

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

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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

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

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 Łaski 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/EBchecked/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.]

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that time- under his rule.⁴ 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.⁵

In 1512, Sinan came to Istanbul through the practice of child tax (*devşirme*) imposed on the non-Muslim population of the empire.⁶

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.⁷

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),⁸ where he studied carpentry. Presumably, he took up Islam and was given the name Sinan at that time.⁹ His first works - boats and bridges - show that initially he worked in the army as an engineer.¹⁰

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), the newly settled area of Ağırnas was exempt from the child tax. However, this privilege ceased with the new sultan, Selim I coming to the throne. [23, p. 3.]

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.]

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).¹¹ 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 1539.¹² 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

11 [11, p. 199.]; [17, p. 256.]; [23, p. 5.]. On janissary aga status: [20, p. 25.]

12 [7, p. 239.]; [11, p. 200.]

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.¹³ Contrary to the columnar mosques of the first Islamic empires (such as the Umayyads) 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 layout¹⁴, or they were multiple domed buildings with a floor plan referred to as an inverted 'T' by art historians.¹⁵ Among these, the most significant ones can be found in Bursa¹⁶; 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 Nicopolis. 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,¹⁷ similarly to the old grand mosque of Edirne with nine domes (Eski Cami, around 1402), which was built by Suleiman, one of Bayezid I's sons.¹⁸

The crucial change appeared in the Üç Serefeli mosque built by Murad II (Edirne, 1437-1447). This was the first example of

an arcaded 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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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 divan²¹

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.

¹³ Mosque (Grand Mosque, Friday Mosque) is a Muslim place of prayer suitable for performing Friday worship. One of its important components is the pulpit (minbar, minber), from where the Friday sermon (khutba) was held. The Hungarian name for it is derived from the Turkish word Cami.

¹⁴ Hacı Özbek Mosque (Iznik, 1333), Alaeddin Mosque (Bursa, 1334), Green Mosque (Yeşil Cami, Iznik, 1378-1391). [7, p. 233.]; [11, pp. 17-21.]; [27, p. 158.]

¹⁵ Jakub Celebi Mosque (Iznik, 1380) and Nilüfer Hatun Mosque (Iznik, 1388). According to the assumptions, the space form of mosques with an inverted 'T' floor plan shows similarities with the early Ottoman Dervish monasteries called zâviye. [7, p. 234.]; [9, p. 41.]; [11, pp. 47-51.]; [17, p. 83.]

¹⁶ Orhân Mosque (Bursa, 1339-1340), Bayezid I Mosque (Yeşil Cami, Bursa, 1412-1424)

¹⁷ The great Seljuk mosque in Divriği (Ulu Cami, 1296) was constructed in the same spirit. Here, as well as in Bursa, the prayer area is roofed by domes and arches with a design rising towards the centre space.

¹⁸ [18, p. 235.]

¹⁹ [7, p. 236.]; [17, pp. 143-148.]; [27, p. 193.]. Later Sinan also used this hexagonal shape in several places: Pasha Rüstem mosque, Pasha Sokullu Mehmed mosque.

²⁰ This was the royal mosque of the Sultan; when he stayed in Istanbul, he listened to the Friday worship there. [25, p. 327.]

²¹ [15, p. 421.]; The text is published by: [17, pp. 173-174.]; [19, pp. 13-14.]

The key to the survival of the empire was to ensure the monarchy of the monarch. Among others, preventing the development of individual property and power concentration was also a tool to achieve this aim.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 (*tímár*, *ziámet*) in return for military service, however, these donations could be withdrawn at any time, and could not be inherited.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.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.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.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 (*dârülkurrâ*), 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 (*dârüşşifa*); 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.²⁷ A pious foundation could also be launched by individuals, but the largest and most magnificent ones were the foundations established by the Sultan.²⁸

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.

²³ Bertalan Gyurgyevics already reported on this in his work published in 1544. Published by: [8, p.189.]

²⁴ [14, pp-5-8. and pp. 52-53.]

²⁵ [24, pp. 411-412.] About the *vaqfs*: [16, pp. 398-406.]

²⁶ [13, p. 21.]; Bertalan Gyurgyevics reported on this as an eye-witness: [8, p. 186.]

²⁷ [10, p. 545.]

²⁸ Reported on the constructions of the pashas’ and sultans’ foundation: [28, p. 411.]

The prolific fifty years Sinan spent as an architect are known to us thanks to his friend and colleague Mustafa Sâi Çelebi, who left behind the memoirs of old Sinan in three manuscripts.²⁹ This memoir credits Sinan with 343 buildings.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.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.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.³³ Though Sinan himself designed a mosque that copied the spatial arrangement of Hagia Sophia,³⁴

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.

³⁰ Nowadays, the researches put the number of buildings at well over 400.

³¹ The summary table of Sinan’s constructions can be found in the appendix.

³² Many of Sinan’s mosques are covered with plain slab, for example: Pasha Gazi Iskender Mosque (Istanbul, 1559-1560); single-domed: Haseki Hürrem 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: Kiliç Ali Pasha Mosque (Istanbul, 1580-1587)

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.

³⁴ Kiliç 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.]

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 Mehmed 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 Mehmed, his son born by Hürrem, 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 Mehmed 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 (türbe), and the other buildings of the külliye attached to the outer side



Fig. 1. Plan of the Prince Külliye

(Source: http://www.mimarsinanerleri.com/mimari_cizimler/Istanbul_Sehzade_Camii/slides/Levha017_Istanbul_Sehzade_Camii_Vaziyet_Plani.html)

of the fence: Madrasah (medrese), public soup kitchen (imaret) and pilgrim accommodation (tabhane), pilgrim lodging (kervansaray), Koranic school (dârülkurra).

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 beside the mosque and the tombs: elementary school (mekteb); Koranic school (dârülhadi); tradition narrating school (hadith) and dormitory; five post-secondary schools (medrese); medical university (dârüttib); hospital (dârüssifa);

³⁵ The early (columned) mosques – where builders sought to maximize the length of the Qibla wall – were built almost always with a chapel of transverse, rectangular layout: Grand Mosque of Damascus, Kairouan, Córdoba; Ibn Tûlûn Mosque, Cairo. Early Ottoman architecture follows a similar solution: Grand Mosque, Bursa; Old Grand Mosque, Edirne; Üç Şerefeli Mosque, Edirne.

³⁶ Gentile Bellini (1429-1507) was the son-in-law of Andrea Mantegna, he was in the service of the sultan from 1479 as the delegate of the Venetian Senate.

³⁷ According to Vasari, Leonardo da Vinci prepared the plans of the bridge over the Golden Horn Bay between 1502-1503 to this request. His letter is preserved in the Topkapı Museum, and his drawing in the Institut de France.

³⁸ [6, p. 33.]

³⁹ Santa Maria della Consolazione (Todi, 1508 -). The relationship between the two buildings is suggested in: [17, p. 271.]



Fig. 2. The interior of Prince Mosque (Photo taken by the author)

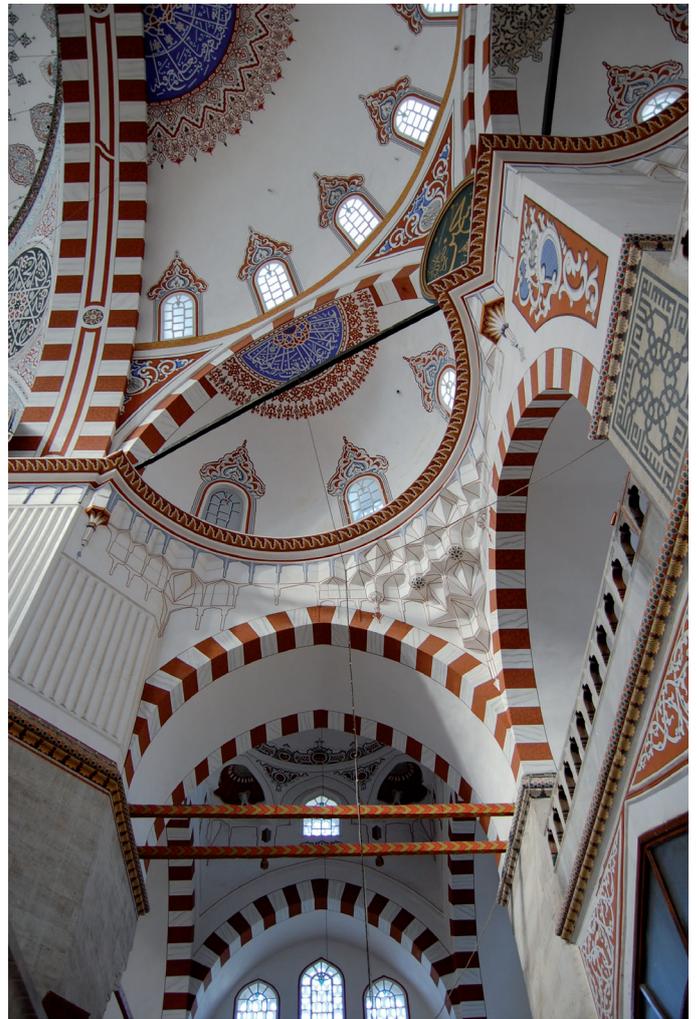


Fig. 3. The interior of Prince Mosque (Photo taken by the author)

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.⁴⁰

The construction lasted for seven years.⁴¹ 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.⁴² 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).⁴³

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.

⁴⁰ Dernschwarm stayed in Istanbul between 1553-1556, joining the delegate of Antal Veranesics. His memoirs are published in: [25, p. 345.]

⁴¹ 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.]

⁴² Quotes Evlia: [19, pp. 123-124]

⁴³ 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.]

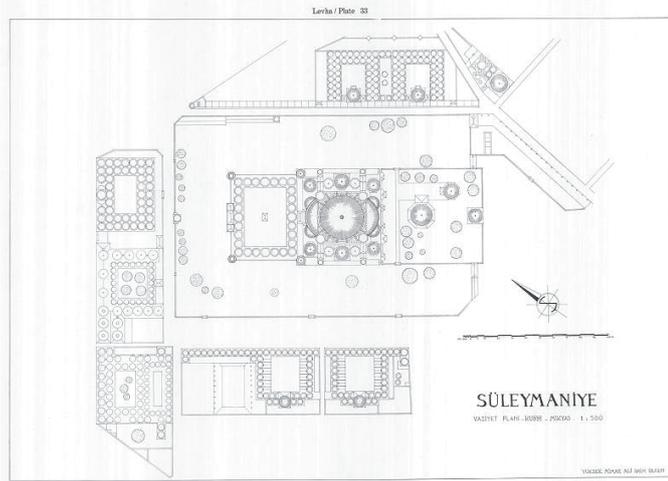


Fig. 4. Plan of Suleiman külliye (Süleymaniye)

[Source: http://www.mimarsinanerleri.com/mimari_cizimler/Istanbul_Suleymaniye_Camii/slides/Levha031_Suleymaniye_Vaziyet_Planı_Zemin_Katlari.html]

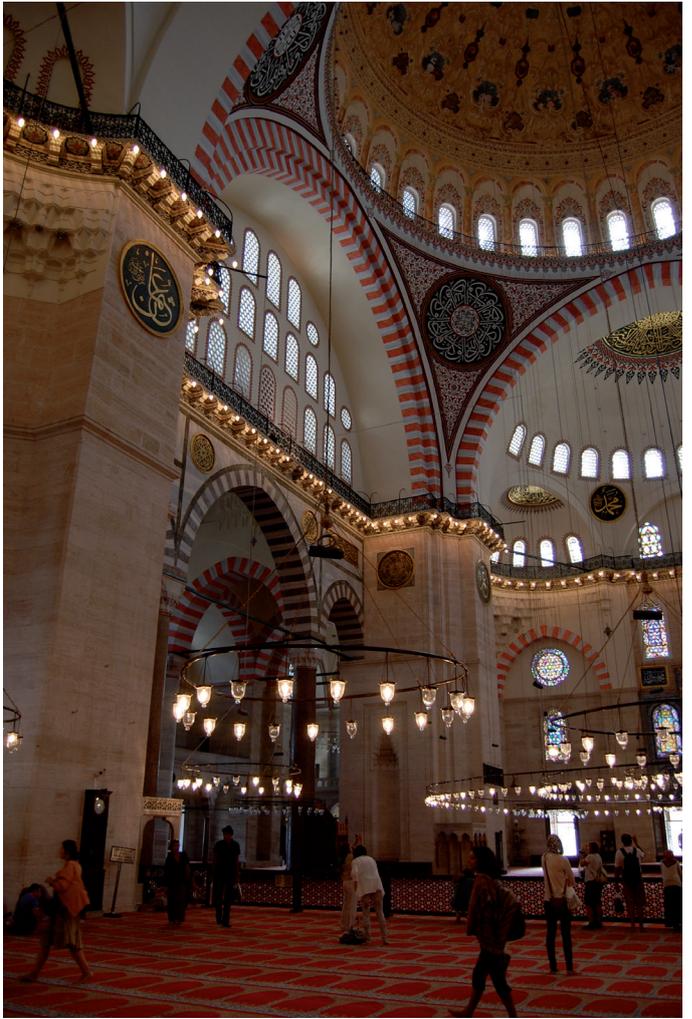


Fig. 6. The interior of Suleiman mosque (Photo taken by the author)



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

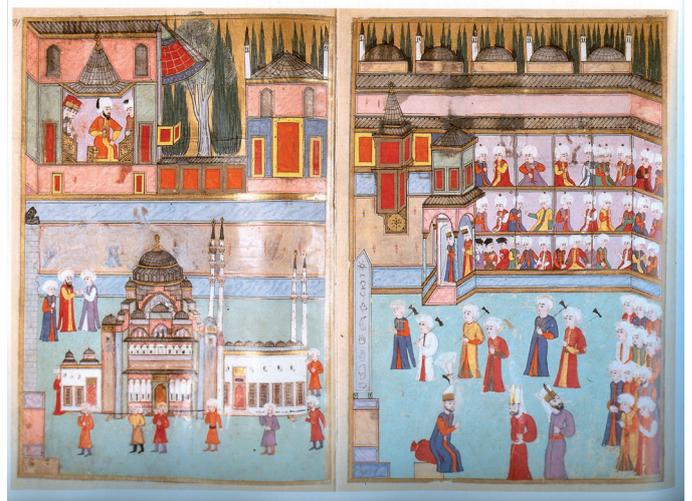


Fig. 7. Miniature of the model of Suleiman mosque by Nakkas Osman (Yerasimos, 2000. 312.o.)

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.”⁴⁴

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 Oman.⁴⁵

The third milestone in Sinan’s life was the Külliye of Sultan Selim II. Suleiman’s 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.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷

Sinan was also active in Hungary, but as relevant resources are missing, the number of his works in the country cannot even be estimated.⁴⁸ The design of the Drava Bridge in Osijek can be associated with his name, as well as the reconstruction of the castle in Szeged.⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰

He also designed the Pasha Mustafa Mosque that once stood in Víziváros. 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 Víziváros too. But it is only suspected that Mustafa, having also the position of the Pasha of Buda, within his extensive constructing activity employed Sinan at other places too.⁵¹

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.

⁴⁴ Published by: [19, p. 126.]

⁴⁵ Nakkas Osman: Surnâme-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.]

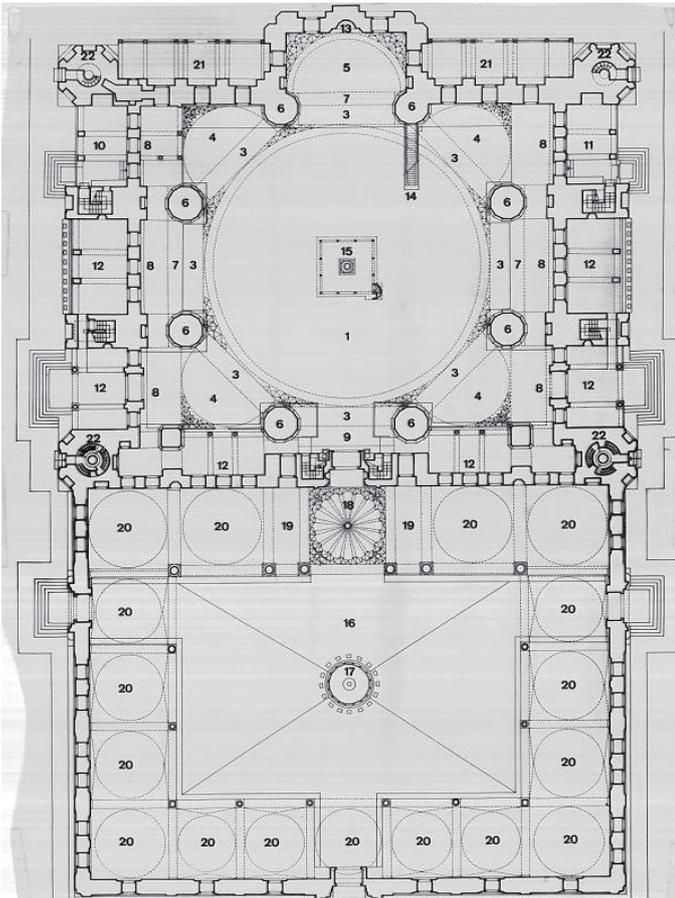


Fig. 8. Plan of the Selim II mosque

(Source: http://www.mimarsinan.eserleri.com/mimari_cizimler/Edirne_Selimiye_Medreseleri/slides/Levha276.html)

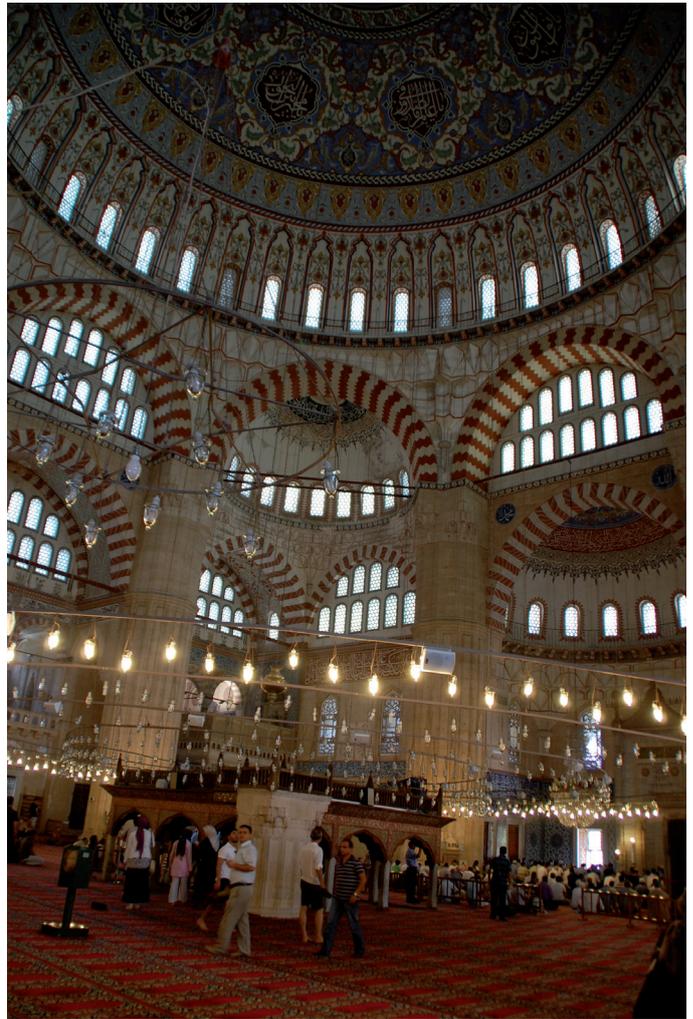


Fig. 9. The interior of the Selim II mosque (Photo taken by the author)

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Works of Mimar Sinan⁵²

1. Buildings by types:

1.0. Trust for charity / Külliye:

1.	Edirne	Sultan Selim (II)	1574-1575	great mosque, 2 madrasas, covered market
2.	Istanbul	Eski (Atik) Vâlide Sultan (Üsküdar)	1570-1579	great mosque, madrasa, dervish lodge, public kitchen, caravanserai, Quran school, guest house, primary school, bath
3.	Istanbul	Gazi Iskender Paşa (Kanlıca)	1559-60	public kitchen, school ruined
4.	Istanbul	Haseki Hürrem Sultan (Fâtih)	1538-1539	extant
5.	Istanbul	Kara Ahmed Paşa (Fâtih)	1555-1572	1894: earthquake / 1969: rebuilt
6.	Istanbul	Kiliç Alí Paşa (Beyoğlu)	1580-1587	great mosque, madrasa, mausoleum, bath
7.	Istanbul	Mihrimah Sultan (Edirnekapı, Fâtih)	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 (Eminönü)	1560-1561	great mosque, bath, 3 bazaars extant, in use
11.	Istanbul	Sinan Paşa (Beşiktaş)	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 (Kadırga)	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.mitodayrsinanesterleri.com; www.sinanasaygi.org; www.tas-istanbul.com; www.archnet.org; www.mitodayrist.org

1.1. Great Mosque / Cami:

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	Cedid Ali Paşa	1555-1561	-
6.	Bagdad (Bağdat)	Abdülkadir Geylani	-	ruined / today: Iraq
7.	Bagdad (Bağdat)	İmam-ı Azam (Ebu Hanife)	1534-1535	ruined / today: Iraq
8.	Bagdad (Bağdat)	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 Selçüki	-	renovation
17.	Damascus (Şam)	Sultan Süleyman	1550-1554	extant
18.	Diyarbakır	Behran Paşa	1564-1572	extant
19.	Diyarbakır	Hadim Ali Paşa	1541-1544	extant
20.	Diyarbakır	İskender Paşa	1551	extant
21.	Diyarbakır	Melek Ahmet Paşa	1587-1591	extant
22.	Edirne	Taşlik Mahmut Paşa	(1470)	extant
23.	Edirne	Sultan Selim II.	1574-1575	extant
24.	Edirne	Defterdar Mustafa Paşa	1574	extant
25.	Edirne	Haseki Sultan	1550	extant
26.	Edirne	Sokullu Mehmed Paşa	1576-1577	extant
27.	Ereğli	Semiz 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 Mehmet Paşa	1576-1577	extant
34.	Hersek	Sofu Mehmed Paşa	-	-
35.	Isparta	Firdevs Bey	1561	extant
36.	İstanbul	Ahî Çelebi (Fâtih)	1539	extant, renovated
37.	İstanbul	Arakiyeci Ahmed Çelebi (Fâtih)	-	ruined
38.	İstanbul	Bâli Paşa (Fâtih)	1546-1548	extant
39.	İstanbul	Çarvuşbaşı (Sütlüce) (Beyoğlu)	1538-1539	extant
40.	İstanbul	Damat Ferhat Paşa	-	extant
41.	İstanbul	Defterdar Mahmud Çelebi	1541	extant
42.	İstanbul	Drağman Yunus Bey (Fâtih)	1541-1542	extant
43.	İstanbul	Düğmeci Paşa (Düğmeciler)	-	-
44.	İstanbul	Ebü'l-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 Iskender Paşa (Kanlıca)	1559-60	extant
49.	İstanbul	Güzelce Kasim Paşa	1533-1534	extant
50.	İstanbul	Haçi Evhad (Yedikule, Fâtih)	1575	1920: fire

51.	Istanbul	Hadım Ibrahim Paşa (Silivrikapı)	1551	rebuilt
52.	Istanbul	Hammâmî Hâtun (Sulu Manastır)	-	ruins
53.	Istanbul	Haseki Hürrem Sultan	1538-1539	extant
54.	Istanbul	Hürrem Çavuş (Fâtih)	1560-1561	extant
55.	Istanbul	Hüsrev Çelebi (Ramazan Efendi)	1585	extant
56.	Istanbul	Kara Ahmed Paşa (Fâtih)	1555-1572	1894: earthquake / 1969: renovated
57.	Istanbul	Kazasker Abdurrahmân Çelebi	1575	extant
58.	Istanbul	Kazasker İvaz Efendi	1585	extant
59.	Istanbul	Iskender Paşa (Beyküz)	1559-1560	extant
60.	Istanbul	Kiliç Alî Paşa (Beyoğlu)	1580-1587	extant
61.	Istanbul	Mahmut Ağa (Kapiağası)	1553-1554 1574-1575	1895: fire / rebuilt
62.	Istanbul	Mehmet Ağa (Fâtih)	1584-1585	extant
63.	Istanbul	Meşih 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 (Kasımpaşa)	1573-1574	extant
72.	Istanbul	Ramazan Efendi (Koçamustafapaşa)	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
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 (Azapkapı)	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	Turşucuzade 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.	Izmit	Petrev Paşa	1579	-
92.	Izmit	Ayasofya	-	adapted
93.	Kanlıca	Gazi İskender Paşa	1559-1560	-
94.	Karapınar	Sultan Selim	1563	extant
95.	Kastamonu	Abdurrahman Paşa	1582	extant
96.	Kayseri	Hacı 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

101.	Kanlica	Gazi İskender Paşa	1559-1560	-
102.	Kocaeli	Petrev Paşa	1572-1580	extant
103.	Konya	Lala Mustafa Paşa	1576-1577	extant
104.	Konya	Sultan Selim (II.)	1560-1564	extant
105.	Lüleburgaz	Sokullu Mehmet Paşa	1569-1570	extant
106.	Manisa	Sultan Murad	1583-1586	-
107.	Marmara Ereğlisi	Semiz Alı Paşa	1571-1565	-
108.	Mostar	Karagöz Mehmet Paşa (Bey)	1557-1558	extant
109.	Rodosçuk	Rüstem Paşa	-	-
110.	Satodaynı	Rüstem Paşa	-	-
111.	Sapanca	Rüstem Paşa	1555	-
112.	Szófia (Sofya)	Kara Camii / Bosnali Hacı Mehmed Paşa	1528(?) 1547-1548	rebuilt / today: Sveti Sedmochislenitsi Church (1908)
113.	Tekirdağ	Rüstem Paşa	1552-1553	extant
114.	Tekirdağ	Semiz Ali Paşa	1561-1565	rebuilt
115.	Trikala (Tırhala)	Rüstem Kethudâsı Mehmet Bey	-	- / today: Greece
116.	Trikala (Tırhala)	Veziir Osman Paşa (Kurşunlu)	-	extant / today: Evlahos Khoursoum mosque, Greece
117.	Ulaşlı	Memi Kethudâ	-	-
118.	Van	Köse Hüsrev Paşa (Hüsreviye)	1567-1568	1915: fire / rebuilt

1.2. Mosque / Mescid:

1.	Istanbul	Arpacıbaşı (Eyüp)	-	rebuilt?
2.	Istanbul	Çivizadekızı (Çavuş) (Fâtiḥ)	-	extant
3.	Istanbul	Davutağa (Eyüp)	1554-1555	rebuilt
4.	Istanbul	Defterdar Mahmut Çelebi (Eyüp)	1541	extant
5.	Istanbul	Duhanizade (Fâtiḥ)	-	-
6.	Istanbul	Hacı Hamza (Fâtiḥ)	1577?	-
7.	Istanbul	Hadim İbrahim Paşa (Esekapı) (Fâtiḥ)	1560 k.	1894: earthquake, ruins
8.	Istanbul	Hasan Çelebi (Beyoğlu)	-	-
9.	Istanbul	Karagümrük Emir Ali Çelebi (Fâtiḥ)	-	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) (Fâtiḥ)	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)	Mescid-i Haram Onarımı	-	- / today: Saudi Arabia

1.3. Public kitchen / Itodayret:

1.	Damascus (Şam)	Sultan Süleyman	-	ruined
2.	Gebze	Çoban Mustafa Paşa	-	extant
3.	Hatay	Sokullu Mehmet Paşa	1574-1575	ruins
4.	Istanbul	Eski (Atik) Vâlide Sultan (Üsküdar)	1570-1579	extant
5.	Istanbul	Haseki Hürrem Sultan (Fâtih)	1538-1539	extant
6.	Istanbul	Şehzade Mehmet	1543-1548	extant
7.	Istanbul	Sultan Süleyman	1550-1557	extant
8.	Konya	Sultan Selim (II)	1560-1563	ruins
9.	Kudüs	Cami-i Şerif (Haseki)	1540-1541	-
10.	Kudüs	Haseki	-	-
11.	Manisa	Sultan Murat (Muradiye)	1586-1587	-
12.	Sakarya	Sapanca Rüstem Paşa	-	-

1.4. Hospital / Dârüşşifa:

1.	Istanbul	Haseki Hürrem Sultan (Fâtih)	1538-1539	extant
2.	Istanbul	Sultan Süleyman (Süleymaniye)	1550-1557	extant
3.	Istanbul	Valide Sultan (Üsküdar)	1583	extant

1.5. Dervish lodge / Tekke (Zaviye):

1.	Bagdad (Bağdat)	Abdülkadir Geylani Tekkesi	-	ruined / today: Iraq
2.	Bagdad (Bağdat)	İmam-ı Azam (Ebu Hanife) Tekkesi	1534-1535	ruined / today: Iraq
3.	Istanbul	Eski Valide Sultan Tekkesi (Üsküdar)	1570-1579	-
4.	Istanbul	Piyale Paşa	1573-1574	ruined
5.	Istanbul	Ramazan Efendi (Koçamustafa paşa)	1586	1782: fire / 1819: renovated
6.	Istanbul	Sokollu Mehmet Paşa Tekkesi (Fâtih)	1571-1572	extant
7.	Lüleburgaz	Sokullu Mehmet Paşa	1571-1572	extant

1.6. Quran school / Dârülkurrâ:

1.	Edirne	Sultan Selim II.	1574-1575	extant
2.	Istanbul	Eski (Atik) Valide Sultan (Üsküdar)	1570-1583	extant
3.	Istanbul	Hüsrev Kethüdâ (Fâtih)	-	extant
4.	Istanbul	Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (Eyüp)	1579	extant
5.	Istanbul	Sultan Süleyman	1550-1557	extant
6.	Istanbul	Kâdızâde Efendi (Fâtih)	-	extant
7.	Küçük Karaman	Müftü Sa'di Çelebi	-	-

1.7. School for traditions of islam / Dârülhadi:

1.	Edirne	Sultan Selim II.	1574-1575	extant
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1.8. Pritodayry scool for orphans and poor children / Sibyan mektebi:

1.	Istanbul	Eski (Atik) Vâlide Sultan (Üsküdar)	1570-1579	extant
2.	Istanbul	Haseki Hürrem 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	ruined

1.9. Elementary school / Mekteb:

1.	Istanbul	Eski (Atik) Vâlide Sultan (Üsküdar)	1570-1579	extant
2.	Istanbul	Haseki Hürrem 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:

1.	Aleppo (Halep)	Hüsrev Paşa (Hüsreviye)	1545-1546	rebuilt?
2.	Damascus (Şam)	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 (Karagümrük)	1550-1560	1960: rebuilt / today: clinic
8.	Istanbul	Hadım Ibrahim Paşa (Esekapı) (Fâtih)	1560 k.	1894: earthquake, ruins
55.	Istanbul	Haseki Hürrem Sultan (Fâtih)	1538-1539	extant
	Istanbul	Kapıağası Cafer Ağa (Soğukkuyu) (Fâtih)	1554-1559	extant
59.	Istanbul	Kara Ahmed Paşa (Fâtih)	1555-1572	1894: earthquake / 1969: rebuilt
10.	Istanbul	Mahmud Ağa (Ahırkapı)	1553	1895: fire / rebuilt
11.	Istanbul	Kiliç Alı 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

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
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1.12. Mausoleum / Türbe:

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 İskender Paşa (Beyköz)	1559-1560	extant
6.	Istanbul	Güzel Ahmet Paşa (Fâtih)	1580-1581	extant
7.	Istanbul	Hacı Paşa (Üsküdar)	1576-1577	extant
8.	Istanbul	Hadım İbrahim Paşa (Fâtih)	1551	extant grave
9.	Istanbul	Haseki Hürrem 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.		Kiliç 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 (Edirnekapı, 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	Şehzadeler (Ayasofya)	-	extant
24.	Istanbul	Şemsi Ahmet Paşa (Üsküdar)	1580	extant
25.	Istanbul	Shah-ı 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:

1.	Akbaba	Kethüdâ Hadım	-	-
2.	Edirne	Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (Kasimpaşa)	1576-1577	extant, in use
3.	Istanbul	Barbaros Hayrettin Paşa (Fâtiḥ)	1534-1576	extant
4.	Istanbul	Çemberlitaş	1584	extant, in use
5.	Istanbul	Dere (Akarçeşme-Çökmeçiler)	1544	ruins
6.	Istanbul	Emir Buhari (Fâtiḥ)	-	-
7.	Istanbul	Eski Vâlide Sultan (Üsküdar)	1570-1579	ruined
8.	Istanbul	Eyüp Sultan (Eyüp)	-	ruins, under renovation
9.	Istanbul	Haseki Bostan (Fâtiḥ)	1550 k.	extant, in use
10.	Istanbul	Haseki Hürrem Sultan (Sultanahmet)	1556-1557	extant, in use
11.	Istanbul	Haseki Hürrem Sultan (Fâtiḥ)	1538-1551	extant
12.	Istanbul	Haydar Paşa (Zeyrek, Fâtiḥ)	-	-
13.	Istanbul	Hayreddin Paşa (Çinili) (Zeyrek, Fâtiḥ)	1540-1546	extant, in use
14.	Istanbul	Hayreddin Paşa (Karagümrük, Fâtiḥ)	-	-
15.	Istanbul	Hüsrev Kethüdâ (Ortaköy)(Beşiktaş)	-	rebuilt / today: restaurant
16.	Istanbul	Hüsrev Kethüdâ (Belediye) (Çatalca)	-	ruins
17.	Istanbul	Ibrahim Paşa (Sıvırıkapı)	-	-
18.	Istanbul	Kılıç Ali Paşa (Beyoğlu)	1583	extant, in use
19.	Istanbul	Kılıç Ali Paşa (Fenerkapı)	-	-
20.	Istanbul	Merkez Efendi (Zeytinburnu)	1552-1572	extant
21.	Istanbul	Mihrimah Sultan (Edirnekapı, Fâtiḥ)	1562-1569	rebuilt? in use
22.	Istanbul	Mimar Sinan (Üsküdar)	-	1959: partly ruined / today: bazaar
23.	Istanbul	Molla Çelebi (Fındıklı)	1570-1584	extant
24.	Istanbul	Nişancı Mustafa Paşa (Eyüp)	-	-
	Istanbul	Nurbanu Sultan (Ayakapı) (Fâtiḥ)	1582	ruins
25.	Istanbul	Nurbanu Sultan (Çemberlitaş) (Fâtiḥ)	1584	extant, in use
26.	Istanbul	Odabaşı Behruz Ağa (Beyköz)	-	-
27.	Istanbul	Piyale Paşa	1573-1574	ruined
28.	Istanbul	Rüstem Paşa (Çibali, Fâtiḥ)	-	-
29.	Istanbul	Sâlih Paşazâde (Yeniköy)	-	-
30.	Istanbul	Sari Kürz	-	-
31.	Istanbul	Sinan Paşa (Beşiktaş)	1550-1553	-
32.	Istanbul	Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (Yeşildirek) (Beyoğlu)	1577-1578	-
33.	Istanbul	Sultan Süleyman (Dökmeciler)(Fâtiḥ)	1550-1557	extant, in use
34.	Istanbul	Üç Kapılı (Topkapı)	-	-
35.	Istanbul	Üç Kapılı (Üsküdar)	-	-
36.	Istanbul	Valide Sultan (Ayakapı) (Fâtiḥ)	1582	ruins
37.	Istanbul	Valide Sultan (Üsküdar)	1579?	rebuilt?
38.	Istanbul	Yakup Ağa	1545	ruins
39.	Izmir	Hayreddin Paşa (Kemeraltı)	-	-
39.	Izmit	Hüsrev Kethüdâ	-	-
40.	Kayseri	Hüseyin Bey	1552 k.	extant
41.	Kefe	Sultan Süleyman	-	-
42.	Konya	Sultan Selim (II)	1560-1563	extant / renovated
43.	Lüleburgaz	Sokullu Mehmet Paşa	1569-1570	ruins
44.	Mekka (Mekke)	Sultan Süleyman	-	-
45.	Merkez (Kocaeli)	Petrev Paşa	-	-

46.	Merkez (Kocaeli)	Sokullu Mehmet Paşa	1568-1569	ruins
47.	Sapanca	Rüstem Paşa	1555	-
48.	Sulumanastır	Kapıağası Yâkub Ağa	-	-
49.	Yenibahçe	Koça Mustafa Paşa	-	-
50.	Yenibahçe	Lüfti Paşa	1543?	-

1.14. Palace / Saray:

1.	Bosnia	Mehmed Paşa Sarayı	-	-
2.	Çiftlik	Ahmed Paşa Sarayı	-	-
3.	Halkalı	Halkalı Pınar Sarayının yeniden inşâsı	-	-
4.	Halkalı	Mehmed Paşa Sarayı	-	-
5.	Istanbul	Ahmed Paşa Sarayı Atmeydanı	-	-
7.	Istanbul	Ahmed Paşa Sarayı (Eyüp)	-	-
9.	Istanbul	Ali Paşa Sarayı (Eyüp)	-	-
10.	Istanbul	Atmeydanı Sarayının yeniden inşâsı (Atmeydanı)	-	-
11.	Istanbul	Fenerbahçe Sarayının yeniden inşâsı (Fenerbahçe)	-	-
12.	Istanbul	Ferhad Paşa Sarayı (Beyazıt)	-	-
13.	Istanbul	Galatasarayın eski yerine yeniden inşâsı (Galatasaray)	-	-
14.	Istanbul	İbrahim Paşa Sarayı (Atmeydanı)	1524	extant / today: museum
15.	Istanbul	İskender Çelebi Bahçesi Sarayının yeniden inşâsı	-	-
16.	Istanbul	Mahmûd Ağa Sarayı (Yenibahçe)	-	-
17.	Istanbul	Mehmed Paşa Sarayı (Ayasofya)	-	-
18.	Istanbul	Mehmed Paşa Sarayı (Kadırga)	1567-1572	-
19.	Istanbul	Mehmed Paşa Sarayı (Üsküdar)	-	-
20.	Istanbul	Pertev Paşa Sarayı	-	-
22.	Istanbul	Rüstem Paşa Sarayı (Kadırga)	-	-
23.	Istanbul	Rüstem Paşa Sarayı (Üsküdar)	-	-
24.	Istanbul	Şâh-ı Hûbân Kadın Sarayı	-	-
25.	Istanbul	Saray-ı atîk tâmiri (Beyazıt)	-	-
26.	Istanbul	Saray-ı cedîd-i hümâyun tâmiri (Topkapı)	-	-
27.	Istanbul	Sinân Paşa Sarayı (Atmeydanı)	-	-
28.	Istanbul	Siyavuş Paşa Sarayı	-	-
29.	Istanbul	Siyavuş Paşa Sarayı (Üsküdar)	-	-
30.	Istanbul	Sofu Mehmed Paşa Sarayı (Hocapaşa)	-	-
31.	Istanbul	Üsküdar Sarayının tâmiri (Üsküdar)	-	-
32.			-	-
33.	Istanbul	Yenikapı Sarayının yeniden inşâsı (Silivrikapı)	-	-
34.	Kandilli	Kandilli Sarayının yeniden inşâsı	-	-

1.15. Caravanserai / Kervansaray / Han:

1.	Akbıyık	RüstemPaşa	-	-
2.	Bursa	Ali Paşa	-	extant
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	Hüsrev Kethüdâ	-	-
11.	İstanbul	Ibrahim Paşa	-	-
12.	İstanbul	Kebeciler (Bitpazarı)	-	extant
13.	İstanbul	Mihrimah Sultan (Edirnekapı, Fâtih)	1562-1569	-
14.	İstanbul	Mustafa Paşa	-	-
15.	İstanbul	Rüstem Paşa (Büyük Çukur Han) (Eminönü)	1561	ruins
	İstanbul	Rüstem Paşa (Kurşunlu Hanı) (Beyoğlu)	1544-1550	extant, in use
16.	İstanbul	Rüstem Paşa (Küçük Çukur Han) (Eminönü)	1560	extant, in use
17.	İstanbul	Şehzade Mehmed (Fâtih)	1543-1548	ruins
18.	İstanbul	Semiz Ali Paşa (Bitpazarı) (Fâtih)	-	-
19.	İstanbul	Sokullu Mehmet Paşa (Yeşildirek)	1577-1578	-
20.	İstanbul	Sultan Süleyman	1550-1557	-
21.	İstanbul	Sultan Süleyman (Büyükçekmeçe)	1566	extant
22.	İstanbul	Eski (Atik) Valide Sultan (Üsküdar)	1570-1579	-
23.	Karaman Ereğlisi	Rüstem Paşa	1552	extant
24.	Karışdıran	Rüstem Paşa	-	-
25.	Konya	Lala Mustafa Paşa (İlgın)	1584	ruins
26.	Konya	Rüstem Paşa (Ereğli)	-	extant
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.	Satodaynı	Rüstem Paşa	-	-

1.16. Pavilion / Kösk:

1.	İstanbul	Sultan Murat (Fâtih)	-	-
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1.17. Kitchen / Mutfak:

1.	İstanbul	Sultan Süleyman (Süleymaniye)	1550-1557	extant
2.	İstanbul	Topkapı sarayı	-	extant

1.18. Storage / Mahzen:

1.	Istanbul	Anbar (Has Bahçe)	-	-
2.	Istanbul	Anbar (saray)	-	-
3.	Istanbul	Buğday Mahzeni (Galata)	-	-
4.	Istanbul	İki adet anbar (Cebehâne)	-	-
5.	Istanbul	Kurşunlu Mahzen (Tophâne)	-	-
6.	Istanbul	Mahzen (Unkapı)	-	-
7.	Istanbul	Mutbak ve kiler (saray)	-	-
8.	Istanbul	Zift Mahzeni (Tersâne)	-	-

1.19. Aqueduct / Kemer:

1.	Eğri	Kovuk	1554-1564	extant
2.	Istanbul	Güzelce Kemer (Cebeciköy)	1554-1564	extant
3.	Kemerburgaz	Evvelbent (Paşadere Su Kemer)	1554-1564	extant
4.	Kemerburgaz	Kırık Kemer	1554-1562	extant
5.	Kemerburgaz	Todayğlova Kemer	1554-1562	extant
6.	Kemerburgaz	Uzun Kemer (Göktürk – Eyüp)	1554-1564	extant

1.20. Bridge / Köprü:

1.	Alpullu	Sokullu Mehmet Paşa	-	extant
2.	Büyükçekmece	Sultan Süleyman	1567	extant
3.	Eszék (river Dráva)	Sultan Süleyman	1526	
4.	Çorlu	Sokullu Mehmet Paşa	-	extant
5.	Gebze	Sultan Süleyman	1534?	extant
6.	Halkalıpınar	Odabaşı		extant
7.	Hasköy	Çoban Mustafa Paşa	1528-1529	extant
8.	Istanbul	Kapıağası	-	extant
9.	Istanbul	Sultan Süleyman (Silivri)	1566?	extant
10.	Lüleburgaz	Sokullu Mehmet Paşa	-	extant
11.	Meriç	Mustafa Paşa	1529	- / today: Bulgaria
12.	Visegrad (river Drina)	Sokullu Mehmet Paşa	1577-1578	extant

1.21. Water reservoir / Havuz:

1.	Istanbul	Havzi Kebir	1554-1564	extant
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2. The most important clients of Sinan:

	trust for charity	great mosque	mosque	public kitchen	hospital	dervish lodge	Quran school	elementary school	pritory school	todaydrasa	todayusoleum	bath	palace	caravanserai	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		
sultan Murat III.																
Hürrem	1	1		1	1			1	1	1	1	2				
Mihrimah	2	2						1		2	1	1		1		
prince Mehmed	1	1		1					1		1			1		
Pargali Ibrahim pasha grand vizier												1	1	1		
Lüfti pasha grand vizier												1				
Rüstem pasha grand vizier	1	6		1						2	1	2	2	5		
Sinan pasha	1	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	?				