“We are all servants here!”
Mimar Sinan – architect of the Ottoman Empire

Abstract
Mimar Sinan is the best known architect of the Ottoman Empire. His origin is uncertain. Sinan started his career as a christian slave. He participated in several campaigns as a member of the yard cavalry and as a military engineer. The success of his war-related buildings helped him to become the chief architectural authority of the Empire. His long life, fifty years of which he spent as the chief architect, coincided with the golden age of empire. The conquered areas provided plenty of construction tasks, as well as did the clients, who were aspiring for architectural representation worthy of their rank – among them the monarch and his wider environment. In addition, the empire, not being without financial resources, was also able to realize these plans. He became a symbol of the most glorious era of the Ottoman Empire through his works.

Keywords
Mimar Sinan · Ottoman Empire · Ottoman art · Ottoman architecture · Istanbul · Edirne · Bursa · Iznik

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The statement quoted in the title is attributed to Pasha Rüstem sometime in the mid 1550’s, but essentially similar statements could be borrowed from almost all Ottoman overlords.1 The affairs of the Ottoman Empire were managed by men in slavish subjection, most of whom had once followed the Christian faith but were forced to become Muslims from the second half of the 15th century. Beside pashas, viziers and grand viziers, who had positions on different levels of government and military leadership, there were fellow sufferers in other areas of the life of the empire. In fact, even the most famous of them served his monarch in one of the latter ‘side areas’, but, in such a way that both his name and his oeuvre have survived to this day: Mimar (ie. architect) Sinan, chief architect of the Ottoman Empire.

Mimar Sinan was born around 1489-90, in Ağırnas near Kayseri.2 His origin is uncertain, although Armenian can be considered the most probable (most accepted); but Albanian, Serbian, Anatolian Greek, Jewish and even Austrian parentage of his family – or at least his mother – has also been suggested.3 It is assumed that Christian prisoners, including Armenians, were taken to the newly annexed territory of Karaman after 1487, when, at the cost of centuries of hard fighting, Sultan Bayezid II finally managed to force this small state - which had been enclosed in the body of the Empire independently until

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1 Pasha Rüstem (1500-1561) confessed this to his Grand Vizier brother’s, Pasha Sinan’s doctor, who left this behind in his memoir [28, p. 145.] Pasha (Pargali) Ibrahim (1493-1536) Grand Vizier shared similar statements with Hieronymus Laski who negotiated with the Porta on behalf of John Zápolya in 1527-28. [18, pp. 114, 125.]

2 Sinan’s date of birth is uncertain, beside 1489, the years of 1490, 1494 or even 1499 have already been claimed as his birth date. 1489: [23, pp. 2-3]; 1489/90: [1, p. 195]; 1490: Encyclopaedia Britannica online: Mimar Sinan http://www.britannica.com/EBechecked/topic/545603/Sinan; 1499: [12, p. 23.]

3 The issue of Sinan’s origin is summarized by: [1, p. 196]; [11, p. 197]; [23, p. 2.]
that time—under his rule. Generally, resettlements were associated with forced marriages. It can be assumed that Sinan’s parents established a family in this way, so the question of his origin is just further complicated.

In 1512, Sinan came to Istanbul through the practice of child tax (devşirme) imposed on the non-Muslim population of the empire. The majority of young people collected were placed in military service, thus augmenting the number of Janissaries (jeni çeri = new corps), or they were put to physical work or assigned to assist different masters. At the same time, young people with outstanding abilities (acemi oğlan = alien boy) could hope for a bright career by learning in the schools of the seraglio; the empire had solved its need for personal recruits for government and military leadership—positions being solely dependent on the will of the Sultan—in this way since the end of the 14th century.

Sinan was 21-22 years old at that time. Thanks to his age, talent and good practice gained by working with his stonemason and carpenter father, Sinan entered the school operating in the palace of Pasha Pargali Ibrahim (1493-1536) Grand Vizier (1523-1536), where he studied carpentry. Presumably, he took up Islam and was given the name Sinan at that time. His first works—boats and bridges—show that initially he worked in the army as an engineer.

He participated in several campaigns including the Siege of Belgrade (1521) and Rhodes (1522), as well as in the conquest of Southern Mesopotamia (1535), Corfu and Moldavia (1537-1538). As a member of the yard cavalry—or as a Janissary aga according to other opinions—he was there at the Battle of Mohács (1526), the Siege of Vienna (1529) and later also at the Siege of Esztergom (1543). As a military engineer, he served in the Balkans for many years. These years spent in the army brought a change to his career; his war-related buildings attracted the attention of Suleiman and his milieu. The Drava Bridge in Osijek (1526); the ferry built on the water of Lake Van belonging to the operations area of the Persian campaign (1535); the success of a Danube Bridge (1537) and a bridge over River Prut (1538), as well as the support of Pasha Lüfti Grand Vizier (1539-1541), helped him to become the chief architectural authority of the Empire in 1539. His architectural career, which can be considered breathtaking both in terms of the number and the quality of the completed buildings, started at this time, at nearly fifty years of his age.

The architectural career of Sinan started under extremely favourable conditions since the Ottoman Empire was at the peak of its strength and power exactly at that time. The small area located near Söğüt in the north-west area of the Anatolian peninsula, in the corner of the Rumi Seljuk Sultanate, had been occupied by 400 warriors (gazi) in the second half of the 13th century and became a world-empire in just over two centuries. In 1326, they occupied Brussa (today Bursa), the former Byzantine resort at the crossroads of historic trade routes, making it their first capital; and by the occupation of Gallipoli in 1354, they also gained European territories. After the conquest of Thrace, in 1362, Adrianople (today: Edirne) became the new capital; by the end of the century, the total area of the Balkan Peninsula (later referred to as Rumelia) was dominated by the Ottomans to the Danube and Drava rivers. In 1453, they occupied Constantinople, which had been living under Ottoman pressure for decades; they now considered themselves the formal successors of the Byzantine Empire. After some decades, they completed their Anatolian hegemony by conquering the Karaman region. Syria, the land of Egypt and the west coast of the Arabian Peninsula with the holy cities, Mecca and Medina, were annexed to the Empire during the short reign of Selim I (1512-1520). His successor, Suleiman completed the Ottoman Empire with his North African, Persian and Hungarian conquests.

The dilapidated or non-existent infrastructure of the territories conquered by the large empire, and the complete absence of buildings necessary for everyday Muslim life provided plenty of architectural works. However, Istanbul itself also

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4 It clearly shows the status and weight of the role of the Karaman region that after losing the Battle of Nicopolis, the area became a major eastern partner of Europe, particularly Hungary, in the fight against the Turks. Sigismund of Luxembourg, John Hunyadi and King Matthias sent several legations here in order to start a two-front war against the Ottomans [26, p. 9-34]. The settlement layout is attributed to the younger Çandarlı Ibrahim Pasha Grand Vizier (†1499) by some sources: [11, p. 197]. Also later a significant Christian population lived in the area of Karaman. [25, p. 302]; [28, p. 440].

5 Georgius of Hungary reported on the practice of settlements and forced marriages as an eye witness: [8, p. 36-37]; and Bertalan Gyurgyevics: [8, p. 158].

6 [14, p. 54.] The practice of child tax developed at the end of the 14th century, during the reign of Sultan Murad I (1359-1389), probably due to influences coming from Persia. Initially, it affected the local population, but later it was levied on the non-Muslim population (Muslims could not be enslaved): by choosing every fifth boy between 12-22 years of age every 4-5 years. [19, p. 62-65]. Under the reign of Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512), probably due to influence coming from Persia. Initially, it affected the local population, but later it was levied on the non-Muslim population (Muslims could not be enslaved): by choosing every fifth boy between 12-22 years of age every 4-5 years. [19, p. 62-65]. Under the reign of Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512), probably due to influence coming from Persia. Initially, it affected the local population, but later it was levied on the non-Muslim population (Muslims could not be enslaved): by choosing every fifth boy between 12-22 years of age every 4-5 years. [19, p. 62-65]. Under the reign of Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512), probably due to influence coming from Persia. Initially, it affected the local population, but later it was levied on the non-Muslim population (Muslims could not be enslaved): by choosing every fifth boy between 12-22 years of age every 4-5 years. [19, p. 62-65]. Under the reign of Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512), probably due to influence coming from Persia. Initially, it affected the local population, but later it was levied on the non-Muslim population (Muslims could not be enslaved): by choosing every fifth boy between 12-22 years of age every 4-5 years. [19, p. 62-65]. Under the reign of Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512), probably due to influence coming from Persia. Initially, it affected the local population, but later it was levied on the non-Muslim population (Muslims could not be enslaved): by choosing every fifth boy between 12-22 years of age every 4-5 years. [19, p. 62-65].

7 Among the 39 grand viziers governing in the period between 1453-1591, only one was of Turkish origin, and we know that 15 entered the service of the Empire through child tax. On child tax see: [25, pp. 312-318]; [8, pp. 41-42. and p. 156]; [11, p. 198]; [14, pp. 49, 54-56]; [19, pp. 65-70]; [28, pp. 428-429].

8 Also Ibrahim Pasha, who had Greek origins, entered the service of the Empire through child tax.

9 According to some assumptions his original name was Joseph (Yusuf?). [11, p. 199].

10 On the studies written by Sinan: [23, p. 4].
presented considerable opportunities, as much of the historic city core – especially the surrounding of the former imperial palace – had been in ruins since the destruction of the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

Thanks to the large number of tasks and to Sinan’s talent, position and relationships deriving from them, several works of his were implemented empire-wide – from Esztergom to Jerusalem, Baghdad or Bosnia. Among them – except for his engineering works – the mosques are the outstanding designs, in their both number and quality.

By the start of Sinan’s career, the typical spatial form of Ottoman mosques had already developed. Contrary to the columnar mosques of the first Islamic empires (such as the Ummayads) or to the Persian Islamic four-eyvan mosques, Ottoman architecture – under Byzantine influence – preferred the domed mosques.

The first remained Ottoman domed mosques were either covered with one single dome and had a square or rectangular layout, or they were multiple domed buildings with a floor plan referred to as an inverted ‘T’ by art historians. Among these, the most significant ones can be found in Bursa; therefore, this type is often called the Bursa mosque. Originally, the place of prayer was the same square-shaped space covered with a single dome in front of the mihrab; the other domed spaces, in front of or next to it, played a different role in public life (administration, court, etc.).

The first mosque having more than one dome is also located in Bursa (Ulu Cami, around 1396?), and was built by Bayezid I true to his oath taken in Nicopoli. The construction of the space covered with twenty domes – today only a copy of which is visible – were clearly the result of the influence of Byzantine architecture, similarly to the old grand mosque of Edirne with nine domes (Eski Cami, around 1402), which was built by Sultan Bayezid I’s sons.

The crucial change appeared in the Üç Serefeli mosque built by Murad II (Edirne, 1437-1447). This was the first example of an arcade forecourt topped with a row of domes (avlu), four minarets, an enormous centre dome of 24 m diameter above the closed chapel, and resting on a specially designed hexagonal-shaped support. From that time, this dominant centre dome became the main motif of the representative mosques following the pattern of Hagia Sophia.

The Islamic world – especially the Umayyad Caliphate – respected the power and wealth of Byzantium, and Constantinople was regarded as the premier centre of arts and culture. This affection was especially true for the Ottomans. Their state was formed in the immediate vicinity and under the spell of Byzantium, and when it reached its full extent – incorporating almost the entire territory of the Justinianos Empire – they were entitled to feel themselves the heirs of Byzantium.

Byzantine architecture influenced the development of the Ottoman architecture from the beginning. It is particularly true in the case of Hagia Sophia (and its dome), which building had special reverence due to its size, architectural design and symbolic power. The rapturous enthusiasm of Mehmed II, which he expressed when seeing the mosque, is a testimony of this:

“If you long for Paradise, oh, Sufi, you find Heaven in Hagia Sophia. [...] What a dome, that vies in rank with the nine spheres of heaven! In this work, a perfect master displayed the whole of architectural science.

With the semi domes leaning to each other, with the acute and obtuse angles, with the gorgeous vaults reminding us of the brow of fetching maidens, and with the perpendicular ornaments, the master created such a great internal space that could accommodate fifty thousand people. [...] He expressed the desire to visit Ayasofya, the heavenly miracle. This Ayasofya, unrivalled throughout the world, had, like the Empire fallen into ruin and decay, and there was no architect who could place a stone upon it. A splendid dome had survived – a dome created by the efforts of a learned and experienced master – supported by arches and columns and embellished with the finest ornament. The visitors were amazed at the miracle of the building and its work of art. In the ornately decorated central dome, there is a picture of Adam which remains visible from whichever point one looks at it.”

Tursun Beg (†1499) historian of Mehmed II, secretary of the divan

In many cases, mosques stood not alone, but in the middle of a building complex. This development can be explained by an Ottoman practice originating from Islamic tradition.
The key to the survival of the empire was to ensure the monocracy of the monarch. Among others, preventing the development of individual property and power concentration was also a tool to achieve this aim.\textsuperscript{22} According to Muslim tradition, the Sultan was already entitled to a fifth of the conquered territories and captured goods. Of the remaining areas, similarly to the Byzantine institution of military lands, the monarch meted out land donations (timār, ziāmet) in return for military service, however, these donations could be withdrawn at any time, and could not be inherited.\textsuperscript{23} This way the private properties, which were acquired and enlarged during the crusades, could not develop to a large estate able to defy the monarch.\textsuperscript{24}

Only the ‘asset-salvage’ option was available: the establishment of a pious foundation (vaqf, vakf, vakuf). For Muslims, the duty of alms-giving (zakát) – as the Third Pillar of Islam – was of a high importance.\textsuperscript{25} The management of pious foundations – helping travellers, pilgrims and the needy landless – which were established for this purpose, remained with the founder, and could be inherited. Thus, with this solution it was possible to preserve the right of provision over substantial private properties in a way that the whole community could benefit from it.\textsuperscript{26}

These kinds of building complexes (külliye) were established across the Ottoman empire, in which the mosque (mescit) was surrounded by several other buildings: the founder’s tomb (türbe); Koranic school (dârûllûkûra); elementary (mekteb) and post-secondary school (medrese); bath (hamam); public soup kitchen (imaret); pilgrim accommodation (tabhane) and lodging house (kervansaray); possibly a Dervish monastery (tekke) or hospital (dârûşşifa); not to mention those lodging houses, bazaars, covered markets (bedesten), rows of stores (arasta) and baths located somewhere else, which provided the revenue for the operation of the foundation according to the founder’s provisions.\textsuperscript{27} A pious foundation could also be launched by individuals, but the largest and most magnificent ones were the foundations established by the Sultan.\textsuperscript{28}

The prolific fifty years Sinan spent as an architect are known to us thanks to his friend and colleague Mustafà Sâi Çelebi, who left behind the memoirs of old Sinan in three manuscripts.\textsuperscript{29} This memoir credits Sinan with 343 buildings.\textsuperscript{30}

His main clients came from the top level of government and the milieu of the Sultan reigning at the time. Sinan served three sultans, Suleiman II, Selim and Murad III. Suleiman himself and his family are represented on this list with 47 buildings, among them five külliyes, but this number increases to 71 if we also count the building activity of the Sultan’s son-in-law Rüstem Pasha Grand Vizier and his brother Sinan Pasha. Undoubtedly, the most active builder was Grand Vizier Pasha Sokullu Mehmed, the son-in-law of Selim II, who commissioned Sinan with the design of 30 buildings on his own.\textsuperscript{31}

During the planning of the mosques, Sinan tested and applied almost every possible space form. He designed mosques topped with a plain slab as well as single domes or a series of domes, spaces with hexagonal or octagonal centred domes as well as mosques with the spatial arrangement of Hagia Sophia.\textsuperscript{32} Among his works, the most important were the sultan-külliyes – in particular their central objects, the mosques. He also tied his career to these buildings, considering the completion of Prince’s Mosque (Şehzade Camii, Istanbul, 1543-1548) as the end of his apprenticeship; then came the mastery years, with the Suleiman Mosque (Süleyman Camii, Istanbul, 1550-1557) as the zenith; followed by the period of an experienced but aging master, the masterpiece of which time was the Selimiye II Mosque (Selimiye Camii, Edirne, 1568-1574).

Even Sinan’s sultan mosques in Istanbul could not hide themselves from the magnificent and inspirational impact of the dome of Hagia Sophia. However, this does not mean that they were slavish copies.\textsuperscript{33} Though Sinan himself designed a mosque that copied the spatial arrangement of Hagia Sophia,\textsuperscript{34}

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textsuperscript{22} Monocracy was ensured by the child-tax based military and administrative structure operated by subjects solely dependent on the sultan, by the ‘filtering’ of the emperor’s environment with the introduction of the practice of fratricides associated with taking the power, as well as by choosing the Sultan’s concubines (mother of the potential future monarch) from Christian slaves. These tools were completed with the system mentioned above in order to prevent the development of increasing wealth. \\
\textsuperscript{23} Bertalan Gyurgyevics already reported on this in his work published in 1544. Published by: [8, p.189.]
\textsuperscript{24} [14, pp-5-8. and pp. 52-53.]
\textsuperscript{25} [24, pp. 411-412.] About the vaqfs: [16, pp. 398-406.]
\textsuperscript{26} [13, p. 21.]; Bertalan Gyurgyevics reported on this as an eye-witness: [8, p. 186.]
\textsuperscript{27} [10, p. 545.]
\textsuperscript{28} Reported on the constructions of the pashas’ and sultans’ foundation: [28, p. 411.]
\textsuperscript{29} The manuscripts (anonymous text, Architectural masterpieces and The Book of architecture) are preserved today in the Topkapı Museum. The English edition: Book of Buildings. (Memoirs of Sinan the Architect) Istanbul, Kocbank, 2002.
\textsuperscript{30} Nowadays, the researches put the number of buildings at well over 400.
\textsuperscript{31} The summary table of Sinan’s constructions can be found in the appendix.
\textsuperscript{32} Many of Sinan’s mosques are covered with plain slab, for example: Pasha Gazi İskender Mosque (Istanbul, 1559-1560); single-domed: Haseki Hürem Mosque (Istanbul, 1538-1539); row of domes: Piyale Pasha Mosque (Istanbul, 1573-1574); central dome above a hexagonal layout: Sokullu Mehmed Pasha Mosque (Istanbul, 1571-1572); central dome above an octagonal layout: Rüstem Pasha Mosque (Istanbul, 1561-1562); Hagia Sophia type: Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque (Istanbul, 1580-1587)
\textsuperscript{33} Among the former sultans, presumably Mehmed II was the first who treated the building of Hagia Sophia (at least its dome) as a standard, which he was longing to transcend. Rumours say that the architect, who was unable to perform this task – Atik (ie. Old) Sinan –, paid with his life for the failure. \\
\textsuperscript{34} Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque (Istanbul, 1580), though the scale is completely different: the total floor area of the mosque is equal to the centre dome of Hagia Sophia. [17, p. 282.]\end{tabular}
it could not be widely adapted, mainly due to the difference in the use of the two buildings types (church vs. Mosque). While Hagia Sophia is a longitudinal space-complex of central roofing structures arranged along the axis and defined by the entrance gate and the apse, in the case of mosques, where the transverse qibla wall dominates opposite the entrance, even a square floor plan can be considered a compromise solution. 35

Italian Renaissance architecture, especially the development of central church spaces, had much more influence on the spatial arrangement of sultan-mosques. Ottoman emperors – most of all Mehmèd II, Bayezid II and Suleiman – paid curious attention to Europe, particularly to Italy. The trade relationships with Genoese and Venetian merchants, established at the time of the Byzantine Empire, were completed with cultural aspects during this period. In addition to delegations and merchants, a series of poets and artists appeared in the court of the sultan, giving proof to the vibrant intellectual life lived there. Mehmed hired a Venetian painter in his court, 36 and Bayezid was waiting for a bridge construction engineer also from this country. 37 So it was not surprising at all that the Sublime Porte was well-informed about the application of central spaces gaining ground, especially about the design works of St Peter’s Cathedral in Rome. Its influence can be traced on several buildings of Sinan.

The Prince’s Mosque (Şehzade Camii, Istanbul, 1543-1548) was built by Suleiman in memory of Mehmèd, his son born by Hürem, the second wife with notorious agility, who was raised to be a crown prince and who died in 1543. Ibrahim Peçevi, born in Pécs, reported on the prince’s funeral and the foundation of the külliye:

“The funeral service was held in the Bayezid mosque in the presence of Suleiman. Previously, the Sultan’s favourite son had planted saplings on top of the ancient ruins. The Sultan ordered him buried at this place, and to build a türbe over his tomb and a large mosque next to it.” 38

The building complex stands on the land between the referred to külliye of Bayezid II and Mehmèd II, in the corner of the Old Palace, by the road leading to Edirne. The mosque and its forecourt is surrounded by a garden of irregular shape, encircled with walls. Here stands the tomb of the prince (türkè), and the other buildings of the külliye attached to the outer side of the fence: Madrasah (medrese), public soup kitchen (imaret) and pilgrim accommodation (tabhane), pilgrim lodging (kervansaray), Koranic school (dârûlkurra).

The overall shapes of the layout of the mosque and the forecourt are two squares with the same dimensions. A central space creates the interior of the mosque; its nine-parted square floor plan is divided by the four pillars and the vaults leaning onto them, supporting the centre dome. The pendetive centre dome of 19 m in diameter is supported by quarter spheres along the legs of a Greek cross shape, which can be drawn into the square layout; the quarter spheres are completed with two small additional quarter-sphere domes. The position of the domes gives the feeling that the row of domes of Hagia Sophia could have been built here, both in a longitudinal and a cross direction, although on a smaller scale. Although in reality, it did not serve as a model for Sinan, one has to look for inspiration in Renaissance Italy. Namely, this scheme – a space of square layout, covered with pendetive dome, expanded with apses that are roofed with quarter domes – was built as an independent building first in Todi, by the design of Donato Bramante. 39

Due to its size and the builder’s stature, the Suleiman Mosque can be considered Sinan’s most prestigious building complex. This extensive building complex was erected on the site of the former Old Palace (Eski Saray), on top of the third hill of the town. It presented the completeness of the components of külliyes aside the mosque and the tombs: elementary school (mekteb); Koranic school (dârûlhadî); tradition narrating school (hadîth) and dormitory; five post-secondary schools (medrese); medical university (dârûlçurra);
bath (hamam); public soup kitchen (imaret) and guesthouse (tabhane). It clearly describes the dimensions of the building complex that was estimated by Hans Dernschwarm to be the same size as the city of Bratislava at that time.\footnote{Dernschwarm stayed in Istanbul between 1553-1556, joining the delegate of Antal Verancsics. His memoirs are published in: [25, p. 345.]}  

The construction lasted for seven years.\footnote{In 1555, Dernschwarm saw the building half-ready and according to his estimation, three years of work was to be done at that time. [25, p. 385.]}  

According to the description of Evlia Çelebi, after three years of earthworks, the implementation of the wall foundations took the same time. This was followed by a one-year break, in which the rumours thought to see the decline of the empire’s power. However, the work was stopped for technical reasons: the builders had to wait for the consolidation of the foundations and the production of the necessary building materials.\footnote{Quotes Evlia: [19, pp. 123-124]}  

The demanded quantity of stone was taken from the ruins of Emperor Diocletian’s palace in Nicomedia (today: Izmit), and was transported to Istanbul on the “stone-ships” (on special galleys without sails).\footnote{Pasha Sinan, brother of Pasha Rüstem was responsible for the transportation. He reported on the transportation and site works as an eyewitness: [28, p. 113 and p. 285.]}  

The mosque itself is of considerable dimensions: four Prince’s Mosques could fit in it. Its spatial arrangement follows much more that of Hagia Sophia than does the layout of the Prince’s Mosque. Although the interior has a square layout (58 m), due to the huge size, Sinan did not apply the row of domes with a Greek cross layout, which can be seen at the Prince’s Mosque, but created a directed central space similar to that of Hagia Sophia. At the same time, lacking the gallery floor above the aisles, the inner space became clearer and more consistent than its role model. This effect is reinforced by the light streaming through the windows and the light interior paint on the walls.
"We are all servants here!" Mimar Sinan – architect of the Ottoman Empire

Fig. 4. Plan of Suleiman külliye (Süleymaniye)
(Source: http://www.mimarsinanerleri.com/mimari_cizimler/Istanbul Suleymaniye Camii/slides/Lecha031_Suleymaniye_Vaziyet_Plani_Zemin_Katları.html)

Fig. 5. The interior of Suleiman mosque (Photo taken by the author)

Fig. 6. The interior of Suleiman mosque (Photo taken by the author)

Fig. 7. Miniature of the model of Suleiman mosque by Nakkas Osman (Yerasimos, 2000. 312.o.)
Sinan handed over the building to Suleiman:

“Oh, my Sultan, I have built this mosque for you, which will stand upon the earth till the day of the last judgment.”

From the time of its completion, Suleiman Külliye, especially the mosque, has meant a lot more than a building itself, it represented the strength and power of the empire. Proof of this can be seen on signed feast-days when the model of the building was carried around. This happened, for example, in 1582, on occasion of the circumcision ceremony of Prince Mehmed, son of Sultan Murad III as reported by not only the eyewitnesses but also through the miniature of Nakkas Osman.

The third milestone in Sinan’s life was the Külliye of Sultan Selim II. Suleiman’ son of modest calibre – posterity refers to him just with the name ‘the Sot’ (Mest) – spent his time in the quieter Edirne instead of the vibrant capital, and he also designated the location of his külliye here. The construction took place between 1569 and 1576 (at that time Sinan was at the beginning of his eighties). The building complex, surrounded by walls, can be entered through a covered market (arasta) from the direction of the town’s old centre (old Grand Mosque, covered bazaar). In addition to this and the mosque, the külliye contains an elementary school (mekteb) and two post-secondary schools (medrese). No tomb was placed here since the türbe of the sultan (also Sinan’s work) was built in Istanbul, on the south side of Hagia Sophia.

The dimensions of the mosque are slightly smaller than that of the Suleiman Mosque (45 x 36 m), and contrary to that mosque, this one was built with a traverse rectangular layout. However, the size of the dome surpassed all previous dimensions: its diameter is 31.5 m. Not only its size but also its position is remarkable. While in Hagia Sophia, the centre dome forms an integral unity with the attached quarter-spheres and vaults, in the case of the Selim Mosque, this structure dominantly towers over the space. Sinan subordinated everything to this dome as if the only sense of the building would manifest in this structure and in the space enclosed by the eight pillars supporting (lifting) the dome.

He emphasized this aim by placing the gallery of the muezzins (mahfil) and the well under it (şadirvan) to the middle, on the axis of the dome, which is an unusual solution in Ottoman architecture. Due to this central spatial arrangement and the dominance of the dome, researchers find the influence of Italian Renaissance central spaces, especially that of St Peter’s cathedral in Suleiman Mosque.

Sinan was also active in Hungary, but as relevant resources are missing, the number of his works in the country cannot even be estimated. The design of the Drava Bridge in Osijek can be associated with his name, as well as the reconstruction of the castle in Szeged. Sinan also completed the conversion of St Adalbert Basilica in Esztergom to a mosque in 1543. According to Evlia Çelebi – evoking memories of his father who was also involved in the construction works as a goldsmith – Suleiman watched the buildings on Castle Hill with admiration, especially a pink-domed church (this was probably Bakócz Chapel), and while the sultan led a battle around Fehérvár, Sinan was already carrying out the conversion work.

He also designed the Pasha Mustafa Mosque that once stood in Viziváros. Knowing his close relationship with the builder Sokullu’s family – Sinan prepared the plans of 30 buildings just for Grand Vizier Sokullu Mehmed, the cousin of Mustafa – it is presumable that he designed some elements (a bath and a medrese) of the külliye in Viziváros too. But it is only suspected that Mustafà, having also the position of the Pasha of Buda, within his extensive constructing activity employed Sinan at other places too.

Mimar Sinan died in 1588, at the age of nearly a hundred years, leaving an unprecedented body of work behind. In addition to his undoubted talent and adaptability, his success could be owed to the lucky interference of a variety of factors. His long life, fifty years of which he spent as the chief architect, coincided with the golden age of empire. The conquered areas provided plenty of construction tasks, as well as did the clients, who were aspiring for architectural representation worthy of their rank – among them the monarch and his wider environment. In addition, the empire, not being without financial resources, was also able to realize these plans. The destruction of later centuries spared much of Sinan’s oeuvre, in fact, most of the buildings are still used for their original purpose. Sinan’s own personality also escaped the oblivion. First of all, not because his grave and his dictated biography survived – though in Central Europe it would also constitute a special value – but because he became a symbol of the most glorious era of the Ottoman Empire through his works.

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44 Published by: [19, p. 126.]
45 Nakkas Osman: Surname-i Hümayun (Book of Feasts, 1582). The description is published by: [19, pp. 156-162.]; According to the illustration of the miniature, the some meters high model presented not only the mosque but also the forecourt and the tombs: [27, p. 312.]
46 [17, p. 302.]
47 Mahfil (singer gallery) is a special gallery built for the muezzins and for the Sultan. [17, p. 307.]
48 On the Ottoman architecture in Hungary – including the works of Sinan see: [9]; [21]; further adaptation by Adrienn Papp and Balázs Sudár: www.torokvarak.hu
49 József Molnár attributes the assignment of Sinan as chief architect directly to the success of the bridge in Osijek. On both constructions: [20, pp. 25-28.]; [21, p. 106.]; [5, p. 86.]
50 [4, p. 312.]
51 On the constructions of Pasha Mustafa: [9, pp. 122-124.]
“We are all servants here!” Mimar Sinan – architect of the Ottoman Empire

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Fig. 8. Plan of the Selim II mosque
(Source: http://www.mimarsinaneserleri.com/minari_cizimler/Edirne_SelimivMedreseleri/slides/Levha276.html)

Fig. 9. The interior of the Selim II mosque (Photo taken by the author)
**Works of Mimar Sinan**

1. **Trust for charity / Küllije:**

| No. | City | Name | Date | Status |
|-----|------|------|------|--------|
| 1   | Edirne | Sultan Selim (II) | 1574-1575 | extant |
| 2   | Istanbul | Eski (Atik) Vâlide Sultan (Üsküdar) | 1570-1579 | great mosque, madrasas, covered market |
| 3   | Istanbul | Gazi Iskender Paşa (Canlica) | 1559-60 | public kitchen, school ruined |
| 4   | Istanbul | Haseki Hürrem Sultan (Fâth) | 1538-1539 | extant |
| 5   | Istanbul | Kara Ahmed Paşa (Fâth) | 1555-1572 | 1894: earthquake / 1969: rebuilt |
| 6   | Istanbul | Kiliç Ali Paşa (Beyoğlu) | 1580-1587 | great mosque, madrasa, mausoleum, bath |
| 7   | Istanbul | Mihrimah Sultan (Edirnekapı, Fâth) | 1562-1569 | great mosque, madrasa, mausoleum, bath, caravanserai, bazaar |
| 8   | Istanbul | Mihrimah Sultan (Üsküdar) | 1547-1548 | great mosque, mausoleums, madrasa, school, caravanserai, extant |
| 9   | Istanbul | Piyale Paşa | 1573-1574 | great mosque, mausoleum, extant |
| 10  | Istanbul | Rüstem Paşa (Emirinönü) | 1560-1561 | great mosque, bath, 3 bazaars extant, in use |
| 11  | Istanbul | Sinan Paşa (Başıktaş) | 1550-1555 | great mosque, madrasa extant, bath ruined |
| 12  | Istanbul | Şehzade Mehmed | 1543-1548 | great mosque, mausoleums, school, madrasa, guest house, caravanserai, public kitchen |
| 13  | Istanbul | Sokullu Mehmed Paşa (Eyüp) | 1568-1569 | mausoleum, madrasa, Quran school, extant |
| 14  | Istanbul | Sokullu Mehmed Paşa (Kadirga) | 1571-1572 | great mosque, madrasa, dervish lodge |
| 15  | Istanbul | Sultan Süleyman (Süleymaniye) | 1550-1557 | great mosque, mausoleums, school, Quran school, 5 madrasas, medical university, hospital, guest house, public kitchen, bath, bazaar, extant |
| 16  | Istanbul | Zal Mahmut Paşa (Eyüp) | - | great mosque, mausoleums, 2 madrasas |

52 [2]; [6]; [17]; [23] [www.mitodaysinaneserleri.com](http://www.mitodaysinaneserleri.com); [www.sinanasaygi.org](http://www.sinanasaygi.org); [www.tas-istanbul.com](http://www.tas-istanbul.com); [www.archnet.org](http://www.archnet.org); [www.mitodayrist.org](http://www.mitodayrist.org)
| No. | Location | Architect | Years | Status |
|-----|----------|-----------|-------|--------|
| 1.  | Aksaray  | Osman Sah Vâlidesi | - | - |
| 2.  | Aleppo (Halep) | Hüsrev Paşa | 1546-1547 | extant / today: Syria |
| 3.  | Aleppo (Halep) | Adliye Camisi | 1565-1566 | - / today: Syria |
| 4.  | Ankara | Cenâbî Ahmed Paşa | 1561-1566 | extant |
| 5.  | Babaeski | Ceddî Ali Paşa | 1555-1561 | - |
| 6.  | Bagdad (Bagdat) | Abdülkadir Geylani | - | ruined / today: Iraq |
| 7.  | Bagdad (Bagdat) | İmam-i Azam (Ebu Hanife) | 1534-1535 | ruined / today: Iraq |
| 8.  | Bagdad (Bagdat) | Murad Paşa | 1570-1571 | ruined / today: Iraq |
| 9.  | Basra | Maktul Ayas Paşa | 1546-1548? | ruined / today: Syria |
| 10. | Bolu | Ferhad Paşa | - | - |
| 11. | Bolu | Mustafa Paşa | - | - |
| 12. | Bolvadin | Rüstem Paşa | 1546 | - |
| 13. | Buda | Sokullu Mustafa Paşa | - | ruined |
| 14. | Büyükçekmece | Sokullu Mehmed Paşa | 1567 | ruins |
| 15. | Çatalca | Ferhad Paşa | 1575 | extant |
| 16. | Çorum | Sultan Alâeddin Selçûkî | - | renovation |
| 17. | Damascus (Şam) | Sultan Süleyman | 1550-1554 | extant |
| 18. | Diyarbakır | Behran Paşa | 1564-1572 | extant |
| 19. | Diyarbakır | Hâdim Ali Paşa | 1541-1544 | extant |
| 20. | Diyarbakır | İskender Paşa | 1551 | extant |
| 21. | Diyarbakır | Melek Ahmet Paşa | 1587-1591 | extant |
| 22. | Edirne | Taşlık Mahmût Paşa | (1470) | extant |
| 23. | Edirne | Sultan Selim II. | 1574-1575 | extant |
| 24. | Edirne | Deftedar Mustafa Paşa | 1574 | extant |
| 25. | Edirne | Haseki Sultan | 1560 | extant |
| 26. | Edirne | Sokullu Mehmed Paşa | 1576-1577 | extant |
| 27. | Ereğli | Serniz Ali Paşa | 1561-1565 | rebuilt |
| 28. | Erzurum | Lala Mustafa Paşa | 1562-1563 | extant |
| 29. | Esztergom | Sultan Süleyman / St. Adalbert | 1543 | demolished |
| 30. | Gebze | Çoban Mustafa Paşa | - | extant |
| 31. | Gözleve (Kezlev) | Tatar Han | - | - / today: Jevpatorija, Ukraine |
| 32. | Hatay | Sokullu Mehmed Paşa | 1567-1574 | extant |
| 33. | Havsa (Edirne) | Sokullu Mehmed Paşa | 1576-1577 | extant |
| 34. | Hersek | Sofu Mehmed Paşa | - | - |
| 35. | Isparta | Firdevs Bey | 1561 | extant |
| 36. | İstanbul | Ahi Çelebi (Fâtih) | 1539 | extant, renovated |
| 37. | İstanbul | Arakiyeci Ahmed Çelebi (Fâtih) | - | ruined |
| 38. | İstanbul | Bâlı Paşa (Fâtih) | 1546-1548 | extant |
| 39. | İstanbul | Çarvuşbaşı (Sütlüce) (Beyoğlu) | 1538-1539 | extant |
| 40. | İstanbul | Damar Ferhat Paşa | - | extant |
| 41. | İstanbul | Deftedar Mahmud Çelebi | 1541 | extant |
| 42. | İstanbul | Drağman Yunus Bey (Fâtih) | 1541-1542 | extant |
| 43. | İstanbul | Düğmeci Paşa (Düğmeciler) | - | - |
| 44. | İstanbul | Ebû-i-Fazl (Tophâne) | 1553-1554 | 1916: fire, 1993: rebuilt |
| 45. | İstanbul | Eski (Atik) Vâlide Sultan (Üsküdar) | 1570-1579 | extant |
| 46. | İstanbul | Ferruh Kethüda (Fâtih) | 1562-1563 | 1877: fire, renovated |
| 47. | İstanbul | Gazi Ahmet Paşa (Topkapı) | 1558 | extant |
| 48. | İstanbul | Gazi İskender Paşa (Kanlica) | 1559-60 | extant |
| 49. | İstanbul | Güzeloğlu Kasım Paşa | 1533-1534 | extant |
| 50. | İstanbul | Haçi Evhad (Yedikule, Fâtih) | 1575 | 1920: fire |

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51. Istanbul Hadım Ibrahim Paşa (Sülvrikapı) 1551 rebuilt
52. Istanbul Hammâmi Hâtun (Sulu Manastır) - ruins
53. Istanbul Haseki Hürem Sultan 1538-1539 extant
54. Istanbul Hürem Çavuş (Fâtih) 1560-1561 extant
55. Istanbul Hürev Çelebi (Ramazan Efendi) 1585 extant
56. Istanbul Kara Ahmed Paşa (Fâtih) 1555-1572 1894: earthquake / 1969: renovated
57. Istanbul Kazasker Abdurrahman Çelebi 1575 extant
58. Istanbul Kazasker Iyaz Efendi 1585 extant
59. Istanbul İskender Paşa (Beyköy) 1559-1560 extant
60. Istanbul Kiliç Ali Paşa (Beyoğlu) 1580-1587 extant
61. Istanbul Mahmut Ağa (Kapiağası) 1553-1554 1895: fire / rebuilt
62. Istanbul Mehmet Ağa (Fâtih) 1584-1585 extant
63. Istanbul Meşîh Mehmed Paşa (Fâtih) 1585-1586 extant
64. Istanbul Mihrimah Sultan (Edirnekapı, Fâtih) 1562-1569 1719, 1999: earthquake / rebuilt
65. Istanbul Mihrimah Sultan (Üsküdar) 1547-1548 extant
66. Istanbul Molla Çelebi (Fındıklı) (Beyoğlu) 1570-1584 extant
67. Istanbul Muhyiddin Çelebi (Tophâne) 1542-1547 -
68. Istanbul Nişancı Mehmet Paşa (Fâtih) 1584-1588 1889: rebuilt
69. Istanbul Nişancı Mustafa Paşa (Eyüp) - extant
70. Istanbul Odabaşı Behruz Ağa (Yenikapı) 1562-1563 extant
71. Istanbul Piyale Paşa (Kasimpasa) 1573-1574 extant
72. Istanbul Ramazan Efendi (Koçmustafapaşa) 1586 1782: fire / 1819: renovated
73. Istanbul Rüstem Paşa (Eminönü) 1561-1562 extant
74. Istanbul Şah Sultan (Eyüp) 1555-1556 extant
75. Istanbul Şehzade (Mehmet) (Fâtih) 1543-1548 extant
76. Istanbul Şehzade Cihangir (Beyoğlu) 1559 extant, rebuilt, renovated
77. Istanbul Şemsi Ahmet Paşa (Üsküdar) 1580 extant
78. Istanbul Sinan Ağa (Fâtih) - -
79. Istanbul Sinan Paşa (Beşiktaş) 1550-1555 1749: rebuilt
80. Istanbul Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (Azapkapi) 1577-1578 extant
81. Istanbul Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (Kadirga) 1571-1572 -
82. Istanbul Sultan Bâyezîd Kızı (Yenibahçe) - -
83. Istanbul Sultan Süleyman (Süleymaniye) 1550-1557 extant
84. Istanbul Süleyman Çelebi (Üsküplü) - -
85. Istanbul Süleyman Subaşı (Eyüp) - -
86. Istanbul Türşucuzade Hüseyin Çelebi - rebuilt
87. Istanbul Yunus Bey 1541-1542 extant
88. Istanbul Zal Mahmut Paşa (Eyüp) 1577 extant
89. Izmit Abdülsselâm - renovated
90. Izmit Mehmed Bey - rebuilt
91. İzmit Petrev Paşa 1579 -
92. Iznik Ayasofya - adapted
93. Kanlica Gazi İskender Paşa 1559-1560 -
94. Karapınar Sultan Selim 1563 extant
95. Kastamonu Abdurrahman Paşa 1582 extant
96. Kayseri Haci Ahmed Paşa 1576-85 extant
97. Kayseri Osman Paşa -
98. Kerkük Sultan Süleyman - - / today: Iraq
99. Kezlev (Gözleve) Tatar Han 1552 rebuilt / today: Jevpatorija, Ukraine
100. Kütahya Lala Hüseyin Paşa 1566 extant
| No. | Location | Architect | Construction Dates | Status |
|-----|----------|-----------|---------------------|--------|
| 1.  | Istanbul | Arpacıbaşı (Eyüp) | - | rebuilt? |
| 2.  | Istanbul | Çivizadekızı (Çavuş) (Fatih) | - | extant |
| 3.  | Istanbul | Davutağa (Eyüp) | 1554-1555 | rebuilt |
| 4.  | Istanbul | Defferdar Mahmut Çelebi (Eyüp) | 1541 | extant |
| 5.  | Istanbul | Dunhanizade (Fatih) | - | - |
| 6.  | Istanbul | Hacı Hamza (Fatih) | 1577? | - |
| 7.  | Istanbul | Hadim Ibrahim Paşa (Esekapi) (Fatih) | 1560 k. | 1894: earthquake, ruins |
| 8.  | Istanbul | Hasan Çelebi (Beyoğlu) | - | - |
| 9.  | Istanbul | Karagümüşk Emir Ali Çelebi (Fatih) | - | extant |
| 10. | Istanbul | Kaysunizade (Beyoğlu) | - | rebuilt |
| 11. | Istanbul | Kiremitçi Ahmet Çelebi (Beyoğlu) | 1555-1556 | rebuilt |
| 12. | Istanbul | Memi Kethüdâ (Beyoğlu) | - | - |
| 13. | Istanbul | Mimarbaşı (Mimar Sinan) (Fatih) | 1573-1574 | 1918: fire, 1938 and 1962: rebuilt |
| 14. | Istanbul | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (Büyükçekmeçe) | - | ruins |
| 15. | Istanbul | Süleyman Subaşı (Eyüp) | - | rebuilt |
| 16. | Istanbul | Üçbaş (Nurettin Hamza) | 1532-1533 | rebuilt? |
| 17. | Istanbul | Yahya Kethüdâ | - | rebuilt? |
| 18. | Mekka (Mekke) | Mescidi Haram Onarımı | - | - / today: Saudi Arabia |

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1.2. Mosque / Mescid:

| No. | Location | Architect | Construction Dates | Status |
|-----|----------|-----------|---------------------|--------|
| 1.  | Istanbul | Arpacıbaşı (Eyüp) | - | rebuilt? |
| 2.  | Istanbul | Çivizadekızı (Çavuş) (Fatih) | - | extant |
| 3.  | Istanbul | Davutağa (Eyüp) | 1554-1555 | rebuilt |
| 4.  | Istanbul | Defferdar Mahmut Çelebi (Eyüp) | 1541 | extant |
| 5.  | Istanbul | Dunhanizade (Fatih) | - | - |
| 6.  | Istanbul | Hacı Hamza (Fatih) | 1577? | - |
| 7.  | Istanbul | Hadim Ibrahim Paşa (Esekapi) (Fatih) | 1560 k. | 1894: earthquake, ruins |
| 8.  | Istanbul | Hasan Çelebi (Beyoğlu) | - | - |
| 9.  | Istanbul | Karagümüşk Emir Ali Çelebi (Fatih) | - | extant |
| 10. | Istanbul | Kaysunizade (Beyoğlu) | - | rebuilt |
| 11. | Istanbul | Kiremitçi Ahmet Çelebi (Beyoğlu) | 1555-1556 | rebuilt |
| 12. | Istanbul | Memi Kethüdâ (Beyoğlu) | - | - |
| 13. | Istanbul | Mimarbaşı (Mimar Sinan) (Fatih) | 1573-1574 | 1918: fire, 1938 and 1962: rebuilt |
| 14. | Istanbul | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (Büyükçekmeçe) | - | ruins |
| 15. | Istanbul | Süleyman Subaşı (Eyüp) | - | rebuilt |
| 16. | Istanbul | Üçbaş (Nurettin Hamza) | 1532-1533 | rebuilt? |
| 17. | Istanbul | Yahya Kethüdâ | - | rebuilt? |
| 18. | Mekka (Mekke) | Mescidi Haram Onarımı | - | - / today: Saudi Arabia |
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1.3. Public kitchen / Itodayret:

| Location          | Architect/Owner               | Years          | Status      |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| Damascus (Şam)    | Sultan Süleyman               | -              | ruined      |
| Gebze             | Çoban Mustafa Paşa             | -              | extant      |
| Hatay             | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa           | 1574-1575      | ruins       |
| İstanbul          | Eski (Atik) Valide Sultan (Üsküdar) | 1570-1579   | extant      |
| İstanbul          | Haseki Hürem Sultan (Fátih)   | 1538-1539      | extant      |
| İstanbul          | Şehzade Mehmet                | 1543-1548      | extant      |
| İstanbul          | Sultan Süleyman               | 1550-1557      | extant      |
| Konya             | Sultan Selim (II)             | 1560-1563      | ruins       |
| Kudüs             | Cami-Şerif (Haseki)           | 1540-1541      | -           |
| Kudüs             | Haseki                        | -              | -           |
| Manisa            | Sultan Murat (Muradiye)       | 1586-1587      | -           |
| Sakarya           | Sapanca Rüstem Paşa           | -              | -           |

1.4. Hospital / Dârüşşifa:

| Location          | Architect/Owner               | Years          | Status      |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| İstanbul          | Haseki Hürem Sultan (Fátih)   | 1538-1539      | extant      |
| İstanbul          | Sultan Süleyman (Süleymaniye)| 1550-1557      | extant      |
| İstanbul          | Valide Sultan (Üsküdar)       | 1583           | extant      |

1.5. Dervish lodge / Tekke (Zaviye):

| Location          | Architect/Owner               | Years          | Status      |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| Bagdad (Bağdat)   | Abdüllâhid Geylani Tekkesi    | -              | ruined / today: Iraq |
| İstanbul          | İmam-ı Azam (Ebu Hanife) Tekkesi | 1534-1535   | ruined / today: Iraq |
| İstanbul          | Eski Valide Sultan Tekkesi (Üsküdar) | 1570-1579 | -           |
| İstanbul          | Piyale Paşa                   | 1573-1574      | ruined      |
| İstanbul          | Ramazan Efendi (Koçamustafa Paşa) | 1586          | 1782: fire / 1819: renovated |
| İstanbul          | Sokollu Mehmet Paşa Tekkesi (Fâtih) | 1571-1572 | extant      |
| Lüleburgaz        | Sokollu Mehmet Paşa           | 1571-1572      | extant      |

1.6. Quran school / Dârülkurrâ:

| Location          | Architect/Owner               | Years          | Status      |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| Edirne            | Sultan Selim II.              | 1574-1575      | extant      |
| İstanbul          | Eski (Atik) Valide Sultan (Üsküdar) | 1570-1583 | extant      |
| İstanbul          | Hüsrev Kethûdâ (Fâtih)        | -              | extant      |
| İstanbul          | Sokollu Mehmet Paşa (Eyüp)    | 1579           | extant      |
| İstanbul          | Sultan Süleyman               | 1550-1557      | extant      |
| İstanbul          | Kâdızâde Efendi (Fâtih)        | -              | extant      |
| Küçük Karaman     | Müftü Sa’di Çelebi            | -              | -           |

1.7. School for traditions of islam / Dârül haci:

| Location          | Architect/Owner               | Years          | Status      |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| Edirne            | Sultan Selim II.              | 1574-1575      | extant      |
1.8. Primary school for orphans and poor children / Sibyan mektebi:

| No. | City       | School Name                           | Date       | Status          |
|-----|------------|---------------------------------------|------------|-----------------|
| 1   | Istanbul   | Eski (Atık) Vâlide Sultan (Üsküdar)   | 1570-1579  | extant          |
| 2   | Istanbul   | Haseki Hürem Sultan (Fâtih)           | 1538-1539  | extant          |
| 3   | Istanbul   | Kara Ahmed Paşa (Fâtih)               | 1555-1572  | 1894: earthquake / 1969: rebuilt |
| 4   | Istanbul   | Mihrimah Sultan (Üsküdar)             | 1547-1548  | extant          |
| 5   | Istanbul   | Piyale Paşa                           | 1573-1574  |                 |

1.9. Elementary school / Mekteb:

| No. | City       | School Name                           | Date       | Status          |
|-----|------------|---------------------------------------|------------|-----------------|
| 1   | Istanbul   | Eski (Atık) Vâlide Sultan (Üsküdar)   | 1570-1579  | extant          |
| 2   | Istanbul   | Haseki Hürem Sultan (Fâtih)           | 1538-1539  | extant          |
| 3   | Istanbul   | Şehzade Mehmet (Fâtih)                | 1543-1548  | extant          |
| 4   | Istanbul   | Sultan Süleyman (Süleymaniye)         | 1550-1557  | extant          |

1.10. Madrasa (School for Islamic theology and law) / Medrese:

| No. | City       | School Name                           | Date       | Status          |
|-----|------------|---------------------------------------|------------|-----------------|
| 1   | Aleppo     | Hürev Paşa (Hüreviye)                 | 1545-1546  | rebuilt?        |
| 2   | Damascus    | Sultan Süleyman (Süleymaniye)         | -          | extant          |
| 3   | Diyarbakır | Hadım Ali Paşa                        | 1534-1537  | extant          |
| 4   | Gebze      | Çoban Mustafa Paşa                    | 1523-1524? | -               |
| 5   | Istanbul   | Cafer Ağa (Sultanahmet)               | 1559       | ruins           |
| 6   | Istanbul   | Eski Vâlide Sultan (Üsküdar)          | 1570-1579  | abandoned       |
| 7   | Istanbul   | Cedid Ali (Karagümüş)                 | 1550-1560  | 1960: rebuilt / today: clinic |
| 8   | Istanbul   | Hadım Ibrahim Paşa (Esekapı) (Fâtih)  | 1560 k.    | 1894: earthquake, ruins |
| 55  | Istanbul   | Haseki Hürem Sultan (Fâtih)           | 1538-1539  | extant          |
|     | Istanbul   | Kapiağası Cafer Ağa (Soğukkuyu) (Fâtih) | 1554-1559 | extant          |
| 59  | Istanbul   | Kara Ahmed Paşa (Fâtih)               | 1555-1572  | 1894: earthquake / 1969: rebuilt |
| 10  | Istanbul   | Mahmud Ağa (Ahirkapi)                 | 1553       | 1895: fire / rebuilt |
| 11  | Istanbul   | Kılıç Ali Paşa (Beyoğlu)              | 1580-1587  | extant          |
| 12  | Istanbul   | Mihrimah Sultan (Fâtih, Edirnekapı)   | 1569       | extant          |
| 13  | Istanbul   | Mihrimah Sultan (Üsküdar)             | 1547-1548  | extant          |
| 14  | Istanbul   | Nişancı Mehmet Bey (Fâtih)            | 1563-1566  | ruins           |
| 15  | Istanbul   | Rüstem Paşa (Fâtih)                   | 1550-1551  | extant          |
| 16  | Istanbul   | Şehzade Mehmet (Fâtih)                | 1543-1548  | extant          |
| 17  | Istanbul   | Semiz Ali Paşa (Fâtih)                | 1558-1559  | extant          |
| 18  | Istanbul   | Şemsi Ahmet Paşa (Üsküdar)            | 1580       | extant          |
| 19  | Istanbul   | Sinan Paşa (Beyoğlu)                  | 1555       | extant          |
| 20  | Istanbul   | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (Eyüp)            | 1568-1569  | extant          |
| 21  | Istanbul   | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (Fâtih)           | 1571-1572  | extant          |
| 22  | Istanbul   | Sultan Selim I. (Fâtih)               | 1548-1550  | extant          |
| 23  | Istanbul   | Sultan Süleyman (liberal arts)        | 1550-1557  | extant          |
| 24  | Istanbul   | Sultan Süleyman (Islamic law, evvel)  | 1550-1557  | extant          |
| 25  | Istanbul   | Sultan Süleyman (Islamic law, rabi)   | 1550-1557  | extant          |
| 26  | Istanbul   | Sultan Süleyman (Islamic law, salis)  | 1550-1557  | extant          |
| 27  | Istanbul   | Sultan Süleyman (Islamic law, sani)   | 1550-1557  | extant          |
| No. | Location | Name | Dates | Condition |
|-----|----------|------|-------|-----------|
| 28. | Istanbul | Sultan Süleyman (medical) | 1550-1557 | extant |
| 29. | Istanbul | Üçbaş (Nurettin Hamza) | 1532-1533 | - |
| 30. | Istanbul | Yunus Bey (Fâtih) | 1541-1542 | ruins |
| 31. | Istanbul | Zal Mahmut Paşa (Eyüp) | 1580 | extant |
| 32. | Lüleburgaz | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa | 1571 | extant |
| 33. | Tekirdağ | Rüstem Paşa | - | ruins |
| 34. | Van | Hüsrev Paşa | 1567-1568 | 1915: fire / rebuilt |

### 1.11. Minaret / Minare:

1. **Istanbul** Ayasofya - 2 db / extant

### 1.12. Mausoleum / Türbe:

| No. | Location | Name | Dates | Condition |
|-----|----------|------|-------|-----------|
| 1.  | Gebze    | Çoban Mustafa Paşa | 1523-1524? | extant |
| 2.  | Istanbul | Arap Ahmed Paşa (Fındıklı) | - | - |
| 3.  | Istanbul | Barbaros Hayrettin Paşa (Beşiktaş) | 1541-1542 | extant |
| 4.  | Istanbul | Defterdar Mahmud Paşa | 1541 | extant |
| 5.  | Istanbul | Gazi Iskender Paşa (Beykoz) | 1559-1560 | extant |
| 6.  | Istanbul | Güzel Ahmet Paşa (Fâtih) | 1580-1581 | extant |
| 7.  | Istanbul | Haci Paşa (Üsküdar) | 1576-1577 | extant |
| 8.  | Istanbul | Hadım İbrahim Paşa (Fâtih) | 1551 | extant grave |
| 9.  | Istanbul | Haseki Hürem Sultan (Süleymaniye) | 1557-1558 | extant |
| 10. | Istanbul | Hüsrev Paşa (Fâtih) | 1542 | extant |
| 11. | Istanbul | Kara Ahmed Paşa (Fâtih) | 1555-1572 | 1894: earthquake / 1969: rebuilt |
| 12. | Istanbul | Kılıç Ali Paşa (Beyoğlu) | 1587 | extant |
| 13. | Istanbul | Mehmet Ağa (Fâtih) | 1584-1585 | extant |
| 14. | Istanbul | Mesih Mehmet Paşa (Fâtih) | 1585-1586 | extant |
| 15. | Istanbul | Mihrimah Sultan (Edimekapı, Fâtih) | 1562-1569 | - |
| 16. | Istanbul | Mimar Sinan | 1588 | extant |
| 17. | Istanbul | Nişancı Feridun Ahmet Paşa (Eyüp) | 1583 | extant |
| 18. | Istanbul | Nişancı Mehmet Paşa (Fâtih) | 1584-1588 | extant |
| 19. | Istanbul | Piyale Paşa | 1573-1574 | extant |
| 20. | Istanbul | Petrev Paşa (Eyüp) | 1572-1573 | extant |
| 21. | Istanbul | Rüstem Paşa (Fâtih) | 1543-1548 | extant |
| 22. | Istanbul | Şehzade Sultan Mehmed (Fâtih) | 1543-1548 | extant |
| 23. | Istanbul | Şehzade Sultan Mehmed (Fâtih) | 1543-1548 | extant |
| 24. | Istanbul | Şemsî Ahmet Paşa (Üsküdar) | 1580 | extant |
| 25. | Istanbul | Shah-i Hüban Hatun (Fâtih) | - | extant |
| 26. | Istanbul | Sinan Paşa (Üsküdar) | - | extant |
| 27. | Istanbul | Siyavuş Paşa (Eyüp) | 1582-1584 | 1940-1970: renovated |
| 28. | Istanbul | sons of Siyavuş Paşa (Eyüp) | 1582-1584 | extant |
| 29. | Istanbul | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (Eyüp) | 1568-1569 | extant |
| 30. | Istanbul | Sultan Selim II. (Ayasofya) | 1576-1577 | extant |
| 31. | Istanbul | Sultan Süleyman (Süleymaniye) | 1550-1557 | extant |
| 32. | Istanbul | Yahya Efendi (Beşiktaş) | 1570 | extant |
| 33. | Istanbul | Zal Mahmut Paşa (Eyüp) | - | extant |
| 34. | Van | Hüsrev Paşa | 1567-1568 | extant |
### 1.13. Bath / Hamam:

| No. | Location | Architect | Years | Status |
|-----|----------|-----------|-------|--------|
| 1.  | Akbaba   | Kethüdâ Hadım | -     | -      |
| 2.  | Edirne   | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (Kasimpaşa) | 1576-1577 | extant, in use |
| 3.  | İstanbul | Barbaros Hayrettin Paşa (Fâthih) | 1534-1576 | extant |
| 4.  | İstanbul | Çemberištâş | 1584 | extant, in use |
| 5.  | İstanbul | Dere (Akarçeşme-Çökmeçeliler) | 1544 | ruins |
| 6.  | İstanbul | Emir Buhari (Fâthih) | - | - |
| 7.  | İstanbul | Eski Vâlide Sultan (Üsküdar) | 1570-1579 | ruined |
| 8.  | İstanbul | Eyüp Sultan (Eyüp) | - | ruins, under renovation |
| 9.  | İstanbul | Haseki Bostan (Fâthih) | 1550 k. | extant, in use |
| 10. | İstanbul | Haseki Hürem Sultan (Sultanahmet) | 1556-1557 | extant, in use |
| 11. | İstanbul | Haseki Hürem Sultan (Fâthih) | 1538-1551 | extant |
| 12. | İstanbul | Haydar Paşa (Zeyrek, Fâthih) | - | - |
| 13. | İstanbul | Hayreddin Paşa (Çinieli) (Zeyrek, Fâthih) | 1540-1546 | extant, in use |
| 14. | İstanbul | Hayreddin Paşa (Karağırmık, Fâthih) | - | - |
| 15. | İstanbul | Hürev Kethüdâ (Ortaköy)/Beşiktaş | - | rebuilt / today: restaurant |
| 16. | İstanbul | Hürev Kethüdâ (Belediye) (Çatalca) | - | ruins |
| 17. | İstanbul | İbrahim Paşa (Silvrkapı) | - | - |
| 18. | İstanbul | Kılıç Ali Paşa (Beyoğlu) | 1583 | extant, in use |
| 19. | İstanbul | Kılıç Ali Paşa (Fenerkapı) | - | - |
| 20. | İstanbul | Merkez Efendi (Zeytinburnu) | 1552-1572 | extant |
| 21. | İstanbul | Mihrimah Sultan (Edirnekapi, Fâthih) | 1562-1569 | rebuilt? in use |
| 22. | İstanbul | Mimar Sinan (Üsküdar) | - | 1959: partly ruined / today: bazaar |
| 23. | İstanbul | Molla Çelebi (Fındıklı) | 1570-1584 | extant |
| 24. | İstanbul | Nişancı Mustafa Paşa (Eyüp) | - | - |
| 25. | İstanbul | Nurbanu Sultan (Ayakapı) (Fâthih) | 1582 | ruins |
| 26. | İstanbul | Nurbanu Sultan (Çemberištâş) (Fâthih) | 1584 | extant, in use |
| 27. | İstanbul | Odabaşı Behruz Ağa (Beyköy) | - | - |
| 28. | İstanbul | Piyale Paşa | 1573-1574 | ruined |
| 29. | İstanbul | Rüstem Paşa (Çibali, Fâthih) | - | - |
| 30. | İstanbul | Sâlih Paçazade (Yeniköy) | - | - |
| 31. | İstanbul | Sari Kürz | - | - |
| 32. | İstanbul | Sinan Paşa (Beşiktaş) | 1550-1553 | - |
| 33. | İstanbul | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (Yeşildirek) (Beyoğlu) | 1577-1578 | - |
| 34. | İstanbul | Sultan Süleyman (Dökmeciler) (Fâthih) | 1550-1557 | extant, in use |
| 35. | İstanbul | Üç Kapılı (Topkapı) | - | - |
| 36. | İstanbul | Üç Kapılı (Üsküdar) | - | - |
| 37. | İstanbul | Valide Sultan (Ayakapı) (Fâthih) | 1582 | ruins |
| 38. | İstanbul | Valide Sultan (Üsküdar) | 1579? | rebuilt? |
| 39. | İstanbul | Yakup Ağa | 1545 | ruins |
| 40. | İzmir | Hayreddin Paşa (Kemeralti) | - | - |
| 41. | İzmir | Hürev Kethüdâ | - | - |
| 42. | Kayseri | Hüseyin Bey | 1552 k. | extant |
| 43. | Kefe | Sultan Süleyman | - | - |
| 44. | Konya | Sultan Selim (II) | 1560-1563 | extant / renovated |
| 45. | Lüleburgaz | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa | 1569-1570 | ruins |
| 46. | Mekka (Mekke) | Sultan Süleyman | - | - |
| 47. | Merkez (Kocaeli) | Petrev Paşa | - | - |
1.4. Palace / Saray:

| No. | Location | Name | Period | Type |
|-----|----------|------|--------|------|
| 1.  | Bosnia   | Mehem Paşa Sarayı | - | - |
| 2.  | Çiftlik  | Ahmed Paşa Sarayı | - | - |
| 3.  | Halkali  | Halkali Pınar Sarayının yeniden inşası | - | - |
| 4.  | Halkali  | Mehem Paşa Sarayı | - | - |
| 5.  | Istanbul | Ahmed Paşa Sarayı Atmeydanı | - | - |
| 6.  | Istanbul | Ahmed Paşa Sarayı (Eyüp) | - | - |
| 7.  | Istanbul | Ali Paşa Sarayı (Eyüp) | - | - |
| 8.  | Istanbul | Atmeydanı Sarayının yeniden inşası (Atmeydanı) | - | - |
| 9.  | Istanbul | Fenerbahçe Sarayının yeniden inşası (Fenerbahçe) | - | - |
| 10. | Istanbul | Ferhad Paşa Sarayı (Beyazıt) | - | - |
| 11. | Istanbul | Galatasarayın eski yerine yeniden inşası (Galatasaray) | - | - |
| 12. | Istanbul | İbrahim Paşa Sarayı (Atmeydanı) | 1524 | extant / today: museum |
| 13. | Istanbul | İskender Çelebi Bahçesi Sarayının yeniden inşası | - | - |
| 14. | Istanbul | Mahmûd Ağâ Sarayı (Yenibahçe) | - | - |
| 15. | Istanbul | Mehem Paşa Sarayı (Ayasofya) | - | - |
| 16. | Istanbul | Mehem Paşa Sarayı (Kadırga) | 1567-1572 | - |
| 17. | Istanbul | Mehem Paşa Sarayı (Üsküdar) | - | - |
| 18. | Istanbul | Pertev Paşa Sarayı | - | - |
| 19. | Istanbul | Rüstem Paşa Sarayı (Kadırga) | - | - |
| 20. | Istanbul | Rüstem Paşa Sarayı (Üsküdar) | - | - |
| 21. | Istanbul | Şâh-i Hübân Kadın Sarayı | - | - |
| 22. | Istanbul | Saray-ı atik tâmirı (Beyazıt) | - | - |
| 23. | Istanbul | Saray-ı cedid-i hümâyün tâmiri (Topkapı) | - | - |
| 24. | Istanbul | Sinân Paşa Sarayı (Atmeydanı) | - | - |
| 25. | Istanbul | Siyavus Paşa Sarayı | - | - |
| 26. | Istanbul | Siyavus Paşa Sarayı (Üsküdar) | - | - |
| 27. | Istanbul | Sofu Mehmeh Paşa Sarayı (Hocapaşa) | - | - |
| 28. | Istanbul | Üsküdar Sarayının tâmiri (Üsküdar) | - | - |
| 29. | Istanbul | Yenikapi Sarayının yeniden inşası (Silivrikapı) | - | - |
| 30. | Istanbul | Kandilli Sarayının yeniden inşası | - | - |
### 1.15. Caravanserai / Kervansaray / Han:

| No. | Location   | Name                | Years      | Status                  |
|-----|------------|---------------------|------------|-------------------------|
| 1.  | Akbıyık    | Rüstem Paşa         |            |                         |
| 2.  | Bursa      | Ali Paşa            |            |                         |
| 3.  | Edirne     | Ali Paşa (Merkez)   | 1568-1569  | extant, in use          |
| 4.  | Edirne     | Rüstem Paşa         | 1560-1561  | extant, today: hotel    |
| 5.  | Edirne     | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa | 1568-1569  |                         |
| 6.  | Eskişehir  | Çoban Mustafa Paşa  | 1525-1526? | extant                  |
| 7.  | Hatay      | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa | 1569-1570  | extant                  |
| 8.  | Hatay      | Sultan Süleyman     | 1550       | extant, today: cultural institute |
| 9.  | Havsa      | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa | 1572?      |                         |
| 10. | İpsala     | Hüsev Kethüdâ       |            |                         |
| 11. | İstanbul   | Ibrahim Paşa        |            |                         |
| 12. | İstanbul   | Kebeçiler (Bitpazar) |          | extant                  |
| 13. | İstanbul   | Mihrimah Sultan (Edirnekapı, Fâthîh) | 1562-1569 |                         |
| 14. | İstanbul   | Mustafa Paşa        |            |                         |
| 15. | İstanbul   | Rüstem Paşa (Büyük Çukur Han) (Eminönü) | 1561      | ruins                   |
|     | İstanbul   | Rüstem Paşa (Korşunlu Han) (Beyoğlu) | 1544-1550 | extant, in use          |
| 16. | İstanbul   | Rüstem Paşa (Küçük Çukur Han) (Eminönü) | 1560      | extant, in use          |
| 17. | İstanbul   | Şehzade Mehmed (Fâthîh) | 1543-1548 | ruins                   |
| 18. | İstanbul   | Semiz Ali Paşa (Bitpazarı) (Fâthîh) |            |                         |
| 19. | İstanbul   | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (Yeşilıderek) | 1577-1578 |                         |
| 20. | İstanbul   | Sultan Süleyman     | 1550-1557  |                         |
| 21. | İstanbul   | Sultan Süleyman (Büyükçekmeçe) | 1566      | extant                  |
| 22. | İstanbul   | Eski (Atık) Valide Sultan (Üsküdar) | 1570-1579 |                         |
| 23. | Karaman    | Rüstem Paşa         | 1552       | extant                  |
| 24. | Karışdırani | Rüstem Paşa         |            |                         |
| 25. | Konya      | Lala Mustafa Paşa (İlgın) | 1584      | ruins                   |
| 26. | Konya      | Rüstem Paşa (Eręgî) |            |                         |
| 27. | Konya      | Sultan Selim (II)   | 1560-1563  | extant, in use          |
| 28. | Lüleburgaz | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa | 1569-1570  | ruins                   |
| 29. | Rodosçuk   | Rüstem Paşa         |            |                         |
| 30. | Sapanca    | Rüstem Paşa         | 1555       |                         |
| 31. | Satodaynlı | Rüstem Paşa         |            |                         |

### 1.16. Pavilion / Kösk:

| No. | Location   | Name                | Years      | Status                  |
|-----|------------|---------------------|------------|-------------------------|
| 1.  | İstanbul   | Sultan Murat (Fâthîh) |            |                         |
| 24. | Karışdırani | Rüstem Paşa         |            |                         |
| 25. | Konya      | Lala Mustafa Paşa (İlgın) | 1584      | ruins                   |
| 26. | Konya      | Rüstem Paşa (Eręgî) |            |                         |
| 27. | Konya      | Sultan Selim (II)   | 1560-1563  | extant, in use          |
| 28. | Lüleburgaz | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa | 1569-1570  | ruins                   |
| 29. | Rodosçuk   | Rüstem Paşa         |            |                         |
| 30. | Sapanca    | Rüstem Paşa         | 1555       |                         |

### 1.17. Kitchen / Mutfak:

| No. | Location   | Name                | Years      | Status                  |
|-----|------------|---------------------|------------|-------------------------|
| 1.  | İstanbul   | Sultan Süleyman (Süleymanıye) | 1550-1557 | extant                  |
| 2.  | İstanbul   | Topkapı sarayı     |            |                         |

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1.18. Storage / Mahzen:

| #  | Location          | Name                                   | Year          | Status |
|----|------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------|--------|
| 1  | Istanbul         | Anbar (Has Bahçe)                      |               | -      |
| 2  | Istanbul         | Anbar (saray)                          |               | -      |
| 3  | Istanbul         | Buğday Mahzeni (Galata)                |               | -      |
| 4  | Istanbul         | İki adet anbar (Cebehâne)              |               | -      |
| 5  | Istanbul         | Kuruşunu Mahzen (Tophâne)              |               | -      |
| 6  | Istanbul         | Mahzen (Unkapı)                        |               | -      |
| 7  | Istanbul         | Mutbâk ve kiler (saray)                |               | -      |
| 8  | Istanbul         | Zift Mahzeni (Tersâne)                 |               | -      |

1.19. Aqueduct / Kemer:

| #  | Location          | Name                                   | Year          | Status |
|----|------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------|--------|
| 1  | Eğri             | Kovuk                                  | 1554-1564     | extant |
| 2  | İstanbul         | Güzelce Kemerî (Cebeciköy)             | 1554-1564     | extant |
| 3  | Kemerburgaz      | Evvelbent (Paşadere Su Kemerî)         | 1554-1564     | extant |
| 4  | Kemerburgaz      | Kırık Kemerî                           | 1554-1556     | extant |
| 5  | Kemerburgaz      | Todayğlova Kemerî                      | 1554-1556     | extant |
| 6  | Kemerburgaz      | Uzun Kemerî (Göktürk – Eyüp)           | 1554-1556     | extant |

1.20. Bridge / Küprü:

| #  | Location          | Name                                   | Year          | Status |
|----|------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------|--------|
| 1  | Alpullu          | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa                     |               | extant |
| 2  | Büyükçekmece     | Sultan Süleyman                         | 1554          | extant |
| 3  | Eszék (river Dráva) | Sultan Süleyman                  | 1554         | extant |
| 4  | Çorlu            | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa                    | 1534?         | extant |
| 5  | Gebze            | Sultan Süleyman                        |               | extant |
| 6  | Halkalıpınar      | Odabaşı                                |               | extant |
| 7  | Hasköy           | Çoban Mustafa Paşa                      | 1528-1529     | extant |
| 8  | İstanbul         | Kapiağası                              |               | extant |
| 9  | İstanbul         | Sultan Süleyman (Silivri)              | 1566?         | extant |
| 10 | Lüleburgaz       | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa                    |               | extant |
| 11 | Meriç             | Mustafa Paşa                           | 1529          | extant |
| 12 | Visegrad (river Drina) | Sokullu Mehmet Paşa | 1577-1578 | extant |

1.21. Water reservoir / Havuz:

| #  | Location          | Name        | Year          | Status |
|----|------------------|-------------|---------------|--------|
| 1  | İstanbul         | Havzi Kebir | 1554-1564     | extant |
2. The most important clients of Sinan:

|                      | trust for charity | great mosque | mosque | public kitchen | hospital | dervish lodge | Quran school | elementary school | pritiology school | todayfesia | todayseolm | bath | palace | carovanserai | kitchen | bridge |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------|----------------|----------|---------------|--------------|-------------------|------------------|------------|------------|------|--------|-------------|---------|--------|
| sultan Suleiman      | 1                 | 5            | 1      | 1              | 1        | 1             | 6            | 1                 | 3               | 1          | 2          | 4    |        |             |         |        |
| sultan Selim II.     | 1                 | 2            | 1      | 2              |          | 1             | 1            | 1                 |                 | 1          | 1          |      |        |             |         |        |
| sultan Murat III.    |                   |              |        |                |          |               |              |                   |                 |            |            |      |        |             |         |        |
| Hürrem               | 1                 | 1            | 1      | 1              | 1        | 1             | 1            | 1                 | 1               |            | 2          |      |        |             |         |        |
| Mihrimah             | 2                 | 2            |        |                | 1        | 2             | 1            | 1                 |                 | 1          |            |      |        |             |         |        |
| prince Mehemd        | 1                 | 1            |        |                | 1        | 1             | 1            | 1                 |                 | 1          |            |      |        |             |         |        |
| Pargali Ibrahim pasha grand vizier | 1                 | 1            | 1      |                |          |               |              |                   |                 |            |            |      |        |             |         |        |
| Lüfti pasha grand vizier |                   |              |        |                |          |               |              |                   |                 |            |            |      |        |             |         |        |
| Rüstem pasha grand vizier | 1                 | 6            | 1      |                |          |               |              | 2                 | 1               | 2          | 2          |      | 5      |             |         |        |
| Sinan pasha          | 1                 | 1            |        |                |          |               |              | 1                 | 1               | 1          |            |      |        |             |         |        |
| Sokullu Mehmed pasha grand vizier | 2                 | 4            | 1      | 1              | 2        | 1             |              | 3                 | 2               | 4          | 3          |      | 5      |             |         | 4      |
| Sokullu Mustafa pasha | 1                 |              |        |                |          |               |              |                   |                 | 1          |            |      |        |             |         |        |

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