

GÜNKUT AKIN

THE MÜEZZİN MAHFİLİ AND POOL OF THE SELIMIYE MOSQUE IN EDİRNE

After Bursa, Edirne was the second capital of the Ottoman Empire throughout the first half of the fifteenth century, that is, until Constantinople fell in 1453. Even after this, however, Edirne did not lose its importance; it remained the starting point for military campaigns to the Balkans and central Europe and, especially in the seventeenth century, some sultans preferred to live there rather than in Istanbul (three of them ascended the throne in that city). Edirne is also important for the history of Ottoman architecture. The early period of religious architecture is represented by important mosques there, and the Selimiye Mosque built by Sinan between 1569 and 1575 for Selim II is also in that city.

The Selimiye Mosque, which represents the culmination both of classical Ottoman architecture and of Sinan's works, has a perfect centrally organized plan (fig. 1). The eight-pillared structure,¹ used by Sinan in small mosques, here supports a dome over 31 meters in diameter, the largest in Ottoman architecture. The pillars are pulled all the way to the outer limits of the structure allowing the dome to dominate the entire space, where the floor is a vast empty plane, where homogeneity of the surface is preferred to focal points in decoration, where dramatic light effects have not been used, and where there is no abrupt transition between different levels of floor and covering. The result is a large total space without direction and strain. When this mosque is considered in relation to those in Arab countries and Iran, which differ in form but are similar in concept,² the total space of the Selimiye can be accepted as the realization of spatial image that had existed for a long time. Starting in the fifteenth century and with the contributions of Sinan, the use of this kind of large and uninterrupted space becomes apparent in Ottoman architecture. A central space reflecting a wide variety of forms had a long history both in Asia where the Turks came from³ and in Anatolia where they settled. However, many other forms were tried until the centralization process in Ottoman architecture attained the perfect structure of the sixteenth century. The Selimiye Mosque is the result of a long quest.

The platform known as the *müezzîn mahfilî*⁴ has an unusual location at the center of the Selimiye Mosque (figs. 1, 2). Because they were regarded as structures that could spoil spatial unity, until the Selimiye was built they had always been located in an inconspicuous place. The conspicuous central location in the Selimiye therefore represents a bold innovation, just at a time when the quest for an efficient central and total space had attained its goal. But the location of the Selimiye *müezzîn mahfilî* is functional because of its optical and acoustic position, and when compared to locations of the *mahfil* in other mosques which have a negative effect on spatial symmetry, this innovation seems an effective architectonic solution, as well as one very much in line with Sinan's creativity. Although his reasons for the new location of the *müezzîn mahfilî* might have been quite different from those adduced here, it is evident that the solution is open to discussion from the point of view of spatial unity. In the eighteenth century, the writer Dayezade Mustafa Efendi remarked that "the reason for placing the *müezzîn mahfilî* in a faulty place in such a distinguished mosque may only have been to encourage discussion."⁵

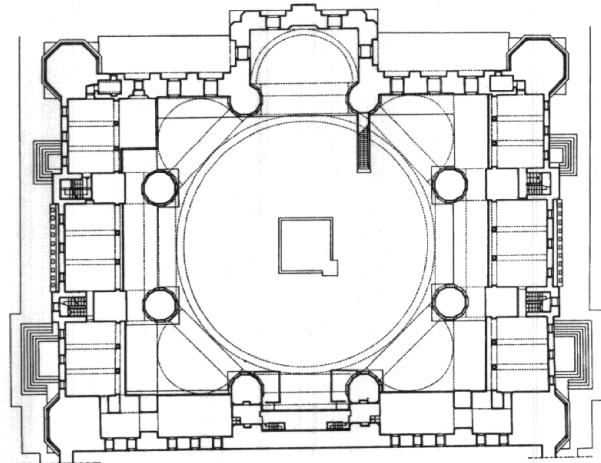


Fig. 1. Edirne. Selimiye Mosque. (plan: from Doğan Kuban, "The Style of Sinan's Domed Structures, *Muqarnas* 4 [1987])

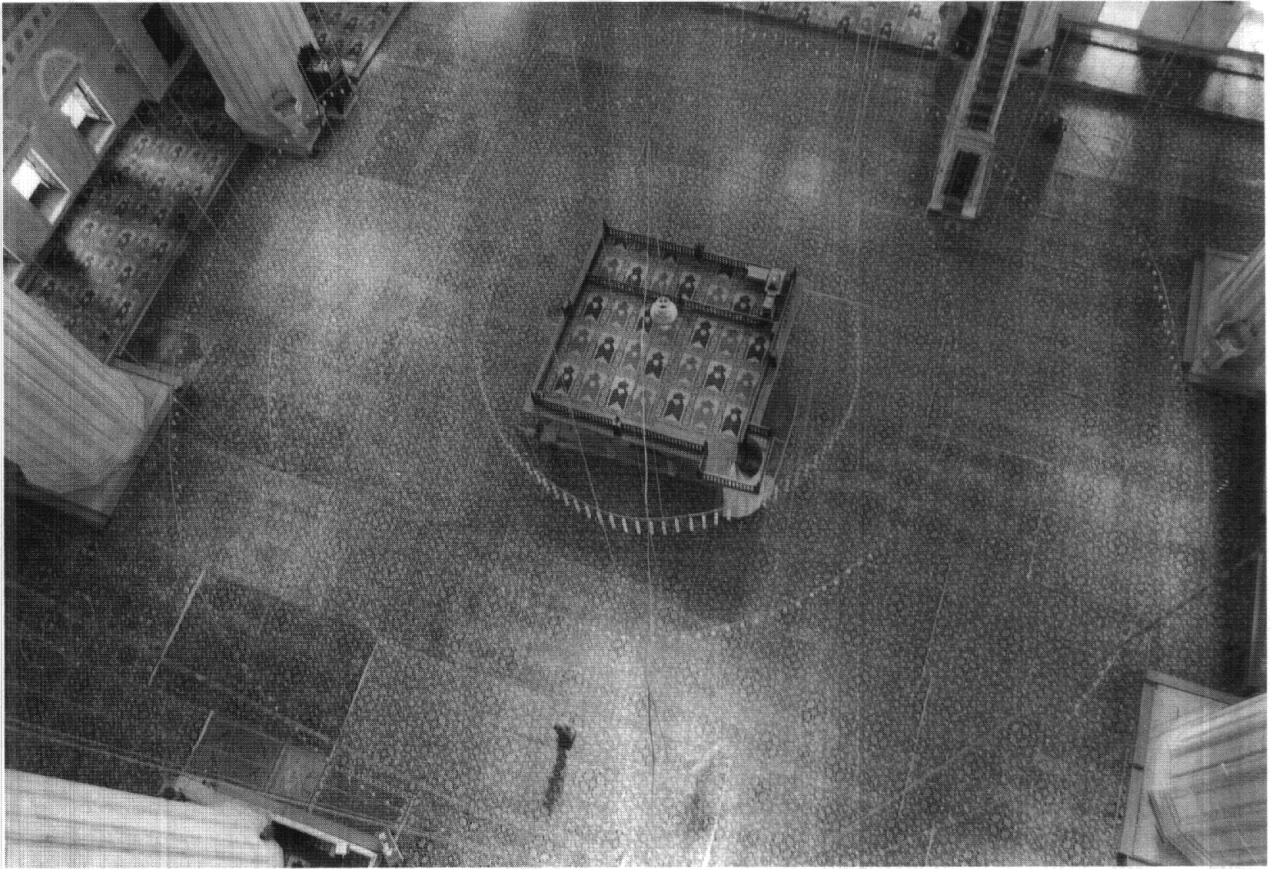


Fig. 2. Edirne. Selimiye Mosque. Looking down from the tambour toward the central space and *müezzin mahfili*.

The *müezzin mahfili* of the Selimiye Mosque is a square platform about 6 meters on a side (figs. 3–4). In one corner a staircase protrudes from the square. The platform is supported by a column on three corners and by the staircase itself. In addition, there are two columns on each side. Thus, each side has three spans with low arches of foliate design (fig. 5). Corbel arches, rare in Ottoman architecture, are used here. The pool in the center of the area below the platform has a square outer frame 1.75 meters on a side (figs. 3, 6). The actual pool was made by lowering the floor of the octagonally shaped area whose four sides are tangential to the outer square frame. There is a goblet-shaped drinking bowl in the middle of the shallow pool. The bowl is surrounded by eight protruding semicircles. The ceiling is divided into small squares by laths which divide each side into 24 modules. In the middle of each square is a painted whorl motif (*çarkıfelek*, wheel of heaven). This same motif in larger dimensions is placed in the square area in 8×8

modules above the pool. It is this square and that of the pool in equal size below it that account for the imaginary division of the floor and the roof into nine (3×3) squares by the invisible connections of the three spans on each side with the opposite side.

The *müezzin mahfili* of the Selimiye gives the impression of being a structure with a symbolic meaning, not only because of its location but also because of its formal characteristics. It has been said that in the design of this “structure within a structure” there is a hidden geometry which also informs the dimensions of the mosque.⁶ The square and circle motif on the ceiling suggests the Buddhist *mandala*; the shape of the platform supported by twelve columns suggests the Hindu *baradari*;⁷ and the square divided into nine modules suggests the Chinese *ming t’ang*.⁸ Whether these were ever used in architecture is, however, unknown, although we do know that those distant cultures were of interest to the Ottomans.⁹

Here we are concerned with the iconographic back-

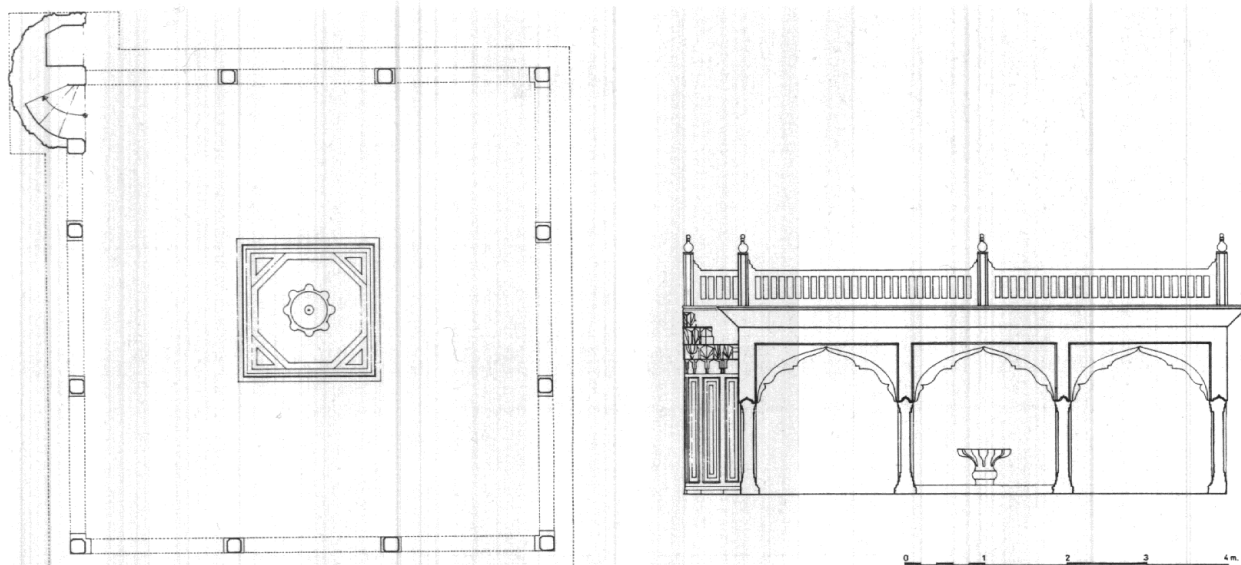


Fig. 3. Edirne. Selimiye Mosque. *Müezzîn mahfili*. Plan and elevation.



Fig. 4. Edirne. Selimiye Mosque. Interior, looking toward the *müezzîn mahfili*.



Fig. 5. Edirne. Selimiye Mosque. The *müezzin mahfili*.

ground of the pool in the Selimiye. The pool was not meant for ablution, but for drinking. However, because such a function does not need a central location it seems logical to assume that its function was less important than its symbolic meaning, whose interpretation is much more elusive. The pool in the Selimiye is located in the center of a centralized space; this most effectively expresses the power of a centralized and absolutist empire which at that time had reached the farthest limits of its geographical boundaries.

Looking back we see that there are pools in the so-called zawiya mosques (hospice or convent mosques) of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in Bursa and Edirne, in the Ulu Cami in Bursa, in the separately built zawiya (hospices) of the same period, and the madrasas of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, the pools we see in palaces and in the throne scenes of miniatures suggest references to royalty. Therefore, the

origins of the pool motif, which seems to have two different sources, namely sacred and royal, have to be investigated with reference to Islamic, Shamanist, and Sasanian precedents.

ZAWIYAS AND ZAWIYA MOSQUES

The zawiya is a building type that was widely used in the fourteenth century; according to written documents there were over a hundred of them in Anatolia alone.¹⁰ They functioned as hospices and were intimately linked to the organized brotherhood of Akhis, according to Ibn Battuta, who traveled in Anatolia in the first half of the fourteenth century and always stayed in one.¹¹ The Akhis were mainly craftsmen who sometimes undertook public service; they had authority over state officials and assumed responsibilities of administration and security when required; they were known for their solidarity and

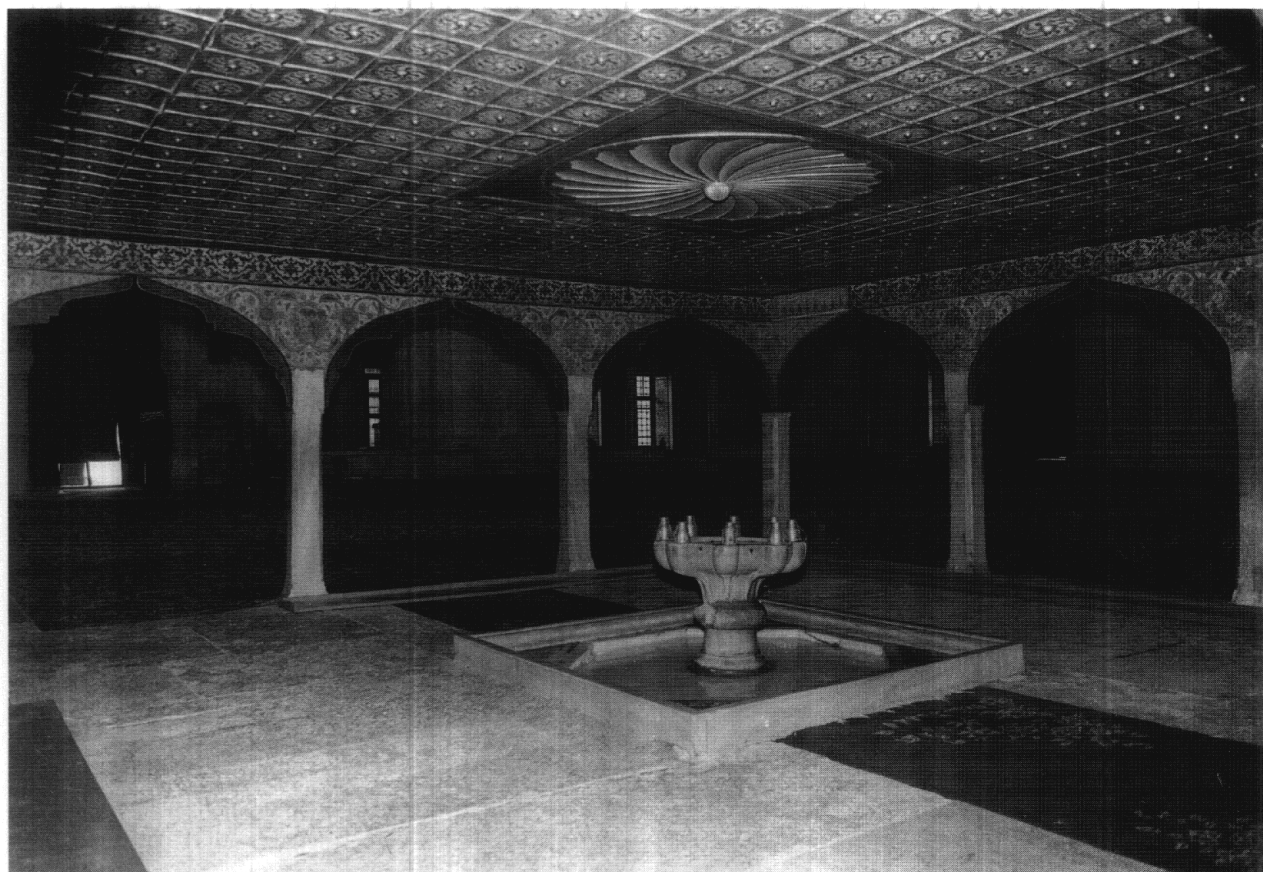


Fig. 6. Edirne. Selimiye Mosque. The *müezzîn mahfili*. Interior looking toward pool and ceiling.

honesty. In time they turned into a guild, and this shifted their emphasis to social and political activities at the expense of the religious function of the *zawiyas*. Nevertheless the *zawiyas*, like the later *tekkes* of the Sufi orders, were considered religious buildings, constituting an alternative to the mosques in towns. Although Ibn Battuta mentions that the Akhis adhered to some Islamic rituals, the fact that they sang and danced as in the Antalya *zawiya* and used liturgical utensils and terminology later adopted by the Bektashi order of dervishes¹² suggests that they were heterodox.

We can assume that the heterodoxy of the *zawiyas* was more marked outside urban areas. The nomadic Turkmen retained their pre-Islamic beliefs.¹³ Considering the practices of their descendants who still exist in Anatolia, namely the Tahtacıs who live in the mountains of southern and western Anatolia, the Alevis who live in the large circle formed by the Kızılırmak river in central Anatolia, and other small groups, it is obvious that the

Turkmen showed more interest in *zawiyas* than mosques in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These groups were by no means small and ineffective minorities. The Babai revolt which started in 1239 and rapidly spread throughout the Turkmen of Anatolia shook the Seljuq state.¹⁴ The Celali revolts which started in 1519 and involved the same groups caused difficulties for the Ottomans for a long time.¹⁵ The Ottoman-Safavid conflict, which also generated considerable political tension in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was related to the Turkmen who immigrated to Iran from Anatolia in large groups and no longer felt committed to the Ottomans.¹⁶ These conflicts between the state and the Turkmen in Anatolia during the Seljuq and Ottoman periods can be related to administrative mechanisms which inevitably drifted away from the traditional values that continued to keep the Turkmen together. There were material reasons, such as taxes and the distribution of land at the source of the reaction of the Turk-

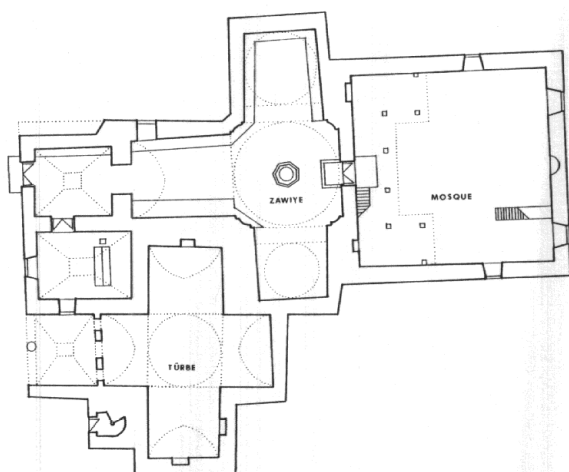


Fig. 7. Çorum, Mecidözü. Plan of the zawiya of Elvan Çelebi. (plan: from Semavi Eyice, "Çorum'un Mecidözü'nde Aşık Paşa-Oğlu Elvan Çelebi Zaviyesi," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 15 [1969])

men towards the state, but the fact that the central authority increasingly identified itself with orthodox Islam must also have played a role. This orthodox-heterodox conflict can be traced even to the hostility of the western Anatolia Tahtacıs (who descended from the Turkmen) towards Sunni Islam and the state up to as recently as the beginning of this century.¹⁷

Many documents mention the support of the zawiya by the state¹⁸ which allotted the zawiya shaykh a share of the local agricultural yield (*öşür*),¹⁹ to gain the sympathy of the heterodox groups. Moreover, local preferences were taken into consideration in the selection of the zawiya shaykhs. For example, Elvan Çelebi, the shaykh of the zawiya in Mecidözü, Çorum, was the great grandson of Baba İlyas, an important leader of the Babai revolt of the thirteenth century.²⁰ A large number of the other zawiya shaykhs were heterodox dervishes who came from Central Asia.²¹ The zawiya, then, seem to have acted as a catalyst between the Sunni state and the heterodox population. In these structures, many old beliefs from Asia colored mainly by Shamanism were merged with Islam and found expression through its concepts. The syncretic codes which emerged laid the basis for a kind of popular mysticism²² and during times of persecution camouflaged the remnants of Shamanism. It would not be wrong to assume that this setting in the zawiya is where the Bektashi — the powerful order of Anatolia — developed since its beginnings in the fifteenth century. Some of the zawiya became tekkes of this order.²³

The central spaces of some zawiya that have survived

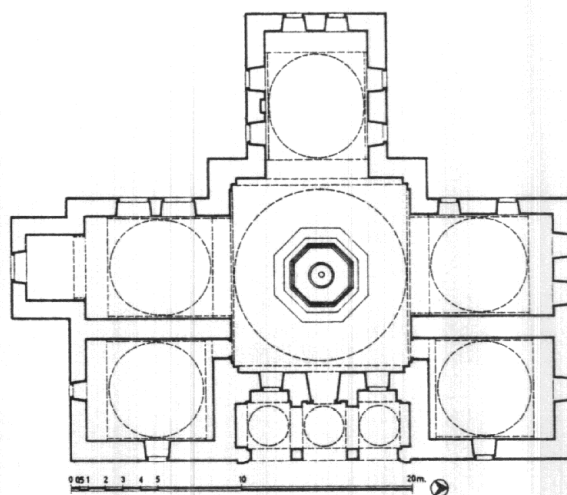


Fig. 8. Kütahya. Plan of the zawiya of Yakup Çelebi. (plan: from Ali Kızıltan, *Anadolu beyliklerinde cami ve mescitler* [Istanbul, 1958])

have a pool and conform with one of two plans often used in Islamic architecture, that is, either one or three iwans opening onto the central space. The zawiya of Abdullah ibn Muhyi, at Tokat (1317), has a pool.²⁴ In this zawiya over the central space about 7.5 meters on a side, there is a large oculus about 3 meters in diameter, which seems to be original.²⁵ Both the zawiya and the zawiya mosques had an oculus or a lantern²⁶ over the pool, but most of them were later closed up. The Elvan Çelebi zawiya in Mecidözü also has a pool (fig. 7), built at the end of the thirteenth or the first half of the fourteenth century; a mosque was added to it later.²⁷ The pool has seven sides, which is unusual and might have had a symbolic meaning. There is a goblet-shaped fountain in the center of the pool. The Yakup Çelebi zawiya at Kütahya (1411) has three iwans (fig. 8) like the Elvan Çelebi zawiya and also a pool in the center with a goblet-shaped fountain featuring a single basin 1.5 meters in diameter (fig. 9).²⁸ A mihrab was added later.²⁹ In the zawiya of Abdullah ibn Muhyi and Elvan Çelebi there is no mihrab.

In 1424, listing the characteristics of a zawiya had to have, Akhi Ali wrote, "That place . . . has a pool; if jugs and ewers are filled there, that is even better."³⁰ An anecdote in the *Velâyetnâme*, which is a saint's life about Hacı Bektaş, leader of the Bektashi order, thought to have been written at the end of fifteenth century, relates that when the tutor of the dervish asked him to bring water for his ablutions the boy miraculously created a spring in the middle of the school.³¹ The *Velâyetnâme* states that



Fig. 9. Kütahya. Zawiya of Yakup Çelebi. Pool. (photo: Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* [Baltimore, 1971])

Hacı Bektaş came from Central Asia and that he was a disciple of Ahmad Yasavi (d. 1166) there. According to the inscription on the large basin under the central dome of Yasavi's khanqah (1394–99) in Kazakhstan, it was used as a drinking fountain for pilgrims. The inscription also contains a hadith of Muhammad, "He who builds a place for drinking (*siqāyah*) for holy purposes, God will build for him a pool (*hawḍ*) in Heaven."³²

All these accounts suggest that the pool or basin in the zawiya had a practical use. The Bektashi explanation that the water was used for ablution may have been invented to create the impression that it followed Muslim rituals, because the Bektashi order was not approved of by orthodox Islamic theologians who regarded it as heretical. But even if prayers were held there — and that was not their usual function, because they do not even have a mihrab — explaining the presence of a pool in the center of a zawiya as being for ablution is not very

convincing. Similarly, claiming that the famous basin that Timur gave to the Yasavi khanqah, which stands in a central position under the largest dome in Central Asia, was meant solely to hold drinking water does not seem credible. These were probably functions invented to explain a pool, whose presence had become familiar and whose origin has been forgotten.

The main difference between the zawiya mosques, which first appeared towards the middle of the fourteenth century and the zawiya is that in the mosque, the iwan (or one of the iwans, if it had three) had a floor that was slightly higher and not subordinated to the central space. Thus, the Sunni mosque situated in the iwan and the heterodox zawiya represented by the central space are placed together side by side in the same structure as two equally large domed spaces. This equality leads one to think that orthodoxy and heterodoxy had equal status in the state in the fourteenth and the first half of the fif-

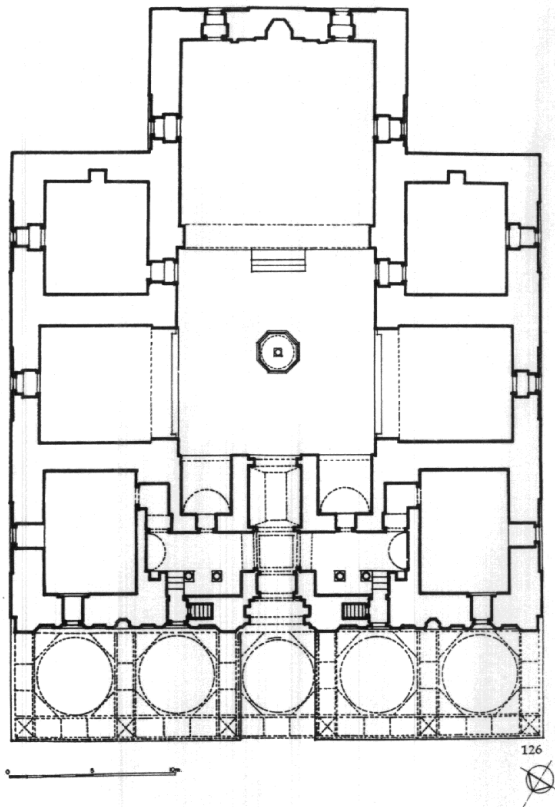


Fig. 10. Bursa. Plan of the Yeşil Cami. (plan: from Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture* [Chicago, 1968])

teenth century; this equality also symbolizes a balance between the central authority and the Turkmen.

There are three zawiya mosques in Bursa that have pools: the Murad I Mosque (1366–85), the Yeşil Mosque (1412–19) (fig. 10), and the Murad II Mosque (1424–26). Traces of a pool were also found in the Murad II zawiya mosque (1435) in Edirne which was used as a Mevlevi tekke in the nineteenth century.³³ However, the pool and oculus were eliminated when these multifunctional buildings were converted into mosques. In the Yeşil Mosque in Bursa, for example, the central space was filled in to bring it up to the level of the floor of the mosque,³⁴ and the pool disappeared.

The double-center of early Ottoman zawiya mosques was not something new. The congregational mosques of the thirteenth century also had one domed unit in front of the mihrab and an open unit a little further down on the same axis. There are indications that there was a pool in this open unit.³⁵ Double-centered congrega-

tional mosques continue their existence in the multi-domed mosques of the Ottoman period: the Ulu Cami in Bursa (finished in 1399), which also has a pool, and the Eski Cami in Edirne (1402–13), for example.

The interior pool was certainly not intended for ablution: it would not be logical to make such a secondary function the focal point of the building. Therefore, it must have been placed there for some other reason, but once in place was also used for ablution. From the point of view of ritual, entering a holy area without cleansing one's self endangers its purity and therefore having the ablution place inside the building brings up questions of Islamic law.³⁶ It might be assumed that as the power of the ulama increased, they were able to move the pool outside the building, but examples in Anatolia do not completely support this assumption. The Manisa Ulu Cami (1376) has its ablution fountain in the courtyard, and it dates from an earlier time than many zawiya mosques with interior pools; in addition, the ablution pool is inside the Ulu Cami at Bursa, and it is still in use. That no interior pools were built after the middle of the fifteenth century can still be related to the increasing pressure of Islamic dogma, however, though the question is not only whether the ablution place should be inside or outside but also whether an element referring to a non-Islamic belief should be tolerated in a mosque. The ablution function of the pool was used to conceal its non-Islamic meaning.³⁷

In Anatolia the pool is found only in double-centered mosques, and its second center, which first appeared in the congregational mosques of the Seljuqs and continued with the zawiya mosques and the multi-domed early Ottoman mosques, may have had to have a pool in accordance with the sacred-space concept of the heretical Turkmen. This center with a pool, which did not accord with the Islamic and royal background of the domed center in front of the mihrab stemming from the "maqsura" tradition, disappeared with the establishment of absolutism. Therefore the main question is not one of taking the pool outside but of taking the concept of a second center outside, or rather totally eliminating it. The essence of the process is the transition from double center to single center. The elimination of the interior pool is a secondary effect of this process.

HETERODOX SACRED SPACES IN RURAL ANATOLIA

Another inaccurate assumption is related to the claim that the pool under the oculus is the precursor of the

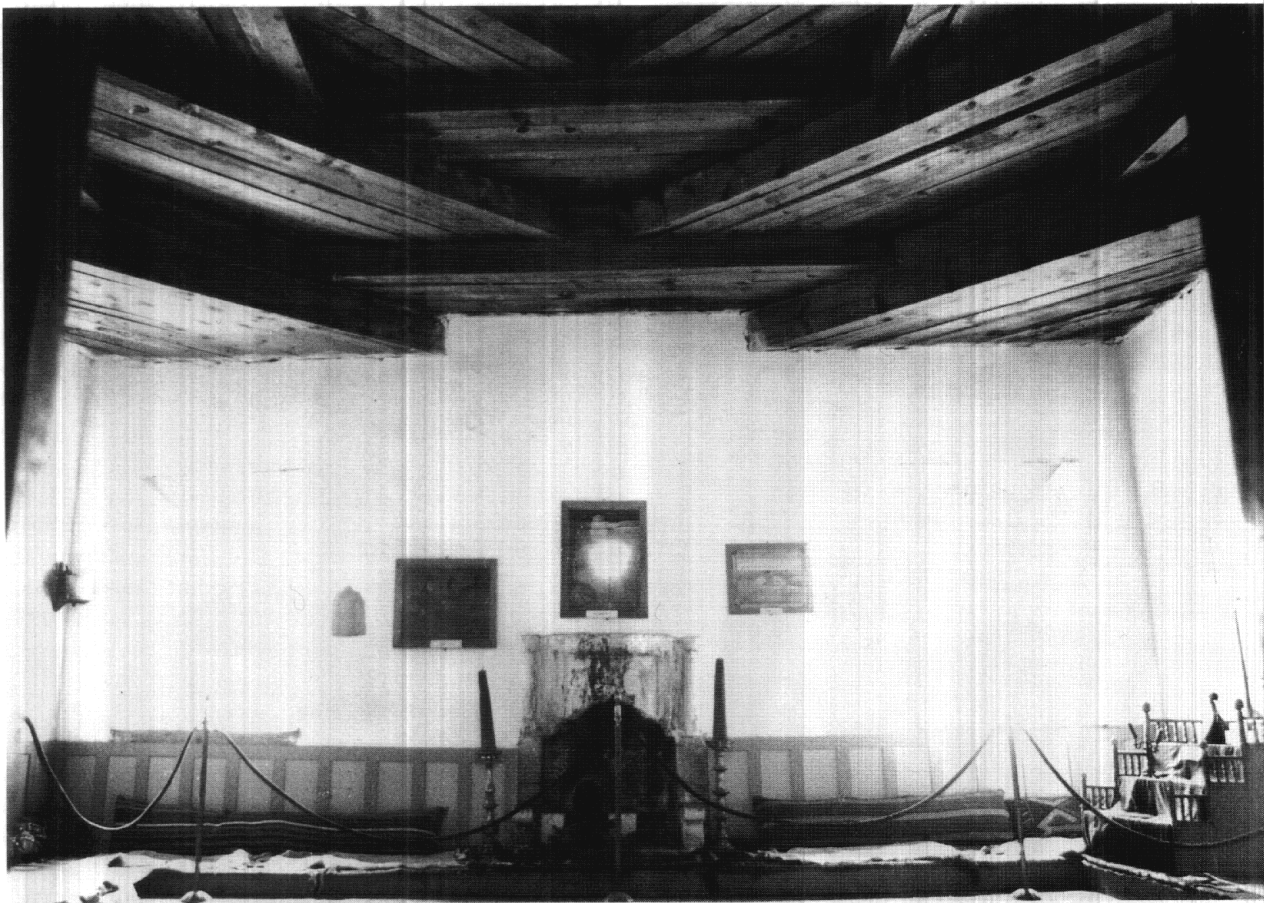


Fig. 11. Kırşehir. Tekke of Hacı Bektaş. *Meydan*.

fountain courtyard.³⁸ There are opposite claims as well. According to these, the central space with the oculus is a remnant of the courtyard,³⁹ an “enclosed court.”⁴⁰ However, interiors with oculi have no relation to courtyards and have their own history in Asia.⁴¹ In Anatolia, before being incorporated into monumental architecture, they were found in their authentic forms in the *cemevi* (house of gathering), the sacred space of the Alevis.⁴²

The Alevis constitute the largest religious minority in Anatolia; their beliefs are similar to those of the Bektashis, but unlike the Bektashi order, which had organizations in towns, the Alevis were a rural sect. Despite containing elements taken from the autochthonous beliefs of Anatolia, Islam, and to some extent Christianity, Alevis have syncretic qualities that include a surprising number of Shamanist characteristics.⁴³ Because the Alevis have retained their Central Asian beliefs about society, nature, and the universe for almost a thousand

years, they are useful for analyzing some of the old forms of Turkish culture.

The hall for their ceremonies is called a *cemevi* by the Alevis and a *meydan* by the Bektashis. The *meydan* in the Hacı Bektaş tekke in Kırşehir in Central Anatolia, the center of the Bektashi order, has retained its rural and archaic appearance despite numerous restorations⁴⁴ and is similar to the Alevi *cemevi*. The symbolically charged lantern roof⁴⁵ found in sacred spaces of various cultures all over Asia is found both in this main Bektashi tekke (fig. 11) and in the Alevi *cemevi* (fig. 12). The roof is formed by squares gradually diminishing in size placed on one another at 45-degree angles, rising in steps towards the center. The topmost square in the *cemevi* is left open to let in light. Cosmic orientation, which is widespread in Asian architecture, is apparent in both the *cemevi* and the *meydan*. The four cardinal directions are represented by invisible gateways in the four walls.⁴⁶ It is



Fig. 12. Yahyalı, Sivas. *Cemevi* (demolished in the early 1980's).

this symbolism which accounts for the design of both spaces in the form of a representation of the cosmos, complete with the celestial roof and invisible *axis mundi* (Dar-ı Mansur).⁴⁷ The rising squares or octagons of the lantern roof symbolize the layers of the heaven and the Dar-ı Mansur symbolizes the ascent to heaven. This invisible vertical axis also points to the center, the most sacred place of the *cemevi* and *meydan*.⁴⁸ In its dictionary sense, Dar-ı Mansur (the gallows of Mansur) refers to the death (922) of Mansur al-Hallaj, which in mystical language means unification with God.⁴⁹

The Shamanist concept of the sacred space put forth by M. Eliade, based on data from central and northern Asia, can be of help in understanding the liturgical context of the space in the *cemevi*. According to him the sacred space "had been the scene of a hierophany and so manifested realities . . . that were not of our world, that came from elsewhere and primarily from the sky."⁵⁰ As the Shamanist concept of the structure of the universe is formed by three successively traversed planes such as sky,

earth, and underworld, the "manifestation of the sacred in itself implied a break-through in plane."⁵¹ The passage from one cosmic plane to another is possible through "holes" located vertically above one another. The *axis mundi* passes through these holes. As a microcosm, a sacred space which Eliade also calls "center," reflects this cosmology with three cosmic zones and the *axis mundi*. So, there is no Shamanist sacred space without an *axis mundi*; otherwise there is no hierophany.

We come across the use of such a vertical axis in Islam in the context of Muhammad ascending to Heaven to meet with the Divine. This celestial journey called *mīrāj* is one of the few miracles attributed to Muhammad, whose non-divine quality is accentuated. The Shaman climbing through the smoke and light hole in the top of his yurt or semi-subterranean house with a ladder to communicate with heavenly forces⁵² is in conflict with Islamic dogma. However, in the Alevi/Bektashi version of the Islamic *mīrāj* myth, ʿAli goes on the celestial journey too,⁵³ and ascending to Heaven ceases to be the privilege

only of Muhammad. From the point of view of such heterodox beliefs, the *mīrāj* is an allegory for meeting the sacred. The ecstatic ambience of the religious ceremony is expected to provide such a mystic experience for all participants. The *cem* ceremonies end with a hymn sung to the *mīrāj* and the participants tell each other that they have "seen the *mīrāj*."⁵⁴

In the *cemevi* one of the two divine accesses necessary in a Shamanist space is found in the form of a hole at the top of the concave roof (fig. 12). There is no place on the floor for the bottom pole of the *axis mundi*. However, during the *cem* ceremony a basin forming the liturgical focus is placed at the center, right under the hole in the ceiling. *Havz-ı keuser* (the pool of Kawthar), which is the name given this basin, is also the name of the pool in heaven and is the source of numerous metaphors in Islamic imagery. According to the dimensions given by Muhammad, this pool was actually the size of a huge lake or even a sea.⁵⁵ In Islamic iconography pool, fount, bowl, or basin are interchangeable; the small versions symbolically represent the larger ones to form a continuous pattern charged with rich allegorical meanings.⁵⁶

Before the ceremony at the *cemevi/mezdan* first the floor is ritually swept clean, then a 3–4-meter-long rectangular red leather cloth (*elifi sofra*) is laid down.⁵⁷ In the middle of this cloth is a mandala-like diagram, consisting of a white circle within a square, on which the basin is placed. This square is divided into three triangles by two lines starting from two neighboring corners of the square and ending in the middle of the opposite side. The three triangles refer to a sort of trinity consisting of Allah, Muhammad, and ʿAli,⁵⁸ three names that are frequently repeated during the ceremony. The diagram with triangles is a symbol of unity.⁵⁹ However, since this concept of unity is not suitable for the unapproachable status of God, it is in contradiction with orthodox Islam.

After completing their ablutions, two women place the *havz-ı keuser* on the diagram. The basin is filled with an alcoholic drink, to which water (*el atıği*) in which the shaykh has rinsed his hands has been added. Then a large goblet filled from the liquid in the basin is offered to the shaykh. After him, the participants of the ceremony drink from the same goblet in a predetermined order. This ritual continues with the names of Allah, Muhammad, and ʿAli repeated a predetermined number of times at certain intervals. At every interval the shaykh stirs the liquid in the basin with a stick (*alaca değnek*) which he takes out of its sheath. The last stirring is 39 revolutions (*deure*).⁶⁰ The shaykh places the stick horizontally on the basin without actually turning it for the

fortieth time, and says the following prayer: "Allah, Allah, in the name of Allah, station invisible, present in our presence, present in our bodies, benevolent saint; Allah, Muhammad, ʿAli."⁶¹

This is evidently a theurgical act of a Shamanist nature. A group of saints of 40 (*kırklar*), including God and numerous prophets, are called to manifest (*tecelli*) themselves in the *cemevi/mezdan*.⁶² This is a kind of hierophany more in the nature of the infusion of the divine in a creature (*hulül*) and the unification of divinity with humanity (*ittihad*).⁶³ Ecstatic dances (*sema*) help the realization of such a mystic experience. This impassioned worship based on the direct encounter with the sacred is incompatible with the distant worship of the unattainable divine of Islam.

In the *cemevi*, the drinking ritual, which consists of passing the leader's goblet from one person to another, is very old and widespread in both the settled and nomadic cultures of Asia.⁶⁴ Its purpose is to confer status and both display and reinforce the authority of the ruler as the decision maker. Drinking from the leader's goblet as well as adding the water he touches to the drink may be related to the belief in the charisma of the leader (*xvarenah*) which can be traced back to the Sasanids. We know that such a drinking ceremony was practiced at the Safavid court — which was very close to the Alevis — in the seventeenth century.⁶⁵ Most probably sharing the power of the ruler by drinking from his goblet was at the origin of this practice, whose curative effects gained importance in time and gradually became profane.

The liturgy of the ceremony at the *cemevi*, the method of establishing a relationship with the sacred, and the concept of a sacred space date from much earlier than Islam and show a surprising similarity to practices in various cultures in Asia from China to the Hindu Kush and Caucasia.⁶⁶ The *cemevis* already existed in Anatolia when the first mosques were being built. It can be assumed that when sacred buildings (*zawiyas*) were built in rural areas, the state, which wanted to attract the Turkmens opposed to mosques, used the *cemevi* as their prototype. The oculus is found both in the *cemevi* and in the *zawiya*. As a primary liturgical element of the theurgical act in the *cemevi*, the *havz-ı keuser* might have been the inspiration for the pool of the *zawiyas*. Essentially, the term designating it (*havuz*) indicates the image of a pool behind it.

The *cemevi* is also a model for the *mezdan*, the sacred congregation place of the Bektashis, the urban version of the Alevis. A space having archaic characteristics such

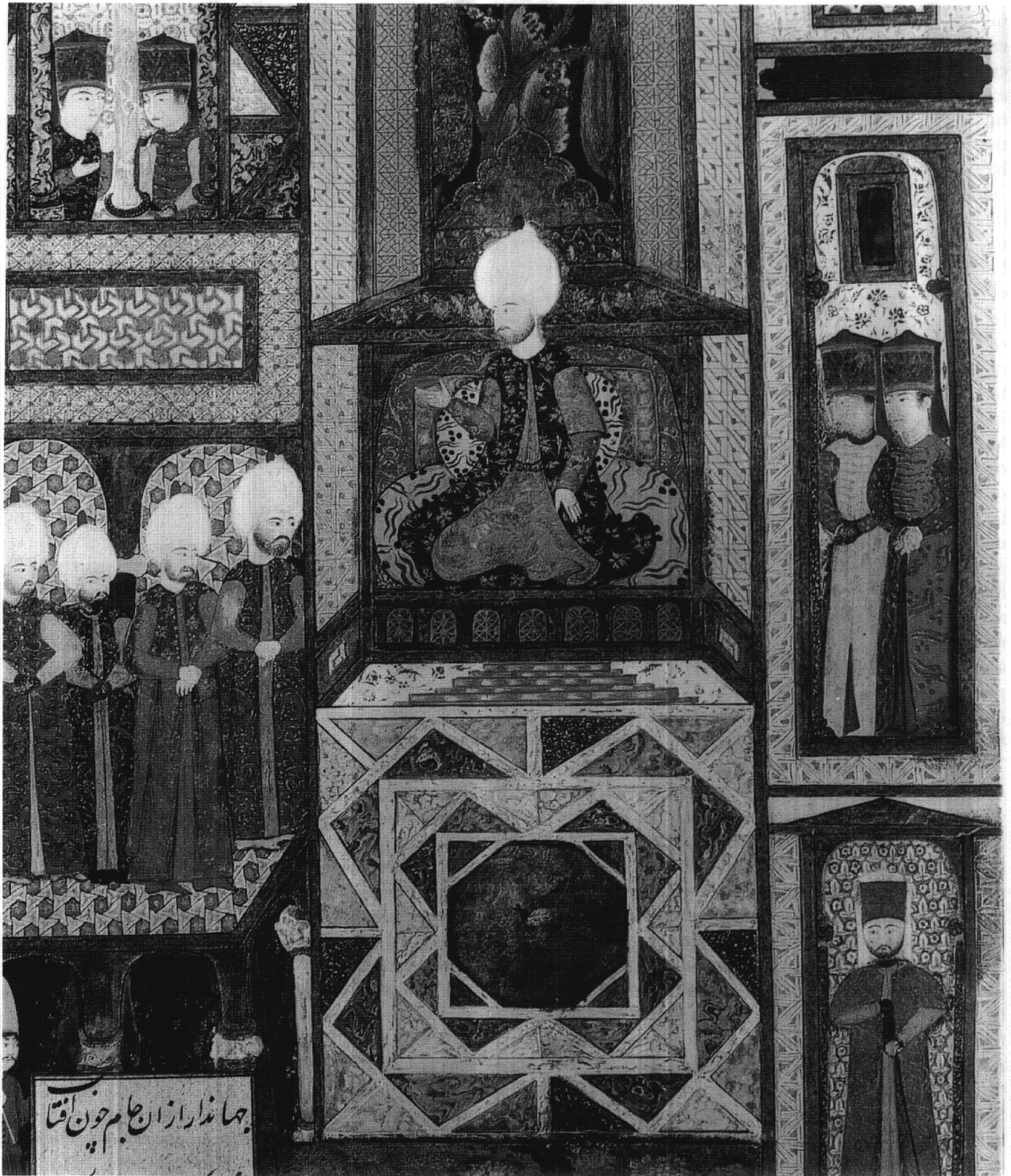


Fig. 13. Süleyman I presented with the ruby cup of *cam-ı cihannüma*. Detail of a miniature from Arifi's *Süleymanname*, Topkapı Palace Museum, H. 1517, fol. 557a.

as the Alevi *cemevi* is transferred from rural areas to urban areas through the Bektashi *meydan*. The Bektashi was one of the two most influential orders in the Ottoman Empire. Unlike their rivals belonging to the Mevlevi order, the Bektashis were nonconformists, and they obviously did not follow the shari'ca,⁶⁷ although they obtained the privilege of an organization in the army. The Ottoman state was always uncomfortable about the relation of the Janissaries with a heterodox order, and when it took the daring step of abolishing the Janissaries in 1826 it also suppressed the Bektashis.⁶⁸

THE RULER, THE STATE, AND THE POOL

The ambiguity of palatial architecture which stands between pleasure and metaphysical reality⁶⁹ must include the pool, which can have both decorative and sacred purposes. The ancestor of the Asian palatial pools can be found in the sacred springs of Sasanid, Chinese, Turkish, and Mongol cultures. The capital of a state had to have a sacred lake or spring located near or on a legendary mountain, because it provided power for the state and ruler. The palace of the Chinese ruler which embodied microcosmic qualities had to be located near a lake or the lake had to be within the palace.⁷⁰ Pre-Islamic Turkish and Mongol rulers were both enthroned and ruled the country near a spring.⁷¹

In the Sasanian world, the relation between pools or lakes and sacred or royal architecture has become evident through archaeological data. The Shiz fire temple, later named Takht-i Sulayman, in Iranian Azerbaijan was built beside a sacred lake located in a mountainous area and was oriented in accordance with the axis of the lake.⁷² The temple to which the new ruler had to climb was at the top of a series of hierarchical temples, and it symbolized the unity of the state. The ruler acquired power there before going to war and shared his spoils with the temple on his return. In the spring ceremonies were conducted for the state to renew itself and regain the power it had lost in winter.⁷³

In Taq-i Bustan,⁷⁴ another Sasanian site, there are rock-cut reliefs in the iwans carved at the base of the crag from which the fount feeding the lake springs. The main theme of these reliefs is investiture at which gods and former kings are present. Here, where a rich iconographic program of royal representations has been used,⁷⁵ two attributes, namely the iwan and the fount, support one another in a common context. The iwan, which was a stage for the royal scenes from the onset, is cut into the rock, probably to give the impression that

the ruler is supported by the chthonic powers represented by the cave. In the investiture scene the Mithras of chthonic origin is found with the Ahura Mazda.⁷⁶ The symbolic background of the spring should be interpreted within this context. As the place where the water from the depths of the ground comes out, the spring is the access for the chthonic forces. The only way of understanding that the spring gives power to the rulers, not only at Takht-i Sulayman and Taq-i Bustan but also in numerous Asiatic cultures, is to consider their belief that it is the gateway of the subterranean forces. As the person who stands at the foot of the spring has the monopoly of communication with the subterranean forces, his power is enhanced. The new king, who needs support for his legitimacy, asks for the approval of subterranean forces as well as Ahura Mazda, Mithras, and former kings.

The pools of Sasanian palaces contributed to the sacredness of the palace⁷⁷ and were an indication of the power and legitimacy of the ruler. The pools in front of the Firuzabad⁷⁸ and Qasr-i Shirin⁷⁹ palaces are the prototypes of a tradition which spread into the Islamic period as a visual attribute, though they probably lost their symbolic content.⁸⁰ Princely scenes containing pools are often depicted in miniatures (fig. 13). Some of the spaces in the Topkapi Palace give the impression of having been designed to stage such an image. The pool located on the marble terrace at the northern corner of the palace overlooking the Golden Horn which dates to the fifteenth century⁸¹ and the pool in the lower floor of the kiosk built for Murad III (fig. 14) in the second half of the sixteenth century conform to the traditional iconographic scheme. In both these pools there are small balconies protruding over the water and playing fountains.⁸² Just as the liturgical basin was substituted for a pool by the Bektashi and Alevi so the ruler's pools too could be quite small. In the Revan Kiosk in the Topkapi Palace the pool is only about 50 cm. in diameter with a fountain playing on either side of the sultan's canopied balcony (fig. 15).

Both the formal characteristics and the usage and imagery behind these ruler pools have a long history. Two examples geographically very far apart, the Cihannüma Kiosk (1451) commissioned by Mehmed II in Edirne, which is where the Selimiye Mosque is located, and the *Simarat-i tilsim* (talismanic or enchanted building) commissioned by the Mughal ruler Humayun (1531–56), are both allegorical buildings with pools which symbolize the state. The Cihannüma Kiosk in Edirne was a seven-story tower; the lower floors had a square plan and supported the allegorical room of world sovereignty with an



Fig. 14. Istanbul. Topkapı Palace. Pool below the kiosk of Murad III.

octagonal plan at the very top.⁸³ The pool in the middle of this floor was replaced by a throne in the eighteenth century.⁸⁴ The other floors of the tower contained the rooms used to keep the standard, the ruler's armory, treasury, and the sacred relics brought to Edirne in a ceremonial procession each time the sultan went there.⁸⁵ According to the description given by his daughter Gulbadan, the *Şimārat-ı ʿāliya* of Humayun also had an octagonal plan with an octagonal pool in the middle, and the throne stood on an island in the pool. Nine weapons and special garments symbolizing war were kept on the upper floor called the *Şimārat-i dawlat* (building of state).⁸⁶

Although not in the Quʾrān,⁸⁷ the image of heaven with eight gates is a common image in the Islamic world as is the *hasht behisht* (eight heavens) as a palatial plan type. The octagonal pool is also related to the image of heaven: a description of a heaven as a giant pool is first found in a hadith of Muhammad. Thus, the eight gates

of heaven and the pool of heaven coincide somewhere, sometime.

The cosmic orientation towards the four cardinal directions is emphasized with the addition of two axes pointing at the intermediate directions as is done in India and China.⁸⁸ The octagon, which shows directions, also symbolizes the center from which all directions go out or where they coincide. Therefore, as the diagram with four directions, the octagon becomes a symbol of world sovereignty for the ruler and a symbol of integration and unity for mysticism. Likewise in Bektashi and Alevi iconography the octagon is a symbol of unity with the divine.⁸⁹

THE SELIMIYE AS VICTORY AND HOMAGE

The Selimiye cannot be considered as a single building. It consists of two structures, and its real meaning is given



Fig. 15. Istanbul. Topkapı Palace. One of two small pools on either side of the canopy on the balcony of the Revan Kiosk.

by the unity they form together. The *müezzin mahfili*, which is the second structure, is not merely a cover for the sacred pool. The pool and the whorled roof over it form a whole. It is not difficult to perceive in them a Shamanist microcosm like the one described above. The sacredness of the pool is accentuated in its octagonal form. The water that springs from the depths of the earth and carries all its mystery to the surface also symbolizes the underworld. The whorl above symbolizes the wheel of heaven (*çarkıfelek*). The surface of the pool on the floor stands between the heaven and the underworld. The pool and the whorl are also the holes through which the axis that pierces the three layers passes.

The microcosm under the *müezzin mahfili* represents an ancient world and its related images. The model of the three-layered universe also rests on an archaic image when heaven and earth were very close to one another. This is a small closed universe; it does not extend over

the boundaries of the geography known to man, which is not very large. It is the world of people who live in small closed groups, whose lives depend on the soil and the climate, whose destiny is determined by the slow-moving wheel of heaven, who fear the powers of the underworld and therefore think that they have to respect them. Despite the material and metaphysical differences brought about by the social stratification in this small and closed world which lost its homogeneity before settling in Anatolia, the delicate balance between opposites was preserved until the fifteenth century. This balance lies behind the double focus we encounter in both the hypostyle congregational mosques of the Seljuq period and the multi-domed mosques and the *zawiya* mosques of the early Ottoman period. Keeping this phenomenon in mind, the centralization process (the elimination of the second focus) in Turkish architecture should not be considered a structural evolution but an ideological one.

In Europe, the architectural shift from the Gothic to the Renaissance was influenced by a new image of the universe⁹⁰ which included a new relation with God; the approximately synchronous shift from the early to the classical period of Ottoman architecture followed the same process. This shift is also synchronous with a new stage of the Ottoman state: the beginning of the empire Mehmed II established in the middle of the fifteenth century.⁹¹ In the early days of the empire Mehmed II called in two of the best-known scholars of the time and had them confer on the unity (*tawhīd*) concept for six days.⁹² *Tawhīd* consciousness forms the essence of the universal image. The dome, which is the symbol of heaven in the cosmic context, is a symbol of *tawhīd* from the point of view of man's perception of his relation with the divine. It is important to interpret the *tawhīd* concept in order to scrutinize the meaning of the dome in a specifically Ottoman context.

For Ottomans, the *tawhīd* had three main meanings that have survived to the present: (1) The orthodox Islamic concept of unity which considers God as unattainable and arises from the radical distinction between God and all other things (*masīva*).⁹³ (2) The Sufi concept of unity which considers man, nature, and the universe as a reflection of God and aims at reaching esoteric knowledge through contemplation.⁹⁴ (3) The Shamanistic concept of unity which aims at "real" unification (*hulūl* and *ittihād*) with the sacred through ecstasy and reaches catharsis through such a transcendental experience.⁹⁵ Although the starting point of the Sufi *tawhīd* resembles the Shamanist *tawhīd*, because of its conformist tendency Sufism in the Ottoman world had gradually converged with the orthodox concept. Therefore, it is possible to divide the Sufi approach between the first and third meanings rather than consider it as a separate category.

The two main *tawhīd* understandings are represented by the two structures in the Selimiye. The *müezzin mahfili* is the location of the Shamanist *tawhīd*, in the form accepted by the state, which can be observed in the Bektashi order of the sixteenth century.⁹⁶ The Selimiye represents the orthodox *tawhīd* as interpreted by Ottoman architecture. That is why Dayezade remarked that the dominance of a single dome in the Selimiye shows the importance of the Sunni doctrine over the others.⁹⁷

When we look at the relation between these two structures, the larger structure stands like a macrocosm over the *müezzin mahfili* not only in its dimensions but also in its lightness, which takes the structure beyond tectonic determination. In contrast to the mosque's perfect structure, where the supporting elements are pulled all the

way to the surrounding walls and hidden, the *müezzin mahfili* is firmly connected to the ground with twelve columns. The small building's connection to the ground is also accentuated by corbeled arches which are the expressions of an antiquated structure.⁹⁸ This type of arch is not common in Ottoman architecture. The corbeled arch and the grounded structure are closely connected to the meaning of the *müezzin mahfili* which is associated with an introverted and soil-dependent lifestyle, archaic beliefs, the three-layered image of the universe and cosmogonic totality. Likewise, the whorl on the ceiling of the *müezzin mahfili* with its lines originating at the center and turning inwards shortly after, is quite different from the radiating decoration of Ottoman domes⁹⁹ and is in harmony with the semantic content of the space underneath.

Moving away from underworld powers towards the heavenly realm can be considered a sort of modernization. In Central Asian Shamanism the process of breaking away from underworld powers dates back to the period when Islam first appears.¹⁰⁰ In time, the Shaman prefers journeying to heaven rather than to the subterranean world. As stated above, the *mīrāj* experience plays an important role among the Alevi and Bektashis. Despite this trend, the famous thirteenth-century Anatolian poet Yunus emphasizes the ground by saying, "Rain comes to me from the ground."¹⁰¹ However, in his verses Süleyman I requests a dome without columns by referring to the dome of heaven (*kubbe-i minā*).¹⁰²

Just as the open unit or the one with an oculus on the mihrab axis is a Shamanist focal point in both the early Anatolian and early Ottoman mosques, the dome in front of the mihrab in both periods is an Islamic focal point. It continues to be a part of the traditional Islamic interpretation as long as it does not greatly exceed the Shamanist focal-point dimensions. The fact that beginning in the second half of the fifteenth century the Shamanist focus is left out of mosques shows that in the social structure the balance of opposites started to change in favor of the ruler, who from then on had absolute power. The policies of balance and trying to be on good terms were over. Mehmed II begins to limit the power and incomes of tribal chiefs and to raise nomadic taxes.¹⁰³ The *tawhīd* deliberations of this sultan are very important because numerous economic, social, and cultural phenomena, including absolutism, beliefs, traditional ties, and architecture had to be interpreted in the name of a new ideology which had to be created in the context of a new empire. The fact that Mehmed II, who was the first unattainable Ottoman ruler, "enjoyed dis-

cusssing metaphysical questions all his life" and "was always curious about the various religious sects as well as heterodox ones"¹⁰⁴ did not interfere with his adopting the "unattainable God" dogma of Islam much more fervently than the previous rulers. Although it was never put into words, the god-ruler identification was always an ideological requirement with the Ottomans. "Starting with Mehmed II, the orthodox conception represented by those who went through a madrasa education gained power over the administration."¹⁰⁵ Actually, orthodoxy has always been a useful tool for enforcing state policies. However, from then on it had to fit into a policy designed to fulfill the needs of a state that had reached the status of an empire. The Ottoman madrasas with their sterile design consisting of identical rooms are quite different from the early Anatolian madrasas with pool and oculus where supernatural powers were allowed to roam (fig. 16).

The fact that Mehmed organized *tawhîd* deliberations leads us to think that we cannot speak of an atmosphere where the Ottoman architect is left free to present his own interpretations. As the court architect, Sinan was certainly aware of his mission which started with the construction of the Fatih Mosque. However, when he finished the Selimiye he must have been disturbed by the great emptiness he was faced with. The *müezzîn mahfili* balances somewhat the infinite volume of space.

The mosque/*müezzîn mahfili* relationship is one of winner/loser or new/old, if the Selimiye is viewed as the result of a mission begun by the absolutism of Mehmed II who broke with the traditional concepts and turned to new horizons, never to return. Moreover, the Selimiye as a symbol of victory over the small structure becomes more evident, especially when considering how difficult the centralization process was for society as well as architecture. From this aspect, the reception of the Shamanist sacred space into the mosque after nearly 150 years may be the result of the wish to demonstrate that it had lost its earlier equality.

Revising the traditional uses of the pool brings up the possibility of considering the Selimiye as a state symbol like the Cihannuma Kiosk, also in Edirne. Moreover, revising the ruler pattern connected with the pool, the Selimiye can be considered a symbol of sovereignty. Dayezade Mustafa Çelebi suggests that the pool here may not only be related to the *havz-ı kevser*, but also to the spring of immortality (*âb-i hayat*) Alexander the Great was looking for.¹⁰⁶

The small structure of the *müezzîn mahfili* can also be seen as an homage to and a yearning for a distant past.

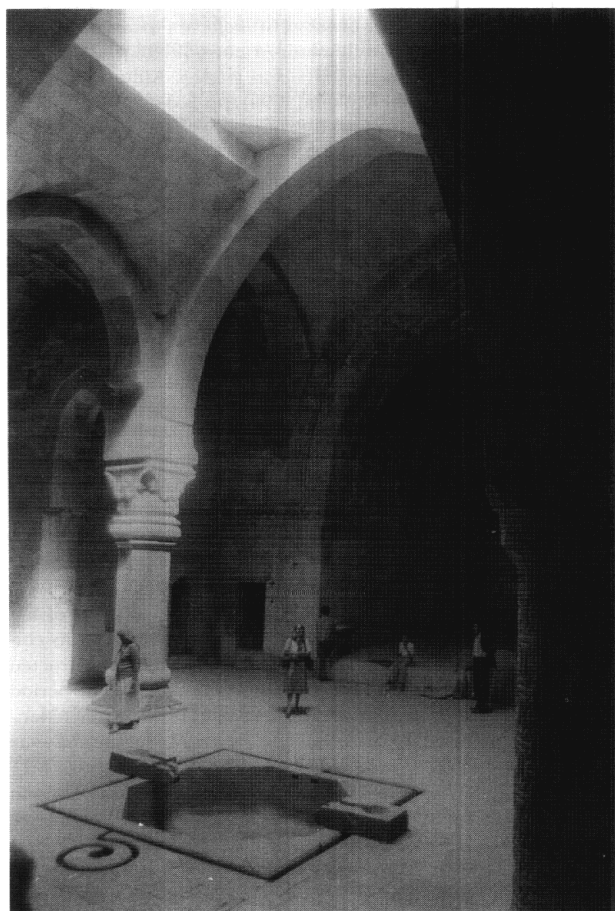


Fig. 16. Divriği, Sivas. *Darüşşifa* of Turan Melik. Interior. Looking toward the pool under the oculus.

Especially in the sixteenth century, after three unsuccessful campaigns of the Ottoman state against the Safavids and against its own people, when the limits of growth and breaking away from the past were deeply felt, such an homage would have been particularly appropriate.

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NOTES

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1. Doğan Kuban, "The Style of Sinan's Domed Structures," *Muğarnas* 4 (1987): 89; idem, "Architecture of the Ottoman Period," in *The Art and Architecture of Turkey*, ed. E. Akurgal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 145–46.

2. Ulya Vogt-Göknıl, *Die Moschee: Grundformen sakraler Baukunst* (Zürich: Verlag für Architektur-Artemis, 1978), p. 172.
3. Günkut Akin, *Asya merkezi mekan geleneği*, Kültür Bakanlığı Tanıtma Eserleri 38 (Ankara, 1990), pp. 235–37.
4. In large mosques, where it is impossible for the worshipers who are far away from the mihrab to see and hear the imam, another duty of the müezzın, in addition to calling the faithful to prayer from the minaret, is to repeat on an inner elevated platform what the imam says in front of the mihrab. This platform is called the *müezzın mahfili*.
5. Dâyezâde Mustafa, "Selimiye Risalesi," in *Mimar Sinan ile ilgili tarihi yazmalar-belgeler*, ed. Z. Sönmez (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, 1988), pp. 104, 108.
6. Tanju Cantay, "XVI. yüzyıl Türk mimarisinde bazı tasarım ve çizim esasları," in *II. Uluslararası Türk ve İslam Bilim ve Teknoloji Tarihi Kongresi Bildirileri*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Yayını, 1986), pp. 55–56.
7. In Indian architecture *baradari*, which means "with twelve columns," is often a single-story pavilion, with a square plan and three openings on each façade: Klaus Fischer and Christa-M. Friederike Fischer, *Indische Baukunst islamischer Zeit* (Baden-Baden: Holle Verlag, 1976), p. 48; James Dickie, "The Mughal Garden: Gateway to Paradise," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 131. Another likely indication that the form of the *müezzın mahfili* referring to Indian architecture with its corbeled arches is not fortuitous is the pool pavilion constructed in the second court of the Topkapı Palace, during the period of the same ruler and demolished in 1718; see Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), pp. 123–24; for the restitution of this pavilion which is a twelve-porphyry-columned canopy over a pool, see Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Köşkler ve kasırlar*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yüksek Mimarlık Bölümü Rölöve Kürsüsü, 1969), pp. 104–7; this restitution resembles the "Hauz-i bass" pavilion of the Mughal ruler Firuz Tuğluq Shah, which dates to the first half of the fourteenth century; K. Fischer, *Dächer, Decken und Gewölbe indischer Kultstätten und Nutzbauten* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner Verlag, 1974), p. 51, pl. 27, 28.
8. In China's imagery, Ming-t'ang is both a microcosm and a model of the whole country. This is a quadratical symbolic building, divided into a 3×3 module, in which the four walls are each pierced by three openings. The existence of such a building to be the focal point of a comprehensive state ritual is the primary condition for the designation of a location as a capital; see Marcel Granet, *Das chinesische Denken — Inhalt, Form, Charakter* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1985), pp. 127–56; the year-long ceremonial of the ruler in the Ming-t'ang according to the cardinal directions suggests the salutation of the four fictive gateways in Bektashi sacred spaces.
9. For example, after the death of Ali Çelebi, who lived in Buda, Hungary, in 1587, the inventory of the articles used by him and the themes of his more than 40 books show that this Ottoman merchant and bureaucrat had no connection with the European environment in which he lived. All of his interests were centered in Asiatic cultures, extending to China. In this sense it is possible to talk about an Ottoman Orientalism; see L. Fekete, "Das Heim eines türkischen Herrn in der Provinz im XVI. Jahrhundert," *Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29 (1960): 24–27.
10. Suraiya Faroqhi, *Der Bektaschi-Orden in Anatolien* (Vienna: Verlag des Institutes für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 1981), pp. 191–92.
11. H.A.R. Gibb, trans., *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325–1354* (London-New York, 1972), pp. 413–68.
12. For example, the candelabra (*çırağ*) which are the most important liturgical objects of the Bektashi assembly rooms, and the *jaraji* (*çırağcı*), or candle lighter in charge of the ceremony; see John Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (Hartford, Conn.: Hartford Seminary Press, 1937), p. 259; Frederick De Jong, "The Iconography of Bektashiism. A Survey of Themes and Symbolism in Clerical Costume, Liturgical Objects and Pictorial Art," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4 (1989): 11, pl. 5.
13. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk edebiyatında ilk mutasavvıflar*, 2nd ed. (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1966), pp. 178–79, n. 36.
14. Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071–1330* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1968), passim; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Babailer İsyanı* (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1980), passim.
15. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, *Les Ottomans, les Safarides et leurs voisins: Contribution à l'histoire des relations internationales dans l'Orient islamique de 1514 à 1524* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1987), pp. 294–368.
16. Faruk Sümer, *Safevi Devletinin kuruluşu ve gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin rolü*, 2nd ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1992), pp. 4–5.
17. A series of articles by Yusuf Ziya (Yörükân), "Tahtacılar," *İstanbul Darülfünunu İlahiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 12 (1929), 13 (1929), 14 (1930); idem, "Tahtacılarda dinî ve sırrî hayat," *İstanbul Darülfünunu İlahiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15 (1930), 17 (1930), 19 (1931), 20 (1931).
18. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak vakıflar ve temlikler: İstila devirlerinin kolonizatör Türk dervişleri ve zaviyeleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942): 279–386.
19. Ibid., p. 296.
20. Semavi Eyice, "Çorum'un Mecidözü'nde Aşık Paşa-Oğlu Elvan Çelebi Zaviyesi," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 15 (1969): 219; see for Baba İlyas: "Baba İshaq, Baba İlyas, Hadjdji Bektash et quelques autres," *Turcica* 1 (1969): 53–64.
21. Ocak, *Babailer isyanı*, p. 55.
22. Köprülü, *Türk edebiyatında ilk mutasavvıflar*, passim.
23. Ocak, *Babailer isyanı*, p. 176.
24. Sedat Emir, "Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında çok işlevli yapılar/yapımsal ve işlevsel bir analiz," Ph.D. diss., İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 1991, p. 42.
25. Ibid., p. 43.
26. Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 134.
27. For deliberations on dating, see Semavi Eyice, "Çorum'un Mecidözü'nde Aşık Paşa-Oğlu Elvan Çelebi Zaviyesi," pp. 224, 236; F. Taeschner, "Das Heiligtum des Elvan Çelebi in Anatolien," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 56 (1960): 227–31.
28. Ali Kızıltan, *Anadolu beyliklerinde cami ve mescitler — XIV. yüzyıl sonuna kadar* (Istanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 1958), p. 84, pl. 45; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinde Çelebi*

- ve II. Sultan Murad devri, vol. 2 (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1972), p. 518.
29. Ibid., p. 517.
 30. Abdülhakî Gölpinarlı, "İslam ve Türk illerinde fütuvvet teşkilâtı ve kaynakları," *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 1-4 (1949-50): 339.
 31. Erich Gross, *Das Vilayet-Name des Haggi Bektasch: Ein türkisches Dervisch-evangelium* (Leipzig: Mayer und Müller, 1927), pp. 16-17.
 32. Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, vol. 1 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 287.
 33. Kuran, *Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 124-25.
 34. Semavi Eyice, "İlk Osmanlı Devrinin dini-ictimai bir müessesesi: zaviyeler ve zaviyeli camiler," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 21 (1963): 7, n. 7; 25, n. 48; 39.
 35. No pools remain today from thirteenth-century congregational mosques, but evidence for them does exist. For Sinop, see Gibb, *Travels of Ibn Battuta*, p. 466; for Divriği, see Aptullah Kuran, "Anatolian-Seljuk Architecture," in *The Art and Architecture of Turkey*, ed. Ekrem Akurgal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 85; for Beyşehir, see Kızıltan, *Anadolu beyliklerinde cami ve mescitler*, p. 38, n. 14.
 36. J. Michael Rogers, "A Review of Aptullah Kuran's, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*," *Kunst des Orients* 6, 2 (1969): 181.
 37. Eyice, *İlk Osmanlı devrinin*, p. 7, n. 7.
 38. Rogers, "Review of Kuran," p. 179.
 39. Eyice, *İlk Osmanlı devrinin*, p. 8.
 40. For this reason Kuran and some other researchers call the domed madrasa type the "enclosed medrese": Kuran, *Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, p. 75.
 41. This type of space with oculi allows natural light to come from the top of the concave covering rather than from the side walls. Such a microcosmic space, which probably dates back to the prehistoric subterranean house, has made an important contribution to the sacred spaces of various Asian cultures. It is found in the religious architecture of China and India, the Parthian palace of Nisa, and the reception halls of Pendzikent upper-class houses. However, besides these monumental examples, rural sacred spaces that are semi-subterranean and represent the beliefs that retain their relations with nature are still found to some extent in Asia, from China to Afghanistan, from Caucasia to Anatolia; see R.A. Stein, "Architecture et pensée religieuse en Extrême-Orient," *Arts Asiatiques* 4, 3 (1957): 163-86; idem, "L'Habitat, le monde et le corps humain en Extrême-Orient et en Haute Asie," *Journal Asiatique* 245 (1957): 37-74; Günkut Akın, "Tüteklikli örtü geleneği: Anadolu cami ve tarikat yapılarında Tüteklikli örtü," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 22 (1991): 323-30.
 42. Altan Gökalp, "Une minorité chiite en Anatolie: Les Alevi," *Annales economies sociétés, civilisations* 2 (1980): 748-63; for the kizilbash whose name is synonymous to "Alevi," R.A. Savory, "Kizil-Bash," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 5: 243-45.
 43. Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad (Fuad Köprülü), *Influence du chamanisme turco-mongol sur les ordres mystiques musulmans* (İstanbul: İstanbul Darülfünunu Türkiyat Enstitüsü Muhuruları, 1929), pp. 9-10.
 44. M. Akok, "Hacıbektaş Veli mimari manzumesi," *Türk Etnografya Dergisi* 10 (1967): 32.
 45. Klaus Fischer, "Cosmological Iconology in the 'Lantern Roof' of Later Indian Architecture," *aarp* 4 (1973): 52-58; Akın, "Tüteklikli örtü geleneği," pp. 323-30; idem, "Later-nendeckenhäuser in Ostanatolien," *Architectura* 1 (1989): 16-17.
 46. Cavit Sunar, *Melâmîlik ve Bektaşîlik* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1975), pp. 70-71.
 47. Birge, *Bektashi Order*, p. 259.
 48. Ibid., p. 194.
 49. Annemarie Schimmel, *Tasavvuf'un boyutları* (İstanbul: Adam Yayınları, 1982), pp. 65-77.
 50. Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), p. 259.
 51. Ibid.
 52. Vladimir N. Basilov, "Zur Erforschung der Überreste von Schamanismus in Zentralasien," *Sehnsucht nach dem Ursprung: Zu Mircea Eliade*, ed. Hans Peter Duerr (Frankfurt a.M.: Syndikat, 1983), pp. 218-19.
 53. Birge, *Bektashi Order*, p. 137.
 54. Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Mezhepler ve tarikatlar tarihi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1964), p. 317.
 55. The distance between the two sides of this pool is equal to the distance between San'ā' in Yemen and Bosra in Syria; in Abdülhakî Gölpinarlı, *Türkiye'de mezhepler ve tarikatlar* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1969), p. 18.
 56. Eva Baer, "The Ruler in Cosmic Setting: A Note on Medieval Islamic Iconography," in *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. Abbas Daneshvari (Malibu, Calif., 1981), p. 394.
 57. Baha Said, "Süfyan süreği, Kızılbaş meydanı," *Türk Yurdu* 4 (1926): 343.
 58. Birge, *Bektashi Order*, pp. 132-34.
 59. Baha Said, "Süfyan süreği, Kızılbaş meydanı," p. 343. Naming the cloth laid on the floor *alif* is another reference to unity. *Alif*, the first letter of the Arabic alphabet, is a vertical line; thus, it is always regarded as a straight way leading to God.
 60. The information related to the liturgy of the ceremony is all taken from ibid., pp. 343-46.
 61. Ibid., p. 345: *Allah Allah bismişah/Makamı gaib/Huzurumuzda hazır/Vücudumuzda hazır/Kerem-i evliya/Allah-Muhammed-Ali*.
 62. Sunar, *Melâmîlik ve Bektaşîlik*, pp. 70-71.
 63. Abdülhakî Gölpinarlı, *100 soruda tasavvuf* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1969), pp. 98-99.
 64. Emel Esin, "The Cup Rites in Inner-Asian and Turkish Art," *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens in Memoriam Kurt Erdmann* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk ve İslam Sanatı Kürsüsü, 1969), pp. 224-61; Robert Bleichsteiner, "Zeremonielle Trinksitten und Raumordnung bei den turkomongolischen Nomaden," *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 6-7 (1951-52): 181-84.
 65. Gerd Gropp, "Neupersische Überlieferungen von Heiligtum auf dem Taxt-e Soleiman," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 10 (1977): 267, n. 59.
 66. Akın, "Laternendeckenhäuser in Ostanatolien," pp. 16-18.
 67. Köprülü, *Türk edebiyatında ilk mutasavvıflar*, p. 95; for the conformist relations of the Mevlevis with the state, see George W. Gawrych, "Şeyh Galib and Selim III: Mevlevism and Nizam-ı Cedid," *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 4, 1 (1987): 91-114.
 68. Irene Mélikoff, "L'Ordre des Bektaşî après 1926," *Turcica* 15 (1983): 165-78.
 69. Oleg Grabar, "From Dome of Heaven to Pleasure Dome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 49 (1990): 15-21.

70. Wolfram Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1942), p.249.
71. Annemarie von Gabain, "Steppe und Stadt im Leben der ältesten Türken," *Der Islam* 29, 1 (1949): 35; Gavin Hambly, *Zentralasien*, Fischer Weltgeschichte 16 (Frankfurt a.M., 1983), p.103.
72. Rudolf Naumann, *Die Ruinen von Tacht-e Suleiman und Zendan-e Suleiman und Umgebung*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Teheran; Führer zu archäologischen Plätzen in Iran (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1977), p.39.
73. Kurt Erdmann, *Das Iranische Feuerheiligtum*, Sendschrift der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, II (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs Verlag, 1941), p.44. There are indirect relations between this temple, which was used until the tenth century, and the traditional images of Persian poetry of the Islamic period. The legends about the revolving throne called "*taht-i takdis*," the "*cam-i cihannüma*" or the bowl that shows the world, and the lake symbolizing the spring of eternity (*ab-i hayat*) which Alexander the Great sought were related partly by Arab writers and partly by collective memory: Klaus Schippmann, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer* (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1971), pp.309-57; the imagery related to Takht-i Sulayman was integrated into Firdawsī's *Shah-nāma* and Nizami's *Iskendername*; Gropp, "Neupersische Überlieferungen," pp.248-71. In the thirteenth century the Ilkhanid rulers restored the temple and turned it into a palace in an effort to build an ideological tie between themselves and the Sasanids; Assadullah Souren Melikian Chirvani, "Le Shah-Name, la gnose soufie et le pouvoir mongol," *Journal Asiatique* 272 (1984): 251, 310. During the Islamic period this tendency is observed not only among the Anatolian Seljuq rulers who assumed the names of Sasanid rulers, but also among the Ottomans who were rather aloof from Iran. The *Iskendername*, a book written by the Anatolian poet Ahmedi and illustrated in the fifteenth century, is a version of Nizami's work by the same name and is the first official history of the Ottoman dynasty; Zeren Tanındı, "Mimar Sinan Çağında Tasvir," in *Mimar Sinan dönemi Türk mimarlığı ve sanatı*, ed. Zeki Sönmez (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1988), p.277. In one of his panegyrics, Baki, the famous poet of the sixteenth century, exalts Süleyman I by saying that he is "the Jamshid of banqueting, the Darius of wars, the Khusrāu of justice and mercy, the Alexander of the time"; Cevdet Kudret, *Baki* (Istanbul: İnkilap Kitabevi, 1985), p.20; Süleyman's own poems, too, are full of references to the Sasanian rulers and images related to them; *Divan-ı Muhibbi*, 3 vols. (Istanbul: Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser, 1980), passim.
74. The Taq-i Bustan is depicted in two different fifteenth-century miniatures. For the Ottoman miniature, see Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu, *Das Bild im Islam: Ein Verbot und seine Folgen* (Vienna and Munich: Verlag Anton Schroll, 1971), pl.87; for the Timurid miniature, see Elisabeth B. Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden in Persia and Mughal India* (New York: George Braziller, 1979), p.37.
75. For example, armor, royal umbrella (*çetir*), and hunting; Edith Porada, *Alt-Iran, die Kunst in vorislamischer Zeit* (Baden-Baden: Holle Verlag, 1962), pp.210-12.
76. Ernst Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin, 1920), p.63, pl.XXIX.
77. For the Sasanids it is difficult to distinguish between the temple and the palace because the latter also had a ceremonial function; Jürgen Schmidt, "Qasr-ı Şirin, Feuertempel oder Palast?," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 9 (1978): 39-47.
78. Ernst Herzfeld, "Reisebericht," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 5 (1926): 254; Dieter Huff, "An Archaeological Survey in the Area of Firuzabad, Fars, in 1972," *Proceedings of the 2nd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran, 29th October-1st November 1973* (Tehran: Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research, 1974), p.156; p.172; fig. 9.
79. Porada, *Alt-Iran*, p.193.
80. The representation of Timur, described by Clavijo at the beginning of the fifteenth century as sitting beside a pool with a playing fountain located in front of the palace entrance, conforms to an image which had probably become a canonical form in the Sasanian period and was used by Islamic rulers. For Clavijo's description, see Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture*, p.175; Muhammad sitting by the Pool of Heaven can be included in this category; Gölpınarlı, *Türkiye'de mezhepler*, p.18.
81. Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Feridun Akozan, *Tophkapı Sarayı: bir mimari araştırma* (Istanbul: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, 1982), p.78; Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, pp.156-58, 190-91.
82. A third pool, which was very similar to the two examples in the Tophkapi Palace, was in the Fener Kiosk which also belonged to the sultan. See Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Köşkler ve kasırlar*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, Yüksek Mimarlık Bölümü Rölöve Kürsüsü, 1974), p.80.
83. The Cihannüma Kiosk was destroyed at the end of the nineteenth century, but there is sufficient information to reconstruct it; Eldem, *Köşkler ve kasırlar*, 1: 23-55, pls.29-31.
84. Süheyl Ünver, *Edirne'de Fatih'in Cihannüma Kasrı*, İstanbul Fethi Derneği Yayınları 2 (Istanbul, 1953), pp.11, 14.
85. Eldem, *Köşkler ve kasırlar*, 1: 24-26.
86. Gülbeden, *Hümayunnâme* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1944), pp.145-50; the English translation by A.S. Beveridge, *Humayun-nama of Gulbadan Begam* (London, 1902), was not available to me. For a publication referring to what may be the same kiosk in a different source, see Lisa Golombek, "From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal," in *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. Abbas Daneshvari (Malibu, Calif., 1981), p.48.
87. Herbert Busse, "Die Kanzel des Propheten im Paradiesesgarten," *Die Welt des Islams* 28 (1988): 107, n.34.
88. India: George Michell, *Der Hindu Tempel: Bauformen und Bedeutung* (Cologne: Du Mont Buchverlag, 1979), p.64; China: Granet, *Das chinesische Denken*, p.218.
89. Baha Said, "Süfyan süreği, Kızılbaş meydanı," p.326.
90. Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 4th ed. (London: Academy Editions, 1988), p.38.
91. Halik Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization, and Economy, Collected Studies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), p.VII/109.
92. Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1991), p.40.
93. Heinz Halm, *Die islamische Gnosis* (Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1982), pp.8-9.
94. Schimmel, *Tasavvufun boyutları*, pp.230-48.
95. L. Massignon, [G.C. Anawati], "Hülûl," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd. ed. 3: 570-71; R. Nicholson, G.C. Anawati, "Ittihad," *ibid.*, 4: 282-83.

96. The Shamanist *tawhid* existed until the nineteenth century in the Bektashi order, to which Sinan belonged; Ramazan Şeşen, "Mimar Sinan hakkındaki kaynaklar," *II. Uluslararası Türk ve İslam Bilim ve Teknoloji Tarihi Kongresi Bildirileri*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Yayını, 1986), p.8.
97. Dayezade Mustafa, "Selimiye Risalesi," p.115.
98. The corbel technique has been preferred especially in the semi-subterranean vernacular or funeral architecture since the third millennium B.C. in the Near East and Mediterranean area and was always seen as an antiquated form which belongs to the upper class; as Ernst Diez states, "It is not fit for the court (*nicht hoffähig*);" Ernst Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker* (Berlin, 1915), p.xii. The fact that Indian architecture consistently uses corbeled arches and vaults can be related to their belief that "vaults with radial elements 'never sleep'"; Ernst Diez, *Die Kunst Indiens* (Potsdam, n.d.), p.92. In Indian culture the corbeled vault symbolizes serenity or social, mental, and cosmic balance; the vault with radial elements, because its structure can disintegrate at any time, represents tension ready to give way.
99. Semra Ögel, "Die Innenfläche der osmanischen Kuppel," *Anatolica* 5 (1973-76): 218, pls.1-6.
100. Basilov, "Zur Erforschung der Überreste von Schamanismus in Zentralasien," p.215.
101. "Ben ayımı yerde gördüm, ne isterim gökyüzünde. Benim yüzüm yerde gerek, bana rahmet yerden yağar" (Abdülkâki Gölpinarlı, *Yunus Emre* [İstanbul, 1979], p.46).
102. "Sakf-ı çarh-ı bi-sütuna dud-ı âhumdur sütun Zahir olsun bir nazar bu kubbe-i minâya bak" (*Divan-ı Muhibbi* 2: 211). This imagery used by Süleyman I clearly refers to the Loqman and Ra'd suras, Qur'an 13:2 and 31:10. However, as these suras have not influenced the multicolumned Arabic mosques, where, except in the Dome of the Rock, a single dome never dominates the whole structure, the inclination towards heaven in Ottoman architecture should be interpreted in the Ottoman rather than the Islamic context.
103. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, "1927 Anadolu isyanı hakkında yayınlanmamış bir rapor," *Belleten* 199-201 (1988): 108.
104. Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, p.40.
105. Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın, "Düşünce ve bilim tarihi 1300-1600," in *Türkiye tarihi*, vol. 2, *Osmanlı Devleti 1300-1600*, ed. Sina Akşin, (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1988), p.150.
106. Dayezade Mustafa, "Selimiye Risalesi," p.114.