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THE SÜLEYMANIYE COMPLEX IN ISTANBUL: AN INTERPRETATION

The Süleymaniye complex (*küllîye*), sponsored by Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver and built in Istanbul between 1550 and 1557, is the largest of the Ottoman building enterprises (plates 1, 2).¹ It is a rationally planned socioreligious complex with geometrically organized dependencies, consisting of the monumental Süleymaniye mosque and two mausolea (tombs of the sultan and his wife Haseki Hürrem Sultan, built in a walled enclosure) at the center (plate 3), separated by an outer courtyard from four general madrasas; two specialized madrasas—one for the study of medicine (*tabb medresesi*), and the other for the study of hadith (*dârü'l-hadîs*); a Koran school for children (*mekteb* or *mu'allimhâne*); a hospital (*dârü'l-şifâ*); a hostel (*tâbhâne*); a public kitchen (*imâret-i 'âmîre*); a hammam; a caravanserai; and rows of small shops (plates 4-7).²

Because this monumental building complex is well documented and stands today almost as it was built, it has neither to be reconstructed nor dated, but it does pose problems of interpretation for the historian. Its roles in the evolution of the Ottoman *küllîye* type and in the development of the Ottoman classical style of architecture have been studied,³ but those studies center mainly on classifying Ottoman architecture according to formal criteria, such as typologies of dome structure or space, and have underplayed its cultural significance, seeking its meaning in the architect's inventions rather than in the patron's intent.⁴ In the case of the Süleymaniye, that approach leads to interpretations of this building complex solely in terms of Sinan's artistic intentions.⁵ Although Sinan's creative genius and his role as an inventive synthesizer of architectural traditions in the Mediterranean and the Middle East are undeniable, seeing his buildings only as modular structures based on a rational organization of abstract forms results in misconceptions about the cultural meanings they carried in their own time.

Ottoman architects did not formulate a theoretical framework for their architecture comparable to those found in the treatises of Alberti or Vitruvius, but that does not justify the conclusion that Ottoman architec-

ture was merely functional. Cultural associations do tend to lose their charge over time, and today in republican Turkey most of the Süleymaniye's references to Ottoman institutions have been forgotten. But that it once had culturally assigned symbolic meaning can be demonstrated by analyzing the references to its architecture in its endowment deed, inscriptions, contemporary histories, and travel literature.

Written sources are obviously useful for confirming the dates and other details about the Süleymaniye's construction, but it is less often recognized that they can also provide conceptual categories and ideological implications that can clarify a building's meaning. Through them, it can be made clear that, in the case of the Süleymaniye, the *a priori* notions on which the formalist-functionalist interpretation is based do not reveal all levels of its architectural meaning. Here an attempt will be made to interpret the Süleymaniye complex by seeking to uncover the mechanisms through which its manifold layers of meaning were produced in its original social context. In saying this I claim neither to have exhausted all the cultural associations of the Süleymaniye complex nor to have found meanings that can be assigned solely to it, but only to demonstrate that culturally recognized symbolic and ideological associations do constitute a significant aspect of the Süleymaniye's multilayered architectural discourse. Those interacting layers of meaning on which this ideological discourse is based can be classified as: functional; connotative (i.e., cultural associations and myths); formal (architectonic); and literal (its inscriptions). Each will be dealt with in turn to show how they unite to communicate a single, consistent political statement of power and legitimization.

THE FUNCTIONAL LEVEL

The Süleymaniye mosque and the dependencies tightly organized around it comprise a unit with various social, religious, and educational functions. In earlier times these functions were met by multipurpose zawiya-

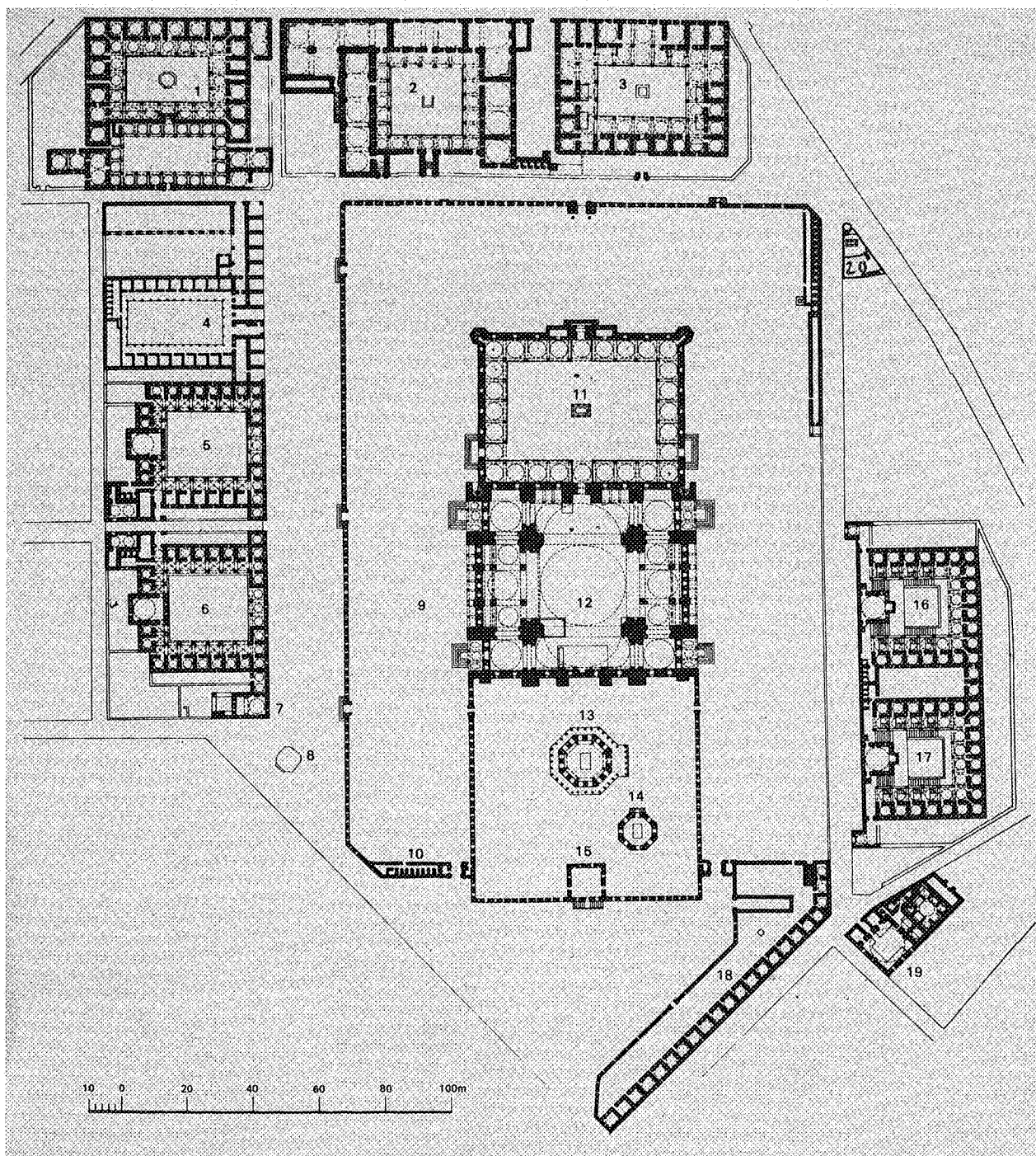


Plate 1. Istanbul. Süleymaniye complex. Plans from Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbul* (Tübingen, 1977). 1. Hospital; 2. Public kitchen; 3. Hospice; 4. Medical school; 5. Second madrasa; 6. First madrasa; 7. Koran school; 8. Fountain; 9. Outer court; 10. Latrines; 11. Marble courtyard with fountain; 12. Mosque; 13. Mausoleum of Sultan Süleyman; 14. Mausoleum of Haseki Hürrem Sultan; 15. Chamber of the mausoleum keeper; 16. Third madrasa; 17. Fourth madrasa; 18. School of hadith; 19. Hammam; 20. Tomb of Sinan the architect.



Plate 2. Süleymaniye complex. View from the Golden Horn. (Unless otherwise stated, all photographs are by the author.)



Plate 3. Süleymaniye complex. Mausolea of Süleyman and his wife and the mausoleum keeper's chamber.

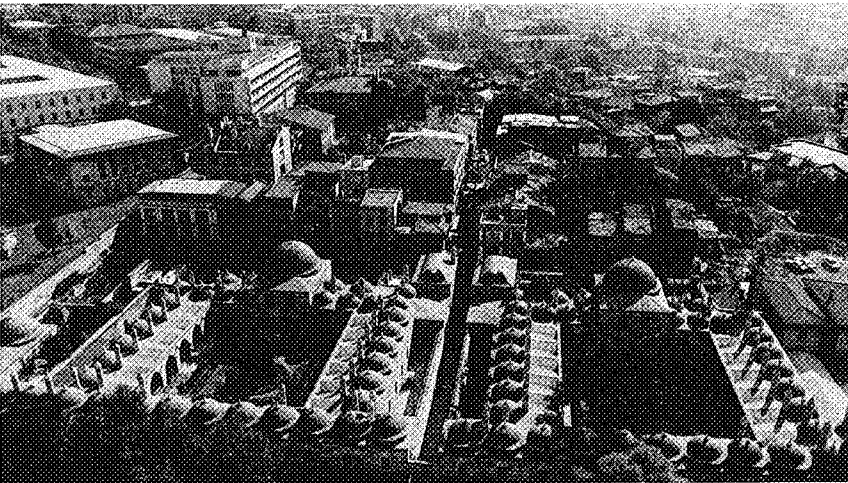


Plate 4. Süleymaniye complex. First and second madrasas. On the mosque's west side.

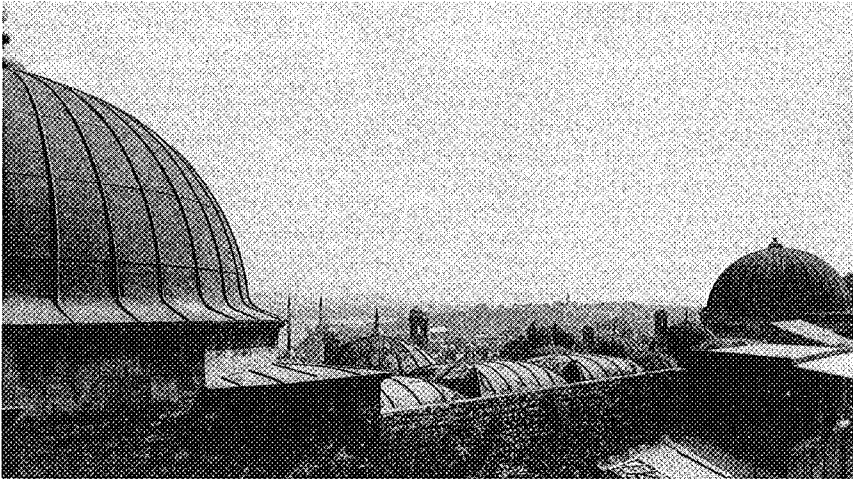


Plate 5. Süleymaniye complex. Third and fourth madrasas on a terraced slope overlooking the Golden Horn. On the mosque's east side.

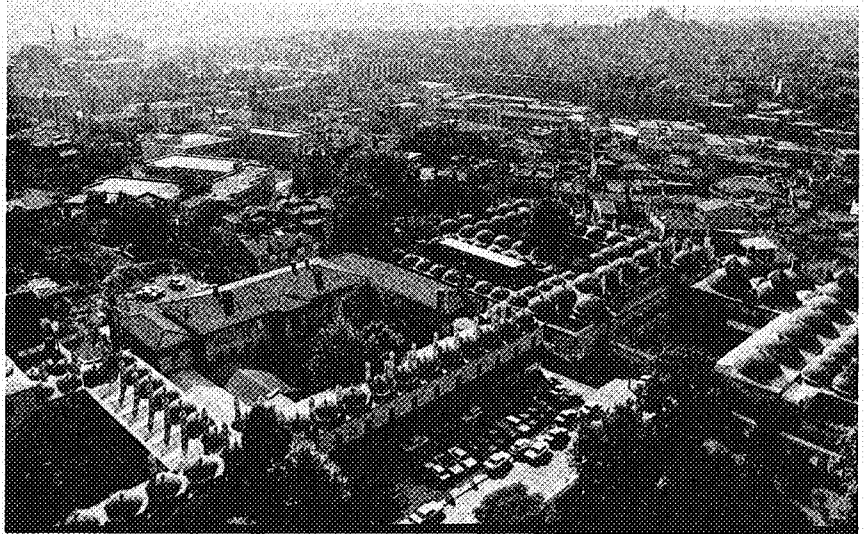


Plate 6. Süleymaniye complex. Medical school and hospital.



Plate 7. Süleymaniye complex. Public kitchen and hostel.

mosques and their dependencies—madrastas, mausolea, and caravanserais.⁶ Zawiya-mosques were built by colonizer sheikhs and state officials, as well as sultans, to provide charitable social, religious, and educational services similar to those later offered by the more elaborate imperial complexes built after Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453.

Early Ottoman complexes in Bursa and Edirne consisted of dependencies loosely arranged around a zawiya-mosque with flanking hostels used for informal gatherings or as lodgings for itinerant and resident Sufis. The incorporation of hostels into the fabric of these mosques entrusted to Sufi sheikhs demonstrates the significant spiritual and social role of colonizer sheikhs in the early conquest period. The gradual abandonment of the zawiya-mosque type after the fall of Constantinople coincides with the declining social function of Sufi sheikhs as a result of the increasing centralization of the Ottoman state.⁷

In Mehmed II's monumental complex built between 1463 and 1470, the hostel is detached from the mosque's fabric and established as a dependency (plate 8), perhaps reflecting the declining role of the Sufi sheikhs during Mehmed's reign. The centrally organized geometric plan of this complex also seems to express the centralizing tendencies of the Ottoman state. Neither Bayezid II's three complexes in Istanbul, Edirne, and Amasya (1481-1512), nor Selim I's modest complex in Istanbul (c. 1520) approach its grand scheme. It was the largest Ottoman complex until the building of the Süleymaniye. Süleyman, too, following Mehmed's example, detaches the hostel from his mosque—an architectural development that coincides with the strict control of the zawiya, the purge of the Sufi orders, and the conversion of the Sufi convents of Bayezid II's reign into Sunni madrasas under Süleyman.⁸ The detaching of the hostel from the Süleymaniye mosque, the majority of whose dependencies are Sunni madrasas, seems again to be an attempt to express in architectural terms the subordination of Sufism to the powerful orthodox Islamic state and the growing importance of the ulema and of Sunni Islam during Süleyman's reign (1520-66).

Despite their striking structural similarities, the complexes of Mehmed II and Süleyman were built to serve different ideological functions. When the Conqueror declared himself the successor of the Byzantine emperor by assuming the title *sultān-ı Rūm*, he was still surrounded by a predominantly Christian population. But after Selim I's conquest of the Arab lands of Asia and Africa

and Süleyman's subsequent conquest of central Mesopotamia, the Ottoman frontier state could be transformed into an Islamic empire, and Sultan Süleyman could claim to be its supreme caliph.⁹ That claim, however, required the reinforcement of the Islamic imperial tradition. In Süleyman's law code (*kānunnāme*), which was adapted to his predominantly Muslim empire, the earlier title of *sultān-ı Rūm*, used by Mehmed, is replaced by *pādīşāh-ı İslām*, and the absolute sovereignty (*urf*) of the sultan stressed in Mehmed's code of laws is subordinated in Süleyman's law codes to the Shari'a.¹⁰ In this new context, Süleyman established the religious law of Islam as the basis for his administration, which explains the growing interest in jurisprudence and the elaboration of the orthodox Islamic apparatus of law during his reign.¹¹ This strongly institutionalized orthodoxy becomes the ideological support of the Ottoman state against both the Shi'ite Safavid dynasty and the heterodox movements of Anatolia.

These policies allow us to surmise that Süleyman intended his complex to serve an ideological function rather different from Mehmed's. The complex sponsored by Mehmed II was built to turn the fallen and half-deserted city into a center of learning and of monumental buildings to support his imperial claims to the Byzantine succession. Its endowment deed expressly states that its numerous madrasas were built "to repair and fill with light the house of knowledge, and to convert the imperial capital to a realm of learning."¹² But those madrasas also suggest an attempt to impress state control over education by placing the ulema in institutions centrally controlled by the state.¹³ On the other hand, because they were built in a different context, the Süleymaniye madrasas represent the growing political role of the ulema in legitimizing Süleyman's rule through the Sunni doctrine of the orthodox state. This changing role of the ulema under Süleyman's reign was reflected in the sultan's reclassification of educational institutions, according to which the Süleymaniye *dārü'l-hadīs* ranked above all educational institutions including the four Süleymaniye madrasas dedicated to the four Sunni schools of law (as were the sultan's four madrasas in Mecca), a change that reveals the growing importance of the Shari'a in the administration of the state.¹⁴ Süleymaniye's waqfiyya gives the function of the madrasas: "to elevate matters of religion and religious sciences in order to strengthen the mechanisms of worldly sovereignty and to reach happiness in the afterworld."¹⁵

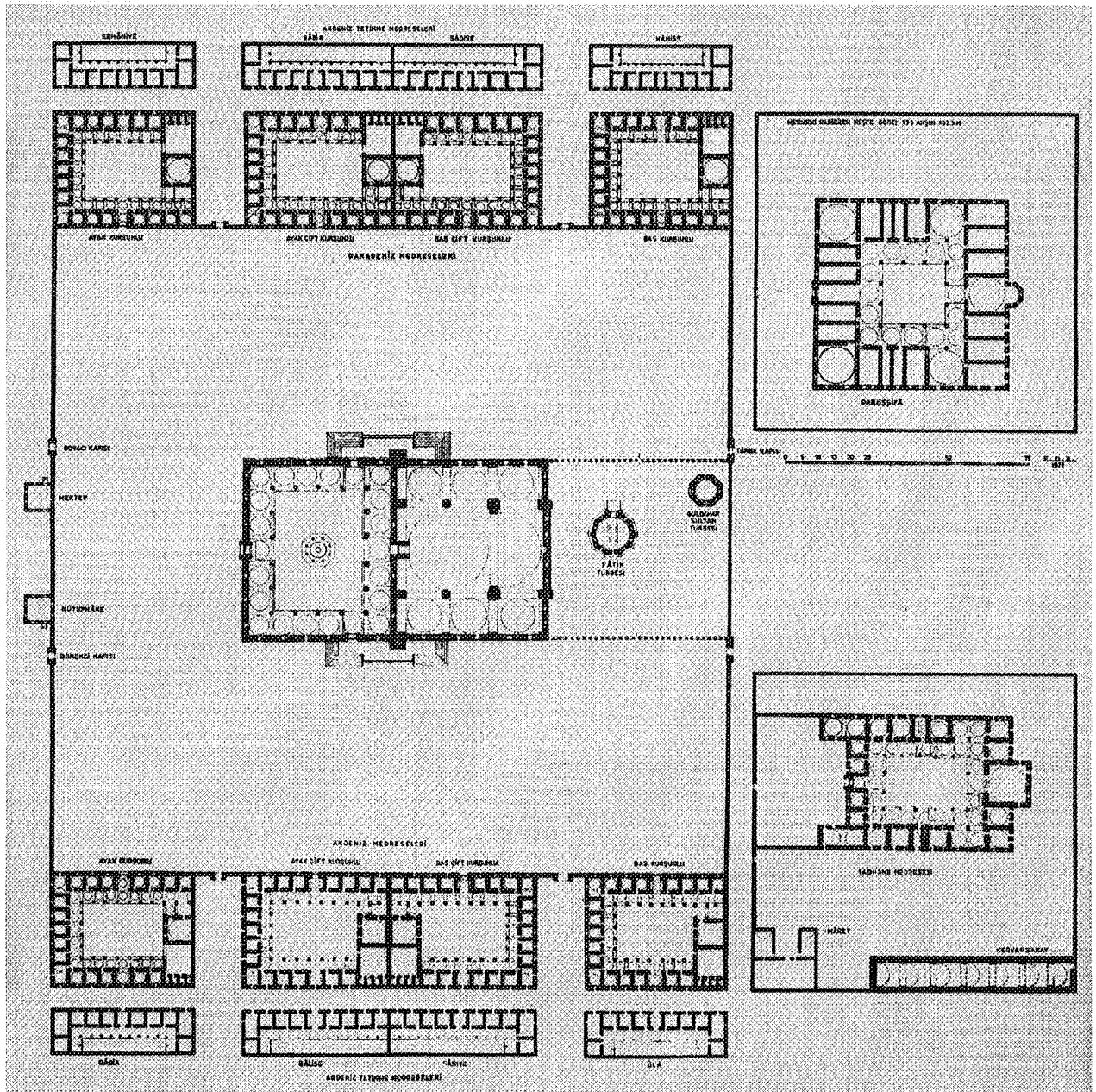


Plate 8. Istanbul. Mehmed II's complex. Plan from Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri (855-886/1451-1481)* (Istanbul, 1973), vol. 3.

The scholars of these madrasas cooperated closely with the state administration. It is stated in Süleyman's law codes that the professors of the Süleymaniye madrasas and their leader (i.e., the professor at the *dürü'l-hadis*) had to consult with the grand vizier in his

palace after every Friday prayer, and with the *şeyhü'l-islâm* every Thursday.¹⁶ Ebussuud Efendi, the *şeyhü'l-islâm* entrusted by Süleyman with the task of harmonizing the rules of the Shari'a with the administrative practice of the state, was also involved in

the Süleymaniye's construction: he placed the cornerstone of the mihrab in Süleymaniye's foundation ceremony and wrote the mosque's foundation inscription.¹⁷

The difference in emphasis between Süleyman's complex and Mehmed's is also revealed by a comparison between the functions assigned to each mosque's personnel in their respective waqfiyyas.¹⁸ While similar services were provided in both mosques, the number of people attached to the Süleymaniye mosque was far greater, and the additional functionaries were all assigned duties that can be said to enhance the sultan's political power in the mosque's religious ceremony.

An important new personage assigned to the Süleymaniye was a preacher (*uā'iz*) from the Hanafi school, authorized to give sermons to believers during Friday prayers, religious holidays, and holy nights, and to pray for the souls of the Prophet, his companions, earlier Ottoman sultans, and the continuation of the present sultan's caliphate. The number of *juz*^c readers was also raised from twenty in Mehmed's mosque to a hundred and twenty in the Süleymaniye, and the waqfiyya specified that they had to read relevant sections of the Koran in groups of thirty every morning to assure the place of the sultan in heaven and on earth. The post of *mu'arrif*, assigned to recite the *taşliya* and *Fatiha* on Fridays in Mehmed's mosque, was charged with a new duty in Süleyman's: he had to be trained in Arabic and Persian literature so he could compose poems in praise not only of the Prophet but also of the Ottoman sultans, especially the ruling sultan after Friday and holiday prayers. Other new functionaries of the Süleymaniye were the *meddāh-i hōshān*, whose task it was to praise the Prophet in Arabic verse, and the *müferrik-i eczā*^c, the man who marked the end of every *juz*^c, praying for the Prophet, the Ottoman sultans, and the continuation of the reigning sultan's rule.¹⁹

By incorporating into the religious ceremony constant reminders of the sultan's power, these new functionaries were meant to reinforce the idea that his power was God-given. Along with the Koran reciters who were assigned suras 78, 67, and 37, the forty *en'āmcis*—those who read every day the sixth sura of the Koran for "the strengthening of the sultan's sovereignty"—daily provided a justification for Süleyman's rule.²⁰ This sura begins by praising the absolute power of God to whom everything belongs and ends with a divine legitimization of secular power: "It is He who

has appointed you viceroys on earth and has raised some of you in rank above the others" (6:165).

The functions of the mosque, like those of the madrasas, specified in its waqfiyya, demonstrate the political nature of the Süleymaniye complex. The Süleymaniye fulfilled the function of an imperial mosque where Süleyman and his impressive retinue prayed each Friday.²¹ Those observances began with a stately procession through the city:

First the Janissaries who must be seven thousand in number march on foot in front of him in such good order that one does not pass the other, carrying Turkish bows in their hands and gilded quivers at their sides, well furnished with damasquined arrows. They walk in a wonderful silence while their old captain marches behind them. Various officers follow them on horseback, some called *beylerbey*, admiral, qadi, *subaşı*, provincial judges ... *sipahi*, and beyond all of them comes the grand mufti (whom they hold in almost the same rank and reputation as we do the Pope, though he does not differ from the others in terms of accountment). They are all equipped and armed (except the aforementioned mufti) in their Turkish manner, some wearing gilded cloth; others velvet, white, red or blue satin, heavy with lace, variegated, and woven with gold and silver thread of a very rich manufacture. After them march a grand number of handsome pages decorated and adorned in a manner beyond description. Next come the four pashas who govern the grand lord [i.e., the sultan] peacefully and whose countenances demonstrate a very seigniorial majesty. Then comes the aforementioned grand lord, about fifteen paces after them. Those who follow him (who are of about the same number and equipage as those in front) proceed at another fifteen paces distance, so that in the midst of them all, he moves in small paces, mounted on a handsome horse caparisoned in velvet—the said caparison being decorated all over with fine oriental pearls. The said Süleyman carries a scimitar entirely covered and decorated with emeralds, rubies, diamonds, and other exquisite materials; it is surely the richest thing one can imagine. In the manner I have described, he goes to the aforementioned mosque in such beautiful order and silence that, except for the sound of the horses' hooves, one would think there was not a soul in the streets, although an almost infinite multitude from diverse nations are watching him pass. Then all the people salute him, bowing their heads low; their lord returns the same salute to his people with a great sweetness and gentleness, inclining his head, now here and now there, with a very becoming gravity.²²

The sultan then entered the mosque from the ramp on the east that led to the royal east gate and the royal box beyond, while his court entered through the other side entrances. Then, "after having finished his prayer according to the customs of their law, he returns to his palace in the same way as he had come."²³

The French traveler G. Postel, who was in Istanbul when Süleyman was sultan, witnessed one of these processions to the Friday mosque, and describes it in similar terms; he adds that Süleyman distributed alms to the needy after the prayer was over.²⁴ Such a procession clearly had a political purpose in its display of power and charity by a ruler who for the most part remained hidden behind the forbidding walls of his palace. As a pious and charitable foundation carrying the sultan's name, the Süleymaniye symbolized the power and charity of the patrimonial Ottoman state.

That monumental complexes like the Süleymaniye functioned as symbols of political power is frankly recognized by Mustafa Ali in the book of etiquette he wrote for Murad III in 995 (1586-87):

To build masjids and mosques in the well-developed and prosperous seat of government and likewise to construct convents or madrasas in a famous capital are not pious deeds performed to acquire merit in God's sight. Every wise and intelligent man knows that these are pious deeds performed in order to accomplish being a leader and to make a good reputation. There are thousands of towns whose inhabitants are in need of masjids and convents. ... Yet, those who wish to perform pious deeds for ostentation and display obviously wish to be renowned in cities which are seats of the throne.²⁵

Although this passage does not mention the Süleymaniye complex, it suggests that such a large-scale building project in a city that already had several royal Friday mosques would have been recognized by contemporaries as a symbol of the sultan's glory and not merely of his piety.

CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS AND MYTHS

The Süleymaniye intermingles political and religious functions. To see how this intermingling is manifested in the building's architectural language, the building has first to be broken down into its constituent architectural elements and formal units. Those that are culturally significant can then be identified by turning to the texts that refer to this complex, most of which include detailed inventories, dates, expenditures, and lists of buildings arranged according to function.²⁶ While those documents provide useful data pertaining to architectural vocabulary and building typologies, the organization of labor, and the daily sequence and economic aspects of construction for the period, their information is limited when it comes to the conceptual categories through which the Süleymaniye complex may originally have been seen.

Among the sixteenth-century documents yielding particularly rich information are, in addition to the Süleymaniye's waqfiyya, the *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, written toward the end of Sinan's life (d. 1588) by his poet-painter friend Mustafa Sai Çelebi, in which the qualities of Sinan's selected buildings are discussed under separate sections; the history by Ramazanzade Nişancı Mehmed (d. 1571), covering Ottoman history until the end of Süleyman's reign, which includes a detailed description of the Süleymaniye; Mustafa ibn Celal's *Tabakätü'l-Memâlik ve Derecätü'l-Mesâlik* and the second volume of Lokman ibn Seyyid Hüseyin's *Hünernâme*, which also contain descriptions of the royal complex.²⁷ From the mid-seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi's travelogue has a descriptive section on the Süleymaniye and also recounts popular myths about its construction.²⁸

These four sixteenth-century sources describe the mosque in terms of its symbolic associations and mention its dependencies only briefly. The dependencies, which are standard in plan, they regard as significant on account of the public services they provide rather than for their architecture. They identify the culturally significant architectonic elements of the mosque's interior (plates 9-10) as the minbar, the mihrab, the various pulpits, the royal box, the elaborate stained-glass windows, the artistic inscriptions; porphyry discs, revetments and columns of rare marble, colossal piers, great arches, and, finally, the monumental central dome and its satellites. The architectural features of the mosque's exterior they find significant are its monumentality, four tall minarets, arcaded marble courtyard with a fountain in its center, mausolea, and its broad outer precinct.

The descriptions are full of cosmological terms and references to paradise. For example, the waqfiyya likens the mosque's dome and satellites to Gemini and the celestial orbits (plates 11, 12): "the earth challenges the sky ... with a dome that is even higher than paradise."²⁹ The fountain (*şadırvân*) at the center of the marble courtyard is compared to Kawthar, the water basin in paradise into which the celestial rivers flow (plate 13).³⁰ The French traveler Du Fresne-Canaye who saw this (no longer functioning) fountain in 1573 describes it as a square marble basin into which water dropped like rain from a dome,³¹ a description repeated by Evliya and Lokman that leaves no doubt that the fountain was meant to be a visual replica of Kawthar.³² The *Tabakätü'l-Memâlik* compares the whole building to paradise, an analogy conveyed in the mosque's inscrip-

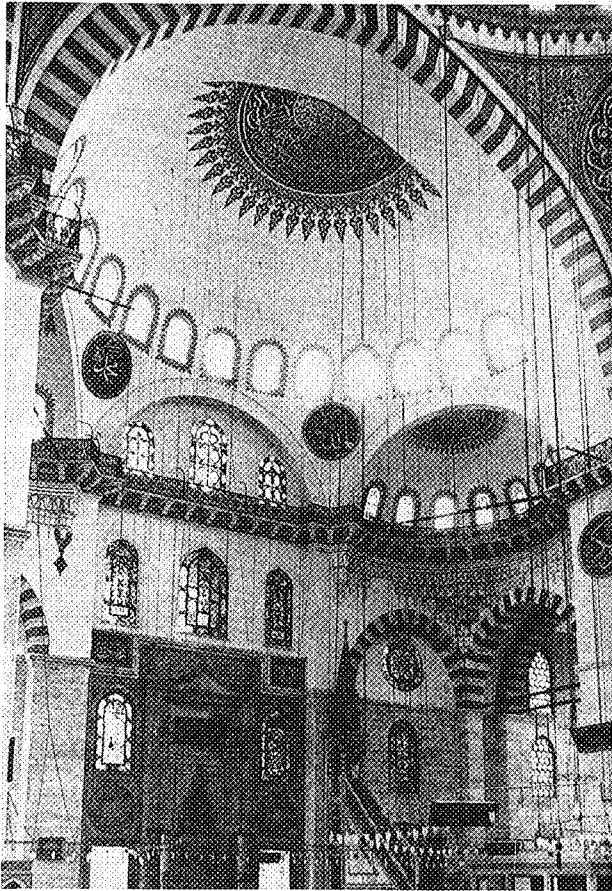


Plate 9. Süleymaniye mosque. Interior looking toward the qibla wall.

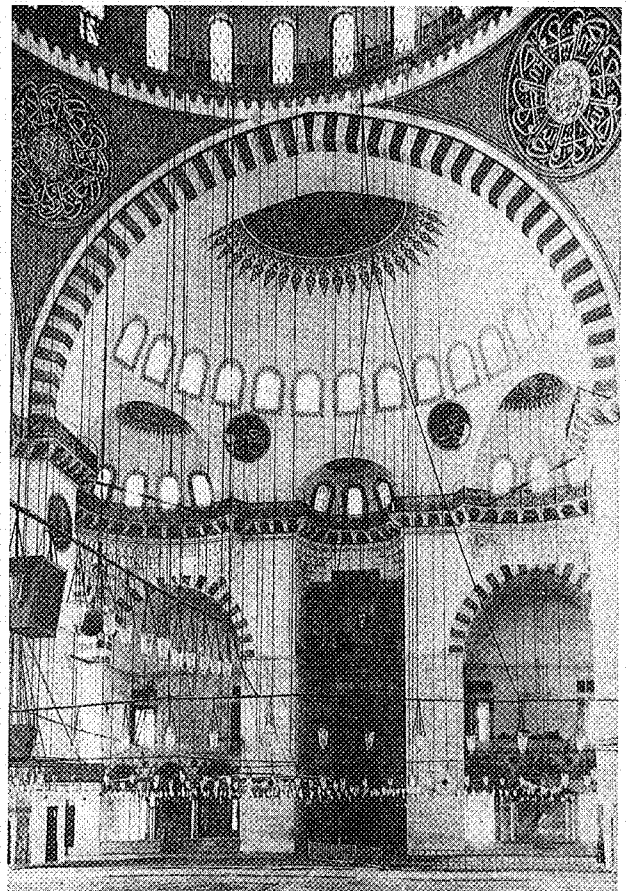


Plate 10. Süleymaniye mosque. Interior looking toward the anti-qibla wall.

tions, as well as in Sai's inscription of Sinan's tomb, north of the Süleymaniye, which calls the Süleymaniye mosque a "symbol of paradise."³³

The light provided by the numerous windows is also given its symbolic significance in the Süleymaniye's waqfiyya,³⁴ where the Light Verse, "God is the light of the Heavens and the Earth" (24:35), is quoted to show that the mosque is illuminated by divine light. The verse, "The lamp in a glass, the glass as it were a glittering star" (24:35), compares the mosque at night lit with oil lamps to the night sky.³⁵ The qibla-wall windows continue this theme: they are the only stained-glass windows in the mosque and the attributes of God, as well as phrases from the Light Verse (plate 14), are inscribed on them. The wall is covered with ceramic panels of flower motifs, representing the garden of paradise.

The mausolea of Süleyman and his wife again take up the paradisaical theme. They are decorated with underglaze ceramic panels with blossoming tree and flower motifs, similar to the panels donated by Süleyman for the revetment of the Dome of the Rock.³⁶ Süleyman's mausoleum resembles the Dome of the Rock, the site of Solomon's Temple,³⁷ with its double dome inside, supported by a circular colonnade, and its octagonal shell outside, surrounded by an octagonal ambulatory. The similarity between the two interiors is particularly striking (plates 15, 16). The mausoleum ceiling is decorated with palmette motifs and ceramic stars with rock crystals and precious stones in their centers, a design apparently inspired by the jewel motifs of the Dome of the Rock. It may well be that the similarities are meant to be a reference to the legendary Temple of Solomon; it is known that the sultan intend-

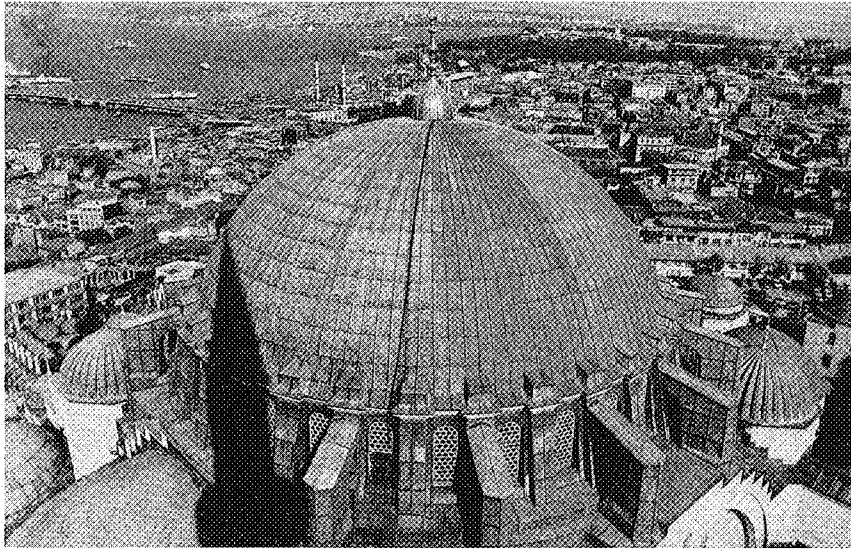


Plate 11. Süleymaniye mosque. Main dome.

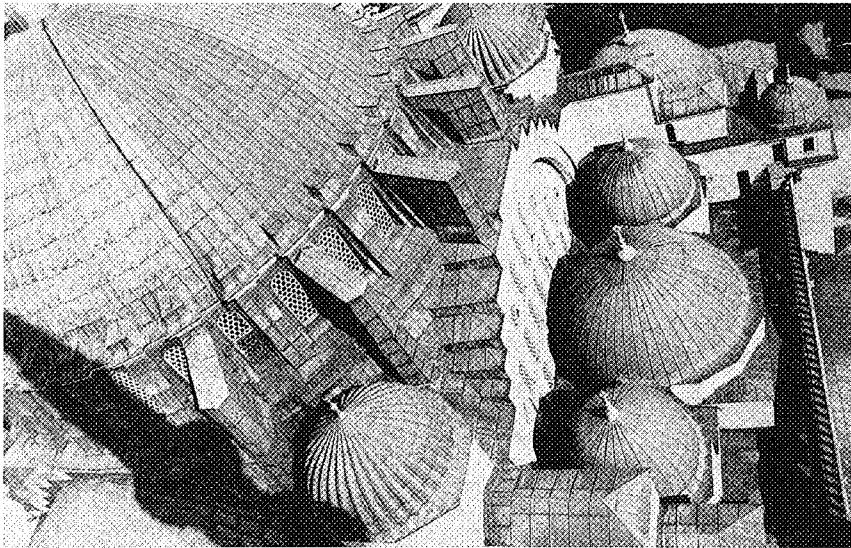


Plate 12. Süleymaniye mosque. Smaller domes surrounding the main dome.

ed to renovate the Dome of the Rock,³⁸ that he frequently made allusions to passages in the Koran where Solomon is mentioned, and that he was referred to as “Süleymân-ı Zamân” (the Solomon of the Age) in his waqfiyya and in inscriptions on public fountains.³⁹

Compared to the mausoleum, few motifs in the Süleymaniye mosque are recognizable as taking up the paradise analogy. The qibla wall is the notable excep-

tion. A passage in the waqfiyya compares the mosque to the legendary Iram, a garden built by Emperor Shaddad to imitate the garden of paradise (according to Mas‘udi its precious columns were reused by Alexander): “Built on top of columns, it is an Iram whose like has never been created anywhere before.”⁴⁰ Rather than directly imitating the paradise garden, the mosque takes the legendary columnar garden as its model. Just

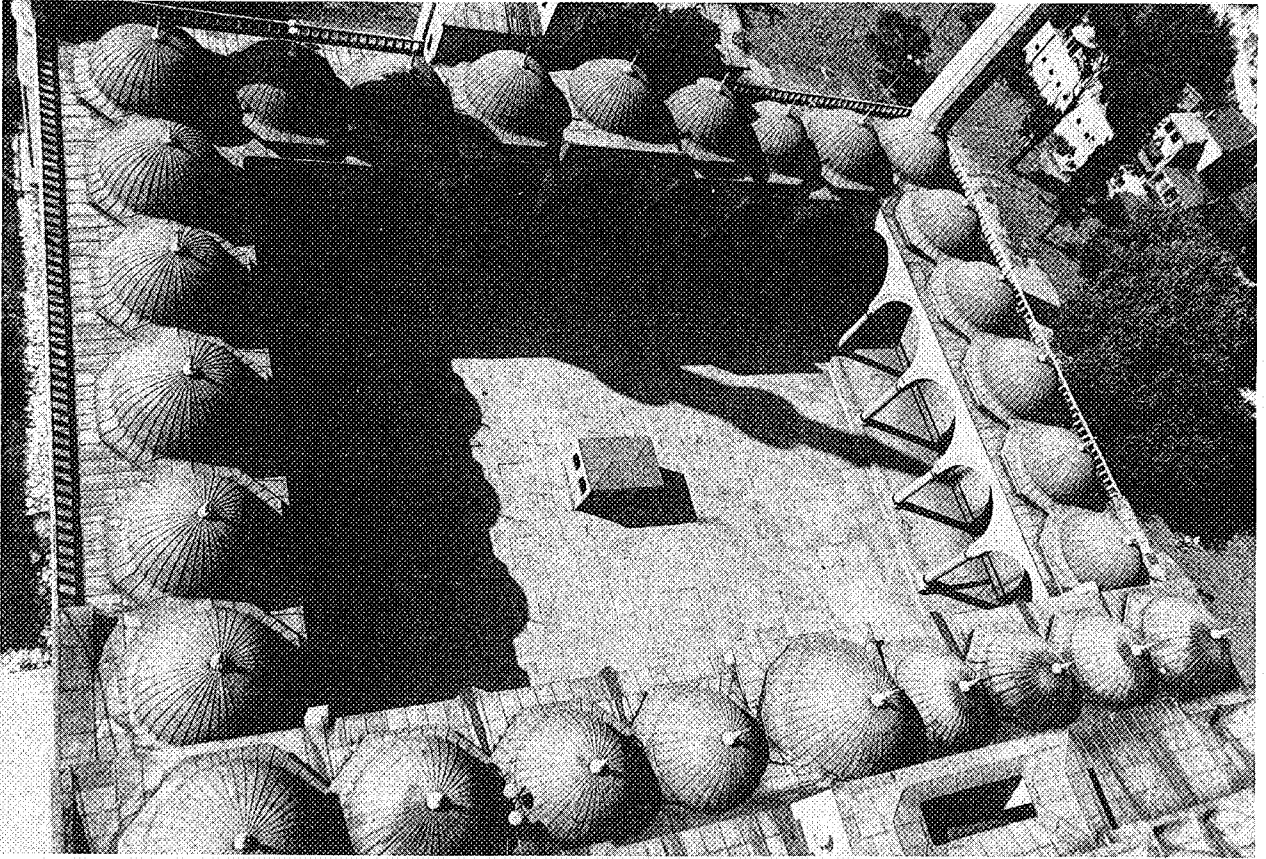


Plate 13. Süleymaniye mosque. Marble courtyard with fountain.

as the mausoleum is modeled on the Dome of the Rock with its culturally recognized paradisaical and Solomonic references, so the mosque makes its paradise analogy through the intermediary of Iram, an already firmly established reference to paradise.

The Iram metaphor suggests why such an enormous effort was devoted to finding appropriate granite, marble, and porphyry columns for the Süleymaniye. They were collected both from ancient ruins, by architects sent to various parts of the empire, and from newer buildings that had reused ancient materials and were ordered torn down by the sultan.⁴¹ The Flemish antiquarian P. Gyllius, who was in Istanbul when the first steps in the Süleymaniye's construction were undertaken, witnessed the removal of seventeen pillars of white marble from the Hippodrome:

The present Emperor Solyman has taken up a Place in the middle of this Precinct; where he is laying a Foundation ... now building with the most elegant Marble, brought from

several Parts of the Turkish Dominions, so that you may see infinite Kinds of it lying about the Building, not lately dug out of the Quarry, but such as for many ages has been used in the Palaces of several Princes and Emperors, not only in Byzantium, but in Greece, and all Egypt.⁴²

Because of the difficulty in transporting these huge stones, a number of legends grew up around them, just as they had around the stone used for the construction of the Hagia Sophia, whose pillaged treasures and their transportation were thought to demonstrate Justinian's wealth and power.⁴³ Latîfî, who lived during the reign of Süleyman, recounts the partly mythical history of Hagia Sophia in his *Enşâf-ı İstanbul* written just before the Süleymaniye's construction. In it he reports that some of the priceless marble columns came from the Iram-like palace which Solomon's demons and fairies (*dîvs* and *parîs*) had built for his wife.⁴⁴

The Süleymaniye makes a deliberate reference to the Hagia Sophia through its use of precious materials from

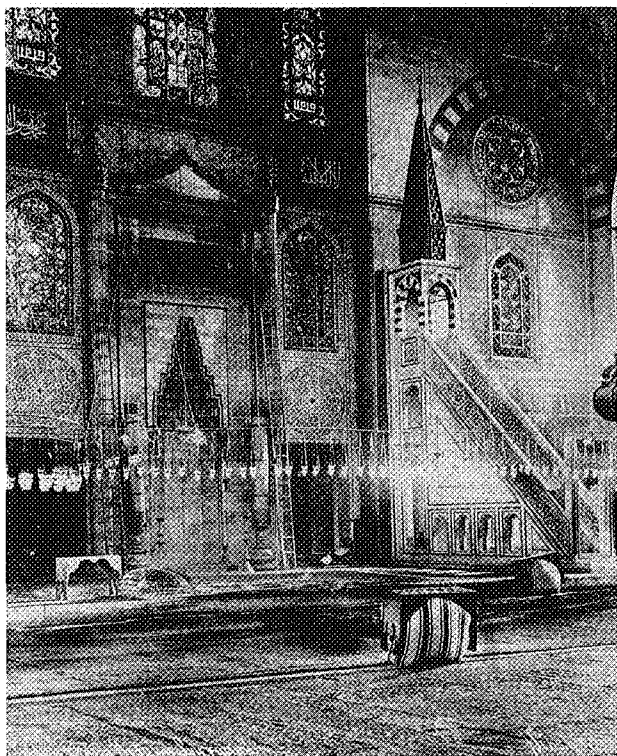


Plate 14. Süleymaniye mosque. Qibla wall.

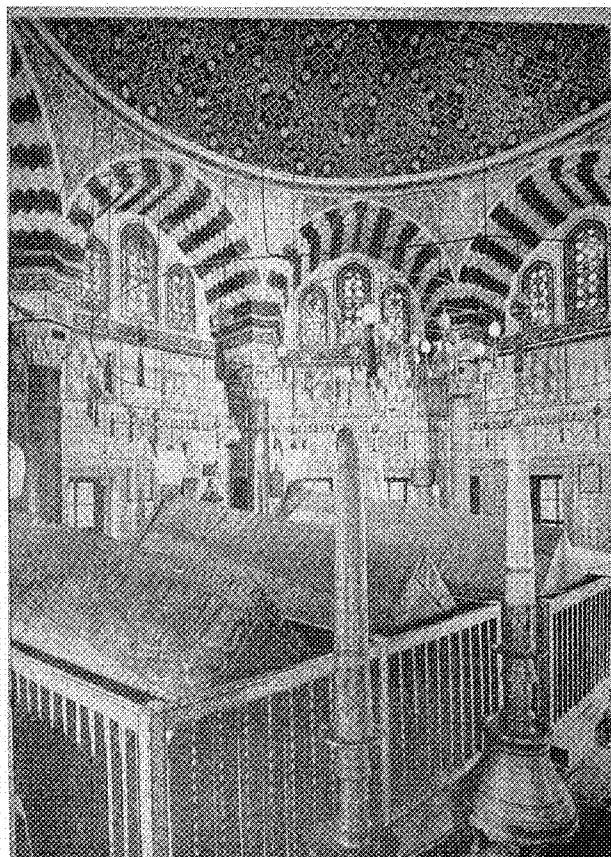


Plate 15. Süleymaniye complex. Interior of Sultan Süleyman's mausoleum. (Photo: courtesy Fine Arts Library, Harvard.)

distant places as well as its use of a dome abutted by two half-domes. While this allusion to Justinian's building was made in part simply because of its prestige, there may also have been other reasons.⁴⁵ Hagia Sophia was built as the *templum novum Solomonis*, imitating Solomon's legendary temple through its textual descriptions. According to a popular tradition, at Hagia Sophia's opening ceremony Justinian declared, "Solomon, I have surpassed you!"⁴⁶ The reference to Hagia Sophia might have been meant to imply a connection between Süleyman's mosque and Solomon's Temple. Ottoman poets and historians who refer to huge columns as being "*süleymāni*" also tie the mosque to the Iram metaphor.⁴⁷

Süleyman had ships built to transport a colossal column and rare marbles from the ruined Temple of Jupiter in Baalbek to Istanbul, just as Justinian once had reportedly transported marble columns from the same antique site for Hagia Sophia's construction.⁴⁸

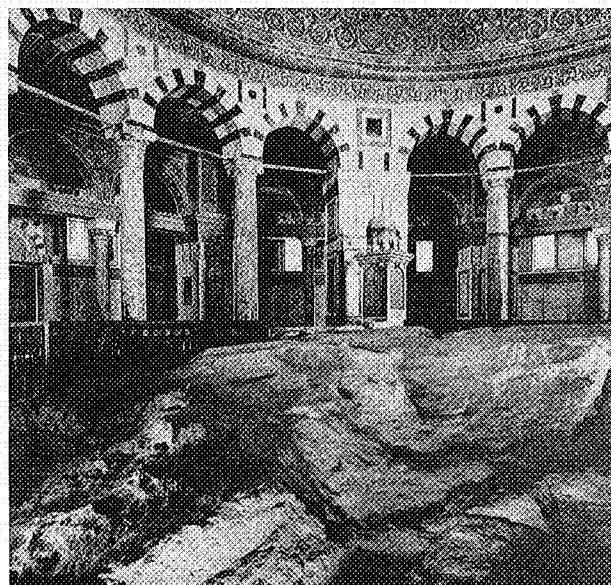


Plate 16. Jerusalem. Dome of the Rock. Interior.

The Baalbek Temple is associated in Islamic sources with the palace Solomon built for the Queen of Sheba,⁴⁹ and bringing stone from Solomon's palace therefore provides yet another Solomonic reference for Süleyman's mosque. That this was deliberate is confirmed in a passage of the *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, where Sai writes about the Süleymaniye, "Each of its world-famous colored marbles carried the memory of a different land, and according to the authority of most histories, came from the ruins of the Queen of Sheba's palace built by Solomon the Prophet."⁵⁰ R. Lubenau, a German who visited Istanbul during the reign of Murad III (1574-95), mentions that the colossal red columns were transported at huge expense from King Solomon's palace in Jerusalem.⁵¹ The comparisons drawn in the *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân* between Süleymaniye's construction workers and the mythical *düv*s who built Solomon's Temple⁵² and in the waqfiyya between Süleymaniye's mihrab and the jinn-like creations of Solomon (echoed in Evliya Çelebi's description of the same mihrab, "It is said to be like the mihrab of Solomon the Prophet"⁵³) suggest that the consistent Solomonic references can not have been accidental.

Legendary feats of construction were part of the Ottoman popular imagination.⁵⁴ When Evliya Çelebi describes the origins of Istanbul, he identifies its founder as King Solomon and its pre-Ottoman rebuilders as Alexander and Constantine, who constructed many buildings to strengthen their religion and nation.⁵⁵ Building is one way of marking epochs in history, and Evliya continues to describe the buildings of Ottoman sultans as the successors of those great kings. This type of intermingling of myth and history was an aspect of Ottoman popular culture that could easily turn Süleyman's search for columns from Solomon's palace in Baalbek, Alexandria, and Constantinople into a symbolic act. That Süleymaniye's references to the past were readily recognizable is suggested by the Flemish traveler Busbecq, who was in Istanbul during Süleyman's reign: "The Turks have not the slightest idea of chronology, or of different epochs, and they mix up together in a wonderful way all historical events. Should the thought occur to them, they have no hesitation in stating that Job was King Solomon's seneschal, and Alexander the Great commander-in-chief of his armies."⁵⁶

According to Sai, two of the four colossal red-granite columns that help support the lateral arches between the piers of the main dome came from Baalbek and Alexandria respectively, the other two from the royal

palace (Sarây-ı Âmiri) and the Kıztaşı in Istanbul (plate 17). The documents published by Barkan support Sai's claim, since they include imperial orders for the transportation of the columns from those places.⁵⁷ Michael Rogers has raised some doubts about the provenance of these columns, arguing that they are not the ones referred to in Sai or in Barkan's documents, because locating four identical columns in four different places would have been impossible. He thinks the matching columns must have come from elsewhere, and that the ones mentioned in the documents may have been stored for use in other buildings. He concludes that "the orders published by Barkan show the Ottoman administration at its most efficient, but not at its most imaginative," and asks, "Why go to the difficulty of matching four separate columns when the transport of four identical columns or at least two pairs would have saved so much trouble?"⁵⁸ Perhaps the answer lies in Süleyman's desire to acquire columns with a rich range of royal connotations; ordinary matching columns would not have fulfilled that

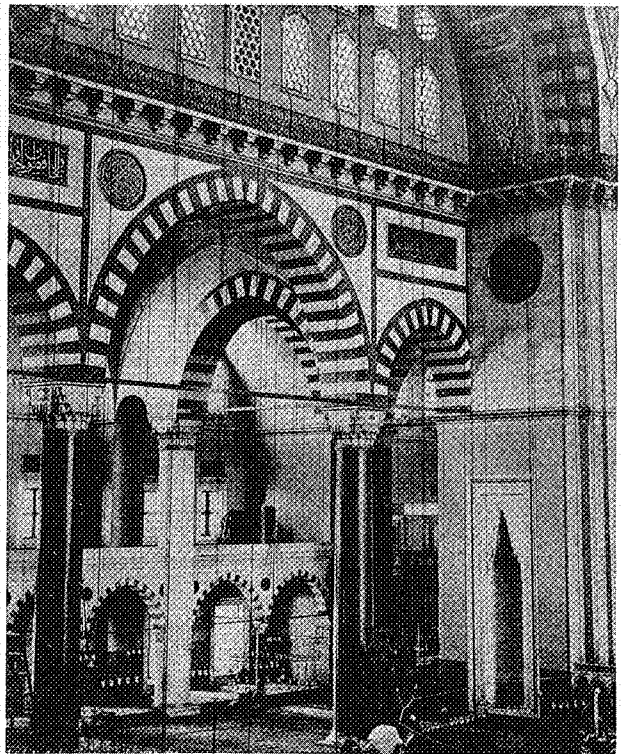


Plate 17. Süleymaniye mosque. Interior. Two of the red granite columns that support the mosque's lateral arches. (Photo: courtesy Fine Arts Library, Harvard.)

purpose. The time-consuming operation of searching out and transporting the columns, whether they were used or not, also shows considerable imagination, contrary to what Rogers says: few people need know the source of the columns actually used in the Süleymaniye. What mattered was that Süleyman had proved he had the power and wealth to carry out a vast operation and that people believed the columns came from Baalbek, Alexandria, the royal palace, and Kıztaşı, whatever their actual provenance. Texts such as Sai's served to propagate this belief.

The central baldaquin was perhaps the most symbolically charged element in the mosque (plate 18), with its mighty dome carried on gigantic arches, which are compared in the sources to the arch of Chosroes,⁵⁹ and its four red-granite columns, which gave it royal, as well as specifically Sunni, associations. In the

Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân, Sai describes them as the station of the Prophet's four chosen friends, the caliphs Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali. He later uses the same metaphor in a poem:

This well-proportioned mosque became the Ka'ba
Its four columns became the Prophet's four friends,
A house of Islam supported by four pillars,
It gained strength through the Prophet's four friends.⁶⁰

This analogy is also encountered in the *Tabakatü'l-Memâlik*, which likens Süleymaniye's four colossal granite columns to the four caliphs who are the four pillars of Sunni theology, thus adding a religious layer of meaning to the royal connotations of these columns.⁶¹

An intermingling of royal and religious symbolism was also attributed to the four minarets. The

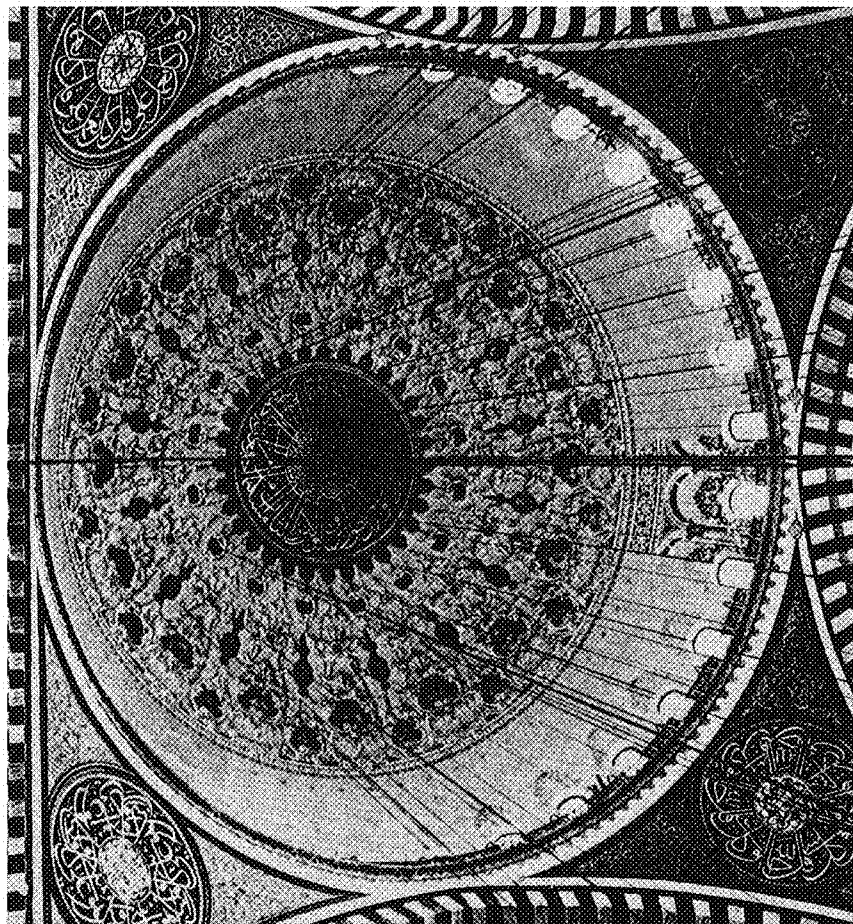


Plate 18. Süleymaniye mosque. Central baldaquin. Main dome and support system.

Tuhfetü'l-Mi'mārīn and Evliya's travelogue tell us that their ten balconies represent Süleyman's position as tenth Ottoman ruler;⁶² both Sai and Mustafa ibn Celal state that the Süleymaniye's four minarets and its dome represent the Prophet who is the "Dome of Islam" surrounded by his four friends Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali.⁶³ This religious symbolism superimposed on the imperial theme advertises the Süleymaniye as a specifically Sunni mosque, and that Sunni character is emphasized in the numerous descriptions that compare the mosque to the Ka'ba. A line from Sai's poem about the mosque reads, "This well-proportioned mosque became the Ka'ba," an idea repeated by Nişancı Mehmed and Mustafa ibn Celal, who refer to Süleymaniye as "the second Ka'ba."⁶⁴ A letter from Shah Tahmasp for the opening ceremony refers to the Süleymaniye as a sanctuary whose site recalls that of the Holy House of God (i.e., the Ka'ba) in the Haram.⁶⁵ Enclosing the mosque in a wide outer precinct where caravans would pitch their tents and surrounding it with four madrasas resembling those he built around the Ka'ba and dedicated to the four Sunni schools of law reinforced the analogy; the message is driven home by the piece of the Ka'ba's Black Stone placed over the gate of Süleyman's mausoleum.⁶⁶

THE FORMAL ARCHITECTONIC LEVEL

The theme of power in the complex is not communicated through an innovative architectural vocabulary. Süleymaniye's dependencies are easily classified: they represent functional building types and standard schemes. The mosque itself represents a culmination of earlier experiments. What distinguishes the Süleymaniye from other monuments of its time is the way these traditional architectural motifs are used in a creative synthesis and monumentalization of architectural forms that had accumulated since the reign of Murad II. Its geometric plan is skillfully terraced to adapt it to the sloping terrain. Its monumental scale, its priceless multicolored building stone, its numerous minarets contribute to the symbolic effect. Its imperial site on Istanbul's third hill is particularly significant. From that place it dominates the city. Three sides of the outer precinct are surrounded by walls pierced with windows. The fourth overlooks the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, providing a panoramic view of Galata, Üsküdar, the Old Palace, and the Topkapı Palace; it was left open to avoid blocking the view. The Süleymaniye's dominion over this panoramic landscape

is beautifully expressed by Evliya's remark that from its outer courtyard the mosque's congregation "can watch the world."⁶⁷

Its site was once occupied by the Old Palace, which had served as the imperial residence before the Topkapı (Sarāy-ı Cedīd). Evliya tells us that the Old Palace was damaged by fire and then rebuilt on a smaller scale. In the space remaining the construction of the Süleymaniye complex, together with various palaces for important state officials, was begun.⁶⁸ Surrounded by mansions and the Old Palace, where part of the Sultan's harem remained,⁶⁹ the Süleymaniye complex was suitably located in an area probably rivaled in prestige only by the residential quarter of the Topkapı Palace itself, which also boasted a number of palaces.

The theme of royal power is repeated in the Süleymaniye's architectural features. The central baldaquin, already highly charged with royal and religious associations, is architecturally accentuated with colossal piers, great arches, and lateral arches with alternating vousoirs resting on the four legendary red-granite columns that detach themselves both structurally and decoratively as significant architectonic elements (plates 9, 10, 17, 18). This concern for the articulation and detachment of separate architectonic units also explains the comparatively simple decoration of the Süleymaniye.

Unfortunately, little of the original decoration remains. The mosque suffered from a fire in 1660 and an earthquake in 1766; it was redecorated in an ugly baroque-rococo style in the nineteenth century by Fossati, and its inscriptions were renewed in 1869 by Abdülfettah Efendi.⁷⁰ This Europeanizing decoration was removed in a renovation undertaken between 1959 and 1969, and was replaced by original designs whenever they were uncovered under the nineteenth-century layer of paint; where no underlayer was found, the restorers improvised motifs based on other decorated mosques dating from Süleyman's reign.

The results in no way measure up to the original, however. It was executed by the foremost artists of the time, whose names can be found in the documents published by Barkan. The same documents give lists of materials used in the decoration, such as dyes, pigments, ceramic tiles, lamps, and stained glass, and specify the amount of gold leaf used for inscriptions on the domes, for gilding the capitals of columns, and for other painted decorations,⁷¹ but they do not provide sufficient information for a reconstruction of Süleymaniye's original decorative program. It can be

argued, however, that the decoration was subordinated to the structural lines, since few areas of the mosque were suitable for painting. The walls faced with expensive stone revetments, the tiled qibla wall, and the columns would not have been covered with paint except for the gilded capitals. Only the ceilings of the pulpits and the royal box, the domical superstructure, and the pendentives would have been painted.

Nişancı Mehmed mentions the mosque's precious columns, its colored marbles, its stained-glass windows, and its ornamented mihrab, minbar, and pulpits, and praises the painted decoration, especially the sun-like roundels (*güneşveş şemseler*) shining on its ceiling with a brilliance that dazzles the eye, and the gold and silver motifs decorating the domes.⁷² These roundels with gold letters radiating from a center like rays of the sun help support the analogy drawn in the waqfiyya between Süleymaniye's domes and the heavenly realm and suggest that the lost decoration on the domes probably consisted of radially arranged medallion motifs representing the zone of the heavens.⁷³ The iron rings suspended from the central dome in several layers, on which hung glass lamps, decorated ostrich eggs, and reflective balls of mirror, echoed the circle of the dome in the lower zone. When these oil lamps were lighted at night, the mosque's interior must truly have resembled the starry night sky.⁷⁴

In contrast to the lavishly painted domes and pendentives, the stone revetments of the mosque's lower zones were left relatively bare. Tile facing was used only on the qibla wall, even though Süleyman's reign saw the flourishing of the Iznik tile industry, whose products covered the interiors of whole buildings (the Rüstem Pasha mosque, for example). Such intricately patterned tile revetments create a densely decorated surface whose numerous motifs cannot be perceived individually. In contrast, Süleymaniye's relatively plain walls accentuate its symbolically charged architectonic units and the structural skeleton to which the decorative elements are subordinated. In the mosque's interior, differences are kept to a minimum in order to concentrate attention on the columns, marble panels, porphyry discs, great arches, the mihrab, minbar and royal box, the stained-glass windows, and the inscriptions.

A passage in the waqfiyya supports the theory that ornamentation with tiles or painting was deliberately kept to a minimum. There it is written that the mosque would have been decorated with pearls and rubies, if decorating sanctuaries with precious stones, gold, and silver had been required by the Prophet's Shari'a. Since

it was not required, they refrained from applying gilding (*tezhib*) and precious stones (*larşî*), and concentrated instead on increasing the mosque's services and on strengthening its structure.⁷⁵ In other words, structural presence was regarded as more important than splendid decoration. The floating effect of Hagia Sophia, where forms interpenetrate smoothly, and the integration of architectonic elements were deliberately rejected in favor of an appearance of strength and durability. The waqfiyya praises the mosque's sturdy foundations and buttressing based on a careful use of Euclidean geometrical principles (plate 19).⁷⁶ The text prepared by the *şeyhü'l-islâm* Ebussuud Efendi for the mosque's foundation inscription describes it as "built with mighty pillars strengthened with stakes, supports, and haughty buttresses, lofty stairs, and high minaret balconies."⁷⁷

While this concern for structural solidity was no doubt partly inspired by the constant threat of earthquakes—many domes had collapsed in the earthquake of 1509—it was also a recognized architectural metaphor for power. Evliya Çelebi says that Sinan boasted to Süleyman, "My Emperor, I have built you a mosque that will remain on the face of the earth until the Day of Judgment, and when Hallaj Mansur comes to shake Mount Damavand from its foundations, he will be able to shatter the mountain but not this dome."⁷⁸

The unshakable Süleymaniye is powerfully expressed in its imposing mass. On its high hill, the royal mosque and its multidomed dependencies form a pyramid descending from the great central dome toward the Golden Horn (plate 2), a cascade of forms that visually expresses the sultan's absolute power over Ottoman institutions—a power exerted downward from the divinely appointed sovereign at the top.

THE INSCRIPTIONS

Royal and religious messages are interwoven in the Süleymaniye's inscriptions to communicate the sultan's absolute power. Aside from the founding inscription, all are Koranic. The foundation inscription can be found at the mosque's main entrance which leads from the inner courtyard to the sanctuary (plate 20).⁷⁹ Its *thuluth* script, composed by Hasan Çelebi who was a student of Ahmed Karahisari, is carved in relief on three rectangular stone panels. The two vertical panels are placed on the flanking sides of the portal, the horizontal one above the door. The text begins on the



Plate 19. Süleymaniye mosque. Qibla wall buttresses.

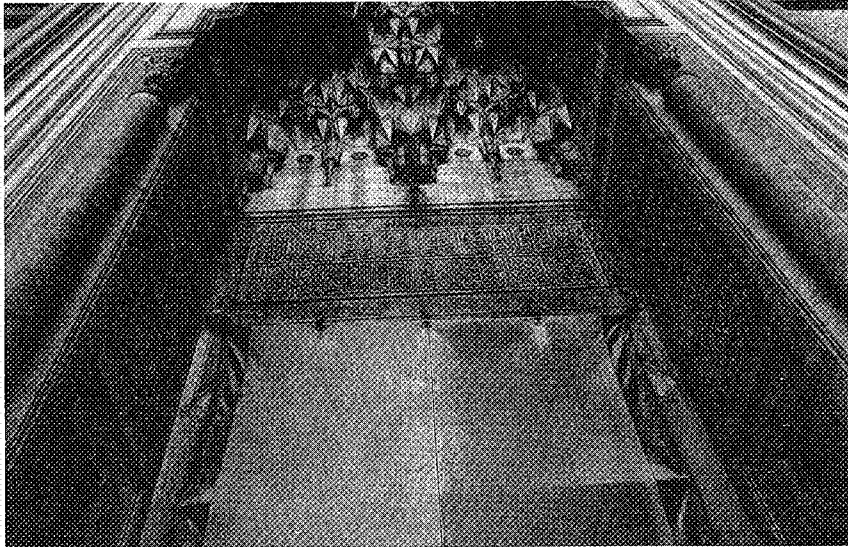


Plate 20. Süleymaniye mosque. Main entrance. Foundation inscription.

top line of the right panel, reads through the middle section, and ends on the left panel, an arrangement similar to the tripartite foundation inscription of Mehmed II's mosque.⁸⁰ In both, the right panel inscription states that the mosque was built as a pious deed according to God's wish and is followed by the sultan's titles; the middle panel lists the sultan's genealogy; and the left

panel contains prayers for the continuation of the Ottoman dynasty and for the souls of the royal ancestors.

Although similar in arrangement and content, the two inscriptions emphasize different themes. Mehmed's stresses his role as conqueror. In the right panel, it says he has rebuilt the deserted ruins of knowledge and science in the unequalled city of Istanbul.

bul, which so many had earlier tried without success to conquer. The Süleymaniye's foundation inscription (prepared by the same *şeyhü'l-islām* Ebussuud Efendi who was given the task of bringing the administrative practices of the state in line with the Shari'a) emphasizes on the right panel the sultan's divine right to rule as revealed in the Koran and his role as protector of orthodox Islam and of the Shari'a against heterodoxy. The middle panel gives Süleyman's Ottoman lineage and his title as the promulgator of the Ottoman laws. Together with the section that portrays him as the just ruler who codified Ottoman law, the foundation inscription represents a balance of Süleyman's worldly and spiritual authorities.

Ebussuud's text was shortened on the stone panels. The left panel includes a summary of the passage where he refers to the mosque as a place "for people who dedicate themselves to prayer and to devotional services, for those who despair at night and ask forgiveness at dawn, for those who recite God's verses all night and mornings and evenings."⁸¹ Constant communal prayer is not mentioned in Mehmed's inscription; his mosque is simply called a pious foundation. The reference to communal devotion may reflect the policy of enforcing religious orthodoxy in Süleyman's reign. The firmly institutionalized Sunnism adopted by the Ottoman state to replace an earlier tolerance for heterodoxy influenced the choice of Koranic inscriptions for the mosque.

The painted Koranic inscriptions in the mosque have been restored several times, but unlike the other painted decorations their correspondence to Evliya Çelebi and Sai's descriptions suggests that they have retained the outlines of the original script. The ceramic inscriptions on the qibla wall, over the windows of the mosque's courtyard façade, and inside the mausolea, as well as the carved stone inscriptions inside and above the gates of the marble courtyard and around the dome of Hürrem's mausoleum, are original. Although there may have been more inscriptions in Süleyman's time, the sources suggest that those remaining are at least representative.

Koranic texts chosen for the Süleymaniye turn up in other monuments as well; it is their cumulative effect that makes them significant. They were clearly chosen to convey a single message.⁸² Evliya tells us that "each *alif*, *lam*, and *kaf* was made ten *arşuns* tall so they could be easily read."⁸³ References in documents to paper for the planning of Süleymaniye's dome inscriptions suggest that they were carefully laid out.⁸⁴

Inscriptions for monuments were usually selected by their founders, and this suggests that the patron was aware that they could convey a message of importance.⁸⁵ For the Süleymaniye, Koranic passages were chosen that were related to the metaphor of paradise and the prescriptions of the Shari'a regarding the ritual duties of orthodox Muslims.

The two side entrances bear Koranic inscriptions for those entering the marble courtyard whose fountain (*şadırvân*) is compared to the fountain of paradise in various sources. The west gate reads: "Peace be unto thee! Thou art good, so enter ye to dwell therein" (39:73), a reference to believers whose piety is powerful enough to open the gates of paradise (plate 21). The east gate has a similar quotation: "Peace be unto thee! Enter the Garden of Eden because of what ye used to

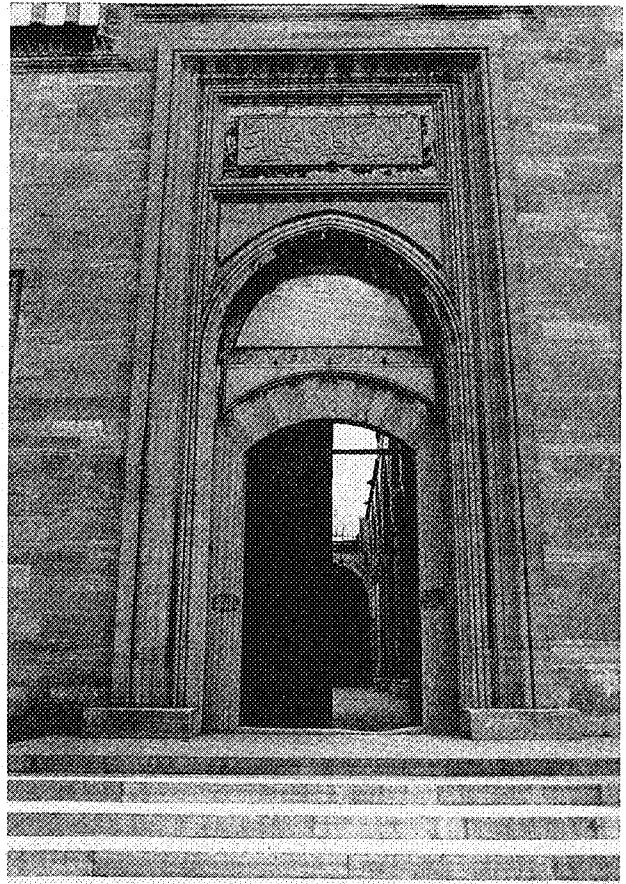


Plate 21. Süleymaniye mosque. West gate of the marble courtyard. Inscription.

do" (16:32) (plate 22). The same formula is repeated at the side entrances of the mosque. The one on the east, mentioned by Evliya, reads: "Peace be unto you! For if you are patient, fair is the ultimate abode" (13:24). The pendant gate on the west is again an invitation to enter paradise. In short, the Süleymaniye's gates are being equated with the gates of paradise, its interior and courtyard with the gardens of paradise.

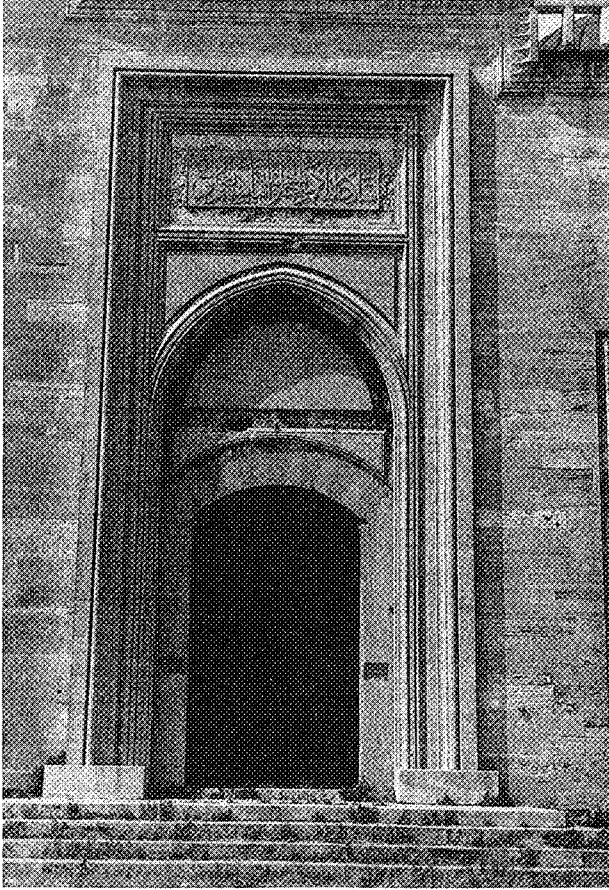


Plate 22. Süleymaniye mosque. East gate of marble courtyard. Inscription.

The Koranic passage on the mosque's main dome draws attention to the comparison made between it and its satellite domes and the celestial bodies. According to Sai the entire verse 35:41, written in beautiful script by Karahisari, was put there:⁸⁶ "Lo! Allah graspeth the Heavens and the Earth so that they deviate not, and if they were to deviate, there is not one that can grasp

them after him. Lo! He is clement, forgiving." Together with the four calligraphic roundels on the main dome's pendentives, this cosmic verse proclaiming the absolute power of God suggests a parallel between the cosmos held steadily in balance by God and the heavenly dome of the Süleymaniye held steadily by its piers.⁸⁷ The dome inscriptions are contained in circles with letters radiating like the sun's rays to give visual support to this cosmological analogy. The earth "challenges the sky" with Süleymaniye's dome.⁸⁸

That the Süleymaniye is a Sunni mosque is announced by the Sunni profession of faith, or shahada, inscribed on the monumental portal that serves as the main entrance to the marble courtyard (plate 23).⁸⁹ The shahada is repeated in two rectangular panels above the mihrab (plate 14). The stained-glass windows of the qibla wall bear the names of God, Muhammad, and the four caliphs, above which are two roundels reading "Muhammad" and "Allah," representing the importance of the Prophet as preacher of the Shari'a and of God as the lawgiver without the intercession of 'Ali. The roundels on the four huge piers also carry the names of the four caliphs and represent the four pillars of Sunni theology.

According to the *Ṭabaqātü'l-Memâlik*, all the mosque's inscriptions were chosen from the Koran, a source directly conveying the word of Allah, as opposed to the Safavid and early Ottoman mosques, such as the Yeşil Cami, in which the less authoritative hadith, references to 'Ali, and even passages of Persian poetry are extensively used.⁹⁰ Almost all the verses emphasize the straight path of the Shari'a to be followed by the orthodox believer, the ritual duties that distinguish the Sunni from the Shi'i Safavids (who according to Ottoman historical texts of the period ignored such formal requirements). Peçevi, a seventeenth-century historian, writes that during Süleyman's reign Ottoman muftis prepared fatwas against the Shi'i Safavids, calling them infidels because they not only disregarded communal ritual duties and Friday prayers, but also cursed the Prophet's chosen friends Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthman.⁹¹

Paul Ricault, who visited Istanbul in the mid-seventeenth century, observed that Ottoman muftis continued to write fatwas against the Safavids, whom they regarded as infidels because they did not consider public prayer in mosques to be necessary. These fatwas also reprimanded the Shi'ites for using mosques for purposes other than prayer.⁹² For the Sunni Ottomans, mosques were sanctuaries devoted solely to ritual

duties. They rejected the early multifunctional *zawiya*-mosques and separated *madrasas* and hostels from the mosque's fabric. That the mosque was strictly sacred space is also the message conveyed in a ceramic-tile inscription over the window next to the *minbar*, "Wear thy beautiful apparel at every time and place of prayer" (7:31).

The Sunni Ottoman state enforced prescriptions of the *Shari'a* about the ritual duties of orthodox Muslims. In the Süleymaniye mosque, Koranic inscriptions place these outward manifestations of devotion above the inner, mystical relation to God. Beneath the *shahada* on the monumental portal, "Worship at fixed hours hath been enjoined on the believers" (4:103) (plate 23); inside the marble courtyard, above the north arcade, "And those who are attentive at their worship, these will dwell in gardens honored" (i.e., the Garden of

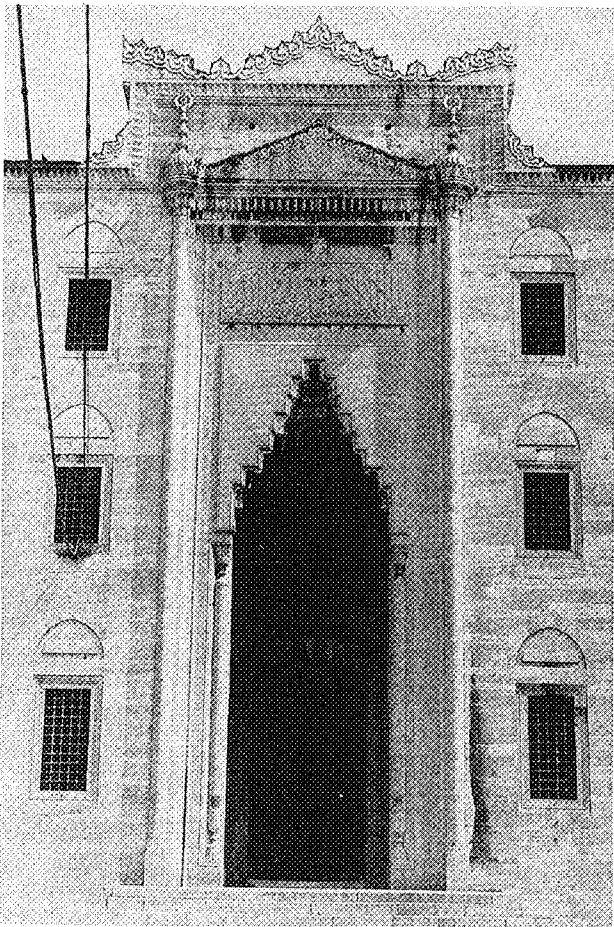


Plate 23. Süleymaniye mosque. Portal leading into the marble courtyard. Inscription.

Eden) (70:34-35) (plate 24); at the same courtyard's south arcade, above the central arch leading to the mosque's main entrance, "Be guardians of your prayers, and the midmost prayer, and stand up in devotion to Allah" (2:238) (plate 25). Inside the mosque (plate 10), in the inscriptions on the north half-dome: "O ye who believe! Bow down and prostrate thyself, and worship thy Lord and do good and haply ye may prosper" (22:77), and on the small half-domes flanking it: "Recite that which hath been revealed to thee of the Scripture, and perform worship. Lo! Worship preserveth from lewdness and iniquity" (39:45). On the four rectangular marble plaques over the Süleymaniye's lateral arches carried by the red-granite columns (plate 17), the verse (9:112) where reference is made to the covenant whereby God gives everlasting felicity in paradise to the believer who follows the path of orthodoxy is inscribed. Placing it here tells the worshiper that following the regulations of the *Shari'a* for correct worship will ensure him a place in paradise.

Ebussuud's fatwas also dictate the compulsory performance of the official Islamic prayer ritual and justify the punishment of those who neglect it. One exhorts the *qadis* to enforce the building of Friday mosques in districts lacking communal prayer places, even if the inhabitants are reluctant to go there.⁹³ This emphasis on strict religious orthodoxy was in part the result of the long and bitter struggle with the Safavids and the heterodox *Kızılbaş*. Popular uprisings in Anatolia nearly always took the form of heretical religious movements, since opposition to Islam had become synonymous with opposition to the power of the Ottoman state.⁹⁴ The Süleymaniye's Koranic inscriptions reflected this policy of religious orthodoxy enforced by a caliph-sultan seeking to legitimize his power as being in the service of the *Shari'a*'s straight path.

The Süleymaniye's four levels of meaning—functional, cultural, formal, and verbal—together repeat the themes of power and legitimization. Some of the mechanisms used to do this have been described here, but no claim is made to having exhausted all the culturally assigned contextual associations of the Süleymaniye. Every interpretation is inevitably tied to the interpreter's own point of view. Here we have only tried to determine how the multilayered architectural discourse of the Süleymaniye complex operated within a specific social context and how its structures of signification were mobilized to communicate a political statement.



Plate 24. Süleymaniye complex. Central arch of the courtyard's north arcade. Inscription.

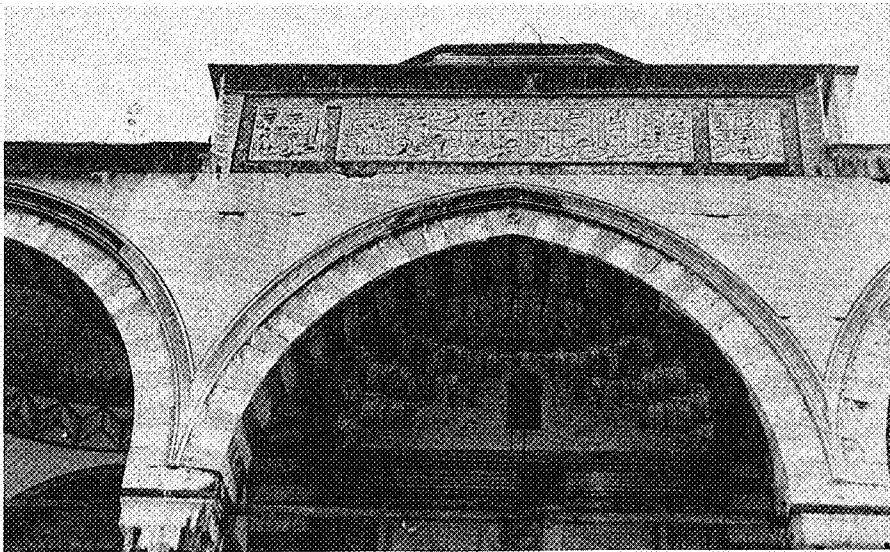


Plate 25. Süleymaniye mosque. Central arch of the south arcade. Inscription.

The Süleymaniye complex was the most ambitious of Süleyman's many building activities, but he sponsored others, not only in the vicinity of Istanbul, but in the Balkans and Anatolia, and in the cities of Mecca, Medina, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Baghdad. All of them sought,⁹⁵ either by the addition to already extant buildings of minarets, inscriptions, and ceramic tiles or

by newly built edifices in the classical Ottoman style, to legitimize the ruler's power.

The unity of this imperial style was reinforced by the corps of royal architects organized under Sinan and stationed in the Topkapi Palace, which directed the construction of buildings throughout the empire.⁹⁶ The relatively unified imperial style they created poses

problems when the meaning of individual monuments is sought. That is why most studies of Ottoman architecture adopt a functionalist-formalist interpretive framework that de-emphasizes the culturally assigned symbolic meanings of individual buildings. Extra-architectural mechanisms such as cultural associations, references to popular myths, and carefully chosen inscriptions played an important role in the ideological discourse, however. It may even have been precisely the culturally recognized extra-architectural connotations that conveyed meaning to individual monuments, whose commonly repeated architectural forms were otherwise lacking a strong symbolic charge.

Although here we have concentrated on the Süleymaniye's ideological message, the integration of this building complex into the Ottoman social fabric also deserves attention. The Süleymaniye's opening ceremony, for example, brought together all segments of Ottoman society as well as foreign statesmen;⁹⁷ the transportation of its building materials from all over the empire through a complex communication network made its construction a public enterprise. The numerous villages, islands, and shops whose income formed the endowment of the imperial complex were an integral part of that enterprise, even though they were geographically removed from it. The Süleymaniye's construction took an army of workers eight years to complete; huge amounts of building materials involved a complicated organization that in itself reflected the power of the Ottoman state. Financing and building it had a significant impact on the empire's economic and social life.⁹⁸ It also owed much to Süleyman's victories at the height of Ottoman power: Evliya Çelebi tells us that Süleyman diverted huge shares of the spoils from battles fought at Belgrade, Malta, and Rhodes to the construction of the royal complex and that it was built as a memorial to his conquests,⁹⁹ an idea also suggested in a passage from Mustafa Ali's *Counsel for Sultans*, written for Murad III in 1581:

As long as the glorious sultans, the Alexander-like kings, have not enriched themselves with the spoils of the Holy War and have not become owners of lands through gains of campaigns of the Faith, it is not appropriate that they undertake to build soup kitchens for the poor and hospitals or to repair libraries and higher *medreses* or, in general, to construct establishments of charity, and it is seriously not right to spend and waste the means of the public treasury on unnecessary projects. For, the Divine Laws do not permit the building of charitable establishments with the means of the public treasury, neither do they allow the foundation of mosques and *medreses* that are not needed. Unless a sultan, after con-

ducting a victorious campaign, decides to spend the booty he has made on pious deeds rather than on his personal pleasures, and engages to prove this by the erection of [public] buildings.¹⁰⁰

This passage explains why, after the Selimiye in Edirne (1568-74), which was built with the spoils of Selim II's Cyprus campaign,¹⁰¹ no royal complex approaching the Süleymaniye's monumentality was built for so long a time. Lubenau says that Murad III did not build a royal mosque in his capital because he had won no important victories: according to Turkish custom, only sultans who led armies that had conquered Christian lands had the right to build a royal mosque in the capital.¹⁰² Between 1609 and 1617, Sultan Ahmed I broke that rule by sponsoring the last great Ottoman complex, despite the ulema's protest that mosques should be built only with the spoils of conquest.¹⁰³ Ahmed's complex represented an attempt to recapture past glories at a time when the economic and political decline of the Ottoman empire had already begun.

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NOTES

1. Construction continued on the dependencies of the complex after 1556-57, the date in Süleymaniye's foundation inscription. The mausoleum for Süleyman's wife was completed after her death in 1558, and that for Süleyman was built by his son Selim II after his father's death in 1566; Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1977), pp. 466-67. A court order from Selim II to the qadis of Bursa, Amasya, Kastamonu, and Merzifon, dated 975 (1567-68), demands that skilled masons immediately be sent to Istanbul to build his father's mausoleum; Ahmet Refik, *On Altıncı Asırda İstanbul Hayatı: 1553-1591* [Life in Istanbul in the sixteenth century: 1553-1591] (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), p. 15, no. 3. An illustration of the Chester Beatty *Süleymânâme* (ms. 413, folio 115b) written in 987 (1579-80) depicts the burial of Süleyman in an imperial tent temporarily erected for the ceremony on the plot where his mausoleum was later to be built.
2. Kemal Edib Kürkçüoğlu, *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi* [Süleymaniye's endowment deed] (Ankara: Resimli Posta Matbaası, 1962), pp. 21-27, 31-50. For the list of dependencies, see also Mustafa ibn Celal, *Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik ve Derecâtü'l-Mesâlik* [Categories of countries and degrees of professions] (Topkapı Palace Library Ms. E. H. 1427, completed between 1555 and 1567), fols. 424a-426b; and Lokman ibn Seyyid Hüseyin, *Hünernâme II* [Book of talents II] (Topkapı Palace Library ms. H. 1524, completed in 1588), fols. 286a-286b. The complex also provided lodgings for its personnel in the rooms flanking the north portal and above the gates flanking the cemetery.

3. Albert Gabriel, "Les mosquées de Constantinople," *Syria* 7 (1926): 374-76; Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), pp. 215-40; Doğan Kuban, "Architettura of the Ottoman Period," in *The Art and Architecture of Turkey*, ed. E. Akurgal (New York: Rizzoli International, 1980), pp. 144-45; Aptullah Kuran, "Onbeşinci ve Onaltıncı Yüzyıllarda İnşa Edilen Osmanlı Külliyelerinin Mimari Esasları Konusunda Bazı Görüşler" [Views on the architectural principles of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman complexes] in *I. Millellerarası Türkoloji Kongresi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1979), pp. 798-99; Semra Ögel, "Die osmanischen Baukomplexe," *Anatolica* 1 (1967): 118-24; idem, "Die Kuppelraum in der türkischen Architektur (İstanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in Het Nabije Oosten, 1972), pp. 54-56; Tahsin Öz, *İstanbul Camileri* [Mosques of Istanbul] (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1962), 1:113-16; Metin Sözen, *Türk Mimarısının Gelişimi ve Mimar Sinan* [The development of Turkish architecture and the architect Sinan] (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1975), pp. 175-78; Suut Kemal Yetkin, "The Evolution of Architectural Form in Turkish Mosques (1300-1700)," *Studia Islamica* 11 (1959): 73-91.
4. An exception is Ülkü Bates's article which places the complex within the context of Süleyman's total building activity (Ülkü Bates, "The Patronage of Sultan Süleyman: The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul," in *Memoriam A. L. Gabriel, Edebiyat Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi Özel Sayısı* [Ankara: Erzurum Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1978], pp. 65-76). In a recent article, J. M. Rogers discusses the implications of some entries in the Süleymaniye account books published by Ö. L. Barkan, in the light of the architectural evidence (J. M. Rogers, "The State and the Arts in Ottoman Turkey," part I, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 14 [1981]: 71-86, and part II, *ibid.* (1982): 283-313). For the Süleymaniye account books and imperial decrees related to its construction, see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaatı (1550-1557)* [Construction of the Süleymaniye mosque and imaret (1550-1557)], 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972-79).
5. See *Koca Sinan* [Sinan the Great], ed. Cengiz Bektaş (İstanbul: Doğu Matbaası, 1968); Ernst Egli, *Sinan: Der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit* (Zurich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1976).
6. About the functions of zawiya-mosques, see Semavi Eyice, "İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dinî-İçtimâî bir Müessesesi: Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli Camiler" [A religious-social institution of the early Ottoman period: zaviyas and zawiya-mosques], *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 21 (1962-63): 1-80; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler: İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler" [Waqf as a method of settlement and colonization in the Ottoman empire: the colonizer dervishes and zaviyas of the conquest period], *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942): 279-362.
7. Eyice, "Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli Camiler," pp. 22-26.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 26. Eyice adds that by the middle of Süleyman's reign, mosques are no longer built with hostels for the Sufi orders.
9. When Süleyman I laid claim to the supreme caliphate and used the title, Caliph of the Muslims, he was claiming preeminence among Muslim rulers as protector of Islam; Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600*, trans. N. Itzkowitz, C. Imber (New York: Praeger, 1973), pp. 57, 182.
10. A. H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1913), p. 158; Bernard Lewis, *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), p. 45.
11. İnalcık, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 34.
12. *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri* [Endowment deeds of Mehmed II the Conqueror] (Ankara: Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Neşriyatı, 1938), paragraph 52. Mehmed's complex was built on the site of the Church of the Holy Apostles, where the Byzantine emperors were buried. Compared to earlier complexes, its rational plan and monumental size represent a significant step in the development of Ottoman külliyes.
13. Mustafa Ali criticizes Mehmed's policy in his book of etiquette written in 1586-87: "However, organizing the path of learning and knowledge in terms of offices or rank is unreasonable. This is a practice initiated in the Ottoman lands by the Father of Conquest [i.e., Mehmed II]. It is true that he desired to encourage the learning of knowledge through this measure, thinking that each person would strive to reach higher official ranks in the established order. ... Yet he did not foresee that after a while ... the gate of bribery would be opened" (Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâ'is fi Kavâ'idü'l-Mecâlis*, ed. Cavid Baysun [İstanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1956], pp. 102-3).
14. About the new hierarchy of madrasas, see Cahid Baltacı, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri* [Ottoman madrasas in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries] (İstanbul: İrfan Matbaası, 1976), pp. 49, 518-34, 601; İnalcık, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 169. About the madrasas in Mecca, see Evliya Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme* (İstanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1314/1896), 1:157, 161; Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, pp. 424-25.
15. Kürkcüoğlu, *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi*, p. 23.
16. Cited in Sadi İrmak, *Cumhuriyetin Ellinci Yılında İstanbul Üniversitesi* [İstanbul University on the fiftieth anniversary of the Turkish Republic] (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1973), p. 24.
17. Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti*, 1:48; Cevdet Çulpan, "İstanbul Süleymaniye Cami Kitabesi" [The foundation inscription of the Süleymaniye mosque in Istanbul], in *Kanuni Armağanı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1970), p. 291; Mustafa İbn Celal, *Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik*, fols. 420a-b.
18. *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*, pp. 243-46; Süheyl Ünver, "Fatih Külliyesine ait diğer bir mühim vesika" [Another important document about the Conqueror's complex] *Vakıflar Dergisi* I (1938): 39-47. For the duties of the functionaries in the Süleymaniye, see Kürkcüoğlu, *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi*, pp. 8-9, 33-37.
19. All the new functionaries are listed in Kürkcüoğlu, *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi*, pp. 33-37.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.
21. A. Thevet, who visited Istanbul during Süleyman's reign, states that the sultan went to the Friday mosque punctually every Friday; F. André Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant* (Lyons, 1554), p. 59. Du Fresne-Canaye who stayed in Istanbul in 1573 observes that Selim II, unlike his father Süleyman, went to the Friday mosque only twice in three months (Philippe du Fresne-Canaye, *Le Voyage du Levant de Philippe du Fresne-Canaye*, ed. M. A. Hauser [Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897], pp. 120-21).
22. Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, p. 59. Since the Süleymaniye mosque was still under construction during Thevet's visit, the passage describes the sultan's procession to Hagia Sophia. Du

- Fresne-Canaye, who was in Istanbul in 1573, tells us that the sultan's horse was suspended in air and left without food all night and until the procession began to guarantee a slow and stately pace (Du Fresne-Canaye, *Le Voyage du Levant*, p. 126).
23. Thevet, *Cosmographie*, p. 59.
 24. Guillaume Postel, *De la République des Turcs* (Poitiers, 1560), pp. 53-54. Thevet, Postel, and Du Fresne-Canaye all remark upon the profound silence of the crowd during the sultan's passage: "They say that a single glance from him [i.e., the sultan], as from Medusa, would transform men into marble or silent fish, for they hold the very firm opinion that their lord is the shadow and the breath of God on earth" (Du Fresne-Canaye, *Le Voyage du Levant*, p. 127).
 25. Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Mevâ'idü'n-nefâ'is*, pp. 177-78.
 26. See documents published in Barkan's *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti*, 2 vols. (Ankara: 1972-79) and those in Rıfık Melul Meriç, *Mimar Sinan, Hayatı, Eseri: Mimar Sinan'ın Hayatına, Eserlerine Dair Metinler* [The architect Sinan, his life and works: related texts], vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1965).
 27. Mustafa Sai Çelebi, *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân* [Record of Construction] (Istanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1315/1897), pp. 57-65; Ramazanzade Nişancı Mehmed, *Nişancı Târîhi* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1279/1862-63), pp. 286-97; Mustafa ibn Celal, *Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik*, fols. 419b-427a; Lokman b. Seyyid Hüseyin, *Hünernâme*, 2:284b-286b.
 28. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme*, 1:149-62.
 29. Kürkçüoğlu, *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi*, p. 21.
 30. *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 46; Evliya, *Seyâhatnâme*, 1:153; Nişancı, *Nişancı Târîhi*, p. 292; Mustafa ibn Celal, *Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik*, fol. 422a.
 31. Du Fresne-Canaye, *Voyage du Levant*, p. 103.
 32. Evliya, *Seyâhatnâme*, 1:153; Nişancı, *Nişancı Târîhi*, p. 292.
 33. Mustafa ibn Celal, *Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik*, fol. 422a. For the tomb inscription, see İ. Hakkı Konyalı, *Mimar Koca Sinan* [Sinan the Great] (Istanbul: N. Topçubaşı, 1948), p. 120; Öz, *Istanbul Camileri*, 1:136.
 34. For a statement of the widely held view that rejects the symbolic significance of light in the Ottoman mosque, see Orhan Bolak, *Camilerin Aydınlatılması Üzerine bir Araştırma* [A study on the lighting of mosques] (Istanbul: Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları Arık Kitabevi, 1967), p. 15.
 35. Kürkçüoğlu, *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi*, p. 22.
 36. Although Süleyman's mausoleum was not built until his son's reign (see above, n. 1), its plan must have been approved by Süleyman along with the rest of the complex. Sai writes, "A meeting was held about the holy mosque, at which its site and plan [*resm-i binâ*] were selected" (Sai, *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, p. 57). Du Fresne-Canaye says the mausolea were located in a flower garden, and that inside Hürrem Sultan's mausoleum exquisite ceramic vases were filled each day with fragrant flowers (*Voyage du Levant*, pp. 103-05).
 37. Soucek points out that Solomon's Temple was associated in Islamic texts with the Dome of the Rock. The fourteenth-century copy of al-Biruni's text depicts this legendary structure with a dome supported by a circular colonnade (Priscilla Soucek, "The Temple of Solomon in Islamic Legend and Art," in *Temple of Solomon*, ed. J. Gutmann [Missoula, Mont: Scholars Press for the American Academy of Religion, 1976], p. 76).
 38. Evliya states that Sinan, on his way to Mecca, stopped in Jerusalem to organize architects and artisans from Egypt, Damascus, and Aleppo for the Dome of the Rock's restoration (Evliya Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme* [Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1935], 9:469). Sinan's presence in Mecca is mentioned in a biography of his student Mehmet Ağa, Orhan Şaik Gökyay, "Risâle-i Mimarîyye—Mimar Mehmet Ağa-Eserleri," [*Treatise on architecture—Architect Mehmet Ağa and his work*] in *İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı Armağanı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1976), p. 149. The restoration was for some reason delayed: a document dated 1574 states that iron, steel, lead, marble, and tiles had been in storage for the repair of the Dome of the Rock since the days of Süleyman; Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552-1615* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 156, no. 101.
 39. The inscription on a fountain built in Edirne by Süleyman's wife refers to him as "the Solomon of his Age" (F. Dijkema, *The Ottoman Historical Monumental Inscriptions in Edirne* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977], p. 55, no. 34). Another fountain built by Süleyman in Jerusalem refers to him as "the second Salomon dans la royauté du monde" (Max Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt. 2: *Syrie du Sud, Jerusalem*, vol. 2, *Haram* [Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1925], pp. 167-68, no. 191). A comparison is made between the justice, wisdom, wealth, and building activities of the Biblical King Solomon and of Sultan Süleyman in Shah Tahmasp's letter (İbrahim Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi* [Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1283/1866], 1:331-36).
 40. Kürkçüoğlu, *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi*, p. 22. Mustafa ibn Celal, too, compares the mosque's interior to the garden of Iram (*Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik*, fol. 421b).
 41. Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti*, 1:347-50; 2:11-101. Süleyman was certainly not the first to do this; Mehmet II and Selim I both acquired precious building materials for their buildings through similar channels. About the marble from Cairo for Selim I's buildings in Istanbul, see Michael Meinecke, "Mamlukische Marmordekorationen in der osmanischen Türkei," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 17/2 (1971): 207-13.
 42. The passage is from an eighteenth-century English translation of Gyllius's original Latin text. Petrus Gyllius, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, trans. J. Ball (London, 1729), pp. 112, 201. Like Gyllius, Derschwam witnessed the removal of the marble columns from the Hippodrome for the Süleymaniye; Hans Derschwam, *Tagebuch nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55)*, trans. F. Babinger (Munich: Verlag von Duncker & Humbolt, 1923), p. 99.
 43. Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaatı*, 1:333. Byzantine texts describing the construction of Hagia Sophia were translated into Persian and Turkish after the fall of Constantinople. See Felix Tauer, "Notice sur les versions persanes de la légende de l'édification d'Ayasofya," in *Fuat Köprülü Armağanı* (Istanbul: Yalçın Matbaası, 1953), pp. 487-94. For folk traditions about Hagia Sophia's construction, see Hasan Özdemir, *Die altosmanischen Chroniken als Quelle zur türkischen Volkskunde* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, vol. 32 [1975]), pp. 133-62.
 44. Latifi presented this text to Sultan Süleyman in 1546. Lâtifi, *Evsâf-ı İstanbul*, trans. N. Suner (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1977), p. 83.

45. That Hagia Sophia's prestige remained after the fall of Constantinople is apparent. In his history, Tursun Bey states that Mehmed II's mosque was built according to Hagia Sophia's plan (*Ayasofya küniyesi resmi*) (Tursun Bey, *Tarih-i Ebu'l-Feth* [History of the Father of Conquest], trans. M. Tulum [Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1977], p. 70). Mehmed wanted to surpass Hagia Sophia and severely punished the architect of his mosque because, by shortening the colossal columns, he caused the dome to be lower than Justinian's building (İ. Hakkı Konyalı, *Fatih'in Mimarlarından Azadlı Sinan* [The freed slave Sinan, one of the Conqueror's architects] [Istanbul: Halk Basımevi, 1953], pp. 57-66).
46. George Scheja, "Hagia Sophia und Templum Salomonis," in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul* 12 (1962): 44-58.
47. Konyalı, *Fatih'in Mimarlarından*, p. 72.
48. Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti*, 1:341, 2:21-22, nos. 36-39.
49. Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1890), p. 297.
50. Sai, *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, p. 59.
51. Reinhold Lubenau, *Beschreibungen der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau*, ed. W. Sahn (Königsberg: Ferd Beyers Buchhandlung, 1912), 1:165-66.
52. Sai, *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, p. 59.
53. Kürkçüoğlu, *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi*, p. 21; Evliya, *Seyâhatnâme*, 1:150.
54. See Özdemir, *Die altosmanischen Chroniken*, pp. 112-62.
55. Evliya, *Seyâhatnâme*, 1:33-50.
56. Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, ed. C. T. Forster and F. H. B. Daniell (London: C. Kegan Paul, 1881), 1:149.
57. Sai, *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, p. 58; Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti*, 2:13-24, nos. 15-46. According to the *Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik*, two of the columns came from Alexandria and the other two from Istanbul (Mustafa ibn Celal, *Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik*, fol. 422a). This information is echoed in the report of a Moroccan ambassador el-Tambrouiti (1589-91), who was told by an eye-witness from Monastir that the walls of Alexandria had to be pierced to transport four colossal columns destined for the Süleymaniye mosque, of which only two were actually used; the other pair sank with the ship in a storm.
58. Rogers, *The State and the Arts*, pp. 77-78.
59. Meriç, *Mimar Sinan*, p. 12; Evliya, *Seyâhatnâme*, 1:158.
60. Sai, *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, pp. 58, 59.
61. Mustafa ibn Celal, *Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik*, p. 422a.
62. Meriç, *Mimar Sinan*, p. 51; Evliya, *Seyâhatnâme*, 1:154. The same type of symbolism was used in the later Sultan Ahmed Mosque (1609-17), whose fourteen minaret galleries signaled Ahmed's place as the fourteenth Ottoman ruler (there are now sixteen, but two were added at a later date). This symbolism is mentioned in Cafer Efendi's *Risâle-i Mîmâriyye* written in 1023/1614-15 (Gökyay, "Risâle-i Mîmâriyye," p. 165) and Mustafa Naima, *Tarih-i Na'imâ* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i 'Amire, 1280/1863-64), 2:156.
63. Sai, *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, pp. 59-60; Mustafa ibn Celal, *Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik*, fol. 422a.
64. Sai, *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, p. 59; Mustafa ibn Celal, *Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik*, fol. 422a; Nişancı Nişancı, *Târîhi*, p. 287.
65. Cited in Nisar Ahmet Asrar, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devrinde Osmanlı Devletinin Dini Siyaseti ve İslam Alemi* [The politics of the Ottoman state during the reign of Süleyman the Lawgiver, and the world of Islam] (Istanbul: Büyük Kitaphk, 1972), p. 154.
66. Öz, *Istanbul Camileri*, 1:135. References to the Ka'ba in Ottoman mosques such as the Sokollu at Kadırga (1571), where several pieces of the Black Stone were used, show the eagerness of Ottoman statesmen to associate themselves with the Sunna and its symbols.
67. Evliya, *Seyâhatnâme*, 1:156.
68. Ibid., 1:119. Also see, Mustafa ibn Celal, *Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik*, fol. 419b; Seyyid ibn Lokman, *Hünernâme*, 2:285a. According to the so-called history of Rüstem Pasha, written during Süleyman's reign, the Old Palace burned in 1540. Rüstem Pasha, *Die osmanische Chronik des Rüstem Pascha*, trans. L. Forrer (Leipzig: Mayer & Muller, 1923), p. 107.
69. At this time only a small group of women lived at the Topkapı Palace's harem; the rest inhabited the Old Palace (Barnette Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte* [New York: Ams Press reprint, 1970], pp. 90-94). The Süleymaniye could almost be regarded as an annex to this royal palace.
70. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, pp. 467-69.
71. Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti*, 2:173-89.
72. Nişancı Mehmed, *Nişancı Târîhi*, pp. 286-91.
73. S. Ögel sees a resemblance between the medallion motifs radiating from a central calligraphy in the domes of Istanbul's mosques and the decoration of imperial tents found in sixteenth-century Ottoman miniatures and regards it as an Islamized version of the old Turkish concept of the heavenly dome (Semra Ögel, "Die Innenfläche der osmanischen Kuppel," *Anatolica* 5 [1973-76]: 221-23, 277-78).
74. The now-lost oil lamps, painted ostrich eggs, and balls of mirror are listed in Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti*, 2:171-78; see also Mustafa ibn Celal, *Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik*, p. 422b. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Lubenau observed that "damascened balls," "beautiful lamps," and "ostrich eggs" hung all over the Süleymaniye's interior (Lubenau, *Beschreibung der Reisen*, 1:165); in 1599, Baron Wratislaw saw similar "ostrich eggs," "balls of looking glass," and over two thousand "handsome glass lamps" suspended by silken straps from iron rings in the Selimiye mosque at Edirne (Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw, *Adventures of Wenceslas Wratislaw of Mitrowitz*, trans. A. H. Wratislaw [London: Bell and Daldy, 1862], pp. 40-41).
75. Kürkçüoğlu, *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi*, p. 22.
76. Ibid.
77. Çulpan, "İstanbul Süleymaniye Kitabesi," p. 296. This passage was not included in the foundation inscription, probably because practical problems encountered by the stonemason led him to shorten Ebussuud's text.
78. Evliya, *Seyâhatnâme*, 1:157.
79. For Süleymaniye's foundation inscription, see Çulpan, "İstanbul Süleymaniye Kitabesi," pp. 293-95.
80. For the Mehmed mosque's foundation inscription, see Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri (855-886/1451-1481)* [The Fatih period of Ottoman architecture], 4 vols., (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1973), 3:385-87.
81. Çulpan, "İstanbul Süleymaniye Kitabesi," p. 296.
82. According to Oleg Grabar, Koranic quotations were the Muslim equivalent of Biblical subjects in Christian iconography (Oleg Grabar, "The Inscriptions of the Madrasah of Qaytbay," in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles* [Beirut, 1974], pp. 465-68).

- Wayne E. Begley reaches a similar conclusion for the Taj Mahal's Koranic passages, which constitute a thematically unified inscriptional program analogous to iconographic programs with images, in "The Myth of the Taj Mahal and a New Theory of Its Symbolic Meaning," *Art Bulletin* 61/1 (1979): 12-13, 25-29. See also Erika Dodd, "The Image of the Word: Notes on the Religious Iconography of Islam," *Berytus* 18 (1969): 35-79.
83. Evliya, *Seyâhatnâme*, 1:152.
 84. Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti*, 2:184, no. 466; 2:187, no. 481.
 85. An order sent by Selim II to Sinan during the Selimiye's construction shows that the sultan was involved in choosing the inscriptions: "Now, definitely, there must be tiles up to the windows and the fatiha sura should be written on tiles above the windows" (Ahmet Refik, *Türk Mimarları* [Turkish architects] [Istanbul: Sander Yayınları reprint, 1977], p. 113, no. 18). Since Ebussuud prepared Süleymaniye's foundation inscription, he may also have chosen the mosque's Koranic passages. He did write an interpretation of the Koran (*tafsir*) which was greatly admired by the sultan.
 86. Sai, *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, p. 71.
 87. Ögel's list of Koranic inscriptions used on the central domes of classical Ottoman mosques shows that this sura continued to be frequently used, and that it was chosen to emphasize the symbolism of the dome as the heavenly realm (Ögel, "Die Innenfläche der osmanischen Kuppel," pp. 224-28). The calligraphic roundels on the pendentives contain verses 11:88, 13:16, 17:84, and 6:102 which all stress the absolute power of God, the source of the sultan's temporal power.
 88. The Koranic verses on the half-dome over the mihrab (6:79) and the ones on the smaller half-domes flanking it (7:29 and 2:115) direct the reader to turn toward God in front of the mihrab. The quotation on the mihrab is the standard verse (3:37) used on most Ottoman mihrabs.
 89. The Shi'î profession of faith differs from the Sunni by the addition of 'Ali's name after the names of Allah and Muhammad.
 90. Mustafa ibn Celal, *Tabakätü'l-Memâlik*, fol. 423b. For the inscriptions of Yeşil Cami in Bursa, see Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi Mehmet ve II. Sultan Murad Devri (806-855/1403-1451)* [The period of Çelebi Mehmet and Murat II in Ottoman architecture], vol. 2 (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1972), pp. 56-94. The Yeşil Cami has a couplet from Sadi's *Gülîstân* inscribed near its mihrab, as well as passages from the hadith. For inscriptions from Safavid monuments, which are characterized by frequent references to 'Ali and the twelve imams of Twelver Shi'ism, see Lutfullah Hunarfar, *Ganjineh-ye Athar-e Tarikhi-ye Isfahan* (Isfahan, 1344/1965).
 91. Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevî*, 1:319-20. For this type of anti-Shi'î literature, see E. Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safawiden im 16. Jahrhundert nach arabischen Handschriften* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1970).
 92. Paul Ricault, *L'état present de l'empire ottoman* (Rouen, 1677), pp. 368-70.
 93. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları Işığında XVI. Asır Türk Hayatı* [Sixteenth-century Turkish life in the light of Ebussuud's fatwas] (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1972), pp. 59-73.
 94. İnalçık, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 187, 197.
 95. See Bates, "Patronage of Sultan Süleyman," pp. 65-76.
 96. About the organization of this corps, see Şerafettin Turan, "Osmanlı Teşkilatında Hassa Mimarları" [The Ottoman institution of royal architects], *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1 (1963): 157-202.
 97. Mustafa ibn Celal, *Tabakätü'l-Memâlik*, fols. 420a-420b. Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti* 1:54-57. Documents show that workers labored through weekends and nights for two months before the opening ceremony, whose date was strictly imposed by the sultan.
 98. *Ibid.*, p. xiv.
 99. Evliya, *Seyâhatnâme*, 1:119.
 100. Mustafa Ali Gelibolulu, *Mustafâ 'Alî's Counsel for Sultans of 1581*, trans. A. Tietze (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979), pp. 54, 146.
 101. The Selimiye's construction continued beyond this date into Murad III's reign; Lubenau states that Selim's mosque was built with the spoils of Cyprus and was still under construction when he was in Edirne (Lubenau, *Beschreibung der Reisen*, 1:119).
 102. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
 103. About the ulema's protest, see Goodwin, *History of Ottoman Architecture*, p. 343.