



VİLDAN SERDAROĞLU

WHEN LITERATURE AND ARCHITECTURE MEET: ARCHITECTURAL IMAGES OF THE BELOVED AND THE LOVER IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN POETRY

Ottoman poetry—that is, poetry written in the Ottoman territories between the fourteenth and the nineteenth century—is primarily structured around three main figures: the lover (most often either the poet himself or a poet-persona),¹ the beloved (the sultan, a person in a higher position, or an actual beloved), and the rival (a person or a thing attempting to obstruct the relationship between the lover and the beloved). Almost every genre of Ottoman poetry is replete with subtle descriptions of the emotions of the lover (the poet) aroused by interactions with these other characters. In the course of describing their emotions, Ottoman poets utilized a variety of metaphors, originating not only from their imaginary world but also from the material world that surrounded them. These metaphors were also the criteria by which poets' artistic creativity and success were measured. To devise them, poets drew on such themes as religious beliefs and practices, local customs, eating habits, sartorial fashion, entertainment, and architectural monuments. In this article, I will demonstrate how sixteenth-century Ottoman poets utilize architectural imagery to create metaphors describing the physical properties of the beloved, and, with particular emphasis on the poetical genres of ghazal and qasida, I will analyze how architectural elements are represented.

My main literary sources are the *divans* (poetry collections) of Tacizade Cafer Çelebi (d. 1515),² Zati,³ Fevri,⁴ and Baki;⁵ *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye* (Memoir of Buildings) of Sa'î (d. 1595),⁶ *Evsâf-ı İstanbul* (Characteristics of Istanbul) of Latifi (d. 1582);⁷ and *hadikatü'l-Cevâmi'* (Garden of Mosques) of Ayvansarayî (d. 1787).⁸ Among these, two versions of Zati's qasidas in manuscript form are in the Süleymaniye Library.⁹ The rest have been published.

In this article, I will argue that the beloved and the lover in the sixteenth-century poet's imaginary world were often depicted by means of metaphors derived

from architectural monuments, with reference both to physical resemblances and to abstract qualities—beauty, attractiveness, or the inspiration of awe. The reason for this, as Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar observes,¹⁰ is that the architectural sphere was where the zenith of artistic creativity and production was achieved in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in Istanbul in particular and the Ottoman empire in general. The power of classical Ottoman architecture (ca.1450–1680) also affected the common people and, as Victor Hugo noted,¹¹ played an important role in the development of architecture elsewhere in the world.

The intention to create a strong impact on the population, one that would highlight the power and magnificence of the state, greatly influenced the forms of classical Ottoman architecture. Sultans, sultans' wives and daughters, and viziers and pashas built vast numbers of mosques, palaces, schools, dervish convents, fountains, and imarets (charity soup kitchens) throughout the empire. The many poems, stories, and legends about those architectural works confirm how inspiring and thought provoking the buildings were for those who viewed them. Not only Ottoman but also Byzantine buildings affected the imaginary world of contemporary writers.¹² In sum, the sixteenth century was a century of architecture for the Ottomans. In poetry, metaphoric usage, in which qualities of one concept are “borrowed” to represent another,¹³ were influenced by the architectural grandiosity of the time. For example, the beloved was associated metaphorically with sacred and well-proportioned monuments. Physical properties of the beloved, which are often the starting point in Ottoman poetry, resemble elements of the mosque complex in shape and meaning. His or her face resembles a mihrab with golden inscriptions on it. His or her body is tall and grand like a minaret. Likewise he or she is a hospital that provides healing for those who are sick with love, etc. The lover, too, is



likened to architectural objects: his eyes, like a fountain, never cease flowing; his heart is a palace in which the sultan (the beloved) lives. By bringing together the beloved, the lover, and architectural objects in a metaphorical context, the Ottoman poet provides us with rich information about Ottoman architecture and its meaning for Ottoman society.

To date, Ottoman literature and poetry have been studied primarily from two perspectives. First, the Ottoman literary corpus became the subject of ahistorical textual and linguistic analysis. The primary examples of this acontextual approach assume that the meanings of the poetic *mażmūns* (conceits) remained static over time. Second, the corpus became the target of certain historians of Ottoman literature who utilized collections of poetry as repositories of information, detaching the information from the literary and artistic components of the poetry and avoiding any reference to the larger cultural and historical significance. There are also works limited to the analysis of one *divan* only. For example, within the studies known as *divan tahlilleri* (*divan* analyses)¹⁴ *divans* are examined and their contents classified according to subject matter extracted from individual couplets, without analysis of the couplets themselves. Instead, a few couplets are used as examples of both the subjects selected for classification and the literary arts they demonstrate. In this study, I intend to adopt a different approach, which I will apply broadly to several *divans*. I think of Ottoman poetry as resembling painting—the work of Salvador Dali, for example—in which one may see several different layers of meaning each time one looks. My method will be to examine both the external referents and the internal, artistic elements of the poetry at the same time, without privileging one over the other. For example, when the poet speaks of the beloved's tall body, he (or she) will use one or another figure of comparison (simile, metaphor, metonymy). Where the body is compared to an architectural object—say, a tall, slender minaret—I will attend not only to what this comparison says about the physical characteristics of the minaret (and the beloved) but also to how the artistry of the comparison itself makes the object and the person meaningful in a new way in order to represent a more general societal view. I will do this in the context of the work of several poets.

In my previous work I implemented this methodology in a detailed analysis of the ghazals of Zati and argued that Ottoman poetry reflected both the artistic and the material life of society.¹⁵ In other words, every

metaphor derives not only from the poet's literary or artistic imagination but also from that imagination applied to the materials of the concrete, physical world in which the poet lived. In one part of my work on Zati, I approached the relationship between poetry, art, and architecture by examining poetic imagery, manuscript painting, and other artistic materials in combination. I showed that Zati used his poetic imagination in describing different characteristics of public architectural units, such as, palaces, mosques, schools, hospitals, fountains, libraries, and the like. In some couplets architectural elements are mentioned together with references to their social functions, whereas in others purely architectural values or features are cited. The following couplet can be given as an example of the way I examine the poetry:

Bahâr-î hûsnûn itmiş ey perî khandîli dîvâne
Aña şebet virüb hûddâm-î câmi' çekdi zencîre

O fairy! The spring of your beauty made the oil lamp crazy! The servants of the mosque gave it a draft (of sherebet) and chained it up! (See appendix, [11], below. Subsequent bracketed numbers following translated couplets also refer to Turkish transcriptions in the appendix.)

As is well known, in the Ottoman period mosques were lit by oil lamps hanging from long chains. In this couplet, the oil lamp in the mosque is likened to a lover driven mad by love. Traditionally, people with violent mental disease were wrapped in heavy chains, which were thought to both calm and restrain them. The oil is likened to a medicinal draft used to treat the excessive secretion of black bile, one of the humors of premodern physiology and the source of melancholia (*sevda*), which was thought to cause madness, especially in the spring.¹⁶ The poet in effect is saying, "The beloved is as beautiful as springtime, and that beauty has made the mosque's oil lamp burn madly, just as a lover burns, crazed by springtime melancholy. So the mosque attendants bind the lamp with chains the way one treats crazy people." Thus, the poet uses both simile (*teşbih*) and metaphor (*istiare*) to describe details of the decoration of a mosque interior.

Conversely, one could argue that Ottoman architects, belonging to the same cultural and material world, would read poets' descriptions of various buildings and derive inspiration from these descriptions. For example, Baki, who is one of the eminent poets of the sixteenth century, may have inspired the great

Ottoman chief architect Sinan during the construction of the Süleymaniye mosque complex, in which Baqı lived for a time, serving as *bina emini* (project superintendent).

As Jale Necdet Erzen has written, for the Ottomans, discourse on art was an art in itself, and it was usually produced in a poetical form.¹⁷ In social gatherings held in public places such as taverns, artisans' shops, or the palaces and pavilions of the Ottoman elite, artists developed their skills and displayed their talents.¹⁸ As the bureaucrat and intellectual Mustafa Âli (d. 1599) relates, the poet and royal companion Şemsi Pasha (d. 1581), who was one of Sinan's patrons, regularly held literary conversations at his house.¹⁹ The grand vizier Sokollu Mehmet Pasha, after giving his guests a tour of his new pavilion in Istanbul, asked them to recite from memory the poems decorating its walls.²⁰ These examples show how people from different circles gathered to carry on cultured conversations in which they shared ideas about art and literature.

Literary texts intensify and immortalize architectural works by adding literary and spiritual dimensions to material ones. The aim of an architect, whose role is indisputably central in creating monuments, is not only to create a functional building that serves the immediate purposes of the patron and the people who will use it, but also to create an aesthetically pleasing object that affects both the bodily senses and the spirituality of its spectators. Literary texts are among the ways to express patrons' and architects' desire to attain immortality. For example, the autobiography of Sinan describes how and why the Süleymaniye Mosque was decorated with verses and other texts after its completion:

Hasan Karahisari,²¹ the qibla of scribes, inscribed in *müsennâ* [i.e., monumental *thuluth*] script the blessed verse "God keepeth the heavens and earth"²² from beginning to end on the skylike dome, and he composed appropriate inscriptions for each paradise-like door, designing many a heart-attracting written line, which stonemasons and painters drew on the pages of Time, thereby attaining fame and repute.²³

Before I delve into concrete examples of architectural images in *divan* poetry, I will dwell briefly on the shared mentality and worldview of poets and architects, in order to elucidate the idea behind their works.

GOD AS THE POET-IN-CHIEF AND ARCHITECT-IN-CHIEF

In the sixteenth-century Ottoman poetic imagination, God is the architect and author of the universe. The creation of the universe is the ultimate architectural production, and the tablet of God's decrees (*lawh mahfûz*) is the ultimate literary work. The sultan, as the shadow of God on earth, aims to attain a God-like excellence and hence imitates Him in all endeavors.

In his *Evsâf-ı İstanbul* (Characteristics of Istanbul), Latifi describes God as the chief architect of the "eighteen thousand" worlds ('âlem):²⁴

See the One Who created the eighteen thousand worlds
at a breath,
The Almighty Avenger Who, as quickly, destroys as many
created things.
See the Architect Who, from the letters *kâf* and *nûn*,
Built these nine muqarnas vaults, this palace of six direc-
tions. [1]

In Islamic thought, it is believed that God created everything from nothing by His one order, "*kun*" ("be!"). Since the Arabic word *kun* is formed by the letters *kâf* and *nûn*, the author states that God created the universe from these two letters. This belief is based on a Qur'anic verse that reads, "When He intends a thing, His Command is, 'be,' and it is!"²⁵ According to the poet's description, this universe resembles a palace with nine muqarnas vaults (*tâk-î muqarnes*) and six directions: north, west, east, south, up, and down. God is thus envisioned as the ultimate architect of all worlds.

God's image as an architect appears in another couplet:

That the angels might perform the holy-day prayer in
heaven
The Architect of Glorious Works constructed a mihrab
of gold. [2]

In the eyes of the poet and the architect the true object of art was a single one: praising the ultimate power of God.²⁶ It was understood that God created the world as a sacred realm in order to provide people a place to worship Him.²⁷ The poet and the architect were to imitate God's work in this world.²⁸

An architect could decorate his monuments by inscribing on them various literary texts such as quotations from the Qur'an and the Hadith, proverbs, or

couplets in order to enrich their beauty, immortalize them, and enhance their spiritual character. A poet, on the other hand, could liken his poems to well-structured buildings. Both architects and poets, in a sense, tried to combine body and spirit in their works in order to use them as reflections of their worldviews:

O my eye, the Almighty so built the mosque of his
beauty
That ever so many Sufi masters beg to be its overseer.
[3]

God operates in this world through his viceregent,
the caliph (*halīfe*) or the sultan.

As the representative of God, the sultan is expected to build or rebuild the country. In addition to security, justice, peace, and welfare for the country, his subjects expect the sultan to erect buildings for them:

You are its Sultan, grief for you razed and ruined the
land of the heart.
Good health befits the sultan, that he might rebuild
the ruins. [4]

Here the heart is a country and the beloved is its sultan. While the sultan is away from the country, (i.e., from the heart), the country is destroyed and needs to be reconstructed, since he is supposed to keep his land well maintained and prosperous. As Sureiya Faroqi notes, buildings help legitimize the ruler, above all in the eyes of the upper class of his empire, but also in the eyes of foreign Muslims.²⁹ By the same token, the following couplets portray the sultan as the protector of architecture:

The image of the beloved friend built up the dominion
of my heart.
Whichever land had a sultan in it was not [left] in ruins.
[5]

Any heart is in ruins that does not have love as its halt-
ing place.
In the end, a land without a sultan is a land in ruins.
[6]

Having discussed the role of the architect and the poet, I will now examine elements of the architectural monuments that are represented in poetry through comparisons to images of the beloved. Although references to almost all sorts of architecture occur in poetry and other literary works, here my main focus will be

on mosques, churches, palaces, pavilions, bathhouses, schools, dungeons, bridges, and fountains.

THE BELOVED AND THE LOVER IN ARCHITECTURAL BUILDINGS

1. *Mosques and churches*

Mosques

There are two words used for “mosque” in Ottoman poetry: *mescid* and *cāmi*.³⁰ *Mescid* derives from an Arabic word that literally means a place of prostration (*sujūd*). *Cāmi* stems from the Arabic root *j-m-* (to gather), and means “gathering place.” *Al-Jāmi* (the Gatherer) is also one of the ninety-nine Most Beautiful Names (*asmā al-ḥusnā*) of God. Mosques are not only places of worship but also public spaces where different social activities such as meetings and weddings may be held. Since mosques are so central in the formation of the Islamic city, they are often named after their founders, and neighborhoods are often named after the mosques located in them.³¹

Rich members of the Ottoman ruling elite, including the sultan and his family, built mosques in different parts of the Empire, often sited in the most visible places of a city. The magnificence of the Ottoman Empire is reflected on the hills of Istanbul, where the many minarets become part of the city’s skyline. For example, in his *Ḥadīkatü’l-Cevāmi* (Garden of Mosques), Ayvansarayi mentions the existence of 821 mosques in Istanbul in the eighteenth century.

Building a mosque is perceived as one of the most important good deeds (*ṣadaqa-yi cārīye*) in Ottoman culture, since it was believed to be a service both to God and to the people. Latifi, an early-sixteenth-century litterateur and biographer of poets, dedicated a chapter in his description of Istanbul to the features of some of the mosques there, starting with a poem about the importance of building a mosque in order to be remembered until the Day of Judgment:³²

Fortune is his who leaves one good work in this world.
You see, the wind blows in place of him who has no
works.
He is clever who, when he takes carnal pleasure in this
world,
Intends to please his soul by (doing) good.
He whose work is lasting amid this transitoriness
Is immortal like Hızır and lives ‘til the resurrection.
[7]

In addition to their religious and social uses, mosques also have political functions. As is seen in the following couplet, the sultan is honored as the shadow of God when his name is recited in the mosque during the Friday sermon (Arabic: *khutba*):

What the sweet-voiced nightingale recites in the rose-
bed mosque
Is praise and gratitude to the sultan of the rose[s]. [8]

Mosques also have symbolic values; there is a clear relationship between Ottoman mosque architecture and the garden. As Walter Andrews puts it,

The great mosque is often flanked by an actual garden or gardens and the interior has many recognizable links to garden symbolism. There is a definite microcosmic character to...the dome decorated in star-shaped patterns, which underscore[s] the resemblance to the dome of the heavens, and beneath the dome the trees and flowers of the earthly and paradisiacal gardens reflected in a field of floral carpets surrounded by garden-motif tiles and stained glass.³³

In addition, both mosque and garden are gathering places for believers.

In the Ottoman poetic tradition, the mihrab and dome of the mosque are often likened to the sky in terms of decoration. In Zati's words,

O Zati, in the mosque of his power, the domes of
heaven
Are nine brilliant decorated balls, one inside the other.
[9]

As explained in the *Ma'rifet-nāme* (Book of Knowledge) of İbrahim Hakkı (d. 1780), it was believed that nine concentric celestial spheres roofed the entire world.³⁴ In the couplet above, the mosque, in which small mirror-balls are hung, is likened to a nine-domed sky. As the stars decorate the sky, those balls decorate the superstructure of the mosque. As we saw in previous poems, Latifi refers to the nine domes as *tokuz tāk-ı muqarnes* (nine muqarnas vaults).

Mosques were illuminated with oil lamps, and in order to enhance the amount of light and create a beautiful setting, decorations such as mirror-balls, ostrich eggs, tasseled porcelain balls, and glass balls with horseshoes were added.³⁵ In poetry, the heart is said to resemble a small ball in its shape and an egg or a porcelain or glass ball in its fragility. The following distich refers to the pendant globes in mosques:

When the zealot of the city saw my heart in the decorated
mosque of his beauty,
He hung mirrored balls in his neighborhood mosque.
[10]

Oil lamps are also comparable to the heart in their shape and burning interiors:

They saw I bound my heart to the arch of the beloved's
brow
They were envious and hung a lamp from the vault of
the mihrab. [12]

This clearly refers to the common practice of hanging oil lamps from the arches of mihrabs. The poet also uses one of the literary arts, *hüsn-ü ta'til* (assigning a beautiful reason for ordinary and natural things), by presenting the jealousy of others as a reason for hanging lamps in mihrabs.

Among the main elements of mosque decoration, oil lamps were made from ceramic, glass, or metal; the large chandeliers in mosques were called *kandil*.³⁶ To provide nighttime lighting, glass oil lamps, suspended from the dome by chains, were used; to maximize illumination they were hung not high up but rather slightly above head height. Each lamp contained a wick and oil, sometimes colored; when light reflected from the colored oil at the bottom of the lamp, it increased the brightness of the flame and created a pleasant environment. Latifi's *Evşâf-ı İstanbul* (*Characteristics of Istanbul*), describes the illumination of the mosque of Mehmed II:

Oil lamps burn, as many as the stars,
Heaven-like, its interior is all candles and torches:
A building, the image of a mosque like Mount Qaf the
great,
Or itself a mighty mountain without peer. [13]

Another example from Zati makes the heart an oil lamp:

It is understood that I should enter the mosque of love
and hang
The oil lamp of my heart on [its] sublime arch once
again. [14]

Minarets and domes

Different parts of the mosque are also subjects of the poetic imagination: mihrabs, minbars (pulpits), minarets, and domes are often compared to the physical

features of the beloved. The Arabic word *manār* literally means “place of light,” and according to some art historians, the architectural features of the minaret are derived from the lighthouse. The appellation “minaret” therefore identifies the word of God with His light.³⁷ The minaret is also called *mīzāna*, which means a place in which the call for prayers (*ezān*) is held. In towns, mosques are monumental buildings that dominate the neighborhoods with their domes and minarets. Minarets also function as a sign of the holy month of Ramadan, during which they are adorned with ornaments and lights.

In the Ottoman poetic tradition, minarets are often compared to the beloved; especially to his or her body. In the following couplet, for example, the body of the beloved resembles a minaret in slenderness; the brightness of his or her face resembles the divine light of the Prophet Muhammad on the top of the minaret:

O Zati, light flashes always above the minaret of his body
The lantern of Osman’s cheek is lit from the divine light of Muhammad. [15]

Another couplet talks about the fire in the heart of the lover. In this case, its smoke rises straight up, resembling the minaret:

The smoke of my burning breast is the mosque of affliction’s minaret
O Zati, the oil lamps in it are sparks from the fire of my sigh. [16]

While minarets are known to have been illuminated during the month of Ramadan, it is unclear whether this practice was implemented during the rest of the year. These couplets suggest that torches, lanterns, or oil lamps illuminated minarets at other times as well; perhaps these structures functioned in the manner of lighthouses, giving direction to visitors or passersby.

Like minarets, domes are also a distinguishing feature of mosques. In the following couplets, the poet refers to the universe as a mosque with nine domes:

The heavens are a nine-domed mosque in the city of love for you.
The smoke of the fire of my sigh rose high and became its minaret. [17]

According to poet’s imagination, the entire universe, consisting of nine dome-like layers, is a city of love,

with all kinds of buildings. Within this vast city, there are heavens that are conceived of as a nine-domed mosque.

Mihrab and minbar

The mihrab and minbar are inner liturgical elements of mosques. Whether an actual recessed niche or the two-dimensional image of one, the mihrab indicates the direction of the *qibla* (the direction of Mecca) and gives the impression of a door or a doorway with a curved arch.³⁸ Mihrabs and minbars are held to resemble the elements of the beloved’s beauty both in shape and in sacredness.

After capturing new lands, the Ottomans converted most large churches into mosques; such mosques are also called “church mosques.” *Kāfir* (infidel) mihrabs were added to these converted churches, and they are often positioned at an oblique angle to the axis of the structure, in order to correspond to the direction of the *qibla*.³⁹ The following couplet shows that there are “infidel” mihrabs in some mosques:

Let your perfumed locks hang down disheveled over your eyebrows,
For infidel mihrabs are the right place for crosses. [18]

Here, the poet asks the beloved to let his or her black hair hang between his or her black eyebrows. (In Ottoman poetry, the beloved’s hair and brows are, with rare exceptions, presumed to be black.) The color black, worn by monks and priests, symbolizes blasphemy (*kufī*) in poetry; hair hanging down between two brows resembles a cross. One could even say that the beloved here is a seductive non-Muslim who is, in the way of infidels, very cruel.

In another couplet, the poet likens the beloved’s face with its curved eyebrows to a two-mihrab mosque, focusing on the beloved’s eyebrows rather than on the mosque architecture:

Those who see the curve of his eyebrows in the sanctuary of his beauty
Say, o Lord, what mosque is this that has two mihrabs? [19]

Mosques usually have only one mihrab, but there are exceptions. When a small mosque has insufficient room to hold a growing congregation, it is enlarged; during the renovation, a new mihrab may be added to

the right or left side of the old one. These mosques are called “double-mihrab” (*iki mihrablı*) mosques.⁴⁰ According to Ayvansarayi, there was also a three-mihrab mosque near Unkapanı in Istanbul.⁴¹

In the following couplet from his *qasidas*, Cafer Çelebi talks about the ornamentation of the mihrab:

Your door is the qibla of people in need.
The reason I prostrate myself there is the gilding on
the mihrab. [20]

According to the couplet, the door of the sultan (the beloved) is the qibla towards which needy people turn for grants of gold (the gilding). The lover is among those who come to express their needs, show their respect, and prostrate themselves in front of the mihrab. Moreover, in the Ottoman poetic tradition, lovers are recognized by their pale (“yellow”) faces, which resemble the gilding on the mihrab. The couplet also hints at the poet’s plea for monetary reward.

Other examples liken the beloved’s eyebrows to the mihrab in shape and holiness:

The mihrab saw your eyebrows in the mosque and
bowed
That it might do a prostration of thanks to God. [21]

and

That one who does not bow his head to the vault of your
brow as to the mihrab
Should turn from the qibla; my qibla is the one whose
face resembles the mihrab. [22]

Minbars—the raised structures from which the Friday sermons are preached and important announcements made⁴²—are mentioned in Ottoman poetry in terms of their resemblance (because of their right-triangle shape) to the nose of the beloved. Poems often refer to minbars of marble, wood, or tile; a minbar made of wood may be likened to a rosebush. Minbars in poetry can even be gilded with silver:

His nose is a silver minbar, his chin an oil lamp, his
eyebrow a mihrab
Today Hatiboğlu is a mosque in the dominion of ele-
gance. [23]

Here the poet is referring to a specific beloved and making a word play on the beloved’s name. He employs a form of the popular rhetorical device,

tenasüb (congruence), using vocabulary related to features of a mosque in the context of a proper name, Hatiboğlu⁴³ (son of the *khatīb*, or preacher), that contains a reference to the sermon (*khutba*) without actually mentioning that word. The specific rhetorical device used here is therefore *iham-ı tenasüb* (insinuation of congruence). The couplet that follows this says that the beloved’s nose is like a minbar made of ivory, without referring to any actual minbar. This device is hyperbole (*mübalaga*), meant to indicate how unusually precious the beloved’s nose is: in its luminescent white color, it resembles the the ivory of the imagined minbar.

That the Friday sermon is always preached in the name of the ruler is seen in the following couplet:

So what if the sermon is read in your name in the domin-
ion of elegance?
In the mosque of your beauty, that nose is a silver min-
bar. [24]

In another example, a victory announcement is delivered from a minbar:

On the pulpit of the rose branch, the preacher night-
ingale
Recites a sermon of praise for the victorious Shah.
[25]

Here the nightingale is the preacher on a rose branch, or wooden minbar, reading a sermon in the name of the victorious sultan. When his army captures a city, the sultan announces his victory through a sermon in the mosque. The following couplet also refers to royal announcements made from minbars:

Your vicinity is the most gracious of mosques, your door
the mihrab of power.
All minbars are honored by your glorious name. [26]

Poetry has many layers of interpretation. These couplets remind us that mosques, as part of the worldly public sphere, were where important announcements were made, including proclamations of victory and change in rule.

Churches

Istanbul, or Constantinople, had been the most important religious center for the Eastern Church since the fourth century, when Emperor Constantine accepted

Christianity as the state religion. The city remained the center of Eastern Orthodox Christianity until it was captured by the Ottomans in 1453, and its religious importance continued even after it was converted to an Islamic capital. In the sixteenth century almost half the population of Istanbul was Christian, and churches were everywhere evident; hence the Muslims in the city were well acquainted with Christian customs and rituals. Churches and monasteries, and especially their decoration, were a source of inspiration for poetic imagery. In the following couplets, we learn that they were full of beautiful statues and wall paintings:

If you wish to find an image in the monastery of this world
Look always into the mirror of that moon's beauty
[27]

The beloved here is cast as an aloof and cruel person. Although aware of the lover's feelings and expectations, he does not change his behavior and attitude towards him: he acts, in other words, like a statue or wall painting. According to the poetic tradition, only an infidel could be so cruel, and in this the infidel is like a statue. Being a statue or a wall painting also means being unreachable:

O sun, you do not resemble the idols of China and Cathay
In truth you are a lovely painting in the monastery of the sky. [28]

What did you find in the monastery of this world but loving a faithless beloved?
What meaning results from loving a painting on a wall?
[29]

In saying that there is no use in loving inanimate wall paintings that, like the disloyal beloved, bring no benefit, the second couplet contains an implicit critique of Christian rituals. In the following couplet, the poet puts both the Sufi and the monk in the same category, both of them easily distracted from prayer by the beauty of the beloved:

If you show your face in your neighborhood, o idol,
The Sufi will turn from the mosque, the monk from church. [30]

2. Palaces [*sarāy*] and pavilions [*kaşr*]

The palace is where a ruling sultan lives; rather than a single structure, it is a splendid complex of buildings large and small, as exemplified by the Topkapı Palace.⁴⁴ The dwelling places of the Ottoman elite are also called palaces and are mentioned in poetry.⁴⁵ Poetically, the heart of the lover is known as a palace, since the sultan of love (the beloved) lives there. In the following couplet the poet praises God, saying that even a few pieces from His heavenly palace are enough to decorate this world:

One of them became the moon, another the world-adorning sun.
Two windows from the palace of Your power fell onto the sky. [31]

The poet of these lines praises God by mentioning his loftiness. According to his poetical imagination, God has a heavenly palace above the universe, and the shiny glass windows fallen from it are the sun and the moon. If even these small pieces of God's palace are enough to light up the world, one can imagine the magnificence of the whole edifice.

Mirrors were very important decorative objects in Ottoman palatial buildings; especially in the seventeenth century, palaces and houses throughout the Ottoman Empire were decorated with them.⁴⁶ The Ottomans did not hesitate to import them from Venice, where the most beautiful ones were produced. In *divan* poetry, the mirror has rich symbolic as well as material value. It is mentioned in connection with the reflection of truth, the heart, brightness, polishing, and beauty, as in the following couplet:

Take care, don't look at yourself and become damned like Satan.
Beware, don't hang distorting mirrors in the palace of your heart. [32]

Köşk (kiosk or pavilion) and *kaşr* (mansion) refer to single, richly designed buildings.⁴⁷ Although smaller than palaces, they were luxurious structures built for the sultans or the wealthy Ottoman elite.⁴⁸

People of nobility all live in sublime mansions;
Today this one is incapable of paying the rent of a room.
[33]

Apparently the poet thinks that he is a virtuous person who deserves to reside in a *qaşr* but is unable to afford

even a room therein: this is clearly a plea for patronage.

At times the *kaşrs* and kiosks of grand viziers and pashas could compete with the sultan's palace in their ostentatious display of wealth, allowing architects and the artists of the time to display their talents.⁴⁹ According to Latifi, these buildings were surrounded by high walls like the garden of paradise and had colorful, ornamented walls and ceilings like a bridal pavilion; they were often perfumed with incense.

The following couplets refer to the interior design of *kaşrs* and kiosks whose inner walls were decorated with inscriptions, tiles, and paintings. Needless to say, such *kaşrs* provided open windows into the private life of the Ottoman elite:

If it dies, my heart won't beg for a mansion in paradise
Unless the image of my heart-holder is painted in it.
[34]

My heart was a leaf in the rosette (*semse*) of the mansion of affection
O Zati, the Eternal Designer has written it in the broken style. [35]

The element of decoration called a *semse* (sun disk) is a decorative roundel consisting of a circle with radiating straight lines.⁵⁰ *Kaşrs* also had fountains (*şadırvān*) and pools:

The heavens are a lofty mansion in the city of love
The moon and its halo are its pool and fountain. [36]

The moon and its halo are its pool and fountain
O Shah, the sky is a humble mansion in the garden of your power. [37]

The best feature of the *kaşrs*, however, was their fine views, since they were built either by water or in a choice part of the town that commanded spectacular vistas:

My two eyes, placed in the window of the mansion of affliction,
Are, to me, two moist carnations in the flower pot of my skull. [38]

In order to watch the assembly of all the angels at dawn,
The sky, impassioned, opens a window in the azure mansion. [39]

The *kaşrs* had complementary outbuildings (*tetümmāt*) such as barns, stables or gardeners' houses:

Love placed a spacious mansion in the heart,
For which the nine-story heavens could not be an outbuilding. [40]

Called *ʿidgāh*, the outdoor site allocated for great religious festivals resembles the *kaşr* of paradise. Beauty in this world is a copy of the ideal beauty of paradise:

O Zati, I have never seen its like in the palace of this world:
What if I call the festival ground the garden of paradise? [41]

The following couplets refer to a *binā-yi ʿid* (festival building), which could be either a tent or a more substantial structure:

It would not be destroyed by the earthquake of time's vicissitudes
If the festival building were constructed of the clay of his concern. [42]
O Prince, it would not be razed and gone in three days
If the festival building were founded on his wisdom. [43]

Metin And, citing the *Surnāme-i Hümāyūn* of 1582, notes that temporary buildings such as kiosks and mansions were built for the festival celebrating the circumcision of the sons of Murad III.⁵¹ Likewise the couplets above indicate that there were temporary buildings—perhaps tents—built especially for festival days and destroyed after the festivities were over. In praising the patron, the couplets seem to be saying that even the flimsiest temporary building, if constructed by the sultan, would be as lasting as the most solid, permanent structure. The poet, on the other hand, resembles the weak and temporary festival buildings destroyed within three days.

The commoners of Istanbul had ordinary houses (*hāne*). The poet says that it is better to have a *hāne* in Constantinople than a palace in Egypt. In the comparison is concealed another plea for reward:

Better for this miserable pauper than being ruler of Egypt
It would be if you grant him a house in Istanbul. [44]

3. *Bathhouses*

Bathhouses or hammams are either independent structures or dependencies in mosque complexes; they are public places used not only for cleansing but also for socializing. These buildings were quite common and were often endowed with an annual income to provide for their maintenance. An Italian traveler of the early sixteenth century, Luigi Bassano da Zara, estimates that the number of mosques, baths, and Greek churches in Istanbul and Galata numbered in the thousands.⁵²

In the Ottoman poetic imagination, the hammams are representations of lovers who are burning inside and crying all day (that is to say, dripping with moisture). Poets' descriptions of hammams mostly concern the feelings aroused by seeing their beloveds there. The following couplet mentions the existence of a hammam with nine private hot rooms (*halvethāne*), another reference to the idea that the sky is built of nine domes:

The heavens built a bath with nine private rooms in the city of your excellence,
O prince, and there the sun and moon set its bubbles flying. [45]

According to this comparison, the sun and the moon scatter light on the shiny soap bubbles that are the nine domes of the heavenly hammam. In the Ottoman poetic imagination, domes and bubbles on a surface resemble each other.

Double baths (*çifte hammām*) had two separate entrances, one for men and the other for women.⁵³

Zati lies there like a hammam, with his eyes fixed on the sky,
Burning inside like the bath-furnace with the fire of separation. [46]

In this couplet, the poet pictures himself and the hammam in both emotional and physical terms by constructing a simile. In their roofs, hammams have round, projecting glass windows (*cām*), which let in the sunlight equally⁵⁴ and thereby resemble the eyes in the face. The poet is like the hammam: inside him the fire of love burns like the furnace in the hammam, and his eyes are like two glass windows facing the sky.

In the following couplet the poet again creates an imaginative connection between a hammam and his emotional state, comparing the tears of the lover to

steam condensing on the glass and dripping down:

Since the steam of love went to my head, like a bath,
My eyes constantly drip moisture as do the windows. [47]

Another couplet refers to the fountains of the hammam:

O fairy, the tears of my eyes are flowing for love of you
One might think them two fountains flowing in a bath. [48]

Here the never-ending tears of the lover resemble the two bath fountains, one for cold and the other for hot water,⁵⁵ that flow continuously.

4. *Colleges and elementary schools*

Ottoman *medreses* (madrasas or colleges) and *mektebs* (elementary schools) were either part of mosque complexes or independent buildings. Madrasa students lived in dormitories adjacent to the classrooms, and their expenditures were mostly covered by pious endowments. Walls usually isolated an elementary school from the surrounding neighborhood, so that the students within would be protected and free from distraction. In the following couplet, the poet awaits his beloved in the shadow of the school wall:

Where I wait with desire, like the shadow of a wall
Is one side of the school of my sun-faced, cypress-bodied one. [49]

In this couplet are two descriptions: one of the physical and psychological situation of the lover and poet, and the other of a structural feature of schools in his time. Schools were also called *mu'allim-hāne*, meaning "house of the teacher."

Whenever my cypress is freed from the house of instruction [*mu'allim-hāne*],
His shadow lines the path he takes end to end with boxwood. [50]

The tall body of the beloved is emphasized through use of the figure *tenasüb* (congruence of vocabulary) in which the poet uses a group of related words: cypress (*serv*), boxwood (*şimşad*), and shade or shadow (*sāye*). The cypress here represents both the beloved's body and the trees of the schoolyard. Boxwood is a shade

tree that lines the school road. When the cypress is *āzād*⁵⁶ (free or swaying), the lover is comforted by the beloved's passing as though he (the lover) was in a street lined with boxwood. The word *āzād* is an equivoque (*tevrīye*) that means "free (from school)" when "cypress" refers to the boy's body, and "swaying with the wind" in reference to the tree itself (and, by extension, to the way the boy walks on his way home from school).

5. Dungeons (*zindān*)

Some military buildings, especially fortresses, were used as prisons or dungeons. Criminals might be put into dungeons in local fortresses such as Rumelihisarı and Yedi Kule (the Seven Towers) in Istanbul or exiled to those in the far corners of the empire. The following couplet mentions nine dungeons, which could be visualized as a dungeon- or prison-like world covered by nine domes:

That you might see his essence in what lies behind [this world]
Come and, by grace, pierce these nine dungeons. [51]

Zati gives us a clue about the structure of a dungeon, suggesting that some were built underground:

If I give up my life by longing for the pit of your chin
I [will] have endowed a dungeon with all my worldly goods. [52]

In the Ottoman poet's imagination the dimple in the beloved's chin resembles a dungeon in which the lover's heart is imprisoned. The couplet also refers obliquely to the story of the prophet Joseph, a paragon of male beauty imprisoned in a pit by his brothers.⁵⁷

6. Bridges

Bridges are another type of structure referred to in Ottoman poetry. These structures, often built with pious intent, accommodated both military and civilian transport and pedestrian traffic. Building bridges was regarded as a charitable deed, which the wealthy were encouraged to perform. In Ottoman poetry, bridges generally are associated with the eyebrows of the beloved, in that the shapes of the spans resemble brows; in addition, because a span was called a *göz* (eye) in architectural terminology, there are many poetic similes between bridges and eyes.⁵⁸ Since the lover is

often hopeless and weeping because of the separation from his beloved, his eyes, like the spans of a bridge, flow continuously with a "river" of tears:

O beloved, in separation you have made my tears a flowing river
And my eyebrows a bridge with two spans (eyes) over it. [53]

The image of the vault of [my] beloved's eyebrow is a picture
In my weeping eyes like a bridge built over water. [54]

CONCLUSION

Reading poetry from perspectives that consider both its artistic and its documentary value can furnish us with means for understanding peoples' lives and mentalities in a given period. By incorporating the study of Ottoman poetry into the history of art and architecture, I hope that I have demonstrated the inseparable relationship between poetry and architecture in the Ottoman artistic imagination. Although poetical references to architectural elements increased in later centuries, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century poetry set the parameters for the later conceptualization of architectural structures. In other words, architectural elements have been a subject of Ottoman poetry since its beginning.

In conclusion, it can be said that the two main characters of Ottoman poetry, the beloved and the lover, were depicted by means of metaphors in the sixteenth-century poet's imaginary world, and that these metaphors were often inspired by both the actual and the abstract qualities of architectural monuments.

APPENDIXES

[1] Bir nefesde oñsekizbiñ 'ālemi vār eyleyen
Bunca vāru yoğ eden ol Kādir-i Qāhhāra bağ
Bu toğuz tāk-ı muğarneş bu serāy-ı şeş-cihāt
Kāf u Nūn'dan buñları bünyād eden mi'māra bağ
(L)⁵⁹

[2] Kılmağa gökde namāz-ı 'īdi qudsiler yāhūd
Yapdı bir mihrāb-ı zer mi'mār-ı şun'ı Zū'l-celāl
(C Ç K 7/9)⁶⁰

[3] Cemālūn cāmi'in şöyle 'imāret eylemiş Kādir
Ne şüfi şeyhler olmak diler 'aynum aña nāzır
(Z G 302/1)

[4] Sultānısın dil mülkünü yıkdı hārāb itdi gamuñ
Virānı ma'mūr itmege sultāna şıhhat yaraşur
(C Ç K 41/2)

[5] Gön'lümüñ mülkin hayāl-i dōst ma'mūr eyledi
Her ne yir kim anda sultān oldu virān olmadı
(C Ç G 235/4)

[6] Her ne dil kim menzili 'ışk olmaya olur hārāb
'Ākıbet virān olur şol yir ki sultānsuzdur ol
(C Ç G 119/4)

[7] Devlet anuñ ki cihānda eşer-i hayr kodu
Eşeri olmayanın gör ki yerinde yel eser
'Ākil oldur alıcak dünyede ten lezzetin
Rūhunuñ hayr ile şād olmasını kaşd eyler
Bu fenā içre anıñ kim eşeri bākīdür
Ölmez ol Hızır-şifāt zinde dūrür tā maşşer (L)

[8] Her cāmi'-i gülşende yine bülbül-i hoş-hān
Sultān-ı güle okuduğı medh ü şenādur (Z G 154/2)

[9] Cāmi'-i kadrinde eflāk ol nigāruñ Zātiyā
Birbiri içre tokuz ğarrā muşanna' topdur (Z G 187/5)

[10] Gön'lümü cāmi'-i hüsnünde görüp zāhid-i şehri
Aşdı top āyineler mescid-i āzinesine (C Ç G 172/4)

[11] Bahār-ı hüsnün itmiş ey perī kandili divāne
Aña şerbet virüb hüddām-ı cāmi' çekdi zencire
(Z G 1331/4)

[12] Gördiler dil bağladum yāruñ ham-ebrūsına
Reşk idüp kandil aşarlar tāk-ı mihrāb üstine
(C Ç K 6/24)

[13] Yañar encüm hesābınca kanādil
Felek-vār içi bir şem' ü meşāil
Binā resminde cāmi'-i Kāf-ı a'zam
Veyāhūd yekpāre bir küñ-ı mu'azzam⁶¹ (L)

[14] Añlanan bu ki girüb mescid-i 'ışk içre aşam
Ben bu kandil-i dili tāk-ı mu'allāda yine (Z G 1303/2)

[15] Menār-ı kāmēti üzre dem-ā-dem berķ urur Zāti

Çerāğı nūr-ı Aħmed'den yaķar ruşsarı Oşmānuñ
(Z G 763/1)

[16] Duħān-ı sūz-ı sīnemdür menār-ı cāmi'-i miħnet
Aña Zāti kanādil āteş-i āhum şirāridur (Z G 247/5)

[17] Felekler şehri-i 'ışkuñ içre tokuz kubbeli cāmi'
Duħān-ı āteş-i āhum çıkub aña menār oldu
(Z G 1758/2)

[18] Kaşlaruñ üzre perişān it mutarrā turreñi
Kim çelipālar yiridür kāfiri mihrāblar (C Ç G 23/3)

[19] Hüsnü hariminde gören eydür ham-ı ebruların
Yā Rab bu ne mescid durur k'olmuş aña mihrāb iki
(C Ç G 243/2)

[20] Kible-i erbāb-ı hācetdür kapuñ yüz sürdügüm
Vechi budur kim olur tezhīb mihrāb üstine
(C Ç K 6/38)

[21] Gördi mescidde kaşuñ itdi rükū'
Secde-i şükr kılmağa mihrāb (Z G 65/3)

[22] Tāk-ı ebrūna şu kim baş egmeye mihrāb-vār
Kiblede dönsün benim kiblem yüzü mihrāb-ves
(Z G 592/3)

[23] Gümüş minberdür ol binī zekān kandil ü kaş
mihrāb
Haṭiboglu bugün mülk-i melāhat içre cāmi'dür
(Z G 250/3)

[24] N'ola mülk-i melāhatde okınsa aduña hutbe
Cemālūn cāmi'inde bir gümüş minberdür ol binī
(Z G 1688/2)

[25] Minber-i şāh-ı gül üstinde haṭib-i 'andelib
Huṭbe-i taḥsin okur Şāh-ı zafer-yāb üstine
(C Ç K 6/8)

[26] Tapuñ elṭāf-ı cāmi'dür kapuñ mihrāb-ı devlet-
dür
Müşerredür senūñ nām-ı şerifūñle kamū minber
(Z K F 13b)

[27] Deyr-i 'ālem içre şüret bulmak isterseñ eger
Hüsnü mir'ātına ol māhuñ nazar kıl dā'imā
(Z G 32 /4)

[28] Ol büt-i Çin ü Hıta'ya beñzemezsin ey güneş
Gerçi kim deyr-i felekde bir güzel taşvırsın
(Z G 1024/3)

[29] Ne buldun deyr-i dünyāda vefāsuz yār sevmek-
den
Ne ma'nī hāşıl olur şüret-i divār sevmekden
(Z G 1197/1)

[30] 'Arz-ı didār eyleseñ küyunda varmaz ey şanem
Şöfi mescidden yaña rühbān kilisādan yaña
(Z G 45/3)

[31] Biri māh olmuş anuñ biri hoşid-i cihān-ārā
Serāy-ı kadrinüñ düşmüş felek üzre iki cāmı
(Z K F 7b)

[32] Şaķın kendüñ görüb şeytān gibi olmayasın
merdüd
Sarāy-ı kalbūne mir'at-ı kalbi aşmağıl zinhār
(Z G 146/6)

[33] Fazl ehli kamū kaşr-ı mu'allāda olurlar
Ol oda kirāsında bugün 'āciz ü kāsır (Z K F 20b)

[34] Ölürse eger kaşr-ı cinānı dilemez dil
Taşviri meger dil-berümün anda ola naķş
(Z G 611/2)

[35] Şemse-i kaşr-ı maħabbetde gönül yaprāğ imiş
Zātī naķķāş-ı ezel yazmış imiş anı şikest
(Z G 74/8)

[36] Şehr-i 'ışkı içre bir kaşr-ı mu'allādur felek
Hāle ile māh anuñ havzı vü şadırvānidur
(Z G 285/4)

[37] Hāleyile māh anuñ havzı vü şadırvānidur
Bāğ-ı kadründe şehā bir kaşr-ı kemter āsumān
(Z K F 11a)

[38] Manzar-ı kaşr-ı belāya konmuş iki gözlerüm
Bu sifāl-i serde iki ter қaranfüldür baña (Z G 41/3)

[39] Şubħdem divānunu seyr itmege cümle sürüşüñ
Kaşr-ı minādan açar şevķ-ile manzar āsumān
(Z K F 11a)

[40] 'Işķ vaz' eyledi dilde yine bir kaşr-ı firāķ
Olmaz aña tetümmāt sipihr-i nüh-kāķ (Z G 1071/)

[41] Zātīyā dünyā sarāyında nazirin görmedüm
Nola dirsem 'id-gāha kaşr-ı Firdevs-i berin
(Z G 10205/)

[42] Bozulmaz idi zelzele-i inķilābdan
Ger tın-i himmetiyle yapılsa binā-yı 'id (Z K F 12b)

[43] Üç günde serverā yıkılıp gitmez idi ol
Ger dest-i rāyında urılsa binā-yı 'id (Z K F 12b)

[44] Ol eksiklü faķire şāh-ı Mışır olmaķdan artuķ-
dur
Eger Koşantıniyye içre eylesen aña 'atā hāne
(Z K F 17a)

[45] Uçurdu mihr ü māh anda habābın serverā yap-
dı
Felekler şehr-i fazlında toķuz halvetlü hammāmı
(Z K Li 6b)⁶²

[46] Yatar hammām gibi gözlerin göke diküb Zātī
Derünü nār-ı hecr ile yanar mānend-i tün olmuş
(Z G 602/5)

[47] Çıkalu 'ışk buħarı başa hammām gibi
Dem-be-dem yaş aķıdur dīdelerüm cām gibi
(Z G 1552/1)

[48] Ey perī 'ışķuñda eşk-i dīde-i giryān aķar
Şan ki bir hammām içinde iki şadırvān aķar
(Z G 315/1)

[49] Şevķ ile bekledigüm sāye-i divār gibi
Ol yüzi gün boyı servün taraf-ı mektebidür
(Z G 398/2)

[50] Her kaçan servüm mu'allim-hāneden āzād olur
Sāyesinden reh-güzāri ser-be-ser şimşād olur
(Z G 297/1)

[51] Māverāsında bunuñ özüne temāşā göresin
Yetiş himmetle del bu toķuz zindānı (Z K F 42b)

[52] Cān virürsem haşret-i çāh-ı zenaħdānuñla ger
Eyledüm bāķi kalan emlakümi zindāna vaķf
(Z G 636/2)

[53] Nehr-i cārī eyledün fūrķatde cānā yaşumı
üstüne bir iki gözlü köprü itdün kaşumı (Z G 1522/1)

[54] Resm olup durur hayâl-i tâk-ı ebrû-yı nigâr
Çeşm-i giryânımda âb üzre yapılmış pül gibi
(C Ç G 236/4)

Center for Islamic Studies (İSAM)
Istanbul

NOTES

Author's note: I presented an earlier form of this article in October 2003 at Harvard University, where I was an Aga Khan postdoctoral fellow. When writing my dissertation, "Zatî'nin gazeliyâtı'na göre 16. yüzyıl'da sosyal hayat" (Social Life in the Sixteenth Century as Reflected in Zati's Ghazals), I realized that Ottoman poetry had the potential to reveal various aspects of social life, such as social characterization and beliefs, the culture of food and eating, medicine, methods of communication, and architecture. Thanks to the Aga Khan Program, I pursued the last topic. I especially wish to thank Professor Gülru Necipoğlu, who read an earlier version of this paper and made valuable suggestions. I also thank Julie Scott Meisami, who shared her ideas, and Walter G. Andrews, who made special contributions to the writing of this article at various stages.

1. That is, a character addressed by the poet in a *tahalluş* (pen name) couplet as if he were a different person.
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3. *Zâtî, Zati divanı: Edisyon kritik ve transkripsiyon*, 3 vols., ed. Ali Nihat Tarlan, Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, and M. Ali Tanyeri (Istanbul, 1967–87).
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5. Bâkî, *Bâkî divanı*, ed. Sabahattin Küçük (Ankara, 1994).
6. Sâ'î Muştafa Çelebi, *Yapılar kitabı: Tezkiretü'l-bünyân ve Tezkiretü'l-ebniyye*, ed. Hayati Develi, trans. Samih Rifat (Istanbul, 2002). For a new publication of these autobiographies, see Howard Crane and Esra Akın, *Sinan's Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts* (Leiden and Boston, 2006).
7. Latîfî, *Evsâf-ı İstanbul*, ed. Nermin Suner Pekin (Istanbul, 1977).
8. Hâfız Hüseyin Ayyânşarâyî, *Hadîkatü'l-cevâmi'*, ed. Ahmed Nezih Galitekin (Istanbul, 2001). This work is also translated into English: idem, *The Garden of the Mosques: Hafiz Hüseyin al-Ayyansarayî's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul*, ed. and trans. Howard Crane (Leiden and Boston, 2000).
9. *Zâtî, Divân-ı Zâtî Çelebi*, manuscripts in Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Fatih 3824 and Lala İsmail 443.
10. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Yaşadığım gibi* (Istanbul, 1970), 118.
11. Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı kültürü ve gündelik yaşam: Ortaçağdan yirminci yüzyıla*, tr. Elif Kılıç (Istanbul, 1997), 141.
12. Stéphane Yerasimos, *La Fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques: Légendes d'empire* (Paris, 1990), cited in Faroqhi, *Osmanlı kültürü ve gündelik yaşam*, 142, which also discusses the reasons why architecture became the most eminent art in the sixteenth century, 143–63.
13. Walter Andrews, *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry* (Minneapolis, 1976), 81.
14. Harun Tolasa, *Ahmet Paşa'nın şiir dünyası: Cumhuriyetin 50. yılı armağanı* (Ankara, 1973); Mehmet Çavuşoğlu, *Necatî Bey divanı'nın tahlili* (Ankara 1971); Cemal Kurnaz, *Hayalî Bey divanı'nın tahlili* (Ankara, 1996); and M. Nejat Sefercioğlu, *Ne'î divanı'nın tahlili* (Ankara, 1990).
15. Vildan Serdaroglu Şişman, *Sosyal hayat ışığında Zati Divanı* (Istanbul, 2006).
16. A. Talât Onay, *Eski Türk edebiyatında mazmunlar ve izahı*, ed. Cemâl Kurnaz (Istanbul 1996), 64.
17. Jale Nejdî Erzen, "Aesthetics and Aisthesis in Ottoman Art and Architecture," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 2, 1 (1991): 2.
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20. Hilmî, *Bahrü'l-kemâl*, ed. Cihan Okuyucu (Kayseri, 1995), 197–205. Cited in Gülru Necipoğlu, "Quranic Inscriptions on Sinan's Imperial Mosques: A Comparison with Their Safavid and Mughal Counterparts," in the proceedings of the conference "Word of God, Art of Man: The Qur'an and Its Creative Expressions," held at the Institute of İsmâ'ili Studies, London, October 2003 (forthcoming).
21. Ahmed Karahisari (d. 1556). For the works of Karahisari in the Süleymaniye Complex, see Uğur Derman, "Kanuni devrinde yazı sanatımız," in *Kanuni Armağanı* (Ankara, 1970), 277.
22. Qur'an 35:41.
23. Sâ'î, *Yapılar kitabı*, 152. Cited in Necipoğlu, "Quranic Inscriptions on Sinan's Imperial Mosques" (forthcoming). Also see Crane and Akın, *Sinan's Autobiographies*, 124 and 150, for a slightly different English translation and the transcribed text of this passage.
24. The word 'âlam (Turkish: âlem, world) in the Qur'an is interpreted in different ways by commentators. Vehb b. Münebbih argued that there are fourteen or eighteen thousand âlems in the universe, while others say a thousand, forty thousand, or eighty thousand: see İskender Pala, *Ansiklopedik divan şiiri sözlüğü*, 2nd ed. (Ankara, 1989), 29.
25. Qur'an 36:82.
26. According to Walter Andrews, in the Ottoman era, art in general is communal and primarily exists to confirm the values and the worldview of the society in which it is created. It does not seek new truth; instead it tries to reach the wholeness that already exists. See the section "Critical Perspective" in Walter G. Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song* (Seattle and London, 1985), 183–89, esp. 184.
27. As S. H. Nasr puts it, "The root of the sacred architecture of Islam is to be found in the resanctification of nature in relation to man seen as the primordial being." See Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality* (Albany, 1987), 40.
28. *Imitatio Dei* (imitation of God), in the terms of historians of religion.
29. Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London, 2000), 139.
30. In the Qur'an it is used in several verses, e.g., 2:7 and 4:13; also

- see *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1944–49) s.v. "Cami."
31. For the naming practice of the neighborhoods in the Ottoman Empire, see Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "The Ottoman Capital in the Making: The Reconstruction of Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1996); for the general concept of the Islamic city, see Turgut Cansever, *İslâm'da şehir ve mimari* (Istanbul, 1997).
 32. The fourth chapter of Latîfi's *Evsâf-ı İstanbul* is dedicated to features of Istanbul mosques such as Ayasofya and the mosque of the conqueror, Mehmed II.
 33. Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, 158. About the representation of gardens in eighteenth-century Ottoman poetry, see Shirine Hamadeh, "The City's Pleasures: Architectural Sensibility in Eighteenth Century Istanbul" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1999), chap. 4. Hamadeh thinks that garden imagery changed between the sixteenth century and the eighteenth, when the garden became a locus of contemporary urban life within which social changes were articulated.
 34. Erzurumlu İbrâhîm Hakkî, *Marifetname*, ed. Ahmed Davudoğlu (Istanbul, 1981).
 35. A. A. Şentürk, *Divan şiiri antolojisi* (Istanbul, 1999), 134.
 36. Celâl Esat Arseven, *Sanat ansiklopedisi*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1950), vol. 2, 937.
 37. Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality*, 55.
 38. In pre-Islamic and early Islamic times the word *mihrab* "was... used for a special place within a 'palace' or in a 'room'; it was the 'highest,' 'the first' and 'the most important' place. At the same time it denoted a 'space between columns' and was equally used for 'burial place'..." : *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden, 1962–2004) (henceforth *EI2*), s.v. "Mihrâb"
 39. Onay, *Eski Türk edebiyatında mazmunlar ve izahı*, 255.
 40. *Ibid.*, 320.
 41. See "Üç mihrablı mescidi," in Ayyânsarâyî, *Hadîkatü'l-cevâmî*, 93.
 42. The word "minbar," from Arabic but probably borrowed from Ethiopic, originally meant "seat, chair"; the minbar "was in early times used as a seat by the ruler or his governor, from which he addressed the Muslims at the Friday worship." The change in the use of the minbar from ruler's seat to religious pulpit occurred towards the end of the Umayyad period. See *EI2*, s.v. "Minbar."
 43. One of the professors in Sultan Mehmed II's *medrese*.
 44. As Necipoğlu has eloquently shown, the Ottoman palace was more than a residence for the sultan: it was a beautiful architectural monument where the sultan performed his ceremonial duties and exercised his power at the same time. For the architectural structure and its use for ceremonial, see Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteen and Sixteen Centuries* (New York, 1991); see also her *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture: Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H. 1956* (Santa Monica, 1995).
 45. *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1993–), s.v. "Saraylar."
 46. Arseven, *Sanat ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Ayna."
 47. Metin Sözen and Uğur Tanyeli, *Sanat kavram ve terimleri sözlüğü* (Istanbul, 1986), 210.
 48. For *kaşr*, kiosk and their uses in the eighteenth century, see Hamadeh, "The City's Pleasures." For the general architectural characteristics of Istanbul in the eighteenth century, see Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989).
 49. Latîfi, *Evsâf-ı İstanbul*, 44. The culture of the *kaşr* was highly developed in eighteenth-century Istanbul: see Shirine Hamadeh *The City's Pleasures*, 231.
 50. Sözen and Tanyeli, *Sanat kavram ve terimleri sözlüğü*, 226.
 51. *Sürnâme-i Hümayûn*, 6a–6b, cited in Metin And, *Osmanlı şenliklerinde Türk sanatları* (Ankara, 1982), 75. For the details of these buildings, see idem, *40 gün 40 gece: Osmanlı düğünleri şenlikleri geçit alayları* (Istanbul, 2000), 79–81.
 52. For details of public baths in the sixteenth century, see the description by the Italian traveler Bassano cited in Metin And, *Istanbul in the 16th Century: The City, the Palace, Daily Life* (Istanbul, 1994), 242–43.
 53. Celâl Esat Arseven, *Türk sanatı* (Istanbul, 1970), 100–101.
 54. *Türk ansiklopedisi* (Ankara, 1946–84), s.v. "Hamam."
 55. In Bassano's description, "All these small rooms were beautifully walled with marble, and in each, hot and cold water flowed from two pipes into a marble basin." Cited in And, *Istanbul in the 16th Century*, 244. The room for boiling the water is called *külhan*. Steam and smoke pass through pipes under the marble floor and are conducted out via small ceramic chimneys. The fire heats both the water and the floor, so the floor of bath is always warm.
 56. In neighborhood schools in the Ottoman era, recess and holiday periods were called *âzâd* (free): Onay, *Eski Türk edebiyatında mazmunlar ve izahı*, 125.
 57. See Pala, *Ansiklopedik divan şiiri sözlüğü*, s.v. "Yusuf"; Onay, *Eski Türk edebiyatında mazmunlar ve izahı*, 504.
 58. Sözen and Tanyeli, *Sanat kavram ve terimleri sözlüğü*, 197.
 59. Latîfi, *Evsâf-ı İstanbul*, 5. Henceforth, (L) refers to this work.
 60. (C Ç) refers to the *divan* of Cafer Çelebi and (Z) refers to the *divan* of Zati; (F) and (Lî) indicate two versions of manuscript of Zati's *divan* in the Süleymaniye Library. (G) indicates ghazal and (K) qasida; a number before the slash refers to the ghazal or qasida number in the published *divan*, and a number after the slash is the couplet number.
 61. Latîfi, *Evsâf-ı İstanbul*, 32.
 62. Uçurdu mihr ü mâh anda habâb serverâ yapıd
Felekler şehri-i fazlında tokız hâlvetlû hâmmâmı (Z K F 7b)