AN ANALYSIS OF ARCHITECT SINAN'S LATE PERIOD MOSQUES

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences.

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ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS OF ARCHITECT SINAN'S LATE PERIOD MOSQUES

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This thesis focuses on the late period mosques of architect Sinan in terms of their structural systems, the relation with their environment, and the identities of their patrons. The links amongst the role of the patron, his or her status in the state, materials used in the mosques, location choice and the spatial distribution of the mosques are researched on the bases of these six late period mosques of Sinan. In this perspective, the social background of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century is the first focal point of the thesis. The relations between the decadence of the institutions, the political conditions of the Ottoman Empire and the architectural production during the last quarter of the sixteenth century are examined in the second chapter of this thesis. In the third chapter these six late period mosques as the sampling case are described in detail and evaluated in terms of their bearing systems, construction materials, the site features and the relation with their patrons. Though, being one of the favorite subjects in the Ottoman architectural history, there are many research and interpretations on Sinan's architectural style, works on late period mosques are limited and not specifically focused. In the fourth chapter of the study these limited interpretations are brought together and evaluated in the light of the

background information supplied in the previous chapter of the thesis. In this framework, the aim of this study is not only to assess the late period works of Sinan as a tool to trace his architectural process, but also to unveil the relations with the identities of the patrons and locational and structural features of the mosques.

Key words: Sixteenth Century, Ottoman Architecture, Architect Sinan, Istanbul, Late Period Mosques, Mosques Architecture.

ÖZ

MİMAR SİNAN'IN GEÇ DÖNEM CAMİLERİ ÜZERİNE BİR ANALİZ

KATİPOĞLU, Ceren

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Jale Nejdet ERZEN

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Bu tez Mimar Sinan'ın geç dönem camilerini; taşıyıcı sistemleri, çevreleri ile olan ilişkileri ve banilerinin kimlikleri üzerinden incelemektedir. Banilerin rolleri ve onların devlet içindeki statüleri, camilerin yapımında kullanılan malzemeler, yer seçim kriterleri ve camilerin coğrafi dağılımları, altı geç dönem camisi kapsamında tekrar incelenmiştir. Bu bakış açısıyla, tezin ilk odak noktası Osmanlı imparatorluğunun onaltıncı yüzyıldaki sosyo-politik durumudur. Onaltın yüzyılın son çeyreğindeki politik durum, kurumların çöküş süreci ve mimari üretim arasındaki ilişki, bu tezin ikinci bölümünde sorgulanmaktadır. Tezin üçüncü bölümünde altı geç dönem camisi detaylı bir şekilde anlatılmış ve taşıyıcı sistemleri, inşaat malzemeleri, alan özellikleri ve banilerinin kimlikleri gözönüne alınarak değerlendirilmiştir. Osmanlı mimarlık tarihinde Sinan'ın mimarlığı üzerine pek çok araştırma yapılamasına karşın, özellikle geç dönem camilerine odaklanan kısıtlı sayıda çalışma vardır. Tezin dördüncü bölümü, Sinan'ın geç dönem camileri üzerine yapılan çalımaları bir araya getirerek, üçüncü bölümdeki analizler ışığında değerlendirmektedir. Bu çerçevede, bu tezin amacı sadece Sinan'ın mimari sürecini izlemek için bir araç olan altı geç

dönem camisini değerlendirmek değil, aynı zamanda banilerin kimlikleri, yer seçimi ve camilerin strukturel özellikleri arasındaki ilişkiyi ortaya çıkartmaktır.

Anahtar sözcükler: On altıncı Yüzyıl, Osmanlı Mimarisi, Mimar Sinan, Istanbul, Geç Dönem Camileri, Cami Mimarisi.

To my parents

Hayatımda güzel olan her şeyi borçlu olduğum

Annem Asuman Soyer Katipoğlu

ve

Babam Faik Yaşar Katipoğlu'na;

Sonsuz sevgi ve desteğiniz için teşekkürler…

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Sixteenth century is the most popular era for architectural historians working on Ottoman Architecture. The reason of this popularity is not only related to the role of Architect Sinan, but also to the golden age of the Ottoman Empire. A large amount of the numerous studies focused on Sinan's architectural style concentrate on the Imperial Mosques of Sinan. The construction of the Imperial Mosques in Sinan's era ended in 1570's except for the Muradiye mosque in Manisa built for Sultan Murat III in 1585. The architectural process of Sinan is classified in three main periods; pre-classical (1540-1555), classical (1555-1570) and post-classical (1570-1585).[1] Within this classification, the post-classical period has been studied less often than the other two periods. This situation relates with the stylistic differences of the late period works in comparison to the classical and pre-classical works. The changes of the architectural layout of these late mosques cause different interpretations on the late period works. This thesis mainly focuses on six post-classical mosques of Sinan; Rüstem Pasha, Sokullu Mehmed Pasha, Piyale Pasha, Kılıç Ali Pasha, Şahsultan-Zal Mahmud Pasha and Şemsi Pasha Mosques. In literature, many of the scholars, who examined these six mosques, treated them as the sign of decline in Sinan's architectural genius if they accept them as a work of Sinan; otherwise they believe that Sinan could not be responsible of these mosques because of the features that are different from his earlier works. The aim of this thesis is to analyze these mosques under the context of "late period works of Sinan in Istanbul" and to probe the reasons of these changes.

[1] Jale Erzen, "Sinan as Anti-Classicist", *Muquarnas Vol 5: An Annual of Islamic Art and Architecture*, 5, (1988): p. 70

It is obvious that late period works carried some distinctive features in terms of their elevation designs and structural systems compared with classical period works. Therefore, this study aims to introduce the distinctive features of these mosques by analyzing them in terms of their geographical distributions, locational features, structural systems and the relation between the identities of their patrons and their role in the building of the mosques. The reasons of these changes in Sinan's architectural style are examined and interpreted. The choice of these mosques as the subject of the thesis relates with their structural features and their patrons' hierarchic positions. Amongst these mosques, Rüstem Pasha Mosque is not classified as a post-classical period due to its construction date. However the structural scheme of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque separates it from the examples of Sinan's classical period mosques. On the other hand, the other five mosques are easily categorized as late period works of Sinan, in relation to their constructions dates.

The method used here is to analyze these six late period works in terms of their structure, the relations with their site, the influence of their patrons on the choice of the site and on the building design process. The results are evaluated under the light of the social background of the era. In the meanwhile, other scholars' interpretations are evaluated and compared with the results found after the analysis of the mosques. The measured drawings and the photographs are the main sources for this analysis. The photographs and drawings which include plans and sections of these mosques provide us with the understanding of the relation of structural elements with each other. Besides the drawings and photographs, some historical documents are used in order to assess their original situations and the site features at the construction time. The Piri Reis map, inscription panels of the mosques, gravures, the travelers' notes and some Istanbul depictions are the main sources used for the evaluation of these mosques.

Before analyzing the six mosques, the social background of the era is discussed in the second chapter. It is a fact that, in pre-modern times architecture was one of the unique tools to signify the existence of authority in urban context. In the sixteenth century Ottoman Empire, Islam became a political issue related with the power of the central authority. Architecture had an important role on the urban context not only in a functional but also in a symbolic way. Buildings, especially religious complexes visually become the symbol of the prestige of the state and of its power. Also the Islamic imperial tradition was emphasized in Istanbul as the capital of the Empire. In this sense, the main emphasis of the first part of the chapter is on the issue of institutional systems and the decline of the Ottoman Empire after the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, who was one of the main actors of the architectural production within the first two decades of Sinan's career. In order to conceive of the changes of Sinan's architectural production, it is essential to understand the socio-political conditions of the State which would have affected significantly the construction of architectural edifices in the end of the sixteenth century. In this context, the issues in the last period of the sixteenth century will be the focus period since this was the beginning of the decline of the Ottoman Empire and at the same time the last period of Sinan's architecture. The relations between the decadence of institutions, in the political conditions of the Ottoman Empire and the architectural production during the last quarter of sixteenth century will be the focal point of this chapter. In the second part of this chapter, the imaret system of the Empire and also the structure, the mission and the function of the corps of the royal architects during the sixteenth century is the focused subject. The most debatable subject about Sinan's architecture is whether all buildings stated in the documents[2] belong to Sinan or not. It has been particularly an important question for his late period works. A common argument made by some scholars is that Sinan could not be responsible for the

[2] *Adsız Risale* (Untitled Treatise), *Risaletül Mimariye* (Treatise on Architecture), *Tuhfetül Mimarin* (Gift of the Architect), *Tezkiretül Bünyan* (Memoir of Construction), *Tezkiretül Ebniye* (Biographical Memoir of Buildings).

works completed near the date of his death. Naturally, the aim of this part of the chapter is not to give an answer to such a question but rather to understand the construction activity in which Sinan had a significant role in the end of the sixteenth century.

In the third chapter entitled "Sinan's Late Period within the Context of the Six Mosques in Istanbul", I focus on the identity of the patrons, the structural and locational features of the mosques with in the light of some historical documents such as travelers' notes, maps, gravures and depictions from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All of these six mosques are considered one by one. Their order is constituted by their construction dates and the hierarchic position of their patrons at the same time. The first mosque of this chapter, Rüstem Pasha Mosque, is the early example of Sinan's late period works. Sokullu Mehmed Pasha Mosque follows Rüstem Pasha Mosque as one of the other grand viziers' mosque of the Ottoman Empire. After that two grand admirals of the Empire, Piyale Pasha's and Kılıç Ali Pasha's Mosque are analyzed. Şahsultan-Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque and Şemsi Ahmed Pasha Mosque are the last two examples of the third chapter of the thesis. While all these six mosques are investigated, the short biographies of their patrons are mentioned. After that, the site properties of the mosques, the structural features, elevation and interior designs follow. At the end, all the interpretations on the mosque are cited.

In the fourth chapter, all the interpretations which try to explain the reasons of changes in Sinan's architectural style that occur in the late period of his works are discussed. Scholars reveal their readings on some of these late period works. The interpretations are collected in five main titles; attribute these mosques to another architect, explain changes with the influence of patrons; makes connection with the construction site, site requirements and the influence of the mosques' on the

urban perspective; elucidate with changing social, political and economic condition of the state at the end of the sixteenth century and also the experimentalist soul of architect Sinan. After stating these comments, interpretations are compared with each other and with the statements found in the third chapter while analyzing the mosques.

In the concluding chapter, I aim to reflect on why these six mosques are classified as late period works and what is the reason of this evolution in Sinan's architectural style. In order to answer these questions, this study will focus not only on the architectural layout of these buildings, but also their geographical and urban positions in the city and the roles of their patrons on the design process. Until today, although a lot of studies on Sinan's mosque structures and bearing systems have been persuaded, the number of the studies discussing the patrons' role on the mosques and their relation with the process of choosing the site are quite limited. In the meanwhile, to what degree Sinan was responsible of these changes is the other important point of this thesis. What is paramount importance here is the fact that these late period works shows a breaking point in Sinan's architectural style comparison with classical or pre-classical period works in terms of their structural system and elevation designs.

CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF OUTLOOK OF SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

2.1. Social, Political and Economic Context of Sinan's Last Period

The most important aspect of the Ottoman administration, which also paved its way to be an empire, was the centralist administration system. This system in fact became a critical issue with the extending territories, particularly towards the middle of the sixteenth century. Laws established at the time of Mehmed the Conqueror in the fifteenth century already indicated such a centralist approach. In the beginning, the dominant constitutional legislative system was based on the religious law of Islam (Sharia) in the Ottoman Empire; later, the Sultanic law (Kanun) was integrated into the existing system. In the reign of Mehmed II two kanunnames[3], called Kanun-i Osmani, were compiled. This process continued with the other kanunnames, especially in the era of the Süleyman the Magnificent who was later named as the law maker (Kanuni). One of his main ideas was to provide the unification of rules under Sunni practice, as the preface of the kanunname states:

> The sultan has commanded the codification of Ottoman kanun (law), since these regulations are essential for prosperity in the affairs of the world and for the regulation of the affairs of the people.[4]

[3] A series of sultanic laws.

[4] Mehmet Arif, *Tarihi Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası*, cited in Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire; the classical age 1300-1600*, (London, 1994), p. 70

This statement clearly supports the suggestion that the aim of the kanun was reinforcing the power of the central authority and securing the sultans' absolute sovereignty all around the Empire.

Contents of the kanunnames of Suleyman I and Mehmed II were different. The dominance of the Islam on the empire in the era of Mehmed II was not as powerful as that in the middle of the sixteenth century. However, in Süleyman's time, Islam became a political issue.[5] Süleyman the Magnificent who was ruling the Empire with an Orthodox Islamic approach, kept all the religious power in his own hands. He conquered central Mesopotamia and became the caliph of all Muslim worlds. As a consequence, the Islamic imperial tradition was emphasized in Istanbul, as the capital of Ottoman Empire, more than ever before. The earlier title of Mehmed II, which he acquired with the conquest of Istanbul, Sultan-ı Rum, was replaced with Padişah-ı İslam in the time of Süleyman the Magnificent. His main intentions were to consolidate the central power on the new lands in the West and to provide the unification of his people (*tebaa*) under the Sunni practice.

The increasing influence of the Sharia and of the Orthodox Islamic approach is observable in sixteenth century. In this context, the locations of the mosque and madrasas of some complexes, with reference to each other, show significant changes when compared with the previous period. When we look at the complexes of Süleymaniye and of Mehmed II, we see the same kind of organization which locates madrasas on three sides of the mosque. However, Necipoğlu indicates the different intensions of the Conqueror and of Süleyman I when locating the madrasas in the same manner. The idea of Mehmed II was to provide the control of State over education by defining the teaching of the *ulema* [6] as an institution which was controlled by the central authority as well. On the

[5] Murat Belge , *Osmanlıda Kurumlar ve Kültür*, (Istanbul: Bilgi University, 2005).

[6] *Ulema* means the people of the Islamic knowledge.

contrary, the intention of Süleyman I was to increase the political role of the *ulema* in order to legitimize his authority through the Sunni doctrine of the orthodox state. [7] However, when we examine Sinan's last period in this framework, we can not observe such a kind of relation between the mosque and the madrasa. There are not any madrasa around the mosque of the Rüstem Pasha in Tahtakale, who was in a close relation with Nakshbandi path and uphold to the rigid Sharia orders. In her study, Necipoğlu emphasizes the idea of Rüstem Pasha that he gave importance to madrasa education to Muslim children through which all the students learned the rules of Sharia.[8] Rüstem suggested that lofty madrasas in numerous locations should have been built along with Friday mosques.[9] In Tahtakale they did not prefer to build a madrasa around mosque. Since Tahtakale was a commercial site, there was a need for a law court to solve the commercial disagreements, a khan, warehouses and shops for merchants. This proves that the buildings around the mosque were constructed according to the urban program of the site. Actually such a program should be considered as a financial source of income. The madrasa did not have a function providing a long term profit, when compared with shops. A similar spatial organization is observable in the surrounding site of the mosques, which were built for Sokullu Mehmed Pasha. While there were madrasas around the Kadırga Sokullu Mehmed Pasha mosque which was located in a dense housing district; there were not any madrasas around the Azapkapı Sokullu Mosque which was probably built for the marines[10] and ships. This site was in front of the Galata Wall and was called as Azapgate. The pious foundation in Azapkapı was supported by income producing structures constructed in its neighborhood.

[7] Gülru Kafadar Necipoğlu, "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An interpretation", *Muquarnas Vol 3: An Annual of Islamic Art and Architecture*, 3, (1985): p.96.

[8] Gülru Kafadar Necipoğlu, , *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton and Oxford : Princeton University Press, 2005) , 316.

[9] Celalzade, cited in Necipoğlu 2005: 316.

[10] It was called "azeb" or "azab" in Ottamans.

There were warehouses and shops of artisans such as carpenters and caulkers in the basement of Azapkapı Mosque similar to those of Rüstem Pasha which is also an elevated mosque. Besides Azapkapı, there are madrasa buildings in Kılıç Ali, Piyale[11], Şah Sultan-Zal Mahmud Pasha and Şemsi Pasha Mosques, as the examples of the last period works of Sinan. The sites where these late period mosques were constructed were dominantly residential areas. Different from these, the mosque and the madrasa are independent from each other in the case of Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque located on the shore similar to Azapkapı Mosque. When we examine the specific relationship between the mosque and the madrasas in the Sinan's late period buildings with reference to the relational context of the ruling of the state and sharia, a different condition is observed. Such a condition is not so compatible with the interpretations for the complexes of Suleymaniye and Mehmed II. For the case of the imperial mosques, there were no economic or spatial restrictions. Therefore a conceptual relationship between the location of mosque and madrasas would be mentioned for imperial mosques. On the other hand, for the last period mosques which were built for the admirals or viziers, environmental and economic conditions were the basic determinant factors. The program of these complexes appears directly related with the feature of the location.

As we see, the economic condition is worth to be reconsidered as another factor which influences architecture itself. In the middle of the sixteenth century, Mexican silver was spread in the European market. Following this, silver coins entered the Ottoman market and prices were doubled within a short period of time. Moreover, economic transformation in the European markets caused a recession in the Ottoman economy, which resulted in the deterioration of the

[11] We are aware of the existence of those madrasas around Piyale Pasha mosque which are not remained today, by means of the writings of Evliya Çelebi and Ayvansarayi. The interpretation on the locations of madrasass is made with reference to the reconstruction drawings of Baha Tanman, 1989.

institutions in the Ottoman State. The fixed- income groups such as kapıkulus, tımar-holding sipahis[12] were affected significantly by this depression. As a result of this economic deterioration, bribery and misappropriations increased amongst state officials, soldiers and kadis.[13] The absolute authority of the Sultan and the unification of the vizier, grand vizier and sultan could not survive anymore after Süleyman's time.[14] The decay of the systems in the State resulted in the weakness of the central authority.

The changes of the scales of mosques can be interpreted as a consequence of the economic decline. After the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, there were no other mosques which have a similar scale until the end of the empire. The mosques, constructed in the last quarter of sixteenth century which was also the late period of Sinan, were initiated by viziers, admirals and princes. For that reason, besides the economic decline, the identities of the patrons might be effective on the scale of the mosques. In conclusion, the relation amongst the economic condition, patron's identities and state policies were the determinant factors of the architecture as it is mentioned above.

In addition to the depiction of the religious system and its influences on architecture in the end of the sixteenth century, the relation between architecture and the political condition of this era is another topic to be considered. In the beginning of the sixteenth century which was referred to as the golden age of the Ottoman Empire, the State had not confronted any defeat in the international arena. In the era of Selim I, Ottoman Sultans took the title of the protector of Mecca and Medina, which means they were becoming the caliphs of all the Muslim World. The Ottoman Empire extended its territories towards the

[12] Cavalary soldiers who were given land in order to cultivate this land.

[13] İnalcık, 1994: 49

[14] Ibid: 47

boundaries determined by the natural thresholds of the Mediterranean region. They got the control of the trade roads.

> I am God's slave and sultan of this world. By the grace of God I am head of Muhammed's community. God's might and Muhammad's miracles are my companions. I'm Süleyman in whose name the hutbe is read in Mecca and Medina. In Baghdad I am the shah, in Byzantine realms the Ceaser, and in Egypt the Sultan; who sends his fleets to the seas of Europe, the Maghrib and India. I am the sultan who took the crown and throne of Hungary and granted them to a humble slave. The voivoda Petru rose his had in revolt, but my horses hoofs ground him in to the dust, and I conquered the land of Moldavia.[15]

The above is an inscription, from 1538 cited in the citadel of Bender, pointing to the self confidence and power of the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, Süleyman the Magnificent. However, after Süleyman, international conditions became trying for the Ottomans. In the end of the sixteenth century, in fact, the Empire suffered with its first defeats in military and trade arenas. In 1559, the Spanish government established its hegemony on Europe. The withdrawal from Malta in 1565 and Süleyman's last Hungarian campaign in 1566 marked the beginning of the interruption of the Ottoman advance throughout central Europe and the Mediterranean. The Cyprus victory, in 1571, was one of the last military successes of the naval army. In the same year, Ottoman navies encountered İnebahtı defeats which resulted with losing the power on the seas and trade roads. After that, in 1574, the re-conquest of Tunisia from the Spanish invaders was the victory of Kılıç Ali Pasha. However, towards to the end of the sixteenth century, the Ottomans lost their superiority on the seas. It was an important factor for the economic decline of the state. [16]

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[15] İnalcık, 1994: 41

[16] İnalcık, 1994: 41-42

The Ottomans as a continental empire; had perceived the importance of navigation in sixteenth century. For the first time, in the era of Süleyman, Barbaros Hayrettin Pasha became the first navy commander and was honored with the title of grand admiral and governor general of the Algeria in 1534.[17] Additionally, the fact that three patrons of Sinan were admirals amongst the others, indicate the increasing importance of navigation from the beginning of Süleyman's era.

Sinan Pasha was the first admiral patron of Sinan. Two patrons of the last period works of Sinan were the admiral Kılıç Ali Pasha and admiral Piyale Pasha. For the Ottoman Empire, which had extended its borders towards the coastal regions by the mid-1500s, the military successes of the naval army became an important fact. Those successes were the very result of the active roles of Kılıç Ali Pasha and of Piyale Pasha, who became vizier while he was an admiral. When we re-consider Sinan's works constructed for admirals, we see the signs of the individual tastes of those patrons on these works. Necipoğlu considers the existence of the mausoleum of Barbaros Hayrettin Pasha in the district of Beşiktaş as the reason why Sinan Pasha chose Beşiktaş as the place of the mosque to be constructed in his name.[18] In the light of this interpretation, we can assert that the influence of the patrons on Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque which has a similar space organization with Hagia Sophia and on Piyale Pasha Mosque with an archaic plan type is observable. In this context, the decline of the central authority which began in the end of sixteenth century can be accepted as a factor for the increasing influences of the patrons' tastes over the works of Sinan.

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[17] It means *Cezayir Beylerbeyi* in Turkish.

[18] Necipoğlu, 2005: 416

2.2. The Construction Activities and the Role of the Corps of Royal Architects in the end of the Sixteenth Century

At the end of the sixteenth century, the population of Istanbul had increased by forty per cent in villages and by eighty per cent in the towns. It meant that the population rose to eight hundred thousand from the conquest of Istanbul to the end of the sixteenth century.[19] Whereas in this period the land of the Ottoman Empire reached approximately twenty million km-square including vassal states and consequently approximately 100 million people were livings under the control of the Ottoman State.[20] As the unique owner of the land, the Sultan was responsible for all the construction activities in different cities. Pious foundations called *wakf* were the means of this responsibility of the sultan. The traditional wakf system, which had already been used by Turks in the Seljuk time, was founded with the aim of meeting the requirements of the increasing population. In fact, all the cultural and commercial complexes were constituted by the wakf system not only in Istanbul but also in other Ottoman cities. The wakf, controlled and confirmed by the State, was a kind of endowment institution that was responsible for all the construction activities such as canals, roads, caravansaries, mosques, etc. The main duty of the wakf was to construct the *imaret* as the center of the city. The Imaret which was a complex included mosque, madrasa, hospital, bath-house and soap kitchen and provided public service and commerce in the city.

Provision of the land by the owner of the wakf was compulsory for the initiation of the construction in the wakf system. In the mid-sixteenth century there were a

[19] Mantran, 1990, pp. 45-48, Barkan Ö. L.; cited in İnalcık, 1994: 70

[20] Türk Ansiklopedisi, Vol XXX, p.78 and Vol. XXXVI p. 101; cited in Sevgi Aktüre, "Mimarbasi Sinan and the Building Policies of the Ottoman State", *Environmental Design, Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre,* ed. Attilio Petruccioli, Vth Year, N.5-6, (Roma, 1988): 98-105.

lot of wakf buildings in the urban fabric within the remained city walls of Teodosios.[21] It was necessary to substitute another land for the construction of buildings apart from the parcel which was already appropriated for any wakf building. Since it was costly for the wakf owners, they preferred the vacant lands for new constructions. In the sixteenth century, Üsküdar was a relatively unoccupied district, which was suitable for new developments. For this reason, a serious concentration of new wakf buildings is observable here towards the end of sixteenth century. In this context, the wakf system and the development tendency quoted above can be accepted as the complimentary factors on the locational choice of Şemsi Pasha Complex which was one of the Sinan's late period works.

Also there are some exceptional situations such as Rüstem Pasha's Mosque in Tahtakale. A foundation chart which belongs to Rüstem Pasha Mosque provides us with additional detail about the site. This document proves that for the exchanges of the wakf land, the chief architect and an expert committee were commissioned. Thus, the chief architect was aware of the conditions of the site chosen for the construction he built.

The proportion of the princesses and women sultans having wakfs was quite high. Since the Sharia allowed married women to enjoy their own savings, they had a right to construct mosques and madrasas in their names.[22] It is seen that one of the first patrons of Sinan was a daughter sultan (Mihrimah Sultan) and the wife of the grand viziers; they gave their names to the last period complexes of Sinan. Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Complex is the example to such buildings.

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[21] Sureyya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2002), 158.

[22] Ibid: 153

"The Corp of Royal Architect"[23] was the institution which was in charge of the wakf buildings constructed in Istanbul. The period from the conquest till the sixteenth century represents an era which empowers centralized administrative structure of institutions in the Ottoman Empire. The Corps of the Royal Architects can be considered in this framework.[24] As indicated by Necipoğlu, during Sinan's time, the corps bureaucratically supported the centralized state by coping with the increasing construction activities coordinated from the capital.[25]

Although the exact date is still unknown, the earliest reference about the corps is dated to the reign of Beyazıt II (1418-1512). It is thought that the corps was instituted after the conquest of Istanbul.[26] The main function of the corps was to provide a central control over all construction enterprises. The corps was under the control of the city prefect[27] who was responsible for the payments for all kinds of construction activities. There was a hierarchy; in fact the chief architect was the head of the corps. In the corps, architects were divided into two groups in terms of their qualifications and priority. Turan makes a list of the members of the corps; in descending order, the city prefect, the chief architect, the superintendent of water channels, the agha of Istanbul, the chief lime-burner, the storehouse director, the chief storehouse scribe, the second architect and the director of repairs are listed.[28] This list can be evaluated as a proof of the fact that the corps was not only a community of architects, but also a large group of technical staff assisting the chief architect. The organization had two ateliers, the

[23] It means *Hassa Mimarlar Ocağı*, *Hassa Mimarları* or *Mimaran-ı Hassa* in Turkish.

[24] Şerafettin Turan, "Osmanlı Teşkilatında Hassa Mimarları", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol.I, no.I, (Ankara; Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1963).

[25] Necipoğlu, 2005: 153.

[26] Turan, 1963.

[27] City prefect means *Şehremini* in Turkish.

[28] Turan, 1963: 158-159.

royal storehouse at the Topkapı Palace and the chief architect's office in the district of Vefa in Istanbul.[29] [30]

Turan defines the duties of the corps under nine items.[31] The main duty of the corps was to prepare the "designs"[32], to calculate the cost of the buildings and to construct or repair the buildings of the sultan or his family. The corps was responsible for all construction activities of the wakf buildings. It can be said that the mission of the organization was producing the urban fabric of Istanbul. To control all private construction activities in the city, and to establish urban codes for houses and streets as a protection tool against fires were amongst the duties of the corps and of the chief architect as well. Besides these duties, to select the architects who were going to accompany the military campaigns in order to construct bridges, roads, walls and aqueducts was the other role of the corps. Furthermore, the corps had to calculate the dimensions and costs of the building materials and determine the budgets for construction. Apart from these, the chief architect assigned the city architect who was appointed to provincial capitals for construction activities. In this framework, the corps of royal architect was basically a state school for architects (or sultanate school of architecture or academy) and engineers in the empire. Actually, Cafer Çelebi's book Risale-i Mimariye also supports this idea.[33] It was written by Cafer Çelebi for Sedefkar Mehmed Ağa who became the chief architect of the corps after the death of Architect Sinan. The structure of the book can be interpreted as a course book

[29] The travel book of Evliya Çelebi confirms the atelier in Vefa district. Evliya, 2006, vol. I, book II, p.629.

[30] Necipoğlu, 2005: 154 and Turan, 1963: 159.

[31] Turan, 1963: 163.

[32] In the documents it is mentioned as resm (picture) or rusum (pictures).

[33] Turan, 1963: 177

and as an introduction to architecture.[34] This book is similar with Sinan's four autobiographical books which were written by Mustafa Sai.[35] In the hierarchical system, only architects who were the members of the corps could be promoted to higher positions. These architects had to be equipped with the basic knowledge about materials, calculations, drawing and construction.[36]

In this large imperial territory, obviously it was impossible to control all building activities from one center. Sönmez states that there were six organizations to supervise all these activities over the state.[37] These six organizational units, directed by corps of royal architects, were Military Architects, Province Architects, Region Architects, City Architects and Wakf Architects. All the architects were of course appointed by the chief architect.[38]

This statement is quite compatible with the idea that Sinan was aware of all designs and plans produced by other architects who were the members of the corps. The recent research done by Necipoğlu revealed some plans and elevations which are identified as *working drawings*[39] datable to the early sixteen century.[40] The plans were superimposed on a grid background. The possible

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[34] The book consists of fifteen parts. The first six parts consist of his biography and gives some information about the Blue Mosques planning and construction. Other parts include the definitions of some terms and introduce various tools on masonry and woodworks.

[35] Harun Batırbaygil, "A Journey towards the Hinterland of Aesthetics in the Classical Ottoman Architecture" in *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture 'A Supra-National Heritage'*, p. 63 (Istanbul: YEM Yayın, 1999).

[36] Crane, 1987, cited in Jale Erzen, *Sinan Ottoman Architect: An Aesthetic Analaysis*, (Ankara: Metu, 2004), 20.

[37] Zeki Sönmez, "Mimar Sinan ve Hassa Mimarlar Ocağı", in *Mimar Sinan Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı ve Sanatı*, ed. by Zeki Sönmez, (Istanbul: Misirli Matbaacilik, 1988)

[38] Ibid: 254.

[39] It means *Karname* in Turkish.

[40] Gülru Necipoğlu, "Plans and Models in 15th and 16th Century Ottoman Architectural Practice", *JSAH* Vol.XLV, Sept 86, (1986): 224-243.

reasons why those grid bases were used may be that it would be a medium to calculate the cost of the material used in the construction or to help the application of the plans on the ground.[41] Those drawings were produced for the final controls made by the head architect and to provide the financial support from the central budget.[42] Moreover, the records of the construction material of the Süleymaniye Mosque prove the idea that the office made some models and drawings before the construction. The expanses of paper, glue and wood, which was used to make a model, was recorded on these documents.[43] All this information indicates that Sinan was well aware of the all building designs including his last period works. The direct or indirect influence of Sinan may have been through dialogues between the staff architect and those in the control process of designs.

The information about the organizational structure of the corps, which is mentioned above, gives some specific clues on the system of architectural practice in the State during the end of the sixteenth century. When we take the current political conjuncture during the end of the sixteenth century into consideration, we can assume that the ongoing decline of central authority in Ottoman Empire might have resulted in the weakness of the institutional structure of the corps in that era. However it is still a debatable subject whether this political and institutional context would be the reason of any possible constructions done without the approval of Sinan or not.

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[41] Necipoğlu, 1986: 224-243.

[42] Necipoğlu, 2005: 169.

[43] Stefanos Yerasimos, *İstanbul, İmparatorlukların Başkenti,* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000), 51.

CHAPTER 3

SINAN'S LATE PERIOD WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE SIX MOSQUES IN ISTANBUL

3.1. Rüstem Pasha Mosque in Tahtakale

Rüstem Pasha was one of the grand viziers and son in law of Süleyman I. When he married Süleyman's daughter, Mihrimah, in 1539, he was the fourth vizier of the Sultan. After five years, in 1544, he became the grand vizier until the execution of Şehzade[44] Mustafa in 1553. Some scholars believe that Rüstem was responsible for this execution; therefore the deposition of the grand vizier was related with Mustafa's execution. Since the Şehzade was supported by the janissaries, Rüstem gained their hatred and lost his reliability after that time.[45] Necipoğlu interprets Rüstem Pasha's architectural patronage as a tool to rectify his unpopular public image which was by the execution of the Şehzade.[46] With the helps of his wife, Mihrimah, and his mother in law Hürrem, he was appointed the grand vizier for the second time and he maintained this position until his death in 1561. Historian Mustafa Ali emphasized the administrative skill and financial capability of Rüstem Pasha and implied that in his period the state treasure was in a good condition. He added that bribery started with Rüstem Pasha in the Ottoman government.[47] Rüstem was the richest grand vizier in the Ottoman State and he also left the greatest number of pious endowments

[44] The title of the Sultan's son in Ottoman.

[45] Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, (Ankara: TTK, 1992), 38.

[46] Necipoğlu, 2005: 314

[47] Ibid.

throughout the Empire. He had twenty one pious foundations and twenty four income producing structures around the Ottoman lands, from Esztergom to Medina.

The site of the mosque, Tahtakale, is one of the most crowded districts of Istanbul even today. It stands in a tightly knitted urban fabric of shops and warehouses. The mosque is situated on an important intersection point of the two main commercial arteries. (Figure 1) The site of the mosque, which was near the city walls, was seen from the Galata and Bosporus. It was one of the ancient sites of the city in the sixteenth century. (Figure 2) As we learn from the inscriptions, before the construction of the mosque, there was an old Byzantine church which was converted to a masjid, called *Kenise* or *Hacı Halil Ağa Mescidi*.[48]. Due to sharia rules about land ownership, before construction on that site, a new land had to be given to the wakf of this masjid. (In this situation, this is the Wakf of Hagia Sophia.) As we follow from the correspondences amongst the Sultan, grand mufti Ebusuud and endowment administrator Mehmed Kethuda, Rüstem Pasha Wakf found a new site for the masjid in Yenibahçe. In these documents, it was emphasized that architect Sinan built a substitute with using the materials of the old one. [49] Another information, we learn from these documents is the construction date of the mosque. The exact construction date of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque is not known, because of the absence of the inscriptions. The correspondences prove us that until the fall of 1562, the site was not cleaned from materials of the old masjid. Thus, it can be thought that construction of the mosque started after the death of Rüstem. When the site choosing process, Rüstem Pasha's pious endowment practices and his grand inheritance are considered, his mosque in Tahtakale can be evaluated as a prestige mosque through which his grand wealth would be displayed after his death. It is possible

[48] Aptullah Kuran, *Sinan, The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture* , (Istanbul: Ada Press Publishers, 1987), 138 and Necipoğlu, 2005: 321

[49] Necipoğlu, 2005: 321

that he informed his wishes concerning the location and the layout of his mosque to his wife Mihrimah or his endowment administer Mehmed Kethuda.
The mosque is surrounded by khans and a law court on the east and south sides. We learn from the foundation chart of the mosque[50] that there were also two commercial khans before the construction of the mosque. Sinan should have preserved these khans and added a law court on this site. (Figure 3) However Egli claims that Sinan built all these khans because of his patron's demand. He believes that khans, in this commercial area near the Bosporus, were the most appropriate building types to get income and he adds that Sinan would have condoned such loosely conceived commercial facilities.[51]

The mosque sits atop of a platform, rising from the ground floor. The elevated mosque is raised with vaulted substructures. These barrel-vaulted units were used as shops, on the north façade, and as warehouses, on the east, west and the south façades of the building. (Figure 4 and Figure 5) Even today, these units have the same function as in the sixteenth century. (Figure 6) There are lots of interpretations about the intention of Sinan while he conceived an elevated mosque on this site. One of the approaches is related with the silt and swampy ground of the construction site. Egli explains the elevation of the mosque due to this property of the ground. At the same time Egli and Kuran add that Rüstem wanted to use the lower part of the mosque for getting profit; in Egli's terms "milk the site for the profit".[52] When the construction date of the mosque is considered, it is obvious that shops and warehouses were the most appropriate programs for that kind of site where a dense commercial activity took place. Moreover, this kind of a structure separates the sacred space from profane one. Thus, the elevated platform of the inner space could be the conscious preference

[50] Ibid

[51] H. G. Egli, *Sinan : an Interpretation*, (Istanbul, 1997), 84

[52] Kuran, 1987: 140 and Egli, 1997: 85

of Sinan. Furthermore elevating the mosque increases the visibility of the mosque. Guidoni claims that due to the importance of the silhouette form of the Galata and Bosphorus, the mosque must rise above the site, dominating the city from far away.[53] (Figure 7) In addition to this interpretation Necipoğlu indicates the location of the mosque just below the Süleymaniye Mosque and adds that this visual juxtaposition reminds the hierarchical status of the sultan and grand vizier. (Figure 8 and Figure 9) Furthermore, Kuran's statement supports Burelli's idea that vaulted substructures gave a better exposure to the mosque.

The mosque stands with a diagonal direction towards Mecca. This provides a triangular area in front of the mosque. When you go down towards the sea from the Uzunçarşı, this triangular area provides an attractive perspective to the mosque. Sinan ended this area with an ablution fountain. By this means, he creates a visual and spatial connection amongst the entrance of the mosque, ablution fountain and street. (Figure 3) Behind the qıbla wall, there is another space surrounded by law court and Büyük Çukur Han. Also this area is more peaceful than the crowded market.

The entrance to the mosque is provided by four enclosed staircases. The two main staircases on the two corners of the north façade lead to the stone-paved terrace. (Figure 10 and Figure 11) The other one on the east façade leads to the internal upper gallery of the mosque. (Figure 12) The staircase on the west façade gives access to the terrace. The double portico of the mosque dominates the terrace of the mosque. (Figure 14) The five-domed first portico has columns with muqarnas capital. A slanting wooden roof is the cover of the second portico which stands on the small columns with lozenge capitals. These two porticos create a transition area from the terrace to the sacred inner space. The sequence of the spaces from the profane to the sacred would be the aim of Sinan while he

[53] Enrico Guidoni, "Sinan's Construction of the Urban Panorama" *Environmental Design, Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, Vth Year, N. 5-6, ed. Attilio Petruccioli, (1988): 21-29.

conceived these two porticos. Portico, as a kind of eave, is one of the basic elements in architecture which defines the beginning of the inner space and the end of the outer space. In this situation, porticos, as a threshold of the mosque, provide a semi-opened space which helps the definition of the hierarchy between inner and the outer spaces of the mosque.

Rüstem Pasha Mosque has a central dome, 15.20 meters diameter, which sits on eight pillars. These eight pillars form an octagonal baldachin which Rüstem Pasha Mosque was the earliest example of this used. Four of the piers are buried inside the walls in the north and south sides. The other four stand independent from the walls that carry the two storied side wings. (Figure 10, Figure 14 and Figure 15) Scholars evaluate this mosque is a paved the way for the plan of Selimiye Mosque in Edirne. Four half-domes on the four corners of the mosque provide the translation from octagonal base to the dome. The structural system and especially its side wings separate the Rüstem Pasha Mosque from the earlier examples. In the inner space, the four free columns divide the inner space as core space and surrounding secondary space. Two storied side wings which are covered with barrel vaults gain an individual atmosphere. (Figure 16) This is a new manner in Sinan's architecture. Another different point of this mosque is that Sinan does not use weight towers in this design.

As it is mentioned above, side wings are covered by barrel-vaults on both two stories, however from the outside; two vaults are covered with another domed shell at both east and west sides of the mosque. (Figure 17) In the Süleymaniye Mosque, we see the similar example that side wings were covered with a double shell. This design mentality can be evaluated as an indicator for the importance of the exterior view. Moreover, this manner can be pointed to the importance of the silhouette from the Bosporus.

After its construction, Rüstem Pasha Mosque suffered extensive damages two

times. One of these was a fire in 1660, and the other was the earthquake of 1766. During the earthquake, the minaret of the mosque was destroyed and the dome collapsed. All tiles on the dome were damaged and after that, it was painted in white. The undulating cornice on the drum of the dome, the buttress arches around the dome and the high inaccessible gallery over the entrance door on the north façade are the results of the renovations after the earthquake during the reign of Murat III.[54] To the contrary of Kuban's statement concerning the inaccessible high gallery, Necipoğlu claims that Sinan designed this gallery as a symbol of the absence of its departed patron.[55] (Figure 18) Besides Necipoğlu's and Kuban's interpretations, Goodwin claims that the only access of the balcony is provided by ladder and adds; 'its importance is that it gives access to the roof'.[56] Also Necipoğlu claims that the undulating cornice of the dome would be a reference to the church that once stood on its site.[57] This idea may come from the similarities between the wavy figures on the dome base of the Pasha's mausoleum, exists in the courtyard of Şehzede Mosque, and the undulating cornice of the mosque.

The most important feature of the Rüstem Pasha's Mosque is the beautiful tiles, the covered the walls in both the inner and the outer space of the mosque. (Figure 19 and Figure 20) This is unique example amongst Sinan's mosque structures. Usually Sinan used tiles to highlight certain points of the inner space.[58] However in Rüstem Paşa Mosque, we see an exceptional situation. It is explained

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[54] Doğan Kuban, *Sinan's Art and Selimiye*, (Istanbul: The Economic and Social History Foundation, 1997), 103.

[55] Necipoğlu, 2005: 328.

[56] Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press,1971), 251.

[57] Necipoğlu, 2005: 329.

[58] Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "XVI. yy. Osmanlı Dönemi Yapılarında Görülen Mimari Süsleme Programlarında Mimar Sinan'ın Katkısı var mıdır?" *Mimarlık, 5-6, no, 179-180* (Istanbul, 1982): 29-35.

with the relation of the Rüstem Pasha's tile atelier in İznik. It is observed that there is not unity amongst the patterns of the tiles. This is explained in two ways; first of all, the renovation after the damage of the earthquake would be the reason to it. Secondly, the diversity of design was an outcome of the immense quantity of tiling required, which no single atelier had the capacity to meet within a short time.[59]

It is not known if the paradise-garden-like inner space was created due to the will of Rüstem Pasha or due to the demand of his wife, Mihrimah. If we accept the idea that Rüstem had his own tile workshop in İznik, it is possible that the tile covered walls is the will of the departed Pasha. Erzen interprets tile-covered walls as follow:

> "The interior symbolizing a garden creates an experience almost reversing the normative order which is from nature to architecture. Starting from city space and from a crowded commercial architecture, one finally finds himself in reified nature."[60]

The inner space of the mosque is the most striking feature of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque. In terms of its octagonal baldachin, two-storied barrel-vaulted side wings, elevated basement and tile works, Rüstem Pasha Mosque acquires a different characteristic than the earlier works of Sinan.

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[59] Denny, 1998; cited in Necipoğlu, Necipoğlu, 2005: 329.

[60] Jale Erzen, "Imperializing a City, Istanbul of the sixteenth-century", *Environmental Design, Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, ed. by Attilio Petruccioli, Vth Year, N.5-6, (Roma, 1988), 91.

3.2. Sokullu Mehmed Pasha Mosque in Azapkapı

Amongst the late period mosques of Sinan in Istanbul, admirals' mosques have a distinctive character in terms of the criteria that led to the choice of their location. As it was mentioned in the second chapter, the population and the trade capacity of Istanbul increased at the end of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, İnalcık asserts that the Muslims, who were expelled from Spain between 1570 and 1610, were settled in the Galata district.[61] Towards the end of the century, Ottomans had to improve their naval force due to some defeats in the Mediterranean seas[62]. As we know from the documents, the most important dockyards of the Ottoman army located along the seashore of the Galata district. (See Map A) (Figure 21) As it will be explained in the following section of the chapter, the imperial Cannon Foundry was an important factor for the construction of the imperial armada in this area. The workers who were related with the construction of the armada, such as carpenters, caulkers, and also the captains and crews were the inhabitants of those districts. At the end of the era, numerous dockyards and landings had been constructed outside the Galata city walls, alongside the seashore from Azapkapı to Hasköy. Eventually, with the increasing population and the new facilities which arose related with the dockyards, a new construction area outside the city wall of Galata was created. Azapkapı district can be evaluated as one of the examples of this kind of a new district. It is sited near the Kasımpaşa Dockyard across the Süleymaniye and Rüstem Pasha Mosques. (Figure 22, Figure 23 and Figure 24)

Sokullu Mehmed Pasha was known as one of the most important grand viziers in Ottoman History. However, he was appointed as a grand admiral by Süleyman I

[61] Halil İnalcık, "Ottoman Galata, 1453–1553." in *Essays in Ottoman History*, ed. by Halil Inalcik, (Istanbul, 1998): 50-51. Cited in Kuban 2000: 218.

[62] Some of these defeats were Lepanto and Tunis defeats. For further information see Chapter 2.

before being a vizier. It is possible to evaluate that the choice of location of the grand vizier's Mosque could be relevant with the Pasha's 'grand admiral' position. After the death of Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha in 1546, Sokullu Mehmed Pasha was appointed to the position of grand admiral. During the Iran expedition, he assigned this position to Sinan Pasha. In 1554, he was promoted to the rank of third vizier by Süleyman I. After the death of Rüstem Pasha in 1561, he became the second vizier. Soon after his marriage with İsmihan Sultan, who was the daughter of Selim II, he became the grand vizier in 1565. Sokullu served as grand vizier for fourteen years at the most successful time of the Ottoman Empire under the rule of three sultans[63] until he was killed in 1579.[64] As being an old grand admiral, Sokullu was ordered by Selim II to rebuild the fleet which was damaged during the Lepanto defeat in the winter of 1572. In 1574, he was again ordered to prepare the fleet for the re-conquest of Tunis from the Spanish.[65] As with other admirals such as Kılıç Ali Pasha and Piyale Pasha, it is possible to argue that in his mosque construction Sokullu's owned galley slaves would have worked. Gerlach's notes support this idea. He asserts that the grand vizier likely used galley slaves as laborers in the construction of his waterfront mosque in 1576.[66]

Azapkapı, which was also called as 'azebler kapısi'[67] (azebler gate), stands in front of the one of the gates of the Galata city walls. As the name evokes, the site would have been inhabited by captains, crews and galley slaves. The foundation inscription emphasizes the shipbuilding atelier near the Azapkapı Mosque which

[63] These sultans are Süleyman I. (1520-1566), Selim II.(1566-1574) and Murat III.(1574-1595)

[64] Ahmed Refik, Altınay, *Sokullu*, (İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001), 8-12.

[65] Necipoglu, 2005: 362.

[66] Ibid.

[67] In Turkish 'Azeb' means marines.

was used to refurbish the Ottoman fleet in 1572 and 1574.[68] Viewed in this context, Azapkapı is a very convenient place for Sokullu Mehmed Pasha's commemorative mosque. While Sokullu and his wife İsmihan Sultan had endowed a less visible mosque complex next to the old arsenal Kadırgalimanı, Azapkapı mosque, alongside the imperial arsenal, was associated with the career of Sokullu Mehmed Pasha as a grand admiral in the Ottoman Empire. Necipoğlu emphasizes that during his first grand admiral experience between 1546 and 1549, he had renovated this site with the construction of 117 covered storage spaces behind each ship vault.[69]

There are different opinions about the exact construction date of the Azapkapı Mosque. The two lines Turkish inscription of the mosque, which is carved on a rectangular panel with eight sections over the northwest staircase of the mosque's vestibule, gives the date of 1577-78 as the construction year of the mosque. (Figure 25) However, Sokullu's wakfiyya describes the mosque that it had already existed in 1574.[70] Kuran accepts the inscription date as the construction year of the mosque in his list prepared by Sinan's autobiographies.[71] In his book Mecmua-i Tevahir, Ayvansarayi gives the date 1577 according to the chronogram of the inscription.[72]

As we learn from the pious foundation, the wakfiyya and Evliya Çelebi's Traveler Notes, similar with Piyale Pasha and Kılıç Ali Pasha's Mosques, there were numerous dependencies near the mosque. The wakfiyya mentions an elementary school, built in the north side of the mosque behind the imperial

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[68] Necipoglu, 2005: 362.

[69] Necipoglu, 2005: 362.

[70] Ibid, 364.

[71] Kuran, 1987: 254-268.

[72] Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayi, *Mecmua-i Tevarih*, ed. Fahri Ç. Derin and Vahid Çubuk, (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1985), 112.

arsenal, two fountains near the mosque; one of them inside of the Azap gate and the other outside of it, a well next to the staircase of the mosque which was removed during the nineteenth century restoration, a commercial double bath inside the gate which still extend[73] and numerous shops and warehouses which were in the vaulted substructure of the upper-story mosque and around its vicinity.[74] Evliya Çelebi's notes partly support the account of the wakfiyya. He mentions a bath-house, a sebil inside of the city wall and a fountain outside the city wall.[75] Sinan's autobiographies mention the Azapkapı Mosque and its bath-house, yet the elementary school is omitted.[76] Eremya Çelebi, one of the seventeenth century authors describes the Azapkapı district as follows:

> "…on both sides one can observe many large shops for ironworkers, who forge large iron cannonballs needed in ships and other objects. Ships are caulked here before navigating, and they are supplied with sails, ropes and other implements."[77]

It is obvious that, the aim of all these dependencies was to meet the requirements of the inhabitants of Azapkapı quarter where the seamen and workers of the imperial armada were located. The program of the dependencies of Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque, which is also a grand admiral mosque near the imperial arsenal along the Galata seashore, shows similar approach with Azapkapı Mosque. However amongst all these dependencies only the bath-house is extant. The mosque was damaged from fires and earthquakes, thus it was restored several

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[73] Today this bath-house is called as Yeşildirek Hamamı.

[74] Necipoğlu, 2005: 364.

[75] *Evliya Çelebi's Book of Travel*, ed. by Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı, vol. I, book II, (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları), 391.

[76] Kuran, 1987: 254-268.

[77] Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan, *Istanbul Tarihi XVII. Asırda Istanbul*, (Istanbul: Kutulmuş Basımevi, 1952) p.38. English translation is cited in Necipoğlu, 2005: 365.

times. In 1596 a fire, recorded by Selaniki, damaged the mosque.[78] After two centuries, in 1807, the mosque was burnt in the Galata fire, yet it was repaired in a short period of time.[79] During this fire, its free standing minaret cracked and then it was rebuilt. Nevertheless it collapsed after a few years later. (Figure 26) It was reconstructed in the Ottoman Baroque style during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.[80] In the earthquake of 1894, the mosque was seriously damaged again and abandoned until the extensive restoration in 1941.[81] All the shops and ware-houses around the mosque were demolished when the modern park was built between 1938 and 1941. During this renovation, the natural grade was raised up. This way the vaulted stores on the basement level of the mosque were walled over. (Figure 27) Furthermore, in 1938 with the construction of the Atatürk Bridge the entrance façade of the mosque was shadowed. The bridge separated the mosque and the seaside. Two entries of the mosque and the fountain, which are not being used today, are half buried under the bridge. (Figure 28) Nevertheless, old gravures exhibit the natural ground level and the unimpeded façade can be seen in those depictions. (Figure 29)

The free-standing minaret is one of the innovative features of Azapkapı Mosque. Different from those of other mosques, the minaret is placed at the northeast corner of the mosque instead of its northwest corner. The basement of the minaret joins the main body of the mosque with a pointed arched block. (Figure 30) As it was mentioned above, due to numerous restorations of the minaret, the originality of the minaret is a debatable subject. While Eyice mentions 1826 as the

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[78] Selaniki, 1989, vol II, 601. Cited in Necipoğlu, 2005: 364.

[79] Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayi, *The Garden of the Mosques Hafız Hüseyin Al-Ayvansarayi's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul*, translated by. Howard Crane, (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 364.

[80] Kuran, 1987: 144.

[81] For detailed information about restoration process of Azapkapı Mosque see; Kuran, 1997: 144-146.

separation date of the minaret from the main body, in his traveler notes, Evliya Çelebi states in his traveler book that it was already detached in his time.[82] Furthermore, Egli believes that this location of the minaret is suitable for the congregation to prayer call. He adds 'if the minaret would have placed at the water's edge, it would have to compete with the crowding mast of sailing.'[83] When Evliya Çelebi describes the Azapkapı Mosque, he mentions the narrowness of the area and adds that because of this reason, the minaret was located across the path which was near the mosque. (Figure 31) On the other hand, Kuban believes that the minaret was moved to the northwest for a firmer foundation because of the ground that created problems[84] in that age.[85] If the bridge had been disregarded from the perspective, a beautiful vista would have seen under the lofty arch of the minaret through the Bosporus. It can be evaluated that, besides the reason of the structural problems and locational restriction, Sinan wanted to create such a perspective for the prayers of the mosque.

In the literature of architectural history, Azapkapı Mosque is mostly compared with Selimiye Mosque in Edirne and Rüstem Pasha Mosque in Tahtakale in terms of its octagonal baldachin support system, its projection of mihrab and the raised basement above the vaulted substructure. (Figure 32 and Figure 33) Like other mosques with extensive commercial facilities, as Rüstem Pasha, such an elevation results from an aim to provide space for shops and warehouses under the mosque. However in the Azapkapı case, two problems would be influential on the preference of this kind of a substructure system. One of them is the fear of

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[82] Semavi Eyice, *Istanbul Minareleri*, (Istanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, 1963), 72, cited in Goodwin, 1971: 285, and Evliya Çelebi, vol. I, book II, 391.

[83] Egli, 1997: 138.

[84] This problem was related with the sliding and softness of the ground.

[85] Kuban, 1997: 116.

flood and the other is the ground problem of the mosque, constructed just near the sea.[86] As it can be seen from the basement plan of the mosque, a structural discordance can be observed at the lintel system of the basement and first floors. This situation increases the possibilities of a ground problem. Viewed in this perspective, the reasons of the rising above the vaulted structure are not similar with that of Rüstem Pasha Mosque. Moreover, while for Rüstem Pasha Mosque which was hidden behind the Byzantine walls, rising on the vaults was a necessity in terms of its visibility from the sea perspective, Azapkapı Mosque was constructed outside the city walls, on the very edge of the sea. Thus the reason of the vaulted substructure was different from that of Rüstem Pasha Mosque.

Two stairways, on the east and west side of the north façade reach a covered upper storey vestibule. This vestibule is the other distinctive feature of the mosque. Furthermore, it is the unique example amongst Sinan's mosque buildings. (Figure 34) Instead of the conventional vestibule which consists of one main entrance at the center, two platforms and one mihrab niche for each platform placed two sides of the main dome; Azapkapı Mosque has two gates at two sides of the entrance facade and three platforms reaching the prayer hall. One platform at the center has two mihrab niches and the others have one niche for each one. Today, these lateral niches are closed by a temporary structure. (Figure 35) The slanting shed-roofed vestibule is lined with rectangular windows. Kuban believes as that this is the sole example, due to the location of the mosque near the sea; here the vestibule should be closed.[87] For such a kind of mosque, which has no specific courtyard or precinct walls, the vestibule and doorsills hold important functions. Gates and vestibules should have facilitated the gathering of the congregation instead of the use of a courtyard. Therefore, here, two gates of the vestibule, four mihrab niches, three platforms and two gates of

[86] Ibid: 115.

[87] Kuban, 1997: 115.

the prayer hall carry all the functions of a courtyard and of the precinct wall. In the meanwhile, the covered vestibule can be evaluated as a threshold before the divine prayer space.

Azapkapı Mosque has an 11, 8 meters diameter central dome which sits on eight pillars. These eight pillars form an octagonal baldachin which is the second example of this kind of a structural system in Istanbul. Rüstem Pasha Mosque is the first example to such a system and the biggest example is the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne. The octagonal baldachin supports all eight sides by half domes. Two of these pillars are buried in the corners of the mihrab niches. (Figure 36) These pillars are stretched towards the drum of the dome as eight weight turrets around the dome itself. (Figure 37 and Figure 38) Different from other late period works of Sinan, such as Rüstem Pasha, Kılıç Ali Pasha or Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosques which their vaults or flat roofs used as a covered element of the lateral spaces, in the Azapkapı Mosque the lateral spaces are covered with semi domes and small domes at the corners. The load of the dome is transferred by these semi domes and the arches through the inner buttresses which carry the upper galleries. These buttresses feature as book-shelves. (Figure 39 and Figure 40) While with the use of the octagonal baldachin, the integration between the base and dome become fairer, the columns in the interior space make a division between the central space under the dome and lateral galleries at the east-west sides and the müezzin's balcony at the north sides of the dome. These lateral galleries which cover three sides of the mosque emphasize this division. (Figure 41) Furthermore, the lateral galleries are not placed on the same axis with that of pillars of the octagonal baldachin, but aligned just behind of it. The secondary columns which carry these upper galleries create a division between the main space, which is circulated with pillars, and the auxiliary spaces. The pillars and the buttresses carrying the galleries tie together with the arches. At the same time, these buttresses carry the load of the semi-domes.

(Figure 42) However, at the upper level, the buttresses get thinner and another arch system tie the buttresses to the façade of the mosque. (Figure 43) This kind of an articulation system narrows the galleries. At the same time, the structural system makes the façade structurally freed from the octagonal baldachin. Because of this, the façade no longer reflects the inner-space. It acts as a shell of the mosque. (Figure 44)

The façade design is one of the most debatable features of the Azapkapı mosque. According to Kuban, while stratification is a characteristic feature of the mosques, after Şehzade Mosque, Sinan tried to achieve 'frontality' in the side façade of his mosques. He asserts that the side façade of Azapkapı Mosque is the most mature example of his façade design.[88] (Figure 45) This side elevation entirely composed of contiguous window frames. The stringcourse moulding separates the basement floor from the upper part of the body. The east and west façade of the mosque seems to be divided in six parts with vertical strips of masonry. While the façade of the vestibule have two stained glass window and arch-shaped lunettes above them, the windows of the prayer hall have a different asymmetrical composition. This asymmetry comes from the off-centric position of the domical superstructure. The space after the vestibule of the mosque which covered with semi dome and two small domes at the corners creates asymmetry on the façade. (Figure 46) The abundance of the windows is explained as a necessity to provide a luminous interior space. The lateral galleries with vaulted superstructure could prevent the daylight.89 The abundant windows continue at the kıbla façade of the mosque. (Figure 47 and Figure 48) Furthermore, Erzen interprets plane surface as an effect of the tightly surrounded sites.[90]

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[88] Kuban, 1997: 117.

[89] Erzen, 2004: 148.

[90] Ibid.

The un-classical aspects of the Azapkapı Mosque, which was mentioned above, generally evaluates as a sign of the declining power. Goodwin explains the columns, supporting the lateral galleries, as a weakness of the plan. With these secondary columns aligned, the U-shaped gallery increases the crowdedness of the inner space.[91] On the other hand, Kuran emphasizes the lack of harmony between the superstructure and the substructure of the exterior walls and adds that 'the asymmetrical disposition of the central domical system lessens the mosque's aesthetic impact'.[92] Kuban evaluates Azapkapı Mosque as an example in the way the ideal enlargement of the hexagon-based baldachin scheme within a rectangular wall cage. He makes a comparison with the plans of Renaissance architects which symbolize the Greek cross.[93] Kuban goes on to add that:

> The skillfully resolved composition of the pillars and buttresses –that are for some reason taken inside- which bear such an animated covering scheme makes the mosque a superb unification of theory and practice.[94]

However, the innovative features of the Azapkapı Mosque are generally evaluated as a decline of his architectural creation. Different from the mosques of Piyale Pasha and Kılıç Ali Pasha, the 'real architect' of the mosque is not a debatable subject. Nevertheless, there is a tendency to evaluate un-classical forms as weaknesses of the design. It should be considered that the peculiarity of the location is the most important aspect of the design process of Sinan's architectural creation. As it is mentioned, the narrow area, outside the city walls and at the edge of the sea, is the most important reason for all these innovative features.

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[91] Goodwin, 1971: 286.

[92] Kuran, 1987: 149.

[93] Ibid: 115.

[94] Kuban, 1997: 117.

3.3. Piyale Pasha Mosque in Kasımpaşa

Piyale Pasha Mosque is one of the most debatable mosques amongst Sinan's late period works in terms of its archaic plan type and in term of its designer. (Figure 49) The six-domed mosque is evaluated as a repetition of multi-unit early Ottoman great mosque style. (Figure 50 and Figure 51) Thus, some scholars interpret Piyale Pasha Mosque as a deviation from Sinan's mainstream works.[95]

Piyale Pasha was one of the famous grand admirals in the Ottoman Empire. He was a recruited Janissary in Süleyman's imperial palace until 1554. That year, he was appointed as grand admiral and sanjak governor of Gallipoli. He conquered many lands in the Mediterranean Sea. Piyale Pasha was coming from enderun[96], different from legendary grand admiral Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha who was a pirate before being admiral in the Ottoman State.[97] One of the important victories of Piyale Pasha was the conquest of the Tunisian lands from Spain in 1560.[98] In 1562, Piyale Pasha was married with Gevher Sultan, Selim II's daughter. In 1565, Malta expedition was his first great defeat. In 1566, he conquered Chios Island from the Genoese, then he took the title of the 'conqueror of Chios'. He was promoted to the rank of fifth vizier by Selim II. In 1568, he was raised to the rank of the third vizier, after a while he was deposed from the grand admiral due to Sokullu Mehmed Pasha's will. Sokollu believed that nobody should hold such a great power on the seas and at the same time on the state as a vizier.[99] However

[95] These scholars are Doğan Kuban, Godfrey Goodwin and Aptullah Kuran.

[96] Enderun was a kind of school of the imperial palace to educate the recruitments in order to being them a statesman.

[97] Belge, 2005: 203.

[98] Necipoğlu, 2005: 422.

[99] Ibid

he continued to command the naval forces at the Cyprus expedition in 1570. After the İnebahtı defeat in 1571, Kılıç Ali Pasha became the grand admiral. Piyale Pasha was raised to the rank of the second vizier in 1573; nevertheless he was popular as a seaman during the second half of the sixteenth century.[100]

Due to the absence of the inscription, the exact construction date of the mosque is not known. However two Turkish wakfiyyas of Piyale Pasha indicate two different construction dates; 2 April 1565 and 25 November 1573.[101] In his book, Ayvansarayi accept the year 1573 yielded by the chronogram[102] in the letter of 'hayrü'l-amel'. [103] About the debates on the construction date, Necipoğlu asserts that:

> "The foundations of the mosque, then, were laid in 1565, perhaps as a pious offering in anticipation of victory in Malta, which did not prove forthcoming. Booty from the conquest of Chios in 1566, the year the pasha rose to the vizierate, may have been dedicated to the ongoing construction completed by 1573."[104]

Goodwin, Kuban, Sözen and Egli also accept the 1573 as the construction date of the mosque.[105] Furthermore, the debates on the architect of the Piyale Pasha Mosque start at this point. Scholars, who accept the date of 1573 as the

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[100] İbid: 423.

[101] Necipoğlu, 2005: 424.

[102] Chronogram refers to the abjad. Abjad, in Turkish name ebced, is a type of calculating system in which there is one symbol per consonantal phoneme. In his book Ayvansarayi calculates the letter of 'hayrü'l-amel' and reaches the date of 981 in Hijri Calendar (1573). For further information see; H., H., Ayvansarayi, *Hadikat'ül Cevami*, Istanbul, 1865, II, pp. 25-28.

[103] Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayi. Cited in Baha Tanman, "Istanbul Kasımpaşa'daki Piyale Paşa Külliyesi'nin Medresesi ve Tekkesi için bir Restitüsyon Denemesi", *Sanat tarihinde Doğudan Batıya: Ünsal Yücel Ansına Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (Istanbul, Sandoz yayınları, 1989), 87.

[104] Necipoğlu, 2005: 424.

[105] Egli, 1997, Goodwin, 1971, Kuban, 1997 and Sözen Metin, *Türk Mimarisinin Gelişimi ve Mimar Sinan*, (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1975).

construction date, claim that Sinan was busy with Selimiye Mosque in 1573, thus he could have not designed Piyale Pasha Mosque. Besides, the archaic plan type of the mosque mainly caused such question about the architect of the mosque. Furthermore the mosque is cited only in the *Tuhfetül Mimarin* (Gift of the Architect) amongst Sinan's building records.[106]

It is known from the documents that there were some other buildings which accompanied the mosque and Piyale Pasha's octagonal mausoleum.[107] According to the hypothetical reconstruction of Tanman, there were seventeen madrasa cells on the west side and twenty eight dervish cells on the north side of the mosque. (Figure 52) In addition to these buildings, Evliya Çelebi states that, amongst its lost dependencies, Piyale Pasha Complex comprised of an elementary school, a bath-house and a market.[108] The site selection for the mosque gives us some clues on the aim of these extension buildings. The Complex was located behind one of the important dockyards of the Ottoman arsenal. (See Map A) Some scholars believe that there was a warehouse or another dockyard around the mosque. The other name of the mosque, Tersane (Dockyard) Mosque, comes from this building. At the same time, as Evliya Çelebi narrates there was a canal which was dug from the sea to the east side of the mosque. Evliya described some multi-story houses along the canal.[109] The mouth of this canal can be seen from Piri Reis' and Nakkaş Osman's maps. (Figure 53 and Figure 54) There are three different interpretations on the aim of this canal. While Evliya Çelebi mentions this canal, he remembered the order of Süleyman I. Due to the growth population

[106] Other record books, listed the constructions during Architect Sinan's era, are; *Adsız Risale* (Untitled Treatise), *Risaletül Mimariye* (Treatise on Architecture), *Tezkiretül Bünyan* (Biographical Memoir of Construction) and *Tezkiretül Ebniye* (Biographical Memoir of Buildings).

[107] These documents are: Evliya Çelebi's Book of Travel, Hadikat'ül-Cevami (1865), Moltke's map (1842), Jules Lauren's painting (1846-49). For further information, see Tanman, 1989, pp. 87-94.

[108] Necipoğlu, 2005: 422.

[109] Evliya Çelebi, 2006: 379.

of the old city, Süleyman I wanted to develop new areas outside of the old city. He ordered to Piyale Pasha, Ferhad Pasha and Ayas Pasha for developing this area with the help of new complexes.[110] Thus, it is possible to say that Piyale Pasha chose Kasımpaşa district corresponded to Süleyman's order. As a consequence, this canal provides a link between the waterside and the inner part of the land. It helped to cultivate this area. At the same time, as we know from Evliya Çelebi's narrates, the canal created a prestigious district along the waterside. He states that two storied garden palaces were constructed along the two sides of the dug.[111] The other interpretation on the canal is related with the hypothetical being of the dockyard and the sailor barracks. Egli claims that Piyale Pasha got the site dug for the canal to provide water transportation to his mosque and to the foundation. He adds that:

> 'The location of the foundation can be understood by recognizing the advantage of provisioning the extended naval installations by conveyance from the hinterland, thus avoiding the city and its busy harbor.'[112]

Moreover, Goodwin interprets the canal with a similar manner. He believes that the canal was dug due to the 'poor roads' from the Horn to the mosque.[113] The third interpretation on the canal is that the canal provided transportation of the materials which were needed for the construction of the mosque.[114]

All these interpretations on the canal are important to understand the site selection of the mosque. Furthermore, the construction aim of the extension buildings such as the madrasa, the dervish convent and the bath-house could be

[110] Ibid: 377.

[111] Ibid: 377

[112] Egli, 1997: 130.

[113] Goodwin, 1971: 276.

[114] Turgut Cansever, *Mimar Sinan*, (Istanbul: Albarakatürk Yayınları, 2005), 372.

clarified. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, the population of Istanbul rose to eight hundred thousand from the conquest to the end of the sixteenth century.[115] As a result of this growth, the state had to cultivate new settlement areas. According to Evliya Çelebi's writings and Süleyman's order, it can be said that the Piyale Pasha Complex was a kind of locomotive which helped to develop the Kasımpaşa district.[116] Thus the canal would be a tool for this aim. We know from Evliya Çelebi's notes that the Pasha had a garden palace near the complex. Furthermore, there were some barracks around the complex for sailors. The dependencies of the mosque would provide the requirements of the district; thereby these structures would bring the congregation together around the mosque.

The most attractive feature of the mosque is its six equal-size-domed rectangular prayer hall. Instead of the heavy pillars which we are used to see in the Ottoman mosques, two slender columns carry these six domes. The rectangular scheme of the hall provides closeness to the qibla wall during the prayer. Two slender columns do not prevent the view of the mihrab. Contrarily; they help to create a unique interior space. (Figure 55 and Figure 56) Each dome has 8.90 meter diameter. The domes sit on the qibla wall on the south side. The six weight turrets reinforce this qibla wall. (Figure 57 and Figure 58) Wide-spanned arches wrap the mosque on three sides. (Figure 59) Two arches on the east and west façade and three arches on the north façade provide a counter weight against the weight of six domes. Inside, on the east and west, these arches are used as galleries. (Figure 60) On the north side, the müezzin's balcony stands at the center, in front of the minaret. (Figure 61 and Figure 62) At the same time, they carry the large open galleries which embrace three sides of the mosque. The minaret standing at the center of the entrance façade of the mosque is an unusual

[115] Mantran, 1990 pp. 45-48, Barkan Ö. L.; cited in İnalcık, 1994: 70.

[116] It was also an Ottoman tradition that in the earlier time of the empire, Ottomans use complex as a forerunner building which helps to develop the new district.

feature in the sixteenth century Ottoman Architecture. Furthermore, there are two entrances of the mosque at two sides of the minaret. (Figure 63 and Figure 64)

One of the distinctive features of Piyale Pasha Mosque's is its large and two-storied galleries. The wide galleries envelop the mosque on its three sides. Unfortunately, the mosque was damaged by an earthquake and neglected.[117] It was restored three times in 1890, 1952 and 1967.[118] Today the fourth restoration is continued. Because of the abandonment of the mosque in the past, the original structure of the external galleries is not known well. However, today, the entrance side wings of the mosque are covered with a kind of semi-opened vaulted system and the north façade is covered with a slanting roof. (Figure 65 and Figure 66) The mihrab niche, under the minaret at the center of entrance façade, is covered with a kind of müezzin's balcony, similar with the opposite side of the wall which is the inner side of the mosque. (Figure 67) There were some pictures and some notes of Evliya Çelebi's about the original view of the mosque. With reference to Laurens' picture, it is seen that the upper story of the external galleries and the second portico, which stands on the twenty one small columns, is covered by a slanting roof. (Figure 68) Moreover there was calligraphy on the east side of the bearings seen in the Laurens's picture which does not exist today. Evliya Çelebi's travel notes confirm the existence of this calligraphy.[119] The sign of the cover of upper story galleries can be seen from the change of the construction material. While stone is used over the tympana level of the arches, in the non visible part of the exterior wall which was covered with a roof in that time, brick is used as the construction material. (Figure 69) The

[117] Goodwin, 1971: 279.

[118] Cumhuriyetin 50. yılında Vakıflar, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Ankara 1973, p. 25.

[119] Evliya Çelebi, 2006: 379.

qibla wall, which is the most visible part of the façade, is constructed in stone. (Figure 58)

The white-on-blue inscription band wraps all around the prayer hall. Some parts on the anti-qibla wall do not exist. (Figure 70) Besides, the lower part of the İznik tiles at the muqarnas covering the mihrab niche were stolen. However after the last restoration of the mosque, mihrab niche is covered with a similar tile work with its original İznik tile. (Figure 71) It is believed that the white marble minbar is original.[120] (Figure 72)

If we compare the area of the prayer hall and the exterior galleries, it is observed that galleries covered a larger area than the inner space of the mosque. (Appendix A) Moreover, Piyale Pasha is the largest mosque amongst the late period works in Istanbul. (Appendix A) Egli interprets these galleries as follows:

> …These additive spaces (galleries) serve in the conveyance of goods and also the accommodation of merchants on the terraces. The totally ancillary space measures twice the space of the mosque which may have led some historians to speculate that the mosque originally had been built a ware house.[121]

When the site selection process, Süleyman I 's order, and dependencies of the mosque (such as madrasa, dervish convent, elementary school and market) are reconsidered, the large semi open galleries, which wrap three sides of the mosque, can be evaluated as a kind of public place which served the Kasımpaşa district.

How the Ottoman armada went an expedition is known from the French traveler Du Fresne-Conaye's notes. He describes one of the expeditions in 1573,

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[120] Necipoğlu, 2005: 426.

[121] Egli, 1997: 132.

explaining how Piyale Pasha and Kılıç Ali Pasha firstly kissed the Sultan's hand and then visited the mausoleum of Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha before sailing with an armada launched at Kasımpaşa Arsenal.[122] This ceremony shows us that Beşiktaş where the most famous Ottoman admiral Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha's mausoleum is located was a holy place for seamen. Moreover, Evliya Çelebi describes some of the victory signs in the mausoleum of Piyale Pasha which stand behind the qibla wall of the mosque.[123] According to this information, Pasha had the model of the Chios Island carved. As it is mentioned at the beginning, he took the title of the 'conqueror of Chios' in 1566.

While the other daughter of Selim II, Şah Sultan who was the wife of grand vizier Zal Mahmud Pasha, got a mosque in Eyüp[124] constructed, or İsmihan Sultan who was the wife of the grand vizier Sokullu Mehmed Pasha, got Kadırga Mosque constructed, there is no mosque recorded in the name of Gevher Sultan. Because of the lost inscription of the Piyale Pasha Mosque, we could not know whether the mosque is constructed in the name of Gevher Sultan and Piyale Pasha or only for Piyale Pasha. While Goodwin interprets Piyale Pasha Mosque, he emphasizes the masculine appearance of the mosque.[125] It can be said that Kasımpaşa Mosque was a kind of stage where Piyale Pasha displayed and declared his victories. The sailors' barracks around the mosque, the hypothetical dockyard supports this idea.

With all these mysterious features, Piyale Pasha Mosque can be accepted as a kind of puzzle in Sinan's architecture. While some scholars such as Kuran, Kuban and Goodwin believe that Architect Sinan could not be responsible for such a scheme with reference to his experiences on the unique space under a single

[122] Du Frense-Conaye, 1897: 139-140. Cited in Necipoğlu, 2005: 423.

[123] Evliya Çelebi 2006: 385.

[124] Eyüp Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque.

[125] Goodwin, 1971: 277.

dome structure, Egli interprets Piyale Pasha Mosque as a break point of Sinan's architectural design and adds that it is a space exploration of an architect.[126] Öz explains that Sinan converted a warehouse to a mosque.[127] Sözen, Tanman and Necipoğlu believe that Sinan could be the architect of the Piyale Pasha Mosque; he brought a new dimension of the Ottoman mosque.[128] Tanman states that:

> Why it is not possible that Sinan, who throughout his career experimented with new solutions for monuments with centralized plans, tried out in this case designing a mosque based on a scheme abandoned for a hundred years, producing in it similar effects of spatial unity and airiness?[129]

However it is known that multi-unit mosques continued to be built in Anatolia during the sixteenth century. Two-domed Seyh Yavsu Mosque in İskilip, four-domed Dört Sandık Mosque in Bitlis, six-domed Arap Seyh Mosque in Diyarbakır and nine-domed Zal Pasha Mosque in Adilcevaz are the examples of the multi-unit plan type mosques. There is not any evidence for the existence of a multi-unit mosque in Istanbul except Piyale Pasha.[130]

As we know from Evliya Çelebi's notes, in the Piyale Pasha Mosque, there are lots of spolia. The window grilles of the mosque may have been made of a church bell which was collected from a place he conquered.[131] Moreover it is believed that the slender columns in the upper galleries and the entrance portico are gathered from new conquered lands. (Figure 73 and Figure 74) It is asserted that

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[126] Kuran, 1987; Kuban, 1997; Goodwin, 1971 and Egli, 1997: 132.

[127] Tahsin Öz, ,*Istanbul Camileri*, Vol II, (Ankara: T.T.K, 1997), 54.

[128] Sözen, 1975: 186-187, Necipoğlu, 2005: 426.

[129] Baha Tanman, "Istanbul Kasımpaşa'daki Piyale Paşa Külliyesi'nin Medresesi ve Tekkesi için bir Restitüsyon Denemesi", *Sanat tarihinde Doğudan Batıya: Ünsal Yücel Anısına Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (Istanbul: Sandoz yayınları, 1989), 88. Translation from Necipoğlu, 2005: 426.

[130] Kuran, 1987: 124-126.

[131] Evliya Çelebi, 2006: 379.

Piyale Pasha removed the two monumental granite columns which stand at the middle of the prayer hall, from the Podium Temple at Alexandria Troas.[132] At the same time, three circular discs which are buried on the each east and west gallery walls of the mosque, is seems to be a part of the columns of the müezzin's balcony. (Figure 75 and Figure 76) It is an unknown question why those discs were buried on the walls.[133] Kuban and Goodwin believe that the two major columns may have been the reason of this archaic plan type.[134] It is possible that Piyale Pasha wanted to use these two columns in his mosque and Sinan designed such a kind of mosque according to his demand. (Figure 55) It should be considered that it was a very difficult task to bring a column from somewhere beyond sea as it is noted in Süleymaniye construction notebooks.[135] Necipoğlu makes a connection with the grand admiral's building crew who worked at the construction of the ships and an aqueduct in Istanbul, and the archaic plan type of the mosque. She asserts that the workforce of the Piyale Pasha Mosque must have been dominated by the crew of the arsenal.[136] Denny describes Sinan as an architectural historian and claims that Sinan showed us a classical application of an early Ottoman idea.[137] Besides, Erzen makes a similar interpretation and claims that although the role of the Piyale Pasha in the unusual form of the mosque is obvious, it nevertheless states Sinan's aim to experiment and the new spirit that characterizes his late buildings.

Consequently, when we consider the structure of the corps of Royal Architects, the existence of the spolias, the feature of the Kasımpaşa district, the

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[132] Kutalmış Görkay, cited in Necipoğlu, 2005: 425.

[133] Today, of the six discs, only two are extent. The others are replaced with red discs.

[134] Kuban, 1997: 118; Goodwin 1971: 277.

[135] Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Süleymaniye cami ve imareti inşaatı (1550-1557)*, vol I, II, (Ankara: T.T.K., 1979).

[136] Necipoğlu, 2005: 424.

[137] W. B. Denny, "Sinan the Great as Architectural Historian: The Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque in Istanbul", *Turcica*, (Paris: 1983), 108.

dependencies of the mosque and the high rank of the Piyale Pasha (husband of a sultana, vizier and grand admiral), it is difficult to believe that this mosque was a structure that was converted from a warehouse or constructed without permission of the chief architect Sinan. He created a complex in view of the fact that the site properties, the construction material which he had, and the historical background of the Ottoman architecture.

3.4. Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque in Tophane

Like all other late period works of Sinan, Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque is also another debatable mosque in terms of its unconventional plan type. Even if it is one of the well known works of Sinan, Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque is not mentioned with a positive point of view in the literature. The main reason of such an interpretation stems from the similarities between the mosque and Hagia Sophia. Furthermore, Sinan's late age at the construction date of the mosque causes some suspicious about the role of his assistance in the construction process. According to the two inscriptions of the mosque which are located over the east and north gateways of the complex's precinct, the mosque was completed in 1581, when Sinan was over eighty years old. However, the correspondences amongst the Sultan, the kadı[138] and other administrators indicate that Kılıç Ali Pasha started to build his mosque complex in 1578 when he was the grand admiral of the Ottoman fleet.[139] Kılıç Ali Pasha, different from other admirals Piyale Pasha and Sinan Pasha who were educated in Enderun, rose to the position of grand admiral through the rank of corsair as Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha. When he was captured by an Ottoman

[138] Muslim Judge.

[139] For the further information on these correspondences see; Necipoğlu, 2005: 431.

armada, his career began as a rower. His name was changed to 'Uluç' (renegade) after he had been converted into Islam. He participated in lots of naval campaigns with Turgud Reis and Piyale Pasha and became the governor general of Algeria after the death of Turgud Reis in 1565. During the Lepanto defeat, he commanded the left wing of the fleet, and his fleet gained a partial victory.[140] Selim II rewarded him with the position of grand admiral and with the title of 'kılıç' which means sword. As a grand admiral, Kılıç Ali Pasha was charged with the construction of new fleets for the navy. We know from documents that, in 1572, Kılıç Ali Pasha rebuilt the fleet which had been destroyed at Lepanto, with the help of the grand vizier Sokullu Mehmed Pasha at the Kasımpaşa Arsenal.[141] Necipoğlu emphasizes the role of Kılıç Ali Pasha in the process of the construction activities. He had been ordered as an overseer of the construction of a fortress in the Morea Peninsula. It is believed that an unnamed foreign architect who was the member of Kılıç Ali Pasha's galley construction team assisted one of the royal architects, Architect Şaban, in the construction of the fortress and he made the design (resm) of this 'European mannered' castle.[142] Furthermore, Necipoğlu points out that Pasha concentrates on the reorganization of the Kasımpaşa arsenal and building projects in the Topkapı Palace with his galley construction team in the absence of naval campaigns during the reign of Murat III. He was the overseer of the construction Murat III's bedroom, harem's royal bath and the renovation of the Beyazid II's shore pavilion.[143] The report of Contarini supports this information; he asserts that a very large hamlet near the Kasımpaşa Arsenal was built by Kılıç Ali Pasha and his large number of Italian

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[140] All the bibliographical information about Kılıç Ali Pasha's is taken from: The Encyclopedia of Islam, vol X. Leiden, Brill. 2000.

[141] Necipoğlu, 2005: 428.

[142] Selaniki, 1989, I, 86-87, 96. Cited in Necipoğlu, 2005: 430.

[143] Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architectural, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palaca in the Fifteeth and Sixteenth Centuries*, (New York:, Architectural History Foundation, 1991), 167-170, 231-240.

renegades galley slaves.[144] Furthermore, when Selaniki mentions Kılıç Ali Pasha, he underlines the different titles of Pasha's such as 'arsenal's chief architect', 'arsenal's supervisor' or 'steward for a galley'.[145] As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, like his predecessor Piyale Pasha, he also got the porphyry columns transported as spolia for his own mosque.[146] Some other marbles and columns were transported by imperial fleet's ships for royal constructions.[147] With the light of these historical documents and our knowledge about the role of Kılıç Ali in the construction activities of the Empire, it is possible to argue that these galley architects and Kılıç Ali Pasha may have assisted architect Sinan during the design and construction process of the mosque. However it is difficult to evaluate this point as the only reason of the similarities between the mosque and Hagia Sophia.

Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque stands in the Tophane district where it was outside the city walls of Galata in the sixteenth century. (Figure 77, Figure 78 and Figure 79) As we learn from the notes of foreign travelers, the Tophane quarter was dominated by seafarers and mainly the international staff of the imperial Cannon Foundry.[148] Bostan argues that the cannoniers of Tophane and the imperial armada were closely related to each others, they worked together in the numerous imperial works.[149] It is possible to say that the imperial Cannon

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[144] Alberi, 1840-55, III, 222-223. Cited in Necipoğlu, 2005: 430.

[145] Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, , *Tarih-i Selaniki / Selaniki Mustafa Efendi*; ed. by Mehmet İpşirli, vol I. (Istanbul: Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1989), 186. Cited in Neccipoğlu, 2005: 430.

[146] These columns are sited at the interior of the mosque.

[147] "In 1574 he was ordered to bring to Istanbul fifteen columns from Bozcaada (Tenedos) for royal use." Necipoğlu, 2005: 549, end note 120. Source: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri, Mühime Defterleri.

[148] Jerome Maurand, cited in Necipoğlu, 2005: 432.

[149] İdris Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilatı: XVII. Yüzyılda Tersane-i Amire,* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992), 239-241.

Foundry was one of the factors of the development of the imperial armada in the Tophane district. Eremya who was an Armenian author describes seventeenth century's Tophane as follows:

> "…This place is filled with state-owned cannons….Many cannon balls rest on the ground, ready for shipment. Mariners sit under the shade of the big-plane trees nearby. This is a broad jetty completely stacked with goods….The quarter where one encounters rogues, scoundrels, and the licentious mariners has the Friday mosque of Kılıç Ali Pasha, a light-filled bath house…and the dormitories of cannoniers where the chief cannonier resides."[150]

In addition, the English Embassy was there until 1594. Necipoğlu believes that Kılıç Ali Pasha complex was thought to be an instrument of the Islamization process of that quarter because of the inhabitants of the English Embassy were disturbing the Muslims by their cultural behaviors.[151] As it is understood from the depictions, this site was a suburban part of the city outside the fortification walls and was dominated by the tall trees and a dense landscape. (Figure 80 and Figure 81) If the Süleyman I's order for the development of the Kasımpaşa district is taken into account, it is possible to say that the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque would have been a kind of locomotive for promoting this quarter like the mosque of Piyale Pasha at Kasımpaşa. Besides, it can be claimed that the main reason for choosing this site as the building area of Pasha's mosque was the geographical features of Tophane district. The mosque stands at the edge of the sea, across the Topkapı Palace and the entrance point of the Bosporus from the Mediterranean. (Figure 82 and Figure 83) Moreover, this was the first entrance point on the route of the fleet which was on the way of return from the campaign to the capital. This site can be evaluated as an honor for Kılıç Ali Pasha, as a grand admiral. A

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[150] Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan, 1952: 42-43. English translation is cited in Necipoğlu, 2005: 432.

[151] Necipoğlu, 2005: 432.

similar approach is seen in the site selection process of the Grand Admiral Sinan Pasha Mosque[152] and also Azapkapı Sokullu Mehmed Pasha Mosque. As it is known from the wakfiyya which was registered in May 1581, Pasha endowed many commercial dependencies around the mosque. Some of those are; a bath-house, eight shops to the north side of the mosque forecourt, eighteen shops on the south and southeast of the precinct wall, forty-four additional shops nearby, fifty-six upper storey rooms, seven warehouses, a public eating house, an empty plot for keeping fifty two-oared boots. (Figure 84) When the existence of the Imperial Cannon Foundry and Imperial Armada are considered together, it is seen that many of these dependencies served the seafarers of that quarter. If the construction aim of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque was to increase the commercial potential of this suburban area, the shops and the warehouses can be evaluated as a proof of this condition. Benches, salesmen and goods were seen in some of the nineteenth century gravures of Tophane quarter. (Figure 85) The other possibility is that in the sixteenth century, Tophane was also a center for seafarers and salesmen, thus the dependencies around the mosque were answering the needs of all those users in the quarter.

Kılıç Ali Pasha complex consists of a mosque, a mausoleum, a bath-house and a madrasa. (Figure 86) The bath-house and madrasa are located outside the precinct walls. The mosque, the mausoleum and the bath-house are listed in all the three autobiographies of Sinan. Although the second wakfiyya, which is dated in 1581, mentions only the bath-house as the dependencies of the complex, Altınay claims that the bath-house was added to the complex after the year of 1583.[153] While the mosque and the mausoleum were built with ashlar masonry, the bath and madrasa were constructed with stone and brick. It is interesting that the dome size of the bath-house is larger than the main dome of the mosque

[152] The scholars believe because of the monumental mausoleum of Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha, Sinan Pasha wanted to build his mosque at the back of the mausoleum.

[153] Altınay, 1935: 28-29.

itself. (Figure 87 and Figure 88) At the same time, the mausoleum is covered by a double-shelled dome. (Figure 89) Sinan used this kind of a double shell covered structure in the side wings of the Rüstem Pasha, as well. This kind of a structural cover system can be interpreted as an effort to the seen from the sea. This interpretation can be acceptable for Kılıç Ali Pasha Mausoleum. Sinan might have wanted to emphasize the dome of the mausoleum from the sea, near the mosque building.

There are five gates of the courtyard; two of them are on the north side, two of them are on the west and the main gate with domed porch is on the east side of the precinct walls. (Figure 90) At the intersection point of the north and east walls, a domed structure sebil stands. (Figure 91) Between the precinct walls and the mosque, an intimate courtyard is seen. The ablution fountain on the entrance axis of the mosque stands closely to the broad double portico of the mosque. (Figure 92) The five-domed inner portico rests on the marble columns with muqarnas capitals. The second wooden slanting roof portico stands on the smaller columns with lozenge capitals and broadens on wooden struts towards the ablution fountain. (Figure 93 and Figure 94) It may have a function of defense with the higher precinct walls against the noise from the outside. Today the original free standing, domed, ablution fountain stands very close to the other ablution fountains lined on the north precinct wall. Yet it is not the original place of this precinct wall. During the widening of the street in front of the mosque, the north precinct wall was demolished and rebuilt closer to the mosque. While the ablution fountain on the inner side of the precinct wall was re-established, the shops on the outside of the wall were not put back.[154] (Figure 94) It can be added that Sinan's successful design tools can be seen in the site plan. The sebil at the corner and the main gate on the east side shows us that there were two important arteries on the east and north side of the mosque. (Figure 95) The construction

[154] Kuran, Apullah, 1987, p.214.

place of the public fountain, which was built in 1732, the shops on the north precinct wall which do not stand today, and some benches in the Melling depiction, which are seen on the east side of the mosque(Figure 85), support this idea.

Today the complex stands within some distance from the shore. Yet it is known that until the nineteenth century, the complex was situated just near the sea. Furthermore, the historian and geographer Mehmed Aşık claims that, for the construction of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque a piece of land was reclaimed by filling the sea.[155] According to the popular story, this is the reason of two revolving cylinders on the two sides of the main gate.[156] (Figure 96)

The entire lead cover superstructure is the striking feature of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. The whole roof including the flying buttresses, the smaller domes and also the façades of the four great arches are covered with dark grey lead. (Figure 97 and Figure 98) Necipoğlu emphasizes the using of the lead in Sinan's late period works.[157] Kuban interprets the lead roof as an evidence of major reparation.[158] However, Kuran asserts that there is no data or documentation about any reconstruction process of the mosque. It is only known that the minaret was renewed after the Crimean War. The stone cap of the minaret was also renovated in 1959.[159] Goodwin explains the reason of using lead towards the end of the century. There was a glut of lead in the markets due to the English ships which were carrying illegal cargo under the embargo which Ottomans

[155] Mehmed Aşık. Cited in Necipoğlu, 2005, p. 432.

[156] Necipoğlu, Gülru, 2005, p. 432. According to the story, Sinan added these two revolving cylinder in order to prove the stability of the mosque.

[157] Ibid: 434.

[158] Kuban, 1997: 112.

[159] Kuran, 1987: 218. For further information about the minaret, see, Semavi Eyice, 1963: 57.

imposed to Christian powers. Thus lead became a cheap and abundant construction material in the end of the sixteenth century. [160] It is a general idea that the lead gives an oppressive and ungainly view to the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. [161]

The axial, longitudinal plan of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque is one of the reasons of the debates on the similarities between Hagia Sophia and Kılıç Ali. (Figure 99) The main dome, which is supported by four huge columns, is flanked by two half domes towards the north-south axis. The apsidal projection of mihrab, the small semi-dome on its recess and the double portico of the entrance stretch the length of the mosque. (Figure 100 and Figure 101) The central space under the main dome is surrounded by the galleries around its three sides. (Figure 102) These broad, deep and well lighted lateral galleries are covered with cross-vaults except on four corners which are covered with domes. The double columns on the gallery level are one of the striking features of the mosque. (Figure 103) The stairs reaching the galleries on either sides of the mosque are projected from the main body. (Figure 104) On the ground level, the cross vaulted exedras do not integrate with the central space because of the huge columns. (Figure 105) The main dome rests on an upper cube. While on the north and south, the cube is supported by semi domes, the four great arch shaped buttresses support it from the east and west sides. (Figure 106) Kuban believes that the four great arched buttresses, which almost never had been used in Ottoman architecture, are an addition after an unidentified earthquake as an intervention for reinforcement purposes.[162] However, as we know from Kuran's research that there are not any documents on such information about a reconstruction of the mosque. [163]

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[160] Goodwin, 1988: 12, and p. 19, footnote 16.

[161] Denny, 1983: 111, Goodwin, 1971: 287-288.

[162] Kuban, Doğan, 1997, p.112.

[163] Kuran, 1987: 218.

According to Denny, these great buttresses have two functions; one of them is their visual function which is to soften the sharpness of the cube on which, the dome sits, and the other is their structural function preventing the outward-leaning of the great arches on two sides which are also supported by half domes on the north-south axis.[164] In a distant perspective, it can be claimed that the buttresses increase the visibility of the dome and emphasize its size. (Figure 95) If the symbolic connotations of the dome are considered, it can be asserted that one of the other functions of these great buttresses might have been to underline the existence of the dome and to enhance the apparent diameter of the mosque from the sea perspective. Furthermore, the elevated plain façade of the mosque achieves towards the buttresses level. (Figure 107) If the basic structural scheme of the mosque is observed, it would be argued that this kind of a buttresses and façade design could be interpreted as a necessity of the structure itself. As it is mentioned above, the basic baldachin with its cubic-based dome is the main structural element of the mosque. Half domes support the baldachin on the south and north sides. However, on the east and west sides, only the side wings which are covered with vaults support the baldachin. In this kind of a structural scheme, elevating the east and west façade towards the cubic base is the solution to prevent the outward-leaning of the base of the dome. At the same time, the four great arches could be interpreted in the same manner. As a consequence of this structural scheme, instead of pyramidal view which Sinan used in imperial mosques, prismatic character of the east and west façade is accentuated. (Figure 108 and Appendix B) East and west facades act as a shell which covers the interior space of the mosque.

With the double portico at the entrance of the mosque, the north galleries and the mihrab recess produce a longitudinal prayer hall which is not altogether suitable for the Islamic prayer ritual. At the same time this kind of a plan type creates a

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[164] Denny, 1983: 120.

somber interior space. (Figure 101) Scholars generally interpret the somber interior space as a result of that kind of a plan type which refers to the Hagia Sophia and they allude that this is an evidence of the inability of the architect. Moreover, due to this fact, they claim that Sinan could not be the unique architect of this mosque or there should be an influence of the patron's intention.[165] However this kind of a somber interior space may be a conscious preference of the architect himself. When the location of the mosque is considered, the architect might have searched for a kind of mysticism which can be felt when passing from the lightened exterior to a shady space.

In spite of the numerous windows, the inner space of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque is not lit well due to the broad lateral galleries. The stained glass windows are used both at the mihrab and the cross-vaulted side galleries at the ground level. (Figure 109) Denny interprets the stained glass lunettes as gothic elements used by Sinan.[166] Kuran indicates that during the restoration on 1959-60, the painted design and stained glass windows were renewed.[167] Necipoğlu asserts that:

> The original rib vault stained glass may have been inspired by churches the Calabrian grand admiral encounter during his Mediterranean expeditions, such as Gothic Cathedral of Cyprus which had recently been converted into mosque.[168]

The debates on the some influences of the mosque continue on its calligraphic roundels. Denny argues that while the name of the God, Muhammad and first six Imams were written on the walls' tile revetments, in Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque

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[165] Kuban, 1997: 112; Egli, 1997: 132; Kuran, 1987: 218.

[166] Denny, 1983: 120.

[167] Kuran, 1987: 218.

[168] Necipoğlu, 2006: 435.

these names were hung on the walls on discrete roundels as in the Hagia Sophia.[169] (Figure 110)

In architectural historiography, Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque creates its own means on any comparison between Hagia Sophia and itself. This kind of an interpretation brings the questions of the architect and the extent of his responsibility to a client's desires. Kuran and Kuban question the reason why Sinan separates the inner space by rows of columns while achieving the spatial integrity in his mosques. Kuran states a simple single answer; 'Kılıç Ali Pasha was not designed by Sinan, but one of his colleagues.'[170] On the other hand, Kuban describes Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque as a translation of Hagia Sophia and explains these similarities as a result of the wishes of Kılıç Ali Pasha. Moreover he perceives the mosque as a good illustration of Sinan's historicism. Denny and Polatkan agree on this historicist attitude of Sinan.[171] Denny believes that Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque was a conscious attempt of Sinan in order to solve the old buildings' structural problems.[172] Polatkan asked why Architect Sinan used old plan types in Sinan Pasha, Piyale Pasha and Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosques and adds that 'Kılıç Ali reflects a reading of the Hagia Sophia and put this reading in writing with extreme delicacy'. [173] In addition, Goodwin believes that Sinan imitated and reinterpreted Hagia Sophia. Different from Denny and Polatkan, Goodwin does not find the inner space successful from the view point of Muslim rituals[174] and asserts that while Sinan reinterpreted the plan of Hagia Sophia, he acted as if he was not

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[169] Denny, 1983: 117.

[170] Kuran, 1987: 218.

[171] Denny, 1983 and A. H. Polatkan, , "The Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque and Hagia Sophia: A Historicist Essay" *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture "A Supra-National Heritage"*, (Istanbul: YEM Yayın, 1999), 72-77.

[172] Denny, 1983.

[173] Polatkan, 1999: 76.

[174] Goodwin, 1971: 288.

aware of the problems of the old building such as elephant buttresses at the middle of the inner space.[175] Egli participates in this idea and adds that 'as a three dimensional exploration in space, Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque deserves attention and can be accepted as a mature building, although it deviates from the consistent line of spatial integrity.'[176] Even Egli, Goodwin, and Kuran accept the major role of the Kılıç Ali Pasha in the design process of the building.

Different from these common interpretations Yerasimos stresses Grand Admirals' mosques in Istanbul and considers their common features.[177] The shared features of those Mosques are all that three have atypical plan schemes and adopt an archaic model.[178] Furthermore all had to cover a large area because they were built in a district where shipyard workers settled in these new cultivated areas. Yerasimos asserts that due to the institutional constraints, Sinan would not increase the size of the dome. Thus, he used archaic plan types with additional internal galleries -as a model for Kılıç Ali Pasha- and external galleries as Piyale Pasha Mosque. By this way the prayer area is increased without an increase in the size of the dome. This seems a very sensible approach to explain the reason of using old plan types for admirals' mosques. However this interpretation could be examined with two questions. If the aim was to increase the prayer area of the mosque, why did Sinan use Hagia Sophia plan type as a model instead of any other plan type? While Sokullu Mehmed Pasha Mosque at Azapkapı was built for shipyard workers outside the city walls, why Sinan did not use such a plan type which does not increased with galleries. At that point,

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[175] Godfrey Goodwin, "Sinan and City Planning", *Environmental Design,Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, ed. by Attilio Petruccioli, Vth Year, N.5-6, (Roma, 1988), 12.

[176] Egli, 1997: 132.

[177] Stephanos Yerasimos, "Sinan and his Patrons: Programme and Location", *Environmental Design,Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, ed. by Attilio Petruccioli, Vth Year, N.5-6, (Roma, 1988), .126.

[178] In Sinan Pasha Mosque, Architect Sinan used a similar plan type with Üç Şerefeli Mosque, and in Piyale Pasha Mosque, he used a similar version of Bursa Great Mosque plan type.

Necipoğlu's explanation can clarify these questions. She believes that Kılıç Ali Pasha, as a small replica of Hagia Sophia, was an expression of Ottoman might and a proclamation of the glory of Islam at a time when the victories of the Ottoman naval army were becoming rare. At the same time the mosque was a message not only to the Ottoman people but also to the European people who lived in Tophane and Galata districts. In addition, Necipoglu claims that the mosque indicates its patron's prestige despite his never having risen to the vizierate as had Piyale Pasha.[179] If the four point supported system was a privilege for sultan's mosques, with using the old plan of Hagia Sophia, Sinan legalized Kılıç Ali Pasha's plan type as a grand admiral's mosque.

Consequently, it is well observed that almost all subsequent interpretations on Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque tend to clarify the undeniable similarity between the mosque and Hagia Sophia. Apart from those explanations, eventually we should look at Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque as a product of the Corps of Royal Architect. The widely referred to similarities of Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque to Hagia Sophia in relation to the plan type can be accepted either a desire of Kılıç Ali Pasha, as most of the scholars claim; an intention to increase the area of the site, as Yerasimos states; or an indicator of Ottoman might, as Necipoğlu addressees. On the other hand, if Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque is composed with other late period works of Sinan which are constructed in the same years, such as Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Mosque and Azapkapı Sokullu Mosque, it can be observed that Sinan experiment with different schemes in those buildings. As a common characteristic, the prismatic, two dimensional facades are the expression of those schemes. Furthermore, the longitudinal interior space and four buttresses can be evaluated as one of the solutions of Sinan's architectural genius towards the structural problems he confronted with his experiments. The small size of the dome of the mosque in comparison with the dome of the bath-house, as

[179] Necipoğlu, 2005: 438.

mentioned above, can be explained as being related to the different structural scheme used in the mosque and in the bath-house.

3.5. Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque in Eyüp.

Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque is not only one of the significant buildings of Eyüp, but also has a distinctive character amongst other Sinan's works. The only inscription on the fountain gives the name of the patroness of the complex as Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha.[180] Şahsultan was one of the three daughters of Selim II. She was born in 1554 when Selim II was a prince in Manisa. In 1562, when she was eighteen, she got married with the Janissary Agha Çakırcıbaşı Hasan in the same time with his two sisters', İsmihan Sultan and Gevher Sultan's, marriage. Çakırcıbaşı Hasan Pasha died in 1574, when Şahsultan was twenty nine year old. Same year, princess got married with Zal Mahmud Pasha, who was the fifth vizier of Sultan Selim II.[181] Bosnian-born Zal Mahmud served as governor of Aleppo and Anatolia until he was appointed as the fifth vizier of Selim II in 1567.[182] The title 'Zal' linked him to a famous Persian hero who was strong as a wrestler. His great force was proved when he had strangled prince Mustafa in 1553. According to the wakfiyya of their complex, Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha died with in two weeks in 1577. They were buried together in the tomb of their complex owing to their last will.[183]

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[180] Ayvansarayi, 1985: 114.

[181] Uluçay, 1992: 41.

[182] Ayvansarayi, 2000: 277.

[183] Necipoğlu, 2005: 368.

Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Complex is sited in Eyüp which was outside the city walls, near the Bosporus shoreline. Originally, the complex was near the shore, however today, a modern avenue is extended the distance between complex and the sea. (Figure 111 and Figure 112) As we know from Evliya Çelebi's notes, there were four ports along the Eyüp shore. These were Yavedud, Defterdar, Zal Mahmud Paşa and Hoca Efendi ports.[184] (Map A) All historical sources mention Eyüp as a holy site of the city. The legends on Eyüp start with Ayyup Ensari who was one of the commanders of Prophet Muhammad. In his travel book, Eremya Çelebi mentions two different stories on Eyüp which was narrated by both Muslim habitants after the conquest of the city and the non-muslim ones.[185] It is observed that all cultures created their own myths in Eyüp. With the conquest of the city, Eyüp confronted with a new ceremony related with the holiness of the city. Mehmed II announced Eyüp as a place where the sovereign legalized in.[186] The new sultan came to the tomb of Ayyup Ensari, by sea way. After the ceremony, he returned to his palace by walking on the way through Edirnekapı to Divanyolu (old Mese) with the acclamation of people. The Tomb of Ayyup Ensari, the legends about his saint soul and this kind of an imperial ceremony provided a new identity to Eyüp district as a holy place of Istanbul. The domed and tomb dominant perspective of the Eyüp district also can be seen today. (Figure 113) Viewed in this context, the locational choice process of the site for Şahsultan and Zal Pasha's complex gained importance. According to a document dated in 1573, Muslim inhabitants of Eyüp reported to their complains about the non-muslims of the district to Sultan Selim II in terms of their behaviors similar with Galata situation. [187] Furthermore, traveler

[184] Evliya Çelebi, 2006: 356. Also Wolfgang's map support Evliya's claim.

[185] For further information see; Eremya Çelebi, 1952, p.31.

[186] In Turkish, this ceremony was called as 'kılıç kuşanma töreni'.

[187] Ahmed Refik Altınay, *Onaltıncı Asırda Istanbul Hayatı (1553-1591),* (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 40-41.

Edmondo de Amicis emphasized the conservative character of Eyüp inhabitants.[188] In this perspective, one of the ideas of the location choice can be similar with the same manner in Piyale Pasha and Kılıç Ali Pasha complexes. Emphasizing the Islamic character of a district with complexes was a common attitude in Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, Evliya Çelebi gives information that in spite of the distance from Eyüp to the inner part of the city, the shoreline was full of summer palaces of the statesmen.[189] Furthermore Tuhfetü'l Mimarin[190] mentions one of Zal Pasha's palaces outside the city. While there is not exact information about the place of Zal Pasha's palace, Eyice claims that the site selection of their mosques can be related with the closeness of their palace.[191]

Due to the absence of the foundation inscription on the mosque's portal, the exact construction date is not known. Two sources help us to put a date of the complex. One of them is the inscription on the public fountain which is adjacent to the east precinct wall of the complex. (Figure 114) The other is the couple's wakfiyya which was dated in 23 November 1577.[192] Scholars tried to date the building with the chronogram on the fountain. Ayvansarayi miscalculated the date as 1551-1552. After, he corrected the date as 1589-1590.[193] Also Kuran agrees this date as the date of the later-addition fountain. He considers that the complex was constructed between 1575 and 1580, when Zal Mahmud was the fifth vizier of

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[188] Edmondo De Amicis, 2006: 349.

[189] Evliya Çelebi, 2006, 356

[190] One of the books of Sinan's building documents, it means 'Gift of the Architect'.

[191] Eyice, 2001: 19. He also mentions some grand palaces of the nineteenth century.

[192] Eyice, 2001: 18. There are two different studies on the wakfiyya; one of them is Mustafa Güler's study in 2001 and the other is Gülru Necipoğlu's study in 2005.

[193] Ayvansarayi, 1985: 114.

Selim II and he was married with Şahsultan.[194] Since lots of documents and dates were cited in it, the wakfiyya is relatively more reliable in the argument about the date of the dependencies of the complex. According to the wakfiyya, in 1577, Şahsultan and Zal Pasha had decided to endow one third of their inheritance for the construction of a complex and left behind a written will. Hüseyin Agha was appointed as the endowment administrator.[195] Pasha's and princess's wakfiyyas administrated separately until 1586, when the revenues from the pasha's endowments were not adequate for the construction. As it is understood from the records of the wakfiyya, firstly the mausoleum had been built. Afterward the construction of the mosque and two madrasas started around 1578-1579.[196] Building the complex took more than a decade due to the changes of the wakf administrator and economic reasons. Hüseyin Agha was sent to the Safavid campaign, thus Mustafa Kethuda was appointed in his stead. On the other hand, the wakf constructed lots of income-producing structure around the mosque, such as shops, in order to increase the revenue.[197] As it was cited in the documents, at the backside of the kıbla wall of the mosque, a building which consists of six shops and sixty three rooms was constructed.[198] Today we can not find any remains of this building. During these ten years, the construction process was influenced from the inflation in 1584-85. Necipoğlu believes that, the reason of using cheap materials in the madrasas and the absence of the decorative works in the mosque can be related with this economic condition.[199] (Figure 115) The wakfiyya provides us the date of 1590 as the completion date of

[194] Kuran, 1987: 202.

[195] Ibid.

[196] Necipoğlu, 2006: 371.

[197] Ibid: 371-372.

[198] Eyice 2001: 18.

[199] Necipoğlu, 2005: 372.

the complex. This date coincides with the date of the chronogram on the fountain.[200] The debates on the construction date of the complex stem from the question whether it is a design of Architect Sinan or not. When we look at the building lists of Sinan, we see that the tomb and Mosque are cited in all three autobiographies. However upper madrasa was omitted from all three of them and lower madrasa is cited only in Tuhfetül Mimarin.[201]

Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Complex is located on a sloppy lot, between Defterdar and Zal Pasha Streets. As it is mentioned above, the complex consists of a mosque, a tomb and two madrasas which are located on two different levels. Considering the irregular borderline of the madrasas walls, it can be claimed that these two main streets also existed in the sixteenth century. (Figure 114) The site was divided into an upper and lower part. Two gates of the complex exhibit two different sceneries. When entering from the lower level, from the Defterdar Street, a tomb, mausoleum at the right side and the prismatic, two-colored high elevation meet us. A staircase under a stone arch provides the link between lower and upper courtyard. This level difference creates varied perspectives from the upper and lower courtyards of the complex. (Figure 116 and Figure 117) The two-colored wall near the staircase provides the unity amongst façade of the mosque, madrasas and the stair way.

On the first view of the entire site of the complex, the places of the dependencies seem coherent within themselves. However a close view reveals the asymmetry in the design of the madrasas. The documents of the wakfiyya shows that during the construction process, in 1583, endowment administrator wanted a new area for the construction of the Şahsultan's madrasa.[202] As it was understood from

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[200] Ibid.

[201] For the list of the buildings in biographies, see Kuran, 1987: 254-301.

[202] Necipoğlu, 2005: 371.

these documents, the upper madrasa was constructed by the name of Şahsultan and the lower by the name of Zal Mahmud Pasha. Afterwards, the Sultan authorized them to buy the neighboring land for Şahsultan's madrasa. Thus the upper madrasa was attached to the courtyard of the mosque due to this shortage of place.[203] It can be claimed that this unification and the tightening of the lot between two main streets cause such a kind of asymmetry in the madrasas. (Figure 114) The asymmetric arrangement begins in the upper madrasa. The cells on the west side are irregular, varied sized with flat-topped vaults instead of dome covered cells. In order to provide a symmetrical arrangement in the courtyard, the arcaded in front of the madrasa rooms on the west side were omitted in here. Thus the ablution fountain was placed at the center of the courtyard. (Figure 118) However there are two different plans of the madrasas, one of them which belongs to Ali Saim Ülgen, showing the arcade in front of the cells at the west side; the other one which is cited in Necipoğlu's book, omits them. (Figure 119) Today, in the birth-eye view, the trace of the arcades could be distinguished. The trace of the arcade also follows on the west side of the courtyard. (Figure 120) On the other hand, the cells at the corner covered with flat-topped vault are again of different sizes. The main cell was cited at the north side of the madrasa. Asymmetrical arrangement of the madrasas continues in the designing of the lower madrasa cells. The cells on the east side of the complex have different sizes and are adapted to the border of the street. (Figure 114) Furthermore, similar with Şahsultan's madrasa, the corner cell is covered with flat-topped vault and it has a different size than other cells. It is obvious that, the reason of this disordered arrangement is caused by the area tightly located between Defterdar ve Zal Pasha Streets.

There is a unity between the construction material of the mosque and Şahsultan's madrasa (upper madrasa). It was constructed with stone and brick, similar with

[203] Ibid.

the construction material of the mosque. Zal Pasha's madrasa (lower madrasa) is an exception in order to its rubble stone construction material. (Figure 117)

Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque has lots of distinctive features amongst Sinan's mosques structures. The prismatic, two-dimensional, stone and brick, massive elevation is the most striking feature of the mosque. The horizontal courses of brick were used in the façade design of the mosque. This kind of a two colored, height, massive block provides a distinguished character to the mosque. When the Eyüp district, where the domed structures were dominant, is considered, the two colored, prismatic façade design can be interpreted as a kind of tool to differentiate the mosque from the other buildings. Certainly the structural system of the mosque which will be mentioned below is the other factor for such a kind of façade design. The prismatic view breaks on the mihrab wall; two buttresses and two waterspouts on it are projected at the corners of the elevation. (Figure 121) With reference to its windows arrangements, the south and west elevation of the mosque seem a four storey building with their four parallel rows of windows. (Figure 122) At the east elevation, the mosque rises up to the five vaulted dervish rooms. (Figure 123) This height difference was a solution for the sloping lot of the complex.

Sinan created two different ground levels for the dependencies of the complex in order to overcome the difficult terrain. (Figure 124, Figure 125 and Figure 126) It can be seen from the plan and the sections that under the east lateral galleries of the mosque and portico, dervish rooms were constructed as a solution of the level difference. While the wakfiyya of the mosque describes these five rooms as a place for the cleaners of the mosque and guests, a report dating in 1914 mentioned these rooms as madrasa rooms.[204] On the other hand, Necipoğlu identifies these rooms as the storerooms of the mosque.[205] The function of these

[204] Eyice, 2001: 14.

[205] Necipoğlu, 2005: 373.

rooms would have been changed in time due to the changing conditions. The lower and upper floors of the mosque are varied in their sizes and shapes on the east and west facade. The windows on the lower floor are large and few in number, on the upper level while the sizes are getting smaller, the number of the windows are increasing. The two upper window arrangements are the same with each other. On the other hand, the north elevation which faced the courtyard displays a different character in façade design. The five-bay portico constitutes the vestibule of the mosque. The top of the gate was covered by a vaulted roof while others were covered by domed structures. Behind the vaulted portico, two buttresses rise above in line with the minaret. (Figure 127, Figure 128 and Figure 129) Behind these two buttresses, the main dome appears. Karaaslan claims in her article that the height of the buttresses, the vestibule and the portico provide a gradual transition from the domes upper point towards the human scale of the courtyard.[206] (Figure 130) This kind of a gradual transition gives a pyramidal view of the mosque from the north-south axis.

The two great arches between the two pillars of the east and west sides do not appear on the elevation. The section drawings of the mosque facilitate to see the structural scheme of the mosque. The four square pillars make the façade independent from the load of the dome. While the east and west elevations are freed from the inner space with the help of great arches binding the pillars, the south wall has a double shell structure owing to the buried arch and pillars. (Figure 131 and Appendix C)

The minaret is positioned at the northwest corner of the mosque. After the 1894 earthquake, it was rebuilt. Furthermore, in the era of Sultan II Mahmud, the

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[206] Nuran Karaaslan, "Sinan'ın Eserlerini Görmek ve Zal Mahmut Pasa Üzerine Bir Yorum",*Mimarlık*, 267, (Istanbul, 1996), 51-53.

mosque and the tomb were repaired. Between 1955 and1963, the complex was repaired again.[207]

The 12, 40 m. diameter dome rises on square pillars 21 meters from ground. Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque is one of the most mature examples of Sinan's square baldachin scheme. After Selimiye mosque, Sinan used this kind of a baldachin scheme in the Kılıç Ali Pasha's mosque with two additional semi domes on the north and south sides. In Şahsultan and Zal Pasha example we encounter with a unique and accentuated dome structure without semi domes. The squares pillars which carry the dome were buried in the mihrab wall at the south side. The free standing pillars, at the north side carry the upper galleries which surround there sides of the mosque. (Figure 132) Two storied lateral galleries with long flat-topped vaulted superstructure provide the uniqueness of the dome. The abundant windows at the upper level of the mosque provide well lit galleries. (Figure 133) On the ground level, the galleries are carried by arches parallel to the mihrab wall. (Figure 134) Well lit deep galleries are divided from the main space of the mosque. Galleries gain their own identity with their illuminated space and cover system. (Figure 135 and Figure 136) The wide lateral galleries act as filters for the light of the windows which pass through them.

The cube based structure, flat vaulted roofs of the lateral galleries and prismatic, massive elevation design strength the accentuated view of the dome. The four weight turrets which were covered with onion domes emphasized the appearance of the main dome. (Figure 137) The mosque has a sober mihrab niche with white muqarnas and a refined minbar of the mosque accompanies the mihrab. (Figure 138)

As all other late period works of Sinan, the un-classical aspects of Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque such as the elevation design and the covered system

[207] Mehmed Nermi Haskan, , *Eyüp Tarihi I*, (Istanbul, 1993), 105.

of lateral galleries, cause lots of debates on the mosque. While Goodwin believes that, the mosque was constructed by an assistant of Sinan when he was busy with the construction of the mosque of Selim II in Edirne.[208] Kuban agrees with this idea and adds that it is difficult to place this mosque in Sinan's architectural evolution in terms of its prismatic elevation, two colored structure material and great buttress at the north elevation of the mosque which give a negative and unbalanced effect.[209] With the light of the new documents which provide us with the precise construction date for the mosque, it is difficult to say that Sinan was busy with the construction of Selimiye Mosque.[210] These kinds of prismatic elevations can be seen in other late period works such as Azapkapı and Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosques. The changing structural scheme in these mosques causes similar kinds of elevation design. (See Appendix C) If these changes are considered as a deviation of Sinan's architectural evaluation, all late period works will be interpreted as the works of Sinan's assistants. However these changes prove the evolutions of Sinan's schemes according to different site properties and different topographies. Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque can be evaluated as the pick point of the unique domed - square baldachin scheme.

3.6. Şemsi Ahmed Pasha Mosque in Üsküdar

Amongst Sinan's late period works in Istanbul, Şemsi Pasha Complex was one of the special examples in terms of the identity of the patron, the location and the scale of the complex. Şemsi Pasha was not a grand vizier, şehzade, admiral, sultan or sultana. Muslim-born Şemsi Pasha came from a noble family on two

[208] Goodwin, 1971: 319.

[209] Kuban, 1997: 114.

[210] Selimiye Mosque in Edirne was constructed between 1568 and 1575.

sides; his mother was an Ottoman princess[211] and his father, Mirza Mehmed Bey, was from the İsfandiyar Dynasty.[212] During the time of Süleyman I, Şemsi Pasha was the chief falconer and hunter in the imperial palace. Between the 1550's and the 1560's he served as the governor general of Damascus, Rum (Sivas), Anatolia and Rumelia.[213] In 1567, at the beginning of Selim II's reign, he retired. However, his relation with the royal family did not end. Historian Mustafa Ali mentions Şemsi Pasha as Sultan Süleyman's hunting companion, Selim II's drinking friend and Murat III's confidant advisor in the matters of state and religion. The Venetian Ambassador adds that he could visit the imperial palace whenever he wanted to, as Murat III's hunting escort and the sun of a Sultana.[214] As it can be seen from these statements, during his life time, Şemsi was always in close relationship with the imperial family. Whenever he escorted sultan's hunts, he would narrate entertaining stories and recite poems. Furthermore, the title of 'Şemsi' was the penname of Ahmed Pasha, which he used in his poems and meant 'relevant with the sun'.[215]

In order to understand the process of choosing the site of this complex, we should mention the status of Üsküdar in the sixteenth century. Some panoramic drawings show that, in this era, gardens and summer palaces were the dominant building types in the Üsküdar. (Figure 139, Figure 140 and Figure 141) It is known from documents that Süleyman I had a summer palace called Kavak Palace across the Salacak landing station. Kuban states that this palace was the

[211] The daughter of Beyazıt II's son prince Abdullah; Şahnisa Sultan.

[212] Arthur Straton, *Sinan*, Charles Scriber's Sons, (Newyork, 1972), 233.

[213] Necipoğlu, 2005: 492.

[214] Ibid: 494.

[215] Ibid: 492.

third largest palace in Istanbul where today Selimiye Kışlası can be seen.[216] (Figure 142 and Figure 143) At the same time, there is some information on Piyale Pasha's palace and embellished garden in the document of the Avcu Mehmed[217]. It is also known that after his retirement, Şemsi Ahmed Pasha settled in a palace along the Bosphorus next to his madrasa and across the Topkapı Palace where he lived until the end of his life.[218] When Ottoman historian Mustafa Ali asked Şemsi Pasha why he modestly lived in Üsküdar, at the periphery of the capital; he answered that:

> Üsküdar is a way-station of mankind, a place where countless people come with business from the lands of Anatolia, Damacus, Aleppo and especially Egypt and Iraq.

Ali interpreted this answer as a chance for the Pasha for taking 'the cream of the gifts'.[219] With reference to Mustafa Ali's statement and the building types of the Üsküdar in the sixteenth century, it can be said that Şemsi Pasha's site chosen for his complex was completely conscious. Necipoğlu interprets Üsküdar as a kind of retirement place where deposed grandees lived. It was geographically separated from the capital due to the difficulties of sailing to the other side. It is possible to claim that the government would have used this geographical feature of Üsküdar to keep the retired grandees away from the state affairs.

There is no certain information about the construction date of the Şemsi Pasha Complex. We have two inscriptions about the complex; one of them which

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[216] Kuban, 1997: 256.

[217] Muzaffer Erdoğan "Osmanlı Döneminde Istanbul Bahçeleri" *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no IV, (Ankara, 1958), 173

[218] İ. H. Konyalı, , *Abideleri ve kitabeleriyle Üsküdar tarihi,* (Istanbul: Türkiye Yeşilay Cemiyeti, 1976) I: 81-82, II: 251-62. Eldem 1969-74, 2:374-88, cited in Necipoğlu, 2005: 495.

[219] Ali, Nuruosmaniye Library, 1997-82, I:42, cited in Necipoglu 2005: 494.

belongs to the tomb was found by Fazıl Ayanoğlu in 1940, later it disappeared.[220] Then, it was found again by Konyalı in 1974. Today, it does not exist. The other four line inscription indicates the year 1580-81 for the completed date of the mosque and the tomb.[221] Necipoğlu suggests that the complex may have been planned in 1579, when Şemsi retired from the governor-general of Rumelia and obtained sultan's permit to conduct water to his garden in Üsküdar.[222] According to the inscription found on the tomb gate, it was the will of the pasha to be buried after his death by the sea in order to get the prayers of the passengers when they passed along the seashore.[223] It is no doubt, the complex was completed posthumously however, the time of the plan is not certain.

Şemsi Ahmed Pasha Complex consists of a mosque, tomb and an 'L' shaped madrasa. As an extraordinary arrangement, madrasa is not placed directly across the mosque. One of the arms of the madrasa is positioned parallel to the sea and the other one is perpendicular to it however, the mosque is oriented towards the Mecca. Consequently, a 53 degree-angle results with the mosque and the parallel arm of the madrasa. It is an unusual arrangement in Sinan's complexes. (Figure 144 and Figure 145)

The complex has two gates; one of them is in the southeast side of the complex and the other is in the northwest side facing the sea. The madrasa consists of twelve small rooms and one large room. It is possible to say that Sinan placed the large doomed room across the corner of the mosque in order to adapt the domes to the arrangement of the madrasa and the mosque. (Figure 146) A slanting wooden roof resting on eighteen marble columns creates an arcade in front of the

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[220] Kuran, 1987: 201

[221] Ibid

[222] Necipoğlu, 2005: 495.

[223] Konyalı, 1976: I: 284-285.

madrasa. The unique madrasa room facing the sea provides a special, semi-open area in front of the madrasa rooms. (Figure 147) In addition, after the restoration in 1940, madrasa was used as a library and the arcaded area was closed and joined to the interior. (Figure 148 and Figure 149) This one room is a tool not only to create a special space but also to provide a different perspective from the madrasa to the sea. The madrasa seems like two different buildings in the front façade and the back façade. While the back façade is closed and only has three small windows per room, the façade, looking towards the sea, is more open, because of the arcade. Goodwin evaluates the circular windows which are used in both the madrasa and the south façade of the mosque, as the symbol of the sun which is also the meaning of the poetic name of Şemsi Pasha.[224] (Figure 150 and Figure 151)

Furthermore, the mosque has an 'L' shaped portico on its two sides. This is a unique example in Sinan's architecture. There are different comments on this double-armed portico. Kuran argued that Sinan had two reasons for its use; first to provide a balance with the tomb and other facades, and second, to get a connection with the mosque and the madrasa.[225] Goodwin shares the same opinion and adds that it is not necessary to use five arches on the portico. This is due to the intention to continue the façade from the door of the tomb through the entrance gate of the complex.[226] In addition, Erzen emphasizes the small size of the mosque and claims that double portico prevents the naked view of the external walls.[227] With its 8.20 meter single dome and thin walls, Şemsi Pasha is

[224] Goodwin, 1971: 282.

[225] Kuran, 1987: 201.

[226] Goodwin, 1971: 282.

[227] Jale Erzen, "Mimar Mühendis Sinan: Bir Yapı Sanatçısı", Mimarlık, cilt 33, sayı 267, (1996), 53.

one of the Sinan's smallest mosques. Squinches are used as the transition elements from the square base to the octagonal base of the cupola.

Another distinguishing feature of the complex is the cross vaulted tomb adjacent to its eastern wall. (Figure 152) Those two buildings which are perceived as one structure from the outside have an entrance inside. (Figure 153) When we consider the will of Şemsi Pasha about the place of his entombment, it is seen that the location of the tomb determined by Sinan is quite compatible with this arrangement of the complex and the will of Şemsi Pasha. Thus Sinan was able to wrap the three sides of the mosque with the help of the tomb and the two armed portico. There is no separated place for women in terms of a different entrance or a divided gathering-place.

In the sixteenth century, the city was still developing within the fortification walls. Outside of the walls, there were gardens and summer palaces. The mosques which were built by Sinan constructed outside the city walls are Azapkapı Sokullu, Üsküdar, Edirnekapı Mihrimah Sultan and Şemsi Pasha Mosques. Sinan designed a number of buildings along the Bosphorus as Sinan Pasha Complex, Kılıç Ali Pasha Complex, Azapkapı Sokullu Mosque, Molla Çelebi Mosque and Mihrimah Sultan Mosque at Üsküdar, however Şemsi Pasha Complex has a different locational feature which enables people to perceive the complex from the sea instead of the land. While in the Sinan Pasha Complex, madrasa and the mosque faced the land, in the Kılıç Ali Pasha complex, the madrasa is situated at the back of the mosque; and the courtyards of both the madrasa and the mosque define an enclosed spatial composition. The prayer hall of the Azapkapı Sokullu Mosque was enclosed and located on the upper storey. On the other hand, in the Şemsi Pasha Complex, the angular positioning of the madrasa with reference to the mosque provides a specific perspective which is open to the sea and close to the land. (Figure 154) When the level of the transportation technology of the era and the difficulty of shipping from the

capital to Üsküdar are considered, it can be claimed that Üsküdar was a land to be seen from the capital. The smallness of the building in size gives a sculptural character to the mosque itself. (Figure 155) The positioning of tomb and the madrasa, the portico wrapping the two sides of the mosque and even its 'sea born gate' supports this claim. Sinan emphasizes the importance of the perspective of the mosque from the sea with the relation he established amongst the madrasa- tomb and the mosque. The similar condition is also valid for the Rüstem Pasha Mosque. Furthermore, the location of the tomb according to the will of Şemsi Pasha makes the building a prestigious mosque for its patron. Rather than being constructed in the city walls, the complex was located in the Üsküdar near the seashore. This locational choice gives a kind of specialty to the mosque.

CHAPTER 4

INTERPRETATIONS ON THE LATE PERIOD OF SINAN

To classify mosques of Sinan within his fifty years of architectural career started with Erzen's study on the façade designs of his mosques.[228] Erzen classified his mosques in three periods as pre-classical (1540-55), classical 18555-70) and anti-classical (1570-85). This classification stemmed from the study of the façade designs of his mosques. As it was explained in the third chapter, the most significant feature of the last period mosques is their prismatic mass elevation. However, the differentiation on the façade design should be considered with its relation of the inner space and of the structural scheme. In other words, all the structural and formal features of Sinan's mosques are closely related to each other. The interdependence relationship or holistic design concept enables us to adapt the classification of the elevations to all features of the mosque. With the light of this classification which Erzen introduces in her book and article and also with the contribution of the recent studies on his late period works we have many new interpretations to explain the reasons for the changes that occur in Sinan's late period works.[229] We can order these interpretations, in five main manners: attribute these works to another architect or explain as a decline of architectural course; explain changes with the influence or power of the patrons; elucidate with the relation of the construction site, site requirements and the influence of the mosques' on the urban perspective; changing social, political and economic condition of the state at the end of the sixteenth century and also the experimentalist attitude of architect Sinan.

[228] Jale Erzen, "Sinan Camilerinde Üslüp Değişimi", *Mimarlık*, cilt 19, sayı 6, (1981), 12-14.

[229] Erzen, 1981 and Erzen, 1988

To attribute late period works to an assistant of Sinan or to treat these works as a deviation from his architectural course can be evaluated as a generalist approach. Straton, as one of the first architectural historians who works on Sinan's Architecture, has this kind of an approach towards the works after 1580. He claims that Sinan had delegated most of the works to his assistant by 1580 because he might have been ill or might have fallen from a scaffolding[230]. Straton mentions Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque as a 'curious' work, Piyale Pasha Mosque as an odd throwback of the Bursa style, and Azapkapı Mosque as an unsatisfactory example, however he does not give any detailed explanation on these mosques.[231] For some late period works such as Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud, Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque and Piyale Pasha Mosques, Kuban shares this idea with a different reason. He believes that it is impossible to place in Sinan's art such multi-dome scheme of Piyale Pasha or space configuration of Şahsultan and Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosques.[232] Accordingly, Sinan who tried to create a unified space under a single dome in his long career could have not planned Piyale Pasha, Kılıç Ali Pasha or Şahsultan Mosque. Furthermore Kuran and Goodwin agree with Kuban in terms of the configuration of the interior space of Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque.[233] It is a fact that in Şahsultan and Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosques, the central space under the main dome and the vault covered lateral spaces are separated from each other. However it should be considered that the structural scheme or the bearing system of these mosques shows many differences from the structural system of the classical period mosques. The silhouettes of the mosques (Appendix B) bring up the relation between the structural system and its influence on the space. While a similar look as the pyramidal view of the imperial mosques can be seen from the south-north axis of Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque, the east-west axis has an

[230] Straton, 1972: 247.

[231] Ibid.

[232] Kuban, 1997: 118.

[233] Kuran, 2005: 97-99; Goodwin 1971: 287-288.

entirely different view. The unique dome ascends on the four pillars of the baldachin and the lateral galleries in the lower part provide a dominant view to the dome. This kind of a scheme inevitably creates a longitudinal interior space and causes separation between the galleries and the main space under the dome. Furthermore, for the Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque, the accentuated dome is observed but in a different configuration. Here the exterior walls act as a shell of the mosque. Because of the vaulted, wide and two-storied lateral galleries, the main dome seems as though surrounded by the vaulted structure on its three sides. This impression continues on the exterior of the mosque. It is a fact that this kind of an elevation design is totally different from the imperial mosques of Sinan of his classical age. Similar elevation design can be observed in the east and west elevation of Kilic Ali Pasha Mosque. Because of this elevation design and wide separated galleries, the mentioned scholars interpret Şahsultan and Kilic Ali Pasha Mosques as an assistant's work or a deviation from his architectural course. However the role of the changing structural system should be regarded in this change. The evolution of the baldachin scheme which is one of the basic structures of Sinan's architecture caused this kind of an inner and outer configuration. Erzen's statement supports this idea:

> …The baldachin, the basic structure upon which Sinan developed his mosque, makes all the structural and formal aspect of the building closely interdependent. Change in any aspect of the building requires changes in all the rest. …This interdependence and hierarchic relationship make the stylistic evolution of Sinan's mosques particularly clear.[234]

On the other hand, Piyale Pasha Mosque, which is covered by six equal small domes instead of a unique dome structure, is entirely a puzzle for scholars. The Mosque is often interpreted as a structure of Sinan's assistant, due to the construction date which coincides with the date of Selimiye Mosque in Edirne.

[234] Erzen, 1988,

Both Kuban and Goodwin attribute this mosque to another architect. While Kuban states that it is impossible to think that Sinan built closed-up domes after a period of forty years of being chief architect, Goodwin emphasizes the construction date and claims that Piyale Pasha Mosque was constructed by some other members of the office when Sinan was at work on his greatest achievement.[235]

It is relevant here to mention other approach which is used to explain the changes of the late period works of Sinan; the role of his patrons. Particularly for the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque and Piyale Pasha Mosques, scholars tend to explain the changes with patrons demands. Kuban explains the extraordinary tile work of Rüstem Pasha Mosque, the six domes of Piyale Pasha Mosque and also the Hagia Sophia plan type of Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque with their patrons' wishes.[236] Goodwin agrees with Kuban on the dissimilar interior space of Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque and adds that the power of the patron was one of the factors to influence Sinan's design process.[237] From this point of view, the six equal domes of Piyale Pasha Mosque can be explained by the influence of the admirals' taste.

In his book, Egli classified Sinan's late period mosques in a different way; he treated mosques according to the identity of their patrons and their construction dates. One of the chapters, 'Admiral at See; Navigation into Architecture' Egli discusses that to what extent an architect will respond to a client's personality or how much a donor or client can influence the end-result.[238] To answer these questions, he only gives patrons' short biographies and makes some analogies between the mosques and the view of ships. About the patrons' influences on the design process of Sinan, Necipoglu makes a wide and important research

[235] Kuban, 1997: 118; Goodwin, 1971: 277-279.

[236] Kuban, 1997: 16.

[237] Goodwin, 1971: 283 and Goodwin, 1988: 14.

[238] Egli, 1997: 127-129

depending on historical written documents. In her latest book, she classified all buildings of Sinan with the hierarchical order of the donors of those buildings instead of their construction dates.[239] With the help of these historical documents, Necipoğlu's approach brings a new dimension to the last period of Sinan. She believes that Sinan's architectural pattern was influenced from patrons' hierarchical status and power. Her suggestion is not valid for only the last period mosques, but also all works of Sinan. Besides Necipoğlu, Yerasimos searches for the relation between the status of the patrons and the architectural elements of the mosques, especially admirals mosques.[240] While the number of the minaret and the design of the courtyard specified a status, there are many exceptions for this statement. Yerasimos considers the size of the dome as one of the signs of hierarchical order. He believes that the reason of the three archaic plan types of the mosques of three commanders of the imperial fleet; Sinan Pasha, Piyale Pasha and Kılıç Ali Pasha, is related with these archaic models specific dome size.[241] He explains this relation as follows:

> Unable to increase the size of the dome, because of institutional constraints, they were obliged to adopt old models which had to limit the dome for technical consideration. Moreover, not content with the area thus obtained, they tried to increase it by adding internal galleries, external galleries and a complex system of portico and porch roofs in all three cases. The reason for these extensive areas, we reach the meeting point of patronal function, plan and location.[242]

As explicitly stated by Yerasimos statement, the changes of the models are related with not only patrons' hierarchical order, but also with the requirements

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[239] Necipoğlu, 2005.

[240] Yerasimos, 1988: 124-131.

[241] Ibid: 125.

[242] Ibid: 126.

of the location. In Appendix A, the relation between the size of the dome and the area of the galleries and main spaces can be seen. It is a fact that, Piyale Pasha's Mosque which is the smallest domed mosque has the largest area. At the same time in the Piyale Pasha mosque the distance between the dome and the flour of the mosque is higger than the other one-domed late period mosques. In terms of the total area, Kılıç Ali Pasha's Mosque follows Piyale Pasha's Mosque. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, due to the growth population of the city, the Sultans wanted to develop new areas outside of the old city. Thus the mosques at the Kasımpaşa, Azapkapı and Tophane districts would be thought as a mean for developing these sites. However the critical point on this issue is the role of these admirals on the reasons of choosing site. In terms of the Kılıç Ali Pasha and Azapkapı Mosques, it can be said that their sites near the seashore were prestigious for Sokullu Mehmed Pasha and Kılıç Ali Pasha who were two grand admirals of the imperial fleet. Furthermore, the existence of the dockyards of the fleets was an important point in terms of choosing these sites. (Map A)[243] Although the site features of the Kasımpaşa Mosque are different than other admirals' mosques sites, in a close view, lots of similarities can be perceived. As we know from Süleyman's order and Evliya Çelebi's narrative, the area from Kasımpaşa dockyard to Piyale Pasha Mosque was filled with houses. The mosque acted as a locomotive to help the development of this area from the dockyard on the seashore to the inner part of the land. Mosques, as public spaces, were meant to be extensive areas in order to service the new district's people. In this perspective, we can agree with Yerasimos' idea; however his idea is not valid in the case of Azapkapı Mosque. Yerasimos asserts that, Sinan should have adopted old models in the admiral's mosque in order to increase the total area due to the role of these mosques on developing those districts without enlarging the size of the dome. Azapkapı Mosque, as a mosque constructed on the seashore, near the Azapkapı dockyard in the name of one of the admirals and

[243] In this map the places of the important dockyards can be seen.

vizier Sokullu Mehmed Pasha, was built outside the city walls like Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Nevertheless the total area of the Azapkapı Mosque is a quarter of Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque's total area. If the main intention of Sinan to use these old plans in his late period works was to extend the area without increasing the size of the dome, we should have encountered with a different plan type or more than a large area in Azapkapı Mosque. It is a fact that to try to explain the changes on Sinan's Mosques with one reason or a single fact causes incorrect interpretations.

At that point, we should mention the other interpretation of the scholars who tried to explain the changes of the late period mosques. The role of the site properties and the influence of the mosques' to the urban perspective is one of the important arguments amongst scholars of recent times. It is obvious that the site properties influenced the architectural design of the mosques. If we look for a common point of the site properties of these mosques, we can consider the sites of Azapkapı, Şemsi Pasha and Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosques. We can add to this list Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque. As it is known, in the sixteenth century, the mosque sat in a very close distance to the sea. Although, both four mosques were constructed near the sea, all of them have a different design approach. While Azapkapı is a two-storied Mosque, Şemsi Pasha and Kılıç Ali Pasha's Mosques are built at the sea level. On the other hand, Şahsultan Mosque has an entirely different level due to the slope of land and has a different plan type. It is a semi-two storied mosque because of the two leveled courtyard. The raised basement above the vaulted substructure of the Azapkapı Mosque is interpreted according to different reasons. These are, to provide space for shops and warehouses under the mosque for commercial activities in the dockyard, to prevent of the mosque from the flood and solve the ground problem depending on the silt and swampy ground. In spite of the fact that the sites of the Kılıç Ali Pasha and Şemsi Pasha Mosques have the same properties, Sinan did not prefer

this kind of a two-storied plan type. On the other hand, Rüstem Pasha Mosque which was built in the inner side of the city walls in the Eminönü district is constructed above vaulted stores, by this means separated from the crowded frenetic space of the commercial area. Furthermore, rising from the ground level of the mosques can be evaluated with the relation of their views from the sea perspective. The importance of the silhouette of the mosques from the Bosporus and the contribution of Sinan in this silhouette is one of the most debatable subjects on Sinan's architecture. Guidoni emphasizes Sinan's interest in the urban view and asserts that:

> …Sinan's numerous architectural projects introduce in the relatively simple urban system, a strong component of hierarchical dept in the perspective, a full understanding of the reciprocal relationship between monumental complexes and urban views. According to this principle, the most important building should not be located in the center of the city, but rather in a dominant position, in order to pull together all the other monuments. It should be in the foreground with respect to the privileged view point to highlight it from the other elements in the landscape….
>
> ...Mosques outside the walls of Galata: its sitting derives from Sinan's expedient, and creates a new attractive element in the foreground. It marks a new axis of interest and traffic.[244]

Burelli supports same idea in a different way: He explains this relation as follows:

> …The mosque does not dominate or impart to the surrounding streets, but instead dominates the city as whole and must be visible to the approaching traveler as if to guide him from a distance. The enclosure isolates, but it does not orient: it defends the sacred space of the

[244] Guidoni, 1988: 29-30.

> mosque from the frenetic urban life of the surrounding city. [245]

In Map B, Söylemezoğlu's sketch on the Istanbul Map displays the three view points from the Bosporus and indicates the mosques involvement in these perspectives with their heights from the sea level. In his study Söylemezoğlu tries to prove that Sinan designed the size and height of Rüstem Pasha Mosque's main dome within respect to the view from the Bosporus.[246] Besides this study, in Map C, the relation between the city walls and the seashore mosques can be seen. Both Söylemezoğlu's study and Guidoni's and Burelli's statements stress on Sinan's suggestion on urban design. The design of Rüstem Pasha Mosque, as a mosque in the dense city fabric, supports the idea about the relationship between Sinan's complexes and his urban views of the city. With its main dome and double shelled lateral small domes and also rising congregation space, Rüstem Pasha Mosque tries to exhibit itself beyond the old Byzantine city walls. Furthermore the same manner can be observed in Kılıç Ali Pasha, Şahsultan and Şemsi Pasha Mosques. The unique design of the Şemsi Pasha Complex, the prismatic high mass of Şahsultan Mosque and the two huge buttresses of Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque which increase the visibility of the main dome, are evaluated as the signs of the importance of the sea perspective or the importance of their visibilities from a distant point of these monuments.

In this view, it can be said that, in an indirect relationship, patrons had a role on the designs of their mosques due to their positions on the choice of the site. It is obvious that in Sinan's architectural process, the plan type of the building, its support system, elevation and the site properties were closely related with each

[245] Romano Burelli, "Vision and Representation of Urban Space", *Environmental Design,Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, ed. by Attilio Petruccioli, Vth Year, N.5-6, (Roma, 1988), 42.

[246] Kemali Söylemezoğlu, "Istanbul Rüstem Paşa Camii Son Cemaat Mahalli ve Avlusu Planlamasında Gözönünde Tutulan Faktörler Hakkında" in *Mimar Sinan Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı ve Sanatı*, ed. by Zeki Sönmez, (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayinlari, 1987), 259-267.

other. In the more congested sites, Sinan tried to create more proper perspectives for their mosques. Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque is the most appropriate example to this statement. The Eyüp district, as one of the most holy places for Ottomans during the conquest of the city was a prestigious area for Şahsultan and Zal Pasha. For this slopy and dense area, Sinan designed a prismatic mass building with a unique dome on its top. This kind of a high and plain elevation makes the mosque visible from the furthest point of the land and also from the Golden Horn.

The changing social, political and economic condition is always one of the main actors of architectural production. The changes on Sinan's late period works can be related with the changes of the political and economic background of the Ottoman State in the end of the sixteenth century. As it was mentioned with detail in the second chapter, deterioration of the institutional system caused the decline of the central authority. In the meanwhile, the victories of the naval army would have increased the importance of the admirals in the hierarchical order of the State. With the defeats of the Ottoman armies towards the end of the century, the decline process was beginning. However, on the seas, Ottoman naval army gained victories in 1571 with the Cyprus campaign. After that, in 1574, Kılıç Ali Pasha re-conquered Tunisia from the Spanish invaders.[247] As we know from many written documents, the grand admirals gathered lots of spolia from the new conquered lands as spoils. Necipoğlu mentions the spolias of Piyale Pasha and Kılıç Ali Pasha which they brought from their campaigns.[248] She believes that two grand admirals insist on using these spolias to their mosques.[249] What is more, it is believed that the reason of the archaic plan type of Piyale

[247] İnalcık, 1994: 41-42

[248] Necipoğlu, 2005: 430 and 424.

[249] Ibid.

Pasha Mosque was the two monumental granite columns, standing at the middle of the prayer hall, was brought from the Podium Temple at Alexandria Troas.[250]

In this sense, the structural system of the Corps of Royal Architects gains importance. As it is mentioned, the Corps were the unique control mechanism of all the construction activities of the Empire and due to its hierarchical order, without the approval of the chief architect, the Corps could not make any decisions on architectural edifices. Seen in this light, Necipoğlu makes a research on some drawings which were found in the archives of the Topkapı Palace.[251] She points out that a major part of these drawings consist of plans. Some information about façade design of these buildings specify on the drawings as the frontal view of some windows or some written notes. With the light of this information, Necipoğlu believes that the office of Corps of Royal Architects which was situated in the capital used these drawings as a tool for the 'dissemination' and 'remote control' of the imperial architectural style.[252] She goes on to add that:

> …chief Architects like Sinan, who were simultaneously responsible for a large number of building activities in a vast empire, could personally oversee only the major royal or vizierial projects based on novel design, delegating standard commissions of secondary importance to apprentices. This was especially the case with provincial buildings mostly supervised by apprentices sent from capital Istanbul with plans. …This is also true of some awkwardly proportioned buildings at the capital which were probably supervised by Sinan's apprentices, although they are traditionally attributed to him. The construction supervisor's role, then, was not the simple management of a predetermined plan, but one involving a certain degree of interpretation as well.[253]

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[250] Kutalmış Görkay, cited in Necipoğlu, 2005: 425.

[251] Necipoğlu, 1986: 224 – 243.

[252] Ibid, p. 243.

[253] Ibid.

Necipoğlu believes that the regional differences of the buildings façades in the peripheries stemmed from the drawings without elevations. Seen in this light, the extraordinary elevation designs of the late period mosques can be interpreted in the same manner. When only the elevation design of the mosques is considered, this interpretation can be accepted. However it should be remembered that in Sinan's mosques, the structural system, elevation design and the interior space are closely related with each other. It is hard to think that while Sinan designed the plans of the mosque, another architect designed its elevation. This kind of an idea rejects the interrelationship in Sinan's Mosques. What is more, this idea brings to treat all late period elevations as the apprentices work.

Finally, scholars interpret the changes on Sinan's late period Mosques with his experimental attitude. Metin Sözen concludes this general treatment as follows:

> One of the main characteristics of Sinan's work is the way in which he apparently re-creates every plan or structural form take he takes in hand. So much so that each structural and planning experiment seems generally renewed beyond recognition.[254]

It is a passion for architectural historians to try to understand the intensions of Sinan as one of the most important architects of history. Especially this passion and also interpretations increase for his late period works which have numerous extraordinary features within Sinan's architectural path. What is paramount importance here is to think and evaluate the changes of the architectural edifices without the social, political and economic context of that era. In this chapter, the difficulty of assessing Sinan's architecture with generalizations or rules is clearly seen with various different interpretations of scholars.

[254] Metin Sözen 1988, *Sinan, Architect of Ages, (*Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları), 316.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Within the seven century hegemony of Ottoman Empire, Sinan's era has been the most widely examined in Ottoman architectural historiography. While there are numerous researches and publication on Sinan's works, particularly on his mosques in Istanbul, a large proportion of these concentrate on the imperial mosques of Sinan. Most interpretations on Sinan's architectural practice are on imperial mosques in Istanbul. As a general tendency his mosques are classified according to their baldachin scheme which could be square, hexagonal or octagonal. These studies focusing on imperial mosques generally exclude the late period works which display diversity in their structural features and elevation designs and are evaluated as the work of Sinan's assistant. Until now, there are only three studies which treat Sinan's late period works as his original designs. These are Egli, Necipoğlu and Erzen studies.[255] While Egli and Necipoğlu explain the changes in Sinan's late period works with the influence of the patrons, Erzen interprets the changes of the late period works in relation to the changes in their elevation designs.

The aim of this thesis has been to analyze the rather less studied Sinan's late period works in terms of their structural systems, elevation designs, site properties and relation with their dependencies, as well as the identity and hierarchic order of their patrons. Yet opposed to the widely encountered generalizations on his architecture, this analysis tries to contribute to the literature on Sinan's architectural practice by pointing to the less studied aspects of his late designs. While doing this analysis, I interpret the visual properties of the mosques; I made on-site surveys and documented the buildings visually with

[255] Egli, 1997; Necipoğlu, 2005; Erzen, 1981.

schematic drawings and photographs. Besides the photographs, the plan, section and elevation drawings of the mosques are the main sources to interpret the structural system of the mosques. The traveler accounts, old city illustrations and historical documents are the secondary sources which I also made use of in the analysis of the mosques. All these secondary sources helped me understand the structural condition of the mosques and their site properties in the sixteenth century. Finally, I use contemporary reference books in Sinan's architectural historiography as my reference books as well.

The stylistic evolution in Sinan's architecture and the individual features of the late period mosques should be evaluated with reference to the changing social and economic conditions, the hierarchic status of Sinan's patrons, his experimental attitude, the rapid change of the urban fabric and the locations of the mosques. When the social, political conditions and the demographic structure of the era are considered, the choice of a site and the features of the site gain importance. In this context, the location of the mosques and complexes show significant changes with reference to the classical period of Sinan. While a large number of the mosques in the classical or pre-classical period of Sinan were located within the city walls, it is observed that except for the Rüstem Pasha Mosque, late period mosques were built in new areas outside the city walls. As it can be understood from the sultans' orders[256], the Ottoman State wanted to cultivate new residential areas due to the increasing population in the old city. Particularly, the site choice of Piyale Pasha and Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosques served this kind of a demand. The programs of the dependencies of these complexes prove this to be true. While Rüstem Pasha Mosque was built in a dense commercial district, khans, warehouses and a court were preferred as the dependencies of the Mosque. However in the Piyale Pasha Complex which was built in the new district, madrasa, dervish convent, elementary school and a market were chosen as dependencies. Moreover in the Kılıç Ali Pasha Complex, a

[256] See Evliya Çelebi, 2006: 377 for the order of Süleyman I on Kasımpaşa district.

mixed-use of dependencies can be observed. Besides, a bath house and a public eating house, shops and warehouses surrounded the mosque. In a similar vein, Azapkapı Sokullu Mehmed Pasha Mosque's dependencies were shops, warehouses, a bath and an elementary school. It is a common argument that for Ottoman cities, complexes were a kind of locomotive for cultivating the site. On the other hand, madrasas were the only building program in the Şahsultan - Zal Mahmud Pasha and Şemsi Pasha Complexes. As it was known from the old depictions and travelers notes, these quarters were also used as residential areas before the end of the sixteenth century. Seen in this perspective, the process of choosing a site for Sinan's late period mosques, particularly admiral's mosques was related with the requirements of the city people. The mosques provided developments of their quarters particularly outside the city walls.

On the other hand, one important argument on Sinan's late period works concerns the influence and power of the patrons on their buildings. The archaic plan of admiral's mosques such as Kılıç Ali Pasha or Piyale Pasha Mosque is always questioned. As it is mentioned in the third chapter, admirals had their own workmen because they were charged with the construction of the Ottoman fleet. Furthermore, sometimes it was seen that they were the overseer of some constructions of a new building or of a restoration activity. The naval campaigns and the responsibility of the building of their own fleet gave admirals a power on construction activities. Although there are not any documents to prove the role of admirals on the construction process of their mosques, it can be thought that they contributed to the building of their mosques with supplying the construction materials and labor. The traveler notes mention the spolias in both the Piyale Pasha and Kılıç Ali Pasha's mosques. Thus, the contribution of admirals to the design process of the mosques was related with the structural materials such as columns, which was one of the most basic and important materials for this era.

At that point, the reflection of social conditions on the architectural edifices can be interpreted in relation to the power of the admirals on construction activities. The victories on the seas increased admirals' status in the Ottoman State with the decline of the central authority after the reign of Süleyman I due to the deterioration of the economic system and institutions. This fact can be evaluated as the other interpretation for the role of patrons' on the late period works.

Taken together with the program choice of the dependencies and the influence of the patrons', it can be concluded that while the patrons had an influence on the mosques' structure, the programs of the dependencies of the mosques were related with their site features. This interpretation is particularly valid for the admirals' mosques such as Kılıç Ali Pasha, Piyale Pasha and Azapkapı Sokullu Mehmed Pasha Mosque.

Different from Sinan's classical period works, the late period works generally were constructed in dense areas. Rüstem Pasha Mosque and Şahsultan-Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque are such examples. When the structural system and the interior design of these mosques are observed, the spatial distinction between the space under the main dome and the vaulted side galleries can be seen. First of all this kind of structure divides the central space from the sides and the side wings create a shell-like structure. While the main dome is supported by the columns, the vaulted lateral spaces gain their own identity not only in the context of space but also in the structural system. The prismatic mass elevation which was one of the important features of late period works was realized by means of this plan type.

What is of paramount importance here is the effect of this change on the elevation design. It is obvious that the prismatic mass elevation give visibility to the mosque. When the symbolic meaning of the mosques in the Islamic Ottoman State is considered, the visibility of it gains importance. The dominance of the

domes in the Istanbul silhouette was one of the expressions of the State in the sixteenth century Ottoman World. While in Sinan's classical period, mosques were built in elevated and empty sites, prismatic mass and the new structural scheme can be evaluated as a solution found by Sinan for increasing the visibilities of the late period work from the sea perspective within the dense sites. The elevated and plain elevations are not only the characteristic feature of Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque but Kılıç Ali Pasha, Rüstem Pasha and Azapkapı Sokullu Mehmed Pasha's Mosques also have a similar elevation designs. On the other hand, raising the dome above the vaulted structure can be interpreted as an effort to seen from the sea perspective besides the structural reasons. Rüstem Pasha Mosque and Şahsultan Mosque are examples of this kind of a situation. In the dense urban fabric, the rising prismatic mass of the building and the plain elevation make the mosques visible. Certainly, the view in the urban dense fabric is not the only reason of the vaulted substructure. The floods and the need to separate the sacred space from the profane are other reasons. Consequently, the new structural system, which is seen in the Rüstem Pasha Mosque as the first example, continued with other late period works. Sinan used similar elevated and vaulted lateral wings in the Azapkapı Sokullu Mehmed Pasha Mosque and Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Sinan as an architect, who constantly experimented and who searched for the new schemes for his mosques, used this new structural system through the end of his career. The load of the main dome is carried by the columns and the mihrab wall. The vaulted side wings and vestibule are separated from the central space in this way.

Owing to the distinctive features of the late period mosques, one of the most debatable subjects in relation to these buildings is whether all of them were designed by Sinan or not. In the second chapter of this thesis, this question is tried to be clarified by examining the system of the Corps of the Royal Architects in the sixteenth century. It is observed from the system of the Corps and from

the historical documents that an estimate price should be calculated before beginning the construction. In this sense, it was impossible make this calculation without drawings. According to the hierarchic structure in the Corps, Sinan should have been aware of these drawings and he should have approved before the construction.

Consequently this thesis explains the distinctive features of Sinan's late period works in Istanbul under the light of their patrons' identity and hierarchic order, the relation with the site and the socio-political condition of that era. During this analysis, it is seen that, there was an inter-dependent relationship amongst the identity of patrons, the chosen site and also the structure of the mosque itself. In the meanwhile, the study of the late period works shows the architectural ingenuity of Sinan who was easily adapting his buildings to the sites considering their structural features and elevation designs.

For Sinan, who always searched for the ideal schema for the Sultan mosques and created a significant vision in Ottoman architectural practice, late period mosques were experiments because of their small scales. The argument on the late period works of Sinan generally concentrates on Sinan's architectural course and the place of these mosques in this course. However the study of late period mosques shows us that the main argument on the late period mosques should be focused on the evaluation of 'Ottoman Architecture' of a world empire of the sixteenth century. Certainly, Sinan was the main actor of the architectural edifices of that era, however it is not meaningful to assign all building activities to a certain person by over-glorifying him. The thesis here tends to show that the six late-period mosques were built by the Corps of the Royal Architect so by Sinan. These mosques are the product of sixteenth century Ottoman architectural practice; and therefore they have to be regarded in the original socio-political context of the era.

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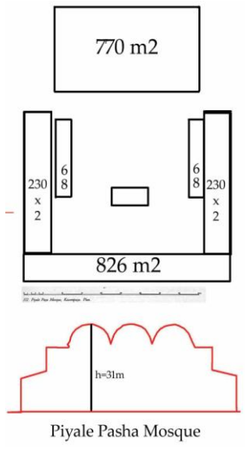
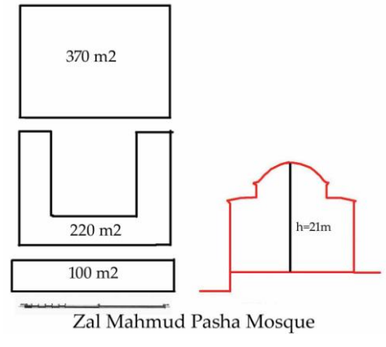
APPENDICES

Appendix A. Mathematical Analysis of the Late Period Works

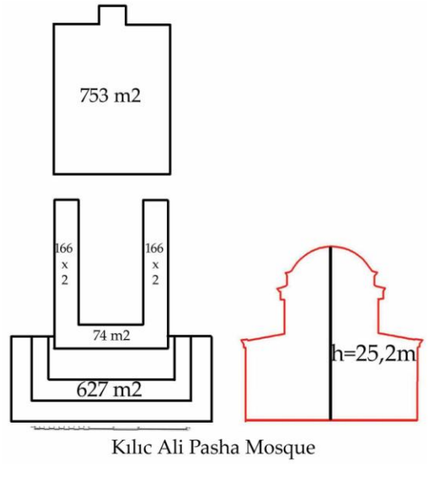
	Diameter of its Dome and its Distance From Floor	Total Area	Area of the Main Interior Space Without Upper Galleries	Total Area of the all Galleries and the Last Prayer Hall
Piyale Pasha Mosque	8,50 m / h: 31m	2652 m²	770 m²	1882 m ²
Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque	12,40 m / h: 21m	690 m²	370 m²	320 m²
Rüstem Pasha Mosque	12,70 m / h: 25,2m	2118 m²	753 m²	1365 m²
Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque	15,20 m / h: 22m+5m	717 m²	360 m²	357 m²
Azapkapı Sokullu Mehmed Pasha Mosque	11,80 m / h: 16,2m+4,2m	527 m²	347 m²	180 m²



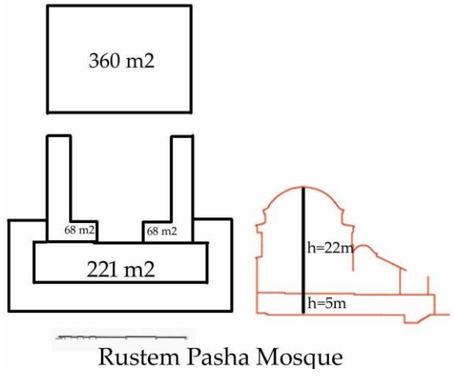
Piyale Pasha Mosque



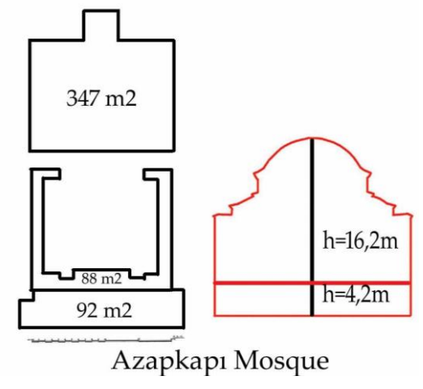
Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque



Kılıc Ali Pasha Mosque

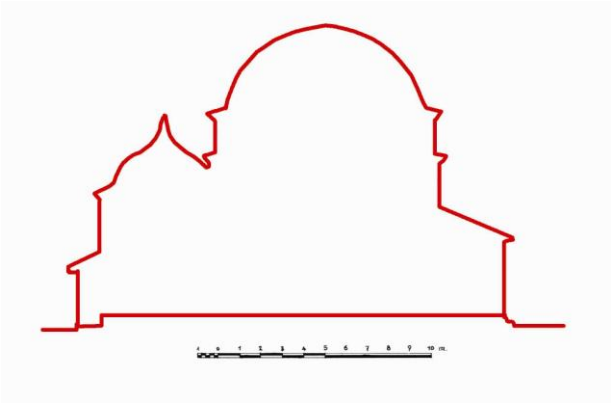


Rustem Pasha Mosque

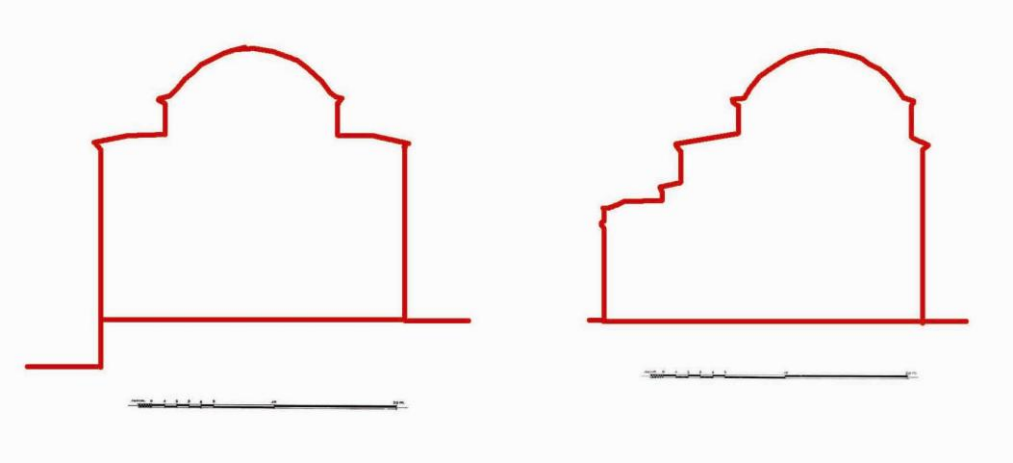


Azapkapı Mosque

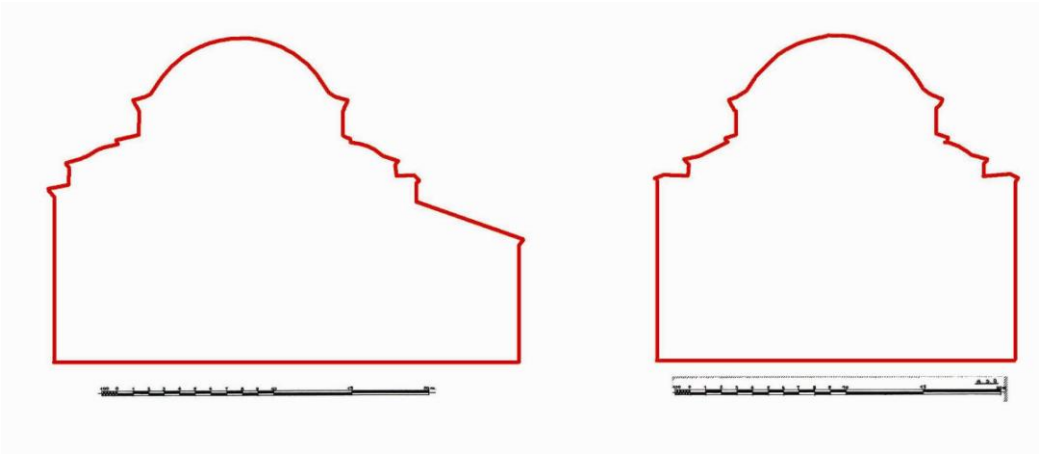
Appendix B. The Silhouette of the Late Period Mosques



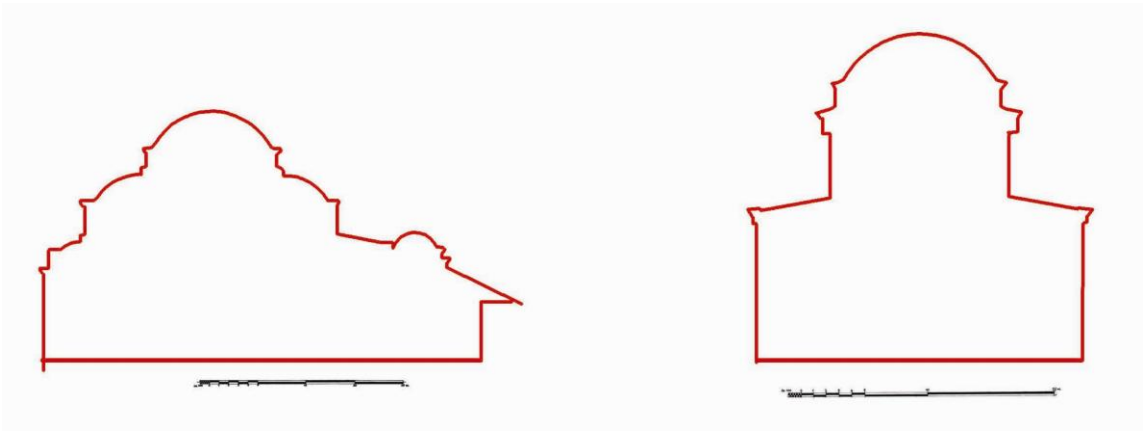
Şemsi Pasha Mosque



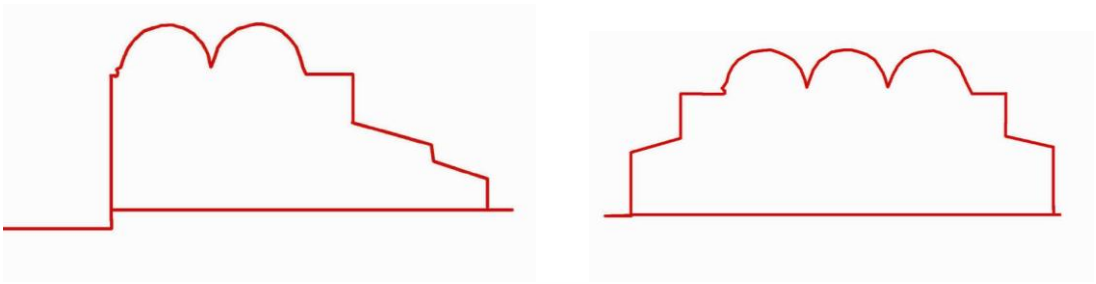
Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque



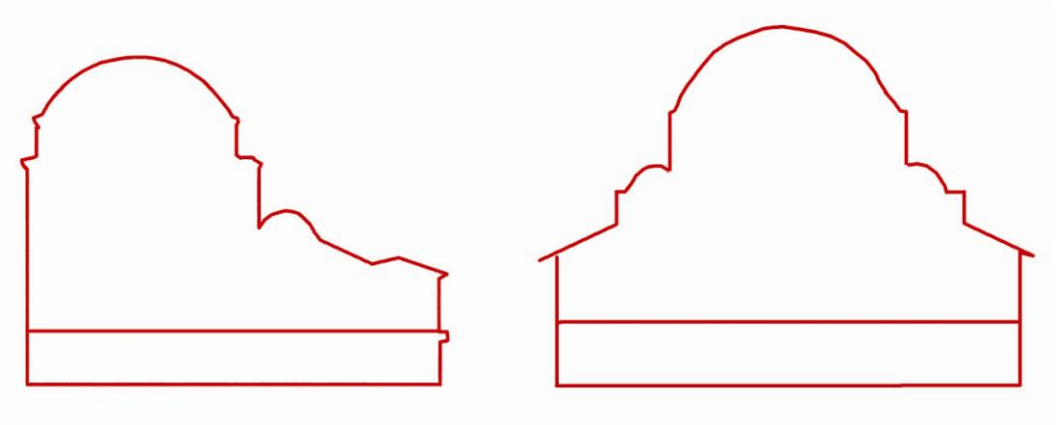
Azapkapı Sokullu Mehmed Pasha Mosque



Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque

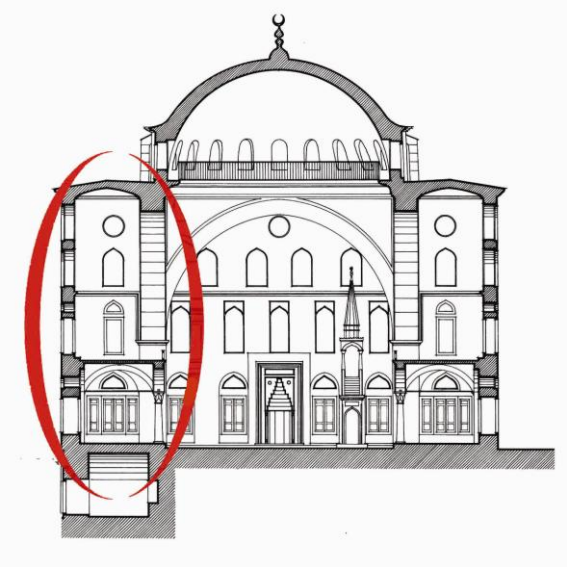


Piyale Pasha Mosque

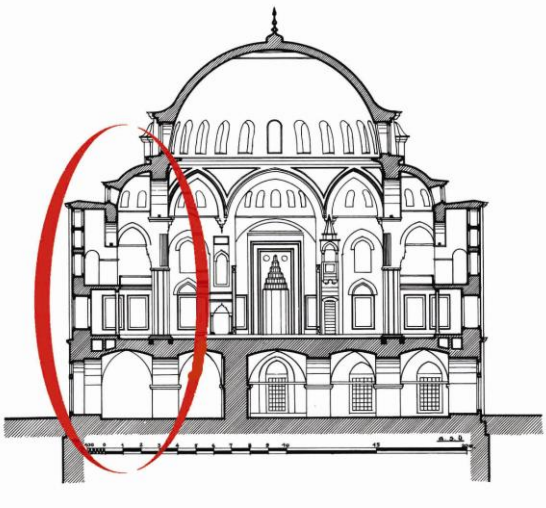


Rüstem Pasha Mosque

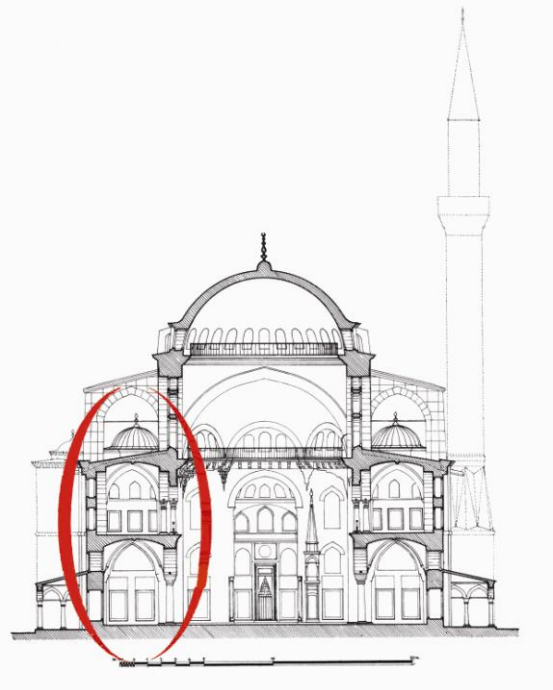
Appendix C. The Section of Şahsultan, Azapkapı and Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosques



Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque



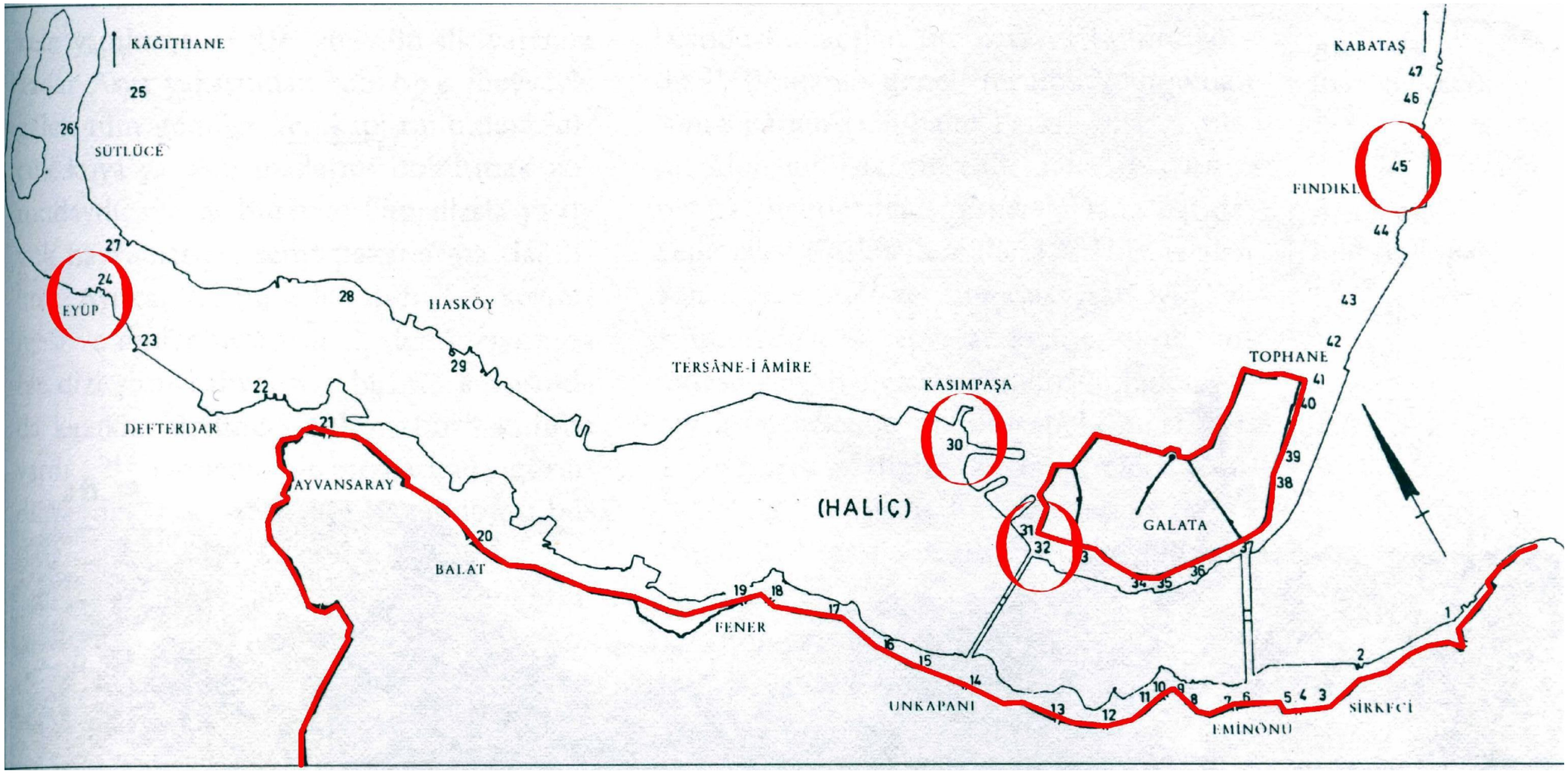
Azapkapı Sokullu Mehmed Pahsa Mosque



Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque

MAPS

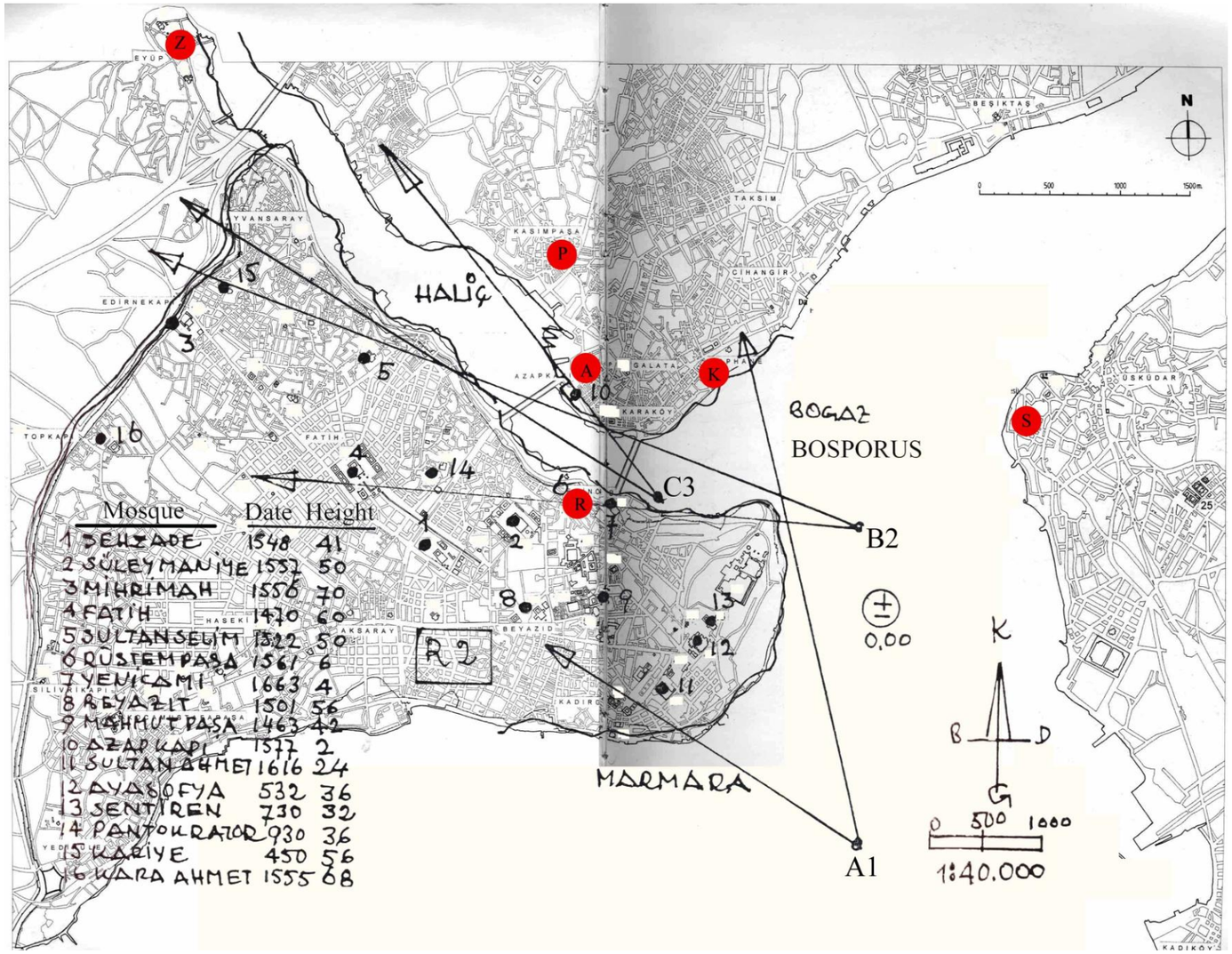
Map A. The Dockyards of Ottoman Empire



Source: Wolfgang, Müller-Wiener, 1998, *Bizans'tan Osmanlı'ya Istanbul Limanı*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, Istanbul. p. 160.

The numbers indicates the landings on the Golden Horn which was used by Ottomans between the conquest of Istanbul and fall of the Empire. Some of them were the important dockyards of the Ottoman Arsenal in the sixteenth century. These were Kasimpasa Dockyard (30) and Azapkapi Dockyard (32). Also the Tophane (42) and Eyüp (24) district had landings. The Tophane distrct was closely related with the Imperial Armada. The red line is the trace of the city walls of the Galata District and the old city in the historical peninsula.

MAP B. Istanbul Map with Some Perspective Points



Source: Günay, Reha, 1998, *Sinan: The Architect and his Works,* Istanbul : YEM. pg. 18-19 and Söylemezoğlu, Kemali, 1987, "*Istanbul Rüstem Paşa Camii Son Cemaat Mahalli ve Avlusu Planlamasında Gözönünde Tutulan Faktörler Hakkında*" Mimar Sinan Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı ve Sanatı, Edited By Zeki Sönmez.Türkiye İş Bankası Yayinlari, Istanbul. pp. 259-267.

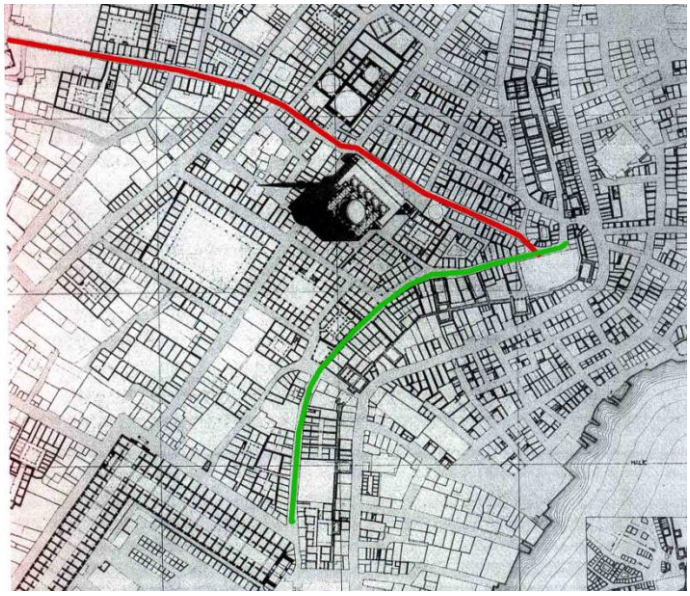
The red points indicate the six late period mosques. The points A1, B2 and C3 specified by Söylemezoğlu as the perspective points from the Bosporus to the Rüstem Pasha, Kılıç Ali Pasha and Azapkapı Sokullu Mehmed Pasha Mosques. The height of the Azapkapı, Kılıç Ali Pasha and Şemsi Pasha Mosques is not specified because there is no height difference between the ground level of these mosques and sea level.

Map C. Piri Reis's Map

Source: Necipoğlu Kafadar, Gülru, 2005, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford. pg. 109.

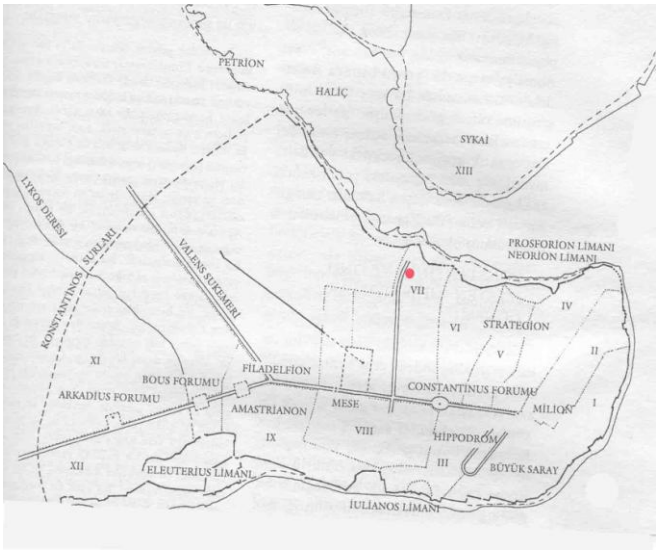
Piri Reis' map of İstanbul, 1670 – 1700, from Kitab-ı Bahriye. 1. Rüstem Pasha Mosque, 2. Azapkapı Sokullu Mehmed Pasha Mosque, 3. Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque, 4. Şemsi Pasha Mosque.

FIGURES



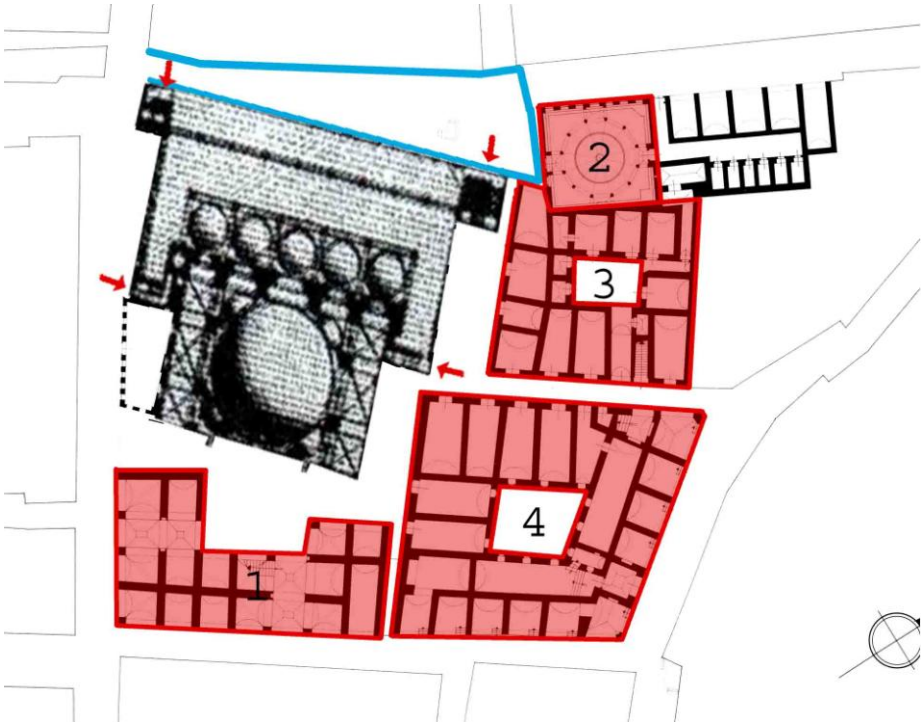
Source: Burelli, A. R., 1988, "Vision and Representation of Urban Space", Environmental Design,Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre, Edited by Attilio Petruccioli, Vth Year, N.5-6, p.43

Figure 1 Map of the Uzunçarşı district. Red line is the border of Uzunçarşı and the green line is the street near the seawall and Divanyolu.



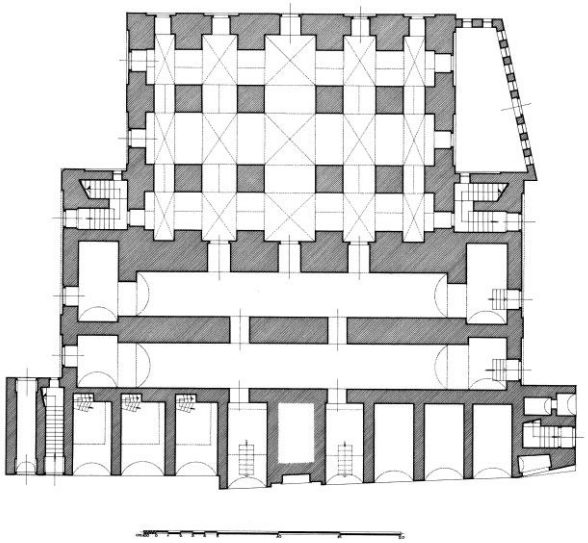
Source: Kuban, Doğan, 2000, *Istanbul, Bir Kent Tarihi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, Istanbul. p.33

Figure 2 The plan of the İstanbul in Byzantium time. Red point shows the location of the Rüstem Pasha mosque.



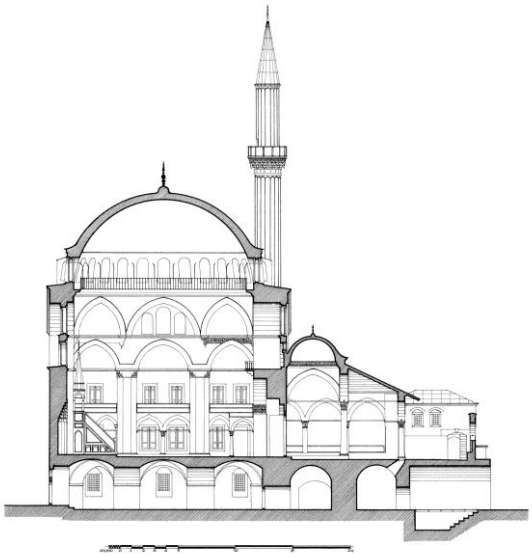
Source: (after) Necipoğlu Kafadar, Gülru, 2005, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford. p. 322

Figure 3 The structures of the Rüstem Pasha Complex. 1. Law Court, 2. Ablution Fountain, 3.Küçük Çukur Khan, 4.Büyük Çukur Khan



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 4 Plan of the first floor of Rüstem Pasha Mosque.



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

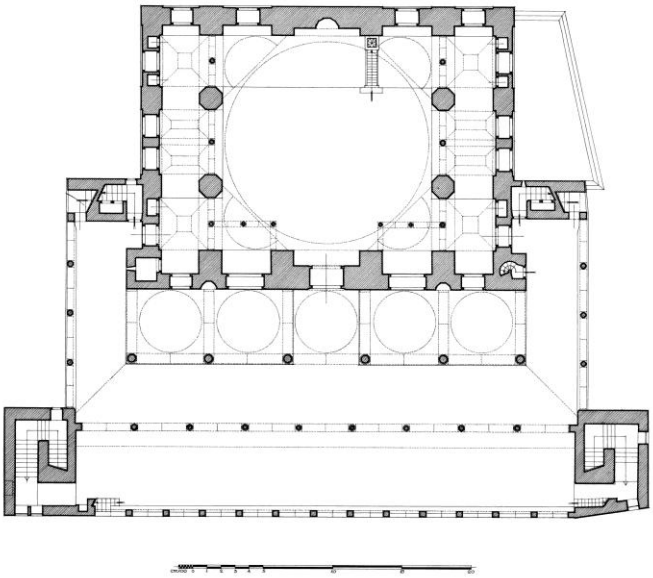
Figure 5 Section of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque.

Figure 6 The north façade of Rüstem Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

Figure 7 The Panoramic view of the Galata and Bosporus from the minaret of Rüstem Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006

Figure 8 Rüstem Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

Figure 9 Süleymaniye and Rüstem Pasha Mosque from Galata distirict. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.



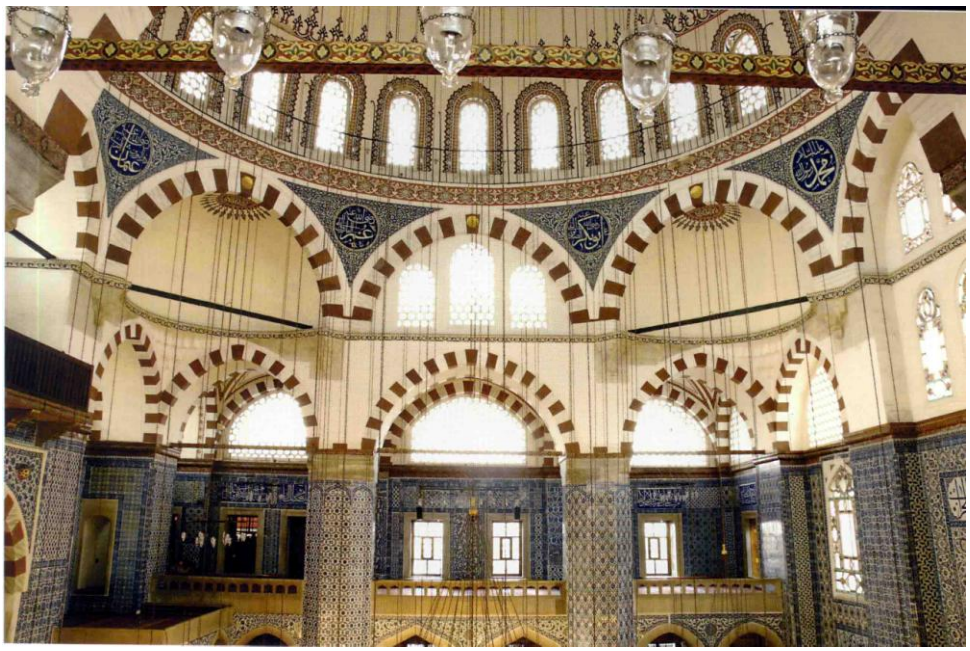
Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 10 Plan of the first floor of Rüstem Pasha Mosque.

Figure 11 Left: The north entrances of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque Right: The west entrances of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque. Photographs by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

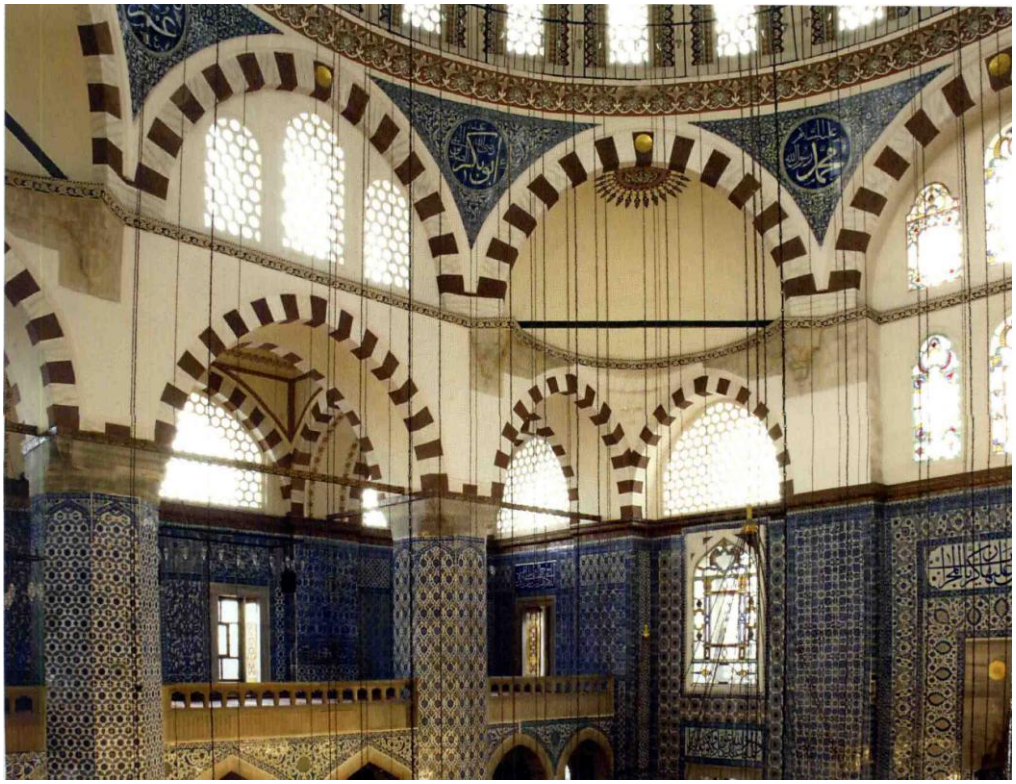
Figure 12 The staircase on the east façade which leads to the internal upper gallery of the mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

Figure 13 The double portico of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.



Source: Cansever, Turgut, 2005, *Mimar Sinan*, Albarakatürk Yayınları, Istanbul. p. 249.

Figure 14 Interior of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque.



Source: Cansever, Turgut, 2005, *Mimar Sinan*, Albarakatürk Yayınları, Istanbul. p. 249.

Figure 15 Interior of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque.

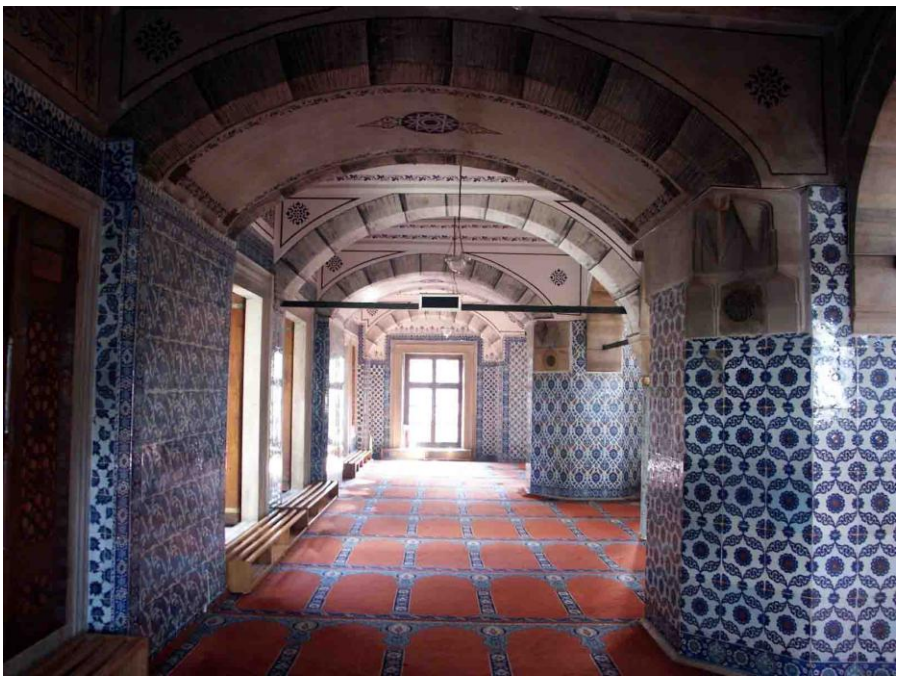
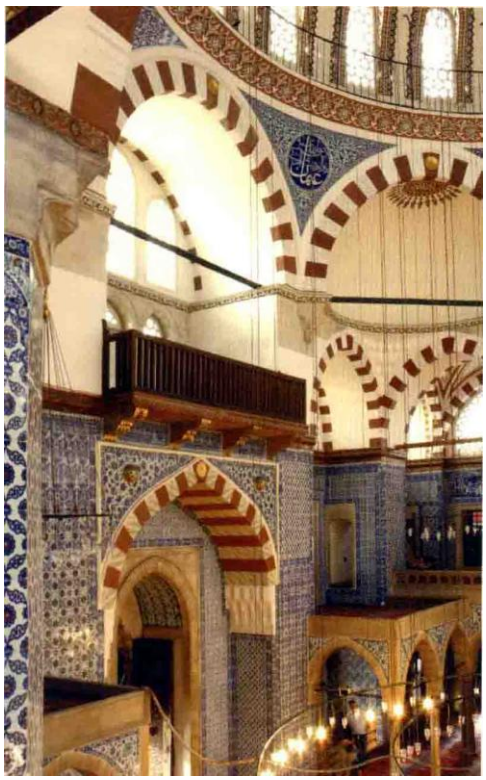


Figure 16 The side wings of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque which is covered with barrel vaults. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

Figure 17 One vault and two dome cover of the west wings of the mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.



Source: Cansever, Turgut, 2005, *Mimar Sinan*, Albarakatürk Yayınları, Istanbul. p. 254.

Figure 18 The inaccessible gallery above the entrance door of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque.

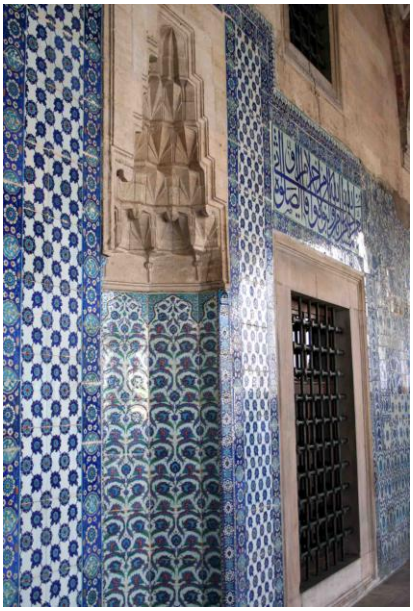


Figure 19 The tiles on the mihrab niche in the courtyard. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

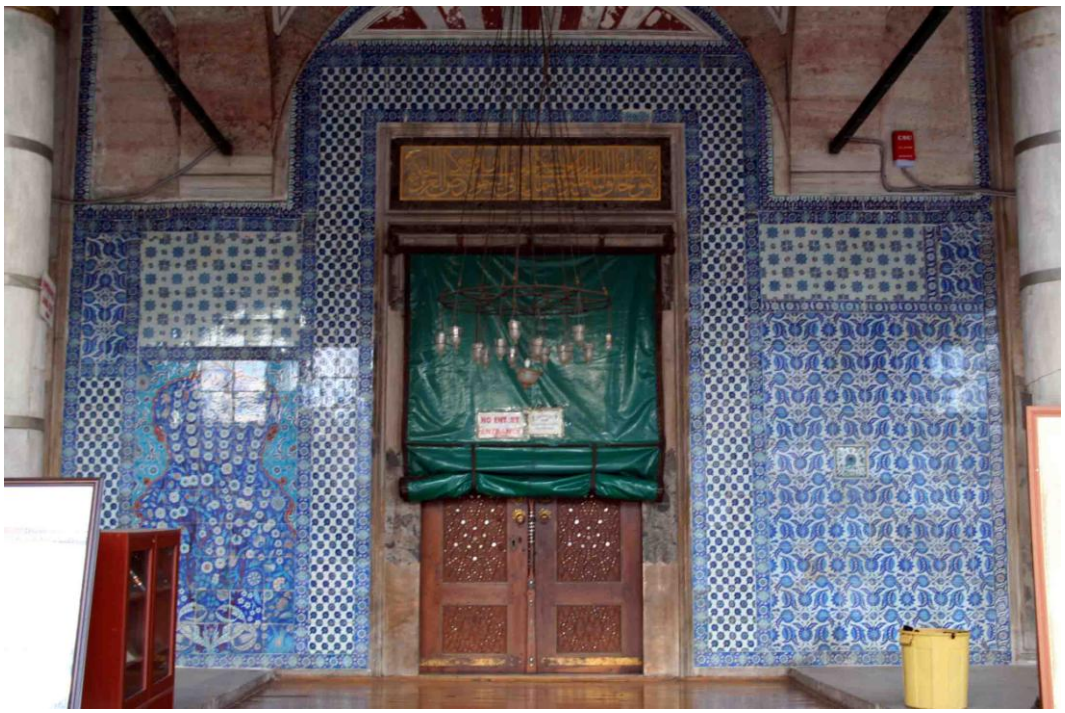
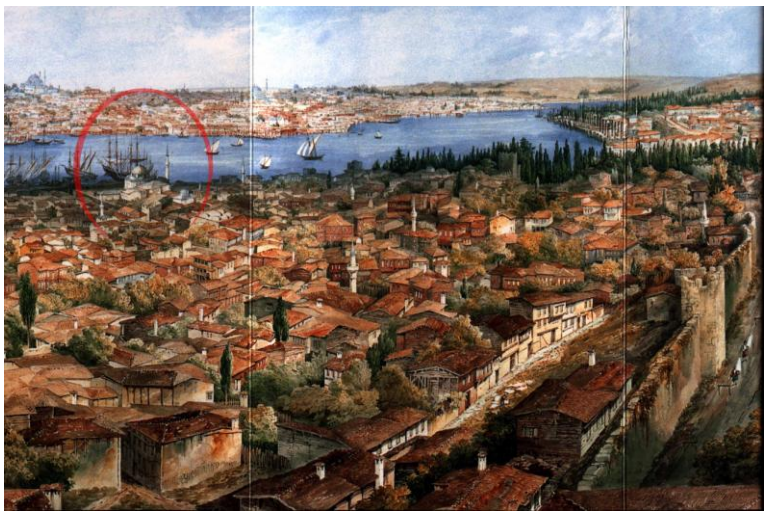


Figure 20 The tiles on the entrance façade of the Rüstem Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

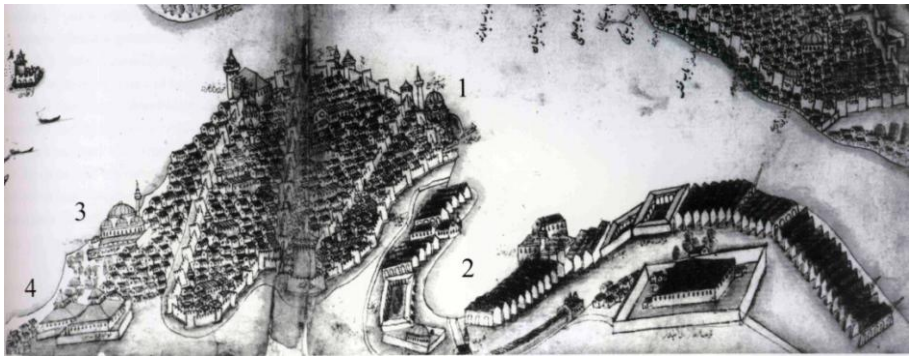
Source: Turkish Naval Museum. Painting; watercolor on paper, Henry Aston Barker, 1774-1856.

Figure 21 Panoramic view of İstanbul from the Galata Tower. The numerous dockyards can be observed along the seashore of Galata District. 1.The Imperial Cannon Foundry 2.Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque 3.Azapkapı Sokullu Mehmed Pasha Mosque



Source: Turkish Naval Museum. Painting; watercolor on paper, Henry Aston Barker, 1774-1856.

Figure 22 Detail from the Figure 21 Azapkapı mosque and the city walls can be seen.



Source: Necipoğlu Kafadar, Gülru, 2005, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford. pg. 363.

Figure 23 Detail from the Piri Reis Map of İstanbul, 1670-1700, watercolor on paper, from Kitab-i Bahriye. 1. Azapkapı Mosque, 2. Kasımpaşa Dockyard, 3. Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque 4.Tophane Cannon Foundry.

Figure 24 Süleymaniye Complex and Rüstem Pasha Mosque from the Azapkapı Mosque Photograph by C. Katipoglu 2006.

Figure 25 The eight sectioned inscription panel of the Azapkapı Mosque over the northwest staircase of the mosque's vestibule. Photograph by C. Katipoglu 2006.

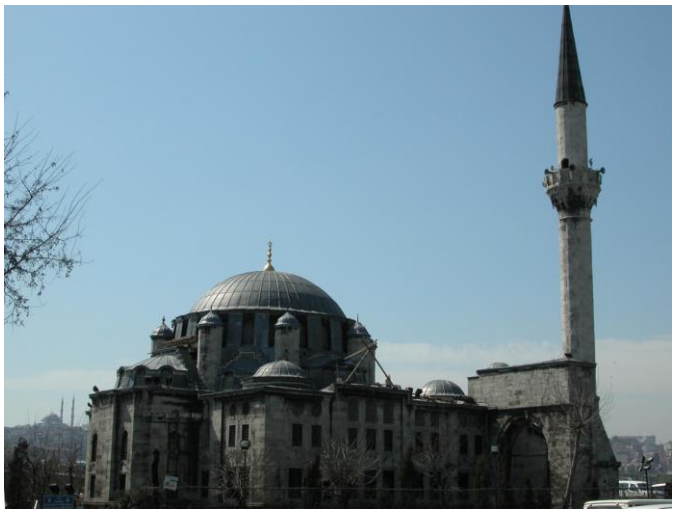


Figure 26 Azapkapı Mosque with its free-standing minaret. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2005.

Figure 27 Left: South and east vaulted stores on the basement level of the mosque. Right: North vaulted stores on the basement level of the mosque. Today these shops are buried due to a recent renovation. Photographs by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Figure 28 The entrance façade of the Azapkapı Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Source: Necipoğlu Kafadar, Gülru, 2005, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford. pg. 364. Thomas Allom's depiction, 1838.

Figure 29 Azapkapı Mosque from the Golden Horn. Süleymaniye Mosque and on its left side Azapkapı Mosque is seen.

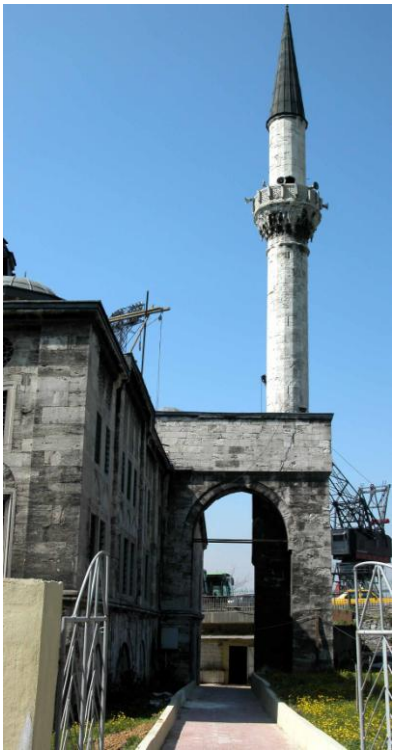


Figure 30 The independent minaret of the Azapkapı Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

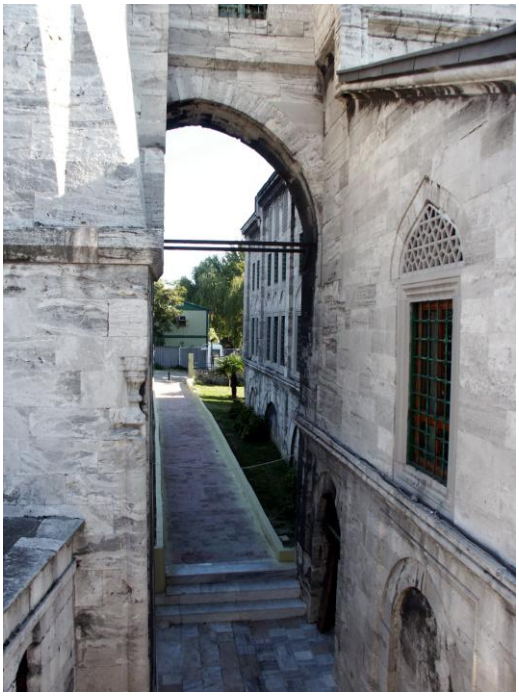
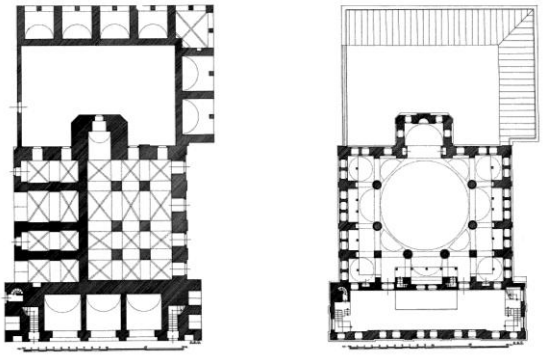
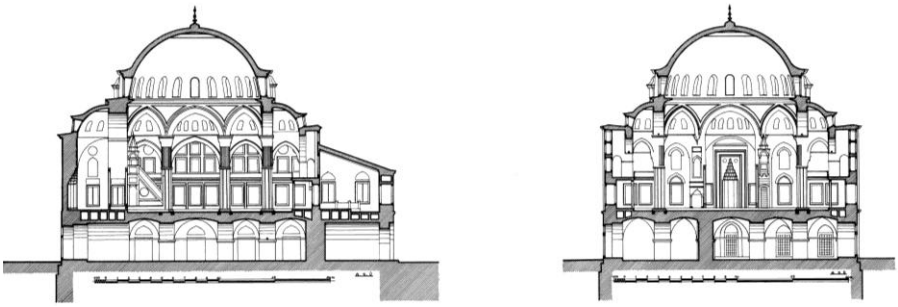


Figure 31 The minaret and east façade of the Azapkapı Mosque. Today a walking way goes down to the entrance façade. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 32 The plans of the basement and first floor of the Azapkapı Mosque. The edifices at the south of the mosque are not extant today.



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 33 The sections of the Azapkapı Mosque.

Figure 34 The covered upper vestibule of the Azapkapı Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Figure 35 The platforms and niches of the Azapkapı Mosque's vestibule. Today two niches are closed by temporary structures. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

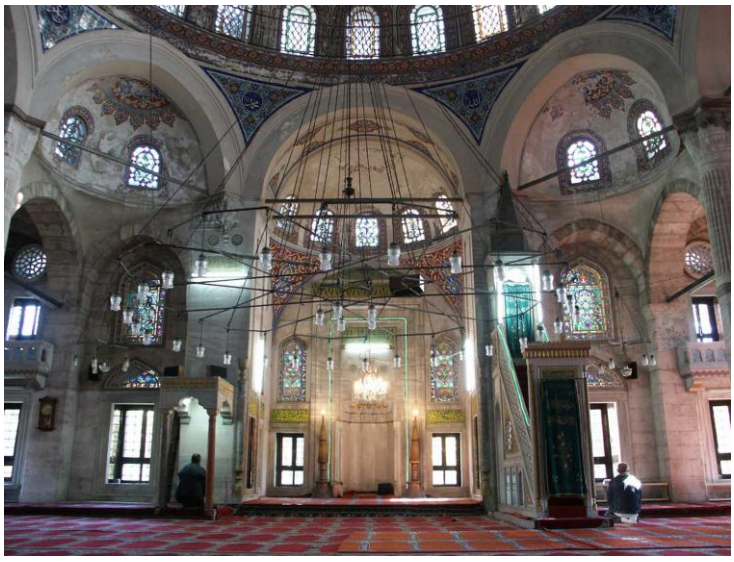
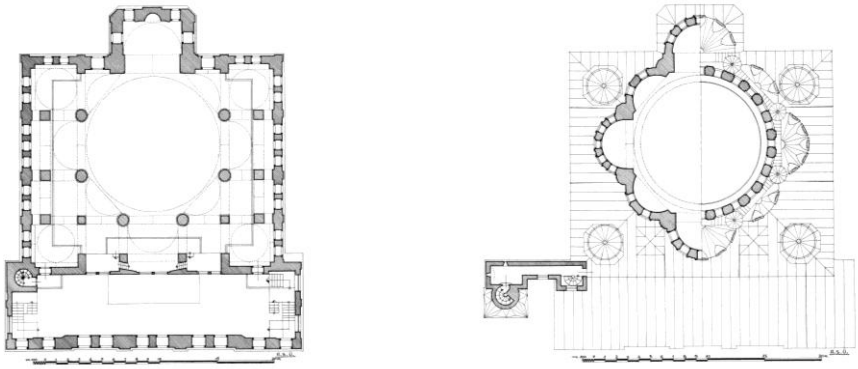


Figure 36 Inner side of the Azapkapı Mosque. Two columns are buried in the two corners of the mihrab niche. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Figure 37 The dome of the Azapkapı Mosque and eight weight turrets around it. Photographs by C. Katipoglu, 2006.



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 38 The first floor and roof plan of the Azapkapı Mosque.

Figure 39 The inner buttresses of the Azapkapı Mosque featuring as book shelves. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

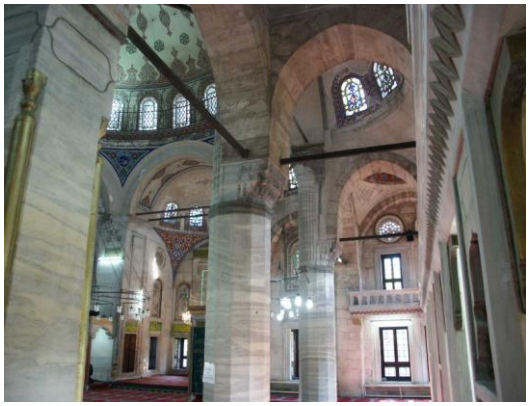


Figure 40 The arches of the octagonal baldachine and the buttresses carried the upper galleries. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Figure 41 The upper galleries of the Azapkapı Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Figure 42 The arches of the Azapkapı Mosque which tie to the buttresses and pillars. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

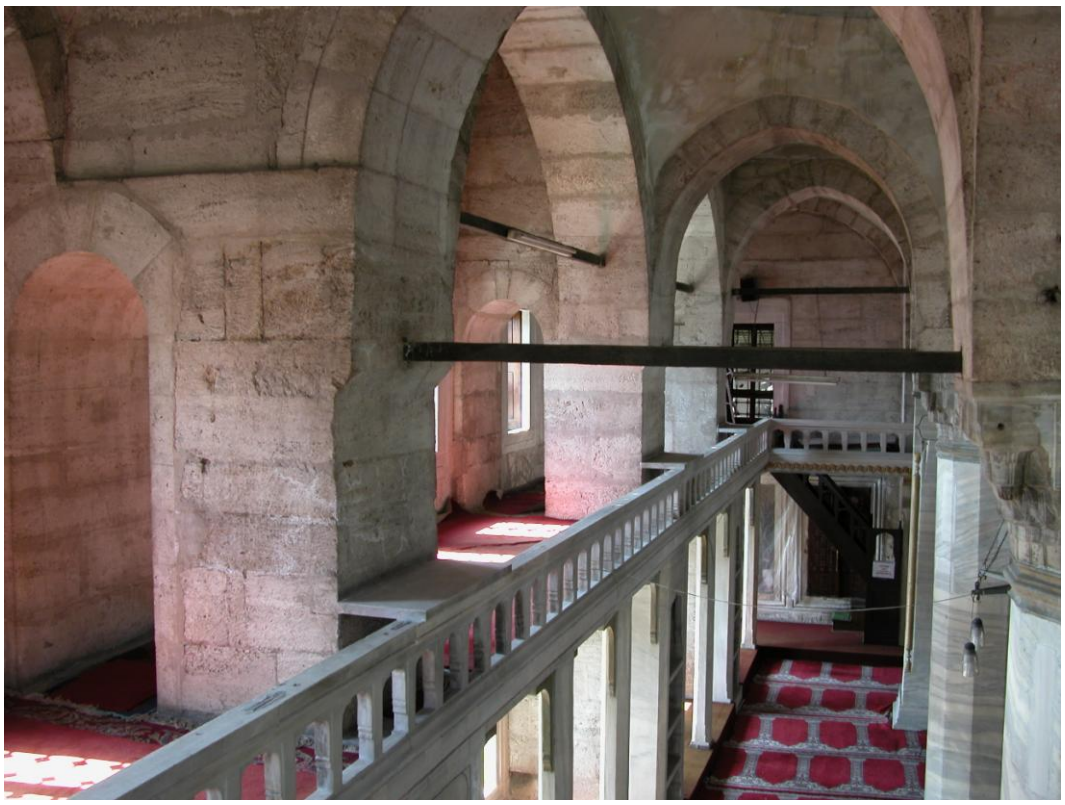
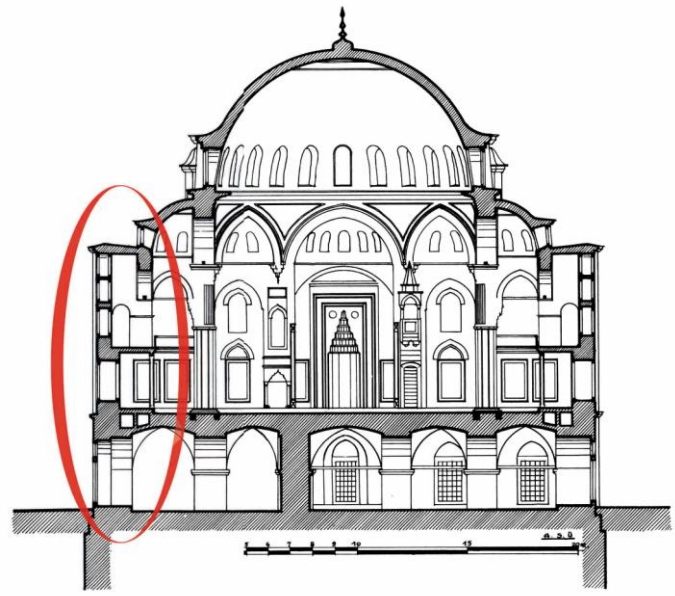


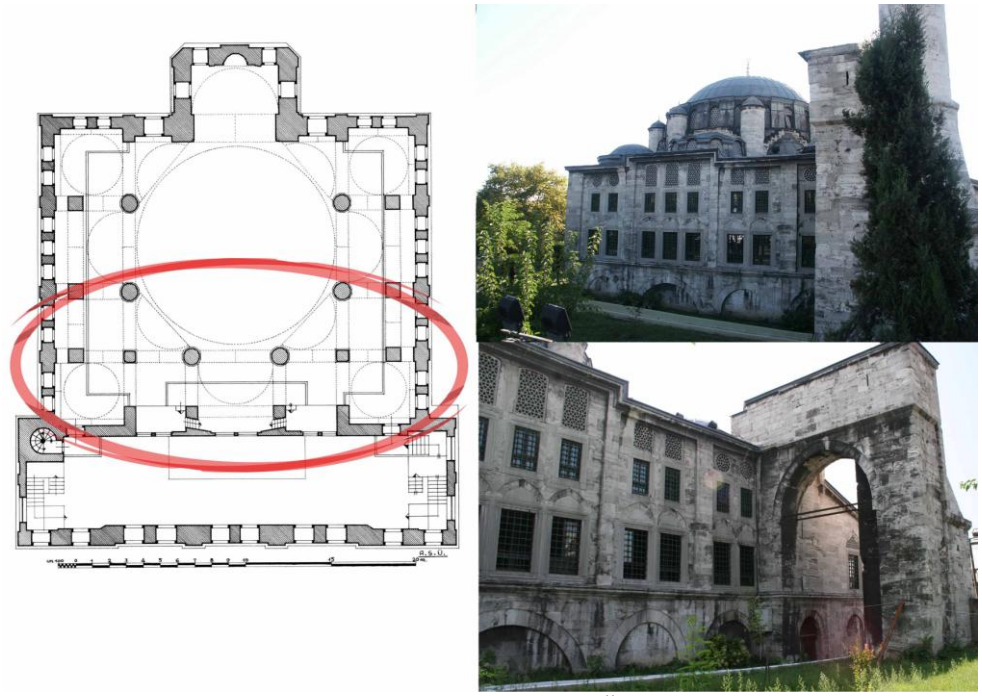
Figure 43 The upper gallery of the Azapkapı Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 44 The section of the Azapkapı Mosque. The relation between the façade and the galleries can be seen.

Figure 45 The west façade of the Azapkapı Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

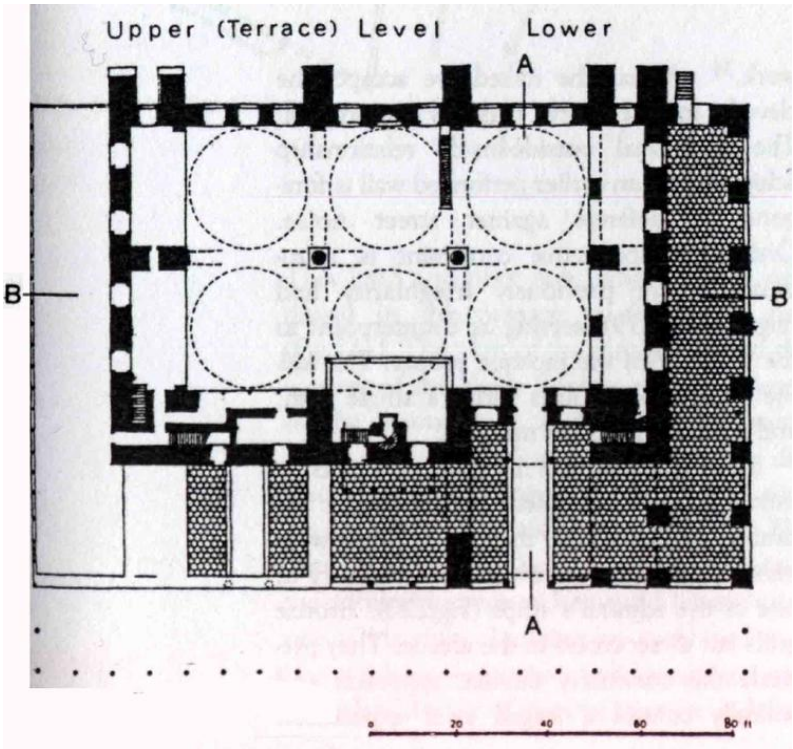
Figure 46 Left: The floor plan of the Mosque. Right above east façade of the Mosque Right belove: The free standing minaret of the Mosque. Photographs by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Figure 47 The south (kıbla) façade of the Azapkapı Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Figure 48 The south and west façade of the Azapkapı Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Source: German Archeology Institution, İstanbul. Date is not cited.

Figure 49 Piyale Pasha Mosque.

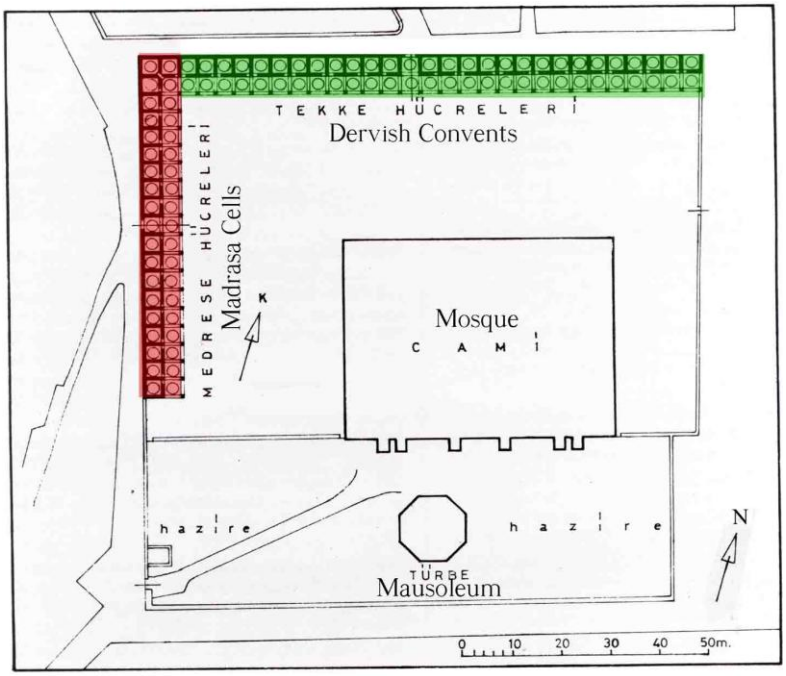


Source: Egli, Hans, G.,1997, *Sinan : an Interpretation*, Istanbul. p. 130.

Figure 50 The plan of the Piyale Pasha Mosque.

Source: German Archeology Institution, İstanbul. Date is not cited.

Figure 51 The view of Piyale Pasha Mosque from east side.

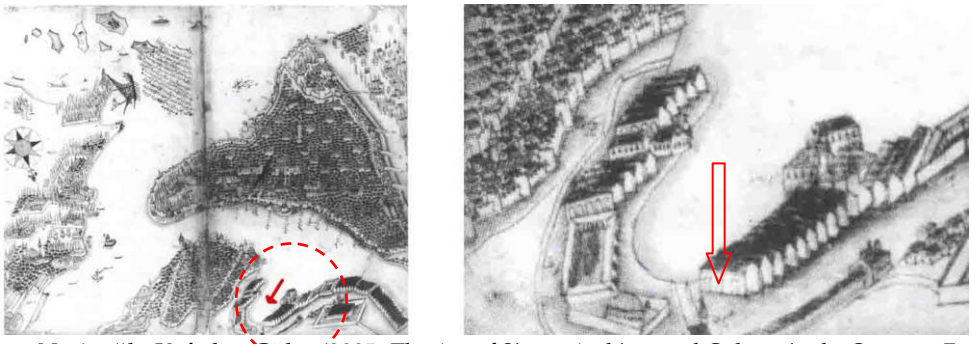


Source: Tanman, Baha, 1989, "Istanbul Kasımpaşa'daki Piyale Paşa Külliyesi'nin Medresesi ve Tekkesi için bir Restitüsyon Denemesi", *Sanat tarihinde Doğudan Batıya: Ünsal Yücel Ansına Sempozyum Bildirileri*, Sandoz yayınları, p. 91

Figure 52 Hypothetical reconstruction of the Piyale Pasha Complex.

Source: Günay, Reha, 1998, *Sinan: The Architect and his Works,* Istanbul : YEM. Drawing of Nakkaş Osman, 1584.

Figure 53 Detail of the dockyard of the Kasımpaşa.



Source: Necipoğlu Kafadar, Gülru, 2005, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford. pg. 109.

Figure 54 Map of Piri Reis, 1670-1700. Detail of the dockyard of Kasımpaşa.

Figure 55 Interior space of the Piyale Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2007. (After the 2006-2007 restoration)

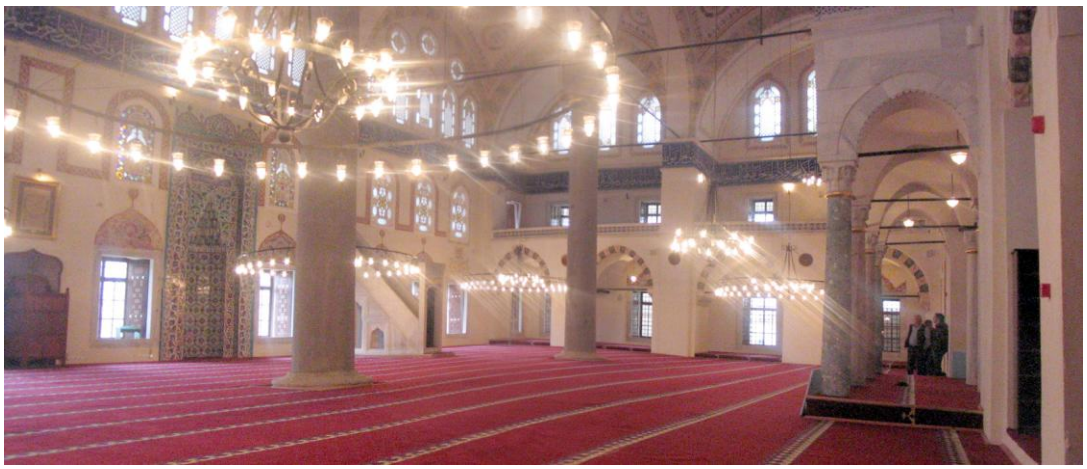
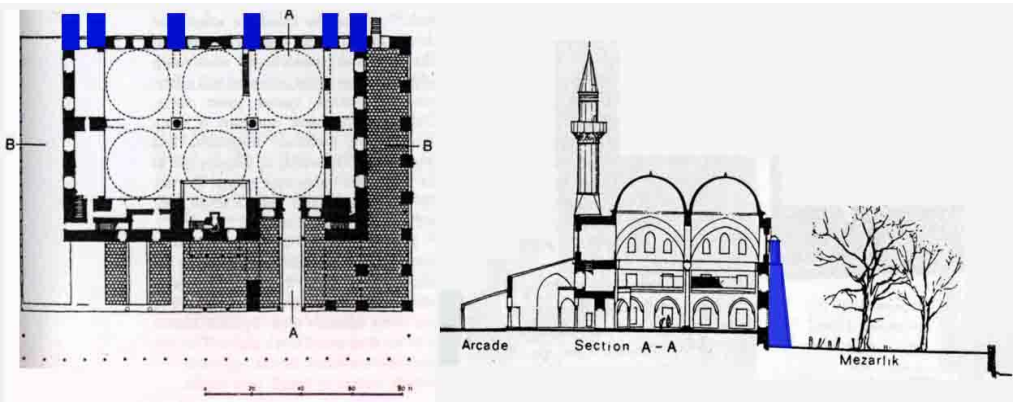


Figure 56 Interior space of the Piyale Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2007. (After the 2006-2007 restoration)



Source: Egli, Hans, G.,1997, *Sinan : an Interpretation*, Istanbul. p. 130.

Figure 57 Left: Plan of the Maosque. Right: Section of the Mosque. Weight Turrets can be seen.

Figure 58 Qıbla wall of the Piyale Pasha Mosque. Photographs by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

Figure 59 East and South galleries of the Piyale Pasha Mosque. Photographs by C. Katipoğlu, 2007. (After the 2006-2007 restoration)

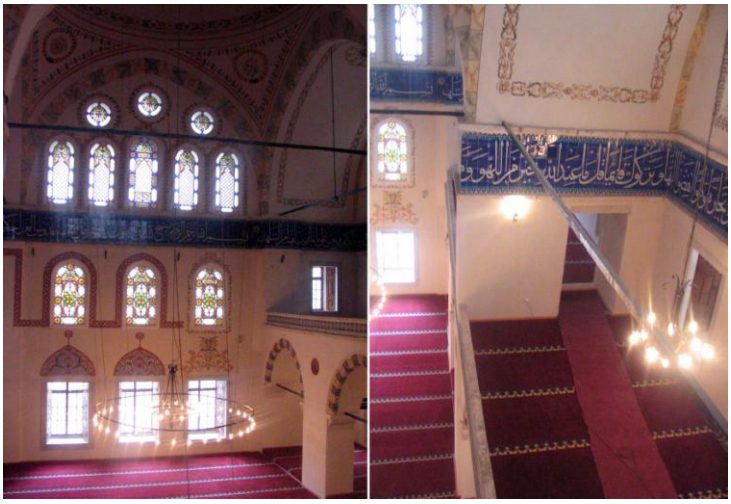
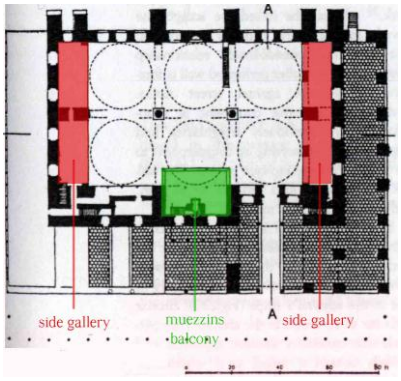


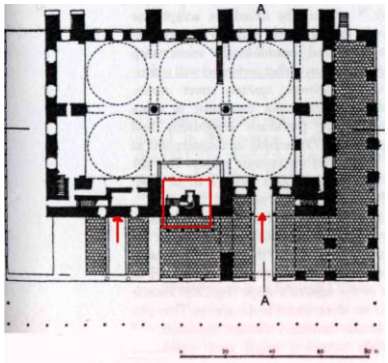
Figure 60 West side galleries in the wide-spanned arches of the Piyale Pasha Mosque. Photographs by C. Katipoğlu, 2007. (After the 2006-2007 restoration)

Figure 61 The müezzin's balcony and side galleries of the Piyale Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2007. (After the 2006-2007 restoration)



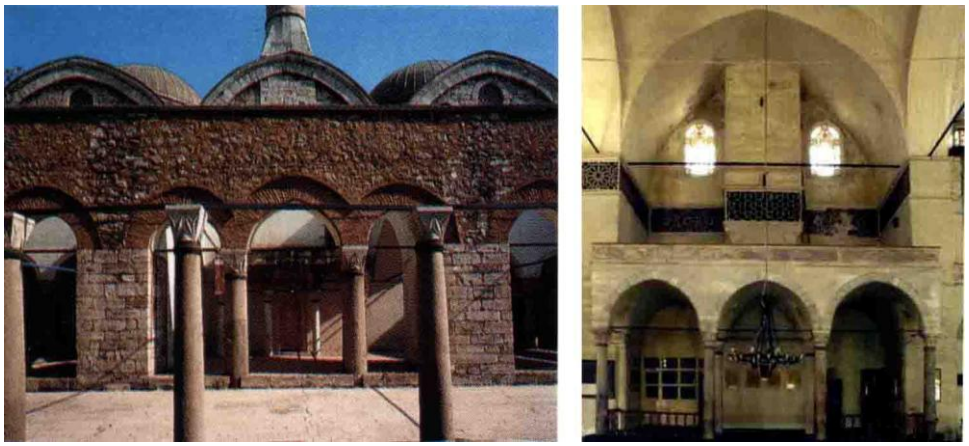
Source: (after) Egli, Hans, G.,1997, *Sinan : an Interpretation*, Istanbul. p. 130.

Figure 62 The müzzins' balcony and side galleries of the Piyale Pasha Mosque.



Source: (after) Egli, Hans, G.,1997, *Sinan : an Interpretation*, Istanbul. p. 130.

Figure 63 The place of the entrances and the minaret of the Piyale Pasha Mosque.



Source: Left: Cansever, Turgut, 2005, Mimar Sinan, Albarakatürk Yayınları, Istanbul, p.378. Right: Sözen Metin, 1988, *Sinan, Architect of Ages,* Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası. Sözen, Metin, 1989, *Mimar Sinan ve Tezkiret-ül Bünyan,* Istanbul: Emlak Bankası, p.275.

Figure 64 Left: The minaret of the mosque which stands back to the müezzin's balcony at the middle of the entrance facade. Right: Müezzin's balcony.

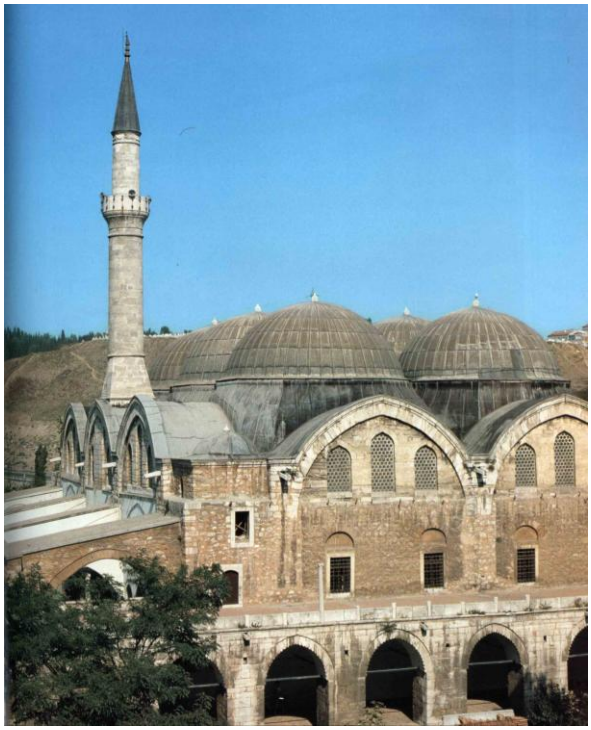
Figure 65 The entrance of the Piyale Pasha Mosque. Photographs by C. Katipoğlu, 2007. (After the 2006-2007 restoration)

Figure 66 The vaulted covered portico of the east side of Piyale Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2007. (After the 2006-2007 restoration)

Figure 67 The mihrab niche at the center of the entrance façade of the Piyale Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2007. (After the 2006-2007 restoration)

Source: Tanman, Baha, 1989, "Istanbul Kasımpaşa'daki Piyale Paşa Külliyesi'nin Medresesi ve Tekkesi için bir Restitüsyon Denemesi", *Sanat tarihinde Doğudan Batıya: Ünsal Yücel Anısına Sempozyum Bildirileri*, Sandoz yayınları, p. 90

Figure 68 The courtyard of the Piyale Pasha Mosque, Jules Laurens' picture, in 1846-1849.



Source: Sönmez, Zeki, 1988, "Mimar Sinan ve Hassa Mimarlar Ocağı", *Mimar Sinan Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı ve Sanatı,* ed. by Zeki Sönmez, Istanbul: Misirli Matbaacilik. p. 273

Figure 69 The west façade of the Piyale Pasha Mosque.

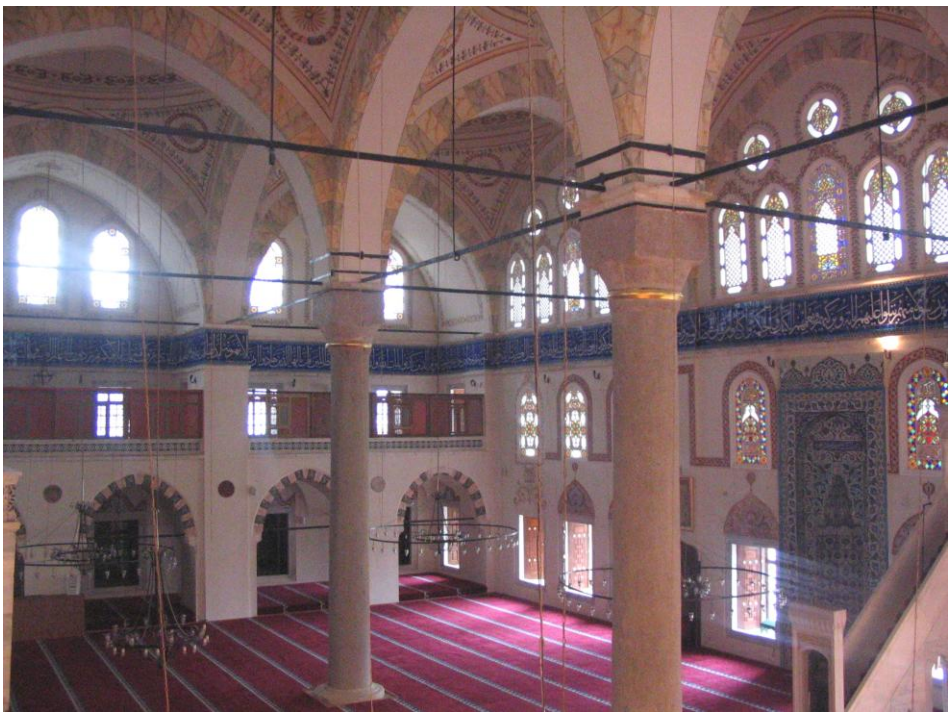


Figure 70 The white-on-blue inscription band wraps all around the prayer hall of the Piyale Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2007. (After the 2006-2007 restoration)

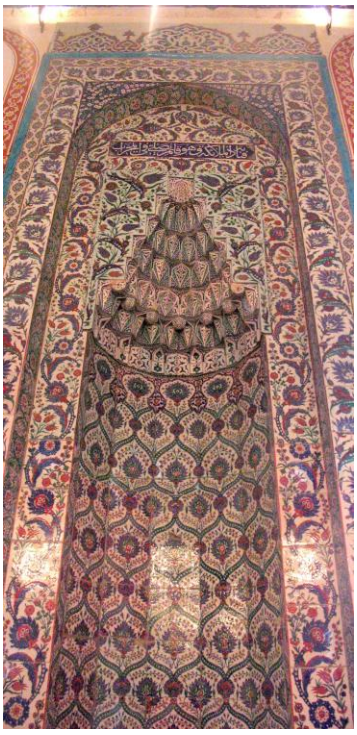


Figure 71 The mihrap niche of the Piyale Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2007. (After the 2006-2007 restoration)

Figure 72 The white marble minbar of the Piyale Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2007. (After the 2006-2007 restoration)

Figure 73 The columns of the courtyard of Piyale Pasha Mosque. Photographs by C. Katipoglu, 2005. (Before the 2006-2007 restoration)

Figure 74 Left: The columns at the galleries of the Mosque Right: The columns at the portico of the Mosque. Photographs by C. Katipoğlu, 2007. (After the 2006-2007 restoration)

Figure 75 The circular discs on the side walls of the Piyale Pasha Mosque. Photographs by C. Katipoğlu, 2007. (After the 2006-2007 restoration)

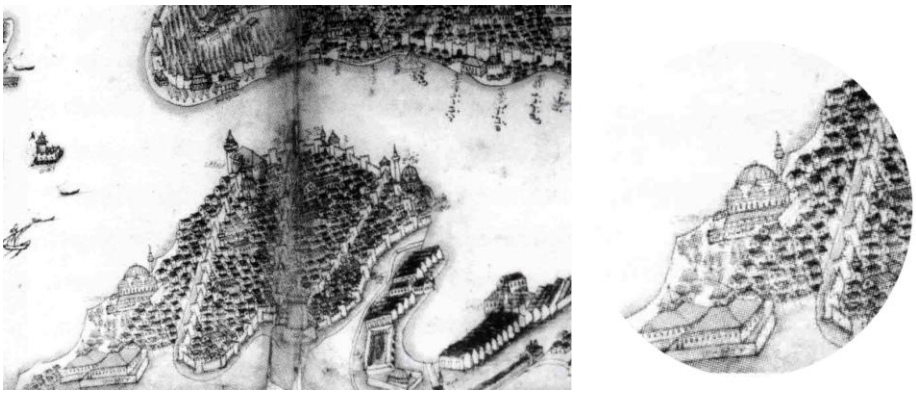
Figure 76 The columns of the muezzin balcony of the Piyale Pasha Mosque. Photographs by C. Katipoğlu, 2007. (After the 2006-2007 restoration)

Source: Turkish Naval Museum. Painting; watercolor on paper, Henry Aston Barker, 1774-1856.

Figure 77 Detail from the panoramic view of the İstanbul from the Galata Tower. Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque stands at the outside of the city walls.

Source: Necipoğlu Kafadar, Gülru, 2005, The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford. p. 108.

Figure 78 Panoramic view of İstanbul, Anonymous Austrian artist, 1590.

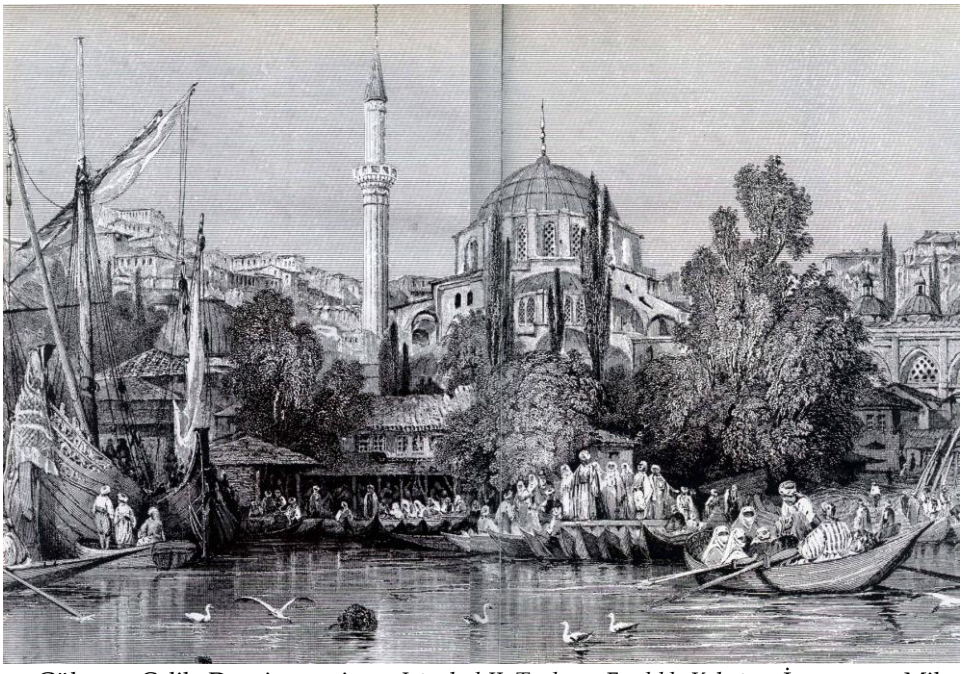


Source: Necipoğlu Kafadar, Gülru, 2005, The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford. p. 298.

Figure 79 Piri Reis Map of İstanbul, Kitab-ı Bahriye, 1670-1700.

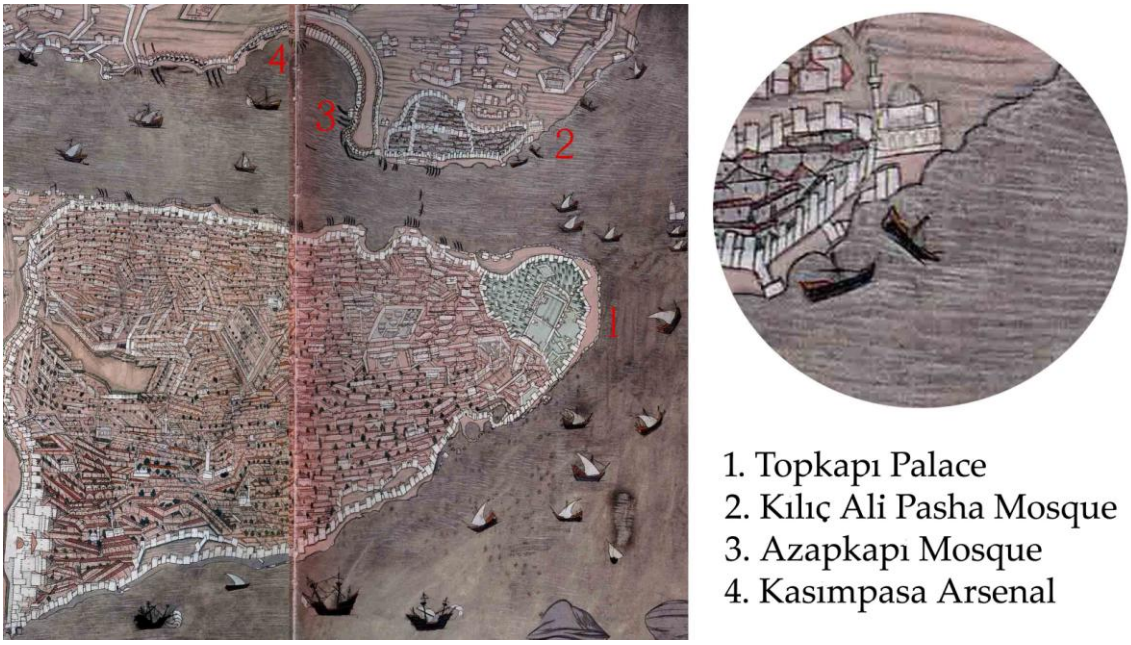
Source: Gülersoy Çelik, Date is not given, *Istanbul II, Tophane-Fındıklı-Kabataş* , İnterrepro, Milano. p. 26-27.

Figure 80 Tophane waterfront with cannons on the right side, jetties, boats and the Kılıç Ali Pasha mosque. Gravure; Paris, 1842.



Source: Gülersoy Çelik, Date is not given, *Istanbul II, Tophane-Fındıklı-Kabataş* , İnterrepro, Milano. p. 26-27.

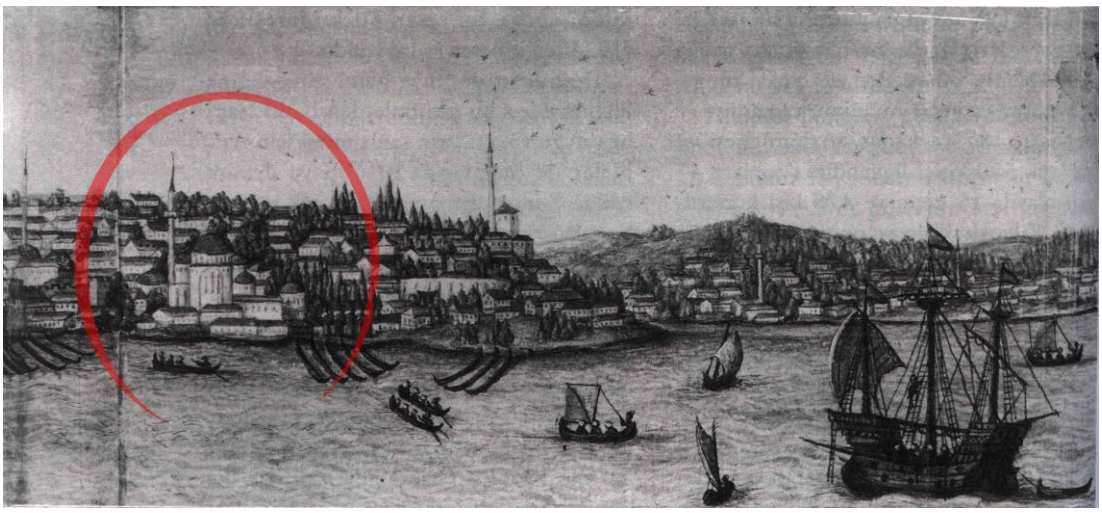
Figure 81 Tophane district with big trees and rowing-boats. Gravure: Thomas Allom.



Source: Günay, Reha, 1998, *Sinan: The Architect and his Works,* Istanbul : YEM. p. 5-6

Figure 82 Nakkaş Osman's plan of İstanbul, 1584, Hürname.

Figure 83 Panoramic view of the Bosphorus from the minaret of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Photographs by C. Katipoglu, 2006



Source: Wolfgang, Müller-Wiener, 1998, *Bizans'tan Osmanlı'ya Istanbul Limanı*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, Istanbul. pg. 126.

Figure 84 Galata and Tophane, 1580. Cod. Vindop. 8626. Dependencies of the complex can be seen at the edge of the sea.

Source: Gülersoy Çelik, Date is not given, *Istanbul II, Tophane-Fındıklı-Kabataş* , İnterrepro, Milano. p. 72-73.

Figure 85 Gravure of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque and the public fountain. Date is not defined. Melling.

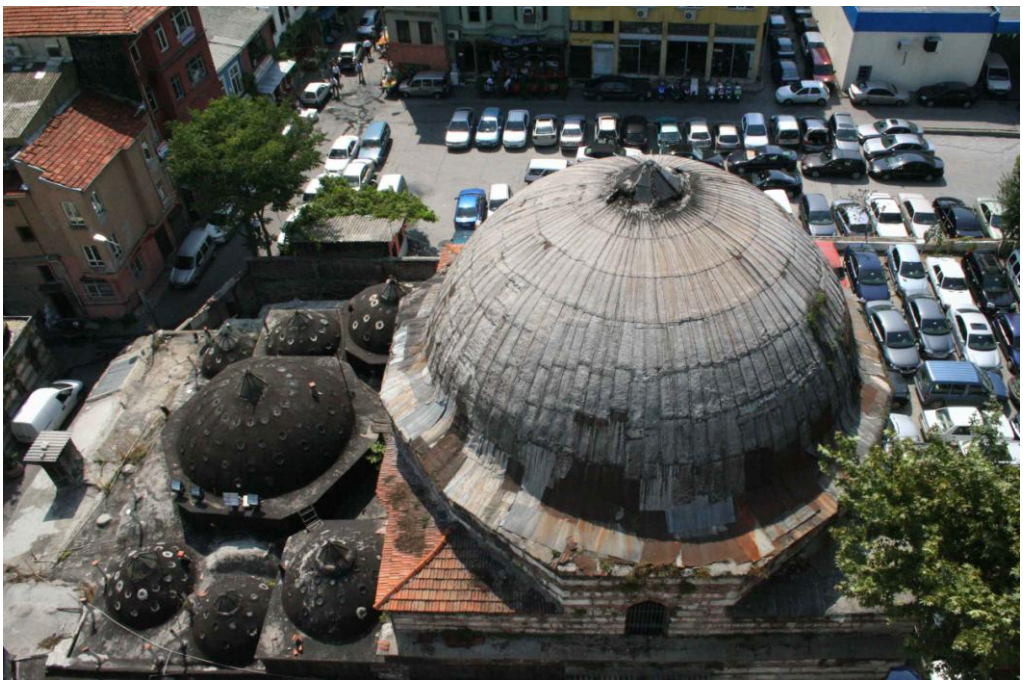
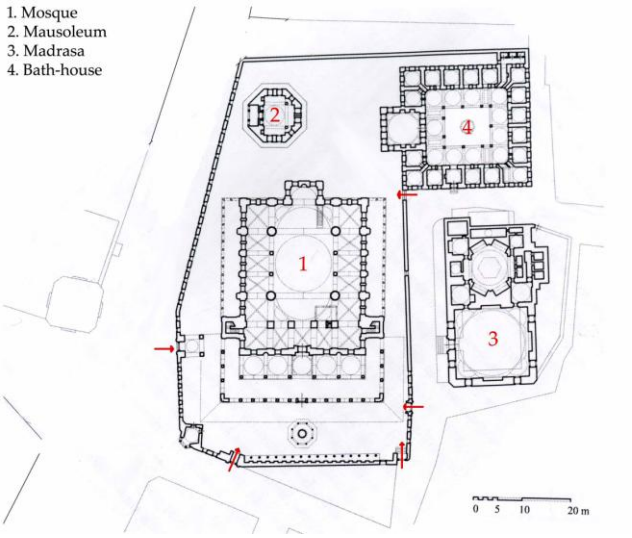


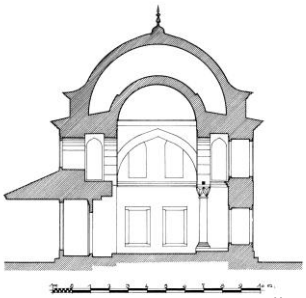
Figure 86 The bath-house of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Complex from the minaret of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Figure 87 The madrasa of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Complex from the minaret of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.



Source: Necipoğlu Kafadar, Gülru, 2005, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford. p. 429.

Figure 88 The site plan of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Complex.



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 89 The section of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mausoleum.

Figure 90 The main entrance of the courtyard of the Kılıç Ali Pasha. Photographs by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Figure 91 The water dispenser of the Kılıç Ali Pasha at the intersection point of the north and east precinct walls. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Figure 92 The ablution fountain and double portico of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2005.

Figure 93 The Double Portico of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2005.

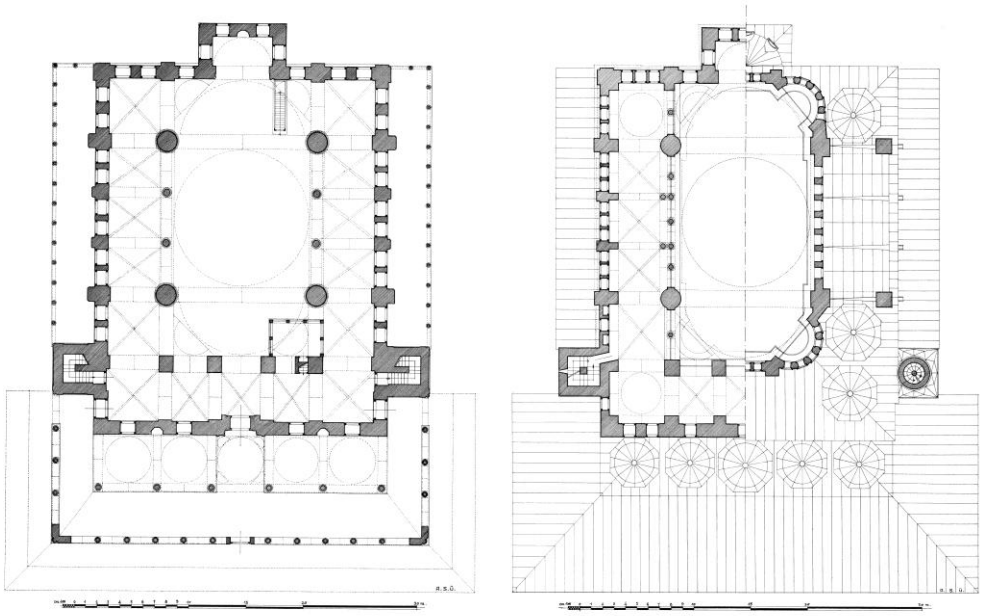
Figure 94 The ablution fountains of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque; one of them on the inner side of the precinct wall and the other at the center of the courtyard. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Figure 95 Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque from the street. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2005.

Figure 96 The main entrance of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2005.

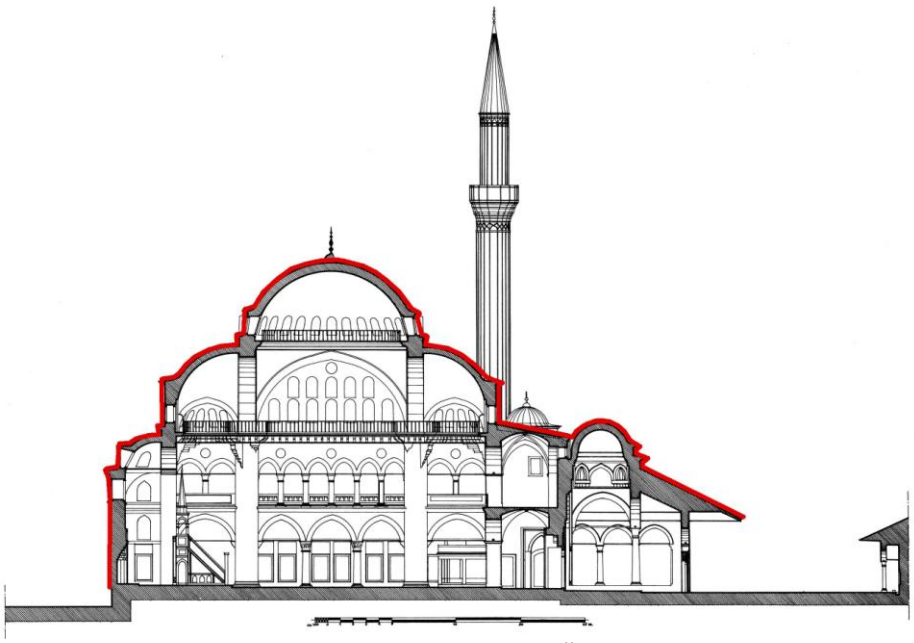
Figure 97 Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque from its minaret. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Figure 98 The west façade of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 99 The ground and roof plans of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque.



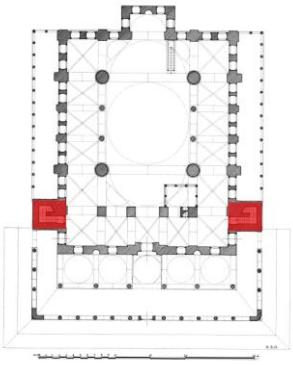
Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 100 The section of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque.

Figure 101 The inner central space of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Figure 102 The lateral galleries around the three sides of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Photographs by C. Katipoglu, 2006.

Figure 103 The double columns at the galleries of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Photographs by C. Katipoglu, 2006.



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 104 The projecting stairs of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque.

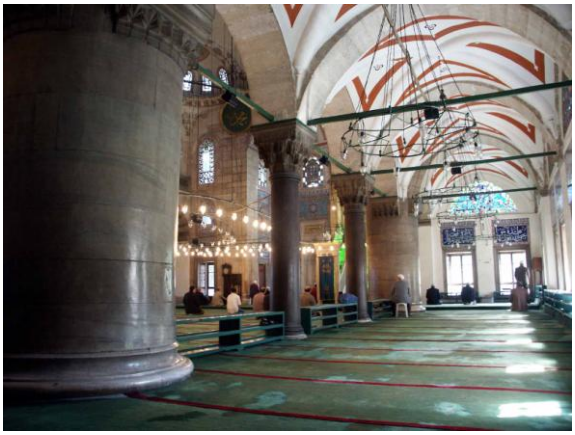
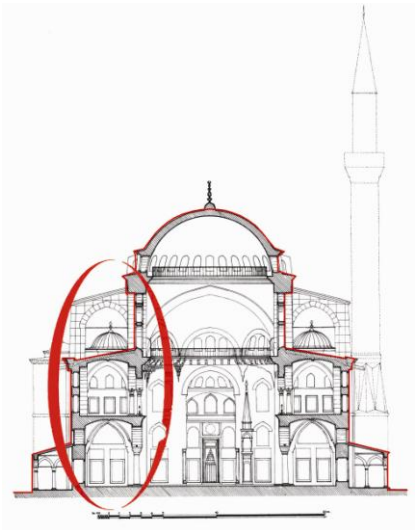


Figure 105 The cross vaulted east exedra of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoglu, 2005.

Figure 106 Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque from its minaret. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006

Figure 107 The east façade of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 108 The section of Kilic Ali Pasha Mosque from the parallel of the mihrab wall.

Figure 109 The cross-vaulted side galleries of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

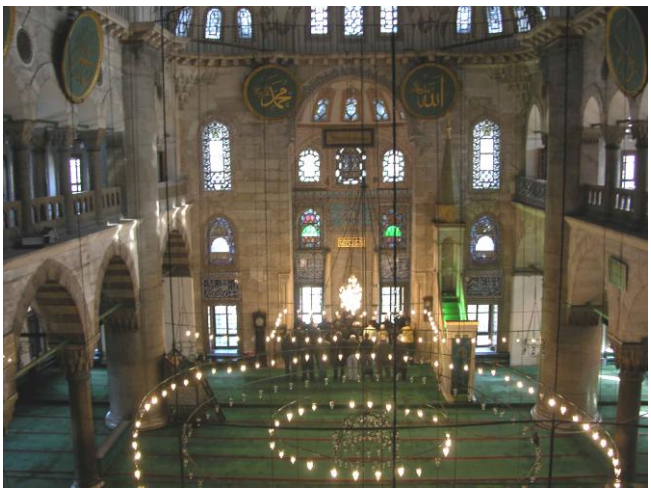


Figure 110 The inner space of the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

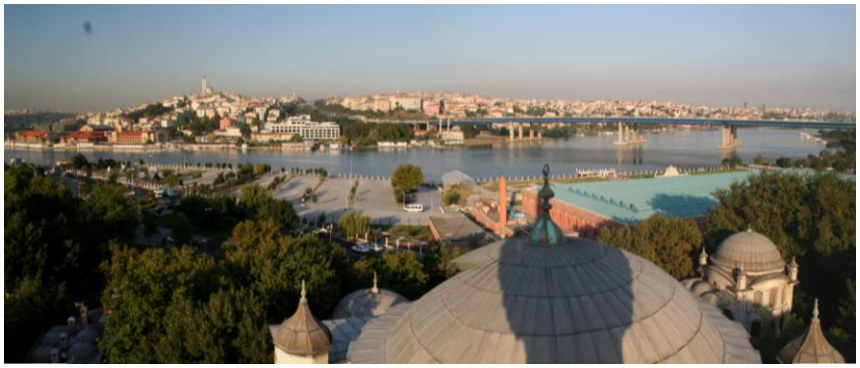


Figure 111 Panoramic view of the shoreline of Eyüp from the minaret of the Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

Figure 112 Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Complex from the sea. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

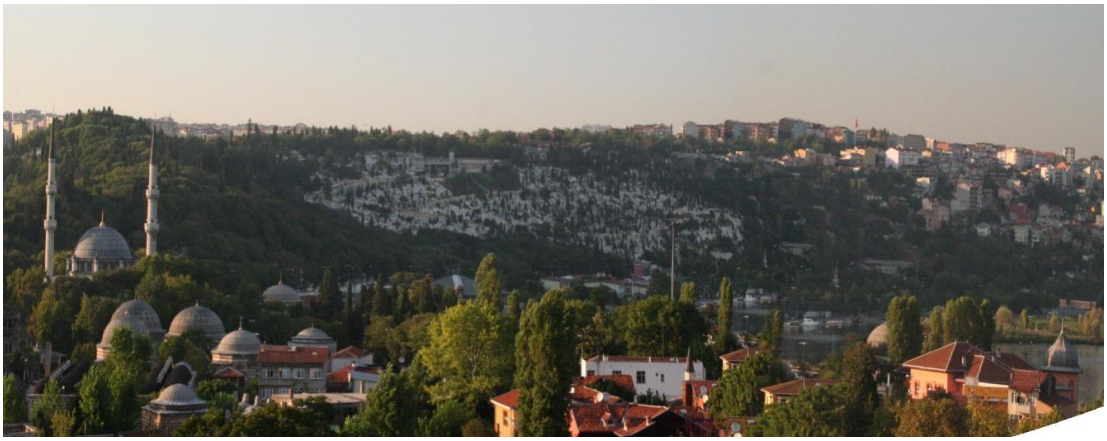
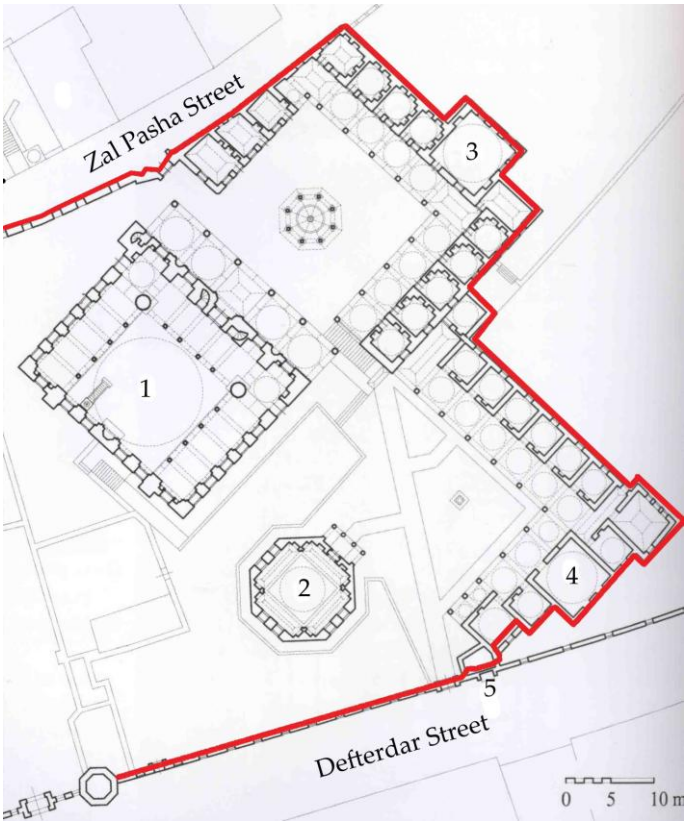


Figure 113 The hillside of the Eyüp from the minaret of the Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque. Graves, tombs and the domes of the mosque is the dominant character of Eyüp. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.



Source: (Necipoğlu Kafadar, Gülru, 2005, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford. p. 368.

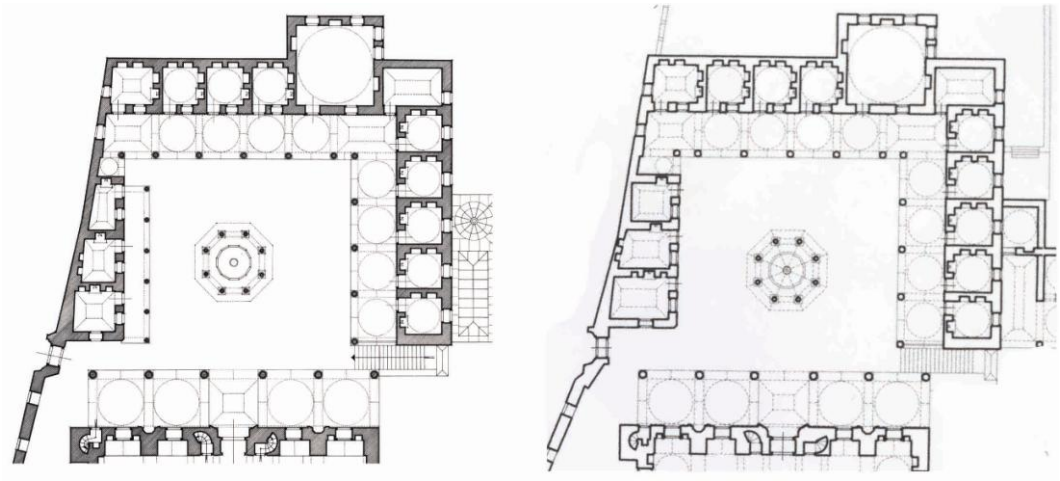
Figure 114 The site plan of the Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Complex. 1. The Mosque 2. The Mausoleum 3.The Upper Madrasa 4.The Lower Madrasa 5.The public fountain on the precint wall.

Figure 115 The lower and upper madrasa and the mosque of the Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Complex. The construction material of the madrasas and the mosque can be seen. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

Figure 116 The staircase leading the lower and upper courtyards of the Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Complex. Photographs by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

Figure 117 The lower madrasa from the portico of the Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

Figure 118 The ablution fountain of the Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Complex. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.



Source: Left: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara. Right: Necipoğlu Kafadar, Gülru, 2005, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford. p. 368.

Figure 119 Plans of the Şahsultan Madrasa (upper madrasa) of the Complex.

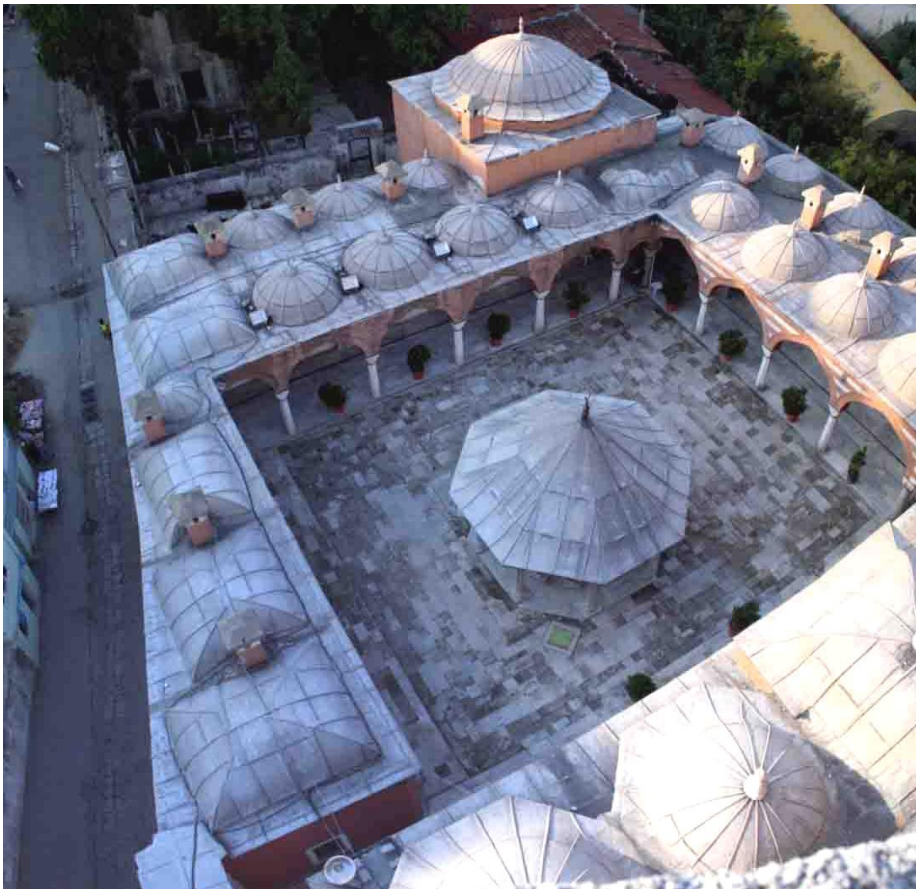
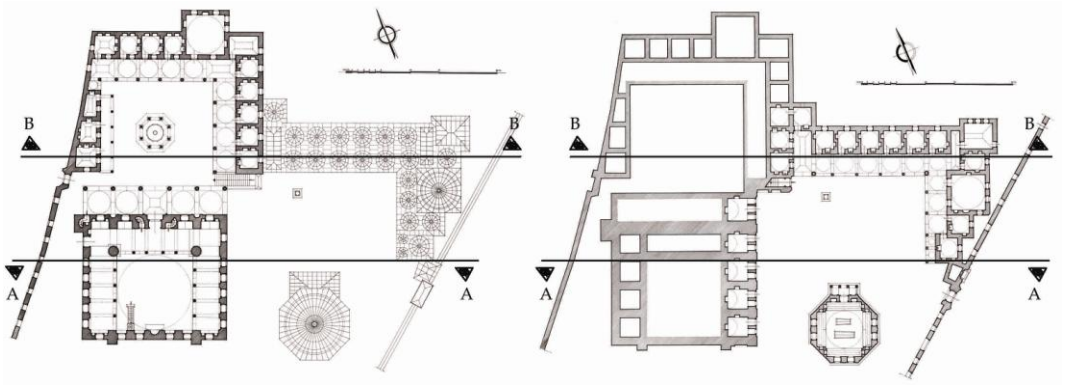


Figure 120 The view of the upper madrasa of the Complex from the minaret of the mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

Figure 121 Left: the south (mihrab side) and west façade of the Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque. Right: the detail of the buttress and waterspouts on the south façade of the mosque. Photographs by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

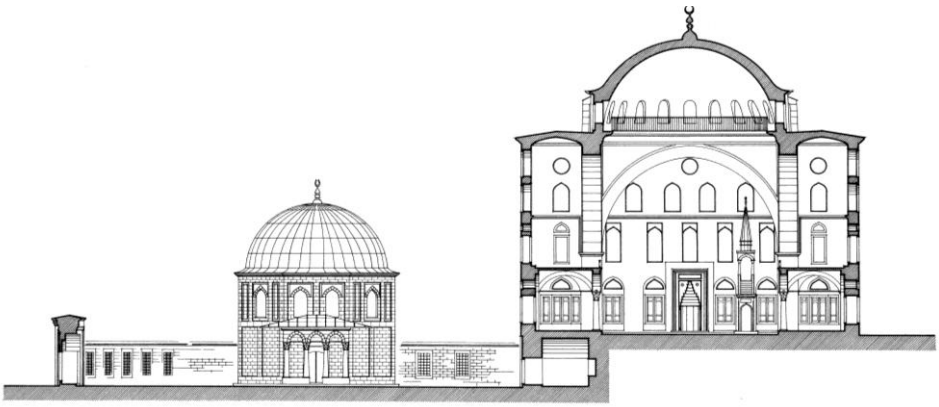
Figure 122 The west façade of the Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

Figure 123 The east façade of the Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque. Photographs by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.



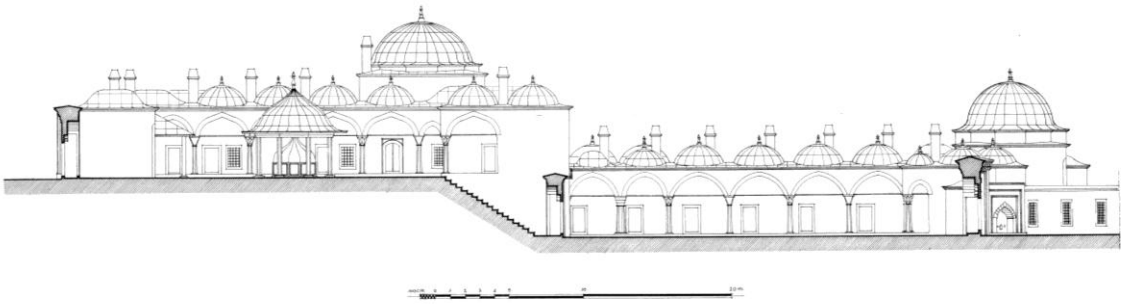
Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 124 The plans of the Complex.



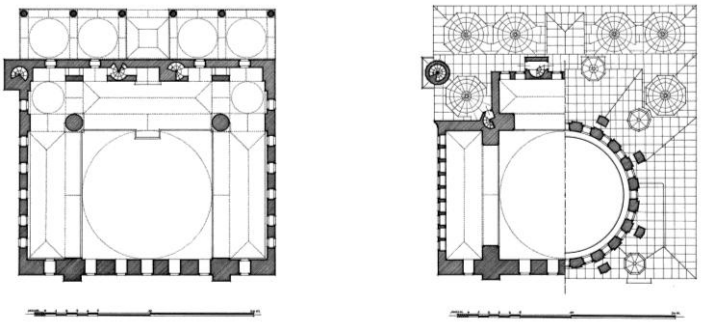
Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 125 The A-A section of the Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque.



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 126 The B-B section of the Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque.

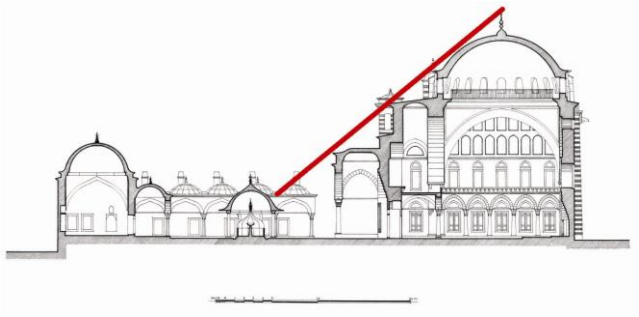


Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 127 The ground and roof plan of the Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque.

Figure 128 The portico of the Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

Figure 129 The lead cover main dome, portico and the vestibule of the Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque from the minaret of the mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 130 The section of the Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque and its courtyard.

Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 131 The sections of the Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque.

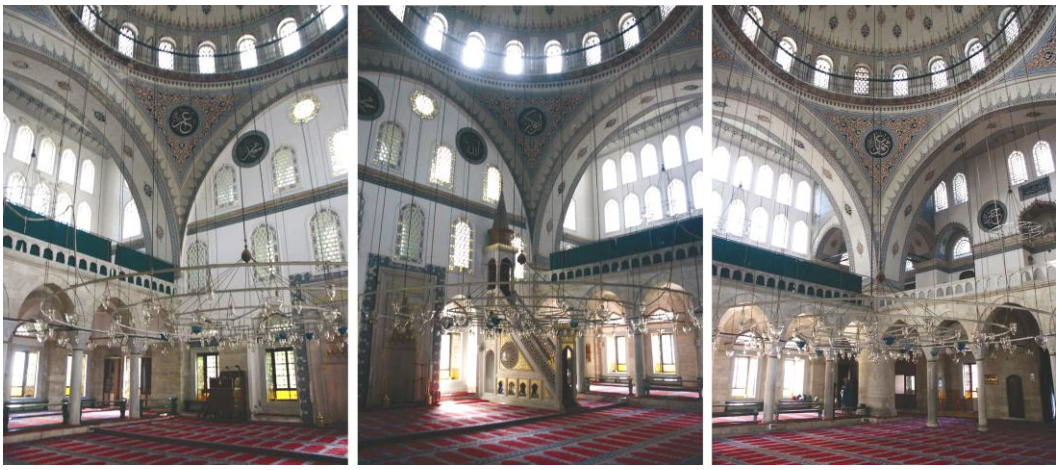


Figure 132 The interior space of the Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

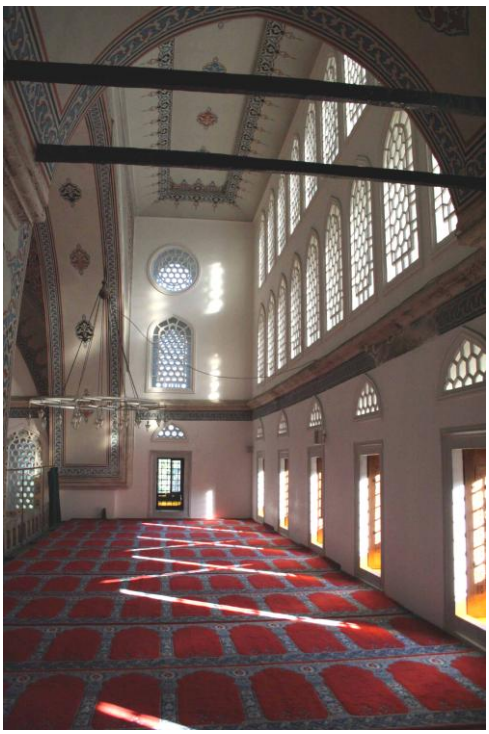


Figure 133 The upper west lateral gallery of Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

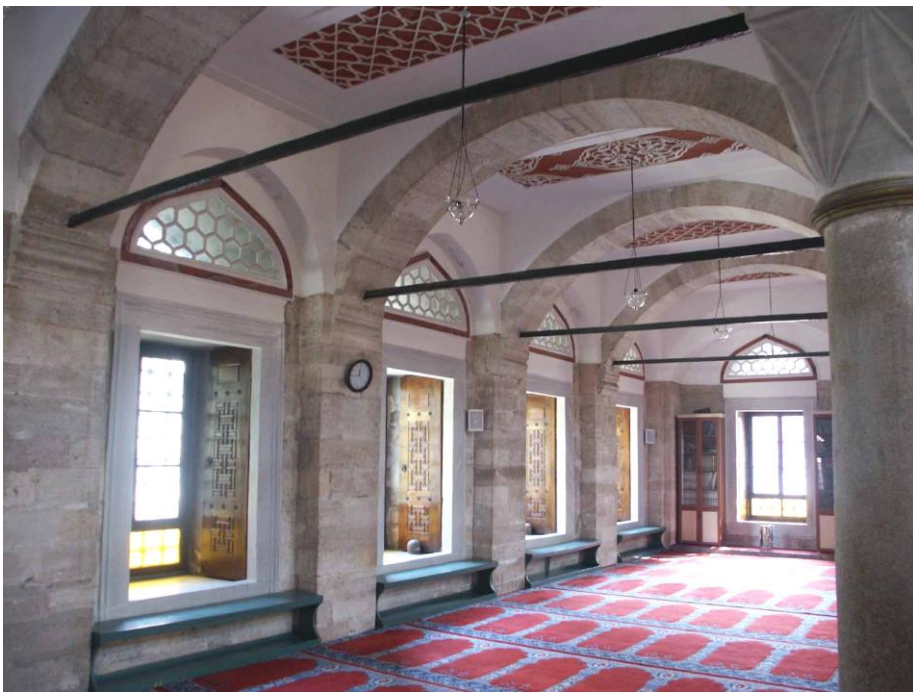


Figure 134 The flat-roofed lateral space of Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

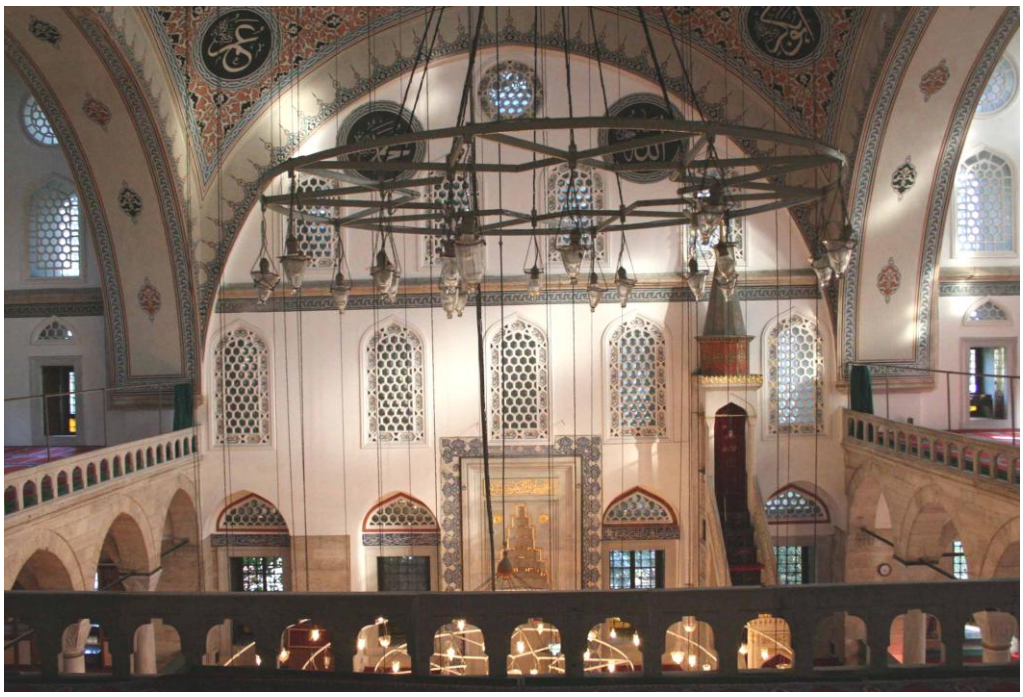


Figure 135 The mihrab wall from the upper gallery of Şahsultan and Zal Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

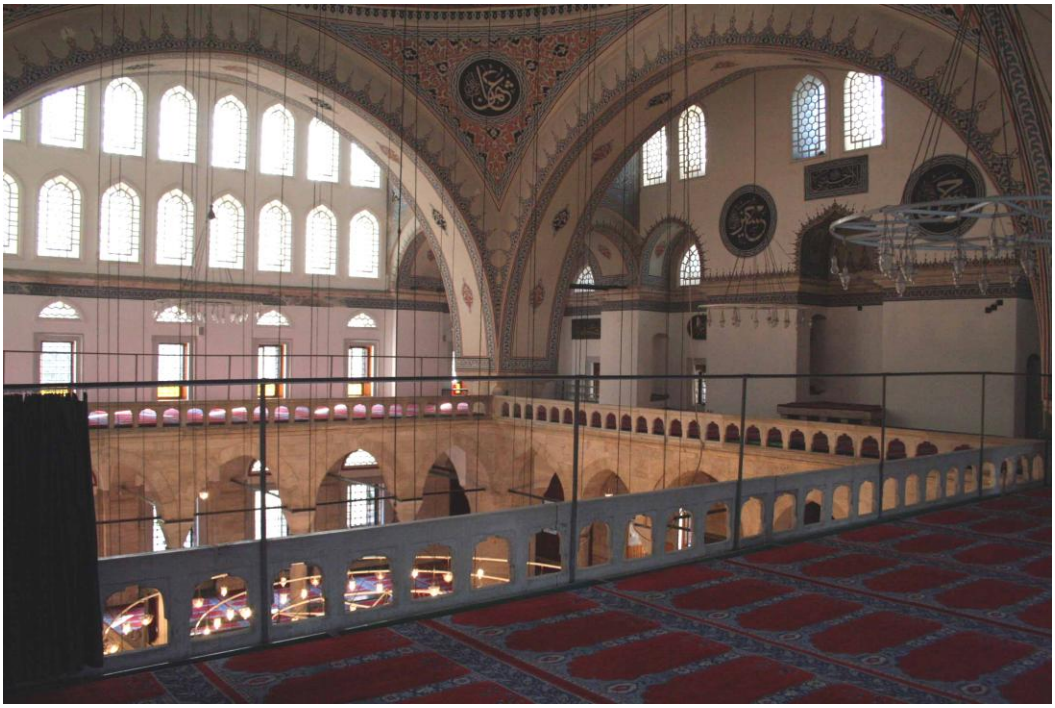


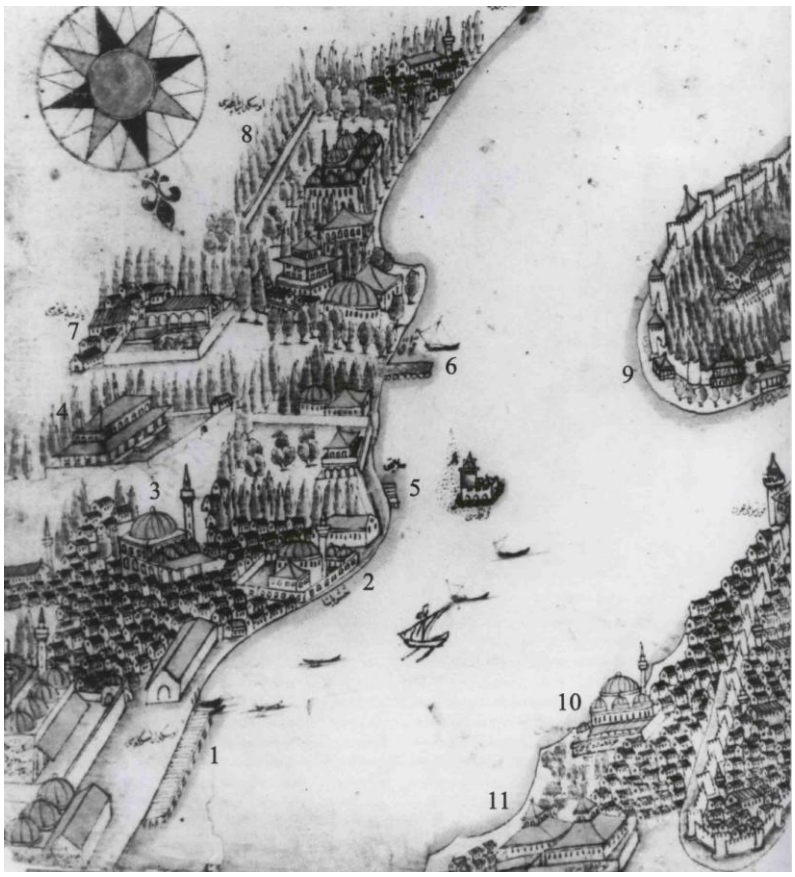
Figure 136 The upper lateral galleries which surrounded the three sides of the mosque of Şahsultan and Zal Pasha. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

Figure 137 The weight turrets covered with onion domes emphasized the appearance of the main dome. Photographs by C. Katipoğlu, 2006

Figure 138 The mihrab and the minbar of the Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu, 2006.

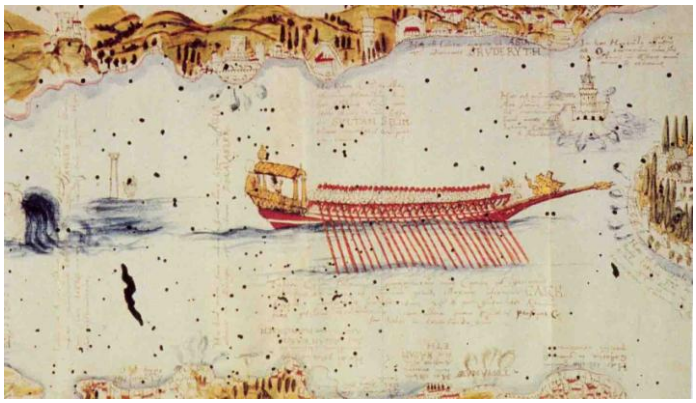
Source: (Necipoğlu Kafadar, Gülru, 2005, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford. p. 108.

Figure 139 Panoramic view of the Üsküdar and Kadıköy, Anonymous Austrian Artist, 1590. Cited in Necipoğlu 2005, p 108.



Source: (Necipoğlu Kafadar, Gülru, 2005, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford. p. 298.

Figure 140 Piri Reis Map of İstanbul, Kitab-ı Bahriye, 1670-1700. 1.Üsküdar Mihrimah Sultan Complex, 2.Şemsi Ahmed Pasha Complex, 3.Rum Mehmed Pasha Complex, 4.Palace of the Mihrimah Sultan, 5.Salacak Landing Station, 6.Kavak Lading Station, 7.Ayazma Summer Palace, 8.Kavak Palace, 9.Topkapı Palace, 10.Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque, 11.Tophane cannon foundry.

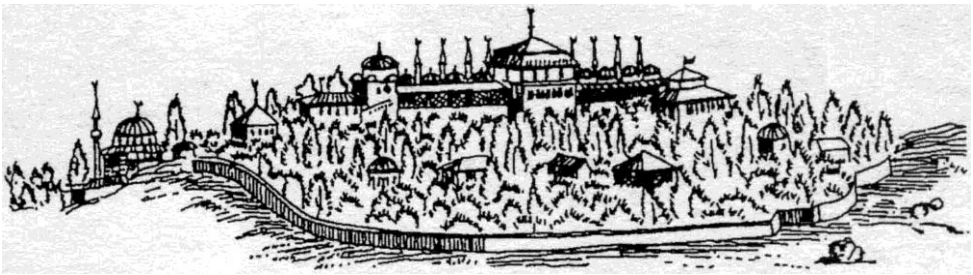


Source: And, Metin, 1993, *16. yy'da Istanbul; Kent, Saray, Günlük Yaşam*, Istanbul; Akbank Yayınları.

Figure 141 Panoramic view of Üsküdar, Anonymous Artist, 1588.

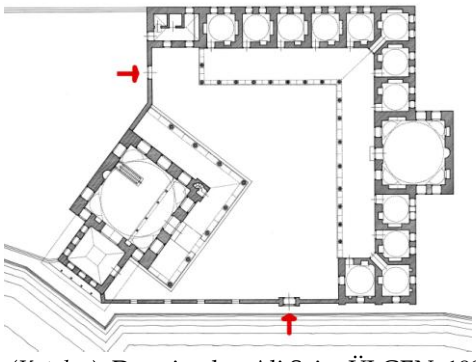
Source: (Necipoğlu Kafadar, Gülru, 2005, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford. p. 298.

Figure 142 Kavak Palace in the Üsküdar. Detail from the Figure 140.



Source: Kuban, Doğan, 2000, *Istanbul, Bir Kent Tarihi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, Istanbul p. 257.

Figure 143 Kavak Palace, Grelot.

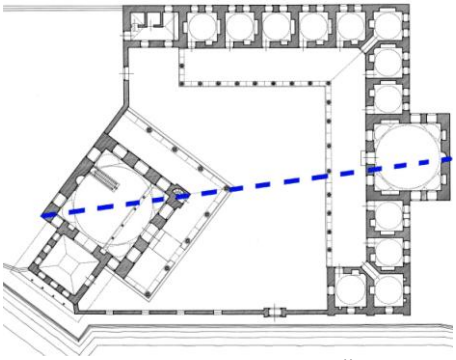


Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 144 Plan of the Şemsi Ahmed Pasha Complex.

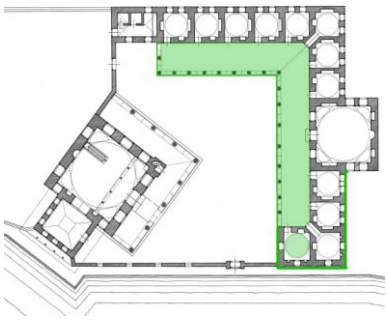
Source: Sözen Metin, 1988, *Sinan, Architect of Ages,* Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası. p. 315

Figure 145 Birdeye view of the Şemsi Ahmed Pahsa Complex.



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 146 The plan of the Şemsi Ahmed Pasha Complex.



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 147 The plan of the Şemsi Ahmed Pasha Complex.

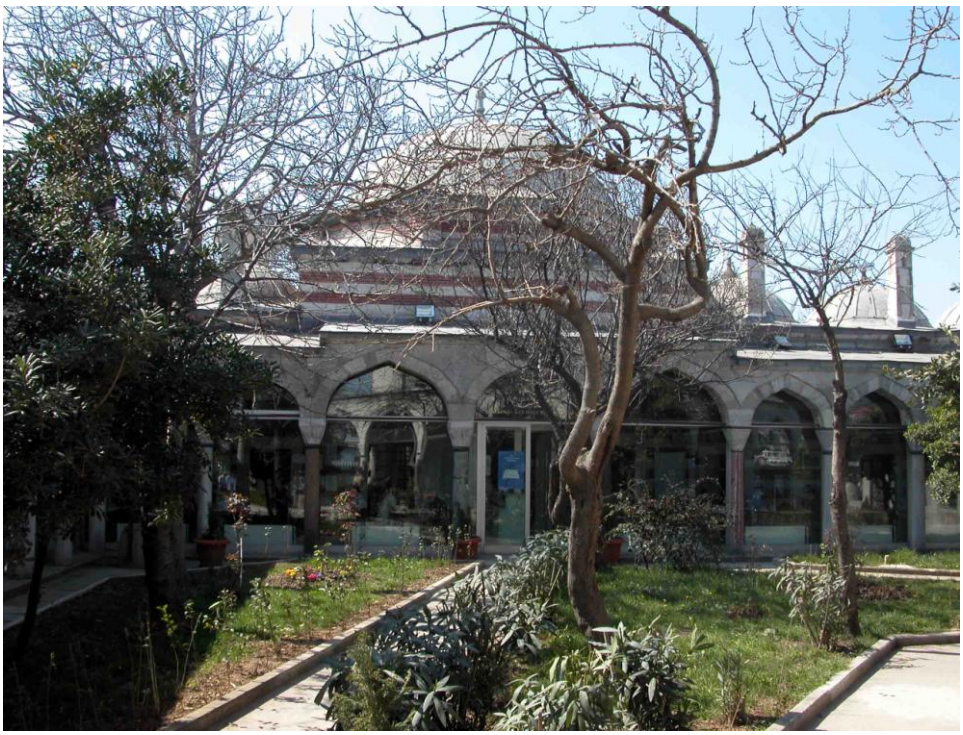


Figure 148 The Madrasa of the Şemsi Ahmed Pasha Complex. Photograph by: C. Katipoğlu, 2005

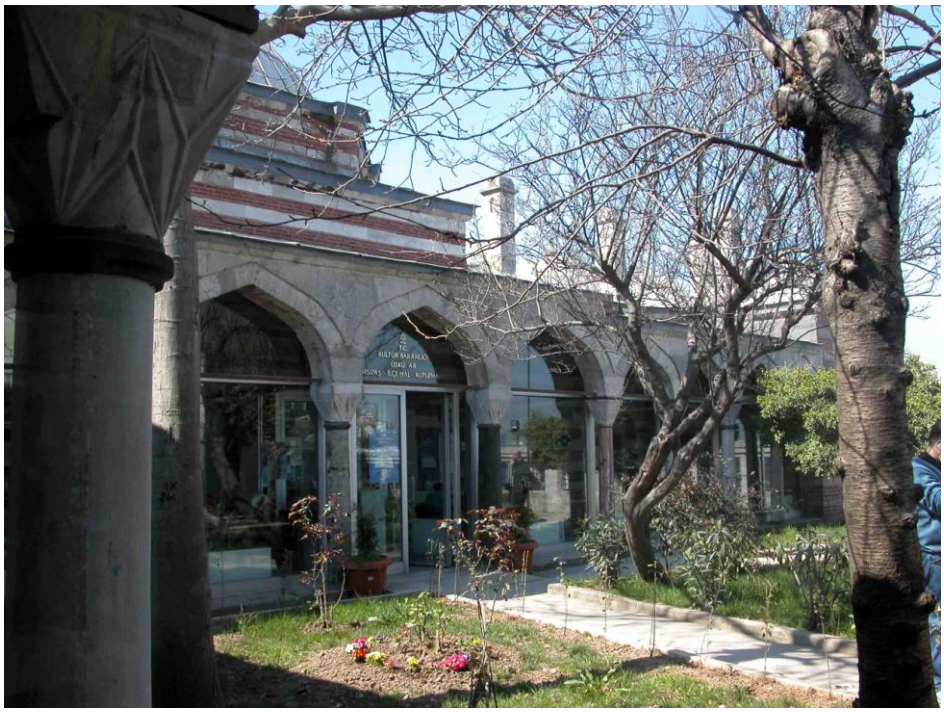
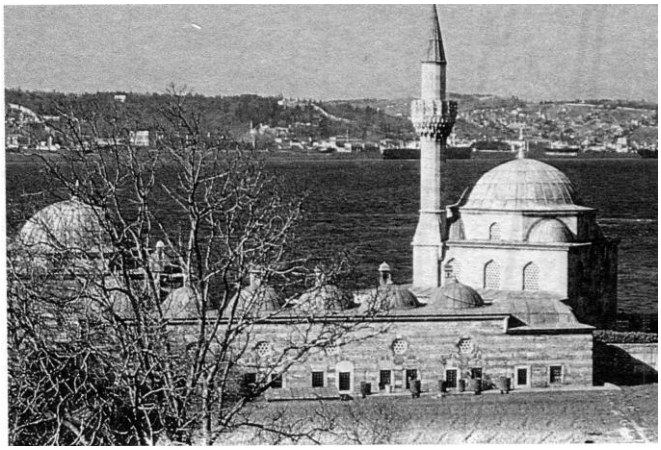


Figure 149 The Madrasa of the Şemsi Ahmed Pasha Complex. Photograph by: C. Katipoğlu, 2005



Source: Kuban, Doğan, 2000, *Istanbul, Bir Kent Tarihi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, Istanbul p. 257.

Figure 150 The back façade of the complex.

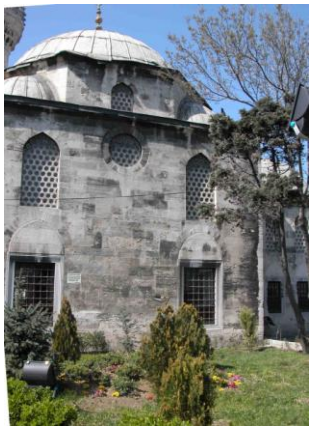


Figure 151 South Facade of the Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu 2005

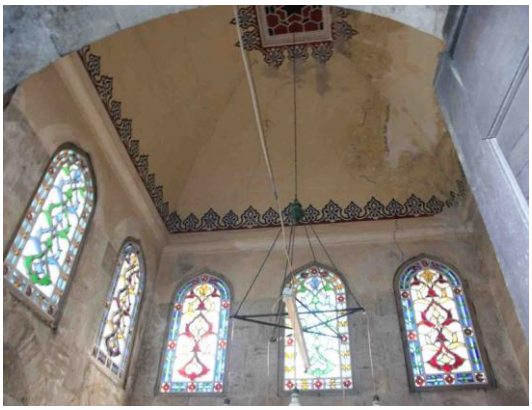
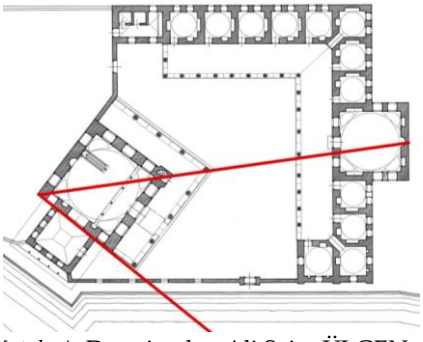


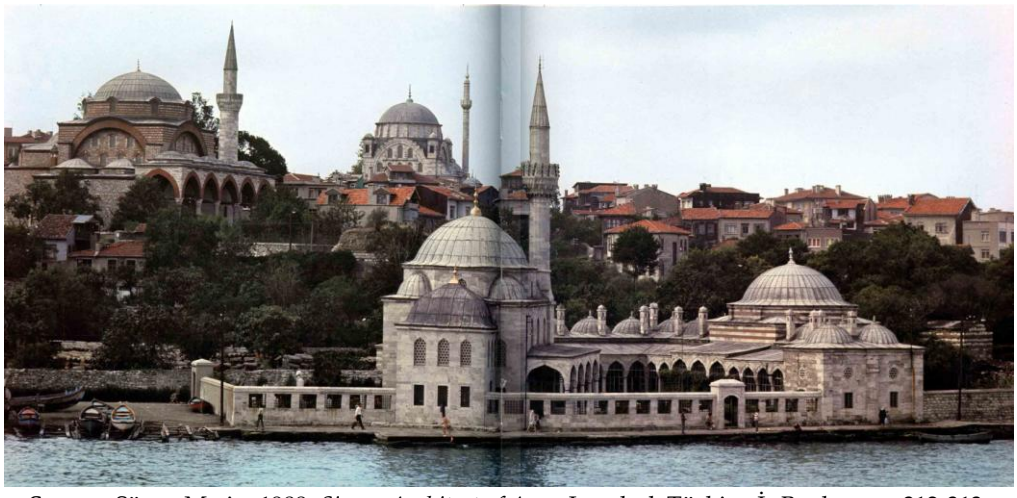
Figure 152 The interior of the Şemsi Ahmed Pasha Tomb. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu 2005

Figure 153 The interior of the Şemsi Ahmed Pasha Mosque. Photograph by C. Katipoğlu 2005



Source: *Mimar Sinan Yapıları (Katalog*), Drawing by: Ali Saim ÜLGEN, 1989, edited by Yenişehirlioğlu and Madran, TTK, Ankara.

Figure 154 The plan of the Şemsi Ahmed Pasha Complex.



Source: Sözen Metin, 1988, *Sinan, Architect of Ages,* Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası. p. 312-313.

Figure 155 Şemsi Ahmed Pasha Complex from the sea