The Ottomans did not leave the physical development of their cities to chance: through the promotion of community services, they created a congenial urban environment for people to live in. An orderly expansion of residential areas was accomplished by means of building complexes called külliye. A külliye was supported by a vakif (pious foundation). The founder set the conditions of his vakif in vakîlye (deed of trust) which was ratified and duly registered by a kadi. This process ensured the continued existence of the deed, since a vakif devoted in perpetuity the revenue from a committed source for a particular charitable purpose without impairing the capital. As it was an accepted Islamic principle that only Allah had proprietary rights over a vakif, the continuity of the külliye was guaranteed.

The system of creating new residential areas around külliye evolved in Bursa and was applied to all major Ottoman cities. In Bursa and elsewhere, new residential areas were established outside the perimeter of the fortified city. Istanbul was an exception. Urban growth in the new Ottoman capital took place largely within the walls of the city rather than outside them.

Mehmet the Conqueror requested that each of his commanders take a district in Istanbul and develop it. Grand Vizier Mahmud Pasha and other viziers constructed elegant building complexes within the boundaries of the city. The Conqueror himself established several külliye inside Istanbul, as well as another outside the city walls in Eyüp.

Halil Inalcık, after quoting Nesri's observation that Sultan Mehmet created Istanbul, adds that the Conqueror's successors Beyazit II and Süleyman the Magnificent, as well as the royal women, statesmen, ulema, and merchants of the period, aided the capital's rapid growth by founding külliye throughout the city. There were in Istanbul 2,517 vakif in 1546. It is true that most of these were small vakif with no commercial establishments to support their charitable activities. But there were among them some very richly endowed ones as well. To meet the expenses of his foundations, for example, Mehmet the Conqueror "built 260 shops in Galata and 783 in Istanbul, 13 bathhouses, a number of dyehouses, bakehouses, warehouses, candleworks, oil-presses and 54 mills." The two key components of an Early Ottoman külliye of the 14th and 15th centuries were the mosque and medrese; a few large ones founded by sultans and grand viziers also included an imaret. The imaret is essentially a soup-kitchen. During the Early Ottoman period however, this term embraced the complex. In the 16th century, it included the hospice (tabhane) and caravanseray (kâtban-saray) in addition to the soup-kitchen. The tomb (türbe) was an auxiliary building. The bathhouse (hamam) was often pushed to a corner. Commercial buildings such as han and shops were generally located in the central market district in order to bring in the most revenue for the endowment.

Among the pre-Sinan Ottoman külliye consisting of the mosque and medrese are the Uç Serefeli in Edirne (1447-48) and Ishak Pasha in İnegöl (c. 1482). In the first, two medrese (Saatlı and Peykler) stand in a row next to the mosque on the east. In the second, a U-shaped medrese faces the mosque on the kibla axis.

Sinan built several mosque-medrese complexes on the Ishak Pasha theme. By clamp-
tain-court that ostensibly belonged to the medrese.
In the mosque-medrese of Kara Ahmet Pasha in Topkapı (c. 1560), he adjoined the two buildings by linking the medrese arcade with the mosque's portico. He achieved a more organic solution in the Edirnekapı Mihrimah Sultan complex (c. 1565) when he fully integrated the two buildings. In the tiny Semsi Ahmet Pasha complex in Üsküdar (1580-81), he used a single-domed mosque with porticoes on two sides and an ell-shaped medrese with arcades to produce an asymmetrical courtyard held together by low precinct walls.
As for the three-component sultan's complexes: those of Beyazıt I in Bursa (popularly known as the Yıldırım Külliye) and Bayezid II in Edirne may be given as pertinent examples.
The Yıldırım Külliye was built during the last decade of the 14th century. According to its vakıfıye dated 1396-99, it consisted of a mosque, a medrese, a hospital, a soup-kitchen, a bath, and a royal pavilion. It was fortified and had two gates. The one to the north gave access to the Plain of Bursa. The other on the

east connected the complex with the residential area that bordered it in that direction. The Yıldırım mosque sits on the crest of a hillock while the other buildings form a crescent around it at a lower level: the bath on the west, the medrese and tomb on the north, the royal pavilion on the east. The soup-kitchen has vanished. Some walls of the royal pavilion and of the hospital, located some 300 meters southeast of the mosque, have survived. Both these buildings collapsed in the earthquake of 1855 and were left in ruin. The buildings of the Yıldırım Külliye relate not so much to each other as to topography. Those comprising the Edirne Bayezid II Külliye (1484-88), on the other hand, have an orderly disposition. The mosque occupies a central position, with the soup-kitchen and storerooms on one side and hospital and medical medrese on the other. The axial composition based on three parallel building masses is accentuated by the geometric organization of the complex in which all the buildings are placed at right angles to each other.
The geometric order of the Edirne Bayezid II Külliye derives from the Istanbul Fatih Külliye (1463-71) which sets the tone of the 16th-century Ottoman classicism. In this complex, the buildings are neatly arranged around a vast square plaza, 210 meters per side. The mosque stands in the centre of the plaza, while the tombs of Mehmet the Conqueror and his wife Gülşah Hatun are located behind it. Further to the south is the hospice. Originally, the hospice was accompanied by a hospital and soup-kitchen. These two buildings have vanished, but a floor plan of the hospital drawn in 1823 exists. By contrast, the soup-kitchen presents a problem. Ayyerdil's reconstruction shows a small, two-unit structure on the northwest of the hospice; it is identified as the imaret. Both because of its size and its location, this proposal is difficult to accept. I suggest that the soup-kitchen of the Fatih Külliye was as large a building as the hospital or the hospice and that it stood between the two. The three buildings formed a grouping similar to the one in the Süleymaniye Külliye.
Unlike the service buildings, the educational component of the Fatih Külliye has survived fairly well. The eight Semaniye medreses extend in two rows of four on the right and left of the mosque plaza. They are identical in plan: each contains 19 rooms for students, one classroom, and toilet facilities around an arcaded courtyard, and its main door opens into the central plaza. All eight of the
Semaniye medrese had originally an annex to house preparatory students. These annexes (called the tetimme) were half as large as the Semaniye medrese. They were demolished when the streets on both sides of the külliye were widened. Then too, the original mosque built by the Conqueror was also destroyed: in the earthquake of 1766, but it was rebuilt on the quadriform scheme of Sinan’s Sehzade Mehmet.

Despite the reconstruction of the mosque and its ruined buildings, the overall concept of the Fatih Külliye remains clear: its huge central dome dominates its dependencies; the geometric, hierarchical architectural statement (obviously triggered by the new status of the Ottoman state as a world empire) can be seen the traditional mosque-medrese-imaret combination of the Early Ottoman külliye.

Sinan produced his own versions of the traditional mosque-medrese-imaret grouping in the külliye he built during the formative years of his architectural career. His first complex — the Haseki Hurrem — consists of a mosque (1538-39), a medrese and a mekteb (1539-40), and an imaret comprising a soup-kitchen and a hospital (c. 1550). The layout of the Haseki Külliye is asymmetrical and disorderly. While the two buildings of the imaret are built parallel to each other, the mosque, medrese, and mekteb are oriented on different axes. Furthermore, not only is the double-domed mosque (the single-domed mosque Sinan built was enlarged by an additional domed unit at the turn of the 17th century) placed in one corner but it also stands by itself across the street from the other buildings.

By contrast, the mosque of the Üsküdar Mihrimah Sultan Külliye (c. 1542-48) has a central position between the medrese on the east, and caravansery on the west. The latter building, which functioned as the terminus of the Anatolian routes converging on the capital, was destroyed by fire in the 18th century. It constituted the imaret component of the complex. According to Evliya Çelebi, the imaret was a lead-covered sturdy structure much like a fortress and it contained a spacious hospice for guests as well as a two-winged caravansery, each wing being large enough to hold a hundred horses.
Unlike the Üsküdar Mihrimah Sultan, the Sehzade Mehmet Külliye (1543-48) has survived intact. In this complex the mosque and tomb constitute a group, while the medrese, caravansery, and soup-kitchen form a parallel row to the east of these. Such an arrangement produces a lopsided layout design because the low-walled and small-domed auxiliary buildings on the east do not have the same visual weight to match the immense mass of the mosque on the west. The most balanced and totally symmetrical building complex Sinan designed was the Süleymaniye Külliye in Damascus which took its present form in two stages. The first of these, consisting of the mosque, soup-kitchen, caravansery, and hospice, was completed in 1554-55; the second, comprising the medrese and arasta, was added as an afterthought in 1566-67. What interests us in this complex is the initial group of buildings: the mosque and soup-kitchen facing each other on the south and north of a rectangular plaza while twin hospices and caravanseries block the two other sides. The Süleymaniye Külliye in Damascus was designed as a staging post for pilgrims. Its buildings offered lodging and dining services. By contrast, the Istanbul Süleymaniye Külliye (1550-58), incorporating seven medrese, was planned primarily as a centre for higher education. While the layout of the Damascus Külliye, executed on a flat plot of land, is two-dimensional in concept, the Istanbul Süleymaniye, set on a slope overlooking the Golden Horn, displays a three-dimensional composition.

With its spacious central plaza emphasized by the founder’s mosque and flanked by medrese on the sides, the Istanbul Süleymaniye recalls the Fatih Külliye. Unlike it however, the medrese in the Süleymaniye sit on terraces at different levels to fit the contours of a hillside and do not have the rigid symmetry of their prototype. The monumental Süleymaniye mosque rises in the centre of a rectangular plaza. Inside the traditional cemetery garden on the south, are the octagonal tombs of Süleyman the Magnificent and his wife Hurrem Sultan. Behind these, placed on the longitudinal axis of the mosque at the far end of the cemetery garden, stands the darülkurra — a domed structure raised above a cistern. It is reach-
ed by double stairs on the south, outside the
cemetery wall.
On the west side of the plaza, over a row of
35 shops called the Tiryak (Theriaca) Bazaar,
are the mekteb, first and second medrese,
and the medical medrese (darültüb). On the
east side, across the street from the Bakircilar
(Coppersmiths) Bazaar under the mosque
plaza, are the second pair of medrese
with stepped rooms and arcades that hug the
sloping land. Placed under the third and
fourth medrese are a string of 18 more rooms
for graduate students (the mülazımın).
The last educational building in the complex,
the darülhadis, named after the famous
scholar and mufti Eou's-Suud Efendi, ex-
tends at an angle to the kibla axis on the
southeast corner of the precinct. It perches
on top of another row of shops (18 in all)
across from the hamam and contains a char-
ing elevated classroom with an open log-
gia at one end.
On the north side of the plaza, from west to
east, the hospital, soup-kitchen, and hospice
line up in a row, with a caravanseray and some
shops tucked under them — the facilities at
the lower level being accessible from the
street at the back.
In terms of three-dimensional planning, a
even more striking example is the Atik Valide
Külliye built by Murad III's mother Nurbanu
Valide Sultan. Begun in the early 1570's, this
complex in Üsküdar was completed in 1583.
Like the Sûleymaniye in Istanbul, the Atik
Valide is built on terraces cut into the gentle
slopes of a hillside. The mosque occupies the
highest terrace. One level below it, there are
four buildings, one on each side of the mos-
que: a medrese on the north, a hankah on the
east, a darülkurra on the south, and a
darülhadis on the west. The last extends from
north to south across the street from the
mosque plaza and constitutes the upper
part of a mammoth rectangular structure.
Here the soup-kitchen, hospice, and hospital
are each organized around its own courtyard.
A fourth courtyard in the centre is linked by
a wide staircase to the domed entrance hall
of the two-winged caravansery one level
below it.
In the Istanbul Sûleymaniye Külliye Sinan
made effective use of the slope by arranging
the subsidiary buildings at different levels
within a U-shaped framework not unlike that of the Fatih Külliye. In the Atik Valiye Külliye, he created a more sophisticated layout by terracing the hillside not only to relate architecture to topography but also to display the hierarchical order among the various buildings of the complex. At the lowest level of the scale is the caravansery — a service facility. Above it are the soup-kitchen, hospice, and hospital. These are topped by the educational and monastic buildings. And on top of all the focus: the mosque.

As with all great imperial architecture, Sinan’s work exhibited a cultural synthesis which incorporated religion, state hierarchy, and social order. This cultural synthesis found a strong reflection in the centralized form of monumental sultan’s mosques of the 16th century. It was also as forcefully displayed by the külliye founded by members of the Ottoman ruling family and built by Sinan during the same period.

Aptullah Kuran

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3 Inalci, op. cit., p. 144.
5 *Seyahatnâme*, vol. 1, Istanbul, 1314 H., pp. 475-76.