



## Political Context of the 11<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries Anatolia Shaped Medrese Education and It's Architecture

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### Abstract

This research analyzes the political structures of pre-Ottoman and classical Ottoman Anatolia and examines how the political structures of these two periods shaped and changed the medrese architecture and education. In this context the pre-Ottoman fragmentary political structure and along with this structure the medrese as an institution of this period are discussed. The classical Ottoman political structure and it's relation with medrese are also examined. In the final part of this study, the impact of the political structures on the medrese architecture and education is studied with a comparative approach. This thesis aims to present whether there was a relationship and what was the extent of this relationship between the political structures of these periods and medrese architecture and education.

**Keywords:** Political structure, medrese architecture and medrese education.

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## INTRODUCTION

Medrese has been a crucial institution in Anatolia under Turkish rule, and because its status and function changed over time and especially from the Seljuk to Ottoman times, the specific relationship between political structure and medrese architecture is worth explaining in order to understand continuity and change in the history of Turkey.

Therefore, the aim of this paper is to look at both of these aspects and try to establish their interaction. In this respect the study concentrates on the pre-Ottoman and the classical Ottoman political structure in Anatolia to indicate how this changing political structure shaped and formed medrese education and architecture. While studying this issue, I am trying to present the architecture in a historical perspective rather than focusing on architectural aspects in detail.

In order to fulfill the aim of this paper, the study focuses on the emergence of the medrese separate from the mosque, the reasons that led to the foundation of medreses separate from the mosques, the functions of medreses, the subjects taught at medreses, the pre-Ottoman and classical Ottoman political structure in Anatolia and its reflection on medrese education and architecture, how these two periods political structure moulded the medrese education and architecture.

### **The Emergence of Medrese as an Institution of Teaching and Governance**

Until the tenth century, the main institution of learning, apart from the *maktab* (school) was the *halqa or majlis* (circle or gathering housed in the mosque) that was presided over by a teacher who was often called *shaikh, hakim or ustadh* (Nasr, 1968: 70). Everyone was absolutely free to join the *halqa* in the mosque to hear a teacher. In the beginning, the center of education was the mosque where students formed *halqa*. After a while medreses were built and became independent structures from the mosques (Akyüz, 1985: 40).

There are several reasons<sup>1</sup> why the medrese were established separately. One of the reasons that led to the establishment of the medreses (universities) separate from the mosques is that the mosques were built initially for religious practice and teaching, the circles were formed. As a result teaching and religious practices became difficult to be housed in one building. Moreover, it was difficult to teach the children in the mosques because the mosques had to be kept clean thus separate buildings had been built. Besides, during teaching, the students and teachers could speak and debate reciprocally; this seemed to be impossible in the mosques as the number of courses, which were taught, increased (Bilge, 1984: 2). All these reasons brought about the foundation of separate buildings from the mosques.

The history of medrese starts in the tenth century in Khurasan and Nishapur. The institutions of learning or medreses reached the climax of their development in the

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<sup>1</sup> There is also an ideological reason that accelerated the established of the medrese. The need for educated people to meet the state services and spread the domination of *sunni* (orthodox ideology) against the threat of the *Shi'ah* (unorthodox) sect which had been very influential in the Middle East at that time became the most important reasons for education of medreses. Akyüz, (1985, 40) According to Taner Timur, the medrese started to be built separate from the mosques similar to the separation of the university from the cathedral in the west, Timur (2000, 45-46).

latter part of the eleventh century. In a more general sense, the birth of the medrese system owed much to Turkish initiative, the Great Seljuks<sup>2</sup>. It was developed in the region of Transoxiana and Khurasan, where the Turks constituted a significant part of the population, and Turkish rulers of the Qarahamid, Ghaznavid, and Seljuk dynasties were the founders of the earliest schools (Sayılı, 1979: 718).

The plan for a medrese building was first employed in Persia by the Great Seljuks<sup>3</sup>. It comprised four *eyvans* built in the two axes of a courtyard. This development is of great importance in the history of architecture that furnishes as it did the prototype of the medreses in Turkistan, Persia and Anatolia during the time of the Seljuks of Rum and the Ottoman Empire (Ünsal, 1959: 30).

The use of the four-eyvan plan in medrese architecture began before it did in the mosques during the time of the Great Seljuks. Both the Hargird Medrese and Rey Medrese that had been built in the time of Melikşah are good examples to illustrate this statement. The Great Seljuks had taken this plan from the architecture<sup>4</sup> of the Qarahanids and Ghaznavids (Aslanapa, 1990: 92). (Figure 1)

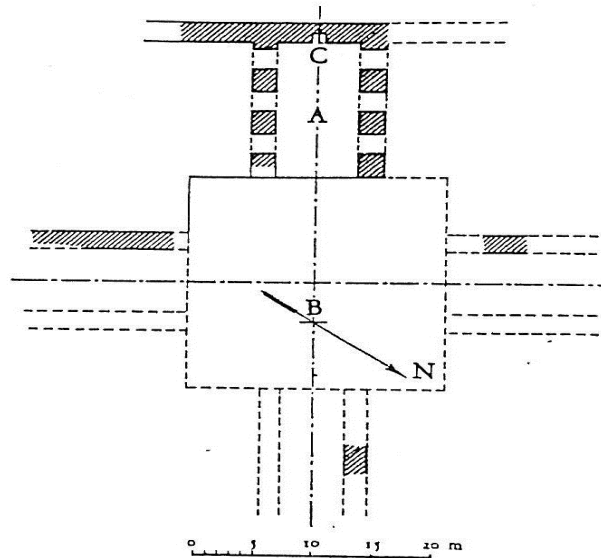


Figure 1. Hargird Medrese. Plan (Source: Aptullah Kuran. *Anadolu Medreseleri. Cilt: 1*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi. 1969. p. 7)

<sup>2</sup> According to Taner Timur's view, the medreses did not become independent from the religion but they became independent from the religious authority with the reformations of Nizam al-Mulk, Timur (2000, 49). This can be evaluated as a kind of secularization of educational institutions during the Seljuks. In addition to this, the Great Seljuk Grand vizier Nizam al-Mulk had built a chain of colleges and Nizamiye Medrese (madaris) in Baghdad and Nishapur where he developed the medrese education and institutionalized it. Nizamiye Medrese had a great double purpose, expansion of knowledge as well as a purification of thought. The medrese henceforth, extended, with some modifications, to other parts of Islamic world. See Nasr, 1968, 71. Nizam al-Mulk also reorganized the education system and encouraged the establishment of medrese buildings from the mosques, Ünsal (1959, 30).

<sup>3</sup> Doğan Kuban asserts that Great Seljuks formed the structural type of the medrese building and it is similar to the mosque scheme. He also indicates that medrese programme came to Anatolia from Iran and developed as closed and open-court medreses. Even though the open-court medrese plan came from Iran, the closed-court plan came from Turkistan to Anatolia, Kuban (1965, 55).

<sup>4</sup> The design of medrese of Great Seljuks is an arcaded courtyard surrounded by small student cells, surmounted by domes and containing lecture halls at the four corners. Since the Sunni doctrine admitted four separate interpretations of Qur'an, therefore, the Seljuk schools had four lecture halls in the form of open eyvans, Voght (1966, 47). The Seljuks of Rum applied this design into two forms, depending on climatic requirements. The courtyard was left open to the sky or covered with a dome, Ünsal (1959, 30). Perhaps the climate of Anatolia later compelled the west-Seljukid architects to abandon the open arcaded courtyard in favor of a smaller covered courtyard surmounted by a dome, Voght (1966, 47).

## The Political Structure in the Pre-Ottoman Anatolia, and Medrese

### *The Political Structure in Pre-Ottoman Anatolia*

The Turks began to make inroads into Anatolia in the early 11th century. The remarkable date in the history of the Turks is 1071, the battle of Manzikert (in the north of Lake Van, the victory of Sultan Alparslan over the Byzantine Emperor Romanos Diogenes) was the Turkish victory over the Byzantine armies and the Turks continued westwards. The arrival of the large numbers of Turks in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries changed radically the ethnic, religious and linguistic composition of Anatolia (Imber, 1990: 15). After this time the domination of the Turks was felt in Anatolia. Some early principalities were established in the eastern parts of Anatolia; these were the Danişmends, the Mengüceks, the Saltuks and the Artukids. The founders of Danişmends<sup>5</sup> were Turkomans like that of the Seljuks of Rum and both had gazi spirit nevertheless; this does not mean that they could not be rivals and compete with each other (Cahen, 1968: 102).

In short, the Seljuk family and the House of Danişmend competed for the ultimate leadership of Muslims of Anatolia for nearly a century. Both of whom sought the alliance of the Byzantine emperor or local Christian or Muslim powers. It was ultimately resolved in 1177 in favor of the Seljuks who captured their rivals and reduced them to vassalage in Malatya (Kafadar, 1995: 3-4).

This was accomplished only one year after Seljuk victory, this one was over Byzantine imperial armies in Myriokephalon in 1176<sup>6</sup>. It was evaluated by the scholars of medieval Anatolia as “*after an interval of a century, a replica of Manzikert*” which displayed that henceforward there existed a Turkey which could not be assimilated any more (Kafadar, 1995: 4).

After these two victories, the Seljuks of Rum had accomplished, from the Byzantine territories in the west almost to the further limits of the east, a political unity in Asia Minor; however, the rule of Seljuks of Rum in any period seems to be breakable and ephemeral or short-lived to be considered as real political unity. Until the heyday of the Ottomans there was no political unity in Anatolia. The political unity achieved by the Seljuks was soon to be replaced by a political fragmentation symbolized by the principalities. Yet this region continued to display a common cultural milieu within the political fragmentation. The ultimate failure came with Seljuk defeat by the Mongol armies in Köseadağ in 1243. The Seljuks of Rum<sup>7</sup> could no more reach their previous strength in Anatolia (Kunt, 1997: 26).

<sup>5</sup> The Danişmends were similar to the Seljuks in terms of both establishing alliances with Turkish states, against the Christians and they also struggled with each other. The Danişmends had helped the Seljuks against the Crusaders; however, the conquest of Malatya led to the rise of crisis between Kılıç Arslan and Gümüş-tekin Danişmend, because Kılıç Arslan as the Sultan of Anatolia had intended to take Malatya, Turan (1971,142-143). This case displays that the Seljuks of Rum were not the only leading power in Anatolia, Avcıoğlu (1950, 1).

<sup>6</sup> After this time the social, cultural and economic development in Anatolia was very rapid. Moreover, the defeat of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenus by Kılıçarslan II is evaluated by some Turkish historians that there appeared a political stability in Anatolia and it became possible to begin a period of cultural activity and prosperity. Yet they do not dwell on the competition between the Seljuks of Rum and other Turkish states in Anatolia for political dominance, Uysal (1965, 6).

<sup>7</sup> By the end of the twelfth century, the Seljuks of Rum had disintegrated before the Mongolian challenge. Principalities and kingdoms of nomadic origin broke away from Seljuks of Rum. The period of principalities in the history of Turkey roughly covers two hundred years extending from the beginning of the XIVth century till the beginning of the XVIth century. In this period, Turkey was divided into various small beylik or principalities, Voght (1966, 11-12).

Briefly, from the eleventh century to the middle of the fourteenth century there was not a continuous and stable political unity in Asia Minor. The struggle of the Turkish states was not only with the Christian ones but among themselves; these struggles continued for almost two centuries. In studies on this period, the Seljuks of Rum are accepted as the only dominant power, yet it is not so. Particularly the struggle between the two Turkish states; the Danişmends and the Seljuks, lasted nearly a century and during this time sometimes the Danişmends became the leading state; sometimes the Seljuks of Rum became politically a dominant power in Anatolia, however after 1271 they began to break into small principalities.<sup>8</sup> (Kuban, 1955: 95).

#### *Medrese in the Pre-Ottoman Anatolia*

In pre-Ottoman Anatolia, many medreses were built and they were similar to those of the Great Seljuks in terms of their plans having four eyvans, yet those in Anatolia were planned according to the conditions of its climate, local traditions and the materials used. In general, the climate of Anatolia is mild, yet away from the coast it becomes more severe. Whereas in Central and Eastern Anatolia there is a continental climate with hard winters and dry summers. Towards the south sub-tropical conditions initiates thus the winters are warm and rainy, the summers are very hot and dry. It is because of this reason that the buildings had flat roofs. These conditions explain why in Anatolia the closed court system is preferred (Ünsal, 1959: 8).

Despite this, there are open court medreses as well, hence this is a debatable point. The climate is one reason but it cannot be the only factor for formation of the architecture of the medrese building with a closed courtyard. This is in Konya we have both open and closed medreses that were built at the same time. To illustrate, while the Sırçalı Medrese built in 1242 is an open courtyard medrese, the Karatay Medrese built in 1258 is a closed courtyard medrese. (Figure 2)

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<sup>8</sup> The contention in this study is that this political fragmentation can also be observed in the institutions of this period. The medrese being one of them, developed as a separate and autonomous unit and each state or principality developed its own region; namely founding medreses, mosques, caravansarays and made waqfs to meet the needs of these institutions, Kuban (1955, 95).

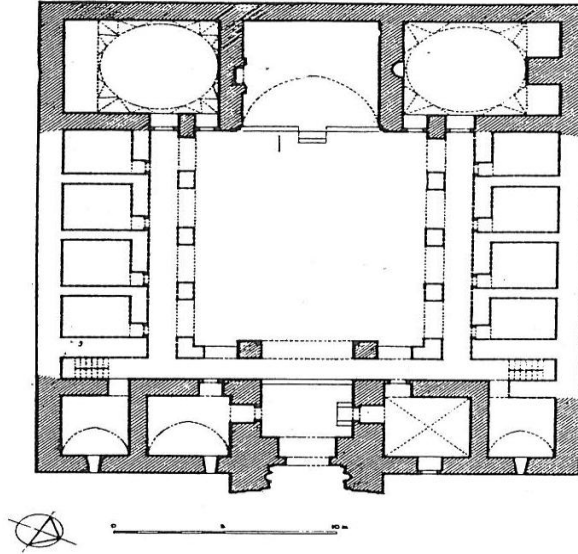


Figure 2. Sırçalı Medrese, Konya. Plan (Source: Aptullah Kuran. *Anadolu Medreseleri*, Cilt: I. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi. 1969. p. 74)

What made the medreses<sup>9</sup> of Anatolia different from the medreses of the Great Seljuks is that one of the eyvan had been located in the front side (north) and this had been decisive in the formation of medrese plan. The other difference is that in Anatolia not all the medreses were built with four eyvans; on the contrary, the medreses with one, two and four eyvans were built as well. Almost all of the medreses belonging to this period had a main eyvan facing the entrance. In most of these the main eyvan was used as the masdjid. In some medreses on one side of the main eyvan there is *turbeh* (tomb) and at the other side there is *kışlık* (dershane) however, the location of *turbeh*, and small mosque was not used for the Friday noon prayers. Their location was made without being depended on any remarkable rule on the sides. Between the eyvans there were closed small places like cells that were for students and managers, but there were not rooms for the instructors in some of them (Ödekan, 1997: 421-422). At the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Artukid Necmeddin İlgazi had a *maristan* (hospital) that was part of a complex built in the name of his brother Eminüddin in Mardin. It is the first *küllüye* (complex) in Anatolia. (Aslanapa, 1990: 205). The *küllüye* as an architectural plan was going to be the most essential part of the Ottoman architecture in the following centuries with all its magnificent, splendid and impressive features and aspects.

The earliest medreses in Anatolia were established by Danişmend Nizammeddin Yağlıbasan in the time of the Danişmends at Niksar and Tokat in the second half of the 12th century by Altun-Aba in 1201-2 in Konya. Moreover, Karatay Medrese was built in 1251 in Konya and Vizier Fahreddin Ali (Sahip Ata) had İnce Minareli Medrese constructed in Konya around 1258 (Cahen, 1968: 258-259). (Figure 3)

<sup>9</sup> The number of medreses increased during the 12th century and with the development of urbanization of Anatolia, first medreses appeared in the lands of Danişmends, Artuk-oğulları and Mengücek-oğulları, Ödekan (1997, 421). Many medreses were built until the second half of 15th century. Today 65 of them are standing and 15 of them are partially standing. These medreses were not the buildings where only religious issues were taught but medical education and its practices, Islamic law, astronomical or meteorological observations were done and taught as well. Aslanapa (1990, 205).

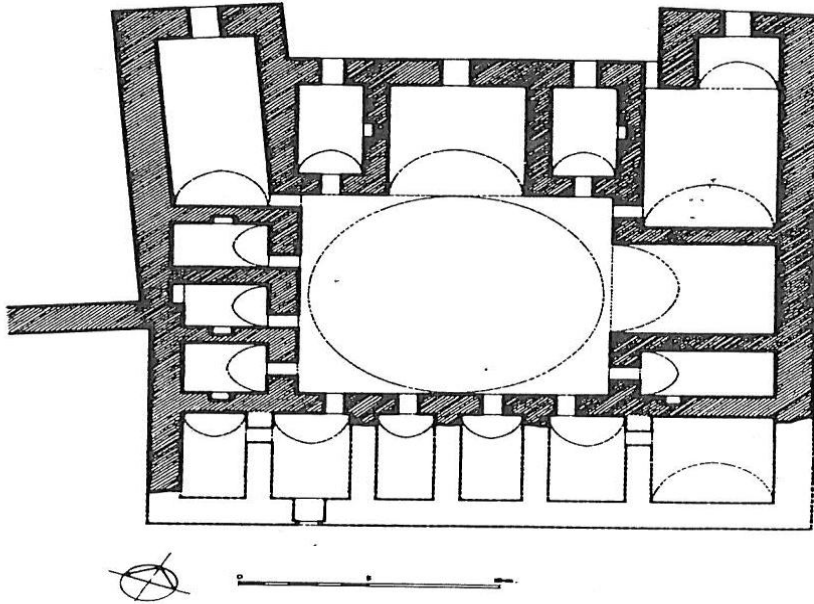


Figure 3. Yağlı-Basan Medrese, Niksar. Plan (Source: Aptullah Kuran. *Anadolu Medreseleri, Cilt: I*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi. 1969. p. 15)

In the religious architecture of the Anatolian Seljuks, medreses with their planning<sup>10</sup> and monumental portal are superior to mosques. It is because of their finer planning and greater portals. Most of the medreses of the Seljuks of Rum are arranged on a courtyard and the *two, three or four-eyvan* scheme (Uysal, 1965: 31-32).

#### *The Closed-Court Medreses*

The closed-court medreses are seen in the center of Anatolia. In the closed-court medreses, the courtyard was covered with a big dome, thus the closed-court medrese plan emerged. In Anatolia, the first medreses are closed-court except for the Artuk-oğulları medreses. The first unique example of this plan medrese is Bosra Gümüştekin Medrese (1136). Yet, fifteen years after this time the construction of these medreses started and developed in Anatolia as unified spaces which later on became a sort of preparatory development or progress for the Ottoman mosques' architecture (Aslanapa, 1990: 206).

The Erkoş Medrese<sup>11</sup> was built in Atabey, a town in Isparta in 1224 by the Seljuk commander Mübarizeddin Erkoş bin Abdullah. It displays a sort of developed architecture as it has a structure being built with cut stones, has a decorated portal and inscription. Its dome rests on four columns and its weight is carried the sides by a vaulted gallery (Aslanapa, 1990: 208). This medrese is like a

<sup>10</sup> The Seljuks of Rum also applied this form of construction to their mosques and medreses. To illustrate, the Çifte Minareli (the Twin Minarets) in Erzurum (1253) and the Gök Medrese in Sivas (1271) can be regarded among the best examples of medreses because of their size, workmanship and richness of their ornaments, Uysal (1965, 26-27).

<sup>11</sup> The portal of the Erkoş Medrese is on the east elevation. Seven cells surrounded the three sides of courtyard; three of them on the south, two on the north and two on the east. There are two more narrow cells, one of them is on the north side and the other on the south. The later one can be the toilet through which water goes. Passing from eyvan to the turbeh is not symmetrical thus this is not comparable with specialities of Seljuk architecture, Kuran (1969, 47-49).

main structure of a small külliye and composed of a mosque, turbeh and the medrese<sup>12</sup>. (Figure 4)

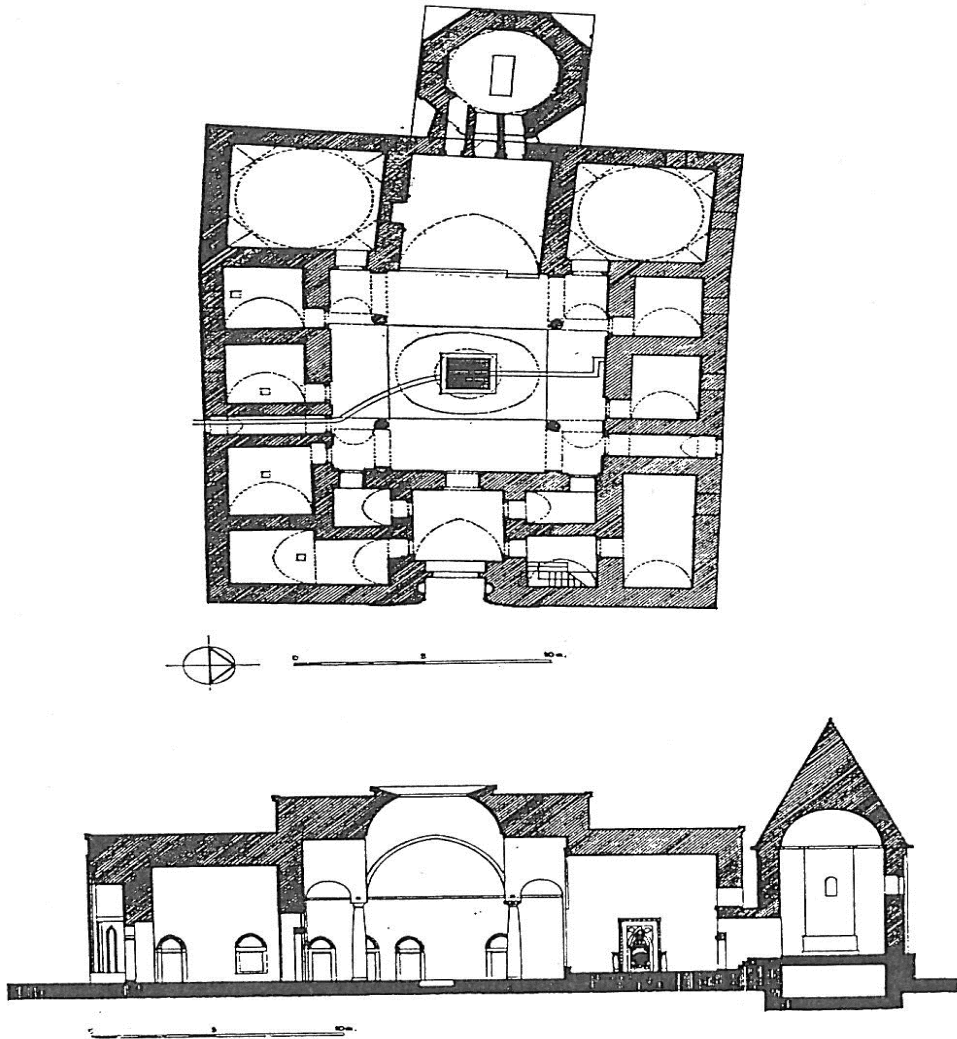


Figure 4. Erkoş Medrese, Atabey. Plan (Source: Aptullah Kuran. *Anadolu Medreseleri*, Cilt: I. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi. 1969. p. 48)

The Karatay Medrese was built for Emir Celaledin in Konya in 1251, this medrese is one of the most important works of its time in terms of its plan and decorative style. The portal on the north-east opens on to a doorway forming a part of the courtyard. The covered courtyard is surrounded by students' rooms and has a fountain in the center of the courtyard. It has a great decoration of the facade and interior, the portal was made partly of white and gray marble. Inside the building there is a fine Seljuk tile workmanship (Uysal, 1965. 64-65). (Figure 5)

<sup>12</sup> This type of medrese building was often repeated during the Seljuks of Rum in Anatolia. Konya Karatay Medrese is one of them. It has a rich decorative style, Aslanapa (1990, 210). It is going to be an example for the Ottoman mosque architecture. It covers an area of rectangular shape measuring 24.30 x 32.50, Uysal (1965, 64-65).



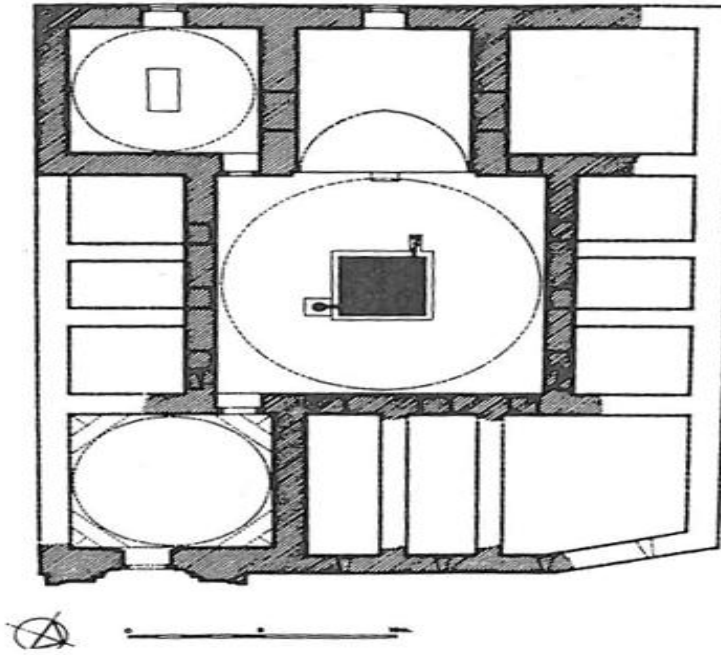


Figure 5. Karatay Medrese, Konya. Plan (Source: Aptullah Kuran. *Anadolu Medreseleri*, Cilt: I. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1969. p. 51)

In conclusion, the closed-court medreses are located in the central part of Anatolia. In the closed-court medreses, the courtyard was covered or enclosed with a big dome. The closed-court medrese plan existed before the open-court medrese plan. Boyalıköy and Konya Karatay Medreses are illustrative buildings for the closed-court medreses. These medreses consist of a medrese, a small turbeh and cells.

#### *The Open-Court Medreses*

As well as the closed-court medreses, the open-court medreses were also built in Anatolia and the number of the open-court medreses is more than the closed ones. The medreses belonging to the thirteenth century are usually in rectangular shape and their exterior is not in a regular order. The medreses belonging to the pre-Ottoman time in Anatolia did not have many cells and student rooms. Although, this medrese is the largest one it has only nineteen cells. This is because the number of students in these medreses was changing from 20 to 40 (Hillenbrand, 1986: 1145).

The Çifte Minareli Medrese<sup>13</sup> was established in Erzurum and it has and carries all the features of the Seljuk medrese architecture on account of its high front and interior decoration. It has four eyvans and it is composed of two floors. It is not only the biggest medrese (35 x 48 m) in Anatolia but also its architecture, plan and decoration are related to each other (Aslanapa, 1990: 242-244). (Figure 6)

<sup>13</sup> The facade of the Çifte Minareli Medrese is covered with cut stone, and has a fine stone workmanship. Through an impressive portal on the northern facade and an eyvan covered with a barrel vault, one enters a rectangular and open courtyard measuring 3.30 x 12.20 metres. There are two eyvans on the sides of courtyard and a fourth one across the entrance. The upper structure of the last one has collapsed. In fact the importance of this medrese lies in its eyvans. The courtyard is surrounded with porticos on three sides. The arches of porticos rest on sixteen columns. The number of rooms between eyvans built in one in both floors is nineteen. The stairs which were built in one corner of the courtyard lead to the upper floor, Uysal (1965, 65).

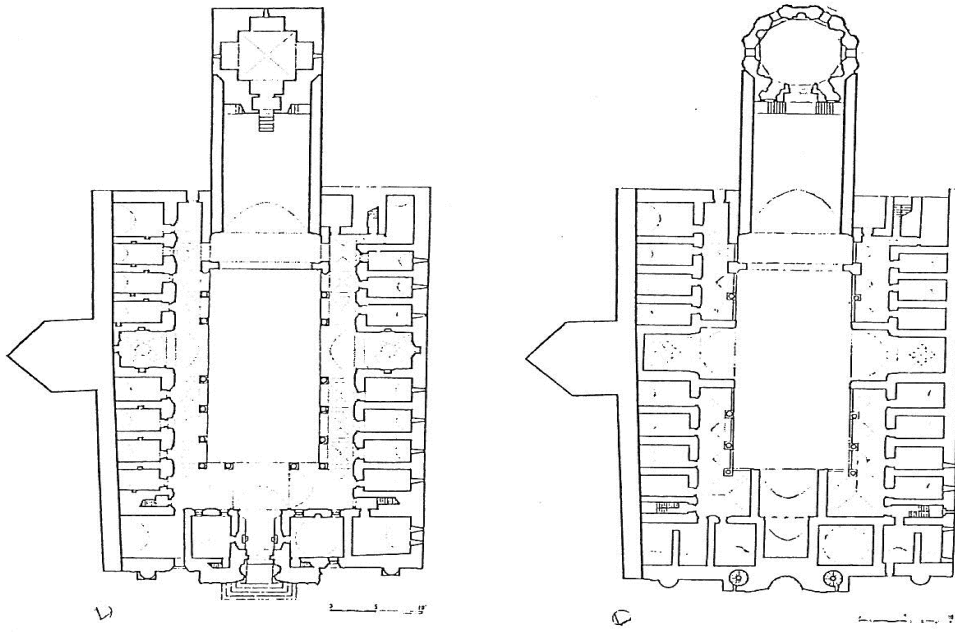


Figure 6. Çifte Minareli Medrese, Erzurum. Plan (Source: Oktay Aslanapa. *Türk Sanatı, Cilt: I-II*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları. 1990. 243)

After 1265, there was a political stability under the Mongol overlordship. This did have one very important consequence in the field of architecture. The Çifte Minareli Medrese is a good example reflecting the features of what is called the “Mongol style” (Rogers, 1965: 63).

In summary, the number of the open-court medreses is more than closed-court medreses. Unlike the closed-court medreses they are not only encountered in the central part of Anatolia, but they can be seen in various parts of Anatolia. The most important feature of these medreses is that the four sides of the medrese court were constructed with eyvans. Çifte Minareli Medrese in Erzurum and Gök Medrese are good examples of the open court medreses.

### The Medreses During the Principalities' Period in Anatolia

There are no necessary changes in medrese planning during the period of principalities. Generally speaking, the courtyard became smaller and the side eyvans give way to cells. In medreses belonging to Karamanids and Eşref-oğulları principality, the portals are larger and the decoration became baroque as opposed to the medreses in the west of Anatolia (Uysal, 1965: 32). The Ak (White) Medrese<sup>14</sup> is one of the finest works of the period of principalities in Niğde. It has a brilliant marble portal which rises impressively on the facade of the two-story building and fully dominates it and it is so richly decorated that those looking at it may forget the rest of the building. Such monumental portals are significant architectural characteristic of this period. (Figure 7-8)

<sup>14</sup> This medrese is the only standing specimen of the two-story medrese style of its period. It had been extended in a north-south direction and built with a central courtyard with a colonnaded portico around it. Its plan is symmetrical, proportioned and built as two floors. Its main entrance is on the north side. One of the most interesting architectural features of Ak Medrese is the joinings of porticos of the lower floor with broken arches to those of the upper floor. The building is constructed with fine Stone workmanship, Uysal (1965, 68-69).

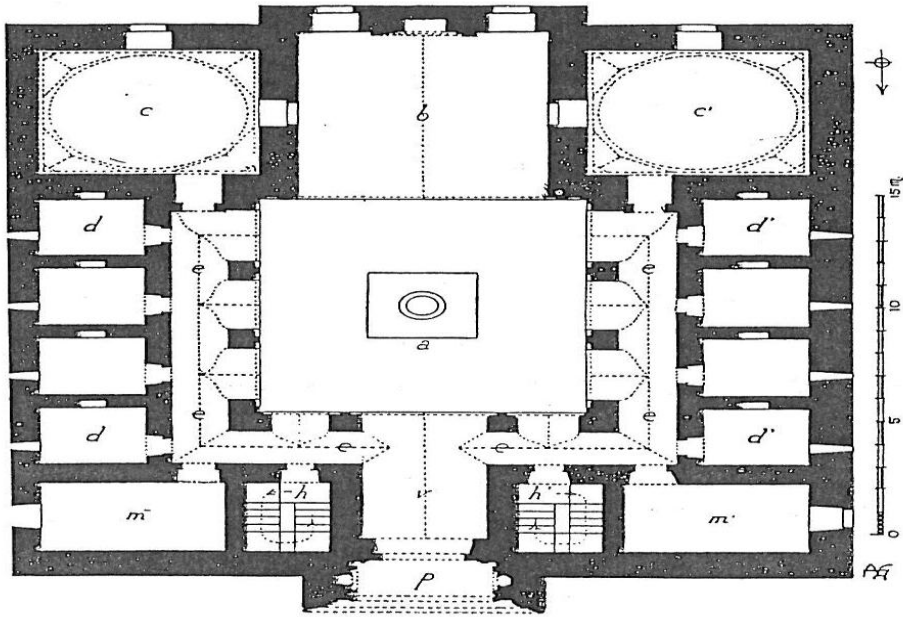


Figure 7. Ak Medrese, Niğde. Plan. Basement (Source: A. Gabriel. *Anadolu Türk Anıtları Kayseri-Niğde, Cilt: I. Çeviren; Ahmet Akif Tütenk. Ankara: Bengi Matbaası. 1962. p. 27*)

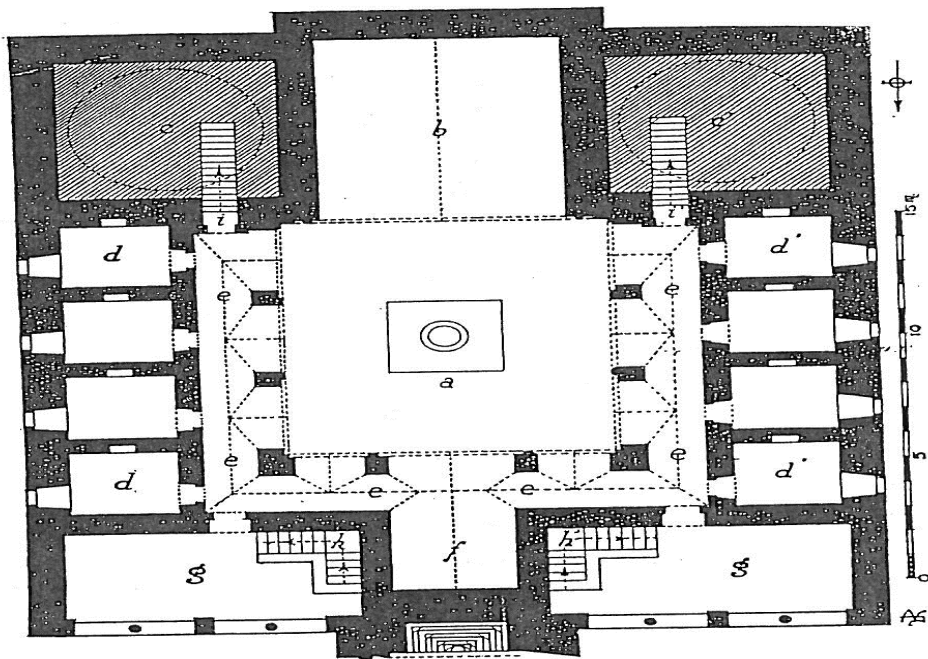


Figure 8. Ak Medrese, Niğde. Plan. First story (Source: A. Gabriel. *Anadolu Türk Anıtları Kayseri-Niğde, Cilt: I. Çeviren; Ahmet Akif Tütenk. Ankara: Bengi Matbaası. 1962. p. 28*)

Additionally, the Vacidiye Medrese<sup>15</sup> is another medrese which was built in 1314 by Umur bin Savcı, Emir of Germiyan-oğulları, as a center for observation. According to the local tradition, this medrese was the scene of the astronomical work and observation in old times. This Medrese bears Abd al-Vacid's name "who had made astronomical observation in this medrese. He was both the muderris and the administrator of the waqf revenues at the Vacidiye Medrese (Sayılı, 1948: 671). This is also a closed-court medrese around its eyvan there are two classrooms and the vaulted cells are located at both sides of the central dome. With its vaulted, plain portal and lack of particular details, this medrese shows the characteristics of the period of principalities (Aslanapa, 1990: 334). (Figure 9)

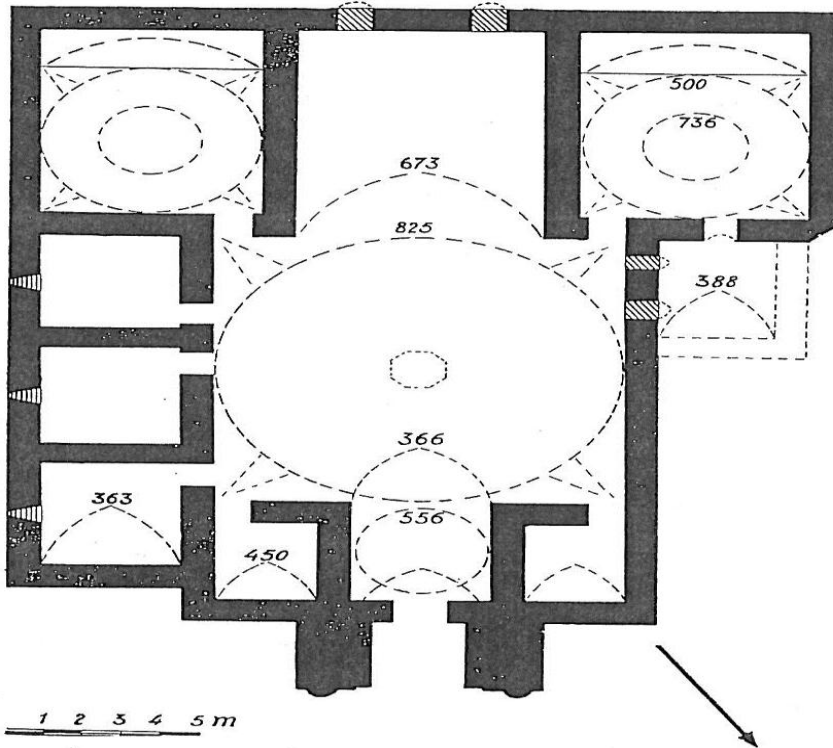


Figure 9. Vacidiye Medrese, Kütahya. Plan (Source: Aydın Sayılı. *The Vacidiyya Madrasa of Kütahya*. Belleten. Cilt: XII. (1948) p. 691)

In conclusion, during the pre-Ottoman period in Anatolia the medrese education and architecture were similar to that of the Great Seljuks. Despite this, particularly its architecture developed according to the political and physical conditions of Anatolia.

The development of the medrese architecture and education is parallel to the development of the political structure. The medreses of the pre-Ottoman developed parallel to the fragmentary political structure of this period. Therefore, the majority of these medreses appeared small in size and independent buildings however there are certain buildings accepted as building groups.

<sup>15</sup> This medrese has been designed so as to contain two distinct sections, each under a small half dome i. e., a dome with large circle on its top. This architecture reminds one of the possibility of the existence of two independent class-rooms, corresponding to two distinct chairs; one for awa'il and one for the Islamic science. The central courtyard of the medrese must have been used for common activities, serving as the place where the members of the staff and students performed the community prayers, Sayılı (1948, 671-672).

## The Political Structure During The Classical Ottoman Period And Medrese

### *The Political Structure During the Classical Ottoman Age*

After the Mongolian victory over the Seljuks of Rum, the Anatolian principalities came under the rule of Mongols, and as a result they acknowledged the rule of Mongols in Iran or Ilhanids but in the last quarter of the thirteenth century they started to become independent. One of them was the Ottoman principality founded by the Turks of Kayı branch of the Oğuz family. The Ottoman principality emerged as a small principality in Söğüt under the leadership of Osman, son of Ertuğrul Gazi who came to Anatolia in the time of Alaüddin Keykubad I. (Ünsal, 1965: 5). This principality enlarged in a short time resulted from certain reasons. (Kunt, 1997: 27)

To begin with the the *gaza*<sup>16</sup> ethos (fighting in the path of God) played a role in this expansion as Wittek mentioned. Halil İnalçık agrees that the ideal of *gaza*, *Holy War*, *darülharb* (the realms of Islam) was an important factor in the foundation and development of the Ottoman Empire. Yet he does not see it as the only criterion (İnalçık, 1995: 7).

Another significant factor is the supersession of “tribalism” by the *gaza* ideology. The tribalism takes a particular role in the early Ottoman success. However, he says that both the *gaza* and tribalism were common to different periods of the establishment and development of the Ottoman state, but their character and intensity kept changing (Kafadar, 1995: 119-120). All these factors resulted in the Ottoman success in centralization compared to the other principalities.

During the reign of Murat I, the Ottoman principality made its largest gains in Anatolia at the expense of the Turkish principalities; whereas Orhan expanded towards the west at the expense of Byzantium. Such as, annexing the Germiyan-oğulları Principality. Then, Beyazid I, *Thunderbolt*, had added more territories to his empire in western Anatolia; such as, Saruhan-oğulları, Aydın-oğulları and Menteşe-oğulları (İmber, 1990: 38-39). By 1398 with the acquisition of Karaman and Amasya Beyazid I's territory confronted that of Burhan al-Din's along its entire eastern frontier. Thus the Ottomans became the dominant power in Anatolia. By 1400 Beyazid had extended his domination over western Anatolia and as far as Sivas and Malatya in the east and in the west. Together with the territorial expansion of the state, the Ottoman state was entering into centralization<sup>17</sup> as well.

Beyazid I continued in his father's footsteps and expanded the *devşirme*, (the levy of Christian children to be trained for posts in the palace, the administration or the *kapıkulu* military corps) but he used the slaves and thus obtained more extensively, in both civil and military position (Fletcher, 1979. 245). This can be observed from the development of its administration, organization of its treasury and

<sup>16</sup> Cemal Kafadar thinks that the *gaza* ethos played a role, and he says that the Ottomans were not only ones who could claim to be fighting in the path of God, Kafadar (1995, 119-120). The location of the Ottoman principality in the north east of Anatolia brought a certain advantages for its expansion its position being on the trade road was an advantage for its expansion, İnalçık (1995, 6-7). The most important factor was that the Ottomans set free to exalt their position in the social life, this hampered the emergence of aristocracy, Togan (1996, 7, 17).

<sup>17</sup> The Ottoman centralization began during the reign of Murad I and it reached its climax in the time of Yıldırım Bayezid. The Ottoman principality developed into an empire ruled by absolute authority, sultan, from an *uç-beyliği* (leader of frontier principality) as it is mentioned in the Arabic sources “*sahibu'l-uç*”, İnalçık, (1959, 88-89). According to Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, this centralization started to reduce the ideal of *gaza* by establishing a high Islamic consideration or thought, İhsanoğlu (1994, 18).

the kapı-kulu system. None of the Ottoman sultans, before the reign of Yıldırım Beyazid who demanded the legitimacy of being called sultan from Abbasid caliphate in Egypt, was named or called as *Sultan* (sub-caliphal Islamic military ruler) (İnalçık, 1959: 88-89).

The battle of Ankara<sup>18</sup> took place in 1402, it was brought about by the desire of the lesser lords of Anatolia, Azerbaijan and Iraq to seek the protection of either Tamerlane or Beyazid as a way of protecting their patrimony against one or other of these conquerors (İmber, 1990: 52). Beyazid I expanded his lands at the expense of the Turkish beys and made such as the Saruhan-oğulları move from Menemen to Filibe. As a result of this, some of the Turkish beys went to Tamerlane for help against Beyazid I. (Atsız, 1947. 66). The Ottoman lost at the Battle of Ankara and this brought about a disorder in Anatolia. The interregnum period lasted until 1413 and ended with Çelebi Mehmed's struggle with his brothers; Süleyman, İsa, and Musa in the Balkans and Anatolia to join the Ottoman Anatolian and Thrace territories. (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 15-16).

Şeyh Bedreddin Mahmud's uprising<sup>19</sup> became a great threat for the expansion Ottoman power during Mehmed I's reign. As a result of economic consequences of the long series of military actions, Şeyh Bedreddin was able to add to his popularity among the impoverished people. His insurrection was brought to an end in 1419 (Shaw, 1977: 43).

During the reign of Mehmed II, the state was transforming into an empire which was started to be called as *devlet-i aliyye* having a centralized state structure. After conquering Constantinople he claimed himself not only the Sultan<sup>20</sup> of the Muslims but the Roman Emperor (Yurdaydın, 1997: 213). Because, Constantinople itself was symbolic of legitimacy in the Roman imperial tradition so that the Ottoman ruler, originally *bey* (the tribal Turkish prince) and then sultan, now adorned himself with the symbols of Caesar (Fletcher, 1979: 246).

During his reign *medreseli* (the educated people) from Sunni sects became very influential in the state administration, hence the clash between the *tekkeli* (dervishes) and *medreseli* became remarkable (Yurdaydın, 1997: 213). Because, with the conquest of Constantinople, the Ottoman state centralization<sup>21</sup> increased and the *zawiya-mosque* type of building complex was abandoned. Before this time the complexes were built around a *zawiya-mosque* with their "dependencies" including hostels used for informal gatherings and resident Sufis. These gatherings had important social and spiritual functions and interests in the early conquest period

<sup>18</sup> The idea of centralization was stopped for a while as the battle of Ankara resulted in the occurrence of a disorder, called interregnum. During this time, the *emirs* of Germiyan, Saruhan, Aydın, Menteşe, and Karaman regained their lands which had been annexed by the ottomans during the reign of Beyazid I, İmber (1990, 55). Also the battle of Ankara, returned the Ottomans' later bureaucratization of government and denomadization of politics more or less to the structural conditions of the original 14th century principality period, Fletcher (1979, 245).

<sup>19</sup> Halil İnalçık states that Şeyh Bedreddin Mahmud's movement was an opposition which was created from the disorder between tribes and the Turkomans in the border military vilayets against the centralization of the state being under the increasing domination of Sunni way of beliefs and etatism, İnalçık (1958, 109). H. G. Yurdaydın states that this movement was against the Sunni medrese consideration being predominant in the administration of the state, Yurdaydın (1997, 212).

<sup>20</sup> Until the reign of Beyazid I, the Ottoman rulers had called themselves "*emir*." Beyazid replaced this with the more dignified title of sultan. Before the conquest of Constantinople the name of sovereign had always been invoked in the daily prayers as "Sultan of the Empire." Mehmed the Conqueror, who had now styled himself *Fatih* (the Conqueror), had the prayer reformulated; "as Lord of Two Seas and Two Continents." This showed how the city of Constantinople had been important for him because of being the only suitable place for sovereign of an empire, Voght, (1966, 13-14).

<sup>21</sup> Mehmed II gained an ultimate authority and established his absolute empire by forming the *örfi* (customary) law and applied it to the state structure. It can be stated that he was the true founder of empire, İnalçık (1958, 110).

(Necipoğlu-Kafadar, 1985: 96). Moreover, To prevent the state from heirs' struggle for the throne, he brought the rule of fratricide namely, murdering his brothers (İnalçık, 1995: 26).

The Beyazid II's domestic and foreign policies were cautious and conciliatory and it was a period of great economic development in conditions of stability and security. (İnalçık, 1995: 32). Unlike his father who had dreams of becoming the successor to the Roman Caesar and wanted to rule a world-wide empire and displayed a religious liberalism thus this was a part of his policy, Beyazid II was a dedicated Muhammedan, purged his court of "foreign elements". Thus the Islamic tradition finally triumphed (Voght, 1966: 15).

Selim took under the control the eastern part of Anatolia and defeated the Mamluks in the battle of Rydaniyya in 1517; therefore, the empire was no longer a frontier state but an Islamic caliphate and the Ottoman sultans began to consider themselves as the protectors not only of the frontiers but of the entire Muslim world. (İnalçık, 1995: 34). In other words, he became the Caliph, the Turkish sovereign was now not only the leader of state and army, but also religious leader of Islam, the representative of the prophet, the guardian of Koran (Voght, 1966: 15).

During the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent the Ottoman Empire became a world power, as he expanded his borders to as far as the center of Europe and the Ottomans dealt with European policies, such as the agreement with France, lastly the Ottoman navy became a remarkable power in the Mediterranean Sea (İhsanoğlu, 1994: 38). He reigned the state for forty years, during this time the empire underwent its greatest expansion. His real achievement is in organization and administration of the state. He was able to revive what was traditional but also formulate new laws (Voght, 1966: 15).

The Ottomans created a great empire from a principality and developed its institutions according to the circumstances of the time they were within. During the Ottoman transition into an empire, certain centers of the empire, like Iznik, Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul are displaying its centralization by their architecture. These cities did not only become the capitals of the empire but also became the centers of the science respectively. Particularly, the conquest of Constantinople marked the history of the Ottomans (Necipoğlu-Kafadar, 1985: 96). When Istanbul became the center of the empire, many famous muderris graduated from Sahn-ı Seman Medrese (Atay, 1981: 18).

### **How the Classical Ottoman Political Development Changed the Medrese Education and Architecture**

During the classical period of the Ottoman Empire, the history of the medreses are divided into three periods; first of which starts with the establishment of the Ottoman principality to the end of the reign of Murad II. During this time generally, the medrese<sup>22</sup> education and architecture takes after that of the Seljuks. The second period begins from this time to the end of the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror who

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<sup>22</sup> The medreses of this period were separated as three groups according the courses; *tevhîh* (explanation), *miftah* (the key book for making translation), *haşiye-i tecridi* (a description written by Seyyid Şerif Curcani for Tecrid-ül-itikad, "abstracting or isolating the belief," a work by Nasirüddin Tusi) being taught there. Except for them, another group medreses, where *sarf* (spending and usage of Money) and *nahiv* (syntax) were given as courses, are accepted as a separate group. Among these medreses, the level of the ones established by sultans was higher than the ones founded by viziers and other statemen, Hızlı (1997, 27).

established new medreses and developed medrese education, architecture and organized them. During this period medreses were separated as *haric* (exterior) and the *dahil* (interior) medreses<sup>23</sup>. The former ones had a lower statute than the second. The students were learning basic necessary information and Arabic for their later education in dahil medreses. The Dahil and Sahn-ı Seman Medreses were accepted as the dahil medreses. The last period covers the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent<sup>24</sup> at the time of whom medrese system; its curricula, architecture, reached its climax.

There are some remarkable periods which brought about spectacular changes in the medrese education and architecture which, unlike the pre-Ottoman Anatolian medrese architecture, developed and emerged as part of a complex whose definition is given as a building group where a number of buildings, with different functions, are brought together around a mosque. The construction of a külliye<sup>25</sup> may have taken a couple of years, but it is generally planned as a group from the very beginning (İpekoğlu, 1993: 54). In general, the early Ottoman medreses<sup>26</sup> continued the Seljuk tradition, except that they were single-storied built around a courtyard. This latter was surrounded by arcades supported on columns; these porticoes like the students' rooms were domed. The eyvan was domed schoolroom with one side open.

According to Yıldız Ötüken, from 1326 to 1566 the Ottoman medreses can be classified as A and B type medreses. A type medreses were independent buildings, they could be independent units or could take part in a complex, yet the B type medreses were parts of mosques such as Bursa Ebu İshak Medrese. In both types the capacity or bulk of medreses were being designed around the courtyard. In A type medreses, the classroom, in B type medreses both the classroom and mosque were the decisive parts in orientating or regulating the courtyard (Ötüken, 1978: 337, 345).

The first medrese of the Ottomans that was called Orhan Gazi Medrese, was built in Iznik in 1331, when a converted church building was assigned as a medrese to a famous scholar, Şerefüddin Davud-ı Kayseri (1335), a man of well versed and experienced in both physical and spiritual sciences (Akgündüz, 1997: 444-446) (Uzunçarşılı, 1965: 1). The Süleyman Paşa Medrese<sup>27</sup> (1336) in Iznik is one of the earliest Ottoman medreses. It had a U-shaped plan with many domes; the largest dome over the closed schoolroom rested on pendentives (Ünsal, 1959: 38). (Figure 10)

<sup>23</sup> The Ottoman medreses were classified into two categories. The first one was known as *haric*, exterior medrese that gave the preparatory instruction in the 'Fundamentals of Knowledge' that is Arabic and the intellectual sciences; philosophy and logic etc. The second category was called dahil medrese that gave instruction in 'Higher Knowledge' that is in the religious sciences, İnalçık (1995, 168-169). The curricula of the medreses of this time were prepared by Mahmud Paşa, Ali Kuşçu and Molla Hüseyin. In these medreses basically theology, Islamic law and Arabic literature were taught, Hızlı (1997, 28-29).

<sup>24</sup> He established four medreses around the mosque, also built a *darulharb* for teaching hadith, *darüşşifa* (hospital), medrese, and an *imaret* (serving food for poor people). This was a complex which was bearing his name. Darülhadis was accepted as the highest medrese among the Ottoman medreses. He divided medreses into seven levels, Hızlı (1997, 27-29).

<sup>25</sup> The külliye was generally a foundation or waqf provided by the sultan or their representatives. The waqf could be neither sold, nor bequeathed. It was administered under the supervision of *kadı* (the religious judge), Voght (1966, 20).

<sup>26</sup> Furthermore the buildings with I-L- or U-shaped and octagonal plan (Amasya Kapıağası Medresesi) were also met. The most important feature of this period was that the assortment of medrese were arranged either haphazard or in geometrical groups and they were collected around a mosque to create a "university city", Ünsal (1959, 38).

<sup>27</sup> The three-sided court of it must have been walled in, the east and west consisted of four cells, the corner ones having their doors set at an angle while derthane, or lecture and study room in the center of the south side, was flanked by cells, Goodwin (1971, 38).



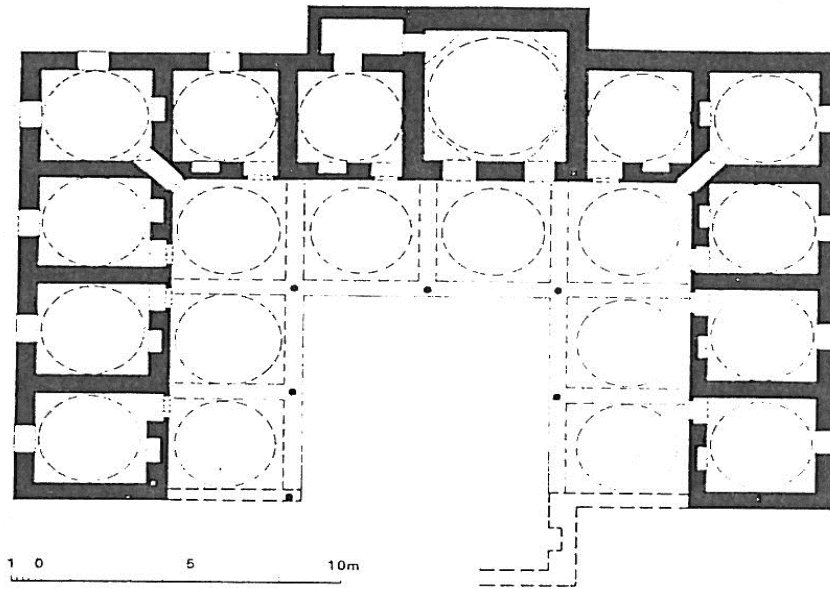


Figure 10. Süleyman Paşa Medrese, İznik. Plan (Source: Godfrey Goodwin. *A History of Ottoman Architecture*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd. 1971. p. 39)

With the beginning and development of the Ottoman style of architecture, particularly in Bursa<sup>28</sup>, a new tradition was born. Sultan Orhan donated a medrese or theological school and a series of buildings, together with the mosque for public use. Building a mosque and medrese interconnected, or in close proximity. Despite the fact that this was an ancient Islamic tradition, the addition of public buildings; hospital, library, baths and kitchen as a unit, namely creating a small independent community within a city, was an innovation (Voght, 1966: 47)

Apart from İznik, the medreses in Bursa and other cities in their principality period such as, the Yıldırım (1399), Yeşil (1415) and Muradiye (1426) medreses in Bursa and Çelebi Sultan Medrese (1414) in Merzifon are worth considering. The first three of them reflect the same plan omitting the differences in measurements. This plan differs from that of the Seljuks of Rum by the elimination of the side eyvans, making a window for each student's cell and by the addition of a domed classroom on the Mekke side. This added part forms the main structure (Uysal, 1965: 32). Furthermore, another difference can be observed from the simplification of their portals and the use of stone and brick together in those one-story buildings.

As an example for the first three medrese, the medrese built by Çelebi Mehmed in Merzifon (1414) is a little different from the other two. The four-eyvans in Seljuk medreses were built in this medrese to protrude on the outside and to have a dome each. The side eyvans became big rooms also covered with a dome (Uysal, 1959: 32). That is to say, in the Çelebi Mehmed Medrese in Merzifon there are four

<sup>28</sup> Behçet Ünsal reveals that the functions of mosque and medrese were to be combined. He thinks that in Bursa the mosque-complexes are haphazard in arrangement, while in Edirne they are on a partially geometric plan. In İstanbul the grouping of medreses around the Fatih Mosque is geometrical. This shows that İstanbul was to be the first Ottoman "university city", Uysal (1965, 32).

projections, each with a single domed room. This is architecturally connected with the Seljuk type comprising four eyvans (Ünsal, 1959: 40).

The Çelebi Mehmed Medrese is a single-story medrese and it differs from other Ottoman medreses in its general layout. In this medrese the four eyvan scheme is used. The four projected eyvans in the middle of the square formed by four walls are domed and the side eyvans are turned into rooms. The entrance eyvan is the best part of the medrese since it is 7 metres wide, 8.40 metres deep and 9.50 metres high. It has twenty students' rooms each with small windows, a cupboard and a fireplace. Those on the corners were domed, others are vaulted and they have opening to the courtyard. The front part of the eyvan, facing the main entrance, is open and this was probably used for summer (Uysal, 1965: 66-67). (Figure 11)

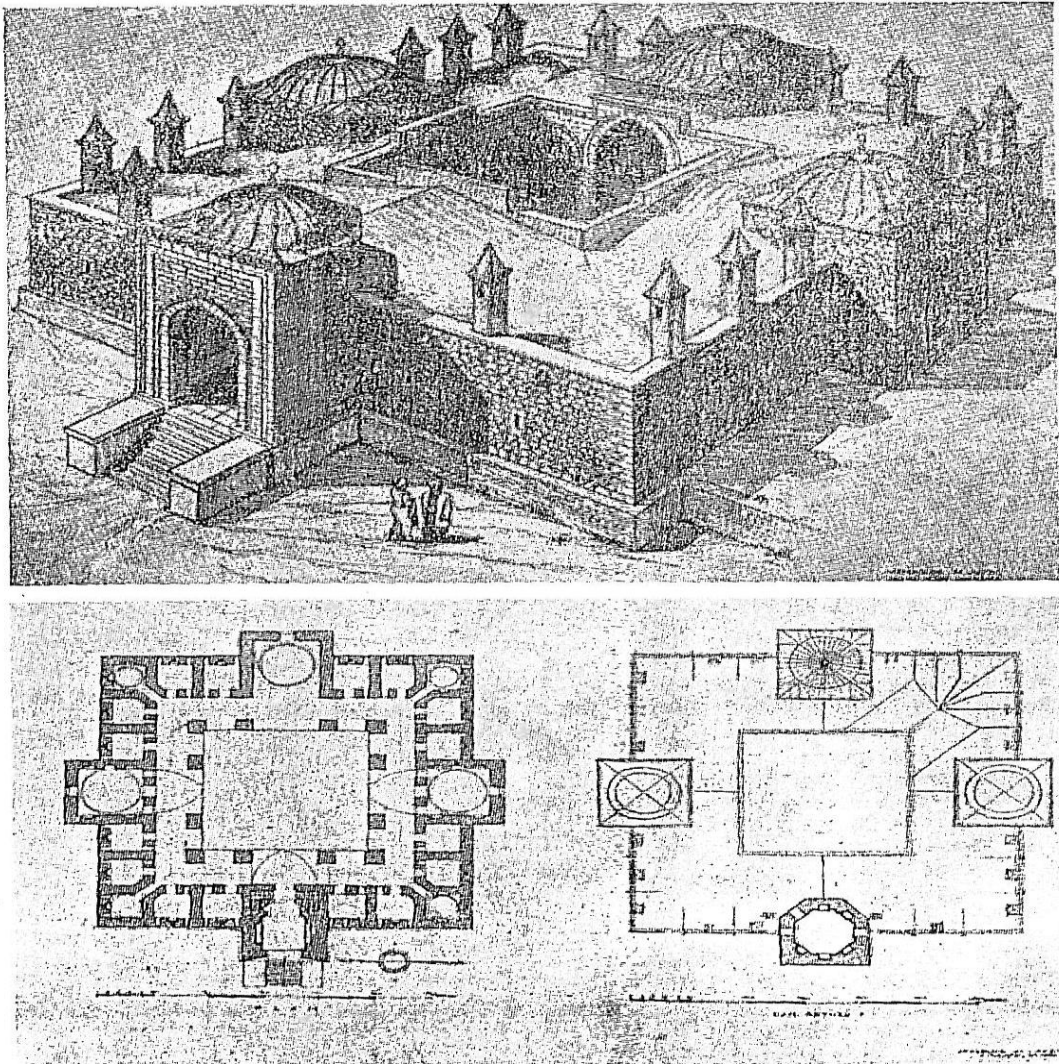


Figure 11. Çelebi Mehmed Medrese, Merzifon. Plan (Source: Behçet Ünsal. *Turkish Islamic Architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman Times 1071-1923*. London: Alec Tiranti Ltd. 1959. p. 41)

After the capture of Istanbul Turkish architecture begins to develop and produces its finest plans in medrese architecture. Some medreses are worth to indicate here because of being built during the imperial period. For example the Saatli medrese in Edirne and those included in the Fatih Mosque group are some of

them. In the towns of Rumeli and in many Anatolian towns medreses were sometimes built free-standing, sometimes as part of mosque complex. All of them repeat the same basic plan with slight differences in measurements and other minor details (Goodwin, 1971: 117).

Apart from the Darü'l-Kurra and Darü'l Tıp Medreses whose courses<sup>29</sup> are approximately known, until the reign of Mehmed II, there is no definite information about the courses given in the other medreses. Yet it is clear that the traditional courses and methods were followed. Mehmed II, not only determined the name of courses but also the name of books that were going to be taught in the classrooms (Atay, 1981: 172).

The Fatih Medreses were classified into five categories. The number of books that were studied in these medreses changed. In the Haric and Sahn Medreses, where apart from the books that had to be taught according to the curricula, there were elective books that were decided by the muderris. To illustrate, in the Haric (Exterior) Medrese whose muderris was paid 20 or 25 akçes a day; *kelam* (Islamic theology), *mantık* (logic), *belagat* (rhetoric), *fıkıh* (Moslem canonical jurisprudence) and mathematics were taught. In the Dahil (Interior) Medrese where the muderris was paid 30 or 40 akçes a day; *usul-ı fıkıh*, *belagat*, *kelam* and meaning were taught. Moreover, in the *Tetimme* or *Müsiley-i Sahn* (a school preparing students for a higher medrese) whose muderris was paid 50 akçes a day; *kelam*, *mantık* and *fıkıh* were taught. In the Sahn Medrese; *fıkıh*, *tefsir* (the interpretation of Qur'an) and *usul-i fıkıh* were taught, the muderris was paid 50 akçes as well (Hızlı 1997: 142-143).

The Fatih Complex<sup>30</sup> comprises a great variety of buildings, including sixteen medreses, with eight closed and eight open schoolrooms, 230 rooms and 32 lavatories, a sıbyan school (Qur'an school for children), a library, a hospice, a market and private stables. These buildings, together with the mosque in the middle of the great square, form a veritable city of domes (Ünsal, 1959: 40).

This complex is a very important sign of Ottoman state centralization as the centrally organized geometric plan of the complex seems to express the centralizing tendencies of the Ottoman state. It was the largest complex until the building of the Süleymaniye (Necipoğlu-Kafadar, 1985: 96). From this time the Sheri'ah or sacred law was dominant but the Byzantine jurisprudence was incorporated as well. The Ottomans were no longer Gazis but Emperors.

The medreses on the east side of the mosque formed the Karadeniz or Black Sea group and those on the west the Akdeniz or Mediterranean group. On both sides, the four large units are parallel to the mosque and are identical in size and entered by a door in the center of the wall facing the precinct. Each of the medreses possessed nineteen cells, an eyvan the same size as a single cell and a derslane with a high dome on the south side with a washroom beside it.

<sup>29</sup> Taşköpri-zade gives information about courses given in the medreses belonging to the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror, Baltacı (1976, 36). Mehmed the Conqueror had formed a committee including Ali Kuşçu, Molla Hüseyin and Mahmud Paşa who prepared a regulation and this became a law by the sultan, Hızlı, (1997, 142-143).

<sup>30</sup> It also comprises mosque, medrese, hospital (*bimarhane*), guesthouse (*misafirhane*), caravansaray, bath, turbeh, fountain. Since the complex involved many buildings with different functions, it was called as imaret at the beginning however, it was named as külliye later on, Ergin (1945, 12).

The medreses<sup>31</sup> on the north and south are divided from the central pair by a broad walk leading to a narrower passage that divided the larger schools from the subsidiary ones, though those on the east have been replaced by primary schools occupying the same area. These had no courts and only nine or ten cells with a portico. The larger corner rooms must have been used by the teachers, in which case each of these eight medreses had only eight cells) (Goodwin, 1971. 126). (Figure 12)

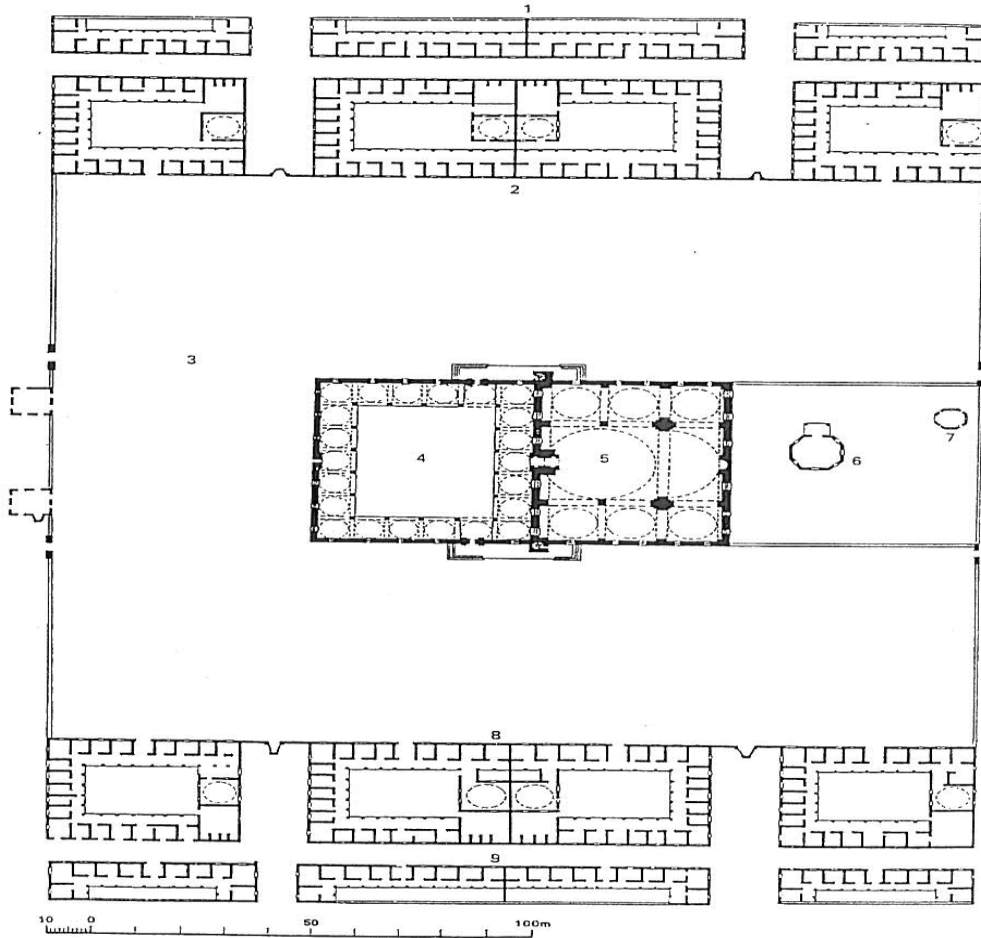


Figure 12. Fatih Complex, İstanbul. Plan, 1 Tetümme Medreses; 2 Karadeniz Medreses; 3 camping ground; 4 mosque; 5 Fatih Turbeh; 7 Gülbahar Turbeh; 8 Akdeniz Medreses; 9 Tetümme Medreses. (Source: Godfrey Goodwin *A History of Ottoman Architecture*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd. 1971. p. 128)

After the establishment of these medreses, the highest *kadı* a judge administering both *sheri'ah* (the sacred law of Islam) and *kanun* (secular law) and chief administrator of a *kadılık*, and *kadiasker*, the highest judicial authority of the empire after the *şeyhülislam* (the head of the hierarchy of ulema, educated class), graduated from these medreses and then they became the *muderris* in different medreses. This became a law which displays that the centralization of the empire was based on law (Atay, 1981: 18-19).

<sup>31</sup> As I have indicated before each medrese had nineteen rooms and a classroom, fifteen of which were allocated to the *danışmends* (known as specialist student) whom the *muderris* selected among the students who had completed a course in a lower medrese. Each medrese had an endowed library and there was a general library, Akyüz (1985, 58).

Süleyman the Magnificent (the Codifier or Law Giver) is a victor of Islam and no longer was he the Gazi. The time had come to build his own imperial mosque, he had already endowed one great mosque dedicated to his son yet the new foundation was to be his alone. Furthermore, he necessitated the enlargement of the university set up by Mehmed the Conqueror at his own mosque on the crest or top of the fifth hill (Goodwin, 1971. 215).

With the establishment of the Süleymaniye Complex (1550-1557), the Ottoman architecture reached its climax. It consists of the mosque, medreses of different ranks, turbeh, darül-hadis medrese, medical medrese, mülazımler medresesi (medrese for trainees) and sıbyan mektebs. Particularly the four major colleges were built for *riyaziyye* (science of maths) teaching with all the usual charitable services including *imaret-i 'amire* (the soup kitchen or public kitchen), a darü'l şifa' (hospital), a *hammam* (bath), *kervansaray* (caravansaray), *tabhane* (hostel) and rows of small shops (Necipoğlu-Kafadar, 1985: 92).

However, Süleyman, following Mehmed II's example detached the hostel from the mosque, this coincided with his strict control of the *zawiyas* and also the conversion of the Sufi convents of Beyazid II's reign into Sunni medreses under Süleyman. All these were done for the subordination of Sufism to the powerful Sunni Islamic state and the growing importance of the ulema and Sunni Islam during Süleyman's reign (Necipoğlu-Kafadar, 1985: 96).

In these medreses, except for the Darülhadis Medrese whose muderris was paid 100 akçes daily, the muderris was paid 60 akçes a day. Before studying at the Sahn-ı Süleymaniye the students had to study either at Sahn-ı seman or musıla-ı Süleymaniye for learning the science of maths. The students who graduated from Sahn-ı seman or Sahn-ı Süleymaniye were given *ijazah* or a permit and became *mülazim* (trainee). If they liked they could be *kadı* or muderris after being *mülazim* (Uzunçarşılı, 1975: 587-588).

The Sani (Second) Evvel (First) and the Tıp (Medical) Medreses are the parts of this complex and they today house the Süleymaniye Library. Each medrese had a rectangular plan with a large classroom in the center of the west flank. The classrooms stretch backwards behind the cells and divide the north revak into two. Moreover, the Evvel Medrese is a small domed primary school. It is reached through a lobby. Like the east cells of the medreses, the cells of the medical school are raised above vaulted shops and on the north the pharmacy is reached by stairs (Goodwin 1971: 218-219). (Figure 13)

Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar asserts that the Süleymaniye Complex had a multilayered architectural and ideological discourse. Those interacting layers of meaning on which this ideological discourse is based can be classified as functional, connotative (cultural associations and myths), formal (architectonic) and literal (its inscriptions). She thinks that each of them show how they unite to communicate a single, consistent political statement of power and legitimization (Necipoğlu-Kafadar, 1985: 92).

Süleyman I made an important change in the hierarchy of Ottoman medreses. Around the mosque, he established four general medreses and two more for more specialized studies, one of which was devoted to the science of *hadith* (the traditions of prophet) and the other to medicine. During the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent

the medreses were classified<sup>32</sup> into seven categories; 1. İbtida-i Haric, 2. Hareket-i Haric, 3. İbtida-i Dahil, 4. Hareket-i Dahil, 5. Müsıla-i Sahn (Tetimme) and Müsıla-i Süleymaniye, 6. Sahn-ı Seman and Sahn-ı Süleymaniye, 7. Darulhadis (Hızlı, 1997: 27-29).

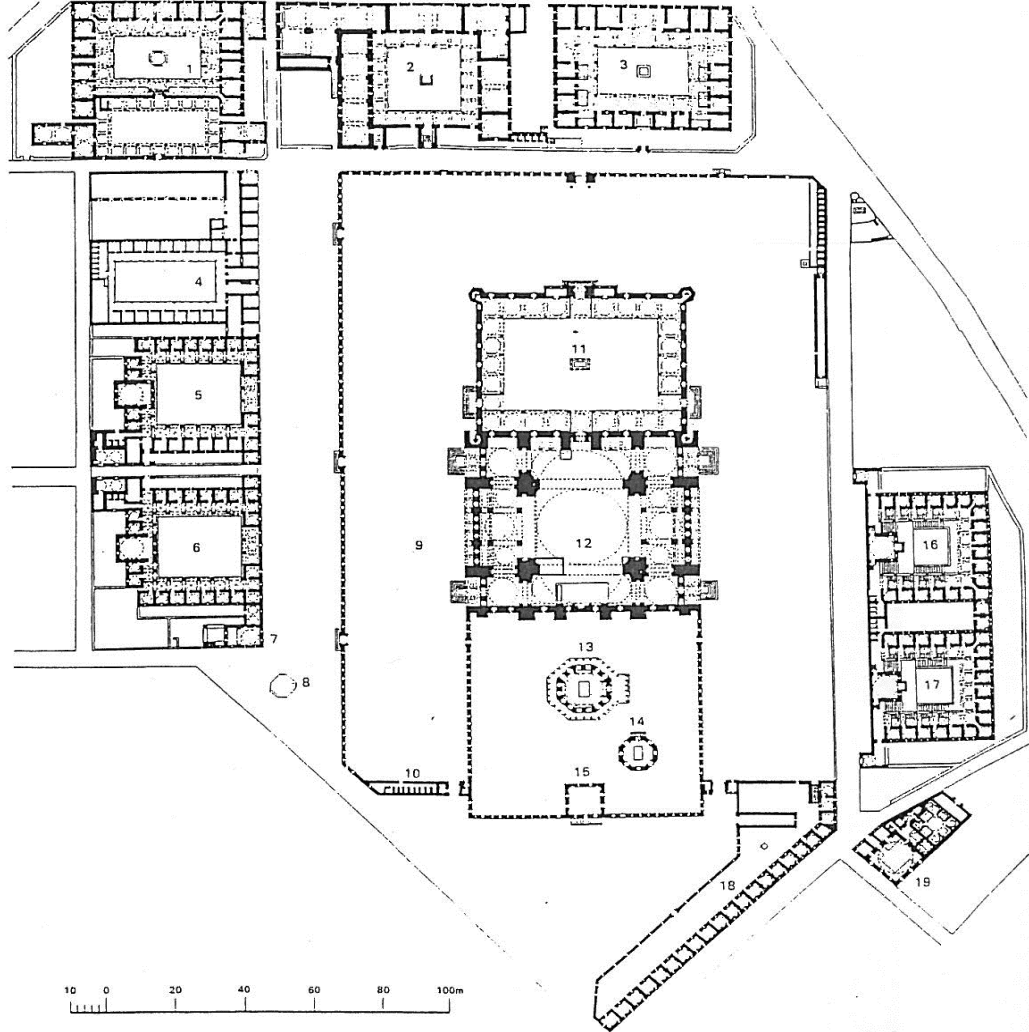


Figure 13. Süleymaniye Complex, İstanbul. plan, 1 daruşşıfa; 2 imaret; 3 tabhane; 4 Tıp Medrese; 5 Sani Medrese; 6 Evvel Medrese; 7 sibyan mekteb; 8 taksim; 9 mosque precinct; 10 latrines; 11 avlu; 12 cami; 13 Süleyman I Turbeh; 14 Haseki Hürrem Turbeh; 15 Türbedar Oda; 16 Salis Medrese; 17 Rabı Medrese; 18 darül-hadis; 19 hamam. (Source: Godfrey Goodwin. *A History of Ottoman Architecture*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd. 1971 p. 217)

<sup>32</sup> The Ottoman medrese were also classified according to the daily allowance of the muderris which displayed the importance of the medrese, namely the *paye* (the rank of medrese) of medrese. The Ottoman medreses, particularly the ones belonging to fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were categorized as *yirmili* (twenty), *otuzlu* (thirty), *kırklı* (forty), *ellili* (fifty), *altmışlı* (sixty) and those accepted over *altmışlı* (Darul Hadis, Darul Kurra “the school where Qur’an was taught” and Darul tib). Whereas, there is something which has to be indicated that level of some medreses could change on account of the increase in the revenues of some medreses and also decrease in the value of Money. For instance, the Sahn-ı Seman Medreses were arranged as *ellili* medrese and Darul Hadis Medrese was accepted as the highest medrese, Baltalı (1976, 172).

Consequently, the transformation of the Ottomans from a frontier tribal principality to an empire with centralization of its administration reflected this development on the architecture of the medrese and its education which functioned in a systematic order. The medreses were established as part of külliyes which were quite rarely encountered before. The medreses built during the classical Ottoman age, apart from fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, developed as parts of complexes composed of mosque, medreses, sıbyan mektebs, hospital with all the services including classrooms, students' cells, turbeh, kitchen, fountain, small pool, toilets, and straits.

## CONCLUSIONS

### **The Articulation of Political Structure, Education and Architecture**

There are some remarkable differences between the pre-Ottoman medreses and classical Ottoman medreses in Anatolia. This is related to the political structure of these two different periods. When we look at the waqf documents on the medreses of these periods, this difference can be clearly observed. During pre-Ottoman period, most of the waqfs were founded for a particular medrese. These documents then emphasized the relationship of the muderris who was occasionally responsible for the administration of the waqfs and medreses to the medrese. In other words, medrese appears as an autonomous institution in these waqf documents. Medreses of these periods were also independent buildings.

Therefore, there were only a few complexes built by the Seljuks and other principalities. Unlike their position within the Ottoman complexes, the medreses were still the leading institutions in these complexes. However, by the end of the fourteenth century, when complexes were built by the Ottomans the medrese was no more the most important part of complex, instead the mosque became the dominant part of the complex, as the mosques became at least as important as the medreses. The rise of the importance of the mosque can also be seen in the building of singular mosques. Medreses, on the other hand, lost their independence and became part of complexes, as they also became part of a complex governmental structure. The medreses in pre-Ottoman Anatolia, on the other hand, were autonomous institutions rather than being a part of complexes as we see during the Ottomans.

With the establishment of complexes to create "university cities" under the Ottoman centralization, the waqfs documents display that the waqf founders were not only administrators for the medreses but for the whole complex with its buildings having different functions. To illustrate, Beyazid II had a waqf established in (901) 1495 for the Fatih Complex (İmaret) including Fatih Mosque, around which the medreses were built, hospitals, a guesthouse and darülaceze (shelter for homeless) (Ergin, 1945: 24).

A significant change came with the establishment of the Fatih Complex. Early Ottoman complexes in Bursa and Edirne consisted of "dependencies" arranged around a zawiya-mosque with hostels used for informal gatherings or resident Sufis. The incorporation of hostels into these mosques entrusted to Sufi sheikhs demonstrates the significant spiritual and social role of colonizer sheikhs in the early conquest period. After the conquest of Constantinople, the zawiya-mosque type was

gradually abandoned as the social function of Sufi sheikhs declined due to the increasing centralization of the Ottoman state. The hostel was detached from the mosque's fabric and was built as a "dependency".

After the conquest of Constantinople, the complexes established in Istanbul did not only reflect architectural function but also ideological function in accordance with the centralization of the state. The medreses as part of these complexes became the focal devices for the implementation of the ideology. To begin with, the complex sponsored by Mehmed the Conqueror was built to turn the half-deserted city into a center of learning and to support his imperial claims to Byzantine succession. Its waqf document states that the medreses were established to repair and fill with light the house of knowledge and to convert the imperial capital to a realm of learning. Those medreses also suggest an attempt to introduce state control over education by placing the *ulema* (the doctors of Muslim canon law, tradition and theology) in institutions centrally controlled by the state.

Süleyman the Magnificent intended his complex to serve an ideological function different from that of Mehmed the Conqueror. His medreses in this complex present the growing political role of ulema in legitimizing Süleyman's rule through the sunni doctrine of the Sunni state. This changing of the role of the ulema was reflected in the sultan's reclassification of the medreses. Therefore according to this, the Süleymaniye *darü'l-hadis* ranked above all other medreses (Necipoğlu-Kafadar, 1985: 96).

According to the Süleymaniye waqf document; the medreses in this complex were established "to elevate matters of religion and religious sciences in order to strengthen the mechanisms of worldly sovereignty and to reach happiness in the afterworld." (Kürkçüoğlu, 1962: 23). The scholars of these medreses cooperated with the state administration. It is asserted in Süleyman's law codes that the muderris of the Süleymaniye medreses and their leader (i.e., the muderris at the darü'l hadis) had to consult with grand vizier in his palace after every Friday prayer and with the *şeyhü'l-islam* (the head of the hierarchy of ulema) every Thursday (Necipoğlu-Kafadar, 1985: 97).

Furthermore, the Süleymaniye waqf was formed also to meet the needs of the Süleymaniye Complex including the mosque, medreses, darü'l hadis, imaret, darüş-şifa, turbehs. (111/236) According to the rules of the waqf, the administrator of the waqf had to be from the Ottoman family. "*Emir-i tevliyetin padişah-ı zamanolan necl-i Osman'a tafviz olunması.*" Moreover, the daily allowances of the staff in different institutions in the complex were decided upon for the waqf from the center. This is a sign of the centralized state structure that differed from the pre-Ottoman period (Kürkçüoğlu, 1962: 8).

One of the differences between pre-Ottoman and Ottoman practice is that before the reign of Mehmet the Conqueror, there is no definite information in the waqf documents about what courses were offered for teaching in the medrese (Akyüz, 1985: 5). In other words, in the pre-Ottoman medreses, the muderris were autonomous within the established tradition. Later, however, most of the courses were decided by a committee organized by order of Mehmed the Conqueror. In addition to the regular curricula the muderris could teach one or two courses of his own choice (Hızlı, 1997: 142-143).



Moreover, at the beginning, the appointment of the muderris was done by the founder of the medrese, padişah and vizier. Nevertheless, after a while the muderris were appointed by the *divan* (council of state) together with the appointment of the *kadis* (the judges) (Bilge, 1984: 20). What Neşri said about this is important. He writes: “they were gathering the divan and both establishing and dissolving kadiship, medreses, *sancaks* (administrative units in the Ottomans) and *timars* (fiefs),” (Neşri, 1995: 553). Taner Timur states that the Ottoman medreses were part of the Ottoman order or system as they were the state institutions and thus their administration was under the authority of the Şeyhü’l-islam (Timur, 2000: 51-53). Therefore, as both Neşri writes and Taner Timur states, the administration of the medreses came under the state control, namely a sort secularization can be seen in education.

Another difference is seen in terms of centralization and localization. The political fragmentation in medieval Anatolia reflected itself on the development of the institutions of this period. Thus, the medrese appeared as a unique, small autonomous unit, and also each principality tried to develop its own region; as a result of this, most of the medreses were located in various parts of Anatolia in the pre-Ottoman period, but during the Ottomans they were located in certain large cities, that were the main centers of the empire.

Apart from the exclusive concentration of some medreses in a few key centers like Konya, the surviving examples of the medreses at the time of the medieval Anatolia are distributed among 39 cities, towns and villages throughout the length and breadth of the land. This was a popular movement. R. Hillenbrand tries to explain such facilities spread widely throughout the country by the interaction of two complementary trends; a centralized building programme and a popular fashion for the medrese as an institution.

Additionally, the typical medrese of Seljuk of Rum and principalities was a self-contained foundation, exceptions are not hard to find, but they are distinctly recognizable as such. With the advent of the Ottomans to supreme power, the joint foundation, frequently a still larger complex, becomes common place and sometimes several medreses were established around a mosque. This case is conceived as an architectural unity and often executed in a single building campaign (Hillenbrand 1986: 1145-1146).

In spite of the self-contained medreses of the Seljuk of Rum, there is always a mosque which was built next to the medrese, it is quite rare that in some cases medreses and mosques were combined. For example, the Hacı Kılıç Medrese, which was founded by Sultan Keykavus II. in Kayseri, is reached from the mosque side through the arches. In this building mosque and the medrese are combined and both form a unity with common characteristics (Öney, 1966: 389-390). Whereas, during the Ottoman period, the majority of the medreses were located around a mosque similar to the Fatih and Süleymaniye complexes.

In short, unlike the centralized political structure of Ottomans, the fragmentary pre-Ottoman political structure resulted in the emergence of the autonomous medreses in terms of their function and administration. With the Ottoman centralization the medreses became parts of unified spaces not only in terms of architectural structure but also as parts of the administrative and political structure of the Ottoman state. Particularly, they became devices for the reflection of the sultans policies by displaying a strong authority through the Sunni Islam.

Moreover, this fragmentary period also provided suitable conditions for both the emergence and spread of the intellectual and spiritual movements, like Mevlevilik, Bektaşilik (Kuban, 1972: 86). Yet, with the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror the hostel, where Sufi sheikhs had gathered for spiritual and social demonstrations, was detached from mosque's fabric. Thus this architectural separation of the hostel from the mosque decreased the influence of these gatherings for the sake of the Sunni faith (Necipoğlu-Kafadar, 1985: 96)

Behçet Ünsal states that unlike the medreses of the Seljuks of Rum, the most important feature of the Ottoman medreses is that the assortment of medreses, arranged either haphazard or in geometrical groups, was brought together around a mosque to form a "university city". Bursa, Edirne and İstanbul are some of the university cities (Ünsal, 1959: 38). Furthermore, unlike the Great Seljuks, the Ottomans accepted one interpretation of the Qur'an, that of Abu Hanifa, and thus the Ottoman medreses had one lecture hall, usually situated opposite the main entrance. Yet the Ottomans retained the open courtyard of the Persian-Seljuk medrese, but on a much smaller and simpler scale.

The medreses of Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul all have open arcaded courtyards (Voght, 1966: 47). This change in the architecture of medreses resulted from the development of the Ottoman state organization and administration, namely developing into an empire from a small frontier principality. The open courtyard, during the time of the frontier principality, became covered by a dome, symbolizing the empire.

Consequently, there are certain differences between these periods, not only in terms of their political structures, but also in terms of their institutions such as medreses. The medreses belonging to pre-Ottoman period were autonomous because of common cultural and religious values and political fragmentation of this time. Yet during the classical period the medreses lost their autonomous position and became parts of complexes administrated from the center of the empire.

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## **11-16. yüzyılda Anadolu'daki Siyasi Durumun Şekillendirdiği Medrese Mimarisi ve Medrese Eğitimi**

### **Özet**

Bu çalışma, Osmanlı öncesi ve klasik Osmanlı dönemlerinde Anadolu'daki siyasi durumu ve bu durumun medrese mimarisi ve eğitimini nasıl şekillendirdiğini ve değiştirdiğini incelemektedir. Osmanlı öncesinin parçalı siyasi yapısıyla beraber bu döneme ait bir kurum olarak medrese incelenmektedir. Klasik Osmanlı siyasi durumu ve onun medrese ile ilişkisi tartışılmaktadır. Son kısımda bu iki dönemin siyasi durumunun medrese mimarisi ve eğitimine ne getirdiği, karşılaştırmalı bir yöntemle araştırılmaktadır. Bu çalışma, aynı zamanda bu dönemlerin siyasi durumunun medrese mimarisi ve eğitimi ile ne ölçüde bir ilişkisinin olduğunu sunmaya çalışmaktadır.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Siyasi yapı, medrese mimarisi ve medrese eğitimi.

