MULTI-FUNCTIONAL BUILDINGS OF THE T-TYPE IN OTTOMAN CONTEXT:

A NETWORK OF IDENTITY AND TERRITORIALIZATION

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis focuses on the Ottoman buildings with a T-shaped plan and their meanings with respect to the central and centrifugal tendencies in the Ottoman context in the fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The emergence of the multi-functional buildings of the T-type in the Ottoman realm is simultaneous with the burgeoning of a state in the early Ottoman frontier milieu, which is profoundly intermingled with the notion of *gaza*; whereas the demise of the use of the T-plan is coincident with the transformation of the Ottoman State into an empire. The tension between the centralization of the Ottoman State and the peripheral forces counteracting it is operative in the social as well as territorial repercussions inherent in the network of T-type patronage. In this respect, the thesis concentrates on the network engendered by the variations in the layouts of these buildings vis-à-vis their geographical distribution and the identity of their patrons. Doing so, it is aimed not only to trace the claims to power expressed in diverse modes, but also to unveil the motive of the changes in the plan scheme and its halt in the sixteenth century.

Keywords: network, frontier, heterodoxy, identity, territory, centralization, state

ÖZ

OSMANLI BAĞLAMINDA T-TİPİ ÇOK İŞLEVLİ BİNALAR:
BİR KİMLİK VE YURTLAŞTIRMA AĞI

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Bu tez, T-biçimli planları olan Osmanlı binaları ile bunların anlamlarını, ondört, onbeş ve erken onaltıncı yüzyıllardaki Osmanlı bağlamında, merkezil ve merkezkaç eğilimleri göz önünde bulundurarak ele almaktadır. Çok-işlevli T-tipi binaların Osmanlı topraklarında ortaya çıkışı, *gaza* fikriyatı ile harmanlanmış erken Osmanlı sınır kültüründe bir devlet oluşumu başlangıcıyla eş zamanlı iken; T-plan kullanımının ortadan kalkışı, Osmanlı Devletinin bir imparatorluğa dönüştüğü döneme denk düşmektedir. Osmanlı Devleti ile, beraberinde getirdiği, çepere dair güçler arasındaki gerilim, T-tipi bina hamiliğinin hem sosyal hem de yer tutmaya ilişkin etkilerinde belirleyicidir. Bu açıdan tez, bu binaların yerleşimlerinde, coğrafi dağılım ve hami kimliklerine göre ortaya çıkan çeşitlenmelerin oluşturduğu ağa odaklanmaktadır. Böylelikle, yalnizca türlü biçemlerde ifade edilen güç iddiasının izini sürmek değil, aynı zamanda planın şemasındaki değişiklikler ile onaltıncı yüzyıldaki yok oluşunun ardındaki nedenin ortaya çıkarılması amaçlanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: ağ, sınır, heterodoksluk, kimlik, yurt, merkezileşme, devlet

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The multi-functional buildings of the early Ottoman period constitute a characteristic building type within the recognized Ottoman architectural repertoire. So far these buildings have been called by various names such as private mosques,[1] reverse-T-type mosques,[2] *zaviye*-mosques,[3] mosques with side spaces,[4] winged mosques,[5] cross-pivoted mosques,[6] iwan (Turkish *eyvan*) mosques, [7] multi-functional mosques,[8] and *futuwwa* (Turkish fütüvvet) mosques.[9] They were built extensively in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries until they ceased to be built in the second half of the sixteenth century. There are varying opinions in scholarship regarding the 'raison d'etre' of this building type. Moreover, unlike other types of religious or civic building types erected in Islamic societies, this specific type of multi-functional building (in its patent form) has yet been detected to have been used only on the Ottoman lands and the other Turcoman principalities that emerged at the Seljuk-Byzantine border. While there is unresolved discord in scholarship regarding whether or not these buildings constitute a distinct type, they have been categorized as 'mosques' for the most part. And yet, as has been previously put forth by some scholars, not only their names, but also their architectural layouts bear resemblance

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[1] Hölscher, U. "Entstehung und Entwicklung der Osmanischen Baukunst," in Zeitschrift für Bauwesen, LXIX, 1919, pp. 365-370; Wulzinger, Karl. "Die Piruz-Moschee zu Milas (Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Osmanischer Baukunst)," in Festschrift anlasslich des 100 jahringen Bestehens der Technischen Hochshule Fridericiana zu Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe, 1925, pp. 167-170.

[2] Taeschner, Franz. "Das Nilüfer Imaret in Isnik und seine Bauinschrift" in Der Islam, XX, 1932, p. 128; Otto-Dorn, Katharina. Das Islamische Iznik,, Berlin, 1941, pp. 64-68.

[3] Eyice, Semavi. "Osmanlı Türk Mimarisinin İlk Devrinin Bir Cami Tipi Hakkinda", in Milletlerarası I. Türk Sanatları Kongresi Tebliğleri, İstanbul, 1962, p. 188, and Eyice, Semavi. "İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dini-İçtimai Bir Müessesesi: Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli-Camiler" in İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası, 23/ 1-2, 1962-63, pp. 1-80.

[4] Aslanapa, Oktay. "İznik'te Sultan Orhan İmaret-Camii Kazısı," in İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı, I, 1964-1965, p. 19.

[5] Ayverdi, Ekrem H. Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri, 630-805 (1230-1402), I, İstanbul, 1966, p. 87.

[6] Kuran, Aptullah. "Basic Space and Form Concept in Early Ottoman Mosque Architecture," in Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Arte Turca, 1965, pp. 181-187, and Kuran, Aptullah. The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture, Chicago, 1968, p. 64.

[7] Kuran, A. 1968, p. 71.

[8] Kuban, Doğan. 100 Soruda Türkiye Sanat Tarihi, İstanbul, 1973, p. 159.

[9] Doğan, Ahmet Işık. Osmanlı Mimarisinde Tarikat Yapıları: Tekkeler, Zaviyeler ve Benzer Nitelikteki Fütüvvet Yapıları, İstanbul, 1977, pp. 179-283.

to sufi and *ahi* convents (*zaviyes*) in early and pre-Ottoman Anatolia, especially the ones built in the late thirteenth century.

Hereby, I will refer to these buildings as 'T-type buildings.' This choice of terminology stems, in the first place, from the aim to allow wider recognition, for, it is under this term that these buildings appear to have found a more commonly acquainted place in the art history nomenclature. The choice of this term also accords with the twofold heed paid to the object of this thesis. On the one hand, sincethis thesis is more about the network of patronage and territorialization (settlement on and holding of a territory) of these buildings, than it is about their functions per se, I do not think, at least for the course of this thesis, many of the terms used for denoting these buildings in scholarship, with their connotations of respective functions, to be as fitting. Inas much relevant as it may seem to suggest that these buildings had a multi-functional use, a thorough analysis of the primary sources and an extensive filedwork is required in order to suggest a plausible clientele, and therefore to deliniate a specific range of purposes a propos this building type. On the other hand, I consider the building type to be too diverse in itself, both in terms of the prolific variations in architectural layouts, and the abundant significations with regard to the changing context to be generalized under a single and stable notion. Thus, given that it is the variations within this type of buildings in plan and how they related to each other in a wider context that is the main topic of this study, the conspicuous T shape stands out to be what all the various sorts of the building have in common in two-dimensionality, and thereby as a defining property of the type.

The T-type building principally consists of a domed space followed by an *eyvan* or another domed space on an axis, and two smaller domed or vaulted chambers flanking the first of these spaces. In most cases the buildings are fronted by five-bay porticoes and there are usually additional *tabhane* (adjacent cells used as guest rooms), as well. All the spaces are symmetrically arranged on both sides of the main axis. The first space is usually more prominent than the rest of the building. In plan, the second major space on the axis, which has a *mihrab* (prayer niche), protrudes from the exterior of the otherwise rectangular main body of the building,

hence the nomenclature under reverse-T. Although later examples of the kind have minarets, the earlier ones do not. The two spaces that follow each other on an axis and are not separated from each other by walls, but the second one has a *mihrab*, and is clearly differentiated. Especially in the earlier examples the space with the *mihrab* is elevated from the entrance space by a few steps, has either a dome of a different height /size/ architectonic or a vault, and is significantly decorated. The first space is a central space, a type of an inner sofa, around which access to other spaces is organized. It is usually larger and has a higher dome. The dome sometimes has a lantern on top; and below it, there may be a *şadırvan* (fountain). The flanking chambers are usually accessed from this sofa and are sometimes connected to additional rooms in the corners through doors. The side spaces, in some cases, can be accessed directly from outside and are, if not as much as the main halls, still monumental in scale. Some even have their own entrance halls; and their interiors are usually decorated with cupboards and a hearth. At least fifty-nine examples can be found in mid-west Anatolia and the eastern Balkans, which share the same main principle of spatial organization outlined above.

Previous studies on the T-type buildings either focus solely on their plans, thereby failing to unveil why they were built only during a certain period of time and on a particular territory, or conversely, they focus too much on the specificity of the context, wherein they end up disregarding peculiarities contained in the variations in the plans. What these studies on the T-type buildings appear to have in common is a probe into their 'origin.' Many of them track the 'evolution' of this type with reference to its assumed origin, and some do so by taking into account the broader Ottoman historical context.[10] And yet, since they do so within a framework of evolution that comes out of a (single) pristine origin they fail to unveil the richness that the variations are bound up with, both in terms of origins and in terms of prevalence in time. Insofar as it is important to probe into the question concerning the origins of the building type, I do not think that there could ever be an absolute answer.

[10] See, foe example Eyice, S. 1962, p. 188, Eyice, S. 1962-63, pp. 1-80, Kuran, A. 1968, Doğan, A. I. 1977, and Emir, Sedat. Osmanlı Mimarlığında Çok İşlevli Yapılar: Kolonizasyon Yapıları Olarak Zaviyeler Iand II, Akademi Kitabevi: İstanbul, 1994.

I think that it is of vital importance to delineate at least a general difference between the 'central' and 'peripheral' –in both the literal geographical sense and the metaphorical one i.e. vis-à-vis the state-, in order to reflect on the significance and function of the building complexes of the T-type in relation to the early Ottoman context. Inas much blurry and porous a delineation as this kind of a conceptual agenda may entail, I believe that it is possible and what is more necessary to differentiate the centralizing tendencies from the centrifugal ones not only in terms of territorial properties of the buildings, but also in terms of their spatial organizations. The existence of two different attitudes employed by the center and the periphery does not mean, however, that they were separated from each other by clean-cut boundaries, or that they did not clash, collaborate, intersect, or even merge with each other at times.

In the second chapter entitled "Multi-functional Buildings with T-shape Plans as a Type in Ottoman Architecture," I aim to reflect on why and how the T-type multi-functional buildings constitute a distinct type in the Ottoman architectural portfolio. In order to do so I first do a critical survey of the scholarship on these buildings. This is followed, respectively, by a brief overview of the specificity of the socio-religious context and a further highlighting of the major questions concerning the T-type buildings that I take into consideration in this thesis.

The chapters following the second one are intended to map the variations of plan within the T-type in relation to their patrons. The chapters are organized chronologically so as to be easily juxtaposed with the changing historical context. Moreover, since earlier buildings continue their tangible existence, the associations they enfold are cumulative. Thereby, I also try to map the network brought about by the combination of new buildings of the T-type with the already existing ones.

In the third chapter entitled "From an Apparatus of the Frontier into Apparatuses of Tensions," I focus on the period from the emergence of these buildings, the first half of the fourteenth century, until the early fifteenth century. The formation of the T-type network throughout the state-building process of the House of Osman is studied, whereby, while having emerged as an embodiment of

the frontier ethos, the T-type buildings became prone to the tensions in between the center and the periphery of the Ottoman territory. The fourth chapter entitled "From the Tensions of a State into the Tensions of an Empire" pursues the mapping of the network of the T-type buildings and their patronage from the blow brought by the defeat in the Battle of Ankara in 1402 and its effects through to the second half of the fifteenth century coinciding with the end of the reign of Mehmed II, with his 'imperial project.' In the fifth and last chapter before the conclusion, entitled "From a Network into Lines of Lineage," I dwell on the process through which the T-type was fully appropriated by the center of the Empire from the late fifteenth century onward, up until its demise in the middle of the sixteenth century.

In this thesis as a whole, I aim to probe into the specific role of the T-type buildings in the context of the frontier by surveying the network of patronage lineages in relation to territory. In order to do so, this study will focus not only on the architectural layouts of these buildings and their geographical and urban position, but also on their roles as identity bearers for their patrons. Inso far unsubstantiated as it may seem to suggest that the patrons themselves were directly involved in the design process of the buildings, the idea that the buildings took shape devoid of their patrons' choices is all the less compelling. Thereupon, although an intensive analysis of the (scarce) primary sources is yet to reveal the degree of contribution of patrons in the layouts of the buildings, I will try to show whether, how or to what degree the identities of the patrons comply with the specificities of their T-type buildings. In doing so I aim to reflect on how this building type related to and was either consciously or unconsciously utilized by certain social and religious identities within a dynamic referential system. Networks of meanings of architectural forms, specificity of their locations, and the profiles of the patrons will be brought together in order to do justice to the unique assemblages that each one of them sprout from and in turn transform. Nonetheless, they will all be brought together as yet another network. This network, which consists the main subject of this thesis buds from the question concerning the central and centrifugal forces in the early Ottoman context. I think that this question is of crucial importance not only for a better understanding of the formation of the early Ottoman cultural and social milieu in relation to the Ottoman realm in general, but also in entailing a meta-conception to grasp how it

related to the broader contemporaneous context. Because, the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries is not the only span that is marked by tensions between the center and the periphery in the Ottoman realm. Nor is it merely the Ottoman territory that witnessed such strains.

Even more so than in delving into such a vast prospect of studying the vast isthmus over, by means of, and from which identities and meanings mingled, clashed and contested with each other, however, the question of central and centrifugal forces in the realms of society, as well as the state and the geography, is of crucial importance for making historical sense of the specific subject of this thesis, namely the T-type buildings. As a matter of fact, I envisage this conceptual dichotomy –with its wide range of varying stances in between all the more so than the symmetrical oppositions- to be a necessity rather than a framework of choice. I do hope that this thesis might shed light over the ways in which architecture simultaneously affected and was affected by the changes in broader social and cultural context. Yet, my main aim is to reflect on the T-type buildings, which, I argue were essential to identity formation in the earlier times of a frontier culture. This specific building type, existing during the centuries of Ottoman empire-building, has the potential to better reveal power struggles and centralizations not only of the state itself, but also of social groups intersecting with it, yet different from it, all at play in the process.

CHAPTER 2

MULTI-FUNCTIONAL BUILDINGS WITH T-SHAPE PLANS AS A TYPE IN OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE

2. 1. Evaluation of Scholarship

Semavi Eyice is the first scholar to claim that the side cells that flank the T-type buildings might have served a similar function to that of the Sufi convents, [11] basing his argument on the fact that many of the multi-functional buildings of the type are termed *zaviye, hankah, tekke* or *imaret* -terms that denote Sufi convents or charitable institutions supervised by Sufis in the early Ottoman context- in their endowment deeds.[12] In addition, these buildings are also called *imaret* in the contemporaneous sources, on their foundation inscription panels and partly by their current names.[13] Such etymological divergence from Friday mosques (*cami*) is clear evidence showing that these buildings are not ordinary mosques. Yet dervish convents, which do not have the T-type plan are likewise called by the very same various and interchangeable names of *tekke*, *hankah* or *zaviye*, and at times even by two of these by a single source.[14] Thereby arises, the questions concerning the distinction between the T-type multi-functional buildings and convents: Whether or not they actually are distinguishable as two different types of building; and if they are, then what it is that would enable us to tell between the two.

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[11] Eyice, S. 1962-63, pp. 23-24, and Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 23. For a similar approach also see, Çetintaş, Sedat. Yeşil Cami ve Benzerleri Cami Değildir, İstanbul, 1958.

[12] Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 23.

[13] On the use and meaning of the word *imaret* with reference not only to building types in general, but also to the 'T-type,' see Necipoğlu, Gülru. The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire, London: Reaktion Press, 2005, pp. 49-50, 71, 79. For the term *imaret,* see also Singer, Amy. Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen, Jerusalem, Albany: SUNY Press, 2002, pp. 143-144.

[14] For example, the chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade, to refer to a building in İnegöl, near Bursa, which he reports to have been commissioned by Orhan in the name of the wandering dervish Geyikli Baba, uses the terms *zaviye* and *tekke* in the same sentence: "Orhan Gazi ol dervişün üzerine kubbe yapdı. Şimdiki vakıtda padişahlara dua ederler kim dayım anarlar. Ol zaviyeye Geyikli Baba Tekyesi derler." See Çiftçioğlu, N. Atsız (ed.) Aşıkpaşaoğlu Ahmed Aşıki "Tevarih-i Al-i Osman" in Osmanlı Tarihleri I, İstanbul: Türkiye Basımevi, 1949, p. 123. On the interchangable terms used for denoting convents see, Doğan, A. I. 1977, pp. 55-82.

Reflecting upon these questions, both Eyice and Ahmet Işık Doğan agree on the fact that the halt in the construction of the T-type buildings, roughly coinciding with the reign of Süleyman (r. 1520-1566), is closely linked to the solidification of the central state. Thereby they reiterate that, more than likely, it signals the disintegration of an institution particular to the early Ottoman context, the peoples of which inhabited the T-type buildings. Furthermore, both scholars claim that this institution should be the *ahi* organization and their own interpretation of the *futuwwa* understanding embedded in it, due to the fact that it had not only gained a 'specifically Ottoman' character in Anatolia, but also lost its dominance in the sixteenth century.[15] The *ahis* were a semi-chivalrous organization of young men in medieval Anatolia. Ibn Battuta, who enjoyed the insistent hospitality of *ahis* of Anatolia in 1330s –on some occasions even causing rivalry in between *ahis* of different hospices-, vividly describes them as:

> […] young men wearing long cloaks, and with boots on their feet. Each one of them had a knife about two cubits long attached to a girdle round his waist, and on their heads were white bonnets of wool with a piece of stuff about a cubit long and two fingers broad attached to the peak of each bonnet…When we had taken our places among them, they brought in a great banquet, with fruits and sweetmeats, after which they began their singing and dancing.[16]

The *futuwwa*, introduced into Anatolia by 'Umar Suhrawardi, was an organization formed by young men devoted to chivalrous ideals. This organization was recruited from *ahis*, who were usually craftsmen organized into guilds. In the specific form this organization took in post-Mongolian Anatolia, which includes places both within and without Ottoman territory, especially in the early fourteenth century, *ahis* are said to have organized prayers, mitigated abusive measures against the local population taken by government officials, and gave charity and hospitality to the poor.[17] The reason for Eyice and Doğan to suggest a link between the T-type buildings and the *ahi* brotherhood is that, it was especially during those times that the building type disintegrated in the first half of the sixteenth century that the *ahi*

[15] Doğan, A. I. 1977, p.180 and Eyice, S. 1962-63, pp. 3-80.
[16] Cited in Dunn, Ross E. The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, pp. 145-146.
[17] See for example Menage, V. L. "The Islamization of Anatolia," in Conversion to Islam, N. Leutzion (ed.), New York, 1979, pp. 52-67.

organization with its unorthodox religious and social practices began to sway back into its original raison d'etre: a social organization in control of the standards of craftsmanship and the guilds. These scholars also presume a probable connection between the ahis and the dervish groups, which they consider to have begun to emerge as an evident threat to the central authority, especially with the potential Shiite Safavid accomplice as a result of the extension of Ottoman borders to the east from the early sixteenth century onward. The militant Sufi movement of the Safavids had substantial effects on the Ottoman realm especially with sheikh Cüneyd's (r. 1447-1460) mobilization of Turcoman groups in Eastern Anatolia as gazis in the Safavid military activities and the formation of a Safavid State.[18] Eyice argues that the *ahi* organization was intermingled with the heterodox religio-cultural environment of the era, and thereby claims that these buildings served as transitory places of stay for the leading *ahis* characterized in his study as traveling dervishes. However, Doğan attributes a rather municipality-like quality to the *ahi* organization, linking it to a more stately/juridical purpose. [19]

The *ahi* connection with the buildings of T-type as discussed in the secondary sources above is poorly validated, whether the building is taken as a center for the organization of the state-related juridical and political set of rules with a sort of a ruling/bureaucratic formation in a remote place, or as a temporary station point for traveling *ahi* leaders.[20] However, these studies do refer to a closely knit web comprising the warriors on the frontiers –the *gazi* ethos-, the wandering dervishes and the rulers.[21] T-type buildings can also figure in the web, as in the case of the account on the T-type building of Gazi Mihal in Edirne (1422) featured in *vilayetname* (hagiography) of Otman Baba.[22] Thereby the raider-commander

[18] See Sümer, Faruk. Safavi Devletinin Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin Rolü, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999.
[19] See Doğan, A. I. 1977, p.180 and Eyice, S. 1962-63, pp. 3-80.
[20] It is crucial to state, however, that my study is at a very preliminary stage. Furthermore, since up to present I have based my study solely on the very secondary sources, I cannot make judgments on neither the nature nor the content of the information that the primary sources have to offer.
[21] For example the chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade mentions *gazis, ahis, abdals* (wandering dervishes) in the same category as groups or travellers (*misafir ve seyyahlar*). See, Aşıkpaşaoğlu, pp. 77-319.
[22] Koca, Şevki (ed.) Vilayetname-i Şahi: Göçek Abdal: Odman Baba Vilayetnamesi, İstanbul: Bektaşi Kültür Derneği, 2002, pp. 170-171. Although hagiographies are not reliable chronological or factual sources they bear intimate and valuable information on how the dervish groups saw the world and themselves. They were not compiled until (at least) fifteenth century and thus their account of earlier

Mihaloğlu Ali Bey was accompanied and supported by Otman Baba, of whom he was a disciple, along with a group of wandering dervishes on his raid to Hungary. Ali Bey hosted the group in Edirne in the T-type building commissioned by his father. It can be said, then, that the building of Gazi Mihal (also) served as a stopover for wandering dervishes.[23] More so, the blurriness and the permeability of the borders between various religio-cultural groups reject the kind of exclusive identifications regarding *ahis* by nature. Even if it were the *ahis* who inhabited the T-type buildings, it is not necessary to separate the two motives, namely those of jurisprudence and socio-religious, again due to the very lack of clear-cut boundaries. Similar to the permeability among the social groups, cultural and religious spheres of social life could be intertwined with those of jurisdiction and bureaucracy.[24] A mosque, and a *futuwwa* related *zaviye* around it, might well have served as a hospice for traveling *ahis* as well as a local religious and juridical center. Moreover, imperial patronage does not necessarily contradict a probable heterodox group related with the patronage and clientele of the T-type buildings. Indeed, unlike the *Ulu Cami* (Great Mosques) built for Friday prayers, with their exclusively imperial patronage, the buildings with a T-type plan were substantiated by a wider patronage base. As discussed by Necipoğlu, while the former were situated in urban areas, and acted more as monuments associated with the collective identity of a city, the latter commemorated their founders, whose name they bore.[25]

Doğan argues that the side spaces were used as congregational halls for *ahis*, dervishes and the state notables, cadres that had overlapping territories acting harmoniously. For him, the side spaces cannot have been used as hostels or temporary dwelling places for '*ayende ve revende*' as was the case in traditional

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On both the possibilities opened up and the potential drawbacks entailed by such sources, see Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. Kültür Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Menakıbnameler (Metodolojik Bir Yaklaşım), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992, pp. 40-65.

[23] See Yürekli Görkay, E. Zeynep. Legend and Architecture in the Ottoman Empire: The Shrines of Seyyid Gazi and Hacı Bektaş, unpublished dissertation thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, Masachusetts, 2005, p. 207.

[24] i.e. for a report on the patronage of an *imaret* near Yenişehir right after the conquest of İznik by Orhan, and his taking part in its serving after it was built, see Aşıkpaşaoğlu, fol. 33, and Unat, Faik Reşit and Köymen, Mehmet A. (eds.), Mehmed Neşri, Kitab-ı Cihan-nüma: Neşri Tarihi, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995, I, p. 163. The sheikh appointed is stated as a disciple of Ede Bali named Hacı Hasan.

[25] Necipoğlu, G. 2005, p. 50.

types of *zaviyes*. The side spaces are too monumental with their domes and elaborate embellishment and they lack necessary equipment (kitchen, bath, latrine, etc.) to have served as temporary dwelling places. Yet, when these buildings are thought with their immediate surroundings and positions in relation to the enfolding urban fabric, it becomes evident that they were built in close relation to other buildings such as *imarets* (soup kitchens) or *hamams* (baths). As argued by Howard Crane, these groups of buildings are not aligned with each other, nor do they yield to an architectural attempt of symmetrical organization. They instead have an organic layout in terms of their engagement to topography and the relation of the buildings with each other. These buildings are not clearly integrated with the multi-functional buildings in a 'formally consistent' overall design. Nevertheless it is erroneous to expect such a consistency in the first place. Organic arrangement and functional integrity are not mutually exclusive. The fact that a formal uniformity defined by modern terms is not applicable does not necessarily mean that integration of buildings with various functions in a self-contained manner was not in agenda.[26] What is certain, on the other hand, is that the proximity of many of the T-type buildings to other buildings (that serve for specific functions) almost in the form of complexes altogether inaugurates issues regarding the intended monumentality and multi-functionality of these buildings. This is not to say, of course, that an organic layout conflicts with monumentality, or that a building installed within a complex should be more encoded with specific functions. Monumentality can have various meanings depending on the context and the purpose, and thereby can emerge in diverse forms, just as employment of other buildings in the close vicinity to serve for functional necessities might as well result in an even fuller realization of the multi-functionality of a building. And yet, in any case a T-type building within a complex must be different from a one that stands by itself both in terms of its purpose and the meaning it entails.

[26] Crane, Howard. "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy," in The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order, A. Bierman, Rifa'at A. Abou El-Haj and Donald Preziosi (eds.), pp. 173-245. Although he deals mainly with imperial mosques and their imperial connotations in general, and he designates the multi-functional buildings as mosques; his inquiry into the urban position, which is occupied by the multi-functional buildings is of great insight and relevance to my point.

Although Sedat Emir recognizes that these buildings are not mosques, but rather multi-functional buildings, his emphasis is on the mosque-*eyvan* combination. Thereby, he traces the origins of these multi-functional buildings to *zaviyes* in Central Anatolia. In addition, he suggests these spaces to be dwellings for visitors, and that these buildings served as 'urban colonizers.' He develops an 'evolutionary scheme' linking these buildings to *zaviyes* proper as follows: dwelling (praying), urban colonization, praying (dwelling), praying.[27] Yet, it cannot be disregarded that from the very beginning, many of these buildings share a nearly perfect symmetry, and a clearly rectangular form with a protruding *mihrab* space, and oriented towards the *kıbla*. Moreover the relation (causality) between dwelling, urban colonization and praying, especially when put forth in such a distinct manner, remains unclear.

The plan scheme of a courtyard with four *eyvans* around, which is attributed to a Central Asian/ Turcic origin is suggested to be prevailing at the engendering of the T-type. Yet it is not formally manifest in many of these buildings. Even when there does exist such a scheme, it does not fit into the evolutionary process defined by scholars such as Eyice and Aptullah Kuran, which starts with the four *eyvans* and a closed courtyard, and is developed into an open courtyard with buildings situated around it, a typical Ottoman building complex. The common and persistent element is comprised of two spaces –either vaulted or domed- of different elevation. This common element is more likely to have defined and formed the spatial focus of these buildings. Nevertheless, even this common element was subjected to diverse alterations and changes due to variations in location, patronage and building techniques. Emir, also recognizing this spatial arrangement to be the persistent feature of the T-type buildings, traces its origin to an Ilkhanid/Mongol source rather than a Central Asian/Turcic one. He further supports his idea by stressing the similarity between the divisions and interrelations of the spaces organized around this type of buildings and Sufi convents built in central Anatolia in the thirteenth century under Mongol dominion.[28] Yet, as put by Ethel Sara Wolper, however

[27] Emir, Sedat. Osmanlı Mimarlığında Çok İşlevli Yapılar: Kolonizasyon Yapıları Olarak Zaviyeler I, Akademi Kitabevi: İstanbul, 1994, p. 15.
[28] See Emir, S. I and II, 1994.

compelling the continuity in building division might seem in these areas quite distant from each other, the formal relationship fails to be compelling.[29]

For Kuran, who suggests that the function and purpose of the side spaces (*tabhanes*) are secondary and imported, the arrangement of the side spaces do not alter the main 'evolution' of the building type. He states that the mosques of Murad I (Hüdavendigar in Bursa, d. 1385) and Murad II (Muradiye in Edirne, d. 1425) do not diverge in terms of the arrangement of their praying areas, despite their evident differences in design –the former having two stories and numerous side spaces whereas the latter is a single story building with four side spaces only.[30] In this study, however, I suggest that a true understanding of the emergence and course of the building type can only be reached by reflecting on the relation between the side spaces and the so-called prayer space: namely, the level of ease in access, integration or encirculation of the latter by the former. Moreover, Kuran's own assertion that the earlier usage of vaults for both of the spaces that were central to the T-type, turning into domes in time, has both functional and symbolic connotations, further supports the importance of the connection of the side spaces to the central core. Dome creates a more stagnant, stabilized, intact space; whereas vault is used more for the accentuation of the flow in between different spaces. In these buildings, even when domes are used for both the space with the *mihrab*, and the central space attached to it that provides access to side rooms, the two domes are almost always treated with divergent architectural tectonics, detailing, ornamentation or size like in a Christian basilica.[31] Hence, Kuran does point out the loss of dynamism and flow within the spatial organization of these buildings in time, which to me is closely related to the side rooms.

[29] Wolper, Ethel Sara. Cities and Saints: Sufism and Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia, The Pennsylvania University Press: University Park, 2003, n. 25 pp. 104-105.
[30] Kuran, A. 1968, p. 84.
[31] Kuran, A. 1968, pp. 88-89.

2. 2. The Historical Context

Both the geographical and historical surveys of the T-type buildings point to a close relation with the Ottoman state towards its centralization. This building type not only emerged in the mid-fourteenth century and diminished after the following two centuries, but also was prone to diversity in its layout. The network of concentration and transformation of these various layouts likewise varied. Furthermore, there are only three known buildings of a similar layout that were not built under the Ottoman rule, namely the mosques of Candaroğlu İsmail Bey in Kastamonu (mid fifteenth century) (see fig. 1), Germiyanoğlu Yakub Çelebi in Kütahya (1411) (see fig. 2) and Uzun Hasan in Malatya (second half of the fifteenth century). Yet, there are also examples, like that of Firuz Bey (in Milas, 1394) that were sponsored by other begs while they were nominally under the Ottoman rule (see fig. 3). The fact that the patrons of all these buildings are the renowned begs of the *begligs* (principalities) in rivalry with the Ottomans gives clues about the vital importance of the subtle relations of patronage, as well as audience. There seems to have been a parallelism between the centralization of the Ottoman state and the measures taken against a once-appreciated social group inhabiting the T-type buildings.

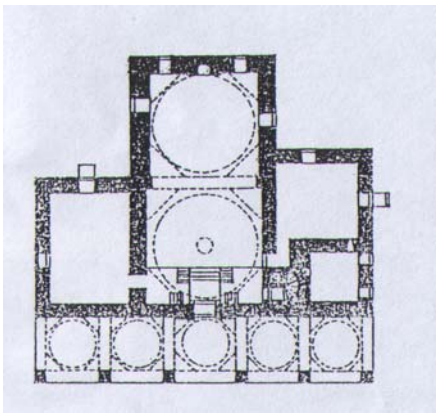


Figure 1. İsmail Bey – Kastamonu (1454)

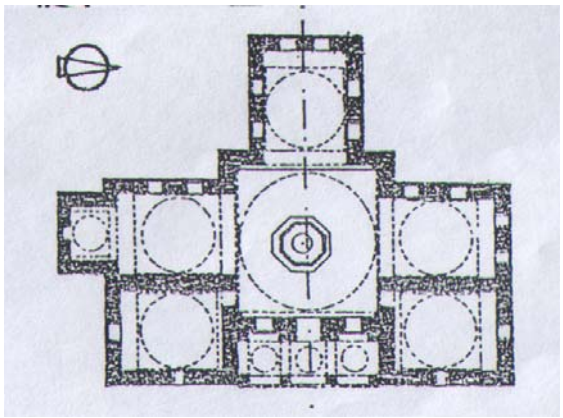


Figure 2. Yakub Çelebi – Kütahya (1411)

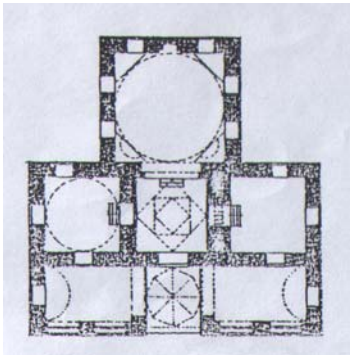


Figure 3. Firuz Bey – Milas, Muğla (1394)

When the duration of the reigns and the number of the buildings to be erected is taken into consideration, the utmost concentration of the erection of these multi-functional buildings coincides with the reigns of Bayezid I (r. 1389-1401), Murad II (r. 1421-1444/ 1445-1451) and Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446/1451-1481), respectively. (In the period of interregnum (1402-1423) following Bayezid I's defeat to Timur in 1402, probably due to the lack of administrative cohesion thereof, Ottoman building activity was scarce.) Yet, the fact that there was only one of these buildings erected during the reign of Selim I (r. 1512-1520) might be indicative of the above mentioned disintegration of the *ahi* organization as a 'brotherhood' as stated by Doğan,[32] as well as the centralization of the Ottoman bureaucracy and religio-legal cadre. Even more supportive of this idea is the fact that after the time of Selim I, we see the re-emergence of this type of buildings in certain areas under the Ottoman rule. These later buildings of the type share remoteness from the center - that is Istanbul.[33] This might be explained by the idea that the *ahi* brotherhood preserved its unorthodox character and autonomy in the geographical periphery. Yet, the abundance of these buildings at times of seemingly strongly centralizing reigns as those of Murad II and Mehmed II also urges one to question the presumed closely knit tie extant between the multi-functional buildings and the central authority from the beginning. For, although mostly on the fringes of the centre of the Ottoman

[32] Doğan, A. I. 1977, p.180.

[33] The statistics are taken from Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 215, yet instead of his evaluation of the intensity of the building activity depending on the number of buildings corresponding to the reigns of emperors per se, I also took into account the duration of their reigns, as such a method better reveals the concentration of activity. However, the vital issue of the size of the Ottoman territory should also be included while asserting statistical data regarding the concentration of building activity. In addition, there are many other considerations to take into account such as the patronage and location of these buildings with respect to changes in reign.

territory, these buildings were extensively built under local patronage. Moreover, according to Ethel Sara Wolper, who mainly discusses the role of dervish convents in central Anatolia between mid thirteenth and mid fourteenth centuries –although not in the Ottoman context proper-, the lodges were outside of central governmental or religious structures, contrary to the widely accepted idea that they acted as colonizers.[34]

Military character of the dervishes, went hand in hand with sainthood. The search for the pristine manner of faith is entwined with the ideology of *gaza*, religious warfare against the infidel. Whoever was a true believer would also be brave enough to fight the infidels in the name of 'true faith'. Yet, a conception as such and the openness to diversity are not –were not- mutually exclusive. In his study of the continuity of the architectural practices between the late Byzantine and early buildings of the Ottoman reign, Robert Ousterhout suggests that the incorporation of the local forms, materials and building techniques into the early Ottoman architectural idiom points to "the multi-ethnic and religiously heterogeneous" character of the Ottoman state.[35] The Byzantine techniques employed in the multi functional buildings, which condense on the former Byzantine territories, such as that of alternating courses of brick and stone also exhibit a similar kind of an approach, especially bearing in mind the latitudinarian disposition embraced by the Sufis. The extant usage of Christian spolia, such as that in Firuz Bey in Milas (1394) and Murad I (Hüdavendigar) İmareti in Çekirge on the outskirts of Bursa (d. 1366-1385) further attests to that.[36]

[34] See Wolper, E. S. 2003.
[35] Ousterhout, Robert. "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture" in Muqarnas vol. XII: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995, p. 60.
[36] On the eclectic cunstruction techniques and materials used in Western Anatolia in the fourteenth century in general see Aktuğ-Kolay, İlknur. Batı Anadolu 14. Yüzyıl Yapım Teknikleri, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1999. On the usage of spolia and especially on the T-type buildings in that geography see *ibid,* p. 119. Although this study appears to stress the dominance of eastern influences on the the emergence of unique construction techniques, it comprises various examples that bear close ties with Byzantine ones.

2. 3. What is a T-type building?

All aspects of the T-type buildings reveal that they are clearly distinct from the ordinary *mahalle* (neighborhood) mosques. This is the very reason why this type has been subject to a vast amount of scholarly debate. Ideas such as that the adjacent spaces were used as *medreses* (theological colleges),[37] or that these mosques served as private prayer spaces for the sultans,[38] not only are based merely on architectural layout but also fall short on explaining the peculiarity of the T-type buildings, and why they were built only during a certain period of time. The prevalence of these mosques in even very rural areas conflicts with the idea of imperial usage. Furthermore, many other Ottoman building types share a similar architectural layout, where the subsidiary spaces are accessed via a central sofa-like space. Therefore there is little evidence to suggest a direct relationship with *medreses* in particular.

It is essential, first of all, to attempt at discerning what these multi-functional buildings were not: they were not Friday mosques. As pointed out by Necipoğlu, they were not aimed to serve for congregational Friday prayers.[39] This function was fulfilled, instead, by *Ulu Camis* (Great Mosques) that were either converted from cathedral churches or built from scratch. With their uninterrupted interiors, unified to form a vast single prayer space, *Ulu Camis* were meant to accommodate as many people as possible. Friday mosques as such within the Ottoman city, would normally occupy a central position in a densely-built and populated area such as the market district. The erection of sultanic Friday mosques was restricted to imperial patronage, which might be related to the tradition of recitation of Friday khutba as a sign of sovereignty. After the conquest of İstanbul, they were denoted by names of the cities they were built in, however, rather than those of their patrons. They were monuments celebrating the city and did not possess any charitable subordinates.

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[37] Vogt-Göknil, Ulya. Türkische Moscheen, Zürich, 1953, p. 129.
[38] Reuther, O. "Die Qa'a", in Festschrift F. Sarre (ed.), Jahrbuch d. Asiat. Kunst, Leipzig, 1925, pp. 205-216.
[39] Necipoğlu, G. 2005, p. 50.

From the Ottoman sources, Necipoğlu also infers a linkage between the construction of early sultanic mosques and victories against the infidels.[40] The *Ulu Cami* (Great Mosque) of Bursa built by Bayezid I and the Old Mosque in Edirne, first commissioned by two sons of Bayezid I in rivalry with each other (Süleyman and Musa) and eventually completed by the victorious third brother, Mehmed I, further attest to a link between their erections and display of military triumph. Likewise, the completion of Üç Şerefeli mosque in Edirne awaited the return of its patron Murad II, who is reported to have laid the foundations by his own hands and made an oath to finish the construction when he came back from his campaign to Hungary with victory. Inspite of the fact that the sultan's name was mentioned in the Friday khutba (up until the religio-social complex commissioned by Mehmed II was built in İstanbul right after the conquest), sultanic mosques were not named after rulers.[41] Moreover, they were not incorporated into architectural complexes. Nor were they designed to have room for mausolea of the sultan. What *Ulu Camis* executed was monumental commemoration of the city and display of the association of religious identity with victory in Christian lands.

Socio-religious complexes of the T type, on the other hand, could be commissioned not only by the sultan himself, but also by members of his family or local prominent figures like viziers or *gazis*. These multi functional buildings are referred to in their foundation inscriptions or endowment deeds by various names such as *imaret, zaviye, hankah, buka,* or *tekke.* Such interchangeable yet varying names were all used for denoting hospices or convents, too. The etymology of the term *imaret,* which seems to be the most common of all, can be traced back to the Arabic term *imara,* which stands for "[…] the concept of improvement by cultivating, building, inhabiting, populating and civilizing."[42] Entrusted to sheikhs and equipped with *tabhanes* (guest rooms) that offered temporary lodging facilities to travelers, the T-type multi-functional buildings livened up the rather uninhabited areas in which they were built. Their endowment deeds generally do not specify eligibility due to religion for lodgers.[43] Not only their names, but also their

[40] Necipoğlu, G. 2005, p. 60.
[41] Necipoğlu, G. 2005, p. 50.
[42] Necipoğlu, G. 2005, p. 71.
[43] On an exception to the lack of specifications see Ayverdi, Ekrem H. "Yıldırım Bayezid," in Bursa Vakfiyesi ve Bir İstibdalnamesi, Vakıflar Dergisi VIII, 1969, pp. 37-46.

architectural layouts bear resemblance to sufi and convents (*zaviyes*) in early and pre-Ottoman Anatolia. In scholarship, these convents are generally interpreted as tools of colonization, a means of introducing and implanting a comparatively latitudinarian religio-social identity of the center in newly conquered areas. It is due not only to the abundance of elements convents and T-type multi-functional buildings share but also to the other above mentioned reasons that the latter are also subject to a similar kind of elucidation.

I suggest, on the other hand, that the T-type buildings do bear not only a distinctive spatial arrangement, but also a characteristic function. In the first place because unlike dervish convents, they stand out with a conspicuous T shape in plan: They display almost pristine symmetry and entail easily recognizable architectural statement of network with their T forms adorned by a portico and a hierarchic arrangement of domes. In the second place they comprise an additional central space with a patent prayer area. In fact this central hall, with its adjacent prayer *eyvan,* and their merge into one another, is what constitutes the very essence of the interior organization of these buildings. Necipoğlu maintains that the T-type plan, having originated from the dervish convents, with their similar provision of dwelling and culinary facilities, differentiates from the convents with their incorporation of a praying area. Hence, she terms the larger T-type plan buildings that do have a praying area along with spaces common in hospices not as mosques, nor as *zaviye*, but as convent-masjids. She goes on to add that the endowment deed of Bayezid I's building complex in Bursa, dated 1400, does not mention a preacher responsible for delivering the Friday sermon at the T-type building, but enlists a sheikh, who would receive the highest wage among the staff. [44] Thence, she asserts that while a discrete prayer area distinguished the buildings of T-type from convents, it was nonetheless hospitality, and not the Friday prayer, that was the main reason why these buildings were built.

As I have mentioned earlier, scholars like Kuran and Eyice, seeking the origins of the T-type plan seem to agree on the idea that it was derived from the four-

[44] Necipoğlu, G. 2005, p. 50.

eyvan plan type of Central Anatolia. Among the earlier examples of this plan type, introduced to Anatolia by the Anatolian Seljuks, can be counted Çifte Minareli Medrese in Erzurum (1253) and Gök Medrese in Sivas (1251). Kuran, focusing mainly on structural systems and plan types, seems to suggest an evolutional scheme, whereby first the differentiation between the central space and the praying area, and then that between the combination of the two and the side spaces were eliminated.[45] Sedat Emir, for instance, in pursuit of an origin, probes into the combination of a domed sofa with a vaulted *eyvan*, which appears to be the dominant element in the earliest of T-type designs. Erection of the convents in Tokat, Central Anatolia (Ebu Şems Hankahı, Zaviye-i Meknun, Halef Hankahı, Sunbül Zaviyesi, Abdullah bin Muhyi Zaviyesi), of which he presents T-type to be a derivative, dates back to the first reign of the Seljuk ruler Mesud II (r. 1284-1296).[46]

What I will do in the following chapters, unlike the above mentioned scholars is to focus on the changes and varieties in the layout of the T-type buildings, rather than their origins. Thereby, I will start my survey from the earliest dated buildings of the type that emerged in the Ottoman territory. In doing so, I aim to reflect extensively on the varying spatial arrangements of the buildings in relation to the varying identities of their patrons and the specificities of their locations. This is also what I believe to be lacking in the previous studies.

[45] Kuran, A. 1968, pp. 104-107.

[46] See Emir, Sedat. Osmanlı Mimarlığında Çok İşlevli Yapılar: Kolonizasyon Yapıları Olarak Zaviyeler I, Akademi Kitabevi: İstanbul, 1994. There is one exception out of the five buildings he takes under close inspection, namely the convent of Abdullah bin Muhyi. It was built in 1317 at the onset of the enthronement of the Ilkhanid ruler Ebu Said, see *ibid*, pp. 65-76.

CHAPTER 3

FROM AN APPARATUS OF THE FRONTIER INTO APPARATUSES OF TENSIONS

3. 1. Embodiment of the Frontier Culture

From the time of Osman, there are no tangible remains of material culture, let alone T-type buildings. Therefore, the four T-type buildings erected under Orhan are the earliest Ottoman ones that are known. These buildings all bear the mark of royal patronage, although the last one in Bursa was built in the name of a sheikh named Postinpuş Baba (prior to 1348) (see fig. 4). The exact chronology is hard to assess, but the supposed ages and the varying sites of the buildings appear to suggest a direct link between their construction and the geographical network through which the territorialization of the House of Osman flourished. Apart from Orhan İmareti (1335-1339) (see fig. 5) built in the old center of Bilecik, they are all situated in provincial parts of the changing pivotal places. In the plan of the one in Bursa (1339/1340) (see fig. 7), however, there are visible changes in the layout: not only do the side spaces proliferate, but also hierarchy among spaces is installed by means of an entrance vestibule. As I am going to reflect more extensively further on in this chapter, this scheme was to be repeated by the rulers to come and was to emerge as the distinctive stamp of royal patronage whence non-royal patronage appropriated the original plan type. In that sense, it is curious that Postinpuş Baba in Bursa, despite the name of the dervish it bears, should resemble more Orhan's building in Bursa than the earlier ones.

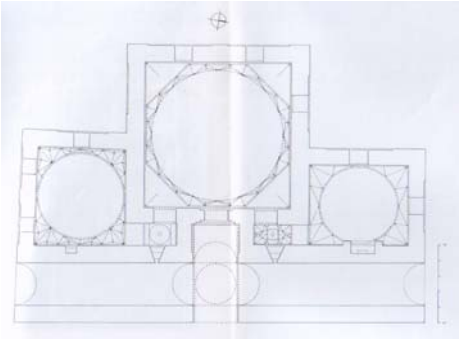


Figure 4. Postinpuş Baba –Yenişehir, Bursa (Prior to 1348)

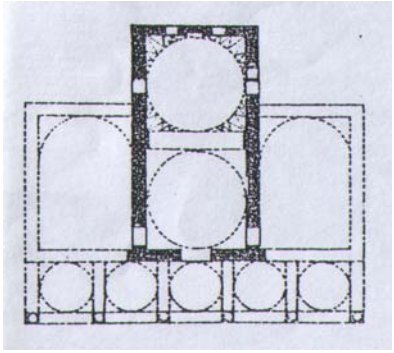


Figure 5. Orhan İmareti – Old Town Center Bilecik (1335-1339)

Akin to the enterprises of other emirates ruling over Western Anatolia, most of early Ottoman military or raider activity concentrated on Thrace and further into the Balkans. Subjugation of Christian lands, *gaza* (fight in the name of Islam), and the accompanying booty was the major means of victory in the rivalry among these emirates. Orhan (r. 1324-1362), under whom all the major towns of Bithynia were captured, made an alliance with John Kantakouzenos during the factional strife in Byzantium in 1340s. When John Kantakouzenos eventually overcame the rest, *gazis* of the Karasi emirate, who were supportive of one of the defeated factions, were incorporated into the Ottomans. Consequently, by 1354, in taking Gallipoli across the Dardanelles and the colonization thereof, Ottomans achieved the advantage of easy access to Christian lands of South Eastern Europe over other emirates, by which they were challenged.[47]

During the reign of Orhan a T-type multi-functional building was constructed in Bilecik sometime between 1335 and 1339.[48] Bilecik, conquered by the house of Osman in 1298, was also home to sheikh Ede Bali, a prominent representative of the

[47] Kafadar, Cemal. Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State, University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1995, p. 16.

[48] Kuran dates this building to the first half of the fourteenth century. See Kuran, A. 1968. According to Resources for Studying Islamic Architecture published online at the official web-site of arch-net it is dated 1335 and 1360. See http://archnet.org. Doğan, on the other hand, thinks it must have been built between 1326 and 1362, whereas Eyice terms the building as İmaret and denotes a vague date of fourteenth century. See Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 192 and Eyice, S. 1962-63, pp. 34-35. Hereby I have chosen to rely on Sedat Emir's dating of the building, for his is not only the most recent but also the most extensive and plausible study pursued on Orhan İmareti. See Emir, S. II, 1994, pp. 14-17. For a detailed study of the main dome covering the building, see Erken, Sabih. Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler ve Eski Eski Eserler, İstanbul, 1977, p. 57.

Vefa'i-Baba'i mystical order and whom early Ottoman chroniclers mention to be father-in-law of Osman Gazi.[49] In İznik (Nicaea), which remained the capital, until it was overrun by Bursa in 1335, was built another similar multi-functional building (see fig. 6).[50] Bursa had to wait until 1339 to receive its own (see fig. 7). All three buildings seem to share the common name of their patron, Orhan Gazi. They follow an almost accurate chronology with the shifting centre of the emirate, or, to put it more fittingly, the territory whereby the frontier activity network was weaved. The building of Orhan Gazi in Bursa (d. 1339/1340) differs from the rest, however, in that it comprises an entrance vestibule from which passage to rooms tucked into the corners is provided. With the employment of this vestibule, the spatial integration of the side rooms to the central and prayer spaces is reduced. Incorporation of a separate entrance vestibule is also shared by the layout the last T-type building to be commissioned by Orhan prior to 1348, namely that of Postinpuş Baba in Yenişehir near Bursa.

About the T-type building in Bilecik (see fig. 5), no written document has yet been found. It is referred to as Orhan İmareti in scholarship due to Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi's assertion that it is similar to those built during the sway of Orhan and that the flourishing of the settlement is chronologically in line with Orhan's territorial endeavors.[51] Such nomenclature, although being presumably accurate chronologically, obscures the fact that the actual patron is unknown. The multi-functional building is situated in what is thought to be the heart of the old town of Bilecik,[52] right across the slope, where Orhan Cami rests along with the mausoleums of Mal Hatun and sheikh Ede Bali.[53] Inasmuch as it is only the central domed space

[49] Kafadar, C. 1995, pp. 128-129. Hereby, Kafadar probes into the chronicles from different eras, Elvan Çelebi's hagiographical work and archival sources that mention Ede Bali's relation to Osman. In fact, Aşıkpaşazade (ca. 1400-1490) reports Ede Bali to bear kinship relations with the notable families of Çandarlı Halil and Taceddin-i Kürdi, both of which were to retain their authoritative claims. For further information of the sources see *ibid*, p. 187, nn. 25,26.
[50] For the reconstruction of the non-extant building see Emir, S. II, 1994.
[51] See Ayverdi, E. H. 1966, pp. 36-40.
[52] Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 34.
[53] Indeed, both of the written documents pertaining to the buildings in the area only mention Orhan Cami and remain silent on the presence of a T-type building. The first one of these is dated 1572 and the second 1706, which are Sultan Önü Sancağı Mufassal Defteri and Defter-i Evkaf-ı Ertuğrul Gazi nefs-i Bilecik respectively. See Erdoğdu, Mehmet Akif. "Ertuğrul Gazi'nin Bilecik'teki Vakıfları" in Vakıflar Dergisi, XXI, 1990, pp. 85-89. Furthermore, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi fails to mention the

and the (largely damaged) domed *eyvan* that have survived to this day, scholars seem to agree on a restitution plan thought to embody two subsequent domed spaces with lateral vaulted rooms opening to the first one. The lateral rooms share the same elevation with the first one of the domed spaces. They are vaulted in the direction of not the lateral axis, but the longitudinal one in line with the direction of the *eyvan*, by means of which a southward directionality ensues. The building is thought to have been fronted by a five domed portico, the central one of which, according to Sedat Emir, was emphasized with higher elevation.[54] Furthermore, maintaining that the floor of the second domed space, *eyvan,* was originally about half a meter higher than that of the first domed space, which he terms as *sofa,* he suggests that the niche on the southern wall of the *eyvan* initially intended to have served as a *mihrab* (prayer niche).[55]

The T-type building constructed in İznik under Orhan (see fig. 6) bears his name on its inscription panel.[56] Sited on the exterior and to the south of the city wall and completed in 1335, the construction of the T-type building was taken on during the siege of İznik. Even though the building was destroyed in the first half of the twentieth century, an archaeological excavation was undertaken on the site. According to the data attained by this expedition, the building consisted of a domed space followed by a vaulted *eyvan* on an axis and flanked by two rooms vaulted in the direction of the *eyvan.* In so far as it is hard to discern with precision the little data at disposal, it can be said that the difference in levels of the domed central space and the *eyvan* is more or less similar to that of the building in Bilecik.[57] The five-bay portico abutting the building is thought to be a later addition because the central bay

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building in his first survey study. See Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı. "Orhan Gazi Devrinde Mimari" in Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyet Fakültesi Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi, I, 1956, pp. 115-197.

[54] Emir, S. II, 1994, p. 15. Eyice, on the other hand affirms that the non-extant portico never had a central dome, but consisted of two lateral parts with the centre having been left open. For his reconstruction of the building see Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 67.

[55] Emir, S. II, 1994, p. 16. Since Ayverdi assumes the current floor elevation of the space as the original, he does not evaluate that very niche as a prayer niche; see Ayverdi, E. H. 1966, p. 38.

[56] For the transcription of the full writing on the part of the panel that was found in an excavation in 1963, see Emir, S. II, 1994, p. 9. On the archaeological expedition, see Aslanapa, Oktay. "İznik'te Sultan Orhan İmaret Camii Kazısı" in İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı, I, 1964-1965, p. 23.

[57] Ayverdi thinks that the original difference was 40 cm, whereas Emir seems to have reservations as to where Ayverdi supposes the initial floor level to have started, thereby suggesting that the very difference could vary between 40 cm and 82 cm. See Ayverdi, E. H. 1966, p. 168 and Emir, S. II, 1994, p. 11.

is supported by columns of varying thickness and is narrower than the rest. Yet, spolia is used extensively in various parts of the building, and the portico also rested on reused columns. With that in mind, the difference in their thicknesses does not necessarily point to a later date for the execution of the portico. Both the domed space and the *eyvan* adorn peculiar blue green octagonal tiles, which can be considered as an early example of the application.[58] Chronicles of Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri report the building to have accommodated dwelling and praying as well as having served as a public kitchen.[59] Aşıkpaşazade also mentions Orhan Gazi to have distributed food prepared in the building "with his own blessed hands," adding that he left the building in the charge of Hacı Hasan, a disciple of the sheikh Ede Bali.[60] According to the detailed analysis of Emir's there was not a separate soup kitchen nearby the building, so it must have been from the very T-type building that the food was distributed.[61]

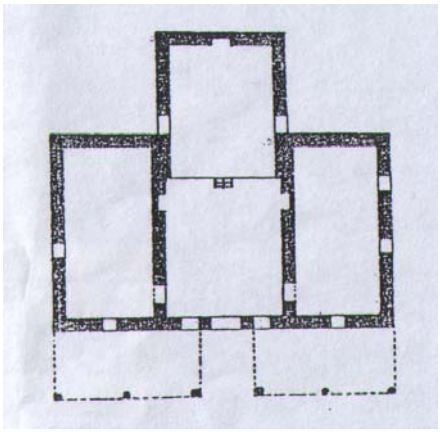


Figure 6. Orhan İmareti – Outside the city walls, İznik (1335)

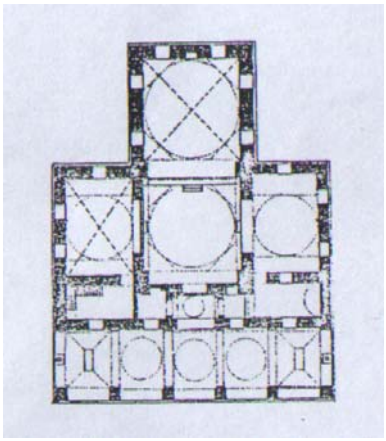


Figure 7. Orhan İmareti- Taşkapı, Bursa (1339/13340)

[58] In fact Aslanapa stresses that the tile claddings might also be added later on. See Aslanapa, O. 1964-1965, p. 17.
[59] Cited in Emir, S. II, 1994, p. 12.
[60] Aşıkpaşaoğlu, pp. 46-47.
[61] Emir, S. II, 1994, pp. 11-12.

Orhan İmareti built in Bursa (see fig. 7), however, still stands in the Taşkapı district, in the close vicinity of Ulu Cami built later on by Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402). The inscription panel on the building states that it was built in 1339/1340 by Orhan and was repaired by Bayezid after it was damaged in the raid carried out by Karaman emirate to Bursa in 1413. Neşri's chronicle mentions that Orhan, who was very fond of urbanizing (*imaret itmek*) barren places, commissioned this *imaret* in Bursa in a part of town that was so desolate that the local populace had hesitated venturing prior to the erection of the building.[62] The plan of the building incorporates not two, but four side rooms along with two subsequent domed spaces on the entrance axis, the second of which is elevated by a few steps. Fronting the building is a five-bay portico. Two bays on either edge are mirror-vaulted, whereas the central ones are domed. The four bays of the portico on the sides are altogether higher in elevation than the central one preceding the entrance. There is an entrance vestibule topped by a dome, which is followed by a central larger domed space. Two small chambers accessed via this central space flank the vestibule. These chambers lead to laterally vaulted rooms, symmetrical on either side, which in turn provide passage to domed side rooms. Addition of thick double arches to the north and south of not only the central space, but also the domed side spaces generates a sense of axiality - notwithstanding the introversion emphasized by the usage of domes- and hints a Byzantine liaison. Other than the chambers, the side spaces, all of which are heightened by a platform, bear no connection with the central domed space. The domed prayer area, or *eyvan,* is also elevated from the central space by more than half a meter and has a *mihrab*. The building does not have a minaret. [63]

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[62] "Evsafın sabıka zikr itdük ve her yirleri imaret itmek severdi. Issuz yirleri mamur idüb, müslimanları urındırdı. Ve Bursa'da yapdurdığı imaret yiri bir ıssız yiridi-kim, ikindüden sonra adem varmağa vehm iderdi." See Neşri, p. 187.

[63] Ayverdi, Eyice, Doğan and Kuran, dwelling more on the existing layout of the building agree on a plan in which the entrance vestibule gives way to small chambers on both sides, the western one of which in turn leads to one of the two vaulted side rooms. They also appear to agree on thinking of the existing openings of the domed side rooms into the central space to be original. See Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı. "Bursa Orhan Gazi Camii ve Osmanlı Mimarisinin Menşei Meselesi" in Vakıflar Dergisi, VI, 1965, pp. 80-81, Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 69, Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 206, and Kuran, A. 1968, p. 98. About the minaret that still stands incorporated in the building, Ayverdi thinks that both the body and the minaret are original with the initial construction of the building, whereas Çetintaş, Kuran and Godfrey Goodwin, concur that the minaret is original, date the body to the nineteenth century. See Çetintaş, Sedat. Türk Mimari Anutları: Osmanlı Devri, Bursa'da İlk Eserler, İstanbul, 1946, p. 19, Kuran, A. 1968, p. 100, and Goodwin, Godfrey. A History of Ottoman Architecture, London: Thames and Hudson, 1992, p. 37. Yet, Emir, depending on a meticulous analysis of the building techniques

Near the capital Bursa, in Yenişehir, still stands another T-type multi-functional building commissioned by Orhan (see fig 4). Thought to house the deceased body of one of Orhan's sons, Postinpuş Baba Zaviyesi must have been built some time prior to 1348. [64] Postinpuş Baba, also known as Seyyid Mehmed Dede, a dervish from north eastern Iran, is said to have fled to the Ottoman capital Bursa, where he pursued his missions until he died. It is also said that his mausoleum used to be near the T-type building, commissioned in his name by Orhan.[65] The building itself, still bearing the name *zaviye*,[66] is composed of an entrance vestibule and a large domed space with two adjacent domed rooms on either side. These side rooms are accessed from the large domed space via chambers flanking the entrance vestibule.

Emir believes that the building was originally adjoined by an extraordinary masonry portico wall, which appears to have served as the front façade of the building, instead of the modestly constructed front wall that is at present left bare without the portico. Thereby the original portico formed an inner corridor, opening to the outside on both ends. This barrel vaulted corridor, with its unusually high dome at the center, supported on three sides by semi domes is reminiscent of a Byzantine narthex, despite its seemingly futile use. Decoration of especially the southern façade of the building likewise entails references to Christian motifs.[67] Again unlike other buildings of the sort that I have so far mentioned, the building is oriented westward and there is no *mihrab* in the original layout, both of which, for Emir, demonstrates the dismissal of the prayer area altogether.[68] Thus, the building, inasmuch as being multi-functional, is not meant to serve for communal prayers. Side rooms, along with the chambers leading to them possess dissimilar roofing structures. What is more, positions and sizes of hearths on the walls of these side

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and materials, the later additions to and transformations on the building thereof, puts forth a compelling case for the restitution plan, to which I chose to resort. See Emir, S. II 1994, pp. 37-50.

[64] Both Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri mention the building as having been built by Murad I (r. 1362-1389), and yet Ayverdi, basing his argument on a state document dated 1571 suggests that it must have been commissioned by Orhan. It is also in this document that Orhan's son is stated to have been buried in that very building. Ayverdi goes on to cite Evliya Çelebi in that he also maintains that son of Orhan's diseased body resides there. See Aşıkpaşaoğlu p. 216, Neşri, p. 203, and Ayverdi, E. H. 1966, p. 209.

[65] See Emir, S. II, 1994, pp. 53-54.

[66] Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 23.

[67] Emir, S. II, 1994, pp. 56-57.

[68] Emir, S. II, 1994, p. 62.

rooms also defy symmetry, and thereby point to the fact that different functions must have been embodied in the rooms.

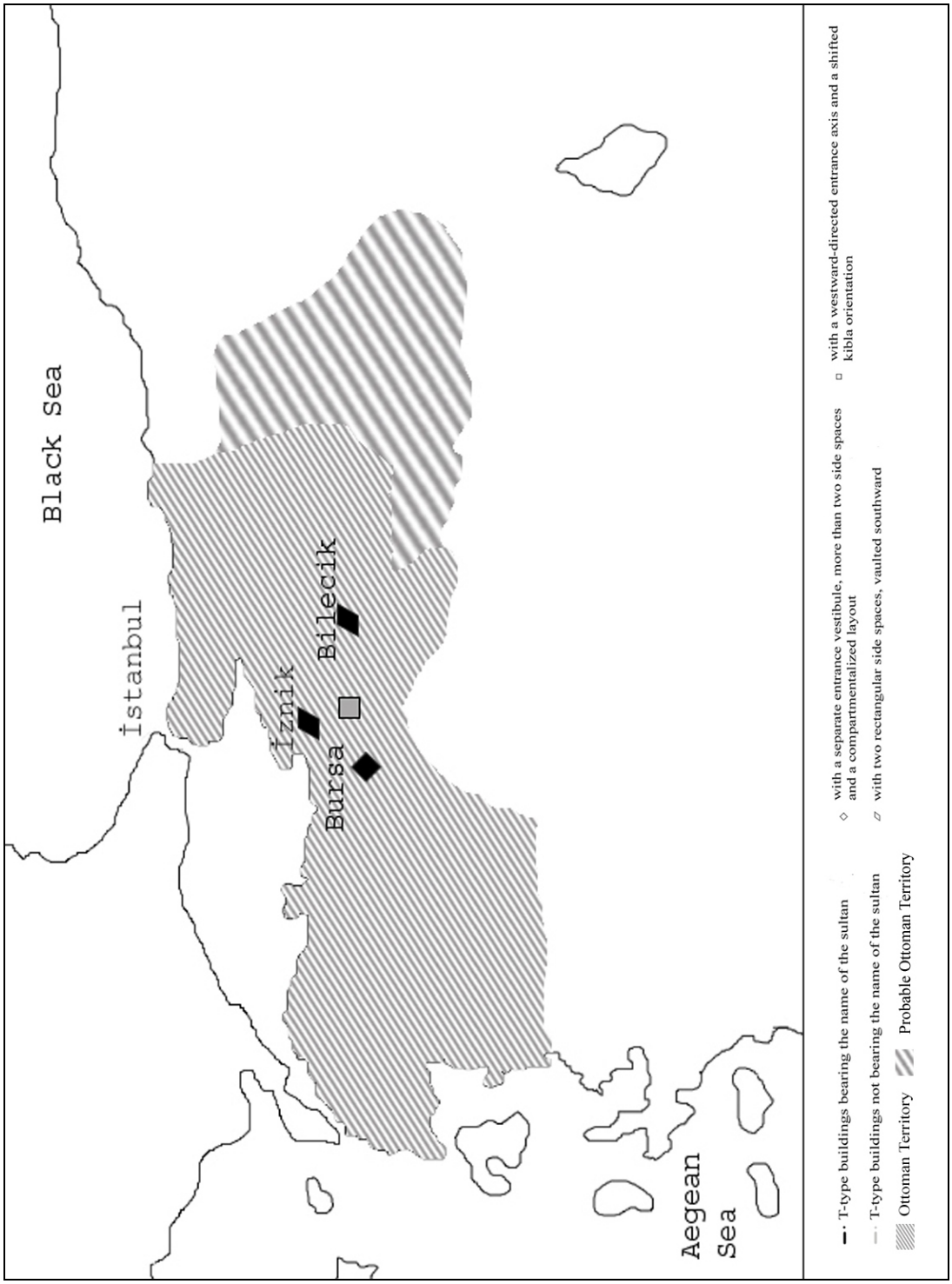
The core of the earliest remnants of the building type, consisting of a central dome and a prayer area, is far from being subordinated to a layout in which four eyvans open into a central space. The side rooms are directed to the same axis with the core. They do possess access to the central space, but only to a limited degree. In fact, it is only in the T-type buildings commissioned in Bursa that the side spaces attain a concentric character. However, in these ones the demarcated, yet still extant direct connection between the side rooms and the core in the earliest examples, is further restricted with the introduction of more convoluted passages via chambers or corridors. Hence, it can be said that the plan type was used for bringing together but not merging various functions, which, as in the case of Postinpuş Baba, did not necessarily include communal praying.

As put forth by Emir, such early examples of the T-type plan are strikingly reminiscent of the ones employed in the convents in central Anatolia in the late thirteenth century under the de facto Ilkhanid influence.[69] And yet, all but one of the buildings erected under Orhan receive porticos, and share a conspicuous T-shape in plan. Both in terms of chronology and in geography it is difficult to discern the ground of the Ilkhanid/Mongol association of the building type. Nonetheless, at the most an association as such might have served to signify claims to political unification, at least in Anatolia, where collective memory was embodied in buildings and the lore. After all it was under the Ilkhanid rule that territories, which had previously been separate politically, were relatively unified under a single control. To the extent that this quasi-Islamic and mobilizing new reign brought about opposition and fleeing, it was also during that time that peoples and cultures of manifold areas, from Iran to Eastern Europe, from Central Anatolia to Arabia collided and grappled in Anatolia.[70] Thus, it can be argued that, while embracing a similar sort of network of (re)territorialization, Orhan also made sure to have

[69] See Emir, S. II, 1994.
[70] Cahen, Claude. Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History c. 1071-1330, Taplinger Pub: New York, 1968, pp. 347-360.

customized it to his terms. For, while the very basic spatial arrangement of a plan type that flourished in the Ilkhanid milieu was appropriated under his patronage, it was juxtaposed with an easily recognizable and distinct overall form, with its portico and T shape. Combined with the abundant usage of spolia and patent Byzantine influences on building materials, techniques and styles, the T-type must have emerged as a perfect fit for a network of multi functional buildings in the frontier culture of the early Ottoman context.

The reign of Orhan (r. 1324-1362)



3. 2. From A Network of the Frontier into Networks in the State

Under Orhan's son Murad I (r. 1362-1389) two buildings of the T-type were erected in İznik, which no longer was the capital. The first of these was built in the name of Yakub Çelebi (ca. 1380s) (see fig. 8), the son of Murad and the brother of Bayezid I, who eventually had Yakub killed in order to preempt a potential contender for rule.[71] In so far as the T-type building is named after Yakub Çelebi, its actual patron and date of execution is indefinite.[72] The building has a domed central space leading to a prayer area with a larger dome. Two lateral rooms are accessed from the central space by means of doors. These side rooms, along with the five bays of the portico fronting the building, are covered with mirror vaults. Hence, they have a spatial centrality in themselves, as opposed to being oriented towards the central domed space. On the contrary, it is the central space that is oriented to both sides: the stagnant feel to the interior of the side spaces, when combined with the directionality generated by the addition of thick arches adjoining the central dome from the sides, has repercussion of a lateral axis.[73]

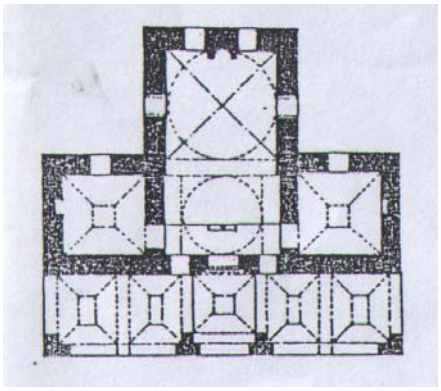


Figure 8. Yakub Çelebi Zaviyesi-İznik (early 14th century)

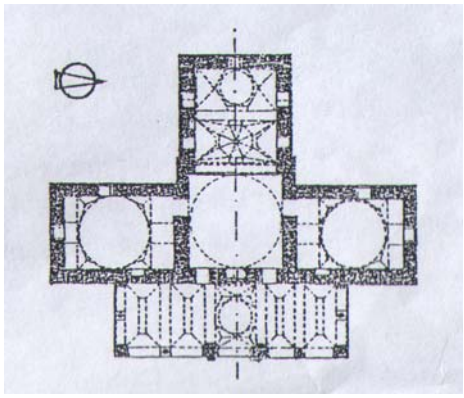


Figure 9. Nilüfer Hatun İmareti –İznik (1388)

Construction of the other multi functional complex in İznik coincides with the final years of Murad's reign; *İmaret* of Nilüfer Hatun (1388) (see fig. 9) was

[71] Eyice, Semavi. "İznik" in Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, I, p. 104.
[72] Doğan, for instance, notes that the buildnigs must have been built in the early fourteenth century. See Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 192.
[73] On the building see Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 33.

commissioned by Murad for his mother, Nilüfer. She was the daughter of a Bithynian ruler and had initially been arranged to marry a Christian ruler, if Orhan were not to forcefully interrupt the marriage and make himself the groom. The T-type complex of Nilüfer Hatun, similar to that of Postinpuş Baba, does not have its main axis in the north-south direction. Unlike the latter, however, it is located not outside but inside the intra-mural settlement. It is located at the fringe of old İznik. The building is entered from the east via a five-bay mirror-vaulted portico, the central bay of which is accentuated with a dome on top. The domed central space has an *eyvan* to the west and is sided by doors opening into flanking rooms. Although the *eyvan* is elevated from the central space as accustomed, it is unusually topped by a pair of consecutive smaller domes separated by an arch. This accentuation of the longitudinal axis is equilibrated by the lateral one ensued with the incorporation of thick arches on each side of the domes covering the flanking rooms. The mihrab is located at the south wall of the *eyvan*. However, it is hard to make sure that it is contemporary with the original design of the building. Apart from this change in the orientation of the building and the consequent shift in the placement of the *mihrab,* the complex still shares the main T-type spatial organization and function.[74]

Whilst the royal patronage of the T-type multi functional buildings erected for members of the royal family was carried on,[75] Gazi Evrenos, the eminent gazi warrior and a noble-family-descent, preferred Komotini (Gümülcine) as opposed to the above mentioned contemporaneous patrons' choice of İznik, as the site of his own T-type complex he commissioned. He is known to have served under the Karesi emirate between 1302 and 1361 until the emirate was taken over by Orhan Gazi. From then on he started serving in the Ottoman army. He is especially known by the raids to Rumelia, Thrace and the Balkans that he undertook with Orhan's son

[74] See Doğan, A. I. 1977, pp. 186-188. For studies on the building also see Eyice, Semavi. İznik: Tarihçesi ve Eski Eserleri, İstanbul: Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi Yayınları, 1988, and Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 33.

[75] Eyice enlists another building of T-type, which he considers to be built under either Orhan or Murad I: Geyikli Baba near İnegöl, Bursa. About the building he only cites a 'sketchy' picture to be of reference. I chose not to extensively discuss the building as I think it's not a T-type building, although it is closely bound up with the building type for it is a lodge. As I have mentioned earlier in the second chapter, Aşıkpaşazade mentions the building by resorting to the terms *zaviye* and *tekke* in the same sentence, see Aşıkpaşaoğlu, p. 123. For an in-depth study of the building and the building complex see Tanman, Baha. "Geyikli Baba Külliyesi" in İslam Ansiklopedisi, XIV, İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1996.

Süleyman. The T-type building of Gazi Evrenos in Komotini (Gümülcine) was constructed in the late fourteenth century, probably immediately subsequent to the conquest of Komotini by Evrenos in the early 1360s. It is the earliest one to be built in the Balkans. Although sources on the building are inadequate,[76] the plan is said to consist of a rectangular central space and a square prayer area on the main axis, with two rectangular rooms on either side of the central space. The central space is covered by a vault, whereas all the other spaces are domed. The building is fronted by a five bay cross-vaulted portico. We do not know of any other structures that might be associated with the building, although the mausoleum of Gazi Evrenos is acknowledged to be in Gianitsa (Yenice Vardar), from where he weaved his network of conquests.[77] As mentioned by Cemal Kafadar, his figure as a holy warrior, that is a gazi, entertained reverence by the Greek inhabitants of Gianitsa down to this century.[78]

In the meantime, Murad I, who was an *ahi* himself,[79] commissioned a complex of a similar type at the capital of the Ottoman emirate under his name. Begun in 1365-66, completed in 1385 and designed in an unusual two-storey fashion, the complex of Murad I (Hüdavendigar) İmareti (see fig. 10) is perched on a hilltop in Çekirge, on the outskirts Bursa. It is part of a building complex consisting of a medrese, bathhouse, school, public kitchen and a mausoleum.[80] The ground

[76] See Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 34. Eyice refers to the building as Cami (i.e. Friday Mosque). On Ottoman buildings in Serres and Komotini, see Kiel, Machiel, "Historical and Architectural Descriptions of the Turkish Monuments of Komotini and Serres," in Balkan Studies, 12, 1971, pp. 415-462. In fact, it is dubious if the construction of the building is contemporanous with the reign of Bayezid I(r. 1389-1402) and not with the previous reign of Murad I (r. 1362-1389) given that Evrenos is known to have conquered Komotini in 1363.

[77] For further information on Gazi Evrenos see Melikoff, Irene. "Gazi Evrenos," in Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition, vol. 2, pp. 720-721. On the tomb of Gazi Evrenos see Demetriades, Vasilis. "The Tomb of Ghazi Evrenos Bey at Yenitza and Its Inscription," in Bulletin of The School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. 39, no 2, University of London, 1976, pp. 328-332. According to this study, however, the tomb was made is 1417, when Evrenos died in Giannitsa near Thessaloniki, which seems highly dubitable. For, Evrenos is presumed to have died at the age of 129. As will be mentioned further on in the thesis, the grandson of Gazi Evrenos is also buried in a mausoleum in the vicinity of the T-type building he commissioned in Giannitsa.

[78] Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 74.

[79] Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. "Zaviyeler," in Vakıflar Dergisi, XII, Ankara, 1978, p. 261.

[80] The building is known to have been damaged during the Karamanid raids, and to have been repaired in 1417. While both Çetintaş and Ayverdi agree that the extant plan is the original, Kuran suggests that the roofing structure was remodeled during the repair, based on the T-type building of Yıldırım (1390) then terminated. According to him, except for the central space and the portico, the

level can be said to be symmetrically organized around a domed space entered via two successive vestibules. With the exception of the two lateral rooms which are entered through the first vestibule, all of the spaces are accessed by means of the domed space. There exist a barrel vaulted *eyvan* with a domed semi-pentagonal *mihrab* (prayer niche) across the main entrance and four more rooms on either side.[81] All the spaces, apart from the central domed space and the subsequent *eyvan* directed to south –that is the prayer area- have a second storey. Circulation on the upper floor is managed by a corridor which circumambulates the domed central space and the *eyvan.* Not only the eight cells on the east and west flanks but also one between the two staircases and another one over the *mihrab* apse of the prayer space are all arranged symmetrically inkeeping with the layout of the ground floor.[82] The building is fronted by a five-dome portico, on the upper level of which is yet another five-bay gallery, with its two mirror-vaulted corner bays and domed central ones. It has a single minaret and displays a substantial use of spolia.

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spaces were originally covered with vaults. See Çetintaş, S. 1946, pp. 18-19, Ayverdi, E. H. 1956, pp. 127-131, and Kuran, A. 1968, p. 75.

[81] Two of the side rooms that open up into the central space are also referred to as *eyvans* in scholarship. See, for example, Kuran, A. 1968, pp. 71-72, and Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 32. Yet, there seems to be little reason to suggest so. For, not only are they all rooms with similar sizes and covered with barrel vaults, but also, leaving the southern *eyvan* with its higher ground level aside, all the spaces that are in connection with the central space appear to be equally elevated. In fact, it is rather that the central space is sunken in itself. However, a thorough analysis and measurement is required to make a clearer assertion as to how much the original ground levels of separate spaces have been altered in time.

[82] For an interpretation of the Bithynian architectural techniques and materials employed in the construction see Ousterhout, R. 1995, p. 54. On the eclectic construction techniques utilized in Western Anatolia in the fourteenth century, see Aktuğ-Kolay, İ. 1999. On the other hand, Ayverdi relates the curious design of the building mainly to its Italian architect. See Ayverdi, E. H. 1966, pp. 234-37. Also on this discussion see, Gabriel, Albert "Bursa'da Murad I Camii ve Osmanlı Mimarisinin Menşei Meselesi," Vakıflar Dergisi, II, 1942, pp. 37-43. Again on that note, it is curious that Kuran should base his discussion on T-type buildings on the very building, which he sees as the prototype. See Kuran, A. 1968, pp. 88-89.

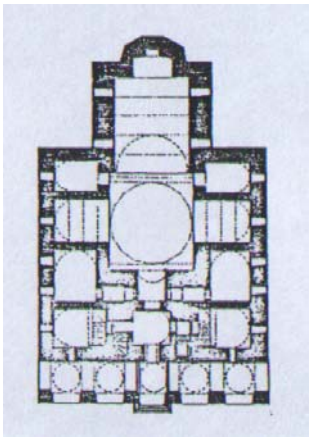


Figure 10. Murad I (Hüdavendigar) İmareti- Çekirge, Bursa (1366-1385)

It resembles Orhan Gazi in Bursa (see fig. 7) in its inclusion of an entrance vestibule. Yet, Murad's complex not only exceeds all the previous examples in the abundance of flanking rooms, but also outdoes Orhan's building in Bursa in terms of peculiarity with its duplicated consecutive entrance vestibules. The first two pairs of side spaces on the ground floor are arranged around these vestibules respectively, forming almost an independent complex from the central domed space with its *eyvan,* side rooms and two additional rooms tucked into corners. As stressed by Eyice, together with the second storey that houses cells galore, the plan of the whole building is similar to those of medreses.[83] This striking resemblance may also be bound up with the installation of the T-type building amidst a larger complex, whereby the scope of its multi-functional use is altered. The side spaces, as well as the central spaces they open up are designed with an obvious concern for hierarchy – of sheer size, along with decoration and privacy.

Overlapping with the period of construction of the building, the decade after the loss of Gallipoli (Kallipolis) in 1366 was also the time during which the ties between Anatolia and Thrace were severed. The relative autonomy enjoyed by warlords in Thrace in their undertakings instigated what Cemal Kafadar puts as a 'major turning point in terms of statehood.' The rule of Murad I witnessed the appointments of both a *kadı asker* (military judge) and *uc begleri* (lords of the

[83] Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 32.

frontier) for the first time. While the former points to the degree to which the distinction between a military/administrative class and the rest of the society was solidified, the latter signifies that the consciousness regarding the 'center' and the 'periphery' was mature enough to designate a certain area as the frontier. [84] It was also under the reign of Murad when "[…] the Ottoman ruler not only appropriated [*gazis'*] independently conquered areas in Thrace but also imposed a tax on their most important booty: slaves."[85]

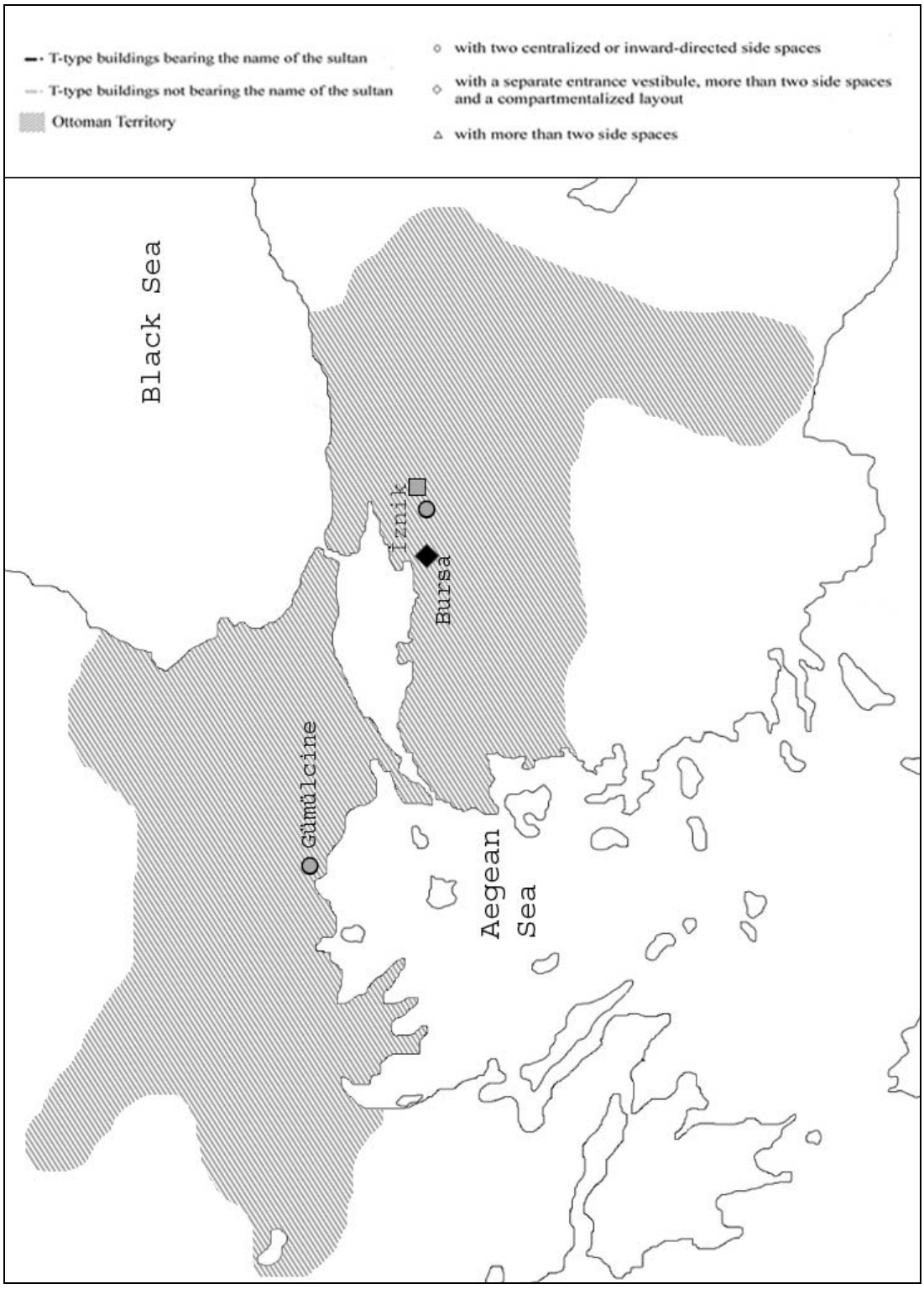
All of the four T-type buildings erected under Murad I diverged from the scheme that was applied earlier in buildings commissioned by Orhan. The parallelism of the axes of the central core and the side spaces that is in common with the earlier T-type plans appears to have altogether disintegrated. All the more important, however, is the fact that while the T-type building of Hüdavendigar oscillated to the side of sultanic monumentality, the others swayed more to a sort that embraced multi-functionality. It was only Hüdavendigar İmareti that was built in the center, Bursa, whereas the two that bore the names of royal family members were situated in İznik and. And given that the only earlier building of Orhan's that lacks a portico was likewise built in İznik, it can be said that the local variations in T-types continued to be operative under Murad.

Despite the fact that three of the T-type buildings erected under Murad I all were built under royal patronage, only one was named after him. While the name of Yakub Çelebi is associated with the first (accounted) fratricide in the history of a dynasty that was to incessantly pursue the very act, [86] Nilüfer Hatun stands out as being one of the two and the first of the female patrons to commission a T-type building. Then again, the only T-type building that was commissioned by a non-royal patron, namely the building of Gazi Evrenos, was named after a holy warrior, the descendents of whom would continue to lead the frontier raider activity. Such marginal stance shared by Yakub Çelebi, Nilüfer Hatun and Gazi Evrenos, when reflected together with the somewhat uncompromising attitude Murad comported

[84] Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 142. For further analysis of the increase of centrifugal inclinations under the rule of Murad I also see *ibid,* p. 17 and pp. 139-43.
[85] Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 142.
[86] See Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 95.

against the centrifugal parties, brings to mind an emerging split in the meaning of T-type patronage. In that respect, it may be argued that under Murad, the T-type buildings initiated to be encoded with two distinct meanings of patronage and can thereby be supposed to have addressed two distinct audiences: one of the center and the other of the periphery of the society. As the buildings of Yakub Çelebi (see fig. 8) and Nilüfer Hatun (see fig. 9) comport a communal feel in which the praying activity, if any, was only secondary in significance, the T-type building bearing Murad's own name compensated for the lack of order and hierarchy subordinate to praying. Conversely, while the T-type building of Murad I is very peripherally located in Bursa, the places of the other two in İznik are intra-mural –and yet, both on the fringes close to the city walls. It can therefore be suggested that while the former serves to implant stately order in the geographical prephery, the latter are addressed to an audience on the finges of the geographical center. The T-type building of Gazi Evrenos in Komotini, on the other hand, made enough of a statement with its sheer location: situated in the Balkans, it served to bolster the reactions of the frontier party against Murad's centralizing policies. Hüdavendigar İmareti marks the emergence of the sultanic version of the T-type and in the light of the above mentioned context it is not very surprising that it should comprise monumentality and pecking order almost in an excessive sense.

The Reign of Murad I (Hüdavendigar) (r. 1362-1389)



3. 3. Tensions in between the Center and the Periphery

Murad's son and successor Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402) – also known as Yıldırım Bayezid (Bayezid the Thunderbolt) - continued, what had by then become, the dynastic tradition of constructing T-type buildings in the capital, while at the same time commissioning two more: one in Balıkesir, and the other in the new capital Edirne (Adrianople). Thus, he not only surpassed his predecessor Murad I in the abundance of the buildings of T-type that he commissioned under his name, but also was the first to introduce the building type to the new center. As I will revise later on, the T-type building of Yıldırım was also to prove the only one of the accustomed royal versions of T-type plans to be constructed in Edirne. For, Edirne would turn out to accommodate the sprout of non-royal patronage galore in the fifteenth century -especially during the reign of Murad II (r. 1421-1444 / 1446-1451) - to the extent that the city would increasingly come to embody ideas pertaining to the periphery.[87]

The building named after Yıldırım in Bursa (1390s) (see fig. 11) was installed amidst other buildings: namely a hospice, hospital, double medrese, lodges for personnel, bath house and public fountain. The complex was arranged asymmetrically so as to fit the irregularity of the sloping site. The main body of the building consists of a domed central space with an adjacent heightened domed prayer area. Unlike the T-type building of Murad (see fig. 10), which includes not only eight side rooms but also a whole upper floor dedicated to lodging facilities, that of Bayezid comprises a relatively humble number of two elevated domed side rooms (*eyvans*) topped by diamond walls and four additional mirror-vaulted rooms equipped with hearths and cupboards, and tucked into corners.[88] In effect, every single space comprising the T-type building emanates a feeling of concentricity. Unlike the previously mentioned examples of the sort, which make use of eclectic

[87] On the identification of Edirne as the 'abode of gazis' in the fifteenth century, see Yerasimos, Stéphane. La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions torques, Paris, 1990, pp. 207-210.
[88] For a more detailed study of the plan see Kuran, A. 1968, pp. 77-78.

building materials and techniques, the construction technique employed in the building, is of cut-stone and does not make use of brick courses.

Nonetheless, the complex of Yıldırım in Bursa shares the addition of an entrance vestibule with those of his predecessors built in Bursa. It is from that vestibule that the access to lateral domed chambers leading to the northern pair of corner rooms is provided. Whereas *eyvans* on both sides are completely open; it is only through narrow doors that the central space attains access to the rear pair of side rooms. Yet again, contrary to common practice, Bayezid's endowment deed issued for the complex stipulates that the persons to be lodged "[…] should not be 'infidels' or 'those subscribing to one of the six sins', a stipulation reflecting this particular convent-masjid's function as the centre of a new Muslim quarter on the outskirts of Bursa."[89] Prince Süleyman, one of the sons of Bayezid I contending to reintegrate the Ottoman domain after his defeat against Mongol leader Timur (Tamerlane) in 1402, was to add a mausoleum that he had built for his father to the complex later on.[90]

Likewise, as a part of a complex comprised of a *medrese* and a hospice, another T-type multi functional building, Yıldırım in Balıkesir (d. late fourteenth century) (see fig. 16) was constructed by royal patronage. Although the building currently lacks most of its original interior and roofing, it seems very likely that it was initially built to house at least two side rooms on either side.[91] The other building of the T-type erected under Bayezid is Yıldırım in Edirne (Adrianople) (1389/1402) (see fig. 17). It is suggested to have been constructed by restructuring an already existing Byzantine building.[92] Similar to the arrangement of Nilüfer Hatun in İznik (1388) (see fig. 9), the prayer niche (*mihrab*) is shifted to the southern wall of the praying area so as to accord with the southward orientation to *kıbla*. Despite its moderate scale relative to that in Bursa, the T-type multi functional building in Edirne is the earliest (and up until 1420s the only) one of the sort to be

[89] Necipoğlu, G. 2005, p. 50
[90] See Goodwin, G. 1992, pp. 46-51 and Aslanapa, Oktay. Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi, İstanbul: İnkılap Yayınevi, 1986, pp. 22-25.
[91] See Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 36. According to Doğan, however, the side spaces might be consisting of one elongated cross-vaulted room on each side, see Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 194.
[92] See Gökbilgin, Tayyib. XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası, İstanbul, 1952.

commissioned in the bourgeoning new capital of the Ottoman realm. Furthermore, with the addition of a vaulted entrance vestibule, it echoes previous buildings of T-type commissioned by rulers under their names. The side spaces, with their vaults oriented towards the domed central space, to which they open up completely, are *eyvans*. The lateral directionality of the side spaces is also maintained in the corner rooms topped by domes through the appropriation of thick lateral arches. These corner rooms bear no connection with the central space, however, and are accessed via the entrance vestibule. The north and south walls of the building extend eastward to the front of the building to form a portico. Thereby the quatrefoil plan is made into a T-shape.[93]

Under Bayezid I was also built a T-type building in the late fourteenth century for dervishes who pursued the thoughts of Ebu Ishak Kazeruni in Bursa. The founder of the order of *Kazeruniye* order in Sufism, Ebu Ishak İbrahim b. Şehriyar-I Kazeruni (963-1034), had a plethora of *zaviyes* in Iran, where he initiated his mission. His followers enjoyed a particularly buttressing royal patronage during the reign of Bayezid.[94] The endowment deed dated 1399 stipulates that the building is founded not only to house the followers of Kazeruni, but also to provide lodging for travelers and passers by. Moreover both a sheikh and an imam are listed as staff.[95] The building is composed of a domed central space adjoining a rectangular prayer area and flanked by lateral side rooms. The side façades of the building are lengthened northward to form the sides of the five-bay portico fronting the building. The central space and the central bay of the portico are topped by domes, whereas the rest of the spaces are covered with vaults. Side rooms, elongated in the direction of *kıbla* share a north-south orientation with the prayer area, which is likewise elongated. Moreover, except for narrow doors, side rooms are completely sealed off from the central space. Although it is difficult to asses the degree to which the

[93] For the reconstruction plan of the building see Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 188. On the building see Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 35.
[94] Ocak, A. Y. 1978, p. 260.
[95] Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 35. Ayverdi asserts that there is no sufficient evidence to suggest that the building was intended a zaviye, see Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı. Fatih Devri Mimarisi, İstanbul, 1953, pp. 58-59. Yet again, even the very stipulation in the endowment deed that the building is entrusted mainly to a shiekh, defies its categorization as a mosque. See Derzi, H. Adnan, "Bursa'da Ishaki Dervişlerine Mahsus Zaviyenin Vakfiyesi," in Vakıflar Dergisi, II, 1942, pp. 423-429.

interior retains its original layout, as they are, the side rooms are far from being *eyvans*.[96]

Another building of the type T, and similarly erected near Bursa, in Kurşunlu/ İnegöl, is the so-called Yukarı Cami (see fig. 15). Akin to the cases of above mentioned T-type buildings of non-royal patronage, the sources concerning the patron are non extant and those entailing the building per se are scarce. Still, Semavi Eyice suggests that the building should befall the late reign of Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402).[97] The building does not have a portico. Its plan comprises a prayer area that is markedly isolated from the central space and the side spaces, which are accessed through the central space via narrow doors. All of the spaces, except the domed prayer area, are covered with vaults. The central space is rectangular in shape and has an extraordinary lateral directionality - in terms of both the adjustment of the rectangle, and the orientation of the vaulting employed to cover it. In that respect, amongst the other contemporary buildings of the type T erected in Bursa it is comparable only to that of Yıldırım (1390s) (see fig. 11), for all the rest of the non-royal versions share a northward directionality.

[96] In Eyice's reconstruction plan only the domes are indicated, whereas Doğan suggests that the vaults of the side spaces were oriented in the same direction with the prayer space, instead of being oriented towards the central space. On the other hand, while Doğan's plan depicts the side rooms to be bearing direct access from the portico, Eyice seems to think that these openings were windows. See Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 67 and Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 193. On the building also see Baykal, Kazım. Bursa ve Anıtları, İstanbul: Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, 1982, p. 129, Gabriel, Albert. Une Capitale Turque, Brousse, Bursa, Paris: E. de Boccard, 1958, p. 139, and Kuran, A. 1968.
[97] Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 36 and p. 16.

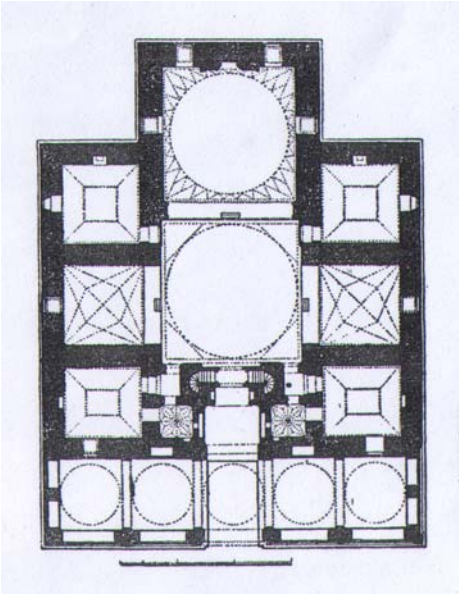


Figure 11. Yıldırım (Bayezid) İmareti- outskirts, Bursa (1390s)

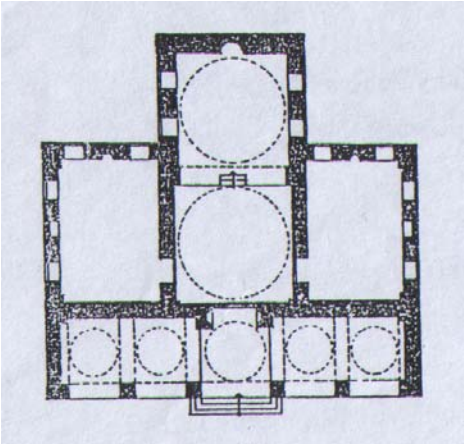


Figure 12. Ali Paşa - Bursa (1394)

The T-type building of Ali Paşa in Bursa (1394) (see fig. 12) has two domed spaces following each other on an axis directed to south. The first one of these is equipped with doors to east and west that provide access to the side rooms, which are rectangular in shape and situated and vaulted in keeping with the same axis.[98] The building, abutted by a five-domed portico, was commissioned by Ali Paşa (s. 1387-1406) of Çandarlı family, who served as vizier for both Murad and Bayezid. With their *ulema* background and prevalence over top offices in Ottoman administration for three generations from the mid fourteenth to the mid fifteenth century, Çandarlı family was notorious among the *gazis* and their supporters as being responsible for major centralist endeavors.[99] It was during the service of Ali Paşa as a vizier that Timurtaş Paşa was appointed to a secondary vizierate position, and thereby the post of *vezir-i azam* (grand vizier) was initiated on behalf of Ali Paşa for the first time. Timurtaş Paşa (1404) had his own T-type building in Bursa (see fig. 13),[100] the completion of which coincides with the early years of the rivalry among the heirs of Bayezid I after his crushing defeat by Timur in Ankara in 1402. Akin to

[98] For the plan of the building, see Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 193.
[99] See Kafadar, C. 1995, pp. 111-112.
[100] See Baykal, K. 1982, p. 111 and Gabriel, A. 1958, p. 139.

many of the above mentioned contemporary examples in Bursa, the T-type building has lateral rooms that are rectangular in shape and are extended southward in the direction of the prayer area. It is solely the central space that is adorned by a dome.[101]

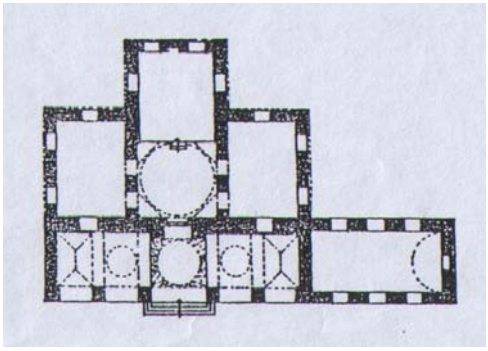


Figure 13. Timurtaş Paşa – Bursa (1404)

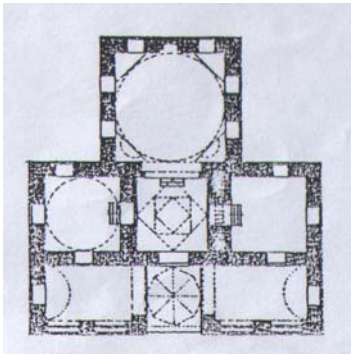


Figure 14. Firuz Bey – Milas, Muğla (1394)

Nevertheless, not all of the non-royal patrons commissioned their T-type buildings to be constructed in Bursa. Firuz Bey, a descendant of the former Menteşe Emirate, for instance, commissioned a building of T-type in Milas, near Muğla, in 1394 (see fig. 14). The multi functional building of Firuz Bey is situated in an area that, in practice, was under control of the house of Menteşe, whom Paul Wittek terms as '*gazi* pirates.'[102] The building is inaugurated in an exceptionally quirky manner unprecedented among the buildings of the same type. Its portico is formed by an umbrella-vaulted-bay with a sunken floor at the center and laterally vaulted symmetrical halls flanking it. The sides of these halls, furthest from the central bay are closed by extensions of the exterior side walls of the building and the piers that carry the central bay are stretched so as to bend the corners. Thereby these lateral halls are made into semi-closed rooms oriented towards the central bay. The central bay preceding the main entrance is followed by a large domed prayer area and has doors on either side leading to the domed side rooms. All of these three domed

[101] Although reconstruction plans of Eyice and Doğan diverge from each other on many points, including the roofing structure and even the size of the prayer area, the longitudinal arrangement of the side spaces are common in both. See Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 69 and Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 193.
[102] Wittek, Paul. Das Fürstentum Mentesche: Studie zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im. 13.-15. Jahrhundert, Istanbuler Mitteilungen 2., İstanbul, 1934.

spaces are elevated by a few steps. The unusually small central space is covered by a combination of beamed squares and diamond shapes comprising a sort of a false, leveled dome: namely a 'lantern roof'. This unusual structure, comparative examples of which are in abundance in various parts of Asia, with its accentuation of the cardinal points and hierarchy of levels, is thought to embody a celestial symbolism divergent from that of a dome.[103] The large prayer area, uncommonly extended in plan on the other hand, dominates the T-type building of Firuz Bey as a whole.[104]

Firuz Bey, along with Timurtaş Paşa, is reported to have stood by Bayezid even at the time of the deeming defeat against the Timurid blow, when the tensions amid the center and the periphery rose to the fore. Çandarlı Ali Paşa, on the other hand, took side with and served as vizier for Süleyman Çelebi during the interregnum. In fact, down to Süleyman's death in 1406, it was his faction, and not that of Mehmed I (Çelebi or Kyritzes) (r. 1413-1421), the eventual victor of dominion, that had appeared more likely to take hold of the reign.

The time of Bayezid I is distinctively prolific in terms of the non-royal patronage of T-type buildings; yet it is Bursa, and not the capital, Edirne, that is the site of the sprout. There are at least four T-type multi functional buildings in Bursa, of which we know, other than the one that bears the name of Bayezid. They were

[103] See Soper, Alexander Coburn. "The Dome of Heaven in Asia," in The Art Bulletin, 29/4, 1947, pp. 225-248, and Fischer, Klaus. "Cosmological Iconology in the 'Lantern Roof' of Later Indian Architecture," in Aarp, December 1973, pp 52-58. Both of the articles delve into the 'origins' of this structural element, similar examples of which stretch way back to the first millennium AD, as well as its symbolism. They do so in order to better understand why and how it persisted through the adoption of Islam in Asia. Soper suggests that it is the Indian art and understanding of the possibilities of subdivision about an absolute one that provided the essence of the emergence of the form, and that with Islam, with its recognition of a similar conception, the lantern roof was easily appropriated – especially in Afghanistan and Kashmir. On the other hand, for Fischer, apart from the ease of traditional and accustomed way of construction, it is the way back relationship between the idea of the Ziggurat as a symbol of the spheres of the universe leading to the gate of the heavenly above and the idea of the dome of heaven. In any case, the use of lantern roof in Firuz Bey is crucial because there are many buildings of the T-type that have central spaces covered with domes with a lantern on top. In that respect, both in terms of the construction techniques and symbolisms thereof, it would definitely be fruitful to trace the network of the very sites and patrons. For, even if the lanterns are later additions, an in-depth probe into why, when, and in which parts of the Ottoman domain they were constructed, might shed light into the changing communal identity bound up with the T-type buildings with respect to centre and periphery.

[104] On the building see Goodwin, G.1992, pp. 73-75, Kızıltan, Ali. Anadolu Beyliklerinde Cami ve Mescitler, İstanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1958, p. 119, and Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 36.

commissioned, if not directly by Bayezid himself, by those who supported his imperial undertakings. Kafadar asserts that "In both the subjugation of gazi emirs and the building of bureaucratic mechanisms to buttress central government control over resources, Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402) was widely perceived, especially among gazi circles and the dervishes close to them, to have gone too far and relied too heavily on the help of scholar-bureaucrats like members of the Çandarlı family."[105] In the light of the essence of Bayezid's undertakings as such, it is easier to comprehend the roots and vectors of the profusion of the T-type multi functional buildings under the patronage of not only the non-royal dignitaries, but Bayezid himself, as well.

All the non-royal versions of T-type buildings erected in Bursa during the time of Bayezid I, except for Yukarı Cami (both the patronage and the original layout of which is fairly obscure), remind of the non-sultanic buildings of the T-type commissioned by Murad I, which in turn seem to have taken their aspiration from the earliest ones built under Orhan. Their side rooms are partially sealed off from and yet are accessed through their central cores, composed of a central space and a prayer area following it. These side rooms are oriented not inward to the core, but southward, in the direction of an axis parallel to that of the core. Hence, it can be said that the non-sultanic layout which was employed by the rather marginal members of the royal family under Murad I (r. 1362-1389), was now appropriated by prominent figures, who took side with the centre.

[105] Kafadar, C. 1995, pp. 17-18.

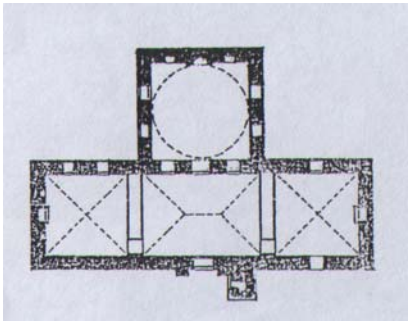


Figure 15. Yukarı Cami – Kurşunlu, İnegöl, Bursa (late fourteenth century)

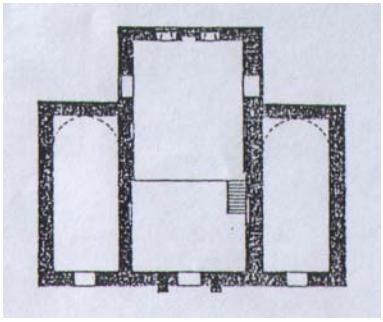


Figure 16. Yıldırım - Balıkesir (late fourteenth century)

Gazi lineage is what the only two non-royal patrons to commission buildings outside of Bursa have in common. This divergence of the identities of the patrons is also evident in the plans they employed. Since, while there is little known about the building of Gazi Evrenos Bey in Komotini (late fourteenth century), that of Firuz Bey in Milas (1394) (see fig. 14) bears striking similarities with the sultanic versions of the T-type. The quasi-portico-quasi-entrance-vestibule structure that fronts the building is organized in a manner so as to cut this part of the building from the rest. Also, the side spaces are accordingly arranged in a hierarchical order and are directed inward. Thereby, the sultanic T-type layout that was formerly used by Ottoman rulers was adopted in the building commissioned by Firuz Bey and juxtaposed with a unique style with its incorporation of manifold references compliant with the stately claims of its patron.

The network in which Bayezid inaugurated his own buildings further attests to the organic relationship of codes and meanings that were embodied in the T-type buildings of different layouts and sites. As well as commissioning one T-type building of the sultanic type in Bursa (see fig. 11), as did his ancestors, he also ordered two buildings of T-type to be built elsewhere: one in Balıkesir, and another in Edirne. The former, conspicuously modest, is very much reminiscent of the earliest examples of the T-type. Even more so than its contemporaries of non-royal patronage, Yıldırım in Balıkesir (late fourteenth century) (see fig. 16) echoes back to the early Ottoman ethos of the frontier culture. The latter, Yıldırım in Edirne (Adrianople) (1389 -1402) (see fig. 17), alternatively, combines the two attitudes displayed by the margin and the center in plan. It does so in a quirky, and yet

relatively subtle manner, in that the stress on multi-functionality is installed within a scheme that is still monumental and hierarchical. Thus, as a patron, Bayezid I managed to differentiate himself from both the non-royal patrons and those with stately claims. Indeed, it can be suggested that the latter gained precedence over the former, since the non-royal scheme was already centralized as much as it was necessary to dim its marginal undertone during the rule of Bayezid. As innovative as this enterprise was, Edirne was later on to prove apt to have more room for non-royal versions of the T-type than for its royal versions.

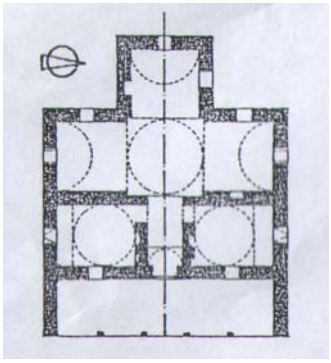
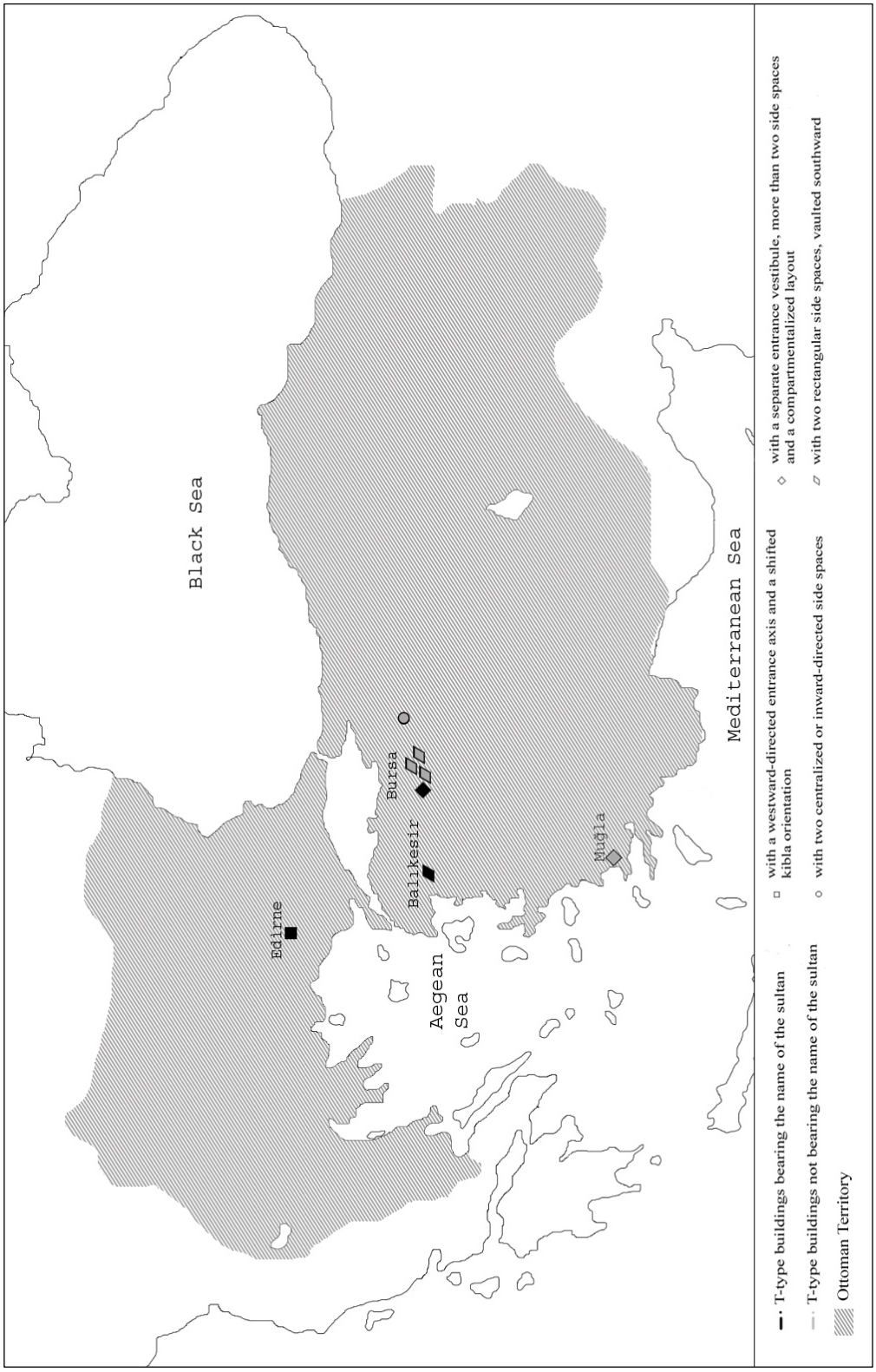
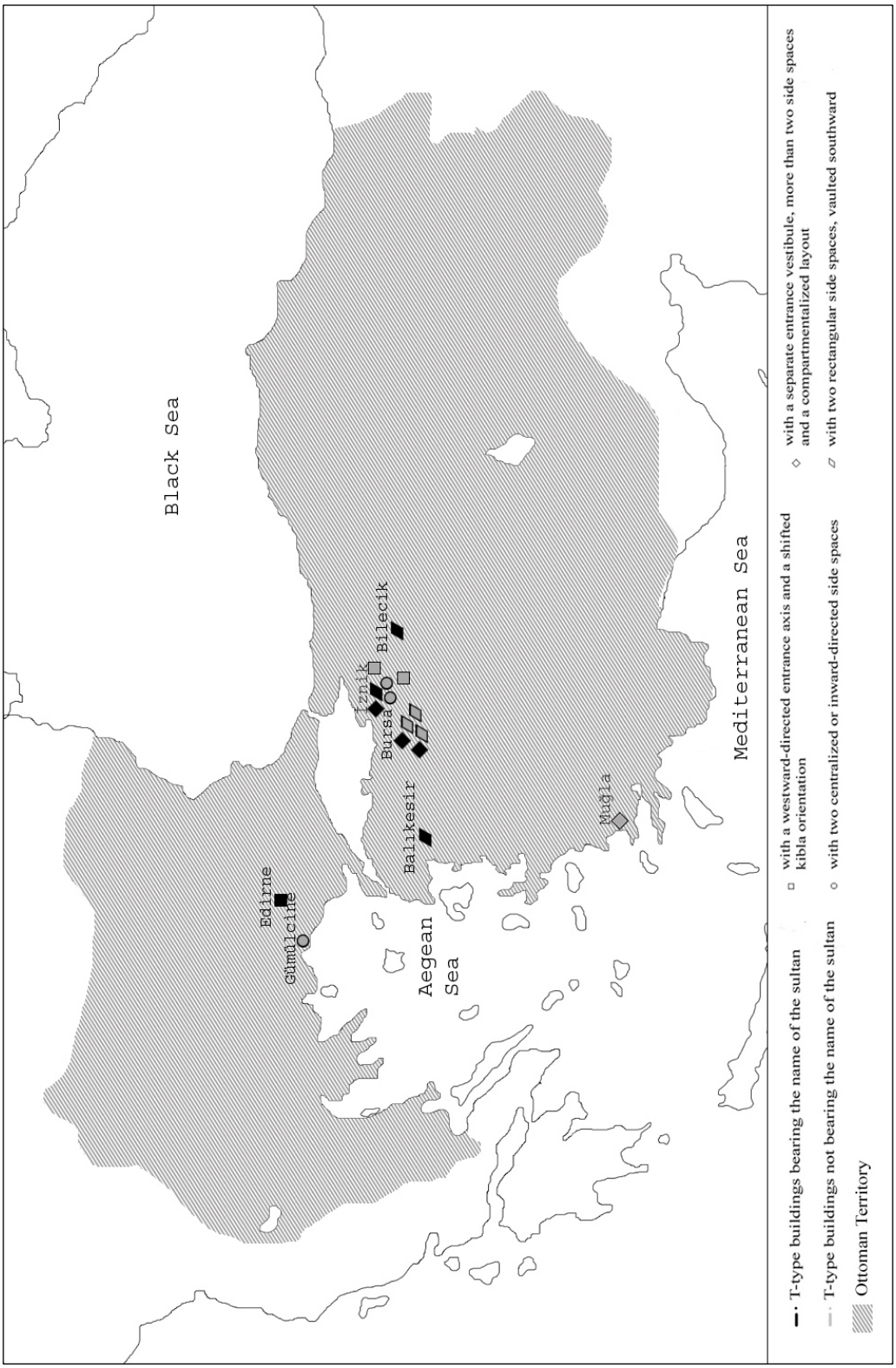


Figure 17. Yıldırım - Edirne (Adrianople) (1389 -1402)

The Reign of Bayezid I (Yıldırım –the thunderbolt) (r. 1389-1402)



T-type Buildings Constructed by the End of the Reign of Bayezid I



CHAPTER 4

FROM THE TENSIONS OF A STATE INTO THE TENSIONS OF AN EMPIRE

4. 1. Timur's Blow

The T-type building activity, in accordance with the building activity in general, rapidly diminished after Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402), under his descendent, Mehmed I (Çelebi or Kyritzes) (r. 1413-1421) and, yet only to subsequently proliferate in the successive rule of Murad II (r. 1421-1444 / 1446-1451). This oscillation should better be regarded in the larger context of transformations in historiographical modes of self-representation. Reigns of both Mehmed I and his successor, Murad II, are marked by the shock in the aftermath of Timur's violent intrusion in 1402. Timur was not only "[…] drawn into Anatolia through the pleas of the leading families of the subdued emirates,"[106] but also owed his triumph over Bayezid in most part, to the gazi warrios' desertion of the battleground. Kafadar states that it was later in the fifteenth century, wherein this shock had abated that a new historiographic output was engendered both under royal and non-royal patronage in that "[t]here was not only a hightened awareness of the need to understand what went well and what went wrong before Timur but also the fact that his descendants continued to treat the Ottomans as vassals, forcing the latter to represent themselves in a new mode."[107]

The period of interregnum that followed the defeat against Timur lasted until Mehmed I's overcoming both his brother Süleyman Çelebi (d. 1406) and the general havoc that the Timurid blow entailed. In this period of centrifugal tensions - or better put this period prone to diverse sporadic centralizations to compete – only two T-type buildings were commissioned: namely, Hamza Bey in Tokat (1411) (see fig. 18) and Yakub Çelebi in Kütahya (1411) (see fig. 19). During the relatively stable

[106] Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 18.
[107] Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 95.

milieu brought about by Mehmed's acquisition of rule that followed thereafter, was likewise to prove unproductive in terms of T-type building. There were only three buildings of the T-type constructed under Mehmed I: namely, Yeşil in Bursa (1420) (see fig. 21) commissioned by royal patronage, Bayezid Paşa in Amasya (1414–1419) (see fig. 22) by Mehmed's grand vizier-to-be, and Horozlu İmaret in Tokat (early fifteenth century) (see fig. 20), the patron of which is unknown.[108] What all of these buildings have in common are an inland Anatolian setting and a divergence from the accustomed non-royal scheme, which had reverberations of the frontier society of the time of Orhan.

A building of the T-type was built for a certain Hamza Bey in Tokat in 1411 (see fig. 18), coinciding with the interregnum. Hamza Bey was one of the leading commanders of Mehmed I starting from prior to his pledge over the internecine strife; and he continued to serve as *lala* under Mehmed's successor Murad II. Although both sources on the history of the building and information regarding its architecture are insufficient, its plan supposedly comprises an entrance space followed by a domed central space and a rectangular prayer space on a main southward axis. Two rectangular side rooms that flank these are both oriented towards the central space, in an exceptional manner for a non-royal version of the T-type. The one to the right shares its northern wall with the entrance space, the combination of which forms the front façade of the building lacking a portico. This side room has two doors, connecting it to the entrance vestibule and the central space respectively. The side room to the left, on the other hand, is shifted southward in plan and opens up only into the central space.[109]

Yakub Çelebi (Yakub Bey II) (d.1411) of the House of Germiyan, as well, patronized a T-type building coinciding with the interregnum: namely, *Imaret* of Yakub Çelebi in Kütahya (see fig. 19). When Bayezid I passed away under captivation of Timur after the war in Ankara, transportation and preservation of the

[108] In fact, it is also dubious whether the T-type building of Horozlu coincides with the reign of Mehmed I, since there is no tangible evidence to confirm the date of construction.
[109] For the reconstruction of the plan of the building, which no longer stands, see Doğan, A. I. 1977, p 195. In fact, since I have not come across any other source on the building, I base my descriptions on his rather sketchy plan and the construction date he attributes to the building without citing any source.

diseased body of the ruler gained a status of a claim to central power. The eminent role played by Yakub Çelebi (and Kütahya) during this struggle, which was instigated by Timur's division of the land among Turcoman beys (followed by the contestation of heirs of Bayezid over the Ottoman territory allocated by Timur) exemplifies the urgency of his quest for autonomy. It was in Kütahya and under the surveillance of Yakub that the body of Bayezid was kept pending Yakub's authorization for it to be moved to Bursa and buried where his mausoleum still stands today.[110] In fact, it was also in the House of Germiyan that one of the major foes of the Ottomans had found refuge after the Ilkhanid rule: namely, Çavdar Mongol/Tatars. They are known to have guarded their unease with the Ottoman preeminence and have played a major role in the defeat of the Ottomans against the Mongolians in Ankara with their sudden switch over to the side of Timur. Regarding the vital role of Çavdar Tatars in the early Ottoman context, Kafadar asserts that "[t]he Christians may have been easier to cooperate with or subjugate and assimilate compared to the Tatars, who must have had more formidable military skills and possibly also strong political claims among Turco-Mongol tribes."[111]

The original stone-engraved endowment deed of the T-type building of Yakub Çelebi has survived up to this date, [112] along with a later Ottoman manuscript that mentions the building to have been reconfigured in 1440/1441. It is also known that the building was subject to holistic restoration in 1803. Therefore, it is hard to asses to what degree the still-standing building retains its original configuration. Nonetheless, it can be said that the plan of the building brings together many peculiar elements, although possessing the main T-type principal. The dome covering the central space has a lantern on top. All of the four domed side rooms, along with the domed prayer *eyvan,* with their arches flanking their domes, comport an orientation inward to the central space. The *eyvan* is narrower in width than the central space, which results in the exposure of corners of the central space on the exterior. Thereby, central space, which is circumscribed by other spaces in all the

[110] Önkal, Hakkı. "Yıldırım Türbesi ile ilgili Bazı Problemler Üzerine Düşünceler," in Proceedings of the 11th International Congress of Turkish Art, M. Kiel, N. Landman and H. Theunissen eds., Utrecht, August 23-28 1999, no. 33, p. 1.
[111] Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 128.
[112] For the plate of the original stone deed, see Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı. Bizans ve Selçukilerle Germiyan ve Osman Oğulları Zamanında Kütahya, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1932, p. 109, plate 38.

other buildings of the T-type, is uniquely exposed in the building of Yakub Çelebi. Furthermore, the building shares the rare westward orientation of Postinpuş Baba near Bursa (prior to 1348) (see fig. 4), Nilüfer Hatun (1388) in İznik (see fig. 9) and Yıldırım (1389-1402) in Edirne (see fig. 17). Dissimilar to all, however, its prayer niche (*mihrab*) is not on the southern wall of the *eyvan* following the central space but is emplaced within a particular protrusion, which pierces the southern wall of the side room on the southwest corner. The main gateway is fronted not by a separate portico but by three little domed bays tucked in between the front pair of the lateral rooms that jut out to compose the front façade.

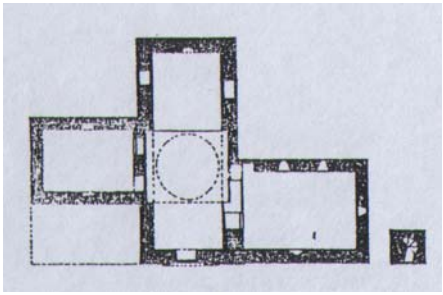


Figure 18. Hamza Bey - Tokat (1411)

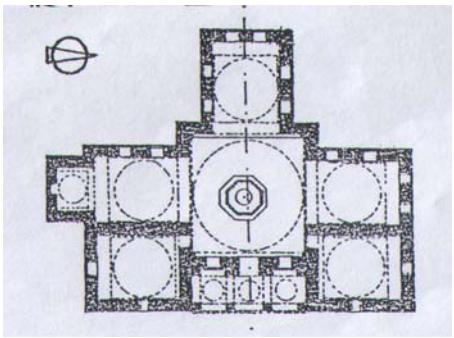


Figure 19. Yakub Çelebi - Kütahya (1411)

Horozlu İmaret in Tokat (see fig. 20), concerning which there is little information, is thought to have been built during the reign of Mehmed I, and following the conquest of Tokat in 1390s around early fifteenth century.[113] The patron is unknown, but there is a mausoleum in the close vicinity of the T-type building. The building does not have a minaret. Although there is no portico on the front façade, the main door recedes behind the front pair of the four lateral rooms, so as to make room for a vaulted entrance. The northward axis is further pursued in the entrance vestibule on the interior, whereby the vestibule is turned into a vaulted *eyvan* in keeping with the entrance and the prayer area following the domed central space on the same axis. There are two identical domed side rooms on either side, which have a subtle horizontal axiality in plan due to the addition of arches adjacent to their walls neighboring the central space. The southern pair of these side rooms is

[113] Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 37. For the plan of the building see *ibid,* p. 69.

entered through the vaulted indoor entrance hall, whereas the other two are entered via the central domed space.

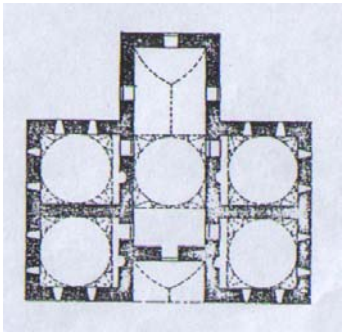


Figure 20. Horozlu İmaret - Tokat (early fifteenth century)

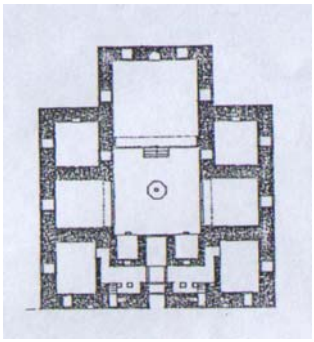


Figure 21. Yeşil - Bursa (1420)

After having finally ended the interregnum by compelling his reign over the Ottoman territories in 1413, Mehmed I appointed Bayezid Paşa to the position of grand vizier. Bayezid Paşa was renowned for his support for Mehmed during the interregnum and commissioned a T-type multi-functional building in Amasya in 1414 (see fig. 22), prior to his appointment as grand vizier. The building of Bayezid Paşa differs from other T-type buildings constructed under non-royal patronage up to then. Unlike the latter, it has an entrance vestibule very similar to those of the royal versions. It is the central hall, and not the vaulted vestibule that gives access to the domed rooms residing on the sides –four on the entrance level and two on the upper level. And yet, the vestibule is flanked by additional vaulted chambers on either side on both storeys. There exists a staircase leading both up to the two rooms along the portico wall and down to the latrines below the entrance level. This is perhaps due to the loyalty exhibited by Bayezid Paşa to Mehmed I, or else, it might be that Amasya, itself, was significant in terms of being the center of Mehmed's command as an emir under the reign of his father. The complex originally comprised a soup kitchen and a guest house, as well, and was financially supported by charitable dependencies as windmills, public baths, agricultural land and stores.[114]

[114] See Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı. Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri 806-855 (1403-1451), Baha Matbaası: İstanbul, 1972, pp. 4-25, Goodwin, G. 1992, pp. 78-82, and Kuran, A. 1968, pp. 82-85.

Mehmed I (r. 1413-1421) commissioned for himself, as did his predecessors, a T-type complex to be built in Bursa. Completed in 1420, the complex of Yeşil (see fig. 21) originally consisted of a T-type multi functional building together with a bath house, soup kitchen, a *medrese* and a mausoleum. The plan of the T-type building itself is reminiscent of that of Yıldırım in Bursa (1390s) (see fig. 21) with the incorporation of domed *eyvans* in between side rooms.[115] It is also akin to the previously mentioned sultanic versions in general in that it is entered via a vestibule, on both sides of which are placed corridors leading to staircases to the north and mirror-vaulted little chambers to the south. Over them there is a lodge, and two more adjacent rooms, wherein lies a passage leading to the balconies. Balconies are visible from the exterior, but bear limited connection with the interior. Disparate to the other T-type buildings implemented by sultanic patronage, Yeşil does not have a portico on its entrance façade. Scholars have yet interpreted the lodges on the upper floor as being designed for royal usage, while the lacking portico is considered to have been planned but not realized.[116]

The decrease in the non-royal patronage of T-type buildings during the interregnum can easily be attributed to the flattened economic means of the era. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that both of the only two T-type buildings erected during the interregnum - Hamza Bey in Tokat (1411) and Yakub Çelebi in Kütahya (1411) (fig. 18 and 19) - should diverge from the earlier examples of the non-royal version built under Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402) not only in terms of their locations further off the center of the Ottoman territory but in their plans, as well. The earlier examples tended to concentrate in and around Bursa, a city that is conversely the oeuvre of sultanic T-type buildings. Whereas the ones commissioned by non-royal patrons in the interregnum period are in Tokat and Kütahya. In plan, the former, with their cores seemingly separate from their side spaces, stressed multi-functionality installed within an easily recognizable generic form, while the latter have their side spaces directed inward and lack both porticos and easily identifiable T shapes. What the plans of the T-type buildings commissioned throughout the interregnum do

[115] On the buildings peculiar layout see -one of the earliest treatises that discuss the T-type as a distinct building type rather than a formal category under mosques, Çetintaş, S. 1958.
[116] See Goodwin, G. 1992, pp. 59-69, Aslanapa, O. 1986, p. 37, and Kuran, A. 1968, p. 80.

instead, is to generate a communal, yet still monumental space in which praying is subordinated to gathering. In doing so, they made use of a plan type that had repercussions of the frontier ethos, while on the other hand trying to strip themselves off the central connotations that came to be involved with the very building type as an outcome of the process of its appropriation by the state under Bayezid.

As if to remind the prominent figures with stately claims, who patronized T-type buildings in the period of interregnum, that the state was still there and for good, Mehmed I commissioned a T-type building bearing his name, very much reminiscent of those that were built by his forerunners in Bursa. With its core allotted to prayer and additional semi-private rooms to the sides of the entrance vestibule, the plan echoes restitution of separate functions brought together in a hierarchically ordered manner. Furthermore, Mehmed was quick to restore the Ottoman supremacy the inner Anatolian territories of Tokat and Amasya, from where, during the interregnum, peripheral contestations to state budded. It was under his reign that for the first time a building of T-type, very much in keeping with the sultanic layout, was named after a non-sultanic patron: Bayezid Paşa, the loyal supporter of Mehmed, who later on was to gain the post of grand vizier, commissioned a sultanic version of the T-type plan in Amasya (see fig. 22). Likewise, Horozlu İmaret in Tokat (see fig. 20), commissioned by an unknown patron, although displaying hierarchy to a lesser degree, bore close ties with the plan scheme of sultanic versions.

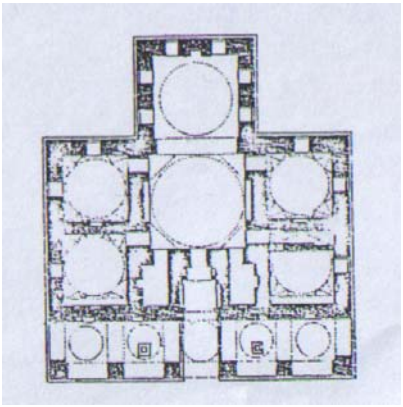
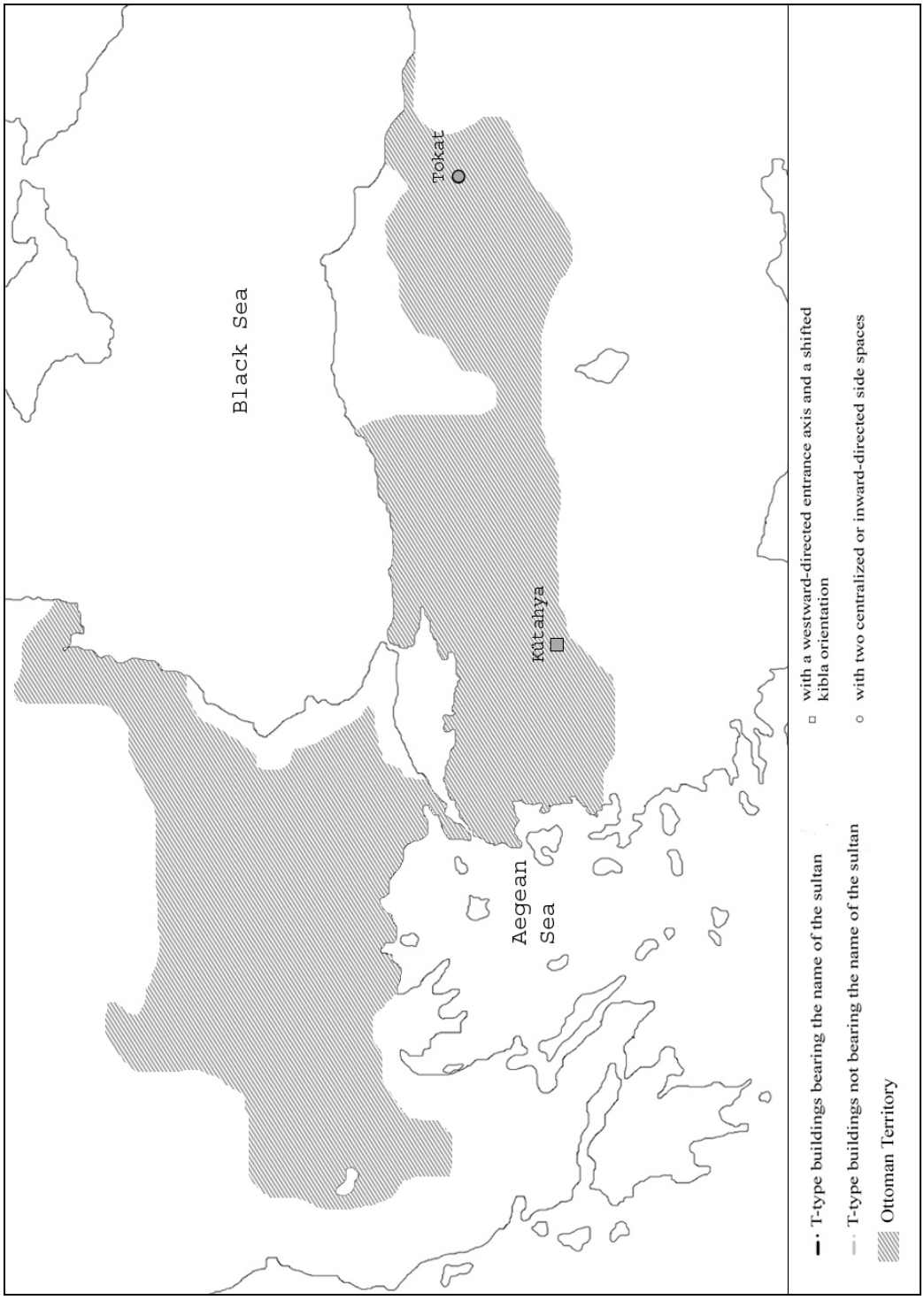


Figure 22. Bayezid Paşa - Amasya (d. 1414–1419)

Interregnum (1402-1413)



4. 2. The Aftermath of the Blow

The subsequent profusion of non-royal patronage under Murad II (r. 1421-1444/1446-1451) did not necessitate withdrawal from the accustomed erection of royal versions of the T-type complexes in the capital. The complex he commissioned in Bursa, namely Muradiye (1425/1426) (see fig. 23), consists of a T-type building, a *medrese,* a soup kitchen, a Koran school for boys (*sibyan mektebi*), a bath house and twelve mausolea. The earliest of the mausolea belongs to Murad II himself and was built in 1437, followed by addition of others of the royal family between 1449 and 1557. Even more modest than the T-type multi functional building commissioned by Mehmed I in terms of the number of adjacent rooms, that of Murad has only two.[117] Although it does have the customary vestibule, as opposed to previously mentioned sultanic versions of T-type buildings, it does not serve as a passage to any other space than the domed central space. The prayer area elevated by a few steps and across the entrance vestibule is also topped by a dome. North-south axiality stems from the addition of thick arches that flank the domes of the side rooms.[118] A five bay portico fronts the building. The bays on either corner are covered with mirror vaults, whereas the middle ones are domed. The central space also opens up, to the north, into barrel vaulted chambers, which bear access to the staircase and the corner rooms, as well as providing passage from the corner rooms to the domed side rooms. The staircase leads to the gallery over the entrance.[119]

While Muradiye in Bursa marks the finale of the habitual erection of royal complexes of the T-type in the old capital, another building of the T-type built by Murad II stands out as the second and last to be built in Edirne. Given that the only

[117]Eyive claims that it is 'evident' that the domed side spaces were not originally built to be completely opening into the central space and that the curtain walls must have been removed during the conversion of the T-type building into an ordinary neighborhood mosque. See Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 38.

[118] Kuran states that the two domed side rooms comport directionality compliant with the east-west axis. Stressing that the arch is thicker than the previously built examples, he claims that the relation of side rooms to the central space is 'stronger.' Inasmuch as the arch may be thicker, the employment of arches on both south and north sides of the rooms appears to be emphasizing the north-south direction, as opposed to the east-west, where the is only one arch. See Kuran, A. 1968, p. 84.

[119] See Goodwin, G. 1992, p. 70 and Aslanapa, O. 1986, p. 48.

building of the T-type sited there up until the construction of Muradiye in Edirne (1435/47) (see fig. 24) was that of Yıldırım (1389/1402) (see fig. 17) with its atypical orientation, the new capital cannot be said to have been the most favorite of sites for the royal patrons. Murad II's building in Edirne might not be an exception in these terms in that it was originally envisaged to serve as a convent for the Mevlevi order.[120] Nonetheless, it does point to a re-establishment of state interest on the west. The T-type building, which was transformed to provide a multi-functional use when it was completed, is a part of a larger complex initially including a convent, a soup kitchen and a school (*mekteb)*. Both of the two side rooms, along with the central space and the prayer area are topped with domes. The floor of the central space is lower than other spaces.[121] The incorporation of arches to the north and south of the domes of the side rooms generates an axial orientation. The five-bay mirror-vaulted portico fronting the building accentuates the entrance by means of replacement of the mirror vault with a dome in the central bay. Having neither corner rooms nor a separate entrance vestibule, it has even less in common with the T-type buildings of royal patronage in Bursa, than Yıldırım's building in Edirne does. In fact, with its moderate layout apt to a multi-functional use, it is hardly distinguishable from the T-type buildings of the same era patronized by non-royal dignitaries in Edirne.

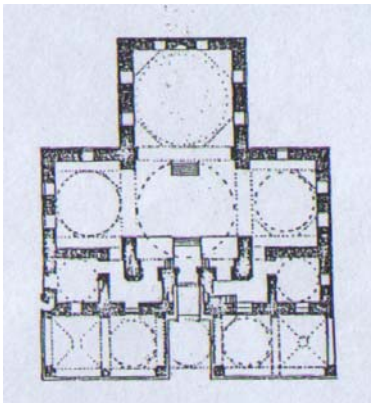


Figure 23. Muradiye – Bursa (1425/1426)

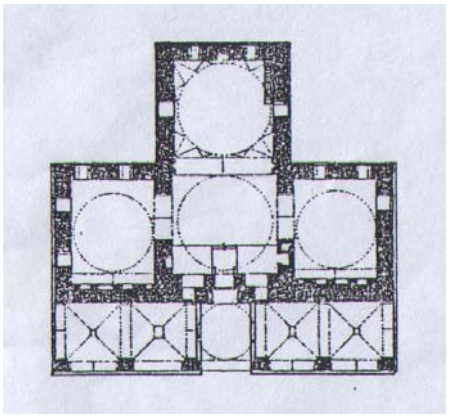


Figure 24. Muradiye - Edirne (1435/47)

[120] See Gökbilgin, T. 1952, p. 203, n. 93.
[121] Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 39.

One of these T-type multi-functional buildings of non-royal version was Gazi Mihal built in 1422 (see fig. 25). The patron of the building is one of the grandsons of Gazi Köse Mihal (Mikhalis the Beardless) of Bithynian origin, who played a major role in the naissance of the House of Osman. Köse Mihal had joined forces with Osman, then converted and engendered the seed of what was to become the eminent line of warrior-lords of the house of Mihal. Despite the occasional tension they had with the center,[122] the descendents of Mihal had the benefit of a primary position among the *gazis* in service of the Ottomans.[123] The T-type building consists of a domed central space followed by a vaulted prayer *eyvan* on an axis, and lateral domed rooms elongated in the same axis via addition of arches. The five-bay mirror vaulted portico adjoining the front façade receives a dome over its central bay, which is also larger than the rest.[124]

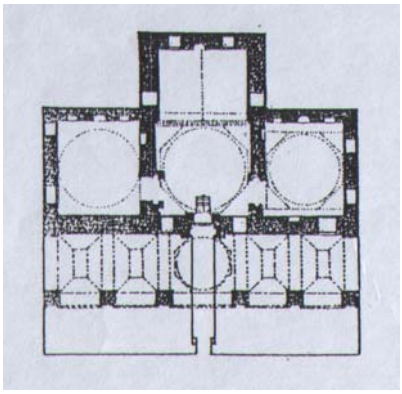


Figure 25. Gazi Mihal – Edirne (1422)

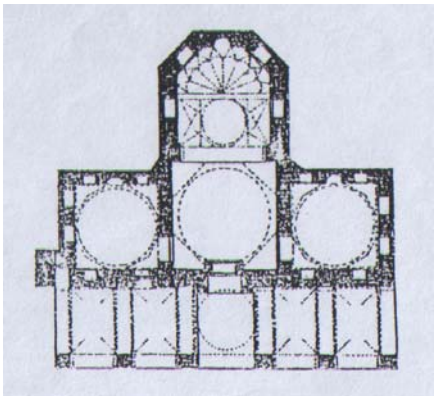


Figure 26. Beylerbeyi –Edirne (1429)

Following the T-type building of Gazi Mihal, Beylerbeyi (1429) (see fig. 26) of the similar type was constructed in Edirne.[125] Commissioned by the governor-general of Rumalia, Sinanüddin Yusuf Paşa,[126] the building has an unusual polygonal prayer area designed to enfold two parts separated by a thick arch. The

[122] One of the siblings of the patron of the Gazi Mihal building, Mihaloğlu Mehmed Bey, for example, was imprisoned due to his alliance with Musa Çelebi during the internescine rivalry. This did not prevent Murad II, however, to set him free later on to employ him in his campaign against his brother Mustafa. See Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 101.
[123] See Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 26 and p. 127.
[124] On the building see Gökbilgin, T. 1952, p. 57 and p. 244; and Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 38.
[125] For the plans of the buildings see Doğan, A. I. 1977, pp. 195-196.
[126] On the patron also known as Mirmiran Sinan Paşa, see Gökbilgin, T. 1952, p. 30 and p. 253.

one adjoining the central space is topped by a small dome and the one forming the octagonal *kıbla* tip is covered by a semi-dome, both of which adorn a strikingly high articulation and decoration.[127] Other than its prayer area, however, the plan of the building appears modest and is reminiscent of that of Gazi Mihal: The central space gives way to domed lateral rooms and the five-bay portico fronting the building is domed at the center. The multi-functional flexible use of the building is much more emphasized in the plan of Beylerbeyi than the latter, however, by means of the compartmentalization of the prayer area.

Likewise in Edirne and with a comparable layout was built the T-type building of Mezid Bey later, in 1441 (see fig. 27). Divergent from its contemporaries built in Edirne, however, it does not have a portico. The lateral rooms are more integrated with the central space, in that, unlike in many of the above mentioned buildings, they are completely open with the exception of columns on both sides separating them from the central space. The patron of the building, Mezid Paşa, was one of the foremost commanders of the Ottoman forces, who also served as the governor of Krusevac (Alacahisar) in Serbia. The completion of the T-type building predates his detainment in Walachia in 1442.[128] Mezid Paşa is also the son-in-law of Kadı Burhaneddin, a representative of the medrese-educated scholar/bureaucrat cadre of the post- Seljuk Mongol milieu, who had established an autonomous beylik in Central Anatolia in the late fourteenth century.[129]

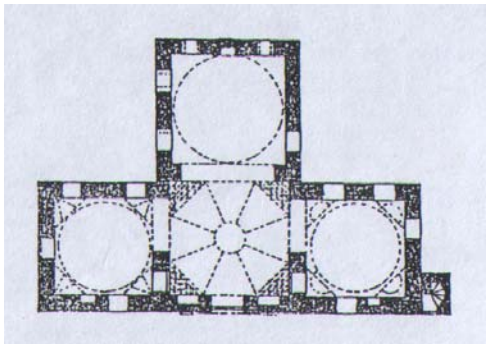


Figure 27. Mezid Bey – Edirne (1441)

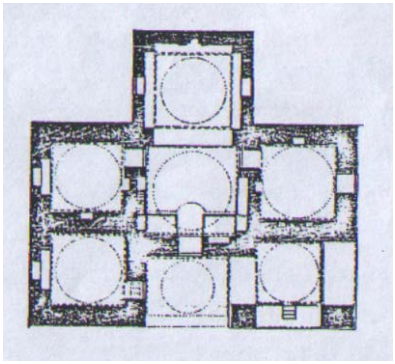


Figure 28. Yörgüç Paşa – Amasya (1428)

[127] See Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 39.
[128] Gökbilgin, T. 1952, p. 243.
[129] Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 177, n. 96.

Earlier than the erection of the building of Mezid Bey, a building of a similar layout was constructed in Amasya: namely, that of Yörgüç Paşa (1428) (see fig. 28). The patron of the building, Yörgüç Paşa (?-1441) served as a state officer in Amasya, where Murad II was governing as a prince during the reign of Mehmed I (r. 1413-1421). Yörgüç Paşa, who struck coins in his name, attesting to the significance of his political statement, was also the son of Atabey Abdullah. Abdullah, formerly a tutor (*atabey*) of Mehmed I, served as a vizier under Murad II. The inscription on the building states that it was meant to provide shelter for 'the poor' (*fukara*), which is also a term used to denote dervishes.[130] The building itself is comparable to that of Mezid Bey in terms of the lack of a portico. However, it has not only two side rooms, but also additional corner rooms of the same size. These corner rooms flank and are accessed through the deep domed *eyvan* serving as entrance and not the central domed space. The corner room to the west of the entrance eyvan is currently open on three sides and covers a tomb, while the one to the east serves as a convent room. [131] In fact, in plan it strikingly resembles Horozlu İmaret in Tokat (see fig. 20) built earlier in the fifteenth century. The two buildings share not only a close location in inner Anatolia, but also reminiscence to sultanic versions of T-type buildings.

One building of the T-type, namely Yeşil İmaret in Tire near İzmir (see fig. 29), was built by the leading Ottoman commander Halil Yahşi Bey (d. 1441). Yeşil İmaret is composed of a domed central space with two domed lateral rooms followed by a prayer space, a five-domed portico and a minaret. The spatial arrangement of the prayer area echoes that employed in the T-type building of Beylerbeyi (1429) (see fig. 26) in that it is polygonal in shape and that it incorporates a semidome to cover it. But the polygon entails the whole of the prayer area in Yeşil, whereas in Beylerbeyi it forms the *kıbla* tip of the prayer area divided into two sections. This is

[130] See Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı. Kitabeler, I, İstanbul, 1929, p. 116.
[131] According to Eyice both f these corner rooms are later additions, in the places of which originally stood a portico. Although it is plausible to suggest that the design of these rooms were probably altered, there appears no succifient ground to suggest that there was a portico in their stead. See Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 39. Also on the building see Ayverdi, E. H. 1972, pp. 215-224, Goodwin, G. 1992, pp. 77-78, and Kuran, A. 1968, pp. 88.

likely to be the reason why in Yeşil the south and central side of the polygon is projected outwards to accommodate a *mihrab* (prayer niche).

The Yeşil İmaret was constructed on a territory formerly under the rule of the Aydın emirate and coincides with the reign of Murad II (r. 1421-1444 / 1446-1451). In fact, it was the emirate of Aydın who had a grand complex with an *Ulu Cami* built in Birgi by 1312 in grand dimensions that would not be outdone by the Ottomans until the 1330s.[132] In the light of the previously mentioned connotations underlying the venture of constructing grand mosques, it can be said that the Ottomans' inability to match the stately claims of the emirate of Aydın during the first half of the fourteenth century is reflected on the architectural agendas of both parties. Relations between the House of Aydın and that of Osman witnessed ongoing phases of collaboration and struggle until 1425, despite the increasing prevalence of the latter. As stressed by Cemal Kafadar, the edgy liaison between the Aydın emirate and the Ottomans did not prevent the latter from embracing and benefiting from the cult of the heroic ruler of Aydın: Deeds of Umur Beg (d.1348) were compiled in the *Düsturname* in 1465 under Ottoman patronage. Especially among the sailors who navigated the Aegean waters, his cult maintained its veneration for centuries.[133] Also *velayetname* of Abdal Musa, who, according to Aşıkpaşazade joined the Ottoman conquest of Bursa,[134] Umur Bey figures as the gazi hero who conquers Rumelia.[135] The erection of the T-type building in Tire immediately precedes the process through which Ottomans not only appropriated the ethos of a former rival, but at the same time by means of this very appropriation preempted a potential persistence of rivalry.

[132] See Riefstahl, R. M. Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia, Cambridge: Mass., 1930.
[133] Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 69. Also see, Melikoff-Sayar, Irene, Le Destan d'Umur Pacha (Düsturname-I Enveri): texte, traduction et notes, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954.
[134] Aşıkpaşaoğlu, p. 238.
[135] Cited in Yürekli Görkay, E. Z. 2005, pp. 61-62.

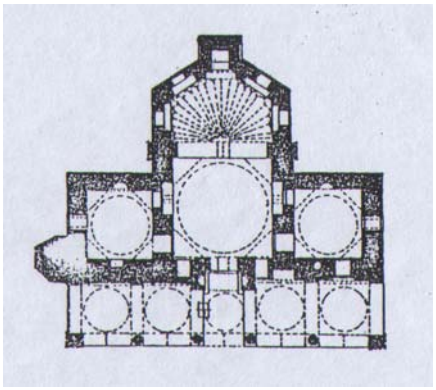


Figure 29. Yeşil İmaret – Tire, İzmir (1441)

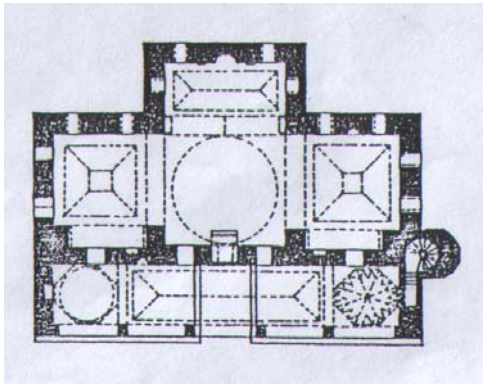


Figure 30. İshak Bey – Skopje (Üsküp) (1438/1439)

The reign of Murad II also coincides with the proliferation of the T-type multi functional buildings -after the pioneer building of Gazi Evrenos in Komotini (Gümülcine) built earlier in the late fourteenth century)- over Balkans. The earliest of these, which are known to us, is the T-type building of İshak Bey (d. 1438/1439) (see fig. 30). The building with its atypically small rectangular prayer protrusion, which is shallow in plan, was built in Üsküp (Skopje) by the Ottoman commander İshak. İshak Bey led the army during the capture of Macedonia and settled there after the conquest. The layout of the building comprises a domed central space adjoined by large lateral mirror-vaulted bays and followed by a smaller laterally-vaulted bay on the south. A five-bay portico along with a minaret abuts the building.[136] In a unique fashion, it is the side bays of the portico that are adorned by domes, whereas the middle bays are laterally vaulted. Apart from the semi columns supporting the central dome, all the interiors are spatially unified. Semavi Eyice states that it is highly probable that the side spaces were originally sealed off from the central space with division walls, which must have been taken down in the process of turning the building into a mosque.[137] Notwithstanding, with their deep large niches on the north and fronted by domed bays of the portico, they appear to be as significant as the central core allocated for prayer, if not more significant.

[136] Ayverdi, on the other hand, suggests that the building was originally planned as consisting merely of the central area with a three-bay portico fronting it. However, there is not sufficient evidence to presume so. See Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı. Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri, II, İstanbul, 1981, p. 256.

[137] See Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 40, n. 94.

Chronologically following the erection of İshak Bey in Skopje is that of Şihabüddin Paşa (before 1444) in Filibe (Philippopolis, today Plovdiv) (see fig. 31). Şihabüddin Paşa, also known as Kula Şahin Paşa,[138] was one of the leading commanders of Murad. His building differs from the common non-royal version buildings of T-type in that its domed central bay provides access to not only two domed side bays but also to one of the two vaulted corner rooms. Given that the other corner room, placed nearly symmetrical to the first, accommodates the staircase leading up the minaret and serves more as an ante-staircase chamber, it can be said that the centrality of the domed space preceding the prayer area is much more emphasized than it is in most of the other T-type buildings commissioned by non-royal patrons. On that note, the arrangement of the plan of Şihabüddin Paşa bears close ties with those of Horozlu İmaret in Tokat (early fifteenth century) (see fig. 20) and Yörgüç Paşa in Amasya (1428) (see fig. 28), with its emphasis on the unification of the core, its proliferation of side spaces and the demarcation of these side spaces from the core.[139]

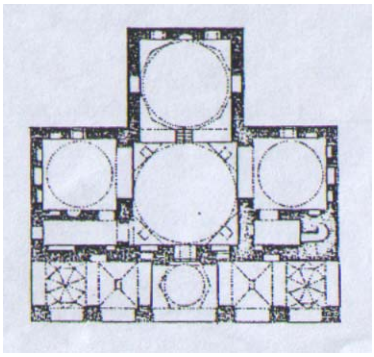


Figure 31. Şihabüddin Paşa - Philippopolis (Filibe) (before 1444)

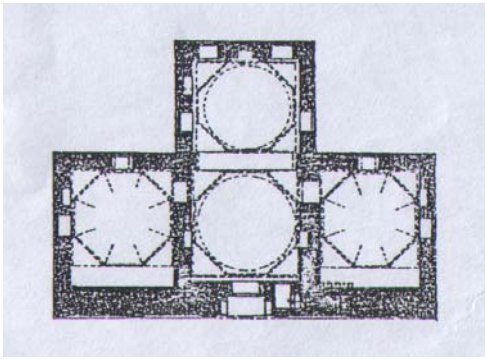


Figure 32. Koca Mehmed Paşa – Osmancık, Amasya (1439)

Another building of the T-type was built in the name of Koca Mehmed Paşa (see fig. 32) near Amasya -but now within the borders of Çorum- in the province of

[138] Gökbilgin, T. 1952, p. 255.

[139] Eyice states that the plan shceme is reminiscent of Muradiye in Bursa (d. 1425/1426). However, given the fact that the T-type plan of Şihabüddin Paşa does not have a seperate entrance vestibule, it is through the central space that the access to not only the side spaces but also the corner rooms are provided. Whereas in Muradiye, although the vestibule does not currently open up to the corner rooms, is very likely to have done so in its original pristine form. Even if that was not the case, the clear central orientation of all the side spaces, including the corner rooms in Muradiye, as it were, hardly exists in the building of Şihabüddin Paşa. See Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 39.

Osmancık, the site of the highly venerated tomb of the wandering dervish Koyun Baba. The completion of the building, which is in keeping with the rather accustomed modest designs of non-royal T-types, is dated to 1439.[140] The plan entails a domed central space flanked by domed side spaces on either side and yet another domed space adjacent to it on to the north. Echoing the layouts of the earliest examples of the T-type buildings coinciding with the reign of Orhan (r. 1324-1362), side rooms bear limited connection to the central space through narrow doors and emanate the same sense of directionality with the prayer space by means of arches affixed next to their domes from the north. The front façade is quirkily plain and does not have a portico. The patron of the building, also known as Danişmendzade Mehmed Paşa, is a descendent of Danişmendid lineage, the prominence of which stretches way back to eleventh century. It was them who were "[…] woven into the epic cycle of Anatolian Muslims and […] seem to have cared less for state building than for what they did better than anyone else for a while: namely, capturing towns and undertaking daring raids that brought them tremendous prestige."[141] Mehmed Paşa had served as a grand vizier for nine years until the post was taken over by Çandarlı Halil Paşa II in 1438. After that he retired to Osmancık, where he commissioned the building and his mausoleum to be placed nearby.

Again in central Anatolia and to the south of Amasya was built another T-type multi-functional building: that of the governor-general Karaca Bey (1444/1445)[142] in Ankara (see fig. 3). The erection of the building dates back to 1427/1428,[143] whereas its endowment deed, which terms the building a *zaviye*, is dated 1440. The building has a rectangular prayer space accessed via a few steps through a rectangular central space preceding it. Eyice states that the highly altered

[140] According to Eyice, who cites the preliminary study of Semra Öğel, the building –to which he refers as Sofular Cami- is thought to date to 1485. Nevertheless, due both to Eyice's self-critical assertions regarding the lack of sources involving the building and to the very comparative substantiality of Doğan's survey of the building type in general, it is Doğan's dating of the building, namely 1439, of which I chose to make use. See Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 44, and Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 196.

[141] Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 3.

[142] On three different Karaca Beys of the same region and lineage see Gökbilgin, T. 1952, p. 236 and p. 238.

[143] Despite the date 1484 indicated on the inscription Doğan dates the building back to 1440/41, whereas both Necipoğlu and Sönmez attribute an earlier construction date of 1427/1428. See Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 196, Necipoğlu, G. 2005, p. 79 and Sönmez, Zeki. Başlangıcından 16. Yüzyıla Kadar Anadolu Türk-İslam Mimarisinde Sanatçılar, Ankara, 1989, pp. 415-422.

roofing system must have originally comprised domes over all the spaces. He also suggests that a thick arch must have originally differentiated the central bay from the prayer area, whereby both of the spaces were envisaged not rectangular but square in shape. [144] The central space connects to smaller domed rooms on either side with narrow doors. Five-bay domed portico on the entrance façade, the central bay of which is accentuated, rests on the extensions of the side walls. The curious omission of piers in the portico might be indicative of an attempt to create more space for an additional use.

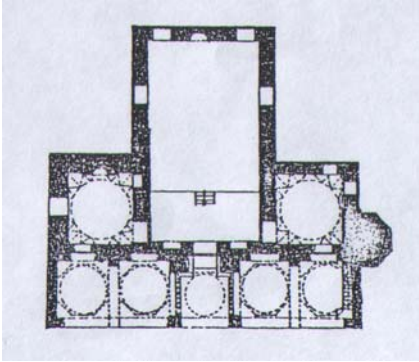


Figure 33. Karaca Bey – Ankara (1444/1445)

Except for Mezid Bey (1441) (see fig. 27) without a portico, all the T-type buildings of non-royal patronage in Edirne coinciding with the time of Murad II share, in plan, a prominent similarity to those built in the late fourteenth century under Bayezid I (Yıldırım –the thunderbolt) (r. 1389-1402) in Bursa. For, they all have a unified core consisting of a domed central space and a prayer area, fairly sealed off from -and yet, still bearing access to- the domed side rooms fronted by a portico. Nonetheless, they all share a divergence form the latter, as well: that is, the side rooms, instead of being elongated southward, are now centralized in perfect squares topped by domes. Thus, the non-sultanic version of the T-type that was previously employed during the reign of Bayezid I was back in abundant use after a period of repression following the battle in Ankara. It was under Bayezid that this spatial arrangement had found its place in the architectural vocabulary of the center,

[144] Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 41. Eyice refers to the building as İmaret Camii after its current name. On the contrary, in Doğan's reconstruction plan, the roofing system over the central space and the prayer area seem to have been intentionally left obscure. See Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 196.

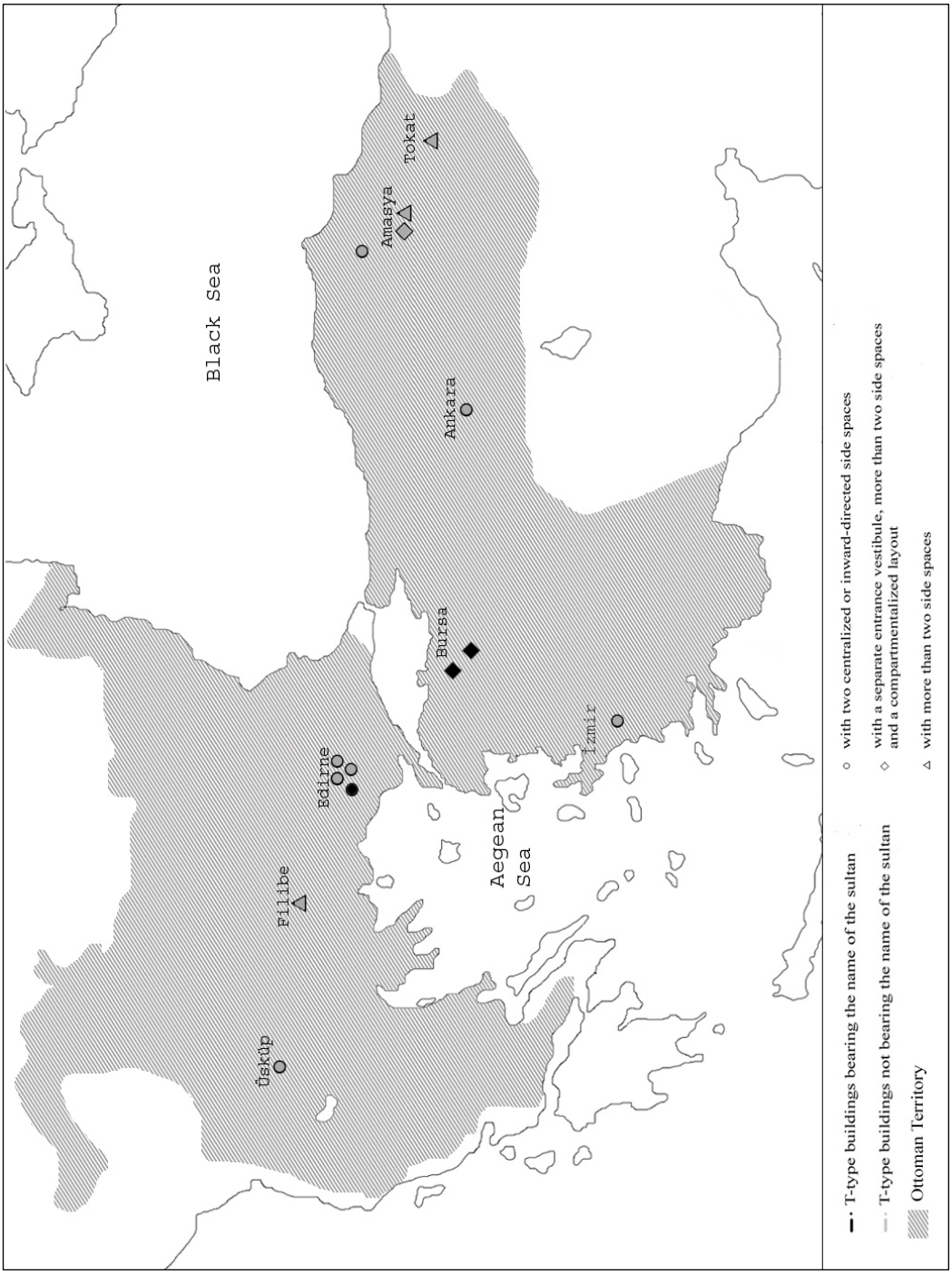
and likewise, it was in the buildings commissioned by notables close to Murad that they regained prominence. On the other hand, the previous sprout of non-royal patronage had taken place in Bursa, whereas this one emerged in the new capital, Edirne –a city, the normalization of which was more urgent in Murad's agenda.

The two T-type buildings erected under Murad II (r. 1421-1444 / 1446-1451) to bear his name comport two distinct attitudes. Muradiye in Bursa (1425/1426) (see fig. 23), in spite of its modesty in terms of the number of side rooms it includes, still bears the sultanic stamp. It does so not only with its side spaces unified with the prayer core but also with its clearly demarcated foyer-like part, which is entered via an entrance vestibule and subsequent corridors. While retaining the hierarchy of different functions and the semi-privacy of the lodges, both of which are essential to the sultanic types, it has less rooms. This decrease in the number of side spaces can be the sign of privatization of the building as a whole. The other T-type building of Murad, namely Muradiye in Edirne (1435/47) (see fig. 24), on the other hand has very little difference from its non-sultanic contemporaries in Edirne. In fact, with its side rooms slightly elongated to the north and south, it even outdoes them in their reminiscence to earlier non-royal buildings in Bursa. Hence, while persevering on the sultanic T-type erection in Bursa –and yet, doing so in a reserved manner; Murad seems to have been precautious in making his supremacy evident when it came to commissioning one in Edirne. In Edirne, the layout of his building bears references to the pre-Mongolian blow instead. However, the way in which this non-royal version of the T-type to Edirne was introduced still uttered solidity of the center in that his building looked almost the same as that of any other one of a bureaucrat of his state. Such disposition of these buildings in unison must have had connotations of egalitarian share of support for the center amongst high dignitaries of the state, as well as the sultan himself.

On the other hand, patrons who were far off the center and with claims to contestation for supremacy sought other means to express the discrepancy of their positions with regard to the center. Koca Mehmed Paşa, a Danişmendid descendent, for instance, chose to patronize a design that resorts to a different scheme than that used in Edirne for the T-type building he commissioned in inner Anatolia, near

Amasya (see fig. 32). The plan of his building reverberates the authenticity of the earliest examples of the T-type buildings, which date back to the mid-fourteenth century and coincide with the reign of Orhan – a period that came more and more to be associated with the frontier ethos. Alternatively, the T-type building of Yörgüç Paşa (see fig. 28), Murad II's ambitious vizier and his successor's tutor, likewise built in Amasya, made use of a layout that is reminiscent of T-type buildings of sultanic patronage in terms of proliferation of the side spaces and their inward orientation. This specific sort of layout, in which the spaces still maintain their multi-functionality, was also used previously in Horozlu İmaret in Tokat (see fig. 20), constructed in earlier in the fifteenth century. Besides the inner Anatolian territory they are sited on, the two buildings also share a language that equally borrows from the non-royal versions of T-type building plans, as it does from the sultanic versions.

The Reigns of Mehmed I (Çelebi or Kyritzes) (r. 1413-1421) and Murad II (r. 1421-1444 / 1446-1451)



4. 3. The Imperial Project

In 1444 Mehmed II gained command to return it back to his father within two years. Gaining hold of the reign once again, Murad II ruled the Ottoman lands until he died in Edirne in 1451. Halil İnalcık asserts the abdication of Murad II and the first enthronement of Mehmed II to be led mainly by the enmity between a certain 'war party' and the Çandarlı family in the Balkans.[145] Frontier begs favouring the oppression and the enthronement of Mehmed II seem to have won over the Çandarlı party that stood for accommodation with the imperial government of Byzantium, but to no avail. As Kafadar puts it: "The centralizing logic of the Ottoman state had reached such a maturity by that time that even though Mehmed II's second enthronement in 1451 brought along a more aggressive policy toward Byzantium and the conquest of İstanbul, the fulfillment of these gazi dreams did not lead to a permanent strengthening of the frontier lords in the Ottoman political system. Just as Çandarlı Halil was murdered by the Conqueror soon after the conquest, some of the leaders of the 'war party' from among the uc begleri were put to death soon thereafter."[146]

It is not much of wonder, then, why no T-type multi functional building was built during that time, when the person to head the command was of interest to gazis on the one hand, and 'bureaucrats' and their Janissary army on the other. Apparently the period starting from Murad II's self-retirement in 1444 and persisting at least until 1451 when Mehmed II was enthroned for the second time was that of turmoil. It did not prove to be an apt setting for a building type closely related to political claims to propagate. The three decades following the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, however, marks the oeuvre of Mehmed II's imperial project. This period is regarded in scholarship as witnessing "[…] the graduation from a frontier principality to an empire, with accompanying changes in the institutional and ideological spheres."[147] Ayverdi points out that, as of 1922, a stupendous two thirds

[145] İnalcık, Halil. Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar, Ankara, 1954.
[146] Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 146.
[147] Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 96.

of extant two hundred and eighty neigbourhoods (*mahalle*) in İstanbul enwalled within the old fortifications were implanted under Mehmed.[148] The old capital Edirne represented the center of gazi ethos among the frontier milieu whereas İstanbul, the new capital founded upon Constantinople following its conquest, came to signify the epithet of a long lost frontier spirit.[149]

By virtue of this crystallizing predicament, the re-emergence of buildings of T-type under Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446/ 1451-1481) took place not in Edirne, but in other parts of the Ottoman territory what can from then on be called an empire. The old capital of Bursa, aside from İstanbul, was where the construction of such buildings condensed. One was built for Karaca Bey in 1456/1457 in Karacabey, a province of Bursa (see fig. 34) that seems to have taken its name after the very building. The T-type building with its two domed spaces following each other on a central southward axis is vastly in keeping with the layout that is generally employed in buildings of the T-type with non-royal patronage in that it lacks an entrance vestibule and incorporates a relatively humble number of two side rooms. The vaulted corridor-like side chambers tucked in between the lateral domed rooms and the five-bay portico, on the other hand, are divergent from earlier non-royal versions built in Bursa. It is hard to assess the degree to which the side rooms were originally integrated with the central space.[150]

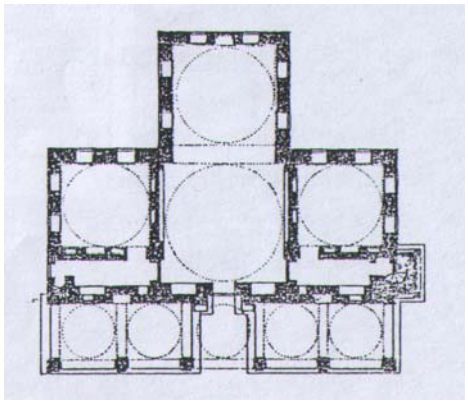


Figure 34. Karaca Bey – Karacabey, Bursa (1456/1457)

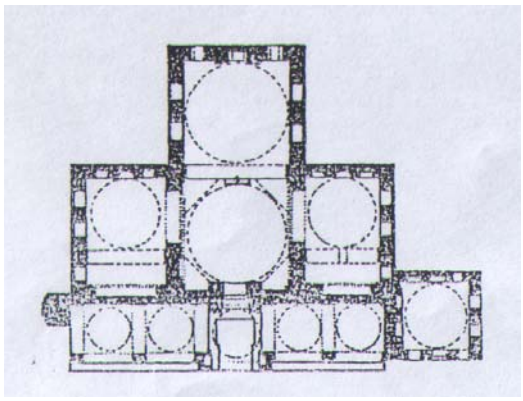


Figure 35. Hamza Bey – Bursa (1461)

[148] Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı. Fatih Devri Sonlarında İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskan ve Nüfusu, Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Neşriyatı: Ankara, 1958, pp. 83-84.
[149] Yerasimos, S. 1990, pp. 207-210.
[150] On the building also see Ayverdi, E. H. 1953, p. 263 and Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 41.

Another T-type building was commissioned in Bursa by Hamza Bey (d.1461) (see fig. 35), also known as 'the conqueror of İzmir (Smyrna)', who served as a commander under the reigns of Mehmed I, Murad II and Mehmed II. He had also served as a vizier under Murad II.[151] Except for the tomb adjoining the portico to the west, and two more erected on a hill in the vicinity of the T-type building, it can also be said to be of the accustomed schemes of the building type. In fact, apart from this adjacent tomb and the placement of the partition walls, both of which are likely outcomes of later alterations on the building, it is almost identical in plan to Karacabey in Bursa.[152]

Bali Bey of the eminent Malkoçoğlu family of frontier warriors, as well, commissioned a T-type variant in Bursa later in the fifteenth century (see fig. 45). He served as governor of Silistre and a commander under Mehmed's successor Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512) until his death in 1514. The building has a peculiar design composed of a single domed prayer space fronted by a flat-roofed portico and sided by two smaller domed rooms to the east and west.[153] This omission of the central domed area that leaves out an infill between the side spaces and the prayer area is akin to another building contemporary to that of Bali Bey, yet situated further inland and further off from the new center: that is, Uzun Hasan built in the second half of the fifteenth century in Fethiye, near Malatya. And yet, the former differs from the latter in that its portico entails not five but seven bays and that its side rooms, unlike the latter, open into the central area. The patron of Uzun Hasan is unknown, despite the name of the Akkoyunlu leader it bears today.[154]

Even though unaccounted-for, an association as such is worth reflecting. After all, the House of Akkoyunlu was the main rival of the Ottomans in the second half of the fifteenth century, when contestation for expansion in Anatolia with the Karamanids still prevailed. Uzun Hasan (r. 1466-1478) is the most well-known ruler of the Akkoyunlu dynasty in scholarship –due, partly, to the history of Akkoyunlus

[151] See Topaç, Ziya. Hamzabey Tarihi, Bursa, 1949.
[152] See Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 42. On the building also see, Kuran, A. 1968.
[153] For the plan of the building see Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 211.
[154] While Eyice refers to the building as Uzun Hasan, Doğan, for instance, addresses the same building as Abdürrezak Paşa. See Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 213 and Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 44.

written down under him.[155] He is also known to have harboured claims to caliphate.[156] His son Yakub (r. 1478-1490) was to jail the grandson of Safavid sheikh Cüneyd (r. 1447-1460), Sultan Ali, whose brother İsmail (r. 1501-1524) established the official Safavid State. The impact of the militant Sufi movement of the Safavids was to prove highly influential on the Ottoman religious milieu –both as part of centrifugal engagements and in the issuing of centralizing policies to restrain these engagements.[157]

One other T-type building around inner Anatolia, which is more accustomed in style, was constructed for a Sinan Bey before 1478 in Geyve (see fig. 36). The building has two side spaces entered via doorways from the central domed area and does not have a separate entrance bay. Notwithstanding, with its mirror-vaulted prayer area, it deviates from the general layout of T-type buildings of non-royal patronage. In addition, the building has a curious three-bayed portico which fronts only the central domed space and consists of a larger bay in the middle with smaller lateral ones. While Eyice thinks that the bays of the portico were originally covered with cross-vaults, in Doğan's plan they are drawn as being topped by domes. In any case, these bays appear to be peculiarly extended in all four directions in a quatrefoil manner by means of arches resting on piers of the portico and semi-piers protruding from the front façade.[158] The side rooms are likely to have been initially equipped with hearths.[159]

Another T-type multi-functional building was erected in the name of İsmail Bey of the renowned Candar family near Kastamonu in 1454 (see fig. 37). Coming

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[155] Tihrani-Isfahani, Abu Bakr. Kitab-ı Diyarbakriyya (in Persian), 2 vols., ed. N. Lugal and F. Sümer, Ankara, 1962-64.
[156] Peirce, Leslie P. The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 161.
[157] See Yürekli Görkay, E. Z. 2005, p. 15. Turcoman groups in Eastern Anatolia were mobilized as gazis by Cüneyd's raid to Georgia. On the participation of Anatolian Turcomans in these attacks see Sümer, F. 1999.
[158] Since I could not find information on neither the date nor the patron of the building in any other source than Eyice's article, I am hereby relying on the limited and highly interpretative data provided by him. See Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 34 and p. 67. For the plan of the building also see Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 199.
[159] Eyice also mentions an inscription panel of a later restoration dated 1746 and asserts that a photograph from 1946 reveals that there were chimneys still standing at the time. See Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 34, n 75.

from a lineage in continuous contestation – although at times at peace with the Ottomans, İsmail Bey engaged in a struggle with Mehmed II's army led by the grand vizier Mahmud Paşa, which culminated in the annexation of the house of Candar in 1461. Mahmud Paşa was to commission himself a T-type (see fig. 39) building in ten years, as well, but as I will probe more profoundly later on, one which is very different from that of İsmail Bey, in terms of both location and style.

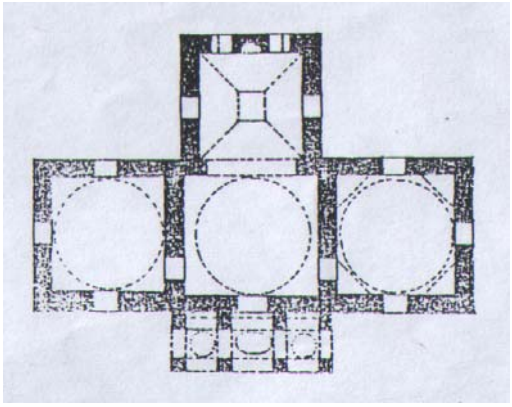


Figure 36. Sinan Bey – Geyve, Sakarya (1478)

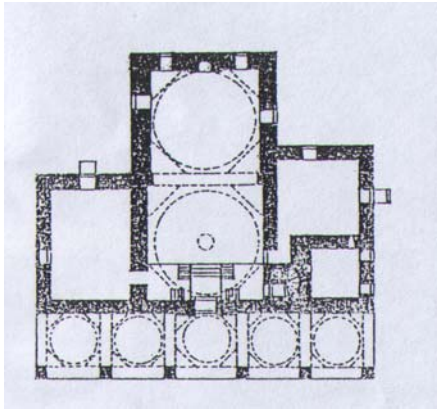


Figure 37. İsmail Bey – Kastamonu (1454)

According to its endowment deed dated 1461 İsmail Bey is part of a complex that comprises a *medrese,* bath, tomb, *han* and a hospice (imaret) along with the T-type building.[160] It has an unusual plan with (possibly not domed) asymmetrical side spaces and an additional separate cell tucked between the portico on the north and the side space on the south flank. The floor level elevated by a few steps extends beyond the prayer area nearer to the entrance, whereby creating a sunken floor, proceeding the main entrance of the building. It is through this sunken area that the central space gives access to the staircase on the west and the rectangular side room on the east.[161] Despite the idiosyncrasy thereof, the building is still reminiscent of the usual non-royal versions of the T-type in that it houses only two side spaces and does not possess a differentiated entranceway. Moreover, it is fronted by a five-domed portico and the side rooms are fairly sealed off from the central space. The reason behind İsmail Bey's choice of layout for the building might as well have caused him

[160] See Yaman, Mümtaz. Kastamonu Tarihi, I, İstanbul, 1935, p. 156 and p. 158.
[161] On the building also see "İsmail Bey Külliyesi (Kastamonu)," in Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi, C.23, İstanbul, 2001, pp. 87-90.

to prefer a territory in Thrace to rule upon, instead of İnegöl, which was offered to him during negotiations with Mehmed II. He is reported to have been appointed to Filibe (Philippopolis) where he died in 1479.

Hızır Paşa, like his brother Yörgüç Paşa, commissioned a T-type building in Amasya. The building of Hızır Paşa (1465) (see fig. 38) akin to that of his brother built earlier in 1428 (see fig. 28) diverges from the familiar layout of T-type multi-functional buildings commissioned by non-royal patronage. Not only the two side rooms are vaulted in the direction of the southward axis, instead of being domed, but also the building is entered not from the northern wall of the domed space adjacent to the prayer area, but from the west wall of the western side room. Accordingly the orientation within the building differs from the general scheme of a north-south axis with *mihrab* facing the entrance across. Moreover, the building does not have a portico and has unusually plain and impermeable façades.[162] With a spatial organization as such, the plan of the building bears remarkable reminiscence to those of the earliest coinciding with the time of Orhan.

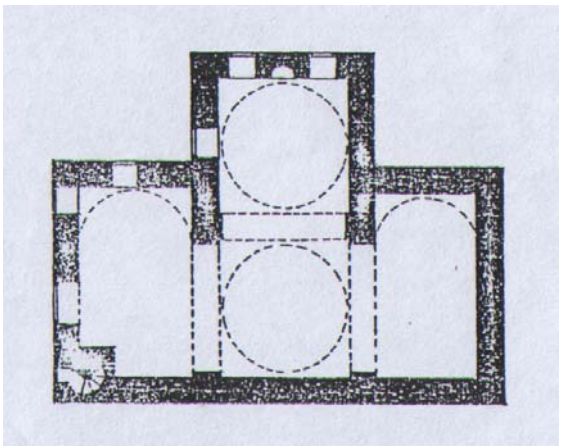


Figure 38. Hızır Paşa – Amasya (1465)

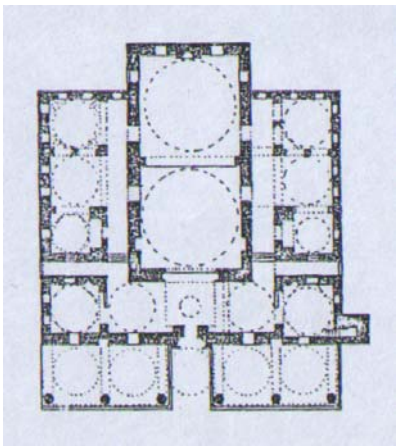


Figure 39. Mahmud Paşa - İstanbul (1462)

What all the above mentioned T-type multi-functional buildings constructed during the second reign of Mehmed II between 1451 and 1481 have in common is that they all deviate from the accustomed non-royal version built up until then. The

[162] For the plan of the building see Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 199.

ones in Bursa, however, are the only two both to share a similar layout and to bear the closest kinship to earlier T-type buildings of non-royal patronage in plan. What is more, and all the more striking is that, Mehmed did not patronize any T-type building to be constructed under his name, thus abolishing what was until then an uninterrupted act amongst the Ottoman rulers.

Only one of the T-type buildings commissioned while Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446/1451-1481) was in reign bears a remarkable resemblance to those of the earlier royal versions in plan: that of Mahmud Paşa in İstanbul (1462) (see fig. 39). It is designated as *imaret* in its inscription and termed as *hankah* (convent) by the account of Enveri, who is a comtemporary chronicler.[163] The T-type building and the mausoleum of its patron nearby, form a complex together with a hospice, medrese, elementary school and bath-house. It is situated right next to Mahmud Paşa's residence. The patron of the building, as discussed by Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, was "[…] the most central figure of the fifteenth-century Ottoman realm after Mehmed."[164] He was a levied Serbian-born, who is the longest-serving grand vizier under Mehmed II. Mahmud Paşa not only served between 1453-1466 and 1472-1474, but also commissioned the well-known epic, the *Düsturname* (d. 1474), which mainly tells the deeds of Aydınoğlu Umur Bey as mentioned before.[165] Mahmud is known to have been put to death while he was still serving as a grand vizier in 1474. The t-type building has multiple convent rooms and a separate entrance vestibule that leads to additional rooms similar to earlier examples of royal patronage clustered in and around Bursa. Yet unlike the latter, the building of Mahmud Paşa has both of its central twin domes allocated for prayer: The space under the second dome is no longer differentiated from the first by a raised floor, and the domes are alike in structure and size, both of which compose a unified two-domed prayer area. Necipoğlu terms the building a 'Friday mosque with a T-type plan' to stress the divergence from earlier ones, which she labels as 'T-type convent-masjids.'[166]

[163] Cited in Kafesçioğlu, Çiğdem, The Ottoman Capital in the Making: The Reconstruction of Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1996, p. 169.
[164] Kafesçioğlu, Ç. 1996, p. 163.
[165] Kafadar, C. 1995, pp. 69-71.
[166] Necipoğlu, G. 2005, pp. 94-95. On the building complex also see Goodwin, G. 1992, pp. 109-113, Öz, Tahsin. İstanbul Camileri, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1987, v. 1, pp. 98-99, Kuran, A. 1968, pp. 142-143, Ayverdi, E. H. III, 1953, pp. 443-451 and IV, pp. 580-589, 602-605.

Moreover, the prayer area, now consisting of two domes, is walled off from the corridors that provide passage to side rooms. All the spaces, with the exception of the corridors, which are barrel vaulted, are topped with domes. The building is fronted by a five domed portico. Thereby in combination with the portico, the plan of the subsequent entrance vestibule with its two domed spaces opening up to each other on either side is reminiscent of the Byzantine *narthex,* a sort of an inner corridor parallel to the portico.[167] Although a similar curious addition was employed in a T-type plan before as mentioned - in that of Postinpuş Baba (1340s) (see fig. 4)- the domed portico duplicated on the interior as an inner corridor, the central bays of which are both accentuated, adds to the cross-axial feel of the plan of Mahmud Paşa. Kafesçioğlu asserts that two later Ottoman sources written in the sixteenth century recount that a church existed on the site of the mosque and that, curious features of the layout may have been originated from the limitations brought about by an extant foundation thereupon.[168]

Murad Paşa (see fig. 40), another pioneering T-type building within a complex commissioned by a leading commander of Mehmed II's in the new capital, was built between 1466 and 1471. It is situated on what Cyril Mango claims to be a 'triumphal way' formerly used by the Constantinopolitan Byzantines and on a site which was then occupied by a colossal statute representing a river god.[169] Although it does resemble the earlier non-royal versions of the T-type multi-functional buildings with its walls made of alternating courses of brick and stone and lacking an entrance vestibule, in plan it swerves from them in that it has not two but four domed side spaces of equal equal size.[170] These side spaces, opening into each other, are all equipped with hearths.[171] In fact, the T-type building of Murad Paşa is strikingly reminiscent of the scheme in between the royal and non-royal versions: namely that previously used in Horozlu İmaret in Tokat (early fifteenth century) (see fig. 20),

[167] Kuran, A. 1968, p. 90.
[168] Kafesçioğlu, Ç. 1996, pp. 168-169.
[169] Mango, Cyril. "The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate" in Dumbarton Oaks Papers, no 54 (Alice-Mary Talbot ed.), Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection: Washington D.C., 2000, p. 176.
[170] There are at least two earlier buildings of a similar layout as I have already mentioned: namely Horozlu in Tokat (d. 1413-1421) and Yörgüç Paşa in Amasya (d. 1428). Such kind of a plan was not common, however, especially among the agendas of non-royal patrons.
[171] On the building see Kuran, A. 1968, pp. 90-92.

Yörgüç Paşa in Amasya (1428) (see fig. 28) and Şihabüddin Paşa in Filibe (before 1444) (see fig. 31). Akin to the latter, the plan of Murad Paşa emphasizes the unification of the core and employs four side spaces, fairly demarcated from the core. In the building of Murad Paşa, however, the side spaces are also unified among themselves.

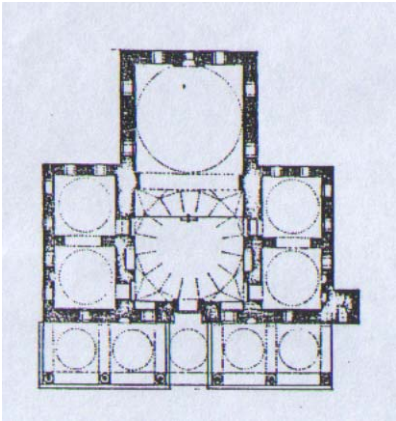


Figure 40. Murad Paşa- İstanbul (1466 -1471)

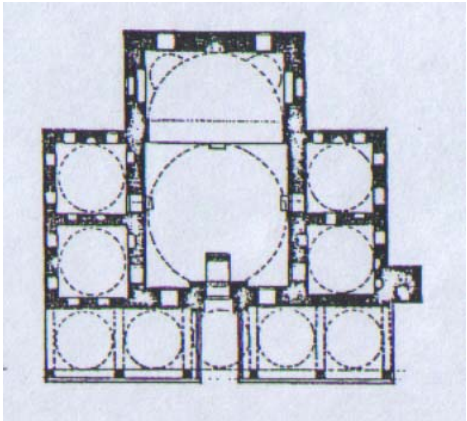


Figure 41. Rum Mehmed Paşa – İstanbul (1469)

Rum Mehmed Paşa, who succeeded Mahmud Paşa as grand vizier in 1466, likewise commissioned a T-type complex in İstanbul in 1469 (see fig. 41). The complex, composed of a T-type building, medrese, baths and an *imaret* (soup kitchen), was situated on a hill on the Anatolian side in Üküdar district.[172] Akin to the building of Murad Paşa, it has four domed side spaces equal in size and a five bay portico. Unlike the former, however, the second of the central large spaces is elevated by a step and is covered by a semi-dome instead of a dome. The tomb of Rum Mehmed Paşa, who was executed in 1469 before the completion of his mosque to be replaced by the former grand vizier Mahmud Paşa, is situated outside near the western corner of the *qıbla* wall.[173]

[172] Unlike the rest of the T-type complexes built in İstanbul under Mehmed II, however, the endowment deed of Rum Mehmed Paşa's is not included in the compiled endowments and foundations list of İstanbul (İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defterleri) of 1546. See Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı and Barkan, Ömer Lütfi. İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri: 953 (1546) Tarihli, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti: İstanbul, 1970.

[173] See Ayverdi, E. H. III, 1953, pp. 482-490, Goodwin, G. 1992, pp. 114-115, Ayvansarayi, Hafız Hüseyin. The Garden of the Msoques: Hafız Hüseyin al-Ayvansarayi's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman İstanbul, translated and annotated by Howard Crane, Brill: Leiden; Boston, 2000, p. 498, Kuran, A. 1968, pp. 96-97, and Necipoğlu, G. 2005, p. 95. On the resemblance of the exterior of the building to those of Byzantine monuments see Ousterhout, R. 1995. Rum Mehmed

Mehmed II's one other grand vizier, Gedik Ahmet Paşa, similarly commissioned a T-type building. The building of Gedik Ahmet Paşa (1472) (see fig. 42) was situated near Afyon, however, and its construction predates its patron's service as a grand vizier, which lasted from 1474 to 1477. It was built when its patron was serving as *beylerbeyi* (governer) of Anatolia. The T-type building shares the same feature of four side spaces with the above mentioned ones in İstanbul, although in Gedik Ahmet Paşa one domed open bay of equal size is in between these side spaces on each side of the building. Moreover, the prayer area swells in plan near the *qıbla* wall housing the *mihrab*. Gedik Ahmet, who also served as the tutor to Cem, was to get imprisoned two times: once in 1477 and again following Bayezid's ascension to throne in 1481. The second one was due to the –seemingly erroneous- suspicion that during the edgy period when Mehmed's two sons, Bayezid and Cem, were contending for the reign, he stood by the latter.

The last T-type building to be erected in Bursa was that of İshak Paşa (1481/1482) near İnegöl (see fig. 43). The patron of the building had served as grand vizier for both Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446/1451-1481) and Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512). He is also known to be a partisan of Mehmed's new imperial regime and is the father-in-law of Gedik Ahmet Pasa at the time Ahmet had been tutor to Cem. This liaison must have been influential in Ahmet Pasa's failure to provide Cem with enough support to challenge the enthronement of his older brother Bayezid II.[174] The T-type building of his, fronted by a five-bay portico and formed by two consecutive domed spaces, with two domed rooms flanking the first, is compliant with the earlier non-sultanic genealogy of the T-type multi-functional buildings erected in Bursa. Since the tomb of İshak Paşa is in his hometown, Skopje, there are not any tombs associated with the T-type building. It is worthy of noting, however, that his diseased body is reported to have been moved from Thessalonica, where he died few years after his retirement in 1492, to Skopje, where a tomb was built next to another variant of the T-type: namely that of the governor of Skopje, İsa Bey (1475) (see fig.

Paşa has commissioned another tomb in the vicinity of the mosque he ordered to be built in Tire, yet it is believed that his diseased body is situated in the one in İstanbul, whereas it is not known to whom the one in Tire belongs. See Kılcı, Ali. "Erken Osmanlı Baldaken Türbeleri," in Proceedings of the 11th International Congress of Turkish Art, M. Kiel, N. Landman and H. Theunissen eds., Utrecht, August 23-28 1999, no. 26, p. 8.

[174] Peirce, L. P. 1993, pp. 47-48.

44).[175] The plan of the building, with its four side rooms, is very much akin to those of Mehmed II's grand viziers in İstanbul, although these rooms are covered by cross-vaults as a replacement for domes.

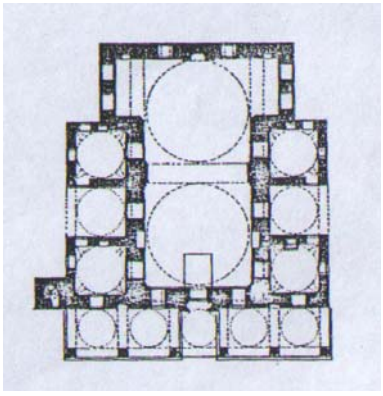


Figure 42. Gedik Ahmet Paşa - Afyon (1472)

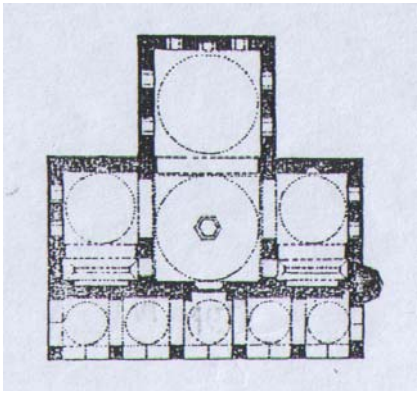


Figure 43. İshak Paşa – İnegöl, Bursa (1481/ 1482)

T-type buildings in the Balkans of Gazi Evrenos in the late fourteenth century, Şihabüddin Paşa in Filibe (1430) (see fig. 31), İshak Bey (1438/1439) (see fig. 30) and İsa Bey (1475) in Skopje (Üsküp) are chronologically followed by that of Evrenos Ahmed Bey in Gianitsa (Yenice-Vardar). The building dates back to the second half of the fifteenth century. It is also known as Ulu Cami, probably owing to the square prayer area, which is designed as a large space dominating the rest of the building and atypically topped by a dome supported by half-domes. The square central space gives way to rectangular lateral rooms via arches and a five-domed portico abuts the building as a whole.[176]Although we do not know whether or not the building was a part of a larger complex, we do know of an intact mausoleum of

[175] Bogojevic, L. Turski Spomenici vo Skopje, Skopje, 1998, p. 35. For a description of the architectural features of the tomb see İbrahimgil, Mehmet Z. "Makedonya'da Türbe Yapıları ve Türk Sanatındaki Yeri" in Proceedings of the 11th International Congress of Turkish Art, M. Kiel, N. Landman and H. Theunissen eds., Utrecht, August 23-28 1999, no. 56, p. 5.

[176] Since the roof covering the whole building was altered after having been demolished during World War II, whether or not the original design incorporated both the peculiarly large central dome and the half-domes supporting it are speculative. I based my argument, however, on Machiel Kiel's restitution plans, see Kiel, Machiel "Yenice-Vardar (Vardar Yenicesi-Giannitsa): A Forgotten Turkish Cultural Centre in Macedonia of the 15th and 16th Centuries" in Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica, ed. V. F. Bakker, A. F. van Gemert and W. J. Aerts, Leiden: Brill, 1972, pp. 300-329. On the architecture of the building also see Ayverdi, E. H. 1981, p. 304.

Evrenos Ahmed Bey's nearby. Evrenos Ahmed is the grandson of the renowned Gazi Evrenos and thereby a descendant of a family belonging to the warrior nobility in the House of Osman. His grandfather, as already mentioned, is also the first patron to commission a T-type building in the Balkans, in Komotini (Gümülcine).

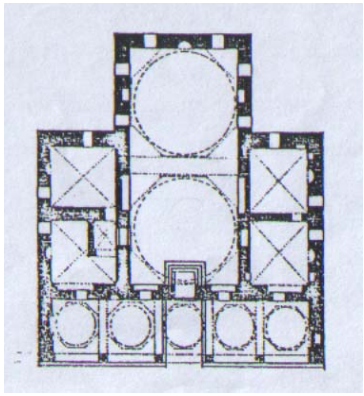


Figure 44. İsa Bey – Skopje (Üsküp) (1475)

What the royal versions of the T-type, along with Bayezid Paşa in Amasya (1414-1419) (see fig. 22) Yıldırım in Edirne (1389 -1402) (see fig. 17) and Mahmud Paşa in İstanbul (1462-1463) (see fig. 39) have in common is the augmentation of the side rooms and the addition of an entrance vestibule, which enables passage to side rooms -and in some cases to rooms on the upper level. They are also all situated in Bursa, except for those three. All of the Ottoman rulers that had come before Mehmed II had commissioned one building of this royal version bearing their names in Bursa. Despite the fact that they had used their sultanic names so as to implant T-type buildings in other parts of the Ottoman territory at times when these parts gained vigor, they had not compromised on the accustomed patronage of sultanic versions in Bursa. Mehmed, on the other hand, did not commission any T-type building under his name. In that sense, Mehmed brought about a shift in the regime of sultanic T-type patronage, in that, not only did he choose not to implant this very type, which bears the stamp of the sultan, in the new center of the state, but he also broke a chain formed by the ancestors of the dynasty. This is very likely to be bound up with the fact that Ottoman realm, as envisaged by Mehmed, was now more than merely a state: It was an empire within a context of co-existing traditions, and one

that was also in the process of re-establishing its architectural vocabulary accordingly.

As was the case in Edirne during the reign of Murad II (r. 1421-1444 / 1446-1451), the T-type buildings patronized by stately officials and dignitaries clustered in the inner core under Mehmed II. And yet, the earlier sprout in Edirne, which as a city became the symbol of the gaza spirit in the eyes of the frontier lords, came to a halt. In addition the territorial condensation of the non-royal patronage of T-type buildings coinciding with the reign of Mehmed took place in a twofold manner. There were now not only one, but two major hubs on which these buildings were galore: namely, Bursa and İstanbul. In both, akin to the time of Murad, the patronage was taken on by those who stood by Mehmed and his new imperial regime. However, in the former, the layouts of the buildings were very much in keeping with non-royal versions previously built there, while in the latter they made use of a scheme that was previously engaged more with the centrifugal forces.

The non-sultanic versions made their oeuvre in İstanbul, the new capital of the empire for the first time. They did so by presenting themselves in a novel fashion. Gülru Necipoğlu stresses the enunciation of the primacy of İstanbul for the 'classical age' of the empire through different architectural programs.[177] According to her, while the cities that constituted the inner core (*iç-il*) received the most 'Ottomanization' in architectural terms; the frontier zone (*uc*) was symbolically marked as Ottoman territory by the erection of Ottoman Friday mosques. The inner domain was conceived to comprise İstanbul as the nucleus along with Bursa and Edirne and the outer extension of provinces (*Taşra*). It is possible to suggest that the building program regarding the T-type buildings under Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446/1451-1481) added greatly to -if not constituted- the process and that the reverse kind of architectural transplantation was resorted. Before creating an architectural idiom that was unique to İstanbul and that echoed a new political project thereof, it first had to be made similar to that of the inland. The construction of buildings of the T-type in İstanbul yet changing the habitual layout of the type assured a

[177] Necipoğlu, G. 2005, p. 31.

simultaneous familiarization and differentiation. For, as Kafadar maintains, Mehmed's project "[…] involved building a highly centralized imperial administrative apparatus that was to serve under the House of Osman, which took pride in its gazi past but which now defined itself in a new fashion."[178]

Thus, inasmuch as the T-type buildings erected in Bursa echoed resurrection of a tradition among stately notables, which had long been ceased since the rule of Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402), their implantation in İstanbul reverberated change. It can as well be argued that the difference in the dispositions of the plans employed in the two cities was also marking their patrons' varying ranks or the degree of favor they received from Mehmed II. Or else, it might be pointing to the manner in - and the extent to- which these patrons wished to differentiate themselves. For, as exemplified by the cases of Bali Bey in Bursa (late fifteenth century) (see fig. 45) and Mahmud Paşa in İstanbul (1462) (see fig. 39) such differentiation in the layouts of the T-types that were commissioned mostly coincides with opposition and claim to higher authority. On the other hand, for those patrons who expressed their claims simply by their choices of sites to adorn with their buildings, not much differentiation or innovation in plan layouts was of necessity, as in the cases of İsmail Bey in Kastamonu (1454) (see fig. 37) and Hızır Paşa in Amasya (1465) (see fig. 38). Nonetheless, self-expression through location, when combined with a quirky design, probably inaugurated a clearer and stronger statement, as was the case with Uzun Hasan –Malatya (second half of the fifteenth century).

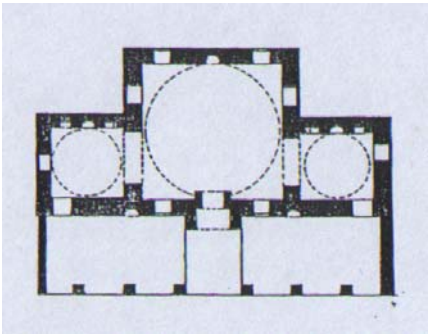
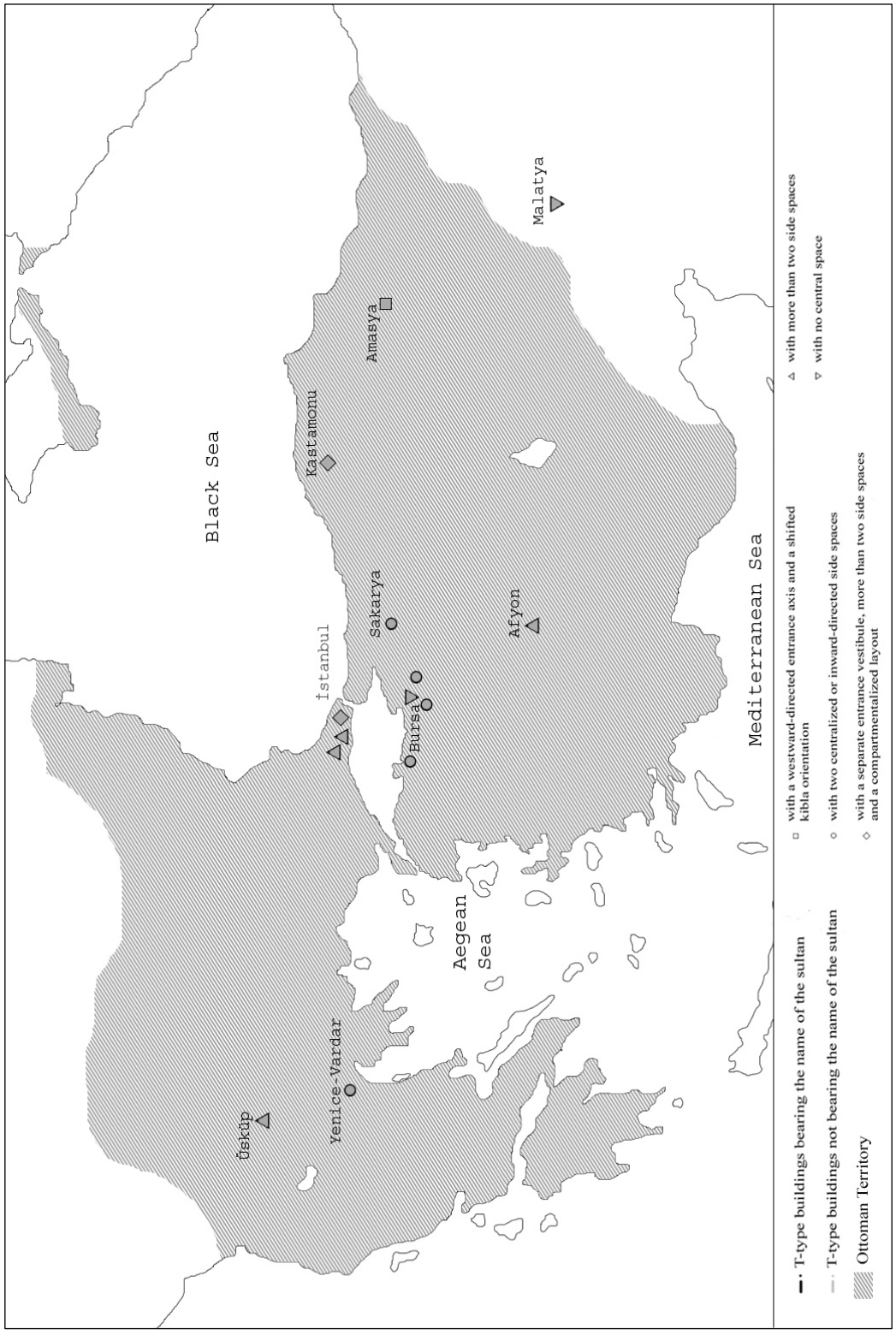


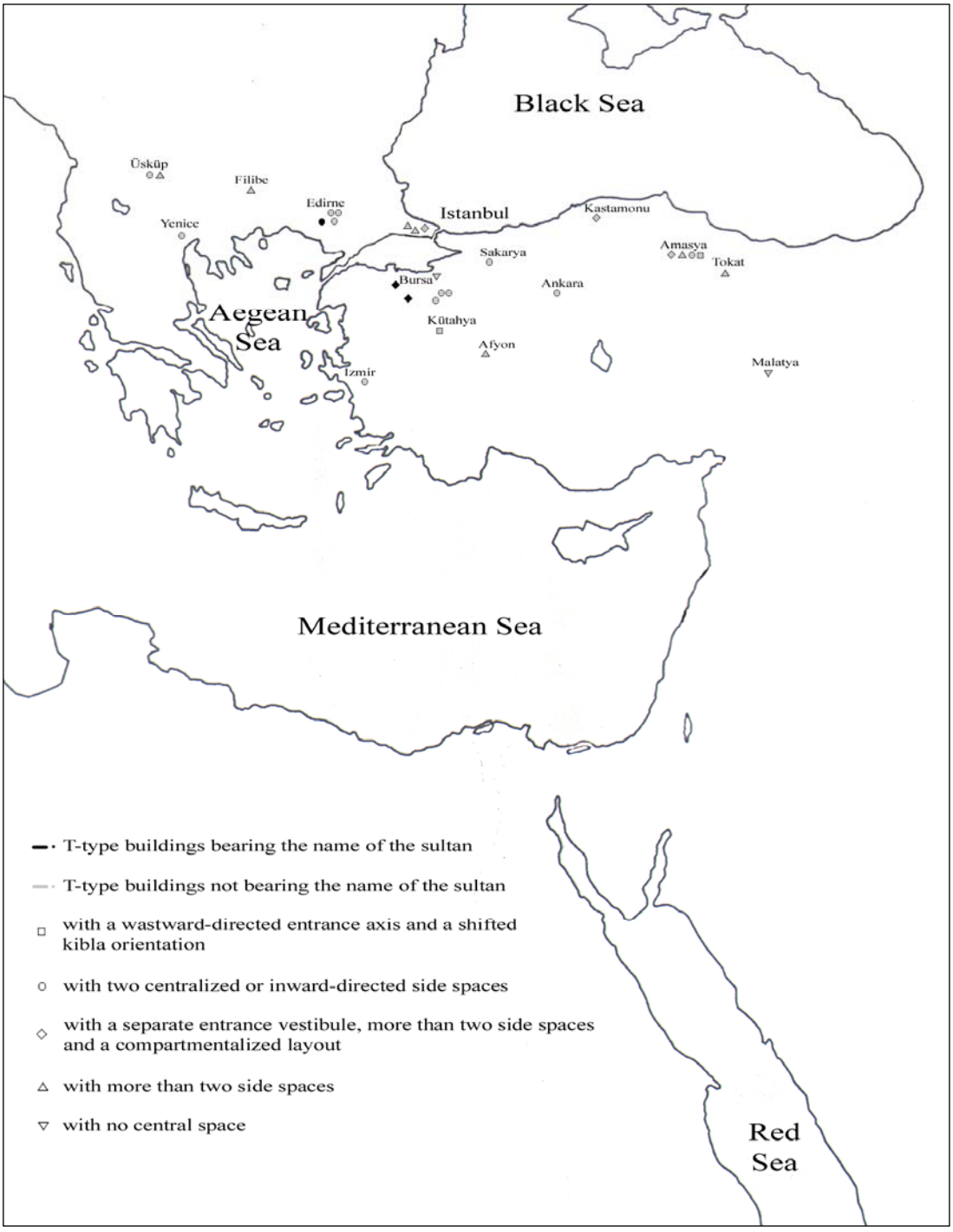
Figure 45. Bali Bey –Bursa (late fifteenth century)

[178] Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 152.

The Reign of Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446/1451-1481)



Interregnum and the Reigns of Mehmed I - Murad II - Mehmed II



CHAPTER 5

FROM A NETWORK INTO LINES OF LINEAGE :

Full Appropriation of the T-type by the Center

Among other prospects harbored by Mehmed II's imperial project, the confiscation of more than a thousand villages that had previously been in control of the early colonizers was one of the most frowned upon by the frontier lords. The uproar it brought about in the gazi/dervish milieu stood as a major problem Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512) confronted following his enthronement. Thereby, he was faced not only with his younger brother Cem's claim to throne, but also the irate lords and dervishes. He showed no mercy to the former, whom he arranged to be poisoned, whereas he was forced to come to terms with the latter by agreeing to reprivatize the very lands.[179] Edirne, the old capital, idealized as the embodiment of a bygone era of gazi dominance, was used as missile by Cem against his brother in appeasing the descendents of gazi lineage. In *Saltukname,* an epic compiled for prince Cem, Edirne is referred to as the 'abode of gazis.'[180] Bayezid made no compromises on the supremacy of İstanbul and its representing the center of the empire, at the same time seeming to have taken a milder stance against the *gazi* past compared to Mehmed. As opposed to the funerary mosque complex commissioned by Mehmed II in İstanbul (1463-1470), the complex of Bayezid II therein (1501-1505) featured a mosque that bore similarities to the T-type buildings - and therefore references to the frontier ethos.[181] In a similar, and perhaps an even more expressive vein, immediately following his ascension to throne, Bayezid had commissioned another complex in Edirne (1484-1488), on the banks of the Tunca river, the centre piece of

[179] Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 97.
[180] Cited in Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 148. Also see *ibid*, pp. 148-149. Here Kafadar discusses the probable audience of *Saltukname.* It is evident that Cem used the symbolic value of Edirne to appeal to a certain clientele, which according to Kafadar is the gazi milieu.
[181] On the building see Necipoğlu, G. 2005, pp. 88-89, Aslanapa, O. 1986, pp. 134-141, Goodwin, G. 1992, pp. 168-174 and Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang. İstanbul'un tarihsel topografyasi: 17. yüzyil başlarina kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul (trans. by Ülker Sayın). İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınlari, 2001, pp. 492-494.

which was a mosque that likewise entailed substantial resemblance to the T-type with its flanking *tabhane* rooms and divergence from the magestic scale and axial geometry employed in the complex of Mehmed II.[182]

Other than Bayezid's mosque-cum-convent-cum-funerary complex in İstanbul, the only T-type building to be erected in the capital under Bayezid II is that of Davud Paşa (1498) (see fig. 46). Davud Pasa, who had served as the governor-general (*beylerbeyi)* of Anatolian provinces under Mehmed II, commissioned the building prior to his devotion to dervish endeavors and during his service to Bayezid as grand vizier. The building comprises a larger complex situated in a residential area named after Davud Pasa, along with a *medrese* and a soup kitchen (*imaret*). According to the inscription on the plaque over the main gateway, the building dates back to 1485-1486. Its design incorporates a single prayer area and side cells directly opening to it, while a central domed space no longer exists. The exclusion of the first and central domed circulation spaces recalls above mentioned buildings of Bali Bey (see fig. 45) and Uzun Hasan. However, the T-type building of Davud Pasa has two more side rooms than the others, both of which have two. The northern two of these side rooms are semi closed. They open up to the exterior, while, on the interior, giving access to the southern rooms. Thereby, the privacy of the rooms to the north, which are equipped with hearths and shelves, is further diminished by direct entrance from outside. Another rare feature of the building is the semi-dome-topped polygonal *mihrab* apse on the *kıbla* wall of the prayer space.[183]

[182] On the building and the significance it bore with respect to the the idiom of imperial Ottoman architecture see Necipoğlu, G. 2005, pp. 94-95.
[183] Ayverdi, E. H. 1953, pp. 327-337, Goodwin, G. 1992, p. 115, Ayvansarayi, pp. 52-53.

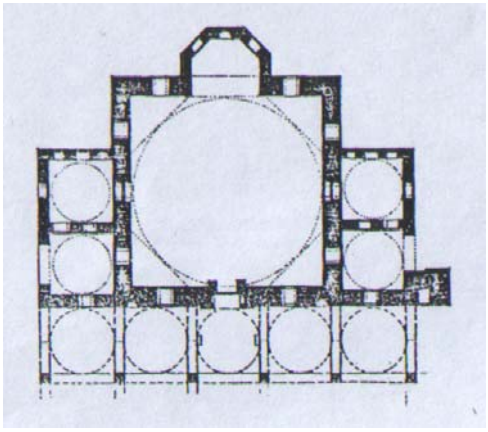


Figure 46. Davud Paşa – İstanbul (1498)

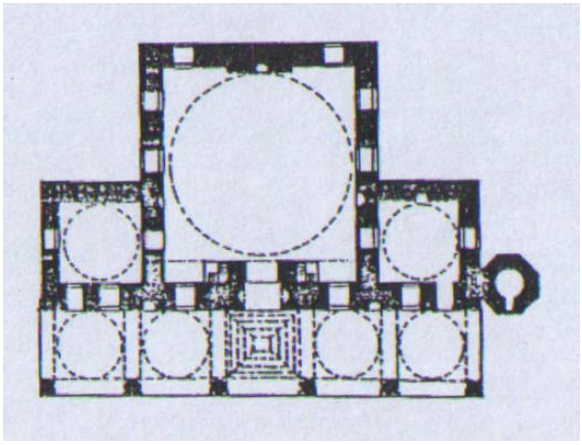


Figure 47. Alaca İmaret- Selanik (Thessaloniki) (1486/1487)

Commissioning of buildings of the T-type appears to have lost its popularity in İstanbul during the reign of Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512), whereas steadily –yet scarcely- having prolonged in Thrace and the Balkans. There are two T-type buildings constructed around the area under Bayezid: one in Thessaloniki and another one in Tekirdağ. Alaca in Selanik (Thessaloniki) (see fig. 47) was built in 1486/1487. According to the endowment deed dated 1488 and entitled 'Alaca İmaret and İshakiye Cami' the patron is İshak Paşa of Amasya origin.[184] Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi maintains that the public baths in Thessaloniki which share the name Alaca is part of the complex commissioned by İshak Paşa.[185] With its four side rooms accessed via the central domed space it is reminiscent of the T-type buildings previously constructed in the Balkans and those commissioned in İstanbul under Mehmed II. Its peculiarity stems from the addition of flanking corridors, which are the only two openings into the central domed area. The entrances to these corridors, directly faced by the entryways to the northern side rooms, lead to the southern pair. The domed rooms are not stretched in order to fit the whole design to the accustomed T plan, but are rather kept as squares.[186]

[184] Ayverdi, E. H. 1982, p. 255.
[185] Ayverdi, E. H. 1982, p. 265.
[186] For the plan of the building see Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 204.

The T-type multi-functional building of Mirliva Hüseyin Paşa in Eğnecik, near Tekirdağ, also known as İnecik İmaret, was built in 1498-1499.[187] The patron of the building was a leading general in the Ottoman army. The building is fronted by a five-bay domed portico and composed of a single domed complexion allocated to prayer with two domed side rooms flanking it on either side. It is reminiscent of Bali Bey in Bursa (late fifteenth century) (see fig. 45), except for the portico, which reminds a layout that had previously been applied in Davud Paşa in İstanbul (1498) (see fig. 46). Unlike both, however, the building of Hüseyin Paşa has side rooms that bear no access from the prayer area but are entered directly from the portico in the front.

Founded in 1485 by Bayezid II in the memory of his mother Gülbahar Hatun, is the T-type building of Hatuniye –also known as Meydan Cami due to its location on a central square- in Tokat (see fig. 48).[188] The building, along with the medrese nearby, used to be a part of a larger building complex, other components of which are no longer extant. Thuasne claims that Gülbahar Hatun, to whose honour the complex was dedicated, was a "Turk" by birth.[189] It is highly probable that she was of the prominent Dulkadir family. The building is comprised of a prayer space unified under a single dome with two domed side rooms flanking it from the east and the west. It is fronted by a five-bay portico. In plan, it is very much akin to the T-type building of Hüseyin Paşa except the linkage of side rooms to the prayer area, which is absent in Hüseyin Paşa.

[187] Doğan enlists the building under the anonymous term *imaret* with no information on the petron. See Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 212.
[188] Gabriel, A. Monuments Turcs d'Anatolie, II, Paris, 1934, pp. 91-93. For the plan of the building see Eyice, S. 1962-63, p. 76. Also on the building, see Gökbilgin, T. 1952
[189] Thuasne, L. Djem Sultan, fils de Muhammed II, frere de Bayezid II, (1459-1495),Paris, 1892, p. 28.

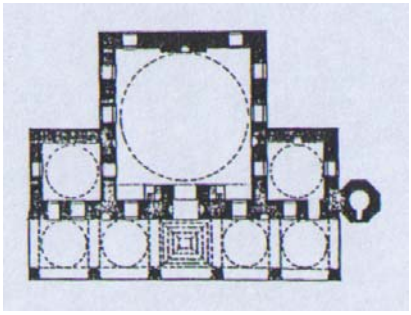


Figure 48. Hatuniye – Tokat (1485)

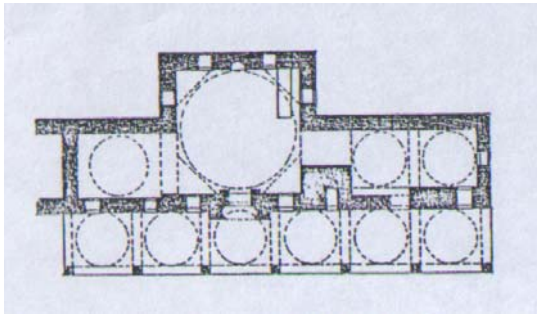


Figure 49. Mehmed Paşa - Amasya (1486-1495)

The construction of the T-type building of Hatuniye in inner Anatolia, in Tokat is followed by that of Mehmed Paşa in Amasya (see fig. 49). While Hüseyin Hüsameddin and Godfrey Goodwin date the erection of the building to 1495,[190] Doğan gives an earlier date of 1486.[191] This T-type building, as usual, is part of a larger complex also including a medrese, an imaret, a mausoleum and a convent.[192] Among these several buildings of the complex only the T-type building and the mausoleum made it until today. It has a peculiar design that not only incorporates a single domed prayer space without a central space for circulation but also has one of its two side rooms not in a square but a rectangular shape in plan. This rectangle is achieved by the integration of two single domed square cells, which in other cases individually form a side room. This two-bayed eastern side room is accessed directly from the six-bayed portico in the front of the building, as well as through a corridor opening up to the prayer area.[193] Its patron Mehmed Paşa is the son of Hızır Paşa, who had previously commissioned a T-type multi-functional building in Amasya. Mehmed Paşa had served in prominent stately positions including the *beylerbeyi* (governor general) of Rumelia until he got vizierate in 1483. He was made to leave his post by Bayezid, however, after the war with Mamluks, during which he was thought to have failed in cooperating with the contemporary grand vizier Hersekzade

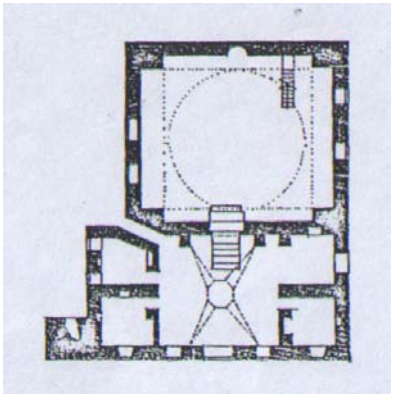
[190] Hüsameddin, Hüseyin Amasya Tarihi, I, İstanbul, 1911, p. 168 and Goodwin, G. 1992, p. 473.
[191] Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 212.
[192] Hüsameddin, H. 1911, p. 168 and p. 242. On the endowment deed of the complex see Yediyıldız, Bahaeddin. "Hızır Paşa Oğlu Mehmed Paşa Vakfının Mahiyeti" in X. Türk Tarih Kongresi'ne – Ankara 22-26 Eylül 1986- Sunulan Tebliğler, IV, Ankara, 1993, pp. 1625-1633.
[193] See Gabriel, A. 1934, pp. 42-43, Goodwin, G. 1992, p. 156 and p. 160, and Yüksel, A. İ. Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid ve Yavuz Selim Devri (1481-1520) İstanbul, 1983, p.40.

Ahmed Paşa (s. 1497-1498). He was then appointed as the tutor to Prince Ahmed, which he continued until his death in 1499.[194]

Prince Ahmed, then the governor of Amasya, was to prove to become the principal contender to Selim (*Yavuz* or the Grim) (r. 1512-1520) up until the latter overcame his brothers and managed to succeed his father in 1512. It might be worthy to point out here that, during the conflict between Selim and Ahmed, Bayezid's own nominee for the throne, it was the noble tip of the military group (*Sipahis*) that took side with and provided vital support for the former. The latter, on the other hand, as pointed by Peirce, lost the initial sustenance he held by the Janissaries due to his alleged conversion to Shiite Islam.[195]

Another building of T-type to be constructed under Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512) in Amasya is the one commissioned by one of his governor generals, Abdullah Paşa. Built in 1502 and situated in Sofular, a province of Amasya, the T-type multi-functional building of Abdullah Paşa (see fig. 50) can be considered the most curious among its contemporaries in terms of layout. The square space covered with a cross vault to the north of the domed prayer area serves as a circulation area, to which four side rooms open up. These side rooms, likewise topped by vaults, flank this circulatory space on either side. The south-eastern one has its corner trimmed off, along with the north-eastern corner of the prayer area so as to create a second gateway to the central space. The prayer area is elevated by several steps from the central vaulted space, a design practice which had long been abandoned. Abdullah Pasa's mausoleum is situated within the courtyard of the building.[196]

[194] See Uzunçarşılı, İ. H. 1929, pp. 126-127.
[195] See Peirce, L. P. 1993, p. 166.
[196] See Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 204.



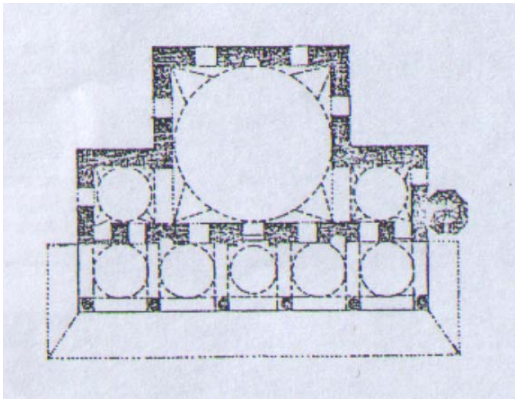


Figure 50. Abdullah Paşa - Amasya (d. 1502) **Figure 51.** Büyük İmaret- Trabzon (d.? 1505-1506)

Selim I (*Yavuz* or the Grim) (r. 1512-1520), on the other hand, commissioned a T-type building in the memory of his mother in Trabzon in 1505/1506 (see fig. 51). Since the inscription panel bearing the completion of the construction no longer exists it is hard to assess the date of the building. Furthermore, due to Selim's autonomous actions starting before his enthronement around Trabzon area, where he served as the provincial governor, it is not even certain whether or not the commissioning of the building precedes his ascension to throne.[197] This T-type building, known as Büyük İmaret, in a similar vein to that of Hatuniye in Tokat (see fig. 48), consists of a prayer area unified under a single dome with two adjacent domed side rooms opening to it. The building, fronted by a five bay portico, used to form a building complex along with a *medrese*, public baths, imaret, and a school, all of which are demolished. The mausoleum of Selim's diseased mother still stands to the east of the building.[198]

Defeats against first Memluks in 1488, then Persians in 1502 under Bayezid II, both of which culminated in humiliating treaties and reconfiguration of borders thereof, were indicators of the impending Shiite 'heretic' threat on the east. The crystallization of the Shiite peril as such and its reverberations on the society not only proved to be operative in Selim's victory over his older brother Ahmed –who, if not a supporter as then assumed, was at least a sympathizer of Shiite Islam- in succeeding his father, but also appears to be his primary military target during his

[197] Doğan dates the building to 1505/1506. See Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 212.
[198] See Doğan, A. I. 1977, p. 212.

short but remarkable reign.[199] His fierce campaigns to the east ended up in the Ottoman domination on virtually all of the modern Middle East. By 1517, as maintained by Leslie Peirce, "[…] firmly in control of the entirety of the Holy Land, there was no one to contest Selim's claim. It was a declaration that stated the obvious: the Ottoman Empire had become the greatest power of the Muslim world."[200] This 'Muslim world' envisaged by Selim, however, did not comply so much with those of heterodox parties. We know, at any rate, of one particular historian, Ruhi of Edirne, who criticized Selim at the time of the succession struggles (1511-1512) - at the very least until Selim's victory deemed foreseeable.[201] Kafadar points out that Ruhi's being from Edirne should be more than a mere coincidence. Given the past opposition between Bayezid II and Prince Cem involving whether or not the capital should be moved back to Edirne, the 'abode of gazis;' it could well be argued that the 'pro-Edirne party' may not have waned as of then.[202]

Built subsequent to the conquest of Diyarbakır, Fatih Paşa in Diyarbakır (1518-1520) (see fig. 52) is reminiscent of the commemoration of Selim's raids to eastern Anatolia and beyond. The patron, Bıyıklı Mehmet Paşa, not only served as the first governor-general of the province, the centre of which was made Diyarbakır, but had also undertook the conquest of the city in 1515; hence the name Fatih (Conqueror) his building bears. The Fatih Paşa T-type building is formed by a prayer area and two lateral rooms fronted by a seven-domed portico. The dome covering the main body of the building rests on heavy piers and is supported by four half-domes. Each corner in between the half domes as well as the side rooms are topped by small domes.[203] The plan of the building brings to mind earlier examples of Uzun Hasan in Malatya built in the second half of the fifteenth century and Mirliva Hüseyin Paşa in Tekirdağ built in 1498/1499 in that the central space is omitted and the access to the side rooms is limited to gateways via the portico. Even more than those, however -

[199] See Peirce, L. P. 1993, pp. 160-166.
[200] Peirce, L. P. 1993, p. 169.
[201] Ménage, V. L. "Edirne'li Ruhi'ye Atfedilen Osmanlı Tarihinden İki Parça." in Ord. Prof. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan, Ankara, 1976, pp. 313-314.
[202] Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 148.
[203] Sözen, Metin. Diyarbakır'da Türk Mimarisi, İstanbul, 1971, pp. 65-69.

especially with its quatrefoil plan and minute side rooms- the T-type building of Fatih Paşa "[…] emulated İstanbul's sultanic mosques on smaller scale."[204]

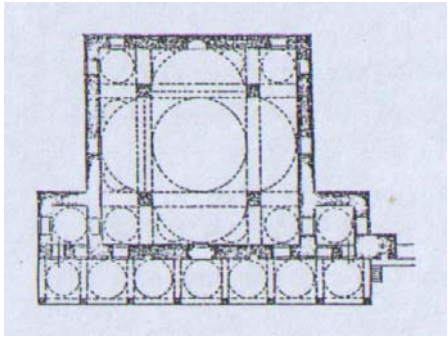


Figure 52. Fatih Paşa - Diyarbakır (d. 1518-1520)

T-type buildings erected under Bayezid all share a unified prayer area more or less sealed from its side spaces. The stress on multi-functionality, which was the obvious priority in the earliest buildings of the type, appear to have lost its prominence altogether. Moreover, among the reigns of previous Ottoman rulers – including that of Mehmed II, with its almost ground-breaking new regime-, the reign of Bayezid II stands out as the first one to bear no references to the past with its frontier ethos in terms of T-type patronage. It is expectable that Bayezid did not commission an accustomed sultanic version, and yet, neither did the earlier layouts of non-sultanic versions prevail under his rule. This is likely to be due, in most part, to Mehmed's success in breaking with the past. Nevertheless, it can also be suggested that the opposition in between the center and the periphery, which had more or less been literal up to this point, had now became metaphorical, in the sense that the major foes and alternative foci of centralizations were now in the very dynasty and the dignitaries. That is, the frontiers and battle lines had now more to do with the contestation among heirs to throne and their relations with the groups of different interests and their representatives, than the physical boundaries of the empire.

[204] Necipoğlu, G. 2005, p. 455. In fact, Necipoğlu terms the building as a Type Friday mosque and not a convent-masjid as she does earlier buildings of the T-type. See *ibid*, p. 95.

Amasya, wherein Bayezid's favored candidate would be his successor, Prince Ahmed ruled as the governor general,[205] appears to be the locus of T-type concentration under Bayezid. On the other hand, the other vector, on which the spread of T-type patronage can be traced - namely that from İstanbul through Tekirdağ to Selanik- might as well be a part of the same network. For, not only is Davud Paşa, the patron of the building in İstanbul is renown for his sufi lineage, but also İshak Paşa, the patron of that in Selanik was of Amasya origin. In addition, such a network can be the reason why Selim, (probably with an unusual timing predating his ascension to throne) commissioned a building for his mother in Trabzon: so as to mark his territory and his eminence as being outside of this network. Construction of Fatih Paşa in Diyarbakır (d. 1518-1520) (see fig. 52), a building commemorating the conquest of the city, and comporting little alliance with the identity of its patron, as the only T-type building to be commissioned under the official reign of Selim further attests to Selim's withdrawal from the Amasya network. Even more so than withdrawal, this T-type building in Diyarbakır, which is of a very similar layout to those employed in the Amasya lineage, might also be the signaling Selim's appropriation and normalization of the meanings encoded with the patronage of the building type.

It can be said, therefore, that the T-type erection and the choice of layout, came to be less associated with referring to the past and the gazi lineage, but all the more gained significance in itself under Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512). For it was now the very network in which buildings with little variations spread, rather than how and to what degree they deviated themselves from the norms entailed by it, that revealed the opposing sides. This might also be bound up with the fact that, the sultan, as the supreme personification of the center, no longer took part in the network of T-type patronage in the first place.

[205] See Peirce, L. P. 1993, p. 166.

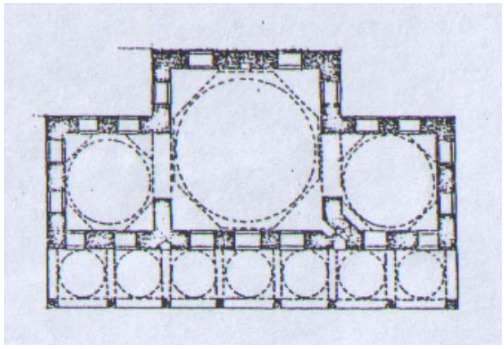


Figure 53. Süleymaniye – Rhodes (1522)

On the other hand the hybrid plans of complexes commissioned by Bayezid in Edirne and (only later in) İstanbul, do seem to suggest, as put forth by Necipoğlu, that they were "[…] conciliatory tribute[s] to the egalitarian frontier culture of the gazis and dervishes with whose help he ascended to throne."[206] The designation of Bayezid's mosque (featuring flanking *tabhane* rooms for guests) in his complex in İstanbul as *imaret* in its inscription, as opposed to Mehmed II's *cami* futher attests to an intentional connection with the frontier culture, against whom Mehmed had resorted to a less compromising attitude. Likewise, built by Süleyman (the Magnificent, *Kanuni* or the Lawgiver) (r. 1520-1566) to commemorate his late father, the complex of Selim I (1521-1522) in İstanbul has adjacent but detached *tabhane* rooms and reflects the unresolved tension between the centre and the periphery.[207] In that respect, Süleyman's commissioning a hybrid complex in the name of Selim, whose architectural patronage had severed the organic ties between the T-type and the frontier ethos, might be regarded as an attempt to ameliorate the rebuke against his father's personage in the eyes of the frontier party. And yet, these complexes all stand out as buildings dominated, in most part, by congregational prayers and mark reconciliation in between the frontier ethos and the imperial centre, rather than conciliation with the former only. More so, they represent the installation of dimunitive references to the peripheral past, while at the same time reiterating monumentality and order necessitated by the imperial organization. Thus, these building complexes exemplify the restatement and the culmination of the full

[206] Necipoğlu, G. 2005, p. 89.
[207] On the building see Necipoğlu, G. 2005, pp. 93-94, and Goodwin, G. 1992, pp. 184-187.

appropriation of the connection between the T-type and the frontier culture and its installation within the imperial mode.

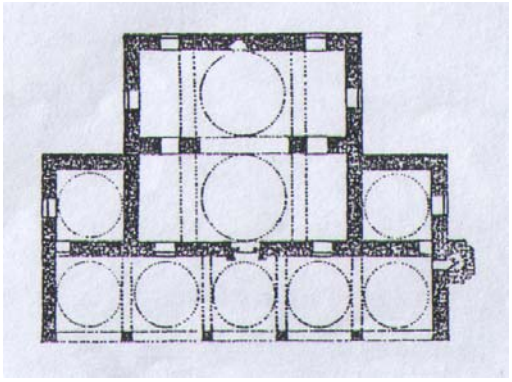


Figure 54. Sinan Paşa – Afyon (1524/1525)

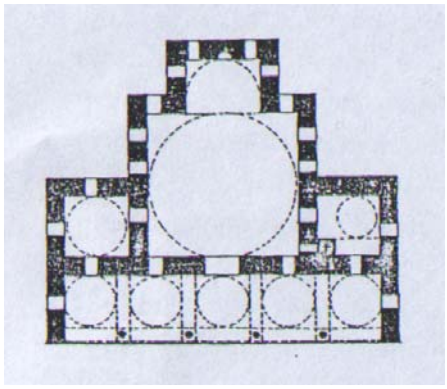


Figure 55. Piri Mehmed Paşa - İstanbul (1530/31)

Kafadar maintains that, from the earlier part of Süleyman the Magnificent's reign, the influence of foreigners, non-Muslims and unorthodox Islam started to diminish, except for the prevalence of the inclusivism of the Ottoman elite with variations in scope and manner.[208] It is most likely such kind of selective inclusivism that determined the pattern of T-type patronage under his decree. The reign of Süleyman brought about the finale of T-type patronage as a whole. It can be said that the buildings of the type in general lasted longer in the provinces than in the center, such as the T-type building complex in Sarajevo (Saraybosna) commissioned in 1531 by the governor of Bosnia, Gazi Hüsrev Paşa (see fig. 56) and the one in the major building complex patronized by governor-general Divane (Crazy) Hüsrev Paşa (of Bosnian origin) in Aleppo (Halep) (1546/1547) (see fig. 57). Notwithstanding, the variants and meanings they entailed had gone through manifold changes up until then. The version that made its way to the time of Süleyman was far from being the multi-functional building of the earlier frontier. Nevertheless, ever since the reign of Bayezid, it was not so much the spatial organizations of the T-type buildings themselves, as it was the lineage by which they flourished, that had gained prominence in representing their 'peripheral' character. The reign of Süleyman, therefore, differs from that of Bayezid's not so much with the layouts of the T-type

[208] Kafadar, C. 1995, p. 90.

buildings it adorned, but with the identities that took part in the very lineage. By the time of Süleyman the network in which the T-type buildings changed and prevailed seems to have been finally comparatively monopolized by the center. As in the cases of Sinan Paşa in Afyon (d.1524/1525) (see fig. 54) and Piri Mehmed Paşa in İstanbul (d.1530/31) (see fig. 55), there were still remnants of T-type patronage alliance with centrifugal characters within the empire. All the more important is the fact that, unlike the previous times when the center appropriated and took over the patronage and meaning network of the periphery, this final surmount was not countered with innovation from the peripheral side. Starting with the rule Selim I (r. 1512-1520), neither the territorial condensation, nor the style of the T-type buildings was altered by those who stood by an edgy position with regard to the center. This is the foremost reason why there is no T-type buildings erected postdating Süleyman's reign.

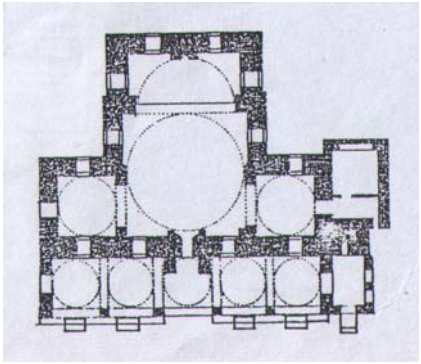


Figure 56. Gazi Hüsrev Bey - Sarajevo (1531)

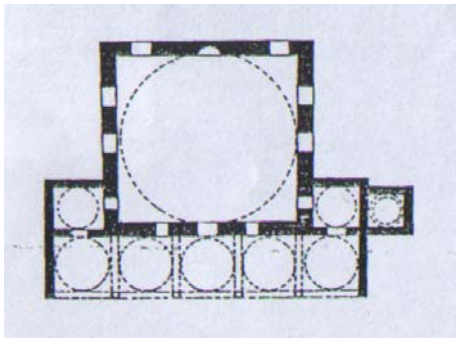
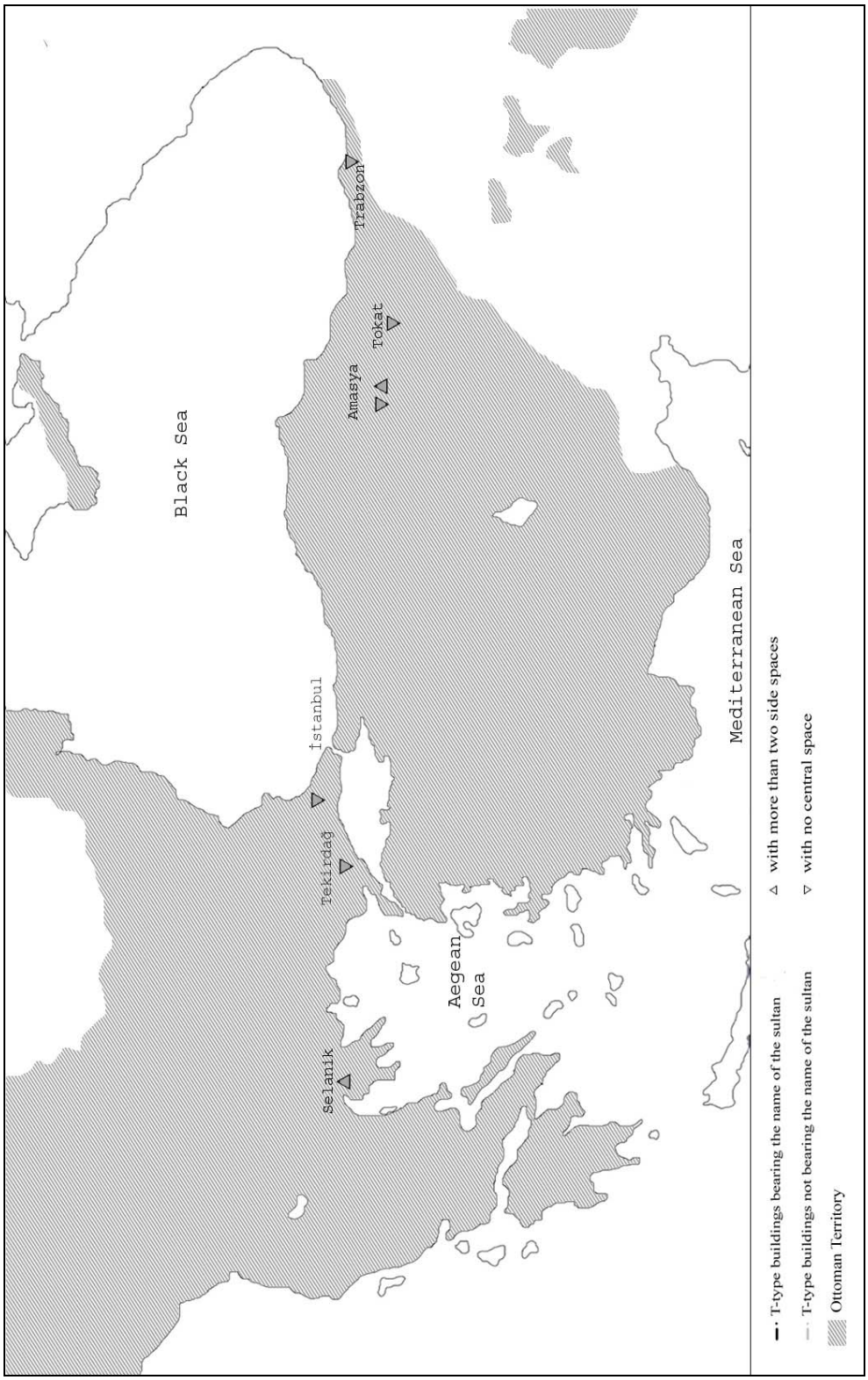
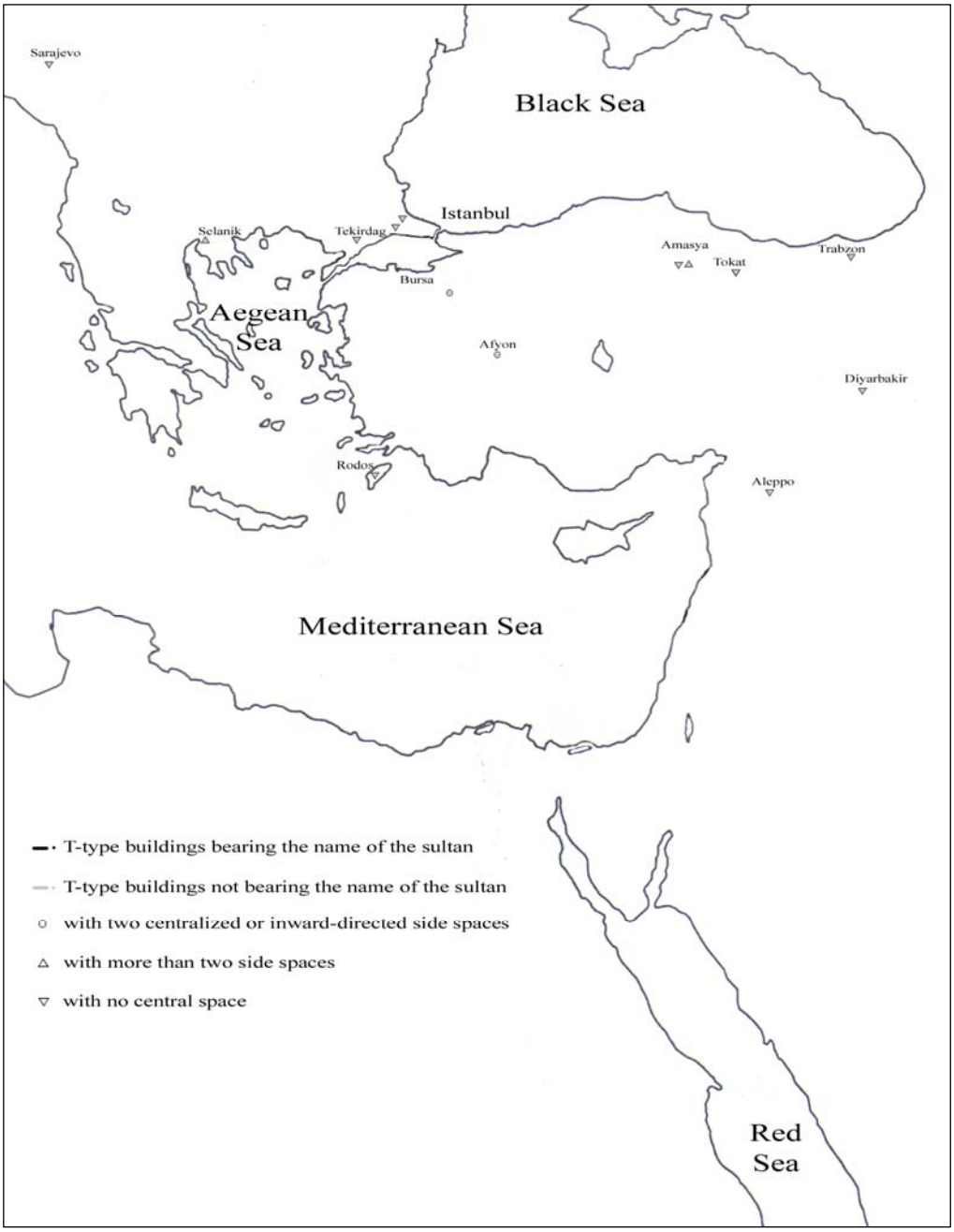


Figure 57. Hüsrev Paşa – Aleppo (1546/1547)

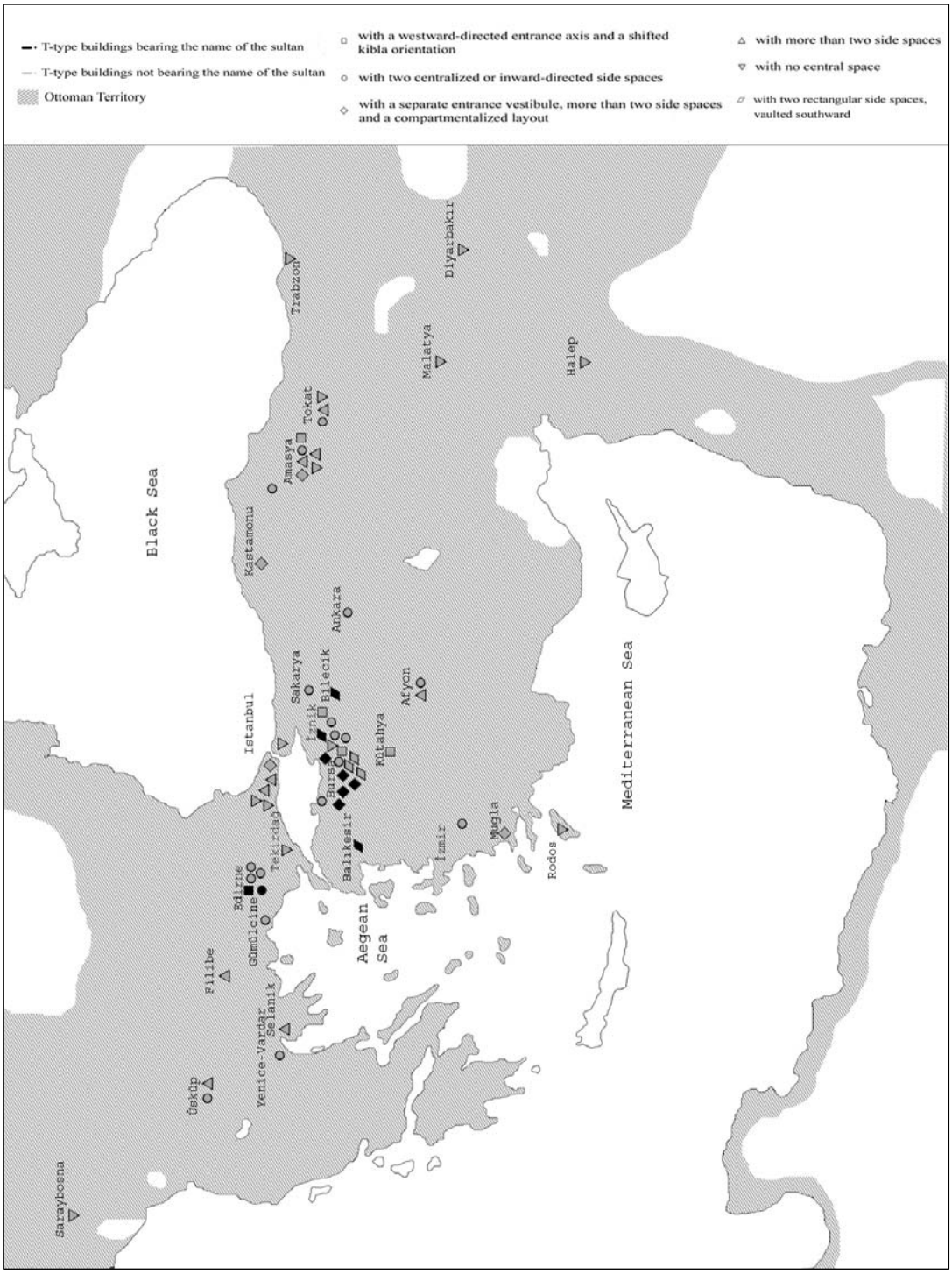
The Reign of Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512)



The Reigns of Bayezid II – Selim I – Süleyman



All of T-type Buildings Constructed by the End of the Reign of Süleyman (the Magnificent, *Kanuni* or the Lawgiver) (r. 1520-1566)



CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In the sense that Deleuze and Guattari use them in their "A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia" 'gangs' and 'packs,' - or war machines as they call them - regardless of the diverse assemblages they are parts of, are groups exterior to the State. They are those groups in which the leaders' installation of stable powers is inhibited by specific mechanisms. These mechanisms that ward off the conservation of powers of the chief are far from discipline. The chief is required to have prestige and is continuously challenged, especially at the state of war –or to put it more fittingly, by a constant warlike mode. Thus, such rules specific to war machines "[…] animate a fundamental indiscipline of the warrior, a questioning of hierarchy, perpetual blackmail by abandonment or betrayal, and a very volatile sense of honor, all of which, once again, impedes the formation of the State."[209] Deleuze and Guattari go on to add that:

> The outside [of the state] appears simultaneously in two directions: huge worldwide machines branched out over the entire *ecumenon* at a given moment, which enjoy a large measure of autonomy in relation to the States (for example, commercial organizations of the "multi-national" type, or industrial complexes, or even religious formations like Christianity, Islam, certain prophetic or messianic movements, etc.); but also the local mechanisms of bands, margins, minorities, which continue to affirm the rights of segmentary societies in opposition to the organs of State power.[210]

Nonetheless, neither the state nor a body outside of state is essentially devoid of each other. So much so, that each one at the same time constitute the very being of the other. The conception of a state lies in its relation to the outside via its periphery as much as the outside defines itself with its withdrawal from the state by means of that very periphery.

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[209] Deleuze, Gilles and Guattari, Felix A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, trans. by Brian Massumi, Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press, (1980)1987, p. 358.
[210] Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (1980)1987, p. 360.

As the prospect of this thesis, I aimed to do an extensive survey of a building type I consider to be of specific importance in shedding light over the way in which the Ottoman realm changed from a frontier society into an empire: namely, the T-type. Not only did I have in mind the aim to understand better the meaning of the T-type patronage, which I thought to represent a peripheral position with regard to the communal identity association in the early Ottoman context, but I also intended to comprehend how this peripheral position related to the centralization of the state. Through mapping the territorial and patronage networks in which these buildings participated, this thesis has revealed that the T-type buildings represent not only a distinctive spatial arrangement, with its own variations and versions, but also a distinctive apparatus encoded with claims to power. These claims of power might have had their roots in 'war machines' that had occurred outside the center of the state, and yet the very patronage of the buildings coincide with an outside that is already in the process of centralization in itself. Thereby, far from marking an 'outside' of centralization, T-type buildings make tangible the foci of alternative centralizations to that of the state. On the counter part, the state made use of this apparatus, to the extent that it could appropriate its mode of network, whether that be of signs, locations, or the way in which these were related.

Likewise, the emergence of the type coincides, not with a frontier culture in its 'continuous warlike mode,' but with the burgeoning of the Ottoman state. Moreover, the buildings of T-type appear not so much as an apparatus that is outside of the state, as they appear to be the embodiment of its claim to power. Almost simultaneously, the type emerges in two identifiable versions under Orhan (r. 1324-1362): one that stresses multi-functionality in unison, closely followed by another one that propagates hierarchy and supremacy. Nonetheless, at its nascent stage, the T-type does represent the periphery to the extent that it signifies the still very porous conception of the centralization of the state- that is the installation of diversity within a harmonious whole. The way in which the T-type buildings were implanted under Orhan, also gives clues about the meaning of the building type. They not only follow the centralized parts of a territory over a frontier of two big empires, but also follow a series of different choices of location: from right outside the city walls, to the heart of the city, then to the periphery of the city. The twofold embrace of power

comported by the layouts of Orhan's T-type buildings was to be counteracted by a new version with Postinpuş Baba (Yenişehir, Bursa, built prior to 1348), which was distinctively peripheral.

These variations in plan, in themselves were also subject to centralizing forces as well as centrifugal ones within their stratum of network. The halt of the janus-face twofold employment of the two versions by the center that came with the reign of Murad I (r. 1362-1389) was due, at least partly, to the emergence of this new version of T-type, with its multi-functionality inaugurated in a more expressive and less harmonized manner than both of the sultanic versions that had been used. In any case, the time of Murad was the locus of augmentation of segregation and hierarchic order in the sultanic version of the T-type plan in the center, while on the other hand witnessing the sway of the non-sultanic type closer to the periphery, as with Postinpuş Baba, under the patronage of the royalty of marginal stance. Such increasing divergence in attitudes displayed by different versions, was attempted to be tamed under Murad's successor Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402) again in a tripartite manner. Firstly, although Bayezid pursued his ancestors in what had by then become the dynastic tradition of commissioning sultanic T-type buildings in Bursa, his other T-type building represents the first endeavor of implanting the same version in the new capital Edirne (which was later to prove in vain). In the second place, officials and dignitaries close to him were to patronize, and thereby to appropriate the language of the non-sultanic version, which had previously been associated with the periphery, right at the de facto center, Bursa. Last, but not the least, the design of the building that Bayezid patronized off the center, in Balıkesir, employed the very non-sultanic layout –and in almost immaculate similarity to the earliest one built by Orhan, predating the dilemma in between sultanic and non sultanic patronage. On the other hand, the non-sultanic versions that were commissioned by patrons with a closer vicinity to the periphery share a deviation from the typical layout. They appear to reflect the claims to power harboured by their patrons, who were forced to express themselves in a different mode, via variations in the accustomed non-sultanic version, however, instead of bringing up a novel scheme as a whole.

The main driving force for the changes in variations could sometimes be outside forces. The distress and ineptness caused by the defeat in Ankara, however, also entailed novelty in the T-type versions coinciding with the period of interregnum (1402-1413). A new non-sultanic version emerged around inland Anatolia, with its communal, yet still monumental plan, in which praying takes priority compared to gathering. Mehmed I (r. 1413-1421), who finally overcame the factional strife, was to reply with a gesture of supremacy: for the first time a building of T-type, very much in keeping with the sultanic layout, was named after a non-sultanic patron, who (to no surprise) was to become the grand vizier of Mehmed's.

Edirne, which, especially in the eyes of the peripheral groups, openly critical towards the state after Timur's blow, was becoming more and more associated with the yearning for gazi ethos of the former frontier culture. For the first time, the T-type buildings of non-royal patronage budded in Edirne under Murad II (r. 1421-1444 / 1446-1451). However, it was one that was well-guarded by the center. It was also during his reign that the royal patronage of sultanic versions ceased to exist. A similar sort of a patronage agenda to the one that was at play during the reign of Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402) was again in operation throughout the rule of Murad. And yet, the disposition of the latter seems more reserved against the peripheral tensions in that while keeping up the habitual sultanic T-type erection in Bursa (in a remarkably modest manner), in Edirne, where the sultanic T-type building of Bayezid was not followed by any other, Murad employed a non-sultanic one, which blended in with the rest of the sprout. On the other hand, the previous non-sultanic budding under Bayezid had taken place in Bursa, whereas this one emerged in the new capital, Edirne –a city, the normalization of which was more urgent in Murad's agenda. Nonetheless, it was the buildings under the patronage of his officers and bureaucrats, with which he surrounded his. The buildings patronized by the prominent figures in an edgy deportment with regard to the center concentrate in inland Anatolia. Alternative views of the patrons as such appear to have been effective on their T-type buildings. For the either layouts of these buildings –with their alteration on the architectural vocabulary at disposal- or their territorialization uttered 'periphery' within the T-type building network.

Bursa appears to be the primary center in terms of the concentration and perseverance of the erection of sultanic versions, even after the capital was moved to Edirne. It also proved to be the site of the flourish of non-sultanic versions under Murad's son and successor Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446/1451-1481). Conversely Mehmed broke the chain of the dynastic tradition of commissioning sultanic versions in Bursa. His reign is also marked by the dichotomy of (and probably hierarchy in between) the hubs around which the non-sultanic buildings patronized by prominent figures of the center condensed: namely, Bursa and the new center of Mehmed's imperial project, İstanbul. Notwithstanding, patrons who identified themselves in varying degrees of opposition to the center seems to have managed to make it visible through variations in plan versions, as well as introduction of a new version that owed equally to both the non-sultanic and sultanic versions. This new version had little in common with its forbears that had likewise resulted from the tension between the center and the periphery. In addition, the inner Anatolian focus of centrifugal forces was all the more becoming evident as an alternative center of power on the peripheral territory.

It was the combination of this new style and the flourishing hub in central Anatolia, which echoed the identity of the non-royal patrons on the periphery under the consecutive rule of Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512). Although the new plan of the T-type version echoed anything but multi-functionality and adaptable use (which used to be the very character of the peripheral non-sultanic versions), its novelty and the territory on which it condensed that bore peripheral meanings. From the beginning, however, this hub was more the centralization point of a lineage/line in between the periphery and the center. It was not on the periphery of the Ottoman state, as it was in the center. And by the time of Selim I (*Yavuz* or the Grim) (r. 1512-1520), foci of opposing forces within the center had become much more of a threat and thereby took the priority in the states appropriation program. This hub, however, was not one that needed to be territorialized in order to be appropriated by the center.

By suppressing his brothers' contestation for the throne, Selim had already assured the supremacy over the inner Anatolian hub and monopoly over the network of T-type construction when his son, Süleyman (r. 1520-1566) gained command of

the empire. Under Süleyman the T-type buildings came to be associated more with the conquests taken up by the empire than identities of their patrons per se. It was now more the personification of the state in the identity of the patron that was operational. Be that as it may, the finale of T-type patronage altogether under Süleyman owed less to the success of Selim in centralizing the building type, than to the ineptness of the centrifugal forces to introduce changes to not only the layout but also the territorialization of the building type.

Such binary disposition of spatial layout in plans encoded with the separate meanings, however, does not necessarily mean that the two parties, namely that of the center and that of the periphery, did not resort to appropriating the architectural vocabulary of the other at times. Nor does it mean that there was a clean-cut boundary between the two. Indeed, as revealed by this thesis, throughout the period in which the T-type buildings prolonged, what the scholarship has yet termed as 'exceptions' are more common than those of the 'prototypes.' The case is more that, as the context and therefore the referential organism changed, the buildings took shape accordingly by making selective use of an architectural vocabulary at disposal. They did so in a combination, by which their patrons appear to have thrived to identify themselves within a specific network of references. If need be, the plans also incorporated innovative schemes, to the extent that the changes in the context were further triggered by shifts - such as that enforced by Murad I's exertion of central power over the frontier activity followed by Bayezid I's obvious dependence on the bureaucratic/scholar cadre, Timur's violent intrusion, with its self-critical impact on the Ottoman realm, and Mehmed II's imperial project. And they did so within the limitations brought by, and necessities entailed by local variations. Although, it was not so much the local variations as such, but a different kind of territorialization that was operative in the network of T-type building. The network of identity definitions –in the sense that patrons' choices of lineages with which they wanted to associate themselves seems to have been more effective in forming the buildings than localities per se.

The more the peripheral codes were appropriated by patrons on the side of the state, and thereby the more their meanings were normalized, the more need arose for the centrifugal forces to express themselves in a new mode. They sometimes did so by openly incorporating idioms that belonged to the state. Conversely, the more the apparatuses of the center were incorporated and transformed by the peripheral hubs, the more the state was forced into presenting itself in a different form. Indeed, it was more the periphery, and not the center that initiated major changes in the building type. Moreover, it was again the centrifugal forces that were prompter in adapting and propagating the type to their needs, whereas the center was comparatively indolent.

The expression of the centrifugal and central attitudes through the patronage network of the T-type buildings varied with the varying context. It could be made evident by the simple choice of location, as well as by appropriating each others' versions of plans. Certain occasions prompted the need of a new version all together, whereas some were prone only to minor variations. Needless to say, of course, that, versatile combinations of any of these were also at disposal if they were needed. The way in which lineages were appropriated, on the other hand, differed from that in which networks were done so. In the former it was more about subjugating the representative in the center, whereas in the latter, the threat was more contained in the periphery.

The question of origins is essential to the extent that it makes a definition possible, and even more so than for involving formations and relations of different identities. The sets of references of styles, techniques, materials and architectural elements employed along with the layouts of the plans and choices of locations all relate to meanings and identities encoded in the buildings, even though they might not always be in unison. According to this study, however, neither identities nor definitions are stable in the changing contexts. There is not a unique meaning or a single definition embodied within the buildings of the T-type. In fact, quite on the contrary, the relations of codes of meanings and hierarchy of values involved with different bodies were versatile as a result of their varying stances in between the center and the periphery. This took place in diverse and shifting manners in a context

of contesting centralizing and centrifugal forces rather than two milieus in symmetrical opposition. The proliferation of T-type buildings in specific times and in peculiar territories was neither due only to royal patronage, nor was it an outcome of a crystallized unanimous aim of colonizing alien lands.

LIST OF BUILDINGS

Orhan (r. 1324-1362)

Orhan İmareti – Old Town Center, Bilecik (1335-1339)

Orhan İmareti –Oıtside the city walls, to the south, İznik (1335)

Orhan İmareti- Taşkapı, Bursa (1339/13340)

Postinpuş Baba –Yenişehir, Bursa (prior to 1348)

Murad I (Hüdavendigar) (r. 1362-1389)

Yakub Çelebi Zaviyesi- İznik (early 14th century)

Murad I (Hüdavendigar) İmareti- Çekirge, Bursa (1366-1385)

Nilüfer Hatun İmareti –İznik (1388)

Gazi Evrenos - Komotini (Gümülcine) (late fourteenth century)

Bayezid I (Yıldırım –the thunderbolt) (r. 1389-1402)

Yıldrım (Bayezid) İmareti- outskirts, Bursa (1390s)

Ali Paşa - Bursa (1394)

Firuz Bey – Milas, Muğla (1394)

Ebu Ishak Kazeruni - Bursa (late fourteenth century)

Yıldırım - Balıkesir (late fourteenth century)

Yukarı Cami – Kurşunlu/İnegöl, Bursa (late fourteenth century)

Yıldırım - Edirne (Adrianople) (1389 -1402)

Timurtaş Paşa – Bursa (1404)

Interregnum (1402-1413)

Hamza Bey - Tokat (1411)

Yakub Çelebi - Kütahya (1411)

Mehmed I (Çelebi or Kyritzes) (r. 1413-1421)

Yeşil - Bursa (1420)

Bayezid Paşa - Amasya (1414–1419)

Horozlu İmaret - Tokat (early fifteenth century)

Murad II (r. 1421-1444 / 1446-1451)

Gazi Mihal – Edirne (1422)

Muradiye – Bursa (1425/1426)

Yörgüç Paşa – Amasya (1428)

Beylerbeyi –Edirne (1429)

Muradiye - Edirne (1435/47)

İshak Bey – Skopje (Üsküp) (1438/1439)

Koca Mehmed Paşa – Osmancık, Amasya (1439)

Mezid Bey – Edirne (1441)

Yeşil İmaret – Tire, İzmir (1440s)

Şihabüddin Paşa - Philippopolis (Filibe) (before 1444)

Karaca Bey – Ankara (1444/1445)

Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446/1451-1481)

İsmail Bey – Kastamonu (1454)

Karaca Bey –Karacabey, Bursa (1456/1457)

Hamza Bey – Bursa (1461)

Mahmud Paşa - İstanbul (1462)

Hızır Paşa –Amasya (1465)

Rum Mehmed Paşa – İstanbul (1469)

Murad Paşa- İstanbul (1466 -1471)

Gedik Ahmet Paşa – Afyon (1472)

Uzun Hasan –Malatya (second half of the fifteenth century)

Evrenos Ahmed Bey - Gianitsa (Yenice-Vardar) (second half of the fifteenth century)

İsa Bey – Skopje (Üsküp) (1475)

Sinan Bey – Geyve, Sakarya (1478)

İshak Paşa – İnegöl, Bursa (1481/1482)

Bali Bey –Yenişehir, Bursa (late fifteenth century)

Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512)

Hatuniye – Tokat (1485)

Alaca İmaret- Selanik (Thessaloniki) (1486/1487)

Mehmed Paşa - Amasya (1486-1495)

Davud Paşa – İstanbul (1498)

Mirliva Hüseyin Paşa – Tekirdağ (1498-1499)

Abdullah Paşa.- Sofular, near Amasya (1502)

Büyük İmaret- Trabzon (? 1505-1506)

Selim I (*Yavuz* or the Grim) (r. 1512-1520)

Fatih Paşa - Diyarbakır (1518-1520)

Süleyman (the Magnificent, *Kanuni* or the Lawgiver) (r. 1520-1566)

Süleymaniye – Rhodes (1522)

Sinan Paşa – Afyon (1524/1525)

Piri Mehmed Paşa - İstanbul (1530/31)

Gazi Hüsrev Bey - Sarajevo (1531)

Hüsrev Paşa – Aleppo (1546/1547)

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