

Architectural Patronage of Women in the Early Ottoman Era

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ABSTRACT

Architectural Patronage of Women In Early Ottoman Era (1299-1512)

by

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This study investigates architectural patronage of women through internal dynamics of the dynastic Ottoman household and sultans' political agendas throughout different phases of the empire -principality, transition period, centralized and consolidated state-between the years of 1299-1512. It focuses on how these changes influenced almost every aspect of royal women as well as non-royal women's architectural patronage. It covers patronage practices of women not only through the construction of the buildings but also by maintaining these institutions. Particularly it puts emphasis on how geographical location of their architectural attempts overall the Ottoman lands as well as within the towns highlighted their prominence.

ÖZET

Osmanlı Devleti'nde Erken Dönemde Kadınların
Mimari Alandaki Patronluğu (1299-1512)

Ayşe Çıkla

Bu çalışma kadınların mimari patronluğunu 1299-1512 yılları arasında hem Osmanlı hanedanlığı içindeki değişen dinamikler hem de sultanların genel olarak izledikleri değişen siyaset doğrultusunda incelemektedir. Bu çalışma bu etkenlerin hem Osmanlı soyundan gelen hem de diğer kadınların mimari patronluğunun hemen hemen her alanına nasıl yansıdığını vurgulamaktadır. Sadece bu binaların yapılışı esnasında değil, kurumsal olarak devamı aşamasındaki mimari patronluklarını da sergiler. Özellikle kadınların yaptıkları binaların coğrafi olarak da Osmanlı topraklarında dağılımının ve kent içlerindeki yerlerinin onları nasıl öne çıkarttığı vurgulanmaktadır.

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INTRODUCTION

Women's architectural patronage in the early Ottoman era had interlocking characteristics that were similar to general development of patronage relations in this age. Changing balances in Ottoman economic, social and political circles highlighted the prominence of some families in addition to royal family's patronage practices.

In earlier decades of the Ottoman state, architectural patronage of women was restricted to the royal family. Starting with the end of the interregnum period, non-royal families began to participate in architectural attempts. Thus, side by side with the royal family, women that came from different social groups endowed buildings and supported some others.

The aim of this thesis is to investigate women's interlocking patronage between the years 1299-1512. As a result of changing economic, social and political balances, patronage relations were maintained within particular groups. The main question I pose here is whether women come from these particular families at the time of different sultans. Changing dynamics of the Ottoman household led to the emergence of some individuals or groups whereas some figures (mother of a sultan) maintained their prominence without losing any power in early Ottoman era. Moreover relations of women with men became influential on characteristics of women's architectural patronage. Women's preferences and possibilities offered to them shaped their patronage practices.

In the present study patronage practices of women were dealt with through location and maintenance of these buildings as urban networks rather than architectural features of these buildings. Location of buildings not only among the towns but also within the towns became influential in comprehension of women's

architectural practices. In placing women's buildings in a town, some buildings could not be located due to lack of secondary sources that include information about them and of these buildings' founders' trust deeds (wakfiyyas).

The main group of primary sources is composed of women's trust deeds (waqfiyyas). These documents which were registered for each patron or patroness included issues on architectural works, supporting properties and the progress that these institutions had to make: the obligations of the staff such as daily duties, the expenses and beneficiaries. One could have information not only on the material structure of these public works but also on various aspects of them as institutions.

However, it is not possible to find the trust deeds of every patroness, especially those of non-royal women. Identifying non-royal women was sometimes very difficult or impossible due to lack of knowledge about these women's families (husbands or fathers with whom they were mostly defined). These women also listed in the tables attached to appendix but they were integrated to the main arguments of this study to a lesser extent. In fact, many buildings that were known by a female name were included in this thesis, though one could not know whether they were founded by these women or just in honour of them. Lack of trust deeds for each building requires use of secondary sources about families of these founders and published documents as well.

A published document titled *Istanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri (1546) Tarihli*, edited by Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi gives detailed information about buildings of a few patronesses whose trust deeds could not be found. This document provides data about type, location, expenses, beneficiaries of buildings as well as supporting properties. However, expenses and supporting

properties of these institutions would have been changed in time because this *tahrir defter* was registered so many years after their construction.

Furthermore, letters, most of which were published by Uluçay¹ in Topkapı Saray Arşivi (Istanbul) were used in this thesis. These letters are important for the comprehension of royal women's relations to the sultan.

Also only a few archival documents, *Ariza, Hüccet, and Hükm* founded in BaŞbakanlık Arşivi (Istanbul) offered information about the existence of other public works of a few patronesses. (Although many such documents were accessible in later centuries, they were not included since they were out of the scope of this study.)

Another group of primary sources was composed of traveller accounts and contemporary narrative sources.

Secondary sources of this study could be mentioned under three groups. The first group included studies that were concerned with patronage and women. The most prominent of them put Ottoman women and patronage relations in correlation to each other. The first scholar, LucienneThys-Şenocak's article, titled *The Yeni Valide Complex, at Eminönü* deals with patronage of royal women through building of this complex. In that respect, she displays their power and wealth during construction of this complex among social, political and economic happenings and changes.

Another study that belongs to the first group is an article written by Tülay Artan.² She presents changes in Ottoman patronage on the Via Egnatia, one of the main commercial roads in the Balkans. She concentrated on women's patronage through evaluations concerning general patronage relations in the Balkans.

¹ M.Çağatay Ulu çay, *Haremnden Mektuplar* (Istanbul: İstanbul Vakit Matbaası, 1956)

² Tülay Artan. "Periods and Problems of Ottoman (Women's) Patronage on the Via Egnatia" In *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule 1380-1699*, ed. by Elizabeth Zachariadou, (Bethymnon:Crete University Press,1996)

Peirce has published the study known as *The Imperial Harem; Women and Sovereignty* in the Otoman Empire that constituted the backbone of my research with its various aspects. She emphasized how structure and internal dynamics of Ottoman dynastic household changed over the centuries by focusing on its female members.

The second group could be identified as studies that focused on architectural and decorative features of these buildings. Particularly, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi's, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri: 1451-1481, Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II.Sultan Murat Devri, Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri, Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri; Bulgaristan, Yunanistan, Arnavudluk* have been essential to the construction of this thesis. Furthermore, Godfrey Goodwin's *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, Aptullah Kuran's *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture* and Oktay Aslanapa's *Edirne'de Osmanlı Devri Abideleri* have also been crucial for the formation of patronesses' list and in understanding of buildings' sizes. This list of patronesses, prepared by using these sources and primary sources are enlisted in the appendix.

The third group of sources were studies concerned with the wakf system. The prominent ones essential to my investigation are Amy Singer's *Ottoman Beneficence; An Imperial Kitchen in Jerusalem*; Richard Van Leeuwen's *Wakf and Urban Structure*; Tayyib Gökbilgin's *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livasındaki Has-Mukataa and Mülk ve Vakıflar*. Amy Singer puts the founding years of Haseki Sultan Imaret in Jerusalem and the conditions that formed this process into the center of her research. And she examines such a beneficent attempt among economic constraints, changing social realities, political desires and religious motivations. A complimentary objective that supports such a study is the comprehension of improvements, changes in its maintenance.

The second study that belongs to this group is Leeuwen's study. It investigates how the wakf system shapes the urban structure among historical developments by focusing on various aspects of the wakf system such as legal definition of wakf institution and competitors striving to control their immaterial and material benefits.

Lastly, Gökbilgin's study, based on the definition of eminent people's endowments rather than on research focuses on the processes of the wakf system. His study includes land properties that were endowed for institutions of many wealthy and beneficent people including women.

The lack of studies focusing on architectural patronage of women in early Ottoman era is pretty obvious. Peirce's study as the backbone of my study places the patronage of women within the Ottoman dynastic household, so it is interested in only royal women. However, the present study presents architectural patronage of not only royal women but also non-royal women within the dynamics of the dynastic Ottoman household and the changes in the structure of the Ottoman society. Moreover, this study focused mainly on architectural patronage of women by examining the correlations with general patronage relations in this age.

Many other writers had studies that describe architectural and decorative features of these buildings whereas the present study expresses material manifestation of power through architectural features of buildings as well as their location mostly within the towns –Bursa, Edirne, the provinces and the capital city, Istanbul (to a lesser degree). Furthermore, it focused on how and where these buildings and supporting properties offered benefits to beneficiaries from different segments of the society.

The first chapter of this study introduces the characteristics of architectural patronage of women from the beginning of Ottomans as a principality to centralized state(1299-1451). It emphasizes patronage of only royal women in the early beginning of Ottoman state and extensive architectural patronage of non-royal women after the interregnum at a first time.

The second chapter examines interlocking patronage of women within general patronage relations of Mehmed II's reign. It questions modest public works of women in contrast to their sizeable income which could cover needs of buildings in larger size. It also tackles with maintenance of some simple mosques and *sufi* convents.

Chapter III concentrates on rise of a new group of royal women; mothers of princes at the time of Bayezid II. It discusses particularly urban networks of princes' mothers and mother of Bayezid II around Amasya. Moreover it focuses on lesser patronage practices of princesses and of non-royal patronesses neither from *ulema* nor from *umera*. This is followed by a brief discussion of other charities and pious works of women during the reign of this sultan.

ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE OF OTTOMAN WOMEN: IN THE YEARS BETWEEN 1300-1451

This chapter is an examination of architectural patronage of women between the years 1300-1451 from the point of processes of material manifestation of structure of power. Patronage was a process rather than a formal institution. In this process, different layers of society as well as the sultan and the patron or the patroness interacted with each other. Also these relations took place in various historical circumstances across changing events.³ Therefore, in analyzing long term patterns of exchange between these individuals or groups, changing time might affect their relations in different ways. Changing relations of these different groups or individuals to the sultan designated their role in public space. Public buildings founded by them were a reflection of their relations to a great extent.

The principal argument of this chapter is the discernible shifts of power in the process from frontier principality to a transition period that facilitated the formation of a centralized state (1300-1451) with the architectural patronage of Ottoman women. The major change was a fragmentation of power among the royal women and nonroyal women with the interregnum period. This change in relations of power holders might be perceived in architectural features ,type, location of foundations as well as in beneficiaries and servants of the institutions. However, permanent conditions followed these changes as a result of the central role of royal women within the Ottoman dynastic regime.

In early Ottoman era, architectural patronage of women was not a homogenous type of patronage; essentially the appearance of a new sultan could

³ Catherine F.Patterson, *Urban Patronage in Early Modern England*, (California, Stanford:Stanford University Press ,1999),p.195.

represent the rise of interests of new social and political groups and might be taken as a reason for change and innovation. Although jurisdiction of kadi and sharia were influential in family and public endowments, the sultan could intervene to serve general interests supporting his land policy.⁴ On that point, Inalcik writes; "The sultan was the state itself".⁵

In the years mentioned above, two main periods will be examined in early Ottoman men's architectural patronage as a reflection of their relations with various social or religious groups and the sultan. After the interregnum period, especially during the reign of Murad II, patronesses who were out of dynastic household had a dominant role in their public works- though it was not clear whether these buildings were founded by them or just in their honor in contrast to the period between the years 1300-1403 during which, patronesses of only Ottoman households were on the public stage. However, between the years 1413-1451 also patronesses from some military and *ulema* families held lands under their control. This evident contrast in family origins of patronesses between these two periods was interesting. As it was a general tendency in a dynastic regime as in the Ottoman dynastic polity, only women from the ruling family or closely connected with it had the wealth, status and prestige as prominent figures in public space.

Several of early Ottoman sultans, with their centralizing bureaucrats made some attempts in order to reintroduce state land ownership against rights of private ownership of land as pious endowments. During the reign of Murad I and Bayezid I, these attempts gave way to crises between these power holders on land and the state.

⁴ Miriam Hoexter "Thuquq Allah and Thuquq Al-Ibad As Reflected In The Waqf Institution" *Jerusalem Studies In Arabic and Islam (JSAI)* 19,1995:154

⁵ Halil Inalcik. *The Ottoman Empire; Conquest, Organization and Economy -Collected Studies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), p.113

With the collapse of 'first bureaucratic centralist empire in 1402, these powerful families acquired their power on land during the interregnum period.⁶

It seems that Murad II recognized that the state was not ready for that kind of centralizing policies which could pave the way for crises. Therefore, he did not attempt to diminish the military and *ulema* control on the land by converting private lands into state lands. As a conclusion of these developments, during the reign of Murad II, a number of patronesses who came from military, *ulema*-dervish families had a dominant role in architectural patronage rather than royal women. It was noted that some of the early wakf creators had the title of *gazi* and most of them were dated from the time of Murad II. These groups were rather powerful in those days, so he did not provoke them by converting their endowed lands into *timar* lands.⁷ It could be pointed out that wealth and prestige of these patronesses was concomitant to power of their families. Maybe architectural patronage of these women should be conceived as a sub-section of military and *ulema*-dervish families' patronage rather than as individual patronage.

Patronesses in those years were not composed of women that undertook construction of some buildings on their own. Among early Ottoman patronesses, one could come across some women in honor of whom some public works were founded such as an *imaret* known as Nilüfer Khatun Imaret dedicated by her son -Murat I. Furthermore, many buildings known with the name of a daughter or wife of someone from military, *ulema*-dervish families do not have any inscription or wakf document that makes clear founders of these constructions. Therefore, these might be constructed in their honor or by themselves. If the former was valid for some of

⁶ Halil İnalcık, Donald Quatert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire; 1300-1914*, (Cambridge University Press; 1994), p.130

⁷ Vassilis, Demetriades " Vakıfs along the Via Egnatia" in *The Via Egnatia Under Otoman Rule; 1380-1699*, ed. by Elizabeth Zachariadou, (Rethymnon; Crete University Press, 1996), p.86

them, to perceive them as a sub-section of these families' patronage becomes indispensable.

Architectural patronage of women in chronological order might be focused within the material manifestation of structure of power such as types and architectural features of these public works as well as their location and various properties endowed for their maintenance. However, these aspects of manifestation of power would be perceived as a reflection of changes in power relations. As a result, in material manifestation of power, centralization as well as fragmentation of power in changing historical circumstances could be considered.

1.1 Type and Architectural Features of Buildings

Firstly, claiming that types of buildings as well their scale might reflect relations of various power groups can be valid in early Ottoman era, including founding years, which is the focus of this chapter. In this period, mostly religious foundations had prominence. Almost all of them were single public works though a few were composed of a main building (mosque, masjid, *mekteb*...) and complementary elements, such as a tomb or a *çeşme*. In those years, one does not come across almost any complexes that was composed of more than one main building— such as a *mekteb* and mosque in one complex.⁸

⁸ In founding years of Ottomans only Hafsa Hatun, daughter Isa Beg -son of Aydın, constructed a complex -composed of a mosque, tomb, dervish lodge, an *imaret* and a public bath, in Tire, probably before her marriage to Beyazid I. Construction of these buildings was undertaken by her in 1354 though she got married to Yıldırım Beyazid during the acquisition of principality of Aydın in 1389 or 1390. It seems that these buildings were constructed at least thirty five years, before she got married to Beyazid I. This was a political marriage, at an old age of Hafsa Khatun. Muslim wives of the sultans were left childless and they were not allowed to erect public foundations also in following decades. For architectural features of it see İnci Aslanoğlu, "*Tire'de Camiler ve Üç Mescit*" (Ankara:Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi-Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1978). For the date of its construction see Himmet Akın, *Aydoğulları Tarihi* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 1968) p.181 and for the date of her marriage see Mehmed Süreyya, *Osmanlı Devletinde Kim Kimdi: Osmanogulları 1* (Ankara: Küğ Yayını, 1969)

Moreover, the dominant trend, undertaking construction of a masjid in early Ottoman *waqf* endowments was followed by a new trend which will have much more popularity in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries; foundation of *mektebs*. Increasing number of these *mektebs* were concomitant to the increasing number of patronesses out of Ottoman household, after the interregnum period, especially during the reign of Murad II. Increasing number of *mektebs* rather than *medreses* was due to the lower expenses of the former to be met. It is a fact that *medreses* require higher daily expenditures, because the staff received a much higher salary as well as students had more expenses.⁹

In the fourteenth century, only construction of a few *medreses* were undertaken by women of Ottoman household –one of them by Gülçiçek Khatun, mother of Bayezid I¹⁰ and the other one by Melek, daughter of Murad I¹¹ though in later decades, *mektebs* constituted most of the educational foundations. Although it is not possible to find information on the former beyond its location, the latter was one of the better known *medreses* of Larende. It was noted as the most prestigious *medrese* compared to *medreses* constructed until those years in Larende.¹² It had properties in extensive size and these were expanded in the fifteenth century, even at the time of Bayezid II, after these lands was taken under control of the Ottomans.¹³ Even in the sixteenth century, it had been noted by Evliya as it had *suhtes* and

⁹ Michael Kiel, *The Monuments of Early and Classical Ottoman Architecture* (Great Britain:Varlorum,1990), p. 132

¹⁰ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri*, (İstanbul:Baha Matbaası,1966),p.462

¹¹ Although Melek Khatun was included among Ottoman patronesses her buildings were situated in Karamanid lands (Larende) and expenses concerning either construction or maintenance of it were covered due to her marriage to Karamanoğlu Alaaddin Beğ. I included Melek Khatun among others in order to perceive her status and access to power as an Ottoman princess who was married to a neighbouring state.

¹² See İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleriyle Karaman Tarihi* (Baha Matbaası;İstanbul, 1967),pp.461-482

¹³ *Ibid.*,pp. 462-463

endowed properties in great numbers by having no similar examples except the Kızıl Medrese in Simav.¹⁴

Therefore, it was obvious that most of the public works constructed by early Ottoman patronesses were composed of modest buildings. It was a reflection of limited wealth and prestige of non-royal Ottoman patronesses in higher numbers compared to royal women who usually erected *zawiya- imarets* or *zawiya- mosques*. These buildings that functioned in multiple ways required a staff in higher numbers compared to a single mosque or *masjid*. Therefore, probably maintenance of a *zawiya- imaret* or *zawiya-mosque* required more wealth.

In founding years of Ottomans , there are some conflicts in classifying types of buildings such as the use of the terms ‘*masjid*’ and ‘*zawiya*’ in place of the ‘*mosque*’ and the ‘*imaret*’ in place of the ‘*zawiya*’ and vice-versa. Many times, *masjid* or *mosque* were replaced by each other due to different evaluations of historians about the size of the buildings.¹⁵ By examining beneficiaries, employees and a plan of a public work, one can recognize functions of a building and make classifications to an extent. Buildings that were founded in honour of mother of the sultans by the sultans or by these women were among these buildings mentioned under a general title “*imaret*” or “*zawiya*” but offered different services.

Murad I undertook the erection of an *imaret* in honour of his mother, Nilüfer Khatun in Iznik. During the reign of the following sultans, these *zawiya- imarets* were replaced by *zawiya- mosques* or *eyvanlı mosques* as in the case of

¹⁴ Ibid. p.28 (Although this definition was given by Evliya as it belonged to mother of Mevlana’s Medrese, Konyalı evaluated this as a fallacy of Evliya.)

¹⁵ Due to lack of trust deeds of many *masjid* or *mosque* owners, one could not decide whether a *hatib* was appointed as a servant so it could be a *mosque* or not. If a *hatib* was appointed, a sermon could be delivered by the preacher on Fridays, thus it could function as a *mosque*. Moreover many of them would have been constructed as *masjid* and they could have been transformed into a *mosque* later.

Devlet Khatun's – mother of Mehmed I, building¹⁶. However, Nilüfer Khatun's *imaret* (as other *imarets* founded by Orhan known as Orhan Gazi Imaret and by Murad in honour of his son Yakub Çelebi, known as Yakub Çelebi Imaret) must be examined among the *zawiya-imaret* rather than *zawiya-mosque*.¹⁷ Although it was known as Nilüfer Khatun's *imaret* rather than *zawiya*, it must be something of its function that was conveyed by that term "*imaret*".¹⁸

Furthermore, Gülçiçek Khatun (mother of Bayezid I) had some public work in Bursa known as 'Gülçiçek Khatun Imaret'¹⁹, however it was noted as a *zawiya* in her trust deed.²⁰ It is possible that they were used in place of each other at random, but the same institution might meet different needs of beneficiaries in changing time as well.²¹ By this institution, various needs of people -from different economic groups, the poor as well as visitors, including clothes and food, were met. Although we do not have a plan of this foundation, it should be pointed out that it was composed of a few rooms and a *matbah*.²²

Therefore, these were institutions which were a display of charity as well as piety and they might have functioned as a place of worship, a guesthouse and a *matbah* rather than a soup kitchen. Singer made a clear difference between a *matbah* and an *imaret* by making a quotation from an architectural treatise -*Risale-i Mi'mariyye* written by Ca'fer Efendi and noted that an *imaret* denoted more than a

¹⁶Füsun Alioğlu, "Erken Osmanlı Döneminde İznik Kentinin Fiziksel Gelişimi", *In Essays in Honour of Aptullah Kuran* ed. by Çiğdem Kafescioğlu and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak (consulting editor. Gülhan Danışman)(İstanbul:Türkiye Ekonomi ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı,1999), pp.89-90

See Aptullah Kuran,*Early Ottoman Architecture*(Chicago :University of Chicago Press,1968) and Semavi Eyice. "*İlk Osmanlı Devri'nin Dini -İctimai Bir Müessesesi,Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli Camiler*" (İstanbul:Sermet Matbaası,1963)

¹⁷ Alioğlu (1999),pp.89-90

¹⁸ Godfrey Goodwin.*The Ottoman Architecture*(New York:Thames&Hudson,1987), p.44

¹⁹ Ibid., p.4

²⁰ Trust deed VGMA-590

²¹ In one document of judicial decree registered in eighteenth century, this foundation was noted as '*Gülçiçek Hatun Mescid*' in Bursa. In these years probably it functioned just as a small mosque not as a zaviye which was a place of worship as well as a guesthouse.(B. A /C.E-10135)

²² Trust deed VGMA-590

cooking facility and served as a distributor of meals on a regular basis.²³ It is a fact that the term “*imaret*” came to mean public kitchen in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Among the beneficiaries of Gülçiçek Khatun’s public work *ulema* and *talebe-i ulema* were also added to the extensive, indefinite group -‘the poor’ and ‘visitors’-who were noted with these terms in many trust deeds of the early Ottoman patronesses. At first, one could think whether it is possible to have also functioned as an educational institution. While in the trust deed registered in order to declare Gülçiçek Khatun’s endowed properties there is information concerning neither personnel needed for a *medrese* nor their stipends, it is possible that servants of her *medrese* probably near this *imaret* were compensated with this income.

During the reign of first Ottoman sultans, lands gained through conquests were distributed among the sheikhs and dervishes, and their pious foundations for *zawiyas* were supported by the Ottoman sultans. As the nature of the structure of the Ottoman society was being formed by various agents beyond the policy of the conquest, this was reflected in the particularities of public buildings. Construction of *zawiya*- mosques increased with changes in the structure of Ottoman state as dervishes in the society lost their great importance of the founding years of the Ottomans.

A foundation constructed in honor of Mehmed I’s mother (- Devlet Khatun), known as “Devlet Khatun Zawiya”, could be defined as a *zawiya*-mosque. A sheikh and an *imam* were employed for this public work. The sheikh and *imam* were described with particular characteristics, the former as an employee who promised to display respect for visitors in various rank, the latter as responsible for

²³ Amy Singer. *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence-An Imperial Soup Kitchen In Jerusalem* (State University of New York Press,2002),p.143

conducting the prayers five times a day, praying on sacred nights of Islam and also reciting a part of Quran everyday in this place of worship.²⁴ Therefore, one can conclude that this building was probably a mosque which had *tabhanes* on both sides of a main praying area generally known as 'the *eyvan* mosque'. It was composed of a *sofa* and two *evs*; so its plan could also confirm the claim that it was an institution arranged around a mosque and a convent.

It should be pointed out that, in the case of a *zawiya*, its functions could become more prominent due to its location either in the city –in the suburb or heartland or out of the city. According to peculiarities of its location, their clients changed, subsequently a *zawiya* on the frontiers could function as a guesthouse²⁵ and next, a religious institution, and another one in the center of the city might differ in its primary functions compared to the former. However, in the case of Devlet Khatun's convent, outside Merzifon, there were not any details as to its functioning as a guesthouse in the trust deed.

It is a fact that type of a building - arranged around *zawiya*-mosque, could give clues concerning relations of different social and religious groups to each other as well as of patronesses with these social or religious groups. In the founding years of the Ottomans, a policy which required close relations with *ulema* as well as other religious groups was followed by patronesses of the Ottoman household rather than any policy that differentiated or opposed the policy of this era.

Although Devlet Khatun's *zawiya* and Gülçiçek Khatun's *imaret* were multi-functional, we do not know the exact size of these buildings in material sense. Maybe expenses of a wakf endowment could be explanatory about the size of a foundation, however, one could not account for the size of expenses in a *zawiya*

²⁴ Trust deed-VGMA-746

²⁵ Doğan Kuban. "Anadolu Türk Şehri Tarihi Gelişmesi, Sosyal ve Fiziki Özellikleri Üzerinde Bazı Gelişmeler", *V.D*(1968):60

such as ‘Gülçiçek Khatun Zawiya’ due to the lack of detailed information about it in her trust deed.²⁶ It is obvious that that Nilüfer Khatun’s *imaret* was more extensive than Devlet Khatun’s *zawiya* or Gülçiçek Khatun’s *imaret*. It was a large *zawiya* constructed in the plan of Orhan Gazi Imaret (Iznik) in earlier decades²⁷. (9and 10) Nilüfer Khatun differed from these royal concubines, namely, Gülçiçek and Devlet Khatun as a Bithynian princess whose conscious beneficence was now articulated in the principles of *zakat*, *sadaqa* or *wakf*.

On the other hand, it must be pointed out that a multi-functional foundation had to have more expenses than a public work that functions as only as a *masjid* or a *mekteb*. Because if a public work functiones in various ways and much larger stipends were given not only to one main workman but to a few of them such as an *imam*, a sheikh as well a cook ,it would be an institution in large-scale even if it is not a large-scale building in its architectural form. Between the years 1300-1413, almost all of the *zawiyas* were constructed by royal women but patronesses out of Ottoman household generally had *mektebs* or *masjids* in public space, during the reign of Murad II. Therefore, one could perceive that nonroyal women generally did not prefer *zawiyas* in order to display their power due to much greater expenses that could not be met by their wealth.

Compared with huge imperial complexes of Bursa and Edirne, even these multi-functional public works of Ottoman patronesses were modest in scale.

Moreover, all the mosques founded in this period were modest; at most they were single mosques with a dome such as Bedrüddin Masjid, Selçuk Khatun Masjid and Tur Pasha Khatun Masjid. Proximity of endowed properties also confirm their

²⁶ VGMA-590 Most of trust deeds registered to display endowed properties of architectural patronesses in foundation years were not so detailed. Nevertheless, as more large-scale foundations on public stage were presented, trust deeds were registered in more detail.

²⁷ See Semavi Eyice, “İznik (Nicaea) Tarihçesi ve Eski Eserleri”, *Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi 1* (1998)

modest nature. Endowed properties for an institution generally were not at a distance. However, prestige and strength of an institution could compensate for the remote endowed properties in order to maintain an effective administration of their revenues.²⁸ Although one could get information that properties endowed for institutions of some imperial women such as -Gülçiçek Khatun, Devlet Khatun, Melek Khatun²⁹, were not limited so much, these were not at a distance to the institutions. Being supported by some remote properties was valid for very prestigious buildings such as Mescid-i Aksa in Jerusalem, as it was accepted as the third holiest land after Mekka and Medina.³⁰ (This institution was supported by Selçuk Khatun ,the most prominent Ottoman princess known with her pious foundations that will be dealt with in detail in the following chapter.)

1.2 Access to Power in the Towns; Location of Buildings, Supporting Properties and Beneficiaries

Changing relations between the different layers of the Ottoman society and the sultan might reorganize the public space. As a result of changing relations, centralizing role of royal women as well as fragmentation of power among various segments of the society and in urban patronage could be perceived. In the founding years of the Ottomans, mainly Bursa and Edirne as capital cities witnessed the construction of numerous buildings. Due to changing historical circumstances and

²⁸ Amy Singer,p,54

²⁹ As far as I see properties endowed to her institutions were not in distance to them, mostly within the boundaries of Larende, but I could not locate all of them due to lack of maps that show names of quarters of Larende. It was noted that increasing number of buildings in ruins could bring to light the reason of no mentioning of some quarters' names in the documents belonged to the sixteenth century. Because some quarters including quarters in which Melek Khatun had some properties were ruined following conquest of these lands by Ottomans and deployment of their population to other areas. See Osman Gümüüşçü.XVI. Yüzyılda Larende (Karaman) Kazasında Yerleşme Ve Nüfus (Türk Tarih Kurumu;Ankara, 2001),p.74

³⁰ Oded Peri.*Christianity Under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of Holy Sites in Early Otoman Times* (Leiden.Boston.Köln:Brill,2001),p.180

policies of the sultans, different power holders took role in the construction of these newly conquered cities.

In Edirne, all of the public works that were founded by the patronesses out of Ottoman household after the interregnum were situated out of the walls of the fortress. Bezirci Khatun, who was the wife of Şah Melek Pasha -one of the dignitaries of Murad II, and wife of Saruca Pasha, had a masjid (the former known as Bezirci Khatun Masjid and the latter known as Zen-i Saruca Masjid) in the suburb of Edirne at the time of Murad II. (Figure 3) Both of them were early examples of newly founded quarters, after the conquest of Edirne.³¹ In the case of the wife of Saruca Pasha's public works, it was noted that this quarter became well populated and prosperous after her public works were founded there.³² However, the quarter, in which the masjid of Bezirci Khatun was established, had become well populated by the construction of public works of Mihal Beg and Bayezid I. Moreover, her husband, Şah Melek Pasha also had influence on the urbanization of this area together with his wife.

Another public work, Tur Pasha Khatun Masjid was in Hıdırlık, which was well known with a convent constructed by Seferşah Dede and Hızır Dede with the permission of Hacı Bektaş-i Veli even before the conquest of Edirne. On the days following the conquest of Edirne, this convent was renovated, new buildings were added by Murad I for the followers of the religious order of the *Bektaşî*³³. On the same hill known as Hıdırlık, Şah Melek Pasha and Ibrahim Pasha, the grandvezir of

³¹ Bezirci Khatun's masjid was founded in Kirışane that was one of the first of new quarters of Edirne, after the conquest. In the west of Edirne by construction of new quarters such as, Gazi Mihal, Yıldırım, Yeni İmaret, another area was come into being. And Bezirci Khatun's public work was founded there. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Edirne" *IA*, v.4, (1988):120

³² Ibid.

³³ Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi 3 (İstanbul:YKY,1999)

Süleyman the Magnificent, had *zawiyas*³⁴ just as Tur Pasha Khatun had. It was an immediate act of the sultans after the conquest of a land as in the example of Eyüb Sultan Complex in Istanbul. At first, his tomb was constructed and then the erection of a complex followed it.

Furthermore, this district, Hıdırlık was noted as one of four essential places of Edirne where people were encouraged to pray.³⁵ In this place, Hızır İlyas had prayed many times, and his wishes had come true.³⁶ Although it is not obvious whether Tur Pasha Khatun's *zawiya* on the same hill was constructed near this sanctuary or not, establishing a *zawiya* near a sanctuary where it was believed that wishes of many people who prayed there would come true, could be prestigious. Also by undertaking the erection of a building in an area that was renovated by constructing or maintaining tombs for them with the purpose of sheltering the pious dead as well as the institutions that served the poor, maybe this patroness could have attempted to maintain the memory of the place. It differs from other nonroyal patronesses, because it was founded in an area not newly constructed but on a hill that had a sacred value even before its conquest by the Ottomans. However, the first nonroyal patronesses of Edirne established buildings beyond the walls in order to broaden the suburbs of the capital city.

In contrast, the first architectural patronesses of Bursa were mainly mothers of potential heirs to the sultanate or mothers of the sultans³⁷ who did not take role as patronesses of Edirne in the following decades after its conquest.(Figure 2)Bursa would have been perceived as a dynastic capital compared to Edirne. Existence of

³⁴ Tayyib Gökbilgin. "Edirne" *I.A.*, v.4, (1988):120

³⁵ *Karamanlı Hekim Beşir Çelebi'nin Edirne Tarihçesi ve Çirmen Sancakbeği Karaman Beğ*, transcribed in Latin alphabet by Ali Gülcan,(1978), p.19

³⁶ *Ibid.* p.21.

³⁷ One could not be sure whether these buildings were constructed after their son came to the throne or not, due to lack of clear information concerning date of construction.

tombs of all the Ottoman sultans in Bursa points to the same tendency. Until the interregnum period, two main figures that displayed their power in Bursa, were Nilüfer Khatun – mother of Murad I, and Gülçiçek Khatun- mother of Bayezid I. The former had a bridge, a masjid, a convent and the latter had a *medrese*, an *imaret* and a tomb in Bursa. Both of them established most of their public works in the old *hisar*.³⁸ Imperial mothers were not followers of their sons in the attempts connected with the construction of developing suburbs of the early Ottoman Bursa. There was a continuing pattern, established by Orhan and continued by Murad I and then Bayezid I, of building both a social and religious complex on the suburban area and a Friday mosque in the center of the city.³⁹

After the interregnum period ended, architectural patronage became fragmented in Bursa by the rise of nonroyal patronesses. In the developing suburbs of the early Ottoman Bursa, patronesses out of the Ottoman household had begun to take a dominant role in contrast to the display of sultans' mothers' power in the center of the city in the early fourteenth century. (Figure 2) On the other hand, in the foundation of the suburbs of early Ottoman Bursa, Ottoman princesses; Hundi Khatun, daughter of Bayezid I and Hafsa Khatun- daughter of Mehmed I, had a role by undertaking the construction of a public work in the early fifteenth century, during which the number of nonroyal patronesses increased in great extent. Hundi Khatun's

³⁸ In fact, the zaviye and tomb construction of which was undertaken by Gülçiçek Hatun was given as they were located below the old hisar. (Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri*, p.4) However in the trust deed their location was registered as they were inside the fortress. Trust deed VGMA-590

³⁹ Orhan founded a mosque in the old hisar and another complex known as Orhaniyye in the developing suburb of early Ottoman Bursa, and Murad I established one complex, known as Şehadet Mosque in old hisar, another complex, called as Çekirge Hüdavendigâr Murad Mosque, out of the fortress. Furthermore Yıldırım undertook construction of two buildings, one was known as Ulu-Mosque just below the eastern flank of the old hisar, and the other known as Yıldırım Complex in the capital's edge. (Howard, Crane. "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques; Icons of Imperial Legitimacy" in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts*, ed. by Irene A. Bierman Rıfaat A. Abou-El-Haj, Donald Preziosi (New-York, New Rochelle; Aristide D. Coratzos, 1991), pp. 174-176

public work, known as Emir Sultan Mosque, created a new quarter in the suburbs of Bursa as Yıldırım's complex was situated there.

One could conclude that attempts in creating new suburbs – in the early fifteenth century Bursa and Edirne, was a general tendency. In the suburbs of Bursa, architectural patronage was fragmented among royal women and nonroyal women whereas in Edirne only nonroyal women were on the public stage. In the preceding century, Bursa flourished with the patronesses of the Ottoman household, and it was maintained to a certain extent in the early fifteenth century. On that point, a few reasons could be put forward concerning what makes Bursa more popular among the Ottoman royal patronesses than Edirne.

In the Ottoman Empire, from the founding years to the late years, mothers of heirs to the sultanate were the most prominent patronesses; however, they did not found any public work in the early years of the urbanization of Edirne. The important point to be noted here is that urbanization ventures of these mothers in Bursa took place when Edirne was recently conquered. Also, in the years between 1413-1451 these mothers did not play a role either in Edirne or in Bursa. Therefore, the reason of lack of architectural patronage by mothers of sultans in the early Ottoman Edirne could be explained with historical circumstances of the years between 1413 and 1451 rather than with some local developments either in the city of Edirne or Bursa.

The mother of Mehmed I, who came to the throne in 1413, started a new tradition in terms of the city where public works of mothers of heirs to the sultanate were founded. The major architectural endeavors of the imperial women had been carried out away from the capital city from the time of Devlet Khatun, mother of

Mehmed I. They, as the eldest members of the princes' courts, took the role of patrons of public constructions.⁴⁰

Moreover, between the years 1413-1451, a few public works were founded by Ottoman princesses in Bursa not in Edirne, because the man they married became influential in the location of their public works to a certain extent. (Emir Sultan Convent was founded by his wife, Hundi Khatun -daughter of Bayezid I in Bursa.) Finally, the primary role of nonroyal women in those years (1421-1451) was probably due to the land policy followed by Murad II as it was noted above. Their acquisition of more power in the capital city with the recent initiation of traditions concerning the location of royal women's public works can also be a factor.

In both cities, Bursa and Edirne, where the foundation ventures of this period mainly took place, there was a main attempt to form new suburbs beyond the walls. New expansions were supported by Ottoman sultans, though in this policy, they were mainly followed by nonroyal women rather than royal women, as it was noted above. Therefore, probably new expansions were created by the sultans in order to broaden the available space for urban growth by establishing religious and social public works⁴¹ and encouraging some other groups to participate in this attempt. Also, in Amasya, the same tendency was followed by nonroyal women, one of whom founded a small complex in a quarter known by the name of a teacher of Mehmed I, the other one, Eslem Khatun founded a more extensive complex compared to others', in a quarter known by her name.⁴² Both of these quarters were probably attempts in order to broaden urban growth.

⁴⁰ Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, "Yeni Valide Mosque at Eminönü" *Muğarnas* (1995):59

⁴¹ Richard Van Leeuwen, *Wakfs and Urban Structure: The Case of Ottoman Damascus* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 1999), p.186

⁴² Ekrem İhakki Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi Mehmet ve II. Murad Devri*. (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1972)

After the conquest of Istanbul, there were many attempts concerning settlement of people from various social and religious groups by orders of the sultans. With conquest of also Edirne and Bursa, there were probably attempts in exploitation of these new suburbs beyond the walls by different social, religious, economic groups. These prominent groups were endowed lands at favorable conditions and next, encouraged in urbanization attempts. Subsequently, urbanization attempts drew many workmen as well as their families. It is a fact that after the construction of new institutions in those unpopulated areas, the state did not need encouragement policies because many people preferred to settle there in order to exploit services of these foundations. Essentially, personal involvement of the sultan in exploitation of these lands with his commanders, dervishes, *gazis* and female members of these military and religious families clearly indicates that urban expansion was a political matter. Thus, these women were, in general, followers of an urban project that was encouraged by the sultan and their attempts were not private ventures.

On that a point, a question which arises concerning the location of their institutions is why they founded them outside the existing towns. In creating new expansions, one could perceive various policies about relations of different power groups. It was noted as follows;

“The organization of space and the definition of outlooks are the reflection of relations of power which endow each element with a material and a symbolic value.”⁴³

As various types of buildings offer services to different groups, distribution of power groups in space could be explanatory about power relations. In early Ottoman

⁴³ Richard Van Leeuwen, p.179

Bursa, in the old *hisar*, only public works of royal women were situated though suburbs of neither Bursa nor Edirne were covered completely by nonroyal women, who were in higher numbers. (Figure 2 and 3) The walls were defined as follows:

“they determined first territory that is to be divided among the urban classes and thus influence the distribution of space over the various segments of the society.”⁴⁴

In early Ottoman Bursa, between the years 1300-1403, architectural patronesses were mainly composed of royal women, thus it was divided only among the royal women. Mothers of the sultans, Gülçiçek and Nilüfer Khatun had public works there, but another patroness -one of the daughters of Murad I, named Nilüfer Khatun, had a public work outside the walls.⁴⁵ (Figure 2) One can conclude that mothers of the sultans or mothers of heirs to the sultanate had the most prestigious position among the royal patronesses in public stage from the Ottoman founding years onwards as a conclusion of Ottoman dynastic polity. Thus, the interior of the walls were not divided even among other royal patronesses but dominated by the most prestigious ones.

Another factor concerning the construction ventures of Turkish families out of the walls might be the maintenance of non-Muslim communities living within the boundaries of existing towns after the conquest by Ottomans due to a policy of extreme tolerance towards them. Therefore, urbanization of Turkish families migrating from Asia was demanded outside the existing towns.⁴⁶

Besides, not only location of public foundations in general, but also their distribution according to their types in space could reflect the nature of relations of

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.185

⁴⁵ See Ekrem İskender Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Dönemi* in order to get more extensive information of their foundations.

⁴⁶ Aptullah Kuran. *Early Ottoman Architecture* (1968), p.16

power holders in those years. Buildings such as *medreses* that served *ulema* groups could be within the walls of the first territory divided among urban classes particularly royal groups, and outside of the walls could be separated as domains of *sufi* groups with their buildings(such as *tekkes*, *zawiyas*) or vice-versa. However, the lands inside or outside of the walls were neither at the complete disposal of *ulema* groups nor the *sufi* families.

In the fourteenth century, construction of buildings as *zawiya-mosques* mainly within the walls of the fortress (in Bursa) confirms this policy. As I noted before, these *zawiyas* were multi-functional buildings that met needs of the *ulema* as well as other *sufi* groups.

On the other hand, these multi-functional buildings were also established on the edges of the capital cities by royal and nonroyal women. Hundi Khatun constructed the *zawiya* in Emir Sultan Complex which offered services to not only one group but to both of these groups as I mentioned before. Moreover, another convent was situated in Hıdırlık (Edirne) by an nonroyal patroness about whose public work we know very little. Their construction in developing or existing suburban areas would not have been planned in order to make certain groups settle there but for the settlement of the population in general.

As a result, these either royal or nonroyal patronesses were active in the urbanization process. However, it is possible to think that maybe nonroyal women played a role in the foundation of villages concomitant to *gazis*, sheikhs, *ahis*, *fakih*s as conquering and proselytizing groups that had founded public works not only in recently conquered cities but also in the villages on the frontiers. These were noted to have played an “entrepreneurial” role.⁴⁷ They founded *zawiyas* that functioned as

⁴⁷ Ömer Lütfi Barkan. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan Ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler -İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler”. *V.D.* (1942):283.

cultural and religious centers on the free lands before the military powers settled to make new conquests on the frontiers.⁴⁸

An examination of the role of patronesses between the years 1300-1413 suggest conclusions in contrast to the role of *gazis*, sheikhs, *fakihs* noted above. Only in a village called Dimboz on the Bursa-Yenişehir route, here was a masjid known as Hadice Khatun Masjid. It is unclear whether it was founded by herself or in honor of this woman who was the granddaughter of one of the dignitaries of Murad II.⁴⁹ Moreover, another patroness, Eslime Khatun endowed some lands for the maintenance of a *zawiya* in Cimi, a village of Bayramlı⁵⁰ –a province of Trabzon. This woman had less wealth and prestige compared to Hadice Khatun, thus she founded a wakf to maintain this institution rather than possessing a public work. Eslime Khatun's power was due to his father, Hacı Emirzade –known as the conqueror of Giresun.⁵¹ In order to display her charity and piety, this was one of the possible ways within her limited wealth.

Among the royal patronesses, the same conditions were valid in their architectural patronage outside the cities. There was only one royal woman who had a public work outside the city –we do not have sufficient information whether it was in a village or not. Devlet Khatun -mother of Mehmed I, had a *zawiya* out of Merzifon⁵², a province of Sivas-Amasya. As I mentioned before, she was the initiator of establishing public works out of the capital city, in other terms, in a city where the prince's court was settled in a province such as Amasya.

Furthermore, in the Balkans, most of the *zawiyas* were established by émigrés, who founded villages in free lands, were exempted from paying taxes in

⁴⁸ Ibid.p,290

⁴⁹ Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi Mehmet ve II. Murad Devri*, p,375.

⁵⁰ Trust deed VGMA-582

⁵¹ Trust deed-VGMA-582

⁵² Devlet Khatun's trust deed

return for their ventures in some cases.⁵³ In the early Ottoman era, many deportees were also settled in the Balkans due to the rise of disorders following the centralizing policies of the sultans. As I noted before, centralizing policies of the sultans restrained endowed lands of these *akhis*, sheikhs, *gazis*, and then following these developments, these rebellious groups were deported under the leadership of some commanders from Anatolia to the frontiers in the Balkans. In the frontier districts, deportees as warriors were generously endowed with extensive lands.⁵⁴

In fact, there were nonroyal patronesses that belonged to the deported commanders in the early fourteenth century. One of these women known for her public works -Tur Pasha Khatun Masjid and Tur Pasha Khatun Convent, in Hıdırlık (one of the old quarters in Edirne), was the wife of a leader of such a deportee community. This commander, Mehmed Beg, son of Minnet, settled in a village called Konu° near Filibe after being evacuated from some lands near Tokat or Sivas.⁵⁵

It was also noted that he settled there as the leader of some *tatar* groups during the reign of Mehmed I after the conquest of Samsun.⁵⁶ Most probably, he was the leader of some deported rebellious groups who got powerful during the interregnum period. Even if these *tatar* groups were not among rebellious groups, they were possibly deported due to changes in the land system after the conquest of the lands on which they had private ownership earlier. Mehmet Beg as the leader of deportees was treated generously like the warriors on the frontiers. He undertook the

⁵³ Ömer Lütfi Barkan. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda*.....p,297. Tülay Artan. "Periods and Problems of Ottoman Women's Patronage on The Via Egnatia" in *The Via Egnatia Under Ottoman Rule 1300-1699*, ed. by Elizabeth Zachariadou (Rethymon; Crete University Press, 1996), 33

⁵⁴ Halil İnalcık. *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization, Economy Collected Studies*, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), 125

⁵⁵ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi II* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1949), p.83

⁵⁶ Tayyib Gökbilgin. *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası*. (İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952), 241

construction of a caravanserai and an *imaret* in Konaş in which he settled with some *tatar* groups.⁵⁷

On the other hand, his wife did not have some public works on the frontiers, but in Hýdýrlýk, an old quarter of Edirne. Therefore, one can conclude that nonroyal women preferred to display power in the suburbs of the cities rather than in the villages or on the frontiers in contrast to warriors, *gazi* patrons of their families. Maybe *gazis*, *akhis*, warriors had to construct some foundations in villages or on the frontiers in order to possess generously lands endowed by the sultan, but patronesses of those families were not forced to follow the same way. Or they were not given the same type of property as their husbands.

Holding domains of power in the cities rather than villages puts patroness-client relationships in a different perspective. In cities, the beneficiaries were mostly urban dwellers, and sometimes various groups from other areas could also be added to the list due to the peculiarities of the location of an institution. If only a few of public works were founded in villages, limited number of villagers became beneficiaries of these institutions founded by early Ottoman patronesses. Although they were very much integrated to the wakf system that provided the maintenance of these institutions, they were very remote to the services offered. They had alignments for the wakf through their regular payments in kind or cash and the supply of some other goods for purchase.⁵⁸

Nevertheless, it does not mean that this system offered only disadvantages to them. It was not only advantageous for the founders who preserved their patrimony for themselves and their descendants. The government had the rights of supervision

⁵⁷ Ibid., p.241

⁵⁸ Amy Singer, p.164

and control of endowed lands and alienation of them.⁵⁹ Therefore, the wakf system as tımar system served to preserve the rights of villagers though power of private owners on land increased greatly in the periods in which the state lost control over these lands as in the interregnum period.

The beneficiaries in general were described as “the poor “. Although there are other kinds of descriptions about beneficiaries, making general claims over them would not be so valid due to the existence of only a few trust deeds that give information about the beneficiaries. Analyzing these descriptions only for the maintenance of the institution, beneficiaries of which were evident, could be appropriate. In terms of its beneficiaries, Gülçiçek Khatun’s convent had offered services to different groups such as *ulema*, *talebe-i ulum*, the poor, and the visitors.⁶⁰ It is a fact that people from various socio-economic groups might have belonged to the last group as it was valid for numerous institutions in the early Ottoman era. As I mentioned before, this institution was a multi-functional institution, thus it was visited by many different groups. Even the richest families of Bursa were supported by this endowment. Ottoman rulers were followers of the public welfare policy by supplying cultural, welfare, religious and other necessary services to their subjects.

As it is usual in any institution, employees were also included among the beneficiaries, but the point to be studied is whether these servants came from certain social, economic or religious groups or not. In patron- employee relations, some kind of descriptions concerning religious, social or economic group of an employee could be the display of her /his patronage to a particular group or groups. And next, the group or groups might have priority in maintenance of the institutions due to the following policy. In founding years of the Ottomans (in fact, during the period

⁵⁹ John Robert Barnes *An Introduction to Religious Foundations In The Otoman Empire*, (Leiden; E. J. Brill, 1981), p.41

⁶⁰ Trust deed. VGM-590

between the years 1300-1520) one could not perceive any reference to a religious or social group of any servants.

Nevertheless, in the trust deed of Melek Khatun, the daughter of Murad I and wife of Karamanođlu Alaaddin Beg, religious groups of some of the employees were registered. It was mentioned as follows; *shafi* and *hanafi* scholars, *fakihs*, trustee of a wakf and professors (in employment priority will be given to *hanafis* and next *shafis*) will be employed in her *medrese* in Larende.⁶¹ It should be pointed out that her public works were founded within the boundaries of Karamanids, thus mentioning only two out of four religious schools of Islamic law could be founded as a result of Karamanid politics in those years as well as of local conditions. Even in the fifteenth century in the trust deed of a Karamanid sultan, a *hanefi imam* and *müezzin* was employed for his institution in Karaman.⁶² On that respect, one could perceive such differences as a result of the Karamanid politics rather than influences of local conditions.

In the Ottoman case, the state exhibited maximum flexibility by embracing Hanafi school and integrating all four schools of the Islamic law and furthermore by supporting *sufi* institutions within the urban and military organizations.⁶³ This flexibility was also reflected in the given particularities of the employees of Devlet Khatun's convent as one example of multi-functional monuments of those years. As I mentioned before, a sheikh and an imam as employees of this monument were noted in her trust deed. The main trend, defining employees with their duties rather than

⁶¹ İbrahim Hakki Konyalı, "Bir İficcet İki Vakfiye" *V.D*(1965):108

⁶² İbrahim Hakki Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleriyle Karaman Tarihi* (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1967), p.428

⁶³ Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Europe and Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge University Press;2002), p.73

with any religious or social group was initiated for this institution, and it was to be maintained in the following two centuries.⁶⁴

It should be indicated that not only an institution provided employment for workmen but also some endowed properties had the same function. In these years, some of the endowed properties such as a khan, mill or shop had probably both skilled and unskilled workmen. That type of properties in general supported institutions located in the cities rather than out of the cities or in villages. Although, in general, properties endowed for Gülçiçek Khatun Convent founded within the fortress of Bursa⁶⁵ and Melek Khatun's public works in Larende and Alacasuluk,⁶⁶ were composed of land endowments, there were various other kinds of properties which provided employment of skilled and unskilled workmen. Meeting various needs of people was not only limited to workmen's needs but also existing population in a city was served by the endowed properties as in the case of the institutions of these patronesses.

Both of them, Gülçiçek Khatun and Melek Khatun, displayed their power by means of material and institutional aspects of their building or buildings as well as of being integrated to commercial life of Bursa and Larende to some extent. Out of lands endowed for Gülçiçek Khatun's public work, only two mills between the Zindankapısı and Kaplıca Kapısı were endowed. As Schiltberger noted, in the fifteenth century, Bursa was the center of international silk trade and industry⁶⁷, thus maybe the beneficiaries of her mills could be from different cities or countries out of Ottoman boundaries. Melek Khatun's role in commercial life of Larende was greater

⁶⁴ For instance assignment of a sheikh who promised treating with respect and showing hospitality to visitors in Gülçiçek Khatun's *imaret* was such kind of example at the first beginning of the early Ottoman era. The trust deed of Gülçiçek Khatun:VGMA-590

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, pp.105-110

⁶⁷ Halil İnalçık, "Bursa", I.A, v.6 (1988), p. 448

compared to Gülçiçek Khatun's in Bursa. She had private shops in urban and rural areas as well as a khan with shops around Larende. Business premises such as khans, *bedestens* rather than single shops were manifestations of their domains in commercial areas. As it is dealt with in detail in the following chapter, khans and *bedestens* could have been more permanent in commercial areas in contrast to single shops on which control could be lost in continuation of the institution they were endowed for.

Both of these women were royal women who had different means in integration to various fields of urban life, not as visible figures but as pious and benevolent patronesses with their endowments. Particularly Melek Khatun had a different status in terms of her architectural patronage among the patronesses of this era. She differed from others with the number of her public buildings more in number, which were composed of a *medrese*, a *zawiya*, a khan, (a *masjid*) and tombs for herself and some others. Her institutions in greater number and size- in terms of their expenses, as well as her vast endowed properties, were not perceivable among the endowments of other patronesses, until Mehmed II came the throne. As it is noted in the third chapter, in general most prominent women with their architectural ventures, had various properties including villages, vineyards, shops, khans, *bedestens*, and mills. As it was noted above, Melek Khatun had a *medrese* the expenses of which could be very high, thus these were not preferred even by the foremost patronesses at the time of Mehmed II.

Whether her properties were integrated into main commercial areas of Larende or not could also be significant. Although there is not sufficient information as to where her khan was founded, one of her private shops was defined near a *çarşı* in Larende. It is not obvious whether this *çarşı* was in one of the main commercial

areas of Larende or not. But Larende was noted as a big commercial center which had an influence beyond its administrative boundaries as it provided various needs of the population of Larende as well as of its surroundings.⁶⁸

These royal women were able to be integrated to urban life as invisible figures who displayed their power as pious and benevolent patronesses. On the other hand, there was a larger group of patronesses such as wives or daughters of commanders (or warriors) that were probably more visible in these lands where they undertook the erection of buildings and dedicated many properties to support of them than royal women. Therefore, they had access to various spheres of urban life, but one could not comment about it because one could have information only about buildings that were known by their names and locations. There is nothing known about their supporting properties nor is there any detail concerning their social life.

To sum up, architectural patronage of women in the years between 1300 and 1451 could be perceived within two main periods (1300-1403 and 1413-1451) in which relations of the sultan to the various religious or social groups differ to a large extent. In the first period, display of power was centralized under the control of patronesses of the Ottoman household in contrast to fragmentation of power among royal and nonroyal women after the interregnum period, especially during the reign of Murad II.

As a reflection of these power relations, nonroyal women had public works in a modest scale compared to foundations of royal patronesses, mainly buildings around a convent, mosque, or a guesthouse. These were large foundations maybe not in terms of material manifestation but in terms of their functions. Multi-functional

⁶⁸ Osman Gümüşçü. *XVI. Yüzyılda Larende (Karaman) Kazasında Yerleşme Ve Nüfus* (Türk Tarih Kurumu; Ankara, 2001), p.68

institutions, as a result of their functioning served different layers of society that were attached to various social and religious groups.

The same conditions were valid in urban space by situation of most of the prestigious royal women's ventures in the heartland of the city. In contrast, nonroyal women's role was on the edge of the capital cities. Bursa as a dynastic capital compared to Edirne had most of the foundations of the royal women, mothers of the sultans, but interestingly within the walls. Out of the walls, foundation of numerous monuments of the sultans and many eminent people in those years (1299-1403) and following centuries was witnessed. However, after the interregnum, the dominant power of royal women in Bursa was fragmented among dynastic women, daughters of Mehmed I and non-royal women.

Because their buildings were settled in the urban areas rather than in the villages, they were more integrated with social, economic, educational, and religious life of the towns. Due to lack of information about most of the women's endowments, only a certain extent of royal women's integration to this life could be evaluated. Not only institutions of women but also endowed properties could make clear various means of women's power. In the commercial life of the towns of this period one could notice only one woman, namely Gülçiçek Khatun, as the mother of the sultan who had access to the commercial life of Bursa by being the owner of some supporting properties as mills. Bursa maintained its status on that respect at the time of following sultans in the early Ottoman era. Furthermore, an Ottoman princess, who married the sultan of the neighbouring state had access to the commercial property in Larende, the capital city of Karamanids alongside Konya.

ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE OF WOMEN AT THE TIME OF MEHMED II

This chapter is an attempt to reflect on the architectural patronage by various patronesses during the reign of Mehmed II. Architectural patronage in those years underwent significant transformations. The fifteenth century witnessed a variation in the nature of buildings and of endowed properties to some extent though mainly mosques and masjids continued to be foundations in highest numbers as single buildings. The outburst of architectural patronage occurred mainly in Edirne, Bursa and Istanbul (to a lesser degree) which had been the capital cities of the Ottomans for some periods. Not only undertaking the construction of a foundation but also providing the upkeep of a foundation became widespread among patronesses of this period. Thus they adapted to the structure of the extant foundations in a city by providing them with necessities as they provided establishment of new quarters by undertaking the construction of some buildings.

The number of patronesses during the reign of Mehmed II (1451-1481) was equal to the number of earlier patronesses before he ascended to the throne, through almost one hundred fifty years. Furthermore, the total number of patronesses' foundations constructed at this time was more than the number of women's public works in earlier periods. However, it has been mainly stressed that Mehmed II forced the conversion of many farms and villages from pious foundations to timars.⁶⁹ It is a fact that influential groups were replaced by some others to some extent.

⁶⁹ See Nicoara Beldicaanu, *XIV. Yüzyıldan XVI. Yüzyıla Osmanlı Devletinde Tımar* (Ankara: Teori Yayınları, 1985), Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası* (İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952)

Patronesses from Anatolian Turkish families were not so dominant in architectural patronage compared to royal women as in the first half of the fifteenth century due to his land policy shaped by centralizing tendencies.⁷⁰ Architectural attempts of women from *ulema* and devshirme families expanded compared to those from Anatolian families who maintained their role in decreasing numbers. However, patronesses from devshirme families had the most prominent role over others as a result of Mehmet II's attempts concerning the creation of a military elite of devshirme origin.

It should be pointed out that inclusion of a woman into one of these families sometimes becomes impossible due to their links to two different families such as Sitti Nefise Khatun (as it was noted in the second footnote) who was the daughter of Oruç Beg, from one of the well known Turkish families, married to Zağonos Pasha, a statesman of devshirme origin. A similar case is Hundi Khatun, the daughter of Hızır Beg, the first kadi of Istanbul, married to Çandarlı İbrahim Pasha, descendant of a family in charge of the grandvezirate until the persecution of his father, Çandarlı Halil Pasha by Mehmed II.

Maybe if this policy had not been followed by Mehmed II, the number of patronesses would have increased more. Not only *mülk* lands of some powerful families were returned into *timar* lands, but also endowed lands of royal women were converted into *timar* lands. Some of the servants of the prince, such as his lala or teachers were granted with timar lands, without bringing up soldiers.⁷¹ Nevertheless, the same conditions were not valid for anybody in the same status, even in the case

⁷⁰ At the time of Mehmed II, only one patroness known as Sitti Nefise Khatun as daughter of Oruç Beğ had a mekteb and masjid in Kanberler (Bursa). Although she was daughter of a Turcoman family, she had these public works, probably due to her marriage to a high status statesman of devshirme origin, namely Zağonos Pasha.

⁷¹ Nicoara Beldicaanu, *XIV. Yüzyıldan XVI. Yüzyıla Osmanlı Devletinde Timar* (Ankara:Teori Yayınları, 1985), p.42

of mothers of potential heirs to the sultanate. Mehmed II converted mülk lands of Gülbahar Hatun into *timar* lands, forced her to bring up soldiers. Also another patroness of this era, Sitti Hatun, the daughter of Süleyman Beg from Dulkadirogulları, who was married to Mehmed II had *timar* lands in Hüdavendigâr in 1486-1487, but it is not clear whether she was obliged to bring up soldiers or not.⁷²

On the other hand, the institutionalization of the *timar* system in those years put large sums of disposable income in the hands of power holders. But, since *timar* was not hereditary, a portion of this accumulated wealth was converted into charitable wakfs, which were alienable by definition.⁷³ Therefore, this income could be further increased by some power holders who were not in charge of bringing up soldiers as well as *timar* holders who were forced to bring up *cebelüs* in various degrees. As a result of these developments, many single buildings by a woman or by various women as well as small complexes were founded in contrast to extensive complexes of Bayezid II's reign.

2.1 Modest Foundations But Sizeable Income of Prominent Patronesses

During the reign of Mehmed II, women generally did not -or were not allowed to, undertake the construction of extensive complexes. However, some had only small complexes constructed ; such as Sitti Nefise Khatun (daughter of Oruç Beğ and first wife of Zaganos Pasha) who had Kanberler Mosque and Mekteb in Bursa, Fatma Khatun (daughter of Murat II, married Zaganos Pasha after Nefise Khatun) who had a *mekteb* and a *masjid* in Bursa and wetnurse of Mehmed II known as Daye Khatun, who undertook the construction of a mosque and a tomb in one of

⁷² Ibid. p.43

⁷³ See John Robert Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire* (The Netherlands: Leiden, 1981)

quarters of Istanbul that was known as Tarakçılar Sokagı though she had many other single buildings in various locations.

Other than the wetnurse of Mehmed II, the women, one from the royal house, the other one from one of the well-known Anatolian families, were married to a high ranking statesman from the military elite, the first among the recruits from the Christian communities to occupy the highest ranking offices and played a role as prominent figures in architectural attempts during Mehmed II's reign. Thus, it is not accidental that these patronesses had a small complex although the foremost patronesses, Selçuk Khatun, grand aunt of Mehmed II, or Daye Khatun had many public works but almost all of which as single buildings in various places.

As a result of the centralizing attempts of Mehmed II, this tendency expanded. Providing women with fragmented power rather than giving control of mülks and endowed properties in one location was concomitant to the centralizing tendencies of Mehmed II. It was after the conquest of Constantinople and the fall of Çandarlızade Ibrahim Pasha, that the grand vezirate began to be held by statesmen of slave origins. Selçuk Khatun and Daye Khatun as prominent figures of this period were allowed to gain control not in extensive lands but in small lands in different places. Daye Khatun had three masjids in different places, one of them was in Edirne and the others were in different quarters of Istanbul like Selçuk Khatun who had buildings in various places but not in a complex. Therefore, their power fragmented throughout some towns of the Ottoman Empire rather than being amassed in a particular area.

Nevertheless, they were still prominent patronesses of this era, Daye Khatun as the wetnurse of the sultan and Selçuk Khatun as grand-aunt of Mehmed II. Owing to the fact that Mehmed II's mother died before he gained the throne, she

differed from other *dayes* (such as *daye* of Mehmed I or *daye* of Selim I in following centuries). She had prerogatives of his mother and thanks to her distinguished status, she could undertake the erection of numerous buildings.⁷⁴ It was noted that in her later years, she became extremely wealthy⁷⁵ possibly after Mehmed's mother's death.

Moreover, Selçuk Khatun, the daughter of Mehmed I, expanded her power at the time of Bayezid II as a result of advantages offered during Mehmed II's reign. She was included among the eminent people (such as Sinan Beg or Defterdar Ahmet Beđ)⁷⁶ who met Bayezid II in order to convince him about the assignment of the administration of Anatolia to Cem. Although her recommendation was not accepted by the sultan, she was thought as a person who could convince Bayezid II on that matter like high ranking officials of Bayezid's reign.⁷⁷ On the whole, neither Daye Khatun nor Selçuk Khatun were allowed to found complexes. Rather they built numerous single buildings in various locations.

Maybe they were not ask to undertake a complex composed of religious, education, commercial and health institutions. However, if they had undertaken the construction of such complexes, they would not have been reimbursed for their expenses and thus these institutions would not have been maintained. Therefore, these patronesses did not construct complexes not only due to the sultan's land policy but also because they knew the maintenance of some institutions required higher income which was not under their control.

Because they knew that covering expenses of a complex could require higher income in contrast to a lot of single buildings, mostly masjids were founded in

⁷⁴ Peirce (1993), p.131

⁷⁵ Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, ed. by William C. Hickman (Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), p.12

⁷⁶ Mustafa Cezar, *Mufasssal Osmanlı Tarihi* (Istanbul: Şehir Matbaası, 1958), p.623

⁷⁷ Fatma Korkmaz, *Selçuk Khatun Vakıfları*. master thesis (Uludağ Üniversitesi: 1997), p.57

different places. They generally did not have public works such as *medreses*, *zawiyas* maintenance of which required more income. As I noted in the second chapter, meeting expenses of a mosque required less wealth compared to *zawiyas* that could be defined as multi-functional foundations in most cases.

One of these prominent patronesses, Selçuk Khatun did not found only mosques but also a *zawiya* in Balıkesir and one *tabhane* in Bursa. Although there is not sufficient information about the former one, expenses of the latter probably did not exceed expenses of a *masjid* or a small mosque. Modest mosques and *masjids* of patronesses were the main type of buildings also in this period. As far as I can see, all of the mosques or *masjids* were examples of a one unit mosque with a dome such as Bülbül Khatun's (wife of Karacabeg) *masjid* in Edirne, Sitti Khatun's mosque in At Pazarı (Bursa), Hatice Khatun's (daughter of Selçuk Khatun) *masjid* in Bursa, Selçuk Khatun's (daughter of Mürsel) *masjid* in Edirne. Among them only Sitti Khatun Mosque⁷⁸ in the garden of the palace of Edirne had monumental value as one of the largest of middle sized mosques of this era. Moreover, Ayşe Kadın Mosque (erected by Ayşe Khatun, daughter of Mehmed I) was built as a one unit building in extensive size.⁷⁹ (Figure 7)

In the founding years of the Ottomans, *zawiyas* were one of the prominent type of establishments. Mehmed II's centralizing tendencies that were shaped in institutionalization of learned hierarchy and *devshirme* system paved the way for

⁷⁸ Among the wives of the sultans, those who was daughter of a Muslim principality whether it was rival or took under control, were left childless and they did not display their patronage by philanthropic edifices. This was a conscious process with the aim of displaying powerlessness of these women as well as their families. In the contest for succession a prince whose mother was daughter of a neighbour Muslim principality would be advantageous compared to other princes. Thus this was prevented with 'a policy of denying motherhood to royal wives. Peirce (1993), p.44 Sitti Khatun had her mosque in the garden of the palace, so a private attempt rather than a public work. See Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1973), pp.103-106 and Peirce (1993), p.40 It is a fact that she must have a distinguished status among others, she endowed also some properties for reciting the Quran in order to please the soul of Eşrefzade. As it was focused in the following chapter, these attempts were hardly private.

⁷⁹ See Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1974), for Ayşe Kadın Mosque pp.200-204 and for Sitti khatun Mosque pp.218-221

getting “stepping stones” to high offices by devshirme families and to lesser degree *ulema* families.⁸⁰ As a result of these developments, *sufi* communities maintained their existence to a lesser extent. Nevertheless, it is clear that popular esteem for *sufi* communities was higher in the early years before the time of Mehmet II due to the nature of early Ottoman society in those years. When popular esteem for these communities began to wane by the late fifteenth century, the sultan’s interest diminished in this kind of buildings. A society’s expectations formed architecture, social functions of buildings as it was noted here;

“....even an architect or a patron trying to innovate, will still be probably working within the bounds of his society’s concepts and values concerning architecture, its social functions and its expressive abilities.”⁸¹

Also centralization of religious institutions led to diminishing of support for *sufi* communities. Until the time of Mehmed II, the practice of reserving individual offices of the state to the men of *ulema* had not yet developed to any great extent.⁸² The increasing number of *medreses* could be explained with powerful *ulema* families at the time of Mehmet II. During the reign of this sultan, nearly forty-two *medreses*, almost one seventh of mosques, were built.⁸³ Although they were founded by *ulema* as well as devshirme families, the number of the former’s *medreses* did not exceed the foundations of devshirme families. However, among the

⁸⁰ Richard, Repp. “Some Observations on the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy”, *In Scholars, Saints and Sufis* ed. by Nikki R. Keddie (Berkeley, Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1972), 18

⁸¹ Stephen Humphreys, “The Impressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo; A Preliminary Essay”, *Studia Islamica* 35, (1972): 71

⁸² Richard Repp, “Some Observations On The Development of The Otoman Learned Hierarchy” *In Scholars, Saints and Sufis* ed. by Nikki R. Keddie (Berkeley, Los Angeles, California ; University of California Press, 1972), 18

⁸³ See Ekrem, Hakkı Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri* (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1974), III-IV

patronesses only Hacı Khatun, daughter of Hızır Beg , would have had a *medrese*⁸⁴ near Zeyrek compared to twenty-seven mosques of those women.

These patronesses did not especially prefer construction of *medreses*, expenses of which could not be met with a modest income for the maintenance of these institutions though maybe expenses during its construction were almost in the same amount as in a *mekteb*. Undertaking construction of any *medrese* or only one *medrese* must be a result of dominant aspect of this kind of institutions that took away income rather than producing or increasing it compared to commercial buildings. Not *medreses* but *mektebs* that neither produced revenues nor required expenses in great amount continued to be established also during the reign of this sultan as they were expanded in number during the reign of the following sultan, Bayezid II.

Until the reign of Mehmed II, there was only one public bath founded by Hundi Khatun in the Emir Sultan Complex. However, during the reign of Mehmed II, the number of public baths was nearly one sixth of the number of all buildings founded in those years. The number of public baths followed the mosques and masjids which had the highest number. On the other hand public baths of those patronesses in general supported maintenance of mosques, *mektebs* or *medreses*. Public baths just like any commercial buildings such as khans, caravanserais, or *bedestens* were essential business premises and covered the needs of an institution to some extent. It was noted that in theory a sizeable public bath in a town or a province

⁸⁴ Süheyl Ünver noted that there was a medrese known as Hacı Khatun Medrese which was endowed some books in sixteenth century. However Ekrem İakki Ayverdi noted that there was not any remnants of a medrese which was noted as situated in such an area and so this medrese could be in the basement of the masjid known as Hacı Khatun Masjid. See Ekrem İakki Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri* (Istanbul:Baha Matbaası, 1973),III, p.415 and A. Süheyl Ünver. *Hızır Bey Çelebi, Hayatı ve Eserleri* (Istanbul:Numune Matbaası, 1944), p. 48

could cover expenses of a *medrese*.⁸⁵ If expenses of a *medrese* could be covered with the income of a sizeable public bath, well-known small mosques or masjids or *mektebs* of this era could be maintained with such an income.⁸⁶

As I mentioned before, women were not allowed to or did not become founders of a complex or a public work the maintenance of which could necessitate a high income. Some types of institutions that did not require so much wealth for maintenance were preferred to others that required more expenses. It should be pointed out that the maintenance of a foundation was as essential as the construction of it. Proceeds of the wakf were intended for the welfare of the people in the Ottoman Empire as in any Muslim country. In addition to construction, maintenance was a major expenditure. Most probably, a patron or a patroness initiated the construction of a public work in his/her name, after she/he considered how the upkeep of this institution could be provided. Undertaking maintenance of her/his foundation was dependent on the size and income of endowed properties as well as the type of the foundation.

If undertaking the upkeep of an institution was a major expenditure, its expenses could not be met regularly every time due to expanding needs of this foundation. Therefore, some foundations were not maintained only by their founders but also by some wealthy people. At the time of Mehmed II, one could come across a group of foundations, expenses or servants of which sustained by well-known patronesses of this period and a new group of women who had insufficient wealth and power for undertaking the construction of any public work. In other terms, not

⁸⁵ Michael Kiel, *The Monuments of Early and Classical Ottoman Architecture* (Great Britain: Varlorum, 1990), p.132

⁸⁶ Not only about their size but also more about their architectural particularities one can not find information, therefore it is not possible to comprehend patronage of these women on that respect.

only prominent patronesses but also lesser patronesses and ordinary individuals took responsibility in order to maintain an infrastructure of urban life.

This new group of women was not firstly formed during the reign of Mehmed II, one patroness known as Eslime Khatun, the daughter of Süleyman Beg, had endowed two villages for a *zawiya* in a village known as Cimi.⁸⁷ At that time, some women⁸⁸ that had certain donors to some foundations in Edirne and in Istanbul took part in this stage by devoting a few properties to the upkeep of a local mosque. During the reign of Bayezid II, this kind of wakf founders increased in number, most probably due to his policy concerning the *wakf* system.

The other group that was composed of foremost patronesses had sufficient income for their public works and also maintained a few institutions the construction of which was not undertaken by themselves with remaining income or other endowed properties. In fact, these familiar patronesses were the most prominent patronesses of this period such as Daye Khatun, Selçuk Khatun, Sitti Nefise Khatun. Sitti Khatun who had a mosque and *mekteb*, known as Kanberler Mosque and Mekteb, also maintained in Balıkesir a masjid known as Cüzamlılar Masjid and in Sındırgı or Sığındığı⁸⁹ a mosque and a tomb. Daye Khatun who had many public works in various locations, provided proceeds of a masjid in a quarter known as Nöbethane Mahallesi by dedicating some cash to its *imam* as an endowment that

⁸⁷ This village known as Cimi was a village of Bayramlı, a province of Trabzon. See Nuri Akbayar, *Osmanlı Yer Adları Sözlüğü* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001)

⁸⁸ These were ordinary women, such as Gülşah, daughter of Hacı Ali, Masume Khatun –daughter of Zayfullah in Istanbul, Benefşe –daughter of Ahmed, Dur Melek –daughter of Abdullah, Fatma Khatun –daughter of Tanrıvermiş Ağa, Gülsene –daughter of Abdullah and Selçuk Khatun endowed some properties for allocations of the servants or for expenses of some religious foundations, such as a masjid, a mosque. (See Ömer Lütfi, Barkan, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (eds.), *Istanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri 953 (1546) Tarihli* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1970) [women that had trust deeds registered between the years 1451-1481 are included] and Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası* (Istanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952)

⁸⁹ Sığındığı was a 'kaza' of Karesi. See Nuri Akbayar, *Osmanlı Yer Adları Sözlüğü* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001)

relates to the maintenance of the institution to some extent. Moreover, Selçuk Khatun had endowed some cash to the *imam* of a mosque in Çemandra.

As a result, at the time of Mehmed II, patronesses displayed themselves as benevolent and pious not only by undertaking the construction of foundations but also by maintaining extant foundations, mainly masjids or mosques . Patronesses that had limited wealth enough only for the continuance of a foundation, founded a wakf in a size that differed from wakf of the prominent patronesses who were sufficiently wealthy for undertaking the construction of some public works as well as maintaining a few existing establishments. The former group was only capable of possessing endowed properties for the continuance of an institution in contrast to the extensive endowed properties of the latter group which maintained existing institutions with remaining income of their public works. The main point is that these women in different statuses had certain donors for some existing institutions with the purpose of displaying their power as well as their charity.

On the other hand, some figures of the latter group such as Daye and Selçuk Khatun who were allowed to undertake the construction of only numerous single buildings but not complexes had another way in order to display their power and charity by dedicating some properties to some local mosques. At the time of Bayezid II, one could perceive that women who had complexes did not support local mosques, probably the revenue was able to meet only expenses of their complexes. This was so even if they bequeathed some income to an institution that was one of their public works in another place.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ The extra revenue left from Gülbahar Khatun's complex was allotted for her mosque in Sorkun, near Tokat. See the trust deed of Bülbül Khatun V.G.M.A 734 / .140

2.2 The Patronage of Women in Towns and Urban Beneficiaries

In those years, most of the foundations generally took place in Istanbul and then that was followed by Bursa and Edirne. However, most of the public works of patronesses were erected in Bursa and Edirne at that time many power holders were encouraged to create a new view with the construction of new foundations in the recently conquered capital city, Istanbul. Some years after the conquest of Constantinople, the dignitaries were commanded to found a building complex consisting of pious foundations and commercial buildings such as a caravanserai, a khan, a market, in a quarter of the sultan's choice. In the following years, the sultan, high ranking official men such as grand vezir, other vezirs and some dignitaries undertook the construction of such building complexes that became the nucleus of new quarters.⁹¹

At the time of Mehmed II, Istanbul began to be urbanized with attempts of only a few patronesses. Prominent patronesses of Istanbul were the prominent patronesses of this era, these were Daye Khatun and Selçuk Khatun that had religious foundations such as Daye Khatun's masjid in Tarakçılar and Demirkapı, Selçuk Khatun's masjid in a quarter known as 'Mollasefer Mahallesi' as I mentioned before. Moreover, Keyci Khatun Masjid⁹² and tombs in honour of Gülbahar Khatun and of Daye Khatun were founded in this city. (Figure 1)

Besides, many people who responded to the incentive of the sultan (such as free housing, various types of tax breaks) were deported to this city, Istanbul, and inevitably they founded new quarters or maintained existing ones. However, there were not any patronesses that were emigrees or their relatives following the

⁹¹ Halil, İnalçık. " Policy of Mehmed II in Istanbul Toward The Greek Population of Istanbul and The Byzantine Buildings of The City " *Dumbarton-Oaks Papers*, 23-24, (1969-1970):237

⁹² About Keyci Khatun there is not sufficient information. This woman was included in this period due to existence of the building known as Keyci Khatun Masjid in Istanbul.

conquest of Istanbul. In other terms, urbanization attempts of emigrees in general were not followed by wealthy women of these groups. Women preferred undertaking construction of buildings in the towns not recently conquered, so did not have yet social, commercial, religious networks. Thus they built only a few buildings in the recently conquered capital city, Istanbul. Like Edirne and Bursa, it witnessed women's buildings after men constructed numerous urban networks there.

In Istanbul, urbanization attempts of only a few patronesses mentioned in preceding lines were not supported also by the rising patroness group that became more perceivable in the following decades, especially during the reign of Bayezid II. This new group was composed of princes' mothers that had a prominent role while their sons were assigned to a sanjak as a *sanjakbeg*.⁹³ Hence, they displayed their patronage by undertaking the construction or continuation of some foundations in these sanjaks rather than in the capital city.

At the time of Mehmed II, one of the concubines of Mehmed II, Gülşah Khatun (mother of prince Mustafa) as an initiator of the rising group of princes' mothers as patronesses at the time of Bayezid II, had only a tomb in Bursa, and not in the capital city. It should be pointed out that she differed also from these royal consorts of the Bayezid II's reign in that she did not undertake the erection of the tomb on her own but it was constructed by her son. Her tomb was situated in Muradiye Complex (Bursa) which also had tombs of princes' mothers of the following decades. (Furthermore, Ebe Khatun's tomb was also founded in this complex during the reign of Mehmed II.)

As it was noted above, the princes' mothers had buildings or building complexes in sanjaks in which their sons were being educated as heirs to the

⁹³ Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*...p.48

sultanate⁹⁴. However, at the time of Mehmed II, the patronesses who had tombs in Bursa were composed of princes' mothers whose sons could not get the throne, thus they turned back to the old palace in Bursa after the throne contest. Thus, the construction of buildings or building complexes of these mothers on their own had not been initiated, but their tombs began to be erected in Bursa by their sons.

Towns in which these buildings were founded give references about sources of their power. Bursa was the town of residence of princesses whose husband had died or princes' mothers who had potential heirs to the sultanate but whose sons could not ascend to the throne. These princes' mothers had similar fates as their sons⁹⁵ like in the case of Gülbahar Khatun who had a tomb constructed in Fatih Complex by her son, Bayezid II, in the capital city. Gülbahar Khatun had a tomb in the capital city in contrast to other princes' mothers because she was the mother of the sultan, Mehmed II. Her tomb in Istanbul was signifying source of her higher power in contrast to the tomb of a prince's mother, Gül'ah Khatun in Bursa where princes's mothers' tombs were continued to be erected in the same site.

Out of the former capital cities and Istanbul, Üsküb and Hayrebolu (in the Balkans) became urbanized with Ottoman foundations during the reign of Mehmed II.⁹⁶ Only a patroness known as Ayşe Khatun had a few foundations in Hayrebolu and Üsküb. In the former, only a public bath and in the latter, a masjid and a public bath were endowed by this woman who was the daughter of Mehmed I. These public baths and some shops were endowed in order to maintain her masjid in Üsküb.

Construction of new mosques and public baths at the time of Mehmed II gave a

⁹⁴ Chronologically the first example of these mothers, Gülbahar Khatun was who undertook construction of a mosque in Edirne, before her son Mehmed II came to the throne. Although she undertook construction of this mosque as a mother of an Ottoman prince, it was not constructed out of the capital city but in Edirne which was the capital city in those years.

⁹⁵ Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem...*p.48

⁹⁶ Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri* (Istanbul:Baha Matbaası,1974), pp.868-886

beatiful view to Üsküb. It was noted that before the reign of Mehmed II, only a few mosques were constructed there⁹⁷ though it was a town as a winter residence, like Edirne at the time of Bayezid I.⁹⁸

Towns in which buildings or building complexes of women were erected, as well as sites of buildings within the towns displayed power relationships. As I mentioned in the first chapter, after the conquest of a city, interior side of the walls was the first territory that was divided among the urban classes. Istanbul was conquered recently and the lands within the city walls for the first time had to be repopulated and provided with public services. By pursuing this policy, all of the patronesses of this recently conquered city had buildings within the walls. However, in Bursa and Edirne, almost no buildings were constructed within the walls at the time of Mehmed II due to the urbanization of almost all of this part that had the highest potential of architectural attempts to a high degree immediately after its conquest.(Figure 2 and 3) (However, I could not locate in Edirne a foundation known as Daye Khatun Caravanserai near Bab-ı Manyas and I am not clear about whether it was founded within the walls or not.) In Bursa, only one foundation, a *tabhane* of Selçuk Khatun was constructed within the walls.⁹⁹(Figure 2) In these prominent towns, Istanbul, Edirne and Bursa, not only the construction of new buildings, new centers were constituted but also existing centers were being expanded. Construction of a *mekteb* near Emir Sultan Complex by Hatice Khatun possibly attracted more people and surroundings of this sanctuary were expanded. The poor who were provided with clothes and food distributed by *zawiyas* became permanent settlers around them in time. Hence, these groups gave way to the establishment of new quarters, villages and small towns. Disciples of a sheikh also could be influential in

⁹⁷ Ibid.,p.868

⁹⁸ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*. vol;5 (Istanbul:YKY,1999) , pp.296-299

⁹⁹ B.A/C.E 7032

the foundation of new quarters by being settlers around these *zawiyas* with the purpose of being close to the sheikh.¹⁰⁰

Among the expenses of Hatice Khatun pious foundation, some groups known as *mücavirs* had also some allocation. And in the trust deed, this group was defined as visitors of the *daru't-talim* who were in charge of cooking meals for this institution.¹⁰¹ These *mücavirs* were known also as some groups that settled near a sanctuary or a convent.¹⁰² These people who were defined as visitors for this *mekteb* differ from the visitors noted in general use of its meaning among the beneficiaries of some *zawiyas* or convents or *imarets*.¹⁰³ They were possibly not composed of wealthy families, existence of which could be thought in the expressions that give a general meaning to the term 'visitors'. Nevertheless, in any other trust deed registered in order to display endowments to a *mekteb*, there was not such an expression. These *mücavirs* were settled there due to the existence of Emir Sultan *Zawiya*, not of the *mekteb*. It was noted that the mosque was surrounded by cells resided by the poor.¹⁰⁴

On the other hand, these *mücavirs* were employees as well as visitors of this *mekteb*, thus this kind of expression does not make beneficiaries of this *mekteb* different from this point of view. Because among the beneficiaries, employees composed the indispensable group whose needs were covered regularly in any *wakf* foundation.¹⁰⁵ Among the expenses of any building of a patroness, servants' needs or allocations were noted at first as in foundations of most familiar patronesses of this

¹⁰⁰ Saim Savaş, Bir Tekkenin Dini ve Sosyal Tarihi; Sivas Ali Baba Zaviyesi (Istanbul; Dergah Yayınları, 1992), 105

¹⁰¹ Hatice Khatun's Trust Deed-VGMA.581/376

¹⁰² Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat* (Ankara: Aydın Kitabevi, 1999)

¹⁰³ As it was noted among the beneficiaries of Gülçiçek Khatun Imaret, with the use of the term visitors, it implied a general meaning. Furthermore this kind of definition was also perceived among the expenses of Gülbahar Khatun's *imaret* during the reign of Beyazid II.

¹⁰⁴ *Evlîya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* vol;2 (Istanbul: YKY, 1999), p.33

¹⁰⁵ Stephan St. II. "An Endowment Deed of Khasseki Sultan, Dated 24 Mays 1552", *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 10 (1944):170-194

era such as Nefise Khatun, Selçuk Khatun, Daye Khatun or Hatice Khatun. In addition to the indispensable group, namely the servants, some beneficiaries were noted in endowment deeds as it was a general rule. These groups; the poor, *ulema* and *suleha* were among the beneficiaries at the time of Mehmed II and in preceding as well as in the following years.

It should be emphasized that in any wakf foundation there were some indispensable beneficiaries as well as some other groups that were formed as a result of type or location of building, local needs, policy of the sultan or aspirations of a patron or a patroness. Assignment of various workers, skilled or unskilled, to different duties was essential not only during the construction of a foundation but also for maintenance of it. But in most of wakf documents that give information about endowments of these patronesses, one can not find detailed information about who were in charge of what kind of duties.

Not all the servants but *mütevellis* were generally defined in detail in contrast to any worker in endowment deeds. One could wonder whether there was any preference of a patroness in giving administratorship in other terms *mütevelliyyet* to someone or not. As far as I can see, beneficiaries do not change at the time of different sultans who pursued different policies concerning sustenance of some religious, social, economic groups but they were determined rather according to the aspirations of the patronesses. During the reign of Mehmed II, founders were administrators in many cases¹⁰⁶ and they determined future administrators in order to control the proceeds of the wakf after their death.

Only Safiye Khatun and Daye Khatun assigned administratorship to others so that they did not have this duty themselves. Safiye Khatun endowed Sheikh

¹⁰⁶ In five trust deeds that give details about the müteveli, it was mentioned that wakf founder was the müteveli except two of them that belong to Safiye Khatun and Daye Khatun.

Eşrefzade Mosque and appointed Sheikh Eşrefzade as the *mütevelli*. The same tendency was followed by other endowers such as Nigar Khatun, probably one of the concubines Bayezid II, in the same sanctuary in the following years. A sanctuary that followed a religious order could be endowed by various power holders, however, the most familiar ones with these sanctuaries were sheikhs and their disciples in honour of whom these were founded or who founded them by themselves. Maybe the *mütevelli* who was in charge of directing the revenue to existing expenses of a sanctuary could be from the people who had the chance of keeping a close watch on functioning of this institution.

Moreover, Daye Khatun was not the administrator of her endowments, thus determined her freed slave as *mütevelli*. It was not an unusual decision of the patronesses. In many cases, it was noted that their sons and freed slaves were to be assigned to this duty after their death. One of the familiar patronesses during the reign of Mehmed II, in other words, Selçuk Khatun, not only determined the *mütevelli* but also some other servants such as *cabi* for the village Atlaslyk and for the village of Kayce, and the sheikh and *katib* for her *tabhane*. All of these servants were noted as freed slaves of the founder.

It is obvious that the beneficiaries were often determined also according to the wishes of the patronesses to a great degree. The best known beneficiaries were *mütevellis* because only they were described in endowment deeds with some particularities including their name. In general, the founders of establishments or most familiar people to founders were appointed as *mütevelli* as in the case of *cabis* of Selçuk Khatun's endowments.

As it was noted above, out of indispensable or familiar beneficiaries, type of buildings as well as their location could determine its beneficiaries. Hatice

Khatun's *muallimhane* in Emir Sultan Complex had beneficiaries determined rather according to its location as in the case of *mücvir*s that were examined in preceding lines. It could be noted that in selection of support of some groups the location of buildings, especially if they were in a *sufi* center, could be influential. One can claim that at the time of Mehmed II, patronesses supported some groups not due to the imperial policy but rather according to their personal aspirations, type or location of buildings as well as unavoidable rules of any wakf foundation.

2.3 Endowed Properties for Foundations of Women

These patronesses increased their power in the towns by undertaking the erection of their foundations as well as by endowing some properties in various sites of a town. Although most of the endowed properties were mainly composed of land endowments, commercial properties such as shops, houses were increasing in number. After the conquest of Istanbul, many merchants were settled there and commercial areas were widened in this city. In fact, prominent patronesses such as Selçuk Khatun, Daye Khatun and Hatice Khatun at the time of Mehmed II were not completely out of the commercial space of principal cities. However, they mostly had public works and properties endowed for them out of Istanbul (except Daye Khatun). Hence, they were more integrated to commercial life of Bursa and Edirne rather than Istanbul and they provided public needs particularly in commercial sites of these towns.

Wealthy people had a row of shops, khans or *bedestens* that were integrated into a complex compared to the less wealthy members of the community who had isolated stores or workshops.¹⁰⁷ For instance, prominent statesmen of this era such as

¹⁰⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia; Trade, Crafts and Food Production in An Urban Setting, (1520-1650)* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1984), p.35

Davud Pasha, Has Murad Pasha and particularly Mahmud Pasha who provided the capital city with public services had khans, a row of shops in commercial areas and near their buildings of complex.¹⁰⁸ The best known of these statesmen, Mahmud Pasha, had a rows of shops amassed in a few commercial areas such as in Istanbul K rk ci Han and surroundings of his public bath, in Ankara Mahmud Pasha Bedesten and Caravanserai, in Bursa Fidan Hanı, in some villages of Rumeli known as Has and G gercinlik surroundings of another public baths rather than isolated shops which were also available among his business premises but in lesser numbers near his complex in Istanbul.

Also some of the foremost patronesses of this era such as Hatice Khatun, Daye Khatun had rows of shops in commercial areas; the former had some shops near Zagonos Pasha Masjid in a quarter of Bursa known as Kanberler or Kamberler and the latter had some shops near Eski Saray and Bedesten¹⁰⁹ in Istanbul as well as near Bab-ı Manyas where her caravanserai was founded. (figure 2) However, Sel uk Khatun had isolated shops, at most in a row of three shops. It is certain that she endowed seventeen shops (the second highest number of shops that were endowed by a patroness at that time) in order to meet the needs of her public works by following Daya Khatun who had sixty-three shops, the highest number among the shops of patronesses at this time. Another woman who had thirteen shops in Balykesir was Nefise Khatun, one of the wives of Zagonos Pasha, but in her trust deed one can not understand whether these shops were isolated or amassed in the same area.

¹⁰⁸  mer L tfi, Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (eds.), *Istanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri 953 (1546) Tarihi* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1970), See for Davud Pasha 345-347, Murad Pasha 307-308 and Mahmud Pasha 42-45.

¹⁰⁹ (I have not had sufficient information which bedesten it was. It could be the bedesten known as B y k Bedesten or Yeni Bedesten.)

The patroness who had shops in highest number, Daye Khatun, had erected a caravanserai that had shops endowed to her mosques in Istanbul and around Edirne. It seems that undertaking the construction of a khan or or a caravanserai or a *bedesten* composed of shops was more prestigious compared to the endowing of a row of shops or isolated shops, because in the former conditions the patroness or the patron would have covered the public needs of dwellers for a long time. Because all shops that formed a part of a khan or a *bedesten* were obviously integrated into a complex.¹¹⁰ However, one could not confirm possession of rows of shops was prestigious as much as of isolated shops, probably the latter would vanish in a shorter time.

Daye Khatun had shops with a caravanserai as prominent statesmen of this era who had shops in their khans or *bedestens*. Daye Khatun's caravanserai would be more like a khan as in many examples such as Kürkcü Han which was noted as caravanserai among Mahmud Pasha's endowments.¹¹¹ Daye Khatun Caravanserai was mentioned with shops, thus would have provided commercial needs of the society rather than accomodation needs of travellers.

Before the time of Mehmed II, only mills and a few shops in addition to land properties were endowed by patronesses. If one thinks about the kind of endowed properties, one wonders whether land policy of Mehmed II influenced the kind of properties or not. They involved in range of relationships stemming from their ownership of various properties such as houses,shops, mills,rural real estates such as fields (*mezraas*), villages, and gardens. It is a fact that endowed properties increased in variety during the reign of Mehmed II, but it isn't clear whether it increased as a result of decrease in land endowments due to his land policy or not.

¹¹⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi,(1984),p.35

¹¹¹ Ömer Lütfi, Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (eds.),(1970),p.42

Such kind of evaluation could be valid but it is only a conjecture due to our limited knowledge about endowed properties of patronesses, particularly in the founding years of the Ottoman state.

In general, these patronesses endowed properties including some lands, shops and mills that were not remote from their foundations. In Ottoman Anatolia, (1520-1650) the wakf revenues generated in a town usually had to be spent in the same town. However, the capital city Istanbul had distinguished status with transfers of revenue from Balkans but only income of a few wakfs from Anatolia.¹¹² At the time of Mehmed II, the prestigious status belonged to Bursa rather than Istanbul housed foundations of patronesses also in earlier years (but lost its importance during Bayezid's reign¹¹³). It should be pointed out that the wakf revenues in a town or its surroundings usually were spent for the foundations of the women near the same location.

Ottoman sultans as well as high ranking official men held enough power in order to collect taxes, revenues from expanding areas of the Ottoman lands. However, local power holders had properties that were dispersed in limited area due to difficulties that would be encountered by collecting income in an expanding area. It should be pointed out that any local power holder's wakf that was supported by properties in an extensive area could be short-lived as compared to another one that had properties in a limited area.¹¹⁴ Maybe due to this kind of threats as local power holders had, patronesses in the early Ottoman era usually had wakf lands near their foundations, in other words they preferred undertaking the construction of buildings where they were granted lands. Moreover, they were even able to collect the income

¹¹² Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia*

¹¹³ For detailed information, see the third chapter.

¹¹⁴ Suraiya Faroqhi, "XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Orta Anadolu'da Şeyh Aileleri" In *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Seminerleri*, 13(Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1975), p.225

of wakf properties through vast lands, transportation of income through vast lands was expensive and hazardous.¹¹⁵ Therefore, women were allowed to undertake the erection of institutions near their wakf properties or they were granted some properties for their nearby public works.

As it was aforementioned, Bursa was the prominent town that had transfers of the revenues of some remote wakf properties. Women who provided revenue of some properties out of Bursa and of its surroundings, for their public works in Bursa were women of the Ottoman household and a woman married to a high ranking statesman of Mehmed II's reign. Sitti Nefise Khatun (married to Zagonos Mehmed Pasha who was *lala* of Mehmed II and then was assigned as grandvezir after he gained the throne) who had a mosque and a *mekteb* in Bursa undertook maintenance of this foundation with income of some properties in Balıkesir. In Balıkesir, Zađonos Pasha had a complex which was composed of a mosque, a public bath, an *imaret* and a tomb and thus provided city dwellers with the most essential services. It was mentioned that although Yıldırım Mosque in Balıkesir was extensive in size, it is smaller compared to Zagonos Pasha Mosque.¹¹⁶ Income of sources and stipends paid to servants in great amount clarify the existence of an extensive mosque.¹¹⁷ Hence, income of properties endowed for Sitti Khatun's public works were collected thanks to the intervention of Zagonos Pasha as a power holder in these lands.

On the other hand, another royal woman, namely Hatice Khatun, the daughter of a well known patroness Selçuk Khatun, provided the transfer of the revenue of her wakf properties in Amasya, a provincial capital near the Black Sea to Bursa where her *mekteb* was founded. Hatice Khatun who endowed properties

¹¹⁵ Suraiya Faroqi, *Towns and Townsmen of Anatolia; Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 24

¹¹⁶ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri, III* (Istanbul; Baha Matbaası, 1973), p. 57

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59

mainly around Bursa for her *mekteb* near the Emir Sultan Complex had also a few endowed properties near Merzifon-Amasya by following her mother Selçuk Khatun who supported remote sanctified foundations. However, she had not undertaken the construction of any public work around Amasya. It could be the result of her extensive power or of her close relations to some high-ranking official in charge of a duty and granted some properties in Amasya.¹¹⁸ As it was noted by Faroqhi, revenue of only a few wakf properties was transferred from Anatolian towns to the capital city, in the period from the early sixteenth to the late seventeenth century. If in these years transfer of only a few wakf properties's income from Anatolian towns was existent, in the fifteenth century transfer of income from Amasya to Bursa for Hatice Khatun's endowments was really interesting.

Like the capital city Istanbul between the years 1520-1650, Bursa had the prestigious status with the transfers from the Balkans, particularly Dimetoka, the most favoured in this respect. Only two royal women, Fatma Khatun, daughter of Murat II and Gülşah Khatun, one of the royal concubines of Mehmed II, had some properties in Dimetoka the revenue of which was spent on her public works in Bursa. Fatma Khatun, married to Zagonos Mehmed Pasha, endowed some properties in Dimetoka¹¹⁹ for expenses of her *mekteb* and mosque in Bursa as well as of her *mekteb* in Dimetoka.¹²⁰ Also for the expenses of Gülşah Khatun's tomb a village known as Sıgırcalu in Dimetoka was endowed. At the time of Bayezid II, Dimetoka maintained its status in this respect but not by offering transfer of the revenue to the

¹¹⁸ I could not have information concerning either his husband known as Mahmud Beg who could be granted with some lands there or any such kind of connection that offers an explanation about her ownership some lands in Amasya.

¹¹⁹ Tayyib Gökbilgin, (1952), p.283

¹²⁰ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Es erleri; Bulgaristan, Yunanistan, Arnavudluk IV* (Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1982), p.195

prestigious Bursa but Edirne and the capital city, Istanbul which housed numerous public works of women in contrast to the time of Mehmed II.¹²¹

At this time Dimetoka was one of the principal towns in the Balkans, but it was known as the first residence of Ottoman rulers in Europe. It had the first sultan's palace before the conquest of Adrinople.¹²² It had the palace where Bayezid II, son of Mehmed II was born. In Ottoman times, Dimetoka was not larger than today but it was certainly more important.¹²³ Concomitant to it, finding first endowed real properties in this town was not interesting or unexpected. It was one of the *kazas* of Edirne¹²⁴ and it was not so remote to this city.

However, at the time of Mehmed II, the construction of no building was undertaken in Dimetoka, though erection of some foundations was undertaken in earlier years.¹²⁵ It should be pointed out that some dignitaries at the time of Mehmed II endowed some villages (such as, Azizlü, Toyca (Oruzlu), Kör Umud, Karaaðaç, Karabudaklu, Çörek) but at the time of Bayezid II, number of such villages of Dimetoka as well as the number of owners of these lands increased probably due to land policy of Bayezid II who converted many timar lands into wakf lands.¹²⁶

The patronesses whose remote business premises generating revenues were able to undertake expenses of transfer of revenue in long distance through the Ottoman lands. Endowments of Fatma Khatun, Gülşah Khatun and Ayşe Khatun make clear that wakf lands of patronesses began to expand into the Balkans at the time of Mehmed II. Many of vakf properties that were out of the prominent towns

¹²¹ At the time of Beyazid II, one of the daughters of the sultan namely Fatma Khatun and I Hindi Khatun daughter of Karacabeğ endowed properties in Dimetoka for their pious foundations.

¹²² Michael Kiel, *Studies on the Otoman Architecture of the Balkans* (Great Britain; Varlorum, 1990), p.129

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p.129

¹²⁴ Darkot Besim, "Dimetoka", I.A. (1958), p.589

¹²⁵ See Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri*...p.482 and *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri*

¹²⁶ Tayyib Gökbilgin, (1952), pp.318-452

were in the Balkans rather than in Anatolia except the real properties of Hatice Khatun in Amasya. This could probably be due to an important nature of the Balkan lands that no Muslim society settled there before the Ottomans, so these lands were more at the disposal of the Ottoman control unlike lands of Anatolia.¹²⁷ These properties in the Balkans and Anatolia were transferred mainly to Bursa where ventures of numerous patronesses were perceivable in earlier years as well as during the reign of Mehmed II.

2.4 The Patronage of Sufi Convents

Endowments to some institutions could not be evaluated only as objects of display of power or charity but also of respect and devotion to sanctuaries. Selçuk Khatun endowed some income to *imam* of Emir Sultan by assigning to him the reciting the Quran in order to please their souls after their death and a higher income to the support of the poor in Hacı Halife Zawiya.¹²⁸ Moreover, Safiye Khatun, daughter of Çirak Bey¹²⁹, founded a wakf only in order to support Eşrefzade Mosque by making endowments to prominent employees. In fact, she continued such a tendency that was initiated by Dilfiruz Khatun, one of the concubines of Mehmed I who did not have any public works but had founded a wakf for Emir Sultan complex. Both of them endowed some parts of lands near these sanctuaries. However, Selçuk Khatun's endowments to imam of Emir Sultan was rather less in amount and thus met the needs of a sanctuary to lesser extent.

It is certain that covering the expenses of such sanctuaries as Eşrefzade Mosque or Emir Sultan complex was quite common in the early Ottoman era.

¹²⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, (1984),p.46

¹²⁸ She endowed one dirhem to imam of Emir Sultan and two dirhems to imams of Mescid-i Aksa and Mescid-i İlu.... everyday. Selçuk Khatun's trust deed, V.G.M.A-Defter.608/2

¹²⁹ See chapter II about Çirak Beg.

Moreover, these sanctuaries were modified and new buildings were added in different periods. An establishment of a pious foundation (*wakf*) in order to cover expenses of a sanctuary differs from a pious foundation established with the purpose of dedicating a new building to the sanctuary. In the latter conditions, a patroness or a patron not only undertook the maintenance of an institution but also constructed it compared to the former *wakf* which only endowed some properties in order to sustain its maintenance.

In Emir Sultan Complex, one of the buildings, a *daruttalim* was added by Hatice Khatun, the daughter of Selçuk Khatun (one of the prominent patronesses of this period) and Ibrahim Beg, the son of Isfendiyar. In fact, Hatice Khatun followed the tradition initiated with the construction of the Emir Sultan Mosque by Hundi Khatun, wife of Emir Sultan and daughter of Bayezid I. Addition of new public works in Emir Sultan Complex was not only valid for patronesses but also for patrons such as Cezeri Kasım Pasha who was a statesman during the reign of Mehmed II and Bayezid II.¹³⁰ He undertook the construction of a *medrese* and a fountain in this complex.¹³¹

Although Hatice Khatun founded a building as Hundi Khatun, they had different statuses. The latter patroness was a more familiar example, because there were other examples of husband-wife buildings near each other or of wives proceeding with the public works of their husbands. (As it is dealt with in the following chapter, Tacünnisa Khatun, the wife of Ishak Beg endowed a *wakf* in order to maintain an *imaret* constructed by her husband in Inegöl.) Furthermore, Hatice Khatun undertook the construction of a *mekteb* in the *sufi* cemetery, but Hundi Khatun probably undertook the construction of the first foundation of the complex, in

¹³⁰ İsmail Erünsal. "Kasım Paşa, Cezeri" *DİA*, v.24, (2001), p. 546

¹³¹ İhlami Ziya Ülken. *Vakıf Sistemi ve Türk Şehirciliği V.D*, IX, (1971):.24

other words the mosque which was known as Emir Sultan Mosque. And Cezeri Kasım Pasha also founded his public work in the *sufi* cemetery. His tomb was located on the western side of his *medrese* opposite the Emir Sultan's tomb.¹³²

Maintaining or undertaking the erection of a *sufi*'s tomb was one of the responsibilities of the living. This responsibility was based on a reciprocal relationship, saints who were not protected by the living could not protect them.¹³³ It seems that covering public needs of people by undertaking the erection of some institutions in a *sufi* cemetery was also a popular venture.

It should be pointed out that pious foundations (*wakfs*) that were founded in order to support a *sufi* convent differ from pious foundations of institutions erected in honour of a *sufi* in respect of possible endowments in the future for the latter. As any other patron or patroness who added a foundation within a *sufi* cemetery, Hatice Khatun probably knew that the construction of this *mekteb* could attract endowments of wealthy people due to its location in Emir Sultan Complex. However, if it had been built as a single building in any location, it would not have attracted visitors and alms of people and would not have been endowed as it was located in a *sufi* cemetery.

Maybe undertaking the foundation or maintenance of an institution could display religious connections of these *wakf* founders to some extent. As it was aforementioned, the income of a *zawiya* was increased by the supporters of the religious order who lived in daily routine of this foundation.¹³⁴ If a convent (*tekke*) or *zawiya* was supported by followers of the religious order as was experienced in this foundation, these *wakf* founders such as Selçuk Khatun, Safiye Khatun, Hatice

¹³² I.A. 24, p.546

¹³³ Leslie, Peirce. *Morality Tales ; Law and Gender In the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003) p.48

¹³⁴ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi and Ömer Lütfi Barkan (eds) *Istanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri- 953(1546) tarihli* (İstanbul: İstanbul Matbaası, 1970) p. XXVII

Khatun could be devoted to religious orders followed in *sufi* convents of Emir Sultan, Hacı Halife or Eşrefzade.

Therefore, wakfs for these sanctuaries would not have been only founded with the purpose of displaying themselves in public stage by means of their endowments and also with the purpose of sustaining one of the centers of their social life. Maybe, the construction of a *mekteb* by Hatice Khatun in Emir Sultan Complex could be also a result of her devotion to this religious order by being inspired by her mother, Selçuk Khatun who ordered daily allocation of some income to the imam of Emir Sultan Mosque. It should be pointed out that Hoca Kasım (Cezeri Kasım Pasha) who founded a building in Emir Sultan Complex had close relationships with Emir Sultan in social life. It was noted that he founded it after he had come into wealth with the blessings of Emir Sultan.¹³⁵ He undertook the construction of this building maybe not only due to the commemorative nature of this foundation but also because of his devotion to this religious order of this sanctuary.

As it was the usual tendency, one wakf founder could support some religious foundations that followed different religious tariqas. For instance; Selçuk Khatun endowed Hacı Halife Zawiya (following the religious order of *Zeyniyye*) and to lesser degree Emir Sultan Zawiya (following the religious order of *Kübreviyye*). Maybe she had close relations due to her personal aspirations of attachment to these religious orders. A person could be devoted to one religious order in earlier times and then could follow another religious order later. It was valid not only for any disciple devoted to a religious order but also for a disciple that had the potential to be a sheikh and for founder of a *tariqa* in a particular area.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Gazali, Saltık.Emir Sultan ve Kerametleri (Bursa, 1959,)pp.68-69

¹³⁶Eşrefoğlu, firstly in Hacı Bayram Dergah (in Ankara) and then in Kadiri Dergah (in Hama) took education. After that he founded the first tekke that followed Eşrefiyye—one of the branches of

It is also possible that Emir Sultan Zawiya began to be maintained by Selçuk Khatun in earlier years compared to Hacı Halife Zawiya due to Emir Sultan's great popularity during the reign of Bayezid I, Murat II and rising popularity of the religious order of *Zeyniyye* (that was followed in Hacı Halife Zawiya) during the reign of Mehmed II, with Şeyh Vefa in Istanbul with the support of the expanding *ulema*.¹³⁷ In other words, Emir Sultan Zawiya was more popular in the late fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century rather than in the late fifteenth century which witnessed the popularity of some religious orders such as *Eşrefiyye* and *Zeyniyye*.

On the other hand, some *tariqas* continued to be bequethed even by the sultan in a period when they were not so popular. Power of sheikhs was based on the income of its wakf but endowments of sultans and of some wealthy people had an essential role in penetration of the sheikhs though this kind of endowments was not as reliable as wakfs of these sanctuaries.¹³⁸ Emir Sultan Complex was supported by Mehmed II in the second half of the fifteenth century with his limited endowments in Bursa and Aydnık in addition to earlier endowments of Hundi Khatun and seven benevolent people for this sanctuary.¹³⁹ However, in the late fifteenth century this sanctuary which was also supported by Selçuk Khatun and Hatice Khatun was not very popular. But even patronesses' support of sanctuaries that followed a less popular religious order was concomitant to the ventures of the sultan in that respect.

Kadiriyye, in İznik. Mustafa Kara. "Bağdat'tan Bursa'ya Bir Yol:Eşrefiyye", *Journal of the History of Sufism, I-II*(Istanbul,2000):400

¹³⁷ Ekrem Işın. "Tarikatların İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayatı Şekillendirmesi" In *İstanbul Armağanı III, Gündelik Hayatın Renkleri* (İstanbul:İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi,1997),p.237

¹³⁸ Suraiya Faroqhi. "XV. Ve XV. Yüzyıllarda Orta Anadolu'da Şeyh Aileleri" In *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Seminerleri*, 13(Ankara:Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları,1975):223

¹³⁹ Ekrem Hakkı Ayvedî. *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi Mehmet ve II.Murad Devri*,p.284

Although many times it was noted that the centralizing tendencies of Mehmed II did not allow increasing power of *sufi* groups¹⁴⁰, this kind of support should not be evaluated only as fragmentation of power between the imperial family and these power holders. Royal patronesses also expanded the public stage of the power holders with the purpose of forming some settled groups that support the center either by meeting the needs of those sheikh families or making endowments to sanctuaries founded in their honour.¹⁴¹ As I mentioned before, support of foundations constructed in honour of a *sufi* and of a sheikh family was a general tendency in the fifteenth century. Safiye Khatun who founded a wakf in order to support Eşrefzade Zawiya had endowed some properties to a few servants of this sanctuary as well as to Sheikh Abdi, son of Eşref. Furthermore, Sheikh Eşrefzade and his sons after his death were appointed as *mütevelli* of Safiye Khatun's wakf.

It was noted above that these were mainly supported due to the rising popularity of these sites as objects of devotion during the reign of Mehmed II. Furthermore, sustenance of some foundations near the properties bequeathed to them makes one wonder whether the place of the properties influenced which institutions could be supported or not. Women well-known for their pious acts as Selçuk Khatun, Hatice Khatun¹⁴², Safiye Khatun endowed real properties near dervish convents for which they had certain donors. Even in the years between 1520-1650, transformation of the capital in vast lands was risky and expensive and thus properties bequeathed to the support of any institution were nearby.¹⁴³ However, endowments for holy lands,

¹⁴⁰ Ekrem, İsm. *Istanbul Armağanı ...* (1997), 237

¹⁴¹ Suraiya Faroqhi. "XV. Ve XV. Yüzyıllarda Orta Anadolu'da Şeyh Aileleri" In *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Seminerleri*, 13 (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1975), 209

¹⁴³ Suraiya Faroqhi, Suraiya Faroqhi. *Towns and Townsmen of Anatolia; Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 24

Mekka, Medina and Jerusalem, were held out of this rule as it is dealt with below in the endowment of Selçuk Khatun for Mescid-i Aksa.

Some royal or nonroyal patronesses, as benevolent and devout persons dedicated some properties to the support of a few *sufi* convents. They bequeathed some properties for the convents due to the prestigious status they offered but devotional aspirations were influential to a much greater extent. Maybe these patrons or patronesses as supporters of *sufi* convents were not invisible figures at least due to their relation to the sheikh of *sufi* convents. So they sustained the *sufi* convents not only as a result of the wish of displaying their power or prestige but also as a result of devotional motives that would have been reinforced by occasional experiences of patronesses by as followers of these religious orders.

2.5 Patronage of Mescid-i Aksa in Jerusalem

As it was aforementioned earlier, the transport of the income in extensive lands was hazardous and expensive, thus the income of wakf properties in a town was spent for the institutions near this town. Remoteness of endowed properties could not hinder the support of some revered and sanctified sites such as Mescid-i Aksa and another masjid known as mescid-i hu (its name was not legible from the wakf document) in Jerusalem¹⁴⁴ which had an exceptional religious standing as the third holiest city in Islam world.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, in this respect not only the prestigious owner of the pious foundation but also prestige of the institution could compensate

¹⁴⁴ Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence; An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Imperial Jerusalem*. (State University of New York Press, 2002), p. 54

¹⁴⁵ Oded Peri, *Christianity Under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001), p. 180

for the distance of the endowed properties,¹⁴⁶ because the maintenance of such an institution was a distinguished venture for any person.

In these years, one of the prominent patronesses of this era, Selçuk Khatun endowed some revenue for these sacred sites Mescid-i Aksa and mescid-i hu....in Jerusalem with the purpose of asserting her sponsorship of these holy places, particularly Mescid-i Aksa as a space much more than the Dome of the Rock where the Muslim community met regularly and perceived as exclusively its own.¹⁴⁷ It was founded and renovated by various influential sultans and rulers. After its construction by the Umayyads, it was renovated by Abbasids and Fatimids.¹⁴⁸

Therefore, limited endowment of Selçuk Khatun to this sanctuary was not extraordinary, if one examines these attempts of patrons or patronesses in different eras. However, Selçuk Khatun differed from others due to the period in which she endowed some revenue of her vakf properties to the imam of Mescid-i Aksa because in those years Jerusalem was not conquered by the Ottomans yet. In general, endowments to this city were initiated in the years following its conquest. Sultan Süleyman decided to financially support one hundred Muslim men of religion who were in charge of reciting the Quran daily at the Dome of Rock on Temple Mount. Although the exact date of this endowment is not certain, the earliest document that confirms this act is from the late sixteenth century, 1560.¹⁴⁹ Hence, in the fifteenth century Selçuk Khatun's certain donation (two dirhems to this masjid's imam on the condition that they promised to recite verses daily from the Quran after her death) to this sanctuary seems interesting.

¹⁴⁶ Amy Singer, p.54

¹⁴⁷ Oleg Grabar, *The Shape of the Holy; Early Islamic Jerusalem* (Princeton and New Jersey:Princeton University Press, 1996) p.122

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. pp.117-122

¹⁴⁹ Oded Peri. *Christianity Under Islam In Jerusalem; The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times*. (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001), p.182

One could come across not only endowments of wealthy women for such a sanctified site in Jerusalem, but also a woman who left her life, she was accustomed to in order to devote herself to serving the poor of Jerusalem. It was noted that a woman known as Ýl left her accustomed life in Aintab with the purpose of devoting herself to the poor of Jerusalem.¹⁵⁰ Maybe numerous pious people would have undertaken such kind of ventures after the conquest of this holy site.

In the case of Selçuk Khatun, her allocation of some funds to the imam of this masjid was not as prestigious as Sultan Süleyman's endowment. However, it should be pointed out that this daily routine brought a daily expression to her prestige at a time when Jerusalem was not conquered. These kinds of endowments were not objects of public display of her power and devotion to a very great degree, because maybe her allocation of funds to the imam was known only by the imam himself and some other servants of this sanctuary and particularly the müteveli. But it is sufficient to perceive her prestigious status as a grand-aunt of Mehmed II among others.

Whether this was allotted to the maintenance of this masjid,(or maybe for private needs of the imam) at the time when Selçuk Khatun lived or founded this wakf, Jerusalem was under the control of Mamluks. It is a fact that large sums of money as alms to the poor residing in Mecca and Medina were disbursed before the conquest of Hicaz. Murad II endowed some cash to religious men of these holy cities and in the following decades Mehmed II had certain donors for the needy of Mecca

¹⁵⁰Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales ;Law and Gender In The Otoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London : University of California Press,2003),82

and Medina.¹⁵¹ Not only sultans but also some statesmen donated real properties in the Balkans for Medina at the time of Mehmed II.¹⁵²

By giving reference to Mehmed II, Faroqhi noted that interestingly enough for the benefit of Medina, at least half a century before the conquest of Hijaz this act was performed.¹⁵³ Therefore, it seems that before the conquest of holy lands ,making endowments in them was perceivable in the case of Selçuk Khatun as the sultans or eminent persons. Like the sultans or high ranking statesman , Selçuk Khatun the daughter of Mehmed I (not as any Ottoman princess but as Mehmed II's grand aunt who was involved in the throne contest between the Bayezid II and Cem) overcame these 'risky and expensive' conditions in transformation of the revenue to these institutions that were founded in very distant lands.¹⁵⁴

Relations of Mamluks with Ottomans also could be influential in transformation of these incomes to these holy sites. At the time of Mehmed II, the conquests of Ottomans, particularly the conquest of Istanbul was celebrated by Mamluks with great happiness. However, one could not declare permanent good relations between these neighbouring power holders due to events, that formed the relations.¹⁵⁵ Therefore, one could not conceive the transformation of some cash in unriskey conditions in these years due to the changing relations of Mamluks with the Ottomans.

On the whole, distance of her endowed properties to these foundations was dependent on her access to power rather than political affairs to Mamluks.

¹⁵¹ Mustafa Güler. *XVI. ve XVII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Devletinde Harameyn Vakıfları ve Ehemmiyeti* (Phd. Thesis) (Istanbul;1999),97

¹⁵² Tayyib Gökbilgin. *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livasındaki Has-Mukataa, Mülk ve Vakıflar* (Istanbul: Üçler Basımevi,1952),317

¹⁵³ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Anatolia; Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650* (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press,1984),55

¹⁵⁴ Ibn Kemal. *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*, VIII. Defter (Ankara: Türk tarih Kurumu,1997),p.16-17

¹⁵⁵ William Muir, *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt A.D. 1260-1517* (Amsterdam ;Oriental Press, 1968),p.161

Transportation of the income of her supporting properties, stretched out mainly around Bursa to these remote sanctuaries was not sufficiently secure and thus long distance of endowed properties to these foundations was concomitant to the greatness of her prestige and status.

2.6 Conclusion

At the time of Mehmed II, architectural patronage of women was modest in size in contrast to the outburst of architectural patronage in general, following essentially the conquest of Istanbul. However, as it was noted at the beginning of this chapter, the number of women's buildings constructed during the reign of Mehmed II was more than the number of buildings erected by patronesses until Mehmed II ascended to the throne. Patronesses did not or were not allowed to undertake the construction of buildings that had more than modest expenses, thus they generally had one unit mosques (or *masjids*), *mektebs* and revenue producing institutions particularly public baths. It should be pointed out that these buildings would have been constructed as a result of personal preferences of patronesses who were aware that the maintenance of an institution was a major expenditure and that Mehmed II's imperial policy concerning pious foundations.

Furthermore, they preferred maintaining existing foundations. However, all these patronesses were not in the same conditions either in terms of their wealth or in terms of the reasons that made them prefer the upkeep of an extant institution rather than the construction of a new building. They maintained some foundations of others due to economic, commercial and personal reasons that were mainly pious and devotional aspirations. The main difference between these women lies in the difference of economic sources of these women, so personal (such as devotion and

respect to some sanctuaries) and commercial reasons (such as nearness of properties that were endowed to an institution's upkeep) were almost similar in the case of wealthy women in high status as well as women who had limited wealth. On the other hand, commercial difficulties could be overcome thanks to exceptional status of a royal woman as well as to the sacred nature of some holy cities such as Jerusalem as in the case of Selçuk Khatun's endowments.

Towns as well as sites within towns where women erected buildings gave clues about different aspects of architectural patronage of women in this era. Bursa and Edirne rather than Istanbul were the towns in which patronesses provided the public needs of the society by constructing or maintaining some foundations. At that time, the recently conquered capital city, Istanbul witnessed extensive urbanization attempts when only most familiar patronesses of this era had a few public works. In Bursa and Edirne, buildings were mostly founded out of the walls as a continuum of a well-known policy that followed expanding the conquered towns out of the walls. However, in the case of Istanbul, which had been conquered recently, the first lands that needed urbanization attempts were inside of the walls. Patronesses did not pursue general architectural attempts by founding buildings in Bursa and Edirne rather than Istanbul but they followed similar attempts by establishing foundations within the walls of Istanbul.

Due to the location of their buildings mainly in cities, beneficiaries of their institutions were urban dwellers. Those were composed of indispensable beneficiaries as well as beneficiaries that changed according to types and location of buildings, and personal aspirations of wakf founders.

In fact, architectural features of buildings could give clues about the patronage of women as type and site of a building, kind and location of endowed

properties and beneficiaries. In many cases, one could obtain information about a building's type, location but not about its architectural features. For instance, architectural features of Daye Khatun's caravanserai or of her public bath are not known. Only architectural features of some masjids and mosques could make one to come to a partial conclusion that suggests that women of this period had only modest public works replaced by more extensive public works of women at the time of Bayezid II.

ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE OF WOMEN

DURING BAYEZID II'S REIGN

In the present chapter, I will focus on the relationships of patronesses with the sultan, beneficiaries and prominent religious personages with an emphasis on the reciprocal patrimonial bonds displayed at the time of Bayezid II. It should be pointed out that these relations were based on various links and connections between different groups of people. Such links among different people determined prominent patronesses of this era, means of these figures' access to power, philanthropy and devotion.

3.1 Foremost Patronesses at the Time of Bayezid II ;

A Nascent Group of Patronesses

Prominent patronesses at the time of Bayezid II were composed of royal women like the mother of the sultan, his royal consorts, his daughters and granddaughters. Royal consorts' power was dependent on their sons. When the son failed, he was executed and his mother was at best exiled to the former capital of Bursa. Otherwise, the mother whose son became the actual winner of the throne contest returned to Istanbul as is the case with Gülbahar Khatun, mother of Bayezid II.¹⁵⁶ It was not coincidental that mothers of princes undertook the foundation of buildings on their own while the sultan ordered the erection of a new complex in order to confer honor on his mother. Ottoman sultans founded public works for the sake of their mothers who were to be the most influential figures in their son's

¹⁵⁶ Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem; Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York and Oxford:Oxford University Press, 1993), p.48

succession to the throne since the time of Murad I, who undertook the erection of an *imaret* in Iznik to honor his mother, Nilüfer Khatun.

In the post-Suleimanic age, the princesses who had blood links to the sultan, reinforced their connections by getting married to high ranking officials who had essential political links to the imperial court. Such marital contracts with a political agenda were mostly initiated at the time of Bayezid II. However, these princesses' architectural undertakings were modest in size in contrast to complexes of the mothers of the princes and the mother of the sultan. It was noted that although princesses' marriages to top official men resulted in serious repercussions on dynastic politics in the later decades of the sixteenth century, being the mother of a prince still the top role within the Ottoman household for a woman.¹⁵⁷

Public works of non-royal women were less than one fifth of all the buildings founded at that time. A patroness that could be included neither among women of the Ottoman household nor in the group of non-royal women carrying no familial tie to the sultan but possessing some distinguished status and wealth was *ketkhüda khatun* at the time of Bayezid II, as a well known figure of the palace in the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁸

The rank of *ketkhüda khatun* within the Ottoman household starts with Asude Khatun who had distinguished relations with the sultan. Among the patronesses at the time of Bayezid II, Asude Khatun was an important figure having no family tie to the sultan but possessing sufficient status and wealth for undertaking a middle-sized public bath and a mekteb in Istanbul.¹⁵⁹ Like Daye Khatun, she

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p.230

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p.131

¹⁵⁹ She was known as *ketkhüda khatun* of old palace, though in her trust deed she was noted as only daughter of Abdülhay. Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, (eds.), *953 (1546) Tarihli İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* (Istanbul,1970),pp.276-277 The trust deed of Asude Khatun VGMA, 745/ 246 (hereafter Asude Khatun's trust deed)

possessed considerable wealth and status even in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In a similar vein, Daye Khatun – who was Mehmed II's wetnurse - was renowned with her public works in significant numbers.

The position of *ketkhüda khatun* (harem stewardess) was as important as that of Daye Khatun even in the late fifteenth century while they got listed as part of the Ottoman household in privy purse registers starting with the second decade of the seventeenth century. As a “senior administrator” in the harem institution, *ketkhüda khatun* was responsible for training women who were to serve the sultan.¹⁶⁰ In the late sixteenth century, Janfeda who was the *ketkhüda khatun* at the time of Murat III, undertook the construction of a few public works after death of Nurbanu Sultan, mother of Murat III. This suggests that the *ketkhüda khatun* like *daye khatun* assumed prerogatives of the valide sultan after her death.¹⁶¹ Similar conditions should have been valid in the case of Asude Khatun who undertook the construction of a few buildings at the beginning of the fifteenth century¹⁶², probably following the death of Gülbahar Khatun, Bayezid II's mother circa 1492.

Gülbahar Khatun's complex, founded by her son in Tokat in 1485, was composed of a mosque, an *imaret*, and a *medrese*. It was sufficient enough for displaying her privileged status as a mother sultan. Furthermore, she had completed the foundation of a mosque in Edirne in the year Mehmed II took the throne in the capital city. Her complex was much more extensive in its material structure as well as in its offerings as an institution compared to Asude Khatun's sizeable public bath and modest *mekteb*.

¹⁶⁰ Peirce (1993), p. 131

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 132

¹⁶² Her trust deed was registered in 1511. In general trust deeds were registered at most in twenty years as far as I see by comparing dates of trust deeds with foundation of institutions.

It should be indicated that Asude Khatun undertook the construction of these buildings on her own unlike Gülbahar Khatun in whose honour a complex was founded by her son. The latter was an architectural venture of a sultan who provided all the revenue for either the construction or maintenance of this institution in honour of his mother in the environs of the provincial capital, Amasya, where Bayezid II held his princely court.

The erection of such a complex was a symbol of his power as a sultan. As it has been aforementioned, this complex was founded in order to continue a well known tendency of the Ottoman sultans since the time of Murad I. As it is mentioned in the following lines, even mothers of princes who failed in the throne struggle had complexes. Thus a mother of a sultan was prominently expected to undertake the construction of public works. The mother of a sultan had sufficient economic resources in order to undertake the construction of public works that provided visual texts of their access to power in social and economic spheres as well as in political affairs. On the other hand, her integration to politics was evident in her access to economic sources as a mother of the sultan.

It is obvious that she was influential or at least interested in political affairs, as was Bayezid II's mother. In a letter to her son, she mentions her ideas as well as some rumours related to the assignments in Ottoman administration. She supported assignment of Hızır Beyoglu and Ayas Pasha to some duties as appropriate decisions while she opposed the assignment of Hersezkade Ahmed Pasha to the status of grandveziriate.¹⁶³ It was known that Ahmed Pasha was assigned to this duty only after the death of Gülbahar Hatun in 1492. Although one cannot know to what extent her ideas influenced the reigning sultan, it is still evident that she expressed

¹⁶³M.Çağatay Uluçay, *Haremde Mektuplar* (İstanbul: İstanbul Vakıf Matbaası, 1956), p.17

her ideas with the hope that they would be influential in the decision making process of the sultan. She also functioned as an intermediary between the sultan and some others around her by informing the sultan about rumours. In the Ottoman household system, the apex of the state was the sultan. To be the sultan's mother indicated a prominent status in this system with the privilege of owning public works that were erected even by the sultan without utilizing her own income.

Almost half (eight) of all (eighteen) patronesses at that time were Ottoman princesses who were daughters, granddaughters or grand-granddaughters of Bayezid II. It should be emphasized that these princesses did not own wealth and a distinguished status as much as royal consorts or mother of the sultan did. Nearly half of them had buildings but not a building complex. The most distinguished ones, among them were Hatice Khatun who had a *masjid*, a *mekteb* and a public bath in Istanbul, Selçuk Khatun who had a *medrese* in Serez and a public bath in Istanbul (with the extra revenue that was left beyond the expenses of her *medrese*, foundation of a *zawiya* composed of a *masjid* and a *tabhane* had been planned), and Ay^oe Khatun who had a *masjid* and a *mekteb* in Edirne. On the other hand, one of the daughters of Bayezid II, Fatma Khatun (who will be dealt with under one of the following titles in detail) preferred patronizing some *tariqas* rather than undertaking the construction of any building. Beside her, other daughters and grand-daughters had only single buildings. ¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Daughters of Bayezid II; Ayniřah Khatun had a *mekteb* near the Beřiraęa Medrese, řah Melek Khatun had a *mektebhane* and a *masjid* in Edirne. And his grand-daughters; Iiani Khatun, daughter of řehzade Mustafa (one of the sons of Mehmed II) had a *mekteb* in Istanbul, Ayniřah Khatun, daughter of Sultan Abdullah (son of Bayezid II) had a *mekteb* in Bursa. See Tayyib, Gökbięin. *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Pařa Livası*. (Istanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952) By Alderson the patroness mentioned at the first beginning of this line of princesses, Ayniřah Khatun was noted as she was also known with another name, Hatice Khatun but Uluçay noted them as two different daughters of Bayezid II. Çaęatay Uluçay, *Padiřahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1980), p.25 and see Alderson A. D. *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty*. Oxford, 1956.

By the time of Bayezid II, daughters began to marry statesmen of vizirial rank. The change had become common under Süleyman I when the high ranking statesmen who were at the same time *damad* became standard figures in the political life. Until the time of Bayezid II, princesses married neighbouring Muslim states' sultans or sometimes Ottoman officials.¹⁶⁵ Among husbands of patroness-daughters of Bayezid II, there was not any statesman that was from vizirial rank. Only one of his daughters was married to a pasha who was the brother of grandvezir Rüstam Pasha. Ay'e Khatun's husband was known as Güveyi Sinan Pasha, the term *güvey* (groom) may be considered as an indication that this was not a common practice.¹⁶⁶ At the time of Süleyman the Magnificent marriages of these women to highest ranking statesmen led to a greater influence on their fathers, mothers, brothers due to political links of their husbands.

Maybe it was not accidental that Selçuk Khatun had a *medrese* and the prospects of erecting a *zawiya* in the following years in Serez, a sanjak in the Balkans where until her time no women were allowed to undertake the foundation of such buildings nor to possess extensive lands. It is also noteworthy that *medreses* required much more wealth to maintain in contrast to the maintenance of *masjids* or *mektebs*, and therefore they were less preferable. She was the wife of Ferhad Beg who was the governor of this sanjak and was granted a field (*mezraa*) by his father (Bayezid II) for her *medrese* there. She had this exceptional status probably not as a result of being granted a small land by the sultan but because of being married to a statesman in such a status. Between their fathers and husbands they had an intermediary role which bolstered their power thanks to the growing political links of

¹⁶⁵ Leslie Peirce, "The Family As Faction: Dynastic Politics In The Reign of Süleyman", In *Süleyman Le Magnifique Et Son Temps (Süleyman The Magnificent And His Time)* (Paris; 1992, Acts Of The Parisian Conference- Galeries nationales Du Grand Palais 7-10 March 1990) ed. by Gilles Veinstein, p. 106

¹⁶⁶ Peirce (1992), p.106

their husbands. However, there is also the other side of the coin that should not be neglected. These princesses' marital conditions could also be their predicament because of inappropriate policies of their husbands.

Such a predicament was witnessed in the marriage of Sofu Fatma Khatun who was married to Mustafa Pasha who was assigned to a duty in Antalya ¹⁶⁷. In one of her letters, she complained about her husband's unseemly attitudes, the tyranny of the kadi and of ketkhüda of Elmalu (a district near Antalya) over the reaya. She yearned to leave and to return to the imperial court. ¹⁶⁸ As far as I see, princesses were mediators between their husbands and the sultan. But they had blood links to the sultan so their loyalty lay more with the imperial household. They were in charge of informing the sultan about attitudes of the statesmen to whom they were married and improvements in the district where their husbands were assigned to a duty.

Until the late fifteenth century, one does not come across any patronesses as a mother of a prince who failed in the struggle for the throne. The role of being the mother of a male dynast was laid down in this period. Afterwards in the sixteenth century various changes occurred in the dynamics of the royal family as new roles were introduced, that of *haseki* and also of princesses who married high ranking officials. ¹⁶⁹ However, these later changes didn't have any impact concerning the role of male dynast's mother. In the late fifteenth century, one observes the rise of this new group composed of princes' mothers, well known figures as the founders of most magnificent edifices of this period. Most prominent ones were mothers of Bayezid II's sons, those were Bülbül Khatun-mother of Sultan Ahmed, Hüsnüşah Khatun-mother of the prince Şehinşah and in following decades, Gülruh Sultan-

¹⁶⁷ Most probably he was entrusted to a duty there, because she noted that what she wrote were completely correct that could be asked also from the the *kadi* of Antalya. Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi. E.11999

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Peirce, (1993), p.230

mother of the prince Alemşah at the time of Selim I. These patrons undertook the construction of a complexes in the provinces where they were sent with their sons as royal consorts.¹⁷⁰

In earlier times, only tombs were founded for princes' mothers; e.g. the tomb of Gülşah Hatun, mother of the prince Mustafa (son of Mehmed II) and that of Şirin Hatun,¹⁷¹ mother of the prince Abdullah. It should be pointed out that these women were not the first examples of patrons as the mother of the prince but as the mother of the prince who was not the actual winner in the throne contest. It was possible to find patronesses as the mother of a prince who became successor in the throne contest after her architectural work was founded. Gülbahar Hatun, mother of Bayezid II undertook the construction of a mosque in Edirne as the mother of the prince during the reign of Mehmed II.¹⁷²

Princely courts were modelled after the imperial court, having inner and outer households and being administered by officials who were known by the same titles used in imperial household.¹⁷³ However, in a princely court the most honored person was certainly the prince. After the prince comes, his mother was an influential mediator due to her connections with the imperial household as a royal concubine. Yet her fate was directly related to her son's fate who could either be successful or not in the throne contest after his governorship in the sanjak.¹⁷⁴ Her status in a princely court was identified by the status of her son and also changes in the

¹⁷⁰ Gülruh Sultan undertook construction of a mosque, an imaret in Akhisar, a sanjak of Saruhan and also two masjids in Güzelhisar and Duraklı Köyü, villages of Aydın. The trust deed of Bülbül Hatun; V.G.M.A./734-140 (hereafter the trust deed of Bülbül Khatun) The trust deed of Hüsnüşah Hatun; V.G.M.A./608/1 -211 (hereafter the trust deed of Hüsnüşah Khatun) The trust deed of Gülruh Sultan; V.G.M.A. /617 -136

¹⁷¹ Şirin Khatun also founded a şadırvan in a mosque known as Cami-i Kebir in Trabzon. See Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri*, vol.4 (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1973)

¹⁷² F. Th. Dijkema, *The Ottoman Historical Monumental Inscriptions in Edirne* (Belgium: Leiden, 1977), p.15

¹⁷³ Peirce (1993), p. 46

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p.48

identification of her status would be shaped by it. Her main attempts were focused on guarding him from the sultan's displeasure which would affect his future on the throne.¹⁷⁵

Even after the death of princes in the struggle for the throne, royal concubines did not lose all the power they had in the princely court despite the fact that their fate was shaped according to the position of the prince. Mothers whose son was defeated in the struggle could be endowed with some properties by the new sultan. Bülbül Hatun was granted with belongings of her son, Sultan Ahmed by Selim I after the execution of her son. Selim I advised to her to sell these in order to get some properties that would be endowed for the tomb of Sultan Ahmed. In fact, the endowment of Selim I was not the end of it; Bülbül Hatun even made some extra demands. She asked the sultan to grant some properties endowed for the *imaret* of Sultan Murad due to the insufficient revenue left by Sultan Ahmed.¹⁷⁶

Moreover, it could be mentioned that the mother of a prince was not only endowed with some properties after the death of the prince but also these women asked for timar lands to be given to some statesmen with whom their son, the prince had been closely associated during their governorship as a prince. In that respect, Hüsnüşah Hatun, mother of Şehinşah, wrote a letter to Selim I to demand some timar lands to be granted to officials to whom his son, Şehinşah had close relationship when he was a governor of a sanjak in Konya.¹⁷⁷

An examination of the role of Ottoman patronesses of architecture at that time suggests that the Sultan Bayezid II encouraged architectural ventures of women who had proximity to him. Those years in the early Ottoman era were noted as a period of great economic development in secure and stable conditions without great conquests

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p.230

¹⁷⁶ Uluçay (1956), p.73 and Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi E.10518

¹⁷⁷ Peirce (1993), p.50

but with attempts of consolidating the conquests of Mehmed II.¹⁷⁸ Bayezid II supported pious foundations by reconverting *timar* lands into freehold (*mülk*) lands after Mehmet II's radical reforms. For instance; his mother, Gülbahar Khatun was encouraged to construct philanthropic edifices by acquiring *mülk* lands that were converted to *timar* lands at the time of Mehmet II.¹⁷⁹

Although the number of buildings founded by women at the time of Bayezid II were numerous, during the reign of Mehmed II these were not much less. At the time of the former, these were rather put into a complex by royal patronesses as a result of the ownership of extensive *mülk* lands rather than divided *mülk* lands or *týmar* lands as during the reign of the latter. (This issue is highlighted in detail in the second chapter). However, the number of all the buildings founded in those years were almost twice as high as the foundations of the time of Mehmed II¹⁸⁰ by not only re-conversion of *timar* lands into *mülk* lands but by various solutions encouraging the erection of pious foundations.

Furthermore, Bayezid II brought forth a more conciliatory device to solve the problem of using freehold lands and to secure additional troops. It was the so-called "dual ownership" in which the state and landowner took rent or tax over the surplus of the same production. The state's share known as *divani* might be assigned to *sipahis* or state officials and the landowner's share known as *maliki* in general might be allotted to an individual or a pious endowment.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Halil İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire; The Classical Age 1300-1600* (London: Phcenix, 1994), pp.32-33

¹⁷⁹ Nicoara Beldiceanu, *XIV. Yüzyıldan XVI. Yüzyıla Osmanlı Devletinde Timar* (Ankara; Teori Yayınları, 1985), p.43

¹⁸⁰ See Ekrem İhakı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri*, vol.3 and 4 (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1973) İ. Aydın Yüksel. *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid ve Yavuz Selim Devri*. (İstanbul; İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1983)

¹⁸¹ (eds). By Halil İnalçık –Donald Quatert, *An Economic and Social History of The Ottoman Empire 1300-1914* (Cambridge University Press: 1994), p.128

This intermediary regime between local landholders and the state was mostly concentrated in Amasya-Tokat-Sivas¹⁸² known as Eyalet-i Rum where most of the buildings or building complexes of women were constructed. It was not accidental that particularly *maliki* and *divani* lands in addition to *mülk* lands was endowed for Gülbahar Khatun's complex in Tokat. Among properties endowed for Gülbahar Khatun's complex, *maliki* lands were divided into some parts in various sizes though *divani* lands were separated into parts in fewer examples. Division of *maliki* lands for individuals or pious foundations and *divani* lands among numerous state officials prevented the exploitation of these lands for one's own ends.

Maybe freehold (*mülk*) lands would have brought more income instead of *maliki-divani* lands, rent or tax of which was divided into two parts. However, the sultan was in favor of endowing *maliki-divani* lands for this edifice but following general land policy in these lands. On the other hand, among lands endowed for this complex, *divani* lands took the place of *maliki* lands which were allotted for pious foundations. As most of the *maliki* lands had been converted into pious endowments, *divani* lands also would have been granted to pious endowments of eminent persons.¹⁸³ If conversion of *divani* lands were appropriate for endowments of eminent personages, it was certainly valid also for endowments of the sultan as in the example of properties endowed for Gülbahar Khatun's complex.

As it was mentioned in the preceding lines, daughters or grand daughters of the sultan constituted almost half of all the patronesses of this period. In fact, among their endowed properties, existence of lands that had been granted as *temlik*, *başmaklık* could give clues about pious endowments of this large group of patroness-

¹⁸² Ibid. p.128 and Ahmet Şimşirgil, *Osmanlı Taşra Teşkilatında Tokat (1455-1574)* Ph. D. Diss. (Marmara Üniversitesi, 1990), p.316 It is not accidental that this land system was concentrated in this district. Because, these lands were Turcoman lands which were taken under control by the Ottomans after a long struggle due to regime of big estates that were possessed by aristocratic families.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p.128

princesses.¹⁸⁴ These systems were applied in the case of the applicant stated to the sultan that he needed this revenue in order to construct a pious foundation or in less time for his own benefit or for providing revenue to an already founded institution.¹⁸⁵

Certainly such kind of allotment of the lands for some groups was directly related to patrimonial relations between the sultan and the applicant. The sultan gave ownership of these lands if the applicant had displayed his loyalty and distinguished services.¹⁸⁶ In the case of the princesses, the same conditions could be valid particularly if they were married to high ranking statesmen. If their husbands were high ranking statesmen, the sultan would have to maintain his relations with them painstakingly. Marriages of these women to eminent persons might have led to greater influence of these women on their fathers and brothers, because important political links could have been advanced by their marriages.¹⁸⁷ Before the time of Bayezid II, temlik lands were granted particularly at the time of Murat II to a few princesses such as Hafsa Khatun¹⁸⁸ and Fatma Khatun, daughters of Murad II,¹⁸⁹ and Selçuk Khatun daughter of Mehmed I.¹⁹⁰ At the time of Mehmed II only his wetnurse was granted some lands.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁴ Hani Khatun daughter of Şehzade Mustafa and Selçuk Sultan, Şehzade Khatun, Fatma Khatun, daughters of Bayezid II and Selçuk Khatun, daughter of Mehmed I (grand-grand aunt of Bayezid II) were granted lands at the time of this sultan. For Hani Khatun's, Fatma Khatun's and Şehzade Şah Khatun's endowments see Tayyib, Gökbiçgin. *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası*. (Istanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952) for Selçuk Khatun's endowments, one was daughter and the other grand-grand aunt of Bayezid II, see the trust deed of Selçuk Khatun, daughter of Mehmed I. *D.V.G.M.A. 608-2 / 384* (hereafter the trust deed of Selçuk Khatun (daughter of Mehmed I) and for the trust deed of Selçuk Khatun (daughter of Bayezid II) see Tayyib, Gökbiçgin. *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası*. (Istanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952)

¹⁸⁵ Halil İnalçık and Donald Quatert, (eds.) *An Economic And Social History Of The Ottoman Empire. 1300-1914* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.122

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p.122

¹⁸⁷ Peirce, (1992) p.107

¹⁸⁸ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi Mehmet ve II. Sultan Murat Devri* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1966), pp.279-281

¹⁸⁹ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1973), p.122

¹⁹⁰ These princesses, Selçuk Khatun and Fatma Khatun were granted some lands at the time of Murad II and then Bayezid II, as it was noted below. In fact wakf lands of the latter patroness were assigned as *timar* lands during Mehmed II's reign, and then granted by Bayezid II to the owner.

¹⁹¹ Gökbiçgin (1952), p.324

Moreover, the lands, the revenue of which could not be allotted for a pious foundation such as *hass* and *zeamet* lands were also endowed for their institutions by some of the patronesses noted above. These lands, *zeamet* and *hass*, were not lands granted in freehold as *temlik* or *başmaklık* but they were converted to endowments due to the proximity of the princesses to the sultans. Selçuk Khatun, grand-grand aunt of Bayezid II had a *zeamet* land that was donated for the expenses of her foundations and Fatma Khatun, daughter of Bayezid II, had a *beglerbegi hass*. Furthermore, Aynışah Khatun, daughter of Şehzade Abdullah bought a village in Gelibolu from the daughter of Cem, known as Gevhermülük Khatun, for the expenses of her *mekteb*¹⁹² though a *wakf* land could not be sold, only its revenues could be given to beneficiaries in theory.¹⁹³

It should be highlighted that these princesses were not only offered *mülk* lands the income of which could be spent for pious foundations but also they found possible ways of converting their *hass* or *zeamet* land to their endowments. Even violation of rules of *wakf* lands was overlooked with the purpose of encouraging princesses to construct public works. The same tendency was probably not valid for someone who was not equal to a princess in status.

Until that time, many sultans reinforced architectural attempts of royal women but royal consorts of any sultan was not supported to such an extent as in that period. At the time of Bayezid II, the great economic welfare of the era and land policy of the sultan led to a rising number of architectural attempts, including women's public works. It has been mentioned earlier that princesses and mother of the sultan were endowed with the properties by the sultan in various ways. On the other hand, one does not come across any lands endowed for public work of a prince's mother or any

¹⁹² Ibid., p.380

¹⁹³ John Robert Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations In The Ottoman Empire*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), p.16

application of a royal consort to the sultan for some properties before the death of their son. For instance, Bülbül Khatun asked for endowment of some properties after the death of her son as it was mentioned above.

Maybe lands were not endowed to a royal consort by the sultan because she was sufficiently encouraged by her son to establish pious foundations. For instance, an essential portion of income of Eyalet-i Rum, Amasya-Tokat-Sivas district were allotted as hass lands of princes during the reign of Bayezid II though they had been assigned as sultans' hass lands until that date.¹⁹⁴ Therefore, all expenses of the provincial court in Amasya was covered by the revenue of these hass lands at the time. Between the years 1482-1513 the prince Ahmed, son of Bayezid II was entrusted to the governorship of Amasya, thus these lands were granted as hass lands under the control of this prince. If an important portion of these lands was given away under the control of this prince, the income could have encouraged the prince's mother to undertake construction of a building complex, namely Hatuniye Complex there. Existence of the properties donated for this complex within this Amasya-Sivas-Tokat district¹⁹⁵ could reinforce this claim.

To sum up, at the time of Bayezid II royal patronesses, including princesses, mothers of princes and the mother of the sultan, were encouraged to construct public works by being bequeathed lands through various means. At that time, the role of these royal women began to be formed more definitely with their architectural attempts that reached a more extensive size during the Suleimanic age and in the following decades. Not only radical attempts of Mehmed II were terminated by restitution of pious properties of people, but also conciliatory systems as *maliki-*

¹⁹⁴ However during the reign of Bayezid II's son, Selim I, all these lands were turned back to sultan. Tayyib Gökbilgin. "15. ve 16. Asırlarda Eyalet-i Rum" *Vakıflar Dergisi* 6 (1995):56

¹⁹⁵ The trust Deed of Bülbül Khatun

divani system were introduced with the purpose of encouraging eminent people including patronesses to undertake the erection of endeavours.

Furthermore, many lands were granted to them as *temlik* or *hakani hibe* as well as lands that were allotted for other needs were bequeathed to pious endowments of women. Nevertheless, one does not come across any examples of a royal consort who was granted lands by the sultan during the governorship of her son. Probably she had influence on the sultan indirectly as the mother of the prince who was sufficiently bequeathed by his father. On the other hand, it does not mean that pious foundations were only supported by land properties, but urban properties in variety were also dedicated for public works of women as it is dealt with in the following part.

3.2 Public Works of Patronesses; Access to Power

This section tackles with prominent patronesses like royal consorts and mother of Bayezid II, *the ketkhüda khatun* (to a lesser degree) and two daughters of Bayezid II; Hatice Khatun and Selçuk Khatun. I particularly concentrate on the means of their authority and wealth particularly in the provincial towns (where Gülbahar Khatun, Hüsnüşah Khatun and Bülbül Khatun had a complex each) and in the capital city (where princesses and the *ketkhüda khatun* had public works). At first, relations of the prince to his mother and to local, official dignitaries is dealt with in order to comprehend the nature of the architectural attempts in these areas. And then how these patronesses displayed their wealth and power is investigated.

At the time of Bayezid II, sizeable building complexes of women were founded in Manisa and eyalet-i Rum, prominently in Amasya and Tokat. In those years, Amasya was the second city that had the highest number of buildings after

Istanbul.¹⁹⁶ Bayezid II had taken reins of his power against Cem thanks to the reinforcements of one *sufi* order known as the Halvetiyye, leading members of which were important figures of the princely court of Amasya.¹⁹⁷ Before Bayezid II took the throne, he was the governor of Amasya, a distinguished provincial capital near the Black Sea until the late sixteenth century.

As it was noted above, in 1478 Mehmed II ordered the conversion of many freehold and wakf lands to timar lands that were distributed to the soldiery in order to expand his cavalry army. This radical reform triggered a social and political crisis throughout the empire, particularly in Amasya where Turcoman elite families who held extensive freehold lands began to constitute “secret opposition centers” around Bayezid. In this provincial capital, the religious opponents especially Halvetiyye dervishes whose lands were confiscated throughout the empire, were the most active organizers of “secret opposition centers”. Under Bayezid II, a counter policy was followed and most of the confiscated freehold and wakf lands were returned to owners.¹⁹⁸

After a sultan attained the throne, members of his provincial court or people who had proximity to his provincial court were in charge of essential offices in the capital city. Loyalties and networks established between the prince and his servants in the princely court were transferred into imperial court.¹⁹⁹ Bayezid II owed much to the people of the town where he held the provincial court because by their

¹⁹⁶ See İ. Aydın Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid ve Yavuz Selim Devri* (Istanbul; İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1983)

¹⁹⁷ Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, “Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Making of the Ottoman Capital” pp.383 forthcoming.

¹⁹⁸ Halil İnalcık, Donald Quatert, (eds.) *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1914*

(Cambridge University Press; 1994), p.127

¹⁹⁹ Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.46

reinforcements he became the actual winner of the throne. Especially a sheikh named Çelebi Halife belonging to the party of *Halvetiyye* that had intimate affiliations with Bayezid II was influential in his success against his brother Cem.²⁰⁰ When he gained the throne with the support of this sheikh's party in Amasya, he was invited to Istanbul by the sultan Bayezid II and was appointed to a new convent there.²⁰¹

Bayezid II displayed his loyalty and respect to these groups not only by invitations to the capital city but also by encouraging various patrons or patronesses to undertake the erection of pious foundations around this province. Construction of a magnificent complex by him there in the first years of his sultanate verifies the distinguished status of Amasya after he gained the throne. He was in an attempted to accelerate architectural ventures in the other urban centers that were neglected at the time of Mehmed II to the advantage of the recently conquered capital city.²⁰²

Amasya witnessed the first attacks of Safavids as a follower of the shiite polity at that time. Thus, the support of this *sufi* order might be an alternative to "heterodoxically minded Anatolian communities".²⁰³ In parallel to the general development of architectural patronage at the time of Bayezid II, patronesses of that time undertook the construction of buildings mostly in Istanbul and then around Amasya. Amasya and its surroundings had higher proportion of women's buildings at the time of Bayezid II.

One of the consorts of Bayezid II, Bülbül Khatun founded one of the magnificent building complexes of this period in Amasya.(Figure 12) She was the

²⁰⁰ Zeynep Yürekli. "The Sufi Convent of Sokullu Mehmed Pasha in Istanbul". *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 163 and Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu. "Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Making of the Ottoman Capital" p.383 forthcoming.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* 170

²⁰² Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu. "Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Making of the Ottoman Capital" p.380 forthcoming.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

mother of Şehzade Ahmed, who had a palace and a çeşme in Vezirköprü near Amasya. Until those years, princes settled probably in the palace of Amasya. It is possible that the construction of a private palace displays increasing wealth and status of the prince, but it was a private attempt rather than a public endeavour.²⁰⁴

(Only brothers of the first two Ottoman sultans had ordered the construction of some public edifices; those were Süleyman Pasha and Aladdin Beg.) On the other hand, mothers of princes had source of power and authority in the provincial courts over their sons. This was reflected in architectural attempts of Bülbül Khatun who also built a mosque and a public bath in Ladik, which was probably one of the districts of Amasya in those years.

Another royal woman, the mother of Bayezid II had a complex composed of a *medrese*, an *imaret* and a mosque founded by her son during his first years on the throne, in Tokat. As I mentioned before, Tokat was one of the towns of Eyalet-i Rum which also included Sivas and Amasya, the latter being the capital of this province. In Sorkun near Amasya, she also built a mosque, some of the expenses of which were covered by the income of her complex in Tokat.²⁰⁵ Among these royal women, only a non-royal woman, named Fahrünnisa Khatun, daughter of a commander had a few works in this provincial capital.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ Also, another son of Bayezid II, known as Korkud undertook construction of a palace which probably was used in some seasons, out of main palace known as Saray-ı Amire of Manisa. In following decades Sultan Mustafa erected a summer palace in Manisa, though in general şehzades preferred renovation of the main palace and made additions to the existing palace founded by Murad II. See Çağatay Uluçay, *Manisadaki Saray-ı Amire ve Şehzadeler Türbesi* (İstanbul; Resimli Ay Matbaası, 1941), p.10-12 and İ. Aydın Yüksel. *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II.Bayezid ve Yavuz Selim Devri* (İstanbul;İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1983)

²⁰⁵ Moreover, daughter of Emir Bey (from one of the well known *ümera* families of Amasya) known as Sultan Khatun, married to Bayezid II, had a darül-kurra in Acem Ali Mahallesi, a quarter of Amasya. See Abdi-zade Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Amasya Tarihi I* (Ankara; Amasya Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 1986), 215-216 However, as it was noted in the introduction part, muslim women married to Ottoman sultans were not allowed to undertake public works. Therefore this example seems really interesting.

²⁰⁶ See İ. Aydın Yüksel. *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II.Bayezid ve Yavuz Selim Devri*. (İstanbul; İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1983), p..30

Amasya and its surroundings had an important number of women's buildings. One third of all the buildings (excluding tombs) founded by women at this period were located in Amasya and its environs. Furthermore, two prominent complexes of the time were erected by women in Amasya. As it was noted above, Bayezid II took the reins of his power by being the actual winner in the throne contest against Cem with distinguished support of some groups in Amasya. Therefore, he accelerated the urbanization attempts there with his own foundations as well as by encouraging familiar people near his sons who were appointed as governor to Amasya. Increasing architectural attempts in Amasya were also followed by women unlike during the time of Mehmed II when patronesses founded buildings mostly in Bursa and Edirne. These cities lost their popularity with the growing role of Amasya beyond being just a provincial capital as it was in earlier decades.

Amasya was popular with the urbanization attempts not only during the reign of Bayezid II. After its conquest following the time of Mehmed I and Murat II architectural attempts were undertaken by prominent families of Amasya as well as by these sultans and familiar servants of their provincial courts.²⁰⁷ As it was noted in the chapter concerning the time of Çelebi Mehmet and Murat II, the former had founded a zawiya in honour of her mother in Merzifon, one of the main districts of Amasya. Construction of a public work in honour of his mother in the province where her mother had prominence at the time of his governance was a kind of display of reciprocal relationship between his mother and the sultan Çelebi Mehmet after he took the throne like Bayezid II who ordered the erection of a complex in Tokat. However, at the time of Bayezid II, the outburst of architectural patronage of

²⁰⁷ See Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi Mehmet ve II. Murad Devri* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1972)

women occurred in a provincial capital, that is Amasya, not in the capital city. As a contrasting point, at the times of Mehmed I and Murad II, women had public works in the capital city and the former capital city. This shift to the province was concomitant to architectural attempts of Bayezid II in Amasya before the capital city, Istanbul.²⁰⁸

On the other hand, prominence of Amasya in the late fifteenth century diminished in the second half of the sixteenth century as a result of rising popularity of Manisa as a provincial capital near the capital city. It was also the province in which two princes, Murat III and Mehmet III were appointed as last governors of a sanjak.²⁰⁹ It was perceived as a foreshadower before ascending to the throne, thus its popularity as a provincial capital rose among the princes.²¹⁰ Manisa had come into sight as a political center when Murat II left the throne and went to Manisa where he undertook the construction of some foundations; this was an unusual case of a sultan who left the throne.²¹¹ Moreover, in the fifteenth century not only princes but also dignitaries of the provincial courts enlivened the province with their foundations.²¹²

It should be pointed out that in Manisa, urbanization attempts of princes' mothers were initiated by mother of Şehzade Şehinşah. This patroness, Hüsnüşah Khatun, had a complex composed of a mosque, an *imaret*, a khan, and a *mektep*²¹³ in Manisa, not only as the mother of a prince but also as a person who displayed the first serious architectural attempt in this province.²¹⁴ (Figure5) Furthermore,

²⁰⁸ Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu. "Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Making of the Ottoman Capital" p.380 forthcoming.

²⁰⁹ Feridun Emecen, *XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazası* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989), p.26

²¹⁰ Ibid. p.31

²¹¹ Feridun Emecen, "Manisa", *DİA*, v.27 (2003):578

²¹² Emecen (1989), p.86

²¹³ It is not obvious, whether she founded that mektep or it was founded by someone later. However in Hüsnüşah Khatun's trust deed, there was a note that declares appointment of a muallim among other servants of this complex. The trust deed of Hüsnüşah Khatun

²¹⁴ Emecen (1989), p.29

Şehinşah, who could not gain the throne, had a masjid named after him in Konya at the time of his governorship there.²¹⁵ Konya and particularly Manisa witnessed several important foundations of women and men of Ottoman household in the following decades.²¹⁶

“The mothers of potential heirs to the sultanate” had monuments out of the capital city until mid-sixteenth century.²¹⁷ They would be the eldest person in the provincial court who erected building complexes that served the sanjaks’ population. This city would be subject to important changes as new princes arrived to hold the court there.²¹⁸ Therefore, they had access to commercial, social, educational spheres in these provinces much more so than in the capital.

Women’s economic activity must be located within the context of wider Ottoman economy, and women’s wealth and investment decisions must be compared to those of men or to the general outline of economic activities of these cities. Women’s access to commercial world was in its apex at that time when compared to earlier times though it was limited in contrast to men’s investments in commercial areas. In commercial network of towns, women of this period had assumed a certain role thanks to their public baths, khans, mills and shops.

It is significant that the number of public baths built by men were more than eleven times more than those built by women. And the number of khans constructed by men were more than thirteen times more than those constructed by

²¹⁵ Existence of such a masjid founded by a prince seems to me interesting. Because such kind of public work of a prince was not founded (as it has aforementioned) since the time of Orhan.

²¹⁶ In the former Mevlevi Complex was renovated by various sultans and the Selimiye Mosque was completed by Selim II and the latter became more favourable with Sultaniye Complex by Hafsa Khatun and Muradiye Complex by Murat III in following decades. Godfrey Goodwin, “Konya” *E.I.*, v.5(1979), p.255

²¹⁷ Lucienne Thys Şenocak, “The Yeni Valide Complex at Eminönü” *Muqarnas* 15 (1998):78 Only Gülbahar Khatun who had not in fact a major architectural endeavor, had undertaken construction of a modest masjid in the capital city, Edirne.

²¹⁸ Emecen, “Manisa” *D.İ.A.*, v.27(2003):579

women. However, an evaluation that takes into consideration the number of women's commercial buildings within the total of their own buildings, let alone within the grand total of commercial buildings of this period yields other results. Nearly 5 % of women's foundations were composed of khans and 18 % of them were public baths. In fact, the result of such an evaluation for foundations of men suggests that 4 % of men's buildings were khans and 12,5 % of these were public baths in addition to their *bedestens* and caravanserais amounting to nearly 5,7 %.²¹⁹

Nevertheless, these numbers suggest that women preferred erecting public baths with the income under their control much more frequently than did men, though such an evaluation did not change the results for other commercial foundations such as khans, caravanserais and *bedestens*. Prominent patronesses of this era had at least one public bath even if they did not have any khan or *bedesten* or caravanserai in order to cover expenses of their public works. Increasing number of these public baths could set someone thinking them as public spaces.

These numbers could give an idea about the contribution of women in the commercial area, but particularly the location of buildings in urban space could reveal their roles in the public stage. Patronesses who had a complex such as Bülbül Khatun, the mother of Şehzade Ahmet, Hüsnüşah Khatun, mother of Şehzade Şehinşah, Hatice Khatun, daughter of Bayezid II had public baths within their complexes despite the fact that women known for modest public works had baths that were not so close to their institutions²²⁰ except Asude Khatun (a modest patroness who had a double public bath in Mevlana Gurani Khan Mahallesi, a quarter of Istanbul, for her *mekteb* in Aşık Pasha Mahallesi).(Figure 1)

²¹⁹ These values were acquired from the source as follows; Yüksel, (1983)

²²⁰ Selçuk Khatun had a public bath in Tophane Mahallesi, a quarter of Galata for expenses of her medrese in Serez, and Hundi Khatun had a public bath in Edirne for her *mekteb* in Bursa. See the trust deed of Selçuk Khatun, daughter of Bayezid II and Hundi Khatun's trust deed: V.G.M.A.581/382

Transportation of income across vast distances was only possible in the case of extraordinary conditions²²¹. Hence, a public bath's revenue, bequeathed to a distant building is interesting. For instance, Selçuk Khatun had a public bath (in Istanbul), the income of which was spent for her *medrese* in Serez. Moreover, Hundi Khatun endowed a public bath in Edirne in order to meet the expenses of her *mekteb* in Bursa. Furthermore, transportation of the revenue of Serez Khatun's public bath in the opposite direction –from the capital city to the Balkans - was not a usual tendency. Since most of the revenues of pious foundations in the capital city was covered by the income collected from the Balkans and in lesser numbers from Anatolian towns, those pious foundations that transferred the revenue from the capital city to other towns, particularly to the Balkans were not encountered frequently.²²²

Only two patronesses of this period had khans; one was Hüsnişah Khatun and the other one was Bülbül Khatun who endowed a khan for expenses of her complex.²²³ Hüsnişah Khatun's khan, Kurşunlu Khan was at the starting point of Manisa's *çarşı* which was defined as follows; "this *çarşı* reached the quarter known as Alacahamam from Hatuniye Mosque and to Ali Aga Mosque from Kurşunlu Khan".(Figure 4)²²⁴

Significantly, with the construction of Hüsnişah Khatun's complex, the center of the city with the focal point designated by Ulu Mosque (that had been constructed by Sarukhanoghulları before the Ottoman conquest in 1390 or the next year) lost its importance. (Figure 5) This complex initiated a visible attempt in the urban

²²¹ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns And Townsmen of Otoman Anatolia* (Cambridge University Press,1984),p.24

²²² Ibid., p.44

²²³ Bülbül Khatun who had a complex in Amasya had a khan known as Veled-i Kilid Khan dedicated to the support of this institution . I could not get enough information whether it was erected by her or it transferred to her endowed properties in some way. Moreover I could not locate this building in Tokat, thus I could not make any interpretation about its location in this town.

²²⁴ Emecen (1989),p.74

development of Manisa and in the following decades, this attempt was followed with the construction of the Sultaniye Complex of Hafsa Khatun, mother of Süleyman I.²²⁵ However, since 1427, Ottomans had maintained the construction of foundations on the axis that was formed by the Sarukhans. As a result, the city center, with the foundation of complexes that had offerings concerning educational, religious, social, and commercial needs of the population slipped to the north of the town by the initiation of Hüsnişah Khatun's architectural endeavors.²²⁶ Urban improvement was largely dependent on the establishment of pious foundations for various public works such as hospitals, schools, trade centers as in the case of Hüsnişah Khatun's complex.

This khan probably sheltered many tradesmen from various towns and countries. It was noted as a big trade center which had connections to the harbours of Bursa, Iskenderiye, and Trablusşam and which provided transportation of various goods to the harbour of Antalya in the sixteenth century.²²⁷ In the late fifteenth century, it may not have been a highly developed area, but the *çarşı* of Manisa in the north of the town began to be formed especially with the erection of the khan of Hüsnişah Khatun. It was also mentioned that in the sixteenth century all the guests were welcomed in three khans of Manisa and the most sizeable among them was Khan-ı Cedid or Yeni Khan founded by Hüsnişah Khatun and endowed to support her complex.²²⁸ This Yeni Khan must be the khan known as Kurşunlu Khan, probably its name changed in time.

Another foundation of this period, known as Gülbahar Khatun Complex was built in an area that became a small commercial center as an alternative to the main

²²⁵ Feridun Emecen. "Manisa" *DİA*, 27(2003):579

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ Emecen (1989), p.66

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.76

commercial area that had a *bedesten* and some khans such as Yagci Khan, Khan, Sulu Khan, Pasha Khan.(Figure 6) Before it was erected, a khan known as Horozoglu Khan had been founded near her complex and in the seventeenth century, another khan was erected nearby.²²⁹ Moreover, in the seventeenth century the quarter in which this complex was founded became known as Meydan Mahallesi though in the sixteenth century it was only known as Hatuniye Mahallesi. This development was due to formation of a public square (*meydan*) surrounded by Hatuniye Complex and two khans and a *medrese*. The construction of this complex did not initiate the constitution of a commercial area as Hüsnüşah Khatun's complex did in Manisa, but it is a fact that it initiated the establishment of a small nearby commercial area.

Other small commercial properties, particularly shops and in fewer number mills had essential status among endowed properties of patronesses at the time of Bayezid II. Nine patronesses out of all the patronesses (they were eighteen) of this period had shops dedicated to cover expenses of their institutions. In earlier years, properties that were dedicated to support an institution were mainly composed of agricultural lands, only at the time of Mehmed II a few women had shops.

However, in this period some patronesses endowed properties almost all of which were composed of shops. Hüsnüşah Khatun had only three villages and a garden in order to cover one of the most prestigious complexes of this period and Hatice Khatun had only four villages in order to maintain her masjid and *mekteb*.²³⁰ Furthermore, Asude Khatun, the *ketkhüda khatun* of the old palace had not endowed any land for her tomb and *mekteb* in Istanbul. However, it does not mean that all of

²²⁹ Tayyib Gökbilgin. "Tokat" I.A. (1979):404

²³⁰ This information about endowed properties of Hatice Khatun was acquired from the source known as Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, (eds.), *953 (1546) Tarihli İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* (Istanbul, 1970) One could not be sure whether these properties could be changed in time or not.

these patronesses did have shops instead of lands. All of these patronesses had also public baths as revenue producing institutions and Hüsnişah Khatun had a khan.

As it was noted in the preceding chapter, wealthy people had a row of shops, khans or *bedestens* that were integrated into a complex in contrast to less wealthy members of the community who had isolated stores or workshops.²³¹ Patronesses of this period generally had a row of shops near their buildings in some quarters or in well known trade centers with the exception of two women; they had only a bakery in order to support the masjids of their own quarters. Like these benefactors, many people who had limited wealth usually preferred to dedicate some properties to support masjids that were near their houses.

Although in many cases a row of shops rather than isolated ones were endowed, their number was not registered except for the shops of the patronesses Asude Khatun, Hatice Khatun and Hüsnişah Khatun, who scored the highest numbers. One could think that if the row of shops was not given in number, they could vanish in a shorter time due to possible violations in the maintenance of the wakf system. Therefore, one can conclude that if shops constituted an essential part of endowed properties, they were given in numbers because the diminishing number of dominant properties could lead to important problems.

It should be indicated that there are other parameters besides the number of shops, giving clues about the access of women to the commercial network of Ottoman towns. One could also derive information by looking at the location of shops. The shops that were endowed for the maintenance of Hüsnişah Khatun's, Asude Khatun's and Hatice Khatun's institutions were near a *çarşı*, a khan or a *bedesten*.

²³¹ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia; Trade, Crafts and Food Production in An Urban Setting, (1520-1650)* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1984), p.35

As it was noted above, one of the prominent patronesses of this era, Hüsnüşah Khatun had shops integrated to her khan and a few were near her *imaret* in the same *çarşı*. Moreover, some of them were near the bazaars of Manisa known as Odun Pazarı and Kale Pazarı.²³² Also Hatice Khatun had most of her shops in the quarter known as Mercan Aga Mahallesi, which is even today one of the main commercial areas of Istanbul and also a row of shops near another familiar *çarşı* of the capital city known as Mahmud Pasha Çarşısı. In the years following the conquest of the capital city, the covered bazaar became the nucleus of the commercial area of the city. As time passed, this area was broadened from the line of Mahmud Pasha and Mercan Aga to the Golden Horn.

Certainly the location of shops near the center of the main commercial area differs from the row of shops in an ordinary quarter because women who endowed commercial property near the commercial center were integrated into this area to greater extent. As it was noted in the preceding chapter, at the time of Mehmed II only his wetnurse, who had prerogatives of the sultan's mother as a result of early death of his mother, had some shops near the Bedesten that was one of the main buildings within the heart of this commercial area. However, another patroness known as Asude Khatun (the *ketküda khatun* whose status could be comparable to Mehmed II's wetnurse) was not allowed to or didn't prefer to own shops in the main commercial district of the capital city but in Galata. In this district of the capital city a khan known as Mevlana Gürani Khan²³³, nearby she dedicated seventeen shops to the maintenance of her public works, was built by this patroness.(Figure 1)

²³² I could not find the location of these bazaars, but probably they were in the main commercial area of Manisa. Bazaars were usually founded in the commercial area of the cities.

²³³ See Ceyhan Güran, *Türk Vakıflarının Gelişimi ve İstanbul Hanları Mimarisi* (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1976),60-61 and Ekrem İlakkı Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri,III* (Istanbul:Baha Matbaası, 1973), pp.576-579

The patronesses of Bayezid II's reign had commercial premises in the highest number compared to patronesses of the earlier years. They had the role of owning business premises, particularly shops in the heart of the commercial areas of the province of Manisa and the capital city of Istanbul and public baths usually near their other foundations. Through the building and maintenance of their public works prominently these women, Hüsnişah, Asude and Hatice Khatun employed highly visible as well as powerful means to further their public role. By providing for the needs of urban dwellers in various ways distribution of goods, welcoming tradesmen throughout the Ottoman Empire (and probably out of it), they were integrated into the commercial network.

Women were visible with their economic investments thanks to being founders of pious works which gave them also the chance of displaying more charitable and pious attempts, mainly disbursement of food in their *imarets*. These differ from Gülçiçek Khatun's (mother of Bayezid I) *zawiya* or the tomb of Asude Khatun²³⁴ that provided the distribution of food particularly on holy days or nights in a sanctuary. It was a mandatory duty of the Muslim to give alms to the poor thus the sultans conspicuously displayed it by providing for the distribution of food to the poor. It was noted that Orhan, the second Ottoman sultan, had distributed the first food, the day he opened the soup kitchen he founded in Iznik.²³⁵

Mothers of princes and of the sultan (Hüsnişah, Bülbül and Gülbahar Khatun) had an *imaret* each in their complexes. These institutions were means for the display of royal consorts' (the latter mounted a step further as mother of the actual winner in

²³⁴ The latter patroness formed a different example by providing disbursement of food at her tomb in holy days and feasts. Each year 3000 dirhem was left for this disbursement, this fund left for it was more than income of a mütevellî in a year, though he had highest income among other servants. See the trust deed of Asude Khatun.

²³⁵ Leslie P. Peirce. *The Imperial Harem; Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, p.175

the throne contest) piety and charity throughout the main provincial towns –Amasya, Tokat, and Manisa – of the Ottoman Empire. By these institutions, they provided one of the first mandatory needs of people composed of not only the needy but also many others from different walks of life. The latter group was mainly given the title of *reaya* and *ulema* or visitors as in many examples of extensive and modest *imarets* in the capital city or many provinces.²³⁶ Beneficiaries were not only registered under an implicit term (such as visitors, *reaya*) but also details concerning what kind of acts must be displayed for eminent people were registered in trust deeds of women. Although these people were usually noted as they deserved distinguished treatment, one could come across an explanation about this detail in only Hüsnüşah Khatun's *imaret* that provided food three times a day for eminent people though common people could have food only twice; in the morning and in the evening.

On special days and nights, the dishes were richer and extra revenues were allotted for everyone. These special days and nights were the nights of Regaip, Aşure, Berat, the feasts, the month of Receb, Ramadan, (and the end of it) and Friday nights. These nights and days were the days and nights on which people should pray and must give thanks to God because they had the chance of being forgiven with their pious acts.²³⁷

²³⁶ Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen* (State University of New York Press, 2002), p.144

²³⁷ It is one of the *manis*, written about distinguished peculiarities of the holy month, Ramadan;

.....
Geldi bu mahımız (Ramazan) kutlu
Teşrifi şekerden tatlı
Nice canlar erişmedi
Eren canlara ne mutlu

Aleme rahmetle geldi
Hamd ola izzetle geldi
Cümle mümin kullarına
Müjde-i cennetle geldi

Amil Çelebi.(ed.) *Ramazanname*. Atatürk Üniversitesi Kitaplığı, Yazmalar Bölümü/408 (Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser 22), p.41

Although disbursement of food was concentrated in the foundations of three well-known figures of this period, educational attempts were under the control of patronesses from various segments of the society. *Medreses* were founded by prominent women but *mektebs* (in higher numbers) were constructed by women that had different amounts of wealth. Therefore construction of medreses were related to status of patronesses rather than their wealth.

Until the time of Bayezid II, only two patronesses known as Melek Khatun, the wife of Karamanođlu Alaaddin Bey and Gülçiçek Khatun, the mother of Bayezid I, had undertaken the building of a *medrese*. Even at the time of Mehmed II, no *medrese* was founded by any women²³⁸, though numerous *medreses* were founded by *ulema* and particularly devshirme families at that time. It is a fact that maintenance of *medreses* does not only require meeting their needs but also the way it functioned as an educational institution. Even the curriculum of a *medrese* was determined by considering wishes of its founder.²³⁹

However, this period witnessed the foundation of two *medreses*; one was founded by Bayezid II in honour of his mother in Tokat and the other one was established by Selçuk Khatun, daughter of Bayezid II, in Serez. Furthermore, the latter differs from women who all had relatively small *mülks* or foundations in the Balkans. Her exceptional position was noted by Artan who concluded that women did not or were not allowed to have a “symbolic and mental space” for themselves in this stage of Ottoman power except Selçuk Khatun.²⁴⁰ It is a fact that Selçuk

²³⁸ As it was noted in the preceding chapter, there were different claims about existence of a medrese of a woman known as Ilace Khatun. It was not obvious whether she had a medrese or not. See Ekrem İakki Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri III*, (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1973), p.415 and A. Süheyl Ünver. *Hızır Bey Çelebi, Hayatı ve Eserleri* (Istanbul: Numune Matbaası, 1944), p.48

²³⁹ İlüseyin Atay. *Osmanlılarda Yüksek Din Eğitimi*, (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1983), p78

²⁴⁰ Tülay Artan. “Periods and Problems of Ottoman (Women’s) Patronage on the Via Egnatia” In *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule 1380-1699*, ed. by Elizabeth Zachariadou, (Bethymnon: Crete University Press, 1996), p.119

Khatun's *medrese* had more expenses, some of which was compensated with revenues of her extensive wakf lands in the Balkans.

Nevertheless, she was not the first patroness in the Balkans, a few princesses had modest buildings such as *mektebs* or *masjids* or public baths at the time of Mehmed II. It should be pointed out that these modest buildings were not a displays of their limited power in the Balkans. Rather they were concomitant to the general trends of women's architectural attempts during Mehmed II's reign, although their numbers exceeded those of the previous era.

As it was noted in the first part of this chapter, Selçuk Khatun's status was probably reinforced by her husband's position as sanjakebegi in the province of Serez. As she had personal motives in the construction of such a building in the Balkans, promoting Islamic culture in this part of the empire might have also be concern as other patrons who founded 20 % of *medreses* in this period there.²⁴¹

Besides, patronesses' favored educational institutions, *mektebs* reached the highest number in this period. Interestingly enough their number exceeded even the number of women's *masjids* or mosques, which were highest in numbers in earlier times. In fact, they built 17 % of the *mektebs* which were founded in those years.²⁴² These were founded by royal women as well as non-royal women as single buildings or as a part of small or extensive complexes. In contrast to numerous single *masjids* of non-royal patronesses in earlier times, *mektebs* were the dominant architectural attempts of these women in this period.²⁴³ As it was noted in the preceding chapter, the maintenance of a *mekteb* could be covered with less income in contrast to a

²⁴¹ See Yüksel (1983)

²⁴² See Yüksel (1983), p.469 and the tables that display women's buildings stated in the appendix.

²⁴³ On the other hand, one nonroyal patroness known as Fahrünnisa Khatun, daughter of Ebubekir who was from ümera, had a *masjid* in addition to her *mekteb*. Also Melek Khatun preferred undertaking erection of only a *masjid* rather than a *mekteb*, erection of which was a general tendency in those days.

medrese, as the latter required a more extensive group of employees as well as more expenses.²⁴⁴ On the other hand, it is interesting that these women preferred the construction of *mektebs* rather than *masjids* although maintenance and construction of both would require similar amounts of income.

As a result, women were able to further their visibility in the provincial towns while at the time of Bayezid, the capital city mostly witnessed the construction of modest or single buildings which had limited supporting properties of princesses and of ordinary women.²⁴⁵ On the other hand, the mother of the sultan and mothers of princes built complexes in the provincial towns, Tokat, Amasya and Manisa and thus, women of this period were more integrated into the social, economic, and commercial life of these provinces rather than the capital city. In fact, Bursa and Edirne as distinguished towns displaying the power of women with significant numbers of buildings until the time of Bayezid lost their importance as a result of a new rising group of patronesses (mother of princes) in the provinces.

With the purpose of accentuating their visibility, women employed powerful means through maintenance of institutions (educational, religious, and commercial) and buildings. As it was noted above, sites that were granted (or preferred by patronesses) for buildings and supporting properties provided expressions of the patronage of these women. Furthermore, architectural features of building complexes (in contrast to modest public works until the time of Bayezid II) were important as visual texts of their power.

Royal consorts of Bayezid II, Hüsnüşah Khatun and Bülbül Khatun and the mother of Bayezid II, each had a complex which included a mosque that differs from women's single-unit mosques in the early Ottoman era. The latter was founded by

²⁴⁴ As far as I see expenses of *mektebs* were changing between 100-180 *dirhem*, but *medreses'* expenses were three or four times more than expenses of the most extensive *mektebs* of women.

²⁴⁵ See footnote 99.

the sultan in honour of his mother, Gülbahar Khatun. As it was noted in the preceding chapters, women only undertook the construction of single unit mosques until the time of Bayezid II. However, these buildings were noted as 'relatively small for a royal foundation' (for Gülbahar Khatun's mosque)²⁴⁶ (Figure 13) or 'little mosque's (for Hüsnişah Khatun Complex)²⁴⁷ (Figure 11) or a 'simple modest somewhat irregular building neither a significant structure nor a monumental example' (for Bülbül Khatun Complex).²⁴⁸ (Figure 12)

These buildings did not have the characteristics of royal mosques founded at that time. In other words, they were small or modest or irregular buildings compared to royal mosques of this period. On the other hand, they were the first examples of a mosque that was different from single unit mosques in their general composition which including other architectural elements than the three- bay porch and the minaret. During Mehmed II's reign even the most magnificent mosques of women, namely Ayşe Kadın Mosque (Figure 7) and Sittişah Khatun Mosque in Edirne²⁴⁹ (in the garden of the palace) were single unit mosques even though the latter was defined as one of the largest examples of Edirne's middle-sized mosques in those years. (Figure 8)

Furthermore, the mosque founded in honour of Gülbahar Khatun differs from the mosques of royal consorts founded in Manisa (its plan follows the Saruhan tradition)²⁵⁰ and Amasya could also be perceived as first examples of convent mosques²⁵¹ (modest in size) that were founded in a significant number through the

²⁴⁶ Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London:Thames and Hudson,1971),p.157

²⁴⁷ Ibid.,p.158

²⁴⁸ Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp.50-51,157,170

²⁴⁹ See Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri* (Istanbul:Baha Matbaası,1974), for Ayşe Kadın Mosque pp.200-204 and for Sitti khatun Mosque pp.218-221

²⁵⁰ Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Otoman Architecture*, p.158

²⁵¹ *Türk Tarihinde ve Kültüründe Tokat Sempozyumu* (Ankara: Tokat Valiliği İbn Kemal Araştırma Merkezi,1987),pp.336-337

Bayezid's reign as a result of a new relationship between the state and the *sufi* order 'Halvetiyye'.²⁵² The complex of Bayezid II in Edirne was also an example of such buildings that had convent sections to the two sides of the prayer hall.(Figure 14) The next mosque of Bayezid II in Istanbul and later (in 1522) the mosque of Selim I in the capital city were combined with a convent. In fact, the mosque of Gülbahar Khatun was modest in size compared to other convent mosques of the imperial family, while having similar architectural characteristics, as it was a more developed single unit mosque combined with a convent on each side.

Even though some buildings of their complexes vanished in time (as numerous buildings of women mentioned in preceding chapters), particularly their mosques remained standing. As the main building of their complexes, probably maintenance of mosques was considered more important.

3.3 Other Charities and Pious Works of Women

These acts dealt with in the following paragraphs could be summarized as practices of charities rather than as architectural attempts, but they were hardly private. As a reciprocal relationship existed between a patroness and the sultan or a patroness and beneficiaries, another kind of reciprocal relationship was experienced between the prominent religious personages and philanthropists. As Peirce noted prominent religious personages could not protect if they were not protected, thus their tombs were founded and their convents were maintained by providing their needs.²⁵³

²⁵² Çiğdem Kafescioğlu. "Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Making of the Ottoman Capital" p.384 forthcoming.

²⁵³ Leslie, Peirce. *Morality Tales ;Law and Gender In the Otoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley,Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2003), p.48

The most familiar of these devout figures was Fatma Khatun who was the only woman with endowed properties throughout vast Ottoman lands (such as Istanbul, Denizli, Tire, Dimetoka, Hayrebolu) for maintaining extant sanctuaries rather than for undertaking the construction of any buildings. She allocated some funds for numerous convents in different locations. One of them was a well known complex in Istanbul, namely the Aşık Pasha Convent which followed the *tariqa* of *Zeyniyye* in those years. Furthermore, she dedicated some properties for the support of Bostancı Dede Zaviyesi and a mosque in Çarşenbe. Ayverdi noted that these sanctuaries must have followed the same religious order that was pursued in Aşık Pasha Convent which was also known in later centuries as Seyyid Velayet Convent. However, as it is indicated in detail in the preceding chapter, one could follow different religious orders at the same time as a usual tendency in the *sufi* world.

In fact, in many cases, the relatives of a sheikh could have had made some donations for the convent the sheikh devoted himself to. As it was noted in the first chapter, Hundi Khatun, the wife of Emir Sultan had undertaken the construction of the *zawiya* of Emir Sultan Complex. Seyyid Velayet , the sheikh's son in law and daughter of the sheikh, Rabia Khatun had supported this convent in different ways. In fact, rather than their kinship, their devotion to this sanctuary could have led to such attempts. As it was noted in the preceding lines, the name of his son-in-law was given to this convent in later years as a well-known novice of this convent. Fatma Khatun could have taken part in social life of these *tariqas* like prominent patronesses of the time of Mehmed II such as Selçuk Khatun and Hatice Khatun.

Another convent known as Eşrefzade Convent in Iznik was maintained to be supported by a royal woman, Nigar Khatun, mother of Fatma Khatun. Nigar Khatun, one of the concubines of Bayezid II, ordered the recitation of the Quran (by

dedicating two villages) in order to please the soul of Sheikh Abdullah, son of Eşref. After the death of Nigar Khatun, these villages were passed on to the disposal of Fatma Khatun and she added some villages of Dimetoka in order to support the same tekke, probably at the time of Selim I. Such a relationship between a mother and a daughter was not accidental due to the existence of such examples in earlier years. As it was noted in the second chapter, Selçuk Khatun (daughter of Mehmed I) had supported the tekke for which her daughter, Hatice Khatun, endowed some properties in the following years. Maybe it was a general tendency that the current female generation of a family followed the footsteps of the earlier female generation by devoting themselves to the same tariqas as can be observed in the case of these mothers and daughters. In other words, they continued their mother's role by declaring their name with these kinds of charities and ensuring that their mothers' support would be remembered.

This convent was also supported by another royal muslim woman, Sitti Mükerrerme Khatun who was not allowed to erect any public work as the wife of Mehmed II. However, she had some attempts in order to be publicly known as in the example of her mosque in the palace of Edirne and her endowments for this tariqa, which were hardly private. As it was noted in the first chapter, muslim wives of the sultans, generally daughters of neighbouring states, were not allowed to have a child and to undertake the construction of any public work. Maybe one could note that though the rule in general was valid, Sitti Khatun displayed some attempts in order to break the rule but her attempts could not be included among public attempts of others.

The *Eşrefiyye* and *Zeyniyye* orders, that were followed in this convent had been supported by prominent royal women in earlier years too. Although the

Halvetiyye, as the prominent *tariqa* that had headquarters in Amasya, gained the utmost popularity in this period, some other *tariqas* like the *Zeyniyye* or the *Eşrefiyye* still continued to be supported. Bayezid II gained the title of the saint (*veli*) and a place in the genealogies of the *Halvetiyye*.²⁵⁴ The links between the royal supporters and the religious personages were not only based on dedication of some expenses of these *tariqas* but rather on a patrimonial relation formed by social relations to a certain extent. In general, it was noted that people were devoted to a *tariqa* after they experienced miracles of a *sufi* as there is a story about the cure of a wound on Mükerrerme Khatun's tongue by Sheikh Eşrefzade and thus her first meeting with him was as a suffering patient.²⁵⁵

On the other hand, an existing group composed of non-royal women who were also perceivable to a significant extent at the time of Mehmed II, maintained their attempts concerning the continuum of extant buildings with following generations at this time. They generally endowed limited properties such as houses, bakeries and small cash in order to cover the expenses of the mosque of the quarter they lived in.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ Çiğdem Kafescioğlu. "Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Making of the Ottoman Capital" pp.379 forthcoming.

²⁵⁵ A. Necla Pekolcay- Abdullah Uçman "Eşrefoğlu Rumi" *DİA* (1995):481

²⁵⁶ For these ordinary women that usually maintains a quarter mosque, see Ömer Lütfi, Barkan. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (eds.), *Istanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri 953 (1546) Tarihli* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1970), pages.300, 323, 60,112,133,361[women that had a trust deed registered between the years 1481 and 1512 are included] Only one of them known as Tacünnisa Khatun, wife of Ishak Pasha that was from one of the local families of İnegöl, endowed a village and a field near Manyas unlike these women who had much more limited properties. He was one of the figures who supported Bayezid II in the throne contest, in Amasya. See Enis Karakaya and Ahmet Vefa Çobanoğlu "Ishak Pasha" *DİA*, 22(2000):541-542 Certainly Tacünnisa Khatun was wife of an eminent statesman, however others were composed of ordinary women. For Tacünnisa Khatun's endowments see Ishak Pasha's trust deed; Vehbi Tamer. *V.D*, 4(1958): pp.107-124

As a result, the role of royal women in the life of these sanctuaries was not just confined to the maintenance of any foundation, it was noted for non-royal women. It is possible to perceive that they were not completely private attempts; at least inhabitants of these sanctuaries were aware of the charitable attempts of these royal women.

CONCLUSION

The present study examined architectural patronage of women in the early Ottoman era within the context of general patronage relations between various individuals or groups. In fact, women, as members of these groups represented their families' architectural patronage. Therefore, the architectural patronage practices of women can not be studied without the patronage of their families. Moreover, in relations of patronage, the internal dynamics of the Ottoman dynastic household was influential as much as the structure of the Ottoman state as determinants of the relations between the sultan and different groups.

Besides general patronage relations, women's preferences or the possibilities offered to them were to some extent influential on their architectural patronage. Therefore gender dynamics within Ottoman society must also be considered.

Although the changing dynamics in relations of women with different individuals or groups led to changes in their architectural patronage, royal women played a prominent role in architectural patronage from the early beginning of the Ottomans as a principality. The predominant role belonged to mothers of sultans and to princesses. However, as a result of changing dynamics of the Ottoman household, royal consorts who were mothers of male dynasts who could not ascend to the throne stepped into the public stage with their architectural works during the reign of Bayezid II. Within the period of time this thesis has focused on, a few patronesses who had no blood links to the sultan but who had intimate relations with him highlighted their prominence through building and providing the maintenance of some existing foundations. These were *daye* khatuns (such as the wet nurses of Mehmed I and Mehmed II) and Asude Khatun (the *ketkhüda khatun* during Bayezid

II's reign). Prominent women, such as Asude Khatun and Mehmet II's *daye*, assumed the prerogatives of the sultan's mother, as the mothers had faced untimely deaths.

Being the mother of a male dynast remained the most prestigious status for a woman, although princesses married to high ranking officials also gained prominence through their architectural attempts. Such marriages (to members of devshirme families) began during the reign of Mehmed II, and this pattern was maintained during Bayezid II's reign and in the later periods.

Besides the internal dynamics of the Ottoman household, sultans' political agendas throughout different phases of the empire, from the principality to the transition period, from the centralized to the consolidated state determined almost every aspect of women's patronage, particularly that of non-royal women.

Non-royal women began to be influential architectural patrons after the end of the interregnum period (1403-1413). In the transition period from the principality to the centralized state, prominent patronesses came from Anatolian families. The number of their buildings exceeded even the number of buildings founded by royal women following the interregnum period. During Mehmed II's reign, women (a royal woman, daughter of Murad II and a non-royal woman, daughter of a commander from a well-known Anatolian family) married to a statesman of devshirme origin, Zagonos Mehmed Pasha displayed their status and wealth by erecting small building complexes; a case that had not been usually witnessed in this period, as a result of attempts to create a military elite from devshirme recruits who would occupy the highest offices of Ottoman state and could have access to extensive economic sources. Significantly, women from *ulema* families were almost non-existent as patrons of architecture during this period.

Lastly, during the reign of Bayezid II, women from Anatolian families returned to the public stage as founders or supporters of some institutions. Moreover, women neither from *umera* or nor from *ulema* backgrounds engaged in the construction of buildings.

On the whole, the ratio of these non-royal patronesses to royal ones was very limited except in the period between the years 1413-1451. The role of non-royal patronesses from various segments of society suggests that their status and power were dependent on the role of their families in the Ottoman social structure. Changing balances in policies of the sultans were influential on the patronage practices of these women, as their patronage reflected the status and role of their families at large.

This study focused on the material manifestation of power through the construction of buildings on various sites and the provision of their maintenance with supporting properties and offerings to beneficiaries. The patronage of women from certain influential circles does not lead to a clear-cut conclusion about the locations of their architectural works. However, it is a fact that the mother of a male dynast had buildings in the provinces starting with the time of Mehmed I. Amasya (and its surroundings) as a provincial capital was a popular location for the higher patronage of royal mothers at the time of Bayezid II. It should be emphasized that until the time of Bayezid II, Bursa and Edirne were the most popular towns where royal women displayed numerous architectural attempts. Particularly Bursa had transfers of revenue from a few remote Anatolian towns and Balkans in an era when the transfer of income across long distances was highly risky and expensive. The capital city, Istanbul, firstly witnessed public works of women in significant numbers during the reign of Bayezid II, with the attempts of princesses, the *kethüda khatun* and some

wealthy women neither from *umera* nor from *ulema*, probably from some merchant families.

It is obvious that women did not -or were not allowed to- erect buildings in recently conquered lands that did not yet have established social and economic networks. In the period after the interregnum (1413-1451) non-royal women preferred to display their power in formerly Ottomanized towns rather than in recently conquered lands or on the frontiers. However, these lands witnessed the architectural attempts of their family members as warriors or *gazis*, particularly of institutions that were generously endowed with properties within these recently conquered lands donated by the sultan.

The same tendency can be observed when important towns such as Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul were recently conquered. Women introduced their endowments in these towns only after the construction of social, commercial, religious networks within these cities. While extensive architectural attempts by men were made in Istanbul immediately following its conquest, women endowed only a few buildings during these years.

Edirne and Bursa also witnessed the architectural attempts of women only after men from the imperial family founded important buildings in these towns. In Bursa, the first buildings founded by a woman were constructed by Nilüfer Khatun, probably during the reign of Murad I (the definite date of construction is not known). In fact, it was conquered during the reign of Orhan and this ruler and a number of statesmen had founded public buildings there. In Edirne too, the earliest building by a woman was founded after 1430's, though it was conquered in 1361 and witnessed men's buildings as social, religious, economic networks were established even before the interregnum period.

The changes in the economic, social, and political balance of the early Ottoman era as well as in the individual wealth and status of women were also influential in the foundation of different types of buildings. During the foundation years of the Ottoman state as a principality, *imaret-zawiyas* were founded by royal women. These foundations were more appropriate for the needs of dervishes. As centralization attempts were initiated, royal women began to erect *zawiya*-mosques. However, non-royal women preferred undertaking the construction of *masjids* or mosques that required less wealth for maintenance in contrast to multi-functional buildings that needed more staff and demanded more expenses.

Due to similar reasons, erection of *mektebs* rather than *medreses* were introduced mostly by non-royal women. *Mektebs* had prominence in the following decades among the buildings of royal women. During the reign of Bayezid II, their number was higher than *masjids* or mosques, reflecting an important trend in the building practices of women in the early Ottoman era. Revenue generating institutions such as public baths, and *khans* were increasingly founded from the time of Mehmed II.

Not only the types of buildings but whether they were part of a complex or a single building depended on sultan's political agendas. Prominent figures of Mehmed II's reign had numerous single buildings that were not parts of larger complexes but were dispersed in various places as a result of his policy. He ordered the allotment of extensive *wakf* properties only for certain groups, and excluded even prominent women. Women were only allowed to possess limited properties in different sites. One can come across complexes founded by women first during the reign of Bayezid II, if one excludes a few small complexes that were founded outside

of Ottoman lands by Hafsa and Melek Khatuns in the early beginnings of the Ottoman principality.

On the whole, in the early Ottoman era women generally founded modest buildings, most of which were single domed mosques. During the reign of Bayezid II complexes were founded by mothers of male dynasts. However, these complexes, too, were modest compared to architectural attempts of male members of the imperial family. In fact the construction of these building complexes were the result of a process that was initiated with women's modest single buildings or small complexes from the beginnings of the Ottoman principality, up to the reign of Bayezid II. Thus women's buildings during the reign of Bayezid II are not modestly sized if they are analyzed within women's buildings through the years between 1299 and 1512.

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List of Abbreviations

BA/CE Başbakanlık Arşivi-Cevdet Evkaf

DİA İslam Ansiklopedisi (Diyanet İşleri Bakanlığı)

E.I Encyclopaedia of Islam

I.A İslam Ansiklopedisi

V.D Vakıflar Dergisi

VGMA Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi

TSAE Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, Evrak

APPENDICES

APPENDIX:I

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Figure 13-the plan of Gülbahar Khatun's mosque in Tokat

Figure 14-the plan of Beyazit Complex in Edirne



Fig.1. Map showing location of women's buildings in İstanbul (Map: reproduced from Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fatih Devri Sonlarında İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskanı ve Nüfusu* [Ankara:1958])

Index of Women's Buildings in Istanbul

(1451-1481)

- 1-Daye Khatun Mosque
- 2-Daye Khatun Masjid
- 3-Daye Khatun Tomb
- 4-Gülbahar Khatun Tomb
- 5-Hızır Beg Mosque? Hacı Khatun Mosque?
- 6-Hacı Kadın Public Bath (the founder known as Mihrişah Khatun, daughter of İskender Pasha)
- 7-Keyci Khatun Masjid
- 8-Selçuk Khatun Masjid
- 9-Hacı Kadın Mosque
- 10-*Mihrinaz Khatun Masjid (in Karagümrük, this building could not be located)

(1481-1512)

- 11-*Asude Khatun Public Bath (In Mevlana Gurani Mahallesi. There are three quarters called with this name at the time of Mehmed II.)
- 12-Asude Khatun Mekteb
- 14-Aişe Khatun Muallimhane (daughter of Hacı Ali)
- 15-Aişe Khatun Muallimhane?? (daughter of Mahmud Beg)
- 16-Aynişah Khatun Mekteb (grand-daughter of Bayezid II)
- 17-*Hani Khatun Muallimhane (I could not find information about its location)
- 18-Hatice Khatun Complex (She had a masjid, mekteb and a public bath near Edirnekapi. Most probably they were in a complex.)
- 19-Melek Khatun Masjid 20-Selçuk Khatun Public Bath
- 21-*Kumru Khatun Muallimhanesi

(* these buildings could not be located)

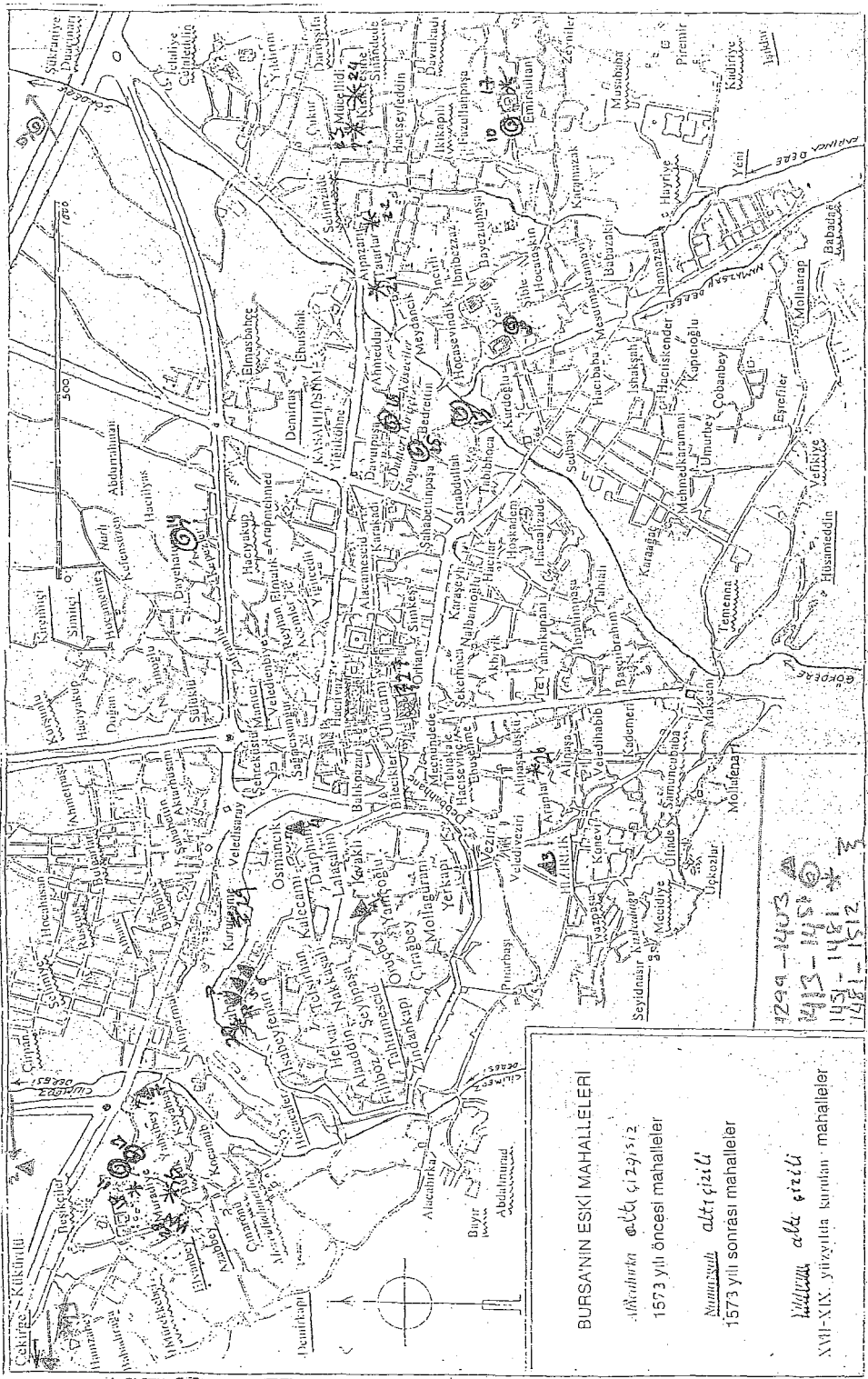


Fig. 2. Map showing locations of women's constructions in Bursa, 1299-1512 (Map: reproduced from Raif Kaplanoğlu. *Bursa'da Yer Adları Ansiklopedisi* [Istanbul:1996])

**Index of Women's Buildings in Bursa
(1299-1403)**

- 1- Nilüfer Khatun Tekke
- 2- Nilüfer Khatun Türbe
- 3- Hıdırlık Masjid
- 4- Zarbhané Masjid (most probably within the walls)
- 5- Gülçiçek Khatun Imaret
- 6- Gülçiçek Khatun Tomb

(1413-1451)

- 7- Gülçiçek Khatun Medrese
- 8- Devlet Khatun Tomb
- 9- Hatice Khatun Masjid (daughter of Yunus Beg)
- 10- Hundi Khatun Zawiya
- 11- Hatuniye Tomb
- 12- Hatuniye Mekteb
- 13- Selçuk Khatun Masjid
- 14- Daye Khatun Masjid (wetnurse of Mehmed I)
- 15- Hafsa Khatun (Bedrüddin Masjid)
- 16- Kirişçi Kızı Masjid

(1451-1481)

- 17- Hatice (Khanım) Sultan Mekteb
- 18- Ebe Khatun Kümbet
- 19- Mihrablı Bridge
- 20- Selçuk Khatun Tabhane
- 21- Sitti Khatun (Kanberler) Masjid (daughter of Oruç Beg)
- 22- Sitti Khatun (Kanberler) Mekteb

23-Fatma Khatun Mekteb (Muallimhane)

24-Fatma Khatun Masjid

25-Gülşah Khatun Tomb

26-Duheri Şeref Masjid

(1481-1512)

27-Şehzade Hundi Khatun Muallimhane (Mekteb)

28-Şirin Khatun Tomb

29-Aynişah Khatun Mekteb (Muallimhane)

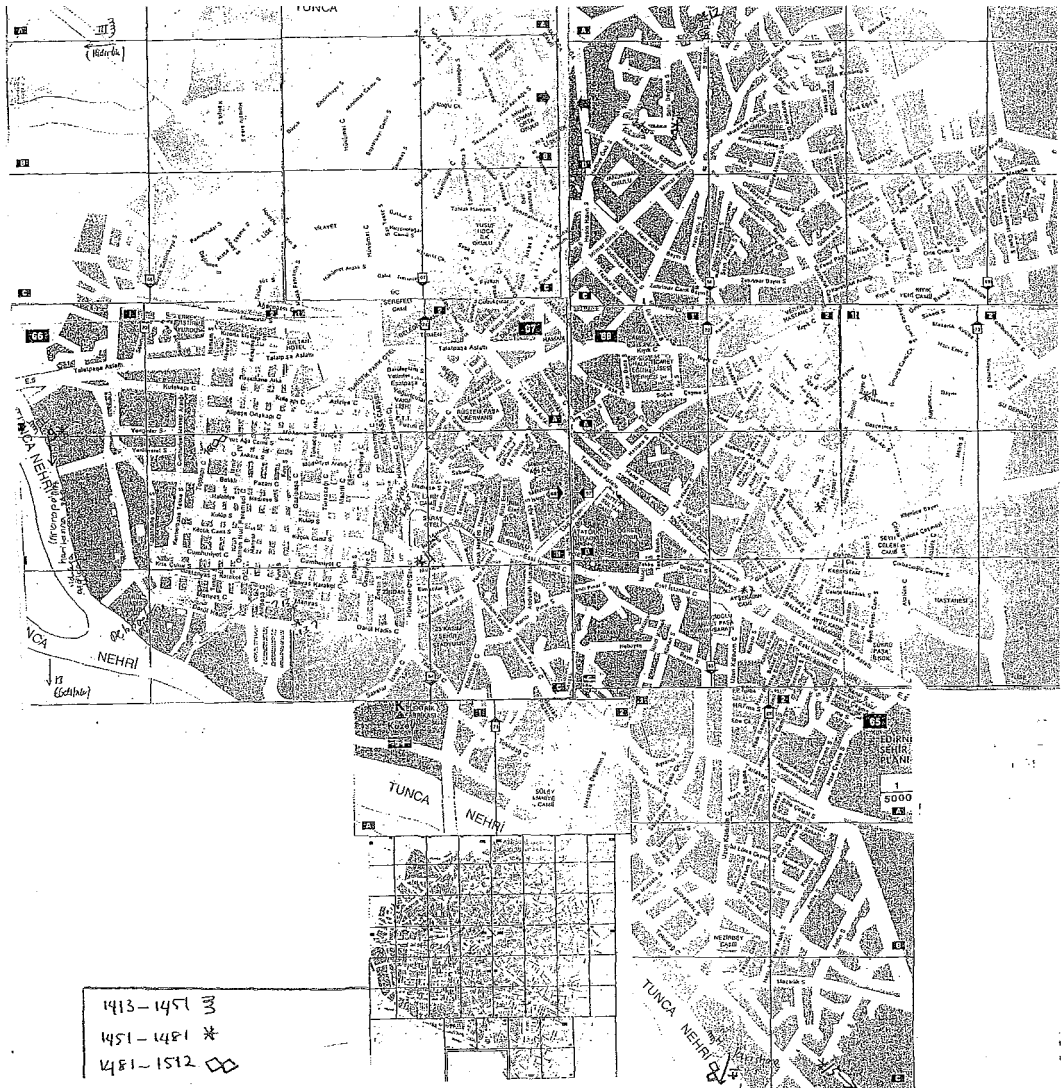


Fig. 3. Map showing the location of women's constructions between the years 1413 and 1512 in Edirne (Map:reproduced from Ratip Kazancıgil, *Edirne Mahalleri Tarihçesi 1529-1990*[Istanbul:1992])

Index of Women's Buildings in Edirne

(1413-1451) I- Bezirci Khatun Masjid

II- Zen-i Saruca Masjid

III- Tur Pasha Khatun Mosque

(1451-1481) 4-Fatma Khatun Mosque (daughter of Sinan Beğ)

5-Selçuk Khatun (daughter of Mürsel)

6-Sitti Sultan(Khatun) Mosque

7-Ayşe Kadın Mosque

8-Gülbahar Khatun Mosque

9-Selçuk Khatun Masjid

10-Zen-i İbrahim Pasha Mosque

11-İbrahim Pasha Public Bath

12-Daye Khatun Mosque (Mehmed II's wetnurse)

13-Daye Khatun Caravanserai

14-Daye Khatun Public Bath(in Çorlu)

15-Fatma Khatun Masjid (in Malkara)

(1481-1512)16-Kazasker Public Bath (This was registered only as an endowed

property in Şehzade Hundi Khatun's trust deed. It is not obvious

whether it was founded by this woman or not)

17-Ayşe Khatun Mekteb and Masjid (in a quarter of Gelibolu, known

as Sungurlu)

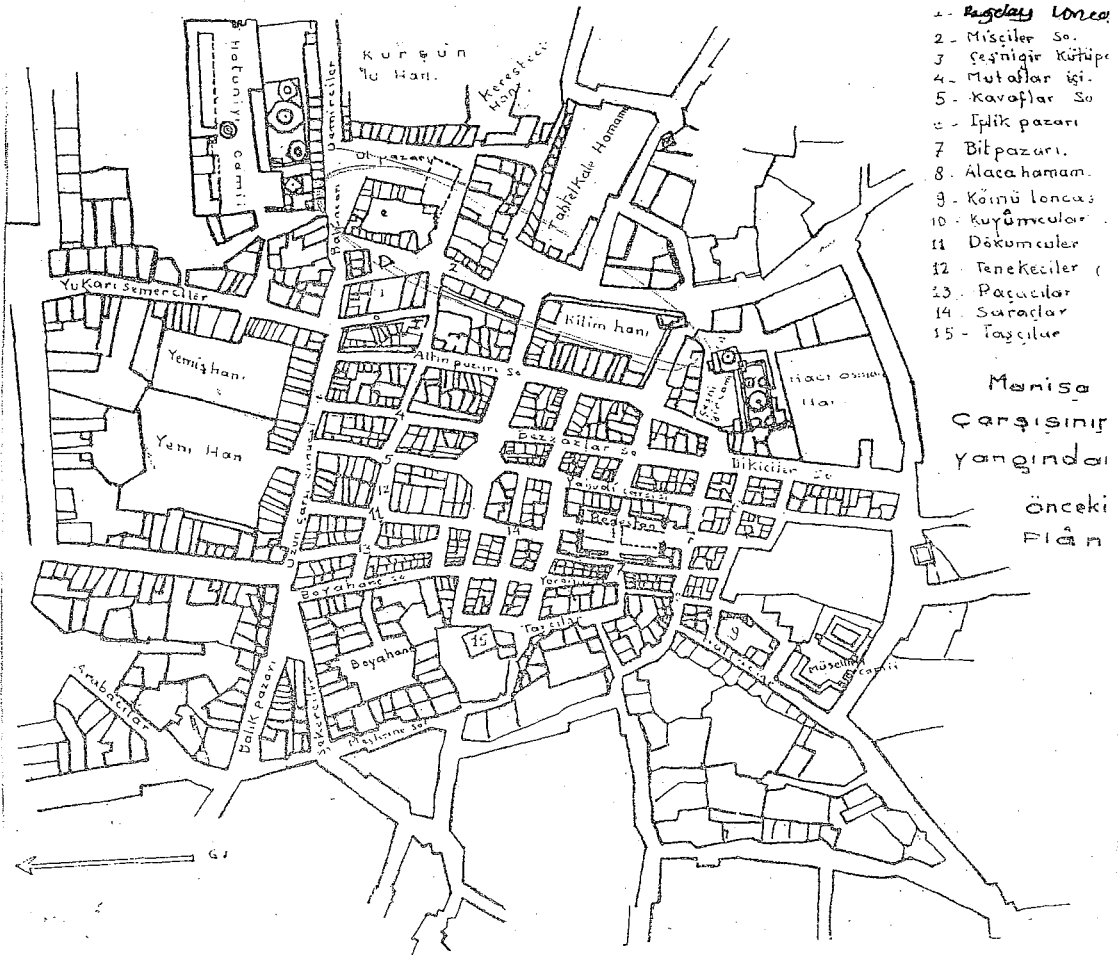


figure 4. Map showing Manisa Çarşısı (Map: M.Çağatay Uluçay, *XVII. Yüzyılda Manisa'da Ziraat ve Ticaret ve Esnaf Teşkilatı* [İstanbul:1942])

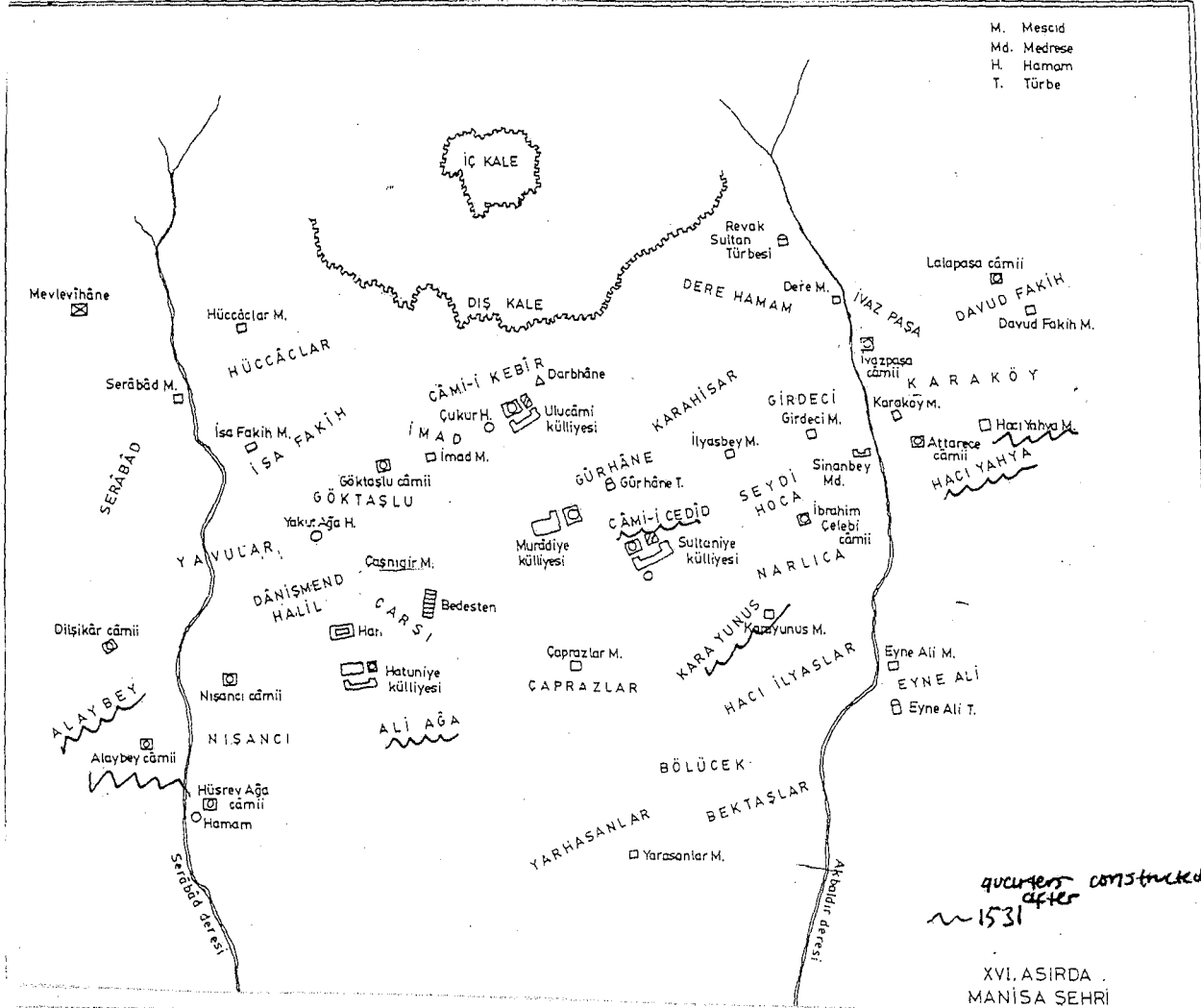


Fig. 5. Map showing location of sixteenth century buildings in Manisa (Map: From Feridun M. Emecen, XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazası [Ankara, 1989])

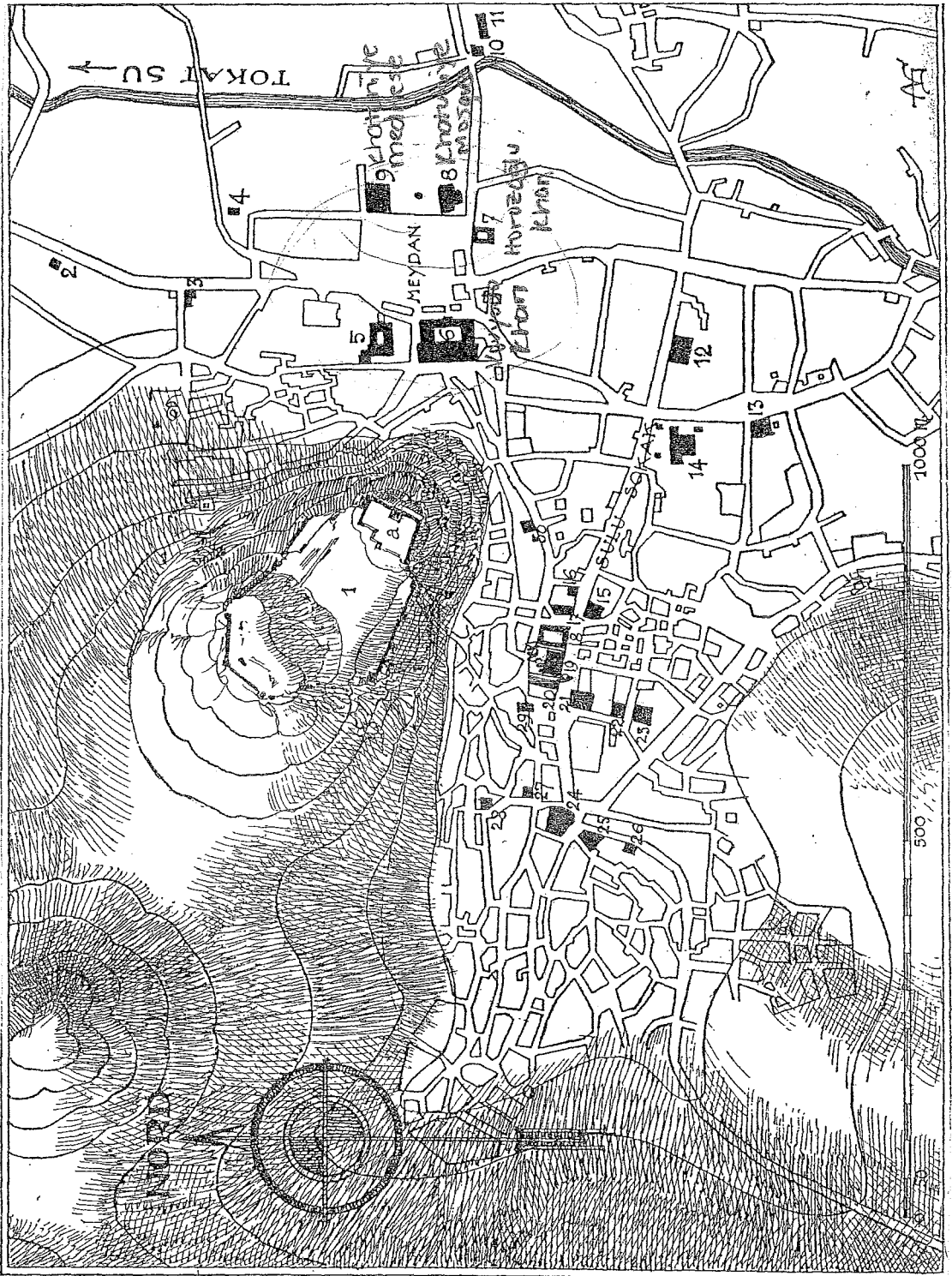


Fig. 6. Map showing location of buildings in Tokat. (Map: from Albert Gabriel, *Momuments Turcs D'Anatolie: Ouvrage publié sous les auspices du Ministère turc de l'instruction publique Paris, 1931*)

Index of Buildings in Tokat

- 1-castle
- 2-Nureddin ibn Sentimur Tomb
- 3-Sünbül Baba Zawiya
- 4-Halef Gazi Convent
- 5-Gök Medrese
- 6-Vovyoda Khan
- 7-Horozoğlu Khan
- 8-Khatuniye Mosque
- 9-Khatuniye Medrese
- 10-Hamza Beg Masjid
- 11-An old house?
- 12-Pasha Hamam
- 13-The Municipality
- 14-Ali Pasha Mosque
- 15-Yağcı Khan
- 16-The tomb of Ebul Kasım
- 17-Khan
- 18-Sulu Khan
- 19-Bedesten
- 20-Kazancılar Masjid
- 21-Çukur Medrese
- 22- Hacı Turhan Masjid
- 23- Sultan Hamam
- 24-Pasha Khan

25-Pasha Hamam

26-Tatar Hacı Masjid

27-Alaca Masjid

28-Güdük Minare

29-Hisariye Medrese

30-Sefer Pasha Tomb

(From Albert Gabriel)

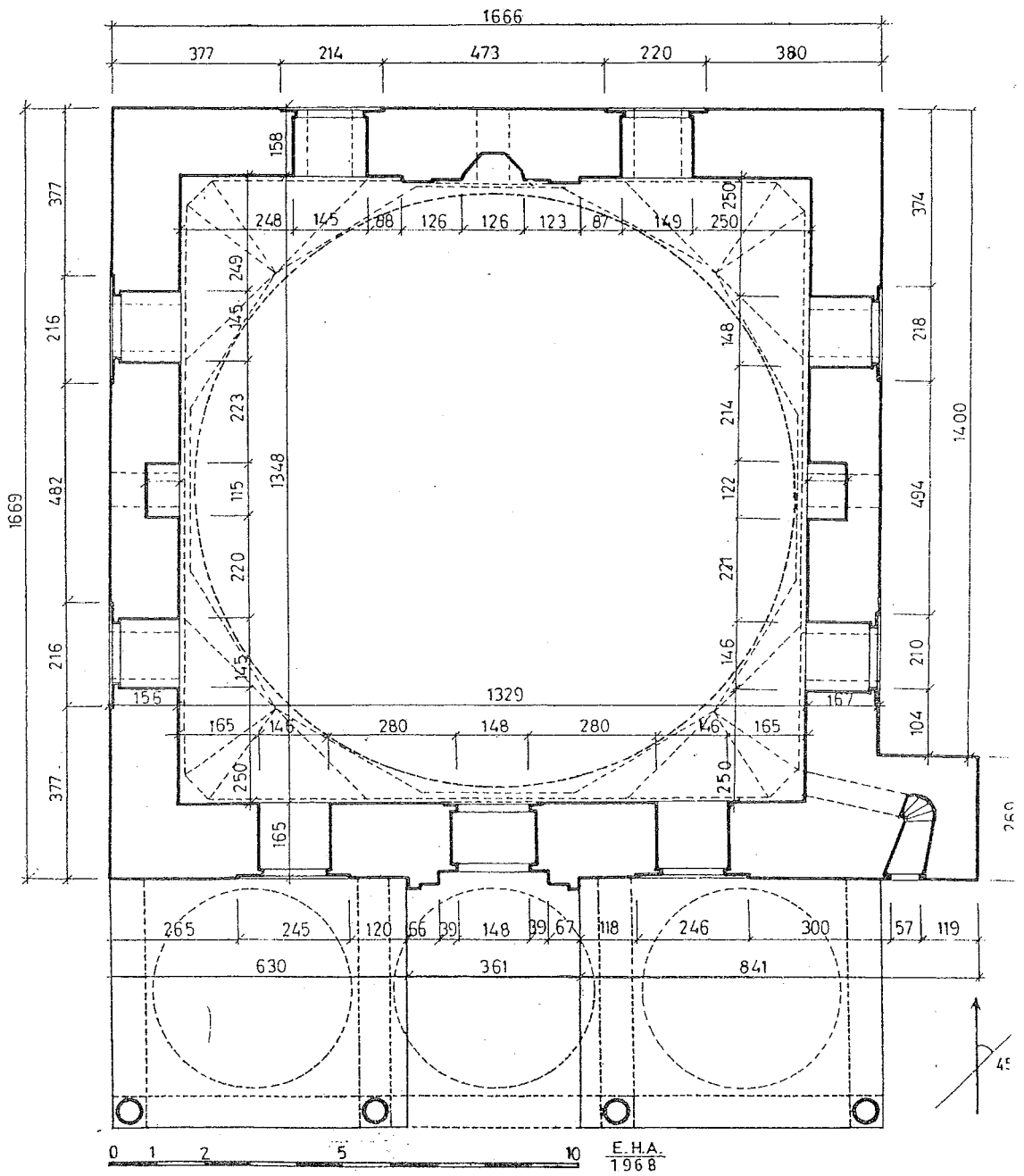


Fig. 8. Edirne. Sitti Khatun Mosque. Plan. (from Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri* [Istanbul, 1973])

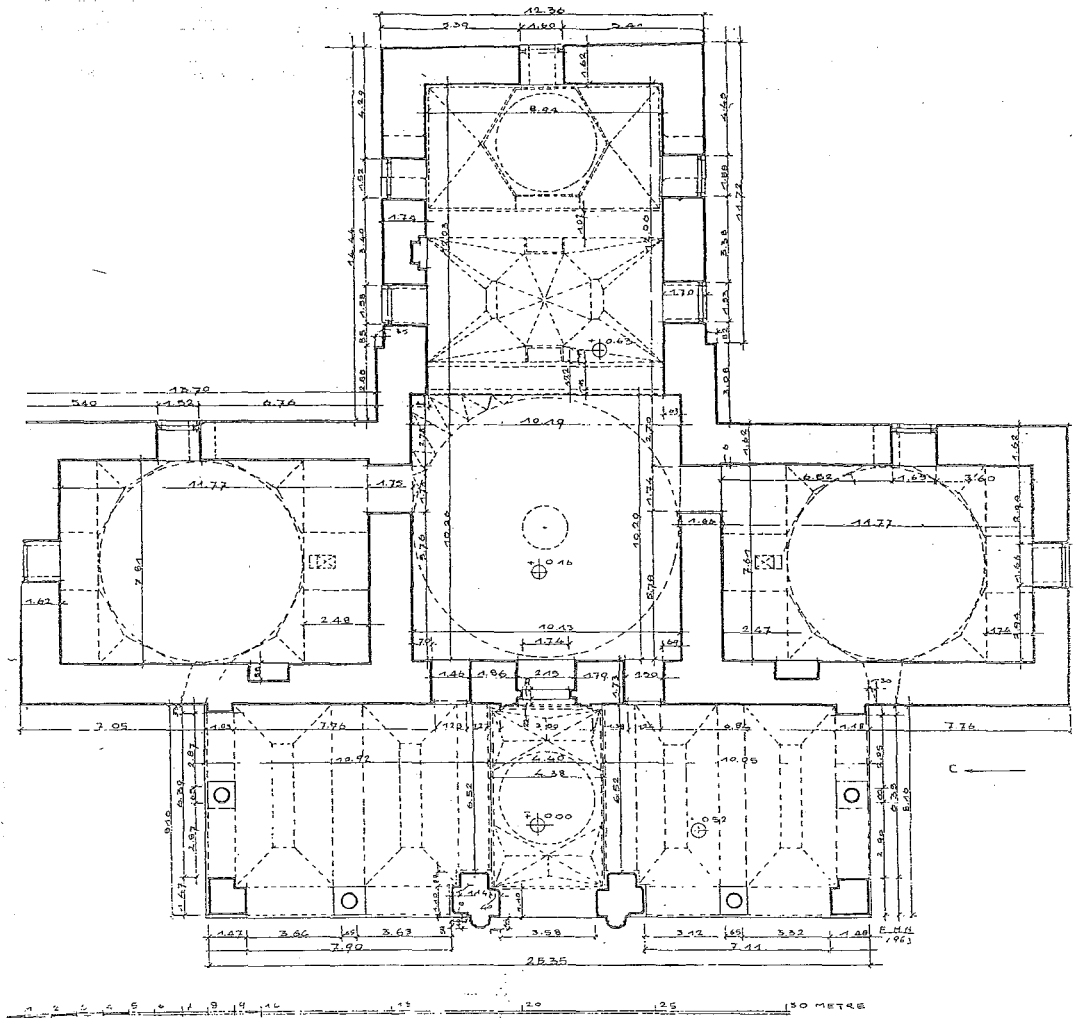


Fig. 9. İznik. Nilüfer Khatun İmaret . Plan. (from Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri* [İstanbul, 1966])

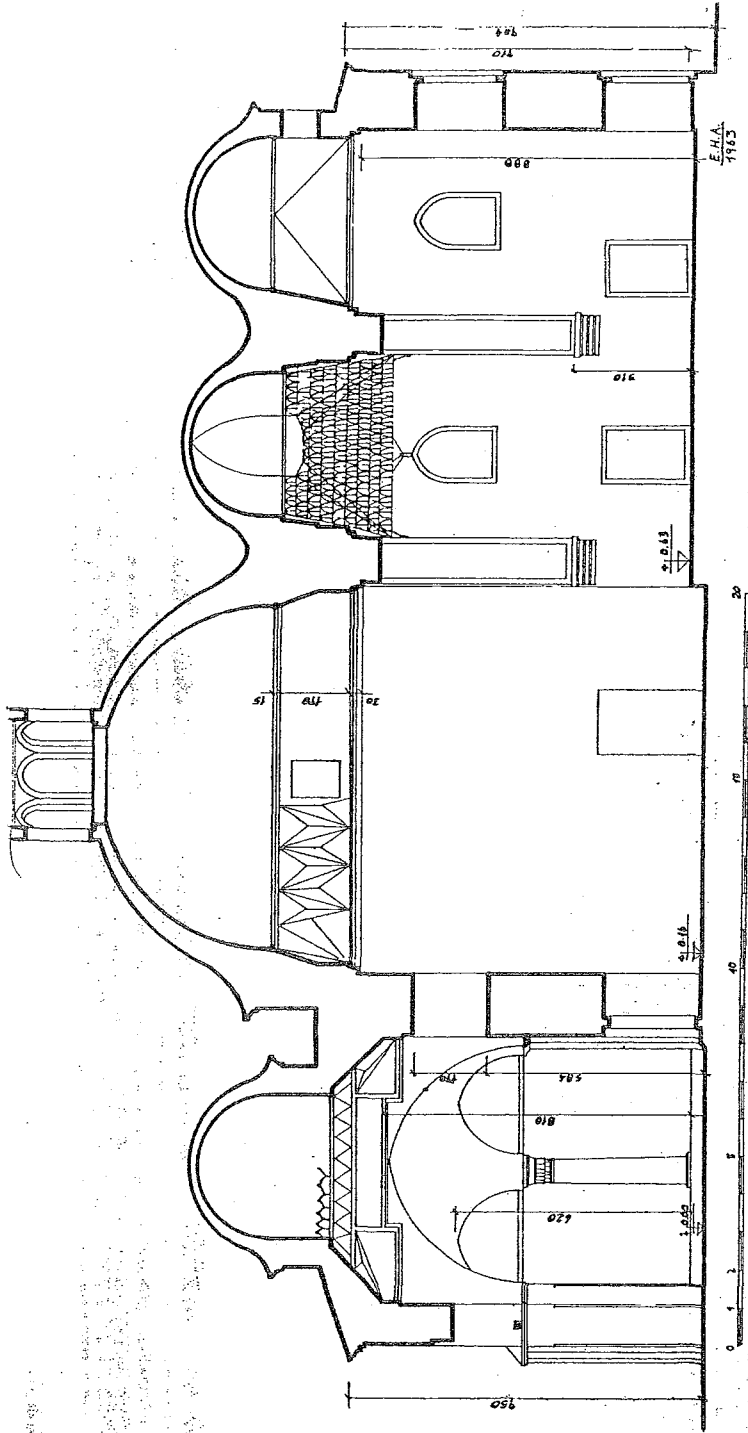


Fig. 10. Iznik. Nilüfer Khatun Imaret. Cross Section. (from Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri* [Istanbul, 1966])

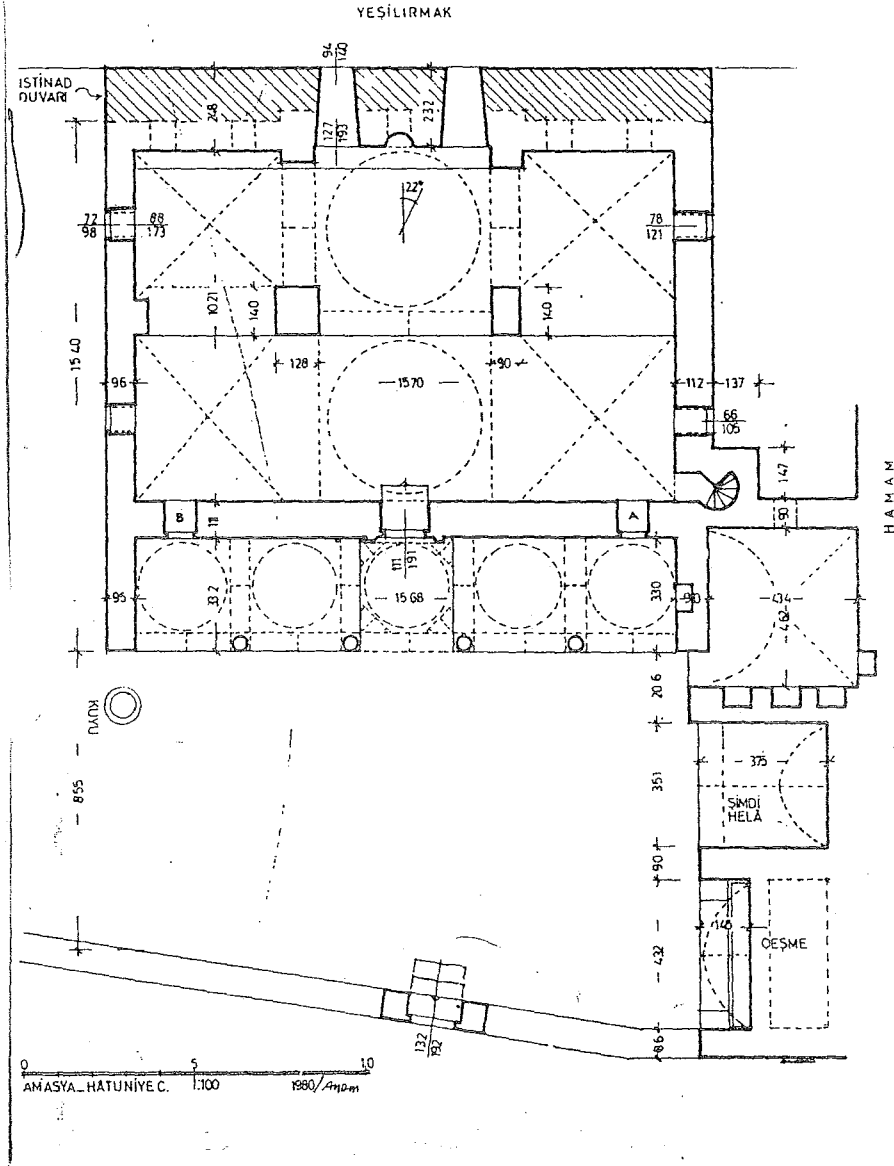
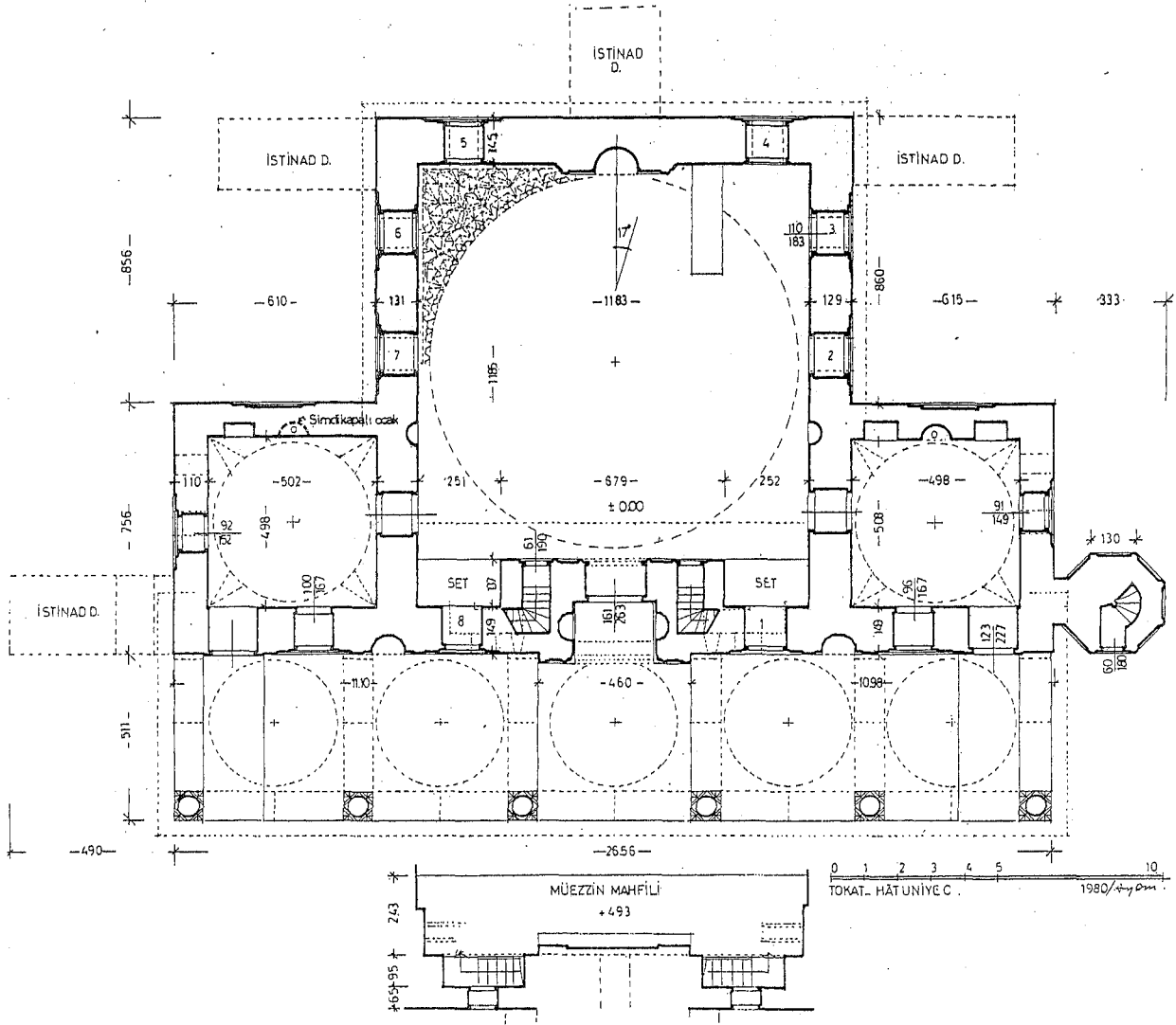


Fig.12. Amasya. Bülbul Khatun Complex in Amasya.Plan. (From Ihsan Aydın Yüksel.*Osmanlı Mimarisinde II Beyazid ve Yavuz Selim Devri:1481-1520* [İstanbul,1983])

Fig. 13. Tokat Gülşahar Khatun Mosque. Plan (From İhsan Aydın Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Beyazid ve Yavuz Selim Devri: 1481-1520* [Istanbul, 1983])



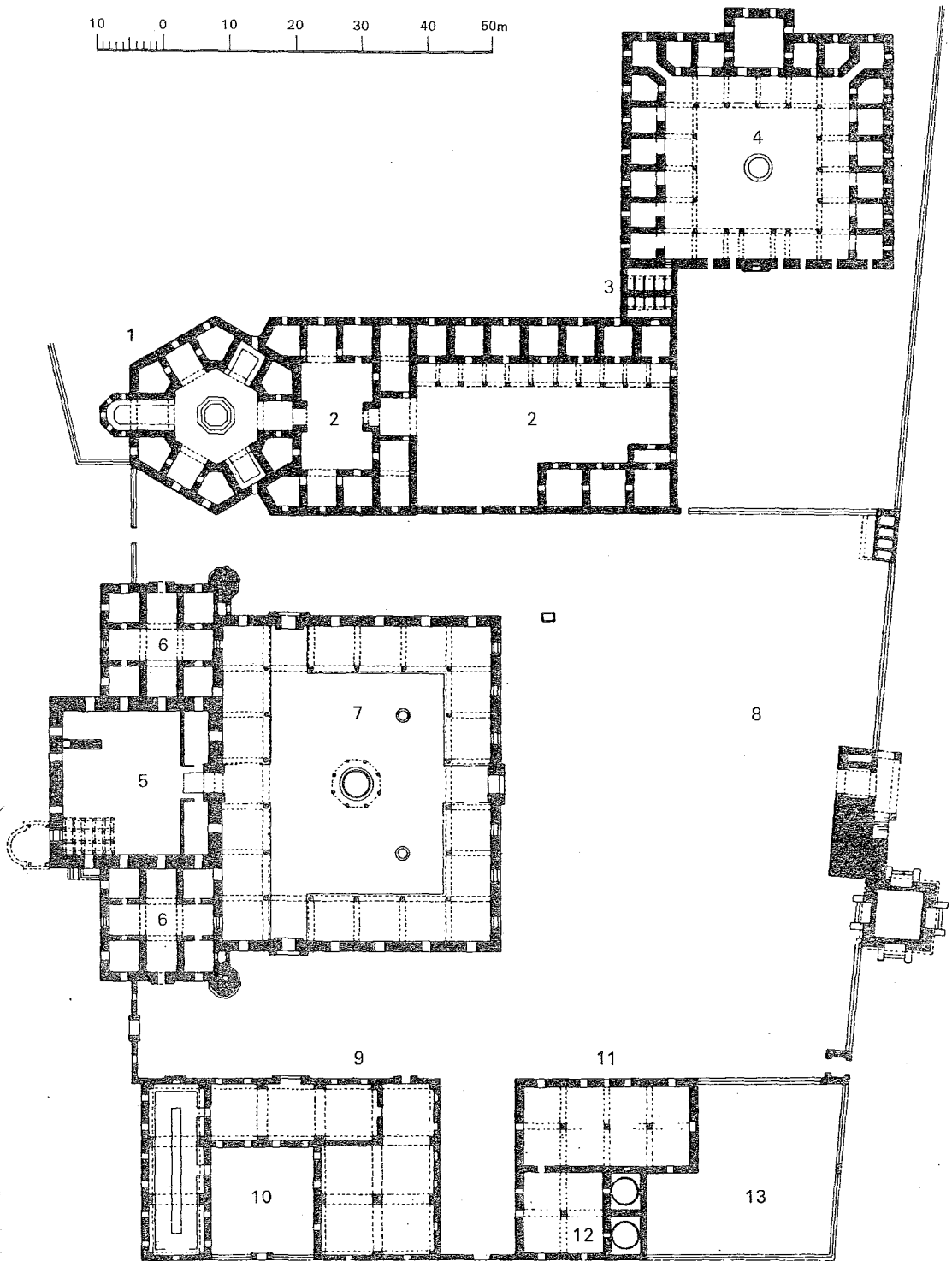


Fig. 14. Edirne. Beyazit Complex. Plan (From Godfrey Goodwin, *The Ottoman Architecture* [New York, 1987])

APPENDIX II

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	Location of building	Relationship	endowed properties
Nilüfer	Hıdırlık		<i>mescid?</i>	near Pınarbaşı in Hıdırlık mahallesi	Hüdavendiger's daughter	1299-1403
	mescid& zaviye					
Nilüfer	Zarbhane		<i>mescid</i>	<i>BURSA-near Zarbhane</i>		
Hatun	Mescidi			Kapısı and in Darül-harp mah.		
Nilüfer			convent	<i>BURSA-</i>	one of the	
Hatun				within Bursa Hisarı near Kapluca Kapısı	concubines of Orhan	
Nilüfer	Nilüfer Hatun					
Hatun	Köprüsü		bridge	<i>BURSA -on the</i> route of Bursa- Mudanya near a village called Geçid		

founder	name of build	dates of patronage	type of building	location of building	relationship	1299-1403
						endowed properties
I.Murad	Nilüfer Hatun	8 Mayıs 1388	İmaret-	<i>İZNİK</i> -near Yeşil Cami	Sultan Murad's	
	İmaret-i		zawiya		mother	
						*Five fountains which
Gülçiçek	Gülçiçek			within the walls of the		hasa main spring
Hatun	Hatun	date of		town, in the garden that		endowed by
	İmaret-i	her trust deed;		was endowed to this	Yıldırım	bayezid Han to his
		1399-1400		zawiya	Bayezid's	mother
					mother	* a garden which was
Gülçiçek	Gülçiçek					permitted to water with
Hatun??	Khatun					the water comes from
(the first	Türbesi					the area where different
valide						mills were together.
sultan						*To mills between
who had						Zindan Kapısı and
a türbe)						Kaplıca Kapısı
						*Some vineyards above
						<i>the zaviye called as</i>
Gülçiçek	Gülçiçek		<i>medrese</i>	<i>Bursa-near Yahşi Bey</i>		Mura baba in Aakçaoğlan
Khatun??	Hatun			Mosque		*Some places in
	Medresesi					hatunköyü
						*A mezra called as Leal
						Pasha
						*A village in Samanlı and
						water springs for rice

founder	name of build	dates of patronage	type of building	location of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1299-1403
						areas in Tuba or Suba
						*A mezraa which was
						linked to the Big Area
						(Büyük Alan)in a village
						called as Kalemendiye
Hafsa Hatun	Hafsa Hatun	1354	Mosque&	Duatepe mah.- <i>TİRE</i>		
Hatun	Camii&		Çeşme&	Taşpazarı mah. <i>TİRE</i>	Aydinoğlu	
	Zaviyesi&		<i>zaviye</i>	Bademiye	İsa Beg's daughter	
	Çeşmesi				and wife of	
					Bayezid I.	
			tomb			
Orhan Gazi	Mal Hatun Türbesi			<i>Bilecik</i>	Şeyh Edeballi's	
					daughter	
					and Osman's	
					wife	
			<i>medrese</i>			
Melek Khatun				Larende-in a quarter		in Larende
				known as Alişahan	daughter of Mu	For the <i>medrese</i> ;
					and wife of	*vineyards next to <i>medrese</i>

founder	name of build	dates of	type of	location of building	relationship	endowed properties
		patronage	building			1299-1403
					Karamanoğlu	*A mill in Larende and
					Alaaddin	the area next to it.
			zawiya		Beğ.	*A 'Şırlağanhane' in Larend
		date of trust deed;		Karaman- Alacasuluk		*A Sireçhane (Tahinhane)
		787	tombs (2)			*Three fourth of a shop in
			khan?			quarter called as Yoğunduv
			masjid??			*A bezirhane in a district
						called as Gölcükin.
						*A shop in a village called
						as Sinle in Larende.
						*A field in Larende.
						*Two places in a village
						called as Güderkgümü.
						*Two areas known as
						Harbende and Nureddin
						Bağları.
						*a field known as Fakıh
						Tarlası in Güderkgümü
						*Some private properties i
						a district, Hamesuvan.
						*Another field in the same
						area.
						*Another area in a district
						called as Yeşiltepe.

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1413-1451
						*A seed area in Larende
						*A field in the same area
						*half of a field known as
						Tavus Yeri in the same
						village,
						for Melek Hatun's Tomb
						*A mill called as Subaşı Hc
						Yunus Değirmeni in Larende
						*An area which is called as
						Tayı Buzhanesi.
						*A garden near
						the Alacasuluk Köprüsü.
						*A mill called as Arız
						Değirmeni
						*A place called as Şirgüva
						* half of an area near
						İdemud.
						*A fruit field in GÜdregümi
						*The han and Melek
						Khatun's three shops.
						*tha bakery next to this han
						*An area known as
						Ece Mehmed that is in the

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1413-1451
	Bezirci Hatun	1464	masjid	called as Mihal Bey	Melek Paşa's wife	
	Mescidi	it was founded		nera the zevc-i Şah	who is one of	
		probably thirty		Melek Paşa Mosque	the dignitaries	
		years ago.			during the	
					reign of	
					Mehmed II	
Daye				BURSA/in a quarter		
Khatun	Daye Hatun		masjid	called as Daye Hatun	she is daye	
	Mescidi				of Çelebi	
					Mehmed	
				MERZİFON/it was near		
Devlet			<i>zawiya</i>	thefortress or citadel and	daughter of	*A village called as Faize
Hatun?	Devlet Hatun		(composed	a <i>medrese</i> out of old city	Abdullah	*Some villages called as
Çelebi	Zaviyesi		of a sofa and two		mother of	Emirköy,
Sultan			houses)		Çelebi	Karşı, Nasrani
Mehmed			& a tomb		Mehmed	* a field (<i>mezraa</i>) called
?						as Kazanlı
						*Half of a field (<i>mezraa</i>)
						known as Lahin
						*A famous vineyard called,

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1413-1451
						Hasbağ in the outside of Tokat.
				BURSA/ in the quarter called as Çukur Mahalle	mother of Çelebi	
	Devlet Hatun Türbesi	date of trust deed: 1414		which is below the Yeşil Complex and near the Meydancık	Mehmed	
		date of death:1414			concubine of Bayezid	
Eslime Khatun only maintained a building	date of wakfiyya: 1411	<i>zaviye</i>	In the village called as Cimi of Eskefsir		daughter of Süleyman Beg son of Haccül Haremeyn Emir Beg	Two villages which are called as Ermeni and Taşlu in the subdistrict of Eskefsir of the province, Bayramlı.
Eslem Hatun	Eslem Hatun Mescidi Mektebi & Çeşmesi	during the reign of Murad I	maşjid <i>mekteb</i> tomb <i>çeşme</i> <i>mescid</i>	of Amasya, before coming to a bridge called as Kuş Köprü it is in a quarter called as Eslem or Islam	daughter of Mahmud Neccari & paternal aunt of Şeyh Hamdullah who is defined as Cihan	

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1413-1451
					Hattatı	
Gülçiçek				EDIRNE/ In the Kirişhane		
Hatun	Zen-i Saruca			near the Tunca&near a	she is the	
	Mescidi			quarter called as Kendü	wife of Saruca	
				Dönen Dolap Mahallesi	Pasha	
	Hace Hatun	date of trust deed;	masjid	Zincirli Kuyu &on the hill		
	Mescidi	836		called as Horozlu		
				(BURSA?Check it in		
				" Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk		
				Devri")		
						the village called as
				in a village called as		Dimboz
	Hadice Hatun		masjid	Dimboz on the way	She is	
	Mescidi			of Bursa-Yenişehir	daughter of	
					Yunus Bey	
					who is son of	
					Yörgüç Paşa	
				BOSNA/ in a quarter		
	Hadice Hatun		masjid	called as Şeyh Misri	Ibrahim's	
	Mescidi				daughter	
				BURSA/on the level of		

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1413-1451
Hafsa Sultan	Bedrüddin Mescidi	1443-during the reign of Murad II	masjid	the bridge of Boyacıkul-luğu &in a quarter of Bursa,it is called as Kayan mahallesi	daughter of Çelebi Mehmed	She endowed some lands which were given her as "temlik" by Murad II.
Hundi Hatun			zawiya & public bath		daughter of Yıldırım bayezid& wife of Emir Sultan	Çavuş Köyü in Kite.This village was added to Emir Sultan vakf.
Haseki Havva Hatun	Haseki Havva Mektebi&	1436-1437	masjid mekteb	Bosna		

founder	name of building	dates of	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1413-1451
(Ayverdi noted that the patron was Murad II and Mehmed II wanted its construction	Hatuniyye Türbesi (Hüma Hatun Türbesi) (Ak Türbe)	1449	her tomb& mekteb	Bursa/ in the east of the mosque of Murad II	Mehmed II's mother	
						she had many lands in Karatova
			darülhuffaz		daughter of Çelebi Sultan Mehmed (probably she was married to Karamanoğlu İbrahim Bey.>>	

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1413-1451
unknown	Kirişçi Kızı		maşjid	BURSA/ near Kaygan		
	Mescidi					
						*A village called as kayce
Selçuk		date of trust deed:		BURSA/ it is very close		in Manyas
Hatun	SelçukHatun	7Temmuz 1429	maşjid	to the İrgandı Bridge	daughter of	* two parts of land called
	Mescidi			which is over the Gök	Çelebi Mehmed	as Çoban Yeri, one of them
				Dere.	&her first	is around the Mihaliç
					husband	and the other one is next
		1450			Candaroğlu	to the lake of Manyas
		(during the reign			İbrahim Bey	and also near the bridge
		of Murad II)			and her second	known as Eski Köprü.
					husband was	*A mezra called as Tafl
					Mahmud Bey	next to the village Kayce.
						*A village called as
						Sasa in Ulubad.
						*A village called as
						Atlaslu in Kite.
						*A villlage called as
						Çemandra in Mihaliç
						*A village known as Kılıç
						in zemet of Bursa.

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1413-1451
						*fields in the village called as Soğanlık out of Bursa.
						* A garden known as 'Muhtesib Bahçesi'
						with two rooms and a mill on the frontiers of Bursa.
						*A garden known as Hacı İlyas bahçesion the frontiers of Bursa.
						*A garden boundaries of which given in the vakfiyye.
						*A house in the quarter of Yiğitoğlu in Bursa
						*Two shops in the quarter of Hoca Ali.
						*Another two shops (a butcher and kelleci
						*A butcher and aşçı shop near to Ulu Mosque in bu
						*another painting shop near the Selçuk
						Hatun's medrese.

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1413-1451
						*A house with fifteen cells in the same quarter
						*Three shops in the quarter of Köselers in Bursa.
						*A shoe shop in the Kanberler Çarşısı.
						*One bakery and one cell next to it in the quarter of Timurtaş.
						*another cell in the same quarter
						*In the interior side of Bursa one grocery and a <i>kelleci</i> shop in the quarter of Başçı Hacı Mescidi.
						*In the quarter of the İsa Bey Mescidi a <i>tabhane</i> which includes a big room and a small room next to bigger one and three cells one stable and fountain and a toilet.
						a <i>kelleci</i> shop, a butcher, one shoe shop and six cells

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1451-1481 1413-1451
						in Bursa.
						some endowed
						properties in Üsküb
					&Yarhisar &	
					Hayrebolu	
			Amasya			
	Şahbula	1437			daughter of	
	Mektebi&Çeşmesi		mekteb&		Mustafa&wife	
	&Kabri		çeşme&		of Yörgüç Paşa	
			kabir			
				AMASYA/ it in a quarter		
	Paşa Hatun			called as Hatuniye	Sister of	
	Mescidi		mescid	Mahallesi	bayezid Paşa	
					Daughter of	
					Yahşi Bey	
				EDİRNE /HIDIRLIK		
	Tur Paşa Hatun				Minnetoğlu Mehmet	
	Mescidi		mescid&		Bey's wife	
			zaviye			
					Mehmed II's	

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
	Ayşe Hatun				daughter&	1451-1481
??	Mescidi		masjid	ÜSKÜB	aunt of Mehmed II	
Ayşe Hatun	Ayşe Hatun Camii (Ayşe Kadın Camii)	In an account book of Edirne it was registered in 976. temmuz 1468	a mosque	EDİRNE/ in the east of the city and on the old and new roads of İstanbul In the opposite of it there is Ayşe Kadın Kervansarayı which is founded by Ahmed Pasha.	Mehmed II's daughter&	aunt of Mehmed II
						in order to be
possibly for Bülbül Hatun by Ahmed Bey	Bülbül hatun Mescidi	1472		/in a quarter called as Bülbül Hatun Mahallesi & Tarla sokağı (Badi Efendi)	wife of Karacabey& sister of Ahmed Bey	her and his brother's soul she endowed some properties
Its construction was maintained by						as follows;Anateşte or Anateşte or Atateşne..and a mill. In Bursa near the "Gelincik

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1451-1481
Ahmed Beg	Türbesi					Çarşısı"32 cells and 11 shops
Daye Khatun?				EDİRNE/near Delikli Kaya		
	Daye Khatun Caravanserai		caravanserai			
it could be Ümmü Gülsüm Hatun	Daye Hatun Hamamı (Çarşı Hamamı)			ÇORLU/on the big street of the small town		^some cash(70000)
						^sixteen cells in Çelebioğlu Mahallesi
						^sixteen shops near the
Daye (Ümmü Gülsüm) Hatun	Daye Hatun Mescidi			EDİRNE/In Tekyekapı-Dikili Kaya,in a quarter called as Daye Hatun Mahallesi	Mehmed II's daye	Old Palace ^twenty-six shops near the Bezzazistan
			maşjid			^seventeen cells, a house

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1451-1481
&						and four shops
daughter						in Daye Hatun Mahallesi
of Daye						^eight cells
Hatun						^a bakery in İbrahim Paşa
,whose						Mahallesi
father						^three cells
was						^a well ^a bakery
Ahmed						in Yavaşca Şahin
Bey,						Mahallesi
Hundi						^seven cells in Yahudiye
Hatun						Mahallesi
						^ a shsre of başhane
						^a property in fixed price
						^ a village of Migalkara
						^three shops in Edirne
						(near Bab-ı Manyas)
		date of her trust				^a butcher near these shops
Daye	Daye Hatun	deed:1485	mosque			^a caravanserai with shops
Hatun	Camii			ISTANBUL/		in Edirne
				in a quarter called as	Mehmed II's	^ a property in fixed price
				Tarakçılar Sokağı that	daye	^five cells and four shops in
				combines the hill of		a quarter of
				Mahmud Paşa and		Edirne, known as Ayşe Hat
				Çakmakçılar		Mahallesi

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1451-1481
						^a house in Mevlana Efend
Daye Hatun	Daye Hatun Mescidi			ISTANBUL/In Demirkapı		Mahallesi
(Mehmed II's daye Hond Hatun)				in a quarter called as Hocapaşa Mahallesi	Mehmed II's daye	Mahallesi
	Daye Hatun Türbesi		tomb	BURSA/ In Muradiye near the türbe of Cem		
	Duhter-i Şeref Mescidi			EDİRNE/In Taht'elkale ,in aquarter called as	daughter of Molla Şeriffüddün	
	/Fıskırık		mosque	Fatma Sultan Camii Sokağı		
	Ebe Hatun					
	Künbedi (Türbesi)					
		1468-1469				
Fatma Hatun	Fatma Hatun Mosque		mosque		daughter of Sinan bey	
					Ümmihan şah?	
					<Dijkema>	

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1451-1481
Fatma	Fatma Hatun		<i>mekteb</i>	DIMETOKA		
Khatun	Mektebi (Sultan)			BURSA/In Kubad		<Gökbilgin noted
			<i>mekteb</i>	Çarşısı		That in Dimetoka
	Fatma Hatun		maşjid	<In Mücellidi Mahallesi,		some villages were
	Mescidi			below İncirli caddesi,		endowed.
				in the north of the city-		
		1455				
	Fatma Hatun		maşjid	MALKARA	daughter of	a farm called as
	Mescidi				Sultan Murad&	Esenlu, provides
					wife of Zağono	150 akçe revenue.
					Pasha	
Gülbahar				EDIRNE/In the north of		
Khatun	Gülbahar	Haziran 1451(855)		Sultan Selim, near the		
	Hatun		mosque	Askeri İdadi Mektebi		
	Camii					
				ISTANBUL/in the	concubine	
Bayezid II	Gülbahar	its construction		northeast of Mehmed II's	of Mehmed II	
	Hatun	ended in 1185	tomb	tomb	&mother of	
	Türbesi				bayezid II.	

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
				BURSA/In Muradiye		1451-1481
	Gülşah Hatun	date of trust deed:		Complex		Sığırçalı Köyü,a village of Dimetoka.
	Türbesi	890	tomb		concubine of	**Sığırçalı(Balaban)
		<Göbilgin noted that it was constructed during the reign of Mehmed II>			Mehmed II.	
		<Ayverdi noted that it was founded during the reign of bayezid II.>			of Mehmed II	
					mother of	
					Şehzade	
					Mustafa	
						For <i>darüt-talim</i> and to be read Qoran after her: death
Hadice Sultan	Hatice Hanım			BURSA/ <near the Emir Sultan Türbesi,Kepecioğlu>		
	Mektebi					*Kite,a village of Amasya villages of Merzifon,
			<i>mekteb</i>		Selçuk	Akviran and Karacaviran
					Khatun's and	*Buğa,a village of Simere
					Ibrahim Beg's	*Dikilitaş, a 'mezraa' –
					daugh.	of Yenişehir

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1451-1481
Hace Hatun,						
daughter of Hızır Bey or Hızır Bey	Hacı kadın Mosque or Hızır Bey Mosque?	993(1585)	mosque	ISTANBUL/In Zeyrek, Unkapam	daughter of Hızır Bey?	
Hace Khatun (Mihrîşah)						
Hundi Khatun	Hace Khatun Public Bath		public bath	Manastır in Samatya ISTANBUL/near Sulu	Pasha daughter of İskender	
wife of İbrahim						
				Edirne /Kıyık		
Hundi Khatun	İbrahim Pasha Hamamı	1462	mosque			

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
	Zen-i					1451-1481
Hundi	Ibrahim			EDİRNE/ in a quarter	Ibrahim	
Khatun	Pasha Mosque			named Araplar Mahallesi	Pasha's wife	
				ISTANBUL/		
				opposite the		
			masjid	Haseki		
Keyci	Keyci Hatun	date of trust		Hastanesi,in		
Khatun	Mescidi	deed:1485		the quarter		
				where		
				Bayrampaşa Medrese		
				was located		
	Safiye Khatun	Date of wakfiyya:	masjid		Çirak Beg's	*A part of land out of İznik
	only	1470			daughter	*A part of land that is near
	supported					a spring in Iznik
	Eşrefzade					*Three fourth of the Safiye
	Mescidi					Khatun's share in joint
Selçuk				EDİRNE/near Yıldırım,		land with Şeikh Abdi,son
Hatun	Selçuk Hatun		masjid	in Yıldırım Mahalle and		of Sheikh Eşref
	Sultan Mescidi			Sokağı,a quarter of	daughter of	
	(Yeni Tophane	1451(855)>Badi		Yeni Tophane	Mehmed I,	
	Mescidi-Uluça	Bey		it was also noted as in	aunt of	
		!450>Ayverdi		a quarter of Kayan,Selçuk	Mehmed II,	
				Hatun Sokağı		

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1451-1481
		Selçuk				
		Hatun	masjid	ISTANBUL/on the		
Selçuk		Mescidi		old route of Aksaray		
				in a quarter called as		
				Mollasefer Mahallesi		
Selçuk			zawiya	BALIKESİR		
Sitti		1465		BURSA/In a road called		
Hatun	Mihrablı		bridge	as Karacabey, and over		
	Köprü			the Nilüfer&over this		
				bridge there was		
				,Karacabey-İzmir- road		
				BURSA		
			<i>tabhane</i>			
				EDİRNE/near Kaadirhane	daughter	
	Selçuk Hatun	1456	masjid	behind the Kervan Oteli	of Mürsel&	
	Mescidi			,below the Selimiye	wife of Saruca	
					Paşa>	

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1451-1481
Sitti Hatun		Probably	<i>mescid</i>	EDIRNE/	daughter of	
	Sitti Hatun	his wakf was			Hoca Hasan&	
	Mescidi	founded during			wife of Mehmed	
		the reign of			bin Hoca Kemal	
		Mehmed II				
	Sitti Hatun	date of trust deed;				
	Mescidi	1468-1469	<i>mescid</i>	BURSA/ At Pazarı	daughter of	In Balıkesir a village
	(Kanberler Mescidi)	1459(864)			Oruç Bey ,son	called as Çethehor,
					of Timurtaş	three wells ,three
					Paşa,first wife	water ways&also it
					of Zağonos	was reference to
					Paşa	water,a fountain
	Sitti Hatun					wakf of this woman,
	Mektebi		<i>mekteb</i>	near the Sitti Hatun		one third of this
	(Kanberler Mektebi)	1459		Mosque.BURSA/		wakf endowed to
				(At Pazarı)		cüzzamlılar mescidi,
				it was also noted that ;		located in Aşağı
				in the west of Tatarlar		Bayram Yeri
				Köprüsü.		*All of the share of
		dateof her trust				rice grown on a land
Sitti Nefise		deed:1491				called as Yenice Argı
			mosque	in Sığındığı		in Balıkesir.

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	1451-1481
Khatun						*All of the share of
also						rice grown in Sariyet
provided						of Sındırgı
maintenance						*..... .on a land called
of some						as 'Çavuş Battal Argıtı
buildings			<i>mekteb</i>			Menbiti' in Sındırgı
						*..... .on a land from
						Geçli ılıcası to the
						river of Gecikyavı.
						*..... on a land
			Providing continuity			called as 'Yorgirdere
			of a tomb and			Menbiti'and the other
			a mosque			one which has small
						rivers on it.(Sındırgı)
						*..... 'Uluark
						menbiti'....
						*..... 'Köklü Argı'
						*13 shops in Balıkesir

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1451-1481
Its construction had begun in the honour of Sitti Khatun and completed by Bayezid II	Sitt Sultan Mosque or Sultan Mosque or Hatuniye Mosque	(887)1482 1485<Dijkema>		EDIRNE/in the garden of the palace in Sabuni Mahallesi, a quarter of Edirne		*real properties that has revenue about 30000 akçe' *three water ways, three wells (one can get them from the inscriptions)
						some endowments in Akşehir& Bursa
					mother of Şehzade Abdullah, son	
Şehzade Abdullah, elder son of Sultan	Şirin Hatun Şadırvanı	(875)1470	şadırvan		wife of bayezid II&mother of Şehzade Abdullah	
		in the last years of the fifteenth		BURSA		

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
bayezid II	Türbesi	century-1483	tomb			1481-1512 1451-1481
				in Karagümruk		
Mihrinaz Khatun	Mihrinaz Hatun Mescidi		maşjid		a royal women at the time of Bayezid II.	
	Zen_i Firuz Masjid	861(1457)	maşjid	EDIRNE	Firuz Beg's wife	
		date of trust deed; 1513-1514		ISTANBUL/in a quarter known as Mahalle-i Türbe-i Kemal Paşa		1481-1512
Aişe Khatun			maşjid		daughter of Hacı Ali	^some cash(75400) ^five shops ^five cells in a quarter known as Çelebioğlu Mahdud Ferhad Beğ ^cells and five shops in

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1481-1512
						a quarter called as
						Çelebioğlu
						Mahallesi
						^some houses in the same
						quarter
						^five cells near the <i>mekteb</i>
						^one garden
Aişe						
Khatun						
Aişe Khatun		date of trust deed;		ISTANBUL/ in a quarter	daughter of	^Some cash
(although		1509	<i>mekteb</i>	known as Kasab İlyas	Mahmud	p.352
a muallim				Mahallesi		
was						
appointed						
Barkan						
noted that						
there was						
not a						
<i>mekteb</i>						
known						
with						
this						
name in						

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1481-1512
this quarter)						
						Bekirlü and Kemer
				EDIRNE/In Sungurca Mahallesi (Sungurlu)	daughter of Sultan bayezid	Köyleri,villages of Biga
Ayşe Khatun	Ayşe Hatun Muallimhanesi Mescidi	date of wakf; 1505	<i>mekteb&mescid</i>	a quarter of Gelibolu	,wife of Sinan Paşa,who was kaptan-ı derya	
			tomb	ISTANBUL/near a district called, Vefa	,known as Güveyi Sinan Paşa	
						,a village of Çepni in Gelibolu-had been bought from Gevher Melik Hatun,daughter of Cem Sultan
		must be bw the years 1506-				
Aynışah Hatun (or Şahnisa)	Mektebi	1519	<i>mekteb</i>		Sultan Abdullah ,son of Bayezid II	endowed Palatinos
Aynışah Hatun			<i>mekteb</i>	ISTANBUL/near the Beşirağa Medresesi	daughter of bayezid II.	
					Aşıkpaşazade	

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1481-1512
					noted that she	
					was married to	
					Ahmed Mirza,	
					(Göde)	
					son of Uğurlu	
					Mehmed Bey	
					in 1490	
						17 shops which have 16
						cells
						*two shops (<i>başhane</i> and
Asude		date of trust deed;	<i>mekteb</i>	ISTANBUL/In Aşık Paşa	daughter of	a butcher
Khatun		917 (1511)	&	Mahallesi	Abdülhay,	*A menzil composed of a
			a public bath	In Mevlana Gurani Hanı	<i>ketkhüda khatu</i>	room, one toilet ,one 'sofa'
			&	Mahallesi		an open room, and 'avlu'
			her tomb			near her türbe.
Bülbül						
Hatun				AMASYA/	concubine of	
	Hatuniye Mosque		mosque	in the left side	bayezid II;	
		date of trust deed;		of the	mother of	
	Hatuniye İmar	1510	imaret	Yeşilirmak	Şehzade	
					Ahmed, who	*a small town of Ladik
	Hatuniye Mektebi		<i>mekteb</i>		was governor	*A village called as
					of Amasya	Yassiviran in Argumen of

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1481-1512
						Amasya
						*A village called as r
						Akpınar
Bülbül				LADIK/ in Bahşi		*A village called as Çakal
Hatun	Hatuniye Mosque		mosque	Mahallesi		in Merzifonabad
	(Bülbül Hatun Mosque)		a public bath			*A village called as Klavuz
						in subdistrict ,Hüseyinabad
						of Zile
						*Some part of the village
						called as Kökser in Turhal
						(proportion was mentioned
						in wakfiyya)
						*A village called as
						Viranpınarı next to Kökser
						* a village called as
						Veziye in Turhal
						*A khan called as
						khan vekedi kilidi in Tokat
						*A house known as
						Buzhane in Tokat
						*shops next to these house
						*a shop near them in Tokat
						*A mill known as
						'Cemal Değirmeni' near

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1481-1512
						the Village called as
						'Havza Köyü'
						***Bülbül Hatun Hamamı
						*A public bath called
						Çelebi Hamam
Fahrü'n nisa Hatun	Fahrünnisa Hatun Mektebi& Mescidi	1508-1509	<i>mekteb</i> mescid	AMASYA	daughter of Ebubekir, who was a commander	
						Keşenlu Köyü, a
					daughter of Şehzade Mustafa, son of Mehmed	village of Edirne
						was given as temlik
						by bayezid II in
	Hani Hatun Muallimhanesi		<i>mekteb</i>	ISTANBUL		912. And it was
						endowed in 925.
						There was also
						another village called
						as Kaçaş Köyü, in
						Kırkkilise, about

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties 1481-1512
						conflicts, whether it was endowed or not.
		at the beginning of XVI. century		in the interior side of <i>Edirnekapı</i>	*daughter of bayezid II	^a village of Gekvize, known as Kerdalu
Bursa subaşı	Hatice Sultan Türbesi	date of her trust deed:	tomb	In Çukurbostan>	*wife of Kara Mustafa Paşa?	^ some villages of İznik as follows;
Mehmed Bey		1500	mosque <i>mekteb</i> a public bath		*wife of Faik Pasha??	Ebeköy, Dutluca, Narluca ^four cells near her public bath ^eight shops&a <i>bozahane</i> near the public bath ^ a house near Mahmud <i>Pasha Çarşı</i> ^some shops near Bab-1 Yahudiyan ^an area near the public ^ a share of <i>serhane</i> ^thirty-three cells in Mercan Ağa

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1481-1512
						Mahallesi near the
						Bezzazistan
						^some houses near hekim-i
						Yahudiyan
						^some houses near
						Bab-1 Semek
						^some houses ,a bakery
						and a barber near the
						Bab-1 Hime
						pp.402-3
				TOKAD/>		*The
Bayezid	Hatuniye		mosque>	<Goodwin>		village called Yassıkışla
II	Mosque		medrese		mother of	*the village called as
	(now,generally	1485(890)>	imaret		bayezid II>	'Yüzbeyi'.
	called as					*the maliki divanilands
	Bayezid					in the village, Beyan .
	Mosque					or Bademir
Gülbahar						*All of the maliki and diva
Khatun			mosque	TOKAD/Sorkuoğlanı		in the village ,Betan.
						*some parts in the village
						called as Killik
						*Some parts in the village
						called as Kızılcaköy

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties1481-1512
						<i>*some part of the village, Emribağı. *</i>
						<i>*some parts of Kışlacık</i>
						<i>*some parts of Hulialanı</i>
						<i>*some parts of the village, Türkmenoğulları</i>
						<i>*some parts of the village, Cenke.</i>
						<i>*some parts of the village called as Sirçelu</i>
						<i>*some parts of the village called as Çıkrık</i>
						<i>*A village Ortakca</i>
						<i>*another village, Halefatoğlu</i>
						<i>*a village, Çukuryurt</i>
						<i>*a village, Ahmetoğlanı.</i>
						<i>*a village, Tatar Ali</i>
						<i>*a village, tutbağı</i>
						<i>*Virdancık</i>
						<i>*Musaköyü</i>
						<i>*Kargu</i>
						<i>*some parts of a village, Dola.</i>

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1481-1512
						<i>*some parts of the village called as İpek</i>
						<i>* a mezraa called as savcı</i>
						<i>*Sarayak</i>
						<i>*Eyveribağ</i>
						<i>*karaynam</i>
						<i>*çat</i>
						<i>*börekçi</i>
						<i>*Border areas;Çaluçayırı, karavişalan,</i>
						<i>Arpaözü,Bey damları,</i>
						<i>Gölpınar,Karacaozan,</i>
						<i>Kuşlu, Yankulu, Ahla Alanı,</i>
						<i>Aktepe, Kırılca, Kiras anarı,</i>
						<i>Dutalanı, Çetüçbükü, Hisarc</i>
						<i>*villages in the subdisrict called as Zinnunözü</i>
						<i>*A mezra called as Arucuk</i>
						<i>Mazraası</i>
						<i>*Another mezra called as Terceman</i>
						<i>*A village called as Devletoğlanı</i>

founder	name of building	type of building	dates of patronage	location of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1481-1512
						<i>*Another village called as Zekeriyya</i>
						<i>*Divanköy and Kortan farms and Karcaviran</i>
						<i>*some parts of a village called as Hacıköy.</i>
						<i>*a village called as Elhad.</i>
						<i>*another village called as Habil Hacı Karyesi.</i>
						<i>*another village called as Elperék</i>
						<i>*some parts of a village called as Tasma</i>
						<i>*some parts of the village called as Hızır.</i>
						<i>*the village of Bağluca</i>
						<i>*Another village called as Borsucuk</i>
						<i>*Another village called as Ağılcık</i>
						<i>*In the province of Kangır</i>
						<i>some villages called as Güles, Uyuklu, Tohat</i>
						<i>the village called as Kalfat</i>

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1481-1512
						in Karıpazarı
						*In the province of Çerkeş
						a village called as Boz.
						a village called as
						Dumlupınar
						<i>(the properties written in italic form were maliki and divani lands)</i>
		1489		MANISA/		(All of them are in Manisa)
Hüsnişah		(when Şehzade			daughter of	*a garden known as Çelebi
Khatun		Şahin,her son was	mosque		Karamanoğlu	Oğlu Bahçesi
	Hatuniye	governor of	a public bath		Nasuh	*A public bath
	Mosque<<	Manisa)	imaret		Bey	*a 'dink dolabı'
		1497(903)				*A mill called as 'Sögütler
						değirmeni'and a 'prinç
			an endowed			dingi' next to it.
			han called as			*A mill known as 'Bağcı
			Kurşunlu Han'			Değirmeni'
			(Uluçay,23)			*Another ding known as
						'Kemal Dingi'
						*Three villages which are
						;Selendi Köyü,
						Saysi köyü,Kaşıkcı köyü

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1481-1512
			property	ISTANBUL/It was on the		
				point where Melek Çeşme		
Melek Hatun		before 1496		Sokağı, a quarter inside		
				of Mevlıhane Kapısı		
				meets to Melek hatun		
	Melek Hatun (Karaağaç) Mescidi		maşjid	Camii Sokağı		İvrindi, an arable land or village of Zihne & Dınova and Gradişte villages of Serez & some revenues
		date of trust deed; 1508		In Serez , a province of Yunanistan.(Siroz)		from the villages of
Selçuk Sultan			<i>medrese</i> & <i>zaviye</i>		daughter of bayezid II	Zihne, which are Kormişte, Yunaciste, Nesiz, Kosorik, Dacudca, Zikoşta..
			composed of a maşjid and a <i>tabhane</i> , (construction of the latter was planned			

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1481-1512
			with the extra			
			revenue in the			
			future)			
SittiŞah	date of her					
Khatun also	trust deed:					Çakırca
endowed	1485					(Dağviran)
some				IZNIK		a village of IZNIK.
properties						
for recitement						
of the Quran						
in order to						
please the soul						
of Sheikh						
Abdullah						
Bin-i Eşref)						
					wife of Bayezid II,	
				AMASYA/In Acem	daughter of Emir	
	Sultan Hatun		darül-kurra	Mahallesi(Amasya	Beg who came	
	Darülkurrası			Tarihî1,p.266)	from dignitaries of	
					Amasya	

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1481-1512
					daughter	
				EDIRNE	of bayezid	In (897)
Şehzade	Şah Melek	In 911(1505) her			II, wife of	,Kurtoğlu Yakub,
Şah	Hatun	wakfs were ordered	<i>mektebhane</i>		Nasuhbeyi,	Altı-ağac-ı Büzürk
Hatun	Kütüphanesi				who was	,Altı -ağac-ı küçük,
					sancakbeyi	Umur köyü "Subaşı"
					in İskenderiye	,villages in Dimetoka
						were given as temlik
						by Bayezid II.
		date of trust deed:		BURSA/near the	daughter of	In the trust deed
		1494		Ulucami	Dayı Karacabey	written in(889)1494,
Şehzade			<i>mekteb</i>		??	she had endowed
Hundi				EDIRNE(it is not	wife of	Kazasker Hamamı
Hatun			a public bath	clear whether it was	Çandarlızade	founded in the
				founded at the time of	İbrahim Paşa	honour of her
				Bayezid II or Mehmed II.		husband, Haremağılı
						Köyü, a village of
						Mihaliç(Karacabey),
						two mills in Dereköy,
						some shops in Edirne
						&In a trust deed
						registered in 908
						she had endowed

founder	name of building	dates of patronage	type of building	locaton of building	relationship	endowed properties
						1481-1512
						shops in Bursa and
						Edirne and gardens,
						rooms,50000 silver akçe.

This table prepared by using wakfiyyas as primary sources and secondary sources as follows:

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