Süleyman Pasha, plan (from Goodwin).

is off-centre, with two cells to its north and three to its south, while there are three cells each on the other two sides of the courtyard. The portico in front of the student cells has four cells on the side in front of the derslane and two each on the other two sides. There was also a pool with a fountain in the centre of the courtyard.

### 3.8 Imaret of Nilüfer Hatun

This elegant building was erected in 1388 for Murat I who dedicated it to his mother Nilüfer Hatun, a Greek noblewoman who became the favourite wife of Orhan Gazi. (Hatun was a royal title meaning 'Lady'.) When Orhan Gazi was off on campaign Nilüfer acted as his regent, the only woman in Ottoman history who was ever given such power. During Murat's reign she was recognized as Valide Sultan, or Queen Mother, the first in Ottoman history to hold this title, and when she died she was buried beside Orhan Gazi and his father Osman Gazi in Bursa. The Muslim traveller Ibn Battutah, who visited Iznik in the 1330's, was a guest of Nilüfer Hatun, whom he describes as 'a pious and excellent woman.'<sup>7</sup>

The building originally served as a hostel for the Ahi Brotherhood of Virtue. This was a religious and fraternal society formed by the craft guilds in Anatolia during the Seljuk period. Ibn Battutah writes of the hospitality he received at one of the Ahi lodges in Anatolia.

*Figure 28: Imaret of Nilüfer Hatun  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

They [the Ahi] exist in all the lands of the Turkmens of al-Rum, in every district, city and village. Nowhere in the world



are there to be found any to compare with them in solicitude for strangers, and in ardour to serve food and satisfy wants, to restrain the hands of the tyrannous, and to kill the agents of the police and those ruffians who join with them. An Ahi, in their idiom, is a man whom the assembled members of his trade, together with others of the young unmarried men and those who have adopted the celibate life, choose to be their leader. The Ahi builds a hospice and furnishes it with rugs, lamps, and what other equipment it requires. His associates work during the day to gain their livelihood, and after the afternoon prayer they bring him their collective earnings, with this they buy fruit, food and the other things needed for consumption in the hospice. If, during that day, a traveller alights at the town, they give him lodging with them; what they have purchased serves for their hospitality to him and he remains with them until his departure. If no newcomer arrives they assemble themselves to partake of the food, and after eating they sing and dance. On the morning they disperse to their occupations, and after the afternoon prayer they bring their collective earnings to their leader. The members are called *fişyan*, and their leader, as we have said is the Ahi. Nowhere in the world have I seen men more chivalrous than they.<sup>8</sup>

Nilüfer's foundation was later used as an imaret, or refectory, serving free food to the poor of Iznik. Today it houses the Iznik Museum, with archaeological and ethnological collections, including an exhibition of the famous Iznik kilns.

The imaret is built in single courses of stone alternating with four courses of brick, its vaults and domes covered with ceramic tiles. The building is preceded by an open-ended porch of five bays, with five arches in front and two on either side, carried by a succession of alternating piers and columns. The central bay is surmounted by a small dome, while the four side bays are covered with flat-topped cross-vaults. Inside, the main hall is a square surmounted by a lofty dome carried on a belt of Turkish triangles. On either side there are two large rooms with much lower domes; these have large oaks, or hearths, and were used as both kitchens and dormitories. In front of the main hall is another hall of similar size divided into two sections by a great arch; this served as a mescit, as evidenced by the mihrab niche in the south wall.

### 3.9 Yeşil Cami

Yeşil Cami, 'the Green Mosque', took its name from the colour of the Iznik tiles that originally revetted its minaret. These have now been replaced by much inferior Kütahya tiles, arranged in chevron patterns in various shades of green, blue and red. This beautiful mosque was built in the years 1378–92 by the architect Hacı bin



*Figure 29: Yeşil Cami (Anthony E. Baker).*

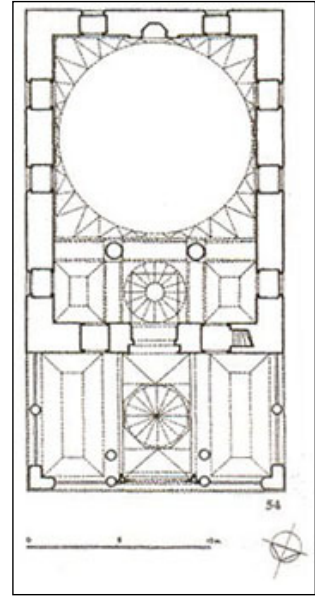
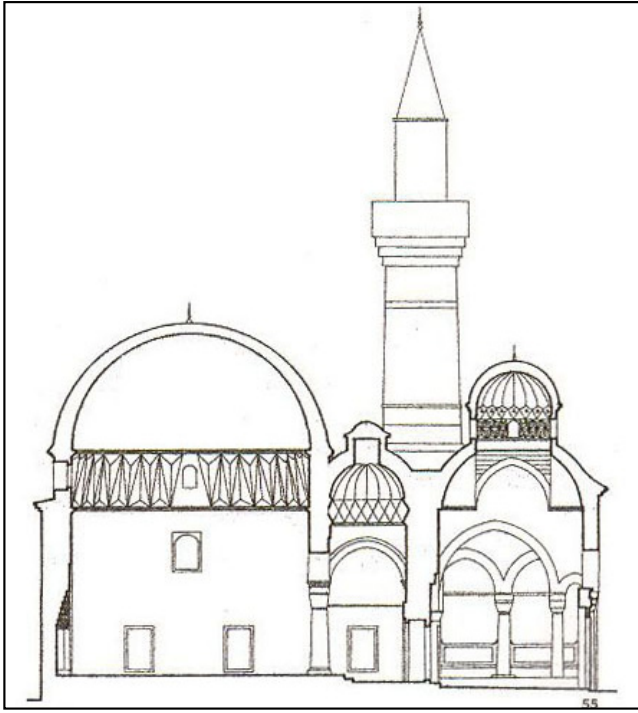
Musa for Çandarlı Kara Halil Hayrettin Pasha, who died six years before it was completed. Hayrettin served Orhan Gazi as chief justice and commander of the army, which he led in the capture of Nicaea, and then under Murat I he became grand vezir, the first to hold that title in the Ottoman Empire. He served as grand vezir until 1386, when he was killed campaigning in Macedonia. It was he who founded the janissary corps and manned it with the devşirme, the levy of Christian youths who were drafted into the Ottoman army, converted to Islam, and trained for a life in the sultan's service.

The mosque has a porch of three bays, with two arches on the open ends. The three bays are covered by flat-topped cross-vaults, the middle also surmounted by a fluted dome carried on a high octagonal drum; internally the dome rests on a wide belt of Turkish triangles. The central arch of the portico springs from a pair of ancient columns with stalactite capitals, with the jambs and lintels of the door finely carved, as is the calligraphy of the dedicatory inscription that forms the frieze. The minaret rises from the north-west corner of the mosque.

The main prayer hall, a typical domed square, is preceded by a narthex-like antechamber of three bays, with its arches supported by two massive columns with stalactite capitals. The side bays are covered by flat-topped cross-vaults, while the central one supports a dome, much lower than the one in the porch, with a closed lantern on top. The main dome is a hemisphere 11 metres in diameter, its crown 16.5 metres above the floor, resting on a belt of Turkish triangles.

### 3.10 Türbe of Çandarlı Kara Halil Hayrettin Pasha

Çandarlı Kara Halil Hayrettin Pasha is buried in an impressive tomb some 400 metres outside Lefke Kapısı on the left side of the road. The türbe consists of two domed chambers, with the dome



*Figure 30: Yeşil Cami, plan and section (from Kuran).*

over the front chamber much higher than the one to its rear. The front chamber is merely the antechamber to the inner chamber, the tomb proper, which contains the marble sarcophagi of Hayrettin Pasha and his son Ali Pasha, along with the cenotaphs of other members of their families. Ali Pasha succeeded his father as grand vezir, serving first under Murat I and then under Beyazıt I, the second of a succession of Çandarlı grand vezirs that would continue up to the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

### 3.11 Mahmut Çelebi Camii

Mahmut Çelebi Camii, two blocks south of the Iznik town centre, is another foundation of the Çandarlı family. An inscription on the mosque records that it was built in 1442–3 by Mahmet Çelebi, grandson of Kara Halil, who was also brother-in-law of Murat II. It is a single-unit mosque preceded by a three-bayed porch. The central bay of the porch is covered by a dome and those on either side by flat-topped cross-vaults. The dome of the mosque itself is carried on a beautiful frieze of Turkish triangles. The minaret, which rises from the north-west corner of the mosque, is revetted with bands of green glazed bricks in the early Ottoman tradition. The mosque and the minaret have been heavily restored in recent years.



*Figure 31: Türbe of Çandarlı Kara Halil Hayrettin Paşa (Anthony E. Baker).*

### 3.12 Baths of Murat I and Ismail Bey

There are two old baths of some interest in the quarter inside Istanbul Kapısı, although both are in ruins. The hamam of Murat I is a double bath dating from the second half of the fourteenth century. The hamam of Ismail Bey, also known as the Seljuk Hamam, dates from the last decade of the fifteenth century. Although extremely dilapidated the Hamam of Ismail Bey is a unique masterpiece, with each of its four domes, two of which have fallen in, decorated in a different style, the most beautiful consisting of a dozen spiral arms radiating from the crown to the uppermost of a series of honeycomb bands that extend far down the walls.

### References

*(Please refer to the Bibliography at the end of the book)*

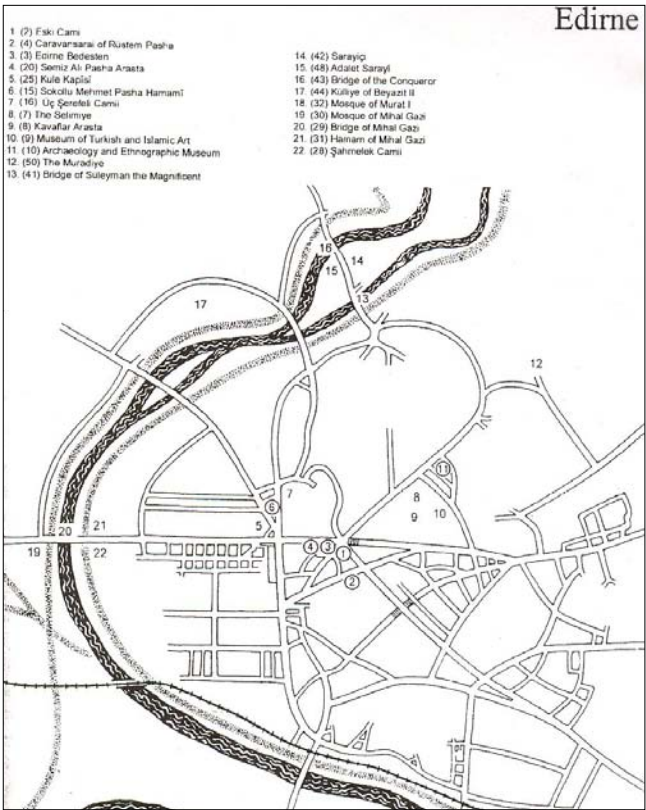
1. Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, p. 33
2. Ibid., pp. 98–100
3. Ibid., pp. 102–4
4. Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels*, translated by Joseph von Hammer, London, 1834; reprinted by Johnson Reprint Co., New York, 1968, vol. II, p. 12
5. John Freely, *The Grand Turk*, p. 20
6. Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels*, vol. II, p. 12
7. John Freely, *Storm on Horseback, The Seljuk Warriors of Turkey*, London, I. B. Tauris, 2008, p. 131
8. Ibid., p. 132

# CHAPTER III

# Ottoman Architecture in Turkish Thrace

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Turkey in Europe comprises the eastern part of Thrace, the name that has since antiquity been used to identify the south-eastern region of Europe, the other parts of which are now in Greece and Bulgaria. Turkey's border with Greece follows the Evros river, known in Turkish as the Meriç, from the Aegean to a point some 20 kilometres west of Edirne, and from there the border with Bulgaria curves eastward to the Black Sea. This region was first conquered by the Turks in the second



*Figure 1: The Ottoman monuments of Edirne.*

half of the fourteenth century, and when the Lausanne Treaty was signed in 1923 it was the only part of the former European possessions of the Ottoman Empire assigned to the new Turkish Republic. All of the principal towns of Turkish Thrace date back to antiquity, some of them founded as Thracian encampments, others as Greek cities. Up until the third quarter of the twentieth century the principal highways in Turkish Thrace followed the course of two branches of the Roman highroad known as the Via Egnatia, which in its easternmost stretch ran across eastern Thrace to Byzantium on the Bosphorus, the city that became Constantinople in AD 330 and Istanbul in 1453. Many of the Ottoman monuments in Turkish Thrace lie along the two branches of this road, one of which leads from Edirne to Istanbul, and the other from Ipsala to Istanbul via Tekirdağ on the Sea of Marmara.

## 2 EDIRNE

### 2.1 History and topography

Edirne, the Greek Adrianople, was captured from the Byzantines in 1369 by an army led by Murat I, and soon afterwards it supplanted Bursa as capital of the Ottoman Empire. It remained the capital until soon after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, when Mehmet II shifted the seat of his government to the new Muslim city of Istanbul, as it came to be called. Nevertheless, Mehmet and his successors continued to spend at least part of every year in the old palace of Edirne Sarayı, and Edirne was always the starting point for Ottoman campaigns in the Balkans. The sultans and the great men of the realm adorned Edirne with mosque complexes and other buildings, continuing to do so long after the capital was shifted to Istanbul.

Edirne is bounded on all sides except its east by the Tunca River, a tributary of the Meriç, which it joins on the south side of the city. The Tunca and the Meriç are spanned by eight Ottoman bridges, one of them built on Byzantine foundations. Most of the Ottoman monuments of Edirne are clustered around the city centre and the market quarter, including three imperial mosque complexes, but a few, most notably the mosque of Murat I Hüdavendigâr and the külliye of Beyazıt II, are on the west side of the Tunca, while the imperial foundation of Murat II is north-west of the centre and other monuments are on the south side of town near the confluence of the Tunca and the Meriç.

### 2.2 Murat I Hüdavendigâr Camii

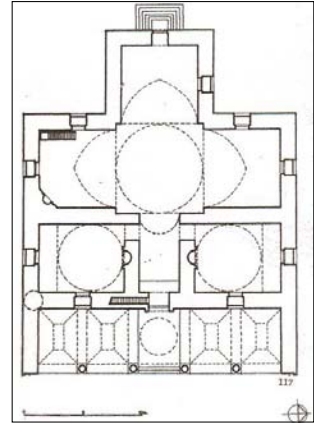
Hüdavendigâr Camii is on the west bank of the Tunca River. This is the earliest of the imperial mosques in Edirne; in times past it was



attributed to Yıldırım Beyazıt, but Aptullah Kuran has presented convincing arguments to show that it most probably erected by Murat I Hüdavendigâr soon after his capture of Adrianople in 1369.<sup>1</sup> The mosque is thought to have been built on and from the ruins of a Greek church, for the foundations and the lower courses of the walls are apparently of Byzantine construction. The mosque underwent a major restoration in the eighteenth century, and this has made it difficult to determine the original layout of the building. The description below follows the restored plan by Aptullah Kuran.

The mosque is preceded to its east by an avlu, or courtyard, in the centre of which there is an octagonal şadırvan that is now missing its upper structure. There was formerly a five-bayed portico on the east side of the mosque, of there remain only the column bases and one of the monoliths. The minaret, which rises from the left corner of the mosque, is an eighteenth-century replacement of the original; it now stands only up to its balcony.

The mosque is of the cross-axial eyvan type. The entrance leads to a wide barrel-vaulted vestibule, which is flanked by rectangular rooms with arches on their long sides to create square bases for domes. The vestibule leads into the domed central hall, which opens into three similar barrel-vaulted eyvans to the west, north and south. The dome of the central hall as well as those of the side rooms flanking the vestibule rest on belts of Turkish triangles. The mimber and mihrab are in the corners of the southern eyvan.

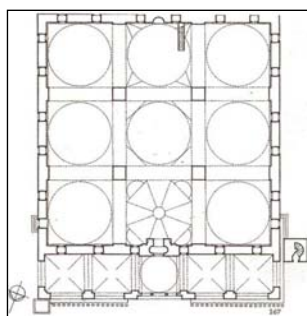


*Figure 2: Murat I Hüdavendigâr Camii, restored plan (from Kuran).*

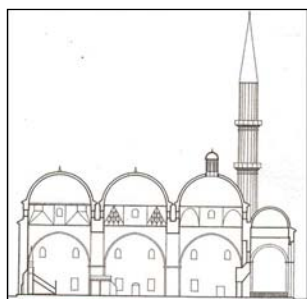
## 2.3 Eski Cami

Eski Cami, ‘the Old Mosque,’ is the earliest of the three imperial foundations in the city centre. The mosque was begun by Çelebi Süleyman, one of the sons of Beyazıt I, who started construction in 1403, the year after his father was killed at the battle of Ankara. Construction of the mosque was halted while Süleyman engaged in a war of succession with his brothers Çelebi Musa and Çelebi Mehmet. The first stage of the war ended in 1411, when Süleyman was defeated and killed by Musa. Then two years later Musa himself was defeated and killed by Mehmet, who thus became sole ruler of the Ottoman Empire. That same year Mehmet completed work on Eski Cami, as recorded by inscriptions giving his name as founder of the mosque, with the builder identified as Ömer ibn İbrahim and the architect as Hacı Alaettin of Konya. The building was damaged by fire and by an earthquake in 1752 and was repaired by Mahmut I in 1753–4; it underwent an extensive restoration in the years 1924–34 and was most recently restored in 1995.

Eski Cami belongs to the category of the early Turkish Ulu Cami, or ‘Great Mosque’, the earliest Ottoman example being the



Ulu Cami of Beyazıt I at Bursa. The mosque is fronted by a five-bay porch, probably a later addition, with the central bay covered by a dome and the others by cross-vaults. The central arch in the portico frames the much smaller stalactited marble entryway, which has grilles on either side to close off the intervening spaces between it and the adjacent piers of the porch. The minaret rising from a square base joined to the outer left corner of the porch is believed to be part of the original structure, while the one slightly separated from the inner right corner of the portico was probably added in 1437–47. The earlier minaret has a single şerefe, while the other has two.



*Figure 3: Eski Cami (Anthony E. Baker, with plan and section (from Kuran).*

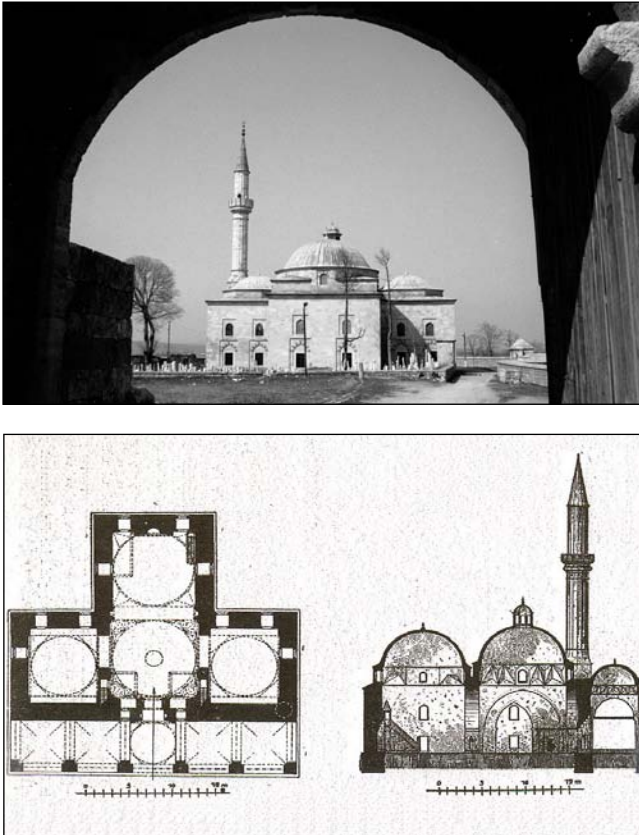
The mosque is a perfect square measuring 49.5 metres on each side. It is divided into nine equal sections in three rows, covered by nine domes supported internally by four massive square masonry piers. The three domes along the central axis of the mosque, defined by the entryway and the mihrab, have different arrangements for making the transition from the square base to the circular cornice. The first dome, as one enters, rests on simple squinches, the second sits on stalactites, and the third on Turkish triangles, while the other six domes sit on pendentives. The difference is apparent on the exterior, where the drums of the domes along the central axis are octagonal and somewhat higher than those of the side aisles, which are circular. The first dome originally had an open oculus in its crown, but this is now covered by a lantern.

## 2.4 The bedesten

Beside Eski Cami to the west is the bedesten, a covered market built by Mehmet I immediately after the completion of the mosque. The market, which comprises 36 strongrooms, is covered by 14 domes in two rows of seven each, supported internally by six piers, with doors on all four sides and arched windows under each of the domes. The bedesten was the commercial centre of Ottoman Edirne, with storage rooms and shops for those dealing in the most valuable goods, such as gold merchants, jewelers, armourers, brocade dealers, and sellers of expensive carpets. The bedesten was part of the vakıf, or pious foundation, of Eski Cami, and its profits paid for the upkeep of the mosque and the salaries of its staff.

## 2.5 Muradiye Camii

The imperial mosque known as the Muradiye stands on an isolated hilltop to the north-east of the town centre. The mosque



*Figure 4: Muradiye Cami (Anthony E. Baker), with plan and section (from Gurlitt).*

was founded by Murat II in 1435 as a zaviye, or dervish hostel, apparently inspired by a dream in which Celalettin Rumi, founder of the Mevlevi dervishes, asked the sultan to build a place of shelter and worship for his brotherhood. Later in his reign Murat converted the zaviye into a mosque, housing the dervishes in a tekke, or lodge, which vanished, in the garden of the külliye.

The mosque is preceded by a five-bay porch, of which the central bay is covered by a high dome and the others by transverse vaults. The single minaret, a nineteenth-century replacement of the original, rises from the north-east corner of the building. The mosque is of the cross-axial eyvan type, with domed eyvans opening off the central hall to east, west and south. The dome of the central hall is higher than the others and is supported on a band of Turkish triangles, with a lantern in the crown in place of its original open oculus. The dome of the main eyvan, the one to the south, sits on triangular corner panels, while those of the side eyvans rest on squinches. The main eyvan is richly decorated with ceramic tiles and frescoes, and the mihrab is decorated with some of the finest extant examples of early fifteenth-century Iznik tiles.

### 2.6 Üç Şerefeli Cami

The imperial mosque known as Üç Şerefeli Cami is a short distance to the north-west of Eski Cami at the town centre. The mosque takes its name from the fact that the tallest of its four minarets has three (*üç*) balconies (*şerefè*). The mosque was built in the years 1437–47 by Murat II, the largest edifice erected in the Ottoman Empire prior to the conquest of Constantinople. It was severely damaged by fire in 1732 and again by an earthquake in 1748, after which it was restored by Mahmut I along with Eski Cami.

The mosque is preceded by an *avlu*, a porticoed courtyard whose area is fifty percent larger than the building itself, with the complex covering a square area measuring 66.5 by 64.5 metres. The arcade of the avlu has 24 hemispherical and ovoid domes of various sizes covering the bays of the portico, the columns of its peripheral colonnade carrying handsome arches with red and white voussoirs. The main entrance to the courtyard is framed in a monumental gateway derived from those of thirteenth-century Seljuk medreses in Anatolia. In the centre of the courtyard there is a low octagonal *şadırvan*. The lunettes of two of the courtyard windows contain calligraphic inscriptions bearing the name of Murat II in lapis lazuli and white faience. The original painted decoration, now restored, survives in several domes of the portico. Minarets stand at the four corners of the courtyard, the inner ones rising from the junction of the porch with the mosque. The tallest of the minarets, at the right-hand corner of the courtyard where it



*Figure 5: Üç Şerefeli Cami (Anthony E. Baker).*

joins the mosque, has, as mentioned, three balconies. This minaret is 67.6 metres high, and at the time of its construction it was the tallest in the Ottoman Empire, a record later surpassed by Edirne's Selimiye Cami. The minaret at the left corner of the mosque, the second-tallest of the four, has two balconies, while the two minarets at the outer corners, equal in height, have a single şerefe each. All four minarets are decorated with different stone patterns up to the first şerefe, the outer ones with ribs and spirals and the inner ones with chequerboards and spirals, respectively.

Üç Şerefeli Cami exhibits a particularly impressive and varied profile, an effect created by the variety in height, number of balconies and decoration of the minarets, together with the difference in elevation and size of the domes. The great central dome of the mosque

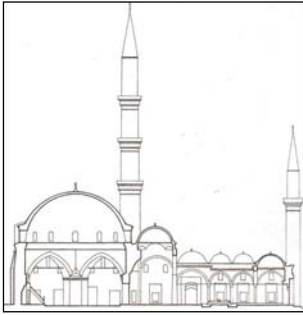
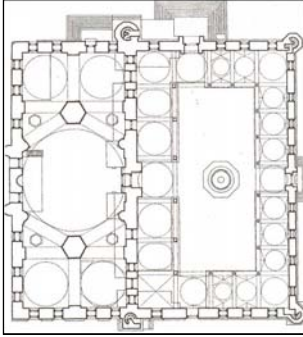


Figure 6: Üç Şerefeli Cami, plan and section (from Kuran).

is flanked on either side by pairs of lesser domes, with smaller cupolas covering the revak, or porch, and still smaller ones over the arcades along the other three sides of the courtyard. This cascading of domes framed by minarets would be a feature of the great imperial mosques of the classical period, particularly in Edirne's Selimiye.

The central area of the prayer hall is covered by the great dome, 24.1 metres in diameter, the largest by far of any Ottoman mosque up to that time. The dome is supported internally by two huge hexagonal piers and four other piers engaged in the walls, with six pointed arches springing between these supports under the cupola. The rim of the dome is encircled by a belt of Turkish triangles on pendentives. Externally the dome is raised on a dodecagonal drum supported by eight small arched buttresses, the first such instance in Ottoman architecture. On either side of the central area there are two pairs of side chambers each covered by a hemispherical dome 10.5 metres in diameter. The four triangular areas between the side chambers and the central area are covered by tiny cupolas, each of which is the centre of a tripartite vault decorated with stalactites. These chambers were used as a tabhane, or hostel for travelling dervishes. As Godfrey Goodwin points out in his magisterial *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, the spacious and lofty side chambers are separated from the central area by only the hexagonal piers, thus enhancing the sense of vastness in the enclosed and centralized space, a feature that would be characteristic of the great imperial mosques of the classical age.<sup>2</sup>

### 2.7 The Beyazidiye

The imperial külliye of the Beyazidiye occupies a vast area on the west bank of the Tunca. The mosque complex was built for Beyazıt II in the years 1484–8 by the architect Hayrettin. Besides the great mosque, the külliye includes a hospital, an insane asylum, a medical school, a hospice, an imaret, a bakery and food depots. The main gateway to the külliye is on its north side, with a large fountain to its left. An inscription records that the fountain was built by one Sinan Ağa in 1669. The gate leads into the immense outer courtyard of the külliye, with the mosque and its avlu straight ahead to the south, the other buildings of the complex arrayed around to the east and west.

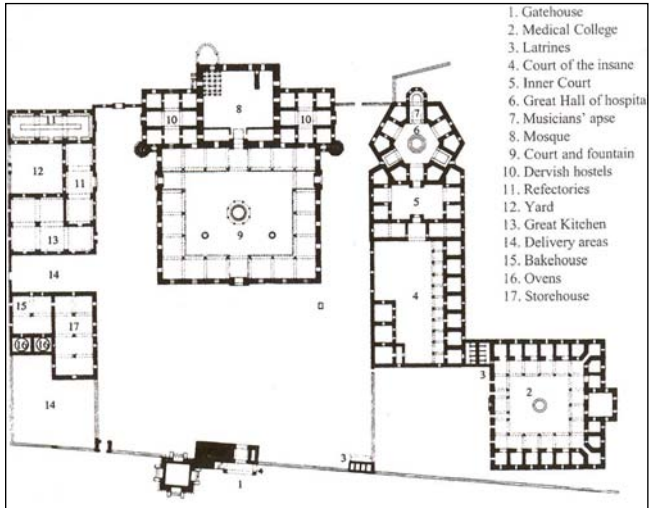
The mosque is preceded by an avlu measuring 50 by 40 metres, with a peripheral arcade of seven bays along the north and south sides and six along the east and west covered by 22 cupolas. The arcade is carried on 19 antique marble columns crowned with stalactite capitals. There are three entrances to the court, with the main entryway in the centre of the north portico and side entrances through the bays nearest the mosque porch. In the centre of the



*Figure 7: (above) The Beyazidiye mosque (Anthony E. Baker), (below) Hospital of the Beyazidiye (Anthony E. Baker).*



Figure 8: Plan of the Beyazidiye complex (from Goodwin).



court there is a large circular şadırvan; this was once covered with a canopy supported by a circlet of eight columns, of which only the bases remain. The entryway to the mosque from the portico is set in a marble frame with a stalactite niche, the door surmounted by a circular arch with serpentine polychrome voussoirs. The square prayer room is flanked by a pair of zaviyes that extend beyond the ends of the son cemaat yeri and can be entered from the last bays on either side of the porch. The two minarets rise from the outer corners of the zaviyes and can be entered from the outside as well as from within the corner bays of the hospices. Thus the minarets are set nearly 20 metres out from the main body of the building, an unusual arrangement which is aesthetically effective as a frame for the massive domed square of the mosque.

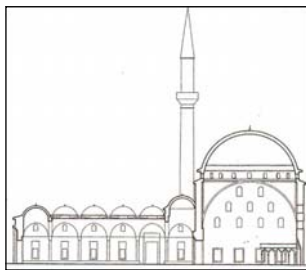
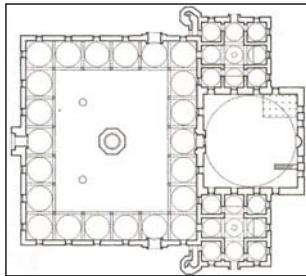


Figure 9: The Beyazide mosque, plan and section (from Kuran).

The prayer hall has exceptionally high exterior walls, covered by a lofty dome slightly more than 20 metres in diameter. The dome rests on pendentives rising directly out of the corners halfway up the walls between the four great arches that carry the drum on which the dome is raised. There are 24 windows in the drum and a total of 44 in two tiers in the four tympana walls, filling the prayer-room with light. The imperial loge is in the south-east corner of the room, carried on four rows of three arches each springing from slender columns of antique marble. Each of the hospice wings, which are a third as high as the prayer-hall, has nine domed bays, with four corner rooms around four eyvans radiating from a central court.

The imaret is at the south-east corner of the precinct, while the building that houses the bakery and food depots is at the north-east corner. The imaret has eleven domed bays around an off-centre courtyard, including two refectories each 25 metres in length



covered by three domes. The building that contained the bakery and food depots has twelve domed bays arranged in an ell, with a large open courtyard to the south.

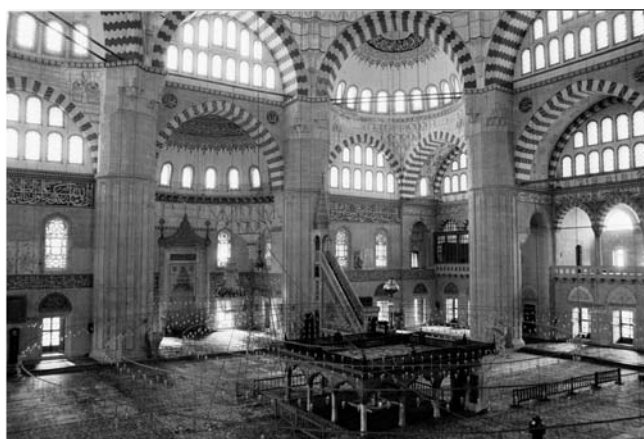
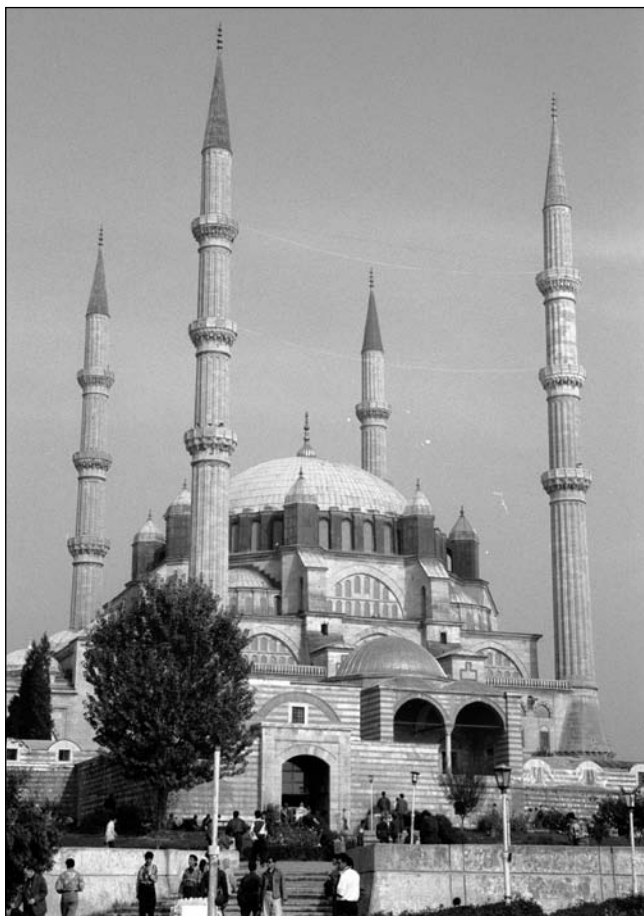
The long building west of the mosque is the *darüşşifa*, or hospital. This included a *timarhane*, or insane asylum, as well as a *tip medresesi*, or medical school, linked to the north-east corner of the hospital complex. The hospital proper is the domed structure in the south-west corner of the precinct. This is hexagonal in plan, with twelve domed bays surrounding a court and *şadırvan*, both hexagonal as well, the central area covered by a dome over 14 metres in diameter crowned by a lantern. There is an *eyvan* in each of the six sides connected with chambers in each corner of the hexagon. South of this is a court surrounded by domed chambers, and from there a gateway leads to a second and much larger courtyard, on whose western side a colonnade of eleven columns of ancient marble carries a portico from which open seven domed cells. At the northern end of the east side of the courtyard there are three domed cells that probably contained the kitchen and dining hall of the *timarhane*. The last cell on the east side of the second court is linked with the south-east corner of the *tip medresesi*. This is a square building with eighteen domed cells arrayed around three side of a porticoed courtyard centered on a *şadırvan*, with a wall on the east side and a large domed *dershane* in the middle of the west side.

Sultan Beyazıt's *vakfiye*, or deed of foundation, records that the staff of his *külliye* numbered 167, of whom 21 were assigned to the hospital, including the chief physician, two assistant doctors, two surgeons, two oculists, and a pharmacist, in addition to 18 students in the medical school. *Evliya Çelebi* reports that in the *Beyazidiye* music was played under the great dome of the hospital three times a week by a group that included seven instrumentalists and three singers, as a 'cure for the sick, medicine for the afflicted, spiritual nourishment for the mad, and a remedy for the melancholy.'<sup>3</sup>

### 2.8 The Selimiye mosque

The peak of classical Ottoman architecture is represented by the Selimiye, the imperial *külliye* dominating the view to the north-east of the city centre. Sinan built this magnificent mosque complex in the years 1569–75 for Selim II, who died the year before it was completed. The great architect considered the Selimiye mosque in Edirne to be the crowning achievement of his career, surpassing even the *Süleymaniye* in Istanbul.

The Selimiye is built on a platform called *Kavak Meydanı*, 'the Square of the Poplar,' where Beyazıt I had erected a palace in the last



*Figure 10: The Selimiye mosque, exterior and interior (Anthony E. Baker).*

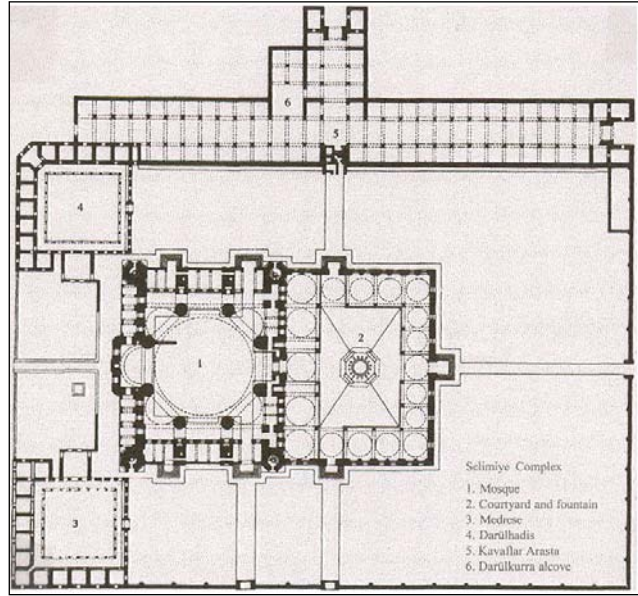
decade of the fourteenth century. The platform, which is enclosed by the buildings of the külliye and a precinct wall, is 190 metres long and 130 metres wide. The avlu of the Selimiye is located at the centre of this vast space, with the mosque itself adjoining it to the south. The mosque and its avlu have nearly the same dimensions, 60 metres wide by 44 metres long. The south-east corner of the precinct is occupied by the medrese of the külliye, while the darülhadis, or school of sacred tradition, is at the south-west corner. The western side of the precinct is completely taken up with a market building called Kavaflar Arastası, 'the Cobblers' Arcade,' whose income helped support the other institutions of the külliye.

The avlu, which has entrances on three sides, has a peripheral colonnade covered by 19 domes of various sizes, with the smallest ones on the outer arcade, those of intermediate size on the flanks, and the five largest cupolas, resting on octagonal drums, on the porch of the mosque, the one above the central bay being the highest, with its grooved shell raised on stalactite consoles. The arcade of the porch is carried on large marble columns. The remainder of the peripheral colonnade is supported by shorter marble columns except for those on the northern corners, which are square piers with engaged columns on their faces. All of the columns have stalactite capitals, with pointed arches springing between them in all bays except the two narrow ones flanking the central arch of the porch, which are ogival. The bases of the arcades are in cut stone, while the open courtyard itself is paved in marble slabs. At its centre there is an attractive sixteen-sided şadırvan of white marble, with a large water bowl rising from its unroofed pool.

The four minarets rise from the corners of the mosque, framing the great dome on all sides and visually increasing the apparent height of the structure. All four of the minarets are 70.89 metres high from the ground to the tips of their finials, the tallest in Islam, appearing even taller because of the vertical piping that lines their shafts. The minarets have three balconies each. The two minarets on the northern corners each have three spiral staircases leading up separately to the individual balconies, a unique feature of the Selimiye.

The huge piers that support the dome project as turrets, or weight towers, with buttresses pressing against each of them. The base of the hemispherical dome has 24 ribs concealed externally by stone clamps, which together with the eight turrets act as the drum of the cupola. Beneath the drum there are tympana on the four sides, and in the corners there are small semidomes that cover the exedrae around the great dome, with a larger semidome over the mihrab apse below the southern tympanum. Thus there is a cascade of semidomes around the great dome and its surrounding turrets, giving the mosque a rounded pyramidal profile framed on

*Figure 11: The Selimiye complex, plan (from Goodwin).*

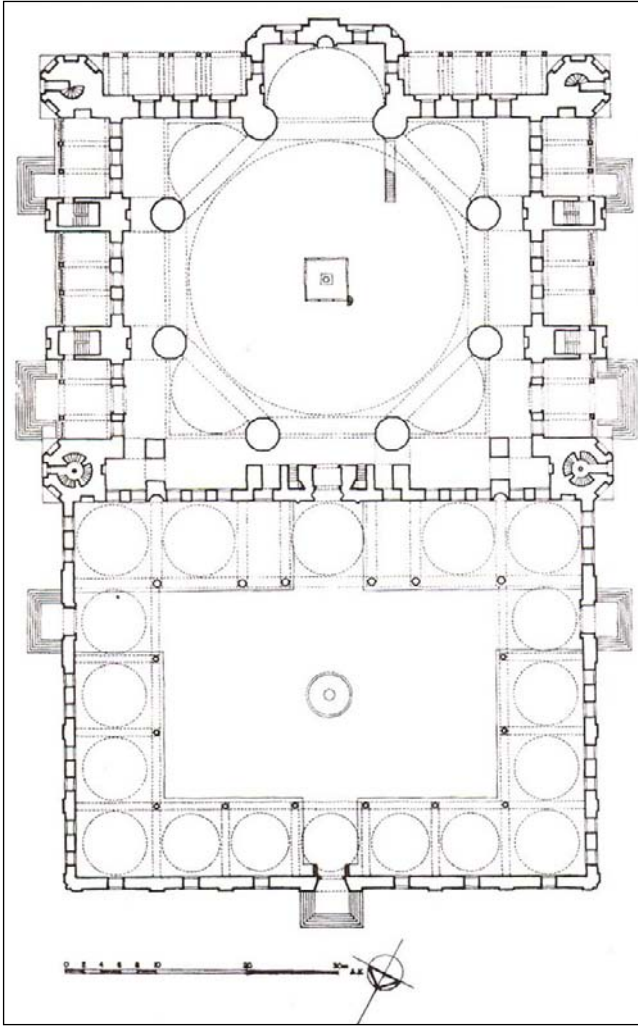


all sides by its towering but slender minarets, further adding to the grandeur of the Selimiye as seen from all vantage points in and around Edirne.

The central area of the prayer hall is defined by the eight huge ribbed piers that support the great dome, one pair of them flanking the entryway to the mosque and the other the mihrab apse, which, as noted, is covered by a semidome, with smaller semidomes above the exedrae in the four corners. The dome has a diameter of 31.28 metres and its crown is 43.50 metres above the floor, dimensions surpassing those of any other building designed as a mosque. The poet Mustafa Sa'î Çelebi quotes Sinan's proud boast that the dome of the Selimiye surpassed that of Haghia Sophia, the cathedral of Constantinople, built more than a thousand years earlier by the emperor Justinian:

Those who consider themselves architects among the Christians say that in the realm of Islam no dome can equal that of Haghia Sophia; they say that no Islamic architect would be able to build such a large cupola. In this mosque [the Selimiye] with the help of Allah and the support of Sultan Selim Khan, I erected a dome six cubits [a cubit equals about half a metre] higher and four cubits wider than the dome of Haghia Sophia.<sup>4</sup>

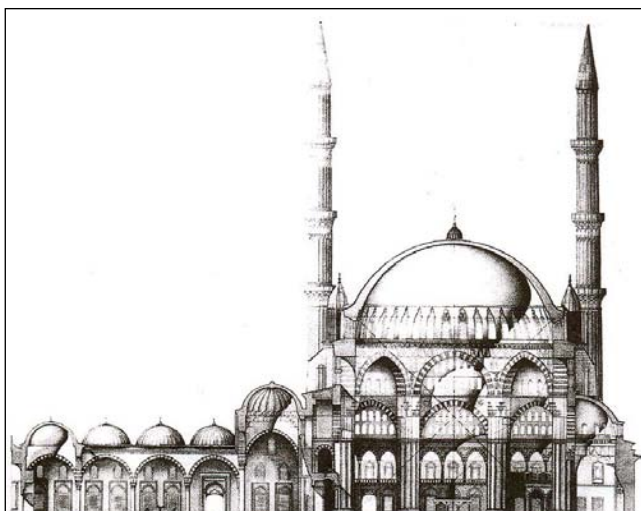
But Sinan's claim is not quite valid, for the slightly ellipsoidal dome of Haghia Sophis has a diameter ranging between 30.90 and 31.80 metres, an average of 31.35 metres, with its crown 55.60 metres above the floor, both dimensions surpassing those of the Selimiye.



*Figure 12: The Selimiye mosque, plan (from Kuran).*

Nevertheless, it is not crucial that Sinan failed to construct a dome higher and wider than that of Justinian's architects. What is of enduring importance is that Sinan brought Ottoman architecture to the peak of its greatness in the Selimiye, designing and building a magnificent edifice that compares in its grandeur with Hagia Sophia.

There are galleries around the sides and rear of the prayer hall, approached by stairways on either side of the entryway. Each of the galleries is divided into three bays by the abutments, with those on the side framed by an arcade carried on marble columns. The tribune of the müezzin is in the centre of the prayer hall, directly under the crown of the great dome. This is a marble platform carried



*Figure 13: The Selimiye mosque, elevation (from Burelli).*

on rectangular columns from which spring four low foliate arches, surmounting a marble patio with a pretty fountain of drinking water at its centre, an arrangement unique in Ottoman architecture. The mihrab is also in marble, as is the mimber, perhaps the finest in Turkey, with its sides carved in a striking openwork design. The lower walls of the mihrab apse are revetted in beautiful Iznik tiles, above which there is a calligraphic inscription with flowing white letters on a blue ground. In the south-east corner the hünkâr mahfili, or imperial loge, is carried out from the last bay of the east gallery on a portico with four arches. This is one of the most gorgeous chambers in Ottoman architecture, its tile decoration unsurpassed in Turkey. The mihrab in the imperial loge is extraordinary too, for at its centre two superbly carved wooden shutters open to reveal a window looking out over Edirne and its surrounding countryside.

### 2.9 The Selimiye medrese and darülhadis

The Selimiye medrese and darülhadis are mirror images of one another. Each has a central colonnaded court bordered on two sides by 13 cells arrayed around a corner of the precinct wall to form an ell, with one cell and the dersane on the inner south side. The medrese now houses the Eski Eserler Müzesi, or Antiquities Museum. Among the other objects arrayed in and around the courtyard are about a score of old tombstones that once marked the graves of janissaries, the elite corps of the Ottoman army. These and one other tombstone in Istanbul are the only such grave-markers that have survived in Turkey, for when the janissary corps was annihilated in 1826 by the New Army of Mahmut II all traces of its existence were eliminated throughout the empire.

### 2.10 Kavaflar Arastası

The Kavaflar Arastası was originally built as a source of income for the other institutions of the Selimiye külliye. Apparently this market building was not an original part of Selim's foundation, but was added by his son and successor Murat III; the architect seems to have been Davut Ağa, Sinan's successor as chief of the imperial architects. The 230 vaulted compartments of the arcade were originally occupied by the guild of shoemakers, and hence the name of the Cobblers' Arcade, but the market building is now given over to all kinds of shops. It stretches along the entire west side of the Selimiye precinct for 225 metres, with a short wing 25 metres in length projecting westward from its centre. At the junction of the two arms there is a chamber with a dome carried on a high drum; this originally served as a mescit used by the cobblers in the arcade. The market building has three outer entrances, one at either end of the long north-south arm and the other at the outer end of the shorter east-west wing. Just to the centre of the west wing there is a domed structure with an elevated porch of two bays; this is the darülkura, or school for Koranic studies, which is approached by an inner stairway. The darülkura now serves as a children's library and its substructure has been converted into a café.

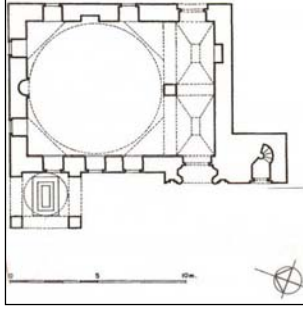
There are a number of other Ottoman monuments of interest in Edirne, including at least a dozen mosques dating from the fifteenth century, as well as medreses, hamams, türbes, fountains, caravansarais, bridges and the remains of palaces, some of them still serving their original functions, others in ruins.

### 2.11 Hamam of Gazi Mihal

The hamam of Gazi Mihal stands at the eastern approach to the bridge of the same name across the Tunca River. This is the oldest hamam in Edirne, though it is now abandoned and in ruins. The bath, dated by an inscription to 1406, was built by Gazi Mihal, a Greek nobleman who converted to Islam and joined the Ottoman service. He also built the bridge and a mosque on the other side.

### 2.12 Şahmelek Pasha Camii

The mosque directly across the road from the bath of Gazi Mihal is Şahmelek Pasha Camii, a single-unit structure built in 1428. The founder was Şahmelek Pasha, a blind man who played a part in the war of succession between the sons of Beyazıt I and afterwards was an important personage in the reigns of Mehmet I and Murat II. Instead of a porch



**Figure 14:** *Şahmelek Pasha Camii, plan (from Kuran).*

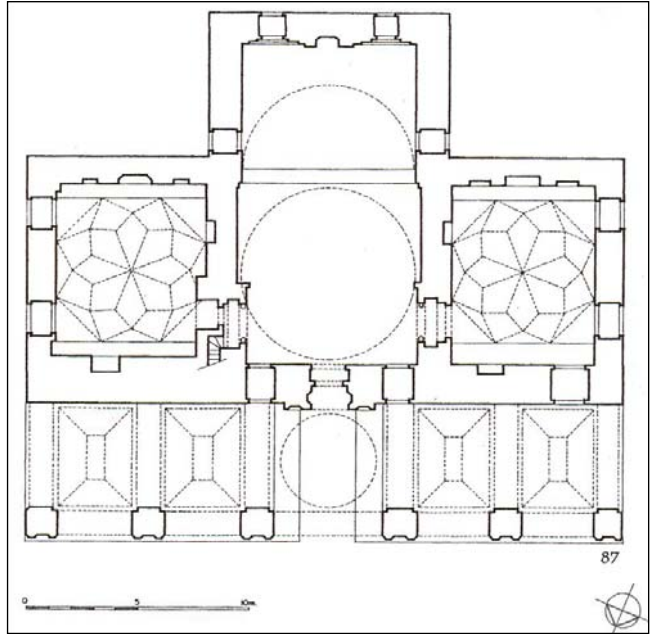
the mosque has a two-bayed vestibule, with doorways at either end; the minaret rising from the south-east corner of the building appears to be a nineteenth-century replacement of the original. The square prayer-room of the mosque is covered by a dome on squinches. The founder is buried in a simple open türbe abutting the north-east corner of the building.

### 2.13 Gazi Mihal Camii

The mosque built by Gazi Mihal is to the left of the road just beyond the bridge. The mosque, which is dated by an inscription to 1422, is of the axial-eyvan type. It is preceded by a five-bayed porch with a large oval dome over the larger and higher central bay and flat-topped cross-vaults over the others. The square central hall is covered by a hemispherical dome on pendentives; the two flanking chambers, which served as dervish hospices, have ribbed domes. Originally the side chambers opened from the central hall, but now they can be approached only from the outside. The raised prayer eyvan is covered with a shallow barrel-vault, with a pitched roof on the exterior.

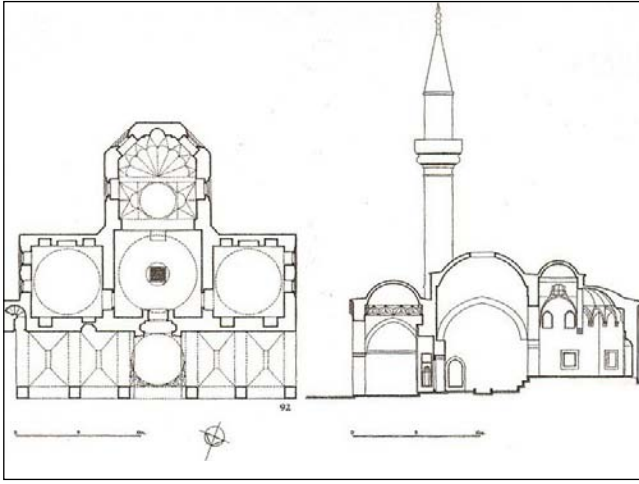
### 2.14 Beylerbeyi Camii

Beylerbeyi Cami was founded in 1428 by Yusuf Pasha, who was beylerbeyi, or provincial governor of Rumeli, the European part of the early Ottoman Empire, under Murat II. This is an axial-eyvan



**Figure 15:** *Gazi Mihal Camii, plan (from Kuran).*





*Figure 16: Beylerbeyi Cami, plan and section (from Kuran).*

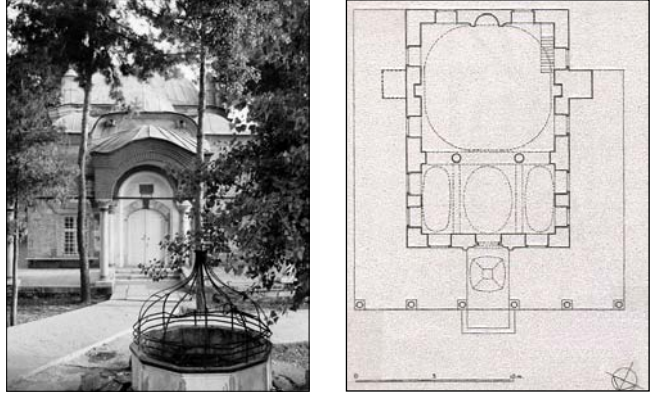
mosque with a five-bayed porch, the minaret rising from the north-west corner of the building.. The domed central hall is flanked by two square tabhane rooms for dervishes, and to the south it opens into the very ornate prayer eyvan with a three-sided apse surmounted by a fluted semidome, its rectangular front section covered by an octagonal vault with triangular planes filling in the corners. Beside the mosque there is a ruined hamam that was part of the külliye.

## 2.15 Darülhadis Camii

Darülhadis Camii is part of a külliye founded in 1434 by Murat II. The sultan originally intended the main building to be a darülhadis, or school of sacred tradition, but later he had his architect Koçu Ahmet convert it into a mosque. The külliye also included a large medrese, an imaret, a hamam, and a hospice. The hospice was destroyed in 1912, during the Balkan Wars, along with the minaret and the portico of the mosque, of which the central cross-vaulted canopy and six columns of ancient marble survive. Originally this portico comprised eleven bays and extended around the sides of the mosque. The mosque is a rectangular structure of cut stone whose exterior dimensions are 15.40 by 9.85 metres. Its interior is divided into two parts, first a deep three-bay vestibule covered by ellipsoidal vaults, and then a square prayer room with a dome on pendentives. Aptullah Kuran points out that the main dome ‘is not a hemisphere but a domical vault with rounded corners like a hassock.’<sup>5</sup>

Behind the mosque there are two tombs: the Açık (Open) Türbe, an open hexagonal structure dated 1434, and the Şehzadeler Türbesi, an octagonal mausoleum dated 1449. These contain the graves of two sons of Murat II, Hasan and Orhan,

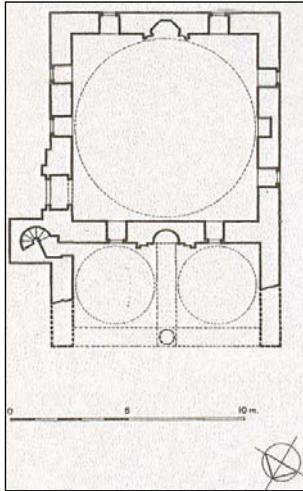
*Figure 17: Darülhadis Camii, courtyard (Anthony E. Baker) and plan (from Kuran).*



as well as children of Mustafa II (r. 1695–1703) and Ahmet III (r. 1703–30).

The bath of the külliye is some distance from the mosque. This is Tahtakale Hamamı, which is also dated 1434. The bath is still in use, the oldest functioning hamam in Edirne.

## 2.16 Hacı Şahabettin Camii



*Figure 18: Hacı Şahabettin Camii, plan (from Kuran).*

Hacı Şahabettin Camii, also known as Kirazlı Cami, ‘the Cherry Mosque,’ is dated by an inscription to 1436. This little mosque was founded by Hacı Şahabettin Pasha, who served as vezir and beylerbeyi of Rumeli under both Murat II and Mehmet II, commanding armies at the battle of Varna in 1444 and the siege of Constantinople in 1453. It is a single-unit mosque covered by a dome eight metres in diameter on pendentives, carried externally on an octagonal drum. It originally had a two-bayed porch, but this has vanished. The minaret rises from the north-east corner of the building. An interesting and unusual feature is the double mihrab, one inside the mosque and the other on the porch, the outer one set in a stalactite niche decorated with mouldings.

## 2.17 Saatlı Medrese

Saatlı Medrese, the Medrese with a Clock, was founded during the reign of Murat II. (The eponymous clock has vanished.) The medrese is preceded by a five-bay porch with a huge entryway reminiscent of those of thirteenth-century Seljuk buildings in Anatolia. The external dimensions of the medrese are 44 by 36 metres, built around a porticoed courtyard, with five cells on its north side, six on the east, the dersane and mescit on the south, both of them domed squares, and the toilets and bath in the corners beside them.

## 2.18 Mezid Bey Camii

Mezid Bey Camii is abandoned and in poor repair, but its structure is still intact. The mosque was founded in 1441 by Mezit Bey, a general in the service of Murat II who was killed in action later that year in Wallachia fighting against John Hunyadi. It is a cross-axial eyvan mosque without a porch, the minaret rising from the north-west corner of the building. The central hall is covered with an eight-sided vault resting on tiers of saw-toothed corbels, which externally appears as a hemispherical dome carried on an octagonal drum. The domes of the side eyvans sit on pendentives, as does that of the prayer eyvan, whose exterior also rests on an octagonal drum.

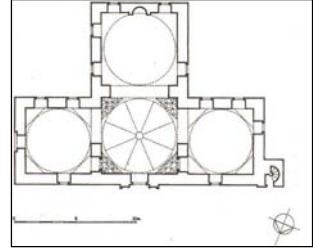
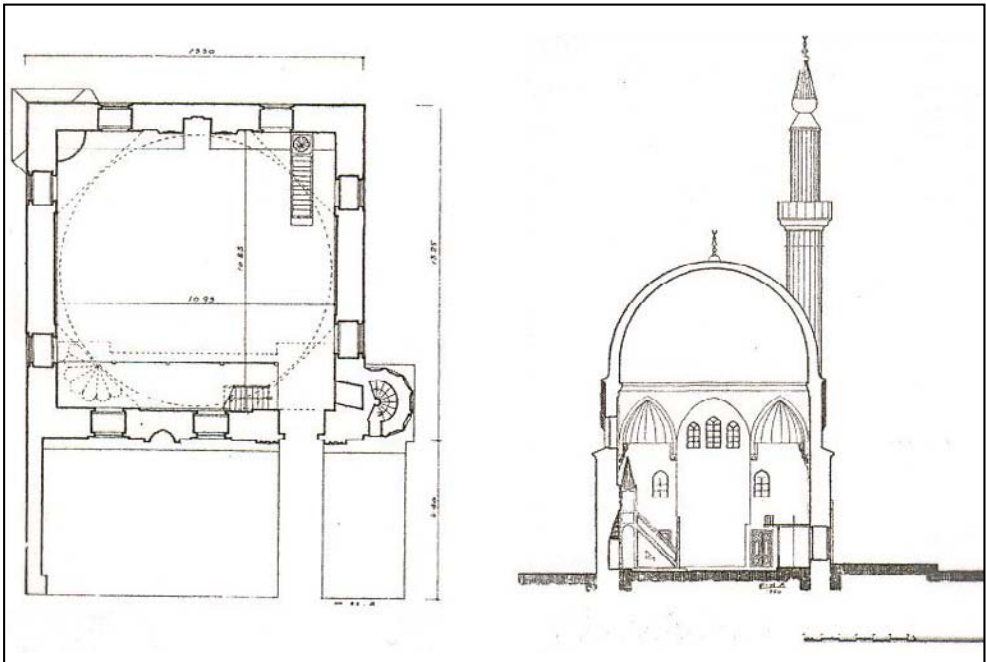


Figure 19: Mezid Bey Camii, plan (from Kuran).

## 2.19 Ayşe Kadın Camii

Ayşe Kadın Camii is a single-unit mosque built in 1468 for Ayşe Kadın, a daughter of Mehmet I. The mosque originally had a three-bayed porch, now vanished, with the entrance, unusually, on the right-hand side, with the minaret rising beside it at the north-west corner of the building. The hemispherical dome, nearly eleven metres in diameter, rests on squinches. Externally the dome is raised on an octagonal drum, with small semidomes in the corners over the squinches.

Figure 20: Ayşe Kadın Camii, plan and section (from Kuran).



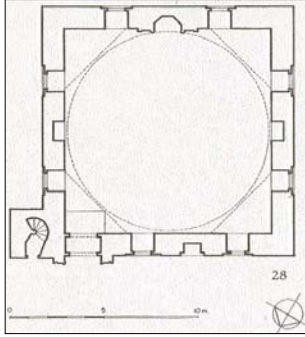


Figure 21: Sitti Hatun Camii, plan (from Kuran).

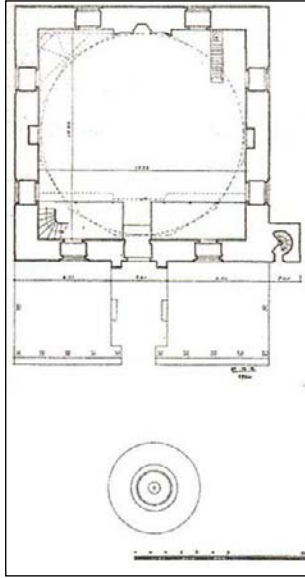


Figure 22: Kasım Pasha Camii, plan (from Kuran).

## 2.20 Sitti Hatun Camii

Sitti Hattun Camii is a single-unit mosque erected in 1482. The founder was Sitti Hatun, a Turcoman princess who married the future Mehmet II two years before he became sultan in 1451. Sitti Hatun never bore Mehmet any children, and when he moved his court to Istanbul in 1453 he left her behind in Edirne. She died here in 1485 and was buried in the graveyard behind her mosque. The mosque had a three-bayed portico, now vanished, with a circular şadırvan in front. The hemispherical dome rests on Turkish triangles at the corners, while externally it is raised on an octagonal drum, with flat roofs at the corners.

## 2.21 Kasım Pasha Camii

Kasım Pasha Camii was built in 1478 by Evliya Kasım Pasha, who served as a vezir under both Murat II and Mehmet II. It is a single-unit mosque of dressed stone with a dome 11 metres in diameter resting on squinches set high in the walls, covered on the exterior by triangular projections between the corners of the building and the drum. The entrance to the mosque is on the left side, beside the minaret, which rises from the north-east corner of the building. The building was partially restored in 1964.

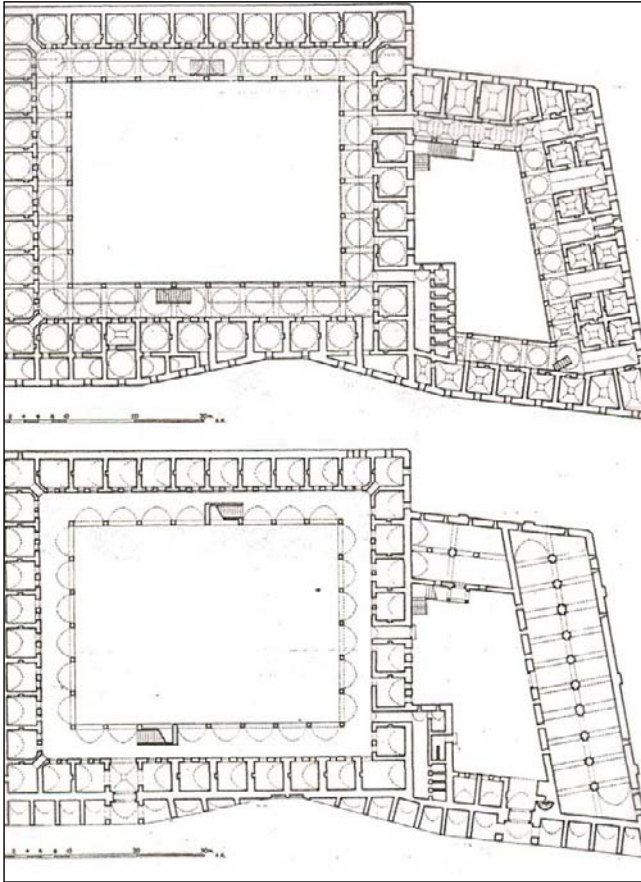
## 2.22 Süleymaniye Camii

The Süleymaniye Camii was built in 1548 by Gazi Süleyman Pasha, a vezir under Süleyman the Magnificent. It is a single-unit mosque with a square prayer-room covered by a hemispherical dome. The mosque was preceded by a porch of three domed bays, with the minaret rising from the north-east corner of the building. The minaret has now vanished, and all that remains of the portico are the columns and arches of the portico with their red and white voussoirs.

## 2.23 Caravansarai of Rüstem Pasha

The huge building just to the south of Eski Cami is the caravansarai of Rüstem Pasha, grand vezir and son-in-law of Süleyman the Magnificent, husband of the sultan's only daughter, Mihrimah Sultan. This was built in the years 1560–1 by the great architect Sinan, chief of the imperial architects under Süleyman and his two successors, Selim II and Murat III.

The caravansarai is in two sections, each with a different plan and function. The much larger building that forms the north



*Figure 23: Caravanserai of Rüstem Pasha; (above) first floor plan, (below) ground floor plan (from Kuran).*

side of the structure – the Büyük (Big) Han – was built as a warehouse for the merchants of Edirne, where they could store and sell their goods, while the smaller one on the south – the Küçük (Little) Han, was designed as a caravansarai, a hospice for travellers to the city. Both structures are built in two stories around central courtyards ringed by porticoes on both floors. The courtyard in the Büyük Han has eight lateral and six longitudinal bays; around it are 73 rooms, with 35 on the ground floor barrel-vaulted and 38 on the upper floor domed. The rooms on the street are fronted by shops, above which are chambers linked with the rooms behind them to form a row of suites. There are staircases between the floors at front and rear, with a passage on the west giving access to the toilets and the caravansarai. The Küçük Han has on its lowest level the kitchen and service areas, as well as a large stable divided into a pair of barrel-vaulted aisles by a row of cruciform pillars, with the guest rooms on the floor above in 25 vaulted chambers.

### 2.24 Semiz Ali Pasha Arastası

There is another old Ottoman market building one block west of the bedesten. This is an arasta, or arcade, built by Sinan in 1568 for Semiz Ali Pasha, another of Süleyman's grand vezirs. The building is known locally as the Kapalı Çarşı, or Covered Bazaar. It is a narrow structure of stone and brick some 300 metres in length, with 126 vaulted shops flanking the central corridor, the voussoirs of its arches made of alternately red and white stone, with gateways on all sides. The market was badly damaged by fire in 1992 and has since been repaired.

### 2.25 Hamam of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha

There is a classical hamam a short way to the south-west of Üç Şerefeli Cami. This handsome bath was built by Sinan in 1568–9 for Sokollu Mehmet Pasha, grand vezir under Süleyman the Magnificent and his two immediate successors, Selim II and Murat III. Like most of the large hamams, it is a double bath, with separate sections for men and women. It was in ruins as late as 1963, but since then it has been well restored and both the men's and women's sections reopened, but without their original decoration of Iznik tiles, now vanished.

### 2.26 Defterdar Camii

Defterdar Camii was built by Sinan in 1576 for Defterdar Mustafa Pasha, who served as minister of finance under both Süleyman the Magnificent and Selim II. The present dome is a replacement of the original, which collapsed in an earthquake in 1652.

### 2.27 Ayşe Kadın Hanı

The Ayşe Kadın Hanı is a caravansarai, now partially ruined, built in 1609 by the architects Mehmet Ağa and Hacı Şaban for Ekmekçizade Ahmet Pasha, a vezir of Ahmet I. The eastern wall of the caravansarai is still intact, with three tiers of windows opening through stone grilles in an attractive openwork designs.

### 2.28 Kara Mustafa Pasha Çeşmesi

The Kara Mustafa Pasha Çeşmesi is a large street fountain built in 1667. The fountain was endowed by Kara Mustafa Pasha, grand vezir in the reign of Mehmet IV (r. 1648–87). Kara Mustafa Pasha

commanded the Ottoman army in the unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683, for which he was beheaded by the sultan. A contemporary Turkish historian wrote of the grand vezir that 'his head rolled before the feet of the sultan at Belgrade.'<sup>6</sup>

### 2.29 Edirne's bridges

There are eight Ottoman bridges in Edirne, seven of them spanning the Tunca and one the Meriç. The bridge across the Meriç, is Yeni Köprü, the New Bridge, which has twelve arches. The bridge was begun by Mahmut II (r. 1808–39) and completed in 1843 by Abdül Mecit I (r. 1839–61). The same road that goes across Yeni Köprü crosses the Tunca on a bridge just to the north of the confluence of the two rivers. The bridge across the Tunca, which has ten arches, was built in 1607 by Ekmekçizade Ahmet Pasha.

The next bridge to the north is Gazi Mihal Köprüsü. This bridge was originally constructed by Michael VIII Palaeologus (r. 1259–82) and was rebuilt early in the fifteenth century by Gazi Mihal. The bridge originally had eight arches, but in 1544 Süleyman the Magnificent added eight arches at its western end. Mehmet III (r. 1595–1603) added another span with two arches called Orta Köprü, or Middle Bridge, which the river only flows under in flood time.

North of Gazi Mihal Köprüsü the Tunca divides into two branches to flow around an island. The bridge across the eastern branch is Yalnız Göz Köprüsü, a single span built during the reign of Selim II (r. 1566–74). The one over the western channel is Yeni Imaret Köprüsü, a bridge of six arches erected by the architect Hayrettin when he was building the Beyazidiye in 1484–8.

The next bridge to the north is Saraçhane Köprüsü, a span of ten arches built in 1452 by Hacı Sahabettin Pasha.

Just to the north of Saraçhane Köprüsü the Tunca again divides into two branches, this time to flow round an island called Sarayıçı, 'Within the Palace.' Sarayıçı takes its name from the famous Edirne Sarayı, the imperial palace begun by Murat II and added to by Mehmet II and his successors. The bridge across the western channel is Fatih Köprüsü, a three arched span built ca. 1452 by Mehmet II, known in Turkish as Fatih, 'the Conqueror.' The bridge across the eastern branch of the river is called Kanuni Köprüsü, a span of four arches built by Sinan in 1554 for Süleyman the Magnificent, who is known to the Turks as Kanuni, 'the Lawgiver.'



### 2.30 Edirne Sarayı

Mehmet himself was born in Edirne Sarayı in 1432, and when he succeeded as sultan on the death of Murat in 1451 he enlarged and embellished the palace. Kritoboulos of Imbros describe how Mehmet adorned and embowered Edirne Sarayı during the first year of his reign:

During that same period [1451–2] he also built a splendid palace near Adrianople, on the banks of the Hebrus River beyond the city. It was adorned with splendid stones, and was resplendent with much gold and silver within and without and embellished with sculptures and paintings and with many other costly things carefully designed and wrought. Around it he planted gardens with all sorts of shrubs and domestic trees bearing beautiful fruit. In these gardens he put various kinds of domestic and wild animals and flocks of birds, and made the place attractive with many other things which he knew would bring enjoyment and beauty and pleasure.<sup>7</sup>

Even after Istanbul became the capital Mehmet and his successors continued to spend as much time as possible in Edirne Sarayı. Süleyman the Magnificent commissioned Sinan to built two palatial kiosks in Edirne Sarayı, Adalet Kasrı and Terazî Kasrı. Mehmet IV (r. 1648–87) virtually abandoned Istanbul and spent most of his reign in Edirne Sarayı, leaving the empire to be governed by his grand vezirs while he hunted in the countryside around Edirne. But then the palace was destroyed in 1877 when the Russian army captured Edirne and penetrated as far as the suburbs of Istanbul before being forced to withdraw by the great powers of Europe. Today all that remains of Edirne Sarayı

*Figure 24: A pavilion of Edirne Sarayı, destroyed in 1877 (Print by V. Langlois).*





are four ruined structures on Sarayı, one of which has been restored. This is Adalet Kasrı, one of the two pavilions that Sinan built for Süleyman.

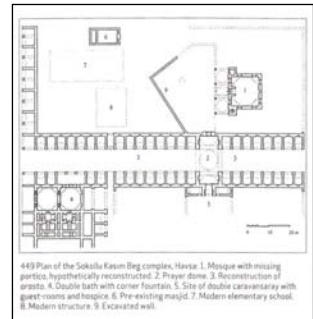
### 3 BETWEEN EDİRNE AND ISTANBUL

#### 3.1 Introduction

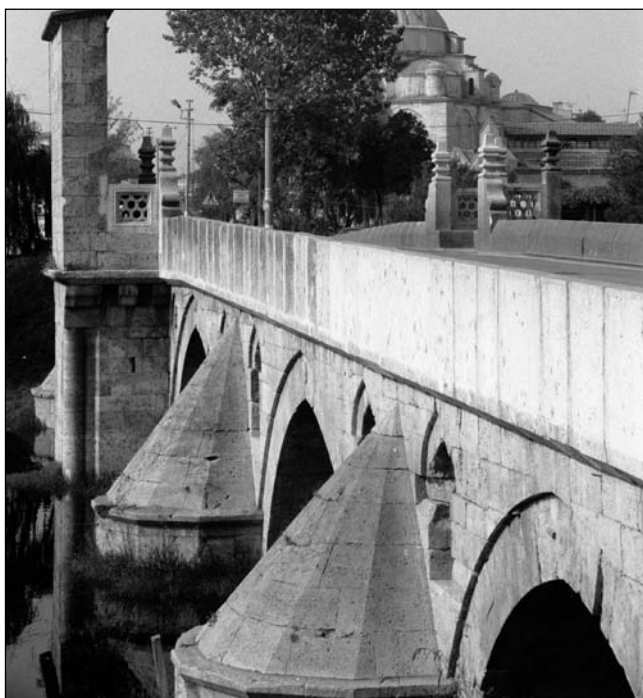
After Istanbul became the capital Edirne continued to be the base from which the Ottoman army launched campaigns into Europe. A number of mosque complexes and caravanserais were built in the towns of Thrace, particularly those along the roads following the course of the two branches of the ancient Via Egnatia between Edirne and Istanbul. One branch of the Roman road led directly from Edirne to Istanbul, following the course of the present highway 100, while the other ran through Uzunköprü to Tekirdağ and from there along the Marmara shore to Istanbul. A number of the monuments along these roads were built by Sinan for Sokollu Mehmet Pasha, grand vezir under Süleyman the Magnificent, Selim II and Murat III.

#### 3.2 Havsa: Sokollu Kasım Bey Camii

Havsa is 27 kilometres from Edirne, the first town on the route of the Roman road to Istanbul. The town's only monument is Sokollu Kasım Bey Camii, built by Sinan in 1576–7 for Sokollu Mehmet Pasha, who dedicated it to the memory of his son Kasım. The külliye also included a hamam a caravansarai, and an arasta, or market street, all three of which are now in ruins. According to Evliya Çelebi, the caravansarai originally had 125 fireplaces, one for each for its rooms or travellers, as



*Figure 25: Havsa: Kasım Pasha Cami: (left) The mosque and the entrance to the caravanserai (Anthony E. Baker); (above) plan of the complex (from Necipoğlu).*



*Figure 26: Babaeski: (above) Semiz Ali Pasha Camii (Anthony E. Baker); (right) bridge of Murat IV with Semiz Ali Pasha Camii in the background (Anthony E. Baker).*

well as stables large enough to accommodate 5,000 camels, horse and mules, although this may be a typically Evliyan exaggeration.<sup>8</sup>

### 3.3 Uzunköprü: The long bridge

From Havsa highway 550 leads south to Keşan, just before which it intersects the other branch of the Via Egnatia, leading to Tekirdağ and the Marmara shore. Halfway between Havsa and Keşan highway 550 passes through Uzunköprü, meaning 'the Long Bridge.' Uzunköprü takes its name from the exceptionally long bridge that spans the Ergene River at the entrance to the town from the Havsa road. The bridge, built for Murat II in 1444 by Hacı Ivaz Pasha, is 1,392 metres long and is carried on 173 arches.

### 3.4 Babaeski: Semiz Ali Pasha Camii and Murat IV Köprüsü

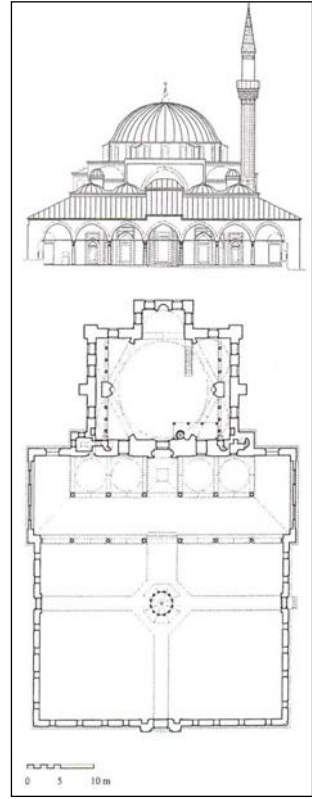
The next town beyond Havsa on highway 100 is Babaeski, whose principal monument is Semiz Ali Pasha Camii, built by Sinan in 1572. Near the mosque there is a bridge known as Murat IV Köprüsü, built in 1633 by the architect Çoban (the Shepherd) Kasım Ağa. The bridge is 72 metres long and is carried on six arches, the largest of which has a span of six metres.

### 3.5 Bridge of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha

Five kilometres beyond Babaeski highway 555 leads off to the right for Tekirdağ, passing through Alpullu. and Hayrabolu. Beyond Alpullu the road crosses a river on a bridge built by Sinan in the 1570s for Sokollu Mehmet Pasha. The bridge is 124 metres long and is carried on five arches, the one at the centre having a span of 20 metres.

### 3.6 Hayrabolu: Güzelce Hasan Bey Camii

The principal monument in Hayrabolu is Güzelce (Handsome) Hasan Bey Camii, built in 1406 for a son-in-law of Beyazıt I. The building is preceded by an avlu, one of the earliest mosque courtyards in Ottoman architecture. The peripheral arcade is supported by rectangular piers, three on the sides and four at the ends, counting those at the corners twice. However, the upper structure of the portico has collapsed, so it is uncertain whether it was covered by domes or by vaults. The main entrance to the court on the north is covered by a domed canopy, which Aptullah Kuran considers to be the only occurrence of such a feature in early Ottoman architecture.<sup>9</sup> The minaret, which appears to be a later



*Figure 27: Babaeski: Semiz Ali Pasha Camii, plan and elevation (from Necipoğlu).*

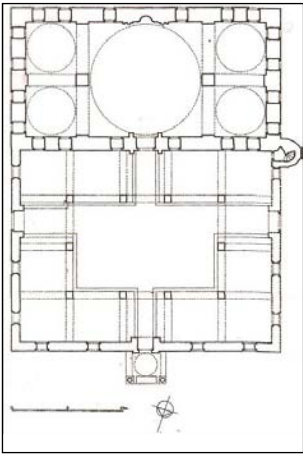


Figure 28: Hayrabolu: Güzelce Hasan Bey Camii, plan (from Kuran).

addition, rises from the north-west corner of the mosque. The main area of the prayer hall is covered by a high dome on pendentives above a windowless dodecagonal drum. On both sides there are two smaller areas, all four of them covered by hemispherical cupolas resting on Turkish triangles. Here, as elsewhere, the side chambers served as hospices for itinerant dervishes.

### 3.7 Lüleburgaz: Külliye of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha

The next town beyond Babaeski on highway 100 is Lüleburgaz. The principal Ottoman monument in Lüleburgaz is the külliye built by Sinan in the years 1569–71 for Sokollu Mehmet Pasha.



Figure 29: Lüleburgaz: şadırvan in the courtyard of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha Camii (Anthony E. Baker).

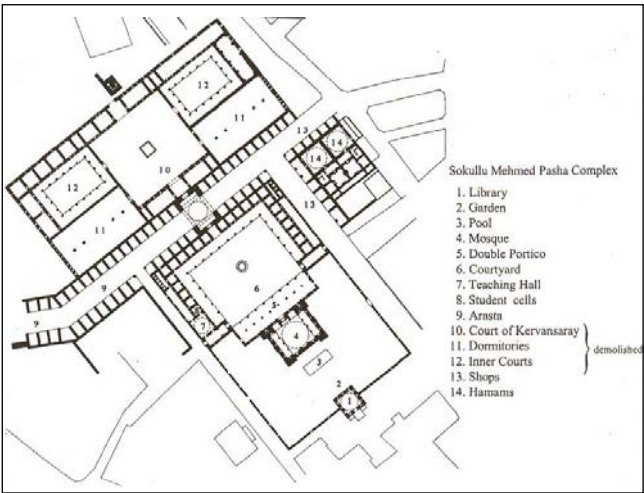


Figure 30: Lüleburgaz: Külliye of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha, plan (from Goodwin).

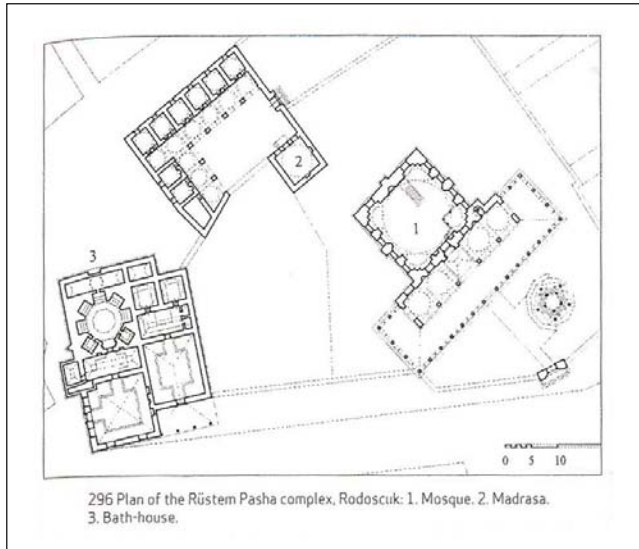
The külliye originally consisted of a mosque, a medrese, a darülkura, a hamam, and a caravansarai, together comprising the most impressive and extensive complex on the Edirne-Istanbul road. All of the buildings of the külliye are still standing except for the caravansarai, of which only the entryway and a few rooms adjacent to it now remain, along with a tower that stood opposite the middle of its northern side.

### 3.8 Büyük Karıştıran: Sinan bridges; caravansarai of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha

Some twenty kilometres beyond Lüleburgaz highway 100 comes to Büyük Karıştıran, from where highway 565 leads south to the Marmara shore at Tekirdağ. Büyük Karıştıran has two structures by Sinan: a bridge over a branch of the River Ergene and a caravansarai built for Sokollu Mehmet Pasha, now in ruins. About fourteen kilometres beyond Büyük Karıştıran highway 100 crosses a second branch of the Ergene on another bridge by Sinan.

### 3.9 Tekirdağ: Rüstem Pasha complex

The principal monument in Tekirdağ, the old Rodoscuk, is the külliye of Rüstem Pasha, built by Sinan in 1552–3. Besides the mosque, the complex originally included a hamam and a medrese, which has been restored as a bedesten, as well as an imaret and a caravansarai, both of which have been demolished.



*Figure 31: Tekirdağ: Rüstem Pasha complex, plan (from Necipoğlu).*

### 3.10 Çorlu: Süleymaniye Camii

The next town beyond Büyük Karıştıran on highway 100 is Çorlu. Çorlu's principal monument is the Süleymaniye Camii, built for Süleyman the Magnificent in 1521 by Mimar (the Architect) Kasım. Süleyman later commissioned Sinan to build a külliye in Çorlu that included a medrese and an imaret, but these have completely disappeared.

### 3.11 Silivri: Bridge of Süleyman the Magnificent

Some thirty kilometres beyond Çorlu highway 100 reaches the Marmara coast, where the two branches of the Via Egnatia joined, and then twelve kilometres farther along the shore highway passes Silivri. Just to the north of the highway at Silivri there is a handsome Ottoman bridge of 31 arches, built by Sinan for Süleyman the Magnificent in 1563–4. Süleyman had been hunting there on 23 September 1563 and was almost drowned when a thunderstorm turned a stream into a raging torrent. Immediately afterwards Süleyman commanded Sinan to build the bridge, which, although bypassed by the shore highway, is still used by the people of Silivri for local traffic.

### 3.12 Büyükçekmece: Bridge of Süleyman the Magnificent

At Büyükçekmece, where highway 100 crosses a huge inlet of the Marmara, there are five monuments of the Ottoman period, the oldest being Fatih Camii, a mosque built by Mehmet II soon after his capture of Constantinople in 1453. The other four monuments were all built by Sinan: a caravansarai and a bridge for Süleyman the Magnificent and a medrese and a mescit for



*Figure 32: Eğrikemer, the Bent Aqueduct (Anthony E. Baker).*

Sokollu Mehmet Pasha. The most notable of these is the bridge, erected in 1566–7, a splendid structure of four linked spans with a total of 28 arches.

Beyond Büyükçekmece the highway crosses another inlet of the Marmara at Küçükçekmece, after which one enters the scabrous industrial suburbs of Istanbul, the former capital of the Ottoman Empire.

### 3.13 Sinan's aqueducts in the Belgrade forest

Sinan built at least four aqueducts for Süleyman the Magnificent during the years 1554–64 in the Belgrade Forest, north of Istanbul in Thrace. These and other aqueducts, dams and reservoirs are part of a system of waterworks dating back to the late Roman era, and which was repaired and extended in both the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. Two of Sinan's aqueducts span the Kâğıthane Suyu and the other two cross the Alibey Suyu, the two rivers that feed the Golden Horn.

The two aqueducts that span the Kâğıthane Suyu are Eğrikemer, or the Bent Aqueduct, and Uzunkemer, the Long Aqueduct. Eğrikemer is 342 metres long and consists of two segments that meet in an obtuse angle, hence the name, one stretch measuring 216 metres and the other 126 metres. The longer section is 35 metres high and is in three tiers, the upper having twenty-one arches, the middle ten, and the lower four.

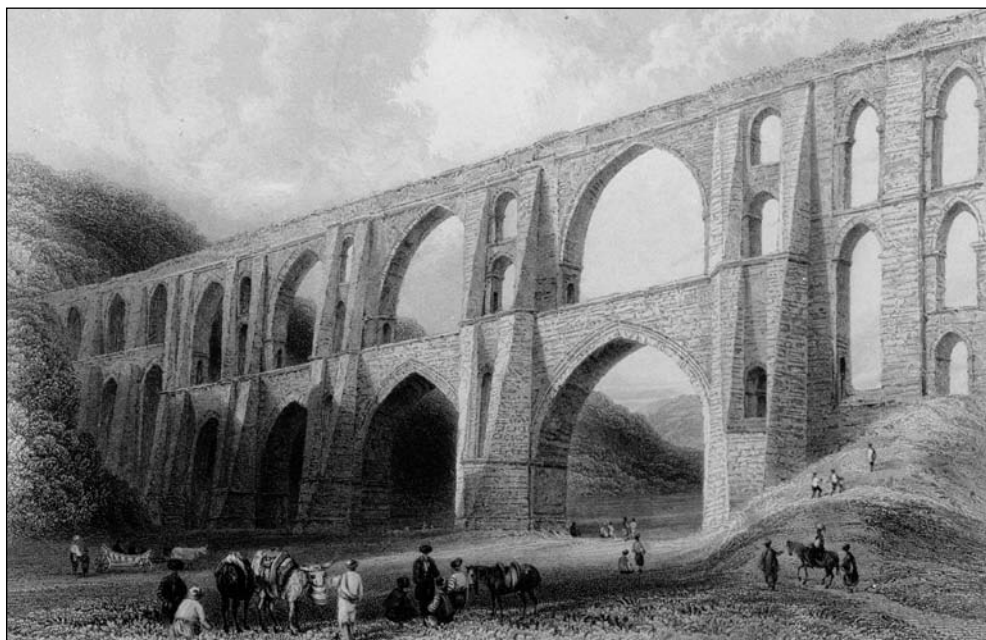
*Figure 33: Uzunkemer, the Long Aqueduct (Print by Bartlett).*







*Figure 34: Maglova aqueduct  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 35: Maglova aqueduct  
(Print by Bartlett).*



The shorter section has a single tier of ten arches. This aqueduct seems to have been built originally by Andronicus I Comnenus (r. 1183–5); it was originally in ruins when Pierre Gilles saw it in around 1550, and Sinan must have rebuilt it pretty completely, for all the visible masonry appears to be of his time. Uzunkemer is 716 metres in length, the longest of all the aqueducts in the Belgrade forest, striding grandly across the valley of the Kâğıthane Suyu. It is 25 metres high, with two tiers of arches, 50 in the upper tier and 47 in the lower.

The two aqueducts that span the Ali Bey Suyu are Maglova Kemerı and Güzelcekerı, or ‘the Charming Aqueduct.’ The Maglova aqueduct is 258 metres long and 36 metres high where it crosses the river. At the middle stretch there are two tiers of four large arches each, those in the upper tier interspersed with two tiers of half-size arches; at either end there are two tiers of smaller arches with two in each. The Güzelcekerı aqueduct is 165 metres in length and 34.5 metres high where it crosses the river; it has two tiers of arches, with eleven in the upper level and eight in the lower.

All four of Sinan’s aqueducts are in excellent repair, though they no longer conduct water to Istanbul.

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(Please refer to the Bibliography at the end of the book)

1. Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, p. 109
2. Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1971, p. 95
3. John Freely, *Turkey Around the Marmara*, Istanbul, Sev Publishers, 1998, p. 63
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7. Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, translated from the Greek by Charles T. Riggs, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1954, p. 22
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## CHAPTER IV

# The Conqueror's City

## 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 History and topography

The original city of Byzantium was founded around 660 B. C. by colonists from the Greek city of Megara, west of Athens. The colony was founded on what came to be known as the first of the city's seven hills, at the confluence of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, where their waters meet and flow together into the Sea of Marmara. By the fifth century B. C. Byzantium was surrounded by powerful defence walls, which on their landward side extended from the Golden Horn to the Marmara, enclosing the acropolis on the peak of the First Hill and the lower city and its port at the mouth of the Horn. When Constantine decided to shift his capital to Byzantium, founding Constantinople in A. D. 330, he built a new defense wall from the Golden Horn to the Marmara, enclosing a much larger area studded with four hills, extending the sea walls to join the new land walls. Then in 448 Theodosius II built a new line of land walls a mile farther out into Thrace beyond the Constantinian walls, thus enclosing seven hills. Six of the seven hills rise from a ridge paralleling the Golden Horn, while the seventh rises to a peak in the south-western quarter of the city above the Sea of Marmara. The Seventh Hill is separated from the first six by the deep valley of Lycus River (now canalized under the streets of the modern city), which flows into the city under the middle of the Theodosian walls and then eventually empties into the Marmara. The city also included the town on the north shore of the Golden Horn known variously as Galata or Pera, which in the late Byzantine era was fortified by the Genoese, with walls leading down to the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn from the apex of the fortifications, the Galata Tower, on the heights above. Galata surrendered to Mehmet II without a struggle on the day that he conquered Constantinople, 29 May 1453. Thenceforth the city was known to the Turks as Istanbul and Mehmet was called Fatih, the Conqueror.



Figure 1: Istanbul and the Bosphorus.

## 1.2 The conversion of Haghia Sophia to a mosque

A few hours after the conquest Fatih entered the city through the Adrianople Gate, thenceforth known as Edirne Kapi, after which he rode straight to Haghia Sophia, the great church of the Divine Wisdom. Before he entered the building he dismounted and dropped to his knees, pouring a handful of earth over his turban in a gesture of humility, since Haghia Sophia was as revered by Muslims as it was by Christians. He then surveyed the church and ordered that it be immediately converted to Islamic worship under the name of Aya Sofya Kabir, the Great Mosque of Haghia Sophia. This required the



Figure 2: Ottoman Istanbul.

erection of a wooden minaret and also the construction of a mihrab and mimber. This done, Mehmet attended the first noon prayer in the mosque that Friday, 1 June 1453, attended by his two chief clerics, Akşemsettin and Karaşemsettin. Evliya Çelebi describes the scene:

On the following Friday the faithful were summoned to prayer by the müezzins, who proclaimed with a loud voice this text of the Kuran: 'Verily God and his angels bless the Prophet.' Akşemsettin and Karaşemsettin then arose, and placing themselves on each side of the sultan, supported him under his arms; the former placed his own turban on the head of the Conqueror, fixing in it the black and white feather of a crane, and putting into his hand a naked sword. Thus conducted to the mimber, he mounted it and cried out with a voice as loud as David's, 'Praise be to God, the Lord of all the world,' on which the victorious Muslims lifted up their hands and uttered a shout of joy.<sup>1</sup>



Figure 3: The Mosque of Haghia Sophia (Aya Sofya Camii) (Print by Bartlett).

After Fatih's first visit to Haghia Sophia he also inspected the remains of the Great Palace of Byzantium on the Marmara slope of the First Hill. This ancient palace had been abandoned after the Greek recapture of Constantinople from the Latins in 1263, for it had been left in a ruinous state, and from then until the Turkish conquest the Byzantine emperors lived in the Palace of Blachernae, on the slope of the Fifth Hill leading down to the Golden Horn, which was badly damaged in the siege of 1453. Fatih was deeply saddened by the noble ruins of the Great Palace, and those who were with him heard him recite a melancholy distich by the Persian poet Saadi: 'The spider is the curtain-holder in the Palace of the Caesars/The owl hoots its night-call on the Towers of Afrasiab.'<sup>2</sup>

### 1.3 Fatih's repopulation of the city

Fatih's first concern was the repopulation of the city, for many of its inhabitants had fled Constantinople in the decade prior to the Conquest, in which some 4,000 Greeks had been killed. George Scholarios, later to be known as Gennadius, the first Greek Orthodox Patriarch after the Conquest, described Constantinople prior to the siege of 1453 as 'a city of ruins, poor, and largely uninhabited.'<sup>3</sup> Kritovoulos, in his biography of Mehmet, writes of the sultan's efforts to bring people into the city, Christians and Jews as well as Muslims: 'He sent an order in the form of an imperial command to every part of his realm, that as many inhabitants as possible be transferred to the City, not only Christians but also his own people and many of the Hebrews... He gathered them there from all parts of Asia and Europe, and he transferred them with all possible care and speed, people of all nations, but more especially Christians.'<sup>4</sup>

The non-Muslims in the city were grouped into millets, or 'nations', according to their religion. Thus the Greek millet was headed by the patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church, the Armenian by the Gregorian patriarch, and the Jewish by the chief rabbi. The authority granted to the head of each millet extended not only to religious matters but also to most legal questions other than criminal cases, which were always tried before the sultan's judges. The millet system instituted by Fatih was continued by his successors right down to the end of the Ottoman Empire, forming the core of its multi-ethnic character.

### 1.4 Fatih's rebuilding of the city

Fatih began the reconstruction of his new capital in the summer of 1453, when he issued orders for the repair of the Theodosian walls and the other fortifications damaged in the siege. Since both the Great Palace of Byzantium and the Blachernae Palace were

in ruins, Fatih began construction of a new imperial residence on the Third Hill, on a site described by Kritovoulos as 'the finest and best location in the centre of the City.'<sup>5</sup> This came to be known as Eski Saray, or the Old Palace, because a few years later Fatih decided to build a New Palace on the First Hill, the famous Topkapı Sarayı.

Kritovoulos, in writing of Eski Saray, also notes that at the same time Fatih 'ordered the construction of a strong fortress near the Golden Gate'<sup>6</sup> in the south-western corner of the city, a structure that came to be called Yedikule, the Castle of the Seven Towers. Then, at the beginning of his chronicle for the year 1456, Kritovoulos reports the sultan's satisfaction at the completion of Eski Saray and Yedikule, as well his initiation of new construction projects, most notably the great marketplace known as Kapalı Çarşı, or the Covered Bazaar.<sup>7</sup>

Five years after the Conquest Fatih built a large mosque complex outside the city walls on the upper reaches of the Golden Horn. The mosque was dedicated to Eba Eyüp Ensari, friend and standard-bearer of the Prophet Mohammed, who is said to have been killed in the first Arab siege of Constantinople in 674–8, and whose grave was miraculously discovered during the Turkish siege in 1453.

Then in 1459, according to Kritovoulos, Fatih issued a 'command to ... all able persons to build splendid and costly buildings inside inside the City.'<sup>8</sup> Kritovoulos goes on to say that Fatih 'also commanded them to build baths and inns and marketplaces, and very many and beautiful workshops, and to adorn and embellish the City with many other such buildings, sparing no expense, as each man had the means and ability.'<sup>9</sup>

Fatih himself led the way by selecting a site on the Fourth Hill, where a decade after the Conquest he began building an enormous complex known as Fatih Camii, the Mosque of the Conqueror. Kritovoulos, in writing of this, also notes Mehmet's orders to build a new palace on the First Hill, the famous pleasure dome that came to be known as Topkapı Sarayı.<sup>10</sup>

Kritovoulos goes on to write that Mehmet also ordered his notables 'to construct many very fine arsenals to shelter the ships and their furnishings, and to build very strong, large buildings for the storing of arms, cannon and other such supplies.'<sup>11</sup> The naval arsenal, the Tersane, was on the north shore of the Golden Horn, while the armoury, called Tophane, was on the lower European shore of the Bosphorus, both of them just outside the walls of Galata.

A number of Fatih's vezirs also erected mosque complexes in Istanbul. The earliest of these is Mahmut Pasha Camii, erected on the Second Hill in 1462. The founder was Mahmut Pasha, a Greek

nobleman who converted to Islam and commanded part of the Turkish army in the conquest of Constantinople, becoming grand vezir in 1456. The mosques and other structures built by Fatih and his vezirs marked the first phase in the transition in which Greek Constantinople became Turkish Istanbul, capital of the Ottoman Empire. One can see this transition in the famous Buondelmonti maps, the earliest of which is dated 1420 and the latest around 1480. The city looks essentially the same in these two maps, but in the later version one can see the castles of Rumeli Hisarı and Yedikule, the mosques of the Conqueror and Mahmut Pasha, the Covered Bazaar, the naval arsenal on the Golden Horn, the armoury at Tophane, and even the minaret on what was now the Great Mosque of Haghia Sophia, which in itself symbolises the transition from Byzantine Constantinople to Ottoman Istanbul.

## 2 FATİH'S BUILDINGS IN ISTANBUL

### 2.1 Introduction

Almost all of the buildings in Istanbul that Kritovoulos credits to Fatih are still standing and in good repair, although some of them were restored and rebuilt after his time. His great mosque complex still dominates the centre of the old city, giving its name to the surrounding district of Fatih, which today is the most Islamic neighbourhood in an Istanbul that is rapidly becoming a modern metropolis, but where pious Muslims still come to pray at the tomb of the Conqueror, who in their eyes is a sainted warrior for the faith.

### 2.2 Rumeli Hisarı

The fortress of Rumeli Hisarı is the earliest of Fatih's constructions in Istanbul, built in 1452, as we have noted, to cut off the Byzantines from the Black Sea in preparation for the siege of Constantinople the following year. The fortress is on the European shore of the Bosphorus at the narrowest point of the strait, about 700 metres from the fortress of Anadolu Hisarı, built on the Asian shore by Beyazıt I in 1394.

According to Kritovoulos, Fatih began preparations for the construction of this fortress in the winter of 1451–2, when he 'ordered all the materials to be prepared for building, namely stone and timbers and iron and whatever else would be of use for this purpose. He set the best and most experienced officers over the work, instructing them to put everything speedily in the best order, so that when spring came he could undertake the task.'<sup>12</sup> Construction of the fortress began on 15 April 1452, when, as

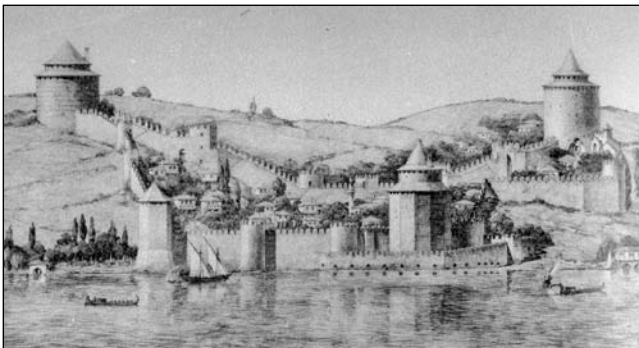




*Figure 4: Rumeli Hisarı (Anthony E. Baker).*

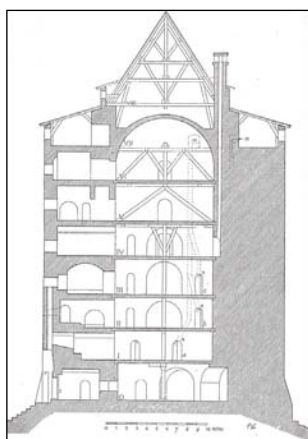
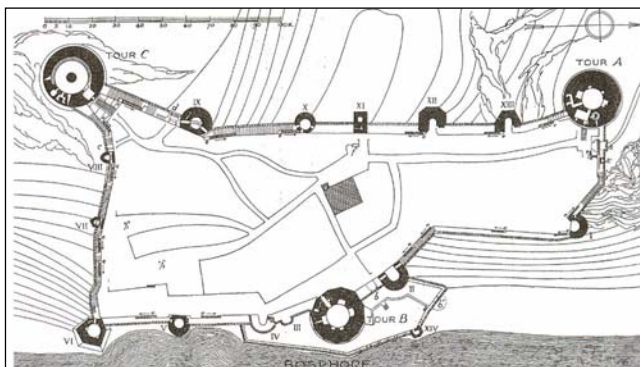
Kritovoulos writes, Fatih ‘marked out with stakes the location where he wished to build, planning the position and the size of the castle, the foundations, the distance between the main towers and the smaller turrets, also the bastions and breastworks and gates, and every other detail as he had carefully worked it out in his mind.’<sup>13</sup>

The fortress, the largest and most powerful ever built by the Ottomans, spans a deep valley, with two tall towers on opposite hills and a third at the bottom of the valley at the water’s edge, where there is a gate protected by a barbican. A curtain wall, defended by three smaller towers, joins the three major ones, forming an irregular figure some 250 metres long by 125 metres broad at its maximum. Fatih spent much time in supervising the work of the 1,000 skilled and 2,000 unskilled workmen he had collected from the various provinces of the empire. He entrusted each of the main towers to one of his vezirs, the north tower to Saruca Pasha, the sea tower to the grand vezir Halil Pasha, and the south one to Zaganos Pasha, the three of them striving with one another to complete the work with speed and efficiency. Over the door to the south tower



*Figure 5: Rumeli Hisarı (Drawing by Gabriel).*

*Figure 6: Rumeli Hisari, plan (from Gabriel).*



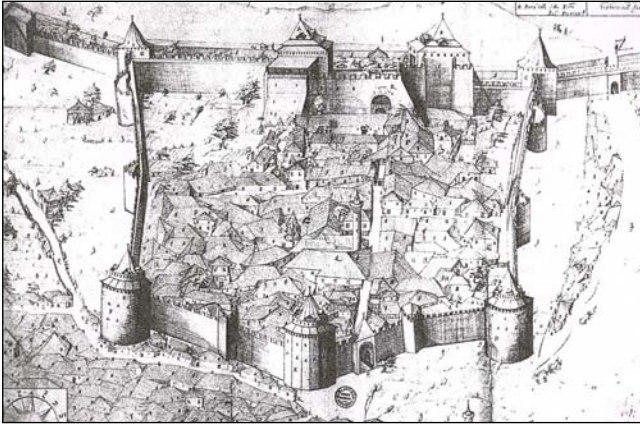
*Figure 7: Rumeli Hisari, Tower of Saruca Pasha, restored section (from Gabriel).*

an Arabic inscription records the completion of the tower in the month of Recep 856 (July–August 1452).

After the fall of Constantinople the fortress had no further military function, and the north tower was used as a prison, especially for members of foreign embassies. The fortress was restored in 1953, in connection with the celebration of the five-hundredth anniversary of the conquest of Constantinople. Unfortunately the restoration demolished the little hamlet of picturesque old wooden houses inside the fortress, whose inhabitants were rehoused in the village of Rumeli Hisari. The area inside the fortress has been converted into a Greek-style theatre, where in the summer performances of both western and Turkish dramas and other productions are given against the stunning background of the castle walls and towers and the glittering lights of the villages across the Bosphorus in Asia.

### 2.3 Yedikule

Yedikule, the Castle of the Seven Towers, is a curious structure, partly Byzantine and partly Turkish, forming part of the land walls of the city near the Sea of Marmara. The seven eponymous towers consist of four in the Theodosian walls, plus three additional towers built inside the walls by Fatih soon after the Conquest. The three inner towers are connected together and joined to the Theodosian walls by four heavy curtain-walls, forming a five-sided enclosure. The two central towers in the Theodosian walls are marble pylons flanking the famous Golden Gate, a Roman triumphal arch erected in about 390 by the emperor Theodosius I. At that time the Theodosian walls had not been built and the triumphal arch stood by itself on the Via Egnatia, about a mile outside the Constantinian walls. The arch was of the usual Roman type with a triple arcade containing a large central archway flanked by two smaller ones. The outlines of the arches can still be seen clearly, although the openings were bricked



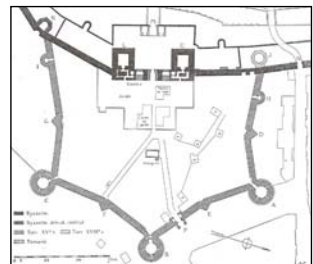
*Figure 8: Yedikule in the seventeenth century (Drawing in the Correr Museum, Venice).*

up in later Byzantine times. The gates themselves were covered with gold plate – hence the name – and the façade was decorated with sculptures, the most famous of which was a bronze group of four elephants, placed there to commemorate the triumphal entry of Theodosius after his victory over Maxentius. When Theodosius II decided to extend the city in the first half of the following century he incorporated the Golden Gate within his new land walls. It was presumably in connection with these new walls that he built the small marble gate outside the triumphal arch; the arch itself, of course, would have had no gates, except for ornamental iron or bronze grilles, and would have been indefensible. The outer gateway was part of the general system of defense and forms, with the curtain wall which joins it to the city walls, a small courtyard in front of the Golden Gate.



*Figure 9: Yedikule in the early nineteenth century (Print by Bartlett).*

Yedikule was never used as a castle in the usual sense, but two of the towers were used in Ottoman times as prisons; the others served as storage places for a part of the state treasure. The fortress has recently been restored and is open as a museum and for performances of drama and music. The public entrance is from inside the city. The tower just to the left of the entrance is sometimes called the Tower of Ambassadors, since in Ottoman times foreign envoys were often imprisoned there. Some of these unfortunates have carved their names and dates and tales of woe on the walls in half-a-dozen languages. An outer stone stairway beyond the tower leads up to the *chemin de ronde*, or patrol-walk, which goes along the ramparts as far as the Golden Gate. The pylon to the left of the Golden Gate was used in Ottoman times as a prison and place of execution. Sultan Osman II was executed here on 22 May 1622, when he was only seventeen years old. Evliya Çelebi gives an account of the execution of Young Osman, as he was called: ‘They carried him in a cart to Yedikule, where he was barbarously treated and at last most cruelly put to death by Pehlivan (the Wrestler). While his body was exposed

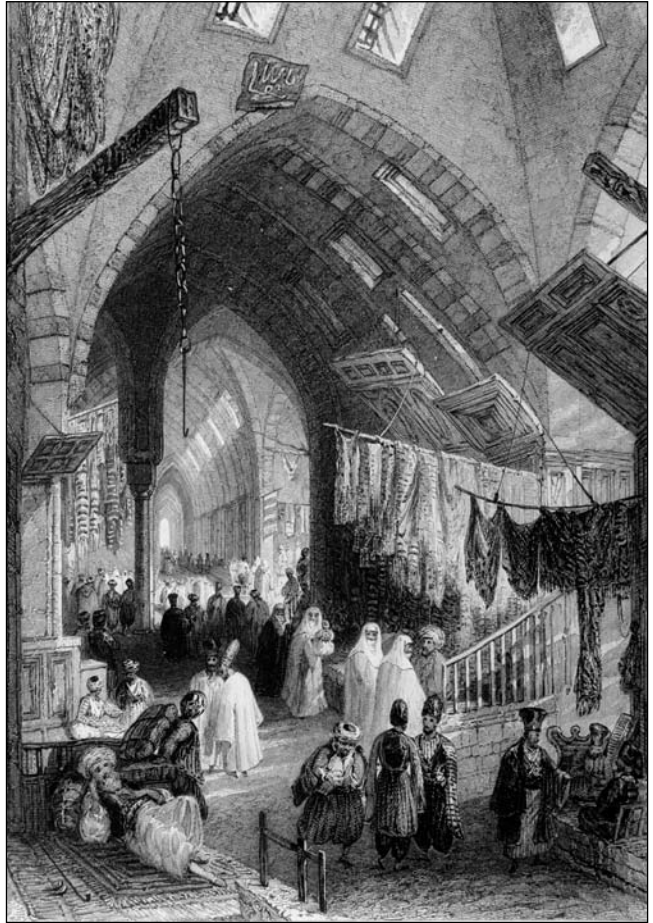


*Figure 10: Yedikule, plan (from Gabriel).*

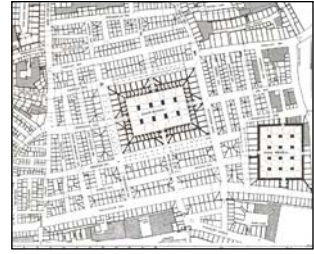
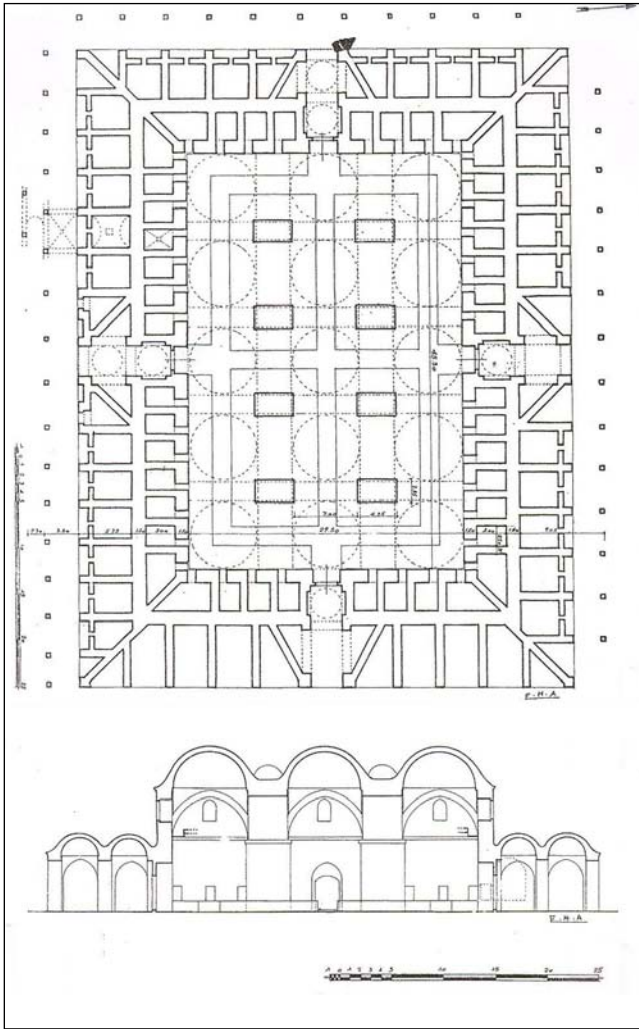
upon a mat, Kafir Ağa cut off his right ear and a janissary one of his fingers for the sake of a ring upon it. The former brought the ear and a finger to Davut Pasha, who rewarded the bearer of such acceptable news with a sum of money.<sup>14</sup> Elsewhere Evliya writes that Young Osman was deposed 'by a rebellion of the Janissaries and put to death in the Castle of the Seven Towers, by the compression of his testicles, a mode of execution reserved by custom to the Ottoman emperors.'<sup>15</sup>

### 2.4 Kapalı Çarşı

Kapalı Çarşı, the Covered Bazaar, was established by Fatih a few years after the Conquest, on its present site and covering almost the same area. Although it has been destroyed several times by earthquakes, the last one in 1894, and by fires, most recently in



*Figure 11: Kapalı Çarşı (Print by Bartlett).*



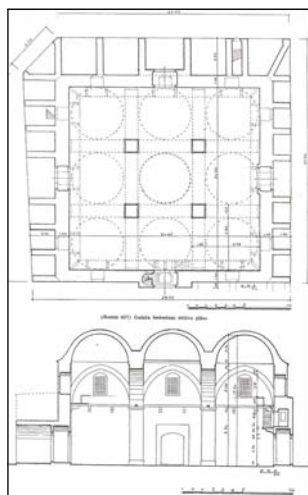
*Figure 12: Kapalı Çarşı, plan (from Müller-Wiener).*

*Figure 13: Old Bedesten, plan and section (from Ayverdi).*

1954, the Bazaar is essentially the same in structure and appearance as it was when Fatih first built it. The street names in the Bazaar come from the various guilds that worked or traded there in Ottoman times, such as the Street of the Sword-Makers and the Street of the Turban-Makers. At the centre of the Bazaar is the great domed hall known as the Old Bedesten, one of the original structures surviving from Fatih's time. Then, as now, it was used to house the most precious wares, for it can be securely locked and guarded at night. The interior is covered by fifteen domes in five rows of three each, supported by three pairs of rectangular piers, with shops lining both the interior and exterior walls, approached by entryways in the middle of all four sides.



**Figure 14: Galata Bedesten**  
(Anthony E. Baker).



**Figure 15: Galata Bedesten, plan and section** (from Ayverdi).

### 2.5 Galata Bedesten

On the north shore of the Golden Horn in Galata there is a bedesten similar to the Old Bedesten in the Covered Bazaar but somewhat smaller. It is a nearly square structure, its nine equal domes supported internally by four square piers, with a series of vaulted shops around its exterior. Several authorities have claimed that this building is seventeenth or eighteenth century, but the form of the structure and its masonry in brick and rubble are obviously typical products of the fifteenth century. One has only to compare it to the Old Bedester in the Covered Bazaar to be convinced that the Galata Bedesten was also built by Fatih.

### 2.6 Tomb and Shrine of Eyüp

The shrine of Eyüp on the upper reaches of the Golden Horn is the holiest Muslim site in Istanbul; indeed after Mecca and Medina it is the third most sacred place of pilgrimage in the Islamic world. Evliya Çelebi tells the story of how Fatih and his associates miraculously discovered the place where Eyüp was buried after having 'spent seven whole days searching for the tomb.'

At last the Şeyhülislam Akşemsettin exclaimed, 'Good news, my prince, of Eyüp's tomb!' Thus saying he began to pray and then fell asleep. Some interpreted this sleep as a veil cast by shame over his ignorance of the tomb, but after some time he raised his head, his eyes became bloodshot, the sweat ran from his forehead, and he said to the Sultan, 'Eyüp's tomb is on the very spot where I spread the carpet for prayer.' Upon this, three of his attendants together with the Şeyh and the Sultan began to dig up the ground when at a depth of three yards they found a square stone of verd antique on which was written in Cufic



letters: 'This is the tomb of Eba Eyüp.' They lifted the stone and found below it the body of Eyüp wrapped in a saffron-coloured shroud, with a brazen play ball in his hand, fresh and well-preserved. They replaced the stone, formed a little mound of earth they had dug up, and laid the foundations of the mausoleum amidst the prayers of the whole army.<sup>16</sup>

*Figure 16: View of the Eyüp mosque and shrine from the hills above the Golden Horn (Print by Bartlett).*

Five years after the Conquest Fatih built a külliye around the spot where he had discovered Eyüp's grave. The külliye as a whole included the türbe of Eyüp as well as a mosque, medrese, han, hamam, imaret, and market. Here on their accession to the throne the Ottoman sultans were girded with the sword of their ancestor Osman Gazi, a ceremony equivalent to coronation, first performed on the accession of Fatih's son and successor Beyazıt II in 1481. By the end of the eighteenth century the mosque had fallen into ruins, perhaps a victim of the great earthquake of 1766. At all events, in 1798, under Selim III, what remained of the building was torn down and the present mosque erected in its place and finished in 1800; only the minarets, the gift of Ahmet III (r. 1703–30) remain from the older building.

The approach to the mosque and türbe is through a picturesque outer courtyard of irregular shape. The two great gateways with their undulating baroque forms, the staircase and gallery to the imperial lodge, the huge and aged plane trees in whose hollows live lame storks and in whose branches beautiful grey herons build their nests in spring, the flocks of pampered pigeons, all this makes the



*Figure 17: Courtyard and mosque of Eyüp (Print by Bartlett).*

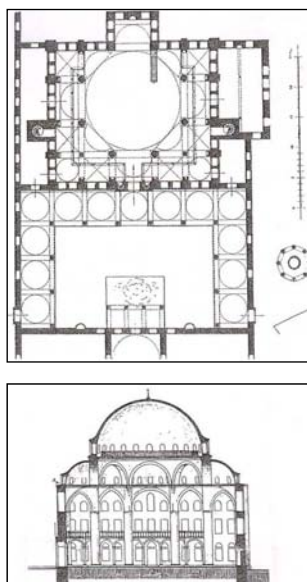


*Figure 18: Eyüp mosque (Anthony E. Baker).*

courtard the most delightful in Istanbul. From here one enters the inner courtyard, surrounded on three sides by an unusually tall and stately colonnade shaded by venerable plane trees.

The mosque itself in is an octagon inscribed in a rectangle, with many baroque details of decoration. But in spite of its late date the mosque is singularly attractive with its pale honey-coloured stone, the decorations picked out in gold, and the elegant chandelier hanging from the centre of the dome.

The side of the building opposite the mosque is a blank wall, most of it covered with panels of tiles without an overall pattern and of many different periods, some of them of great individual beauty. A door in the wall leads to the vestibule of the türbe of Eyüp, an octagonal building three sides of which project into the vestibule. The latter is itself sheathed in tiles, many of them of the best Iznik period. The türbe, which cannot be entered, but can be seen from the outside through an ornate grille, is sumptuously decorated, though with work largely of the baroque period.



*Figure 19: Eyüp mosque, plan and section (from Gurlitt).*

Of the other buildings of the külliye the medrese, which according to Evliya formed the courtyard of the mosque, was evidently swept away when the latter was rebuilt; the imaret is a ruin. But of the hamam the soğukluk and hararet still remain and are in use; they have the elaborate and attractive dome structure typical of the early period, and handsome marble floors. The original camekân has disappeared and been replaced by a rather make-shift one largely of wood. In the Victoria and Albert Museum there is a very fine panel of 24 Iznik tiles of ca. 1570 from this hamam, very probably from the demolished camekân.



The area around the mosque along the shore of the Golden Horn is a veritable suburb of the dead, with türbes of Ottoman grandees dating from the sixteenth century to the end of the empire, while on the hillside above there is a vast graveyard with funerary monuments ranging from mausolea to simple turban-topped tombstones. At the top of the hill there are a number of cafés and teahouses, including one made famous by the French writer Pierre Loti, from which there are splendid views of the Golden Horn, particularly romantic at sunset.

### 2.7 Külliye of Mehmet the Conqueror

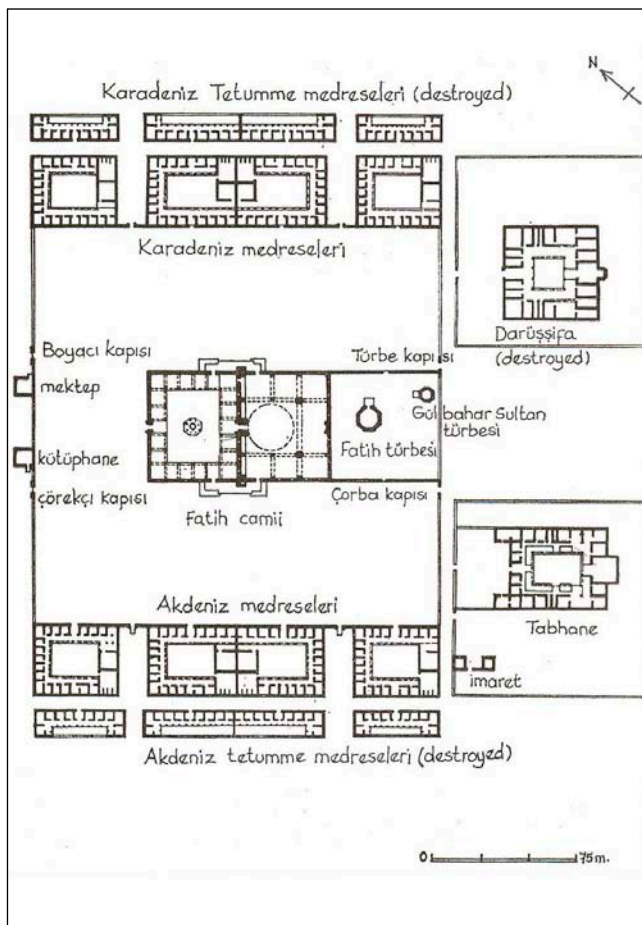
The huge mosque complex built by Fatih Mehmet was the most extensive and elaborate külliye in Istanbul, and indeed in the whole of the Ottoman Empire. In addition to the great mosque with its beautiful courtyard and its graveyard with türbes, the külliye consisted of eight medreses and their annexes, a tabhane, or hospice, a huge imaret, a hospital, a caravansarai, a primary school, a library and a hamam. It was laid out on a vast, almost square area – about 325 feet on a side – with almost rigid symmetry, and Evliya Çelebi well says of it: ‘When all these buildings, crowded together, are seen from a height above, they alone appear like a town full of lead-covered domes.’<sup>17</sup> It occupies approximately the site of the famous Church of the Holy Apostles and its attendant buildings erected by Justinian I (r. 527–65). This church, which was already in ruins at the time of the Conquest, was used as a source of building materials for the construction of Fatih’s külliye.

The complex is thought to have been built by the architect Atik Sinan in the years 1463–70, dates given in the great inscription over the entrance portal. There is much controversy but almost no knowledge about the identity of this architect, but there is some reason to believe that he was a Greek named Christodoulos, perhaps one who had been taken up in the devşirme and became a janissary. His gravestone is extant in the garden of the little mosque he built as his own vakıf, or pious foundation, Kumrulu Mescit (see pp. 196–7). But from this we learn only that he was an architect – no mention of the Fatih complex – and, curiously enough, that he was executed in 1471, the year after Fatih’s külliye was completed. In this connection it is interesting to note the curious tale told by Evliya Çelebi in the *Seyahatname*, in which he says that Fatih ordered both of the architect’s hands cut off, on the ground that the mosque did not have as great a height as Haghia Sophia.<sup>18</sup>

### 2.8 Fatih Camii

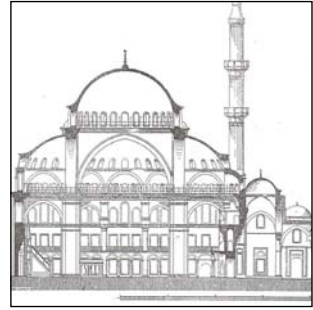
The original mosque built by Atik Sinan was destroyed in the great earthquake of 22 May 1766. Mustafa II immediately

*Figure 20: Fatih Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*

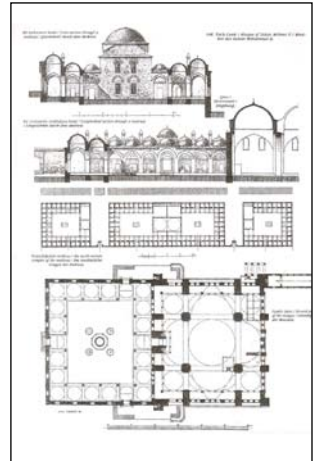


*Figure 21: Restored plan of the Fatih Camii complex (from Sumner-Boyd and Freely).*

undertook its reconstruction, and the present mosque, on a wholly different plan, was completed in 1771. What remains of the original külliye is most probably the courtyard, the mihrab, the minarets up to the first şerefe, the south wall of the graveyard and the adjoining gate; all the other buildings of the complex were badly damaged but were restored presumably in their original form. There has been considerable speculation about the original form of Fatih Camii, the first imperial Ottoman mosque to be erected in Istanbul. It is believed that Fatih's mosque had a very large central dome, some 26 metres in diameter (compare Haghia Sophia, where the average diameter is 31.35 metres), with a semidome of the same diameter to the south; these were



*Figure 22: Fatih Camii, section (from Gurlitt).*



*Figure 23: Fatih Camii, section and plan of the medreses, plan of the mosque (from Gurlitt).*



*Figure 24: Fatih Camii, gateway and şadırvan (Anthony E. Baker).*

*Figure 25: Türbe of Fatih, with Fatih Camii in the background.*



supported by two great rectangular piers on the south and by two enormous porphyry columns towards the north. The two porphyry columns also supported a double arcade below the tympanum walls of the great dome arches, while to east and west there were side aisles, each of which were covered by three small domes. This plan was in certain respects a natural development of previous Ottoman buildings. Nevertheless, those who saw and described the mosque before it was destroyed, Turks and foreigners alike, including Fatih and his architect, compared it to Haghia Sophia, hence it must have shown the overpowering influence of the Great Church.

### 2.9 The mosque courtyards

Approaching the mosque from the north end of the outer courtyard, one finds that part of the north wall of the precinct has been demolished, together with the small kütüphane (library) and mektep (primary school) of the complex that once stood outside it. Still visible are the remains of one of the original gateways to the outer courtyard, known as Boyacı Kapısı, the Painter's Gate. There was a small portal 75 metres to the south of this called Çörekçi Kapısı, the Gate of the Muffin-Maker; these flanked the mektep (to the west) and the kütüphane (to the east).

The inner courtyard of the mosque begins some 75 metres to the south; this, with its monumental entrance portal, is original. In the lunettes of the six west windows of the courtyard wall there are some of the most remarkable inscriptions in the city; the first Surah of the Kuran is written in white marble letters on a ground of verde antique. The effect is extremely lovely, and one wonders why this fascinating technique of calligraphy should occur only here. The calligrapher was Yahya Sufi, and it was his son Ali bin

Sufi who wrote the inscriptions over the main portal of the mosque and also over the outer gate at Topkapı Sarayı. The dignified but simple portal has rather curious engaged columns at the corners. The convex flutes or ribs of their shafts become interlaced at top and bottom to form an intertwined snake pattern, while the columns end in a sort of hour-glass-shaped capital and base. This treatment is found elsewhere in the külliye, but otherwise it is unique in Ottoman architecture.

In the centre of this picturesque courtyard there is a şadırvan, with a gay witch's cap conical roof resting on eight marble columns and surrounded by tall cypress trees. In essentials it is original, even to the cypresses, which are constantly mentioned by travellers, though doubtless replanted from time to time. The antique marble columns of the portico have stalactite capitals of fine, bold workmanship. At either end of the mosque porch there are two more exquisite lunette inscriptions, this time in faience, showing a vivid yellow combined with blue, green and white in the *cuerda seca* technique typical of this early period.

### 2.10 The mosque exterior

The east façade of the mosque itself dates to the eighteenth-century baroque reconstruction, except for the entrance portal. On the exterior it has the same engaged columns as the gate to the courtyard, and is surmounted by a stalactited canopy enclosed in a series of projecting frames that give depth and emphasis. On the sides and over the door are written in bold calligraphy the historical inscriptions, giving the names of the founder and the architect and the date of completion of the mosque. But the interior of the portal is even more remarkable; its canopy is a finely carved scallop shell supported on a double cornice of stalactites. Unfortunately, it is masked by a later baroque balcony built in front of it.

### 2.11 The mosque interior

The interior is of little interest. It is covered by a central dome flanked by four semidomes on the axes, a plan invented by Sinan and used for several Istanbul mosques in the classical period of Ottoman architecture. Here the exterior lines are still reasonably classical and pleasing, but the interior is at once weak and heavy. The painted decoration is fussy in detail and dull in colour; the lower part of the walls is sheathed in common white tiles of such inferior make that they have become discoloured with damp. In the right-hand corner there is a curious fountain for drinking-water, the only one of its kind in the city, with an old-fashioned bronze pump and silver drinking-mugs: the water is cool and delicious.

The mihrab, which is from the original building, resembles in style the entrance portal, though the gilt-framed panels in the lower part are perhaps a baroque addition. Certainly baroque but equally handsome is the mimber, an elaborate structure of polychrome marble. The sultan's loge is also baroque. The window shutters in these rooms are fine examples of baroque intarsia work, while the small dome over the loge itself is gaily painted with trompe l'oeil windows.

### 2.12 The türbes

In the graveyard behind the mosque stand the türbes of Fatih Mehmet and his wife Gülbahar, the mother of Beyazit II. Both of these türbes were completely reconstructed after the earthquake, though on the old foundations. Fatih's türbe is very baroque and its interior is extremely sumptuous in the *Empire* style. From the time of Beyazit II onwards it was the custom for new sultans to visit Fatih's türbe after they were girded with the sword of Osman Gazi at Eyüp. Fatih's tomb is still a popular place of pilgrimage for pious Muslims, who revere him as a sainted warrior for the faith.

The türbe of Gülbahar is simple and classical and must resemble the original quite closely. An old and persistent legend, quite definitely apocryphal, has it that Gülbahar was a daughter of the King of France, sent by him as a bride for the emperor Constantine and captured by the Turks when they were besieging Constantinople. The legend goes on to say that Gülbahar, although she was the wife of Fatih and the mother of Beyazit II, never embraced Islam and died a Christian. Evliya Çelebi recounts a version of this legend and has this to say of Gülbahar's türbe: 'I myself have often observed, at morning prayer, that the readers appointed to chant lessons from the Kuran all turned their backs upon the coffin of this lady, of whom it was so doubtful whether she departed in the faith of Islam. I have often seen Franks come by stealth and give a few aspers to the tomb-keeper to open her türbe for them, as its gate is always kept locked.'<sup>19</sup> This story is also repeated by the Italian traveller Cornelio Magni, writing at about the same time as Evliya, who was led by the tomb-keeper to believe that Gülbahar was a Christian princess who lived and died in her faith. 'The tomb,' he says, 'remains always shut, even the windows. I asked the reason for this and was told, "the sepulchre of her whose soul lives among the shades deserves not a ray of light!"' After much entreaty and the intervention of a passing emir, the tombkeeper let him in. 'I entered with veneration and awe ...and silently recited a *De Profundis* for the soul of this unfortunate princess.'<sup>20</sup>

The little library in the north-west corner of the graveyard beside the mosque was built by Mahmut I and dates from 1742.

### 2.13 The medreses

The massive structures along the east and west sides of the precincts are the eight great medreses; they are severely symmetrical and almost identical in plan. Each contains 19 cells for students and a dersbane. The entrance to the dersbanes is from the side, and beside each entrance is a tiny garden planted with trees, an effect as rare as it is pretty. Beyond each medrese there was originally an annexe about half as large; these have quite disappeared but seem to have consisted of porticoes round three sides of a terrace. All in all there must have been about 255 hücre, or student rooms, each occupied by perhaps four students. Thus the establishment must have provided for about a thousand students, a university on a big scale.

### 2.14 The hospice

The south-west gate of the precinct, called Çorba Kapısı, or the Soup Gate, from the proximity of the imaret, is a bit of the original structure. Note the elaborate and most unusual designs in porphyry and verd antique set into the stonework of the canopy as well as the 'panache' at the top in verd antique. Through this gate one comes to what is perhaps the finest building of the külliye, the recently restored tabhane, or hospice for travelling dervishes. It has a very beautiful courtyard and is in general an astonishing, even unique, building. The twenty domes of the courtyard are supported on 16 exceptionally beautiful columns of verd antique and Syenitic marble, doubtless from the Church of the Holy Apostles. At the south end a large square chamber (which has unfortunately lost its dome), originally served as a mescit-zaviye, or room for the dervish ceremonies. On each side of this are two spacious domed rooms opening into two open eyvans. These are very interesting: each has two domes supported on a rectangular pillar that one might swear at first sight to be baroque. Closer examination, however, shows the same engaged ribbed columns ending in intertwined designs and an hour-glass capital and base as those found on the entrance portals of the mosque itself. The rosettes, too, and even the very eighteenth-century mouldings can be paralleled in this and other buildings of Fatih's time. It is thought that the two open eyvans were used for meetings and prayer in summer, while the two rooms adjoining the mescit-zaviye were used for the same purpose in winter, and the two farther rooms in the corner as depositories for the guests' baggage. The two rooms at the north ends of the east and west sides do not communicate with the rest of the building in any way, but have their own entrances from the north forecourt; they are used as kitchens and bakehouses and doubtless depended on the adjacent imaret. This leaves only ten, or possibly twelve, rooms for guests; for in the middle of the west side a passage leads through a small arched entry to the area where the caravanserai and imaret stood; an adjacent staircase leads to a room

with a cradle-dome above. Opposite on the east side a similar area was occupied by lavatories; but here the dome and outer walls have fallen, and a very botched repair makes it difficult to see what was the original arrangement. It is altogether an extraordinary building.

### 2.15 The imaret, caravanserai and hospital

The huge vacant lot to the south, now used as a playing-field by the children of the modern Fatih school, was the site of the caravansarai, to the south, and the imaret, to the north. Two fragments of the latter – small domed rooms, but ruinous now – remain in the north-west corner. Evliya Çelebi says it had 70 domes<sup>21</sup>; this would imply that it was a third again as big as the tabhane, which has (or had) 46 domes and one can believe it. For, when one considers that it had to supply two meals a day to the thousand students of the medreses, to the vast corps of clergy and professors of the foundation, to the patients and staff of the hospital, to the guests of the tabhane and the caravansarai, as well as to the poor of the district, it is clear that the imaret must have been enormous. The caravansarai has wholly disappeared, but it too must have been very big, even if one discounts Evliya's statement that its stables could hold 3,000 horses and mules.<sup>22</sup> Another building of the külliye that has vanished is the darüşşifa, or hospital. This was placed symmetrically with the tabhane on the west side of the graveyard; a street-name still recalls its site and bits of its wall may be seen built into modern houses.

### 2.16 Eski Saray

Eski Saray, the Old Palace that Fatih built as his first imperial residence in Istanbul, stood on the Third Hill of the city, on the site now occupied by the central buildings of Istanbul University. Fatih continued to keep an apartment in Eski Saray even after he built Topkapı Sarayı, but from the time of Süleyman the Magnificent onwards the sultans abandoned the Old Palace in favour of the new palace on the First Hill. Thenceforth Eski Saray was used as a place of claustration for the women of departed sultans, with some of its various buildings also serving as private palaces of distinguished vezirs. A large part of its extensive grounds was appropriated by Süleyman for his great mosque complex, the Süleymaniye. Eventually the whole of Eski Saray disappeared and today there is not a trace of it left.

### 2.17 Topkapı Sarayı

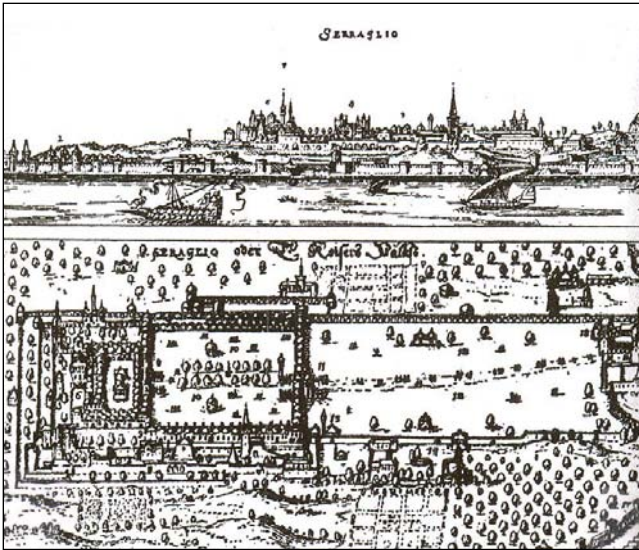
The new imperial residence that Fatih moved into during the winter of 1464–5 came to be known as Topkapı Sarayı, the Palace of the



Cannon Gate, from the row of cannons that guarded its marine entrance at the confluence of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. Fatih constructed his palace on the summit of the First Hill, on what had been the acropolis of the ancient city of Byzantium, while on the slopes of the hill and along the seashore he laid out extensive parks and gardens with pavilions. Kritovoulos describes the new palace in his first entry for the year 1465:

Both as to view and as to enjoyment as well as in its construction and its charm, it was in no respect lacking as compared with the famous and magnificent old buildings and sites. In it he had towers built of unusual height and beauty and grandeur, and apartments for men and others for women, and bedrooms and lounging-rooms and sleeping-quarters, and very many other fine rooms. There were also various out-buildings and vestibules and halls and porticoes and gateways and porches, and bakeshops and baths of notable design.<sup>23</sup>

Aside from Kritovoulos, there are a number of chroniclers who describe Topkapı Sarayı in the first century of its existence, men who were intimately acquainted with the palace through being attached to its service. All of them were foreigners, slaves of the sultan who later retired or escaped from the imperial service. One of the earliest of these was Giovanni-Maria Angiolello of Vicenza, who was captured by Fatih in 1470 when he conquered the Venetian-held fortress of Negroponte in Greece. Angiolello remained in the Ottoman court until 1483, serving both Fatih and Beyazıt II. Angiolello describes the Conqueror as he would have appeared in the last decade of his life: 'The Emperor Mehmet, who, as I said, was



*Figure 26: Topkapı Sarayı, engraving by Dilich, 1600 (from Eldem and Akozan).*

known as the Grand Turk, was of medium height, fat and fleshy; he had a wide forehead, large eyes with thick lashes, an aquiline nose, a small mouth with a round copious reddish-tinged beard, a short, thick neck, a sallow complexion, rather high shoulders, and a loud voice. He suffered from gout in the legs.<sup>24</sup>

Angiolello says that the palace comprised 'three courts each enclosed by walls,<sup>25</sup> each one entered through a double gate, the entire complex surrounded by an outer wall ten feeth high, underestimating its height by about a factor of three. The outer wall, studded with defense towers, encloses the palace on its landward side, extending from the Golden Horn to the Sea of Marmara, where it connected with the ancient sea walls that extended around the tip of the Constantinopolitan peninsula. The wall and towers built by Fatih are still perfectly preserved looking much the same as they do in the Nuremberg woodcut of 1493 by Hartman Schedel.

According to Angiolello, the gardens of the palace also included fruit orchards, vineyards, game parks and an aviary, as well as a zoological park and botanical gardens.

And here in this garden there are many kinds of fruit trees planted in order, and similarly pergolas with grapevines of many kinds, roses, lilacs, saffron, flowers of every sort, and everywhere there is an abundance of most gentle waters, that is, fountains and pools. Also in this garden are some separate places in which are kept many kinds of animals, such as deer, does, roe deer, foxes, hares, sheep, goats and Indian cows, which are much larger than ours, and many other sorts of animals. This garden is inhabited by many sorts of birds, and when it is spring it is pleasant to listen to them sing, and likewise there is a marshy lake which is planted with reeds, where a large number of wild geese and ducks dwell, and in that place the Grand Turk delights in shooting with his gun.<sup>26</sup>

There are still a number of structures dating from Fatih's time in Topkapı Sarayı, which, except for its fourth and innermost court is still laid out as he designed it, although the outer gardens and their pavilions were virtually all swept away in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the last stretch of the rail line for the Orient Express was laid out along around Saray Burnu, the promontory at the confluence of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. The Harem, or women's quarters, in its present state belongs largely to the time of Murat III (r. 1574–95), with extensive reconstructions under Mehmet IV (r. 1648–87), while isolated pavilions of the Fourth Court date from various periods. On three occasions, in 1574, 1665, and 1856, very serious fires devastated large sections of the palace, so that while the three main courts

have preserved essentially the arrangements given them by Fatih, many of the buildings have either disappeared, including most of those in the First Court, or have been reconstructed or redecorated in later periods. For that reason the extant structures in Topkapı Sarayı will be described in detail in the following chapter rather than in this section.

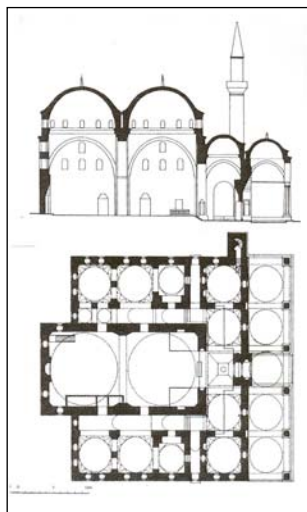
### 3 VEZIRIAL FOUNDATION FROM FATIH'S REIGN

#### 3.1 Mahmut Pasha Camii

There are three vezirial mosques in Istanbul dating from Fatih's time. The earliest of these is Mahmut Pasha Camii, in the market quarter on the shore of the Second Hill leading down to the Golden Horn. This was built by the grand vezir Mahmut Pasha in 1462, just nine years after the Conquest. Mahmut Pasha was the most outstanding of the early grand vezirs, nevertheless he was put to death by Fatih in 1474, because the sultan felt that he was responsible for the death of his favourite son, Prince Mustafa. His contemporary, the historian Kritovoulos, gives this attractive picture of Mahmut Pasha:

*Figure 27: Mahmut Pasha Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*





*Figure 28: Mahmut Pasha Camii, section and plan (from Goodwin).*

This man had so fine a nature that he outshone not only all his contemporaries but also his predecessors in wisdom, bravery, virtue and other good qualities. He was enterprising, a good counselor, bold, courageous, excelling in all lines, as the times and circumstances proved him to be. For from the time he took charge of the affairs of the great Sultan, he gave everything in his great dominion a better prospect by his wonderful zeal and his fine planning as well as by his implicit faith and good will toward his sovereign.<sup>27</sup>

Mahmut Pasha Camii is interesting not only because of its great age, but because it is a very fine example of the 'Bursa style' of mosque structure, of which there are only two examples in Istanbul, the other being that of Beyazit II (see pp. 183-90). The mosque is preceded by a porch with five bays. The porch has been ruined by an unfortunate restoration, in which the original columns have been replaced by, or encased in, ungainly octagonal piers. Over and beside the entrance portal there are several calligraphic inscriptions in Arabic and Old Turkish verse giving the dates of foundation and of two restorations, one in 1755 and the other in 1828. The ugly piers undoubtedly belong to the latter restoration, since they are characteristically baroque, as is the entrance portal itself. The minaret rises from the north-west corner of the building, just behind that end of the porch.

The entryway lead into a narthex or vestibule, a most unusual feature found only here and in the mosque of Beyazit II. The vaults of the narthex are interesting and different from one another. The central bay has a square vault heavily adorned with stalactites. In the first pair of bays on either side smooth pendentives support domes with 24 ribs; in the two end bays the domes are not supported by pendentives, but by a very curious arrangement of juxtaposed triangles forming a regular sixteen-sided polygon, found only in a very few early mosques in Istanbul.

The general plan of the mosque resembles fairly close of that of Murat I Hüdavendigâr at Bursa. Essentially it consists of a long rectangular room divided in the middle by an arch, thus forming two square chambers each covered by a dome of equal size. The two large domes of the great hall of the mosque have smooth pendentives, rather than the stalactited ones usually found in these early mosques. On each side of the main hall there is a narrow, barrel-vaulted passage which communicates both with the hall and with three small rooms on each side, which were used as a hospice for dervishes, another feature found only in a few early mosques in Istanbul. Some of the domes in these side chambers have smooth pendentives, while others are stalactited. The mihrab and mimber are inferior works of the eighteenth century or later, as are most of the other decorations and mosque furniture.

### 3.2 Türbe of Mahmut Pasha

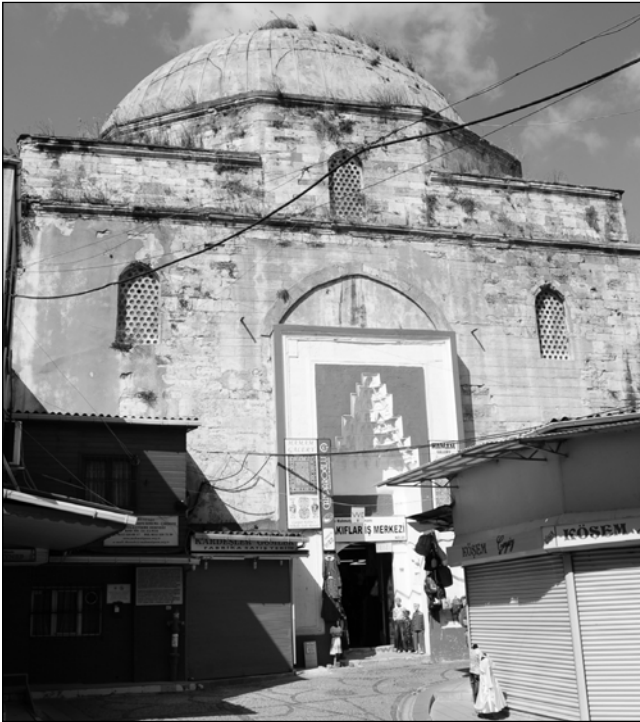
Besides the mosque, the külliye of Mahmut Pasha included a hamam, a han, and the founder's türbe. The hamam and the han are some distance away, but the türbe is just behind the mosque in a little graveyard. This magnificent and unique tomb is dated 1474, the year that Mahmut Pasha was executed. It is a tall octagonal building with a blind dome and two tiers of windows. The upper part of the fabric on the outside is entirely encased in a mosaic of tile-work, with blue and turquoise predominating. The tiles make a series of wheel-like patterns of great charm; they are presumably of the first Iznik period, 1451–1555, and there is nothing else exactly like them in Istanbul.



*Figure 29: Türbe of Mahmut Pasha  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

### 3.3 Hamam of Mahmut Pasha

The hamam of Mahmut Pasha's külliye is an imposing domed building, dated by an inscription over the entrance portal to 1476. This is two years after Mahmut Pasha's death, and so the bath must have been built from funds provided for in the founder's vakıf. Like most of the great Ottoman hamams, it was originally double, but the women's section was pulled down to make way for the adjacent han. The men's bath has been partially restored for use as a shopping



*Figure 30: Mahmut Pasha Hamamı  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

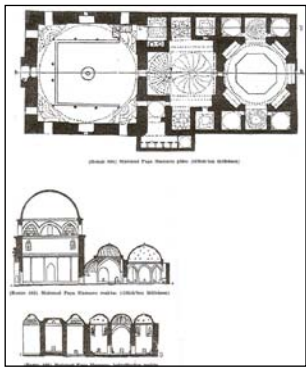


Figure 31: Mahmut Pasha Hamamı, plan and section (from Glück).

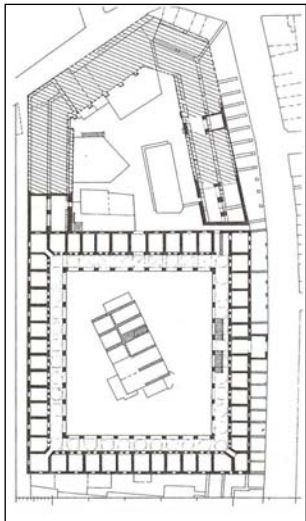


Figure 32: Kürkçü Hanı, plan (scale 1:1000) (from Ayverdi).

Figure 33: Hamam of Gedik Pasha (Anthony E. Baker).

mall, though shops have been set up only in the camekân, a huge hall of square plan, 17 metres on a side, covered by a high dome on stalactited pendentives. The soğukluk is far larger than in most baths, a truly monumental room covered by a dome with spiral ribs and a huge semidome in the shape of a scallop shell; on either side are two square cubicals with elaborate vaulting. The hararet is octagonal with five shallow oblong niches, and in the cross axis there are two domed eyvans, each of which leads to two more private bathing cubicles in the corners.

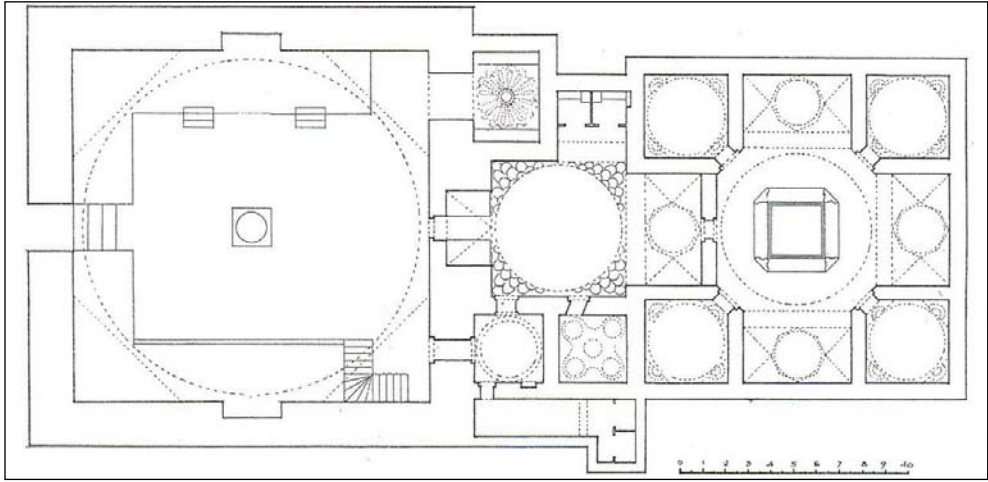
3.4 Kürkçü Hanı

The Kürkçü Hanı, or Han of the Furriers, is also part of Mahmut Pasha's foundation, built at about the same time as his mosque, which makes it the oldest han in the city. The furriers for whom it is named still have their shops just inside the entrance. Evliya Çelebi, in his description of the great procession of the guilds commanded by Murat IV in 1636, says that the furriers had their shops in this han.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, part of the han is in ruins or has disappeared and the rest is dilapidated and rather spoiled. Originally it consisted of two large courtyards. The first, nearly square, is 45 by 40 metres, and had about 45 rooms on each of its two floors; in the centre was a small mosque, now replaced by an ugly block of modern flats. The second courtyard to the north was smaller and very irregularly shaped because of the layout of the adjacent streets. It had about 30 rooms on each floor and must have been very attractive in its irregularity; unfortunately it is now almost completely ruined.

3.5 Hamam of Gedik Ahmet Pasha

The oldest functioning Turkish bath in the city is the hamam of Gedik Ahmet Pasha on the Third Hill. The bath was built around





1475 by Gedik Ahmet Pasha, Fatih's grand vezir in the years 1473–4 and again in 1476, who commanded the fleet at the capture of Azof and captured Otranto in the heel of Italy. He was executed by Beyazit II in 1482.

*Figure 34: Hamam of Gedik Ahmet Pasha, plan, (from Glück).*

The hamam, which has given its name to the surrounding neighbourhood, has an unusually spacious and monumental soğukluk consisting of a large domed area flanked by alcoves and cubicles; the one on the right has a very elaborate stalactited vault. The hararet is cruciform except that the lower arm of the cross has been cut off and made part of the soğukluk, with the corners of the cross forming domed cubicles. The bath has been restored and now glistens with bright new marble, and it is much patronized by those who work and shop in this market quarter.

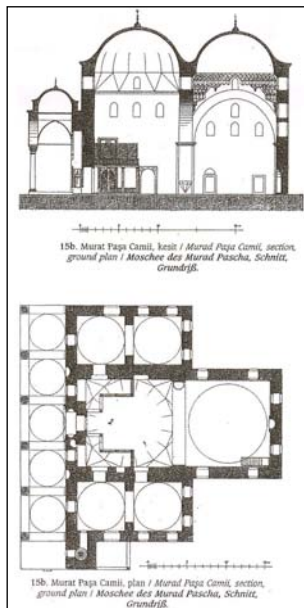
### 3.6 Murat Pasha Camii

The second oldest of the vezirial mosques is Murat Pasha Camii, which stands on the eastern slope of the Seventh Hill in the valley of the Lycus River. Its founder, Hass Murat Pasha was from the imperial Byzantine dynasty of the Palaeologues, who converted to Islam and became a vezir and a particular favourite of Fatih. He commanded an army in the campaign against Uzun Hasan, the chieftain of the White Sheep Turcoman tribe and died in battle in 1473. An intricate inscription in Arabic over the main door gives the date of construction of the mosque as 1469. The calligraphy in the inscription is quite beautiful and is probably by Ali bin Sufi.

The mosque is smaller and less elaborate than Mahmut Pasha Camii but resembles it in general plan. The long rectangular



**Figure 35: Murat Pasha Camii**  
(Anthony E. Baker).



**Figure 36: Murat Pasha Camii,**  
*section and plan (from Gurlitt).*

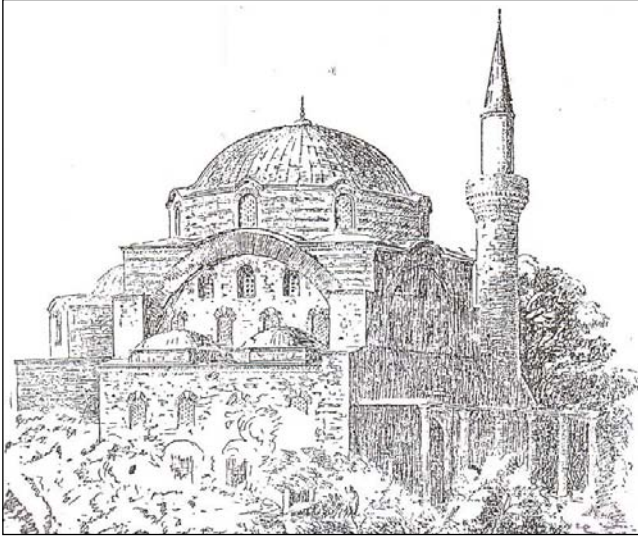


prayer-hall is divided by an arch into two squares, each covered by a dome, with two small side chambers to east and west serving as hostels for itinerant dervishes. The southern dome rests on pendentives, while the northern one has the same curious arrangement of triangles seen on the smaller domes of Mahmut Pasha Camii. The porch has five domed bays supported by six very handsome ancient columns, two of Syneitic marble and four of verd antique. The capitals are of three different kinds, arranged symmetrically, two types of stalactites and the lozenge capital. The walls of the building are in alternating courses of brick and stone. The pious foundation originally included, in addition to the mosque, a medrese and a large double hamam, but unfortunately these perished during the widening of the adjacent avenues.

### 3.7 Rum Mehmet Pasha Camii

The third of the three vezirial mosques in Istanbul from Fatih's time is Rum Mehmet Pasha Camii, which stands near the shore at the southern end of the Bosphorus in Üsküdar, Istanbul's Asian suburb, the ancient Chrysopolis. The mosque was built in 1471 by Rum Mehmet Pasha, a Greek (Rum) who converted to Islam and became grand vezir under Fatih, who executed him in 1472. This is the most Byzantine in appearance of all the early mosques in the city; most notably the high cylindrical drum on which the dome is raised, the exterior cornice following the curve of the round-arched windows, and the square dome base broken by the projection of the great dome arches. Internally the mosque has a central dome with smooth pendentives and a semidome to the south, with side chambers completely cut off from the central area. Behind the mosque is the gaunt türbe of Rum Mehmet Pasha, of whom the nineteenth-century Austrian historian Joseph von Hammer wrote





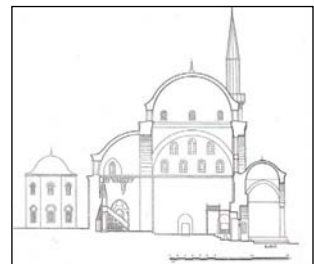
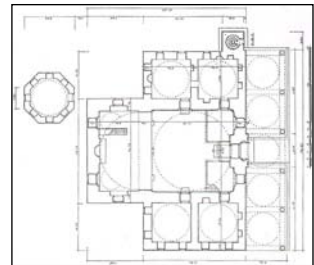
*Figure 37: Rum Mehmet Pasha Camii (from Şeysuvaroğlu).*

that 'he left in Ottoman history no other memories than those of his crimes.'<sup>29</sup>

## 4 OTHER FOUNDATIONS FROM FATİH'S TIME

### 4.1 Introduction

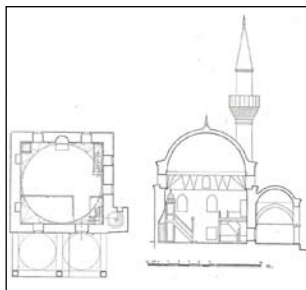
Beside the imperial and vezirial foundations, there are at least a dozen other mosques in Istanbul dating from Fatih's time, all of them small, along with a large hamam and several hans, some of which may predate the Conquest. Some of these buildings are on the slope of the Third Hill between Kapalı Çarşı and the Golden Horn. This was the first Turkish market quarter in the city, established in what had been a commercial and port area on the Golden Horn since early Byzantine times as well as in the Latin period, when the Venetians had establishments in this neighbourhood. The main street between Kapalı Çarşı and the Golden Horn in this quarter is Uzun Çarşı Caddesi, the Street of the Long Market, which follows the course of an ancient Byzantine avenue known as Makro Embolos, the Great Arcade, which led from the summit of the Third Hill down to the port on the Golden Horn. There are four mosques from Fatih's time on the streets leading off from Uzun Çarşı Caddesi and three more along the Golden Horn, as well as a hamam and several hans. Besides these there are also five other mosques dating from the reign of Fatih, one each on the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Hills.



*Figure 38: Rum Mehmet Pasha Camii, plan and section (from Ayverdi).*



*Figure 39: Yavaşca Şahin Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 40: Yavaşca Şahin Camii, plan and section (from Ayverdi).*

## 4.2 Yavaşca Şahin Camii

The first of the old mosques that one comes to in strolling downhill to the Golden Horn along Uzun Çarşı Caddesi is Yavaşca Şahin Camii. Yavaşca Şahin Pasha was a captain in Fatih's fleet at the time of the Conquest; he built this mosque soon afterwards, though the exact date is unknown. It was badly damaged by fire in 1908 but well restored in 1950. It is one of a small group of early mosques that form a distinct type, in which the front porch has only two domes, and its entrance portal is consequently shifted off centre under the dome on the right. Within, a square chamber with a blind dome resting on an octagonal drum is supported by a series of triangles making a sixteen-sided base. It is an odd type; unfortunately in this case the porch was not restored because of the impertinent intrusion of a shop.

## 4.3 Samanveren Camii

Just opposite Yavaşca Şahin Camii, a street called Ağızlıkçı Sokağı leads steeply uphill, and at the first corner on the left it comes to Samanveren Camii, the Mosque of the Inspector of Straw. The mosque, which has been restored, was erected by a certain Sinan Ağa, who in Fatih's time was an inspector of straw, and hence the



*Figure 41: Samanveren Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

name. It is a quaint and interesting building of brick and stone construction, with some curious leaf-like decorations in brick on what is left of its original minaret. The present minaret, with its curious arcaded loggia for the müezzın instead of a şerefe, is part of the reconstruction. The mosque itself is on the first floor over a vaulted ground floor.

#### 4.4 Timurtaş Camii

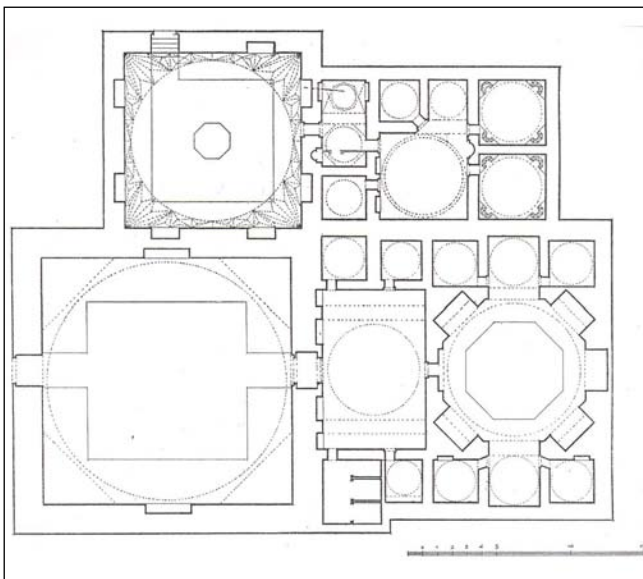
Across from Samanveren Camii a lane with the strange name Devoğlu Sokağı, the Street of the Giant's Son, rambles downhill and comes to another ancient mosque, Timurtaş Camii. It is very like Samanveren Camii; thus it is built over a vaulted ground floor and is of the same brick and stone construction, with a large wooden porch. Its minaret is unusual; instead of having a balcony, it is entirely enclosed and four small grilled openings are left toward the top through which the müezzın calls to prayer. It is thought that Samanveren Camii originally had the same type of minaret; they seem to be almost twin mosques. The exact date of neither is known, both both belong to the age of Fatih.



*Figure 42: Timurtas Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

#### 4.5 Tahtakale Hamamı

Turning right along Kantarcılar Caddesi, the Avenue of the Scale-Makers, one immediately comes to an enormous double bath, Tahtakale Hamamı, which also dates to the age of Fatih. The hamam has recently been restored and converted into a shopping mall. The most impressive chamber is the camekân, which is almost square in plan, 16.70 by 16.25 metres, covered by a huge dome on a low drum.



*Figure 43: Tahtakale Hamamı, plan  
(from Glück).*

#### 4.6 Hurmalı Han and Balkapan Han

There are three more mosques from Fatih's time on the market street that runs along beside the Golden Horn, as well as a number of old hans from the early Ottoman period. The two oldest of these commercial buildings – Hurmalı Han and Balkapan Han – are believed to date from the medieval Byzantine era. Hurmalı Han, the Han for Dates, has a long narrow courtyard which one authority ascribes to the sixth or seventh century. Balkapan Han, the Han of the Honey-Store, is mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, who says that in his time, the mid-seventeenth century, it belonged to the Egyptian honey merchants.<sup>30</sup> This han is chiefly interesting for the extensive Byzantine vaults beneath it, approached by a stairway leading down from inside a shed in the middle of the courtyard. Great rectangular pillars of brick support massive brick vaulting in a herringbone pattern, covering an area of at least 2,000 square metres. The vaults and substructures on ground level were doubtless one of the many granaries or storage depots which are known to have existed on this site from at least the fourth or fifth century, part of the ancient market quarter which became the earliest commercial centre of Ottoman Istanbul.

#### 4.7 Kantarcılar Mescidi

Turning west on the market street along the Golden Horn, the first of the three mosques of Fatih's time that one comes to is Kantarcılar Mescidi, the Small Mosque of the Scale-Makers. This is on Kantarcılar Sokağı, the Street of the Scale-Makers, which, together with the mosque, takes its name from the scalemakers who have had their shops in this area since at least 1636, when Evliya Çelebi writes of them marching from here in the great procession of the guilds.<sup>31</sup> The mosque was founded during



*Figure 44: Kantarcılar Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

Fatih's reign by one Sarı Demirci Mevlana Mehmet Muhittin. Sarı Demirci means 'the Yellow Ironworker', the name of a guild of ironworkers that Evliya says had their workshops here in his time.<sup>32</sup> The mosque has been restored several times and is of little interest except for its great age.

### 4.8 Kazancılar Camii

The second of the old mosques along the Golden Horn market street is Kazancılar Camii, the Mosque of the Cauldron-Makers, here again named for one of the industrial guilds that had its workshops here since early Ottoman times and still today. It is also known as Üç Mihrablı Camii, the Mosque with Three Mihrabs. Founded by a certain Hoca Hayrettin Efendi in 1475, it was enlarged first by Fatih himself, then by Hayrettin's daughter-in-law, who added her own house to the mosque, so that it came to have three mihrabs, whence its name.

The main body of the building, which seems to be original though heavily restored, consists of a square room covered by a dome resting on a high blind drum worked in the form of a series of triangles so as to dispense with pendentives or squinches. In the dome are some rather curious arabesque designs, not in the grand manner of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries nor yet in the degenerate Italian taste of the nineteenth; they are unique in the city and quite attractive both in design and colour. The deep porch has three domes only, the arches being supported at each end by rectangular piers and in the centre by a single marble column. The door is not in the middle but on the right-hand side so as not to be blocked by the column; this arrangement, too, was common in the preclassical period but there are only a few such examples in the city.



*Figure 45: Kazancılar Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

To the east of the main building there is a rectangular annexe with a flat ceiling and two mihrabs; it is through this structure that we enter the mosque today. According to one authority, this section is totally new; possibly, but as far as form goes, it might well be the house added by Hayrettin's daughter-in-law, which would make it the oldest dwelling-place in the city.

### 4.9 Sağrıcılar Camii

The third of the three old mosques along the Golden Horn is near the Atatürk Bridge. This is Sağrıcılar Camii, the Mosque of the Leather-Workers, named after a guild that once had its shops in this area, though no more. The building is of the simplest type, a square room covered by a dome, the walls of stone. But although the mosque is of little interest architecturally, its historical background is fascinating. For one thing, this is probably the oldest mosque in the city, founded in 1455 by Yavuz Ersinan, standard-bearer in Fatih's army during the siege and conquest of Constantinople. This gentleman was an ancestor of Evliya Çelebi and his family remained in possession of the mosque for at least two centuries, living in a house just beside it. Evliya was born in this house in 1611, and on his twenty-first birthday he was sleeping there when he had a dream in which the Prophet Mohammed told him that he would be a great traveller.<sup>33</sup> This inspired Evliya to write his *Seyahatname*, in which he gives an extraordinarily detailed and colourful description of Istanbul as it was during the reign of Murat IV.

Yavuz Ersinan himself is buried in the little graveyard beside the mosque, in what would have been the garden of his house. Beside him is buried his comrade-in-arms Horoz



*Figure 46: Sağrıcılar Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

Dede, or Grandfather Rooster, one of the fabulous Muslim folk-saints of Istanbul. Horoz Dede received his name during the siege of Constantinople, when he made his rounds each morning and woke the soldiers of Fatih's army with his loud rooster call. Horoz Dede was killed in the final assault, and after Yavuz Ersinan built his mosque here he had his comrade reburied beside it, with Fatih himself among the mourners who came to honour him. The saint's grave is still venerated today.

### 4.10 Ibrahim Pasha Camii

Ibrahim Pasha Camii is on the slope of the Third Hill leading down to the Golden Horn. According to the *Hadikat-ül Cevami*, an account of all the mosques in Istanbul around 1780, the mosque was founded in A. H. 883 (1478) by Çandarlı Ibrahim Pasha, grand vezir under Beyazıt II. The complex originally included, in addition to the mosque, a medrese, a mektep, a hamam and a fountain, none of which have survived. The mosque was in ruins for many years and was restored in the 1960s; however the restoration has destroyed all that was original in the structure and it is now hardly worth even a passing mention.

### 4.11 Yarhisar Camii

Yarhisar Camii is on the slope of the Fourth Hill sloping down to the Golden Horn. This is probably the second-oldest mosque in the city, apparently predated only by Sağrıcalar Camii. According to the Register of Pious Foundations (*Hayrat Kaydı*), this mosque was built in 1461; its founder Musliheddin Efendi was Judge of Istanbul in Fatih's reign. It was once a handsome edifice, built entirely of ashlar stone, its square chamber covered by a dome on pendentives, preceded by a porch with two dome and three columns. It was badly damaged in the great fire of 1917 which consumed most of this district, but even in its ruined state it was a fine and dignified structure. The building was restored in the years 1954–6, with a thin veneer of brick and stone, *à la Byzantine*, covering the original structure, and the interior was redecorated. The restoration was unfortunate, since it obscures what was still attractive in the mosque and is not true to the spirit of the original structure.

### 4.12 Kumrulu Mescit

Kumrulu Mescit, the Little Mosque of the Turtle Dove, on the Fifth Hill, takes its name from a fragment of Byzantine sculpture used in the adjoining çeşme, showing two turtle doves drinking from the Fountain of Life. This mosque is of interest principally because its





*Figure 47: Kumrulu Mescit  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

founder and builder was Atik Sinan, Fatih's Chief Architect and the designer of the original Fatih Camii. Atik Sinan's tombstone is to be seen in the garden of the mosque, with an inscription stating that he was executed in 1471, supposedly for not making the Mosque of the Conqueror higher than Haghia Sophia.

### 4.13 Yatağan Camii

Yatağan Camii is on the Sixth Hill just inside the ancient Byzantine land walls. Built in the time of Fatih by one of his artillery generals, Hacı İlyas Ağa, it is of the simple rectangular type with a wooden porch and a wooden roof and gallery. According to the Turkish architectural historian Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, the woodwork is contemporary with the mosque and therefore of great interest. But this seems highly unlikely, given the frequency of fires in this district, besides which the woodwork looks like the product of quite inferior craftsmanship of very recent date.

### 4.14 Beyazıt Ağa Camii

Beyazıt Ağa Camii is on the lower northern slope of the Seventh Hill, a few hundred metres inside the ancient Theodosian walls. Little is known of the mosque or its founder; it dates from the time of Fatih and is of the rectangular wooden-roof type. Aside from its great age, the mosque is of little interest and worth no more than a passing glance.

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31. Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels*, vol. I, part II, p. 183
32. Ibid., vol. I, part II, p. 180
33. Ibid., vol. I, part I, pp. 2–5

## CHAPTER V

# Topkapı Sarayı

## 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 History

Topkapı Sarayı was the principal imperial residence of the Ottoman sultans from Fatih's time until 1855, when Abdül Mecit I abandoned it in favour of the new palace of Dolmabahçe Sarayı. During the latter years of the Ottoman Empire the only residents of Topkapı Sarayı were the wives and concubines of departed sultans and their servants and the few black eunuchs who looked after them. By the end of the empire the old palace was dilapidated and falling into ruins, its once beautiful gardens neglected and overgrown, the embowered pavilions on its lower terraces destroyed along with its seaside kiosks when the railway line for the Orient Express was laid out along the shore of the Marmara and around Saray Burnu to the Golden Horn.

Topkapı Sarayı ceased to be royal domain in 1923, when the Grand National Assembly of the nascent Turkish Republic declared that the palace was the property of the Turkish nation, attached to the administration of the museums of Istanbul. Years of restoration followed before the various parts of the palace could be opened to the public as the Topkapı Sarayı Museum, whose collections include



*Figure 1: Topkapı Sarayı on the skyline above the Golden Horn; Sepetçiler Köşkü on the shore below (Anthony E. Baker).*

## Topkapı Sarayı

many of the treasures that belonged to the sultans as well as the objects that they and their household used in their daily life. The last part of the palace to be opened to the public was the Harem, in the 1960s, though there are still parts of that ancient labyrinth that have not yet been completely restored and made accessible to visitors.

Topkapı Sarayı was much more than just the private residence of the sultan and his court. It was the seat of the supreme executive and judicial council of the empire, the Divan, and it housed the largest and most select of the training schools for the imperial civil service, the Palace School. The Saray was laid out to accommodate

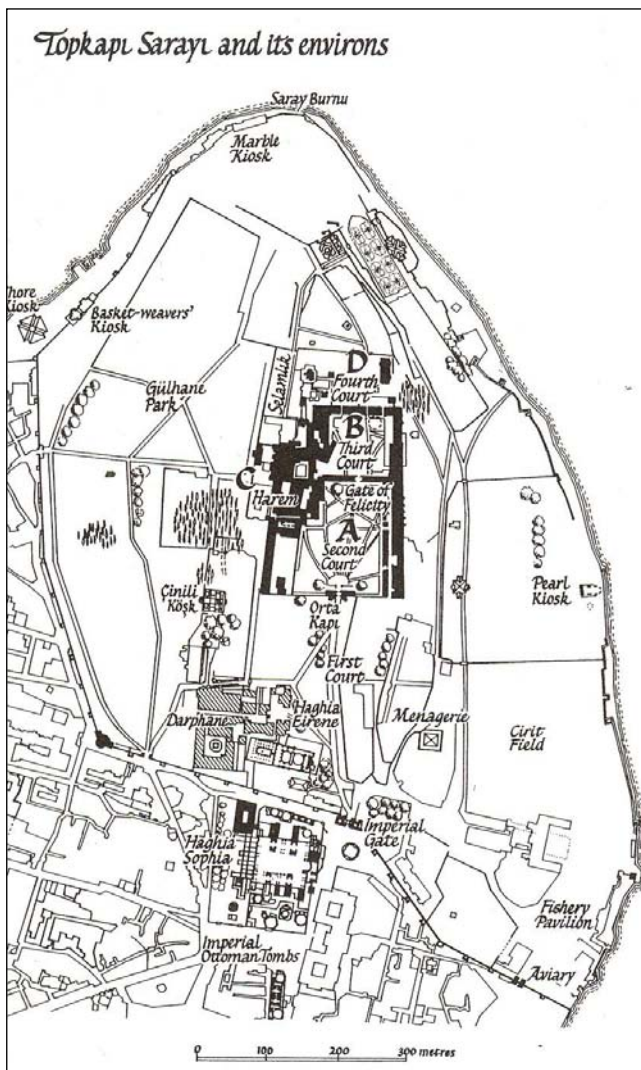


Figure 2: Topkapı Sarayı and its environs.

these various institutions, each in its own buildings around the four main courtyards. The residential section of the palace extended along the west side of the three inner court, with the Harem, the women's quarters, to the south, and the Selamlık, the residence of the sultan and the royal princes, to the north. During the great days of the Ottoman Empire the population of the palace is estimated to have been between three and four thousand.

## 1.2 The Harem

The Harem was not an original part of the palace as laid out by Mehmet II. Fatih seems to have designed Topkapı Sarayı primarily as the administrative centre of his empire, reserving Eski Saray, the old palace on the Third Hill, for his court and his harem. This arrangement was maintained by his three immediate successors: Beyazıt II (r. 1481–1512), Selim I (r. 1512–20), and Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), at least during the early years of his reign. According to tradition, Süleyman allowed his wife Roxelana to install herself in Topkapı Sarayı, but probably only in wooden pavilions; his son and successor Selim II (r. 1566–74) seems to have done the same. The first permanent structures in the Harem appear to have been built by Selim's son and successor Murat III (r. 1574–95).

The women of the Harem were organized into two distinct classes. The lower class was that of the *cariyeler*, or servants, who were assigned most of the routine housework in the women's quarters. These women were classified according to their skill and seniority as *çırak* (apprentice), *kalfa* (qualified worker) or *usta* (superintendent). The slave girls worked their way up through the ranks and often retired with comfortable pensions. These women rarely came into contact with the sultan, although there was always the chance that one of them might catch his eye and share his bed. The highest class of women in the Harem was that of the *gedikiler*, or privileged ones, who were generally purchased in the İstanbul slave market, chosen for their beauty and talent and trained as musicians, singers and dancers. The Venetian ambassador Ottavio Bon, writing early in the seventeenth century, tells of how the young non-Muslim women taken into the sultan's harem were converted to Islam, after which 'they go to school, to learn to speak and read, if they will, the Turkish tongue, to sew also, and to play upon divers instruments.' He notes that several hours every day were 'allowed them for their recreation, to walk in their gardens, and use such sports as they familiarly exercise themselves withall.'<sup>1</sup> The *gedikiler* were first apprenticed to one of the older women of the harem, the *kaya kadın*, who instructed and dressed them in preparation for their introduction to the sultan. If the sultan noticed a girl and chose her as a possible concubine she was designated as *gözde*, which means literally 'in the eye'. Thereupon the girl was set up

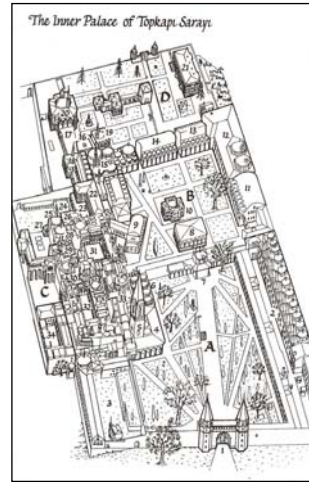


Figure 3: The Inner Palace of Topkapı Sarayı.

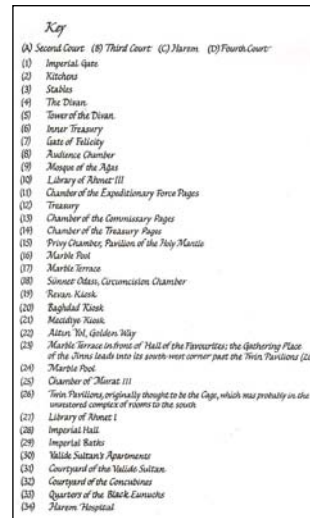
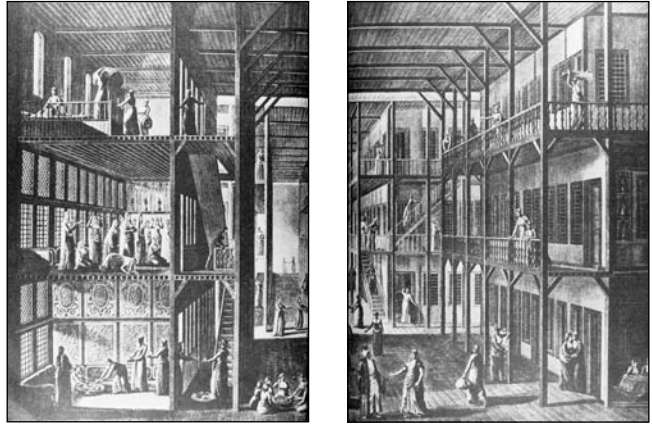


Figure 4: Key to Figures 2 and 3.

Figure 5: The Harem at Topkapı Sarayı.



in an apartment of her own and was prepared for her appointment with the sultan by the women servants who were Keeper of the Bath, Mistress of the Robes and Keeper of the Treasury. If, after her first night with the sultan, she remained in his favour, she became an *ikbal*, or royal concubine. The sultan's favourite was called *haseki*, and if she was the mother of his eldest son she became his *birinci kadın*, or first wife. If her son succeeded his father to the throne she became the *valide sultan*, the titular head of the Harem. The *valide* was sometimes the power behind her son's throne, with enormous wealth that allowed her to endow mosques and other foundations. Kösem, a Greek girl who became the wife of Ahmet I (r. 1603–17), ruled the Harem as *valide sultan* during the successive reigns of her sons Murat IV (r. 1623–40) and Ibrahim (r. 1640–48) and into the early years of the reign of her grandson Mehmet IV (r. 1648–87), until she was finally murdered in 1651 by Turhan Hadice, Mehmet's mother, who then took her place as *valide*.

### 1.3 Fratricide and the Cage

When Selim II died on 15 December 1574 he was succeeded by his son Murat III, whose mother Nurbanu thus became *valide*. That night Murat had his five surviving younger brother strangled to eliminate them as rivals to the throne, justifying his murders by the Ottoman code of fratricide. When Murat died on 16 January 1595 he was succeeded by his brother Mehmet III, whereupon his mother Safiye became *valide*. After Mehmet succeeded to the throne he had his nineteen younger brothers strangled so that none of them might contest the throne. This was the last instance of mass fratricide in the Ottoman dynasty, for thenceforth the younger brothers of a new sultan were not murdered but were instead sequestered in apartments in the inner palace known as the *Kafes*, or Cage, from which one of them might emerge if he himself succeeded as sultan. The law of

succession changed in 1617 after the death of Ahmet I, who was not succeeded by his eldest son but by his oldest brother Mustafa I. Thenceforth on the death of a sultan he was succeeded by the oldest living male in the family, the younger ones being locked away in the Cage, from which some of them emerged to rule as sultan when they were old men who had been imprisoned since their youth.

### 1.4 The eunuchs

The women in the harem were guarded by the black eunuchs, while the royal princes, the palace pages and the students in the Palace School were looked after by the white eunuchs. The eunuchs were taken into the palace as youths, having been castrated after they were bought in slave markets, the blacks generally coming from Nubia and the whites from Circassia. The chief black eunuch had the title Kızlar Ağası, or Ağā of the Girls, while the chief white eunuch was called Kapı Ağası, or Ağā of the Gate. Originally the chief white eunuch was the dominant figure in the Inner Palace, but after the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, when the number of women in the Harem greatly increased, the chief black eunuch became the most powerful personage. Ottavio Bon notes that both black and white eunuchs were educated in the Palace School along with the other students. He also remarks on the names given to the black eunuchs: 'They are named by the names of flowers, such as Hyacinth, Narcissus, Rose, Gillyflower



*Figure 6: (left) One of the sultan's favourites; (right) the Valide Sultan, or Queen Mother.*



*Figure 7: (left) Chief Black Eunuch; (right) Chief White Eunuch.*

and the like. For that, serving the women, and being always near about them, their names may be answerable to their virginity, sweet and undefiled.<sup>12</sup>

## 1.5 The Palace School

The Palace School was a highly organized institution for the training of the imperial civil service, and appears to be unique in the Islamic world. It was founded and its principles laid down by Fatih, though later sultans added to and modified it. The pages who attended the school came mostly from the *devşirme*, the periodic levy of Christian youths from the subject minorities of the empire along with likely youths captured in war. They entered at various ages from twelve to eighteen and received a vigorous training, both physical and intellectual, which in contrast to the usual Islamic education was largely secular and designed specifically to prepare the students for the administration of the empire. There can be no doubt that the brilliant success of the Ottoman state in the earlier centuries of its existence was to a large extent due to the training its administrators received in the Palace School.

## 2 THE FIRST COURT AND THE LOWER GARDENS

### 2.1 The Saray Walls

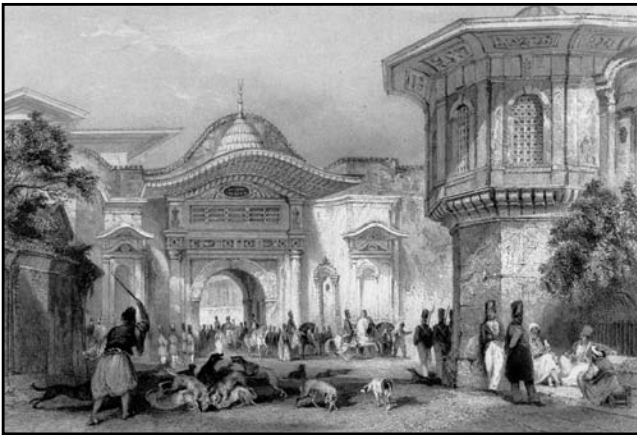
When Fatih first laid out the palace grounds he had them enclosed on the landward side by a high defense wall, studded at intervals



with massive towers, stretching between the Golden Horn and the Marmara, where it was joined to the medieval Byzantine sea-walls. These walls followed the same course as those of the ancient Greek city of Byzantium, which enclosed only the First Hill, with the acropolis on its heights and the lower town along the shores of the Marmara and the Golden Horn. Fatih built his palace on the acropolis, with gardens that extended down to the seashore, where a number of his successors built pavilions, only two of which have survived. The gardens on the eastern side of the palace leading down to the Golden Horn are closed to the public, as is the gate that once led to them, Otluk Kapısı, now used only by the military. The lower gardens on the western side of the Topkapı Sarayı leading down to the Golden Horn now form Gülhane Park, whose main entrance is via Soğukçeşme Kapısı, the Gate of the Cold Well; from there a road leads up to the First Court of the palace, passing the entrance to a terrace containing the Archaeological Museum, the Museum of the Ancient Orient and the Çinili Köşk, an outer pavilion of Topkapı Sarayı.

### 2.2 The Alay Köşkü

At the angle of the Saray walls to the left of Soğukçeşme Kapısı there is a gazebo known as the Alay Köşkü, the Kiosk of the Processions. The kiosk takes its name from the fact that the sultans used it a vantage point to review the parades that passed along the palace walls at that point, particularly the processions of the guilds such as the one that Murat IV ordered in 1636. Evliya Çelebi gives a detailed description of this procession in his *Seyahatname*, where he says that ‘the procession began its march at dawn and continued till sunset ... on account of which all trade and work in Istanbul was disrupted for a period of three days. During this time the riot and confusion filled the town to a degree which is not to be expressed by language, and which



*Figure 8: The Alay Köşkü (to the right); the Sublime Porte (Print by Allom).*

I, poor Evliya, only dared to describe.<sup>3</sup> The Alay Köşkü also overlooked the Sublime Porte, the entrance to the headquarters of the grand vezir, which was across the street outside the palace wall, so that the sultan could keep an eye on who was visiting his chief minister.

### 2.3 The Imperial Gate

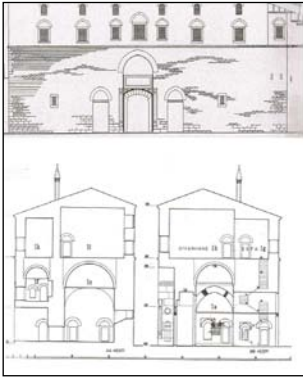
The main entrance to Topkapı Sarayı, now as in Ottoman times, is through Bab-ı Hümayun, the Imperial Gate, opposite the north-east corner of Haghia Sophia. This monumental gateway was erected by Fatih in 1478, though its appearance has changed rather radically in the course of time. Originally there was a second storey with two rows of windows, but this was removed in subsequent remodelings. The seventeenth-century Turkish historian Hezarfen Hüseyin notes that this upper storey was added by Fatih to create a vantage point from which he could look out over the city. Fatih's grandson Selim I (r. 1512–20) installed the court tailors in this upper floor of the gatehouse, but it is noted that 'their frequent comings and goings inconvenienced the palace guards' and they were moved to a nearby mosque.<sup>4</sup> The upper storey was demolished in 1867 by Sultan Abdül Aziz, who remodeled the gateway; an elaborately carved marble balustrade took the place of the upper floor; the arch of the great gate was surrounded with the present marble frame and the niches on either side were reconstructed and lined with marble. The balustrade was removed in 1951, presumably on the grounds that it was out of keeping with a medieval gateway. In Ottoman times these niches often displayed the severed heads of rebels or those convicted of serious crimes. The rooms on the ground floor of the gatehouse were for the Kapıcılar, or corps of guards, of whom fifty were on duty at all times.

At the centre of the arch above the gateway there is an oval-framed *tuğra*, or imperial emblem, in this case that of Mahmut II (r. 1808–39). The arch of the gate itself contains four beautiful and important calligraphic inscriptions. The inscription on the rectangular panel above this an inscription in Arabic records the construction of the gateway by Fatih in 1478.

By the grace of God and by His approval, the foundations of this auspicious castle were laid, and its parts were splendidly joined together to strengthen peace and tranquility by the command of the Sultan of the two Continents and the Emperor of the two Seas, the Shadow of God in this world and the next, The Favourite of God on the Two Horizons, the Monarch of the Terraqueous Orb, the conqueror of the Castle of Constantinople, the Father of Conquest, Sultan Mehmet Khan, son of Sultan Murat Khan, son of Sultan Mehmet Khan, may God make eternal his empire, and exalt his residence among



*Figure 9: Bab-ı Hümayun, the Imperial Gate.*



*Figure 10: Bab-ı Hümayun, from elevation and sections (from Eldem and Akozan).*

the most lucid stars of the firmament, in the blessed month of Ramadan of the year 883 [November–December 1478].<sup>5</sup>

Above this in a lunette, is a Sura from the Kuran written to form an elaborate design in a form of calligraphy known as *müsennâ*; while on the sides of the arch two medallions contain Kuranic quotations in the same fantastically decorative script. These inscriptions were written by the *battat*, or calligrapher, Ali bin Sufi, who also did some of the inscriptions at Fatih Camii. The other inscriptions were done in 1867 in connection with the remodeling of the gate by Abdül Aziz.

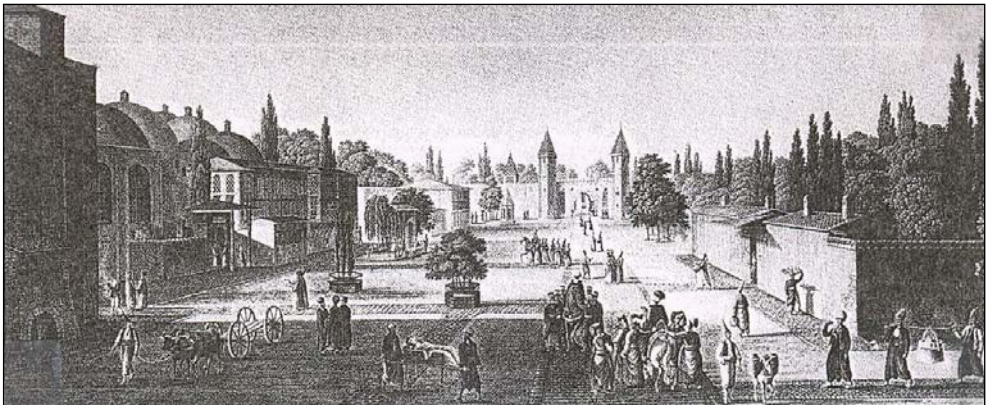
### 2.4 The First Court

The Imperial Gate leads into the First Court of Topkapı Sarayı. This was sometimes called the Courtyard of the Janissaries, who assembled here when on duty in the palace, up until their annihilation by Mahmut II in 1826. The First Court formed the outer grounds of Topkapı Sarayı, and was not considered to be part of the palace proper. It no longer looks like a court because almost all of the buildings it once contained have disappeared through fire and earthquake. As originally laid out it must have been a reasonably symmetrical quadrangle about twice as long as it was wide.

### 2.5 Gardens and seaside kiosks

To the right of the entryway to the First Court there once stood the site of the famous infirmary for the pages of the Palace School, a large building with a courtyard and a number of wards allotted to the various divisions of the School. Beyond the infirmary a road led down to the gardens of the outer palace beside the Marmara and particularly a field where the palace pages played

*Figure 11: The First Court (Print by Melling).*

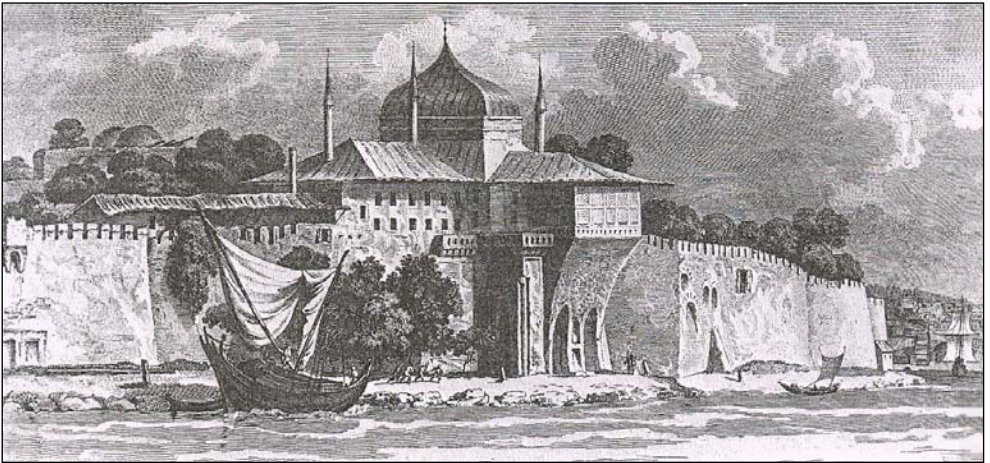


*jirit*, a kind of polo, as well as practicing archery and other sports, including hunts staged by the sultan. The palace menagerie was to the left of this road at its upper end; travellers report that it housed elephants, giraffes, lions, tigers, bears, wild goats, gazelles, and deer. According to the sixteenth-century Turkish chronicler Lokman, the elephants and giraffes were displayed in the First Court during feast days as a 'demonstration of magnificence.'<sup>5</sup> Two ambassadors from the Holy Roman emperor Ferdinand I in 1530 reported that they saw ten lions and two tigers in the First Court, 'fettered with chains and roaring terribly.'<sup>6</sup> The French traveller Louis Deschayes de Courmenin, writing in 1621, reports that the wild boars in the menagerie were used by the sultan in hunts that he held on the palace grounds, in which the prey were named for his Christian enemies: 'He gives to each wild boar the name of one of his enemies, such as the King of Spain, whom he calls the Signior of Spain, the Duke of Florence, the Grand Master of Florence, and others in this manner.'<sup>7</sup>

The palace aviary was in the south-eastern corner of the lower gardens, just inside the sea walls along the Marmara. According to the seventeenth-century Armenian chronicler Eremya Çelebi, the aviary was housed in a Byzantine chapel that had been dedicated to St. John the Baptist.<sup>8</sup> The swans in this aviary were used to provide feathers for the arrows that the sultan used in his hunts.

Eremya also notes that on the shore just to the north of the aviary there was an imperial kiosk known as Balıkhane Kasrı, or Fish-House Pavilion, approached from within the palace grounds by a small portal known as Balıkhane Kapısı. The chief fisherman of the palace had his station here, and the sultan often came to the kiosk to watch him and his men set their nets for fish that were later served at the royal table.

**Figure 12:** *İncili Köşk, the Kiosk of the Pearl.*





*Figure 13: Sepetçiler Köşkü, the Kiosk of the Basket-Weavers (Anthony E. Baker).*

The only surviving pavilion along the Marmara shore is Incili Köşk, the Pearl Pavilion, set above the Byzantine sea-walls. This was built for Murat III in 1590 by his grand vezir Koca Sinan Pasha. During his last illness Murat spent all of his days in this kiosk looking out at the passing ships on the Marmara, and the palace musicians played for him there on the occasion of his last visit, just three days before he died on 16 January 1595.

The only extant seaside pavilion on the Golden Horn is the Sepetçiler Köşkü, the Kiosk of the Basket-Weavers. Built by the guild of the basket-weavers in 1647 for Sultan Ibrahim, it served as a sea-pavilion and boat-house for Topkapı Sarayı. Here the sultan and his entourage would board one of his *pazar caiques*, to be rowed up to one of the seaside palaces on the Golden Horn or the Bosphorus. The barges, now on exhibit in Istanbul's Naval Museum, were kept under the kiosk in covered docks patterned on those of the Venetian navy. The substructures of the kiosk are built into the Byzantine sea-walls, as evidenced by inscriptions recording repairs by several emperors. The kiosk has been reconstructed and now serves as the International Press Centre.

### 2.6 The palace bakeries

The rest of the east or right side of the First Court beyond the road consists of a blank stone wall with a gate and a water tower halfway along. Behind this wall stood the bakeries of the palace, famous for the superfine quality of the white bread baked for the sultan and those favourites on whom he chose to bestow it. It was Fatih who placed the bakeries here but his buildings, fallen into decay, were reconstructed in 1616; ruined once again, they have been restored and turned into laboratories and workroom for museum repairs. Beyond the bakeries are the waterworks of the palace, partly constructed by the great Sinan, and still in use, but they are approached from the Second Court.

## 2.7 Haghia Eirene

Off to the left of the entryway to the First Court is Haghia Eirene, the former church of the Divine Peace, erected by Justinian in the years 532–7 along with Haghia Sophia. Haghia Eirene is the second-largest former Byzantine church in the city after Haghia Sophia, but, unlike the Great Church, it was never converted into a mosque, since it was situated within the outer courtyard of the palace. It served as an armoury for the janissaries until they were annihilated in 1826, and then in the late nineteenth century it became a storehouse for antiquities. The building was restored in the 1980 and is now used for exhibitions and concerts.

## 2.8 The Hospice of Samson

During Ottoman times the area between Haghia Eirene and the Saray defence walls was the site of a quadrangle that housed the Straw-Weavers and the Carriers of Silver Pitchers, with a central courtyard where the palace firewood was stored. This area was partially excavated in 1946 to reveal the ruins of the a complex identified as the Hospice of Samson, a hospital and poorhouse built by Justinian at the same time that he erected Haghia Sophia and Haghia Eirene. The ruins have since almost disappeared and the site is not open to the public.

## 2.9 The Darphane and the museums

Still standing behind a wall north of Haghia Eirene are the buildings of the Darphane, which housed the Imperial Mint and the Outer Treasury of Topkapı Sarayı. These buildings have recently been restored and are now open to the public, serving as a venue for exhibitions and other cultural events. The road that leads downhill beside the Darphane passes the site of an ancient portal called Kız Bekçiler Kapısı, the Gate of the Watchman of the Girls, which would have been manned by black eunuchs looking after the women of the Harem when they went down to the lower gardens west of the palace proper. At the side entrance of the Darphane this road passes on its right the entrance to a courtyard below the west side of the First Court. The buildings arrayed around this court are the Museum of the Ancient Orient, the Archaeological Museum, and Çinili Köşk, the Tiled Pavilion, which now houses a museum of Turkish tiles and ceramics. Between this road and the wall of the Second Court to the north there once stood a number of buildings, including a large storehouse, two barracks for domestics of the Outer Service, those whose duties did not take them into the inner Palace, and a small mosque for their use; all these, which were probably largely constructed of wood, have disappeared, leaving only some undistinguished foundations.



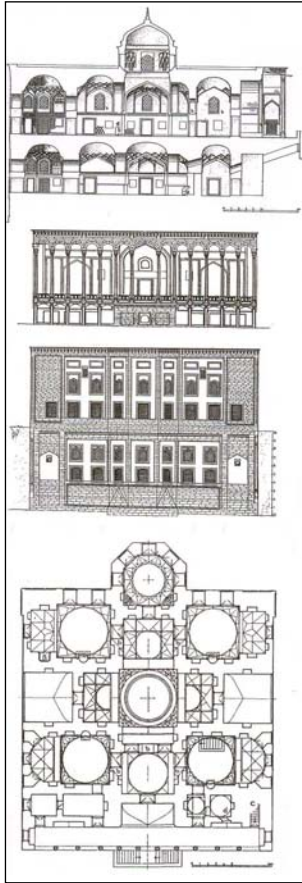
## 2.10 Çinili Köşk

Çinili Köşk was built by Fatih in 1472 as an outer pavilion of Topkapı Sarayı. The kiosk is Persian in design and decoration, a derivation which is emphasized by its long and beautifully written Persian inscription giving the date of construction. The building is laid out in two almost identical stories (the lower one is completely visible only at the rear), cruciform in plan with chambers at the corners of the cross. The front porch on the main floor has an arcade carried on 17 columns, the wider central arch round and the others ogive. The kiosk has a deeply recessed entrance alcove on the main floor entirely revetted in tiles of various kinds, most of them tile mosaic in turquoise and dark blue. On the back wall these form simple geometric designs, but in the deep soffit of the arch there is an inscription in a geometricised form of Cufic calligraphy. On the three faces of the vault at the height of the lintel of the door there is a long double Persian inscription in the beautiful *cuerda seca* technique. The main inscription is in white letters on a dark blue ground. Above and intertwined with this is a subordinate inscription in yellow, with the tendrils of a vine meandering in and out between the letters, the whole encased in a frame of deep mauve with flower of dark blue, turquoise and white.

The interior consists of a central salon in the shape of an inverted Latin cross with a dome over the crossing. The cross is extended by the vestibule at the entrance, an apse-like room at the far end,

**Figure 14:** Çinili Köşk, the Tiled Kiosk (Anthony E. Baker).





*Figure 15: Çinili Köşk, restored section, elevations and plan (from Eldem and Akozan).*

and two eyvans (now glassed in) at the ends of the shorter arms, with additional chambers at the corners of the cross. All of these rooms were tiled and many of them still are, with triangular and hexagonal panels of turquoise and deepest blue, sometimes with superposed gold designs.

In the first room, to the left of the vestibule, there is a small selection of Seljuk tiles, mostly wall tiles of enamel and majolica work of the twelfth to fourteenth century. The principal exhibit in the central salon is the superb mihrab from the mosque of Ibrahim Bey at Karaman, in central Anatolia, one of the most splendid works from the height of the great Iznik period. The second room, to the left, has tiles of the transitional period from Seljuk to Ottoman, fourteenth and fifteenth century. The third and fourth rooms contain some of the best Iznik ware of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The last two rooms contain ceramics from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some of it pretty but Europeanised and lacking the brilliance and superb craftsmanship of the earlier work. The best of these are exhibited in the last room; these are charming plates made in the nineteenth century in Çanakkale on the Dardanelles.

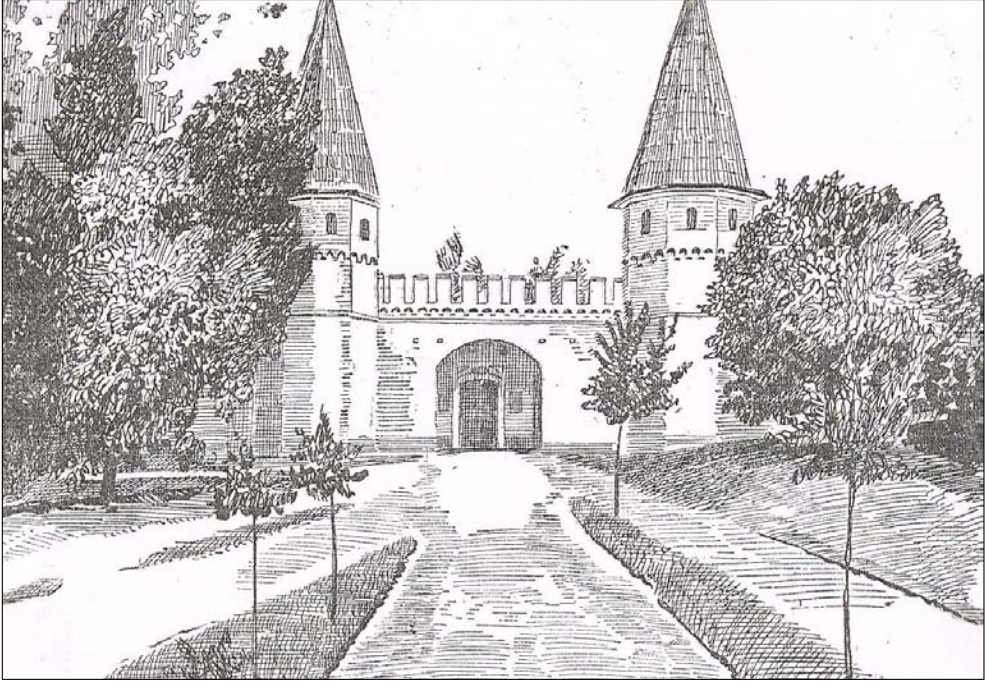
### 3 THE SECOND COURT

#### 3.1 The Gate of Salutations

The main entrance to the Second Court is Bab-üs Selam, the Gate of Salutations, also known as Orta Kapı, or the Middle Gate. This is the entrance to the Inner Palace, through which only authorized persons could pass. At this point the vezirs and other functionaries and the ambassadors of foreign powers, who were permitted to ride through the First Court, had to dismount from their horses, for only the sultan and his three favourite pages when in his company could ride through this gate.

This is a much more impressive entryway than the Imperial Gate and it preserves its original appearance to a greater extent. The gateway is essentially the work of Fatih and is typical of the military architecture of his time, with its twin octagonal towers capped with conical roofs. The gatehouse itself is surmounted by a crenellated parapet with sloping merlons, concealing a patrol walk broad enough to hold several cannons. The double-arched doorway is closed by two pairs of splendid doors, the outer one of which bears the date A. H. 931 (1524–5), the fifth year in the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent. Above the outer gate is Süleyman's *tuğra* and a calligraphic inscription giving the Islamic creed: 'There is no God but God and Muhammed is his Prophet.'





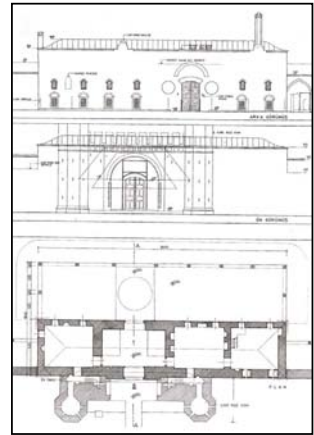
Between the two doorways there is a large central chamber which now serves as the entryway to the Topkapı Sarayı Museum. To the right of this chamber there are several rooms that once housed the head gatekeepers; one of these chambers was used as a waiting room for foreign ambassadors or other foreign visitors who had an audience with the grand vezir or the sultan (a very rare occurrence). To the left are smaller rooms for the higher-ranking gatekeepers, along with a cubicle for the chief executioner and a tiny cell for prisoners awaiting execution.

The inside of the Bab-üs Selam has an elaborate but oddly irregular portico of ten columns with a widely overhanging roof. Old accounts describe the superb decoration of this portico, chiefly in blue and gold; now unfortunately some very inferior nineteenth-century painting has taken its place. To the right of the gate there are two scale models, one of Topkapı Sarayı and its surrounding gardens, the other of the Inner Palace, which are useful to get one's bearings.

### 3.2 The Second Court

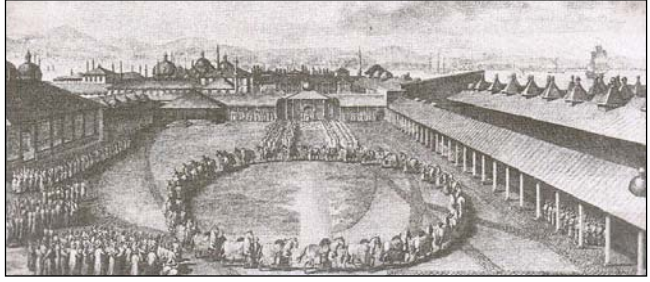
The enormous Second Court, some 130 metres long and 110 metres in width at its southern end, appears much as it did when it was first

*Figure 16: Bab-üs Selam, the Gate of Salutations, also known as Orta Kapı, the Middle Gate (from Şehsuvaroglu).*



*Figure 17: Bab-üs Selam, elevations and plan (from Eldem and Akozan).*

*Figure 18: An equestrian display in the Second Court.*



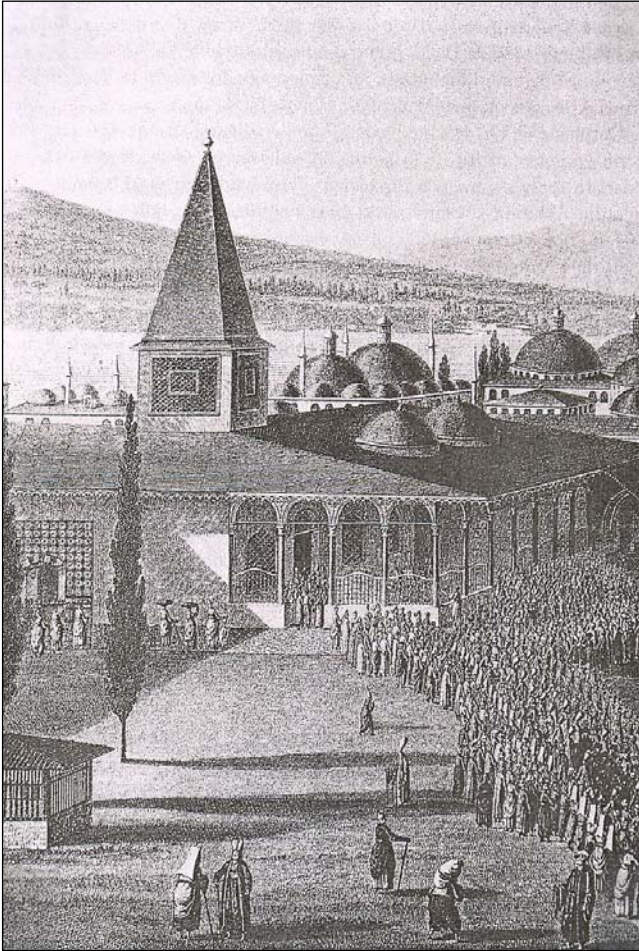
laid out in the time of Fatih. Early travellers describe it as a tranquil cloister of imposing proportions planted with cypress trees; several fountains adorned it and mild-eyed gazelles pastured on the glebe. The main path through the court is flanked with venerable cypresses and plane trees, with rose bushes along the other pathways. In Ottoman times this was known as the Court of the Divan, taking its name from the Divan, the Imperial Council, which met in the domed chambers at the far left corner of the courtyard. The Divan and the Inner Treasury beyond it are the only buildings in the courtyard, with the remainder of its periphery consisting simply of blank walls faced by colonnaded porticoes with antique marble columns and Turkish capitals. Beyond the colonnade the whole of the right side of the courtyard is occupied by the palace kitchens, while beyond the wall to the left are the Royal Stables, a mosque and some dormitories. The dormitories housed the corps of guards known as Zülüflü Baltacılar, or Halberdiers-with-Tresses. These guard took their peculiar name from the fact that false locks of hair hung down on either side of their face, supposedly to prevent them from taking sidelong glances at the concubines they might pass when on duty in the palace.

The Court of the Divan seems to have been designed essentially for the pageantry associated with the transaction of the public business of the empire. Here, four times a week, the Divan met to deliberate on administrative matters or to discharge its judicial function. On such occasions the whole courtyard was filled with a vast throng of magnificently dressed officials and the corps of palace guards as well as the janissaries, at least five thousand people on ordinary days but more than twice that number when some special ceremony was being held. Even at such times an almost total silence prevailed throughout the courtyard, a fact commented upon with astonishment by the travellers who witnessed it. The earliest such account is that of the Venetian ambassador Andrea Gritti, who, writing in 1503, says: 'I entered into the court, where I found on one side all of the janissaries on foot, and on the other side all of the persons of high esteem, and the salaried officials of His Majesty, who stood with such great silence and with such a beautiful order, that it was a marvelous thing not believable to one who has not seen it with his own eyes.'<sup>9</sup>

### 3.3 The Divan

The chambers of the Divan project from the north-west corner of the courtyard, dominated by the square tower with a conical roof that is such a conspicuous landmark of the Saray. This complex dates in essentials from the time of Fatih, though the rooms of the Divan have been much altered at subsequent periods. The tower is already evident in the Nuremburg panorama of 1493; it was lower then and had a pyramidal roof; the upper part with its Corinthian columns and octagonal cone-like roof having been added by Mahmut II in 1520.

The Divan complex consists of the Council Chamber (the first room on the left), the Public Records office, and the office of the grand vezir. The first two rooms, both of which are square and covered



*Figure 19: A crowd assembled in the Second Court for a meeting of the Divan.*



Figure 20: The Divan (Anthony E. Baker).



by a dome, open widely into one another under a great arch, being divided only by a screen reaching to the springing of the arch. Both chambers were badly damaged by fire in 1574, and were immediately afterwards restored by Murat III, probably under the supervision of Sinan. During the reign of Ahmet III (r. 1703–30) they were redecorated in a rather charming rococo style, but in 1945 the Council Chamber was restored to appear as it was after the repairs by Murat III. The lower wall are revetted in Iznik tiles of the best period, while the upper parts of the walls, as well as the vaults and the domes, retain faded traces of their original arabesque paintings.

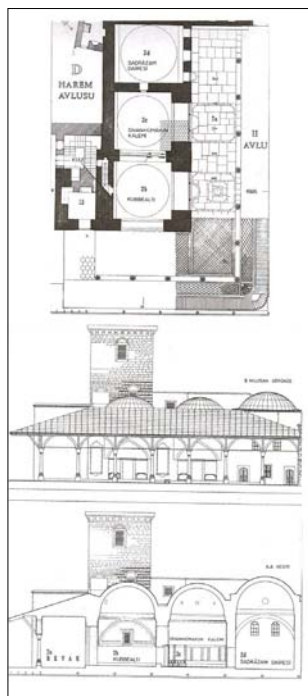


Figure 21: The Divan, plan, elevation and section (from Eldem and Akozan).

Around three sides of the room there is a low couch covered with carpets, the divan from which the Council took its name. During meetings of the Divan the members of the Council sat here in strict order of rank, the grand vezir (*sadrazam*) in the centre opposite the door; on his right the other vezirs, the lord chancellor (*nişancı*), the *beylerbeys* of Rumelia and Anatolia, and the lord high admiral (*kaptan paşa*); on his left were the two lords chief justice (*kadiaskers*) and beyond them the two lords of the treasury (*defterdars*) and the *ağa* of the janissaries. Other high officials attended as required, most notably the chief black and white eunuchs and the two captains of the Imperial Gare (*kapıcıbaşı*). Over the grand vezir's seat there is a grilled window opening into a small room in the tower; this was called the Eye of the Sultan, because from this room the sultan could witness the proceedings of the Council without being observed. Fatih originally attended all meetings of the Council, until one day an incident occurred that convinced him that he would thenceforth observe its proceedings unseen. This was when a peasant who wanted to present his case personally entered the council chamber, looked around impatiently at all the assembled dignitaries, and shouted 'Which of you worthies is the sultan?', which led Fatih to have the man thrown out and bastinadoed, after which he left the room in disgust, never to return.<sup>10</sup>

The Public Records office, which has retained its eighteenth-century décor, served as an archive for Divan records and for documents that might be needed at Council meetings. From here a door led into the office of the grand vezir, though the present entrance is from under the elaborate portico with its richly painted rococo ceiling. The portico is from the period of Ahmet III, though perhaps altered by Selim III (r. 1789–1807) and Mahmut II (r. 1808–39).

### 3.4 The Inner Treasury

The building north of the Divan, without a portico, is the Inner Treasury. This is a long room with eight domes in four pairs supported by three massive piers, in structure and plan very like Fatih's two bedestens in Istanbul. Here, and in the vaults below, were stored the tax receipts and tribute money as they arrived from all over the empire. These funds were kept here until the quarterly pay-days for the use of the Council in meeting the expenses of the government, and at the end of each quarter what remained unspent was transferred to the Imperial Treasury in the Third Court.

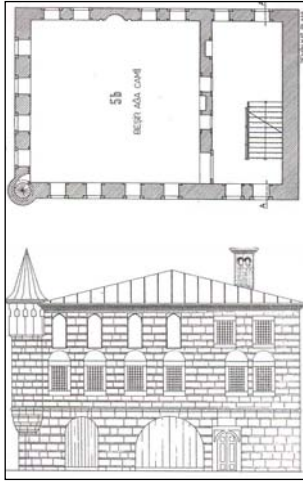
The Inner Treasury is now used to display the Saray's collection of arms and armour. As one might expect, this is especially rich in Turkish arms and armour of all periods, including a number of objects that belonged to the sultans themselves.

### 3.5 The Carriage Gate

Around the corner from the Divan, directly under the south side of the Divan Tower, is the Araba Kapısı, or Carriage Gate, the main entrance to the Harem from the Outer Palace. The gate takes its name from the fact that the women of the Harem entered their carriages here whenever they were allowed to go for an outing. Above the gate there is an inscription giving the date A.H. 996 (1588), the fourteenth year in the reign of Murat III, who built most of the earliest dated structures in the Harem. The Carriage Gate is the starting point for tours of the Harem, which most visitors defer until they have seen the rest of the Saray.

### 3.6 The Royal Stables

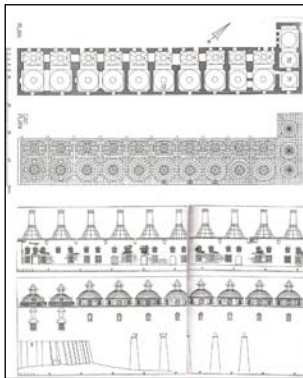
The remainder of the west side of the Second Court is occupied by a long portico where various inscriptions in Arabic and Old Turkish script have been assembled from Ottoman buildings all over the city. At the south end of this portico there is a portal called Meyyit Kapısı, the Gate of the Dead, because through it were borne the bodies of those who died in the Saray. This gateway leads to the area of the Royal



**Figure 22:** *Beşir Ağa Camii, plan and elevation (from Eldem and Akozan).*

Stables, which are on the lower slope of the hill. The first building one comes to is the mosque of Beşir Ağa, a great horseman who was chief of the black eunuchs in the reign of Mahmut I (r. 1730–54). The mosque, which was built for the grooms in the stables around 1750, is chiefly interesting for its curious minaret which is corbelled out from a corner of the wall, and instead of a şerefe has a small enclosed space at the top with openings from which the müezzin gave the call to prayer. Adjoining the mosque is a small hamam for the grooms. The Royal Stables (Has Ahır) occupied the long building which runs from end to end of this area. They were built by Fatih when he first laid out the palace grounds. They consist essentially of two parts, the long stables themselves, and, at the far end, two smaller rooms; the first is that of the *imrabor*, or master of the horse, the second the Raht Hazinesi, or Treasury for the bejewelled harnesses and trappings. These are very pretty rooms; that of the *imrabor* has a charming eighteenth-century ceiling painted in beige, gold and blue, while the Treasury is domed and has a quaint gallery that runs around three sides of it. The most valuable harnesses and trappings are displayed in these two rooms, while the long stables house the carriages; the latter are mostly of the later nineteenth century and not especially interesting. These stables were used only for 20 to 30 of the choicest horses for the personal use of the sultan and his favourite pages. There was a much larger palace table for several hundred horses outside the walls of the Saray near the Marmara shore, the name of which is preserved in that of one of the ancient gates in the Byzantine sea-walls, Ahır Kapı, the Stable Gate.

### 3.7 The Palace Kitchens



**Figure 23:** *The Palace Kitchens, plan and elevation (from Eldem and Akozan).*

Three gateways in the east portico lead to a long narrow courtyard that runs along more than half the length of that side of the Second Court. The palace kitchens open off from this court on the east, or outer side, while the rooms on the west served as storerooms. The kitchens consist of a long series of ten spacious chambers with lofty domes on the Marmara side – a conspicuous landmark of the Saray when viewed from the sea – and equally lofty cone-like chimneys on the side of the courtyard. The two southernmost domes go back to Fatih's time, the other eight to that of Beyazıt II, while the cone-like chimneys in front of them are additions by Sinan, who reconstructed much of this area after the devastating fire of 1574.

The earliest description of the palace kitchens is by Giovantonio Menavino, a Genoese who was captured by pirates and sold as a slave to Beyazıt II, after which he served as a page in Topkapı Sarayı in the years 1505–14. According to Menavino, in Beyazıt's time the kitchens were divided into two sections, one for the sultan and the other for the household of the palace and those who attended meetings of the Divan, staffed by about 160 cooks, bakers and other servants.<sup>11</sup> The number of kitchen staff increased greatly in the century after Beyazıt's

reign, when the population of the palace reached its peak. Ordinarily the palace kitchens served two meals a day, but in the summer months a third meal, a late supper, was prepared for the sultan and the women of his harem, who dined after the last prayer, about two hours past sunset. To serve that meal a double line of some 200 waiters formed between the kitchens and the sultan's quarters, with those in one row handing along the various dishes as they were prepared, and those in the other passing back the empty dishes.

The last two kitchens at the north end have been restored to their original condition and house a fascinating display of cooking utensils that were used in the Saray, most notably the huge bronze *kazans*, or cauldrons. The other kitchens are used to display the Saray's incomparable collection of Chinese porcelain and other china and glassware. The collection of Chinese porcelain is considered to be the third richest and most varied in the world, surpassed only by those of Beijing and Dresden. Some of the chambers on the west side of the courtyard are used to exhibit silver objects that once belonged to the sultans. The small building with three domes at the north end of the courtyard is variously identified as the confectioner's mosque or as an olive-oil refinery and soap-factory; doubtless it served different purposes at different times. It now houses an interesting collection of Turkish glass from the Beykoz and other Istanbul factories of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

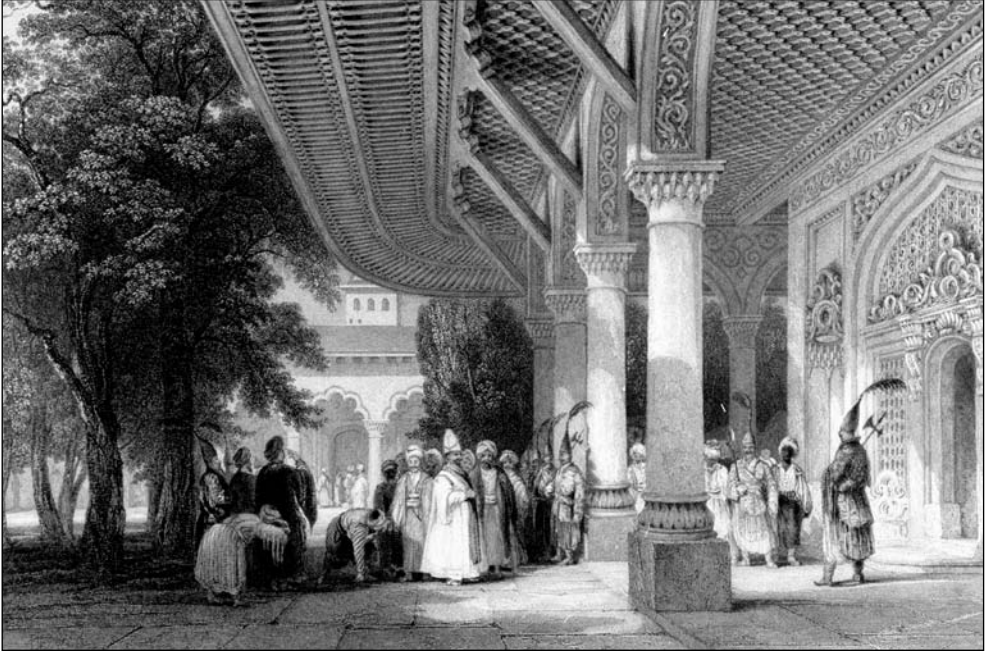
## 4 THE THIRD COURT

### 4.1 The Gate of Felicity

Bab-üs Saadet, the Gate of Felicity, is the entryway to the Third Court. Here one entered the strictly private and residential areas of the Inner Palace, the sequestered Dar-üs Saadet, the House of Felicity. The gate is preceded by a great canopy supported on four columns with a small dome above. Under this canopy the sultans upon their accession received the homage of their officials, seated upon the golden throne studded with emeralds that is now exhibited in the Treasury, and a similar ceremony took place on holidays. The gate itself must go back to the time of Fatih though most of the structure dates to the later sixteenth century; it was thoroughly restored and redecorated in 1774–5 in a somewhat rococo style, and again in the nineteenth century.

### 4.2 The Throne Room

Just beyond the inner threshold of the Bab-üs Saadet stands the Arz Odası, or Throne Room, a small building with a very



*Figure 24: Bab-üs Saadet, the Gate of Felicity (Print by Allom).*

heavy and widely overhanging roof supported on a colonnade of antique marble columns. The foundations of the building date from Fatih's time, though most of the superstructure seems to belong to that of Selim III. Inscriptions over the door record restorations by Ahmet III and Mahmut II. The room was badly damaged in the 1856 fire and most of the present interior decoration belongs to the subsequent restoration under Abdül Mecit I. On either side of the entrance portal are rather magnificent panels of yellow and green tiles done in the *cuerda seca* technique of the second Iznik period in the early sixteenth century, and nearby is a charming fountain of about the same date. The building itself is divided into a tiny antechamber on the right, said once to have been paneled with gold and silver but now closed, and the throne room proper on the left. It too is very small, with the throne itself in the far left corner taking up about a quarter of the room. The magnificent canopy of the throne, dated by an inscription to A. H. 1005 (1596), together with the very fine gilt-bronze ocak, or chimney-piece, beside it, are the only parts of the old decoration that survived the 1856 fire.

Although the Throne Room is in the Third Court, it belongs by function and use rather to the Second, for here was played out the last act of the rituals associated with the meetings of the Divan. Here, at the end of each session of the Council, the grand vezir and the other high functionaries waited on the sultan and

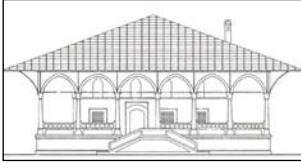


reported to him upon the business transacted and the decisions taken, which could not be considered final until they had received the royal assent. Here also the ambassadors of foreign powers were presented at their arrival and leave-taking, and also on other rare occasions of great importance. Robert Adair, British ambassador to the Porte, was granted an audience with Mahmut II on 4 July 1810, bringing along with him two compatriots who had recently arrived in Istanbul. These were Lord Byron and his companion John Cam Hobhouse, Lord Broughton, who describes the sultan thus in his journal:

Sultan Mahmoud was placed in the middle of the throne, with his feet upon the ground ... He was dressed in a robe of yellow satin, with a broader border of the darkest sable; his dagger, and an ornament on his breast, were covered with diamonds; the front of his white and blue turban shone with a treble sprig of diamonds, which served as a buckle to a high straight plume of bird-of-paradise feathers. He for the most part kept a hand on each knee, and neither moved his body nor his head, but rolled his eyes from side to side, without fixing them for an instant upon the Ambassador or any other person. Occasionally he stroked or turned up his beard, displaying a milk-white hand glittering with diamond rings. His eye-brows, eyes and beard, being of a glossy jet black, did not appear natural, but added to that indescribable majesty that would be difficult for any but an Oriental sovereign to assume; his face was pale, and regularly formed, except that his nose (contrary to the usual form of that feature in the Oriental princes) was slightly turned up and pointed; his whole physiognomy was mild and benevolent, but expressive and full of dignity. He appeared of a short and small stature, and about thirty years old, which is somewhat more than his actual age. [He was not quite twenty-five.]<sup>12</sup>



*Figure 25: Arz Odası, the Throne Room (Anthony E. Baker).*



**Figure 26:** *Arz Odası, elevation (from Eldem and Akozan).*

### 4.3 The Palace School

Most of the Third Court was taken up by the Palace School, which was organised in six divisions, each known as an oda, or hall. Unfortunately this court has undergone far greater changes than the Second Court, chiefly as a result of fires, so although four of the six halls still exist in something like their old outlines, the details have been greatly altered.

The two introductory school, the Küçük Oda (Small Hall) and Büyük Oda (Great Hall), occupied the entire south side of the Third Court, to left and right, respectively, of the Bab-üs Saadet. Here also were the quarters of the white eunuchs and their *ağa*, who looked after the students in the school. If a youth was talented in some particular field, he would pass from this introductory division to on of the four vocational halls. The Seferli Koğusu, or Hall of the Expeditionary Force, which provided training in the various military arts needed on campaign, occupied the long building which takes up a good part of the eastern side of the court. This was surrounded at the sides and the back by the Baths of Selim II, the principal hamam of the school. The northern side of the court opposite the Bab-üs Saadet was occupied by the Hasine Koğusu, or Hall of the Treasury, to the east, and the Kiler Koğusu, or Hall of the Commissariat, to the west. The Has Oda, or Hall of the Privy Chamber, occupied the building on the west side of the court between the Pavilion of the Holy Mantle and Ağalar Camii, the largest of the mosques associated with the school, which projects diagonally into the courtyard. The other building in the middle of the court, the Library of Ahmet III, was also part of the school. Thus, with the exception of the Throne Room, the four rooms of the Imperial Treasury in the north-east

**Figure 27:** *The Fourth Court; Arz Odası (to the left), Library of Ahmet III (Print by Bartlett).*



corner, and those of the Pavilion of the Holy Mantle on the north-west, all the buildings that opened directly into the Third Court formed part of the Palace School.

All the six Halls appear to have had much the same general plan: a large room at least twice as long as it was wide surrounded by a narrow gallery supported either on wooden pillars or stone columns. The Halls were divided by low partitions into cubicles each accommodating up to ten students; between each cubicle was a smaller one raised on a platform for two eunuch surveillants. Two or three of the former Halls still retain something of their original form. Thus the room to the left of the Bab-üs Saadet, originally to the right of the Bab-üs Saadet was once occupied by the Büyük Oda; this was reconstructed by Abdül Mecit I and is now used for museum offices and workrooms.

#### 4.4 Ağalar Camii

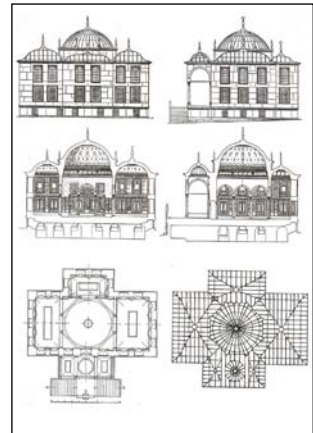
Ağalar Camii is a complex little building that actually contained three small mosques, one for the pages, one for the white eunuchs, and one for the harem women, who entered their mescit through a door in the Harem. The building seems to date in origin from Fatih's time, though it has frequently been altered, added to, and rearranged. Having fallen into decay in the latter part of the nineteenth century, it was restored in 1925 and converted into a library, in which are collected the books and manuscripts from all the small libraries scattered about in various parts of the Saray.

#### 4.5 The Library of Ahmet III

In the centre of the court, standing by itself, is the Library of Ahmet III, erected in 1719. It is an elegant little building of Proconnesian marble consisting of a central area with a dome supported on marble columns, beyond which are three eyvans with sofas and book-cupboards. The Palace School had a library long before this; in the sixteenth century it was behind the Hall of the Privy Chamber, and the various halls seem to have had their own individual libraries as well. Ahmet III erected the present building on the site of an older pavilion attributed to Selim II and called Havuz Köşkü, the Pavilion of the Pool; from these he saved the eight beautiful and extraordinary Byzantine verd antique columns that now support the portico of the Seferli Oda.

#### 4.6 The Imperial Costumes Collection

The Seferli Oda was the last of the vocational schools to be established, founded in 1606 by Ahmet I. It was reconstructed in



*Figure 28: Library of Ahmet III, elevations, sections and plans (from Eldem and Akozan).*

1719 by Ahmet III, who added to it the portico with the eight verd antique columns that had been taken from the Pavilion of the Pool. The present building appears to have retained its essential form though modified in detail after the 1856 fire, and again after it was converted to museum purposes, first for the collection of Chinese porcelain and now for the Imperial Costumes Collection. It is a long and narrow hall, about 30 by 10 metres, divided into a wide central aisle and a pair of side aisles by two rows of pillars supporting barrel-vaults.

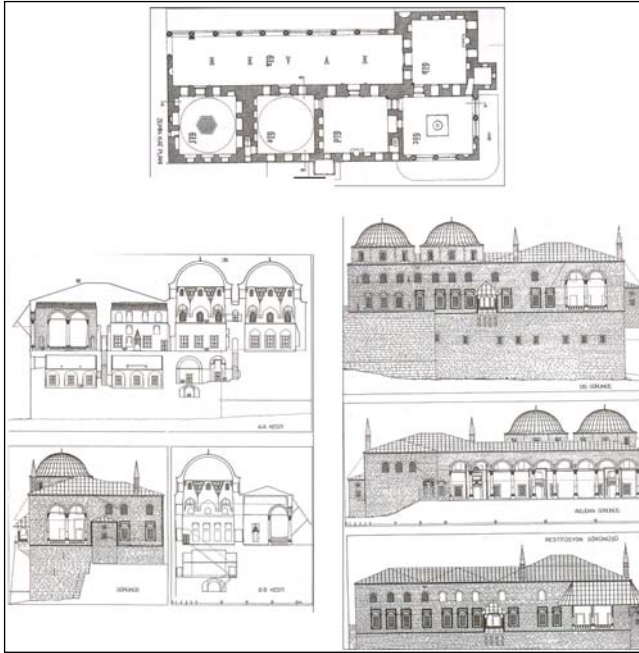
The Imperial Costumes Collection, which includes costumes worn by every one of the sultans who ruled in Istanbul. There are more than 1,300 costumes in the collection, of which only a few of the most splendid and interesting are on display at any time. The earlier imperial costumes, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, are all of the kaftan type, a long straight gown reaching to the feet made of silk, satin or velvet brocade in brilliant colours and bold design, often lined with silk and trimmed with fur. The later costumes reflect the clothing reform instituted by Mahmut II, who banned the turban in favour of the fez, and chose to wear a western-style coat called the Stambouline rather than the kaftan of his ancestors.

### 4.7 The Baths of Selim II

The next structure along the east side of the court originally formed part of the Pavilion of Fatih Mehmet, but was converted by Selim II into the camekân of his hamam, built by Sinan in 1574. Selim died in his hamam soon after it was completed, on 15 December 1574, in a fatal fall on the wet marble floor when he was drunk. Evliya Çelebi writes of Selim, known to the Turks as *Sarhoş*, or the Sot: 'He was a sweet-natured sovereign, but much given to pleasure and wine.'<sup>13</sup> The actual bathing rooms of the hamam stretched along the eastern side of the Seferli Oda and have now been amalgamated into one long room and used for part of the costume display. The camekân now contains chiefly the Saray's crystal and jade collection.

### 4.8 The Imperial Treasury

The rest of the eastern side of the court is taken up with the rooms, on a slightly lower level, of the Imperial Treasury. This suite of three rooms and a great open loggia in the north-east corner formed the pavilion of Fatih Mehmet and certainly dates from his time. The pavilion served him and several later sultans as a selamlık, or suite of reception rooms, commanding a sweeping view of the confluence of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus as they flow together into the Sea of Marmara. The vaults below were used as the Privy Treasury and gradually the rooms themselves were turned over to the Treasury as storerooms. It is curious that these rooms, some of the finest in



*Figure 29: Imperial Treasury, Pavilion of Fatih Mehmet, plan, sections and elevations (from Eldem and Akozan).*

the Saray and with an unrivalled view, should from the seventeenth century onwards have been used as mere storerooms, even the superb open loggia at the corner having at one time been walled in. The loggia has been opened again and the rooms are used for the display of the Saray treasures, most notably four great thrones encrusted with precious stones, of which the huge golden one studded with emeralds (actually chrysolites) was used by the sultan when he sat in front of the Gate of Felicity so that his officials could pay him homage. There are also bejewelled swords and daggers, objects of jade and other precious stones often mounted in gold, caskets overflowing with uncut emeralds and rubies, and hundreds of other precious objects of gold and jewels. The star attraction is the famous Topkapı Dagger, made for Mahmut I (r. 1730–54), with three great emeralds on the sides and one on the top that opens into a watch. Altogether it is an astonishing collection, admirably mounted and displayed.

#### 4.9 The Miniatures Collection

The two main buildings on the north sides of the court, which originally housed the Halls of the Treasury and the Commissariat, were badly damaged in the fire of 1856. The nearer one, the former Hall of the Treasury, was entirely reconstructed and now serves as offices for the Director of the Museum. The farther one, beyond a passage to the Fourth Court, is the former Hall of the

Commissariat, which now houses the collection of Turkish and Persian miniatures. From an artistic point of view the miniatures collection is perhaps the supreme treasure of the Saray.

The oldest miniatures in the collection are in the so-called Fatih Album, whose paintings, tentatively ascribed to Mohammed Siyah Kalem (of the Black Pen), are from Iran and are dated variously from earlier than the thirteenth century to the second half of the fifteenth century. The oldest Ottoman works are by Matrakci Nasuh, court painter of Süleyman the Magnificent, including a series of 137 miniatures of the sultan's campaign into Iraq in 1537. The first painting in this series shows Süleyman's fleet sailing down the Golden Horn, with both Istanbul and Galata represented in astonishingly accurate detail. Other miniatures are in three albums commissioned by Murat III; one of which shows a procession of the guilds held in 1583 to celebrate the circumcision of the future Mehmet III, a festival that lasted for 57 days. The latest in date of the imperial albums was composed in 1720 for Ahmet III to celebrate the circumcision of four of his sons; here the miniatures are by Levni, one of the two greatest Ottoman painters, the other being Nigârî, whose finest work is a painting of Süleyman in his latter years.

### 4.10 The Privy Chamber

The buildings on the west side of the Third Court beyond Ağalar Camii are Has Oda and the Pavilion of the Holy Mantle, which is at the north-west corner of the court.

Has Oda, the Hall of the Privy Chamber, was the most exclusive branch of the Palace School. It was limited to 39 pages in immediate attendance upon the sultan and included many of the highest ranking officials in the Inner Palace, namely the first officer of the bedchamber, the sword-bearer, the master of the wardrobe, and the cup-bearer. This room must originally have been very impressive, surrounded on three sides by beautiful marble columns; but the restoration by Abdül Mecit I enveloped the eastern colonnade in the outer wall, thus greatly reducing the size of the room. The room is now used to display illustrated manuscripts and calligraphy of all periods.

### 4.11 The Pavilion of the Holy Mantle

A portal at the north-west corner of the courtyard leads into Hirka-i Saadet Dairesi, the Pavilion of the Holy Mantle, where relics of the Prophet Muhammed and other objects are displayed. These relics, of which the Prophet's mantle is the most sacred, were brought from Cairo by Selim I in 1517 after his conquest of

Egypt. Thenceforth the relics were guarded here religiously and seen only by the sultan and his entourage on religious holidays. The Pavilion of the Holy Mantle was opened to the public in 1964 and is now a place of pilgrimage as well as a popular site for visitors to the Saray.

The pavilion itself consists of four domed rooms forming a square. In foundation and plan at least it goes back to Fatih's time; then and until the nineteenth century it formed part of the Has Oda, or selamlık. Murat III partly reconstructed the rooms and Mahmut II added some not very happy touches. Originally only one of the rooms was used for the relics; it appears that it was not until the time of Mahmut II that the whole building was devoted to them. The door from the Third Court, bordered by panels of tiles of the later seventeenth century, opens into a room with a fountain in its centre; this forms a sort of entrance court and communicates with the second room by a huge arch, so that both domed rooms form one long hall, rather like the Bursa type of mosque. Both these rooms have fine decoration in their domes. A door to the right in the fountain court opens into the room in the north-eastern corner of the pavilion. From there one can look through a grille into the room in the north-west corner of the pavilion where the Prophet's mantle was kept. All of the relics were originally kept in this room,

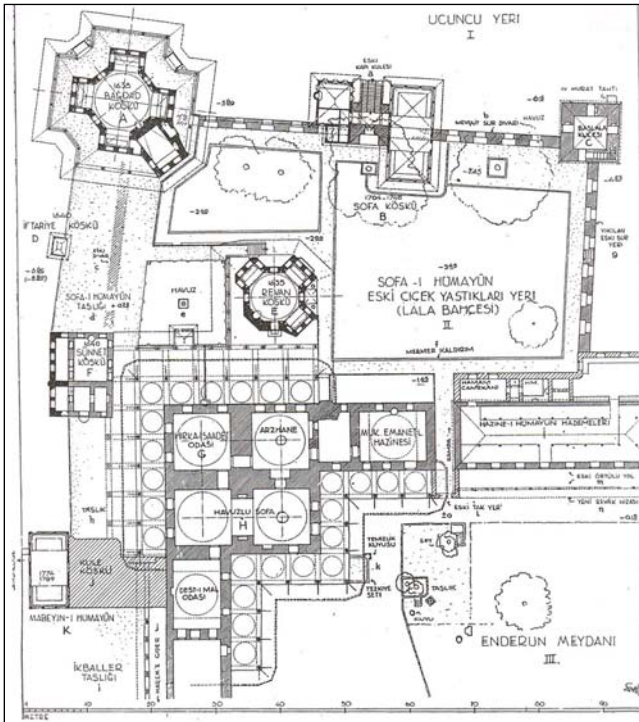


Figure 30: The Pavilion of the Holy Mantle and the kiosks on the west side of the Fourth Court (from Eldem and Akozan).

which seems originally to have been used occasionally by the earlier sultans as a bedchamber. This room has the most superb tiles of the greatest Iznik period but has been somewhat marred by the heavy rococo fireplace added by Mahmut II.

### 4.12 The Columned Hall

A portico called the Columned Hall borders the north and west sides of the Pavilion of the Holy Mantle. It is a broad L-shaped hall divided into domed bays supported by two rows of columns. The columns and pavement are of various marble, while the walls of the pavilion and the two kiosks at the corners of the hall are partly tiled, partly revetted in panels of variegated marbles à l'italienne. The kiosk at the north-eastern corner of the hall is the Revan Köşkü and at its north-western corner is the Sünnet Odası, or Circumcision Chamber, and between them is a pool bordering a marble terrace. At the northern end of the terrace there is a third kiosk, the Baghdad Köşkü, the largest of the three. The three kiosks and the marble terrace can be approached from both the Third and Fourth Courts, usually from the latter, with which they are more in character than with the former.

## 5 THE FOURTH COURT

### 5.1 The Fourth Court

The Fourth Court is not really a courtyard but a garden and terrace on several levels, adorned with kiosks and pavilions. The kiosks on the marble terrace are on the high western side of the court, from which a stairway descends to the gardens and then to the Mecidiye Köşk at the southern side of the court. The buildings in the Fourth Court date from the seventeenth century to the second quarter of the nineteenth century, for in earlier times most of this area was once part of the outer gardens of the Saray rather than part of the Inner Palace.

### 5.2 The Marble Terrace and the Iftariye

The charming marble terrace looks out over the deeply sunken Saray gardens to its west across the Golden Horn to Galata. In the middle of its balustrade there projects a loggia with a magnificent gilt-bronze canopy. An inscription in the vault records that this was built in 1640 by Sultan Ibrahim; it is called Iftariye, taking its name from the *iftar*, or evening meal, which is taken after sunset in the holy month of Ramazan. A miniature in the Saray collection shows Ibrahim sitting here, watching the palace pages swimming in the pool on the other side of the marble terrace.





### 5.3 The Revan Kiosk

The Revan Kiosk at the north-eastern corner of the Columned Hall is the earliest of the three pavilions on the marble terrace. It was built in 1636 by Murat IV to commemorate his victory earlier that year at Revan, now known as Yerevan, in Armenia, then part of Persia. It is a domed room with four alcoves in the axes, entirely in the Persian manner, except that it is revetted with Iznik tiles, a little late but still almost at their very best. There is a fine gilt-bronze *ocak* and some good inlaid woodwork, but the painting in the dome is unfortunately late and ugly.

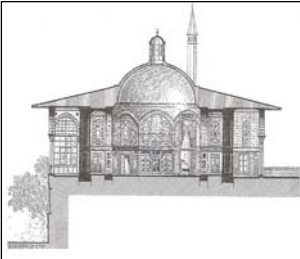
*Figure 31: The Fourth Court, Baghdad Kiosk right centre (Print by Bartlett).*

### 5.4 The Circumcision Room

The Circumcision Room at the north-eastern corner of the Columned Hall is attributed to Sultan Ibrahim and dated to about 1641. It takes its name from the fact that it was used for the circumcision rites of the young princes in the Saray, as can be seen in a charming miniature showing Ibrahim distributing largess to the palace pages after one of his sons has been circumcised. It is a plain rectangular room entirely sheathed in tiles. The tiles are a mixed lot, dating from several different periods from the earliest Iznik style in *cuerda seca* technique through the great era of 1570–1620; few if any date from the time of Ibrahim himself.



*Figure 32: The Baghdad Kiosk  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 33: The Baghdad Kiosk,  
section (from Gurlitt).*

## 5.5 The Baghdad Kiosk

The most famous and beautiful of the pavilions in the Fourth Court is the Baghdad Kiosk, which stands at the north-west corner of the marble terrace. This is essentially a much larger and more sumptuous replica of the Rivan Kiosk, built in 1639 to commemorate his conquest of Baghdad the previous year. Like the Rivan Kiosk, it is a domed cruciform building, entirely sheathed in tiles inside and without. It is entirely surrounded by an octagonal columned portico, most of it now rather crudely glazed in, with a small additional room, originally a library, projecting from the southern side. The interior revetment of tiles, predominately blue and white, is divided between two tiers of windows by a fine frieze of calligraphy. Beautiful as these tiles are, they betray a slight falling off from the perfection of technique achieved by the Iznik kilns a generation earlier. The doors, window-shutters and niches or cupboards, of wood profusely inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl, are among the most exquisite and elaborate in the Saray, as is the extremely handsome gilt-bronze ocağ. The arabesque painting of its dome is superbly rich in design and colour, crimson and gold set with occasional jewels.

## 5.6 Sofa Köşk

The attractive pavilion in the upper garden east of the Baghdad Kiosk is known as Sofa Köşk, though it is sometimes, for no good reason,

referred to as the Kiosk of Kara Mustafa Pasha. The date of the original building is not known; inscriptions record that it was restored and redecorated by Ahmet III in 1704 and again by Mahmut I in 1752, so that today it presents a wholly baroque or rococo appearance. The main room consists almost entirely of windows with broad sofas in front of them, hence its name. Between the two rooms of the pavilion a staircase leads down to the lower garden.

### 5.7 Chamber of the Chief Physician

An ancient wall runs eastward from the Sofa Köşk to a low tower at the eastern side of the garden. The wall and tower date from the time of Fatih, though they may be Byzantine in origin. The tower is known variously as Başlala Kulesi (Tower of the Head Tutor) and Hekimbaşı Odası (Chamber of the Chief Physician). The latter is the more accurate name, since this was the residence of the chief physician of the Saray, where he prepared the drugs and medicines he used to treat the sultan and his court. There are two stories connected by a narrow staircase, and in the two rooms various ancient medical and surgical instruments have been collected.

### 5.8 Mecidiye Köşkü

The Mecidiye Köşkü stands at the edge of a marble terrace that forms the eastern side of the Fourth Court, looking out over the Bosphorus as it flows into the Sea of Marmara, with a sweeping view across to the Asian suburbs and the Princes' Isles, Istanbul's suburban archipelago.

The Mecidiye Köşkü is the latest addition to the buildings of the Saray, constructed around 1840, only some fifteen years before Abdül Mecit I abandoned Topkapı Sarayı for the new palace of Dolmabahçe Sarayı on the lower European shore of the Bosphorus. Like Dolmabahçe, the Mecidiye Köşkü is mid-nineteenth century French in both its style of architecture and furnishings, totally out of keeping with the rest of the palace. The main floor is not open to the public, but the lower floor and its outer terrace now house a branch of the famous Konyalı Restaurant.

## 6 THE HAREM

### 6.1 Introduction

As noted earlier, the main entrance to the Harem from the Outer Palace is the Carriage Gate, under the Tower of the Divan at the

north-west corner of the Second Court. The Harem occupies a large area stretching from there to the south-west end of the Portico with Columns. The site is at the western edge of the acropolis of the ancient city of Byzantium, where the First Hill falls steeply down to the plain below; thus almost the whole of the Harem had to be built on tall substructures to bring it to the level of the rest of the Saray. The complex of buildings commonly referred to as the Harem includes also the Selamlık, the private rooms for the sultan himself and the semi-public ones where he occasionally entertained the high officials of the court and government; there is no very clear dividing line between the two. It is a labyrinth of several hundred rooms, few of them very large, on half a dozen levels, of passages, stairways, courtyards and gardens, without any apparent overall plan. Since the Saray first became a museum extensive and excellent restoration of the more important sections of the Harem have been taken in hand, and the description that follows will be for the most part confined to those rooms that have been restored and opened to the public.

### 6.2 The Domed Cupboard

The Carriage Gate leads into a small and poorly lighted vestibule known as Dolaplı Kubbe, the Domed Cupboard, a plainly whitewashed room that takes its name from the cupboards in its walls. This is followed by a larger chamber revetted with quite fine tiles, which served as a guardroom. On the left a door opens into a long passageway leading down to the lower gardens of the Saray and another gives access to the pretty little tiled mosque of the black eunuchs, while on the right a door leads into the Divan Tower. On the left there is a mounting-black used by the sultan when he left the Harem through the Carriage Gate. Here one sees the beginning of the Altın Yol, or Golden Way, a pathway paved in mosaic pebble, some 80 metres long and of varying width, that leads through the Harem from the Carriage Gate to another gate that opens to the south-west end of the Portico with Columns.

### 6.3 Courtyard of the Black Eunuchs

Straight ahead is the long and narrow Courtyard of the Black Eunuchs, also revetted with tiles. Both the guardroom and the courtyard have inscriptions dated A. H. 1079 (1668–9), indicating that this area was reconstructed or redecorated by Mehmet IV after the great fire of 1665. The left side of the courtyard is bordered by an arcade of ten marble columns, above which hang lamps that once lighted the way to the Carriage Gate. Behind the colonnade is the side wall of the Barracks of

the Black Eunuchs, whose living quarters are arranged around an inner covered courtyard in three stories with a tall fireplace at one end. The second storey has a gallery overlooking the court, supported on thick and stubby columns. There are ten or twelve little rooms on each floor, but even so they must have been very crowded since there were several hundred black eunuchs; doubtless they served in watches and slept in relays.

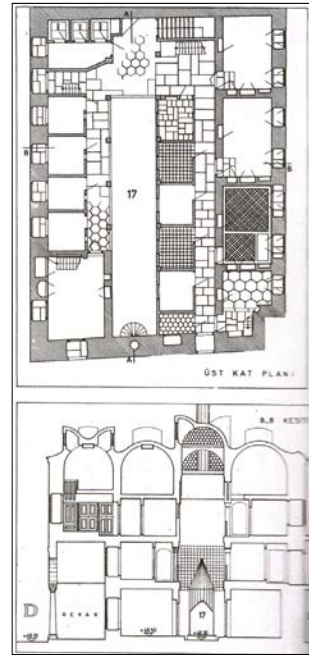
Opposite the Barracks of the Black Eunuchs are two small suites of rooms belong to the Chamberlain and the Treasurer of the Saray, posts of high rank held by black eunuchs.

## 6.4 Schoolroom of the Princes

At the far end of the Courtyard of the Black Eunuchs a stairway on the left leads up to the Schoolroom of the Princes. The sultan's young sons lived with their mothers in the Harem until they were ten or eleven, and the chief black eunuch was in charge of their education, bringing in tutors from the outside to teach them in this room. The schoolroom has a painted wooden dome, with the upper part of the walls sheathed in quite splendid Iznik tiles, including panels of flowering shrubs, cypress trees and flower medallions; the lower part of the room is wainscoted in elaborately carved and gilded wooden panelling in a high rococo style. An inscription round the top of the wainscoting was written and signed by the *kızlar ağası* Beşir Ağa, who was a well-known calligrapher. The inscription is dated A. H. 1162 (1749), and evidently the baroque redecoration of the room is due to Beşir Ağa at that time, three years before he was executed by Mahmut I.

## 6.5 Apartment of the Chief Black Eunuch

Just beyond the schoolroom a door leads to the apartment of the *kızlar ağası*, the chief black eunuch, the highest ranking official of the Inner Service, those who served in the Inner Palace. On the ground floor of the apartment there are two rooms, one of them very small and dark, as well as a ruined hamam. Both rooms are tiled, and one has an inscription of the *kızlar ağası* Abbas Ağa, dated A. H. 1077 (1666–7). Upstairs, next to the Princes' Schoolroom, are an anteroom, a bedroom and a coffee room, which are somewhat brighter than the rooms below. They and the staircase leading to them are also tiled, partly with Iznik ware of the period 1660–80, partly with not very attractive European tiles. An interesting tile panel in the anteroom shows a picture of the Kaaba at Mecca; it is signed by the royal halberdier Iskenderiyeli Ali and dated A. H. 1077 (1666–7); other tile paintings by the same artist are to be found elsewhere in the Harem.



*Figure 34: Barracks of the Black Eunuchs, plan and section (from Eldem and Akozan).*

## 6.6 Courtyard of the Women Servants

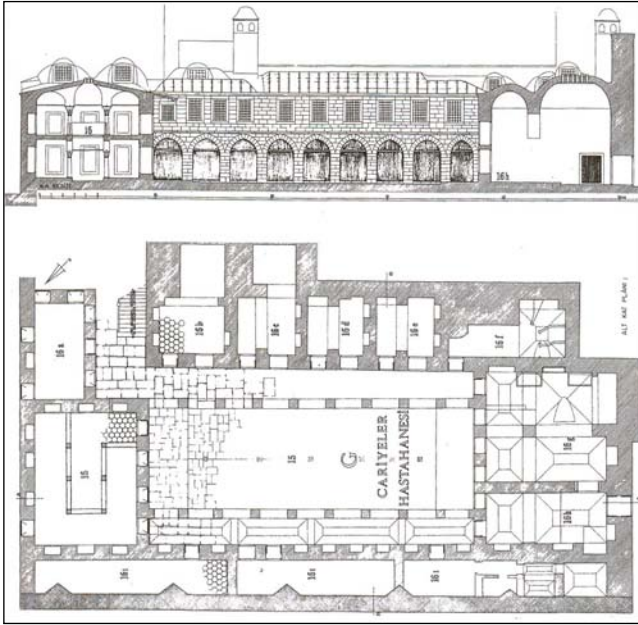
Just beyond the chief black eunuch's apartment is the Cümle Kapısı, or Main Gate, the entrance to the Harem proper. This leads to a second guardroom, from the left side of which a long and narrow corridor stretches to the open Courtyard of the Cariyeler, or women servants. There is a colonnade on the east side of the court; there was originally one on the west side as well but this has been walled in. On the east side beyond the columns are a kitchen, a hamam, and a staircase leading to a series of attractive rooms above. On the right side of the courtyard there are three suites of rooms for the chief women officials of the Harem: the head stewardess, the treasurer, and the chief laundress. Their domed and tiled rooms are very attractive; particularly as they overlook the lower gardens of the Saray. All three suites are very similar, consisting of a pleasant salon with a small interior gallery, entirely revetted with handsome tiles of the later seventeenth century, in which green and blue predominate. These salons were later divided into an upper and lower room by a floor inserted at gallery level, but the original arrangement is being restored. Each suite has a lavatory and washroom and upstairs a bedroom or two. The last room on the west side is a very quaint covered courtyard in two stories; here the women servants slept in an arrangement very like that of the Halls in the Palace School.

## 6.7 Hospital of the Harem

A stairway on the west side of the courtyard leads down to the hospital of the Harem, which was on two levels around an open courtyard, with most of the rooms on the ground floor used as service areas or storerooms, along with a kitchen and a hamam. The upper floor, which extends around only the south and east side of the court, is brighter and more pleasant. On the south side is a long gallery, originally divided up by wooden partition into cubicles and evidently used as a 'semi-private' ward. On the east side is another small enclosed courtyard in two stories, perhaps a more public ward. To the south of this on the lower floor is a small open court or light well from which a door leads into a large garden, from which there is a view of the buildings above and their massive substructure: the suite of the valide sultan, and the suite of Osman II and his terrace and kiosk, all of them charmingly baroque. This garden leads into the garden of the swimming pool if one walks under the lofty arches that support the terrace of Osman III's suite.

One of the very rare descriptions of medical treatment of the Harem women is due to Domenico Hierosolimitano, a Jewish physician who treated Murat III.

If some lady of the Saray falls ill, it is not in general permitted the doctors to visit her, because no one but the Grand Seigneur



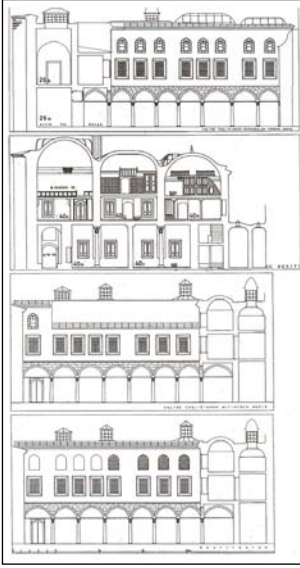
*Figure 35: Hospital of the Harem, plan, elevation and sections (from Eldem and Akozan).*

enters here; but there are among the women some old ones who are very experienced and knowledgeable about illnesses; these come to the door of the Harem to bring the patients' urine to the doctors and to give an account of the disease, whereupon, without seeing or touching the patients, the doctors are obliged to prescribe remedies which very often bring more distress than relief and cause them to perish miserably.

If it is a case of some favourite of the Sultan, and one particularly dear to his Highness, the doctor – having obtained the permission of the Grand Seigneur – may then go to her apartment to visit her, but he may not see her in any way because she is so completely covered that one can scarcely distinguish what is in the bed. He may only get her to put forth her arm from the bed – and even this is covered with a veil of very fine silk – in order to take her pulse. He then retires and goes to write his prescription for the medicines which he considers necessary.<sup>14</sup>

## 6.8 Courtyard and Apartment of the Valide Sultan

Back in the guard room just inside the main gate of the Harem, a portal on the left leads into the large open Courtyard of the Valide Sultan. The apartment of the valide sultan occupies most of the west side in two stories. Her suite consists of eight small rooms, four on



*Figure 36: Courtyard and Apartment of the Valide Sultan, sections and elevations (from Eldem and Akozan).*

the ground floor and four above; the whole of it appears to belong in its present form to the time of Mehmet IV, for there are a number of inscriptions with the dates A. H. 1077 and 1078 (1666–8), though some of the rooms were redecorated much later. Thus the small anteroom and the corridor beyond are revetted with Italian tiles of the eighteenth century, predominantly yellow and not very good, and their décor is rococo; while the dining-room, though dated to 1667, was redecorated in 1817 under Mahmut II. The most interesting part of the suite is the tiny dark bedroom with its antechamber and gallery beyond. The bedroom itself has Iznik tiles dated 1667, with floral panels of quite magnificent design for this relatively late date; the tiles of the anteroom, dated 1666, have amusing pictures of Mecca and Medina, while the gallery beyond, overlooking a sunken garden, is painted with rococo decoration. Some of the upper rooms have tiles of the same period, others were redecorated in a very ornate but amusing style at the end of the eighteenth century by the valide sultan Mihrişah, the mother of Selim III.

### 6.9 Ocaklı Sofa and Çeşmeli Sofa

At the north-west corner of the valide's courtyard a doorway leads into Ocaklı Sofa, the Vestibule with a Hearth, a beautifully tiled room dominated by the large and splendid ocak from which it takes its name. On the right a door leads the suites of the First and Second Kadıns, the two highest ranking wives of the sultan. On the left a door leads into another and smaller antechamber known as Çeşmeli Sofa, the Vestibule with a Fountain, also beautifully tiled. The fountain from which the room takes its name is dated A. H. 1077 (1666–7), from the reign of Mehmet IV, whose name also appears in inscriptions in Ocaklı Sofa. One may take it that both rooms were revetted in rather similar tiles after the fire of 1665, though of course the rooms themselves may well be older.

### 6.10 Suite of Osman III

A long and narrow hall known as the Corridor of the Baths leads north from the valide's sitting room. This passes through an elaborate suite of rooms and baths, partly on two floors, which seems to belong to the time of Osman III, separating the hamams to the east from the living rooms to the west. There are two hamams, the one on the south belonging to the valide and the other to the sultan; they are almost identical, their decoration baroque but simple; in each case the actual bathing place of the sultan and his mother is screened off by a gilt-bronze grille.

Over the entrance door to the suite to the west an inscription records its construction in A. H. 1168 (1754–5), during the reign of



Osman III, but unfortunately all the rooms have been redecorated at a somewhat later and more flamboyant period. The first is known as the Bedroom of Abdül Hamit I (r. 1774–89), since an inscription over the door on the inside records that he redecorated the room. This leads into a smaller and somewhat less ornate room known as that of Selim III (r. 1789–1807), because his tuğra is found on the walls. There are further rooms in much the same rococo style upstairs.

### 6.11 Terrace and Kiosk of Osman III

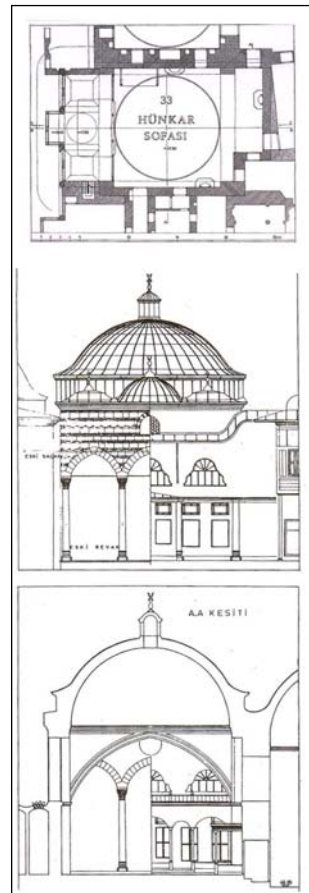
From the Room of Selim III a long corridor opens onto the charming marble terrace of Osman III, on the west side of which his picturesque kiosk overhangs the high outer wall of the Saray. The kiosk, along with the other rooms in the suite of Osman II, are handsome but excessively rococo, and they might just as well be found in a French palace, for they have little that is distinctly Turkish about them.

### 6.12 The Sultan's Hall

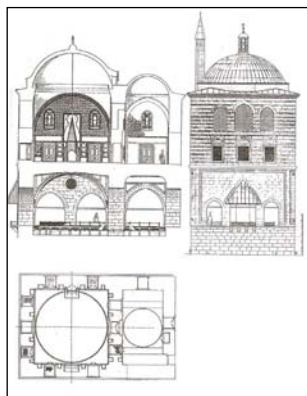
The Corridor of the Baths connects the suite of the valide with the imperial reception room known as Hünkâr Sofası, the Hall of the Sultan, the largest and grandest room in the Saray. Divided by a great arch into two sections, the larger section is domed, the smaller, slightly raised, has a balcony above. The upper part of the room – dome, pendentives and arches – has recently been restored to its original appearance in the late sixteenth century, while the lower part retains the baroque decorations with which Osman III (r. 1754–7) unfortunately adorned the whole room; the contrast is not altogether happy. The Hall was a reception room where the sultan gave entertainments for the women of the Harem, the balcony being used by the musicians. The tradition that this room is by Sinan is not impossible; it is certainly worthy of the great architect, and if not by him cannot at all events be much later.

### 6.13 Salon of Murat III

One now passes through a small but lavishly tiled antechamber to enter the Salon of Murat III. This is undoubtedly the most beautiful room in the Saray, for, unlike the Sultan's Hall, it retains the whole of its original decoration. The walls are sheathed in Iznik tiles at the apogee of their greatest period; the panel of plum blossoms surrounding the elegant gilt-bronze ocağ is especially noteworthy, as is the calligraphic frieze that runs around the room. Opposite the fireplace is an elaborate three-tiered cascade fountain of carved polychrome marble set in a marble embrasure.



*Figure 37: Hünkâr Sofrası, the Sultan's Hall, plan, elevations and sections (from Eldem and Akozan).*



**Figure 38:** *Salon of Murat III, section, elevation and plan (from Eldem and Akozan).*

The beauty of the decoration and the harmonious form of the room identify it as a work of the great Sinan.

## 6.14 Library of Ahmet I

Opening off the west side of the salon there is a small domed room called the Library of Ahmet I, dated by two inscriptions to A. H. 1017 (1608). Its tiles, predominately green, are also of the very best period and the calligraphy in the pendentives of the brilliantly-painted dome and elsewhere is unique; windows and book-cupboards are elegantly framed in marble and the cupboard doors are excellent examples of mother-of-pearl inlay work. The room is lighted by windows on two sides, with views of the Marmara, the Golden Horn the Bosphorus and the hills of Europe and Asia.

## 6.15 Dining Room of Ahmet III

A marble doorway in the south wall of the library leads to the tiny but charming dining room of Ahmet III, dated by an inscription over the door to A. H. 1007 (1705). The room is utterly bewitching, decorated entirely in lacquered and painted wood. In the centre of the ceiling is a mirror; the walls are painted in tiers of framed panels containing flowers in vases and fruits temptingly set out in china dishes. The latter give the room the name by which it is known in Turkish, *Yemiş Odası*, or the Fruit Room. The style is a sort of cross between Persian and French baroque.



**Figure 39:** *Painted wall-panels in the Dining-Room of Ahmet III (from Eldem and Akozan).*

## 6.16 Apartment of the Princes

To the east of the Salon of Murat III there are two handsome rooms known as *Veliahd Dairesi*, the Apartment of the Princes. It is not known exactly when or for what purpose the rooms were built, but they must date from the end of the sixteenth century or the first years of the seventeenth century, as their tiles are of the very greatest period, perhaps the most beautiful in the Saray. The first room has a dome magnificently painted on canvas, while the ceiling of the second room is flat but also adorned with superb painted designs. The second room also has a wonderful gilt-bronze *ocak*, on each side of which, above, are two of the most gorgeous tile panels in existence. Beyond the fireplace the paving stones have been removed to reveal, at a depth of about 30 centimetres, another pavement and a surbase of tiles, also of the greatest period, but of a totally different design and colour from those that now revet the two rooms. It has been suggested that the rooms were part of the *Kafes*, or Cage, the enclosure where

the younger brothers of a reigning sultan were sequestered from the early seventeenth century onwards.

## 6.17 The Terrace of the Favourites

The colonnaded corridor that leads past the Double Kiosk is called, for some unknown reason, the Consultation Place of the Jinns. This leads out to an open courtyard known as Gözdele Taşlığı, the Terrace of the Favourites. On the east side of the terrace there is a long wooden building in two storeys which housed the sultan's favourite women. The building at the northern end of the terrace is the Mabeyn, a suite used by the sultan when he was visiting his favourites here.

## 6.18 The Sunken Garden and Pool of the Harem

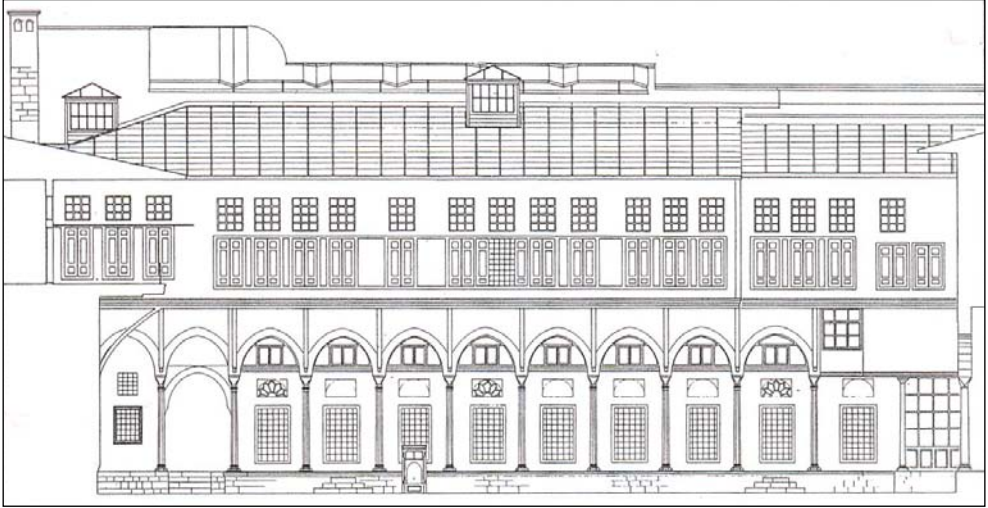
The western side of the Terrace of the Favourites, bordered by a pretty marble balustrade, overlooks a deeply sunken garden. The whole of the near side of the garden is a vast pool, part of which is under the substructure of the terrace. This was used as a swimming pool by the sultan and his concubines, and it is mentioned in early descriptions of the Saray. One of the earliest of these descriptions is by Ottaviano Bon, the Venetian envoy, writing about 1607, where he tells of how the sultan, probably Ahmet I, enjoyed himself in the pool.

A small lake, square in form, artificially made from thirty different fountains [by means of] an aqueduct of the finest marble which surrounded this lake, so that the fountains discharged the water from the aqueduct into the lake.... On the lake was a tiny boat into which I was told his Majesty was wont to enter with buffoons to sail for recreation and to divert himself on the water, and very often walking with them on the aqueduct, he would push them in and make them turn somersaults in the lake.<sup>15</sup>

This sunken garden would have been used by Ahmet III in the fabulous tulip festivals he held every spring. All state business was suspended to celebrate the flowering of the tulips in the Saray gardens, where on the last day of the fete the only guests were the sultan and his concubines, one of whom he would choose as his new favourite, bedding down with her in a tent in the garden, later emerging to the cheers of the other women, who were rewarded with presents of coins and jewellery. The time of Ahmet III (r. 1703–30) is known as Lale Devri, the Tulip Period, when baroque art and architecture first emerged in Istanbul, as in the paintings in the sultan's delightful dining-room, which looks down on the sunken garden where he held his festivals.



*Figure 40: Apartment of the Princes, elevations and sections (from Eldem and Akozan).*



*Figure 41: Apartments and Terrace of the Favourites (from Eldem and Akozan).*

## 6.19 The Golden Road and the Birdcage Gate

Tours of the Harem generally end on the Terrace of the Favourites, from where one walks back along the northern end of the Golden Way as far as Kuşhane Kapısı, the Gate of the Bird Cage, which leads into the south-west corner of the Third Court. This gateway is noted in the history of the Saray as the place where the valide sultan Kösem was murdered on 2 September 1651 by the chief black eunuch Süleyman Ağa, acting on order of Turhan Hadice, mother of Mehmet IV, who thereupon supplanted her old rival as valide. Paul Rycaut, in his work on *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1680), describes the funeral of Kösem, whom he refers to as the Queen: 'The Black Eunuchs immediately took up the Corpse, and in a reverent manner laid it stretched forth in the Royal Mosch; which about 400 of the Queens Slaves encompassing round about with howlings and lamentations, tearing the hair from their heads after their barbarous fashion, moved compassion in all the Court.'<sup>16</sup>

Such is the great palace of Topkapı Sarayı, where the Ottoman sultans resided for the first four centuries after the Conquest, taking their pleasure in the House of Felicity isolated from the outside world.

## References

*(Please refer to the Bibliography at the end of the book)*

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4. John Freely, *The Grand Turk*, p. 225
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13. Ibid., p. 206
14. Hilary Sumner-Boyd, *The Seven Hills of Istanbul: A Study of the Byzantine and Turkish Monuments of the City*, p. 265
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## CHAPTER VI

# The Emergence of Classical Ottoman Architecture

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Classical Ottoman architecture emerged in Istanbul in the time of Fatih's son and successor Beyazıt II (r. 1481–1512) and it flowered during the reign of the Conqueror's great-grandson, Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), whose chief architect Sinan designed and built the greatest masterpieces ever erected in that style, most of them in Istanbul. The first imperial Ottoman mosque in the classical style, the Beyazıdiye, was dedicated by Beyazıt II in 1506, and the second was Yavuz Selim Camii, completed in 1522 by Süleyman the Magnificent, though it may have been begun by Selim himself a few years earlier. Besides these two imperial mosques there are in Istanbul at least ten smaller mosques, in addition to a bedesten and two hamams dating from the reigns of Fatih's two immediate successors, Beyazıt II and Selim I, in the transitional stage between the preclassical and classical periods, as well as a huge palace that was probably built at the beginning of Süleyman's reign.

## 2 THE BEYAZIDIYE

### 2.1 The Beyazıdye külliye

The Beyazıdiye, the great mosque complex of Beyazıt II (r. 1481–1512), son and successor of Mehmet the Conqueror, stands on the summit of the Third Hill on the edge of Beyazıt Square, the formless centre of the old city. After Fatih Camii, this was the second imperial foundation to be erected in the city, built between 1501 and 1506. Besides the great mosque itself, the külliye consists of the great mosque itself, a medrese, a primary school, a public kitchen, a hamam, and several türbes. Heretofore, the architect's name has been given variously as Hayrettin or Kemalettin, but a study by Rıfki Melül Meriç has shown that the külliye is due to a certain Yakub-şah bin Sultan-şah, who also built a caravanserai at Bursa. His background is unknown and his origin uncertain, but he may have been a Turk, according to Meriç. Whatever his

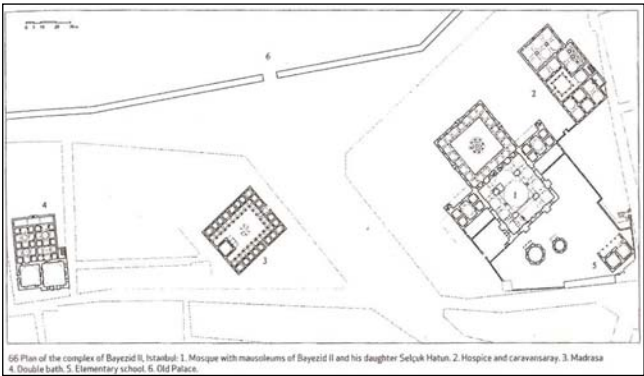
The Emergence of Classical Ottoman Architecture



*Figure 1: The Mosque of Beyazid II, with the Sea of Marmara in the background (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 2: The Mosque of Beyazid II, with the gate of the Ministry of War on the left (Print by Bartlett).*



*Figure 3: The Külliye of Beyazid II (from Necipoğlu).*



origin, he created a work of the very first importance, both in its excellence as a building and in its historic importance in the history of Turkish architecture. The mosque marks the beginning of the great classical period of Ottoman architecture which continued for more than two hundred years. Before this time, Ottoman architecture had been experimenting with various styles of mosques and had often produced buildings of great beauty, as in Yeşil Cami at Bursa or Üç Şerefeli Camii at Edirne, but no definite style had evolved which could produce the huge mosques demanded by the world-wide importance of the new capital and the increasing power of the sultans. The original Mosque of the Conqueror was indeed a monumental building, but as that was destroyed by an earthquake in the eighteenth century, the Beyazidiye remains the earliest extant example of what the great imperial mosques of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were to be like.

### 2.2 The mosque courtyard

The Beyazidiye has one of the most charming of all the mosque courtyards in Istanbul. A peristyle of 20 ancient columns – porphyry, verd antique, and Syenitic marble – supports an arcade with red and white or black and white marble voussoirs; the colonnade is covered by 24 small domes, and three magnificent portals give access to it. The pavement is of polychrome marble and in the centre stands a beautifully decorated şadırvan, though the peripheral colonnade of stumpy verd antique columns seems to be a clumsy restoration. Capitals, cornices and niches are elaborately decorated with stalactite mouldings. The harmony of proportions, the rich but restrained decoration, the brilliance of the variegated marbles, not to mention the interesting vendors and crowds which always throng it, give this courtyard a charm of its own.



*Figure 4: Courtyard of the Beyazidiye (Print by Bartlett).*

2.3 The mosque

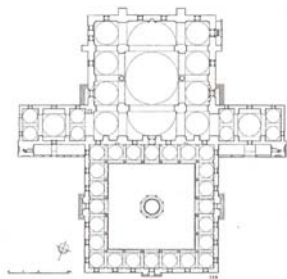
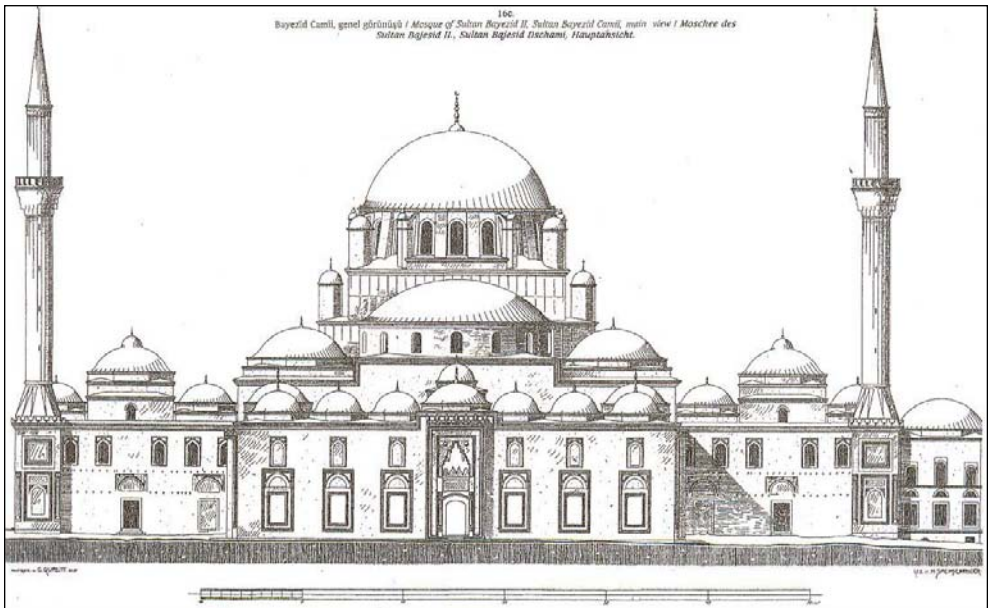


Figure 5: The Mosque of Beyazıt II, plan (from Kuran).

An exceptionally fine portal opens into the mosque, which in plan is a greatly simplified and much smaller version of Haghia Sophia. As there, the great central dome and the semidomes to north and south form a kind of nave, beyond which to east and west are side aisles. The central area of the building is approximately 40 metres on a side, and the diameters of the dome about 17 metres. The arches supporting the dome spring from four huge rectangular piers; the dome has smooth pendentives but rests on a cornice of stalactite mouldings. There are no galleries over the aisles, which open wide into the nave, from which they are separated only by the piers and by a single antique granite column between them. This is an essential break with the plan of Haghia Sophia; in one way or another the mosque architects all tried to centralize their plan as much as possible, so that the entire area of the prayer room is visible from all points. At the north side a broad corridor, divided into domed or vaulted bays and extending considerably beyond the main body of the mosque, creates the effect of a narthex. This is a transitional feature, retained from an older style of mosque; it appears only rarely later on. At each end of this 'narthex' rise the two fine minarets, their shafts picked out with geometrical designs in terra-cotta; they stand far beyond the main part of the building in a position which is quite unique and gives a very grand effect. At the south arm of the narthex a small library was added in the eighteenth-century by the Şeyh-ül İslam Veliyüttin Efendi. An unusual feature of the mosque is that the hünkâr mahfili, or

Figure 6: The Mosque of Beyazıt II, elevation (from Gurlitt).



sultan's loge, is to the right of the mimber instead of to the left as is habitual; it is supported on columns of very rich and rare marbles.

### 2.4 The tombs

Behind the mosque – or, as the Turks say, in front of the mihrab – is the türbe garden; here Beyazıt II lies buried in a simple, well-proportioned türbe of limestone picked out in verd antique. Nearby is the even simpler türbe of his daughter Selçuk Hatun. Beyond these, a third türbe in a highly decorated *Empire* style is that of the grand vezir Koca Reşit Pasha, the distinguished leader of the *Tanzimat*, or Reform Movement, who died in 1857.

Below the eastern side of the türbe garden facing the street is an arcade of shops originally erected by Sinan in 1580; it had long ago almost completely disappeared, but it was reconstructed in the 1960s.

### 2.5 The primary school

Just beside these shops these shops is the double sibyan mektep, or primary school, with two domes and a porch, used to teach the children of the mosque clergy and other staff of the külliye. This is the oldest surviving primary school in the city, since the mektep belonging to the külliye of Fatih Camii has disappeared. It has now been handsomely restored and houses a research library.

### 2.6 Sahaflar Çarşısı

Between the mektep and the western minaret is a very pretty courtyard known as Sahaflar Çarşısı, the Market of the Secondhand Booksellers. This is one of the most ancient markets in the city, occupying the site of the Chartoprateia, the book and paper market of Byzantine Constantinople. After the Conquest this became a market for the turban-makers and metal engravers, at which time it was called Hakkaklar Çarşısı, after the latter of those two guilds. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, during the reign of Ahmet III, the booksellers set up shop there too, moving from their old headquarters in the Covered Bazaar. During the second half of the eighteenth century, with the legalization of printing in the Ottoman Empire, the booksellers greatly increased their trade and came to dominate the market, which from that time came to be named for them. In the centre of the square there is a modern bust of İbrahim Müteferrika, who in 1732 began to print the first books in Turkish.

### 2.7 The imaret

Almost opposite the west minaret stands the extremely impressive imaret of the külliye. Fatih's imaret having disappeared like his mektep, this is the oldest that still exists in the city, and certainly one of the handsomest. The imaret, in addition to serving as a public kitchen, seems also to have been used as a caravanserai. On three sides of a stately porticoed courtyard, now glassed in, is a series of six double kitchens each surmounted by a dome and the characteristic great chimney; the fourth side contains the monumental portal; in the centre is a charming fountain. The first room on the right housed an olive press, the second was a grain storeroom, and the third, in the right-hand corner, was the bakery, equipped with two huge ovens. The large domed chamber at the far end of the courtyard was the kitchen and dining room. The even larger domed structure beside it, forming the left third of the complex, served as a stable for the horses and camels of those who were guests at the imaret, while the chamber between the stable and the courtyard was used as a dormitory.

Beside the imaret is a rather ornate building in the Empire style, erected by Abdül Hamit II in 1882 to house the State Library (Devlet Kütüphanesi). The library is an important one of 120,000 volumes and more than 7,000 manuscripts.

### 2.8 The medrese

The medrese of Beyazıt's külliye is at the far west end of the square. It is of the standard form; the hücre, or cells, where the students lived and studied, are ranged around four sides of a porticoed courtyard, while the dershane, or lecture hall, is opposite the entrance portal. According to Evliya Çelebi, the original director of the medrese was the şey-ül İslam, the head of the Muslim religious hierarchy, who lectured there three times a week. The building has been converted into a library, that of the Municipality (Belediye Kütüphanesi); unfortunately the restoration and conversion were rather badly done, a lot of cement having been used instead of stone and the portico having been very crudely glassed in. Nevertheless the proportions of the building are so good and the garden in the courtyard so attractive that the general effect is still quite charming.

The medrese is now used to house the Museum of Calligraphic Art. The collections of the museum are organized into sections specializing in different types of calligraphic script, including Cufic, Ta'liq, Nakshi, Thuluth and Muhakkak. These are used in Kurans, panels, wooden cut-outs, collages, mirror-writing, representation of the Holy Relics, tuğras, Hilyes (descriptions of the features and



*Figure 7: Hamam of the Beyazidiye (Anthony E. Baker).*

qualities of the Prophet), as well as embroidered inscriptions and works of women calligraphers. There are also examples of calligraphic inscriptions on wood, stone and glass, as well as in title deeds, deeds of foundation, and family trees, as well as a talismanic shirt that should have done wonders for its wearer. One of the cells of the medrese has been set up with life-sized models showing a calligrapher instructing his students in this quintessential Islamic art form.

## 2.9 The hamam

Beyond the medrese, facing the wide Ordu Caddesi, is the splendid hamam of Beyazıt's külliye, now being restored. It is a double hamam, the two sections being almost identical, though the camekân of the men's bath is a little larger than that of the women. The entrance to the men's bath is on the main avenue, while that of the women is around the corner on the side street to the left of the building, as was customary in double baths.

The hamam faces the ruins of the ancient Forum of Theodosius, the largest of the public squares of Byzantine Constantinople. The forum was erected in 394 by Theodosius I and had at its centre a gigantic triumphal gateway and a commemorative column with reliefs showing the emperor's victories. The forum was excavated in the 1960s, and fragments of the triumphal gateway are arrayed on either side of the avenue. A fragmentary relief from the column is

built into the side wall of the hamam, upside down, showing a line of marching Roman soldiers.

### 3 THE MOSQUE OF SELIM I

#### 3.1 Introduction

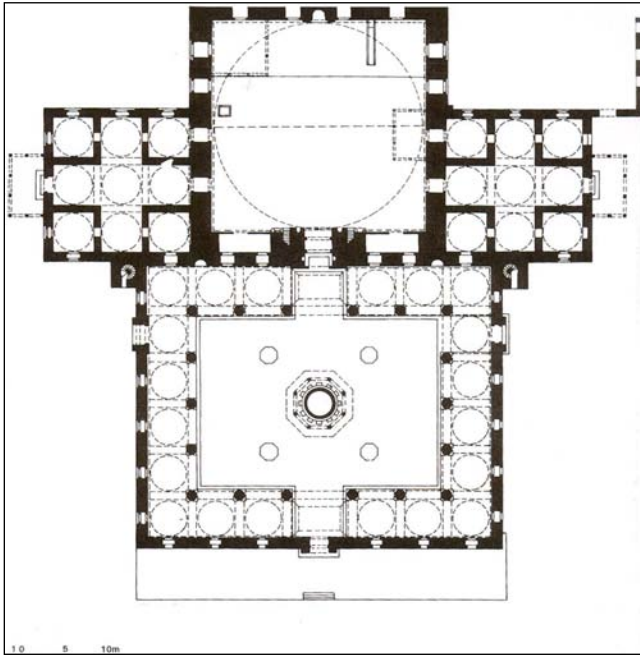
Yavuz Sultan Selim Camii, the mosque of Sultan Selim the Grim, stands on a high terrace on the Fifth Hill overlooking the Golden Horn. The mosque stands beside the ancient Cistern of Aspar, an enormous Roman reservoir built in the third quarter of the fifth century. It is the second of the extant classical imperial mosques in the city, completed in 1522 under Selim's son and successor, Süleyman the Magnificent. But it may have been begun two or three years earlier by Selim himself, as the Arabic inscription over the entrance portal would seem to imply. Although the mosque is often ascribed to Sinan, even by otherwise reliable authorities, it is certainly not one of his works; it is too early, and is not listed in the *Tezkere*. Unfortunately, the identity of the actual architect has not been established.

#### 3.2 The mosque

The mosque, with its great shallow dome and cluster of little domes on either side, is impressive and worthy of the site. The courtyard is one of the most charming and vivid in the city, with its columns

*Figure 8: The Mosque of Selim I (Anthony E. Baker).*





*Figure 9: The Mosque of Selim I, plan (from Goodwin).*

of various marbles and granites, the polychrome voussoirs of the arches, the very beautiful tiles of the earliest Iznik period in the lunettes above the windows – turquoise, deep blue and yellow – and the pretty şadırvan surrounded by tapering cypress trees.

The plan of the mosque is quite simple: a square room, 24.5 metres on a side, covered by a shallow dome 32.5 metres in height under the crown, with the cornice resting on the outer walls through smooth pendentives. The dome, like that of Haghia Sophia, but unlike that of most Turkish mosques, is significantly less than a hemisphere. This gives a very spacious and grand effect, recalling to a certain extent the beautiful shallow dome of the Roman Pantheon. The room itself is vast and empty, but saved from dullness by its perfect proportions and by the exquisite colour of the Iznik tiles in the lunettes of the windows. The mosque furniture, though sparse, is quite fine, particularly the mihrab, mimber and sultan's loge.

The border of the ceiling under the loge is a quite exceptionally beautiful example of the painted and gilded woodwork of the early sixteenth century; notice the deep rich colours and the varieties of floral and leaf motifs in the five separate borders, like an oriental rug, only here picked out in gold. To east and west of the great central room of the mosque are annexes consisting of a domed cruciform passage giving access to four small domed rooms. These, as in other early mosques elsewhere in the city, served as hospices for travelling dervishes.

### 3.3 The tombs

The grand türbe of Selim I is in the garden behind the mosque, an octagonal structure with a dome deeply ribbed on the outside. The only other example of external ribbing in the city is in the türbe of Prince Mehmet at Şehzade Camii. In the porch on either side of the door are two very beautiful panels of tile work, presumably from Iznik but unique in colour and design. These tiles may have been made in Iznik by the Persian and Armenian craftsmen who were resettled there by Selim after his capture of Tabriz in 1514. The interior unfortunately has lost its original decoration, but the great catafalque of the sultan, covered with embroidered velvet and with its enormous turban is impressive in its solitude. For this türbe, unlike so many others, is not crowded with coffins but has only the one; it is surrounded by a wooden railing heavily encrusted with mother-of pearl, as are the door and some of the window shutters. Evliya Çelebi has an interesting description of Selim's tomb: 'There is no royal sepulchre which fills the visitor with so much awe as Selim's. There he lies with the turban called Selimiye on his coffin like a seven-headed dragon I, the humble Evliya, was for three years the reader of hymns at his tomb.'<sup>1</sup>

Facing Selim's türbe is another in which are buried four children of Süleyman the Magnificent. This too has a pretty and almost unique feature: the circular drum of the dome, set back a little from the octagon of the building itself, is adorned with a long inscription carved in the stonework. The porch here too has panels of faience, hexagonal tiles with stylized floral motifs set separately on the stone. This türbe was built in 1556, probably by Sinan, although this presents a problem, since two of the princelings buried here died about forty years before that time.

Standing in the garden near Selim's türbe is the tomb of Abdül Mecit I, who died in 1861; for a building of this great date it is simple and has good lines. Abdül Mecit chose this site for his türbe because of his admiration for his warrior ancestor Selim, conqueror of western Persia and of Egypt. Abdül Mecit's conquest were confined to the Harem, where he fathered forty-two children with twenty-one wives, his sons including the last four Ottoman sultans.

### 3.4 The primary school

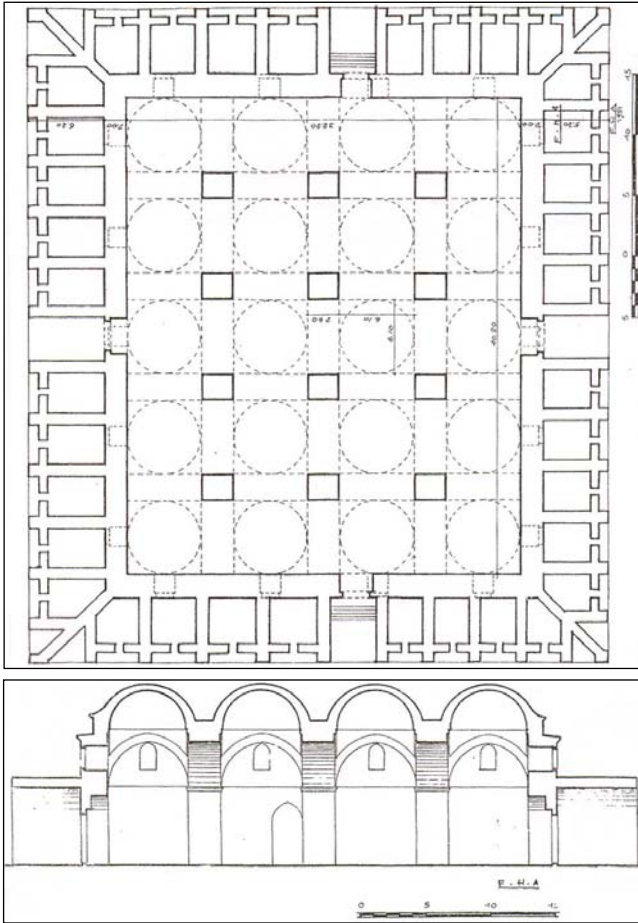
The mosque was formerly surrounded by the usual buildings of the külliye: a medrese, an imaret and a mektep. Of these only the primary school remains, a little domed building at the north-west corner of the outer courtyard.



## 4 OTHER BUILDINGS FROM THE TIMES OF BEYAZIT II AND SELIM I

### 4.1 The Sandal Bedesten

During the early years in the reign of Beyazıt II he was preoccupied with his war of succession with his brother Jem, and even after Jem's death in 1495 he concentrated more on consolidating the gains made by his father Fatih than in expanding the bounds of the Ottoman Empire. As a result the economy of the empire developed rapidly during his reign, particularly in İstanbul, as evidenced by the expansion of the Kapalı Çarşı, the famous Covered Bazaar. This led Beyazıt to erect a new market building in the Covered Bazaar known as the Sandal Bedesten, which



*Figure 10: The Sandal Bedesten, plan and section (from Ayverdi).*

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is larger than the one built by Fatih. The Sandal Bedesten is covered by twenty domes in five rows of four each, supported internally by twelve rectangular piers in four rows of three each, with entrances in the middle of all four sides. Here there are shops only along the exterior walls, with the interior now used as a shopping mall.

### 4.2 Kara Davut Pasha Camii

Kara Davut Pasha Camii is a little known mosque in Üsküdar, probably built at the very beginning of Beyazıt's reign. It is a very curious mosque, perhaps unique in form, at least in İstanbul, but it seems to have escaped mention in modern times.

A square central area is covered by a large dome on a high octagonal drum without windows; to left and right are square areas of the same size, each covered by a dome of the same diameter as the central one but considerably lower; wide, heavy arches slightly divide the room into three parts and support the three domes. Thus there is a wide, shallow prayer room, three times as broad as it is deep. The effect is rather attractive. The plan appears to be a variant of the cross-axial multi-unit type, but a variant not met with elsewhere.

### 4.3 Dülgerzade Camii

The earliest extant mosque from the reign of Beyazıt II may be Dülgerzade Camii, which is on the Fourth Hill near Fatih Camii. The mosque was founded by Şemsettin Habib Efendi, who had been one of Fatih's officials. Şemsettin died in 1482, and so the



*Figure 11: Dülgerzade Camii  
(Anthony E.Baker).*

mosque is dated about that time. Unfortunately it has been heavily rebuilt, and so it has no interest other than its great age.

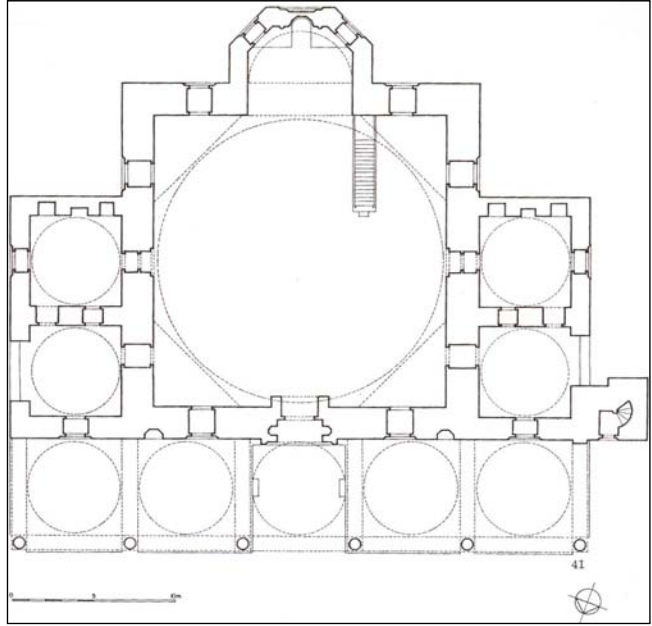
### 4.4 Davut Pasha Camii

The earliest extant mosque of known date from the time of Beyazıt II is Davut Pasha Camii, on the Seventh Hill. This mosque was built by Davut Pasha, grand vezir of Beyazıt II, an Arabic inscription over the door giving the date of construction as A. H. 480 (1485). The five-domed roof of the porch has fallen but four of its six granite columns are still standing and the domes and arches have now been well restored. The minaret rises from the north-west corner of the building.

In plan the mosque belongs to the simple type of the square chamber covered by a large blind dome; but the mihrab is in



*Figure 12: Davut Pasha Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 13: Davut Pasha Camii, plan (from Kuran).*

a five-sided apse projecting from the south wall, while to east and west there are two pairs of small rooms that were used to shelter itinerant dervishes. What gives the building distinction and harmony is the beautiful shallow dome, distinctly less than a hemisphere; in this it resembles Yavuz Selim Camii. The pendentives of the dome are an unusually magnificent example of the stalactite form, here boldly incised and brought far down the corners of the walls.

Behind the mosque a delightfully topsy-turvy graveyard surrounds the türbe of the founder, an octagonal structure with an odd dome in eight triangular segments. Across the street to the east stands the medrese of the külliye, almost surrounded and concealed by houses. The courtyard must have been – indeed it still is – extremely attractive with its reused Byzantine columns and capitals, but it is now in an advanced state of ruin. The külliye also included an imaret and a mektep, but these have completely disappeared.

### 4.5 Selçuk Hatun Camii

Selçuk Hatun Camii is on the wide Millet Caddesi, which runs along the northern side of the Seventh Hill. The mosque was founded by Selçuk Hatun, daughter of Mehmet I and thus an aunt of Mehmet II, the Conqueror. Selçuk Hatun died in 1485 and so her

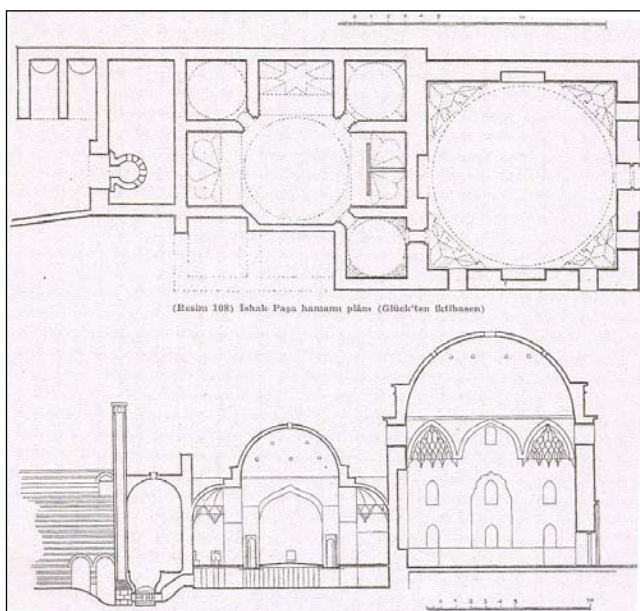
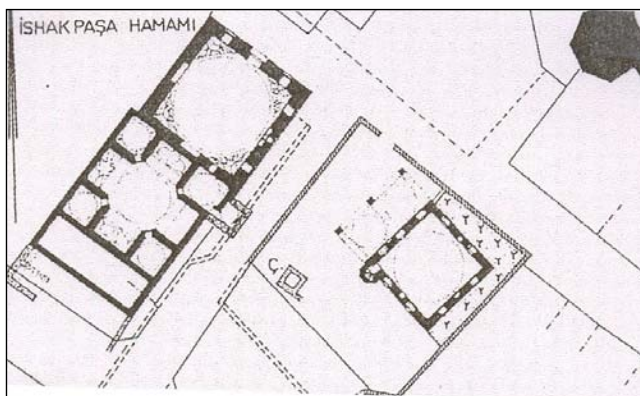
mosque must be from around that date. In the seventeenth century the mosque was partly destroyed by fire and then was reconstructed by the chief black eunuch Abbas Ağa. When Millet Caddesi was widened in 1956 the mosque was demolished and re-erected not far from its original site. How far the reconstructed building follows the old plan is not clear; at all events the mosque is rather attractive and the reconstruction at least adequate.

### 4.6 Ishak Pasha Camii

Ishak Pasha Cami is just outside the outer defence walls of Topkapı Sarayı, a short way down the hill toward the Marmara from the Imperial Gate. The mosque and the large hamam across the street



*Figure 14: Ishak Pasha Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 15: (above) Mosque and Hamam of Ishak Pasha, plan (from Müller-Wiener); (below) Hamam of Ishak Pasha, plan and section (from Glück).*

were built in 1486 by Ishak Pasha, who was a vezir under Fatih and grand vezir under Beyazıt II. His contemporary Kritovoulos writes in his biography of Fatih that Ishak Pasha was ‘a man of the wisest sort, experienced in many spheres, but especially a military leader and a man of courage.’<sup>2</sup>

The mosque, which is interesting chiefly because of its age, is of the simplest plan: a square room covered by a dome. It has lost its porch, which was originally of that curious two-dome-three-column design, of which the best preserved example is Kazancılar Camii. In this type the entrance door is shifted from the middle of the façade (where it would be immediately behind the second of the

three columns) to either the east or the west. The minaret is at the north-west corner of the building. The mosque has been restored several times, not very well, and the interior decoration is hideous.

The hamam, enormously larger than the mosque, must have been very grand, though it seems to have lacked a proper soğukluk and its hararat is curiously truncated. It has long been disaffected and is now partially in ruins.

### 4.7 Türbe of Şeyh Vefa

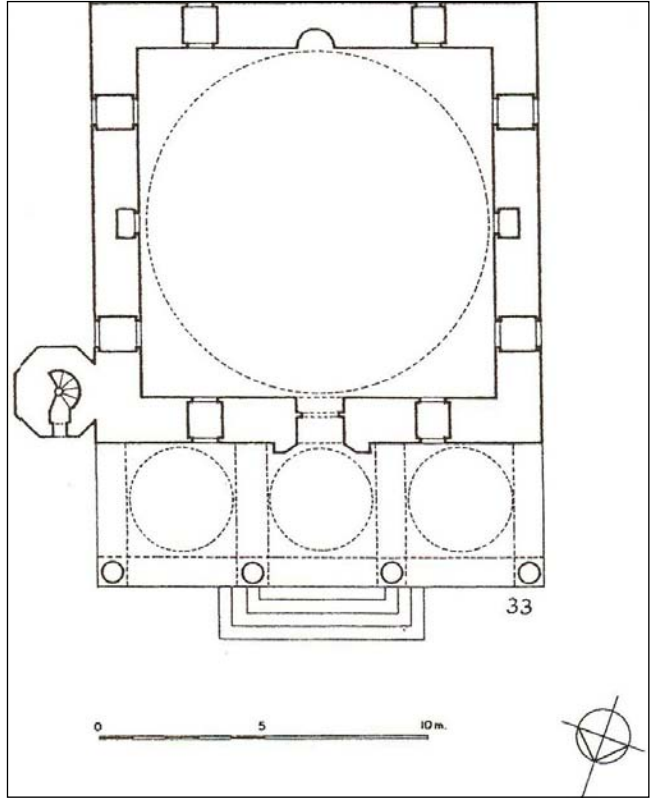
The Vefa district on the Third Hill takes its name from a small mosque called Vefa Camii. The original mosque was built before 1491, but that was utterly destroyed and replaced by the present structure, which is of no interest, in the 1970s. All that remains of the original foundation is the of the founder, Şeyh Muslihiddin Vefa, dated A. H. 896 (1491). Besides the mosque and the türbe of, his külliye included an imaret, a primary school, a caravanserai and a hamam. Şeyh Vefa was one of the most renowned scholars of his time, said to be versed in all of the seventy sciences of Islam; but quite early in his life he decided that he would devote himself entirely to the poor. This led him to found his külliye, where the poor of the surrounding district, still known as Vefa, could find food and shelter. Şeyh Vefa became one of the most popular Muslim folk-saints in Istanbul, and pious locals still come to pray at his türbe.

### 4.8 Firuz Ağa Camii

Firuz Ağa Camii is a tiny but elegant mosque that stands on the south side of the beginning of Divan Yolu, with the site of the ancient Hippodrome to its south. Divan Yolu follows the course of the ancient



*Figure 16: Firuz Ağa Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 17: Firuz Ağa Camii, plan (from Kuran).*

Mese, the main thoroughfare of Byzantine Constantinople from the time that the city was founded by Constantine the Great in 330.

Firuz Ağa Camii is of interest out of proportion to its size, for it is one of the mosques built before 1500, that is, which belong to the 'preclassical' or Bursa style of Ottoman architecture. It was constructed in 1491 for Firuz Ağa, Lord High Treasurer (*Hazinedarbaşı*) for Beyazıt II. In form it is the simplest type, consisting merely of a square room covered by a dome without windows resting on the walls, with honeycomb pendentives, often used in these early mosques and sometimes later. The building is preceded by a little porch of three bays, with the minaret, unusually, on the left-hand side. Firuz Ağa's tomb, in the form of a marble sarcophagus, is on the terrace beside the mosque.

### 4.9 Atık Ali Pasha Camii

Atık Ali Pasha Camii is on the summit of the Second Hill, just across the street from the Column of Constantine, erected in 330

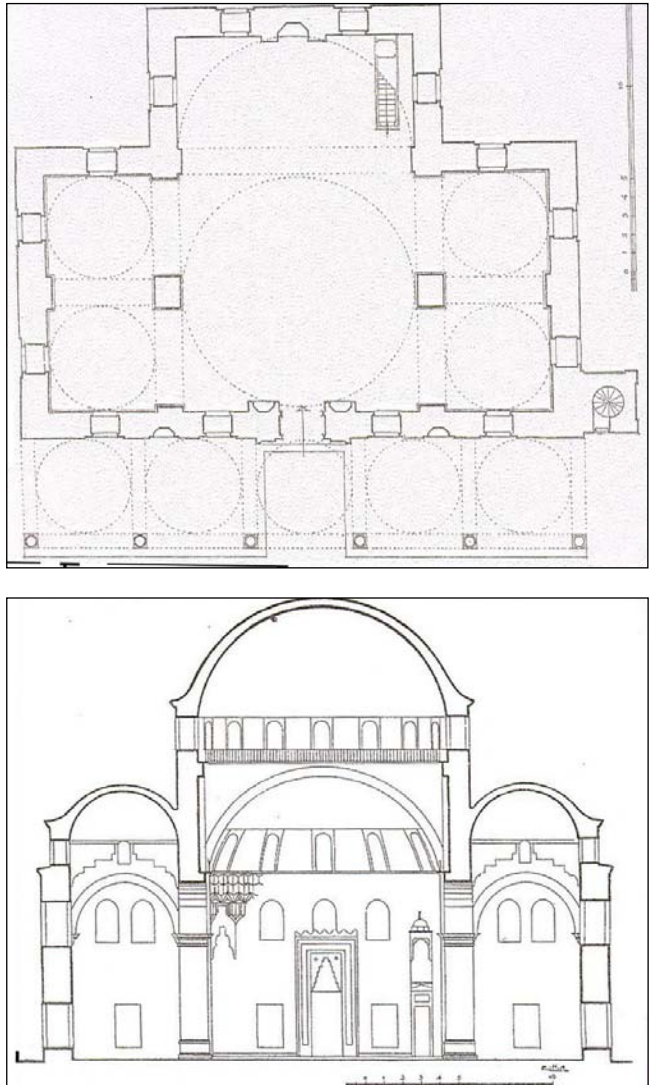




*Figure 18: Atik Ali Pasha Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker) .*

to commemorate the founding of Constantinople. The mosque was built in 1496 by Hadım (the Eunuch) Ali Pasha, grand vezir of Beyazıt II. Surrounded by a quiet garden off the busy avenue, a continuation of Divan Yolu, it is an attractive little mosque, especially from the outside. It originally had a five-bay porch, but this has vanished; the minaret rises from the north-west corner of the building.

The plan of the mosque is somewhat unusual, in that it consists of a rectangular room divided into unequal parts by an arch. The northern and larger section is covered by a dome, the southern by a semidome under which is the mihrab, as if in a sort of great apse. The northern section is also flanked to east and west by two pairs of rooms with smaller domes, which served as dervish hospices. The semidomes and the four smaller domes have stalactite pendentives, a common feature in mosques of early date. It has been suggested that the present smooth pendentives of the central dome may be due



*Figure 19: Atik Ali Pasha Camii, plan and section (from Ayverdi).*

to a nineteenth-century restoration. The present rectangular piers that support the arches that divide the side rooms from the main area are also thought to be due to a restoration, probably a mere veneer of stone over the original columns. Aptullah Kuran treats this building as an example of what he calls the central-domed multi-unit mosque of the type of Üç Şerefeli Cami at Edirne; in this case the division of the side rooms by open arches would be original.<sup>3</sup>

Atik Ali Pasha Camii originally had several dependencies: an imaret, a medrese and a tekke, or dervish lodge. Of these only a part

of the medrese remains; it is across Divan Yolu from the mosque, the remainder having been destroyed when the avenue was widened. It is one of the few Turkish buildings described by Pierre Gilles in his work on the topography of Constantinople, which he wrote after his stay in 1546–50. Referring to Atik Ali Pasha Camii, he says, 'Near to this mosque, though with a street between, there is a school of professors of Mohametan theology where there is a rectangular atrium surrounded by a portico upheld by eighteen columns, some of green, some of white marble.'<sup>4</sup> Part of this is now demolished, and there are only twelve cells for students remaining, together with the lecture hall; but four of Gilles' green columns are still there; they are of verd antique and are very fine specimens. The medrese is also shown in a drawing of the mosque done in 1576 by Melchior Lorich. This building though mutilated, is interesting as being one of the very few medreses of the pre-classical period that survive in the city.

### 4.10 Zincirli Kuyu Camii

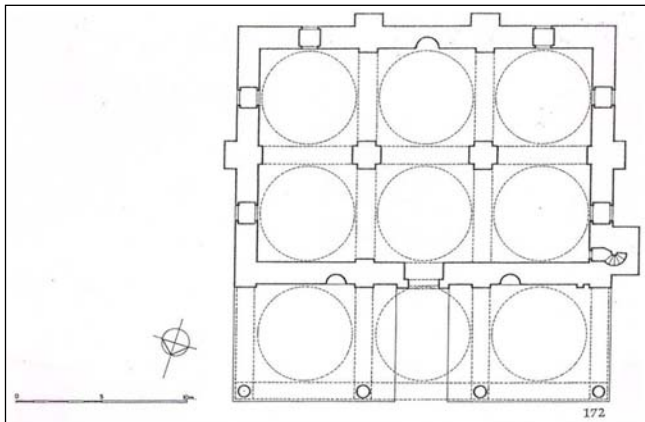
Hadım Ali Pasha also founded a mosque on the Fifth Hill. Built around 1500, this is known as Zincirli Kuyu Camii. It is a small



*Figure 20: Zincirli Kuyu Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

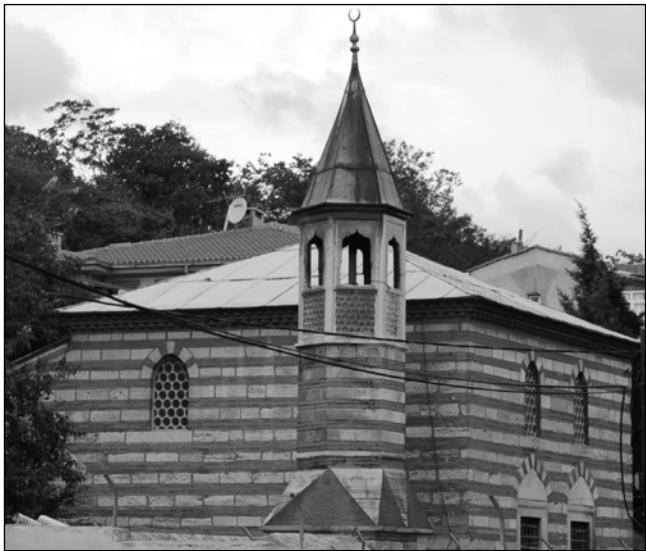
## The Emergence of Classical Ottoman Architecture

*Figure 21: Zincirli Kuyu Camii, plan (from Kuran).*

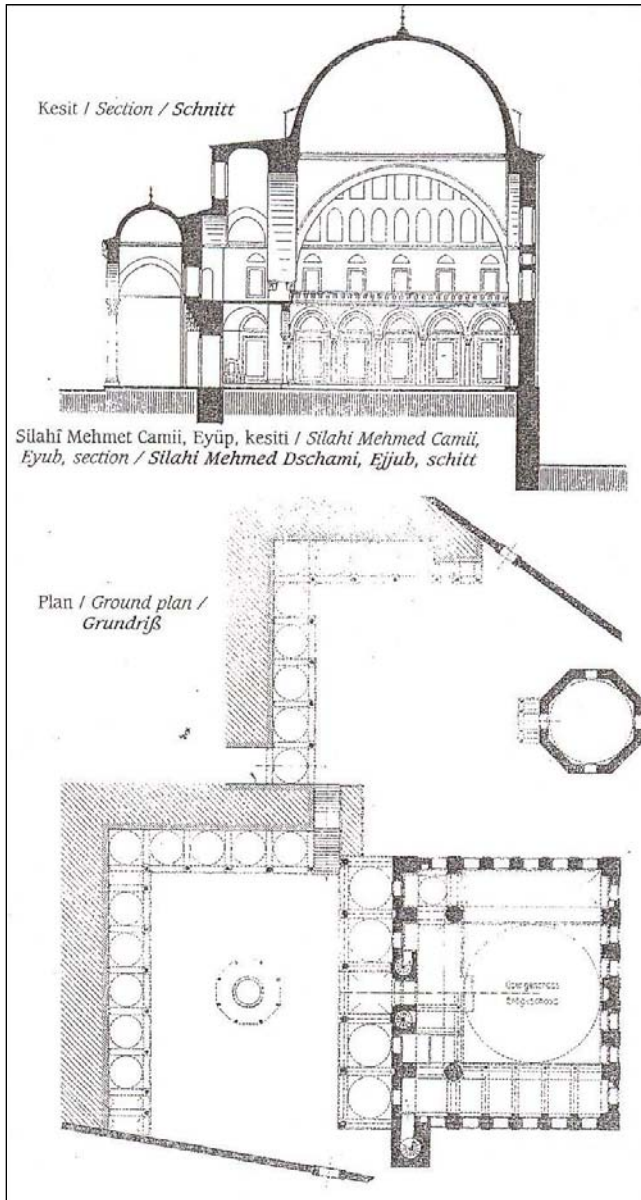


rectangular building of brick and stone construction covered by six equal domes in two rows of three supported by two rectangular pillars; its original porch of three bays had disappeared but has been hideously reconstructed. The minaret rises from the north-west corner of the mosque.

The mosque is interesting as being a tiny example of the Ulu Cami type of mosque borrowed from the Seljuks and fairly common in the first or Bursa period of Ottoman architecture. The type consists of a square or rectangular space covered by a multiplicity of equal domes supported by pillars or columns; it can be very large and impressive, as in the Ulu Cami of Bursa with its twenty domes. But on the very small scale of Zincirli Kuyu Camii it is rather heavy and oppressive.



*Figure 22: Zincirli Kuyu Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 23: Silâhi Mehmet Camii, section and plan (from Gurlitt).*

#### 4.11 Silâhi Mehmet Camii

Silâhi Mehmet Camii is on the shore on the Golden Horn in Eyüp. This little mosque, though of the simplest type, has several unique or unusual features that make it well worth a visit. Indeed Semavi Eyice, the Turkish architectural historian, goes so far as to say that

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‘this magnificent little mosque ... is incontestably the most beautiful specimen of this type of edifice.’<sup>5</sup> The most striking thing about the mosque is its extraordinary minaret, a hexagon of brick and stone, very low and with no şerefe, but instead a sort of lantern with six windows and a tall conical cap. There are in the city three or four other minarets with this lantern arrangement, but this is much the most striking and pretty. It is slightly detached from the building, and instead of being at the north-west corner, as is almost invariably the case, it is at the south-east. The whole mosque indeed is oddly arranged; the entrance porch is on the west side instead of the north; at the end of it is the tiny türbe of the founder. One enters the mosque by a door at the north-west corner and finds oneself in a small square room, originally covered with a wooden dome, now reconstructed in concrete; apart from its pleasant proportions there is nothing specially noteworthy about the interior. The founder, Silâhi Mehmet Bey, was an official of Fatih Mehmet and his mosque appears to have been built at the very beginning of the sixteenth century.

### 4.12 Çardaklı Hamam

On the Marmara shore of the First Hill there is a ruinous and disaffected bath of impressive proportions known as Çardaklı Hamam. An inscription shows that it was built in 1503 by an unknown kapıağası, or chief white eunuch, under Beyazıt II. The bath is close to the former church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, built by Justinian a few years before Haghia Sophia, and, according to an inscription, converted into a

*Figure 24: Çardaklı Hamam  
(Anthony E. Baker).*





*Figure 25: Bali Pasha Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

mosque in 1503 by the Hüseyin Ağa, who was kapiğası under Beyazıt II. Thus one might conclude that Hüseyin Ağa was the kapiğası who built Çardaklı Hamam. (The side street next to the hamam is still called Kapiğası Sokağı, the Street of the Chief White Eunuch.)

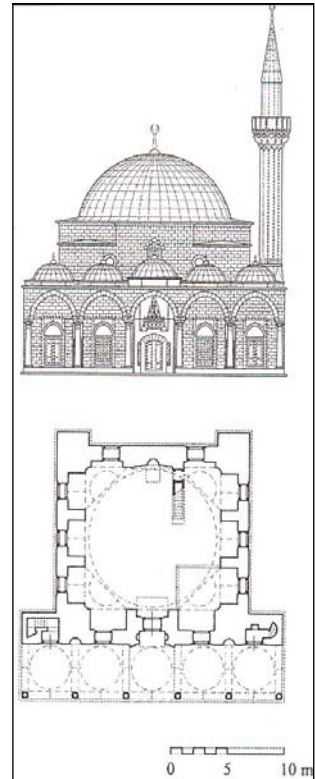
#### 4.13 Bali Pasha Camii

Bali Pasha Camii is on the Fourth Hill south-west of Fatih Camii. An inscription over the portal records that the mosque was built in A. H. 910 (1504) by Huma Hatun, daughter of Beyazıt II, in memory of her husband Bali Pasha, who died in 1495. Since this mosque appears in the *Tezkere*, it would appear that Sinan rebuilt Bali Pasha Camii, though whether on its original plan or a new one it is impossible to say. The mosque originally had a porch of five bays, which was destroyed by the great earthquake in 1894. The fluted minaret, which may have been re-erected by Sinan, is at the north-west corner of the building.

The plan is of the simplest type, a square prayer-room covered by a hemispherical dome. The dome arches to north, east and west are very deep, being almost barrel-vaults. Thus room is left, on the east and west, for shallow bays with galleries above.

#### 4.14 Iskender Pasha Camii

Iskender Pasha Camii is on the Fourth Hill 400 metres east of Bali Pasha Camii. The deed of foundation is dated 1505, but the identity of the founder is uncertain; he is thought to have been the Iskender Pasha who was a vezir of Beyazıt II and governor of Bosnia. The mosque has many characteristics in common with Bali Pasha Camii. It is a simple but dignified building with a blind



*Figure 26: Bali Pasha Camii,  
elevation and plan (from Necipoğlu).*



*Figure 27: Iskender Pasha Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



dome on pendentives resting on the walls; the three small domes of the porch are supported on ancient columns with rather worn Byzantine capitals. The şerefe of the minaret, which rises from the north-west side of the building, has an elaborate stalactited corbel, with the curious decoration on its top probably coming from an eighteenth-century restoration.

### 4.15 Hacı Hasan Mescidi

Hacı Hasan Mescidi, a tiny mosque with a quaint and pretty minaret, is on the slope of the Third Hill leading down to the Golden Horn. It is known locally as Eğri Minare Camii, the Mosque with the Crooked Minaret, from its most unusual minaret. The minaret has a stone base at the top of which is a curious rope-like moulding; the shaft is of brick and stone arranged to form a criss-cross or chequerboard design, unique in Istanbul. The şerefe has an elaborate stalactite corbel and a fine balustrade; but it seems a little too big in scale for the minaret. The mosque itself is rectangular, built of squared stone and with a wooden roof; in its present condition it is without interest. The founder was the Kazasker (Judge) Hacı Hasanzade Mehmet Efendi, who died in 1505; the building therefore must belong to about this date.

### 4.16 Küçük Mustafa Pasha Hamamı

The ancient bath known as Küçük Mustafa Pasha Hamamı is near the shore of the Golden Horn below the Fourth Hill. This is one of the oldest and grandest hamams in the city, founded before 1512 by Koca Mustafa Pasha, grand vezir under Beyazıt II. Its plan and the incredibly varied and intricate structure of its domes would entirely bear out this early date. It was still in use up until recent years, and is now undergoing restoration.



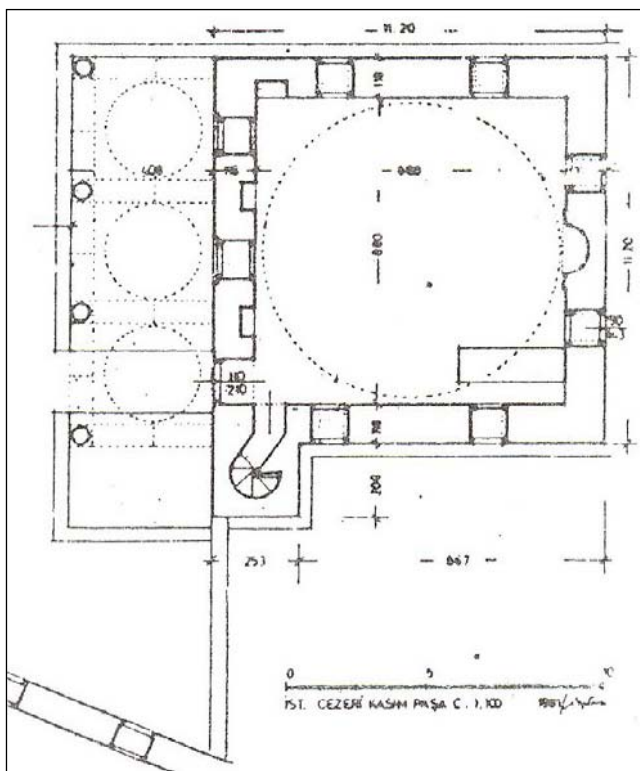
The camekân of the hamam, about 14.5 metres square, is among the largest in the city, with a pretty marble basin in the centre. The soğukluk, as so often, is merely carved out of the hararet, consisting of its right-hand cubicle and the bottom arm of the cross. The hararet itself is very splendid; the central dome has a deep cornice of elaborately carved stalactites; each of the three remaining cross-arms is covered with a vault of utterly different structure, the prettiest being perhaps that on the right, which has a semidome in the form of a deeply ribbed shell. The two corner cubicles at the back have domes supported on a cornice of juxtaposed triangles, while the third cubicle has a very beautiful opus sectile pavement in a variety of brilliant coloured marbles.

### 4.17 Cezeri Kasım Pasha Camii

The little mosque known as Cezeri Kasım Pasha Camii is on the shore of the Golden Horn in Eyüp. According to the *Hadikat-ül*



*Figure 28: Cezeri Kasım Pasha Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 29: Cezeri Kasım Pasha Camii, plan (from Aslanapa).*

*Cevami*, an account of all mosques extant in İstanbul around 1780, the mosque was erected in 1513 by Cezeri Kasım Pasha, who was a vezir under both Selim I and Süleyman the Magnificent.

Built of brick and stone, the mosque consists of a square room covered by a dome on long pendentives and preceded by a porch of three bays, the small domes of which are supported on four handsome ancient columns of red Syenitic marble. Oddly enough, the entrance is not in the centre but under the western bay. The minaret has been broken off above the şerefe, but the balcony itself is supported by a pretty corbel in an unusual zigzag design. Although very simple and unpretentious, the mosque is attractive, its proportions are good and its details fine. The mihrab has eighteenth-century tiles of dark blue with red and white, and next to the mimber is an interesting faience panel showing the Kaaba at Mecca, dated A. H. 138 (1726) and signed 'Mehmet son of Osman of Iznik.' This is a very fine panel, its general colour a soft green and with much interesting detail including several large tents in the background. This is one of the earliest products of the kilns of Tekfur Saray, the Byzantine palace built into Theodosian Walls on the Sixth Hill, which was converted into a pottery works early in the seventeenth century.

#### 4.18 Kovacılar Mescidi

The ancient little mosque known as Kovacılar Mescidi is on the Third Hill north-west of Beyazıt Square. The mosque was built in 1514 by a certain Revani Şuccağ Efendi, who was *Sürre Emini*, or official escort of the annual embassy to Mecca. The mosque was in ruins, but in the late 1960s it was restored, a little too much perhaps. It is a small square building of brick and stone, of no great interest, but it has a pretty minaret.

#### 4.19 Ahi Çelebi Cami

The ancient mosque of Ahi Çelebi stands on the shore of the Golden Horn some 300 metres upstream from the Galata Bridge. The mosque was founded at an uncertain date by Ahi Çelebi ibni Kemal, chief physician of the hospital at Fatih Camii, who died in 1523 while returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca. The building, which stood outside the Byzantine sea-walls along the Golden Horn, was badly damaged by seawater which flooded and undermined it. It was restored by Sinan at some undetermined date, and subsequent restorations have been carried out from time to time, the most recent in the past decade.

As a result, it is not possible to distinguish which part of the fabric belongs to one period and what to another. But the effect of



*Figure 30: Ahi Çelebi Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

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subsidence can clearly be seen, for instance, in the astonishingly low and cave-like *son cemaat yeri* (in this case an enclosed narthex or vestibule), the floor of which has clearly been raised to escape the infiltration of water, and in the extreme twisting of the iron tie-beams between the arches of the mosque itself. The *son cemaat yeri* in any case is most unusual, nay unique; two enormous squat piers in the middle of the room, together with no less than ten respond piers projecting from the walls, support six small domes or domical vaults above. The general plan of this area is very similar in effect to that of the multi-domed type of mosque, particularly Zincirli Kuyu Camii. One wonders whether the original Ahi Çelebi Camii may not have consisted of just this and no more: in size it would have been equal to Zincirli Kuyu Camii and very close to it in date, i. e., around 1500. It seems in any case extremely unlikely that this curious vestibule can be due to Sinan or any later architect. In what is now the mosque we find the same squat piers, but from them spring high-pointed arches which support a large central dome; this might possibly be by Sinan, at least in part. Behind the piers of the dome arches to east and west is a narrow aisle roofed by a quadrant vault (i.e., half a barrel vault) leaning against the arches like a continuous buttress on each side. The whole effect is very odd, and must surely be due to a series of restorations with the object of strengthening and shoring up a building whose foundations were unsure.

Ahi Çelebi Camii is of particular historic interest because of its association with Evliya Çelebi, whose *Seyahatname*, or *Book of Travels*, is a gold mine of detailed and colorful information about life in Istanbul in the mid-seventeenth century. One night in the month of Ramazan in 1631, when Evliya was twenty years old, he fell asleep in his father's house next to Sağrıcılar Camii, and then in his dream he found himself in Ahi Çelebi Camii. While praying there, in his dream, he was astonished to see the mosque fill up with what he describes as 'a refulgent crowd of saints and martyrs,' followed by the Prophet Muhammed, accompanied by Hasan and Hüseyin. One of the company presented Evliya to the Prophet with the words, 'Thy loving and faithful servant Evliya entreats thy intercession.' Evliya then describes his meeting with the Prophet:

I kissed his hand, pouring forth tears, and instead of crying *shifa'at* (intercession), I said, from my confusion, '*siyabat*' (travelling) O apostle of God! The prophet smiled, and said '*Shifa'at* and *siyabat* be granted to thee, with health and peace! He then repeated the *fatihah*, in which he was followed by the whole assembly, and I afterwards went round, kissed the hands and received the blessings of each. Their hands were perfumed with musk, ambergris, spikenard, sweet basil, violets and carnations; but that of the Prophet himself smelt of nothing but saffron and roses, felt when touched as if it had no bones, and was as soft as cotton.<sup>6</sup>

Then, in the epilogue to this wondrous tale, Evliya tells of how he learned the true meaning of his dream, which would lead him to write the *Seyahatname*:

When I awoke I was in great doubt whether what I had seen was a dream or reality, and I enjoyed for some time the beatific contemplations which filled my soul. Having afterwards performed my ablutions and offered up the morning prayer, I crossed over from Istanbul to the suburb of Kasım Pasha and consulted the interpreter of dreams, Ibrahim Efendi, about my dream. From him I received the comfortable news that I would become a great traveller, and after making my way through the world, by the intercession of the Prophet, would close my career by being admitted to Paradise. I then retired to my humble abode, applied myself to the study of history, and began a description of my birthplace, Istanbul, that envy of kings, the celestial haven and stronghold of Macedonia.<sup>7</sup>

### References

(Please refer to the Bibliography at the end of the book)

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2. Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, p. 88
3. Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 189–93
4. Pierre Gilles, (Petrus Gyllius), *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, translated by John Ball, London, 1729; reprinted with new introduction and bibliography by Ronald G. Musto, New York, Ithaca Press, 1988, p. 145
5. Hilary Sumner-Boyd, *The Seven Hills of Istanbul: A Study of the Byzantine and Turkish Monuments of the City*, p. 612
6. Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels*, vol. I, part I, pp. 3–4
7. Ibid., vol. 1, part 1, pp. 4–5

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## CHAPTER VII

# Süleyman the Magnificent and Sinan, the Early Buildings

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The Ottoman Empire reached its peak during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–65), who used much of the wealth from his vast realm to adorn Istanbul with splendid mosques and other buildings, most of which were designed and built by the architect Sinan. According to Mustafa Sa'i, during Sinan's career in the janissaries he served under Süleman in five campaigns: Belgrade (1521), Rhodes (1522), Mohacz (1526), Baghdad (1534), Puglia and Corfu (1537). Since he had trained as a military engineer, he would have worked on the construction of roads, bridges, encampments and fortifications, and would have had the opportunity to examine architectural monuments both in the East and the West. Soon after the campaign in 1537 Sinan was appointed Chief of the Imperial Architects, a post he was to hold until his death fifty years later, serving Süleyman and his two successors, Selim II and Murat III, erecting buildings not only for the sultans but for the great men and women of the Ottoman Empire. Not all of the buildings erected in Istanbul during the reigns of Süleyman and his two successors were by Sinan, the exceptions including a number of fine mosques and other pious foundations, as well as the great palace of Ibrahim Pasha on the Hippodrome.

## 2 IBRAHIM PASHA SARAYI

### 2.1 History

The enormous palace known as Ibrahim Pasha Sarayı stands directly opposite the entrance to the Mosque of Sultan Ahmet I, the park between them laid out on the site of the ancient Hippodrome. The palace is believed to have been built by Süleyman at the beginning of his reign in 1520, apparently replacing an earlier wooden structure. In 1524 the palace was acquired by Ibrahim Pasha, a Greek convert to Islam who had been appointed as grand vezir the previous year, when he married Süleyman's sister Hatice. Ibrahim served as grand vezir until 1536,



*Figure 1: Ibrahim Pasha Sarayı  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

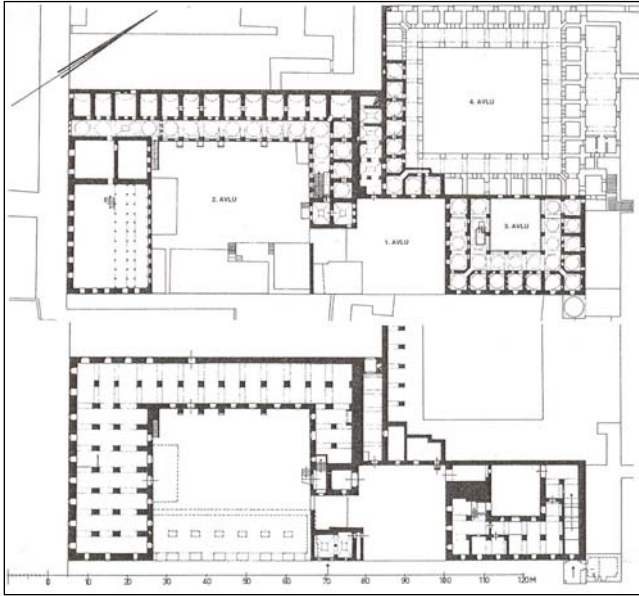
when he was executed by Süleyman, who had been convinced by his wife Roxelana that the grand vezir, who had always been his favourite, was plotting against him.

Ibrahim Pasha Sarayı is the largest palace ever built by the Ottomans, far greater in size than any of the buildings in Topkapı Sarayı. The great hall that looks out over the Hippodrome was in Ibrahim's time the office of the grand vezir, and afterwards it was probably the site of the High Court of Justice. Later the palace seems to have served as a barracks for janissaries, part of it used as a prison. By the beginning of the twentieth century the palace was an abandoned ruin, and in 1937 its north-eastern wing was demolished to make room for the new building of the law-courts, the Adliye Sarayı. Restoration of the palace began in 1965, and today it houses the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, which was formerly at the Süleymaniye imaret.

## 2.2 Plan and structure

The part of the palace that houses the museum is its south-east wing, which is arrayed in two storeys, around three sides of a courtyard, with a belvedere on the side overlooking the Hippodrome. The other part of the palace, to the right as one faces it, includes the smaller south-eastern wing, fronting on the Hippodrome, and the surviving part of the north-eastern wing.





*Figure 2: Ibrahim Pasha Sarayı, plan (from Müller-Wiener).*

Most of the museum is in the upper floor above the huge vaults of the substructure. The great hall and its pair of anterooms is on the left side of the courtyard, while the other two sides consist of a series of cells opening off a long L-shaped corridor, those on the long arm of the L barrel-vaulted and the others domed. The lower level of the palace consists of a series of splendid vaults, supported by a double row of piers under the great hall and its anterooms, and by a single row under the other two sides, with open stairways between the two levels on either side of the court.

### 2.3 The Museum of Turkish and Islamic art

The main collections in the museum include rare and beautiful works from all eras of the Turkish and Islamic world, including objects from the Umayyid, Abbasid, Mamluk, Seljuk, Beylik and Ottoman periods, ranging in date from the seventh century to the nineteenth. The collections include carpets, manuscripts, calligraphy, miniatures, woodwork, stonework, ceramics, glassware, and metalwork, including astrolabes and devices for determining the kible, the direction of Mecca. The rarest and most precious objects are displayed in the great hall and its anterooms, including examples of the carpets depicted by Holbein and other western painters, huge silver candlesticks and Kuran holders, and other priceless objects that once belonged to the sultans.

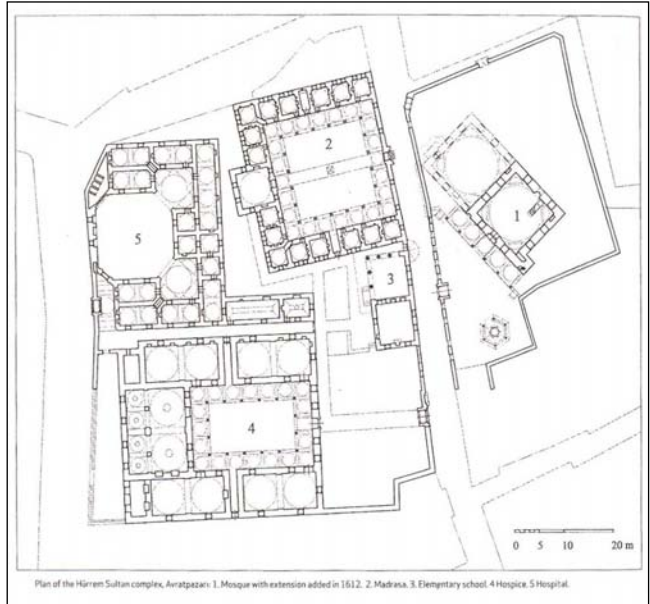
The substructure under the great hall houses the museum's ethnological collection. The largest and most interesting part of

this collection consists of objects belonging to the Yürük, the semi-nomadic Turcoman people of Anatolia, whose old way of life is just now coming to an end, as they are being settled in new villages rather than in the temporary encampments of black goat-hair tents in which they lived since the night of time. This was the pastoral world from which the Ottoman Turks emerged at the end of the thirteenth century, to crate a vast empire that lasted until 1923.

### 3 HASEKI HÜRREM CAMII

#### 3.1 History

The first monumental mosque complex built in Istanbul by Sinan was Haseki Hürrem Camii, which is on the lower slope of the Seventh Hill near the shore of the Marmara. Sinan built this complex for Süleyman's wife Roxelana, known in Turkish as Haseki Hürrem. The Haseki Hürrem complex included, beside the mosque, a medrese, a primary school, an imaret and a hospital. According to Aptullah Kuran, the complex originally consisted of the mosque, the medrese and the primary school, which were erected in 1538–9; the imaret was built in 1548–9, while the hospital was begun in 1550 and completed in 1558, the year that Roxelana died. Kuran also concludes that the hospital was built by Sinan for Süleyman himself, who, he says, commissioned one of



*Figure 3: Külliye of Haseki Hürrem (from Necipoğlu).*

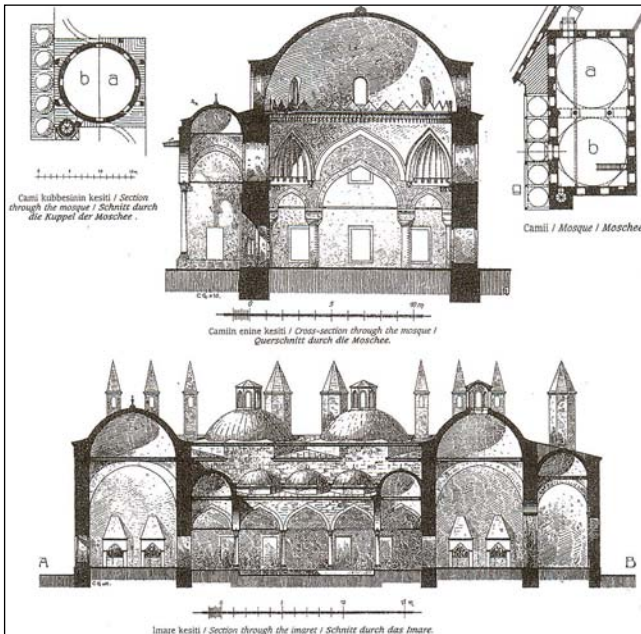


*Figure 4: Haseki Hürrem Camii, (Anthony E. Baker).*

Sinan's assistants to build the imaret, since his Chief Architect was busy on other projects.<sup>1</sup>

### 3.2 The mosque

Given the size and splendour of the foundation, the mosque itself is disappointing. Originally it consisted of a small square room covered by a dome on stalactited pendentives, preceded by a rather pretentious porch of five bays which overlapped the building at



*Figure 5: Plan and sections of Haseki Hürrem Camii, section of the imaret (from Gurlitt).*

both ends. Originally it may perhaps have had a certain elegance of proportion and detail. But in 1612 a second identical room was added on the east, the east wall being removed and a great arch supported on two columns taking its place. The mihrab was then moved to the middle of the now extended south wall, where it stands squeezed behind one of the columns. The result is distinctly unpleasing.

### 3.3 The medrese

The medrese is directly across the street from the mosque. It is of the usual type: a porticoed courtyard surrounded by the students' cubicles and the dersane; apart from its truly imperial size, it is singularly well proportioned and excellent in detail. Its twenty column are of granite, Proconnesian marble and verd antique; their lozenge capitals are decorated with small rosettes and medallions of various elegant designs and here and there with a sort of snaky garland motif that is apparently unique. Also unique are the two pairs of lotus flower capitals, their leaves spreading out at the top to support a sort of abacus; though somewhat soft and featureless, they make a not unattractive variation from the almost equally characterless lozenge. Two carved hemispherical bosses in the spandrels of the arcade call attention to the dersane, a monumental square room with a dome. The great charm of this courtyard must have been even greater when the faience panels with inscriptions were still in place in the lunettes of the windows; during the years when the building was abandoned and dilapidated they were removed to the Topkapı Sarayı Museum.

### 3.4 The primary school

Next to the medrese to the west along the street is the large and very oddly shaped sibyan mektebi, or primary school, which is in two storeys covered by a wooden roof with wide projecting eaves. The building comprises a classroom with an anteroom to its east; two sides of the latter are in the form of arcades of granite columns with lotus flower capitals. On the street side the building is faced with finely cut ashlar, while on the other side it is built of rough cut stone.

### 3.5 The hospital

Behind the medrese is the darüşşifa, or hospital, which is entered from the street behind the külliye to the north. It is a building of most unusual form, built around an octagonal courtyard without a columned portico. At the back, the two large corner rooms, whose

great domes have stalactited pendentives coming far down the walls. The walls originally opened to the courtyard through huge arches, now glazed in; with these open rooms or eyvans all the other wards and chambers of the hospital communicated. Opposite the eyvans on one side is the entrance portal, approached through an irregular vestibule, like that so often found in Persian mosques; on the other the lavatories, also irregular in shape; the eighth side of the courtyard forms the façade on the street with grilled windows. This interesting building has been well restored and is once again in use as a hospital.

### 3.6 The imaret

The imaret is south of the hospital and is entered from the side street that borders that side of the complex; originally the entrance was at the south side at the end of a walkway from the main avenue. This leads into a porticoed courtyard, with the kitchens on the north side and two large halls on either side, each covered by a pair of domes. The kitchens comprise two enormous domed chambers with four smaller ones beside them to the north, all of them with octagonal chimneys protruding from their domes. The four halls on either side of the courtyard were storerooms and dining-halls, except for the one on the north-west, which housed the bakery.

The imaret was still serving as a public kitchen up until the early 1970s, one of the last in the city that continued to perform its original function. Here every day between eleven and twelve in the morning food was distributed to some 500 poor people according to a list authorized by the administration of the pious foundation which financed the *largesse*. Originally this imaret, like most of those of the great Ottoman foundations, served

*Figure 6: Imaret of Haseki Hürrem (Anthony E. Baker).*



## Süleyman the Magnificent and Sinan, the Early Buildings

two meals a day, and in addition to the poor it catered to the students and teachers of the medrese and the staff and patients of the hospital.

### 4 ŞEHZADE CAMII

#### 4.1 History

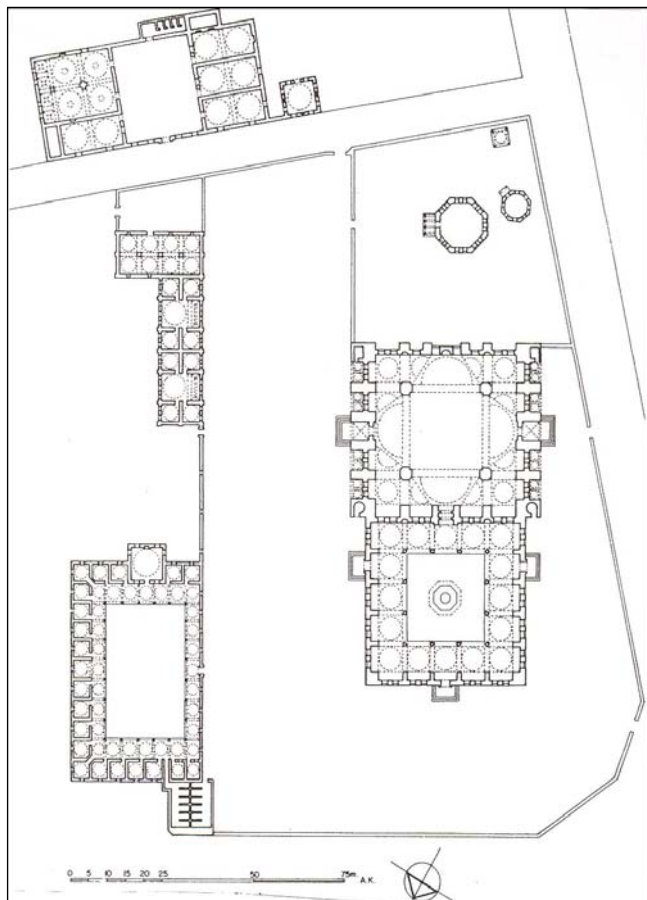
The magnificent complex of Şehzade Camii, the Mosque of the Prince, is one of the principal monuments on the Third Hill. The complex is named for Prince Mehmet, Süleyman's eldest son, who died of smallpox in 1543, when he was only twenty-one years old. Süleyman was heartbroken at the death of his beloved son, and he sat beside Mehmet's body for three days before he would permit his remains to be buried. When Süleyman recovered from his grief he decided to erect a great mosque complex dedicated to the memory of Şehzade Mehmet. Sinan was commissioned to design and build the külliye, which he began in 1544 and completed in 1548. The complex is surrounded by an outer precinct wall that encloses the mosque and the other institutions of the külliye, which includes a medrese, an imaret, a primary school a tabhane, or hostel, and the türbe of Prince Mehmet, around which several other tombs were later built. Sinan himself called Şehzade Camii his 'apprentice work,'

*Figure 7: Şehzade Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*





*Figure 8: Şebzade Camii, from the courtyard (Anthony E. Baker).*



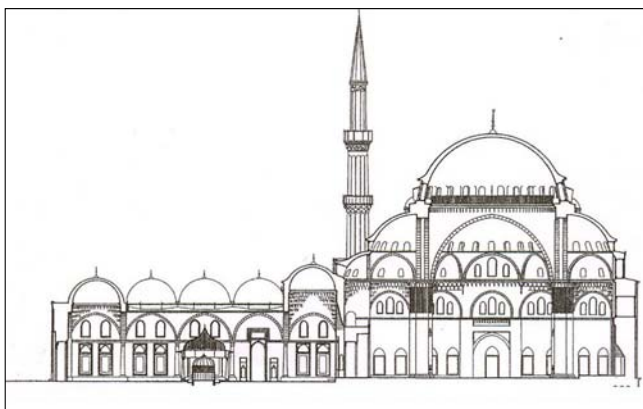
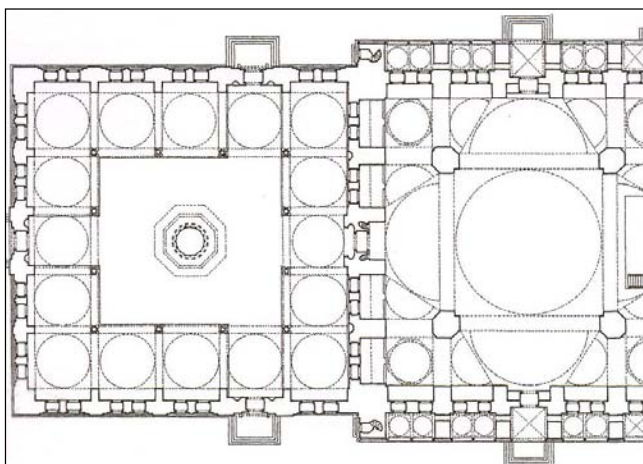
*Figure 9: Şebzade Camii complex, plan (from Kuran).*



but it was the work of an apprentice of genius, his first imperial mosque on a truly monumental stage.

### 4.2 The mosque

Şehzade Camii is preceded by a handsome courtyard whose area is equal to that of the mosque itself, with the two minarets rising from the inner corners where it joins the building. The courtyard is bordered by a portico with five domed bays of equal height, five on each side, counting those on the corners twice, the voussoirs of the arches in alternating pink and white arches. At the centre of the court there is an octagonal şadırvan which, according to Evliya Çelebi, was a gift of Murat IV. The two minarets are exceptionally beautiful: notice the elaborate geometrical sculpture in low relief, the intricate traceries of their şerefes, and the use of occasional terra-cotta inlay. The cluster of



*Figure 10: Şehzade Camii, plan and section (from Kuran).*



domes and semidomes, many of them with fretted cornices and bold ribbing, crowns the building in an arrangement of repetition and contrast that is nowhere surpassed. It was in this mosque that Sinan first adopted the brilliant expedient of placing colonnaded galleries along the entire length of the east and west façades in order to conceal the buttresses. This is certainly one of the very finest exteriors that Sinan ever created; one wonders why he later abandoned, or at least greatly restrained, these decorative effects.

Sinan, wishing from the very first to centralize the plan of the mosque, adopted the expedient of extending the area of the prayer room not by two semidomes along the main axis, as the architects of Hagia Sophia had done, but by four, adding a pair along the transverse axis as well. Although this is the most obvious and logical way of both increasing the space and of centralizing the plan, the identical symmetry along both axes has a repetitive effect that tends toward dullness. Furthermore, the four great piers that support the dome are stranded and isolated in the midst of the vast space and their inevitably large size is unduly emphasized. These drawbacks were obvious to Sinan once he had tried the experiment, and he never repeated it. The vast and empty space of the prayer room is very unusual among the imperial mosques of Istanbul; it has not a single column, nor are there any galleries. Sinan succeeded in minimizing the apparent size of the great piers by making them very irregular in shape. The general effect of the interior is of an austere simplicity that is not without charm.

### 4.3 The Şehzade türbes: General

Behind the mosque is the usual walled graveyard garden. The türbes in the garden are of sufficiently different dates so that their tile decoration covers the whole span of the great age of the Iznik kilns, together with a few of those from Tekfursaray. Thus the Şehzade türbes constitute a veritable museum of the two best periods of Turkish tiles, the first from the time of the Conqueror until about 1555, the second and greatest from 1555 to 1620.

### 4.4 Türbe of Şehzade Mehmet

The largest and grandest türbe in the garden is that of the Şehzade Mehmet himself, built by Sinan. It is octagonal, the faces separated by slender engaged columns; the stonework is polychrome, panels of verd antique with inscriptions inset here and there in the façades, while the window frames and arches are picked out in terra-cotta. The dome, which is double, carried on a fluted double drum, is itself fluted. The small entrance portal has a fine pavement of opus sectile. It is a very handsome building in the decorated style of the mosque itself.



*Figure 11: Tübbe of Şehzade Mehmet (Anthony E. Baker).*

The inscription in Persian verse over the entrance, which gives the date of the prince's death, A. H. 950 (1543), suggests that the interior is like the garden of paradise; it is indeed – all apple green and lemon yellow – for it is sheathed in tiles from the floor to the cornice of the dome. These are almost the last and the most triumphant flowering of the middle period of Iznik tiles, done in the *cuerda seca* technique. Tiles in this technique and in these colours are extremely rare; they were first manufactured at Iznik in 1514 when Selim I brought back a group of Persian and Armenian craftsmen from his conquest of Tabriz, and the last known examples date from 1555, decorating the lunettes of the windows of Kara Ahmet Pasha Camii on the Seventh Hill. Other examples are in the mosque and türbe of Yavuz Selim himself, here and there in Topkapı Sarayı, and one panel from the medrese of Haseki Hürrem now in the Saray and dated 1539. And that is about all. Thus the

türbe of Şehzade Mehmet contains far and away the most beautiful and extensive collection of tiles of this lovely type.

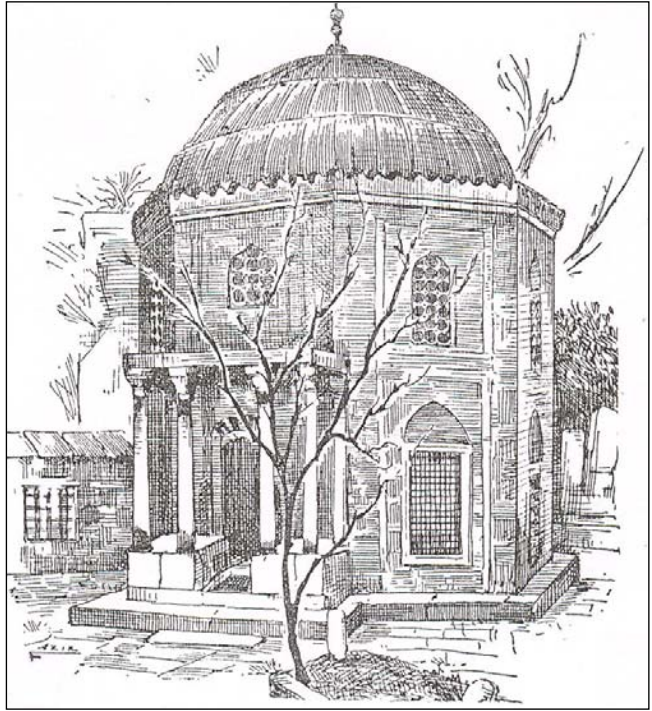
The entire interior was clearly designed as a whole. Panels of floral design separate the lower tiers of windows; in the lunettes above them are inscriptions framed in arch-shaped borders; in the spandrels between these appears an occasional boss in faience. Above, a continuous series of large panels, each spanning two windows, contains a long inscription. Then comes the upper tier of windows framed in floral panels with a lovely medallion between each pair of windows. The ground is in general apple green, sometimes dark blue; on this are designs of leaves and flowers in lemon yellow, turquoise, dark blue, white, and a curious unfired pinkish-mauve; the colours are separated by the thin, almost black line of the *cuerda seca*. The whole effect is lyrically beautiful, truly like a garden of paradise. These tiles are perhaps more beautiful than the later, more famous, and much more common Iznik tiles characterised by the brilliant tomato red. At all events, this türbe is a masterpiece unrivalled of its kind, and not only for its ceramics.

The upper row of windows contains some of the most perfect of Turkish stained glass in rich and brilliant colours. Some of them are, alas, broken and damaged, but several remain entire; only at the Süleymaniye is there so extensive and brilliant a display of Turkish stained glass of the sixteenth century. The dome, supported on a deep cornice of stalactites with a frieze of trefels, preserves its original arabesque painting: a great medallion in the crown with a circlet of leaf-like forms in rich brick-red from which a cascade of similar medallions and lozenges rain down nearly to the cornice. One might venture the opinion that this is the finest painted dome in the city.

Still another unique feature of the türbe is the very curious baldachino over the Şehzade's cenotaph; it is of dark walnut wood, supported on four legs beautifully inlaid with ivory in a style that seems almost Indian. Above this is a great sort of open-work box of interlacing polygons, made out of the same wood without inlay. It is possible that this box-like structure may be intended to represent the Kaaba at Mecca, as if the prince had been buried in the most holy place on earth. On his left is buried his daughter Humuşah Sultan; on his right his crippled brother Prince Cihangir, who died in 1553 from love of his elder half-brother Mustafa, put to death by their father Süleyman.

### 4.5 Türbe of Rüstem Pasha

The türbe just behind the Şehzade's is that of Rüstem Pasha, who died in 1561; he was Süleyman's grand vezir and son-in-law, husband of the sultan's only daughter, Mihrimah Sultan. This türbe is also by

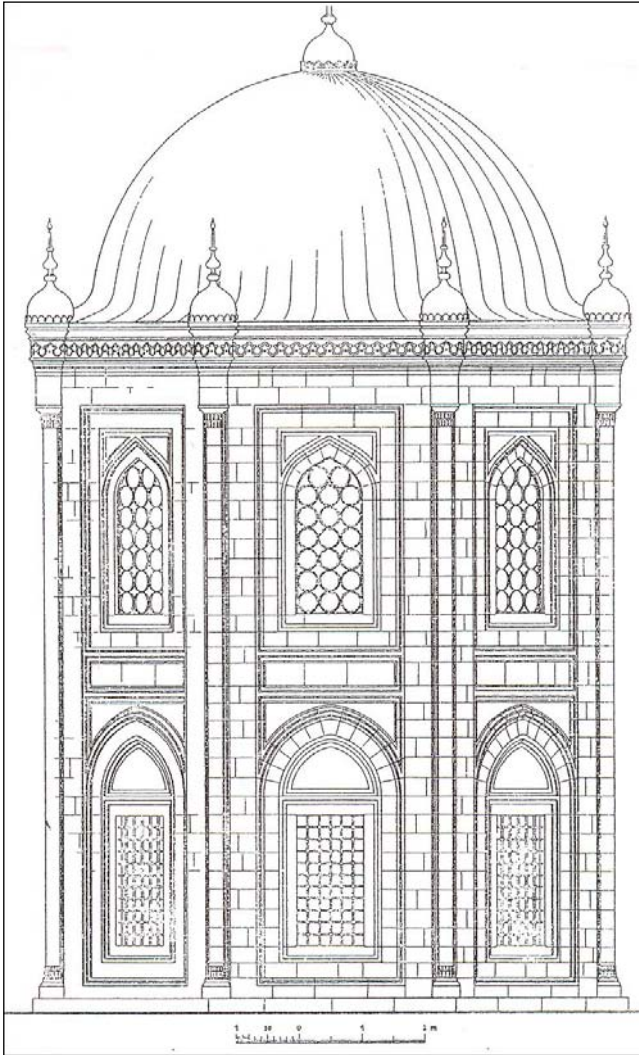


*Figure 12: Türbe of Rüstem Pasha  
(from Şehsuvaroğlu).*

Sinan, and it too is completely sheathed in tiles from floor to dome. But here everything is a little wrong. The building is too high for its diameter and too small to support the overwhelming quantity of tiles; and the tiles, though beautiful, are just too early to display the full perfection of the Armenian bole technique. Here the most gorgeous panels are those between the lower windows; vases with a deep blue mandorla of flowers rising out of them. Between the lower and upper windows is a continuous inscription - white on dark blue - and between the upper windows floral tiles without an overall pattern. The drawing and composition are firm and good and the colour - on a white ground, dark blue, turquoise, a little green, and red - are clear and vivid, though the red in many tiles is muddy or brownish. There is no doubt that this türbe suffers greatly by comparison with the Şehzade's and also with that of Ibrahim Pasha nearby.

#### 4.6 Türbe of Ibrahim Pasha

The türbe of Ibrahim Pasha is in the north-west corner of the graveyard, close to the mosque. Ibrahim Pasha, who died in 1601 was grand vezir and son-in-law of Murat III. His türbe was completed early in 1603 by Dalgıç Ahmet Ağa, who had been a colleague of Sinan and had succeeded Davut Ağa as Chief Architect in 1598.



*Figure 13: Türbe of Ibrahim Pasha, elevation (from Gurlitt).*

Ibrahim Pasha's türbe almost equals that of the Şehzade in splendour and perfection. It is octagonal and fairly plain on the exterior, though two marble panels on either side of the entrance portal, carved with floral and arabesque designs in low relief, are unusual and lovely. Inside it is another bosk of the paradisal garden, but with a very different colour scheme: white, intense blue, turquoise and scarlet. Here the walls to the top of the lower tier of windows are of marble with a surbase of flower tiles. Between the two rows of windows two continuous friezes of calligraphy, white on dark blue, are divided by a deep band of interlaced polygons in scarlet on a white ground. The effect is astonishing but beautiful, and there is

nothing else like it. The upper windows are divided by superb floral panels predominantly turquoise picked out in scarlet. All the tiles are absolutely perfect in technique, the Armenian bole standing out boldly in relief and displaying its scarlet colour at its most intense; notice the spots of it in the curlicues of the calligraphy, like liquid drops of blood.

This türbe has almost an *embarras de richesse*; between the lower windows are cupboards with carved wooden doors; open these and you will find the interiors also lined with tiles. These were evidently added later, for some of them seem to be from the Tekfur Saray kilns, but very good examples of the work. The two cupboards on either side of the door have tiles with an unusual Chinese cloud pattern; the others have the more ordinary flower designs. The dome too preserves its original painting, elaborate arabesques and flowers on a terra-cotta ground; it is rather heavier and more cluttered than that of the Şehzade, but far finer than any modern imitation. Ibrahim Pasha's cenotaph is the usual wooden box, but beyond it are two tiny tombs for his son and daughter, of gaily painted marble.

### 4.7 Türbe of Destai Mustafa Pasha

There are two other türbes in the garden, those of Hatice Sultan, daughter of Murat II, and of Fatma Sultan, daughter of the Şehzade Mehmet's daughter Humaşah, but these are unadorned. There is, however, one more remarkable türbe in the complex, just inside the main entrance to the precinct on the left. This is the türbe of Destari Mustafa Pasha, dated by its inscription to A. H. 1020 (1611). It has the unusual form of a rectangle, covered by a low central dome flanked at each end by a shallow cradle vault. The effect is very pretty. The walls between the windows are revetted with tiles, still of the best period; they are perhaps not quite so stunning as those of Ibrahim Pasha's türbe, but they contain a lot of Armenian bole at its most brilliant.

### 4.8 The medrese

The medrese of the Şehzade foundation is at the far side of the precinct, at the north-east corner. It is a handsome building of the usual form, with the student cells arrayed around three sides of a porticoed courtyard. There are no cells on the west side, facing the mosque, where the entryway is in the middle bay, with an open loggia opposite on the west side and the domed dersane in the middle of the south side. On the north side of the court a slype between two cells leads down to the lavatories. The medrese has been restored and serving much the same purpose as it did originally, housing university students.

## 4.9 The tabhane

The tabhane, or hostel, is in line with the medrese but farther south. This building is not in the *Tezkere* and therefore it is probably not by Sinan, though obviously contemporary with the rest of the complex or nearly so. It has no door into the mosque precinct but is entered from the other side. It is L-shaped, the bottom stroke of the L consisting of a long and wide hall, its eight domes in four pairs supported on three columns down its length; perpendicular to this is a block of eight cubicles with two spacious halls giving access to them. The tabhane is in good shape and now serves as a science laboratory of the Vefa Lisesi.

## 4.10 The mektep and imaret

Between the reservoir tank and the wall of the türbe garden, a gate in the south wall of the precinct leads out into the side street. Opposite, to the left, are the mektep and imaret of the complex. The tiny mektep is of the usual type: a square room covered by a dome. The imaret consists of a spacious courtyard, on either side of which there are three rooms each covered by two domes. The two interconnected rooms in the south-east corner served as the kitchen, with four conical chimneys on their east side, while the other rooms formed the refectory.

# 5 ISKELE CAMII

## 5.1 Introduction

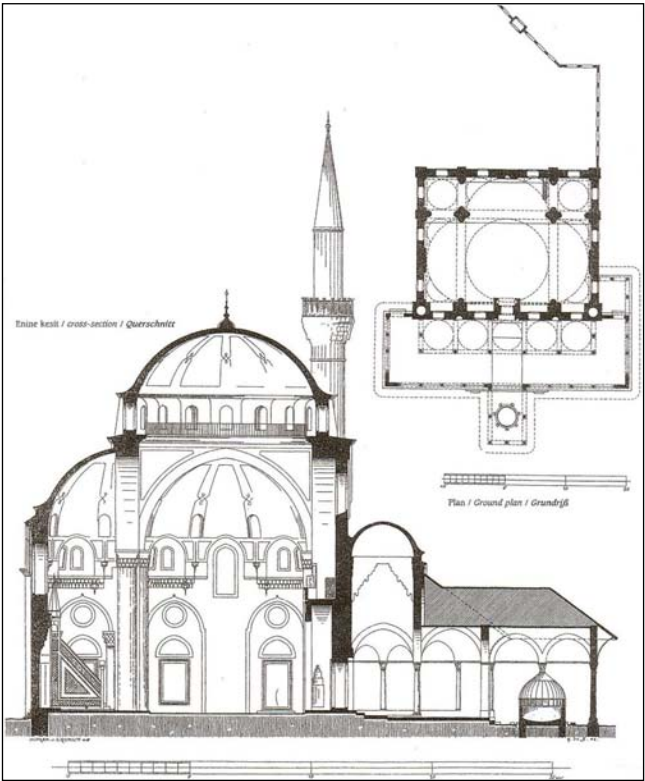
Sinan built two mosque complexes for Mihrimah Sultan, Süleyman's daughter, the first of them on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus in Üsküdar, the second on the Sixth Hill of the old city. Sinan completed the mosque in Üsküdar early in 1548 and the one on the Sixth Hill in 1565. The mosque in Üsküdar is called Iskele Camii, since it looks down on the iskele, or landing-stage, used by the ferries that steam up and down the Bosphorus, across to the old city, and out to the Princes' Isles in the Marmara. The whole area around the mosque and the iskele is filled-in land, a fact noted by Pierre Gilles, who saw the harbour there being filled in when Iskele Camii was being built.

I could expatiate lengthily from ancient authors on how this harbour was formerly much larger than now, but how it was filled in partly at the time of the destruction of Chalcedon, partly later from fear of the barbarians, and partly in our own age. For I myself have seen a part of it filled in to provide a site

*Figure 14: Iskele Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*

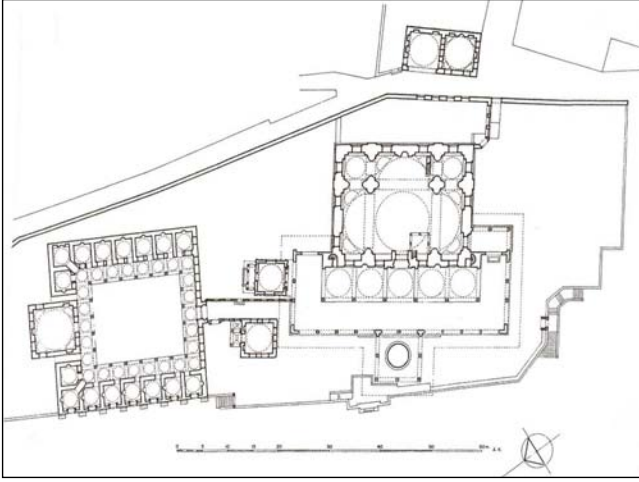


*Figure 15: Iskele Camii, plan and section (from Gurlitt).*



for the Mohametan temple and hospices which the daughter of King Süleyman has constructed: she has covered all its roofs with lead and adorned it with marble columns and porticoes, with spacious courtyards and with fountains.<sup>2</sup>





*Figure 16: Iskele Camii complex, plan (from Kuran).*

Mihrimah's külliye originally consisted of the mosque, a medrese, a primary school, and an imaret. The imaret has long since disappeared but the other buildings survive in excellent repair.

## 5.2 The mosque

The exterior of the mosque is very imposing because of its dominating position on a terrace high above the square, preceded by a great double porch, a curious projection of which covers a charming şadırvan. The mosque has a somewhat unusual form, for the central dome is supported not by two or four semidomes, but three, to the south, east and west, but not to the north. This give the mosque a trefoil form and produces a slightly truncated impression, as do those mosques with only one semidome, such as Sinan's Kılıç Ali Pasha Camii at Tophane on the European shore of the Bosphorus. Sinan's development seems to have been marked by a continual getting rid of semidomes: the Şehzade, a few years earlier than this, has four, the Süleymaniye, a few years later, has two; while in the Selimiye at Edirne, a quarter of a century later, there are none at all. He very wisely never repeated the form he has used here, for it is clearly unsatisfactory both logically and aesthetically. Thus it is odd to find that modern Turkish architects who imitate the classical style should select precisely this for a model, as in the new mosque at Şişli in İstanbul and others. There is much stained glass in Iskele Camii, mostly modern and bad; but there is one fine old window over the mihrab. The interior tends to be dark and gloomy, which is probably why Mihrimah insisted on floods of light when in 1562 she commissioned Sinan to built her mosque on the Sixth Hill.

### 5.3 The medrese

The medrese of the külliye is to the north on a lower level, so that one may look into its porticoed courtyard from the mosque terrace. It is a pretty building of the usual rectangular type. There are seven cells each on the north and south sides, with the dersane at the east end opposite the entryway. The building has been well restored and turned into a clinic, with the portico now glassed in, which has somewhat spoiled its classical appearance.

### 5.4 The primary school

A much better job of restoration has been done on the primary school, which is across the street to the south of the mosque, so that both its exterior and interior retain their classical appearance. It is an oddly shaped structure built on sharply rising ground, so that the schoolroom is supported on a widely-arched substructure and is entered farther up the hill from a porch which also has a very wide arch, now glazed in. The school is an attractive example of the two-unit mektep, consisting of two domed-square rooms, with the porch an eyvan and the classroom covered by a dome on a high octagonal drum with quarter-spheres at the corners.

### 5.5 The tombs

In the graveyard behind the mosque is the tomb of Sinan Pasha, chief admiral of the Ottoman navy, who was the brother of Rüstem Pasha, Mihrimah's husband. His tomb is in the form of a verd antique sarcophagus with white marble stones at the head and foot bearing Arabic inscriptions with a eulogy and verses from the Kuran.

Between the mosque and the medrese there are two türbes. The one to the south, which encroaches on the portico, is the türbe of the princess Kaya Esmahan, a daughter of Murat IV who died in 1652. The other one is the tomb of the grand vezir Ethem Pasha and his son Galip Bey, dated A. H. 1310 (1892–3).

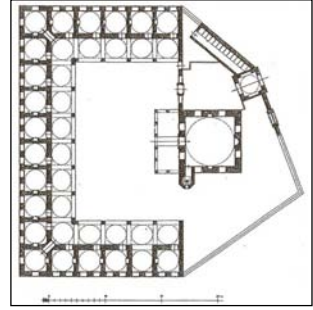
## 6 OTHER BUILDINGS OF THE EARLY CLASSICAL PERIOD

### 6.1 Medrese of Selim I

The medrese of Selim I is in the district of Yeni Bahçe on Vatan Caddesi, which runs along the valley of the Lycus River, canalized

beneath the avenue. According to the *Hadikat-ül Cevami*, the medrese was built by Selim I, and his son Süleyman had Sinan convert the dershane into a mosque in 1562, as recorded in an inscription on the minaret. However, the *Tezkeret-ül Ebniye* lists the medrese as a work of Sinan, so there is some uncertainty about its date of foundation. The medrese was restored in 1969 and the dershane no longer serves as a mosque.

The twenty cells of the students occupy three sides of the courtyard, while on the fourth stands the large and handsome lecture-hall. The original entrance to the medrese, through a small porch, is behind the dershane and at an odd angle to it, and the wall that encloses this whole side is most irregular in a way that is hard to account for. Nevertheless, the building is very attractive and once inside one does not notice its curious disymmetry.



*Figure 17: Medrese of Selim I, plan (from Gurlitt).*

### 6.2 Mektep of Zembelli Ali Baba

A cobbled lane leads up the eastern slope of the Third Hill from Atatürk Bulvarı, the boulevard that traverses the deep valley between the Second and Third Halls, and a short way along it comes to the mektep of Zembelli Ali Baba. This little primary school, a square room covered by a dome, was built by the Şeyh-ül İslam Ali bin Ahmet Efendi, better known as Zembelli Ali Baba. Ali Baba died in 1526, and so his mektep can be dated to some time prior to that year. Ali Baba is buried beneath a marble sarcophagus in the garden of his school, which has been well restored, a very pleasing example of the minor Ottoman architecture of the early sixteenth century.

### 6.3 Karabaş Mustafa Ağa Camii

Karabaş Mustafa Ağa Camii is across the side street from Tophane, the Ottoman cannon foundry that gives its name to the surrounding district on the lower European shore of the Bosphorus. This little mosque was founded by the chief black eunuch Karabaş Mustafa Ağa, who died in 1530. It is not otherwise interesting than as it is ancient and well exemplifies the simple rectangular plan with a hipped wooden roof. Long a ruin, it was rebuilt in 1962; the interior is without interest.

### 6.4 Defterdar Camii

Defterdar Camii is on the shore of the Golden Horn outside the ancient land walls in Eyüp. The mosque was built in 1541 for the lord high treasurer Mahmut Efendi, but it was pretty well reconstructed after the earthquake of 1766 and is of no interest.

*Figure 18: Karabaş Mustafa Ağa Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*



On the other hand, the founder's *türbe* in the garden behind the mosque is somewhat unusual. It is an open tomb: a dome on an octagonal drum is supported by arches resting on four columns; between the columns are carved marble balustrades and a carved portal. The soffits of the arches are scalloped or undulating in a way that some find pretty.

## 6.5 Üç Baş Mescidi

On the Fifth Hill there is a tiny old mosque with the curious name Üç Baş Mescidi, the Mescit of the Three Heads. Evliya Çelebi writes that the mescit received this odd name 'because it was built by a barber who shaved three heads for a single copper coin, and, notwithstanding, grew so rich that he was enabled to build this mosque, which is small but particularly sanctified.'<sup>3</sup> A more prosaic explanation is given in the *Hadikat-ül Cevami*, where it is recorded that the founder of the mescit, Nurettin Hamza ben Atallah, came from a village in Anatolia called Üç Baş. An inscription over the gate gives the date of foundation as A. H. 940 (1532–3). This is the earliest dated mosque by Sinan. The mosque has been greatly restored, all that remains of the original mescit are the minaret and the inscribed portal.

## 6.6 Dragman Camii

The small mosque complex known as Dragman Camii is on the main street that traverse the ridge between the Fifth and Sixth Hills. The mosque is a minor work of Sinan. Inscriptions show that the complex was founded in 1541 by Yunus Bey, the famous interpreter or dragoman (in Turkish *drağman*) of Süleyman the Magnificent, of whom Bassano de Zara writes that he was a Greek from Methoni and that he 'possessed the Turkish, Greek



*Figure 19: Üç Baş Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 20: Dragman Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*

and Italian languages to perfection.’<sup>4</sup> In collaboration with Alviso Gritti, bastard son of the Doge of Venice, he wrote in the Venetian dialect, a brief but very important account of the organization of the Ottoman government. He also seems to have served on at least two occasions as the representative of the grand vezir Ibrahim Pasha to the Venetian Republic.

Unfortunately the mosque was badly restored in the 1960s and has lost any interest it might have had. It was of the rectangular type covered by a wooden roof and preceded by a wooden porch, now hideously rebuilt in concrete. Originally the mosque was the centre of a small complex that included a medrese and a mektep, both presumably by Sinan, though only the medrese is mentioned separately in the *Tezkere*.

### 6.7 Aşık Pasha complex

On the slope of the Fourth Hill leading down to the Golden Horn there is a small complex in a walled garden, consisting of a mosque, a türbe and a tekke, or dervish lodge. The tekke was built around 1522 by Seyyidi-Velayet Efendi, who dedicated it to Aşık Pasha, a poet of the time of Orhan Gazi. The mosque, which is dated 1564, was also dedicated to Aşık Pasha by Şeyh Ahmet Efendi, a descendant of the poet. The grand türbe of Seyyidi-Velayet Efendi stands behind the mosque. Although not exactly planned as a complex, these buildings in their walled garden nevertheless have an attractive unity; a moderate amount of tactful restoration could make them one of the more charming of the minor classical groups.

### 6.8 Türbe of Barbarossa

The earliest mausoleum by Sinan is beside the highway in Beşiktaş, on the European shore of the lower Bosphorus. This is the türbe of the famous pirate Hayrettin Pasha, better known in the West as Barbarossa, who became the chief admiral of the Ottoman navy under Süleyman the Magnificent. An inscription over the door dates the building to A. H. 948 (1541–2), four to five years before the death of Barbarossa. The structure is octagonal, with two rows of windows. The upper row was in the 1960s filled with modern stained glass, not badly done but too pale in colour, and the dome has been rather well repainted with white arabesques on a rust-coloured ground. Three catafalques occupy the centre of the türbe, and in the little garden outside is a cluster of handsome marble sarcophagi.

In 1946, on the fourth centennial of Barbarossa's death, a statue was unveiled to his memory in the square facing his tomb. It is by far the best public statue in the city, a vivid and lively work by the sculptor Zühtü Müridoğlu. On the back are six verses by the celebrated poet Yahya Kemal (1884–1958), which may be translated thus:

Whence on the sea's horizon comes that roar?  
Can it be Barbarossa now returning  
From Tunis or Algiers or from the Isles?



*Figure 21: Türbe of Barbarossa  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

Coming from lands the rising Crescent lights:  
O blessed ships, from what seas are ye come?<sup>5</sup>

## 6.9 Çinili Hamam

Sinan also built a bath for Barbarossa on the Fourth Hill. This is the Çinili Hamam, or Tiled Bath, dated around 1545. During the late Ottoman era the bath was abandoned and fell into decay and ruin, but it has since been restored and reopened. It is a double bath, the men's and women's sections lying side by side and the two entrances, unusually, being in the same façade; the plans of the two parts are almost identical. In the centre of the great camekân – of which the modern balcony rather obscures the fine lines – is an elaborate and beautiful marble fountain with goldfish swimming

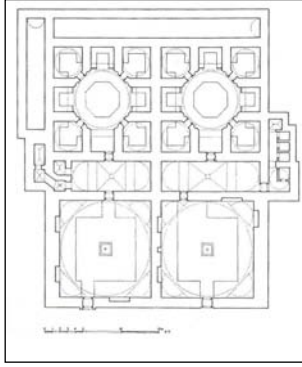


Figure 22: Çinili Hamam, plan (from Kuran).

in it. The narrow *soğukluk* with two little semidomes at each end leads to the cruciform *hararet*, where the open arms of the cross are covered with tiny domes, with the rooms in the corners each having a larger dome. The floors are paved in *opus sectile*, and here and there on the walls are small patches of the tiles from which the bath takes its name, the remainder having been stolen during the years when the hamam was abandoned. In the *camekân* fragments of a more elaborate wall revetment of tiles – but of a later period – may be seen.

### 6.10 Türbe of Hüsrev Pasha

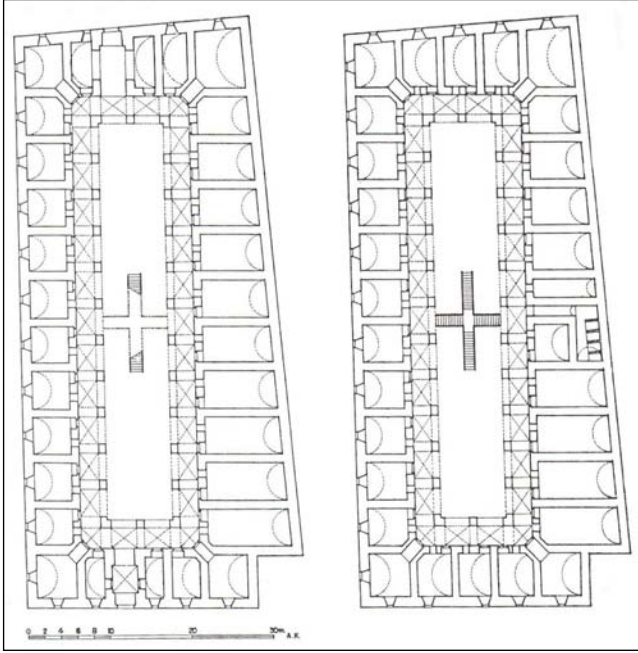
There is another early mausoleum by Sinan on the Fourth Hill. This is the türbe of Hüsrev Pasha, a grandson of Beyazıt II; it is dated by an inscription to A. H. 952 (1545–6). Hüsrev had been one of the leading generals at the battle of Mohacz in 1526, when Süleyman sealed the fate of Hungary in a battle that lasted less than two hours. Hüsrev Pasha governed Bosnia for many years with great pomp and luxury but also with severe justice. While governor of Syria he founded a mosque at Aleppo in 1536–7 which, other than the inconsequential Üç Baş Camii, is the earliest dated building of Sinan still in existence. While beylerbeyi of Rumelia and fourth vezir he fell into disgrace because of his complicity in a plot against the grand vezir Süleyman Pasha. Despairing because of his fall from power, he took his own life soon afterwards by literally starving himself to death, one of the very rare incidents of suicide among the Ottomans.

The türbe is a very handsome and elaborate structure, octagonal in form, the eight faces being separated from one another by slender columns which run up to the first cornice, elaborately carved with stalactites. The dome is set back a short distance and has another cornice of its own, also carved.

### 6.11 Han of Rüstem Pasha

The han of Rüstem Pasha is on the north shore of the Golden Horn in Galata. This was built by Sinan for the grand vezir Rüstem Pasha shortly before 1550. The date is fixed by Pierre Gilles, who says that it was built on the foundations of the Latin church of St. Michael, which still existed when he arrived in Istanbul in 1544, but had been pulled down before he left in 1550 to make way for the new han. A Corinthian capital from the church can still be seen to the left inside the entryway to the building. The han is in two storeys with a long and narrow courtyard, from the centre of which a staircase rises to the upper floor, in an arrangement as unique as it is picturesque. The lower arcade of the courtyard has





*Figure 23: Han of Rüstem Pasha, plan (from Kuran).*

round arches, while those of the gallery above are of the ogive type. The building is still being used for commercial purposes and is in a very dilapidated condition.

## 6.12 Medrese of Rüstem Pasha

Rüstem Pasha also built a medrese on the slope of the Second Hill leading down to the Golden Horn. This fine building was designed by Sinan and completed, according to its historic inscription, in A. H. 957 (1550–1). It has a unique plan for a medrese. The courtyard is octagonal, with a columned portico of 24 dome and a şadırvan; behind this the cells are also arranged in an octagonal plan, but the building is made into a square on the exterior by filling in the corners with auxiliary rooms, including baths and lavatories. One side of the lecture hall, a large domed room which projects from the square on the outside like a great apse.



*Figure 24: Medrese of Rüstem Pasha, plan (from Sumner-Boyd and Freely).*

## 6.13 Burmalı Camii

Burmalı Camii is just to the north of the Şehzade Camii complex on the Third Hill. This pretty little mosque, restored in the early 1970s, was built about 1550 by the kadı of Egypt Emin Nurettin Osman Efendi. Although of the very simplest kind – a square room



*Figure 25: Burmalı Cami (Anthony E. Baker).*

with a flat wooden ceiling – it has several peculiarities that give it a cachet all its own. Most noticeable is the the brick minaret with spiral ribs, from which the mosque gets its name (*burmalı* = spiral). This is unique in Istanbul and is a late survival of an older tradition, other examples of which are to be found in Anatolia at Amasya, Antalya and elsewhere. Then the porch, which is pitched, not domed, is supported by four columns with Byzantine Corinthian capitals. The reuse of ancient capitals also occurred in Bursa and among the Seljuks, but it is very rare indeed in Istanbul. (Bayan Cahide Tamer, the architect who so ably restored this mosque, told us that the capitals were so decayed and broken as to be unusable in the restoration, but she was able to find in the Archaeological Museum four others of the same type with which she replaced the originals.) Finally, the entrance portal is not in the middle but on the right hand side; this is usual in mosques whose porches are supported by three columns only, so as to prevent the door from

being blocked by the central column, but here there seems no reason for it. The interior has no special features.

### 6.14 Kürekçibaşı Camii

Kürekçibaşı Camii, the Mosque of the Chief Oarsman, is on the Seventh Hill some 300 metres inside the Theodosian Walls. This is an insignificant little mosque founded by the chief oarsman Ahmet Bey in the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent. It is of the rectangular type with a wooden roof. It once had a fine porch of which only the columns remain; they are Byzantine with crosses on the shafts and interesting Byzantine capitals, the only ones in a mosque in the city other than those in Burmalı Camii.

### References

*(Please refer to the Bibliography at the end of the book)*

1. Aptullah Kuran, *The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture*, p. 48
2. quoted by Hilary Sumner-Boyd, *The Seven Hills of Istanbul: A Study of the Byzantine and Turkish Monuments of the City*, pp. 700-01
3. Hilary Sumner-Boyd and John Freely, *Strolling Through Istanbul*, p. 251
4. Ibid., p. 255
5. Ibid., p. 430

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## CHAPTER VIII

# The Süleymaniye

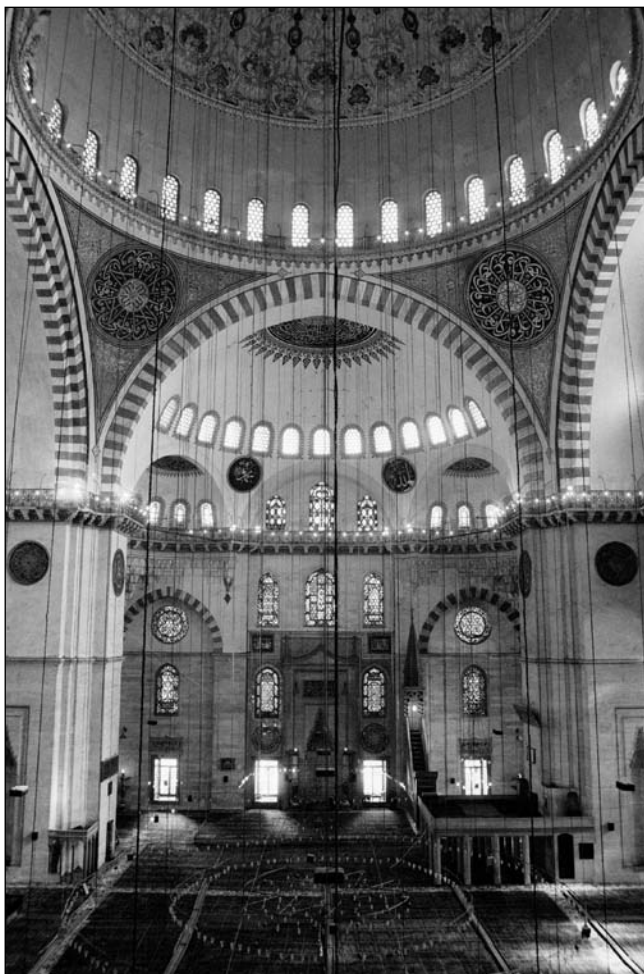
## 1 THE MOSQUE COMPLEX

### 1.1 Introduction

The Süleymaniye is the second largest of the imperial mosque complexes in the city, after Fatih Camii, but it is by far the most magnificent. It is a fitting monument to its founder, Süleyman the Magnificent, and a masterwork of the greatest of Ottoman architects, the incomparable Sinan. The mosque itself, the largest of Sinan's works, is perhaps inferior in perfection of design to his Selimiye at Edirne, but it is incontestably the most important Ottoman building in Istanbul. For four and a half centuries it has attracted the wonder and enthusiasm of all foreign travellers to the city. Evliya Çelebi describes the reaction of a group of European visitors, whom he calls Franks, to the Süleymaniye in his day:

*Figure 1: Süleymaniye Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*





*Figure 2: Interior of Süleymaniye Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*

The humble writer of these lines once himself saw ten Frank infidels, skillful in geometry and architecture, who, when the doorkeeper had changed their shoes for slippers and had introduced them into the mosque, laid their fingers on their mouths, and each bit his finger from astonishment when they saw the minarets; but when they beheld the dome they tossed up their hats and cried Maryah! Maryah! and on observing the four arches which support the dome ... they could not find terms to express their admiration, and the ten, each laying his finger on his mouth, remained a full hour looking with astonishment on these arches. Afterwards, on surveying the exterior, the court, its four minarets, six gates, its columns, arches, and cupolas, they again took off their hats and went round the mosque bareheaded, and each of the ten bit his fingers from astonishment, that being



*Figure 3: The Süleymaniye, with the Golden Horn in the background (Print by Bartlett).*

their manner of testifying the greatest amazement. I asked their interpreter how they liked it, and one of them who was able to give an answer said that nowhere was so much beauty, external and internal found to be united, and that in the whole of Frengistan there was not a single edifice to be compared to this. I then asked them what they thought of this mosque compared to Aya Sofya [Haghia Sophia]; they answered that Aya Sofya was a fine old building, larger than this and very strong and solid for its age, but that it could not in any manner vie with the elegance, beauty and perfection of this mosque.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.2 The külliye

The construction of the Süleymaniye began in 1550 and the mosque itself was completed in 1557, but it was some years later before all the buildings of the külliye were finished. The mosque stands in the centre of a vast outer courtyard, measuring 216 by 144 metres, surrounded on three sides by a wall with grilled windows. Directly behind the mosque are the two great tombs of Süleyman and Roxelana, and in the centre of the wall that encloses the graveyard garden to the south is the little darülkura. The main portal of the rectangular courtyard is on the longitudinal axis of the mosque to the north, with three other entryways on the west side. As Aptullah Kuran points out: 'This axis passes through the center line of the northern portal of the forecourt, the main portal, and the mihrab of the mosque; then, bisecting the Founder's Türbe, it is punctuated by the darülkurra to the south. The two points of reference at either end of the longitudinal axis strengthen the visual impact of the central buildings.'<sup>2</sup>

On the east side, where the land slopes sharply down to the Golden Horn, the courtyard is supported on elaborate vaulted

## The Süleymaniye



*Figure 4: The Interior of Süleymaniye Camii (Print by Bartlett).*



*Figure 5: Mibrab and mimber of Süleymaniye Camii (Print by Bartlett).*

substructures in which, along the street below, is a long row of shops; from the terrace there is a magnificent view of the Golden Horn, the hills of Pera above Galata, the Bosphorus, and the mountains of Asia. Evliya says that in laying the foundations 'the workmen penetrated so far into the earth that the sound of their pickaxes was heard by the bull that bears up the world at the bottom of the earth.'<sup>3</sup>

Around this courtyard are arranged the other buildings of the külliye with as much symmetry as the nature of the site would permit. On the west side there is first a small mektep, then two large and identical medreses. They are called Evvel (First) and Sâni (Second) and form a group with the pair of medreses on the west side of the complex, called Sâlis (Third) and Râbi a (Fourth). These are followed at the end of the west side by a third medrese, which was the medical school. On the west, opposite the latter, is the darüşşifâ, or hospital, then the imaret and finally the carananserai. In the north-east corner is the triangular türbe garden of Sinan himself. Beyond this, on the south below the terrace, there are two more medreses, Sâlis (Third) and Râbia (Fourth) also identical in plan, and below them still another, while across the street there is a row of shops in the substructure of the terrace that were also part of the complex. These medreses are somewhat farther to the south than those on the western side of the complex. Just to the south of these medreses is the hamam, whose orientation is tilted by forty-five degrees so as to follow the street outside, Dökmeciler Sokağı, which was also lined with shops on the side under the terrace. Above this street, on the level of the terrace, but outside the mosque courtyard to the south is the seventh medrese, the darülhadis. As Aptullah Kuran points out: 'The row of shops, the Darülhadis (the theological college) above them, and the Süleymaniye Hamam on the other side that together form a part of Dökmeciler Sokağı, are all placed at a 45-degree angle to the longitudinal axis of the complex. By doing this Sinan alleviated the tautness of strong geometry. Again, by staggering the Third and Fourth Medreses from the First and Second Medreses on the other side of the mosque's plaza, he softened the rigidity of total symmetry.'<sup>4</sup>

## 2 THE MOSQUE

### 2.1 The courtyard

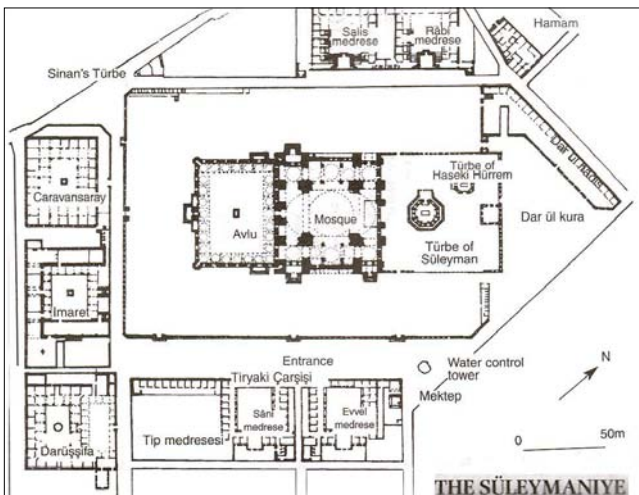
The mosque is preceded by the usual porticoed courtyard. Although of exceptional solemnity and grandeur, with columns of the richest porphyry, marble and granite, nevertheless it has certain faults of design which prevent it from being among the most successful of Sinan's courtyards. Thus the arches of the portico that forms the porch of the mosque are higher than those on the other three



sides; this gives great dignity to the north façade, but involves the consequence that arcades of different heights meet at the angle columns, the lower ones being supported by a sort of console or corbel jutting out from the shaft of the column. There is no doubt that the effect is awkward, not to say ugly, and it is a weakness that Sinan was later to avoid in a courtyard of this form. He was evidently aware of its disadvantages, for he often tried other expedients. The northern portal of the court is flanked by a great pylon containing two storeys of chambers; these, according to Evliya Çelebi, were the *muvaakkithane*, or house and workshop of the mosque astronomer, and rooms for porters and sextons.<sup>5</sup>

## 2.2 The minarets

The four great minarets rise from the four corners of the courtyard. This was the first mosque in the city to have so many: Haghia Sophia then had three and was later to be given a fourth, and when Ahmet I built his mosque at the beginning of the seventeenth century he erected six minarets. The two minarets at the inner corners at the Süleymaniye are taller than the other two and have three şerefes each, while the others each have two balconies. The four minarets are traditionally said to represent the fact that Süleyman, who is known to the Turks as Kanuni, or the Law-Giver, was the fourth sultan to rule in Istanbul, while the ten şerefes, or balconies, recall that he was the tenth sultan of the House of Osman. During the holy month of Ramazan, lights were strung between the minarets, a custom that continues today in all of the mosques in Turkey. One of the earliest descriptions of this custom is by Domenico Hierosolimitano, who was in Istanbul during the reign of Murat III: 'During the time of their greatest festival of the year, cords are stretched from one tower

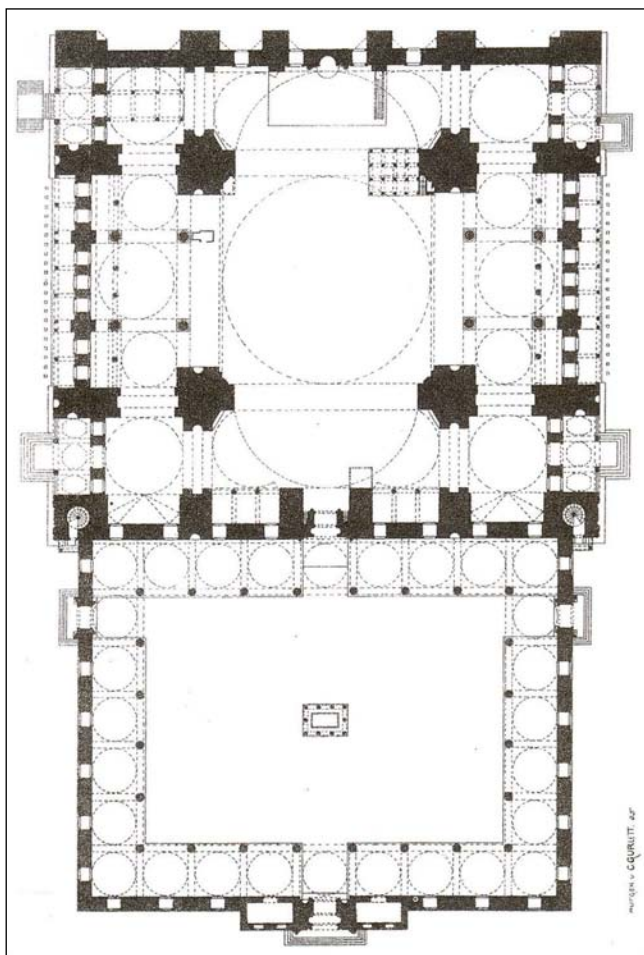


*Figure 6: The Süleymaniye complex, plan (from Freely).*

## The Süleymaniye

[minaret] to another to which are attached lighted lamps making a most beautiful sight as they take the form of the sun, moon and various other appropriate things; this lasts a whole week.<sup>6</sup> Aubry de La Motray, writing at the beginning of the eighteenth century, gives a more detailed description:

A prodigious Number of lighted Lamps are set upon the Minarets of the *Mosques*, with a sufficient quantity of Oyl to burn the whole Night. These Lamps are ranged in a very curious Order round the Balconies, from which the *Muesins* call the People to Prayers; of which the greatest *Mosques* have often three, one above the other, like so many Coronets of flaming girdles that surround them. Besides these there are ropes fastened from one to the other, with lesser Lamps hanging on them, some higher, some lower, in such a manner



*Figure 7: Süleymaniye Camii, plan (from Gurlitt).*

as to form certain *Arabian* Letters, with different Devices, to the Praise of God, his Prophet, the Sultan, or the Founders of the *Mosques*; and nothing can be more agreeable to see than their Light, especially at some distance.<sup>7</sup>

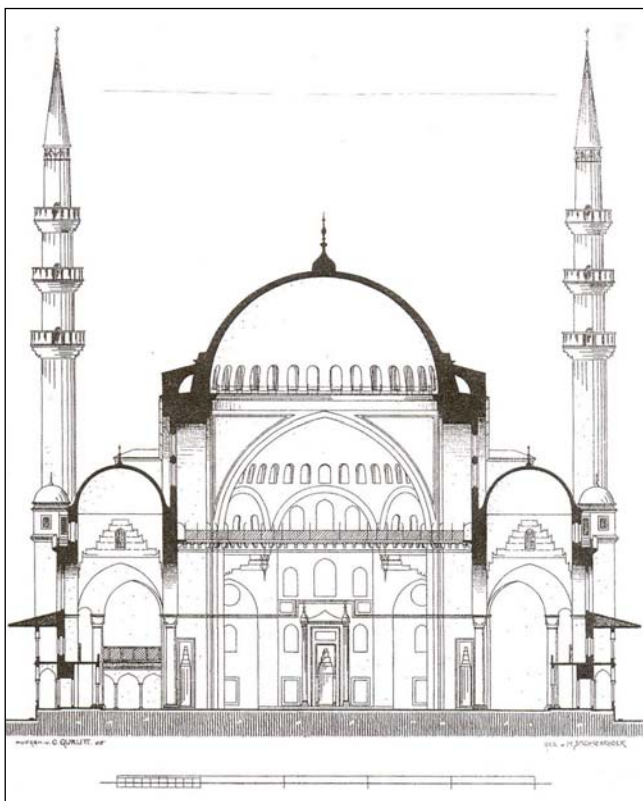
### 2.3 The mosque interior

The interior of the mosque is a vast almost square room, approximately 58.5 by 57.5 metres; the diameter of the dome is 27.5 metres and the crown is 47.0 metres above the floor. The main dome is supported to north and south by semidomes, to east and west by arches with tympana filled with windows. The dome arches rise from four great irregularly shaped piers. Up to this point the plan follows that of Haghia Sophia, but beyond this – as at the Beyazidiye – all is different. Between the piers to east and west triple arcades on two enormous monolithic columns support the tympana of the arches. There are no galleries here, nor can there properly be said to be aisles since the great columns are so high and so far apart as not really to form a barrier between the central area and the walls; thus the vast space is not cut up into sections as at Haghia Sophia but is centralized and continuous.

The method Sinan uses to mask the great buttresses required to support the four central piers is very ingenious: he has turned what is generally a liability in such a building into an asset, on three sides at least. On the east and west he incorporated the buttresses into the walls of the building, allowing them to project about equally within and without. He then proceeded to mask this projection on both sides by building galleries with arcades of columns between the buttresses: on the outside a double gallery, with twice the number of columns on its upper storey than its lower; on the inside a single gallery only. In both cases – especially on the outside – the device is extremely successful, and indeed is one of the things that gives the interior its interesting and beautiful distinction.

On the north and south façades the buttresses can be smaller, for here the weight of the dome is distributed by the semidomes. On the southern face, therefore, Sinan merely placed the buttresses wholly outside the building, where their moderate projection gives emphasis and variety to that façade. He was not so successful, it would seem, on the north. Here, in order to preserve the unity of the courtyard and the grandeur of the western façade, he chose to place the buttresses wholly within the building. Again he masked them with galleries, but in this case the device was inadequate. The great west portal, instead of being impressive as it ought, seems squeezed tight by the deep projection of the buttresses which, moreover, not only throw it into impenetrable shadow, but also abut in an unpleasing way on the two small domes on which the

## The Süleymaniye



*Figure 8: Süleymaniye Camii, section (from Gurlitt).*

northern semidome reposes. It might be said that Sinan rarely quite succeeded with the interior of his north walls; in every case, even in the smaller mosques, there is a tendency to squeeze the portal. But his solution of the main problem was masterly.

The general effect of the interior is of a severely simple grandeur. The south wall only is enlivened by some touches of colour. Here the lovely stained glass windows are by the glazier known as Şarhoş (the Drunkard) Ibrahim. The tiles, used with great restraint, are the earliest known example of the Iznik kilns: on a pure white ground, leaf and flower motifs in turquoise, deep blue, and red. Though the technique has not yet reached its acme of perfection (it was not to do so for another ten to fifteen years) these tiles already show that clarity of design and purity of colour which are the distinguished characteristics of the type.

The mihrab and mimber in Proconnesian marble are of great simplicity and distinction, as is also the woodwork inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl of the doors, window-shutters, and the Kuran kürsü, or preacher's chair. Throughout the building the inscriptions

are by the most famous of calligraphers, Ahmet Karahisari, and his pupil Hasan Çelebi. Of the four great monolithic columns of Theban and Syenitic granite, one is the notorious Column of Virginity, which Pierre Gilles saw being transported from its original position on the Fifth Hill; another column is also from Istanbul, while a third is said to be from Baalbek and a fourth from Alexandria.

Originally the great dome and doubtless the other domes and vaults were decorated with magnificent arabesque painting in rich and somber colours. Fragments of this came to light during restorations in the early 1970s, but for some inexplicable reason it was suppressed in favour of (also fragmentary) bits of the absurd Italianate decoration put there by the Fossati brothers, Italian-Swiss architects who restored the Süleymaniye for Abdül Mecit I in the mid-nineteenth century. The restoration did, however, get rid of the subfusc paint in two dull shades of dun with which the Fossatis thought it appropriate to conceal the beautiful honey-coloured limestone of piers and walls and which made the interior unutterably dreary; it is now again full of life and light.

### 3 THE OTHER BUILDINGS OF THE KÜLLIYE

#### 3.1 Türbe of Süleyman

Directly behind the mosque a walled graveyard contains the tombs of Süleyman and his wife Haseki Hürrem, better known in the West as Roxelana. Süleyman's as is fitting, is the largest and grandest of Sinan's türbes, though perhaps not the most beautiful. Octagonal



*Figure 9: Türbe of Süleyman  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

## The Süleymaniye

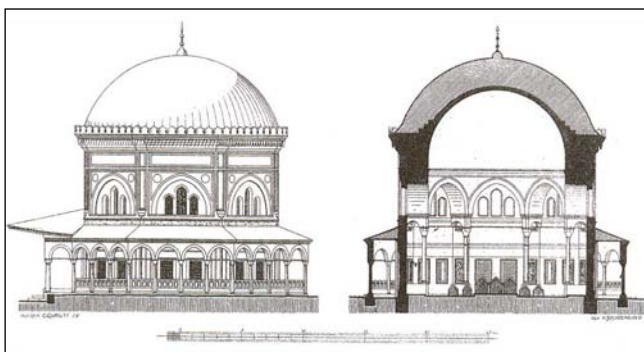


*Figure 10: Interior of Süleyman's türbe (Print by Bartlett).*

in form, it is surrounded by a pretty porch on columns. Columns, too, on the interior support the inner dome, 10.5 metres in diameter, for this türbe, like others in Istanbul, has a double dome, though not of the Brunelleschi type. The walls of the interior are covered with Iznik tiles, twice as many in this small room as in all the vastness of the mosque itself. The dome preserves its gorgeous painting in wine red, black and gold. But the türbe is dark, since for some reason the window shutters are always kept closed. And the grand effect has been somewhat marred – as in most of the imperial türbes – by overcrowding, for here are the cenotaphs not only of Süleyman the Magnificent but, among authors, of his daughter Mihrimah Sultan and of Süleyman II and Ahmet II. It would seem that if a sultan was not sufficiently provident to build his own mausoleum during his lifetime, the chances were that he would be buried hugger-mugger in that of one of his ancestors.

Though the mosque was finished in 1557, the türbe was not entirely completed ten years later, a year after Süleyman's death, for we find the Vicentine traveller Marc'Antonio Pigafetti describing how he saw among the stones assembled for the building 'four slabs of marble ... taken from Saint Sophia in the month of August 1567'; and he tells a curious story about them. A few days before his arrival in Istanbul there had been an earthquake which the Mufti had attributed to the presence of stones – inscribed with the constitutions and decrees of the Church Council of 1166 in Hagia Sophia; they had therefore been removed and were to be used for Süleyman's türbe!<sup>8</sup> During the restoration in the early 1970s they were taken down and plaster casts made of them which are now in the exonarthex of Hagia Sophia.

Here one might pause to reflect on the history of Süleyman the Magnificent, under whom the Ottoman Empire reached the pinnacle of its greatness. Süleyman became sultan in 1520, when he was twenty-five years old, and he ruled until his death in 1566, the longest and most illustrious reign in the history of the empire. As Evliya Çelebi wrote of Süleyman: 'During the forty-six years



*Figure 11: Süleyman's türbe, elevation and section (from Gurlitt).*

of his reign he subdued the world and made eighteen monarchs his tributaries. He established order and justice in his dominions, marched victoriously through the seven quarters of the globe, embellished all the countries that were vanquished with his arms, and was successful in all undertakings.<sup>9</sup>

## 3.2 Türbe of Roxelana

Roxelana's türbe, just to the south-east of Süleyman's, is smaller and simpler but decorated with Iznik tiles even finer than in his. This türbe may possibly not be by Sinan, since it is not in the *Tezkere*. It seems indeed almost incredible that Sinan should not have built the tomb of Süleyman's wife, but if he did it seems almost equally odd that that it should have been omitted from the *Tezkere*. In this türbe the cylindrical base of the dome, 9.2 metres in diameter, slightly recessed from the octagonal cornice of the building, is decorated with a long inscription forming a sort of sculptured frieze. This and the türbe of the princes at the mosque of Selim I are the only ones in the city where this form and decoration are used.

Here, too, one might pause to review the history of this extraordinary woman, known in Turkish as Haseki Hürrem, the Joyous Favourite. She is better known in the West as Roxelana, literally the Russian, because of her supposed origin, although she was probably from the Ukraine, captured in a Turkish raid and purchased in the Istanbul slave market for the sultan's harem. Süleyman fell in love with Roxelana during the early days of his reign and soon made her his legal wife, putting aside all of the other women in his harem. The Italian Bassano de Zara, a page in the Saray at the time, wrote of Süleyman that 'He bears her such love and keeps such faith in her that all his subjects marvel and say that she has bewitched him and they call her Cadi,



Figure 12: Süleyman and his wife Roxelana (from Kuran).

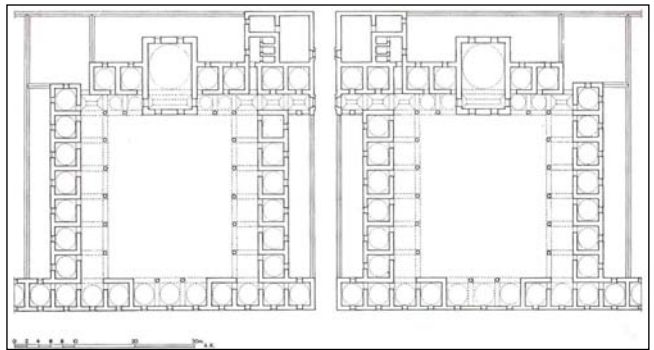
or the Witch.’<sup>10</sup> The power of Roxelana over Süleyman grew so great that she eventually persuaded him to kill his eldest son, Mustafa, on the pretext that the prince was plotting against his father. In this way Roxelana’s own son, Selim II, succeeded to the throne after the death of Süleyman. Historians consider this to be the turning-point in the history of the Ottomans, for with the reign of Selim the Sot began the almost uninterrupted decline of the empire.

### 3.3 The darülkura

At the middle of the south precinct wall of the graveyard there is a small but handsome building that housed the darülkura, or school for the various methods of reading the Kuran. Such schools appear always to have been small buildings, rather like mekteps or the dershanes of medreses, sometimes directly attached to the mosques and without accompanying living-quarters for students, in which the course in Kuran reading was naturally ancillary to more general studies. The darülkura of the Süleymaniye consists of a large domed chamber of very lovely proportions, built over a small Byzantine cistern with four columns.

### 3.4 Darülhadis medresesi

Beyond the south precinct wall there is a triangular area bounded by the graveyard wall and the two adjacent streets. This was originally known as the Iron Wrestling-Ground, because of the weekly wrestling matches that were held there. Along the north-western side of this area, which runs at a forty-five degree angle to the line of the terrace, following the direction of the street below, there is a medrese that housed the darülhadis, or school of sacred tradition. This is a medrese of most unusual form: it consists of 22 cells arranged not around a courtyard but in a long straight line; opposite them is a plain wall with grilled openings enclosing a long narrow garden. At the end of the line of cells nearest the mosque a staircase leads up to an open



*Figure 13: First and Second medreses of the Süleymaniye, plan (from Kuran).*



loggia above, which appears to have served as the *dershane*, though for summer use only, evidently, for it would have been too cold in winter. Its open porch commands a fine view of the mosque and the *türbes*, while its windows overlook the hamam and the lower medreses. This unique building has, regrettably, been very badly restored, so that an effect which must have been quite charming has been all but ruined. It has been given a porch with stubby concrete pillars holding up a massive concrete beam and a series of queer constructions like *pissoirs* have been erected in a cheap modern brick along the garden wall. Originally a staircase and a ramp under this medrese led down to the street below, but these have not been restored.

### 3.5 Tiryaki Çarşısı

On the west side of the mosque, outside the precinct wall, there is a long and broad esplanade with the *mektep* and three medreses on the far side of it. It consists of 36 arched shops that are built in under the four schools. This attractive avenue is called Tiryaki Çarşısı, the Market of the Opium Addicts, because till not so very long ago the cafés that line the outer walls of the medreses used to serve opium in addition to tea, coffee and tobacco. George Sandys, son of the Archbishop of Yotk, who visited Istanbul in 1610, is one of the earliest travellers to describe coffee-houses in general and the Turks' devotion to coffee, tobacco and opium; as he writes:

Although they be destitute of Taverns, yet they have their Coffa-houses, which something resemble them. There sit they chatting most of the day, and sip of a drink called Coffa (of the Berry that is made of) in little China Dishes, as hot as they can suffer it; black as soot, and tasting not much unlike it ... which helpeth, as they say, digestion, and procureth alacrity: many of the Coffamen, keeping beautiful Boys, who serve as Stales to procure them Customers. The Turks are also incredible takers of Opium, whereof the lesser Asia affordeth them plenty, carrying it about both in Peace and War; which, they say, expelleth all fear, and makes them courageous; but I rather think giddy-headed and turbulent dreamers.... And perhaps for the same reason they also delight in Tobacco, which they take through Reeds that have joyned into them great heads of wood to contain it....<sup>11</sup>

It is curious to note that coffee was still unknown in England, while tobacco had only recently been introduced into Turkey.

### 3.6 The mektep

The mektep is the little domed building of the usual form at the north end of Tiryaki Çarşısı; the entrance is in the street

around the corner. This was where the children of the clergy and other staff of the Süleymaniye complex received their primary education. The building has been restored and is now a charming children's library.

### 3.7 The Evvel and Sâni Medreses

The first two medreses along the Tiryaki Çarşısı, are identical twins; their entrances are at the upper end of Ayşe Kadın Hamamı Sokağı, the narrow alley that divides them. They are called Evvel (First) and Sâni (Second) and form a group with the pair of medreses on the west side of the complex, called Sâlis (Third) and Râbia (Fourth). They were colleges for the four orthodox schools of Islamic law. The two sets of twin medreses were erected at different times and have dissimilar plans. The pair on the north, overlooking the Golden Horn, date from A.H. 960 (1552–3), while the set above the Tiryaki Çarşısı were completed in A. H. 966 (1558–9).

The Evvel and Sâni medreses now house the celebrated Süleymaniye Library, one of the most important in the city, with over 32,00 manuscripts, including many works in medieval Arabic science. The buildings are mirror images of one another; and although the general arrangement is typical enough – cells arranged around a porticoed courtyard – there are interesting variations. Thus there is no portico on the east side but instead the three central hücre are open, forming a kind of loggia, while the portico on the west side is cut into by the derşane. All the porticos have been glazed in now to accommodate the library; this has been well and attractively done and there is a charming garden in the courtyard itself. Aptullah Kuran points out some of the unique features incorporated into these medreses: 'Private yards into which the north and south rooms look, the three-unit recreation areas located across from the classrooms recalling eyvans, and professors' living quarters built as integral parts of the main buildings themselves are all novel ideas which first appear in these medreses.'<sup>12</sup>

### 3.8 The medical college

The third medrese on the western side of the complex is the tip medresesi, or medical college. Unfortunately, all the remains of it is the row of cells along Tiryaki Çarşısı, the other three sides having long ago disappeared. In their place has been built a modern concrete structure, with the whole now serving, appropriately enough, as a maternity clinic.

### 3.9 The hospital

Across the street from this to the north is the vast *darüşşifa*, or hospital, now unfortunately a military printing-house and not very easily visitable. It consists of two large courtyards with cubicles arranged somewhat irregularly around them, and it is not at present altogether easy to visualize what it was like. The first courtyard has been crudely roofed in and the portico turned into rooms by walls and partitions between the columns. The inner and larger courtyard, however, retains essentially its original form; it has a large pool in the middle with goldfish, and is shaded by a giant terebinth and other trees. The fabric seems in general to be in good condition and it would not be difficult to restore the whole of this unique building to its original state. Like most of the larger Ottoman hospitals, it had a special section for the care of the insane. Foreign travellers were much impressed by these establishments and praise their number and size, charity and organization. But one gets two different views of the treatment of the insane. Thus Nicolas de Nicolay in 1551 describes how madmen were rounded up and committed:

As soon as they finde any of these fooles, doing harm within the city, he is forth with taken up and by force brought into a hospital therefore appointed, and with stripes and buffetings they constraayne them to become wise. But as for the other sicke folkes, they are gently treated, lacking nothing that may serve for their ease, whether it be Apothecarie wares, surgerie or any other necessary thing.<sup>13</sup>

In contrast, we find Aubry de La Motray describing the insane asylum of the Süleymaniye hospital:

Solyman added to the aforesaid Mosque an Hospital and a College; the first for the people who have lost their Sense, of whom the Turks take a particular Care, believing themselves obliged, by the help of that Reason which God has given and continues them, to supply in a manner the Defect of theirs, by making their Lives as easy as possible. Theis hospital is all of stone as well as the College, with several little Domes covered with Lead, and very convenient Rooms for them, and good Revenues for their Maintenance. It is pretty magnificent, and yields nothing to *Bedlam* in London, but in Regularity of Structure.<sup>14</sup>

According to Evliya Çelebi, ‘The hospital of Sultan Süleyman is an establishment so excellent that the sick are generally cured within three days of their admission, since it is provided with the most admirable physicians and surgeons.’<sup>15</sup> Elsewhere he writes of the care given the insane in Ottoman asylums: ‘They have excellent

food twice a day; even pheasants, partridge and other delicate birds are supplied. There are musicians and singers who are employed to amuse the sick and insane and thus to cure their madness.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.10 The imaret

Next to the hospital on Şifahane Sokağı, the street bordering the north end of the mosque courtyard, is the darüzzıyafe, or imaret, and beyond it is the tabhane, or caravanserai. These three buildings are aligned in a row, with their ground floors on the level of Şifahane Sokağı in front. But because of the sloping site, there is an additional basement floor with access on the street behind, Süleymaniye Imaret Sokağı. On this floor under the hospital there are some small shops; beneath the imaret there are rooms once used by the innkeepers; and below the tabhane were stables for the horses and camels of the guests at the caravanserai. These lower chambers are built into the lofty vaulted substructures of the three buildings, which can best be observed from Süleymaniye Imaret Sokağı. As Aptullah Kuran points out: '... in the Süleymaniye Sinan organized the lodging and dining facilities of the complex more efficiently than he did in the Şehzade Mehmet. The logic of putting these functions together cannot be disputed. Many an Anatolian caravanserai combines them under the same roof. In a typical han, the rear hall serves as the stable; the guest rooms, kitchen, bath, and mescit are distributed around the three sides in front. When the compact Seljuk caravanserai was converted into the Ottoman intercity complex, the same functions were divided among independent buildings or their wings.'<sup>17</sup>

The imaret is enormous, as well it might be, for it had to provide food not only for the poor of the district, but for the several thousand people directly dependent on the vakıf, or foundation: the clergy of the mosque, the faculties and students of the seven medreses, the staff and patients of the hospital, and the travellers staying at the caravanserai. Many of the foreign visitors speak of the imarets in general, but Marc Antonio Piggafetta was especially impressed by the one at the Süleymaniye and its ingenious system of running water; as he writes:

One enters into a very large room ... in which they say at least 500 poor people eat every day. Here we saw their refectory, where the service was well provided, and their kitchen where there were enormous cauldrons which, without the least fatigue to the servants, were filled with water by the most abundant conduits conveniently distributed wherever they were needed. And in truth the mosque as well as the imaret and the other edifices clearly appear to be works of a King both great and magnanimous.<sup>18</sup>

The imaret was used for a time as the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, now housed in the Ibrahim Pasha Sarayı on the Hippodrome. Now the imaret houses the Darüzzıyafe, an outstanding restaurant specializing in Ottoman cuisine. The courtyard is charming with its ancient plane trees and young palms and a lovely marble fountain in the centre. Some implements from the original imaret remain on display, including an olive press and an enormous stone wheel for grinding grain.

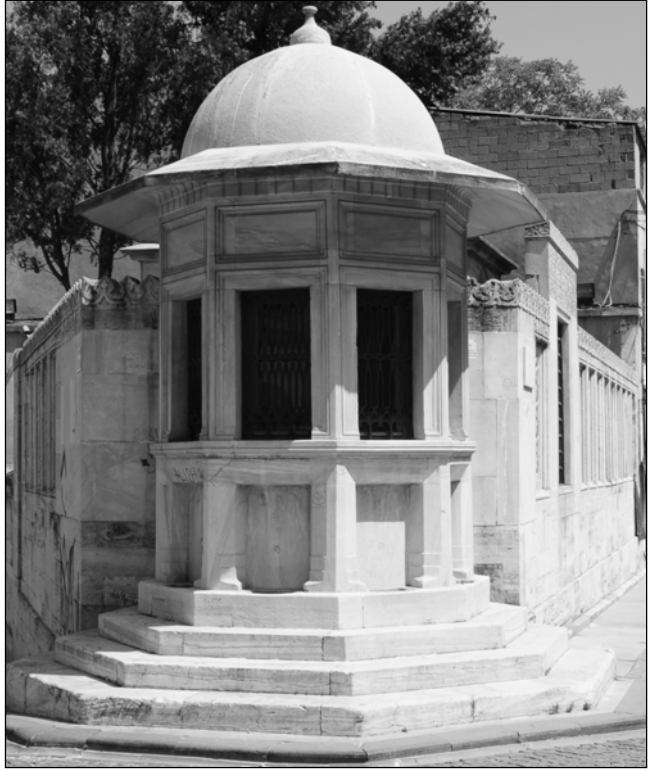
### 3.11 The caravanserai

The caravanserai is arranged in general like a *medrese*, with rooms around a porticoed courtyard. Although fairly standard in form, it has one or two less usual features. For one, the entrance portal is recessed in a sort of open vestibule with a cradle-vaulted roof supported on a deep cornice of stalactites. The courtyard is also unusual. Its portico, which has exceptionally fine ancient columns of porphyry, verd antique and granite, has three open eyvans or loggias that give a very pretty and spacious effect.

### 3.12 Türbe of Sinan

At the corner of the street that runs below the west side of the mosque terrace stands the triangular türbe garden of Sinan himself, who was buried here in 1588, when he would have been about ninety-eight years old, or a hundred according to the Muslim calendar. It is a charming and unique little külliye on its own, originally consisting of a sebil, an open türbe, a mektep, and grilled marble walls enclosing a small garden graveyard. Though it does not appear in the *Tezkere*, it is mentioned in one of Sinan's vakfiyes and in other documents, so that there can be no doubt that the whole small complex was designed by him. It was here indeed that he had his private house and garden; the house, doubtless of wood, has long since perished, and most of the garden has been built over with shabby workshops and dwellings. Here in August 1577 a complaint was made against Sinan alleging that he had stolen lead and water from a public fountain and from the medreses adjacent to his house for his private use. The Divan ordered an investigation, but since there is no further order on the subject, one must suppose that Sinan was exonerated.

At the apex of the triangle stands the sebil, with six grilled openings and covered by a little dome with projecting eaves. From this radiate the garden walls; the lower wall has five openings filled with marble grilles. Originally there was a door between the sebil and the first window on this side, but this has been suppressed and a door made farther down the street. The upper wall originally had only four windows filled with marble grilles and a larger opening,



*Figure 14: Sebil of Sinan's türbe (Anthony E. Baker).*

closed with a marble grille, above which is the epitaph inscription. The entire complex was restored and partly reconstructed in 1933, when six more grilled windows were added. Although the work was reasonably well done, it has nevertheless altered and to some extent debased the monument. The most regrettable thing is the substitution in the windows of new marble grilles all of one pattern; originally no two were alike and most of them were of marvelously intricate design. The original monument consisted only of that part which is now paved in stone; in the area to the north of this, where the wall has been extended, stood the mektep of the foundation, but which disappeared long ago. The rectangular türbe itself, which seems not to have been altered, is open on all sides. An arcade with six ogive arches supports a vaulted marble roof which has a tiny dome above Sinan's sarcophagus, which is of marble with a turbaned tombstone at its head. Outside the türbe are several other graves, presumably of Sinan's family, but unfortunately they have no inscriptions.

The long inscription over the bronze-grilled opening in the west wall is by Sinan's friend, the poet Mustafa Sa'i, who wrote the *Tezkeres*; it can be translated thus:

In the world's palace, ah what bliss to sing  
A little day – no place of rest is here!  
This chosen man for Süleyman the King  
A mosque hath raised like the great dome of heaven,  
And aqueducts by royal command hath given.

Hızır himself, he made life's water flow,  
'Twas he who built Çekmece's arches high,  
Like to the Milky Way's celestial bow.'  
Four hundred pious works made him renowned,  
And eighty places with a mosque he crowned.

A hundred years he lived, then met his fate;  
May God grant him a place in Paradise!  
Sa'i for his death spake with a prayer this date:  
He died, our master builder, great Sinan;  
Pray for his soul, O youth, and thou, old man!<sup>19</sup>

The penultimate line of this execrable poem is a chronogram, in which the numerical value of the Arabic letters give the date A.H. 996 (1588).

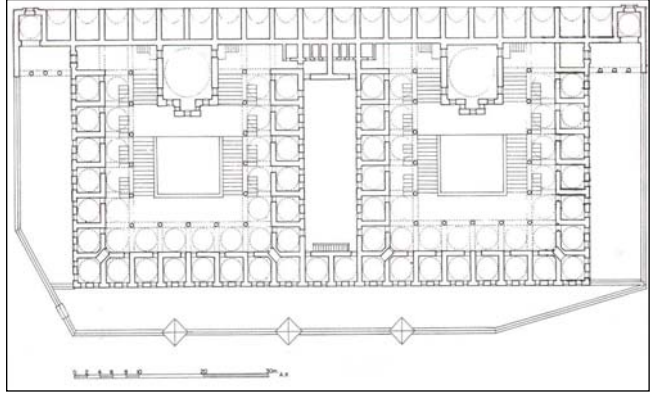
### 3.13 The northern medreses

Farther along this street below the mosque terrace, Mimar Sinan Caddesi, are by far the most elaborate, original and picturesque of all of Sinan's medreses; they are called Sâlis (Third), Râbi (Fourth), and Mülazimler (Preparatory Students, underneath). They are built

*Figure 15: Süleymaniye, northern medreses (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 16: Third and Fourth medreses of the Süleymaniye, plan (from Kuran).*



on the steep eastern slope of the Third Hill, and in order to utilize this almost precipitous site two expedients were necessary. The east side of the courtyard was raised on high substructures, themselves providing an additional medrese below. Even so the courtyard slopes downhill fairly sharply and the hücre along the sides are built on five different levels communicating with each other by four flights of six shallow steps under the porticoes; on each level outside the cells is a sofa, in this case a kind of veranda with a low parapet. The derslane occupies most of the upper (west) side of the courtyard, but since it is at the highest level it is entered from the sides rather than the façade on the court. This façade has on the main storey a projecting eyvan or apse, supported from below on pillars, and under the canopy thus provided is a çeşme, or fountain, on the courtyard level. The Sâlis and Râbi medreses are absolutely identical; between them is a small court serving chiefly as a light well. This has lavatories on the upper side, while on the lower are to cells with a veranda or terrace in front of them. From this veranda two staircases lead down to the courtyard of the lower medrese, Mülazimler, where there are 18 cells with barrel-vaults underneath the east side of the upper medreses. These cells, like those above, are provided with fireplaces, and one notices from the upper courtyard that there are two chimneys per domed hücre on this side instead of one. The far side of the lower courtyard is merely a blank wall with three curious projections at intervals, which seem to have been lavatories. The lower medrese was absolutely cut off from the upper ones, as they were from each other; it was entered by a gate in the courtyard at the eastern end opposite the hamam. The two eastern hücre, which have staircases leading up to the veranda, as mentioned above, presumably served as classrooms (for there is no derslane); while the two hücre above them opening onto the verandah were doubtless rooms for the masters, from which they could conveniently survey what was going on in the courtyard below. Originally the upper hücre had no communication with the medreses on either side of them; but during the excellent restoration in the early 1970s doors were cut



between them and the corner hücre of the Sâlis and Râbi medreses, thus tying the three separate buildings into a unit. As a display of virtuosity, nay of bravura, these medreses simply have no rival; but their effortless charm and simple distinction show that they were no mere vaunting of ingenuity but genuine architectural inspiration of a faultless master. Today the Sâlis medrese is particularly attractive, for a vivid garden has been planted in its courtyard. These exquisite and brilliant buildings have never before been described; this is perhaps a measure of the hidden wealth of this city and the lamentable paucity of the literature about it.

### 3.14 The arasta

Mimar Sinan Caddesi was once an attractive arasta, or open market, with shops built into the substructure of the mosque terrace and also opposite between the medreses and along by Sinan's garden. There are plans to restore this entire street to its original form.

### 3.15 The hamam

Another restoration that has now been completed successfully is that of the hamam at the end of the street. Considering the vast size of the Süleymaniye complex, the hamam is a surprisingly small and

*Figure 17: Hamam of the Süleymaniye (Anthony E. Baker).*



unpretentious building. The fact that it is single instead of double is doubtless because it was intended to serve the needs primarily of those attached to the foundation, who were of course all men. The irregularity of its form, due to the line of the street outside, which turns at a forty-five degree angle, has been put to good use by Sinan, who has made up for its smallness by its originality and elegance. From the usual type of domed *camekân*, 11.5 metres square, one enters a most irregular *soğukluk* covered by a small dome and a semidome. To the right is a domed cubicle; to the left are two doors, one leading to the lavatories, the other to another domed cubicle that serves as the entrance to the *hararet*; on either side of this cubicle are two others that are entered from it. On a low podium in the central part of the *soğukluk* is a very beautiful opus sectile floor, miraculously still in good condition. The cruciform *hararet* itself is very lovely: its dome is supported by eight column not arranged in a circle but in pairs at the four corners of the square. Between each pair doors with flat ogive arches lead to four corner cubicles, which are divided from those in the arms of the cross not by walls but by marble screens about two metres high running from column to wall. Thus, while the lower part of the room is cruciform, the upper part is a large square the whole of which is visible from any point. In the centre was the *göbektaş* or belly-stone, the heated podium on which the bathers stretch out to sweat and be massaged, with a handsome medallion of porphyry framed in a square of red marble. This beautiful stone was smashed, and before the restoration one could look through the gaping holes to see the arrangement of the hypocaust which heated it. The corner cubicle on the left is larger than the others, extended by a deep vaulted bay; this appears to have been the *maksura*, or private apartment of the sultan.

This then is the great mosque complex of Süleyman the Magnificent. Surely there can be in the world few, if any, civic centres to compare with it in extent, in grandeur, or in the harmony and charm of all its parts. According to Evliya Çelebi, when the Süleymaniye was dedicated in 1557 the architect Sinan said to Süleyman: 'I have built for thee, O Emperor, a mosque which will remain on the face of the earth till the day of judgment.'<sup>20</sup>

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## CHAPTER IX

# Sinan's Later Works in Istanbul

## 1 INTRODUCTION

During the years that Sinan was working on the Süleymaniye he erected three other mosques in Istanbul as well as a hamam. Then during the remaining years of Sinan's life, serving as chief of the imperial architects under Süleyman the Magnificent and his two immediate successors, Selim II and Murat III, he built fourteen more mosques in Istanbul, some of them imperial foundations, along with medreses, imarets, hamams, primary schools, and a hospital. A list of Sinan's extant buildings in Istanbul, based on the *Tezkere* and other sources, includes 24 mosques, 27 medreses, 20 türbes, 8 hamams, 4 imarets, and 3 hospitals. This is a phenomenal amount of work for one man to have accomplished even in a career of more than fifty years and even with the help of an *atelier* including many skilled architects. And one must add to it a large number of buildings that have perished entirely or been totally reconstructed, not to mention many others in various part of the Ottoman domains, some of them of great grandeur and importance.

## 2 MIHRIMAH SULTAN CAMII

### 2.1 The Külliye

The magnificent mosque of Mihrimah Sultan stands on the summit of the Sixth Hill just inside the Edirne Gate, dominating the view from all directions for miles around. It is one of the architectural masterpieces of the great Sinan, built by him for the princess Mihrimah Sultan, daughter of Süleyman the Magnificent, for whom he had earlier built a mosque at Üsküdar. The külliye was built between 1562 and 1565, and includes, besides the mosque, a medrese, a mektep, a türbe, a hamam, and a long row of shops in the substructure of the terrace on which it stands. Unfortunately the complex was very severely damaged by earthquakes in 1766 and 1894. Each time the mosque itself was restored but the attendant buildings were for the most part neglected; in recent years

*Figure 1: Mibrimah Sultan Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



some not altogether satisfactory reconstruction has been carried out. The mosque was damaged again by an earthquake in 1999, but it has since been repaired.

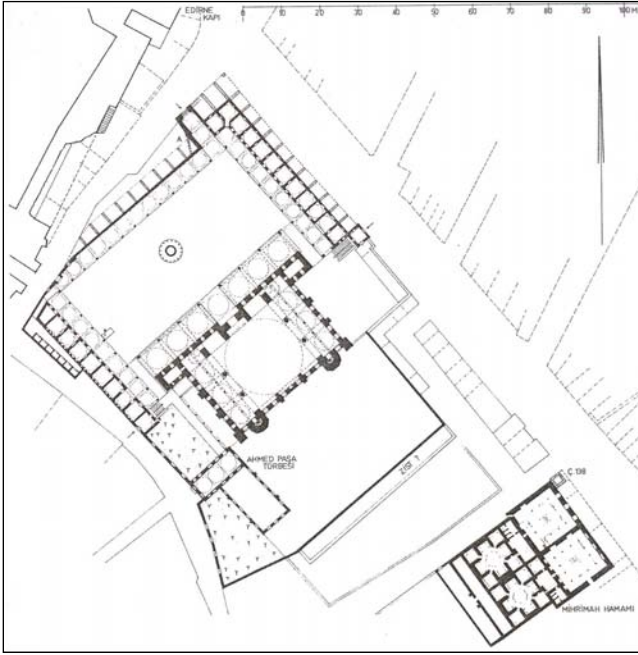
## 2.2 Exterior

From the exterior the mosque is strong and dominant, as befits its position at the highest point of the old city. The square of the dome base with its multi-windowed tympana, identical on all sides, is given solidity and boldness by the four great weight towers at the corners, prolongations of the piers that support the dome arches. Above this square rises the dome itself on a circular drum pierced by windows.

## 2.3 Courtyard and medrese

The külliye is approached from the main street through a gate to a short flight of steps leading up to the terrace. On the right is the entrance to the great courtyard, around three sides of which are the porticoes and cells of the medrese. The north side of the courtyard, which stands opposite the ancient Theodosian walls with only a narrow road between, has only had its portico restored and not that part of the medrese. Thus it is difficult to be sure how many cells there were on this side of the medrese and whether the derslane was in its centre, as one might expect. In the centre of the courtyard there is an attractive şadırvan.

The mosque is preceded by an imposing porch of seven domed bays supported by eight marble and granite columns. This porch was preceded by another, now vanished, doubtless with a sloping wooden roof supported on twelve columns, traces of which can be seen on the



*Figure 2: Mihrimah Sultan complex, plan (from Müller-Wiener).*

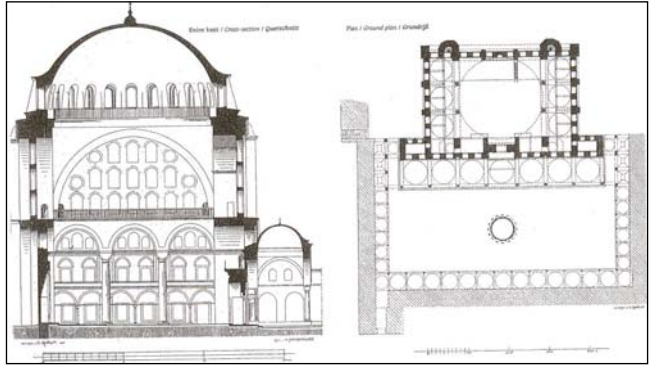
ground. This double porch was a favourite device of Sinan's, found again at Mihrimah's other mosque at Üsküdar and in many others.

## 2.4 The mosque interior

The central area of the mosque interior is square, covered by a great dome 20 metres in diameter and 37 metres high under the crown, resting on smooth pendentives. To east and west high triple arcades supported on granite columns open into side aisles with galleries above; each of these has three domed bays reaching only to the springing of the arches. There are three tiers of windows on the lower walls of the prayer-hall, with 26 windows in the lower tier, 30 in the middle, and 48 above. Above these there are three more tiers of windows in the tympana of the great arches, seven each in the lower two rows and five in the upper. There are twenty-four more openings in the drum encircling the dome, adding up to a total of 204 windows in the mosque. Thus the mosque is flooded with light from all sides, in contrast with Iskele Camii, the dimly lit mosque that Sinan had built for Mihrimah Sultan at Üsküdar.

Unfortunately, the interior stencil decoration is modern, insipid in colour and characterless in design. The mimber, however, is a fine original work of white marble with a beautiful medallion perforated

*Figure 3: Mihrimah Sultan Camii, section and plan (from Gurlitt).*



like an iron grille. The voussoirs of the gallery arches are fretted polychrome of verd antique and Proconnesian marble. Altogether Mihrimah Camii is one of the very finest mosques in the city and must be counted as one of Sinan's masterpieces. It is curious that this mosque, an imperial foundation, has no hünkâr mahfili, or sultan's loge, and only one minaret, while her mosque at Üsküdar has two minarets.

## 2.5 Türbe of Semiz Ali Pasha

Behind the mosque to the south-west is a small graveyard with a türbe attached to a mektep. The türbe is that of Semiz Ali Pasha, who became grand vezir after the death of Rüstem Pasha in 1565. Mihrimah herself is buried with her father at the Süleymaniye, while her husband Rüstem Pasha is buried at Şehzade Camii.

The türbe is preceded by the unusually large mektep, with a central dome flanked by two cradle-vaulted vestibules. The vestibule on the left serves as an anteroom to the türbe, a rectangular structure 15.8 metres long by 7.9 metres wide, which has lost its superstructure.

## 2.6 The hamam

The hamam of the külliye is south-east of the mosque, with its entrance on the main street. It is a double hamam, with identical baths for men and women. There is nothing unusual about the plan of this hamam; the eyvans of the hararet have semidomes, the hücre domes rest on simple pendentives, and the entrance is, as so often, off-centre through one of the hücre. The hamam has recently been restored and is once again in use. At the corner of the hamam there is a simple but attractive çeşme.



### 3 ATIK VALIDE CAMII

#### 3.1 Introduction

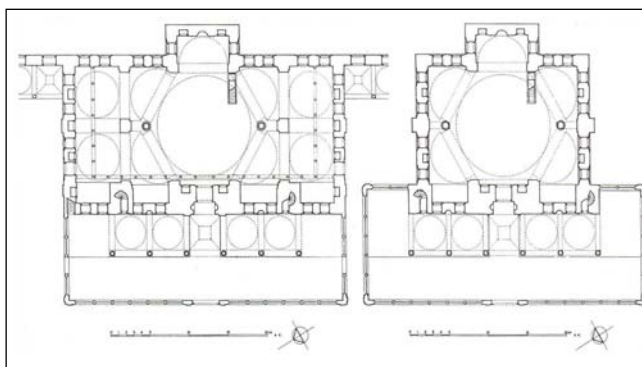
Atik Valide Camii, the last imperial mosque complex erected by Sinan, stands on a hill above Üsküdar. The külliye was built by Sinan for the valide sultan Nurbanu, wife of Selim II and mother of Murat III. According to its dedicatory inscription, the mosque was begun in A. H. 978 (1570–1) and completed in A. H. 991 (1583). This is the most splendid and extensive of all Sinan's constructions in Istanbul other than the Süleymaniye. In addition to the mosque itself, the külliye consisted of a medrese, a darüşşifa, or hospital, an imaret, a tabhane, a darülhadis, a darülkurra, a mektep, a caravanserai, a hânkah, or dervish hospice, and a hamam. Altogether this is certainly one of the half-dozen most impressive mosque complexes in Turkey, completed when Sinan would have been in his ninety-third year.

Nurbanu was born Cecelia Venier-Baffo, the illegitimate daughter of a noble Graeco-Venetian couple from the Aegean island of Paros. She was captured by the Turks in 1537, when she was twelve years old, and sold in the Istanbul slave market. She was purchased for the harem of Topkapı Sarayı and became a concubine of the future Selim II about a quarter of a century before he became sultan. She bore Selim three daughters before she gave birth to his first son, the future Murat III, on 4 July 1546.

*Figure 4: Atik Valide Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 5: Atik Valide Camii, (left) present plan, (right) original plan (from Kuran).*



When Selim succeeded his father Süleyman in 1566 Nurbanu was known as his *haseki*, or favourite, as the Venetian envoy Jacopo Soranzo noted in his report to the doge: ‘The Chassechi ... is said to be extremely well loved and honoured by His Majesty both for her beauty and her intelligence.’<sup>1</sup>

When Selim died, on 15 December 1574, Nurbanu, aided by the grand vezir Sokollu Mehmet Pasha, kept his death secret until her son Murat could be summoned from Manisa, where he was serving as provincial governor. When he returned to Istanbul and was acclaimed as Murat III, he had his five surviving younger brothers killed so that they could not contest the throne. At the same time he reappointed Sokollu Mehmet as grand vezir, while his mother Nurbanu became *valide sultan*. Nurbanu was her son’s most trusted advisor, as the Venetian envoy Paolo Contarini noted in a report to the doge: ‘He bases his policies principally on the advice of his mother, it appearing to him that he could have no advice as loving and loyal as hers, hence the reverence which he shows toward her and the esteem that he bears for her unusual qualities and many virtues.’<sup>2</sup> When Nurbanu died in April 1582 her passing was noted by the Venetian envoy Gianfrancesco Morosini, who reported that ‘All universally admit that she was a woman of the utmost goodness, courage and wisdom.’<sup>3</sup>

## 3.2 The exterior

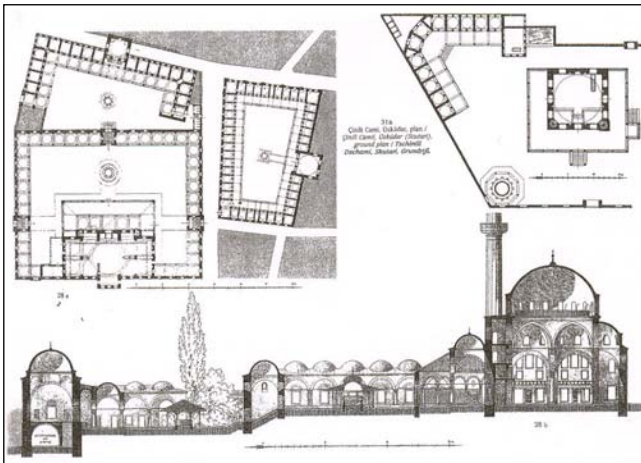
The precinct is approached along an alley beside the mosque graveyard. This leads into one of the most beautiful of the mosque courtyards in the city, a grandly proportioned cloister of domed bays supported on marble columns with lozenge capitals. In the centre a lovely marble-grilled *şadırvan*, now unfortunately deprived of its very picturesque roof supported on a colonnade, is flanked by two gigantic plane trees hollow with age. Many cypresses and other trees give charm and shade to the courtyard.

The mosque is entered through an elaborate double porch which connects with the mosque on both sides, the outer one with a sloping roof supported on columns between which are fine and elaborate grilles. The inner porch has five domed bays, the centre one wider and higher, with a cradle-dome; the capitals are stalactited and over the windows faience inscriptions in white on dark blue give emphasis and colour to the façade. The two wings on either side of the mosque were originally symmetrical; when a royal pavilion was added by sultan Abdül Aziz in 1869 two bays of the arcade next to the mosque on the west were removed to make way for it. The two minarets are in the Ottoman baroque style, having been reconstructed in the eighteenth century following an earthquake.

### 3.3 The interior

The prayer hall is a wide rectangular room covered by a central dome, 12.7 metres in diameter, supported by a hexagonal arrangement of pillars and columns, the latter of Theban granite. The colonnade is connected by very narrow arches to large respond piers which stand between them to east and west; beyond these piers are side aisles, each with two domed bays. The two-domed wing on the west formed the *hünkâr mahfili*, closed off by a latticed screen; that and the sultan's balcony took their present form when the imperial pavilion was added in 1869.

There are galleries round three sides of the room; the wooden ceiling under those on each side of the entrance portal preserve some of that rich painting typical of the period: floral and arabesque designs in a complex geometric framework, the colours black, deep red, and gold. The gallery along the east side has a



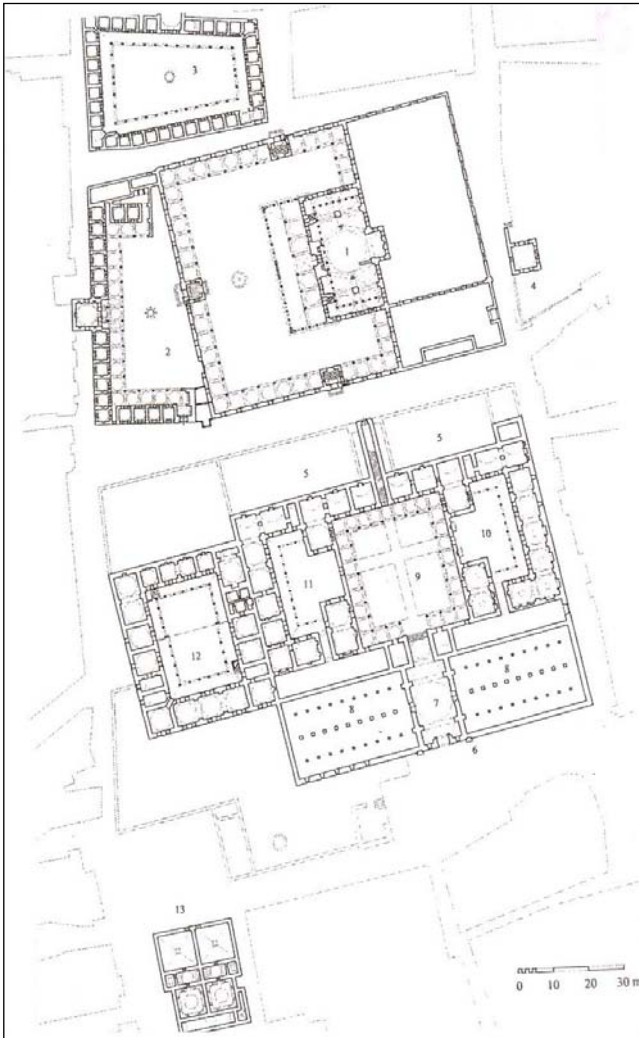
*Figure 6: Atik Valide complex, plan of mosque, medrese and hankah, section of mosque and medrese (from Gurlitt).*

very unusual ceiling: from a deep red ground irregular-shaped ovoid medallions project about a centimeter; they are black with flower designs in gold, red and white. The corresponding gallery on the west side has lost its original ceiling. The mihrab is in a square projecting apse which is entirely revetted in magnificent tiles of the best Iznik period: especially noteworthy are two superb panels of an elaborate flower arrangement in a vase: dark blue, light blue, turquoise, and the famous tomato red, on a white ground. The window frames in the apse are of handsome deep red conglomerate marble and their shutters are richly inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The mihrab and mimber are fine works in carved marble.

The odd plan of the mosque requires some explanation. Without the east and west side aisles the plan is that of the fairly common hexagon-in-rectangle type; the curious freestanding respond piers would have been contained in the east and west walls, from which the minarets would have projected slightly, though they themselves would have been contained wholly within the porch. Thus it would seem that the east and west aisles are a later addition. And this is indeed what is explicitly stated in the *Hadika*, which says that they were added by one Pir Ali, the mütevellî, or administrator of the pious foundation; but it does not say at what date. There is clear evidence for this addition in the building itself. Besides the major anomaly of the free-standing piers behind the columns, an arrangement that no architect would willingly have designed, notice the awkward way in which the arches at the north end of the aisles abut unevenly on the wall of the minarets. Notice also the strange position of the minarets themselves, not at the ends of the north wall but a considerable distance along it, a position in which they nowhere else occur in the mosques of Sinan. Notice finally that on the outside of the building the walls of the aisles appear not to be bonded with the main body of the mosque. The conclusion is inescapable that the aisles were later additions. How much later? It is impossible to say since nothing further is known about the Pir Ali mentioned in the *Hadika*. It is conceivable that they may have been added by Sinan himself; certainly they are not much later than his period, for they are still completely in the classical style. There is some traditional evidence for linking the name of Davut Ağa, Sinan's successor as chief architect, with the building, and it is not in the least unlikely that he is the author of these additions. In any event, the outer porch, which completely surrounds the inner one, could clearly have been part of the general enlargement and must belong to the second period. It is fortunate that these additions, though anomalous when examined closely, are not unattractive on a general view, the penthouse porch indeed being a quite charming feature.

### 3.4 The medrese

The medrese of the complex is at a lower level than the mosque and is approached by a staircase in the middle of the north wall of the courtyard portico. The medrese courtyard is almost as attractive as that of the mosque itself and is likewise shaded by many trees. It is oddly irregular, aligned at an angle to the wall of the mosque courtyard to conform with the line of the street outside, so that the west wing has five cubicles, the east wing only three. The dersane is in the centre of the long north side, which has twelve cubicles, counting corner cells twice. The dersane, which is in the axis of



*Figure 7: Atik Valide complex, plan (from Necipoğlu): 1. mosque, 2. medrese, 3. hankab, 4. mektep, 5. darülhadis, 6. çeşme, 7. vestibule, 8. double caravanserai, 9. hospice, 10. hospice kitchens, 11. guest rooms, 12. hospital, 13. hamam.*

the mosque itself, though skewed at an angle to it, projects over the street below, which passes under it through an archway. It is clear that Sinan purposely courted these irregularities to give variety and liveliness to his design, for he could easily have avoided them, had he chosen, by shifting his mosque a few metres to the south where there is plenty of space for it, the area between mosque and street being occupied by a graveyard only.

### 3.5 The dervish hospice

The large hânkah, or dervish hospice, is just to the west of the mosque and the medrese, separated from them by a street. The only entrance is at the south-west corner through a very crooked gatehouse. Like the medrese, the building is crooked, the courtyard forming a trapezoid. The arches of the peristyle are elaborate ogees and the central arch of the two short sides is much narrower than the others, thus breaking the monotony. With two exceptions, the cells, oddly enough, have no fireplaces and no outside windows, but over the lower windows to the court is an upper oeil-de-boeuf. The semahane, or meeting-room of the dervishes is in the middle of the east wall; its dome has conch squinches instead of pendentives, resting on stalactite corbels. The room communicates by doorways with the cells on either side of it, the only ones with fireplaces. Beside the northern one of these cells a slype leads out to a terrace behind the building; doubtless there were lavatories here, for there seems to be no other place for them. The courtyard of the hospice is no less charming than those of the mosque and medrese, though it lacks trees, save one or two cypresses.

### 3.6 The other buildings of the külliye

Across the street to the west of the mosque precinct is an enormous building complex that included the külliye's imaret, tabhane, darüşşifa, darülhadis, darülkurra, and caravanserai. Part of this complex was up until recent years used as a prison and many structural changes were made, including the addition of an upper storey to some parts; it is in such a dilapidated state that it is still not open to the public.

The darülhadis and darülkurra consisted of a row of cells stretching from north to south across the street from the mosque precincts. This formed the eastern side of a block that contained the tabhane and imaret, with the caravanserai forming a wing to the west and the darüşşifa a wing to the north. The tabhane and imaret were on the north and south sides of this block, respectively with a colonnaded courtyard between them. The kitchens and refectory of the tabhane were arrayed around three sides of a T-shaped

courtyard, as were the guest rooms of the tabhane. The rooms of the darüşşifa, or hospital, were arranged around the four sides of a somewhat asymmetrical colonnaded courtyard, which was six bays wide on its east side and only five bays wide on the west, the eastern half of the court being raised by two steps from the western half. The caravanserai was a double one, with the two units stretching north and south from a central domed vestibule.

The mektep is the single-domed building across the street from the mosque to the south, now somewhat masked by a later wooden house. All of these buildings together with the mosque, medrese and hânkah are mentioned in Nurubanu's deed of foundation, which is dated Rebiü'l-ahir 990 (April 1582).

To achieve her desire of acquiring merit in Allah's sight, the Valide Sultan allotted from her unencumbered possessions and properties those parts that will be mentioned in this deed of trust. In genuine and sincere determination, devoid of hypocrisy and conceit, she ordered the erection of many great and magnificent edifices of charity. The following are among these: 1. A high and stately mosque containing all kinds of beauty and architectural embellishments built in Yeni Mahalle [New District] in Üsküdar. 2. Because she gives so much value and importance to education and in order to elevate and ennoble scholarship among the people, to the north of the mosque's courtyard, a medrese. 3. Again, in the vicinity of the aforementioned mosque, a mektep, which the founder, with Allah's will, bequeathed to all Muslim children for the learning of the Kuran. 4. Again, across from the aforementioned mosque, a darülkurra, which the founder bequeathed to all Muslim who desire to study the science of reciting the Kuran. 5. Again, across from the aforementioned mosque and in the vicinity of the darülkurra, a darülhadis, which the founder bequeathed to those scholars who want to study the words and deeds of the Prophet and the commentary on the Kuran. 6. The imaret which the founder built near the darülhadis containing a spacious kitchen, a clean refectory, a tabhane for the lodging and feeding of visitors, a storeroom, a wood bin, and other necessary service facilities for the poor and the wretched, for travellers and guests, and for the pious residents. 7. The domed and spacious rabat, known as hânkah, which the founder built in the vicinity of the aforementioned mosque for the residence of dervishes who respect the Sheriat. 8. The darüşşifa containing high and beautiful rooms and cells which the founder built next to the imaret and bequeathes to the sick for their treatment and medication.<sup>4</sup>

The remains of the double hamam are to the west down the street on Toptaş Caddesi, the street that passes the north side of the complex. This is not in the list of Nurubanu's benefactions

above, but it appears in a separate section with those institutions built to provide income for the foundation, defined in the deed of foundation as 'two adjacent hamams, one for men, the other for women, located in the New District.'<sup>5</sup>

## 4 MOSQUES BUILT BY SINAN FOR VEZIRS AND ADMIRALS

### 4.1 Hadım Ibrahim Pasha Camii

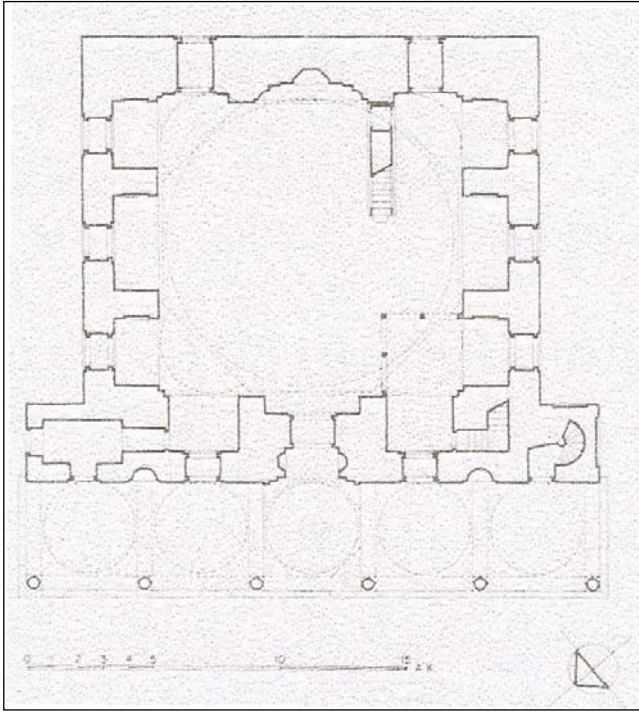
Hadım Ibrahim Pasha Camii is on the Seventh Hill immediately inside the Silivri Gate, one of the gateways in the ancient Theodosian Walls. Sinan built this mosque in 1551 for Hadım (the Eunuch) Ibrahim Pasha, the second of the two grand vezirs of that name under Süleyman the Magnificent. The mosque was badly damaged by earthquakes in 1648 and 1754. The minaret collapsed in the latter tremor and was rebuilt in the baroque style.

The mosque has a fine porch with five domed bays supported on six marble columns with stalactite and lozenge capitals and a portal surmounted by an elaborate stalactited baldachino. In form the mosque is an octagon inscribed in a rectangle with galleries on each side; it has no galleries, but in the angles of the octagon pretty

*Figure 8: Hadım Ibrahim Pasha Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*







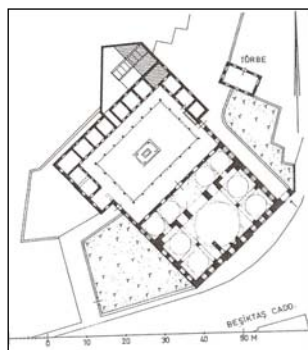
*Figure 9: Hadım Ibrahim Pasha Camii, plan (from Kuran).*

pendentives in the form of shells support the dome. The marble mimber and müezzın mahfili are of admirable workmanship, as are the panels of the doors, inlaid with ivory. Over the mihrab are tiles with inscriptions; these must be a subsequent addition, for they appear to belong to the very latest Iznik period or even perhaps to the eighteenth-century potteries of Tekfur Saray. In the mosque garden is the attractive open türbe of the founder in the form of a marble sarcophagus. The külliye, whose date is given in inscriptions over the garden gates, originally included a mektep and a hamam, but these have perished.

## 4.2 Sinan Pasha Camii

Sinan Pasha Camii is on the European shore of the Bosphorus in Beşiktaş, directly across the road from Barbarossa's türbe. Sinan built this mosque for Sinan Pasha, a brother of the grand vezir Rüstem Pasha who was chief admiral of the Ottoman fleet under Süleyman the Magnificent. Inscriptions on the şadırvan and over the entrance portal record that the mosque was finished in A. H. 963 (1555–6), two years after the death of its founder, who was buried in a sarcophagus at the mosque of his sister-in-law Mihrimah Sultan at Üsküdar.

**Figure 10:** *Sinan Pasha Camii*  
(Anthony E. Baker).



**Figure 11:** *Sinan Pasha Camii, plan*  
(from Müller-Wiener).

The mosque is interesting architecturally, though not particularly attractive. Its plan is essentially a copy of Üç Şerefeli Camii (1447) at Edirne. The central dome rests on six arches, one incorporated in the south wall, the others supported by four pillars: two of rectangular form to the north, and two of hexagonal shape to east and west; beyond the latter are side-aisles each with two domed bays. Thus far the plan is almost exactly like that at Üç Şerefeli Camii, but while there the northern piers are incorporated in the north wall, here Sinan has added a sort of narthex of five bays, four with domes, the central one cross-vaulted. The proportions are not very good and the interior seems squat and heavy. The same indeed is true of the courtyard, the porticoes of which are not domed but have steeply sloping penthouse roofs, the cells of the medrese occupying three sides of it. Sinan seems to have been less successful when he was more or less directly copying an older building on a much smaller scale.

### 4.3 Kara Ahmet Pasha Camii

Kara Ahmet Pasha Camii, one of the most masterful and lovely of Sinan's works, is on the Seventh Hill just inside Top Kapı, one of the gates in the ancient Theodosian Walls. The founder was Gazi Kara Ahmet Pasha, who succeeded Rüstem Pasha as grand vezir in 1553, only to be executed by Süleyman two years later. According to



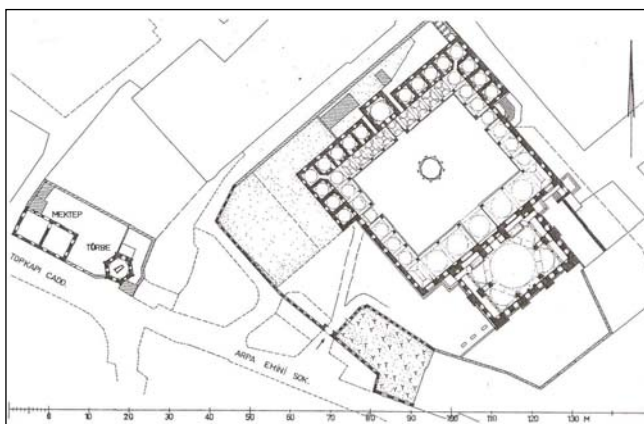
*Figure 12: Kara Ahmet Pasha Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*

Apullah Kuran, construction of the mosque began in 1558, the small türbe of the founder was erected the same year, and the mosque and medrese were completed in the early 1560s.<sup>6</sup>

One enters the precincts by a gate in the west wall of the complex, from where a path leads to a gate on the west side of the mosque courtyard, a spacious and charming cloister surrounded by arcades on four sides. The medrese is along the north side of the courtyard, with five bays on either side of the derthane, and three bays on the east and west wings, beyond which are the two portals of the enclosure. The dome over the derthane, 5.6 metres in diameter, rests upon squinches on arches springing from stalactite consoles, while the smaller domes of the 16 cells sit on pendentives.

On the south side of the courtyard a five-bay portico is covered by high domes on pendentives over wide arches. The arcades on the

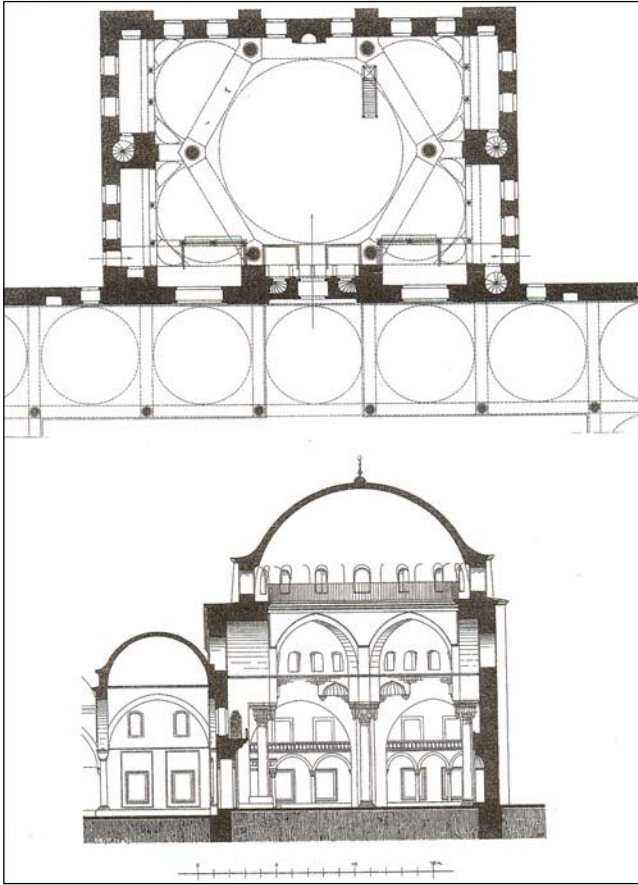
**Figure 13:** *Kara Ahmet Pasha complex, plan (from Müller-Wiener).*



other three sides are lower and narrower, with six domed bays on the east and west sides and nine domical vaulted bays on the north. The arcades rest on different types of columns: those in front of the mosque and medrese and the courtyard entrances are made of red and green granite, while the others are of white marble.

The porch of the mosque has unusually wide and attractive arches supporting its five domes. Over the embrasures or niches of the porch are some rather exceptional tiles, predominately apple-green and vivid yellow, done in the old *cuerda seca* technique. They are the latest recorded examples of the second period of the Iznik potteries, the only other important examples in Istanbul being those in the türbe of the Şehzade and the fine series of panels at the mosque of Selim I. A few more such panels, but with blue and white inscriptions, will be found inside the mosque on the south wall. The marble revetment around the entrance portal evidently belongs to a restoration carried out in 1969; fortunately, though very *Empire* in style, it is restrained and does not clash badly with the rest.

The plan of the mosque is a hexagon inscribed in a rectangle. The four semidomes lie along the diagonals of the building and each rests on two small conches; six great columns support the arches, and there are galleries on three sides. The proportions of the building are unusually fine, as are many of the details, for example the polychrome voussoirs of the arches and the elegant marble mihrab and mimber. But what is rarer are the wooden ceilings under the western galleries, painted with elaborate arabesques in rich reds, dark blue, gold, and black. This is perhaps the best preserved example of this kind of painting in the city. It is singularly rich and beautiful. Unfortunately the ceiling on the left has been spoiled by an awful attempt at restoration, but the one on the right retains its sombre brilliance. Painting of this kind, though on a larger scale, once adorned the domes



*Figure 14: Kara Ahmet Pasha Camii, plan and section (from Gurlitt).*

and vaults of this and other mosques. The modern attempts to imitate it, as here, are a disastrous failure, crude in design and garish in colour.

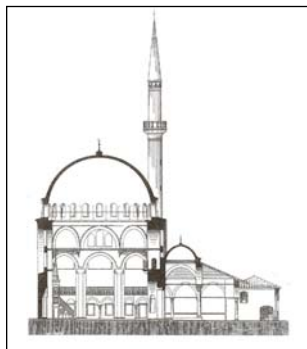
The türbe of the founder is outside the precinct wall to the north-west. Beyond it stands the large mektep, double but of very simple design, a long rectangular building with a wooden roof, still used as a primary school.

#### 4.4 Rüstem Pasha Camii

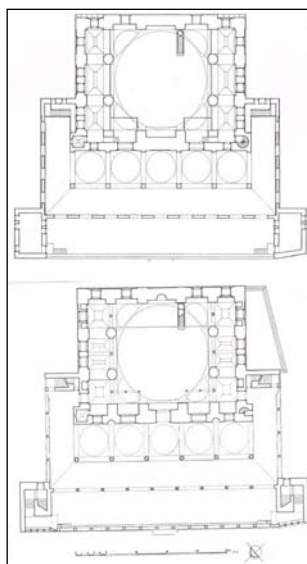
Rüstem Pasha Camii, one of the most beautiful of the vezirial mosques of Sinan, stands in the midst of the ancient market quarter along the Golden Horn above the Galata Bridge. The mosque's charter of foundation records that it was built in A. H. 968 (1561), the year in which Rüstem Pasha died.

## Sinan's Later Works in Istanbul

**Figure 15:** *Rüstem Pasha Camii* (right) and the *Süleymaniye* (left) (Anthony E. Baker).



**Figure 16:** *Rüstem Pasha Camii*, section (from Gurlitt).



**Figure 17:** *Rüstem Pasha Camii*, plans at gallery (above) and prayer-hall (below) levels (from Kuran).



The rise of Rüstem Pasha began in the autumn of 1539, when he was engaged to marry the princess Mihrimah, daughter of Süleyman and Roxelana. At the time Rüstem was governor of Diyarbakır in south-eastern Anatolia, where his enemies tried to prevent him from marrying the princess by spreading the rumour that he had leprosy. But when the sultan's doctors examined Rüstem they discovered that he was infested with lice; consequently they declared that he was not leprous, for accepted medical belief had it that lice never inhabit a leper. Rüstem was then allowed to marry Mihrimah, whereupon Süleyman appointed him second vezir. Five years later he was appointed grand vezir, an office that he held from 1544 to 1553 and again from 1555 to 1561, during which time he became the wealthiest and most powerful of the sultan's subjects. Thus it was that Rüstem came to be called *Kehle-i-Ikbal*, the Louse of Fortune, from an old Turkish proverb that says 'When a man has his luck in place even a louse can bring him good fortune.'

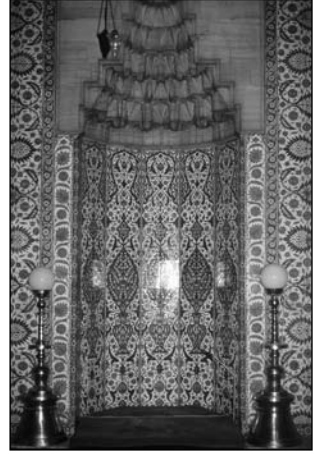
The mosque is built on a high terrace over an interesting complex of vaulted shops, the rent from which helps to maintain the foundation. Interior steps led up from the corners of the platform to a spacious and beautiful courtyard. The mosque is preceded by a curious double porch: first the usual porch consisting of five domed bays, and then, projecting from this, a deep and low-slung penthouse roof, its outer edge resting on a row of columns. It has been suggested that this is a later addition, but this seems extremely unlikely. In the first place, the arrangement, though unusual, is very pleasing and seems to have a definite architectural unity; and secondly, we find an exactly similar arrangement in several other mosques of Sinan, including *Iskele Camii* and *Eski Valide Camii*, both at Üsküdar, and *Kılıç Ali Pasha Camii* at Topkapi on the Bosphorus. It looks as if it were an arrangement which appealed to Sinan from time to time, perhaps for some special reason.

The plan of the mosque consists of an octagon inscribed in a rectangle. The dome rests on four semidomes, not in the axes but in



the diagonals of the building; the arches of the dome spring from four octagonal pillars, two on the east, two on the west, and from piers projecting from the north and south walls. To east and west there are galleries supported by the pillars and by small marble columns between them.

The mosque is especially famous for its very fine tiles which almost cover the walls, not only on the interior but also on the façade of the porch. One should mount also to the galleries where the tiles are of a different pattern. Like all of the great Turkish tiles, those of Rüstem Pasha come from the kilns of Iznik in their third or greatest period (ca. 1555–1620). As Arthur Lane writes in *A Guide to the Collection of Tiles in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1960), Rüstem Pasha Camii ‘is the first where the tile decoration is really extensive, covering not only the walls but also the columns, the mihrab and the mimber; the red is here used mainly in conjunction with turquoise, and on some tiles attains a true scarlet, well controlled, and of an extraordinary intensity.’<sup>7</sup>



*Figure 18: Tiled mihrap of Rüstem Pasha Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*

### 4.5 Medrese of Semiz Ali Pasha

The medrese of Semiz Ali Pasha is on the ridge between the Fifth and Sixth Hills. Semiz Ali was born of Christian parents in Hercegovina; he was taken in the devşirme and educated in the Palace School at the Saray, becoming successively ağa of the janissaries, governor of Egypt, beylerbeyi of Rumelia, second vezir and then grand vezir, an office he held from 1556 until his death in 1565. The medrese is a work of Sinan, and is dated to some time before 1565; it presents no special features except the two symmetrical entrances on either side of the derslane.



*Figure 19: Medrese of Semiz Ali Pasha (Anthony E. Baker).*

### 4.6 Sokollu Mehmet Pasha Camii

Sokollu Mehmet Pasha Camii is on the Marmara slope of the First Hill, just below the Hippodrome in the district known as Kadirga Liman. This ranks with Rüstem Pasha as one of the most beautiful of the smaller mosques of the great Sinan. It was built in A. H. 979 (1571–2) by the grand vezir Sokollu Mehmet Pasha and his wife Esma Han Sultan, daughter of Selim II. Sokollu also added a dervish tekke and another medrese to the külliye, building them behind the mosque, as explained in his vakfiya, or deed of foundation:

He constructed a lofty medrese and house of knowledge at the courtyard of the joy-giving Friday mosque and soul-expanding place of knowledge which he built with a thousand artful wonders and heart-alluring decorations at Kadirga Liman near the Hippodrome as a gift for his illustrious wife, Her Highness



*Figure 20: Sokollu Mehmet Pasha Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*

## Sinan's Later Works in Istanbul

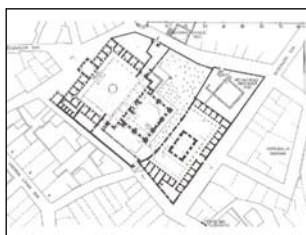
the Sultan, who is the sun of the summit of the sultanate ... And for the group of dervishes, who divest themselves from the contamination of the gilded wheel of fortune by retiring like a spider to the corner of contentment and who substitute litanies in praise of God for worldly quarrels, he built behind the light-filled mosque a convent with thirty defectless rooms embodying beautiful characteristics.<sup>8</sup>

Sokollu Mehmet Pasha was perhaps the greatest of the long line of able grand vezirs of the sixteenth century. He was the son of a Bosnian priest and was born in the castle of Sokol, 'the falcon's nest,' in Bosnia. He was taken in the *devşirme*, the periodic levy of Christian youths for the janissaries, and was trained in the Palace School at the Saray. His outstanding ability won him early preferment and he successively held the positions of chief treasurer, grand admiral, beylerbeyi of Rumelia, vezir, and finally grand vezir, a position he held continuously for fifteen years under three sultans; Süleyman, Selim II and Murat III, from 1564 to 1579, in which year he was murdered in the Divan itself by a mad soldier.

The courtyard of the mosque is enchanting in design. It served, as in the case of many mosques, as a *medrese*, with the scholars living in the little domed cubicles or cells under the portico. Each cell had its door, its window, its fireplace, and its recess for books. Instruction was given in the domed *dershane* over the staircase in the north wall, and of course also in the mosque itself. Notice the charming ogival arches of the portico and the fine *şadırvan* in the centre. The porch of the mosque forms the fourth side of the court; in the lunettes of the windows are some striking and elegant inscriptions in blue and white *faience*.



*Figure 21: Sokollu Mehmet Pasha Camii, view from the stairway (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 22: Sokollu Mehmet Pasha complex, plan (from Müller-Wiener).*

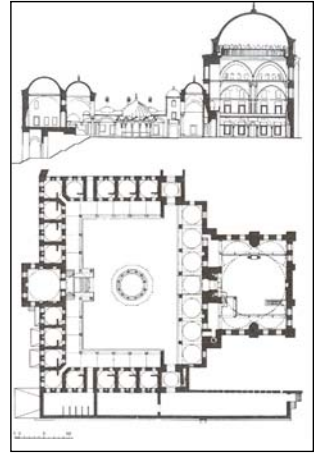
Entering the building one is delighted by the harmony of its lines, the lovely soft colour of the stone, the marble decoration, and above all the tiles. In form the mosque is a hexagon inscribed in an almost square rectangle, and the prayer-room is covered by a dome, counter-balanced at the corners by semidomes. There are no sides aisles, but around three sides runs a low gallery supported on slender marble columns with typical Ottoman lozenge capitals. The polychrome of the arches, the *voussoirs* of alternate green and white marble, is characteristic of the classical period.

The tile decoration has been used with singularly charming effect. Not the entire wall but only selected areas have been sheathed in tiles: the pendentives of the dome, the exquisite *mihrab* section of the south wall, and a frieze of floral designs under the galleries. The predominant colour is a cool turquoise, and the whole effect is extraordinarily harmonious. Above the entrance portal can be seen a small specimen of the wonderful painted decoration of the classical period, done on either plaster or wood. It consists of very elaborate



arabesque designs in rich and vivid colours. Little of this beautiful work survives, so what remains is worth examination. Modern imitations, as in the dome here, are almost always unsuccessful; the designs are too obvious and weak and the colours pale and crude. Also above the door, surrounded by a design in gold, is a fragment of black meteoritic stone from the holy Kaaba in Mecca; other fragments will be seen in the mihrab and mimber, themselves fine works in carved marble and faience.

Sokollu's dervish tekke and medrese are behind the mosque on a higher level, entered from the street above the complex. The little domed gatehouse leads to a porticoed courtyard, with the cells of the medrese arrayed around the south, east and west sides, and in the centre the large domed mescit-zaviye, the room where the dervish ceremonies took place. The tekke and medrese have been restored and now serve as a hospice for university students.



*Figure 23: Sokollu Mehmet Pasha mosque and medrese, section and plan (from Goodwin, adapted from Gurlitt).*

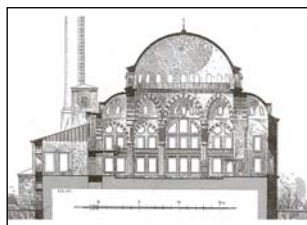
### 4.7 Azap Kapı Camii

Sinan built another mosque for Sokollu Mehmet Pasha on the northern shore of the Golden Horn in Galata, where it now stands at that end of the Atatürk Bridge. This is known as Azap Kapı Camii, taking its name from Azap Kapı, the Marine Gate, the main entrance to the Tershane, the naval shipyard founded by Fatih, which is just across the highway from the mosque. The historic inscription records that the mosque was built in A. H. 985 (1577–8). While it hardly equals the mosque that Sinan built for Sokollu on the First Hill, it is nevertheless a fine and interesting building.

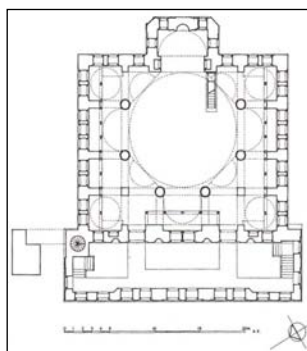
Like Rüstem Pasha Camii on the other side of the Golden Horn, the mosque is raised on a high basement in which there were once vaulted shops; thus the entrance, now rather squeezed by the bridge,



*Figure 24: Azap Kapı Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*



**Figure 25:** *Azap Kapı Camii*, section (from Gurlitt).



**Figure 26:** *Azap Kapı Camii*, plan (from Kuran).



**Figure 27:** *Zal Mahmut Pasha Camii* (Anthony E. Baker).

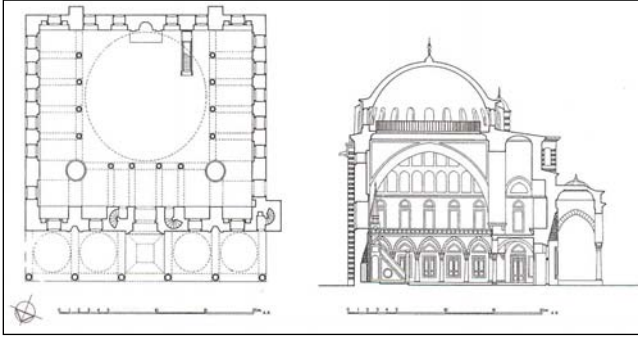
is by staircases under the enclosed porch. The minaret is unusual both in position and structure. It is on the left or east side instead of the south, doubtless because the sea at that time came up very close to the west wall and the ground would not have been firm enough for so heavy a structure as a minaret. Furthermore, the minaret is detached from the building and erected on a solid foundation of its own. It is connected with the mosque above porch level by a picturesque arch containing a communicating passage so that it can be entered from the porch. The minaret has been completely rebuilt a number of times, most recently in 1958.

Internally the plan of the mosque is an octagon inscribed in a nearly square rectangle. The dome is supported by eight small semidomes, those in the axes slightly larger than those in the diagonals, while the eastern semidome covers a rectangular projecting apse for the mihrab; narrow galleries surround three sides. The mihrab and mimber are both very fine works in carved marble. It appears that the interior was once decorated with fine tiles, like Sokollu's other mosque, but these were stolen and lost. When the new bridge was being planned in 1939, the municipal authorities proposed that the mosque be demolished to make way for it, but a public campaign in the newspapers succeeded in saving the building and having it restored. This was most fortunate, for it is among the more interesting and important of Sinan's buildings.

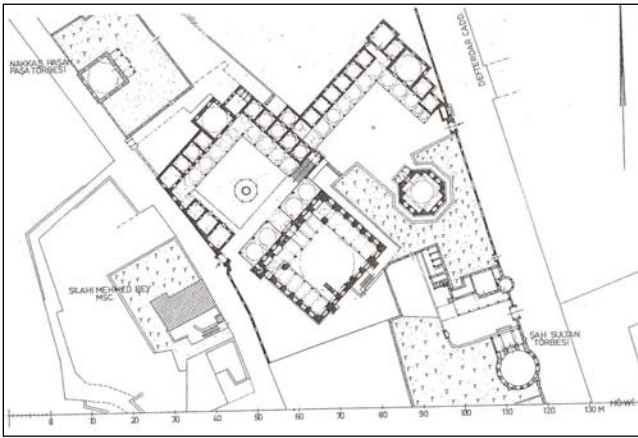
### 4.8 Zal Mahmut Pasha Camii

Zal Mahmut Pasha Camii, a mature but unique work by Sinan, is on the shore of the Golden Horn in Eyüp. Its date of construction is unknown, but a date in the mid-1570s seems probable, and Aptullah Kuran suggests that construction began about 1575 and was completed by 1580.<sup>9</sup> The rise of Zal Mahmut began in 1553, when he carried out Süleyman's orders and strangled Prince Mustafa, the sultan's eldest son, who was executed because his father believed that he was plotting against him. As the Austrian historian Joseph von Hammer describes the scene, Zal 'seized and strangled the unfortunate young prince who was beating off his executioners in trying to escape them and take refuge with his father.'<sup>10</sup> Süleyman later appointed him beylerbeyi of Anatolia, and when Selim II succeeded to the throne in 1566 he appointed Zal fifth vezir, supposedly in gratitude for having cleared his way to the throne. Then in 1572 Zal married Selim's daughter Şah Sultan. Zal and his wife died on the same night in September 1580 and were buried together in the türbe beside the mosque.

Viewed from the garden of Silahi Mehmet Bey Mescit, which is just above, the west façade of Zal Mahmut Pasha Camii looks more like a palace than a mosque with its four tiers of windows, nine in the



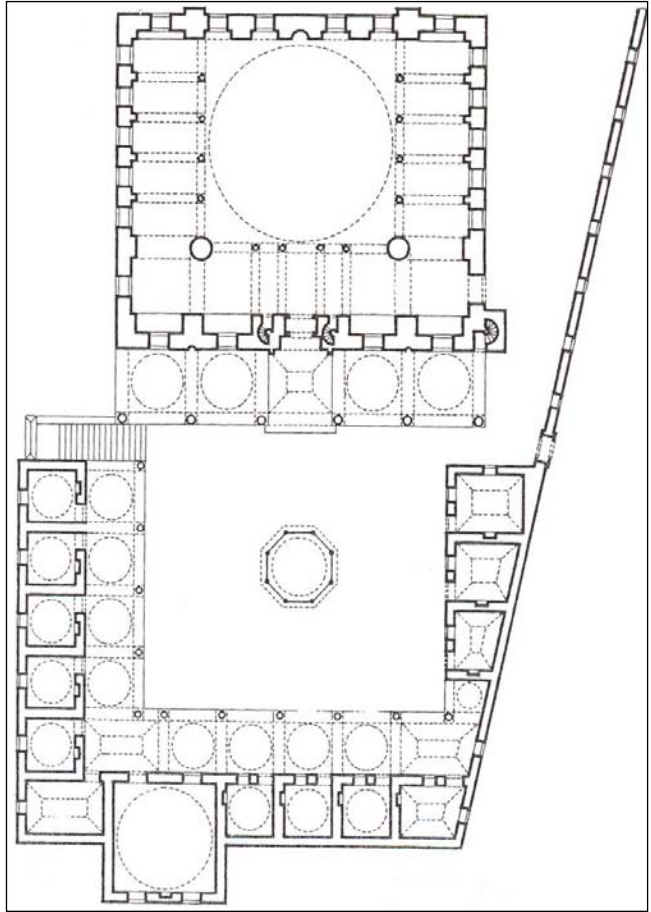
*Figure 28: Zal Mahmut Pasha Camii, plan and section (from Kuran).*



*Figure 29: Zal Mahmut Pasha complex, plan (from Müller-Wiener).*

upper two rows, five in the lower, and its great height and squareness. The east façade is even more towering, for the mosque is built on a slope and the west side had to be supported on vaulted substructures in which rooms for the lower medrese have been made. The mosque is constructed of alternate courses of stone and brick.

Entering the courtyard, one finds a handsome porch of five bays with shallow domes that leads into the mosque. This is a vast rectangular room; the massive dome-arches spring on the south from supports in the wall itself, on the north from thick and rather stubby pillars some distance in from the west wall. Galleries supported on a rather heavy arcade, some of whose arches are of the ogive type, run round the west, north and east sides. The walls, which rise in a rectangle to the full height of the dome drum, are pierced with many windows, as we have seen, and in spite of the width of the galleries, they provide plenty of light; the dome also has twelve windows. The general effect of the interior is perhaps a little heavy, but nonetheless grand and impressive, and it is quite different from that of any other mosque.



*Figure 30: Zal Mahmut Pasha mosque and medrese, plan (from Kuran).*

The leaves of the main entrance door are fine inlaid work in wood as are the mimber and müezzın mahfile in carved marble. The only other decoration that remains in the interior is some excellent faience in the mihrab. Perhaps there was more of this work which has perished, for Evliya Çelebi tells us that ‘architectural ornaments and decorations are nowhere lavished in so prodigal a way as here.’ He calls it ‘the finest of all the mosques in the Ottoman empire built by vezirs,’ and says ‘the architect Sinan in this building displayed his utmost art.’<sup>11</sup> The mosque was for many years in very bad condition; in the early 1970s it was restored, on the whole very well.

The külliye includes two medreses, like the mosque itself built of stone and brick, one around three sides of the main courtyard, the other on a lower level to the west, enclosing two sides of the türbe garden. Both of them are extremely picturesque and extremely irregular in design, but they may not be by Sinan. They do not appear in the *Tezkiye*,

having made the general design, he may well have left the details of these buildings to his colleagues. Aptullah Kuran once thought the medreses were built after the completion of the mosque and türbe, but later he concluded that they were constructed in the period 1575–80.<sup>12</sup> The upper medrese is very odd in design; most of the west side consists of a building without a portico, which looks rather like an imaret and may perhaps have served as one. The derşane is not in the centre of the north wall but has been shifted to near the eastern end, and the last arch of the portico on that side is only half as wide as the other arches. There is no obvious reason for any of these abnormalities, but they have a certain charm. This charm is enhanced by the ogive arches of the arcade, a type of arch used occasionally by Sinan and other classical architects and which is always very pretty. The şadırvan in the centre of the courtyard has been entirely reconstructed.

At the south-east corner of the courtyard a flight of steps leads down to the garden of the türbe. The second medrese partly encloses two sides of it, and a gate in the middle of the east wall leads out to the street beyond. This gate is really the main entrance to the complex, and beside it is a çeşme built by another Şah Sultan, a daughter of Selim I. The türbe is in the middle of the garden; it is a large octagonal building entirely of stone with a little entrance porch of four columns. Here are buried Zâle Mahmut Pasha and his wife Şah Sultan. Many tombstones are arranged in long line in a very tidy fashion on a terrace beyond the türbe. Just to the south is another külliye with a türbe built for a third Şah Sultan, in this case a sister of Selim III.

### 4.9 Kılıç Ali Pasha Camii

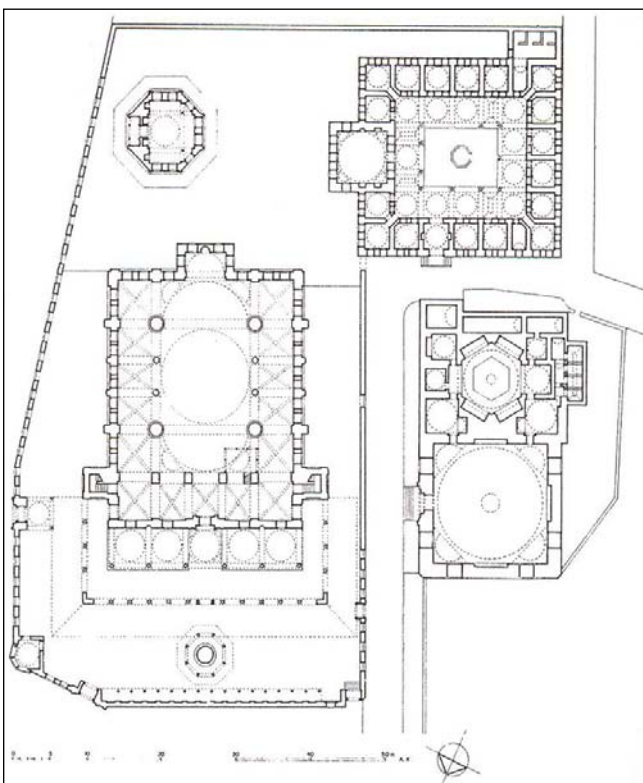
Kılıç Ali Pasha Camii is on the European shore of the lower Bosphorus at Tophane, just outside the walls of Galata. Sinan built this mosque for the chief admiral Kılıç Ali Pasha in 1580–1, when he would have been in his ninety-first year.

The founder, who was originally called Ociali, was an Italian from Calabria; in his youth he was captured by Algerian pirates and spent fourteen years as a galley slave. After regaining his freedom he entered Süleyman's service as a captain, becoming a Muslim and changing his name to Uluç Ali. He distinguished himself in several engagements and as a reward for this he was made an admiral and also appointed governor of Algiers. He was the only Turkish officer to serve with distinction when a Christian fleet destroyed the Ottoman navy at the battle of Lepanto in 1571. As a reward Selim II made him chief admiral of the Ottoman navy and renamed him Kılıç Ali, or Ali the Sword.

While serving as Governor of Algiers Ali Pasha came into contact with Miguel Cervantes, who had been enslaved there after his capture at the battle of Lepanto. Five years after his capture

## Sinan's Later Works in Istanbul

*Figure 31: Kılıç Ali Pasha Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



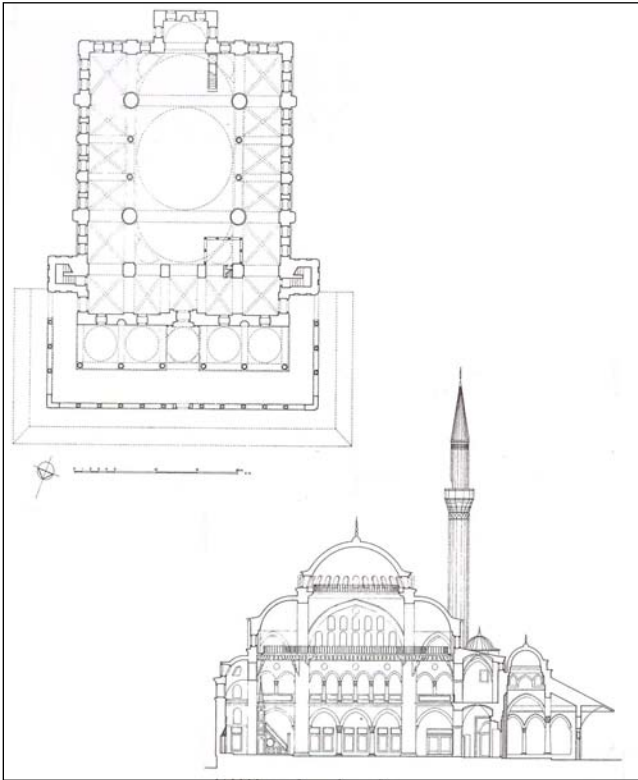
*Figure 32: Kılıç Ali Pasha complex,  
plan (from Kuran).*

Cervantes managed to escape, but he was recaptured and brought before Ali Pasha, who released him from captivity and gave him enough money to return to Spain. Cervantes paid tribute to the kindness of Ali Pasha in chapter 32 of *Don Quixote*, where 'The captive relates his life and adventures.'<sup>13</sup>

The climax of Ali Pasha's career came in 1573, when he recaptured Tunis from the Spaniards. Seven years later he retired to Istanbul and decided to build his mosque complex. When he asked Murat III for permission to build his mosque, so the story goes, the sultan sarcastically told him to construct it on the sea, since that was the old admiral's domain. Ali Pasha proceeded to do just that, and commissioned Sinan to build him a mosque on land he filled in from the sea just outside the walls of Galata.

When Ali Pasha died in 1587 he was reputedly the richest of the sultan's subjects, with a fortune estimated at 500,000 ducats. According to Joseph von Hammer, 'Although ninety years of age he had not been able to renounce the pleasures of the harem, and he died in the arms of a concubine.'<sup>14</sup>

Profoundly as Sinan had been impressed and inspired by Haghia Sophia, he had always sedulously avoided any kind of direct imitation of the Great Church, the name by which the Byzantines had always used in referring to it. Now in his old age, whether for his own amusement or on instructions from Ali Pasha cannot be known, he deliberately planned a structure which is practically a small replica of it. It is one



*Figure 33: Kılıç Ali Pasha Camii, plan and section (from Kuran).*



of his least successful building, which may have something to do with the greatly reduced proportions, and the building seems heavy, squat and dark. Sinan's main departures from the plan of Haghia Sophia are: the provision of only two columns instead of four between each of the piers to east and west, and the suppression of the exedrae at the corners. Both seem to have been dictated by the reduced scale, due to the site, and indeed to have retained the original disposition would clearly have made the building even heavier and darker. Nevertheless, the absence of the exedrae deprives the mosque of what in Haghia Sophia is one of its main beauties. The mihrab is in a square projecting apse, where there are some Iznik tiles of the best period. At the north there is a kind of pseudo-narthex of five cross-vaulted bays separated from the prayer room by four rectangular pillars.

The mosque is preceded by a very picturesque double porch. The inner one is of the usual type: five domed bays with stalactited capitals. Over the entrance portal is the historical inscription giving the date A. H. 988 (1580–1) and above this a Kuranic text in a fascinating calligraphy and set in a curious marble frame, triangular in shape and adorned with stalactites. The outer porch has a steeply sloping penthouse roof, supported by twelve columns on the front and three on the sides, all with lozenge capitals. In the centre is a monumental portal of marble, and there are bronze grilles between the columns.

The külliye of Kılıç Ali Pasha Camii is extensive; besides the mosque it includes the türbe of the founder, a medrese and a hamam. Ali Pasha's türbe is in the pretty graveyard behind the mosque; it is a plain but elegant octagonal building with alternately one or two windows in each façade, in two tiers.

The medrese, opposite the south-west corner of the mosque, is almost square and like the mosque itself a little squat and shut in. It may well not be by Sinan since it does not appear in the *Tezkeret-ül Ebniye*. It is now used as a clinic.

The hamam, a single bath, is just in front of the medrese. Once very popular, the bath is no longer in use. The plan is unique among the extant hamams of Sinan. From the vast camekan doors lead into two separate soğukluks lying not between the camekân and the hararet, as is habitual, but on either side of the latter; each consists of three domed rooms of different sizes. From that on the right (the only one used now as a soğukluk) a passage leads off to the lavatories; the rooms on the opposite side are used as semi-private bathing cubicles, and probably always have been so used. The hararet itself, instead of having the usual cruciform plan, is hexagonal with open bathing places in four of its six arched recesses, the other two giving access from the two soğukluks. The plan is an interesting and functional variation on the standard, and similar plans may be found in one or two of the older hamams at Bursa.





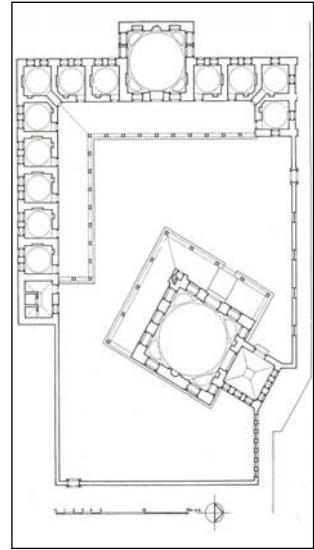
*Figure 34: Şemsi Ahmet Pasha Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*

#### 4.10 Şemsi Ahmet Pasha Camii

While Sinan was erecting Kılıç Ali Pasha Camii he was also building Şemsi Ahmet Pasha Camii, a small but exceptionally pretty mosque on the water's edge at Üsküdar, where the Bosphorus flows into the Marmara. Looking out upon the water and surrounded by its little medrese and garden, this is undoubtedly one of the most charming of all the mosques in Istanbul. It was built by Sinan for the vezir Şemsi Ahmet Pasha in A. H. 988 (1580–1), as recorded in the historical inscription.

The founder was a very interesting character. A man of great and various learning, a distinguished poet, famous for his knowledge of the world, his courtliness, and his witty repartees, he was a descendant of the Kızıl Ahmedoğulları who on the dissolution of the Seljuk sultanate ruled a large territory on the Black Sea coast of Anatolia. Because of his outstanding gifts he was a favourite of Süleyman, Selim II, and especially of Murat III; he held successively the offices of beylerbeyi of Syria, of Anatolia and of Rumelia. But he seems to have cherished a deep-seated hatred of the House of Osman, though he himself was a grandson of Beyazıt II. One day on leaving the apartments of the sultan he was heard to observe to his steward, according to the contemporary Turkish historian Ali: 'At last I have avenged the dynasty of the Kızıl Ahmedoğulları upon the Ottoman House, for if the latter has been the cause of our ruin, I have just prepared its own.' 'How so?' asked the old steward with a gloomy air. 'By persuading the sultan himself to sell his favours. It's true that the bait I offered was a weighty one, forty thousand ducats is no trifle. But from today the sultan himself will give the example of corruption, and corruption will destroy the empire.'<sup>15</sup>

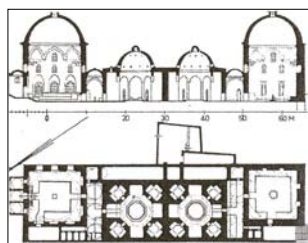
The mosque is of the simplest type: a square room covered by a dome, with conches as squinches instead of pendentives, supported on stalactited corbels. Simple as the room is, the proportions are



*Figure 35: Şemsi Ahmet Pasha complex, plan (from Kuran).*

extremely pleasing, and the interior is adorned with modern but good stained glass. A handsome green grille divides the mosque from Şemsi's türbe on the east, which opens directly into the mosque like a funerary chapel in a church, unique in Ottoman architecture; the effect is very pretty.

The excellently proportioned medrese forms two sides of the mosque courtyard, with the dome of its dershane raised on an attractive octagonal drum. The third side of the courtyard consists of a very decorative wall with grilled windows opening directly onto the quay and the Bosphorus. Not many years ago this delightful little külliye was in a state of ruin, but everything has been very pleasantly restored and the medrese is now used as a public library.



*Figure 36: Hamam of Haseki Hürrem, section and plan (from Müller-Wiener).*



*Figure 37: Courtyard of Soğukkuyu Medrese (Anthony E. Baker).*

## 5 OTHER SINAN BUILDINGS

### 5.1 Hamam of Haseki Hürrem

The hamam of Haseki Hürrem is at the south-eastern corner of the square beside Haghia Sophia. This magnificent Turkish bath was built by Sinan for Haseki Hürrem, notorious in the West as Roxelana, wife of Süleyman the Magnificent; the historic inscription dates it to A. H. 964 (1556–7). It is a double hamam, with the men's bath in front and the women's bath back to back behind it. Except for the five-bay portico and the slightly larger entrance hall of the men's section, the two baths are identical. Each end of the building consists of a great entrance hall covered by a dome, the camekân; from here one passes through the soğukluk, a corridor with three small domes along its lateral axis; and thence to the hararet, the steam room. This is a domed octagonal cruciform space centered on the göbekteşi, or belly-stone, surrounded by a series of little chambers for bathing, with four alcoves on the sides and four cubicles in the angles. Notice the charming symmetry of the building and its gracious lines; it is one of the most attractive and elaborate Turkish baths in the city. The hamam has been splendidly restored and is now open to the public as a gallery for the exhibition and sale of modern Turkish carpets in the old style.

### 5.2 Soğukkuyu Medresesi

The handsome though rather forbidding building that occupies most of the east side of Alemdar Caddesi, the avenue along which the tramway runs downhill from the square beside Haghia Sophia, is Soğukkuyu Medresei, the Medrese of the Cold Well. The entrance

to the medrese, however, is off the middle of the cobbled street that runs just to the west of Haghia Sophia.

The medrese was built by Sinan for Cafer Ağa, who was chief white eunuch in Topkapı Sarayı during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent. Cafer Ağa and his younger brother Gazanfer Ağa, who succeeded him as chief white eunuch when he died in 1557, were Italians from Chioggia, south of Venice, who were captured by pirates in their youth, after which they were sold in the Istanbul slave market and castrated to serve as eunuchs in the Saray. After Cafer Ağa's death in 1557 the project was continued by Gazanfer Ağa; the historic inscription gives the date of completion of the medrese as A. H. 967 (1559–60).

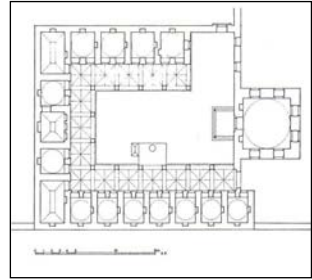
The medrese is an interesting building because of the way it is built on high vaulted substructures used as shops along Alemdar Caddesi. The hill at this point slopes steeply up to the level of Haghia Sophia and the substructures were necessary in order to provide sufficient area for the courtyard of the medrese. The cells of the medrese open off three sides of the porticoed court, with the large dersane in the middle of the fourth side, on the left as one enters. Some of the cells now house a little restaurant and café, with tables set out under the portico and in the courtyard, where there is a bust of the architect Sinan.

## 5.3 Türbe of Hacı Mehmet Pasha

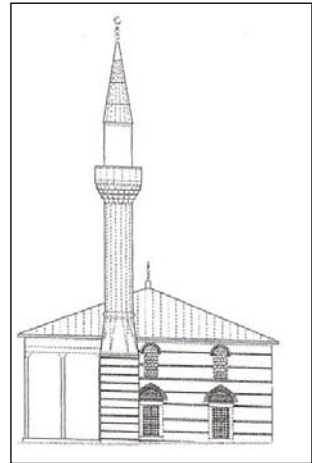
One of the least significant of Sinan's monuments is a small tomb in an out of the way quarter of Üsküdar. This is the severely plain türbe of Hacı Mehmet Pasha, dated by an inscription to A. H. 967 (1559–60). The türbe stands on an octagonal terrace bristling with old tombstones and overshadowed by a dying terebinth tree.

## 5.4 Iskender Pasha Camii

The village of Kanlıca on the Asian shore of the middle Bosphorus has for centuries been famous for its yogurt, which it is pleasant to eat in one of the little restaurants that are to be found around the very attractive, plane-tree shaded square by the iskele, or ferry landing. On the far side of the square is the mosque of Iskender Pasha, one of Süleyman's vezirs. This is a minor work of Sinan, dated by an inscription to A. H. 967 (1559–60). The mosque is of the very simplest type; with a wooden porch and a flat ceiling, though both porch and roof are clearly modern additions, for Evliya Çelebi says that the prayer room was covered by a wooden dome. The founder's türbe is nearby.

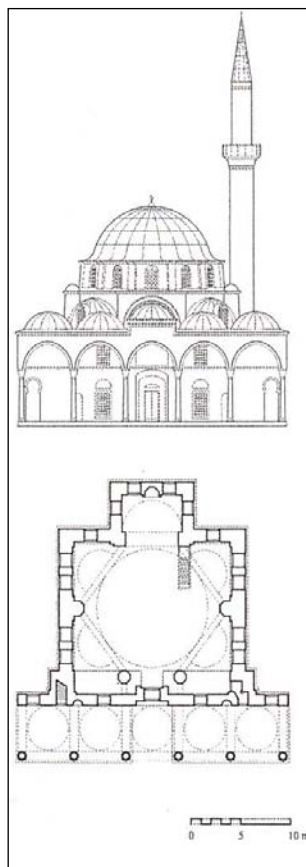


*Figure 38: Sogukkuyu Medresesi, plan (from Kuran).*



*Figure 39: Iskender Pasha Camii, elevation and plan (from Necipoğlu).*

**Figure 40:** *Molla Çelebi Camii*  
(Anthony E. Baker).



**Figure 41:** *Molla Çelebi Camii*,  
elevation and plan (from Kuran).



### 5.5 Molla Çelebi Camii

At Fındıklı on the lower European shore of the Bosphorus there is a charming little mosque of Sinan's called Molla Çelebi Camii, which was restored in the early 1970s. This Molla was the kadiasker, or chief justice, Mehmet Efendi, a *savant* and poet; here he also built a hamam but this was demolished in 1958 when the road was widened. The mosque has no historical inscription but the hamam did, and it gave the date A. H. 969 (1561–2). Since Sinan built the hamam as well and since it was part of the same foundation, this date is doubtless also that of the mosque. The mosque is of the hexagonal type, but here the pillars are actually engaged in the walls; between them to east and west are four small semidomes, and another covers the projecting rectangular apse that contains the mihrab. The mosque is at the water's edge, and its position as well as its graceful lines make it very picturesque.

### 5.6 Ferruh Kethüda Camii

Ferruh Kethüda Camii is a minor work of Sinan located near the shore of the Golden Horn in the old quarter known as Balat. A long and handsomely written inscription in Arabic over the fine entrance portal of red conglomerate marble records that the mosque was built in A.H. 970 (1562–3) by Ferruh Ağa, kethüda, or steward, of the grand vezir Semiz Ali Pasha. The building is of the simple rectangular type with a wooden roof; it probably had a wooden dome originally, as so many mosques of this type once had, but all of these, with one exception, Takkeci Ibrahim Ağa Camii, have perished in the many fires that have ravaged the city. For many years the mosque was in a ruinous condition, but it was restored in the early 1970s, when unfortunately it was given a flat

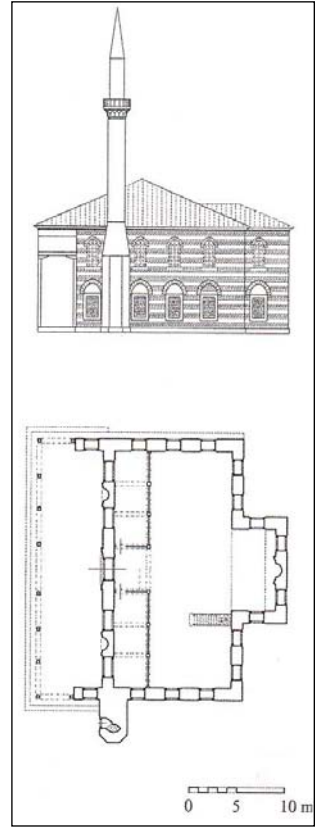
concrete roof. The building is very long and shallow with a long and shallow 'apse' for the mihrab, which is adorned with tiles of the Tekfursaray period. A wooden balcony runs along the north wall, but this is clearly not like the original, for it obstructs the windows in an awkward way. A deep porch precedes the mosque; it must have been rather impressive, supported, as it would appear, on eight columns, the plinths for which remain, but it has been very summarily restored and glazed in. All the same, it is attractive with its grand marble portal, two handsome niches with pretty conch tops, and at each end a curious sort of 'anta' or projection of the mosque wall with windows above and below. This is the handsomest and most interesting of Sinan's many mosques of this simple type, and it is worthy of a more sympathetic restoration.

## 5.7 Hürrem Çavuş Camii

Hürrem Çavuş Camii, a little mosque in the district of Yeni Bahçe (New Garden) on the Fifth Hill, is of no interest save that its architect was Sinan. An inscription records that it was built in A. H. 970 (1562–3) by a certain Hürrem who was a çavuş, or usher, at meetings of the Divan. The mosque is of the rectangular type with wooden roof and porch. Restorations are recorded in 1844 and 1901, and perhaps because of these it has lost any charm it may once have had, except for its pretty garden.

## 5.8 Mescit of Mimar Sinan

About 400 metres to the south-east of Hürrem Çavuş Camii there is another little mosque of no architectural interest except for its historical association. This is the mescit of Mimar Sinan, dated A. H. 981 (1573–4), part of a vakıf founded by the great architect himself, a külliye that also included an elementary school and a fountain. The

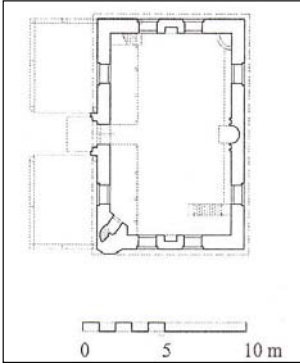
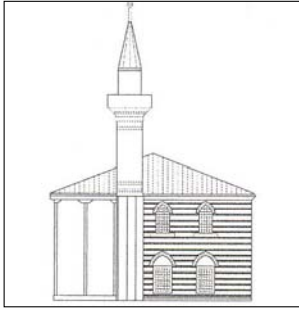


*Figure 42: Ferruh Kethüda Camii, elevation and plan (from Necipoğlu).*

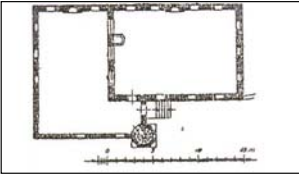


*Figure 43: Hürrem Çavuş Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*





**Figure 44:** *Hürrem Çavuş Camii, elevation and plan (from Necipoglu).*



**Figure 45:** *Mescit of Mimar Sinan, plan and sketch (from Gurlitt).*

mosque, according to the plan given by Gurlitt in 1912, was rather irregular, consisting of two rectangular rooms with a wooden roof. It was already a ruin in Gurlitt's time, and by the early 1970's all that remained was the minaret, the school and the fountain also having vanished. The mosque itself has now been rebuilt and the minaret has been restored. Oddly enough, it is a minaret of a very rare type, perhaps the only one of its kind that Sinan built. It is octagonal and without a balcony; instead, at the top, a decorated window in each of the eight faces allows the müezzín to give the call to prayer.

### 5.9 Türbe of Yahya Efendi

On the European shore of the lower Bosphorus, a short way beyond the lower entrance to the grounds of Yıldız Sarayı, a steep street leads up to a very picturesque türbe complex by Sinan for the famous divine Yahya Efendi. Evliya Çelebi describes the complex as being in a deep shaded recess of the hills, luxuriant with plane, cypress, willow, fir and nut trees,' and he says that 'some well-intentioned people have constructed a sofa at the foot of the spring, within the murmur of which all kinds of birds sing their melodious notes; it is an old pleasure place, where friends are wont to meet.'<sup>16</sup>

Evliya says that Yahya Efendi was born at Trebizond, where his mothered simultaneously nursed him and the future sultan Süleyman, who was born there at the same time in A. H. 900 (1494). Yahya was adopted as the foster brother of Süleyman, who brought him to Istanbul when he became sultan. Yahya died in 1570, according to Evliya, and one would assume that the türbe and its attendant medrese were built at about that date. Both buildings are now enveloped by wooden structures of the nineteenth century and it is hard to see either or even to be sure what is left of the medrese; its dershane at least appears to be intact. The türbe communicates by a large grilled opening with a small wooden mosque covered by a baroque wooden dome. The various buildings themselves are picturesque, but even more so are their surroundings, where the topsy-turvy gravestones vie with the lovely copse of trees mentioned by Evliya, through which one catches occasional glimpses of the Bosphorus. The place is obviously very holy and is always thronged with pious people at their devotions.

### 5.10 Türbe complex of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha and Esmehan Sultan

The türbe complex of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha and his wife Esmehan Sultan is on the shore of the Golden Horn at Eyüp. The külliye consists of the türbe, a medrese, a darülkurra, and several fountains,

all built by Sinan. Inscriptions date the türbe and medrese to A. H. 976 (1568–9), the darülkurra to A. H. 987 (1579), and the fountains from 1567–8 to 1570–1.

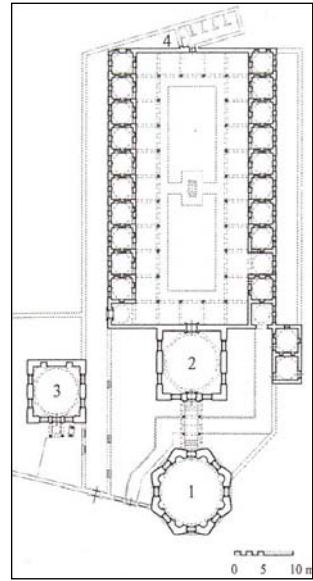
The türbe is elegant and well-proportioned but severely plain. Its chief distinction is, however, that in its upper row of windows it contains what must be among the best, if not the very best, of Turkish stained glass, though partly a modern replacement. In alternate windows red and green are the prevailing colours; the blue especially is a deep, rich shade that almost recalls the blue of Chartres. The work is extremely fine and nowhere is there any clash or disharmony of tone. The painted decoration in the dome is also rich and harmonious. ‘Among the monuments of the vezirs,’ writes Evliya, ‘there is none greater than this.’<sup>17</sup>

A little colonnade connects the türbe to the derthane of the very beautiful medrese. Notice the fine identical doorways of the two buildings, differing only in that the rich polychrome work of the türbe is in verd antique, that of the derthane in red conglomerate marble. Inside, the derthane also has stained glass windows, though in rather more gaudy colours. The dome, of which the stenciled decoration appears to be modern but well done in good rich colours, is supported by squinches of very bold stalactites. The opposite door leads into the medrese, a rectangular structure with the cells arrayed on the two long sides of the colonnaded courtyard, its portico having ten domes on each side and only three on the ends. The building has been brilliantly restored and is now used as a clinic for mothers and children.

In the little garden of the türbe are buried the children and other descendants of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha. On the western side of the garden is the darülkurra, a building in the same style as the derthane but somewhat smaller. Although modest in size, this is one of the most attractive of Sinan’s many külliyes.



*Figure 46: Türbe of Yahya Efendi (from Şehsuvaroğlu).*



*Figure 47: Türbe complex of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha and Esmeban Sultan, plan: 1. türbe, 2. derthane of medrese, 3. darülkurra, 4. latrines (from Necipoğlu).*



*Figure 48: Türbe of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha (Anthony E. Baker).*

*Figure 49: Dershane of medrese of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha (Anthony E. Baker).*



### 5.11 Türbe of Siyavuş Pasha

Directly across the street from Sokollu's türbe is the türbe of Siyavuş Pasha, who was thrice grand vezir in the reign of Murat III. This türbe is probably also by Sinan. Siyavuş Pasha did not die until 1601, but in the list of Sinan's türbes we find one, number 16, 'erected for the children of Siyavuş Pasha at Eyüp.'<sup>18</sup> This appears to be otherwise quite unknown, and it is quite possible that having built it for his children Siyavuş Pasha himself was finally buried there. This view is supported, for what it is worth, by Evliya, who ascribes this türbe to Sinan. The building is a little squat and is of the type where the lead covering of the dome projects slightly and forms a kind of eaves around the building. It is octagonal and inside has a faience decoration of the best period of Iznik. The eight little pendentives are tiled with the holy names; a fine inscription in blue and white runs round the building, and over the widows there are excellent rectangular panels in various colours.

### 5.12 Türbe of Pertev Pasha

Just across a narrow road from the west wall of the Eyüp mosque is the long wall of a very unusual tomb indeed. This is the türbe of Pertev Mehmet Pasha, built by Sinan somewhat before the Pasha's death in 1572. Pertev was an Albanian slave who had had been brought up in Topkapı Sarayı, where he became chief gatekeeper; he was appointed beylerbeyi of Rumelia in 1553, and rose to the rank of second vezir in 1565, but he was dismissed from his post after the battle of Lepanto in 1571 and died in disgrace the following year.

Pertev's türbe is a rectangular building, more like a house than a tomb, with six windows and a door in the street façade. The lunettes of the single row of windows have very fine marble grilles and there is a handsome inscription over the door. Unfortunately the roof fell in





*Figure 50: Türbe of Pertev Pasha  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

around 1927, which was a great pity, for it consisted of two wooden domes adorned with the magnificent painted decoration of the sixteenth century, which divided the rectangular space into two square ‘rooms’. It must have been superb, and is now irrecoverable. The first dome-covered room was reserved for the tomb of Pertev Pasha himself, the second for the tombs of his family. The tombs themselves are elegant examples of Turkish marble sarcophagi, decorated with rosettes and flowers, at the head the tombstone crowned by the kavuk or headdress of the defunct with a beautifully written inscription on each.

### 5.13 Türbe and mektep of Şah Huban

The türbe of Şah Huban is in the district of Yeni Bahçe in the Lycus valley. The türbe is part of a small complex that also includes a mektep. The octagonal türbe, that of Şah Huban Kadın, is a minor work of Sinan, built around 1572, when Şah Huban died. The *Tezkere* does not contain a list of Sinan’s mekteps, presumably because they were too insignificant to merit special attention, but since several of his great mosque complexes include a mektep as an integral element, it is reasonable to assume that he designed them as well, and probably the same is true in the present instance. While there is nothing remarkable about the türbe, the mektep is a grand one, being double, that is, it consists of two spacious square rooms each covered by a dome and containing an elegant ocak, or chimney piece. The wooden roof and column of the porch are part of a modern restoration, but they probably replace an equally simple original. The building now serves as an out-patient’s clinic for mental disorders.

### 5.14 Hamam of Hüsrev Kethüda

The hamam of Hüsrev Kethüda is on the European shore of the Bosphorus in Ortaköy. The founder was steward of the grand vezir

*Figure 51: Hamam of Hüsrev Kethüda (Anthony E. Baker).*



Sokollu Mehmet Pasha, and the hamam, which has no historical inscription, may have been built at any time during Sokollu's long career. The hamam has recently been restored and now houses a café, so that it can be examined in detail.

The interior is curious and is unlike any other existing Sinan hamam. It is a double hamam, with the men's and women's sections apparently identical. From a camekân of the usual form, one enters a rather large soğukluk, consisting of a central area in two unequal bays each covered by a cradle-vault; at one end are the lavatories, at the other a bathing cubicle. From the central area one enters the hararet which, instead of being the usual large domed cruciform room, consists of four domed areas of almost equal size. The first two communicate with each other by a wide arch and here, instead of the central göbektaşı, there is a raised marble sofa or podium against one wall. Doors lead into two other domed areas, divided from each other by a wall and with lower domes than those in the sofa-room. These serve as bathing cubicles, and there is another cubicle, cradle-vaulted, also entered from the sofa-room. An arrangement of this type is seen in a number of the older and smaller hamams, but here, where the area is large enough, the reason for it is not apparent.

### 5.15 Haghia Sophia

When Fatih converted Haghia Sophia to a mosque he erected a brick minaret at the south-west corner of the building. Later he erected a second brick minaret, the one that still stands at the south-east corner. The next one to be erected was the present stone minaret at the north-east corner. This has been ascribed both to Beyazıt II (r. 1481–1512) and to Selim II (1566–74), but a panorama of the city drawn in 1559 by Melchior Lorichs clearly shows a minaret at this point, so the credit must be given to Beyazıt. Finally we come to the existing pair of western minarets. For these there is documentary

evidence in the form of a firman, or decree, issued by Selim II in 1573, ordering Sinan to demolish Fatih's minaret at the south-west corner of the building and replace it with a new one. However Selim died the following year and the project was largely carried out by his son and successor Murat III, who had Sinan build the present two stone minarets on the western corners of the building, the one at the south-west corner replacing Fatih's brick minaret.

## 5.16 Türbe of Selim II

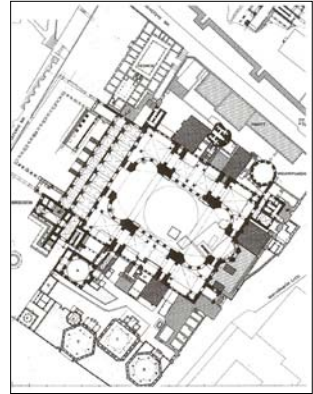
Sinan also built the first of the three imperial Ottoman türbes that still stand in the garden beside Haghia Sophia, the last resting places of the three successors of Süleyman the Magnificent. This is the türbe of Selim II, which is flanked on its left by the tomb of Murat III and on its right by the mausoleum of Mehmet III.

Sinan completed the türbe in 1577, three years after the death of Selim II, who is buried there with his wife Nurbanu. Arrayed around them are the tiny catafalques covering the graves of five of his sons, three of his daughters and 32 of his grandchildren, children of his son and successor Murat III. Selim's sons were murdered on 21 December 1574 by order of Murat, in accord with the Ottoman code of fratricide, to ensure his peaceful succession to the throne.

The exterior entrance façade and the whole of the interior are covered with Iznik tiles of the best period. The building is square and has a double dome, one outside and the other inside. The outer dome rests directly on the walls, while the inner dome is supported by a circle of columns inscribed in a square. Such a double dome – which has no relation to the Brunelleschi double-dome of western architecture, since here the two domes are structurally independent of one another – is used occasionally in the türbes of the classical Ottoman period, for example those of Süleyman and Roxelana, but is on the whole rare and is never used for a mosque.

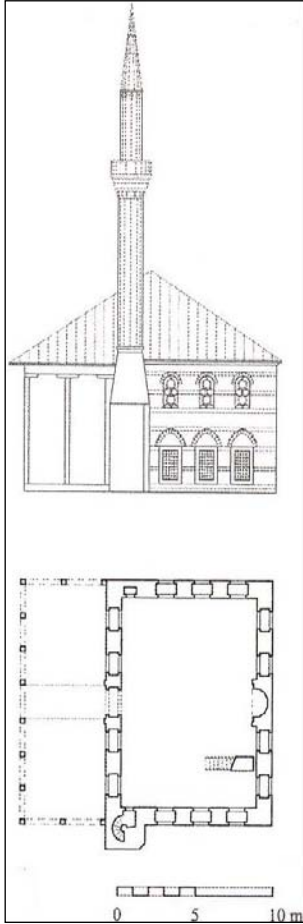
## 5.17 Ramazan Efendi Camii

Ramzan Efendi Camii is a small but charming mosque on the Seventh Hill built by Sinan. The mosque appears in the *Tezkeret-ül Ebniye* as Hoca Hüsref Camii while the *Hadikat-ül Cevami* lists it as Bezirgân Camii. It is now known as Ramazan Efendi Camii after the first şeyh of the Halveti dervish tekke which was part of the original foundation but which has now completely vanished. The long inscription in Turkish verse over the inner door by Sinan's friend the poet Mustafa Sa'i mentions its founder, Hacı Hüsref Çelebi, of whom nothing further is known except that he was Bezirgânbaşı, or purveyor in the court; it gives the



*Figure 52: Haghia Sophia and its imperial Ottoman tombs, plan: B. Mehmet II, C. Selim II, D. Murat III (from Müller-Wiener).*

**Figure 53:** *Ramazan Efendi Camii*  
(Anthony E. Baker).



**Figure 54:** *Ramazan Efendi Camii*,  
elevation and plan (from Necipoğlu).



date A. H. 994 (1585), thus it is one of Sinan's latest works. It is a building of the simplest type: a small rectangular room with a wooden roof and a wooden porch. According to İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı,<sup>19</sup> originally it was covered by a wooden dome and had a porch with four marble columns, probably with three domed bays. The present wooden porch and flat wooden ceiling were botched restorations after an earthquake. The minaret is an elegant structure both in proportion and detail, while the small şadırvan in the courtyard is exquisitely carved.

The great fame of the mosque comes from the magnificent panels of faience which it contains. These are from the Iznik kilns at the height of their artistic production and are thus some of the finest tiles in existence. The borders of 'tomato red' or 'Armenian bole', like those in the Salon of Murat III at the Saray, are especially celebrated.

### 5.18 Hacı Evhat Camii

The little mosque known as Hacı Evhat Camii is near the Marmara shore of the Seventh Hill, just inside the city walls at Yedikule, the Fortress of the Seven Towers. This may very well be a work of Sinan, though it is not mentioned in the *Tezkere*. An inscription gives the date of foundation of the mosque as A. H. 993 (1585). The founder, Kasap Ustası (Master Butcher) Hacı Evhat, was, as his name implies, head of the guild of butchers. The mosque was very badly restored in the early 1970s, but the minaret is still tall and slender and has a beautifully carved şerefe. In plan it is almost identical with Ramazan Efendi Camii: a rectangular room with a hipped and tiled roof under which was once a ceiling with a wooden dome; but the restoration here, as at Ramazan Efendi Camii, has given it a flat ceiling, a change which makes the interior flat in a

general sense. Like Ramazan Efendi, it was once adorned with tiles of the best period, but these have altogether vanished.

## 5.19 Ağa Hamamı

The disaffected Turkish bath known as Ağa Hamamı is on Samatya Caddesi, the main road inside the wall on the Marmara shore of the Seventh Hill, following the course of a branch of the ancient Via Egnatia. The *hamam* is definitely a work of Sinan since it is on Mustafa Sa'i's list. It was a vast double hamam, as one can see by looking down upon it from the street above, but it is difficult to determine its exact form since it has been converted to a commercial building and is not open to the public.

## 5.20 Yeni Aya Kapı and the Havuzlu Hamam

There is another disaffected Turkish bath known as Havuzlu Hamam, the Bath with a Pool, on the shore of the Golden Horn beside the gateway known as Yeni Aya Kapı, the New Holy Gate. This portal is not one of the original gateways in the Byzantine sea-walls, but was constructed in 1582 by Sinan. The local residents had petitioned the authorities to open a gate there so that they could more easily make their way to the new bath, which had been constructed outside the walls at that point. The Havuzlu Ham is probably also a work of Sinan, constructed in 1582 for the valide sultan Nurbanu, wife of Selim II and mother of Murat III, for whom he built the great mosque complex of Atik Valide Camii above Üsküdar. Unfortunately Havuzlu Hamam is now abandoned and falling into ruins, and the multitudes who pass it every day are unaware that it was built by the great Sinan.

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(Please refer to the Bibliography at the end of the book)

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5. Ibid., p. 185
6. Ibid., p. 111
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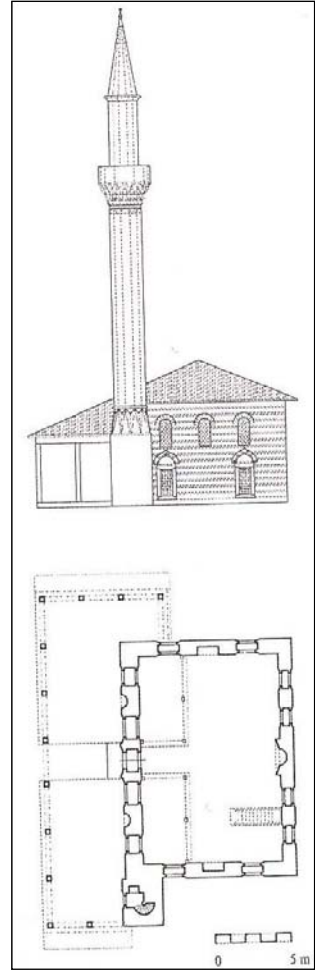


Figure 55: Hacı Evbat Camii, elevation and plan (from Necipoğlu).

10. Hilary Sumner-Boyd, *The Seven Hills of Istanbul: A Study of the Byzantine and Turkish Monuments of the City*, p. 613
11. Hilary Sumner-Boyd and John Freely, *Strolling Through Istanbul*, p. 370
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15. Hilary Sumner-Boyd, *The Seven Hills of Istanbul: A Study of the Byzantine and Turkish Monuments of the City*, p. 704
16. Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels*, vol. I, part II, p. 64
17. Hilary Sumner-Boyd, *The Seven Hills of Istanbul: A Study of the Byzantine and Turkish Monuments of the City*, p. 608
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## CHAPTER X

# Sinan's Contemporaries and Successors in the Classical Tradition

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Even in Sinan's lifetime a number of important mosques and other buildings in the classical style were erected in Istanbul by other architects, most of them not known. The few who are known include Sinan's successor as chief of the imperial architects: Davut Ağa (1588–98), who was in turn succeeded by Dalgıç Ahmet Çavuş (1598–1606), and Mimar Mehmet Ağa (1606–ca.1622), the first two of being involved in the first phase of building Yeni Valide Camii, while the third built Sultan Ahmet I Camii, the last two great imperial mosque complexes in the classical style. Classical Ottoman architecture flourished until the early years of the eighteenth century, when it began to give way to the baroque style.

## 2 BUILDINGS BY SINAN'S YOUNGER CONTEMPORARIES AND IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS

### 2.1 Piyale Pasha Camii

Piyale Pasha Camii is about a mile inland from the naval arsenal at Kasım Pasha on the northern shore of the Golden Horn, to which it was once joined by a stream, now filled in, that flowed through Bülbul Deresi, the Valley of the Nightingales. The founder, Piyale Mehmet Pasha, the son of a Croatian shoemaker, became a Muslim and was trained in the Palace School at the Saray, after which he became chief admiral of the Ottoman navy and rose to the rank of second vezir. After Piyale won a victory over the Spaniards in 1560 Süleyman rewarded him with marriage to his granddaughter Geverhan Sultan, a daughter of the future Selim II.

Piyale Pasha Camii, built in 1573 by an unknown architect, is one of the most charming and enigmatic of all the classical mosques. The



*Figure 1: Piyale Pasha Camii*  
(Anthony E. Baker).

mosque is unique in the classical period in more than one respect. In the first place, it is the only classical mosque to revert in plan to the Ulu Cami or multi-domed type common in the Seljuk and early Ottoman periods. Its six ample and equal domes in two rows of three are supported internally by two great red marble columns. Thus far it follows the earlier type, but all else is different. In the centre of the north wall opposite the mihrab is a small balcony supported on six columns, and behind this rises very unusually the single minaret, which is thus in the middle of the north façade. The entrance portals are to right and left of the balcony and between them to east and west are narrow galleries along the sides of the building. The prayer room is lighted by numerous windows, many of the upper ones being round, *oeils-de-boeuf*. Between the second and third tier of windows a wide frieze of faience has inscriptions from the Kuran in white on a blue ground; they are from the famous calligrapher Kara Hisari, who also wrote the inscriptions at the Süleymaniye. The mihrab is also a very beautiful work of Iznik tiles of the best period. The whole interior, now in very good repair, is not merely unusual but exceptionally charming.

The exterior is – or was, for much of it has been destroyed – even more unusual, but exceptionally charming. Round three sides of the building runs a deep porch whose vaults are supported on stout rectangular pillars. Above the porches to east and west were galleries with sloping roofs, each supported by 20 little columns,



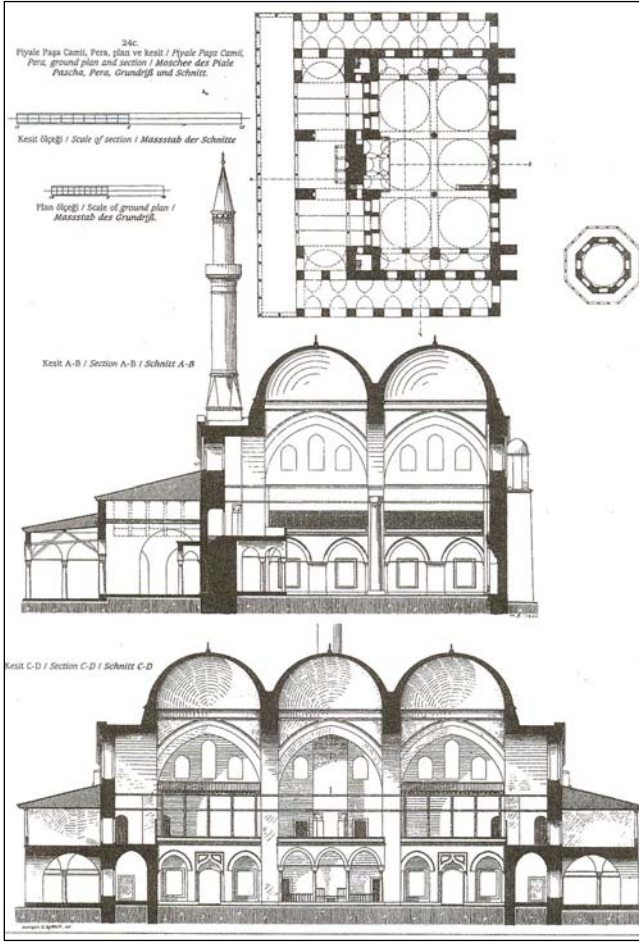


Figure 2: Piyale Pasha Camii, plan and section (from Gurlitt).

while in front of the main northern porch was another lower one with 22 columns. The roofs of this and the upper galleries on the sides have unfortunately disappeared, but from old pictures one can see how fascinating this unique arrangement was. The founder's türbe behind the mosque also has a columned porch.

The külliye also included a combined medrese-tekke as well as a hamam and a mektep, all of which have vanished. The cells of the medrese-tekke lined the north and west sides of the mosque courtyard. These buildings are described by Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayî in the *Hadikat-ül Cevami*:

The rooms of the medrese are on one side of [the forecourt], and the cells of the dervish lodge on the other. There is a water dispenser outside the [west] gate. And inside the

courtyard is a well, and a stone spigot and privies. In the cemetery of the [founder's] tomb there is an upper-storey elementary school overlooking the market, and there is an exalted double bath in its market.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.2 Çemberlitaş Hamamı

The Çemberlitaş Hamamı on Divan Yolu stands just across the side street from Constantine's Column, known in Turkish as Çemberlitaş, erected by Constantine the Great in 330 to commemorate the founding of Constantinople. This fine classical hamam was built by the valide sultan Nurbanu some time before her death in 1583. Sinan does not appear to be the architect of this beautiful hamam, for it is not mentioned in the *Tezkere*. The bath is still in use, at least the men's section; it was originally double but part of the women's section was destroyed when Divan Yolu was widened. In general it follows the usual plan: a great domed camekân leads to a small three-domed soğukluk, which opens into the hararet. The latter has a rather charming arrangement, seen again at the famous Çağaloğlu Hamamı (see pp. 365-6) and elsewhere: inscribed in a square chamber is a circle of columns on which rests the dome; in the corners are little washing cells, each with its dome and an attractive door; the pavements have geometric designs.

*Figure 3: Çemberlitaş Hamamı  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



### 2.3 Hamam of Nurbanu

Nurbanu also built two hamams at Üsküdar, one of them, now virtually destroyed, being part of the Atik Valide Camii complex that Sinan built for her. Her other hamam here is on the main avenue of Üsküdar, just opposite Yeni Valide Camii (see p. 273-80); a large part of this bath has survived and is now used as a supermarket, whose owner calls it Sinan's Covered Bazaar. This ascription is, to say the least of it doubtful; there is in the *Tezkere* only one hamam of Nurbanu's at Üsküdar, and that is part of the Atik Valide Camii külliye.

The supermarket hamam was originally a double bath, but unfortunately the two great camekâns were swept away when the avenue was widened. What remains are the soğukluks and hararets; the two sections, men's and women's, have been opened up to communicate with one another. The restoration and alterations have been very well done – even patches of the original painted decoration having been preserved – so that it is easy for anyone familiar with the layout of hamams to see how it would have been. The hararets are very pretty, with their open eyvans and domed cubicles in the diagonals carefully preserved, and in the centre an octagonal glass serving counter gaily takes the place of the göbektaş or belly stone! The *Hadika* says that this bath had 'green columns' (verd antique?), but these have disappeared; perhaps they were in the camekâns.

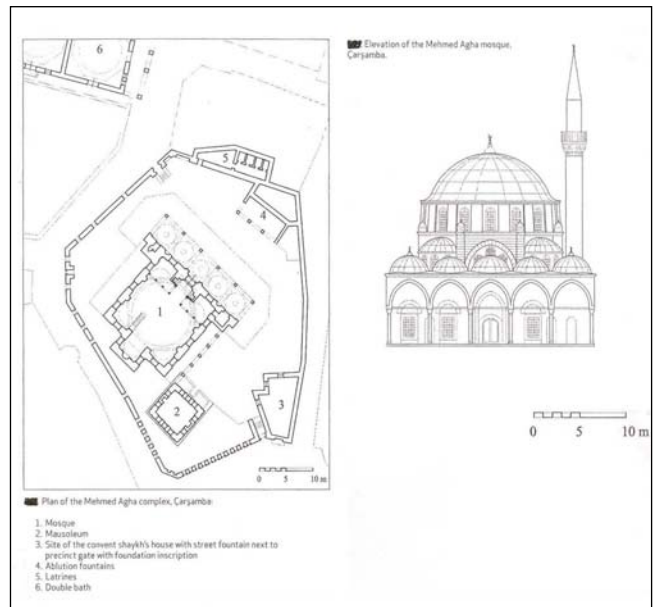
*Figure 4: Mehmet Ağa Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



### 2.4 Mehmet Ağa Camii

Mehmet Ağa Camii is a small mosque on the Fifth Hill. Though of modest dimensions, it is a pretty mosque and interesting because it is one of the relatively few that can be confidently attributed to the architect Davut Ağa, Sinan's colleague and successor as chief of the imperial architects. Over one of the gates to the courtyard is an inscription naming Davut as architect and giving the date A. H. 993 (1585), when Sinan was still alive. The founder Mehmet Ağa was chief of the black eunuchs during the reign of Murat III.

In plan the mosque is of the simplest type: a square room covered by a dome, with a projecting apse for the mihrab and an interesting porch with five bays. But unlike most mosques of this simple type, the dome does not rest directly on the walls but on arches supported by pillars and columns engaged in the walls; instead of pendentives there are four semidomes in the diagonals. Thus the effect is an inscribed octagon, as in several of Sinan's mosques, but in this case without the side aisles; it rather resembles Sinan's mosque of Molla Çelebi at Fındıklı on the Bosphorus. The effect is unusual but not unattractive. The interior is adorned with faience inscriptions and other tile panels of the best Iznik period. But the painted modern decoration is tasteless; fortunately it is growing dim with damp. Mehmet Ağa's türbe, a rather large square building, is in the garden at the south-east corner of the mosque.



*Figure 5: Mehmet Ağa Camii, plan and section (from Necipoğlu).*

## 2.5 Hamam of Mehmet Ağa

Just to the west of the mosque precincts stands a handsome double bath, also a benefaction of Mehmet Ağa and presumably built by Davut Ağa at the same time that he erected the mosque. This hamam, virtually unmentioned in the literature, has been well restored and is still in use. The general plan is standard: a large square camekân, the dome of which is supported on squinches in the form of conches, and a cruciform hararet with cubicles in the corners of the cross. But the lower arm of the cross has been cut off and turned into a small soğukluk which leads through the right-hand cubicle into the hararet; in this cubicle are very small private washrooms divided from each other by low marble partitions, a disposition not seen anywhere else. As far as one can judge from the outside, the women's section seems to be a duplicate of the men's.

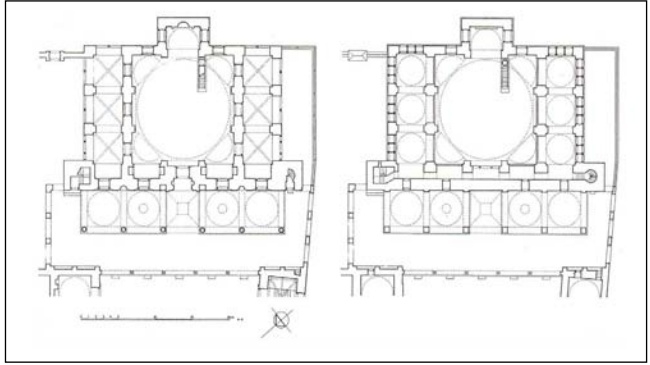
## 2.6 Mesih Pasha Camii

Mesih Pasha Camii is on the Fourth Hill about 400 metres north-west of Fatih Camii. The mosque was built in 1585 for the eunuch Mesih Mehmet Pasha, infamous for his cruelty as governor of Egypt, who became grand vezir for a short time when he was ninety in the reign of Murat III. Many authorities ascribe Mesih

*Figure 6: Mesih Pasha Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 7: Mesih Pasha Camii, plan: (left) ground level, (right) gallery level (from Kuran).*



Pasha Camii to an unknown architect, but Aptullah Kuran argues convincingly that it was built by Davut Ağa, with Sinan's approval; as he writes: 'Most probably, Mesih Pasha commissioned Sinan for the construction of his mosque; but Sinan turned over full responsibility to Davut Ağa, the creative force in Ottoman architecture during the 1580s.'<sup>2</sup>

The courtyard is attractive but rather somber; it consists of the usual domed porticoes under which, rather unusually, are the ablution fountains; this is because the place of the şadırvan in the centre of the courtyard has been taken by the picturesque open türbe of the founder. The mosque is preceded by a double porch, but the wooden roof of the outer porch has disappeared, leaving the arcades to support nothing; the inner porch has the usual five bays.

In plan the mosque is an octagon inscribed in a square with semidomes as squinches in the diagonals, with galleries to east and west. But the odd feature here is that what in most mosques of this form are aisles under the galleries are here turned into porches; that is, where you would expect an arcade of columns, you find a wall with windows opening into an exterior gallery, which, in turn, opens to the outside through enormous glazed arches. The mihrap and mimber are very fine works in marble, as are the marble grilles above the windows. Tiles of the best Iznik period complete the decoration of this interesting building.

### 2.7 Medrese of Gevherhan Sultan

Piyale Pasha's wife Gevherhan Sultan, daughter of Selim II, built a medrese on the Seventh Hill opposite Cerrah Pasha Camii (see pp. 322-4). This is an attractive building though it is now in a ruinous condition. It has the standard form of a rectangular porticoed courtyard with the cells on the east and west sides

embracing the dersane in the middle of the north side opposite the entrance. The medrese is dated by an inscription to A. H. 995 (1586).

### 2.8 Ivaz Efendi Camii

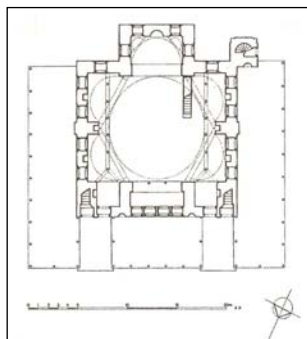
Ivaz Efendi Camii is just inside the ancient land walls of the city where they descend to the Golden Horn, standing on a terrace above the substructures of the Byzantine palace of Blachernae, the last residence of the emperors of Byzantium. This is a very attractive mosque, and while of no great size it is the only monumental building in the whole district. Several writers attribute this mosque to Sinan, but without any evidence, for it does not appear in the *Tezkeret-ül Ebniye* nor is it ascribed to Sinan by Evliya or the *Hadika*. There is disagreement about its date as well, for there is no historical inscription, and so one might date it to the year of Ivaz Efendi's death, A. H. 994 (1586).

The mosque is almost square, its dome resting on four semidomes with stalactite cornices; the mihrab is in a projecting apse and is decorated with Iznik tiles of the best period. The centre of the north wall is occupied by a gallery in two stories supported on slender marble columns. There are also wooden galleries to east and west, but these do not seem to be original, certainly not in their present form. The interior is very elegant

*Figure 8: Ivaz Efendi Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*





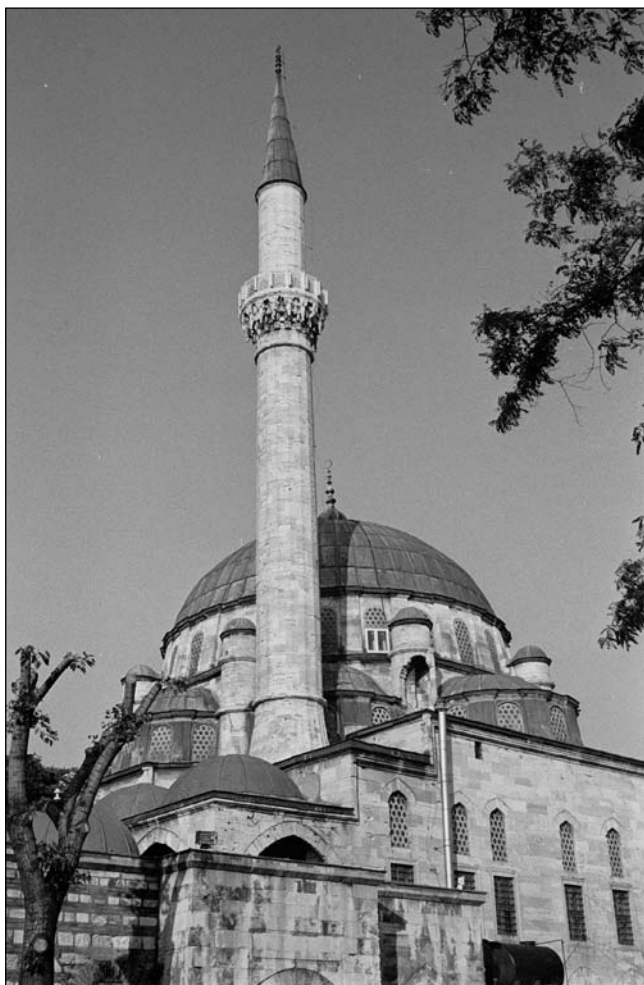


*Figure 9: İvaz Efendi Camii, plan (from Kuran).*

and gives a great sense of light, illuminated as it is by windows in all its walls. The north façade is most unusual; instead of a central entrance portal there are double doors at each end of the façade, the rest of it being filled with windows; the effect is very pretty. Another odd, indeed unique, feature is that the minaret is at the south-east corner. Originally there was a porch, evidently with a sloping roof supported by columns, which ran around three sides of the building.

### 2.9 Nişancı Mehmet Pasha Camii

The beautiful mosque of Nişancı Mehmet Pasha is on the Fifth Hill. This is one of the best of the classical mosques, and though



*Figure 10: Nişancı Mehmet Pasha Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*

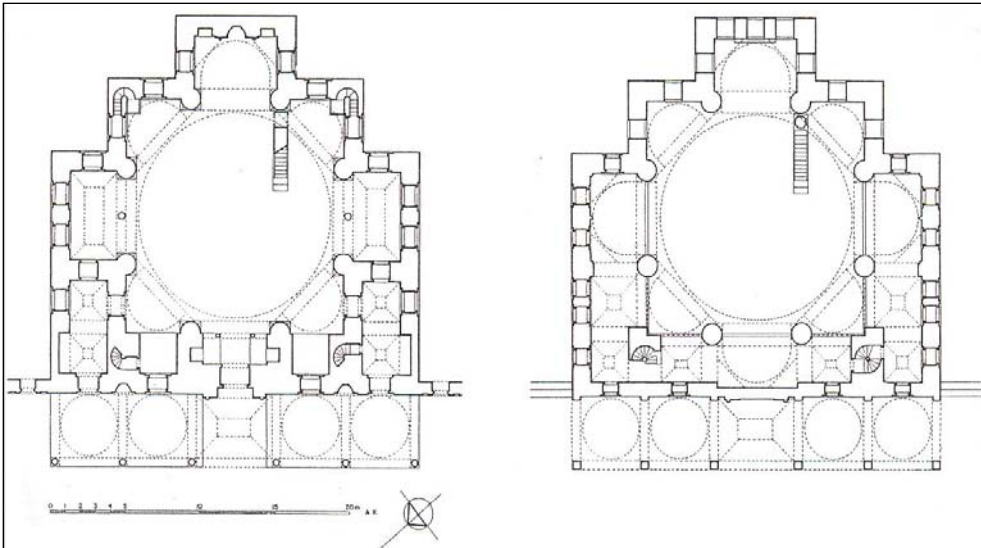


it was built during the lifetime of Sinan it is not a work of Sinan! The mosque is popularly ascribed to Sinan, but it does not appear in the *Tezkere*. The identity of the architect is unfortunately unknown, but it was built for the Lord Privy Seal (Nişancı) Mehmet Pasha between 1584 and 1588.

From a distance one sees the elegance of line and the masterly arrangement of the upper structure: the great dome surrounded by the eight little weight turrets, the eight semidomes of two sizes, and the minaret unusually close to the dome base, an excellently proportioned distribution of curves and verticals. One enters through the usual charming courtyard, the arches of which are of the ogive type; under the porch of five bays an inscription with the tuğra of Mustafa III records a restoration in 1766, presumably after the very severe earthquake of that year.

The plan of the mosque is an interesting variation of the octagon inscribed in a square. Eight smaller semidomes serve as squinches instead of pendentives. The eastern semidome covers a projecting apse for the mihrab, while those to east and west also cover projections from the square, the northern corners of the cross so formed being filled with small independent chambers; above on three sides are galleries. The whole arrangement is interesting and masterly. Nor are interesting details wanting. In the corners of the south wall are two kürsüs, or platforms, access to which is gained by staircases built into the thickness of the wall from the window recesses. In the voussoirs and balustrades of these platforms, in the window frames, and elsewhere throughout the mosque an interesting conglomerate marble of pale violet and grey is used, and for the columns which

*Figure 11: Nişancı Mehmet Pasha Camii, plan: (left) ground level, (right) gallery level (from Kuran).*



support both platforms and galleries there is another conglomerate marble of tawny brown flaked with yellow, grey, black, and green. The arches of the galleries, like those of the courtyard, are of the ogive type. As a whole the mosque is a masterpiece; it is as if the unknown architect, in the extreme old age of Sinan himself and to show that he could do them as well as the Master. This has led Aptullah Kuran to suggest that Sinan's colleague and successor Davut Ağa was the architect of Nişancı Mehmet Pasha Camii. Among his reasons for this suggestions are the stylistic similarities between this mosque and Cerrah Pasha Camii, built in the following decade. As he writes: 'Another clue pointing to Davut Ağa as the architect of the Nişancı mosque is the Cerrah Pasha Mosque (1593–4/A. H. 1002) which is definitely one of his works. After covering eight sides of the octagon with half domes in the Nişancı, Davut Ağa did the same for the hexagonal Cerrah Pasha Mosque.'<sup>3</sup>

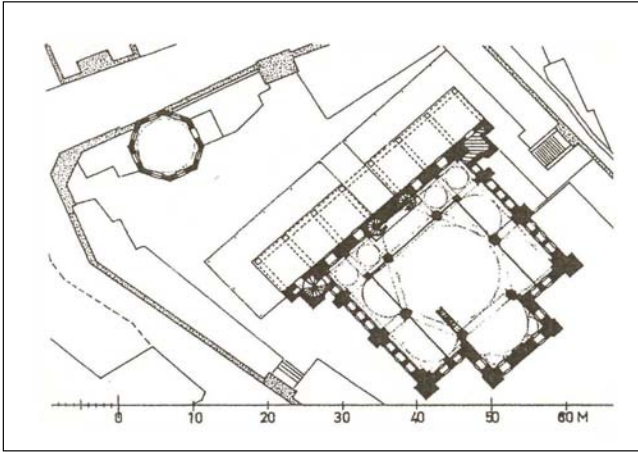
In the little graveyard beside the mosque is the small and unpretentious türbe of Nişancı Mehmet Pasha; an inscription gives the date of his death as A. H. 1001 (1592–3).

### 2.10 Cerrah Pasha Camii

The imposing mosque of Cerrah Pasha is the most prominent landmark on the Marmara slope of the Seventh Hill. The founder, Cerrah Mehmet Pasha, had been a barber and also a surgeon

*Figure 12: Cerrah Pasha Camii*  
(Anthony E. Baker).





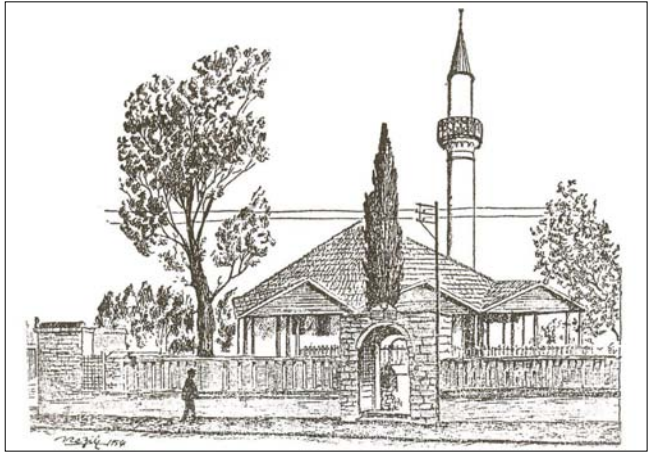
*Figure 13: Cerrah Pasha Camii, plan (from Müller-Wiener).*

(cerrah), a title he received from performed the circumcision of the future Mehmet III, son and successor of Murat III. Mehmet III appointed him grand vezir in 1598, when, according to Joseph von Hammer, the sultan wrote him a letter saying that 'If you do not do your duty you will be drawn and quartered and your name will be covered with eternal approbrium.'<sup>4</sup> But Mehmet Pasha was only required to do his duty for six months or so, for he was dismissed, fortunately without being drawn and quartered, because of the ill success of the war in Hungary that he had commanded.

An Arabic inscription over the door gives the date of the mosque as A. H. 1002 (1592-3); it was built by Davut Ağa, Sinan's successor as chief of the imperial architects. We would rank this building as among the half dozen most successful of the vezirial mosques. Its plan represents an interesting modification of the hexagon-in-rectangle type. The four semidomes which flank the central dome at the corners, instead of being oriented along the diagonals of the rectangle, are parallel with the cross axis. This scheme has the advantage that, for any hexagon, the width of the building can be increased without limit. This plan was never used by Sinan and indeed we know of only other one other example of it, namely Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha Camii (see pp 368-9), which is a little farther west on the Seventh Hill. The mihrab is in a rectangular apse which projects from the south wall. The galleries, which run around three sides of the building, are supported by arches of the pretty ogive type with polychrome voussoirs of white stone and red conglomerate marble; in some of the spandrels there are very charming rosettes. In short the interior is elegant in detail and gives a sense of spaciousness and light.

The exterior too is impressive by its proportions, in spite of the ruined state of the porch and the badly botched restoration job that

*Figure 14: Takkeci Ibrahim Ağa Camii (from Şehsuvaroğlu).*



has been done on the domes and semidomes. The porch originally had seven bays and its eight handsome antique columns are still standing, four of Proconnesian marble, two of Theban and two of Syenetic granite. The türbe of the founder, a simple octagonal building, is in front of the mosque to the right and nearby is a ruined şadırvan. Outside in the corner of the precinct wall is a pretty çeşme. The pious foundation originally included an interesting hamam, just to the east of the mosque, but unfortunately this has been demolished.

## 2.11 Takkeci Ibrahim Ağa Camii

The extremely picturesque mosque of Takkeci Ibrahim Ağa is some 500 metres outside the Theodosian Walls at the Top Kapı gateway, in what was once open countryside but is now a scabrous industrial area cut through by the ring highway. This is the only ancient wooden mosque of its type in Istanbul that appears to preserve essentially its original appearance. The type is that of a rectangular mosque with a wooden roof and wooden porch. This is the simplest and of course the cheapest to build and therefore probably the commonest of all the types, but in almost all surviving examples the wooden roof and porches have succumbed to fire and been reconstructed even more cheaply, losing thereby their charm and distinction, as for example at Hacı Evhat Camii and Ramazan Efendi Camii. Doubtless because of its isolation in the countryside outside the city walls, Takkeci Ibrahim Ağa seems to have escaped the fires and preserved its original roof and porch. It was founded in 1592 by a certain Ibrahim Ağa who was a maker of felt hats called takke, especially the tall conical kind worn by the dervishes.

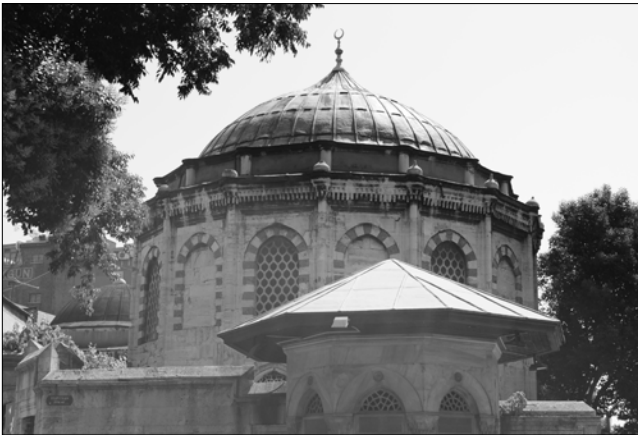
The precincts of the mosque are surrounded by a stone wall with grilles and the remains of a fine sebil. The deeply projecting

wooden tiled roof of the porch is supported by a double row of wooden pillars. Since the porch extends halfway round both sides of the mosque, the pillars give the effect of a copse of trees. The roof itself has three dashing gables along the façade. It is a very quaint and pretty arrangement. On the right rises the fine minaret with a beautifully stalactited şerefe.

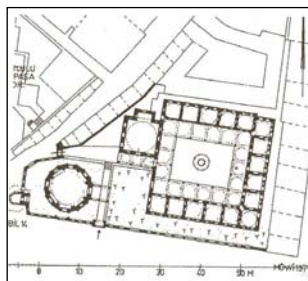
Handsomeness but rather heavy inscriptions adorn the spaces over the door and windows. Within a wooden balcony runs round the north wall and half the side walls; it has a cornice which preserves the original arabesque painting rich in design and colour, such as we have seen at Kara Ahmet Pasha Camii. The ceiling is of wood painted dark green and in the centre is a wooden dome on an octagonal cornice. One sees here how greatly the dome adds to the charm of the interior and what a disaster it is when these ceilings are reconstructed flat. Two rows of windows admit light; the tiny one over the mihrab preserves some ancient, brilliant stained glass. Beneath the upper row of windows the walls are entirely revetted with tiles of the greatest period of Iznik in great panels with vases of leaves and flowers. These are as celebrated and fine as those we have seen at Ramazan Efendi Camii.

### 2.12 Külliye of Koca Sinan Pasha

The külliye of Koca Sinan Pasha is on Divan Yolu a short distance beyond Atik Ali Pasha and on the same side of the street. A picturesque marble wall with iron grilles encloses, besides a little cemetery, a group of buildings consisting of the medrese, the türbe, and the sebil of Koca Sinan Pasha. An inscription on the gate of the sebil records that the complex was completed in A.H. 1002 (1593–4) by Davut Ağa, Sinan's successor as chief of the imperial architects. This Sinan Pasha was grand vezir to Murat III and Mehmet III; he conquered the Yemen



*Figure 15: Külliye of Koca Sinan Pasha (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 16: Külliye of Koca Sinan Pasha, plan (from Müller-Wiener).*

and died in 1595. He must not be confused, of course, with the other Sinan Pasha, brother of Rüstem Pasha and chief admiral of Süleyman the Magnificent. Of this very attractive complex of buildings, perhaps the most outstanding is the türbe, a fine structure with sixteen sides built of polychrome stonework, white and rose-coloured, and with a rich cornice of stalactites and handsome window mouldings. Beyond it is the medrese, entered by a gate in the alley alongside, which has a charming courtyard with a portico that has ogive arches. The dersane, which also served as a mescit, is outside the medrese to the left of its courtyard gate. The sebil, which is at the corner of Divan Yolu and the side street, is an elegant pyramidal-roofed octagonal building with bronze grilles separated by little columns and covered by an overhanging roof.

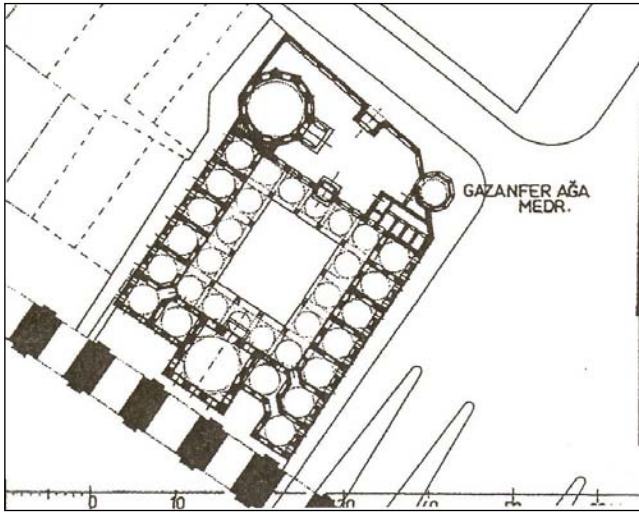
### 2.13 Medrese of Gazanfer Ağa

The medrese of Gazanfer Ağa is on the west side of Atatürk Bulvarı just before the avenue passes under the ancient aqueduct of Valens. Gazanfer Ağa succeeded his older brother Cafer Ağa as chief of the white eunuchs, who in 1593 obtained permission from Murat III to erect this medrese, which was built by the architect Davut Ağa and completed around 1596. Besides the medrese, the külliye includes the türbe of the founder. The cells of the medrese are arrayed around three sides of a porticoed courtyard, with the dersane at the far end, built up against the aqueduct. The türbe is a twelve-sided domed structure

*Figure 17: Medrese of Gazanfer Ağa (Anthony E. Baker).*







*Figure 18: Medrese of Gazanfer Ağa, plan (from Müller-Wiener).*

attached to the north-west corner of the medrese, on the right side. The sebil, which projects out from the courtyard at the street corner, is a charming domed octagonal structure with handsome grilled windows. The külliye was restored in 1945 and the medrese was used to house the Municipal Museum. At that time doors were cut between the cells of the medrese to form suites of rooms. The medrese now houses the Cartoon and Caricature Museum.

## 2.14 Türbe of Murat III

The türbe of Murat III stands in the garden beside Haghia Sophia, just to the left of the tomb of his father Selim II. Murat's türbe, which was built in 1595 by the architect Davut Ağa, is hexagonal in plan; like his father's tomb, it has a double tomb, and it too is adorned with tiles of the best period. The türbe contains the remains of Murat III and his favourite wife Safiye Sultan, mother of his son and successor Mehmet III. Arrayed around them are the catafalques of four of Murat's lesser wives, 23 of his sons and 25 of his daughters. Nineteen of Murat's sons were killed by their brother Mehmet III when he succeeded as sultan, the last instance of massive fratricide in the House of Osman. Built up against this türbe is the tiny one known as the Türbe of the Princes; the princelings buried there are five infant sons of Murat IV who died during a plague.

## 2.15 Türbe of Mehmet III

The türbe of Mehmet III is just to the right of that of his grandfather Selim III. This türbe was completed about 1607, four

years after the death of Mehmet III. The architect is unknown, but he could be Dalğış Ahmet Çavuş, who was chief of the imperial architects from 1598 till 1606, or Mehmet Ağa, who became the sultan's chief architect in 1606. The türbe is octagonal in plan, and, like the other two imperial tombs in the garden of Haghia Sophia, it is revetted in superb Iznik tiles. Buried alongside Mehmet is his favourite wife Handan, mother of his son and successor Ahmet I. Arrayed around them are the catafalques of nine of Mehmet's children as well as sixteen daughters, all of the latter having died of plague in the same year.

### 2.16 Siyavuş Pasha Medresesi

The ruined medrese of Siyavuş Pasha is on the slope of the Third Hill leading down to the Golden Horn. The medrese is wedged in an angle of the hill above and is very irregular in structure. Round about are the cells of the medrese, most of them with their cells more or less intact, though the colonnade in front of them, if there ever was one, has wholly disappeared. The derşane, unusually, is in a corner immediately to the right of the once-handsome entrance portal. This medrese was constructed some time before his death in 1601 by Siyavuş Pasha, brother-in-law of Murat III and three times his grand vezir. It is incredible to think that his magnificent palace, built by Sinan, was in this immediate neighbourhood, now a run-down market and industrial quarter.

### 2.17 Medrese of Kuyucu Murat Pasha

The medrese of Kuyucu Murat Pasha is on the Third Hill about 300 metres north-west of Beyazıt Camii. This small medrese, located in a triangular site at the intersection of two streets, is part of an elegant little complex built in 1606 by Kuyucu Murat Pasha, grand vezir of Ahmet I. Murat Pasha was given the name kuyucu, or well-digger, from his favourite occupation of supervising the digging of trenches for the mass burial of rebels he had slaughtered. The apex of the triangle is formed by a columned sebil with simple classical lines. Facing the street is an arcade of shops, in the middle of which a doorway leads to the courtyard of the medrese. Entering, you find the türbe of the founder in the acute angle behind the sebil, and at the other end the derşane, which, as so often, also served as a mescit. The complex has now been taken over by Istanbul University; the courtyard has been roofed in and houses a museum, while the derşane is used as a library.



### 3 SULTAN AHMET I CAMII

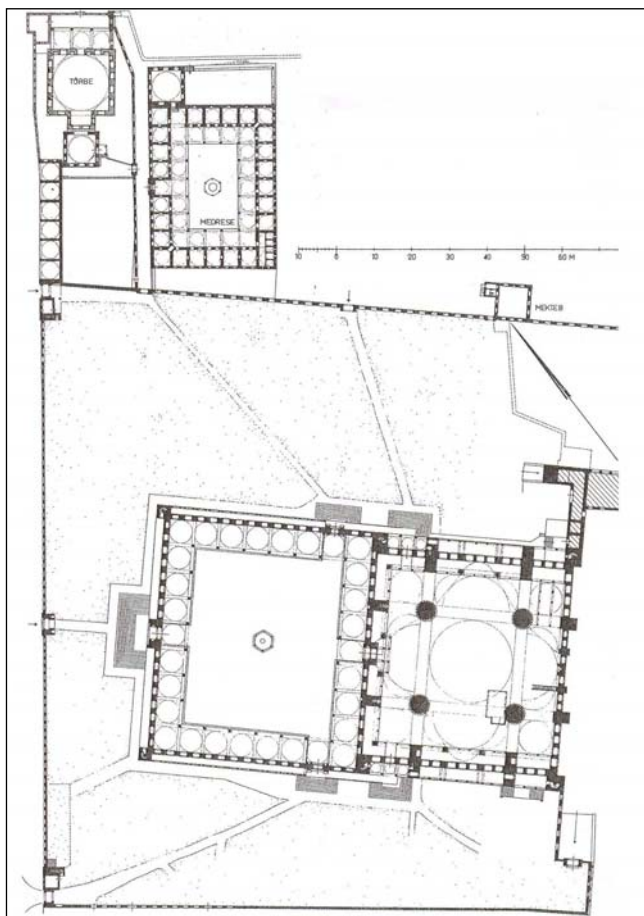
#### 3.1 Introduction

Sultan Ahmet I Camii, better known to tourists as the Blue Mosque, is, together with Haghia Sophia, one of the two principal landmarks on the First Hill for those approaching Istanbul by sea, two magnificent monuments only a couple of hundred metres distant from one another, though more than a thousand years apart in date of foundation. The mosque is one of the most splendid in the city, with its graceful cascade of domes and semidomes and its six slender minarets accentuating the corners of the building and the courtyard.

The mosque was founded by Ahmet I, who in 1609 directed the architect Mehmet Ağa to begin construction on the eastern side of the ancient Hippodrome, whose last remnants were demolished to make way for it. Tradition has it that the young sultan was so enthusiastic about the project that he often pitched in himself to hurry along the construction of his mosque, which was completed in 1616, along with all of its associate pious foundations. The same tradition says that the sultan appeared at the dedication ceremony wearing a turban shaped like the Prophet's foot in token of his humility. But Ahmet was given little time to enjoy his mosque, for he died the year after its completion.

*Figure 19: Sultan Ahmet I Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*





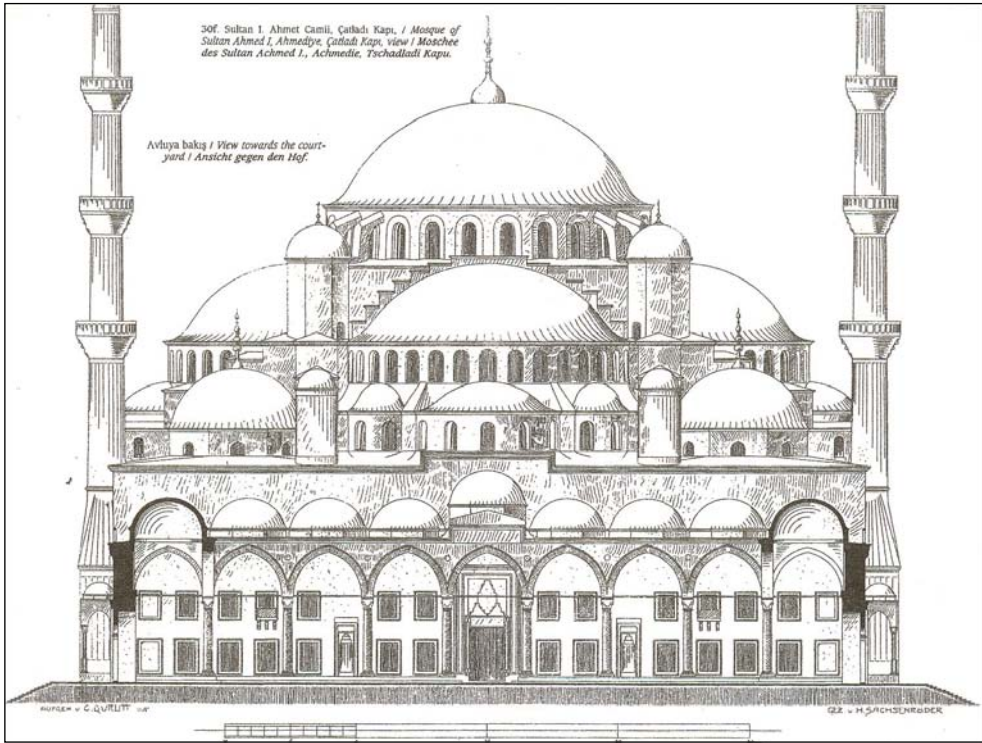
*Figure 20: Sultan Ahmet I Camii, plan of the complex (from Müller-Wiener).*

### 3.2 Courtyard

The mosque is preceded by a monumental courtyard of exactly the same dimensions as the prayer room itself, with the ornate main entryway in the middle of the northern side and side entrances at the corners next to the mosque. The courtyard is in the classical style, bordered by a peristyle of 26 columns forming a portico covered by 30 small domes. At the centre of the courtyard there is a handsome hexagonal şadırvan; this serves only a decorative function, since the ritual ablutions are now carried out at water taps on the west side of the mosque.

### 3.3 Exterior

The four minarets at the corners of the mosque each have three şerefes, while the pair at the far corners of the courtyard have



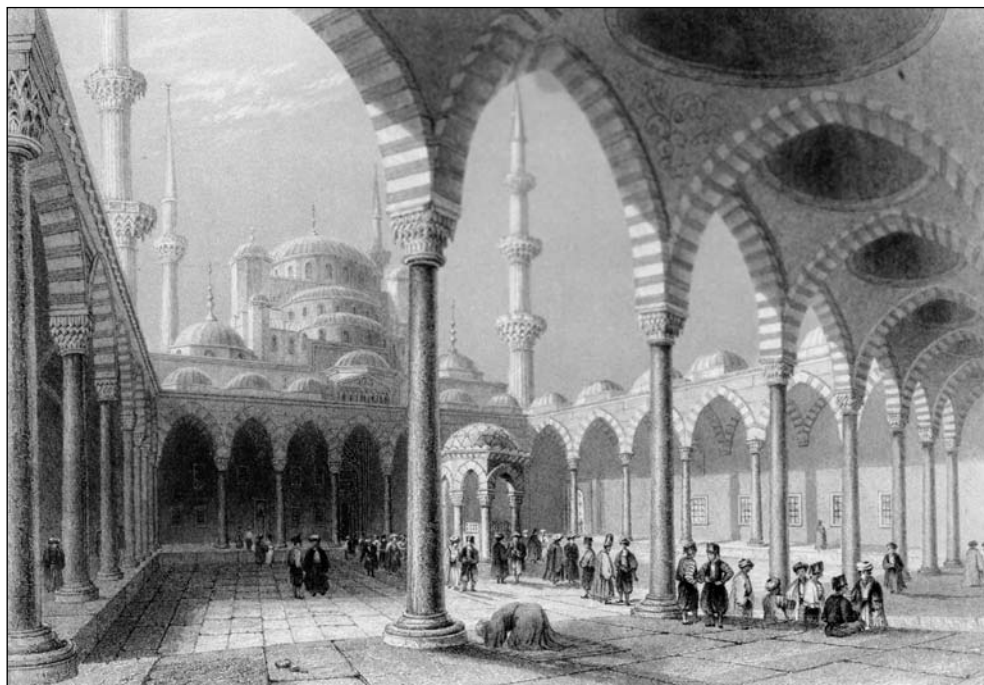
two each. The minarets are fluted and the şerefes have sculptured stalactite parapets.

*Figure 21: Sultan Ahmet I Camii, view of the mosque from the courtyard (from Gurlitt).*

The central dome of the mosque is flanked by semidomes on all four sides, with those to east and west surrounded by three smaller semidomes and those to north and south by two each, and with small domes above the four corners of the building. The four piers supporting the main dome continue above the building as tall octagonal turrets capped with cupolas, while smaller round turrets flank each of the small corner domes, all of this creating an harmonious pyramidal cascade from the main dome down through the clustering semidomes, turrets and smaller domes. The east and west façades of the building have two stories of porticoed galleries. Tourists are not permitted to enter the mosque by the main portal, but must go around to the far end of the building on the right side, where a double stairway leads up to the lower gallery.

### 3.4 Interior

The interior plan, like that of other imperial mosques in the city, recalls in a general way that of Haghia Sophia, but in this case



*Figure 22: Sultan Ahmet I: mosque and courtyard (Print by Bartlett).*

the difference is greater than the resemblance. The prayer room is very nearly a square, 51 metres long by 53 metres wide, covered by a dome 23.5 metres in diameter and 43.0 metres high at its crown. As noted, to east and west there are semidomes, which are themselves flanked by smaller semidomes. Thus far the plan is not unlike that of Hagia Sophia. But here, instead of tympanic arches to east and west, there are two more semidomes, making a quatrefoil design. The main support for the great dome comes from four colossal free-standing columns, five metres in diameter, divided in the middle by a band and ribbed above and below with convex flutes.

The mosque is flooded with light from its 260 windows. These were once filled with Turkish stained glass of the early seventeenth century which would have softened the incoming sunlight. The original windows have been lost and are now being replaced by inferior modern imitations. The painted arabesques in the dome and the upper parts of the building are feeble in design and crude in colouring. This is almost always the case in these modern imitations of a type of decoration that was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries richly elaborate in design and somberly magnificent in colour. Here the predominant colour is an overly bright blue, from which the building derives its popular name of the Blue Mosque.



*Figure 23: Sultan Ahmet I Camii:  
interior of the mosque (Print by  
Allom).*

What is original and very beautiful in the decoration of the interior is the revetment of tiles on the lower part of the walls, especially in the galleries. These are Iznik tiles of the best period and they merit close observation. The magnificent floral designs display the traditional lily, carnation, tulip and rose motifs, as well as cypresses and other trees; these are all in exquisite colours, subtle blues and greens predominating. The mihrab and mimber, of white Proconnesian marble, are also original; they are fine examples of the carved stonework of the early seventeenth century. Of equal excellence is the bronzework of the great courtyard doors, and also the woodwork of the doors and window-shutters of the mosque itself, encrusted with ivory, mother-of-pearl and sea-tortoise shell. Under the sultan's loge, which is in the upper gallery to the left of the mihrab, the wooden ceiling is painted in that exquisite early style in rich and gorgeous colours, of which so few examples remain.

### 3.5 The külliye

The mosque and its courtyard were surrounded by an outer precinct wall, of which only part of the northern section remains. The külliye was extensive; besides the mosque it included a medrese, türbe, hospital, caravanserai, primary school, public kitchen, and arasta, or market street, as well as the hünkâr kasrı, or royal apartment connected to the royal loge within the mosque. The hospital, caravanserai and arasta

were destroyed in the nineteenth century, though the latter has since been restored and is once again serving as a market street. The public kitchen is now incorporated into the rectorate of Marmara University, at the southern end of the Hippodrome. The primary school, which has now been restored, is elevated above the east precinct wall. The medrese and the türbe, both of which have been restored too, are just outside the north end of the east precinct wall. The hünkâr kasrı, also restored, is attached to the south-east corner of the mosque; this now serves as the Kilim Museum, with a remarkable collection of carpets from all over Turkey. Beyond the south end of the mosque there are huge vaulted substructures that once served as storerooms and stables; these have been restored and now house the Rug Museum, exhibiting works ranging from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth, including rare and beautiful examples.

### 3.6 The medrese

The medrese is rectangular in plan, with 24 cells arrayed around all four sides of the portico, its entrance in the middle of the northern portico. The dersane, unusually, is outside the north-east corner of the courtyard, with its entrance at the north end of the east portico. The lavatories are located at the south-western corner of the medrese.

### 3.7 The türbe

The large square türbe is just beside the medrese to the north. Ahmet I (r. 1603–17) is buried here with three of his sons, Osman II (r. 1618–22), Murat IV (r. 1623–40), and prince Beyazıt, the Bajazet of Racine's great tragedy, killed by his brother Murat. Buried alongside Ahmet is his wife Kösem, who was valide sultan through the successive reigns of her sons Murat IV and Ibrahim (r. 1640–8) and through the first three years of the reign of her grandson Mehmet IV (r. 1648–87), before she was murdered by her rival Turhan Hadice, Mehmet's mother.

## 4 YENI CAMI

### 4.1 Introduction

Eminönü, the ancient market quarter on the old city side of the Galata Bridge, is dominated by the imposing mass of Yeni Cami, the New Mosque, more correctly known as the New Mosque of the Valide Sultan. The ambiguity of names is because the mosque was built in two phases some six decades apart, in each case sponsored by a valide sultan.



The first phase of construction began in 1597 under the sponsorship of the valide sultan Safiye, mother of Mehmet III. Safiye appointed Davut Ağa, chief of the imperial architects, to build the mosque, but he died the following year and was replaced by Dalğış Ahmet Çavuş, who supervised the construction up until 1603. Meanwhile Safiye began expropriating and demolishing buildings to clear the site of her mosque, part of which was a Jewish quarter and another was the old Venetian concession, so that among the structures destroyed were a synagogue and a church. On 31 December 1597 Girolamo Capello, the Venetian bailo in Istanbul, wrote in his report to the doge that: ‘The Sultana Mother has begun to pull down some of the houses belonging to the Jews in order to build her mosque which is to cost a great deal.’<sup>5</sup> These were not Orthodox Jews but Karaites, a widespread sect that originated in Baghdad in the eighth century; those who were displaced by Safiye’s mosque were resettled farther up the Golden Horn and on its northern shore, where their descendants still live in the village of Hasköy. Meanwhile there was criticism from some factions in the Saray, including the sultan himself, about the enormous expense incurred in building the new mosque, and a Venetian source reports that ‘... at one point she was taken away from the palace [Topkapı Sarayı] and sent to the Old Palace [Eski Saray] by her son....’<sup>6</sup>

*Figure 24: Yeni Cami, the New Mosque of the Valide Sultan (Anthony E. Baker).*

Mehmet III died on 12 December 1603 and was succeeded by his son Ahmet I. The new sultan relegated Safiye to Eski Saray in Beyazıt where she spent the rest of her days, and as a result work

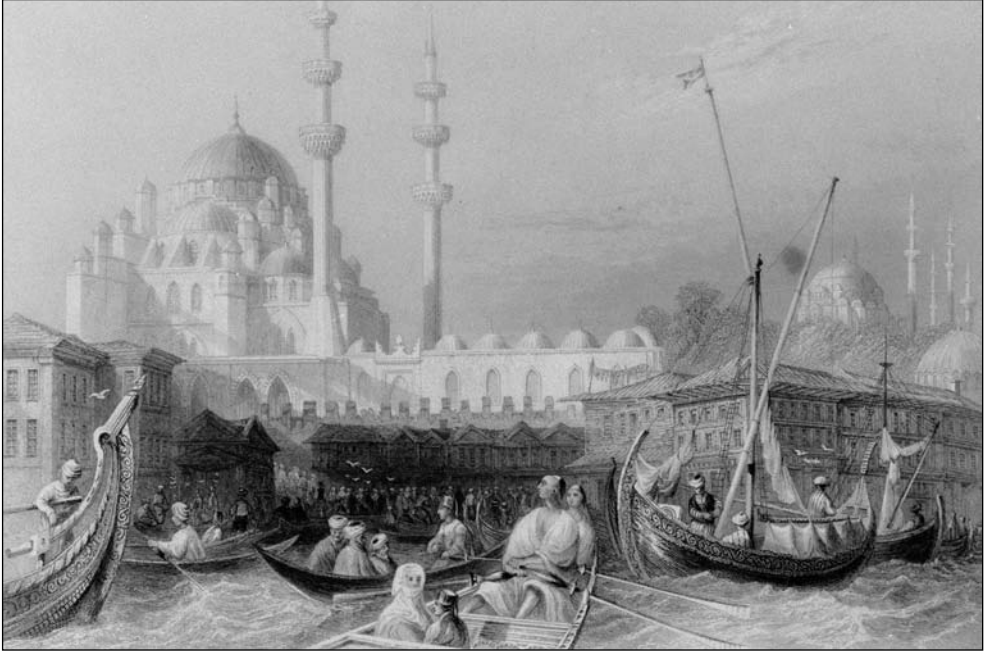




*Figure 25: Yeni Cami, the New Mosque of the Valide Sultan (print by Grelot, 1680).*

ceased on her mosque, which had been erected up to the sills of the windows closest to the foundations. For more than half a century the partially completed mosque stood on the shore of the Golden Horn, gradually falling into ruins, amidst which some of the evicted Karaite Jews had returned to erect makeshift houses. Then on 24 July 1660 a great fire broke out in Eminönü and burned for two days, destroying most of the market quarter along the Golden Horn and further damaging the mosque. The following year the valide sultan Turhan Hadice, mother of Mehmet IV, paid a visit to Eminönü to see the ruins of the partially completed mosque, which she decided to rebuild as an act of piety. The Turkish chronicler Silâtar Fındıklılı Mehmet Ağa describes the site: 'The place where Safiye Sultan's partially completed mosque lay had been neglected, cluttered with debris, and overrun by the houses of the Jews. The abominable condition of the area was an affront to the religion [of Islam]; the completion of this mosque will insure prayers for the valide until the time of Resurrection.'<sup>7</sup>





The mosque was completed in 1665 and on 31 October of the year it was dedicated in a gala ceremony attended by Turhan Hadice, her son Mehmet IV, the grand vezir Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Pasha, and the French ambassador, the Marquis de Nointel, who expressed his astonishment and admiration of what thenceforth was known as Yeni Valide Camii, the New Mosque of the Valide Sultan. The French traveller Guillaume Grelot, writing in 1680, when Turhan Hadice was still alive, says that she was one of the 'greatest and most brilliant (*spirituelle*) ladies who had ever entered the Saray,' and 'that it was fitting that 'she should leave to posterity a jewel of Muslim architecture to serve as an eternal monument to her generous enterprises.'<sup>8</sup>

*Figure 26: Yeni Cami, the New Mosque of the Vailide Sultan (Print by Bartlett).*

Besides the mosque, the külliye included a large market or bazaar, a hospital, a primary school, a hamam, two public fountains, and the türbe of the founder. The hospital and primary school have disappeared under the İş Bankası, the hamam under the Vakıf Bankası, but the others remain.

## 4.2 The courtyard

Like all of the other imperial mosques in Istanbul, Yeni Cami is preceded by a monumental avlu, or courtyard. The ceremonial entrance to the courtyard, now unused, is at the centre of the north

end of the avlu, where a broad flight of steps leads up to the ornate portal. A calligraphic inscription over the portal reads: 'Health be with you: should you be worthy, enter for eternity.'

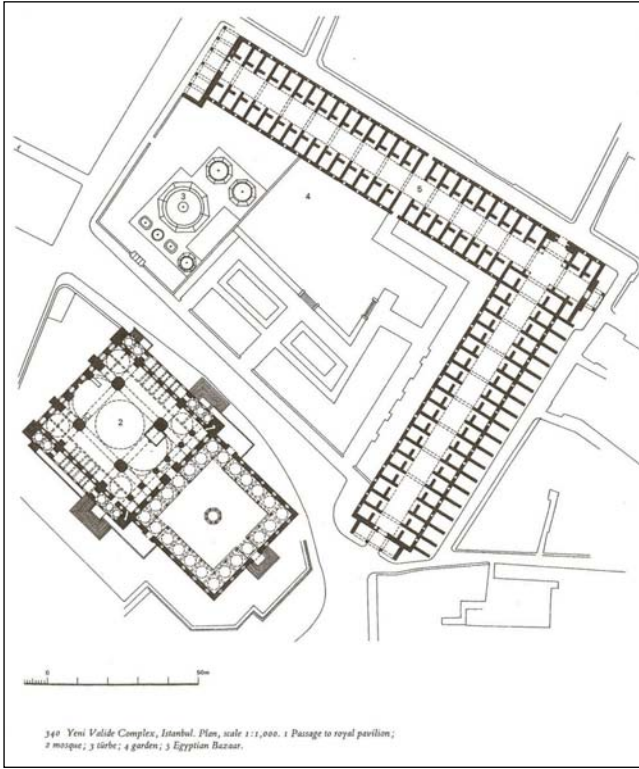
Today one enters the courtyard by stairways that led up to its inner corners. The courtyard is square in plan, measuring 39 metres on a side along its outer walls. Around its inner periphery there is a portico with 24 domes carried by 20 columns, a charming decorated octagonal şadırvan at its centre. The şadırvan now serves only a decorative purpose, for the ritual washings are done at water taps along the west wall of the mosque. The two columns on either side of the main entrance to the mosque are of a most unusual and beautiful marble not seen elsewhere. The façade of the building under the porch is decorated with tiles and faience inscriptions forming a frieze.

### 4.3 The mosque exterior

In plan the mosque is a replica of Sinan's Şehzade Camii and the mosque of Ahmet I, though perhaps more elegant in interior detail than either. Thus the mosque is cruciform, with semidomes along both axes and groups of smaller domes at each of the four corners. The four great piers that support the central dome are continued above the building as tall octagonal turrets, while smaller turrets rise in steps on either side of the semidomes. The resultant silhouette is a gracefully flowing series of curves from dome to semidomes to minor domes, a symmetrical cascade of clustering spheres. The east and west façades of the building have two stories of galleries which, with the pyramidal arrangement of the domes, gives a light and harmonious effect. The two minarets, which rise from the northern corners of the building, each have three şerefes with superb stalactite carving.

### 4.4 The mosque plan and interior

The prayer room of the mosque, nearly square, is covered by the central dome and the four semidomes on the axes. The four great piers that support the central dome are cruciform in plan with little columns in the angles; both the piers and the walls are covered with tiles of two shades of blue on white. From these piers rise four great arches, and between them four squinches make the transition from square to circle. From the circle so formed rises the dome, which is 17.5 metres in diameter and with its crown 36 metres above the floor. On the north a row of six large circular and octagonal columns help to support the semidome above and also carry a gallery; the galleries to north and south are supported on slender marble columns. The corners of the room are covered by smaller domes,



*Figure 27: Yeni Cami, plan of the complex (from Goodwin).*

two each at the northern angles and three each at the southern ones. In the south-east corner is the hünkâr mahfili, or royal loge, access to which is gained from the outside by a very curious ramp, which leads to a suite of rooms over a great archway; from these a door leads to the loge. While the tiles in the mosque itself are too late to be of the very best quality, those in the royal suite are more elaborate in design and somewhat richer and more varied in colour. The mimber, müezzîn mahfili and Kuran kürsü are all fine works, the latter of carved wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl.

#### 4.5 Mısır Çarşısı

The market of the Yeni Camii külliye is the handsome L-shaped building to the west of the mosque. It is called the Mısır Çarşısı, or Egyptian Market, because it was originally endowed with the Cairo imposts. In English it is known as the Spice Bazaar, because it was famous for selling spices and medicinal herbs. Spices and herbs are still sold there, including a preparation known as the 'Sultan's Aphrodisiac', but the bazaar now deals in a variety of other things, making it one of the most popular markets in the



*Figure 28: Mısır Çarşısı, the Spice Bazaar (Anthony E. Baker).*

city. There are 88 vaulted rooms in all, as well as chambers above each of the entryways at the ends of the two halls, and a small mescit near the inner corner of the L. The chambers above the main entrance, beside the north-west corner of the mosque court, houses the Pandelis Restaurant, one of the oldest eating places in the city and still one of the very best.

#### 4.6 The türbe

The domed building between the east ends of the mosque and the Spice Bazaar is the founder's türbe. Turhan Hadice is buried here with her son Mehmet IV (r. 1648–87) and five later sultans: Mustafa II (r. 1695–1703), Ahmet III (r. 1703–30), Mahmut I (r. 1730–54), Osman III (r. 1754–7), and Murat V (r. 1876). The deep porch of the türbe has panels of tiles that are exceptionally good for this relatively late period: the two on either side of the door are especially unusual in being predominately green in colour. The interior is also tiled in panels, above which runs a frieze with a Kuranic inscription. There is also an eighteenth-century addition called Havatin Türbesi, or Tomb of the Ladies, for the numerous princesses and wives of the royal household. The spandrels of the arches in this part of the türbe was decorated in the late nineteenth century with paintings of Mecca and of an idyllic landscape that may represent the countryside around Edirne Sarayı, but these were covered up in a recent restoration.

Just to the west of the türbe is a small kütüphane, or library, built in 1725 by Ahmet III, Turhan Hadice's grandson. Adjacent to the türbe is a small graveyard where several more members of the royal family are buried.

### 4.7 The muvakkithane

Directly opposite the türbe, at the corner of the wall enclosing the garden of the mosque, is a tiny polygonal building with a quaintly-shaped dome. This was originally a sebil, the smaller of two fountain-houses in the külliye. In 1813 Mahmut II converted it into a muvakkithane, the house and workshop of the müneccim, or mosque astronomer. It was the duty of the müneccim to regulate the times for the five occasions of daily prayer, to announce the exact times of sunrise and sunset during the holy month of Ramazan, beginning and ending the daily fast, and to determine the beginning of each lunar month by observing the first appearance of the sickle moon in the western sky just after sunset. The müneccim also doubled as an astrologer, and the most able of them were often asked to cast the horoscopes of the sultan and his vezirs. In more recent times the müneccim often served as the clock repairman for the people in the neighbourhood of the mosque.

### 4.8 The sebil

At the next corner, on the same side of the street as the türbe, is the larger of the two sebils of the Yeni Cami külliye. The sebil was restored in 1902 after it was damaged in a fire. The tiles damaged in the fire were replaced by inferior copies of Iznik ceramics, and the present roof with its undulating eaves was added. The fountain-house consists of a large çeşme, or fountain, on the right, and a sebil on the left, enclosed by grilled windows through which attendants would hand out cups of cool water to thirsty passersby. The sebil was restored and reopened on 14 July 2003; it once again performs something like its original function, but passersby must now pay for the refreshments they receive here.

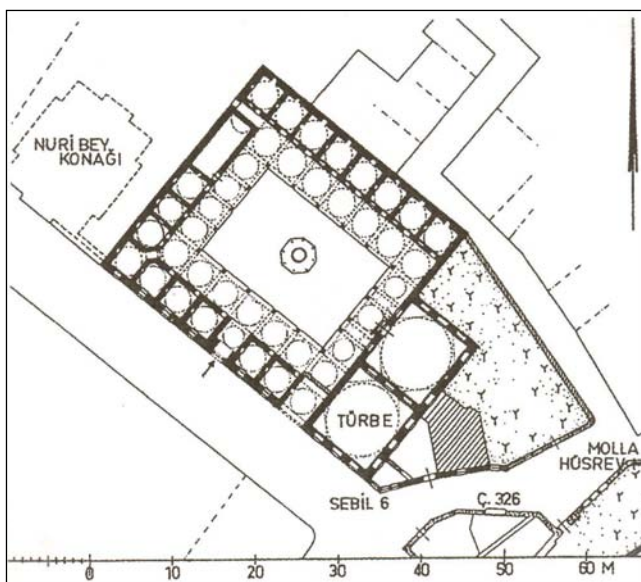
## 5 OTHER CLASSICAL BUILDINGS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

### 5.1 Medrese of Ekmekçizade Ahmet Pasha

The medrese of Ekmekçizade Ahmet Pasha is on the Third Hill near the eastern end of the Aqueduct of Valens. This handsome building



*Figure 29: Medrese of Ekmekçizade Ahmet Pasha (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 30: Medrese of Ekmekçizade Ahmet Pasha, plan (from Müller-Wiener).*

was built sometime before his death in 1618 by Ekmekçizade Ahmet Pasha, son of an Edirne baker who rose to the rank of vezir and defterdar, or first lord of the treasury, and died one of the richest men in the empire. The student cells line three sides

of the porticoed courtyard, with the large domed derslane in the middle of the fourth side, and next to it on the right the equally large türbe of the founder, also domed, the two of them giving the medrese a somewhat lopsided appearance. Both the derslane and the türbe still preserve remnants of a rather good painted decoration in domes and pendentives, a rich red with deep green meander patterns; traces of the same exist in some of the unrestored hücre, and one fears that in those cells that were restored this decoration was cemented over.

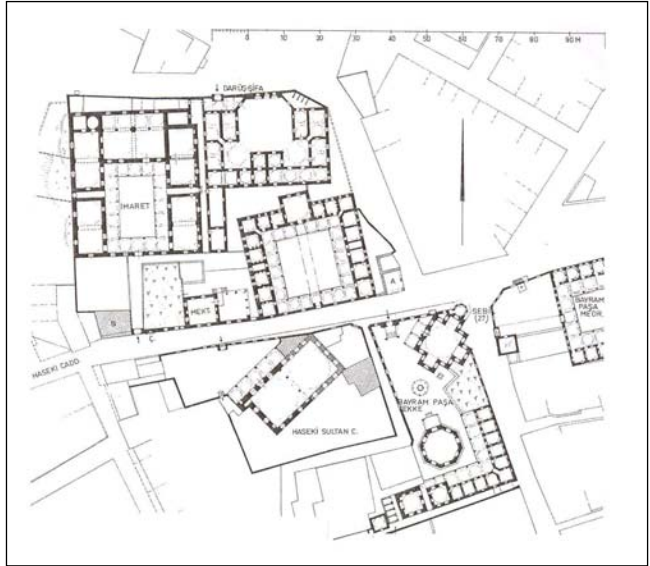
### 5.2 Külliye of Bayram Pasha

The külliye of Bayram Pasha is on the Seventh Hill, just across a side street from the mosque of Haseki Hürrem. Bayram Pasha was Istanbul's kaymakam, or mayor, and became grand vezir under Murat IV; he died in 1636 on Murat's expedition against Baghdad. The külliye, which is dated by an inscription to 1634, includes a medrese, a mektep, a mescit, a dervish tekke, a sebil, and the founder's türbe. The medrese and mektep, which are across a side street from the rest of the külliye, are in a somewhat ruinous condition, but the other buildings are in reasonably good repair. At the corner of the street is the handsome sebil with five grilled openings; behind it is the really palatial türbe, looking more like a small mosque. At the far end of the enclosed garden stands the mescit in the angle of the L-shaped tekke. The mescit is a large

*Figure 31: Külliye of Bayram Pasha (Anthony E. Baker).*



Figure 32: (right) *Küllüye of Bayram Pasha*; (left) *Küllüye of Haseki Hürrem*, plans (from Müller-Wiener).



octagonal building which also served as the room in which the dervishes performed their music and dance ceremonies. Though in poor repair, this is the only building of its kind in the city which still preserves the latticed wooden balcony whence visitors watched the ceremonies; its broken windows still retain some fine ancient stained glass; while the polychrome designs in domes and pendentives, though faded, are still handsome. The whole complex is finely built of ashlar stone in the high classical manner, and the very irregularity of its design makes it singularly attractive and well worthy of preservation.

### 5.3 Çinili Cami

Çinili Cami, the Tiled Mosque, is in Üsküdar about 500 metres east of Atik Valide Camii. This is a small mosque complex built in 1640 by the valide sultan Kösem, mother of the mad sultans Murat IV and Ibrahim. Entering the precinct, one finds a delightful garden full of bright flowers and with a great variety of trees: plane trees, acacias, and several species of fir and pine. On the left is a quaint and gay şadırvan, a little top-heavy perhaps with its great witch's cap of a roof. The mosque is small and of the simple type: a square room covered by a dome. It is surrounded on three sides by a later but picturesque porch with a steep penthouse roof supported on small marble columns. This clearly belongs to the baroque period in the eighteenth century, as does the minaret, of which the şerefe has a corbel of very pretty folded back acanthus leaves, which we have seen nowhere else. The west façade and the whole of the





Figure 33: Çinili Cami (from Şehsuvaroğlu).

interior are covered with tiles, hence the mosque's name (*çinili* = tiled). They are too late to be of the best period, which was over by 1620 at the latest, but are still beautiful in design if much limited in colour: chiefly pale blue and turquoise on a white ground or, for the inscriptions on the lunettes on the windows, white lettering on a dark blue ground. There is also some stained glass but it is modern and crude both in design and colour. The beautiful mimbber of white marble has its sculptured decoration picked out in gold, red and green: a painting of marble *a la grec* which when well done, as here, is charming. The conical roof is tiled.

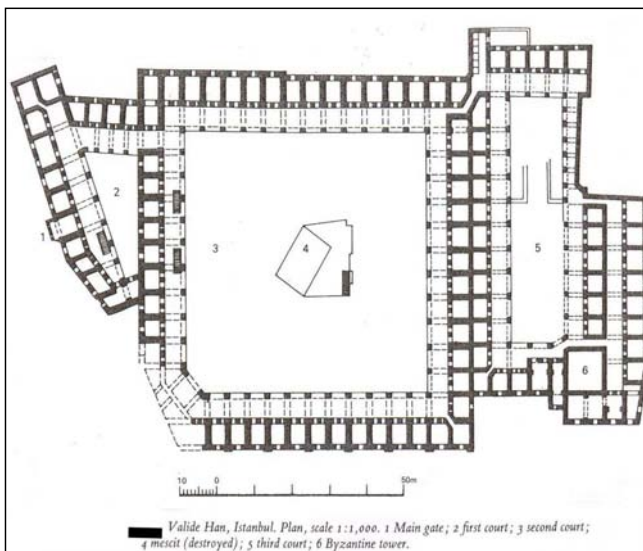
The triangular plot of ground on which the külliye is built rises steeply toward the apex; here is planted the darülhadis, a delightful little building sloping headlong downhill, with its lavatories at the topmost point, not very hygienic one would think. It has been very cavalierly restored. The handsome and large mektep with a çeşme at one corner is just outside the gate to the precinct. Farther along the street to the east is the double hamam of the vakıf, denuded

of its tiles if it ever had any, but otherwise in good order and in constant use.

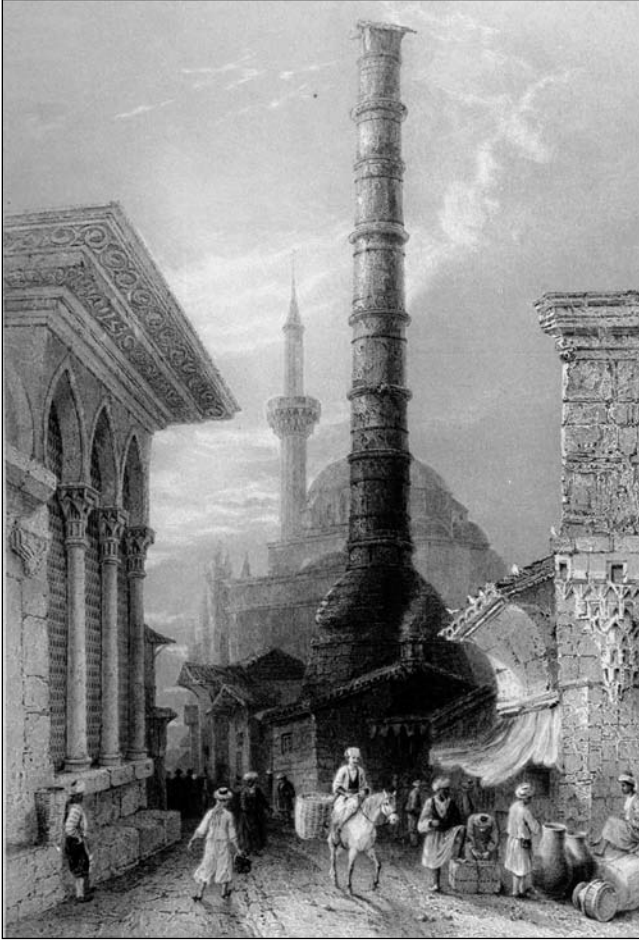
### 5.4 Büyük Valide Hanı

Kösem also erected a building in the market area of the Third Hill below the Covered Bazaar, a huge structure called the Büyük Valide Hanı. The grandest and most interesting han in the city, this was erected shortly before Kösem's death in 1651, apparently on the site of an older palace founded by Cerrah Mehmet Pasha. It is in an appalling state of disrepair but it is exceedingly picturesque nonetheless, and it is still very much in use.

One enters through a great gateway into the first courtyard, which is small and irregularly shaped because of the alignment of the han relative to the street outside. From there one passes into the main court, a vast square area 55 metres on a side surrounded by an arcade with a gallery above, with twelve or thirteen vaulted rooms on each side and a mescit in the centre. A passageway in the far left-hand corner leads to the gallery of the small third court, a long rectangular area with an ancient Byzantine tower at its far end in the left. This has traditionally been called the Tower of Eirene and has been dated to the early Byzantine period, but the evidence for this is very uncertain. The tower appears as a prominent feature of the city skyline above the Golden Horn in the drawing made by Melchior Lorichs in 1559, where it is shown as much taller than it is at present. The upper room of the tower is fitted out as a mosque, now disaffected, with a pretty ribbed dome.



*Figure 34: Büyük Valide Hanı, plan (from Goodwin).*



*Figure 35: Constantine's Column, with part of the Köprülü Külliyesi on the left (Print by Bartlett).*

## 5.5 Köprülü Külliyesi

On the left side of Divan Yolu as one approaches Constantine's columns there is an elegant Ottoman library of the seventeenth century. This is one of the buildings of the Köprülü külliyesi, whose other buildings are scattered about the immediate neighbourhood. These buildings were erected in the years 1659–60 by two members of the illustrious Köprülü family, Mehmet Pasha and his son Fazıl Ahmet Pasha. The Köprülüs are generally considered to be the most distinguished family in the whole history of the Ottoman Empire. During the second half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, no fewer than five members of this family served as grand vezir, some of them being among the most able who ever held that post. The library of the Köprülü külliyesi is a handsome little building with a columned porch and a domed reading-room,

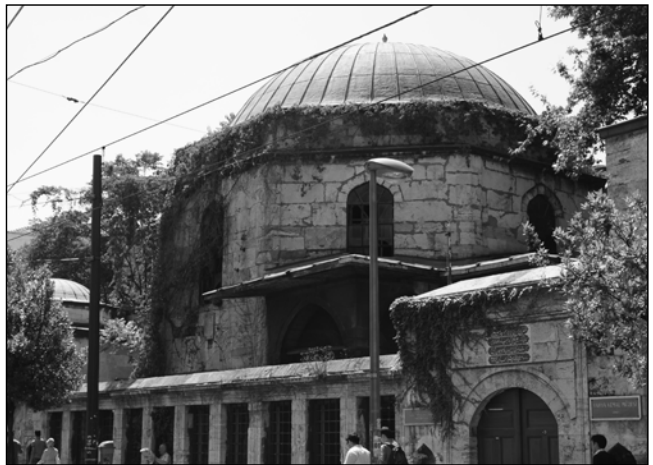
## Sinan's Contemporaries and Successors in the Classical Tradition

constructed in a mixture of brick and stone. The building has been well restored and is now a research library, with an important collection of books and manuscripts that belonged to its founders, who were known in their time as Mehmet the Cruel and Ahmet the Statist.

One block farther west along Divan Yolu, just before Constantine's Column, are two other buildings of the Köprülü külliyesi, the mosque and the türbe of Mehmet the Cruel. The türbe is of a rather unusual type, in the sense that it is roofed only by a metal grille. This gave rise to the story that the grave was deliberately left open to the elements, so that the falling rain could cool the shade of the grand vezir, who was burning in hell-fire because of the thousands he had executed while in office. The mosque is a few steps beyond the türbe, projecting out onto the sidewalk of Divan Yolu. The mosque, which is octagonal in shape, was once the dersane of the Köprülü medresesi, most of which has now disappeared.

### 5.6 Vezir Hanı

The Köprülü külliyesi also had a han, the entrance to which is halfway down the side street that leads to the right from Divan Yolu just before Constantine's Column. This is the Vezir Hanı, which, besides being an inner-city caravanserai, for a time housed European ambassadors to the Sublime Porte and then later became the city's principal slave market. The vast courtyard is surrounded by a portico with a gallery above; the chambers on the lower level were used as storerooms and stables while those on the upper floor were living quarters for guests. Like all of the other buildings of its type in the city, the Vezir Hanı is a picturesque near-ruin that continues in use as it gradually falls apart.



*Figure 36: Külliye of Kara Mustafa Pasha (Anthony E. Baker).*

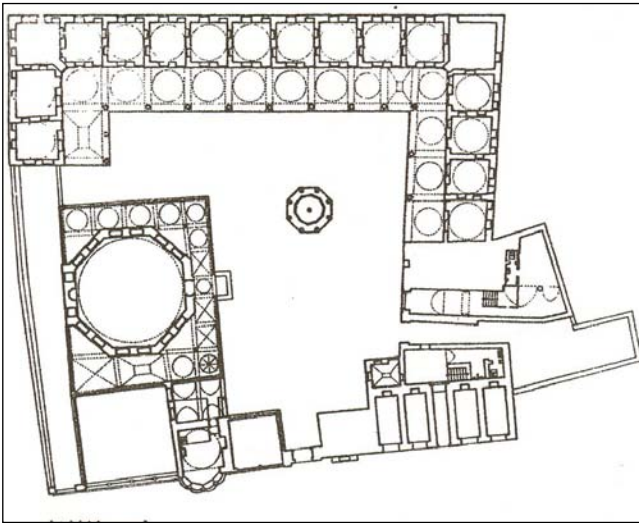
### 5.7 Külliye of Kara Mustafa Pasha

Some 250 metres farther along Divan Yolu beyond Constantine's Column, on the left side of the avenue there is a small mosque complex. This is the külliye of Kara Mustafa Pasha of Merzifon, who married into the Köprülü family and became grand vezir under Mehmet IV. Kara Mustafa commanded the Ottoman army in the siege of Vienna in 1683, and when he was defeated by the Christian allies he was beheaded by the sultan. The külliye, which includes a mosque, a medrese and a sebil, was begun in 1669 by Kara Mustafa and completed in 1690 by his son. The mosque, which is octagonal in form, is in the transitional style between classical and baroque. The medrese has been well restored and now houses a museum commemorating the celebrated Turkish poet Yahya Kemal, who died in 1958.

### 5.8 Amcazade complex

There is still another külliye of the Köprülüs on the Fourth Hill midway between Şehzade Camii and Fatih Camii. This is the külliye of Amcazade Hüseyin Köprülü Pasha, one of the most elaborate and picturesque of the smaller classical complexes. It was built by Hüseyin Pasha while he was grand vezir (1698–1702) of Mustafa II, and thus comes at the very end of the classical period. Hüseyin Pasha was a cousin (*amcazade*) of Fazıl Ahmet Pasha of the able and distinguished Köprülü family. The historian Joseph von Hammer says of him:

He was the fourth Köprülü endowed with the highest authority of the Empire and like his relatives he showed himself capable



*Figure 37: Amcazade Complex, plan (from Aslanapa).*

of bearing its weight ... After his uncle Mehmet Köprülü the Cruel and his cousins Ahmet the Statist and Mustafa the Virtuous, he well deserved the surname of the Wise. Unfortunately he remained too short a time on the stage where his high qualities had placed him, fully capable as he was of retarding if not altogether forestalling the decadence of the Empire, from which he disappeared like a meteor after having given rise to the highest hopes.<sup>9</sup>

The complex includes an octagonal derslane, which served also as a mescit, a medrese, a library, a large mektep over a row of shops, two little cemeteries with open türbes, a şadırvan, a sebil, and a çeşme, all arranged with an almost romantic disorder. The street façade consists first of the open walls of the small graveyards, divided by the projecting curve of the sebil. All of these have fine brass grilles, those of the türbe nearest the entrance being quite exceptionally beautiful specimens of seventeenth-century grillework. Next comes the entrance gate with an Arabic inscription giving the date 1698. The çeşme just beyond it with its reservoir behind is a somewhat later addition, for its inscription records that it was a benefaction of the şeyh-ül İslam Mustafa Efendi in 1739. Finally there is a row of four shops with an entrance between them leading to the two large rooms of the mektep on the upper floor.

On entering the courtyard, one has on the left the first of the open türbes, the one with the exceptionally handsome grilles, and then the columned portico of the derslane-mescit: this portico runs around seven of the eight sides of the building and frames it in a rectangle. The mescit itself is without a minaret and its primary purpose was clearly to serve as the lecture hall of the medrese. It is severely simple, its dome adorned only with some rather pale stenciled designs probably later than the building itself.

The far side of the courtyard is formed by the seventeen cells of the medrese with their domed and columned portico. Occupying the main part of the right-hand side is the library building. It is in two stories, but the lower floor serves chiefly as a water reservoir, the upper being reached by a flight of outside steps around the side and back of the building, leading to a little domed entrance porch on the first floor. The medallion inscription on the front of the library records a restoration in 1755 by Hüseyin Pasha's daughter. After the earthquake of 1894 which ruined the complex, the manuscripts it had contained were removed and are now in the Süleymaniye library. The right-hand corner of the courtyard is occupied by the shops and the mektep above them: note the amusing little dove-cotes in the form of miniature mosques on the façade over the entrance gate. A columned şadırvan stands in the middle of the courtyard. This charmingly irregular complex is made still more picturesque by the warm red of the brickwork alternating with buff-coloured

limestone, by the many marble columns of the portico, and not least by the fine old trees – cypresses, locusts, and two enormous terebinths – that grow out of the open türbes and in the courtyard. The külliye now serves as a museum of Ottoman epigraphy and architectural fragments; many of the objects displayed here were formerly exhibited in the Third Court of Topkapı Sarayı. Perhaps the most interesting object is the top of one of the minarets of Fatih Camii, toppled by the same earthquake in 1894 that damaged the Amcazade complex.

### 5.9 Medrese of Feyzullah Efendi

Some 250 medrese west of the Amcazade complex on the same side of the avenue one comes to another little classical complex built at about the same time. This is the medrese founded in 1700 by the şeyh-ül İslam Feyzullah Efendi, which now serves as the Millet Kütüphanesi, or People's Library. Feyzullah Efendi had been the tutor of Mustafa II (r. 1695–1703) and was the sultan's most trusted advisor, virtually the power behind the throne. When the army rebelled at Edirne Sarayı in 1703 they demanded that the şeyh-ül İslam be handed over to them. Mustafa had no choice but to give in to their demands, and soon afterwards the rebels tortured Feyzullah to death and then flung his body into the river, as Demetrius Cantemir writes, 'as if he had been an infidel, and unworthy of burial.'<sup>10</sup> Mustafa was overthrown

*Figure 38: Medrese of Feyzullah Efendi (Anthony E. Baker).*



## Sinan's Contemporaries and Successors in the Classical Tradition

soon afterwards and imprisoned in the infamous Cage at Topkapı Sarayı, while his younger brother Ahmet III was brought out of the same Cage and acclaimed as sultan.

The cells of the medrese surround two sides of the courtyard, in which there is a şadırvan in the midst of a pretty garden. The street side of the courtyard is wholly occupied by a most elaborate and original dersane building: a flight of steps leads up to a sort of porch covered by nine domes of very different patterns, the arches of which are supported on four columns. The effect of this porch has been somewhat impaired by glazing in a part of it, but its usefulness has doubtless been increased. To the right and left of the porch are the domed lecture-rooms, now used as library reading-rooms. The restoration of the medrese and its conversion to a library was due to Ali Emiri Efendi, a famous bibliophile who died in 1924 and left the building and his valuable collection of books to the people of Istanbul.

### 5.10 Metochion of Mount Sinai

Ottoman houses in Istanbul were virtually all in wood, and because of the frequent fires in the city there are no extant private dwellings in the old city dating from before the late nineteenth century. But a number of stone houses have survived along the shore of the Golden Horn, all but one of them abandoned and in ruins. The oldest of these, a ruined mansion known as the Metochion of

*Figure 39: Interior of Greek mansion in Fener (Print by Bartlett).*





Mount Sinai, is in Fener, the former Greek quarter on the shore of the Golden Horn below the Fifth Hill. This mansion was for nearly three centuries the Metochion, or residence, of the monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, which since early Byzantine times has been represented in the city by one of its archimandrites. The first archimandrite from St. Catherine's known to have lived in this mansion took up residence here in 1686, and the last one to dwell here was a gentle soul named Damianos who left when the Metochion was abandoned in the late 1960s.

The mansion is in two storeys, the upper floor projecting out over the lower one on stone corbels. The vaulted chambers on the ground floor contained the kitchens, bath, toilet and storage room, with the living quarters above. The main room on the upper floor is the former audience chamber of the archimandrite. This once-elegant room, destroyed in the anti-Greek riots on 1 September 1955, is divided into two unequal parts by a triple arcade supported on two columns with rococo capitals; the smaller part, near the door, seems to have been a kind of antechamber which could be shut off from the rest of the chamber by curtains or a screen. The larger section has a cradle-vaulted roof, with an elaborately decorated cornice and a conical chimney piece over the fireplace, with four windows looking out onto the street as well as several in the other two exterior walls. A room very much like this one is shown in a print done by William Bartlett in Julia Pardoe's *Beauties of the Bosphorus*, published in 1839. One hopes that the Metochion of Mount Sinai will be restored, for it is one of the oldest dwelling places in the city.

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(Please refer to the Bibliography at the end of the book)

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## CHAPTER XI

# The Eighteenth Century: From Classical to Baroque

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The tradition of classical Ottoman architecture continued on into the first half of the eighteenth century, when it began to give way to the baroque style of western Europe, which came to Istanbul during the reign of Ahmet III (r. 1703–30), the ‘Tulip King.’ The sultan’s grand vezir and son-in-law Nevşehirli Damat Ibrahim Pasha sought to broaden the empire’s contacts with western Europe by sending ambassadors to Paris, Vienna, Moscow and Warsaw. The first Turkish ambassador to Paris was Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi, who in 1720 was instructed by Ibrahim Pasha ‘to visit the fortresses, factories and works of French civilization generally and report on those that might be applicable’ in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>1</sup> Mehmet Efendi returned from Paris with twelve engravings of Versailles, whereupon Ibrahim commissioned him to build a similar palace for Ahmet III at Kağıthane, on the upper reaches of the Golden Horn, the valley that came to be known to Europeans as the Sweet Waters of Europe. Ibrahim Pasha called this palace Sa’adabad, ‘The Palace of Eternal Happiness,’ the first building completely in the baroque style to be erected in Istanbul. Unfortunately the palace was destroyed by the rebels who deposed Ahmet III in 1730 and killed Ibrahim Pasha. Nevertheless, the new architectural mode from France caught on in Istanbul, its first examples being a number of beautiful street-fountains and sebils, and then by the middle of the eighteenth century it gave rise to the first imperial mosque in the baroque style: Nuruosmaniye Camii.

## 2 THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: FROM CLASSICAL TO BAROQUE

### 2.1 Simkeşhane

Across from Beyazıt’s hamam on the Third Hill there are the remnants of two classical hans, each of which lost its front half

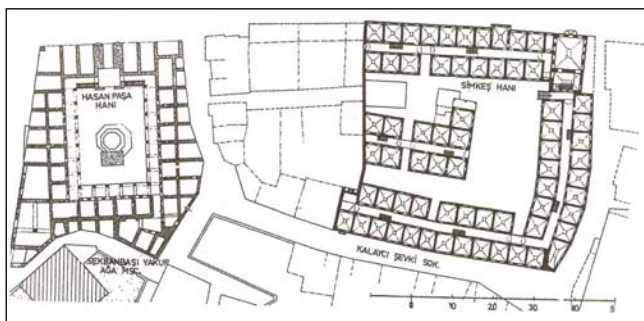
## The Eighteenth Century: From Classical to Baroque

when the avenue was widened in the 1950s. The one to the east is Simkeřhane, originally built as a mint by Fatih Mehmet. The mint was later transferred to Topkapı Sarayı and the building was used by the spinners of silver thread. After being badly damaged by fire it was rebuilt in 1707 by the valide sultan Râbia Gülnüş Ümmetullah, wife of Mehmet IV and mother of Mustafa II and Ahmet III.

### 2.2 Hasan Pasha Hanı

The han to the west is the Hasan Pasha Hanı. This is a handsome and interesting structure built about 1740 by the grand vezir Seyyit Hasan Pasha. It is worthwhile walking around this and Simkeřhane

*Figure 1: Simkeřhane and Hasan Pasha Hanı (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 2: Simkeřhane and Hasan Pasha Hanı, plans (from Müller-Wiener).*

to see the astonishing and picturesque irregularity of design: great zigzags built on corbels following the crooked lines of the streets. The two hans have now been attractively restored.

### 2.3 Medrese of Ankaravi Mehmet Efendi

Behind the enormous aluminum and glass building of the Belediye, or Town Hall, on the Third Hill there is a little classical medrese. This was founded in A. H. 1119 by the şeyh-ül İslam Ankaravi Mehmet Efendi. The medrese was restored in the early 1970s and is now used by the Economics Faculty of the University of İstanbul. It is an attractively irregular small building, chiefly of red brick, at the far end is the dersane reached by a flight of steps.

### 2.4 Külliye of Çorlulu Ali Pasha

The külliye of Çorlulu Ali Pasha stands on the Second Hill, on the north side of Divan Yolu just before the avenue enters Beyazıt Square. The complex, surrounded by a marble wall with grilles, consists of a small mosque and a medrese, built in 1708 by Çorlulu Ali Pasha, son-in-law of Mustafa II and grand vezir to Ahmet III. Ali Pasha was beheaded in 1708 at Mytilene on Lesbos, after which his head was brought back and buried in the graveyard

*Figure 3: Külliye of Çorlulu Ali Pasha (Anthony E. Baker).*



of his külliye. Though attractive, there is nothing specially outstanding about these buildings, though one might notice how essentially classical they still are: the only very obviously baroque feature is the design of the capitals of the columns on the mosque porch. The medrese and its courtyard now house a very picturesque narghile café.

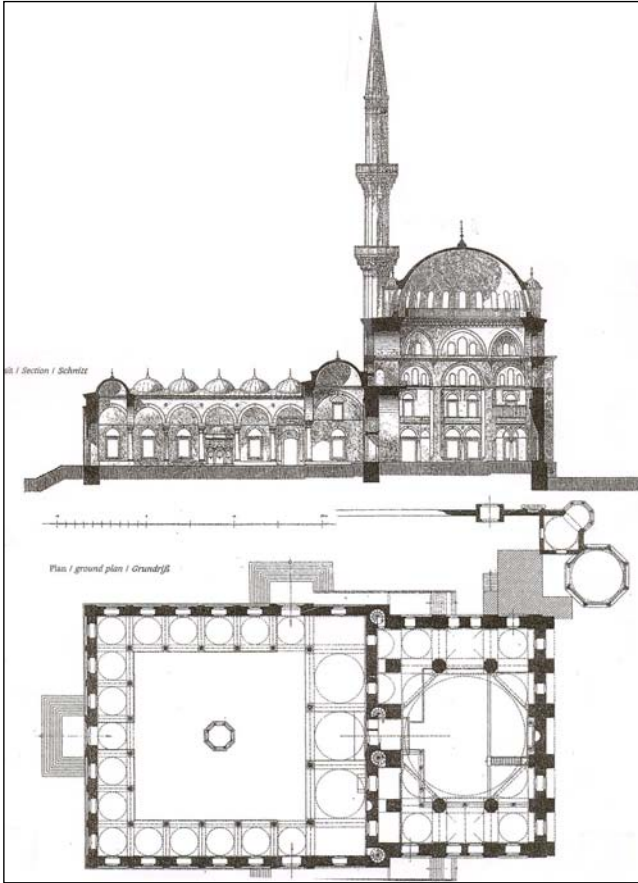
### 2.5 Yeni Valide Cami at Üsküdar

Yeni Valide Camii dominates the west side of Iskele Meydanı, the huge formless square that opens up from the ferry-landings at Üsküdar. The historic inscription on the mosque records that it was built between 1708 and 1710 by Ahmet III and dedicated to his mother, the valide sultan Râbia Gülnüş Ümmetullah; the *Hadikat* says that its dependencies consisted of an imaret, a mektep, a çeşme and a sebîl. These still exist; the very grand sebîl is next to the delightful türbe of the valide, which is an open one with grille-work sides and dome, like a very gay aviary. The large and handsome mektep is over the monumental gateway to the outer wall of the precinct at the north end of the main axis; opposite this is the elaborate çeşme and beyond stands the rather irregular and unusual imaret, which has been partly restored.

The mosque itself is rather dreary. It is in the classical style at its very last gasp and before the baroque influence had come to liven it up a bit. Its plan, an octagon inscribed in a rectangle with side aisles, was evidently suggested by that of Rüstem Pasha Camii, but it is heavy and lifeless. So are its tile revetments, apparently manufactured at Kütahya. Turkish tiles were to be given a fresh lease of life some ten years later by the establishment of the Tekfursaray



*Figure 4: Yeni Valide Cami at Üsküdar (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 5: Yeni Valide Cami at Üsküdar, elevation and plan (from Gurlitt).*

workshop; meantime the ones here are very inferior. There are some amusing carved decorations on the exterior of the mosque and its courtyard, especially a quaint series of dove-cotes in the form of little mosques.

## 2.6 Library of Şehit Ali Pasha

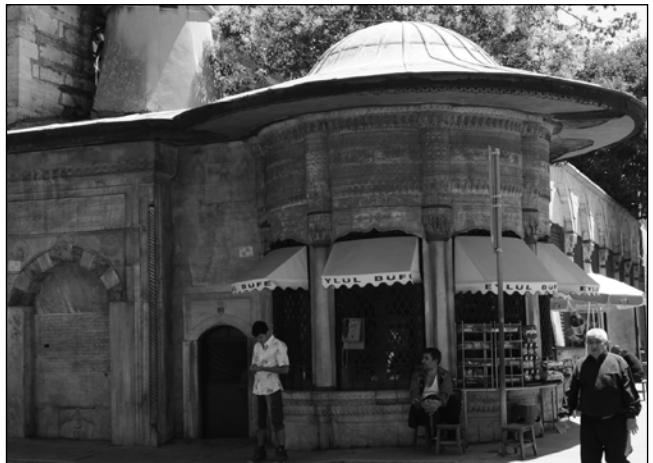
The library of Şehit Ali Pasha is on the Third Hill near the eastern end of the Valens Aqueduct. This was built early in the eighteenth century by Damat Şehit Ali Pasha; he was damat (son-in-law) because he was married to Fatma Sultan, daughter of Ahmet III, and şehit (martyr) because he was killed at the battle of Peterwardin in 1716. The library, now disused, is of a simple plan, consisting of two rooms only, the larger of which is domed. It is raised on a high substructure and approached by a flight of steps.



*Figure 6: (to the left) Şehzade Camii; Darülhadis of Damat Ibrahim Pasha (Print by Bartlett).*

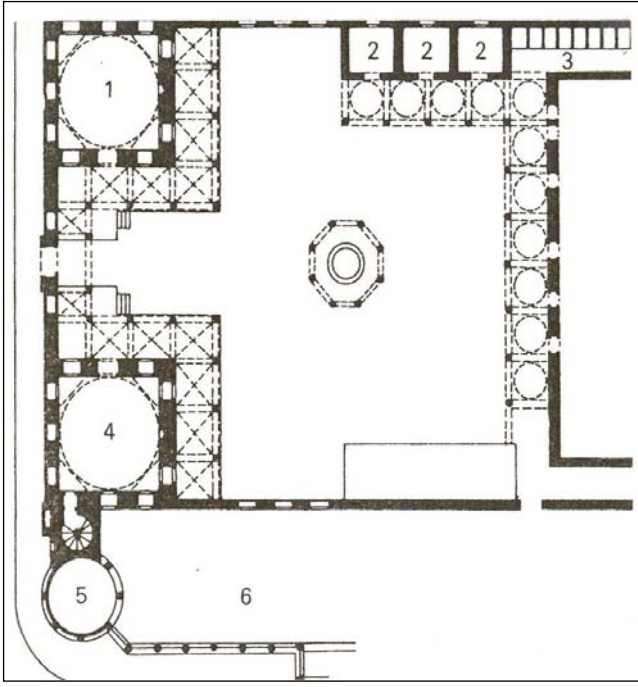
## 2.7 Darülhadis of Damat Ibrahim Pasha

The darülhadis of Damat Ibrahim Pasha is just south of Şehzade Camii on the Third Hill. This little külliye consists of a very pretty medrese and türbe with a grand sebil at the corner. Built by the grand vezir Nevşehirli Damat Ibrahim Pasha, son-in-law of Ahmet III, it is dated by its inscription to 1132 A. H. (1720) and thus comes just before the end of the classical period and the beginning of the baroque



*Figure 7: Darülhadis of Damat Ibrahim Pasha (Anthony E. Baker).*



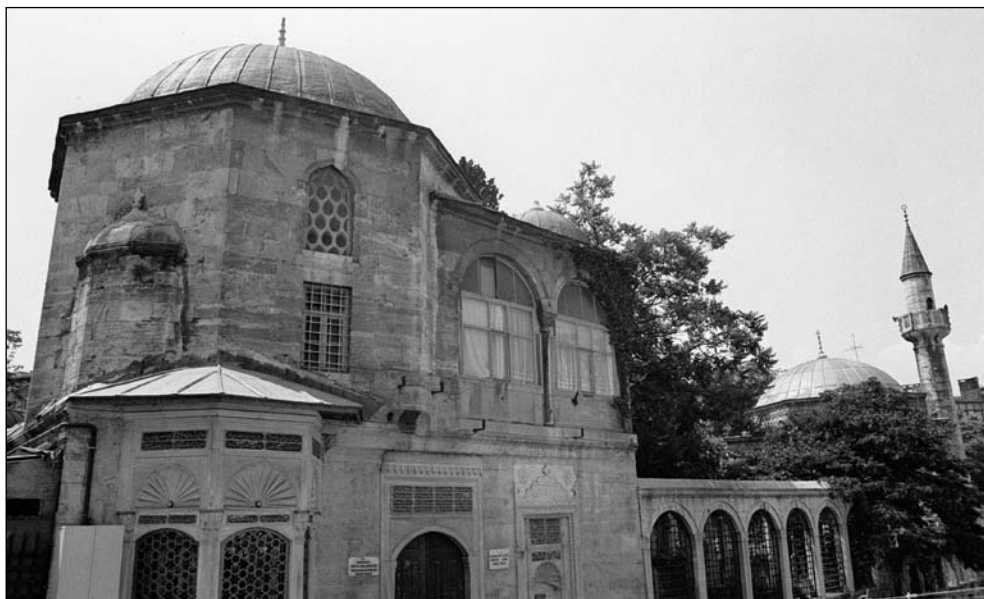


*Figure 8: Darülbahis of Damat Ibrahim Pasha, plan (1. library, 2. cells, 3. latrines, 4. mescit, 5. sebil, 6. graveyard) (from Aslanapa).*

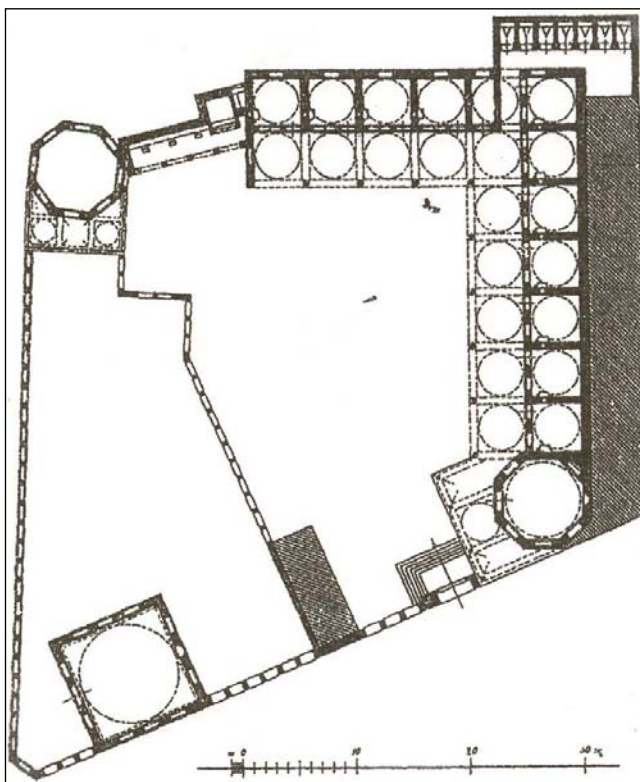
era; it has pleasing aspects of both. At each end of the façade stands a large domed chamber surrounded by a very attractive raised portico; the entrance portal is in the centre between them. The chamber to the left served as the library; that to the right was the derşane of the darülbahis, or school of sacred tradition, the function of this medrese; the derşane was turned into a mescit by the addition of a minaret. The far sides of the courtyard are partly lined with porticoes with cells beyond them, but these are irregularly placed after the baroque fashion. Outside, at the corner, is an extremely handsome sebil, a favourite with painters and etchers in times past. Behind this is a pretty graveyard where are buried, among others, Ibrahim Pasha and his son. The building is in good condition and part of it is used as a clinic.

## 2.8 Ahmediye complex

The külliye known as the Ahmediye is in Üsküdar midway between Yeni Valide Camii and Atik Valide Camii. This elaborate and delightful complex, consisting of a mosque, a medrese, a library, a sebil and a çeşme, was built in 1722 by Eminzade Hacı Ahmet Pasha, comptroller of the Tersane, or Naval Arsenal, under Ahmet III. It is perhaps the last ambitious building complex in the classical style, though verging towards the baroque.



*Figure 9: Ahmediye Complex  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 10: Ahmediye Complex, plan  
(from Gurlitt).*

Roughly square in layout, the complex has the porticoes and cells of the medrese along two sides; the library, one entrance portal and the mosque occupy a third side; while the fourth has the main gate complex with the dersane above and a graveyard alongside; but the whole plan is extremely irregular because of the alignment of streets and the rising ground.

Entering by the west gate, we have the mosque on our left. This need not detain us long: a small square room covered by a dome, but with a fine inlaid mumber and Kuran kürsü; it is entered through a long wooden porch-like structure added much later (1893) when the complex was used as a dervish tekke, and which rather detracts from any monumental quality it may have had. The minaret, unusually, is on the left. Much more interesting than the mosque is the kütüphane, or library, on the right of the entrance. This is reached by a low vaulted passage at the end of which a flight of stairs leads to the upper storey. Here a porch with three domed bays overlooks the entire courtyard, picturesque with its many-domed and irregularly placed buildings and its venerable trees. The library itself is a square room with a dome, its books long since having been dispersed; beside it an odd cone-shaped passage leads to a lavatory.

The cells of the medrese occupy the north and east sides of the complex, the last cell in the eastern row being used as a gulushane, or fountain-room for ritual ablutions. In the south-east corner is the main entrance to the complex, called Tekke Kapısı, because during the brief period when the külliye was used as a tekke the upper room was converted into the zaviye where the dervish rituals were performed. The structure is rather like the library opposite: a high vaulted passage leads to the street; off this a staircase leads to a columned porch with three small domes overlooking the graveyard and courtyard. The dersane itself is octagonal, with a handsome dome. The façade facing the street has on one side of the entrance portal an elaborate sebil, on the other a çeşme; inscriptions here and elsewhere in the building give the date A. H. 1134 (1722). Both the kütüphane and the dersane are delightfully wayward, original and charming. The whole külliye indeed ranks with those of Bayram Pasha and Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha as among the most charming and inventive in the city. Fortunately it is being preserved and restored.

### 2.9 Mektep of Ebu Bekir Pasha

The mektep of Ebu Bekir Pasha is on the Seventh Hill about 150 metres south of Murat Pasha Camii. The historical inscription records that this was founded by Ebu Bekir Pasha in A. H. 1136 (1723–4). The building was restored in the early 1970s and is now in use as a children's library, like so many other Ottoman primary schools of its type.

## 2.10 Ismail Efendi Camii

Ismail Efendi Camii is on the Fifth Hill near the mosque of Selim I. This is a quaint and entertaining example of a building in a transitional style between the classical and the baroque. It was built by the şeyh-ül İslam Ismail Efendi in 1724. It is built on a vaulted substructure containing shops with the mosque above them, so constructed, according to the *Hadikat-ül Cevami*, in order to resemble the Kaaba at Mecca!

One enters the courtyard through a gate above which is a very characteristic mektep of one room. To the right a long double staircase leads up to the mosque, the porch of which has been rather tastelessly reconstructed in detail (for example the capitals of the



*Figure 11: Ismail Efendi Camii*  
(Anthony E. Baker).

columns!), though the general effect is pleasing except for its glazing. On the interior there is a very curious and pretty – perhaps unique – triple arcade in two stories of superposed columns repeated on the west, north and east sides and supporting galleries; perhaps because of these arcades the dome seems unusually high. At the back of the courtyard there is a small darülhadis which has been greatly altered and walled in.

Altogether this little complex is quite charming with its warm polychrome of brick and stone masonry; it was on the whole pretty well restored from near ruin in 1952.

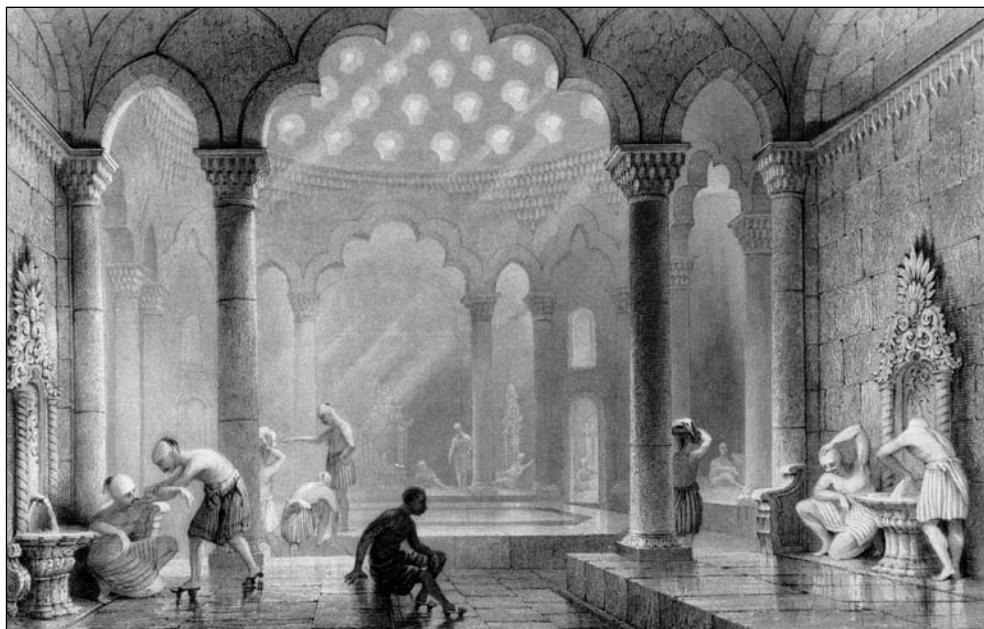
### 2.11 Mektep, şadırvan and library of Mahmut I (Haghia Sophia)

Two of the Ottoman structures in the courtyard of Haghia Sophia were built in about 1740 by Mahmut I. These are the mektep, which is just to the left of the entrance, and the şadırvan, in the centre of the courtyard. The mektep is very typical of the little Ottoman one-room schoolhouses of that period, consisting of just a porch and a square chamber covered by a dome. This was where the young children of the clergy and others attached to the mosque of Haghia Sophia received their primary education. The şadırvan is the most rococo of all mosque ablution fountains, but in spite of its extravagance – or perhaps because of it – it is extremely attractive, with its widely projecting roof gaily painted in decorative motifs, its fine bronze grilles, and its marble panels carved in low relief.

Mahmut I also endowed a library within Haghia Sophia in 1739, placing it in an enclosure between two of the buttresses in the south aisle. Beyond the fine bronze grilles that screen it off from the aisle are several small rooms, domed and revetted in Iznik tiles, not of the eighteenth century but of the very best period in the late sixteenth, tiles found by Mahmut stored away unused in the Saray. The books, some 5,000 priceless manuscripts, were housed as usual in grilled cases in the centre of the main chamber. In order to defray the expense of the upkeep of this library Mahmut built the still famous and popular Çağaloğlu Hamamı not far away.

### 2.12 Çağaloğlu Hamamı

The Çağaloğlu Hamamı is on the slope of the First Hill leading down to the Golden Horn. This double bath was built by Mahmut I in 1741 to defray the expenses of the library he had established in Haghia Sophia. It has much the usual arrangements but its hararet is unusually grand: as at Çemberlitaş, it has a circlet of columns supporting the dome. It is perhaps the finest of the baroque hamams



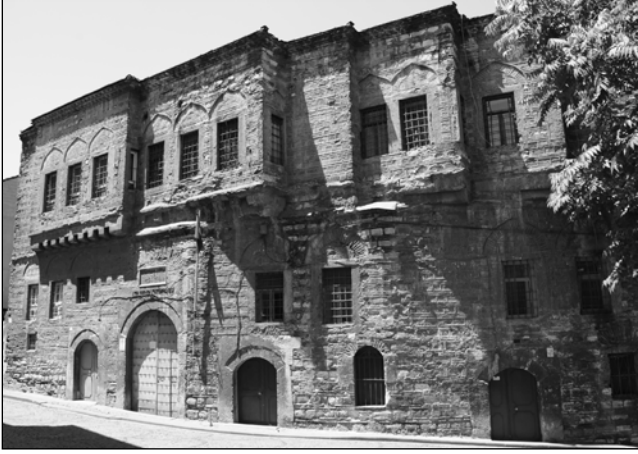
**Figure 12:** *Hararet of the Çagağolu Hamamı (Print by Allom).*

and is deservedly one of the most popular baths in the city not only with the local inhabitants but with visitors from abroad.

### 2.13 Library of Atif Efendi

The library of Atif Efendi is on the Third Hill about 250 metres north of the Valens Aqueduct. This is the most charming and original of the Ottoman public libraries in the city. Built of stone and brick in the baroque style in 1741–2, it consists of two parts, a block of houses for the library staff and the library itself. The former faces the street and its upper storey projects *en crémaillère*, that is, in five zigzags supported on corbels. Three small doors lead to the lodgings while a large gate in the middle opens into a courtyard or garden, on the other side of which stands the library.

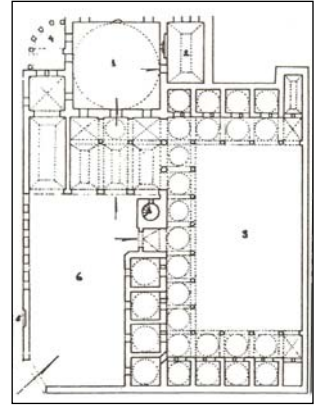
The library consists of an entrance lobby, a room for book storage, and a large reading-room of astonishing shape. This oblong area, cradle-vaulted like the other rooms, is surrounded at one end by a series of deep bays arranged like a fan. A triple arcade supported on two columns divides the two parts of the room; on the exterior this fan-like arrangement presents seven faces. Near the entrance to the reading-room the entire vakfiye, or deed of foundation, of the establishment is inscribed on a marble plaque. The library of Atif Efendi is altogether a fantastic and delightful building.



*Figure 13: Library of Atif Efendi (Anthony E. Baker).*

## 2.14 Külliye of Beşir Ağa

The külliye of Beşir Ağa is on the slope of the First Hill leading down to the Golden Horn. This small but interesting baroque complex includes a mosque, a medrese, a dervish tekke, a library and a sebil. It was built in 1745 by Beşir Ağa, chief of the black eunuchs under Mahmut I. At the corner of the street the very decorative sebil with its concave grilles gives both gaiety and elegance to the whole design, built in a warm and pleasing combination of brick and stone. The small mosque, a simple square room covered by a dome, is entered from the side street; it has a curious double porch which is a little dark and forbidding. The courtyard is formed by the cells of the tekke, while a narrow inner courtyard has those of the medrese; the library was on an upper floor beside the mosque. This is one of the more entertaining and attractive of the baroque külliyes.



*Figure 14: Külliye of Beşir Ağa, plan (1. mosque, 2. library, 3. medrese, 4. sebil, 5. fountain, 6. mosque courtyard) (from Aslanapa).*

## 2.15 Medrese of Seyyit Hasan Pasha

The medrese of Seyyit Hasan Pasha is on the Third Hill directly behind Beyazıt's hamam. This is a baroque building founded in 1745 by the grand vezir Seyyit Hasan Pasha, whose han we saw earlier on the other side of the avenue. The medrese has been restored and now houses the Istanbul University Institute of Turkology. It is curiously irregular in design and raised on a rather high platform, so that on entering one mounts a flight of steps to the courtyard, now roofed in and used as a library and reading room. In one corner is the dersane, which has become the office of the director of the Institute; in another is a room designed as a primary school; this and the cells of the medrese are used for special library collections or as offices. Outside in the street at the corner of the building is a fine rococo sebil with a çeşme beside it.

*Figure 15: Medrese of Seyyit Hasan Pasha (Anthony E. Baker).*



### 3 THE SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: OTTOMAN BAROQUE

#### 3.1 Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha Camii

Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha Camii is on the Seventh Hill about 300 metres west of Davut Pasha Camii. This grand and interesting complex was founded by Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha, who was son of the court physician (hekim) and was himself grand vezir for fifteen years under Mahmut I. A long inscription in Turkish verse over the door, partly published by Tahsin Öz, gives the date of construction as A. H. 1147 (1754–5). One can consider this külliye either the last of the great classical complexes or the first of the new baroque style, for it has characteristics of both; according to Öz, the architect was Ömer Ağa.

At the corner of the precinct wall is a very beautiful sebil of marble with five bronze grilles; above runs an elaborate frieze with a long inscription and fine carvings of vines, flowers, and rosettes in the new rococo style that had recently been introduced from France. The façade of the türbe along the street is faced in marble, corbeled out toward the top and with a çeşme at the far end. It is a large rectangular building with two domes dividing it into two equal square areas. This form was not unknown in the classical period – compare Sinan's Pertev Pasha Türbesi at Eyüp – but it was rare and the use of it here seems to indicate a willingness to experiment with new forms. Farther along the precinct wall stands the monumental gateway with a domed chamber above. This was the library of the foundation; though the manuscripts have been transferred elsewhere, it still contains the painted wooden cage with grilles in which they were stored; an elegant floral frieze runs round the top of the wall





*Figure 16: Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*

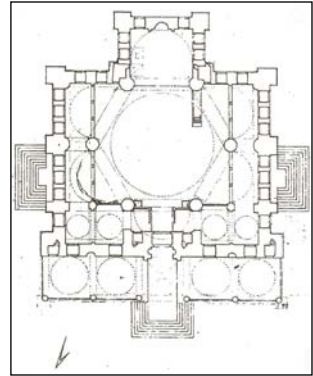
and floral medallions adorn the dome. From the columned porch at the top of the steps leading to the library one commands a good view of the whole complex, with its singularly attractive garden full of tall cypresses and aged plane trees and opposite the stately porch and very slender minaret of the mosque.

The mosque itself, raised on a substructure containing a cistern, is purely classical in form, its plan indeed being an almost exact replica of that of Cerrah Pasha Camii which we saw farther east on this same hill. In contrast to that, the present building is perhaps a little weak and effeminate; there is a certain blurring of forms and enervating of structural distinctions, an effect not mitigated by the pale colour of the tile revetment. The tiles are still Turkish, now manufactured not at Iznik but at the then recently established kilns at Tekfursaray; in the apse there is an interesting tile panel representing the great mosque at Mecca. All the same, the general impression of the interior is charming if not exactly powerful. There is a further hint of the new baroque style in one of the least pleasing traits in some of the capitals of the columns, both in the porch and beneath the imperial loge; the traditional stalactite and lozenge capitals have been abandoned here and there in favour of a very weak and characterless form like an impost capital which seems quite out of scale and out of place.

Outside the precinct across the street to the south-east stood the tekke of the foundation, but little is left of it except a very ruinous zaviye, the room for the dervish ceremonies.

### 3.2 Nuruosmaniye Camii

Nuruosmaniye Camii is on the Second Hill just to the east of the Covered Bazaar. The mosque was begun by Mahmut I in 1748 and finished in 1755 by his brother and successor, Osman II, from whom it



*Figure 17: Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha Camii, plan (from Aslanapa).*

## The Eighteenth Century: From Classical to Baroque

takes its name, the Mosque of the Sacred Light (Nur) of Osman. The precincts have two entrances, one of them opposite the main entrance to the Covered Bazaar, so that there is always a stream of pedestrians passing through the outer courtyard of the mosque. This outer courtyard is attractive with its plane-trees and horse-chestnuts, the quaint mosque building on one side and its various dependencies – a medrese, a library, a türbe, a sebil – scattered here and there irregularly.

Nuruosmaniye Camii was the first large and ambitious Ottoman building to exemplify the new baroque style introduced from Europe. Apparently the architect was a Greek named Simeon, who may have studied in France. Like most of the baroque mosques, it consists essentially of a square room covered by a large dome resting on four arches in the walls, whose form is strongly emphasized, especially on the exterior. The present building, in plan, has an oddly cruciform shape because of two side chambers at the south end, in the middle of which it has a semicircular apse for the mihrab. On the north it is preceded by a porch with five bays, and this is enclosed by an extremely curious courtyard which can only be described as a semicircle with seven sides and nine domed bays! At the south-east corner of the mosque an oddly-shaped ramp, supported on wide arches, leads to the the sultan's loge; note that a number of the arches here and elsewhere in the building are semicircular instead of pointed in form, as they generally are in earlier mosques. The whole structure is erected on a low terrace to which irregularly placed flights of steps give access.

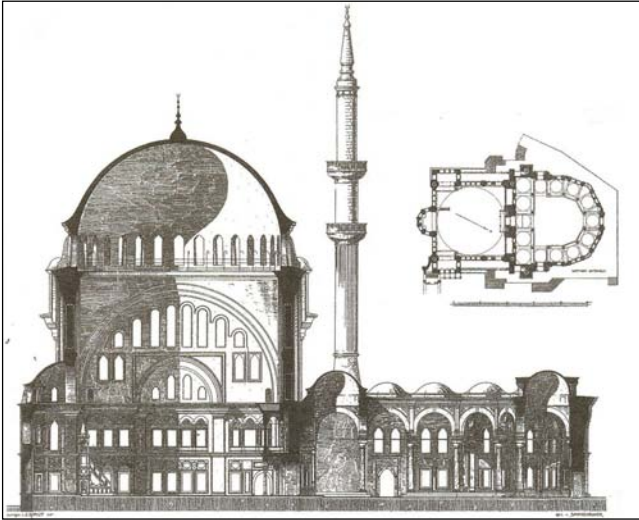
Nuruosmaniye Camii is altogether an astonishing building, not wholly without a certain perverse genius. But its proportions are



*Figure 18: Nuruosmaniye Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 19: Nuruosmaniye Camii, inner courtyard (Print by Allom).*



*Figure 20: Nuruosmaniye Camii, elevation and plan (from Gurlitt).*

awkward and ungainly and its oddly-shaped members seem to have no organic unity, but to be the arbitrary whim of the architect. Also the stone from which it is built is harsh and steel-like in texture and dull in colour. All things considered, the mosque must be pronounced a failure, but a charming one.

### 3.3 Laleli Cami

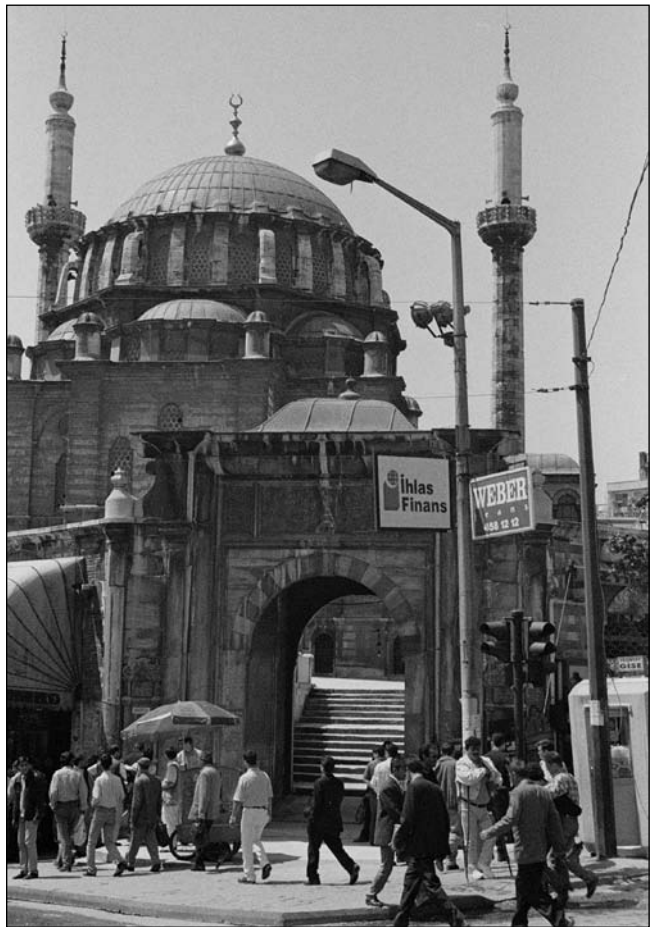
The second of the larger baroque buildings to be erected in Istanbul is Laleli Cami, the Lily Mosque, which is on the western side of the Third Hill. This is a very gay, not to say frivolous edifice, perhaps the best of all the baroque mosques. It was founded by Mustafa III and

## The Eighteenth Century: From Classical to Baroque

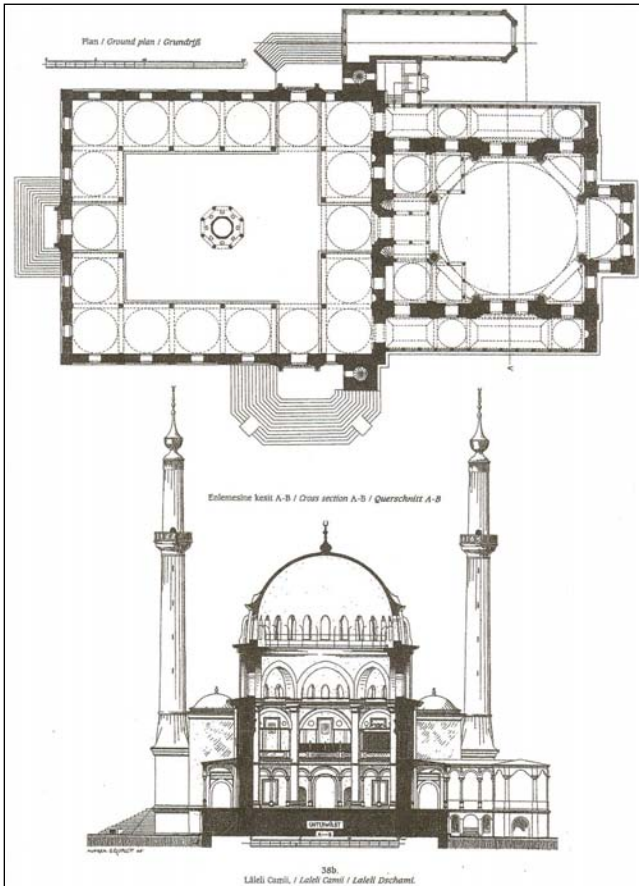
built between 1759 and 1763 by Mehmet Tahir Ağa, the greatest and most original of the Turkish baroque architects.

The mosque is an imposing structure built on a high terrace, beneath which there is a veritable labyrinth of winding passages and vaulted shops. In the centre of this substructure, directly underneath the mosque, there is a great hall whose roof is supported by eight enormous piers, with a fountain in the centre surrounded by shops and cafés. The whole thing is obviously a tour de force of Mehmet Tahir to show that he could support his mosque virtually on nothing!

The mosque itself is constructed of brick and stone, but the superstructure is of stone only, and the two parts do not appear to fit together very well. Along the sides there are amusing but pointless galleries, with the arcades formed of round arches, with a similar arcade covering the ramp leading to the imperial loge.



*Figure 21: Laleli Cami (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 22: Laleli Camii, plan and section (from Gurlitt).*

The plan of the interior is an octagon inscribed in a rectangle. All but the north pair of supporting columns are engaged in the walls; those at the north support a gallery along the north wall. All the walls are heavily revetted in variegated marbles – yellow, red blue and other colours – which give a charming if somewhat gaudy effect. In the north wall of the gallery there are medallions of opus sectile which incorporate not only rare marbles but also semi-precious stones such as onyx, jasper and lapis lazuli. A rectangular apse contains the mihrab, which is made of sumptuous marbles. The mimber is fashioned from the same materials, while the Kuran kürsü is of rich work of wood heavily inlaid with mother-of-pearl.

Like all of the other imperial mosques, Laleli Cami was surrounded by the many attendant buildings of a civic centre, some of which, unfortunately, have disappeared, notably the medrese and the hamam. On Ordu Caddesi there still remains the pretty sebil with bronze grilles, and the somewhat somber türbe in which are buried Mustafa III and

his son, the unfortunate Selim III, who was murdered on 27 July 1808 after he had been deposed. On the terrace inside the enclosure is the imaret, an attractive little building with a very strange plan indeed, which is quite impossible to describe: it must be inspected.

### 3.4 Büyük Taş Han

The street just to the east of the mosque, Fethi Bey Caddesi, leads at the second turning to a fascinating han that probably belongs to the Laleli complex. This is known as Büyük Taş Han, the Big Stone Han. One enters through a very long vaulted passage, with rooms and a small court leading from it; it emerges into a large courtyard, in the middle of which a ramp descends into what were once the stables. Around this porticoed courtyard open rooms of most irregular shape, and other passages lead to two additional small courts with even more irregular chambers. One seems to detect in this the ingenious but perverse mind of Mehmet Tahir Ağa, the architect of Laleli Cami. The han has been very well restored and now houses shops, cafés and a restaurant, all in a very attractive setting.

### 3.5 Yeraltı Cami

Yeraltı Cami, the Underground Mosque, is near the main passenger terminal of the Turkish Maritime Lines in Galata. The mosque is housed in the low, vaulted cellar or keep of a Byzantine tower, which some authorities have identified with the ancient Castle of Galata, originally constructed by the emperor Tiberius II (r. 579–82). This was the place that anchored one end of the famous chain that closed the mouth of the Golden Horn during the Turkish siege in 1453.

The low ceiling of the mosque is supported by a forest of squat pillars in nine rows of six each. Toward the rear of the mosque are two large chambers screened off by grilles. These are the tombs of two sainted Muslim martyrs, Abu Sufyan and Amiri Wahibi, both of whom died in the first Arab siege of Constantinople in 674–8. The site of their graves was revealed in a dream to a Nakşibendi dervish one night in 1640. When Murat IV learned of this he had the graves opened and the saints reinterred in a shrine on the site. In 1757 the whole dungeon was converted into a mosque by Köse Mustafa Pasha, who was grand vezir under three sultans: Mahmut I, Osman III and Mustafa III.

### 3.6 Ayazma Camii

Ayazma Camii, the Mosque of the Holy Well, stands as a landmark in Üsküdar above the point where the Bosphorus flows into the

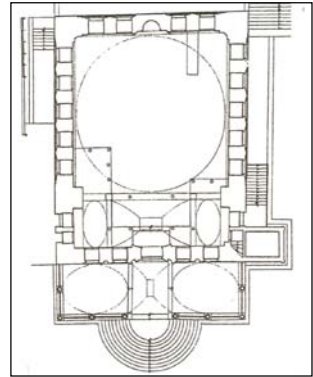


*Figure 23: Ayazma Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*

Sea of Marmara on the Asian side of the strait. The mosque takes its name from an ayazma, or holy well, which is now enclosed within a large cistern on the left side of the porch. According to the inscription over the door composed by the famous grand vezir Ragıp Pasha and written by the equally famous calligrapher, the şeyh-ül İslam Velîyettin Efendi, the mosque was completed in A. H. 1174 (1760–1) by Mustafa III and dedicated to the memory of his mother, the valide sultan Mihrişah Emine, and of his elder brother, the şehzade Süleyman.

At the corner of the precinct wall is a coldly handsome çeşme, and farther along a double flight of steps leads to a heavily handsome entrance portal. Opposite, across the small courtyard, a pretty flight of semicircular steps leads to the mosque porch, the columns of which have rather attractive although somewhat feeble flower-petal capitals. In the courtyard on the left is the cistern and beyond that an elaborate two-storied colonnade leads to the royal loge. At the sides and back of the building the extrados of the great arches are stepped and the tympanum walls filled with windows, while at the corners are square turrets with grilled openings and gay little domes, and here and there a tiny dove-cote in the shape of a mosque; all this give the exterior great charm.

The interior, as in many of the baroque mosques, is less successful, and one finds oneself in a veritable forest of lamps and tasseled ostrich eggs, of which the accounts in the Saray say there are 151! Along the north wall runs a many-columned gallery of grey Proconnesian marble, on the left side of which is the elaborate imperial loge with a sumptuous black and gold cornice and lattices. Grey is the prevailing colour within, and let into the walls are handsome panels of black marble with gold and white veining. But in spite of some nice details, the interior is cluttered and confused, and though sumptuous, somber.



*Figure 24: Ayazma Camii, plan (from Aslanapa).*



## The Eighteenth Century: From Classical to Baroque

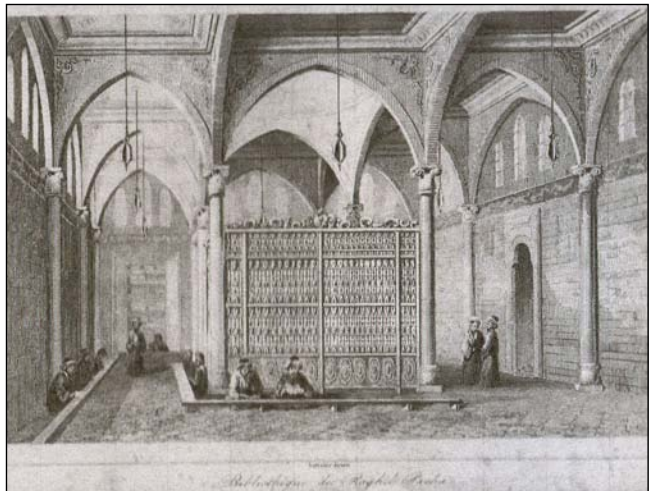
Behind the mosque there is a picturesque graveyard with some interesting old tombstones, most notably one belonging to a janissary, distinguished by the long fold in the back of the headdress. This is the only tombstone of its kind in the city, for when Mahmut II annihilated the janissaries in 1826 he also destroyed all reminders of their presence, even their funerary monuments.

### 3.7 Library of Ragıp Pasha

The library of Ragıp Pasha is on the Third Hill about 150 metres east of Laleli Cami along Ordu Caddesi. This delightful little complex was founded in 1762 by Ragıp Pasha, grand vezir of Mustafa III. The architect seems to have been Mehmet Tahir Ağa. One enters through a gate on top of which is a mektep, now used as a children's



*Figure 25: Library of Ragıp Pasha  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

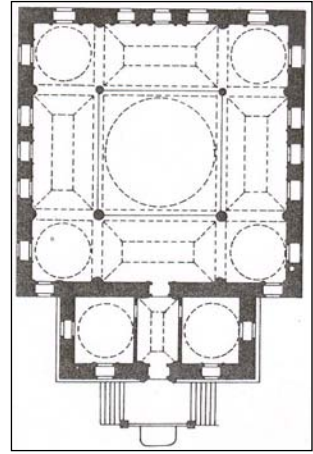


*Figure 26: Library of Ragıp Pasha,  
Ottoman miniature.*



library. Across the courtyard, surrounded by an attractive garden, is the main library building, which has been restored and is once again serving its original purpose. A flight of steps leads up from the courtyard to a domed lobby which opens into the reading-room. This is square in plan, the central space being covered by a dome supported on four columns; between these beautiful bronze grilles form a kind of cage in which the books and manuscripts are kept. Round the sides of this vaulted and domed room are chairs and tables for reading. The walls are revetted in blue and white tiles, either of European manufacture or Turkish tiles strongly under their influence, but charming nonetheless.

In the garden, which is separated from the courtyard by fine bronze grilles, is the pretty open türbe of the founder. Ragıp Pasha, who was grand vezir from 1757 until 1763, is considered to have been the last of the great figures to hold that post, comparable in stature to Sokollu Mehmet Pasha and the Köprülüs. He was the best poet of his time, and composed some of the most apt and witty of the chronograms inscribed on the city's street-fountains. His little külliye, though clearly baroque in detail, has a classical simplicity which recalls that of the Köprülüs on the Second Hill.



*Figure 27: Library of Ragıp Pasha, plan (from Goodwin).*

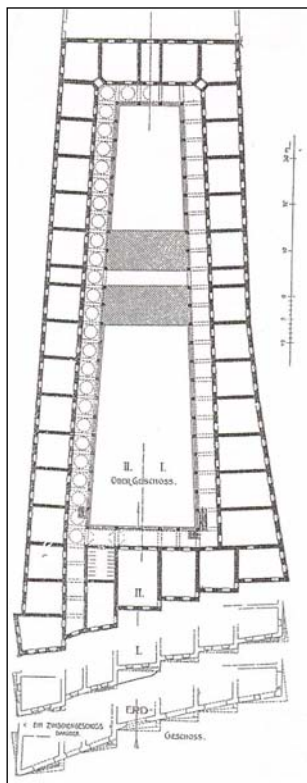
### 3.8 Büyük Yeni Han

Büyük Yeni Han, the 'Big New Han,' is just below the Büyük Valide Hanı on the slope of the Third Hill leading down to the Golden Horn. This enormous and fairly well-preserved building is the second-largest han in the city after the Büyük Valide Hanı. It was erected in 1764 by Mustafa III, and is one of the best extant examples of the baroque han. Its great courtyard must be over a hundred metres in length but very narrow and tall. Unfortunately it has been divided in the middle by what appears to be a later construction which much diminishes its impressive length. Nevertheless, its three stories of great round-arched arcades are very picturesque.

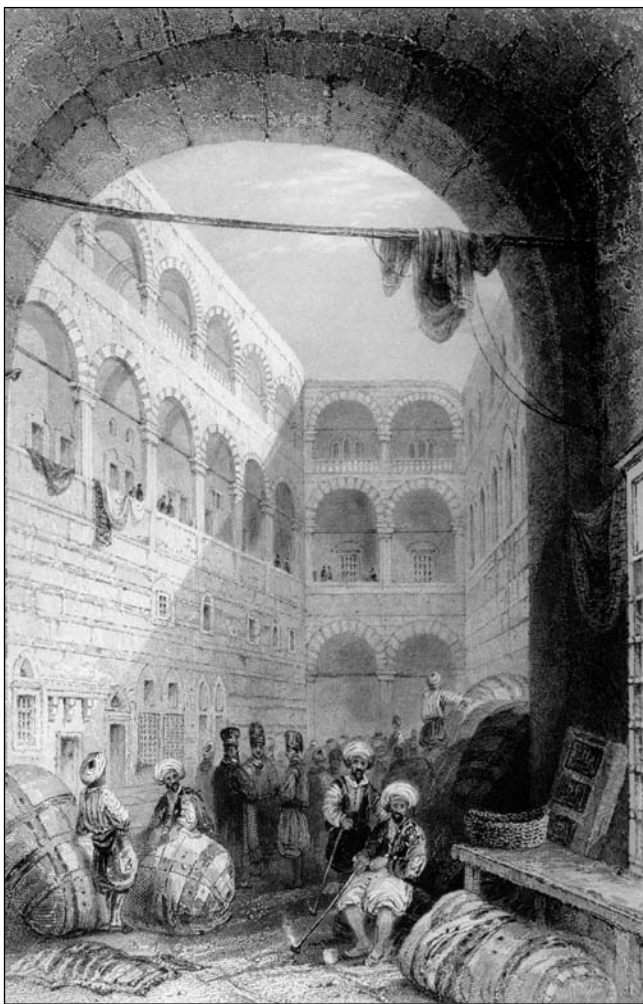
### 3.9 Küçük Yeni Han

Just beyond the Büyük Yeni Han is a much smaller han of about the same date. This is the Küçük Yeni Han, the 'Small New Han,' also a construction of Mustafa III. If you look up from the narrow street outside you will see the most curiously situated mosque in the city, perched on the roof of the han. This little mescit, which bears the name of sultan Mustafa III, has an almost Byzantine-looking dome and a pretty minaret. The mescit was undoubtedly built at the same time as the han. It is much frequented by the merchants and workers in this busy market quarter.

*Figure 28: Büyük Yeni Han (Print from Bartlett).*

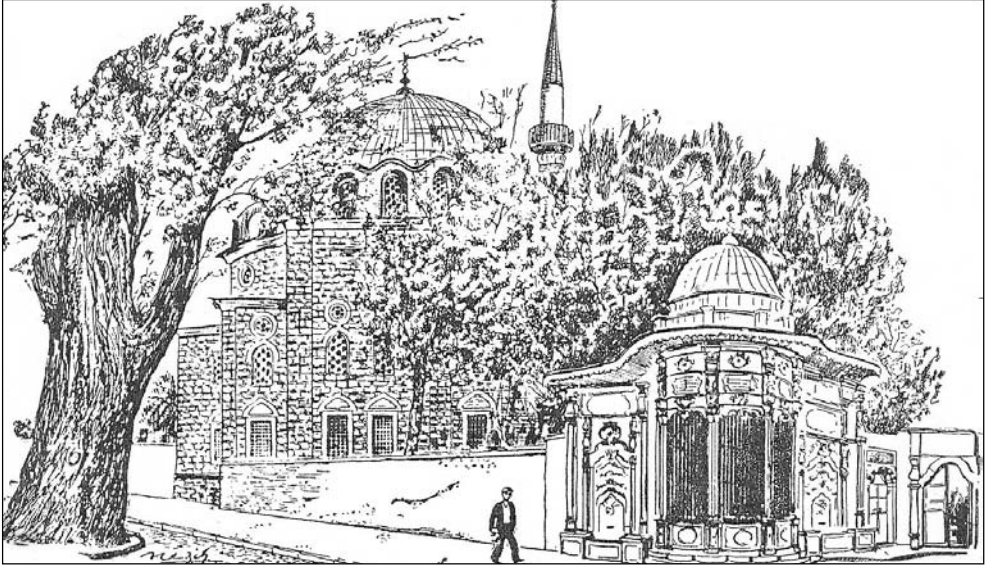


*Figure 29: Büyük Yeni Han, plan (from Gurlitt).*

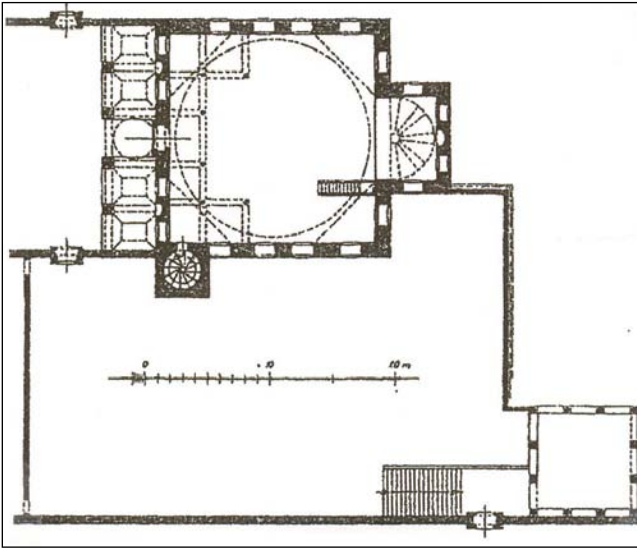


### 3.10 Zeynep Sultan Camii

Zeynep Sultan Camii is on the First Hill opposite the gateway in the Saray walls that leads into Gülhane Park. The mosque was erected in 1769 by the Princess Zeynep, a daughter of Ahmet III. It is rather a pleasant and original example of Turkish baroque. In form it is merely a small square room covered by a dome, with a square projecting apse to the south and the usual porch with five bays to the north. But it has a rather Byzantine effect, partly from being built in courses of stone and brick, but more because of its very Byzantine dome. The cornice of the dome undulates as it follows the extrados of the round-arched windows, a pretty arrangement general in Byzantine buildings but almost never used by the Turks.



*Figure 30: Zeynep Sultan Camii  
(from Şehsuvaroğlu).*



*Figure 31: Zeynep Sultan Camii,  
plan (from Gurlitt).*

Notice also the minaret, the interior staircase of which is marked on the outside by spiral courses of stone contrasting with the brickwork of the structure as a whole. Another baroque detail is less attractive: the columns of the porch have capitals in a bastard Ionic style, miserably soft and insignificant.

The little mektep at the corner just beyond the mosque is part of the foundation. The elaborate rococo sebil just outside the gate to



*Figure 32: Mektep of Recai Mehmet Efendi (Anthony E. Baker).*

the mosque garden does not belong to Zeynep's foundation; it was built by Abdül Hamit I in 1778 as part of a külliye farther down the slope of the First Hill. The sebil was moved here some years when the street running past Abdül Hamit's complex was widened.

### 3.11 Mektep of Recai Mehmet Efendi

The mektep of Recai Mehmet Efendi is on the Third Hill near the eastern end of the Valens Aqueduct. This little primary school, now abandoned, was built by Recai Mehmet Efendi, First Lord of the Treasury and Lord Privy Seal under Abdul Hamit I; an inscription gives the date of foundation as A. H. 1189 (1775). The upper storey is built of alternate courses of brick and stone, but the entire ground floor is sheathed in an elaborately decorated marble casing. In the centre is the projecting curve of the sebil with three fine bronze grilles between the columns; on the left is the ornate entrance portal, while balancing this on the right is a çeşme. Unfortunately the level of the ground has risen considerably and this imposing façade has been somewhat swamped and belittled by it. But in spite of this and the bad condition of the fabric, it remains one of the most elaborate and charming of the small Ottoman primary schools.

### 3.12 Library of Murat Molla

The library of Murat Molla is about 300 metres west of the mosque of Selim I. This library, which stands in an extensive and very pretty walled garden, was built in 1775 by the judge and scholar Damatzade Murat Molla. The complex also included a dervish tekke, now



*Figure 33: Library of Murat Molla  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

vanished. The library is a large square building of brick and stone with a central dome supported by four columns with reused Byzantine capitals. The whole edifice indeed is built on Byzantine substructures, fragments of which can be seen in the garden. The corners of the room also have domes with barrel-vaults between them. It is a very typical and very attractive example of an eighteenth-century Ottoman library, to be compared with those of Ragıp Pasha and Atif Efendi. It has been well restored and is again in use as a library.

### 3.13 Beylerbey Camii

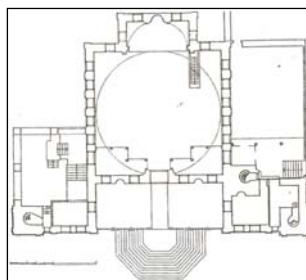
Beylerbey Camii is in the village of the same name on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus, just above the first bridge. According to the historic inscription, the mosque was built in A. H. 1192 (1778) by Abdül Hamit I as part of a very extensive külliye, the other buildings of which are not grouped around the mosque, as is the usual practice, but are near Yeni Cami in the old city. The mosque, a work of the architect Mehmet Tahir Ağa, is an attractive example of the baroque style, its dome arches arranged in an octagon, vigourously emphasized within and without, its mihrab in a projecting apse, richly decorated with tiles of different periods from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The mimber and Kuran kürsü are unusually elegant and beautiful works, both of them of wood inlaid with ivory. It has two minarets, the second one added later by Mahmut II.

### 3.14 Medrese and türbe of Abdül Hamit I

The other buildings attached to the vakfiye of the mosque of Abdül Hamit I in Beylerbey were originally all in the Bahçekapı district in Eminönü, just east of Yeni Camii. These were the medrese, the imaret, the türbe and the sebil. The imaret has disappeared, while



*Figure 34: Beylerbey Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 35: Beylerbey Camii, plan  
(from Aslanapa).*

the sebil, as we have seen, was moved up the hill to the precinct wall of Zeynep Sultan when the road was widened. The türbe is on the corner of Hamidiye Caddesi and the second through turning on the right after Yeni Cami. Abdül Hamit I (r. 1774–89) is buried here along with his mad son Mustafa IV (r. 1806–7), who was executed the year after he was removed from the throne. The türbe was much admired by the Austrian historian Joseph von Hammer, who says that it was built in ‘a beautiful and original style.’<sup>2</sup> The Turkish architectural historian Doğan Kuban, in quoting this remark, notes that the style of the tomb is neo-classical rather than baroque.

The entrance to what remains of the medrese of Abdül Hamit I is around the corner from the türbe, obscured from view by the shops that have been built in front of it. Part of the western end of the medrese now houses Ticaret Borsası, the Istanbul Stock Exchange. The medrese and the türbe, as well as the sebil, were built

*Figure 36: Medrese and türbe of  
Abdül Hamit I (Anthony E. Baker).*





*Figure 37: Namazgah of Esma Sultan (Anthony E. Baker).*

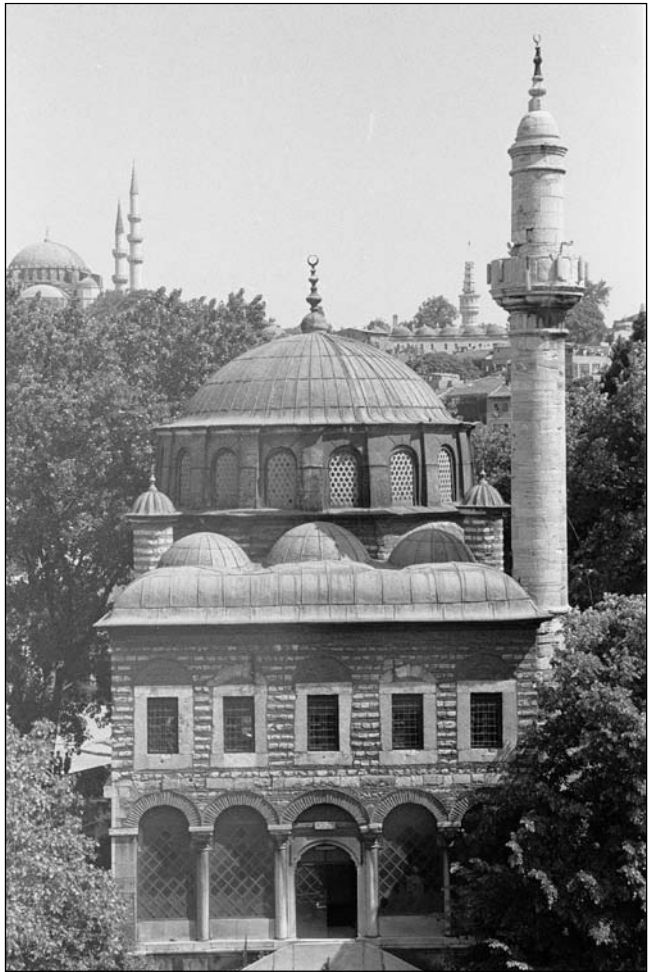
by Mehmet Tahir Ağa, architect of the the mosque of Abdül Hamit I in Beylerbey.

### 3.15 Namazgah of Esma Sultan

The neighbourhood on the slope of the First Hill below Sokollu Mehmet Pasha Camii is known as Kadirga Limanı, the Galley Port, a harbour dating from the early Byzantine period that silted up in early Ottoman times. The former port is now a park, on the western side of it there is a unique monument, a namazgah, or outdoor place of Islamic prayer, literally a mosque without a roof or walls. The namazgah was founded by Esma Sultan, daughter of Ahmet III, and was built in 1775. It is a great rectangular block of masonry; on two sides there are çeşmes where the ritual ablutions were performed; the corners have ornamental niches; while on a third side a stairway leads up to the platform on top, where a niche indicates the kible, the direction of Mecca.

### 3.16 Şebsafa Kadın Camii

Şebsafa Kadın Camii is on the east side of Atatürk Bulvarı, the highway that runs uphill from the Atatürk Bridge across the Golden Horn along the valley between the Third and Fourth Hills. This rather handsome baroque mosque was built in 1787 by Fatma Şebsafa Kadın, one of the women in the harem of Abdül Hamit I. It is built of brick and stone; the porch has an upper storey with a cradle vault and inside there is a sort of narthex also of two stories, covered with three small domes. These upper stories form a deep and attractive gallery overlooking the central area of the mosque, which is covered by a high dome resting on the walls. To the east there is a long mektep with a pretty cradle-vaulted roof.



*Figure 38: Şebsefa Kadın Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

### 3.17 Külliye of Mihrişah Sultan

The külliye of Mihrişah Sultan is on the shore of the Golden Horn in Eyüp, just to the east of the mosque and shrine of Eba Eyüp, Companion of the Prophet. This is one of the largest and most elaborate of all the baroque complexes, built in 1794 by the valide sultan Mihrişah, mother of Selim III. It includes the türbe of the foundress in a large courtyard with a mektep on one side, and a second even larger courtyard occupied by a great imaret and with a splendid sebil and çeşmes at the end of the garden wall. The türbe is round but the façade, with two rows of windows, undulates so as to turn it into a polygon, the various faces being separated by slender columns of red or dark grey marble. The entrance is in a little courtyard filled with picturesque tombstones and trees, along one side of which runs





the columned portico of the mektep. A little farther along the street another monumental gateway leads into a vast courtyard with more tombstones and surrounded on three sides by the porticoes of the huge imaret, or public kitchen. The kitchen itself is a fine domed building with three large fireplaces along one wall. This is the only imaret in Istanbul which is still in active use as a food kitchen for the poor: judging by the savoury smells, they get good meals. At the end of the garden wall is a magnificent sebil with five bronze grilles separated by clustered columns supporting an elaborately carved architrave and a frieze with a decorative inscription. James Dallaway, who often noticed things which escaped other travellers, greatly admired this türbe: 'the present empress-mother,' he writes, 'has lately completed her sepulchral chapel, which is a beautiful specimen of modern Greek architecture reconciled to the Saracenic taste. [!] The marbles are exquisite.'<sup>3</sup>

*Figure 39: Külliye of Mibrişah Sultan (Anthony E. Baker).*

## 4 BAROQUE FOUNTAINS

### 4.1 Introduction

There are a number of fountains in the city dating from the last three quarters of the eighteenth century, all of them in the new baroque style. These include çeşmeş, sebils, and monumental street-fountains with several çeşmeş and sebils on their corners and façades. All of the fountains, even the simplest ones, have calligraphic inscriptions,



**Figure 40:** *Fountain of Ahmet III (Iskele Camii) (Print by Bartlett).*

often in chronograms in which the numerical values of the Arabic letters give the founder's name and the date of foundation. There are more than seven hundred fountains in Istanbul dating from Ottoman times, and most of them continued to function into the early years of the Turkish Republic, when they were often the only source of drinking water for the poorer people in the city. Now very few of them continue to supply drinking water, though they still adorn the neighbourhoods in which they stand.

#### 4.2 Fountain of Ahmet III (Iskele Camii)

Ahmet III built two monumental street-fountains, one in front of Iskele Camii in Üsküdar and the other outside the Imperial Gate of Topkapı Sarayı.

The one in front of Iskele Camii was built in 1728–9; it originally stood on the shore of the Bosphorus, but it was moved to its present location when Iskele Meydanı and the shore highway were widened. The fountain house, which is raised on a four-stepped podium, is square in plan with beveled corners and a widely overhanging pyramidal roof. In the centre of each façade there is a çeşme set in an ogival arch and flanked by two arched recesses, and at each of the beveled corners there is a water spigot and a basin.

#### 4.3 Fountain of Ahmet III (Topkapı Sarayı)

The street-fountain of Ahmet III beside the Imperial Gate to Topkapı Sarayı is the grandest and most beautiful monument of its type in the city. It was built by Ahmet III in 1728, and is a fine example of Turkish baroque. It is a basically square structure covered by a widely overhanging and undulating roof surmounted by five

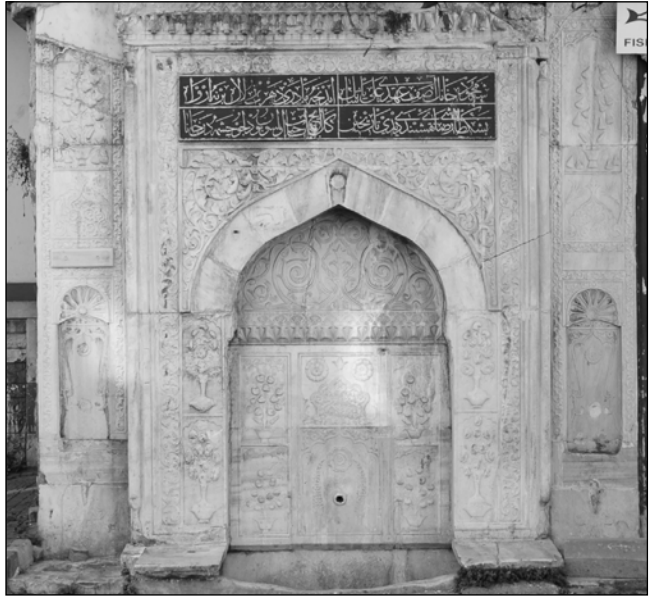


*Figure 41: Fountain of Ahmet III (Topkapı Sarayı) (Print by Allom).*

small domed turrets. There is a çeşme in the centre of each façade and at each corner there is a sebîl. Each of the çeşmes is set into a niche framed in an ogival archway above a basin, with decorative recesses on either side. The voussoirs of the arches are in alternating red and pink marble and the façade is richly decorated with floral designs in low relief. The sebîls are semicircular in form, each having three windows framed by engaged marble columns and enclosed with ornate bronze grilles. The curved wall above and below each sebîl is delicately carved and elaborately decorated with reliefs and calligraphic inscriptions. Above each of the four çeşmes there is a long and beautiful inscription in gold letters on a blue-green ground. The text is by the celebrated poet Seyit Vehbi, who praises the fountain and compares its waters with those of the holy spring Zemzem and of the sacred selsebils of paradise, ending with these modest lines: ‘Seyit Vehbi, the most distinguished among the word wizards of the age, strung these pearls on the thread of his verse and joined together the two lines of the chronographic distich, like two sweet almonds breast to breast: “With what a wall has Sultan Ahmet dammed the waters/ For astonishment stopped the flood in the midst of its course!”’

#### 4.4 Akbıyık Fountain

The picturesque old neighbourhood on the Marmara shore of the First Hill below the mosque of Sultan Ahmet I is called Akbıyık, the White Mustache, a name of unknown origin. The centre of this quarter is Akbıyık Meydanı, the Square of the White Mustache, where there is a beautiful baroque street-fountain with a çeşme framed in an ogive-arched panel decorated in relief with flowers and cypress trees. The calligraphic chronogram on the fountain reads: ‘When the mother of Ali Pasha, vezir in the reign of Sultan Mahmut I, quenched the thirst of the people with the clear and pure

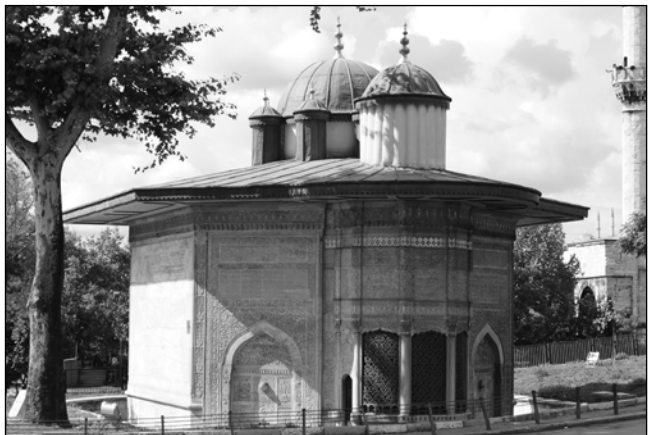


*Figure 42: Akbıyık Fountain  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

water of her charity, Rıza of Beşiktaş, a Nakşibendi dervish, uttered the following epigram: “Come and drink the water of eternal life from this fountain.” The numerical value of the words in the last phrase gives the year of foundation as A. H. 1147 (1734).

#### 4.5 Azap Kapı Fountain

One of the finest of the city’s baroque street-fountains stands just beside Azap Kapı Camii on the north shore of the Golden Horn in Galata. Built in A. H. 1145 (1732–3) by the valide sultan Saliha,



*Figure 43: Azap Kapı Fountain  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 44: Azap Kapı Fountain  
(Print by Bartlett).*

mother of Mahmut I, it consists of a projecting sebil with three grilled openings flanked by two large and magnificent çeşmes. The façades of the sebil and çeşmes are entirely covered with floral decorations in low relief and with decorative inscriptions, and it is covered by a widely projecting roof with little domes. For many years in almost total ruin, it has been fairly well restored, though unfortunately the fluted drums of the domes have been done in concrete.

#### 4.6 Tophane Fountain

One of the most famous of the city's baroque street fountains is at Tophane on the European shore of the lower Bosphorus, just above Kılıç Ali Pasha Camii and across the road from Tophane, the Ottoman cannon foundry. Built in A.H. 1145 (1732) by Mahmut I, it is square in plan with a çeşme framed in an ogival arch flanked by decorative niches in each of its four faces. Its



*Figure 45: Tophane Fountain  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

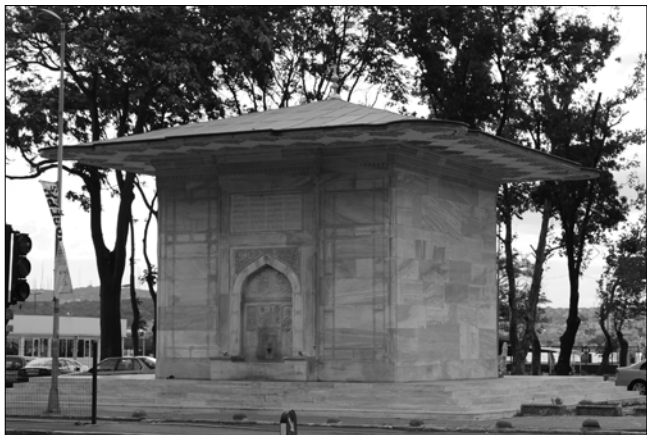
*Figure 46: Tophane Fountain (Print by Bartlett).*



marble walls are completely covered with floral designs and arabesques carved in low relief and originally painted and gilded. Its charming domed and widely overhanging roof was lacking for many years but in the early 1970s it was restored. The fountain with the mosque beside it and the busy and picturesque throngs around the port used to be a favourite subject with eighteenth and nineteenth century etchers.

#### 4.7 Fountain of Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha

Some 900 metres farther up the Bosphorus, near the Kabataş ferry landing, there is another handsome baroque street-fountain. This is the fountain of Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha, erected in 1732. Square in plan and built entirely of marble, it has a çeşme set in an ogive arch on two sides, facing the Bosphorus and the shore road. Both of the çeşmes are richly decorated with floral and arabesque reliefs,



*Figure 47: Fountain of Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 48: Sebil of Koca Yusuf Pasha (Anthony E. Baker).*

each arch framed in a decorative panel surmounted by a long calligraphic chroagram written in golden letters. The fountain had lost its widely overhanging roof, but this has been replaced in a recent restoration.

#### 4.8 Sebil of Koca Yusuf Pasha

Across the shore road from the fountain of Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha is one of the most pleasing of the baroque sebils. This fountain-house was built in 1787 by Koca Yusuf Pasha, grand vezir to Abdül Hamit I. It has a magnificent çeşme in the centre, flanked on each side by two grilled windows of the sebil, and a door beyond. It is elaborately sculpted and has incrustations of various marbles, while its long inscription forms a frieze above the windows of the sebil. The fountain-house now serves as a café, with tables in front of it and pleasantly embowered in trees.

#### 4.9 Sebil of Hacı Mehmet Emin

Some 400 metres farther up the Bosphorus on the same side of the road, directly opposite the Dolmabahçe mosque, there is a little külliye with a sebil as its dominant feature. This was built in 1741 by the sipahi, or cavalry knight, Hacı Mehmet Emin Ağa. The Turkish architectural Halil Ethem says rightly that it is 'perhaps the most interesting eighteenth-century sebil in Istanbul.'<sup>4</sup> The five-windowed sebil is flanked symmetrically on one side by a door, on the other by a çeşme; there follow three grilled windows opening into a small graveyard for the members of the founder's family, his own tomb being, most unusually, in the sebil itself. Beyond the graveyard there was once a small mektep which has not been restored. The whole is handsomely carved and decorated with various marbles.



*Figure 49: Sebil of Hacı Mehmet Emin (Anthony E. Baker).*

The sebil itself was restored in the 1970s and now serves as a very pleasant café.

## References

*(Please refer to the Bibliography at the end of the book)*

1. John Freely, *Inside the Seraglio*, p. 194
2. Hilary Sumner-Boyd, *The Seven Hills of Istanbul: A Study of the Byzantine and Turkish Monuments of the City*, p. 373
3. *Ibid.*, p. 606
4. Hilary Sumner-Boyd and John Freely, *Strolling Through Istanbul*, p. 418



## CHAPTER XII

# The Last Ottoman Century

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The baroque style continued in use into the first half of the nineteenth century, when it gave way to new modes of architecture from western Europe. The new styles were first brought in by a family of Armenian architects from Turkey, the Balyans, who trained in European, then by French and German architects who were hired to work in Istanbul, and later by Turkish architects who trained in France and Germany, most notably Hayrettin Bey, Vedat Tek, and Kemalettin Bey. Hayrettin Bey in particular developed a new architectural style known as neo-Ottoman or Ottoman revivalism, which can be seen in some of the distinguished public buildings that he and other Turkish architects erected in the last years of the Ottoman Empire.

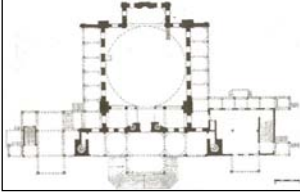
## 2 MOSQUES AND PIOUS FOUNDATIONS

### 2.1 Selimiye Cami, Üsküdar

The enormous Selimiye Barracks (see pp. 422-3) are the most prominent landmark on the Asian shore that one sees on the



*Figure 1: Selimiye Cami, Üsküdar.*



*Figure 2: Selimiye Cami, Üsküdar, plan.*

Asian shore of the Marmara beyond Üsküdar. Directly behind the barracks is Selimiye Cami, the mosque built by Selim III in 1803–4 for the troops quartered in the barracks that bears his name. The Selimiye is the last and one of the handsomest of the pure baroque mosques. Not only are its proportions and details most attractive, but it is placed in an exceptionally lovely garden with three of the finest plane trees in the city. The western gallery, the mihrab and the minber are all of highly polished (too highly polished) grey marble and give the mosque a certain charm. The hünkâr kasrı, or sultan's loge, is in the form of a kiosk, a feature that would be used in later imperial mosques. The külliye also included a mektep, a çeşme, a sebil, and a muvakkithane, or house for the mosque astronomer.

### 2.2 Külliye of Şah Sultan

The külliye of Şah Sultan is on the shore of the Golden Horn in Eyüp just to the south of Zal Mahmut Pasha Camii. This is an enchanting complex, among the most delightful of all the baroque külliyes. It consists of a large türbe, a magnificent mektep, a sebil, and a çeşme, built in 1800 for Şah Sultan, a sister of Selim III. The façade on the street contains the marble sebil with five beautiful bronze-grilled windows divided by clustered columns, one side of the türbe itself, the monumental entrance gate, and the mektep; but the whole is much more attractive when seen from the garden. The türbe is square but with slightly rounded sides which terminate in a deeply overhanging cornice that emphasizes the curve of the dome arches; at the corners are buttress-columns that project above the cornice as little towers. The upper row of windows are oval but with straight sides; a gaily-roofed porch precedes the entrance. The interior decorations are in the *Empire* style acquired from France, but restrained and elegant.

The large mektep has an upper floor where the schoolroom itself is located; this projects over the lower floor on the side opposite the türbe and is supported by a colonnade; the rooms on the lower floor were presumably living-quarters for the teacher. But the most unusual and charming thing about the mektep is the gay staircase leading to the first floor: it has a sort of double curve that bends back upon itself in a very entertaining way. In the middle of the garden is a small marble çeşme. The architect of this charming complex was İbrahim Kâmi Ağa; it has now been restored and put in order.

### 2.3 Türbe of Nakşidil

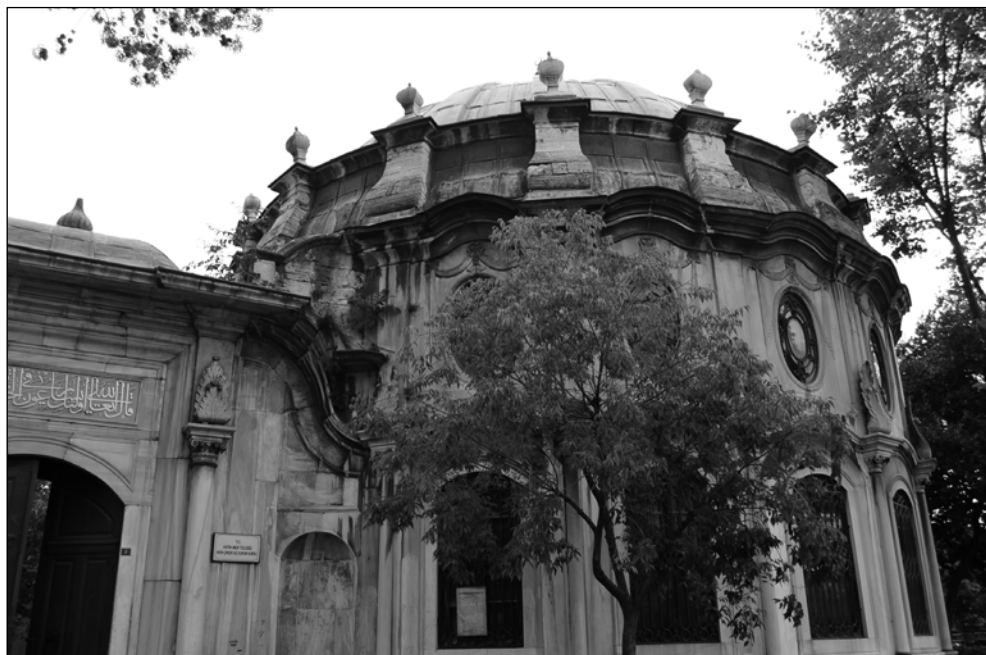
One of the most notable of the late Ottoman türbes is that of the valide sultan Nakşidil, mother of Mahmut II, built in 1817–18, whose little külliye is next to the graveyard of Fatih Camii. The legend goes that this lady was Aimée Dubuc de Rivery, cousin of the empress



*Figure 3: Türbe of Şah Sultan  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

Josephine, captured by Algerian pirates and presented to the sultan by the Bey of Algiers, and that her influence in the Saray explains the pro-French policy of the Sublime Porte in the early years of the nineteenth century. A romantic tale of this story has been made by Leslie Blanch in *The Wilder Shores of Love*; unfortunately there seems to be little or no foundation for the legend. However this may be, the valide sultan's complex is a very gay one in its baroque-*Empire* sort of way. The architectural historian Semavi Eyice, indeed thinks it out of keeping with the classic structures of Fatih Camii, but to our mind it forms a pleasant contrast to their austerity.

At the south-east corner of the külliye stands the enormous türbe of Nakşidil, which has fourteen sides; of its two rows of windows, the upper ones are oval, a unique and pretty feature. The fourteen faces are divided from each other by slender (too slender) columns which bear, on top of their capitals at the first cornice



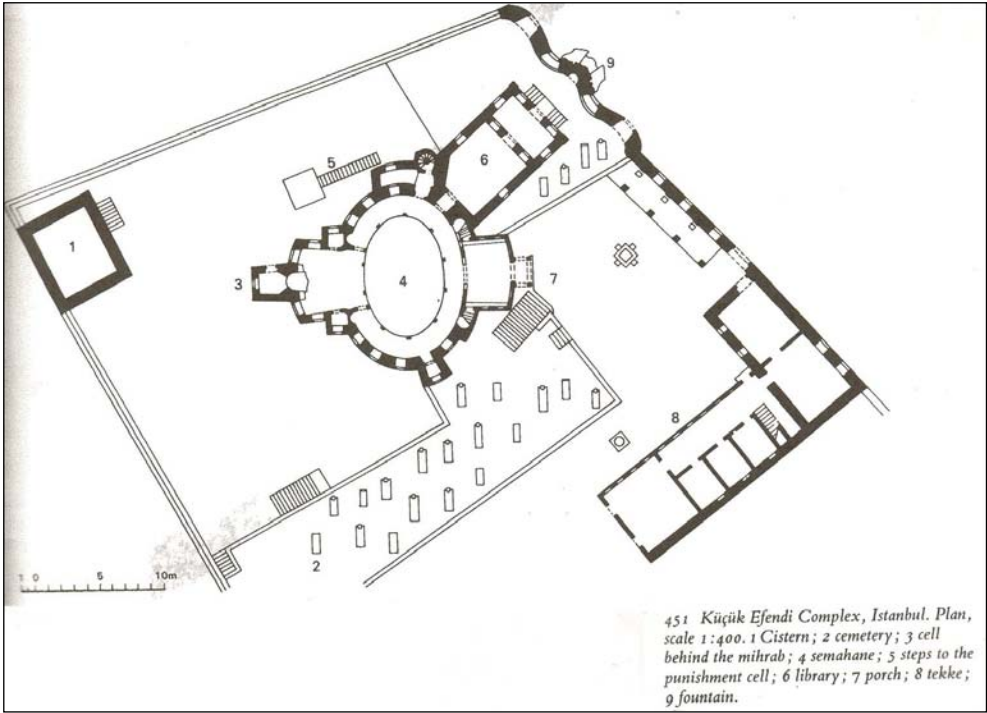
*Figure 4: Türbe of Nakşidil (Anthony E. Baker).*

level, tall, flame-like acanthus leaves sculpted almost in the round, that give a fine bravura effect to what is altogether a very original and entertaining building. The wall stretching along the street from the Fatih Camii tabhane contains a gate and a grand sebil in the same flamboyant style as the türbe. The gate leads into an attractive courtyard from which one enters the türbe, whose decoration is rather elegant and restrained. Directly opposite at the far end of the court is another türbe, round and severely plain; in this are interred the valide sultan Gülüştü, mother of Mehmet VI Vahidettin, the last of the House of Osman to rule as sultan in Istanbul, together with other members of the family of Abdül Hamit I.

Outside the wall along the street leading east ends in a building at the next corner which was a mektep and is now a sewing school. Both wall and mektep building seem to belong to an older tradition than the türbe, but the recurrence here and there of the flame-like acanthus motif shows that they are part of Nakşidil's complex.

## 2.4 Küçük Efendi Camii

The külliye of Küçük Efendi is on the Seventh Hill a short way inside Belgrad Kapı, one of the gateways in the ancient Theodosian Walls. This baroque complex dates from 1825 but was reconstructed after being badly damaged by fire in 1957. The complex consists of



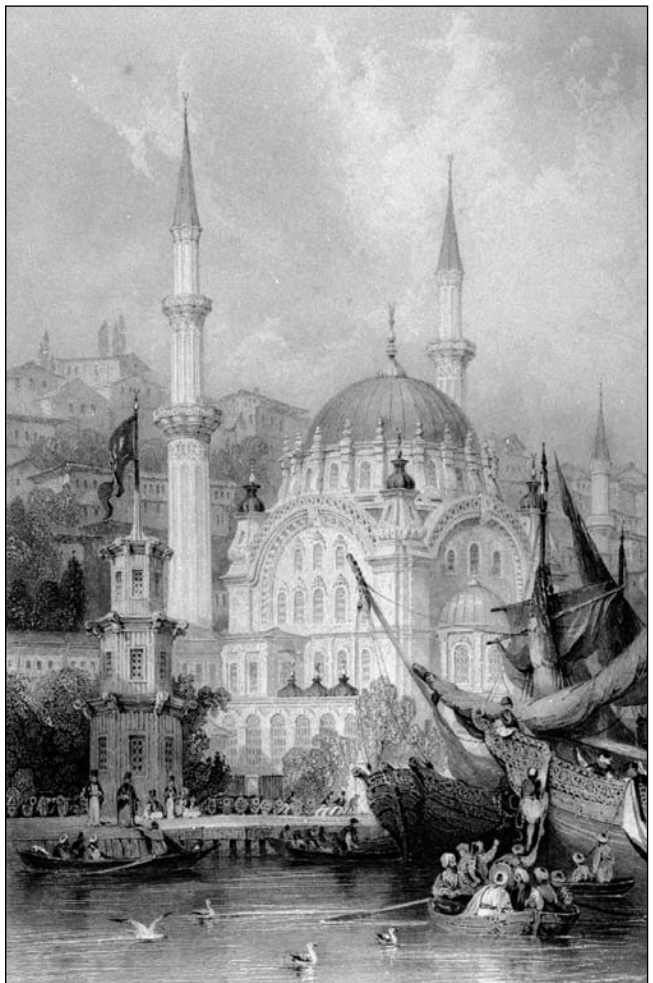
a mosque, dervish tekke, library, fountain, cistern, and graveyard. The tekke is to the left as you enter, with the graveyard beyond to the left of the mosque, while the cistern is in the far right-hand corner of the precincts behind the mosque.

*Figure 5: Küçük Efendi Camii, plan (from Goodwin).*

The mosque is actually the former semahane, the room where the dervishes performed their mystical religious ceremonies. The prayer-room of the mosque is oval, the plan of many semahanes: its domed central area is surrounded by a colonnade of piers and columns, with a gallery above. Above the entrance foyer there is a screened loge built for Mahmut II. On the side of the prayer-room opposite the entrance is an apse with a recessed mihrab flanked by a pair of facing mimbers, an arrangement we have not seen elsewhere. Behind the mihrab there is a small room with a window at its rear and a side door leading into the garden. A corridor on the north-east side of the mosque leads into the library, whose outer hall is approached from the garden by a twin flight of steps. The rather short minaret rises from the junction of the mosque and the north wall of the library, its şerefe barely rising above the eaves of the tile roof. The minaret is surmounted by an onion-shaped cupola unique in Ottoman architecture. The precinct wall beyond the library bows out in a baroque çeşme, another grace note in what is altogether a delightful complex.

## 2.5 Nusretiye Cami

Nusretiye Camii is on the European shore of the lower Bosphorus about 200 metres beyond Kılıç Ali Pasha Camii. It was built for Mahmut II in the years 1822–26 by Kirkor Balyan, the founder of that large family of Armenian architects who served the Ottoman sultans through much of the nineteenth century and erected virtually all of the imperial mosques and palaces of that period that still stand along the shores of the Bosphorus. The name of the mosque means Divine Victory, for it was dedicated by Mahmut II soon after his annihilation of the janissaries in 1826, an imperial victory known in Ottoman history as the Auspicious Event, for it allowed the sultan to go forward with his creation of a new army in an effort to reform the empire. Kirkor Balyan had studied in Paris and his mosque



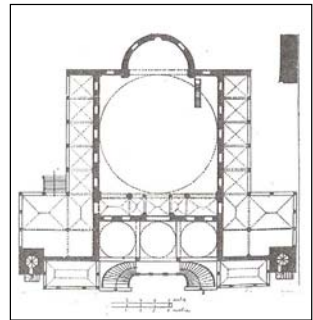
*Figure 6: Nusretiye Cami.*



*Figure 7: Nusretiye Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*

shows a blend of baroque and *Empire* motifs, highly un-Turkish, as Eyice remarks, but not without a certain charm and bravura.

This mosque abandons the traditional arrangement of a monumental courtyard. An elaborate series of palace-like apartments in two stories forms the western façade of the building, an arrangement that became a feature of all the subsequent Balyan mosques. Notice the bulbous weight towers, the dome-arches like jutting cheek-bones, the over-slender minarets – so thin that they fell down soon after construction and had to be re-erected – the ornate bronze grilles, the *Empire* garlands, and the mimber, a marvelous baroque chandelier that can only be described as ‘camp.’ The architect may have been perverse but he certainly had verve.



*Figure 8: Nusretiye Camii, plan.*



*Figure 9: Tūrbe of Mahmut II*  
(Anthony E. Baker).

## 2.6 Tūrbe of Mahmut II

The rather heavy tūrbe of Mahmut II (r. 1808–39) and its long garden wall are directly across Divan Yolu from the Köprülü library. The tūrbe is in the then popular *Empire* style, a little pompous and formal. Here also are buried sultans Abdül Aziz (r. 1861–76) and Abdül Hamit II (r. 1876–1909), together with a large number of imperial consorts and princes.

## 2.7 Mecidiye Cami (Yıldız)

Mecidiye Camii is on the European shore of the lower Bosphorus just inside the lower entrance to Yıldız Sarayı (see pp. 413–14). According to the historic inscription it was built for Abdül Mecit I in A. H. 1265 (1848–9). The most distinguishing feature of the mosque is its very quaint but ugly minaret in a pseudo-Gothic style.

## 2.8 Hirka-i Şerif Camii

Hirka-i Şerif Camii, the Mosque of the Holy Mantle, is on the Fourth Hill about 400 metres west of Fatih Camii. The mosque was built in 1851 by Abdül Mecit I to house one of the two mantles of the Prophet that are among Muhammed's most sacred relics in





*Figure 10: Mecidiye Cami (Yıldız)  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

Istanbul, the other being the one preserved in the Pavilion of the Holy Mantle at Topkapı Sarayı. The mosque is in the purest *Empire* style and just misses being a great success, as do most buildings in that style; all the same it is very entertaining. A monumental gateway leads to a spacious paved courtyard; the two tall minarets are extremely slender and with balconies in the form of Corinthian capitals. The façade is a little forbidding, more like a palace than a mosque, but the interior is very gay. It is in the form of an octagon with an outside gallery; the walls and dome, of a greenish brown, are covered with plaster mouldings of garlands and vines in buff, done with a certain bravura but also with elegance. The mihrab, mimber, and Kuran kürsü, elegantly carved, are of a deep purple conglomerate marble flecked with grey, green, blue, black and yellow, a marble that takes a high polish. Part of the decoration consists of elegant inscriptions, some by the calligrapher Mustafa Izzet Efendi, famous for the great green and gold levhas in Hagia Sophia which he did for Abdül Mecit I in 1847–9. This is a building which should not be missed by anyone who delights in the follies and oddities of architecture as long as they have a certain verve and charm.



*Figure 11: Hırka-i Şerif Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

## 2.9 Teşvikiye Cami

The first mosque in Teşvikiye, one of the modern quarters in the hills above the European shore of the lower Bosphorus, was built



*Figure 12: Teşvikiye Cami  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

by Selim II in 1794–5. This was replaced by the present Teşvikiye Camii, erected in 1854 by Abdül Mecit I. The mosque is in the neo-classical style: the domed prayer hall is preceded by a palatial building with a two-storey high portico of Corinthian columns on high pedestals and classical architrave.

## 2.10 Mecidiye Cami (Ortaköy)

Sultan Abdül Mecit I also built a mosque called Mecidiye Cami on the European shore of the Bosphorus at Ortaköy, just below the point where the first Bosphorus bridge was completed in 1973. The mosque stands on a promontory on the lip of the sea, a dramatic site that led the Turkish architectural historian Celas Asad Arseven to one sailing up the strait from the Marnara 'it seems to be placed here like a Maşallah that wards off the evil eye from the Bosphorus.'<sup>1</sup> It was built by Abdül Mecit I in 1854 on the site of an



*Figure 13: Mecidiye Cami (Ortaköy)  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

earlier wooden mosque by the architect Nikoğos Balyan. The style as usual is hopelessly mixed, but there is a genuinely baroque verve and movement in the undulating walls of the tympana between the great dome arches.

### 2.11 Dolmabahçe Camii

Dolmabahçe Camii is on the European shore of the Bosphorus a short way downstream from the famous palace of the same name. The mosque was begun by the valide sultan Bezmialem, mother of Abdül Mecit I and completed after her death by her son in 1855. The architect was Garabet Balyan. The great cartwheel-like arches of the mosque seem particularly disagreeable, but the very slender



*Figure 14: Dolmabahçe Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

Corinthian minarets, one at each end of the little palace-like structure that precedes the mosque, have a certain charm. The baroque clock-tower to the north of the mosque was erected by Nikoğos Balyan in 1854; it is made of cut stone and has a height of 27 metres, making it one of the most prominent landmarks on the European shore of the lower Bosphorus.

### 2.12 Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Camii

Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Camii is in the centre of the old city at Aksaray, an ancient crossroads that is now a tangled knot of elevated highway interchanges. The mosque was built between 1869 and 1899 for the valide sultan Pertevniyal, mother of sultan



*Figure 15: Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*

Abdül Aziz. The building used to be ascribed to the Italian architect Montani, but it seems actually to be by the Armenians Agop and Sarkis Balyan. The foundress was a veritable Cinderella, for she was elevated in a single day from the palace kitchens to the bed of sultan Abdül Mecit I. She was not so fortunate in her mosque, a tasteless structure in the so-called Orientalist style, combining elements of Moorish, Turkish, Gothic, Renaissance, neo-baroque and *Empire* styles. It was much admired in the late nineteenth century; the American historian Edwin A. Grosvenor, writing in 1898, said that 'this is one of the fairest structures in the capital ... within and without it differs from every other mosque, and is equaled by few in its impression of airiness and light.'<sup>2</sup>

### 2.13 Hamidiye Camii

Hamidiye Camii is near the upper entrance to Yıldız Sarayı off Barbaros Bulvarı. The mosque was founded by Abdül Hamit II in 1886 so that he could attend the Friday noon prayer at a place as close as possible to his residence at Yıldız Sarayı, for he lived in constant fear of assassination. The building is designed in the Orientalist style, and its façade makes it look more like a Moorish palace than a Turkish mosque. Some of the hand-carved woodwork in the sultan's loge is said to be by the sultan himself, for he was an accomplished carpenter.

*Figure 16: Hamidiye Camii  
(Anthony E. Baker).*





*Figure 17: Ertuğrul mosque-tekke and Şeyh Zafır türbe, library and fountain (Anthony E. Baker).*

## 2.14 Ertuğrul mosque-tekke and Şeyh Zafır türbe, library and fountain

The Ertuğrul mosque-tekke is off the right side of Barbaros Bulvarı as one goes up from Beşiktaş toward the upper entrance of Yıldız Sarayı. This complex was built in 1887 in honour of Şeyh Hamza Zafır Efendi, founder of the Medeni branch of the Şazeli sect. The main building is a two-storey wooden structure with a royal loge on the south and a selamlık on the south of the mosque, which is covered by a wooden dome hidden by the roof, with the minaret rising to the left. The Şeyh Zafır türbe, library and fountain were added to the complex in 1905–6 along with a two-storey wooden harem building and a masonry guest house. The complex was designed by Raimondo d'Aronco, an Italian architect who worked for Abdül Hamit II.



*Figure 18: Cihangir Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*

## 2.15 Cihangir Camii

Cihangir Camii is on the heights above the European shore of the Bosphorus about 500 metres north-east of Tophane. The first mosque of this name was built here by Sinan for Süleyman the Magnificent, who founded it in memory of his hunchback son Cihangir who died in 1553. Sinan's mosque was destroyed by fire in 1720 and several times thereafter reconstructed and burned, until

the present building was erected by Abdül Hamit II in 1889, 'bigger and better than the old ones.'<sup>3</sup> The plan of the mosque is based on Sinan's Mihrimah Camii, the central dome resting on four great arches with pendentives in the corners.

### 2.16 Türbe of Mehmet V Reşat

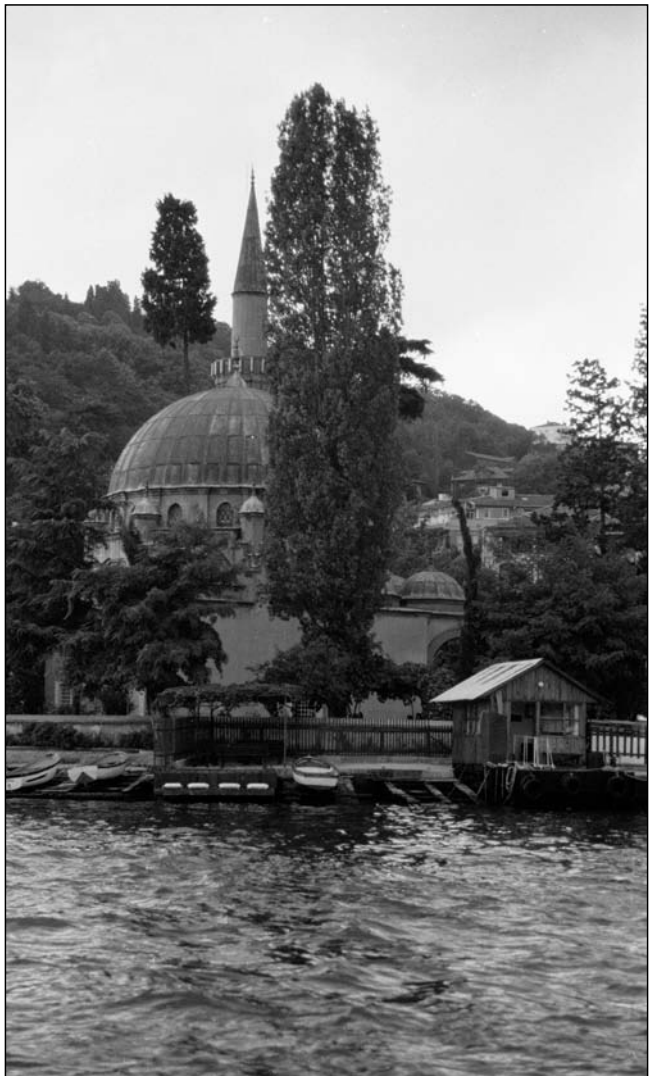
The türbe of Mehmet V Reşat is on the shore of the Golden Horn in Eyüp about 200 metres east of the mosque and shrine of Eyüp. Mehmet V (r. 1909–18) is oddly enough the only one of the sultans to be buried in Eyüp, and the last of the sultans to be buried in his own country. The türbe is the work of the important Turkish architect Kemalettin Bey in the 'neo-classical' style that he invented; unfortunately, its proportions are all wrong, its ornamentation heavy, and its innovations ill-advised.



*Figure 19: Türbe of Mehmet V Reşat  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

### 2.17 Bebek Camii

The very pretty Bebek mosque stands at the water's edge next to the iskele, the main stop on the middle Bosphorus. The original mosque in Bebek was built in 1725–6 and was demolished in 1913 when Mustafa Hayri Efendi, Minister of Pious Foundation commissioned the architect Kemalettin Bey to build the present structure. The mosque, whose plan is the traditional domed cube, is in the Ottoman Revivalist style; it is built of ashlar limestone with its façade decorated with small palmettes and rosettes.



*Figure 20: Bebek Camii (Anthony E. Baker).*



## 2.18 Fuad Pasha Camii

Fuad Pasha Camii is on the First Hill just the south-west corner of Ibrahim Pasha Sarayı. The mosque was built somewhat before 1869 by the grand vezir Keçecizade (Son of the Goatherd) Fuad Pasha, replaced a mescit that had been erected in the time of Fatih. Designed in the Orientalist style, the plan is a domed octagon., preceded by a porch around three sides of the octagon. The türbe of Fuad, who died in 1869, is hexagonal in plan, its sides highly decorated with reliefs in the Moorish style derived from those of the Alhambra in Granada.



*Figure 21: Türbe of Fuad Pasha  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

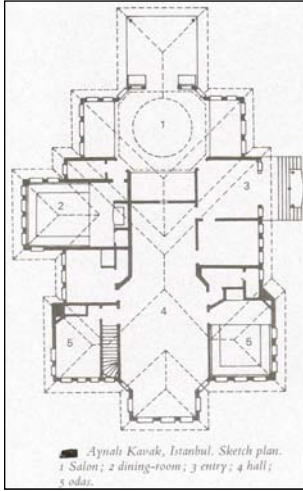


Figure 22: *Aynalıkavak Kasrı, plan.*

### 3 ROYAL PALACES

#### 3.1 Aynalıkavak Kasrı

Aynalıkavak Kasrı, the Summer Palace of the Mirroring Poplars, is on the northern shore of the Golden Horn beyond Kasımpaşa. The first royal building on this site was a pavilion erected by Ahmet I (r. 1603–17. The pavilion was rebuilt on a palatial scale and sumptuously decorated by Ahmet III (r. 1703–30), who used it as one of the sites for his famous Tulip Festivals. The palace was extensively repaired by the grand vezir Yusuf Pasha during the reign of Abdül Hamit I (r. 1774–89). It gave its name to the Treaty of Aynalıkavak, which was signed here on 9 January 1784 by representatives of Russia and the Ottoman Empire. Aynalıkavak Kasrı took on its present form under Selim III (r. 1789–1807) who used to stay here when he was composing and performing his works in classical Turkish music. The palace was restored in the Republican era, and on 26 July 1984 it was officially opened as a museum.

Aynalıkavak is surrounded by particularly beautiful gardens, and shaded by a grove of venerable trees, including a magnificent larch. The palace is on two stories on the side facing the Golden Horn but has only a single storey on the rear, an arrangement dictated by the natural slope of the site. It is celebrated for the number and elegance of its windows, with those in the upper course fringed in stained glass. The furniture and décor are from the period of Selim III, including many original works of art. The elaborate inscriptions are from poems by Şeyh Galip and Enderunlu Fazıl; the tuğra, or imperial monogram, is that of Selim III, inscribed by the calligrapher Yesari.

The principal rooms are the Arz Odası, or imperial audience chamber; the Divanhane, or council hall; the Mother-of-Pearl Room, named after the inlaid woodwork there; and the Composition Room, where Selim II composed his music. The palace houses the Turkish Musical Research Centre and the Musical Instruments Museum, where concerts are given from time to time. The museum has an extraordinary collection of the instruments used in Turkish classical music, which is played on tape throughout the day, and there are reproductions of Ottoman miniatures showing musicians playing in the Saray for the sultan and his court.

#### 3.2 Dolmabahçe Sarayı

Dolmabahçe Sarayı, the principal imperial residence during the last two-thirds of a century of the Ottoman Empire, is on the European shore of the Bosphorus three kilometres from the Golden Horn. Soon after the Conquest Fatih laid out a royal garden on this site,



*Figure 23: Dolmabahçe Sarayı  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

and early in his reign Selim I built a seaside kiosk here. Gyllius says that in his time this was known as the Little Valley of the Royal Garden. Early in the seventeenth century Ahmet I extended the royal gardens by filling in the seashore in front of them, a project that was completed by his son and successor Osman II; thenceforth the site was known as Dolmabahçe, the 'filled-in garden.' By the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a large imperial summer residence at Dolmabahçe, and Mahmut II seems to have preferred this to the old palace of Topkapı Sarayı.

Mahmut's son and successor, Abdül Mecit, decided to move out of Topkapı Sarayı altogether, and in 1844 he commissioned Garabet Balyan (son of Kirkor Balyan) and his son Nikoğos to replace the existing structures at Dolmabahçe with a new palace, which they designed in a neo-classical style. The new Dolmabahçe Sarayı was completed in 1855, whereupon the sultan and his household moved in there, virtually abandoning the old palace on the First Hill that had been the imperial residence for nearly four centuries. Dolmabahçe served as the principal imperial residence for all but one of the later sultans, the exception being Abdül Hamit II (r. 1876–1909), who preferred the new and more secluded palace of Yıldız Sarayı that he built in the hills two kilometres farther up the European shore of the Bosphorus.

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic Dolmabahçe served as the official Istanbul residence of Kemal Atatürk, the

founder of modern Turkey and its first president. Atatürk lived in Dolmabahçe during his last illness, and he died there on 10 November 1938, in a seaside bedroom that is still furnished as it was at the time of his death. Afterwards the palace was restored and reopened as a museum as well as a showplace for the holding of gala functions.

There are ceremonial entrances to Dolmabahçe Sarayı on the shore road and on the side facing the Bosphorus; the public entryway is through the gardens at its southern end where guided tours of the palace begin. The most impressive aspect of the palace is its seaside façade of gleaming white marble, 284 metres in length fronting on a quay some 600 metres long, making Dolmabahçe the principal landmark on the European shore of the lower Bosphorus.

The core of the palace is the great imperial state hall flanked by two main wings containing the state rooms and the royal apartments, with the selamlık on the south side and the harem on the north. The apartment of the valide sultan is in a separate wing linked to the sultan's harem through the apartment of the crown prince. There was also a separate harem for the women of the princes, as well as a residence for the chief black eunuch and his men. The complex also included rooms for those in the imperial service who lived in Dolmabahçe, as well as kitchens, an imaret to feed the staff, an infirmary with a pharmacy, stables, carriage houses, and barracks for the halberdiers who guarded the imperial residence. All in all there are a total of 285 rooms, including 43 large salons and six hamams, with the sultan's private bath centered on an alabaster bath tub.

The palace interior was the work of the French decorator Sechan, who designed the Paris Opera, and thus the décor and furniture of Dolmabahçe are strongly reminiscent of French palaces and mansions of a somewhat earlier period. A number of European artists were commissioned to adorn the palace with paintings, the most notable being Boulanger, Gerome, Fromentin, Ayvazovski and Zonaro. Examples of their work can be seen in the original rooms for which they were commissioned, and others are displayed in the Exhibition Hall, which has a separate entrance on the courtyard off the shore road. The opulent furnishings of the palace include 4,455 square metres of hand-woven Turkish Hereke carpets, while the fireplaces and chandelier are of Bohemian glass and Baccarat crystal. The world's largest chandelier hangs in the Muayede Salonu, or State Room, comprising 4.5 tonnes of Bohemian glass with 750 lights. The great showpiece is the ornate stairway that leads up from the Hall of the Ambassadors, its balusters made of Baccarat crystal and its upper level framed with monoliths of variegated marble. Other impressive chambers are the Zülveçeyn Salonu, the Kırmızı Oda (Red Room), the Mavi (Blue)

Salon, the Pembe (Pink) Salon, the valide sultan's apartment, and the schoolroom of the royal children.

### 3.3 Yıldız Sarayı

Yıldız Sarayı, the Palace of the Star, occupies an enormous strip of land extending from the shore of the Bosphorus to the hills above. The gardens here, originally known as Çırağan, are first mentioned during the reign of Murat IV, who bestowed them on his daughter Kaya Sultan and her husband Melek Ahmet Pasha. After their time the gardens reverted to the sultan. Ahmet III gave the gardens to his son-in-law, the grand vezir Nevşehirli Damat Ibrahim Pasha, who here hosted the sultan and his court in some of the most extravagant of the spring fêtes of the Tulip Period.

The present palace first began to take form during the time of Mahmut II (r. 1808–39), and the buildings one sees today date from his reign through that of Abdül Hamit II (r. 1876–1909), most of them dating from the latter period. The palace buildings are spread out over the upper part of a large part that extends from the seaside to the hilltop above, the last extensive stretch of greenery left on the European shore of the lower Bosphorus. A number of the palace kiosks and greenhouses have been restored as cafés and tearooms, including Malta Köşkü, Çadır Köşkü, Lale Sera (Pink Conservatory) and Yeşil Sera (Green Conservatory). The setting of the café outside Malta Köşkü is superb, with a romantic view of the Bosphorus through a screen of greenery, reminding one how beautiful the shores of the strait were in times past.

The grandest and most interesting structure at Yıldız Sarayı is the Şale, so-called because of its resemblance to a Swill



*Figure 24: Malta Köşkü, Yıldız Sarayı (Anthony E. Baker).*

chalet. This comprises two buildings, the first erected in 1889 and the second in 1898, the latter apparently the work of the Italian architect Raimondo D'Aronco, who brought the Art Nouveau style of architecture to Istanbul under the name of the *Stile Floreal*. The Şale has some fifty rooms, the largest and grandest being the magnificent Reception Room, with its ceiling decorated in gold leaf, other splendid chambers including the Hall of Mother-of-Pearl and the Yellow Parlour. The Şale has been restored in recent years and is now open to the public as a museum.

The imperial porcelain factory established in the palace gardens in 1893–4 was repaired by D'Aronco after it was damaged by fire in 1895. The factory at first served only Yıldız and the other royal palaces but later its products were made available to the general public. Today, after renovation, it is once again functioning with modern techniques.

### 3.4 Beylerbey Sarayı

The village and palace of Beylerbey are on the Asian shore of the strait just above the first Bosphorus Bridge. The village was named after the Beylerbey Mehmet Pasha, governor of Rumelia during the reign of Murat III. Mehmet Pasha built a *yalı*, or seaside mansion, south of the village. This was demolished to make way for Beylerbey Sarayı, which was built for Abdü Aziz in 1861–5 by Sarkis Balyan, brother of Nikoğos Balyan, the architect of Dolmabahçe Sarayı. Beylerbey was used mainly as a summer residence and to house visiting royalty, beginning with the Empress Eugénie of France, later visitors including the Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria, Shah

*Figure 25: Beylerbey Sarayı  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



Nasireddin of Persia, and King Edward VIII of England. Abdül Hamit II lived here after he was brought back from Thessalonica, where he had been exiled after being deposed in 1909, and he died in Beylerbey in 1918. The palace has been splendidly restored and is now open as a museum.

The palace, which is in three stories, is divided into the usual selamlık and harem. The ground floor is given over to the kitchens and storage rooms; the staterooms and imperial apartments are on the two upper floors, a total of 26 elegantly furnished rooms, with six grand salons. The grandest of these are the Yellow Pavilion and the Marble Pavilion, the latter centering on a large pool with an elaborate cascade fountain. Beylerbey is as sumptuously furnished and decorated as Dolmabahçe, with Hereke carpets, chandeliers of Bohemian crystal, French clocks, vases from China, Japan, France and the Yıldız factory, and paintings by European artists, most notably Aivazovski. The palace is very attractive when viewed from the Bosphorus, with two little marble pavilions at either end of the quay and surrounded by lovely gardens.

### 3.5 Küçüksu Kasrı

The pretty little palace of Küçüksu is on the Asian shore of the middle Bosphorus a short way south of Anadolu Hisarı, taking its name from one of the two streams that together make up the Sweet Waters of Asia. It was built for Sultan Abdül Mecit in 1856–7 by Nikoğos Balyan on the site of earlier palaces dating back as far as 1752. Abdül Mecit originally used Küçüksu as a pied-à-terre on day

*Figure 26: Küçüksu Kasrı (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 27: Küçüksu Fountain  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



trips from Dolmabahçe, and so the palace did not include bedrooms in its design. But several chambers were converted into bedrooms later in the nineteenth century, when it was used to house visiting dignitaries, as it did during the early years of the Turkish Republic. The palace has been restored in recent years and is now open as museum.



*Figure 28: Küçüksu Fountain  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

One of the most famous and beautiful of Istanbul's baroque fountains is on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus close to Küçüksu. This fountain, which was a favourite subject for artists in the nineteenth century, was built in 1806 for Selim III. The sultan's name and the date of foundation of the fountain are given in a calligraphic chronogram of 32 lines inscribed across all four faces of the monument, ending with these lines:

And our course wishes to be of this water now,  
And to be as tall as a cypress tree, a fragile beauty in the meadow;  
Hatif, tell us a date worthy of this soul-caressing fountain;  
Küçüksu gave to this continent brilliance and light.<sup>4</sup>

### 3.6 İhlamur Kasrı

İhlamur Kasrı, the Summer Palace of the Linden Tree, stands in a large enclosed garden in the hills above Beşiktaş. This rather pretty little palace was built for Sultan Abdül Mecit by Nikoğos Balyan in the years 1849–55; it has an entrance hall and two salons on the upper floor, approached by a double stairway, with service rooms on the lower floor. The façade is elaborately decorated with carvings in the neo-baroque style.





*Figure 29: Iblamur Kasrı (Anthony E. Baker).*

### 3.7 Tophane Kasrı

Tophane Kasrı is a review pavilion across the avenue from the Tophane cannon foundry. It was built for Abdül Mecit in 1851 by the British architect W. J. Street. The entrance porch is supported by four rectangular pillars, with a balcony above from which the sultan reviewed the troops of the artillery corps when they paraded from their barracks across the way. The interior decoration is in the neo-classical style, with Corinthian pilaster and marble fireplaces.



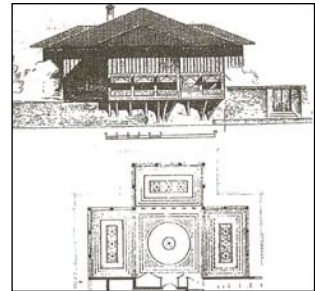
*Figure 30: Tophane Kasrı (Anthony E. Baker).*

## 4 YALIS AND KONAKS

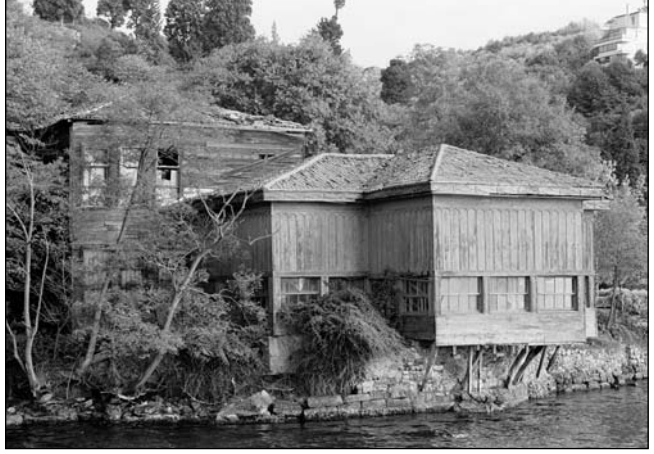
Only a precious few yalis and konaks, or wooden mansions, survive from the Ottoman era, for all of the others perished in the fires that so often ravaged the city or were demolished to make way for modern concrete structures.

### 4.1 Köprülü Yalı

The oldest of the surviving waterfront mansions on the Bosphorus is the Köprülü Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha Yalı, which is on the Asian side a short way south of the Fatih Mehmet Bridge. The yalı was built in 1699 by Hüseyin Pasha, the fourth of the Köprülü family to serve as grand vezir. All that exists of the original house is the wreck of a once very beautiful room built out on piles over the sea. The central area has a wooden dome with spacious bays on three sides of it: a continuous row of low windows in these bays lets in the cool



*Figure 31: Köprülü Yalı, elevation and plan.*



*Figure 32: Köprülü Yalı (Anthony E. Baker).*

breezes and gives views of the Bosphorus in all directions. But the astonishing thing about it was the exquisite and elaborate moulding and painting of ceilings and walls with arabesques, geometrical designs, floral garlands, in enchanting colours and gold; especially lovely was a long series of panels above the windows, each with a vase of different flowers. Early in the twentieth century an attempt was made to rescue this unique room by the Society of the Friends of Istanbul, who published a sumptuous album of hand-gilded and coloured plates with a preface by Pierre Loti and descriptive text by H. Saladin. Since then, however, the room has been totally neglected and is now in the last stages of decay. It is hoped that an attempt at restoration be made as soon as possible; one hopes that it is not already too late to save what is left of this once beautiful and historic yalı.



*Figure 33: Hekimbaşı Salih Efendi Yalı (Anthony E. Baker).*

### 4.2 Hekimbaşı Salih Efendi Yalı

The ocher red Hekimbaşı Salih Efendi Yalı is a short way to the north of the Köprülü Yalı almost underneath the Fatih Mehmet Bridge. The yalı, which dates from the latter half of the eighteenth century, is named for Salih Efendi, who was Hekimbaşı, or Chief Surgeon, in the reign of Sultan Abdül Mecit. Only the harem survives, the selamlık having vanished. The left side of the building is in three stories, the middle in two and the right in one, a unique arrangement which may be the result of a rebuilding of the original structure.

### 4.3 Kıbrıslı Yalı

Just next to the beach at Küçüksu stands the largest and grandest yalı of them all, that of Kıbrıslı Mustafa Emin Paşa. Built originally about



*Figure 34: Kibrışlı Yalı (Anthony E. Baker).*

1760 but added to and redecorated later, its façade on the Bosphorus is over sixty metres long, mostly of one storey only but with a central part of two. The rooms are arranged with great symmetry around three, rather than the usual two, great halls: of these the eastern one is perhaps the most beautiful, paved in marble with a marble fountain in the centre under a vaulted ceiling decorated with exquisite mouldings and painted panels of bowls of flowers; to north and south slender wooden columns with Corinthian columns divide the central space from two bays, one giving directly onto the sea, the other providing the entrance from the garden. Four superbly proportioned rooms open from this hall, two overlooking the Bosphorus, two the garden. Still farther to the east is an enormous ballroom and a charming greenhouse with a pebble-mosaic pavement and a great marble pool with a curious fountain. The harem occupied the western wing of the house and was the oldest part of it: unfortunately it was demolished in the early 1970s.

### 4.4 Ostrorog Yalı

A short way south of the Kibrışlı Yalı is the Ostrorog Yalı, distinguished by its rust-red colour. The yalı, which dates from the



*Figure 35: Ostrorog Yalı (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 36: Yeşil Ev (Anthony E. Baker).*

mid-nineteenth century, is named for the Ostrorogs, a noble Polish family who moved to Turkey in the late eighteenth century. The last of the line, Count Jean Ostrorog, died here in 1975. The French writer Pierre Loti was a guest of the Ostrorogs early in the twentieth century, and the room in which he stayed has been preserved as it was at that time.

### 4.5 Yeşil Ev

The nineteenth-century wooden mansion known as Yeşil Ev, or the Green House, is just to the north of Sultan Ahmet Camii on the Hippodrome. This was the residence of Şükrü Bey, Ottoman Minister of Monopolies. It was rebuilt by the Turkish Touring and Automobile Club under the direction of Çelik Gülersoy, and in 1984 it reopened as a hotel, decorated and furnished just as it had been in late Ottoman times.

### 4.6 Soğukçeşme Sokağı

The row of nineteenth-century Ottoman houses along Soğukçeşme Sokağı, the street between Haghia Sophia and the outer defence wall of Topkapı Sarayı, were restored from near ruin in 1984 by the Turkish Touring and Automobile Club, under the direction of Çelik Gülersoy, to create the Ayasofya Panyonlar, which opened in 1986. The hotel complex includes twelve houses and a Roman cistern of the fifth century AD which was discovered during the restoration and converted into a subterranean restaurant. The largest of the houses, which had been the residence of Fahri Korutürk, President of Turkey in the 1970s, now houses the library of the Çelik Gülersoy Foundation, an important collection of books, paintings, engravings and old maps concerned with the history of Istanbul.



*Figure 37: Soğukçeşme Sokağı  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

## 5 OTHER BUILDINGS

### 5.1 Kuleli Officers Training School

The large and imposing building on the shore south of Vaniköy on the Asian shore of the lower Bosphorus is the Kuleli Officers Training College. The original building here was a barracks erected in 1828 by Mahmut II; Sultan Abdül Aziz replaced this in 1863 with the present building, whose flanking five-storey conical-capped towers are landmarks on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus. The *Empire* style structure at the centre of the façade was originally the Sultan's kiosk, and is now the directorate of the school.



*Figure 38: Kuleli Officers Training College (Anthony E. Baker).*

## 5.2 Selimiye Barracks

As mentioned earlier, the Selimiye Barracks are the principal landmark on the Asian shore of the Marmara beyond Üsküdar. The barracks, a huge rectangle with tall towers at the corners, are now chiefly famous as the scene of Florence Nightingale's ministrations during the Crimean War. They were originally erected in wood by Selim III to house the new troops he hoped would quell and take the place of the Janissaries. Later they were partly rebuilt in stone by Mahmut II after he had in fact liquidated that rebellious corps; and



*Figure 39: Selimiye Barracks (Anthony E. Baker)*



later still the rest was done in stone by Abdul Mecit. They are still used by the military, the general public can visit the little museum in the tower where Florence Nightingale lived when she was running the hospital.

*Figure 40: Imperial Medical School  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

### 5.3 Imperial Medical School

The next prominent landmark beyond the Selimiye Barracks is the former Imperial Medical School, a huge three-storey building with twin towers on either side of its façade and also flanking its entrance. This was built in 1894 to house the Imperial Medical School, which remained there until 1901, after which the building became the Haydarpaşa Lise, and then in the 1980s it became part of Marmara University. The building was designed by Alexandre Vallaurty and Raimondo D'Aronco in a combination Art Nouveau and Orientalist styles, who had shipped from Vienna steel beams and cast iron window frames as well as the elements of the unique cast iron staircase at the entrance. The central pavilion was designed and built by D'Aronco in the years 1900–03; it was originally used as a teaching hospital, with a reinforced concrete operating theatre. The pavilion now houses the Numune Hospital.

### 5.4 Haydarpaşa Station

The next landmark on the Asian shore of the Marmara is the Haydarpaşa Railway Station, a colossal building with a façade flanked by conical-topped towers. This was built in the years 1906–8 by the German architects Otto Ritter and Helmuth Cuno, designed in the Neo-Renaissance style popular in Germany at the time. There are now plans to convert the station for some other purpose not yet determined. The ferry station in front of the building was redesigned in 1916 by the Turkish architect Vedat [Tek] Bey in the Orientalist style.

*Figure 41: Haydarpaşa Station  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 42: Haydarpaşa Ferry  
Station (Anthony E. Baker).*



## 5.5 Sirkeci Station

Sirkeci Station, on the shore of the Golden Horn near its confluence with the Bosphorus, was built by the German architect August Jachmund in the years 1888-90 for Sultan Abdül Hamit II as the terminus for the famous Orient Express. The monumental façade, with its flanking octagonal clock-towers and saddle roof, is distinguished by its Seljuk-style entryway and the brick bands, round windows and widely overhanging eaves of its side wings.

## 5.6 Fourth Vakıf Han

The Fourth Vakıf Han is a short distance to the north of the Central Post Office. This was built by the architect Kemalettin





*Figure 43: Sirkeci Station (Anthony E. Baker).*

Bey on the site of the imaret of the külliye founded by Abdül Hamit II, whose medrese is on the other side of the avenue. The han, an enormous steel-frame edifice in seven stories, with domed towers on either side of its façade, was begun in 1911 and completed in 1926, spanning the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic. While still unfinished, it served as headquarters of the French Army during the Allied occupation of Istanbul following World War I. It is generally considered to be one of the outstanding monuments of Ottoman Revivalist architecture.

### 5.7 Archaeology Museum

The Archaeology Museum, which stands on an enclosed terrace below the First Court of Topkapı Sarayı facing the Çinili Köşk, was founded by Osman Hamdi Bey, Turkey's first archaeologist. The main museum building was designed by Alexandre Vallaury and completed in 1891, with the two side wings added in 1902 and 1911 and an annexe in the years 1988–91. The building is in the neo-classical style, most notably the two monumental entryways in the form of Greek temples, each with four colossal columns supporting an entablature.



*Figure 44: Fourth Vakıf Han (Anthony E. Baker).*

### 5.8 Land Registry Office

The Land Registry Office is the huge building just to the right of Ibrahim Pasha Sarayı on the west side of the Hippodrome. Completed in 1908, it was designed and built by the architect Vedat Tek in the Ottoman Revivalist style. Its façade continues the monumental line of the adjacent Palace of Ibrahim Pasha, part of which was demolished to make way for the new structure.

*Figure 45: Archaeology Museum  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 46: Land Registry Office  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 47: Kadir Has University  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

### 5.9 Kadir Has University

The massive building along the side of the shore road along the Golden Horn just above the Atatürk Bridge is Kadir Has University. This private Turkish university, founded in 2002, is housed in the former Cibali Tobacco and Cigarette Factory, which opened in 1884. The factory took its name from Cibali Kapı, the ancient gateway in the Byzantine sea walls just beyond it. The building was designed by Alexandre Vallauri and built by the architect Hovsep Aznavur. The factory was long disused before it was superbly restored and converted into a university. During the restoration an early Byzantine cistern was discovered beyond the end of the building near Cibali Kapı.

### 5.10 Fezhane

The enormous single-storey building on the shore of the Golden Horn just above the highway bridge is the Fezhane. This was erected in 1853 to make fezes for the soldiers of the Ottoman army. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire the building was abandoned and began falling into ruins, and much of it was demolished in 1986 when most of the buildings along the shore of the Golden Horn were demolished to create seaside parks. All that survived was the weaving hall, which has now been restored and opened to the public as an exhibition centre.

### 5.11 Beyoğlu Belediye

The Belediye of Beyoğlu, the district north of the Golden Horn, was commissioned in 1879 by Edouard Blacque Bey when he has the mayor of this part of Istanbul. Designed by the Italian architect Barborini and completed in 1883, it was the first Town Hall in the



*Figure 48: Fezbane entryway  
(Anthony E. Baker).*

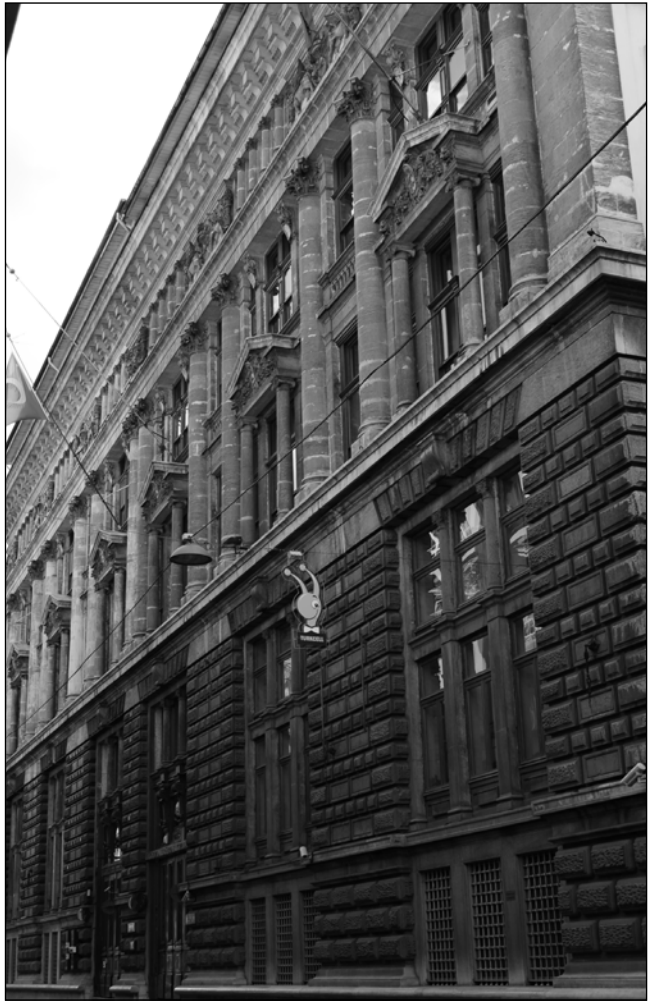
city. The central part of the façade, which projects slightly from the two symmetrical wings, is in the neoclassical style.

### 5.12 Ottoman Bank

Bankalar Caddesi, the main avenue that leads uphill from Karaköy, takes its name from the many banks that flank it. The oldest and most famous of these is the Ottoman Bank, commissioned by the Imperial Bank and Tobacco Monopoly to the architect Alexandre Vallaury and completed in 1890. The imposing façade has a number of neo-classical elements, particularly the pediments above the windows on the second floor. The mezzanine of the building has recently been converted into a very interesting museum dealing with the banking business in late Ottoman and early Republican times in Istanbul.



*Figure 49: Beyoğlu Belediye  
(Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 50: Ottoman Bank (Anthony E. Baker).*

### 5.13 Pera Palas Hotel

The famous Pera Palas Hotel is in a commanding position in the district known as Tepebaşı, literally ‘Top of the Hill’, on a ridge looking down from Beyoğlu across the Golden Horn to the old city. The hotel was designed and built in 1893 by the architect Alexandre Vallauray specifically for foreigners coming to Istanbul on the Orient Express. The public rooms are quite grand, particularly the Louis XVI dining room and the Neo-Ottoman bar room, although the latter has lost its fabled aura of Levantine mystique. The former royal suite, which Atatürk used when he was in Istanbul, is now a museum. The hotel has recently reopened after a lengthy restoration.

### 5.14 Bristol Hotel (Pera Museum)

The Bristol Hotel in Tepebaşı was built by the Greek architect Manoussos and opened in 1896. The building originally had five stories, two more having been added subsequently. It is designed in the neo-classical style, with two pairs of enormous Corinthian column framing a balcony whose pediment is supported by a pair of caryatids. Recently it has been superbly restored and reopened as the Pera Museum, whose permanent exhibits include an important collection of Orientalist Paintings.

### 5.15 Botter Apartment

The Botter Apartment is in Beyoğlu near the southern end of İstiklal Caddesi, the old Grand Rue de Pera. The house was designed and built in 1900 by Raimondo D'Aronco as the home and workplace of J. Botter, the palace couturier. This is one of the best-known examples of Art Nouveau architecture in Istanbul, its most distinctive features being the decorative stone carvings and ironwork on the façade and the elliptical stairwell, curved stairs and landings.

### 5.16 Abbas Halim Pasha Mansion

The most monumental residence ever built along İstiklal Caddesi is that of Abbas Halim Pasha, the Khedive of Egypt. This was built in 1910 by the architect Hovsep Aznavur; it was originally in six storeys, but two more floors were added subsequently. After the end of the Ottoman Empire it was divided up into apartments and came to be known as the Mısırlı (Egyptian) Apartman; more recently it has become an office building, with a restaurant on its top floor.

### 5.17 Cité de Pera

The building known as Cité de Pera is close to Galatasaray Square, with entrances on both İstiklal Caddesi and Şahne Sokağı. This was commissioned by the Greek banker Hristaki Zographos Efendi, who intended it to be a deluxe apartment and shopping arcade; it was built by the architect Cleanthes Zano. It served its original function up until the late 1950s, when the arcade was given over to meyhanes, or taverns, and it came to be known as the Çiçek Pasajı, or Passage of Flowers, from the flower sellers who for a time has stalls there. During the 1960 and early 1970s it became famous as a centre of alcoholic Bohemian night life in Beyoğlu. It suffered a partial collapse in 1976 and then was closed for several years before reopening in the 1980s, now catering to a more respectable but less colourful clientele.



*Figure 51: Bristol Hotel (Pera Museum) (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 52: Botter Apartment (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 53: Abbas Halim Pasha Mansion (Anthony E. Baker).*



*Figure 54: Cité de Pera (Anthony E. Baker).*

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*(Please refer to the Bibliography at the end of the book)*

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2. Hilary Sumner-Boyd, *The Seven Hills of Istanbul: A Study of the Byzantine and Turkish Monuments of the City*, p. 539
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4. *Ibid.*, p. 456

# Appendices

## TURKISH GLOSSARY

arasta: covered market street associated with a mosque  
avlu: mosque courtyard  
bedesten: domed market building, usually in the centre of a bazaar,  
where the most precious goods are sold  
belediye: municipality or town hall  
beylerbey: governor-general  
beylik: Seljuk emirate  
bulvar (bulvarı): boulevard  
cadde (caddesi): avenue  
camekân: reception chamber and dressing-room of a Turkish bath  
cami (camii): mosque  
caravansarai: inn for travellers  
çarşı (çarşısı): market  
çeşme (çeşmesi): fountain  
dağ (dağı): mountain  
darphane: mint for coining money  
darülhadis: school for the study of the religious traditions of the  
Prophet  
darülkurra: school for the study of the Kuran  
darüşşifa: hospital  
dershane: lecture hall of a school  
devşirme: levy of Christian youths for the janissaries  
Divan: supreme council of the Ottoman Empire  
ev (evi): house  
eyvan: vaulted or domed space recessed from a central hall or court  
gazi: warrior for the Islamic faith  
göbektaşı: raised marble slab for massage in a Turkish bath  
hamam: Turkish bath  
han: inn, or inner-city caravansarai  
hanukâh: dervish convent  
hararet: steam room of a Turkish bath  
hisar (hisarı): fortress  
hücre: cell or cubicle in a medrese  
hünkâr kasrı: sultan's apartments attached to an imperial mosque  
hünkâr mahfili: sultan's loge in an imperial mosque  
imaret: public soup kitchen or refectory  
iskele (iskelesi): boat landing  
kadı: judge  
kadın: woman  
kale (kalesi): castle or fortress  
kasr (kasrı): pavilion or small palace

## Appendices

kapı (kapısı): door or gate  
kapıcı: gatekeeper  
kible: the direction of Mecca  
konak (konağı): mansion  
köprü (köprüsü): bridge  
köşk (köşkü): kiosk  
köy: village  
kule: tower  
külliye (külliyesi): a complex of educational, religious and other institutions, usually associated with a mosque  
kürsü: high chair where the imam sits when teaching in a mosque  
kütüphane (kütüphanesi): library  
meydan (meydanı): town square  
medrese (medresesi): college for the teaching of the orthodox Islamic law  
mektep, sibyan mektebi: primary school  
mescit (mescidi): small mosque  
mihrab: niche in a mosque indicating the direction of Mecca  
mimar: architect  
mimber: the pulpit in a mosque  
muezzin: mosque officer who gives the call to prayer  
muezzin mahfili: gallery for the muezzins in a mosque  
muqarnas: a system of projecting niches derived from Seljuk architecture  
muvakkithane: house of the mosque astronomer  
namazgah: outdoor place of Islamic prayer  
ocak: hearth or chimney-piece  
oda (odası): room  
pasha: general  
revak: porch of a mosque courtyard  
şadırvan: ablution fountain  
saray (sarayı): palace  
sarnıç: cistern  
sebil: fountain house  
selsebil: cascade fountain  
selamlık: reception room, men's apartments  
semahane: dancing room in a Mevlevi tekke  
sofa: central hallway and main living-space in an Ottoman house  
soğukluk: cool room of a Turkish bath  
sokak (sokağı): street  
son cemaat yeri: raised platform in the porch of a mosque  
tekke: dervish lodge  
timarhane: insane asylum  
tip medrese: medical school  
tuğra: seal of the sultan  
türbe: mausoleum  
Turkish triangles: a polygonal structural belt composed of broken triangular surfaces  
vakfiye: endowment deed of a pious foundation



*vakıf*: pious foundation

*vezir*: minister of state

*yalı*: waterfront mansion on the Bosphorus

*yol* (*yolu*): road

## THE OTTOMAN SULTANS

Osman Gazi (chieftain, not sultan) ca. 1288–1326

Orhan Gazi, 1326–62

Murat I, 1362–89

Beyazıt I, 1389–1402

(Interregnum), 1402–13

Mehmet I, 1413–21

Murat II, 1421–44, 1446–51

Mehmet II, 1444–6, 1451–81

Beyazıt II, 1481–1512

Selim I, 1512–20

Süleyman I, 1520–66

Selim II, 1566–74

Murat III, 1574–95

Mehmet III, 1595–1603

Ahmet I, 1603–17

Mustafa I, 1617–18

Osman II, 1618–22

Mustafa I (for the second  
time), 1622–3

Murat IV, 1623–40

Ibrahim, 1640–8

Mehmet IV, 1648–87

Süleyman II, 1687–91

Ahmet II, 1691–5

Mustafa II, 1695–1703

Ahmet III, 1703–30

Mahmut I, 1730–54

Osman III, 1754–7

Mustafa III, 1757–74

Abdül Hamit I, 1774–89

Selim III, 1789–1807

Mustafa IV, 1807–8

Mahmut II, 1808–39

Abdül Mecit I, 1839–61

Abdül Aziz, 1861–76

Murat V, 1876

Abdül Hamit II, 1876–1909

Mehmet V, 1909–18

Mehmet VI, 1918–22

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## **Structural Studies, Repairs and Maintenance of Heritage Architecture XII**

*Edited by: C.A. BREBBIA, Wessex Institute of Technology, UK and L. BINDA, Politecnico di Milano, Italy*

This book looks deeper into the importance of the historical identity of a region, town or nation. It is clear that we have the necessity to look beyond borders and share experiences and knowledge regarding heritage preservation.

This book contains papers covering the latest advances in this field, presented at the twelfth and latest in a series of now-biennial conferences that began in 1989. The series is recognised as the most important conference on the topic. It covers such topics as: Heritage Architecture and Historical Aspects; Regional Architecture; Preservation of Archaeological Sites; Maritime Heritage; Heritage Masonry Buildings; Adobe Restorations; Wooden Structures; Structural Issues and Restoration; Seismic Vulnerability and Vibrations; Assessment; Retrofitting and Reuse of Heritage Buildings; Surveying and Monitoring; Material Characterisation and Problems; Simulation and Modelling; New Techniques and Materials; Non-destructive Techniques; Experimental Validation and Verification; Performance and Maintenance; Environmental Damage, Social and Economic Aspects; and Guidelines; Codes and Regulations.

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**Forthcoming 2011 / apx 650pp / apx £247.00**

## **The Protection of Historic Properties**

### **A Comparative Study of Administrative Policies**

*C. SANZ, Universidad Jaume I, Castellon, Spain*

This book introduces the protection of historic properties by public agencies in three very different legal systems – the United States, the United Kingdom and Spain – as well as analyses international efforts to protect historic heritage. It is not intended as a comprehensive study of any of the legal systems, but rather as a tool to give the reader the chance to compare the legal techniques used in each different administrative system.

The historical trends in each legal tradition are outlined, as well as present-day regulation, using a multitude of examples of how historic buildings and heritage sites are protected in each country. While the publication is intended to cover legal mechanisms established to conserve all types of historic buildings, the author pays special attention to the protection given to industrial heritage, giving examples wherever possible of how a particular legal technique has been used to protect industrial buildings. She also examines how case law has effected heritage protection, sometimes in unexpected ways.

**ISBN: 978-1-84564-404-8 eISBN: 978-1-84564-405-5**

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## **The Oxford Conference**

### **A Re-evaluation of Education in Architecture**

*Edited by: S. ROAF, Heriot Watt University, UK and A. BAIRSTOW, l-e-s-s, UK*

Fifty years after the First Oxford Conference on Architectural Education, the 2008 Conference brought together over 500 people from 42 countries to share best practices and to discuss how, when, where and why we teach architecture now and in the future.

The eleven conference Forums covered a range of topics, including Buildings and the Environment; Sustaining Studio Education in a Climate of Change; Human Habitat and Social Responsibility; Refurbishment and Evidence Based Education; Research into Teaching Courses; Urban Design and Sustainable Cities; Schools and Professional Views; Materials and Renewable Energy; Virtual Building and Generative Design; Design Research Courses and Curricula.

This volume brings you short essays from all Forums from speakers like Christopher Alexander, Rab Bennetts, Nina Maritz and Paul Oliver. There are ideas here that will appeal to all points of view but they are singular in that within them all is a clarion call for the need for new approaches to the way in which the design of buildings is taught in Schools of Architecture around the world.

**ISBN: 978-1-84564-206-8      eISBN: 978-1-84564-354-6**

**Published 2008 / 480pp / £158.00**

## **Traditional Architecture of the Arabian Gulf**

### **Building on Desert Tides**

*R. HAWKER, Zayed University, Dubai*

This book chronicles the florescence of architecture in the Arabian Gulf after the expulsion of the Portuguese in the early 1600s. It demonstrates how the power vacuum created by the collapse of Portuguese control over the trade routes in the Indian Ocean encouraged a growth in fortified architecture, especially in Oman, that radiated out to the surrounding region. It also shows how that architecture was slowly replaced by new patterns in domestic and public architecture and town planning throughout the Gulf as trade lines were secured and individual states moved towards new forms of governance.

The book documents the building and crafts of this era and analyses them within the framework of the political, economic, and social information available through primary sources from the period in a way that is both intelligent and accessible. It considers the settlements as part of a larger-connected network of cities, towns and villages and focuses both on how the buildings provided innovative solutions to the demanding climate and yet incorporated new decorative and functional ideas.

Topics are illustrated with photographs of the buildings as they are now, historic photographs from archival and museum collections, line drawings and computer-generated constructions. The book is therefore attractive to a number of different audiences such as people interested in architectural history, including those who live in or travel to the Gulf, as well as people with an interest in Arab and Islamic design, culture and society, vernacular architecture, and post-colonial approaches to colonial history.

**ISBN: 978-1-84564-135-1      eISBN: 978-1-84564-332-4**

**Published 2008 / 252pp / £85.00**





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## **Light in Engineering, Architecture and the Environment**

*Edited by: K. DOMKE, Poznan University of Technology, Poland and C.A. BREBBIA, Wessex Institute of Technology, UK*

The Wessex Institute of Technology has for years been convening conferences on sustainable architecture and planning, design in nature, heritage architecture, and environmental health. With the growing importance of lighting in the creation of better, healthier environments, the enhancement of heritage architecture, and the recovery of urban areas, as well as new developments in more sustainable lighting, it became clear that a conference focusing on lighting issues would be useful.

This book contains the papers to be presented at the first International Conference on Lighting in Engineering, Architecture and the Environment, discussing the latest developments in a variety of topics related to light and illumination, from its engineering aspects to its use in art and architecture and the effect of light on living systems and human health. Ranging from discussions of technical issues regarding equipment design and light measurement to human perception of its effects, the book will be of interest to architects, planners, environmental health experts, and stage designers in academia, industry and government, as well as colleagues discussing the latest developments in a variety of topics related to light and illumination.

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**ISBN: 978-1-84564-550-2 eISBN: 978-1-84564-551-9**

**Forthcoming 2011 / apx 300pp /apx £114.00**

## **Learning from Failure**

### **Long-term Behaviour of Heavy Masonry Structures**

*Edited by: L. BINDA, Politecnico di Milano, Italy*

On March 17 1989, the Civic Tower of Pavia collapsed without any apparent warning sign, killing four people. After an experimental and analytical investigation lasting nine months, the collapse cause was found in progressive damage dating back many years and due mainly to the heavy dead load put on top of the existing medieval tower when realising a massive bell-tower in granite. Other case histories have been collected: the collapse of the St. Marco bell-tower in Venice in 1902; the damages to the bell-tower of the Monza Cathedral; and to the Torrazzo in Cremona. Later on, in 1996 the collapse of the Noto Cathedral showed that similar progressive damage can take place in pillars of churches and cathedrals. Experimental research to demonstrate the reliability of this interpretation has been ongoing since 1989 and is described in the book. After a careful interpretation of the experimental results, also based on experiences from rock mechanics and concrete, the modelling of the phenomenon for massive structures as creep behaviour of masonry was implemented.

The book will help architects and engineers deal with the continuous damage of heavy structures and understand the signs of the phenomenon. It includes models and guidelines for on-site investigation, monitoring and repair of the damaged structures.

*Series: Advances in Architecture, Vol 23*

**ISBN: 978-1-84564-057-6 eISBN: 978-1-84564-298-3**

**Published 2008 / 256pp / £84.00**



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## Environmental Deterioration of Materials

*Edited by: A. MONCMANOVÁ, Slovak Technical University, Slovak Republic*

The invited contributions cover aspects such as the deterioration mechanisms of materials and metal corrosion, environmental pollutants, micro- and macro-climatic factors affecting degradation, the economic impact of damaging processes, and fundamental protection techniques for buildings, industrial and agricultural facilities, monuments, and culturally important objects. Basic details of ISO standards relating to the classification of atmospheric corrosivity and low corrosivity of indoor atmospheres are also included.

Designed for use by materials, corrosion, civil and environmental engineers, designers, architects and restoration staff, this book will also be a useful tool for managers from different industrial sectors and auditors of environmental management systems. It will also be a suitable complementary course book for university students in all of the above disciplines.

*Series: Advances in Architecture, Vol 21*

**ISBN: 978-1-84564-032-3**

**eISBN: 978-1-84564264-8**

**Published 2007 / 336pp / £98.00**

## The Great Structures in Architecture

### From Antiquity to Baroque

*F.P. ESCRIG, Universidad de Sevilla, Spain*

Starting in antiquity and finishing in the Baroque period, this book provides a complete analysis of significant works of architecture from a structural viewpoint. A distinguished architect and academic, the author's highly illustrated exploration will allow readers to better understand the monuments, get closer to them and to explore whether they should be conserved or modified.

Contents: Stones Resting on Empty Space; The Invention of the Dome; The Hanging Dome; The Ribbed Dome; A Planified Revenge – Under the Shadow of Brunelleschi; The Century of the Great Architects; The Omnipresent Sinan; Even Further; Scenographical Architecture of the 18th Century; The Virtual Architecture of the Renaissance and the Baroque.

*Series: Advances in Architecture, Vol 22*

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