

SURVIVING THROUGH THE MODERN TIMES: ULEMA SEASIDE
MANSIONS AND HOUSEHOLDS IN ISTANBUL, 1790-1890

İBRAHİM ENES NİZİPLİOĞLU

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2023

SURVIVING THROUGH THE MODERN TIMES: ULEMA SEASIDE
MANSIONS AND HOUSEHOLDS IN ISTANBUL, 1790-1890

Thesis submitted to the
Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

by

İbrahim Enes Nizipliođlu

Bođaziçi University

2023

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, İbrahim Enes Niziplioğlu, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- This thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;

This is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature.....

Date.....

ABSTRACT

Surviving through the Modern Times: Ulema Seaside Mansions and Households in
Istanbul, 1790-1890

Ottoman ulema families as a social entity have rarely attracted the attention of academic scholarship. The existing literature on the ulema on the edge of the Tanzimat reforms circulates around institutional change along with a limitation to secularist and nationalistic biases. Furthermore, the *ilmiye*'s political decline can be seen in a number of works, which, in fact, does not necessarily bring socioeconomic decline. In this regard, the present work questions and identifies the Istanbulite ulema households in the examples of their residences, *sahilhane*, or seaside mansions, on a particular geographical along the Bosphorus Strait. Moreover, in the nineteenth century, the thesis aims to draw attention to the remaining dominance of particular ulema families within the *ilmiye* bureaucracy in the nineteenth century, while examining the *Şeyhülislams* of the century and a number of ulema genealogies. By doing so, it outlines the *Bostancıbaşı* records and population registers of the Bosphorus Strait, examining human geography and social topography in a specific coastal line. Overall, the thesis aims to provide an analysis of ulema households and claims that there was no visible decline of the *ilmiye* in the nineteenth century in terms of socioeconomic wealth, and the presence of the ulema on the opulent shores of the Bosphorus could be discussed as an indicator for such claim.

ÖZET

Modern Zamanlarda Hayatta Kalmak: İstanbul'daki Ulema Yalıları ve Haneleri,
1790-1890

Osmanlı ulema aileleri sosyal bir varlık olarak akademik çalışmaların nadiren ilgisini çekmiştir. Tanzimat reformlarının eşiğinde ulema hakkındaki mevcut literatür, sekülerist ve milliyetçi önyargılarla sınırlandırılmış bir şekilde kurumsal değişim etrafında dolaşmaktadır. Dahası, pek çok çalışmada görülebileceği gibi ilmiyenin siyasi gerilemesi sosyoekonomik gerilemeyi de beraberinde getirmek zorunda değildir. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma İstanbullu ulema hanelerini, Boğaziçi hattı belirli bir coğrafyadaki meskenleri, sahilhaneleri veya yalıları örnekler üzerinden sorgulamakta ve tartışmaktadır. Ayrıca tez, on dokuzuncu yüzyılda ilmiye bürokrasisi içinde belirli ulema ailelerinin süregelen hâkimiyetine dikkat çekmeyi amaçlarken, yüzyılın Şeyhülislamlarını ve bir dizi ulema şeceresini incelemektedir. Bunu yaparken, Boğaziçi'ndeki Bostancıbaşı defterlerini ve nüfus defterlerini ana hatlarıyla ele alarak, belirli bir kıyı şeridindeki beşeri coğrafyayı ve sosyal topografyayı ele almaktadır. Spesifik olarak tez, ulema hanelerinin bir analizini sunmayı amaçlamakta ve on dokuzuncu yüzyılda sosyoekonomik zenginlik açısından ilmiye sınıfında gözle görülür bir gerileme olmadığını ve ulemanın Boğaz'ın zengin kıyılarındaki varlığının bu iddianın bir göstergesi olarak tartışılabileceğini iddia etmektedir.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I sincerely thank my advisor, Professor Edhem Eldem. Taking his graduate courses has broadened my perspective, and further gave me the chance to enhance my reading skills in Ottoman Turkish. I am also grateful to Assistant Professor Yaşar Tolga Cora, whose classes and personal advice have enhanced my skills in Ottoman social history. I also express my gratitude to Professor Abdülhamit Kırmızı and Assistant Professor Seda Altuğ, the other members of my thesis committee, for their time and contribution to my thesis. I am specifically thankful to Seda Altuğ for her academic advice over the last three years. In addition, I am grateful to have worked with Münevver, Yasemin, Fatih, Deniz, and İbrahim for the previous year and a half, who showed empathy during my thesis writing process. With all its components, the Department of History at Boğaziçi University has been home during the harsh and turbulent times. In addition, I received financial support from the TÜBİTAK BİDEB 2210-A scholarship program for the first two years of my Master's studies. This scholarship has partially helped me to deal with the struggling socioeconomic atmosphere in Istanbul, Turkey. I express my sincere gratitude to many friends and companions, which is hard to name them all; some of them hosted me in harsh times, and others have never left me alone while facing struggles. Lastly, I am thankful and grateful to my parents, especially my mother, for their help, assistance, and cooperation since childhood. I hope my accomplishments will remain their way of being honored.

TABLES OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 General concepts of the İlmiye.....	1
1.2 Historiographical problems.....	6
1.3 Outline of the thesis.....	10
CHAPTER 2: TANZİMAT AND ULEMA FAMILIES	14
2.1 Tanzimat and ulema families.....	14
2.2 <i>Bâb-ı Meşihat</i> : A general portrayal of the Şeyülislams (1790s to the 1890s).....	21
2.3 Ulema families: Genealogy.....	32
CHAPTER 3: THE BOSPHORUS AND THE İLMIYE.....	55
3.1 Bosphorus and ulema families.....	55
3.2 A Glimpse into the sources: <i>Bostancıbaşı Defterleri</i> and <i>Nüfus Defterleri</i>	61
3.3 How to imagine a <i>Sahilhane</i> : Architectural landscape of the yalıs and human geography.....	64
CHAPTER 4: THE ULEMA HOUSEHOLDS.....	74
4.1 The ulema households: An overview.....	74
4.2 <i>Sahilhanes</i> by size: An analysis of the households.....	79
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION.....	91
APPENDIX A: BOSTANCIBAŞI DEFTERLERİ AND NÜFUS DEFTERLERİ... 95	
APPENDIX B: VISUAL MATERIALS.....	111
REFERENCES.....	119

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Timeline of the Şeyhülislams (1790-1890).....	26
Figure 2. Reasons for the termination of the Şeyhülislam tenures (1790-1890).....	27
Figure 3. Genealogy of the Dürrizade family.....	44
Figure 4. Genealogy of the Mekkizade family.....	45
Figure 5. Genealogy of the Ebuishakzade family.....	46
Figure 6. Genealogy of the Arabzade family.....	47
Figure 7. Genealogy of the Pirizade family.....	48
Figure 8. Genealogy of the Salihzade family.....	49
Figure 9. Genealogy of the Sıdkızade family.....	50
Figure 10. Genealogy of the Hekimbaşızade family.....	51
Figure 11. Genealogy of the Yasincizade family.....	52
Figure 12. Genealogy of the Kocayusufpaşazade family.....	53
Figure 13. Genealogy of the Arif Hikmet Bey's family.....	54
Figure 14. Sahilhanes by the number of residents.....	84

LIST OF APPENDIX A

BOSTANCIBAŞI DEFTERLERİ AND NÜFUS DEFTERLERİ

Figure A1. Bostancıbaşı Defteri 1802.....	95
Figure A2. Bostancıbaşı Defteri 1803.....	98
Figure A3. Bostancıbaşı Defteri 1815.....	100
Figure A4. Bostancıbaşı Defteri 1822.....	106
Figure A5. 1844 Nüfus Defteri.....	107
Figure A6. 1826 Nüfus Defteri.....	110

LIST OF APPENDIX B

VISUAL MATERIAL

Figure B1. Seaside mansions.....	111
Figure B2. Seaside mansions.....	112
Figure B3. Bâb-ı Meşihat Süleymaniye.....	113
Figure B4. Bebek.....	114
Figure B5. Kuruçeşme.....	115
Figure B6. High-ranking bureaucrats' costumes.....	116
Figure B7. Şeyhülislam and Dersvekili.....	117
Figure B8. Map of Bosphorus.....	118

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. General concepts of the İlmiye

The presence and influence of the Ottoman ulema, as a cohesive social entity, has primarily remained in the shadows of scholarly discourse, both within Western and Turkish academia. This is a notable oversight, given the significant social, political, and economic impact that the ulema wielded over nineteenth-century Ottoman society. The Ulema, having played a significant role throughout the empire's history, were emerged as a pivotal actor within the administrative framework of Ottoman governance. The pinnacle of the Ottoman religious hierarchy was occupied by the esteemed Şeyhülislam, who held the prominent position as the foremost leader within the religious organization. Accompanying this central figure were the two Kazasker judges, one presiding over Rumelia and the other Anatolia. Additionally, there were a number of high-ranking judges located in significant cities, including Mecca, Bursa, Edirne, and Cairo.¹ Below this upper echelon, the rest of the ilmiye, the learned class, encompassed a spectrum of positions such as ordinary judges (*kadı*), esteemed professors (*müderris*), and authoritative religious consultants (*müftis*). Aspiring to be affiliated with prestigious Ottoman medreses, such as Hagia Sophia, Sahn, and Süleymaniye, these individuals forged their paths within the realms of scholarship or officialdom.² Nevertheless, the Ottoman medreses with their

¹ *Mevleviyet* describes the high-ranking ilmiye bureaucracy, which exhibited a fluid conception. To illustrate, the term *bilad-ı selase* refers to the Mecca, Edirne and Bursa, which transformed into *bilad-ı hamse* after a while, with the addition of Cairo to this group, the relocation of Mecca to the Haremeyn, and the enhanced status of Plovdiv resulted in the formation of *bilad-ı hamse* in the eighteenth century. See. "Mevleviyet" in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 29, 467.

² Ordinary ilmiye individuals, those who do not belong to the ulema families, were supposed to be involved in a system (*mülazemet*) to gain further affiliations within the religious establishment. See.

significant components, *müderris*, the professor, and, *softa*, the student, have been the scene for various social and political events including the rebellions against the authorities to demand better conditions.³

Throughout history, the ulema played a multifaceted role in the Ottoman context, most notably as significant contributors in three crucial domains: education (*tedris*), judiciary (*kaza*), and religious consultation (*fetva*). Nevertheless, the dynamic nature of these roles underwent transformations over time, even as the bureaucratic duties of the ulema endured until the final days of the empire.

Reflecting on the hierarchical structure within the *ilmiye*, a clear pattern can be observed, starting from *mahreç*⁴ and moving upwards through *bilad-ı hamse*⁵, *haremeyn* (Mecca and Medina), Istanbul judgeship, and finally, the Anatolian and Rumelian judgeships. Remarkably, the journey towards attaining the esteemed position of Şeyhülislam often involved progressing through a hierarchical ladder, with each step a testament to expertise and influence. Notably, from the seventeenth century onward, the position of Şeyhülislam ascended to an important role, wielding the authority to appoint members of the *ilmiye* bureaucracy.⁶ Furthermore, the increase in the number of kadı appointments during this specific timeframe should be seen in conjunction with the broadening of the tasks assigned to the Şeyhülislams.⁷

Mehmet İpşirli, “Mülazemet”, in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 31 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2020), 536-537.

³ There are a number of revolts in which the softas take an active part. The most famous are the Celali Rebellions, and the Revolt of the Softas in 1876, and the March 31st Vakası. As a matter of fact, the softas were at the forefront of many social and political event for different reasons. See. Selma Özülkü, “1876 Softalar İsyanı, Osmanlı Tarihindeki Yeri ve Önemi” MA thesis, Selçuk University, 2000. Mustafa Alkan, “Softa”, in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 37 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2009), 342-343.

⁴ İpşirli, “Mahreç” *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 27, 387-388, (2003), *Haremeyn* refers to the cities of Mecca and Medina combined, which has been one of the high-ranking posts of the *ilmiye* officialdom.

⁵ Fahri Unan, “Mevleviyet”, in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 29, 467-468.

⁶ Mehmet İpşirli, “Şeyhülislam”, in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 39, 91-96.

⁷ When examining the employment of the ulema, it is possible to mention the new posts that emerged along with the problems of *paye*, *mülazemet*, and employment in general. See. Yasemin Beyazıt, “Osmanlı İlmîye Bürokrasisinde Şeyhülislamlığın Değişen Rolü,” 423-442.

Moreover, a contingent of scholars argues that the Ottoman *ilmiye* underwent a profound transformation by the sixteenth century, emerging as a remarkably sophisticated bureaucratic apparatus—a contention that positions it as potentially the most efficacious administrative framework within the spectrum of Muslim-ruled empires. Within this discourse, the influence and import of the *ilmiye* entity extend beyond conventional perspectives. Rather, it was an element capable of orchestrating pivotal modifications not only within its own structures but also across the broader institutional milieu. In this regard, the expansion in the duties of the *kadı*s, the institutionalization of the *Meşihat*, and the increase in the number of medreses and *kadı* nominees can be observed.⁸ However, the earlier *ilmiye* institution appears to have been constrained by the influence of individual alims, whereas the prominent ulema houses played a crucial role in the process of institutionalization.⁹ Furthermore, recent studies indicate that ulema in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' ulema can be seen as alim-bureaucrats, as pivotal actors who engaged in religious duties and were effectively involved in the administrative framework.¹⁰ In this regard, the *ilmiye* bureaucrats evolved as crucial actors, both in the center and in the provinces, exercising decisive authority as representatives of the Ottoman state, but simultaneously upholding the fundamental framework of the religious establishment. This cadre of administrators in question undertook many

⁸ Faroqhi, *Civilian Society and Political Power in the Ottoman Empire: A Report on Research in Collective Biography (1480-1830)*, 112.

⁹ Zilfi, *Elite Circulation in the Ottoman Empire: Great Mollas of the Eighteenth Century*, 318.

¹⁰ Atçıl, “*Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*” 2017. Atçıl underlines the fact that by the sixteenth century the *ilmiye* began establishing its institutional framework while the *mülazemet* ratio was about %37 in early sixteenth century, which resulted in reinforcing the hierarchy by the seventeenth century. In fact, the ulema were acting as the bureaucrats, which were truly the representative of the state from center to the provinces. The rise of number of medreses as well as ulema prove that they were scholar-cum-bureaucrats. This argument could be understood as a feature of the making of the early modern Ottoman Empire.

responsibilities that encompassed the domains of the court, education, and religious obligations, as previously mentioned.

Nevertheless, particularly during the eighteenth century, a significant shift in the landscape of high-ranking *ilmiye* officials, as they became more concentrated within a select few urban *ulema* families. The complex interaction of familial lineages inside the *ilmiye* has become a compelling determinant in shaping the trajectory of these families' fortunes both within the *ilmiye* establishment and among the broader ranks of the *askeri* elites.¹¹ This phenomenon gave rise to the emergence of a social class that may be appropriately compared to an aristocracy. This particular social group is distinguished by hereditary advantages, setting apart the privileged few from the larger body of *ulema* who had limited access to prominence. However, it is noteworthy to acknowledge that the latter, despite their differing degrees of prominence, frequently maintained a connection to the legacy of their predecessors within the domain of *ehl-i ilm*.¹² Therefore, the auspicious situation of being born into an *ulema* family was regarded as the role of a potent privilege. As illustrative instances, the Mekkizade, Ebuishakzade, Dürriade, and Arabzade lineages are renowned ruling families whose influence became evident during the eighteenth century. In fact, the terminologies “family” and “lineage” pertain to the intergenerational transmission of the Ottoman *ilmiye* bureaucracy from fathers to sons, as well as the occurrence of many individuals from the same family acquiring positions within the *ilmiye* bureaucracy through kinship connections.¹³ Therefore,

¹¹ In the Ottoman context, *Askeri* means the ruling elite which divided into *ehl-i örf* (the military and non-*ilmiye* bureaucray) and *ehl-i şer'* (the *ilmiye* bureaucracy). See. Sahillioğlu, 3, 488-489, (1991).

¹² Christoph Neumann, “Elites’ Networks and Mobility” in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, ed. Shirine Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 114-143.

¹³ Moreover, the scope and content of *ulema* “families” and “lineages” will be identified and discussed later in the thesis, encompassing an analysis of the ways they were named.

the eighteenth century witnessed a notable consolidation in the number of ulema families that exercised dominance within the higher ranks of the ilmiye officialdom. According to Madeline Zilfi, a prominent Ottoman historian, this consolidation resulted in a total of eleven influential ulema families during that period.¹⁴ Thus, Zilfi's scholarly inquiry into the eighteenth-century ulema families offers a noteworthy exemplar, shedding light on the underlying processes that underpin the bureaucratic nature of the ulema entity.

Overall, existing scholarship on the ilmiye has, for the most part, neglected the genealogies and the broader social and familial aspects of the ulema families. The study of Ottoman ulema frequently overlooks social, familial, and dynastic dimensions, hence necessitating paying attention to the historiographical problems. These problems will be discussed in the next section. In this regard, the prospect of prosopographic studies as a convincing approach deviates from the prevailing notion that ulema individuals can only be understood by exclusively examining their political and bureaucratic engagements. These studies, by delving into the intricate fabric of individual lives in a comparative manner, aim to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the ulema's multifaceted roles.¹⁵ Specifically, they seek to highlight the complicated interplay between familial networks, political connections, inheritances, and administrative pursuits of the ulema. In doing so, prosopographic studies hold the potential to reshape our perceptions of the ulema that goes beyond their official functions and places within the Ottoman bureaucratic

¹⁴ According to Zilfi, and several studies that flourished afterward, a tiny number of ulema families, have dominated the Şeyhülislamlık from 1703 to 1839, which will be discussed in detail in the following parts of the thesis.

¹⁵ A cluster of works can be mentioned: Madeline Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: the Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age 1600-1800* (Minneapolis, USA: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988). Abdurrahman Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* Cambridge, 2017. Zeynep Altuntaş "Sultan Abdülmecid Dönemi Osmanlı Uleması" PhD diss., 2013. Erhan Bektaş "Ulema in the Late Ottoman Empire 1880-1920", PhD diss., Boğaziçi University, 2019.

milieu. Finally, it is worth considering the problem of how the influential ulema families, who gained significant prominence during the eighteenth century, were integrated into the bureaucracy and social fabric of the nineteenth century. This investigation of how they have managed and survived in the long nineteenth century may be conducted in conjunction with historiographical problems, employing prosopographical methods.

1.2. Historiographical problems

There is a substantial body of literature on the Ottoman Ulema, however most of them are subject to various historiographical problems, whether intentionally or unwittingly. One fundamental problem is the prevailing state-centered perspective seen in the bulk of existing scholarship, which analyzes the *ilmiye* solely through its institutional and bureaucratic affiliations. Although these studies contain a great deal of detail, they may not go beyond a descriptive approach. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı's work is one of the first studies that may be regarded as pioneering within this field. His renowned book "*İlmiye Teşkilatı*" served as a foundational reference for repetitive and, most likely, reductionist studies in the following decades.¹⁶

Hence, this present work seeks to tackle a prevalent historiographical fallacy by addressing the propensity to analyze the *ilmiye* officialdom and ulema families within a state-centered framework that prioritizes political and bureaucratic

¹⁶ Interestingly, a vast number of theses and works on the ulema tend to repeat Uzunçarşılı's understanding of institution-centered approach to the *ilmiye*. See. Akgündüz, Murat. *XIX Asır Başlarına Kadar Osmanlı Devleti'nde Şeyhülislamlık*. (İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, 2002). Yasemin Beyazıt, "Osmanlı İlmiyye Tarikinde İstihdam ve Hareket: Rumeli Kazaskerliği Ruznamçeleri üzerine bir tahlil denemesi: 16. Yüzyıl." PhD diss., Ankara University, 2009.

affiliations and disregards a substantial amount of ulema's social and economic presence. That is to say, this approach has inadvertently marginalized the intricate facets of the ulema's everyday life, which eventually limits their capabilities and the scope of their power apparatus exclusively to institutional domains. It is crucial to emphasize that the prevalence of familial lineages, as seen in the case of Dürri-zade and Arabzade families, for example, does not inherently equate to exclusive control over political power mechanisms. Rather than limiting the concept of ulema families to their recognition within bureaucratic and palatial contexts, which in turn highlights their power dynamics, it is pertinent to shift focus toward themes that are relevant to the ulema's everyday and social experiences. Similarly, the examination of the *ilmiye* from an institutional perspective in existing literature often highlights the establishment of the *Evkaf-ı Hümayun* and the subsequent transfer of waqf revenues - one of the paramount sources of income for the ulema- to the state in 1826 as an indication of the diminishing influence of the religious establishment. Moreover, there is a tendency to analyze the Tanzimat times as a teleological process as primarily driven by Westernization. These approaches also argue that the Ottoman ulema had already experienced a decline in authority, privileges, and competencies prior to the nineteenth century. While there exists a substantial amount of literature on the Tanzimat that has effectively addressed these fallacies, the majority of works pertaining to the Ottoman ulema tend to perceive the *ilmiye* as having experienced an overall decline. To illustrate, Avigdor Levy, in his work, "The Ottoman Ulema and the Military Reforms of Sultan Mahmud II," claims that the ulema can be regarded as a conservative and over-reactionary ruling component that stands against

the state's modernization process.¹⁷ Nevertheless, even those who have a more nuanced perspective on this matter have adopted a novel method by examining the interplay between the Ulema and the Tanzimat reforms. To give an example, David Kushner's significant contribution demonstrates the ability to surpass conventional categorizations. He critically examined the ulema's correlation with the central government in light of the Tanzimat reforms, arguing that the ulema were instrumental in driving the reforms, guiding their trajectory, and subsequently benefiting from the changes implemented. This approach presents a counterargument to the notion that the ulema were merely passive recipients of reforms, emphasizing their proactive role as both instigators and beneficiaries. In addition to this, Uriel Heyd's attempt to analyze the ulema in relation to the modernization during the time of Selim III and Mahmud II, is considered to be an early inquiry into studying the ulema based on socio-economic backgrounds.¹⁸ According to Heyd, the more socioeconomically prosperous central ulema were in favor of reform, while the lower-ranking provincial ulema were against reform. It is interesting to note that many studies on this subject embrace and promote, either directly or indirectly, the inquiry into the connection between the ulema and reforms that was conducted by Heyd and Kushner without much alteration. As an illustration of one of these studies, Ahmet Cihan while discussing the Ottoman Ulema in terms of their relationship with rulers, classifies the span of 1300 to 1600 as the time of formation, 1600 to 1770 as stagnation, and 1770 to 1876 as the period of reformation. Naturally, he contends that

¹⁷ Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton, 1963): 65-70. Avigdor Levy "The Ottoman Ulema and the Military Reforms of Sultan Mahmud II," *Asian and African Studies* Vol.7 (1971): 13-39.

¹⁸ Uriel Heyd, "The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization in the time of Selim III and Mahmud II" in *The Modern Middle East*, eds. Albert Hourani, Philip Khoury, and Mary Wilson (London I. B. Tauris, 2005): 29-59.

by the 1830s, the ulema had been barred from participating in the political arena.¹⁹ Scholars such as Kushner, Heyd, and Levy have dealt with the Ottoman ulema in relation to the Tanzimat reforms at an early date. In this respect, it is worth noting that a few dissertations dealing with the same problem in Turkish were published in the 1990s.²⁰ Therefore, the existing perspectives, to some extent, on the ulema may be categorized into, dichotomist and reductionist frameworks, with certain scholarly publications providing descriptive praise for the ulema. Last but not least, the ilmiye institution has been constrained within the aforementioned frameworks, which effectively shape perceptions that either downplay or overstate the ilmiye.

Hence, this present work endeavors to explore the prominent ulema families of the nineteenth century, together with the complex interplay of social and human geography. This approach deliberately deviates from a limited emphasis on institutional structures and professional trajectories. In essence, this thesis serves as an exploration of the dynamic institutional transformations that the ilmiye witnessed, fundamentally challenging notions of decline in the socio-economic standing of the ulema during the nineteenth century. In contrast to commonly held assumptions, the study reveals a multifaceted reality in which Şeyhülislams, various ulema families, and even segments of the middle-class ulema population displayed a notable range of responsibilities and economic activities during this long century. The diversity mentioned may be observed in several ways, such as individuals residing for extended periods in certain areas along the Bosphorus, the creation of foundations

¹⁹ Cihan, *Reform Çağında Osmanlı İlmiye Sınıfı*, 15.

²⁰ See. Ahmet Cihan, “Modernleşme döneminde Osmanlı uleması (1770-1876), PhD diss., İstanbul University, 1994. Osman Özkul, “III. Selim döneminde Osmanlı uleması ve yenileşme konusundaki tutumları 1789-1807,” PhD diss., İstanbul University, 1996. Ahmet Şamil Güner “Osmanlı Ulemasının III. Selim ve II. Mahmud reformları karşısındaki tavrı”, MA thesis, Hacettepe University, 1996. Veli Karataş Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılda Yenileşme çabaları ve Osmanlı Ulemasının Tavrı”, MA thesis, Marmara University, 1998.

and estates, or the ongoing presence of their descendants inside bureaucratic structures.

Therefore, the narrative presented herein goes beyond a simple linear decline and instead illuminates the complex interaction between the ulema's continued involvement in administrative and scholarly roles and their shrewd involvement in many economic pursuits. Thus, it portrays the ulema and their families not as passive individuals experiencing decline but rather as skilled individuals who adeptly adjusted to evolving circumstances while maintaining their influence in various aspects of Ottoman society.

1.3. Outline of the thesis

This thesis consists of three chapters; the initial chapter will conduct the groundwork to understand the Tanzimat and the Ulema families, which outlines a general portrayal of the Şeyhülislams from the reign of Selim III to Abdülhamid II and discusses the genealogy of the four esteemed ulema families (Arabzade, Dürrizade, Ebuishakzade, and Mekkizade). In addition to these four prominent ulema families, the genealogy of the Feyzullahzade, who were influential in the eighteenth century but had no such presence in the nineteenth century, is provided. Additionally, the genealogy of the Şeyhülislam families, which were influential in the nineteenth century, is discussed. Some examples of these families include Sıdkızade Ahmed Reşid's (1759-1834) lineage and Kocayusufpaşazades, the family of Ahmed Muhtar Molla Bey (1807-1882). As a broad review, this chapter examines fifteen distinct ulema families as well as Şeyhülislam families as a general survey.

The following chapter, on the other hand, will introduce the primary sources of the present work while focusing on the spatiality of the *sahilhanes* on the

Bosphorus, where a number of ilmiye individuals resided for an extended period of time. In this respect, the Bosphorus, which turned into an alternative living space of Istanbul from the eighteenth century onwards, and specifically the Rumelia coast from Kuruçeşme to Emirgan. Traditionally, the upper strata ulema, the *ulemazades*, *kadis*, and *müderris* resided in different parts of Istanbul, especially in neighborhoods such as Vefa and Fatih.²¹ This thesis, however, specifically focuses on the living spaces of the upper echelon ulema, especially the ulema families, on the Western coasts of the Bosphorus Strait. Furthermore, it also aims to briefly add the Paşabahçe-Kandilli line, the Anatolian side of the Bosphorus, where a number of high-ranking ulema have resided. By doing so, it is worth considering that the present work aims to argue that the ulema's presence on the opulent shores of the Bosphorus for an extended period of time was one indication that the extent of the ulema's decline in the nineteenth century had been overestimated.

To discuss the primary sources of the thesis, the *Bostancıbaşı Records*, population registers from different dates, ulema registry files, and various archival materials can be mentioned. To summarize, from the first Bostancıbaşı Records in the 1790s to the population records from different dates are followed, and the urban topography of Ottoman Istanbul from Beşiktaş to Sarıyer in a timeline spanning approximately one hundred years. By doing so, it aims to explore the social and urban landscape of the Bosphorus Strait as being a favorable sphere for the ilmiye over the course of decades. Undoubtedly, population records from different times allow the present work to deal with the continuity and change within the ulema families and other ulema elites and bureaucrats in terms of their presence on the

²¹ The fact that Fatih Sahn and Süleymaniye Medreses, as the two institutions played a pivotal to produce candidates for the ilmiye officialdom over centuries. Between the Vefa and Süleymaniye neighborhoods a number of ilmiye officials resided.

Bosphorus shores. The thesis aims to portray a general overview of the seaside mansions and ulema on the Bosphorus, as well as conducting a household analysis along a specific geographical line, from Kuruçeşme to Emirgan, on the Western shores of the Bosphorus Strait over a century from the 1790s to the 1890s. Hence, the last chapter will provide a closer look into ulema households and their *sahilhanes*, in order to outline an alternate social topography and microcosm of the learned hierarchy at the time. So, in the last chapter, the present work will outline a dozen randomly selected *sahilhanes* from population records owned mostly by ulema families from Bebek to Rumelihisarı, which employs the first half of the nineteenth century. Last but not least, various visual materials, as well as lists of inhabitants on the Bosphorus shores at the time, are given in the appendix.

Overall, the introduction aims to outline the general concepts and framework of the *ilmiye* while scrutinizing a number of historiographical problems in the literature on the Ottoman ulema. This literature's focus on institutional structures and bureaucratic functions results in a representation of the ulema that is often mechanistic and a one-dimensional portrayal. Therefore, this present work attempts to provide a more multifaceted analysis of the ulema. As a matter of fact, the usual method, the present work, aims to examine the specific situations of specific ulema families, which can be considered representatives of broader ulema lineages. This investigation focuses mainly on their residential enclaves, which include *yalis* (seaside mansions) and households. This study at the micro-level presents a modest and novel approach to examining renowned ulema, whose influence has primarily been discussed within the context of political narratives. By broadening the scope of analysis to include the family and domestic realms, a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of these individuals may be cultivated. Finally, the

thesis employs archival materials in the examination of the seaside mansions belonging to people deriving from Ottoman ulema lineages. Utilizing the existing sources, it is evident that the *ilmiye* class potentially has a prominent position in the realm of residential settlements. This is substantiated by the visual representation of *sahilhanes* that are progressively accumulating in close proximity to the fortresses situated on each side of the Bosphorus.

In conclusion, one of the central arguments of the thesis is that the ulema did not, in fact, decline in the nineteenth century, at least socioeconomically and not to the extent previously depicted. In this regard, there are certain occurrences that challenge the dominant perspective on the decline of the *ilmiye*. These include the active involvement of the ulema in promoting the Tanzimat reforms, the prolonged presence of specific ulema families in the Rumelia Judgeship for more than fifty years, and the establishment of new institutions. Furthermore, it is crucial to acknowledge that the likelihood of political decline does not necessitate simultaneous socio-economic regression. In fact, the multifaceted layers of the present work aim to advocate the idea that ulema families maintained survival throughout the nineteenth century associated with their socioeconomic wealth and the presence of the *sahilhanes* on the Bosphorus. To put it differently, this microscopic scrutiny is anchored in primary sources that constitute the essence of this study, as it aims to shed light on the complexity of these households, providing insight into their domestic dynamics.

CHAPTER 2

TANZIMAT AND ULEMA FAMILIES

2.1. Tanzimat and Ulema families

The classic view in the academic literature is that the Tanzimat reforms shall be seen as a time of codifications, which were hastily and impulsively done, leading to a number of detrimental effects and lacking the chance for deep introspection. In this view, the high-ranking ulema's contributions to the reforms were regarded as simply an attempt at survival, as argued by a number of works.²² However, after the implementation of the hierarchical structure of the Şeyhülislam, the Ottoman ilmiye maintained a substantial level of authority within the Ottoman state. The nineteenth century witnessed substantial transformations within the learned hierarchy, which have been a subject of much controversy. Mahmud II implemented significant reforms throughout his reign, including the dissolution of the Janissary Corps and the founding of *Evkaf-ı Hümayun* in 1826. Hence, despite the ilmiye's institutional legacy being questioned, it still adopted the novel proceedings accompanied by the Sublime Porte's practices.²³ Even though the structure of the ilmiye underwent radical changes during the Tanzimat period, the representation of the ilmiye in the newly emerging institutions continued, and the new structures within the ilmiye were redesigned. Jun Akiba's, an Ottoman social and legal historian, works can be given as an example of the *Muallimhane-i Nüvvab* and the new *kadı* profiles. In his book, Akiba argues that the establishment and development of the new Naibs' College

²² İlhami Yurdakul, *Osmanlı İlmiye Merkez Teşkilatında Reform*. İstanbul: İletişim, 2008. Esra Yakut, *Şeyhülislamlık: Yenileşme Döneminde Devlet ve Din*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005.

²³ David Kushner, "The Place of the Ulema in the Ottoman Empire during the Age of Reform (1838-1918)," *Turcica* 19 (1987):51-74. Avigdor Levy, "The Ottoman Ulema and the Military Reforms of Sultan Mahmud II" *Asian and African Studies* Vol.7, (1971): 13-39.

(*Muallimhane-i Nüvvab*) in 1855 should be considered a combination of the classical *medrese* education in the form of a modern school system. He asserts that the new school had several innovative approaches, such as giving importance to Turkish writing.²⁴ By doing so, Akiba challenges the decline paradigm and opens up space for new debates by asking further pertinent questions to concepts and institutions that are trapped in the dichotomous narrative that can be considered a dominant view in the literature at the intersection of the late Ottoman education and legal system.

Another issue that needs to be underlined here is to claim that the ulema can be studied as one of the main actors in the Tanzimat era, and the *ilmiye* should be evaluated in this context. However, this approach should not be taken as an absolute authoritarian or the sole holder of political power by the Ulema. Instead, a gradual dissolution of the ulema throughout the century can be discussed. In this respect, the relative political dissolution of the *ilmiye* during this period can be questioned by examining the changes associated with their contributions to the novel practices of the Tanzimat. Nonetheless, a number of the privileges that were previously held and monopolized by the ulema in the Pre-Tanzimat era, some of which are at a supreme level of authority, were dissolved. As the Tanzimat reform efforts are to be seen as an attempt at codifications and legalizations, then the efforts to reorganize some of the ulema's legal privileges should not be described as a mere erosion of their status. In this regard, it would be appropriate to detect some of the privileges that were enjoyed by the ulema prior to the Tanzimat. That is to say, the *ilmiye* not only had significant bureaucratic associations but also purportedly received certain rights and advantages from the Ottoman Empire throughout the course of several centuries. For instance, within the context of Ottoman history, it can be observed that the *ilmiye* bureaucrats

²⁴ Jun Akiba, *New School for Qadis, Turcica*, 35 (2003): 125-63.

constituted the sole group of governing elites who were spared from punishment of execution by the Sultan, with just three exceptions recorded.²⁵ The benefits enjoyed by the members of the learned hierarchy did not just pertained to exemption from sultanic orders of execution, but also encompassed legal and fiscal exemptions. Despite the fact that the whole *askeri* class had some privileges in terms of taxation, it is essential to note that the ulema held a distinct position with regard to taxes and penalties, which extended to their offspring as well.²⁶ In contrast to other higher classes, the *ilmiye* members were exempted from *müsadere* (appropriation), as a means of illustration. The appropriation of ulema's wealth was observed in a limited number of situations, and such actions were implemented exclusively where the gravity of the infraction justified such measures. One of the illustrative instances comprises the appropriation of Safranbolulu Hüseyin Efendi's (d.1648) illicitly obtained wealth, procured through acts of corruption known as *Cinci Hoca*. He was the Anatolian Kazasker, and an influential figure during the reign of Sultan İbrahim.²⁷ Another illustrative example could be given as the seizure of the properties and a sum exceeding one hundred *kese* in cash owned by Şeyhülislam Erzurumlu Feyzullah Efendi (1639-1703), his offspring, and kin, who met their demise as a consequence of their involvement in the Edirne Vakası.²⁸ Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the failure to enforce confiscation was accompanied by a practice wherein the Şeyhülislams, throughout their lives, would transfer the official *nişan*, a symbol of their authority bestowed by the central government, to the state

²⁵ Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi, who was executed for the Edirne Vakası, can be given as an example of this.

²⁶ İpşirli, "İlmiye" *TDV Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 22, (2000): 141-145.

²⁷ Özcan "Cinci Hoca Hüseyin Efendi" *TDV Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 18 (1998): 541-543.

²⁸ Micheal Nizri, *Ottoman High Politics and Ulema Household*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 138-187.

upon their demise in exchange for financial remuneration. The families received financial compensation equivalent to the monetary worth of the *nişans*.²⁹

One of the critical turning points for the *ilmiye* that occurred on the eve of the Tanzimat was when the Şeyhülislam's personal residence ceased to function as an administrative office. Historically, it was customary for political and religious matters to be settled inside the confines of the Şeyhülislam's private residence. However, it should be mentioned that the northwestern section of Süleymaniye Külliye, known as Ağakapısı, turned into the administrative center for the *ilmiye*, which in the present day serves as the administrative headquarters for the religious affairs chief of Istanbul. However, a more nuanced perspective emerges when one shifts focus towards the private residences of the Şeyhülislams, which symbolize a domain more closely linked to civilian aspects of life. At the time, the deliberate separation of the Şeyhülislam's residential house from the administrative center can be observed. The cumulative concentration of Şeyhülislams and other high-ranking *ilmiye* officials within certain geographical places over an extended amount of time led to their persistent presence in Istanbul's neighborhoods. Therefore, it is advantageous to begin by offering a brief overview of the Şeyhülislams throughout the era spanning from Selim III to Abdulhamid II, as this period is the timeframe of this thesis. This first assessment establishes the foundation for an in-depth inquiry into the social origins, residences of ulema families, and the social topography of the Bosphorus. This requires a succinct analysis of the socioeconomic and vocational contexts in which the Şeyhülislams operated. Moreover, this research investigates the

²⁹ İlhami Yurdakul. *Osmanlı İlmiye Merkez Teşkilatında Reform*. (İstanbul: İletişim, 2008.) İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014.)

Rumelia Kazaskers, individuals who held authoritative roles during the aforementioned period, with the aim of elucidating the complex interconnections among influential ulema families, the dynamic political landscape, and the persistent institutional transformations that occurred.

As an obvious outcome of the institutionalization in the appointment of Şeyhülislams that had been reinforced in the preceding centuries, promotion to the office of Şeyhülislam was attainable after having served in a number of offices and offices of the Kazaskers. There are, however, a few notable deviations from the usual procedure in this circumstance. As a matter of fact, evidence of this may be seen in the appointments of Şeyhülislams during the course of this long century. During the times of Selim III and the Tanzimat period, nominations of Şeyhülislams usually reflected the politically turbulent climate of the time. Sultans would, on occasion, demonstrate their admiration for Şeyhülislams since these individuals possessed attributes such as moderation and dignity, which aligned with the political goals of the sultans. On the other hand, those who had stronger-willed dispositions had a better chance of being favored at other times. Individuals such as Çerkes Halil Efendi (?-1821) and Kadızade Tahir Efendi (1747-1838), who came from non-Istanbul backgrounds and were not part of an ulema lineage, were able to acquire the role of Great Molla as a result of their vicinity to the palace as a consequence.³⁰ Çerkes Halil Efendi was a Circassian slave brought to the palace, who was raised with Şehzade Selim and began as *kethüda* of the treasury when Selim III came to power in 1789, which ended up appointed as Şeyhülislam during Mahmud II's time as he was

³⁰ Traditionally, ulema have risen to the position of Şeyhülislam by obtaining a number degrees and ascending through the medrese and kadılık. There are exceptions to this, and the present work mentions names who, as imam-ı sultani, facilitated their path to the position of Şeyhülislam. See. Ahmet Muhtar Molla Efendi (1807-1882) Also See. Esra Yakut, *Şeyhülislamlık: Yenileşme Döneminde Devlet ve Din*. (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005.)

dismissed in 1821.³¹ Kadızade Mehmed Tahir, on the other hand, came from a modest family from Tokat and was appointed to Şeyhülislam by Mahmud II after Mekkizade Mustafa Asım Efendi in 1826. In fact, in the councils that were regularly held on the eve of the dissolution of the Janissary Corps, Kadızade Mehmed Efendi was known to play an essential part, which earned him a place of influence. In a meeting that took place on May 25, 1826, in his mansion and was attended by a large group of high-ranking civil and military officials as well as ulema, the Şeyhülislam issued a *fetva* on the necessity of war training against the janissaries who were against the Western-style training, and it was decided to form a trained military unit called *Eşkinici*.³²

Despite the fact that the genealogies of the Şeyhüislams will be portrayed in a comparative way, the study will not go into complete biographies of the more than thirty Şeyhüislams who served in the office for almost one hundred years. This is particularly pertinent with regard to the individuals whose families will be the focus of the inquiry. In contrast, the graphs and infographics that are outlined in this work are going to be displayed as a broad review of the higher levels of the ilmiye. Additionally, the degree of kinship between the ulema families will be taken into consideration. Some ulema families, such as the Dürrizade and the Arabzade, might be regarded as having controlled a substantial portion of the high-ranking ilmiye bureaucracy during the Tanzimat and post-Tanzimat period by using the example of the Rumelia Kazaskerlik positions serving as an example in that regard. The fact that the Kazaskers could be regarded as military judges for the ilmiye establishment. Unlike the viziers, the Kazaskers were Muslims and often Turks and

³¹ İlmiye Salnamesi, İstanbul: Matbaa-I Âmire, 1334, s. 582.

³² İpşirli, "Halil Efendi" *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 15, (1997): 312.

alumna of the medreses.³³ In this regard, Rumelia Kazasker posts along with the *meşveret* assemblies were identified from the *salnames*. The *salnames* were analyzed in order to uncover insights into their social and family backgrounds. Therefore, between the years 1832 and 1892, only five out of fifty-five judges in Rumelia were the offspring of either pashas or Sufi individuals; in contrast, the rest of the judges were the sons of ulema, with at least two dozen of them belonging to the Dürrizade, Arabzade, Meşrebzade, and Zeynelabidinziade families.³⁴ Accordingly, almost half of the positions of Rumelia judges were held by members of certain ulema families or sons of Şeyhülislams. In fact, the remaining positions in the organization were all filled by offspring of the ulema. To put it differently, a tiny number of the ulema families and the ulemazades were responsible for obtaining half of the posts that were filled during the course of sixty years.³⁵ In addition, there were less than twenty members of the high-ranking ilmiye bureaucracy in the *salname* of 1263/1847, which included the Nakibüleşraf. On the other hand, the number of people holding Haremeyn posts has already increased beyond this figure. As a result, the observable ascent of select families to positions of power within the higher tiers of the ilmiye bureaucracy will be scrutinized in a manner that is inconsistent with the generally accepted concepts of centralization.

However, despite parallels in patterns and attributes between ulema families and the ulemazades, it would be an oversimplification to assert that every family held substantial economic wealth and control. Consequently, instances may arise where a

³³ G. Agoston and B. Masters, *Encyclopedia of Ottoman Empire*, 11.

³⁴ Zeynep Altuntaş. "Tanzimat Döneminde Rumeli Kazaskerleri (1839-1861)," *Journal of Anatolia and Balkan Studies* 6, no. 11 (2023): 171-201.

³⁵ To make it clearer, around twenty-five posts belonged to the sons of Şeyhülislams and four families; Dürrizade, Arabzade, Zeynelabidinziade, and Yasincizade. In fact, the other families such as Meşrebzade have been presented in the posts.

Şeyhülislam, such as Kadızade Tahir Efendi, lacked a suitable residence in Istanbul during the early stages of his career before ascending to prominent ilmiye positions. Conversely, individuals like Mekkizade Mustafa Asım Efendi (1762-1846), arguably the most affluent scholar of the Ottoman Empire, would later occupy the post of Şeyhülislam. Notably, prominent ulema families managed to sustain and diversify their land and property, even in the face of reforms that appeared to contradict their interests. The influence of the Dürrizade family extended beyond their official positions within the Ottoman administration. The family had a diverse range of farmlands and properties located throughout Western Anatolia, with several holdings generating significant income for the family for a remarkable duration of over fifty years.³⁶ The farms not only demonstrated the family's diversified sources but also emphasized their lasting influence on the economic environment of the area. Similarly, the Arabzade family demonstrated a parallel pattern, characterized by a collection of farmlands and landholdings that enhanced their status as a notable family.³⁷ Likewise, the Arabzade family's farmland in Küçükçemece, Istanbul, witnessed a multitude of transfers within the family along with their property in Kuzguncuk, Üsküdar.³⁸

2.2. *Bâb-ı Meşihat*: A general portrayal of the Şeyhülislams (1790s to the 1890s)

The establishment of the office of Meşihat's first chief may be traced back to the fourteenth century since Molla Fenari (1350-1431), who served as the *kadi* of Bursa

³⁶ Dürrizade's Pınarbaşı Mukataa located in Izmir, was belonged to the family for an extended period of time. See. BOA, MVL/555-97 (1284/1867), ŞD/2999-41 (1317/1899).

³⁷ Dürrizade and Arabzade families owned several farmlands located throughout Western Anatolia. See. BOA, MKT.DV/222-16, ML.EEM./23-11 (1288/1871): According to this document, around 70 Circassian immigrants were sheltered in Dürrizade's farmland while providing agricultural activities.

³⁸ "Topkapı haricindeki Arabzade Çiftliği'nin İstanbul payelilerinden hafidi Mehmed Efendiye terki" A. MKT. NZD. 241 55 H 25.03.1274, "Arabzade Hamdullah Efendinin Kuzguncuk'da ortaklık suretiyle mutasarrıf olduğu boş arazinin satılması" İ.MVL 96 2039 H 15.06.1263.

for an extended period, is widely recognized as the first Şeyhülislam. During the early sixteenth century, the tenure of Zenbilli Ali Efendi (1445-1526) from 1503 to 1526 marked a significant shift in the duties and authority of the Şeyhülislams. This period witnessed a crucial role played by the scholarly profession in the selection and appointment of individuals to this position. In other words, the appointment of the Şeyhülislam necessitated the presence of a scholar who possessed a distinguished educational background and professional trajectory within esteemed medrese institutions, as per the explicit request of the Grand Vizier and subsequent confirmation by the Sultan.³⁹ During this era, it had been customary for the shift from the Rumelia Kazasker to the post of Şeyhülislam to take place. During the mid-sixteenth century, the scope of administrative responsibilities undertaken by the Şeyhülislam experienced a notable expansion. By the end of the century, they had attained a level of political influence inside the state that was comparable to that of the vizier. In fact, Şeyhülislams were responsible for the appointment of the ilmiye bureaucrats to the higher ranks.⁴⁰

The seventeenth century witnessed significant transformations and vulnerabilities within the state apparatus and the saltanat institution, which therefore impacted the ilmiye profession and its leader, the Şeyhülislam.⁴¹ During that period, the Şeyhülislam, Hocasade Mehmed Efendi (1568-1615), encountered challenges in safeguarding the hierarchical structure of the ulema and maintaining control over appointments.⁴² Thus, the Hocasade Mehmed Efendi's attempts contributed to the

³⁹ Beyazıt, "Osmanlı İlmiye Bürokrasisinde Şeyhülislamlığın Değişen Rolü ve Mülazemet Sistemi (XVI.-XVIII. Yüzyıllar), 431-432.

⁴⁰ Yakıt, "Osmanlı İlmiye Teşkilatı ve Şeyhülislamlar," 21-22.

⁴¹ İlhami Yurdakul, *Osmanlı İlmiye Merkez Teşkilatında Reform*. İstanbul: İletişim, 2008. Esra Yakut, *Şeyhülislamlık: Yenileşme Döneminde Devlet ve Din*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005.

⁴² Sadık Tezin, "Osmanlı Devletinde Çok Yönlü Bir Ulema Ailesi: Hocasadeler" (PhD diss., Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2022), 159.

religious establishment that has endured over a span of five centuries. A total number of 131 individuals have assumed the esteemed roles of muftis and Şeyhülislams within the institution. The mean duration of employment for these individuals was three and a half years. Ebussuud Efendi, Zenbilli Ali Efendi, and Mekkizade Mustafa Asım Efendi were notable individuals who held significant positions for an extended duration. Nonetheless, the extant body of studies posits that the institution of the Şeyhülislam had achieved a substantial level of institutionalization by the seventeenth century. As previously addressed, the Şeyhülislams and the broader ilmiye functioned as a pivotal component within the administrative framework of the Ottoman state. Their principal responsibilities encompassed the issuance of *fetvas* addressing matters of religious, political, and societal significance, presiding over legal proceedings within the court system, and assuming a bridging role between the medrese educational system and higher echelons of both education and bureaucracy.⁴³

However, it is worth noting that the corpus of existing studies tends to prioritize the institutional characteristics and developments of the Bab-ı Meşihat, unintentionally neglecting the many perspectives from which the functions of Şeyhülislams should be analyzed. At this point, it becomes relevant to provide a chronological presentation of the Şeyhülislams of the era, accompanied by a concise biographical and genealogical inquiry. By doing so, an overarching view of the Şeyhülislams is provided, thereby setting the groundwork for an informed exploration of the complexities within the present work, which aims to offer a comprehensive grasp of the high-ranking ilmiye bureaucracy. Furthermore, it will be

⁴³ Esra Yıldız, “Meşihat Arşivi Belgelerine Göre Şeyhülislamlığın Bürokratik Yapısı,” (PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2021), 15.

possible to discuss the correlation between the Şeyhülislam posts and Rumelia Kazasker posts and both with the renowned ulema families.

Also, it is crucial to acknowledge that familial connections were not confined solely to the ulema domain. Hence, in order to portray the family linkages within the non-ilmiye bureaucracy, it is worth noting that the Sublime Porte exhibited a degree of tolerance, and support, and occasionally even facilitated the advancement of pre-Ottoman nobilities into the eighteenth century, before integrating them into the new Tanzimat administration (1839-1878). Within this Ottomanization agenda, influential notables skillfully maneuvered through changes in order to ensure that their offspring and subsequent generations obtained official posts in Istanbul.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the practice of consolidating positions within the higher echelons of the ilmiye hierarchy, including roles such as Şeyhülislam, judgeships in Rumelia and Anatolia, Istanbul Great *Müfti*, and Haremeyn posts, was observed as a frequent and astute strategy in the high bureaucracy. Therefore, it can be inferred that the most favorable path towards a successful career in the bureaucracy frequently entailed establishing connections with an ulema family, since it was seen that individuals from ulema backgrounds predominantly occupied the most prestigious and lucrative positions. In other cases, these positions were also made available to individuals who were either biological or fictive offspring of other influential figures within the official elites.⁴⁵ According to scholars like Zilfi and Carter Findley, this particular viewpoint posits that the mechanisms for attaining bureaucratic advancement were predominantly influenced by patronage. Nevertheless, it is advisable to have a cautious attitude

⁴⁴ Bouquet, "Old Elites in a New Republic: The Reconversion of Ottoman Bureaucratic Families in Turkey (1909-1939)," 588.

⁴⁵ Faroqi, "Civilian Society and Political Power in the Ottoman Empire: A Report on Research in Collective Biography (1480-1830)," 109-117.

towards this concept, as it becomes apparent that although patronage played a significant role, it was not the only factor that determined the professional paths of ulema individuals.⁴⁶

In this context, it is worth considering Findley's explication of elites, which serves as a fitting exemplification. Findley conducts a prosopographical analysis of the bureaucrats employed in the foreign ministry of the Late Ottoman Empire. The author keenly notes that the subject under examination is the social group known as Ottoman civil officialdom. It is suggested that this group may be more accurately characterized as "preponderant" rather than merely "elite" under specific socioeconomic circumstances.⁴⁷ Moreover, it can be discussed that despite the Tanzimat centralization agenda effectively curbing dynastic powers, several families were able to retain their local authority and social reputation. In Istanbul, a similar pattern was seen, wherein the state effectively fostered nepotism while official measures were made to curb its prevalence.⁴⁸

Consequently, the Tanzimat era witnessed the sway of particular families within the high bureaucracy in defiance of centralization policies. Nonetheless, the ascendancy and monopoly of specific ulema families within the upper echelons of the bureaucracy do not imply a rigid and immutable organizational structure. The Şeyhülislams in the period under consideration contribute to the assertion that a significant majority among them were affiliated with prominent ulema families. Notably, the majority represented religious elites of Istanbul, with the presence of local-origin (*taşralı*) Şeyhülislams constituting a minority subset. Overall,

⁴⁷ Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 14.

⁴⁸ Christoph Neumann, "Elites' Networks and Mobility" in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, ed. Shirine Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 114-143.

Name	Tenure	Reason
Hamidizade Mustafa Efendi	1789-1791	Dismissal
Yahya Tevfik Efendi	1791	Dismissal
Mekki Mehmed Efendi	1791-1792	Dismissal
Dürrizade Mehmed Arif Efendi	1791-1792	Dismissal
Mustafa Aşir Efendi	1798-1800	Dismissal
Samanizade Ömer Hulusi Efendi	1800-1803, 1807, 1810-1812	Dismissal, Resignation
Salihzade Ahmed Esad Efendi	1803-1806, 1808	Dismissal
Şerifzade Mehmed Ataullah Efendi	1806-1807, 1807-1808	Dismissal
Arabzade Mehmed Arif Efendi	1808	Dismissal
Dürrizade Abdullah Efendi	1808-1810, 1812-1815	Dismissal
Mehmed Zeynelabidin Efendi	1815-1818	Dismissal
Mekkezade Mustafa Asım Efendi	1818-1819, 1823-1825, 1833-1846	Dismissal, Death
Çerkez Halil Efendi	1819-1821	Dismissal
Yasincizade Abdülvehhab Efendi	1821-1822, 1828-1833	Dismissal
Sıdkizade Ahmed Reşid Efendi	1822-1823	Dismissal
Kadızaade Mehmed Tahir Efendi	1825-1828	Resignation
Ahmed Arif Hikmet Efendi	1846-1854	Death
Meşrebzade Mehmed Arif Efendi	1854-1858	Death
Mehmed Sadeddin Efendi	1858-1863	Dismissal
Atıfzade Ömer Hüsameddin Efendi	1863-1866	Dismissal
Mehmed Refik Efendi	1866-1868	Dismissal
Akşehirli Hasan Fehmi Efendi	1868-1871	Dismissal
Mir Ahmed Muhtar Beyefendi	1874, 1878	Dismissal
Turşucuzade Ahmed Muhtar Efendi	1872-1874	Dismissal
Hasan Hayrullah Efendi	1874	Dismissal
Kara Halil Efendi	1877-1878	Dismissal
Üryanizade Ahmed Esad Efendi	1878-1889	Death
Bodrumlu Ömer Lütfi Efendi	1889-1891	Dismissal
Cemaleddin Efendi	1891-1908	Resignation

Figure 2. Reasons for the termination of the Şeyhülislam tenures (1790-1890)

The three Şeyhülislams who held their positions the longest throughout the one hundred and twenty years that spanned from Selim III to Abdülhamid II were

Cemaleddin Efendi (17 years), Mekkizade Mustafa Asım Efendi (16 years), and Üryanizade Ahmed Esad Efendi (11 years). Ahmed Arif Hikmet Bey, who followed these three names, held the office for eight years. It should be noted that throughout this time period, there were a total of thirty different Şeyhülislams and forty different tenures. Similarly, considering that the Şeyhülislam served in the office for an average of three and a half years throughout Ottoman history, it can be said that the recruitment of most of these Şeyhülislams was short-lived.⁵⁰ Likewise, the fathers of virtually all of these Şeyhülislams were members of the *ilmiye* class, with a few exceptions, such as Çerkes Halil Efendi, who was a slave recruiter, and Hasan Hayrullah Efendi, the son of a shipyard surveyor.

Nevertheless, the first striking comment on the social profiles of the Şeyhülislams of this period is that the Şeyhülislams who served before Mekkizade Mustafa Asım Efendi were members of the prominent ulema families, and most of their fathers were even Şeyhülislams. However, this was not the case for those appointed afterward. As a matter of fact, according to İlhami Yurdakul, the Şeyhülislams following Mustafa Asım Efendi kept a low profile. Similarly, high-level ulema and *softas* (students in the medreses) participated actively in the internal political concerns of the era, such as the Kuleli Vakası, which was a rebellion and assassination attempt against Sultan Abdülmecid in 1859.⁵¹ However, according to the tradition within the *ilmiye* officialdom, the dismissed Şeyhülislams were not given any other post until the second half of the nineteenth century, with one or two exceptions. However, in 1868 Atıfzade Hüsameddin Efendi (1799-1871) obtained

⁵⁰ İpşirli, “Şeyhülislam”, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 39 (2010): 91-96.

⁵¹ Zekeriya Türkmen, “Kuleli Vakası,” *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 26 (2002): 356-357. İlhami Yurdakul, “Gelenek ve Değişim Sürecinde Tanzimat Devri Şeyhülislamaları” in *Sultan Abdülmecid ve Dönemi (1823-1861)* eds. Kemal Kahraman and Ilona Baytar, İstanbul: İBB Kültür AŞ., 2011.

membership in the Meclis-i Âli after his dismissal from Şeyhülislamlık, which changed this practice.⁵²

Nevertheless, it would not be consistent to claim that all of the Şeyhülislam who held the office after Mekkizade Mustafa Asım had a low profile based on factors such as the fact that virtually none of them were the son of a Şeyhülislam and that they did not come from a prominent family. In this respect, the vertical and horizontal kinship networks, as well as the seaside mansions where they resided, offer one of the new debates through which this claim might be contested. As a matter of fact, with the exception of one or two specific cases, all of the Şeyhülislams that came after Mustafa Asım belonged to families that can be categorized as ulema families. To put it differently, the idea that Şeyhülislams remained low profile after Mustafa Asım Efendi can be questioned and discussed. For instance, both Yasincizade Abdülvehhab's father and grandfather were Şeyhs of Hekim Çelebi Lodge. In addition, his son, İlmî Efendi (d. 1872), was Nakibüleşraf and Rumelia Judge, while his grandson Mehmed Nuri Efendi (d. 1889) served as the Kadı of Mecca. Furthermore, after Mustafa Asım Efendi's demise in 1846, Arif Hikmet Bey, born into a bureaucratic family, served as Şeyhülislam for eight years. The library that bears Arif Hikmet Bey's name contains approximately six thousand volumes of books.⁵³ In addition, Hikmet Bey's career sheds light on the practices of the Tanzimat and ilmiye bureaucracies. For instance, one year after becoming the Rumelia Kazasker in 1838, he was appointed to the *Vala-yı Ahkam-ı Adliye*. Afterward, he was designated Rumelia's Inspector (*Müfettiş*) and a member of the *Meclis-i Maarif*.⁵⁴ As mentioned above, Mustafa Asım Efendi's latest tenure before

⁵² İpşirli, "Atfzade Hüsemaeddin", 18, (1998): 513.

⁵³ Bilge, "Arif Hikmet Bey Kütüphanesi", 3 (1991): 366-67.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 365-366.

his demise shall be outlined as a turning point for the Bab-ı Meşihat, which shall need to be questioned. However, Meşrebzade Mehmed Arif Efendi (1791-1858), who came from an ulema family, Mehmed Sadeddin Efendi (1798-1866), also from an ilmiye family, and ultimately Atıfzade Hüsameddin Efendi (1799-1871), who came from a political elite family, ruled the Bab-ı Meşihat from 1858 until 1866. Atıfzade's career was also concentrated on Tanzimat reforms and was molded by institutions such as the *Encümen-i Daniş*, *Meclis-i Maarif*, and *Meclis-i Intihab-ı Nüvvab-ı Şer'*.⁵⁵ Between 1866 and 1868, Mehmed Refik Efendi (1814-1871) occupied the position of Şeyhülislam for two years. Refik Efendi was born in Bosnia and was a member of the Hacıabdî family. He began working in the ilmiye bureaucracy in his homeland and arrived in Istanbul at a very late date. Refik Efendi began his career in the *fetva* office and the *Evkaf Müfettişliği Kalemi*.⁵⁶ In 1845, Mekkizade Mustafa Asım Efendi appointed him to the relatively elevated position of *Fetva Eminliği*.⁵⁷ Between 1868-1871 and 1874-1876, Hasan Fehmi Efendi (1796-1881) served as Şeyhülislam for nearly five years. Fehmi Efendi, who was born in Akşehir, and one of the *taşralı* Şeyhülislams, gave lectures at the Hagia Sophia Mosque and garnered acclaim for them, was subsequently appointed as Şehzade Abdülaziz Efendi's grammar and Arabic literature instructor. In 1862, he became Sultan Abdülaziz's teacher and was granted the title *muallim-i sultani*. Hasan Fehmi Efendi, after Hoca Sadeddin Efendi (1536-1599) and Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi (1639-1703), will be the third and final Şeyhülislam to be both Şeyhülislam and *muallim-i sultani* and to be conferred the title of *camîur-riyaseteyn*.⁵⁸ Turşucuzade Ahmed Muhtar Efendi (1823-1875) served as Şeyhülislam for nearly two years between 1872 and 1874. He was

⁵⁵ İpşirli, "Atıfzade Hüsemaeddin", 18, (1998): 513.

⁵⁶ Muhammed Aruçi, "Mehmed Refik Efendi", 28, (2003): 517-518.

⁵⁷ İlmiye Salnamesi pp. 596-599, *Sicilli Osmani* II p. 415.

⁵⁸ İlmiye Salnamesi pp. 599-601.

also a member of *Divan-ı Ahkam-ı Adliyye* and the *müfti* chief for *Dar-ı Şura Askeri*, as the high-ranking ilmiye bureaucracy remained a substantial presence within the other components of the governance. However, as mentioned above, it is noteworthy that during the Tanzimat era, there were a few instances of opposing the traditional appointment of the Şeyhülislams. For example, Sultan Abdülaziz impressed by one of Ahmed Muhtar Efendi's sermons designated him Şeyhzade Yusuf İzzettin Efendi's private tutor. According to sources, it was considered a slight that he did not board the *meşihat* boat and instead took the municipal ferry to Kadıköy. Shortly after his dismissal in 1874, he perished in his mansion in Kızıltoprak.⁵⁹ On the other hand, Üryanizade Ahmed Esad Efendi (1814-1889) served as Şeyhülislam for nearly a decade and a significant portion of Abdülhamid II's 33-year-long and turbulent rule. Esad Efendi was the descendant of Mehmed Said Efendi, one of the *kadis* during the reign of Mahmud II. According to sources, he was a descendant of the distinguished scholar Osman el-Uryani, who moved to Istanbul in the seventeenth century from Aleppo.⁶⁰

Similar to Ahmed Muhtar Molla Efendi (1807-1882), Hasan Hayrullah Efendi (1834-1898) and Kara Halil Efendi (1804-1880) served the office for a short period. Bodrumlu Omer Lutfi Efendi (1818-1897), grandson of Bodrumlu Hacı Omer and son of Hacı Mehmed Efendi, one of the few Şeyhülislams of provincial origin, succeeded him. His dismissal between 1889 and 1891 was influenced by the report of an informant, Cemaleddin Efendi, Bodrumlu Efendi's correspondent (*mektupçu*) at the time and the future-famous Şeyhülislam of Abdülhamid II.⁶¹ In addition to teaching Yusuf İzzettin Efendi, he served as the chief

⁵⁹ İlmiye Salnamesi pp. 604-605

⁶⁰ İlmiye Salnamesi pp. 609-612, *Sicilli Osmani* I p. 344.

⁶¹ İlmiye Salnamesi, pp. 612-614.

of the Department of *Temyiz-i Hukuk* (Appellant Law), one of the novel structures of the Tanzimat, as did other scholars of high rank. Lastly, Cemaleddin Efendi (1848-1919) was the son of Kazasker Halid Efendi and grandson of Şeyh Yusuf Efendi, one of the Kazasker of Mahmud II's era. His mother's father, Said Kevakibi, was also a Rumelia Kazasker. The deposition of Sultan Abdülaziz and Sultan Murad on the basis of *fetvas* issued by the office of the *Meşihat* prompted Sultan Abdülhamid II to appoint a person whom he could trust and Cemaleddin Efendi was promoted from being a correspondent to the position of Şeyhülislam, contrary to the established scholarly tradition.⁶² However, Cemaleddin Efendi's biography will not be addressed in detail. Yet, Cemaleddin Efendi's accomplishments were not excluded from being a member of a prestigious ulema family, which has been a shared pattern among the ulemazades. Overall, this section outlined and briefly listed the Şeyhülislams most of whom belong to the ulema families of the previous century. Hence, the concept of the ulemazades and the dominant ulema families of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries shall be emphasized briefly in order to portray a closer analysis.

2.3. Ulema families: A genealogy

The learned hierarchy followed a path that was primarily paved by individual scholars during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Indeed, highly influential and authoritative figures such as Zenbilli Ali Efendi and Ebussud Efendi can be cited who come to mind when one thinks of Ottoman ulema. Nevertheless, the fact that Feyzullah Efendi, one of the victims of the Edirne Vakası of 1703, as well as his patrimonial relations and descendants, obtained a place in the ilmiye hierarchy can be seen as a remarkable turning point.⁶³ Likewise, as mentioned earlier, only a few

⁶² İlmiye Salnamesi, pp. 615-616.

⁶³ Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 288.

great families dominated the *ilmiye* bureaucracy in this century. In this regard, the terms family and lineage can be used to refer to the bureaucratic culture of patrimony that is inherited from father to son and other close relatives. To put it differently, one might describe the families and lineages as the communities that extend from father to son and other relatives and that have been involved in the *ilmiye* bureaucracy in this regard. However, despite the exceptional privileges of belonging to a great *ulema* family, it is unlikely that anyone could have risen to the highest levels of the *ilmiye* without any education or being part of a hierarchical organization. In addition, the *ulema* families did not make their way through patrimony alone but maintained their family privileges by establishing kinship through social acquisitions such as marriage. In addition to this, the idea of an *ulema* family and lineage may be found in a variety of Muslim societies, which was not limited to the Ottoman context. These families were often regarded as active recipients of transformation. For example, during the nineteenth century, there were *ulema* families in Syria that branched out as aristocratic and *ayan* families, as well as families that played an active role in the 1857 Indian Revolt.⁶⁴ In order to enhance the scope and identification of an *ulema* family, one might underline the fact that the education and primary training are conducted in the family's household. That is to say, a large number of Ottoman scholars got their initial education inside the setting of their families, most frequently from their fathers or grandfathers. The prospective scholars who were exceptionally fortunate to have their elders as personal mentors beginning in their early infancy also benefited from the presence of intellectuals and family friends who visited the houses of the young people who would eventually become scholars. In fact, initial

⁶⁴ Tahazades, a significant Hanafi *ulema* family from Aleppo who had dominated the *nakibüleşraf* posts can be given as an example. See. Jane Hathaway, Karl Barbir. *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule*, 92.

examples of scholars who obtained their first training at home can be given from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which can be found in the nineteenth century's scholars.⁶⁵

However, the Ottoman state had a widespread occurrence of children pursuing the same professions as their fathers, spanning a diverse range of sectors, including craftsmanship and military service. Nevertheless, this particular pattern exhibited a distinctive manifestation within the ilmiye class, which experienced a notable tendency that arose in the seventeenth century and then spread during the eighteenth century. This phenomenon involved the increasing importance of belonging to ulema households as a crucial determinant in obtaining prestigious bureaucratic posts inside the Ottoman administrative structure. The act of bestowing privileges upon the descendants of ulema had increased in prominence during the leadership of Hoca Saadeddin Efendi in the seventeenth century.⁶⁶ The Hocasade family is a prominent illustration in the realm of Şeyhülislams, with six family members assuming the esteemed position of Şeyhülislam and an additional four members attaining the ranks of Kazasker. This highlights the influential contribution of the Hocasade family, similar to the Dürrizade and Ebuishakzade families, who were efficient contributors to the high-ranks of the religious establishment.

Undoubtedly, during the eighteenth century, the higher ranks of the Ottoman ilmiye bureaucracy were prominently controlled by particular ulema families originating from Istanbul. Zilfi asserts that the old ulemazades, in conjunction with

⁶⁵ In reality, sons of the ulema's fortune as being able to be educated by their fathers and grandfathers can be seen even in the scholars of the fifteenth century. See. Shakir, Aziz Nazmi "Ordinary and Extraordinary Ottoman Scholar Types in Fifteenth Century Edirne as Seen in Taşköprülüzade's Şekâ'iku'n-Nu'mâniyye fi 'Ulemâ'id-Devleti'l-'Osmâniyye and Mecdî's Hadâ'iku'ş-Şekâik" *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, 3 no.1 (May 2016): 49-88.

⁶⁶ Sadık Tezin, "Osmanlı Devletinde Çok Yönlü Bir Ulema Ailesi: Hocasadeler", PhD diss., Mimar Sinan University, 2022.

the Şeyhülislam families, exerted significant influence in shaping the bureaucratic framework. In the case of a descendant of ulema, the mere fact of being born into an ulema family frequently proved adequate in ensuring a post within the ilmiye, therefore bypassing the necessity for further accomplishments. Between the years 1703 and 1839, which encompasses Sultan Ahmed III's ascension and the demise of Mahmud II, the influence of three prominent families - the Dürrişades, Ebuishakzades, and Feyzullahzades - was evident in the appointment of thirteen out of the fifty-eight Şeyhülislams and twenty out of the seventy-six Şeyhülislam tenures. However, the professional journeys of these ulema persons did not adhere to a particular trajectory; instead, they mirrored the trajectory of other bureaucratic elements, such as the *kalemiye* (civil bureaucracy) and *seyfiye* (military).⁶⁷ Alongside the Sultans and those holding prominent positions in the *seyfiye* and *kalemiye*, the ulema often formed a wide range of arrangements within their households. According to Suraiya Faruqhi, it is worth noting that while patronage relationships in domains beyond the ilmiye were frequently characterized by informality and personalization, the ulema successfully established a formalized structure for such partnerships.⁶⁸ In fact, ulema lineages tended to enhance their patronage by building marital relations. To illustrate, Mirzazade Mehmed Efendi's daughter was married to Ebuishakzade Mehmed Esad Efendi (1685-1753) as their daughter Zübeyde Fitnat Hanım (d. 1780) was married to Nakibüleşraf Mehmed Derviş Efendi (d. 1790). Another example can be exemplified by Pirizade Osman Sahib Efendi's (1710-1770) daughter Aişe Hanım (d. 1813) was married to Kazasker İbrahim Bey (d. 1796), who also had a proper kinship with Şeyhülislam Zeynelabidin Efendi (d. 1824).

⁶⁷ Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, 288.

⁶⁸ Faruqhi, *Civilian Society and Political Power in the Ottoman Empire: A Report on Research in Collective Biography (1480-1830)*, 112.

Furthermore, the remaining patronage relations with reference to marital interconnection can be extended beyond the eighteenth century's cases. To illustrate, Sıdkızade Ahmed Raşid Efendi's (1758-1834) daughter Naile Hanım (d. 1856) was married to Meşrebzade Mehmed Arif Efendi (1791-1858), a Şeyhülislam of the Tanzimat era, who also belongs to a prominent Meşrebzade ulema family.

Nevertheless, the scope of an ulema family and the patronage formed by ilmiye lineages of the eighteenth century can be questioned in order to have a portrayal during the nineteenth century. Hence, a minute detail outline of the Şeyhülişlams and peculiar ulema families are the subjects of this chapter.

Furthermore, this study aims to examine the methods through which ulema families established their patronage in different domains. While Zilfi's claim mainly pertains to the nineteenth century, its applicability is enhanced by examining the timeline of Şeyhülişlams. With the exception of a limited number of cases, the bulk of the thirty Şeyhülişlams who served between 1789 and 1909, occasionally holding several positions, originated from Istanbul and were affiliated with ilmiye lineages. Zilfi's claims are further supported by the fact that sixteen individuals in the group had links with esteemed ilmiye families of the previous century. Following the Mekkizade Mustafa Asım, a shift is noticeable wherein Şeyhülişlams of provincial origins (referred to as *taşralı*) or those whose fathers occupied lower-level posts, such as shipyard surveyor, began to occupy the position of Şeyhülişlam. The aforementioned transition was facilitated due to their affiliations with the palace and the sultan, thereby underscoring the significance of interpersonal contacts within the bureaucratic structure. Upon doing an in-depth examination of the historical

sequence of Şeyhülislams, it becomes evident that some urban families exerted a significant effect, thus constituting the focus of the forthcoming chapter.⁶⁹

Within this particular context, the promotion of individuals who originated from provincial backgrounds or lacked familial connections to the ulema to the prestigious position of Şeyhülislam, as well as their subsequent advancement within the bureaucratic hierarchy following Mustafa Asım Efendi, was notably shaped by their close proximity to the palace and their personal relationship with the sultan. This highlights the fact that Şeyhülislams such as Turşucuzade Ahmed Muhtar Efendi and Bodrumlu Ömer Efendi essentially attained their positions of leadership within the office through their solid connections and favorable circumstances linked to the imperial dynasty, particularly the ruling sultan. As previously stated, the chronological representation of the Şeyhülislams reveals the growing prominence of certain urban families and their impact. In addition to the claims made by Madeline Zilfi, it becomes apparent that a multitude of families had an active role in shaping the highest levels of the ilmiye bureaucracy from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century. The aforementioned inquiry highlights that the newly emerging ulema families, such as the Zeynelabidinzades⁷⁰, as well as familial lineages without immediate successors, such as the Mekkizades, exerted significant influence within this dynamic landscape. When considering the larger context, one cannot disregard the significant role played by the Dürrizades, a family that produced six Şeyhülislams, as well as the Arabzades, who served in the religious establishment for almost three centuries. This remarkable longevity is a witness to their lasting impact on their survival throughout the nineteenth century.

⁶⁹ İlmiye Salnamesi, pp. 605-607.

⁷⁰ Rumelia Kazaskers Zeynelabidinzade Cemaleddin Efendi and Zeynelabidinzade Imaduddin Efendi could be mentioned as they served for the higher ranks of the ilmiye officialdom for over two decades.

At the core of this argument lies the prominent presence of Mekkizade Mustafa Asım and his prosperous family, who may be considered one of the most opulent households among the Ottoman Şeyhülislams. The significance of these instances resonates throughout the historical narrative, offering insight into the complex relationship between socioeconomic power and bureaucratic governance within the Ottoman context. Furthermore, the objective of this study is to provide a concise and inclusive examination of the ulema families, enabling a thorough investigation of their residential consolidation in the regions around the Anatolian and Rumelian Fortresses situated on either side of the Bosphorus. Despite the fact that the present study aims to portray the microcosm of social life on the shores of Bebek and Rumelihisarı, particular shores of the Anatolian side of the Bosphorus faced a similar consolidation of the *ilmiye*. Hence, this thesis aims to reveal the intricate examination of the sociopolitical geography that influenced the residential domination of particular families in critical locations.

Commencing with the Mekkizade family, the lineage can be traced back to Mehmed Efendi, who was the son of Halil Efendi. Halil Efendi held the position of Kadi of Mecca and then assumed the post of Şeyhulislam for a one-year period, a position he obtained in his senior years. The family's name comes from Halil Efendi's tenure as a Judge of Mecca as his son Mehmed was born in Mecca and later known as "Mekki Efendi."⁷¹ During this limited period, Mehmed Efendi's influence was significant, resulting in a lasting heritage that spanned several endeavors. Among these were regular lectures at Fatih Mosque, the organization of an annual religious celebration (*mevlid*) at Pertek Ali Mosque in Rumelihisarı, and the supply of nourishment to the poorer in the vicinity during certain events. Significantly, he

⁷¹ Mehmed Süreyya, Sicill-i Osmani, IV, 508.

bequeathed a considerable inheritance to his successor, Mustafa Asım Efendi. The individual in question had previously occupied the esteemed role of Şeyhülislam on three distinct times, a noteworthy accomplishment that firmly established his status as one of the most tenured members of the ilmiye bureaucracy within the state.⁷²

Notably, he bequeathed a substantial fortune to his successor, Mustafa Asım Efendi. In the subsequent components of this thesis, a deeper exploration of the Mekkizade lineage and their association with the opulent seaside mansion belonging to Mustafa Asım Efendi, situated in Rumelihisarı, will be presented. This particular mansion and its households will be utilized as a representative case study, enabling a detailed portrayal of the living environment that characterized a prosperous and vital Şeyhülislam.

Turning to the Dürrizades, the family's historical roots extend back to the early eighteenth century, with Dürri Mehmed Efendi (d.1736) emerging as the first recognized member. Despite the fact that there is a lack of information about the family's name "Dürri", one can underline that the term means "shining like a pearl." The father of Dürri Mehmed, İlyas Bey, originated from Ankara. Although there is less historical information available about him, his son, Dürri Mehmed Efendi, surpassed the traditional *medrese* education and achieved notable positions within the ilmiye bureaucracy. This progression finally led to his respected appointment as Seyhülislam. The family's trajectory reached a significant turning point when Dürri Mehmed Efendi entered into matrimony with the Babazade Sinan family, who are the offspring of Reisülulema Abdülkadir Efendi. The formation of this partnership resulted in an increase in their power within the ilmiye hierarchy, so establishing the basis for the family's long-lasting authority.⁷³ The Dürrizade family is characterized

⁷² İlmiye Salnamesi, pp. 557-559.

⁷³ İpşirli, "Mekki Mehmed Efendi," 28, (2003): 577-578.

by their distinct appellations, such as "*hadedanı kadim*" (the ancient dynasty) and "*aile-yi paknihad*" (family of noble purity), which serve to denote their extraordinary social standing. A distinguishing characteristic of renowned ulema families is the uninterrupted succession of keeping ilmiye offices over generations. The intergenerational continuity observed within ulema homes is a notable aspect. The enduring influence of the Dürriade family is shown by their notable contribution of six Şeyhülislams and a multitude of esteemed ilmiye officials. The long-lasting impact of their work serves as evidence of their significance and relevance within the *Mesihat*.⁷⁴ The family's ilmiye office line continues with Mustafa Efendi, Mehmed Efendi's elder son, who obtained Seyhülislamlık three times, whereas his younger son Nureddin died young.⁷⁵ As provided below in the genealogy, the Dürriade family's contributions to the religious establishment can be seen in minute detail.

Directing attention towards the Arabzade family, it is noteworthy that their historical influence extends over an impressive duration of three centuries, during which they have actively served within the ilmiye bureaucracy. The lineage of the family may be traced back to Arab Abdurrahman Efendi, whose son, Abdülvehhab, achieved notable accomplishments in state service during the year 1671, as the family's name comes from Abdurrahman Efendi. After servicing as an *imam* for Süleymaniye Mosque, Abdülvehhab Efendi was appointed as *muallim-i sultani* (private tutor) for Sultan Süleyman II in 1687 following his death in 1689.⁷⁶

Although there is less information available on the particular details of Arab Abdurrahman Efendi's life during the seventeenth century, it is noteworthy that his

⁷⁴ Dürri Mehmed Efendi, Dürriade Mustafa Efendi, Dürriade Mehmed Atullah Efendi, Dürriade Mehmed Arif Efendi, Dürriade Abdullah Efendi, Dürriade Abdullah Beyefendi, *Sicilli Ahval, İlmiye Salnamesi*

⁷⁵ İpşirli, "Dürriadeler", 10 (1991): 38-39.

⁷⁶ Şeyhi, *Vakaiyül Fuzala* IV, 91.

son, Arabzade Ali Efendi, had a significant role in establishing a lineage that encompassed many positions in the fields of education, judiciary, and religious consultation.⁷⁷ It is worth mentioning that Ali Efendi held the position of imam at Şeyhzade Mosque, which was associated with the imperial establishment. The individual who played a pivotal role in the ilmiye hierarchy was Abdurrahman Bahir Efendi (1688-1746), the grandson of Ali Efendi. The individual's ascension to the office of the second imperial *imam* under Ahmed III facilitated significant bureaucratic accomplishments. The individual's role as the chief imam⁷⁸ to the sultan, *imam-ı sultani*, for a period exceeding twenty years had notable importance within the hierarchical structure of the empire.⁷⁹ The aforementioned standing ultimately resulted in his appointment as the Rumelia Judge in 1745, a crucial turning point that laid the foundation for the family's rise in prominence.⁸⁰

The impact of Abdurrahman Bahir Efendi's participation in the upper echelons of the ilmiye bureaucracy had a profound effect on the subsequent generations of his family, enabling them to strengthen their authority within the hierarchical structure. Mehmed Sadık Efendi (1717-1786), the eldest son, carried on his father's heritage by inheriting the position of Rumelia Judgeship.⁸¹ Likewise, Ahmed Ataullah Efendi (1719-1785), the son of Bahir Efendi, attained the esteemed positions of Anatolia and Rumelia Judgeship, followed by a two month tenure as Şeyhülislam in 1785 prior to his death. Lastly, the other son of Bahir Efendi, Ali Rıza Efendi (d. 1771), served as Judge of Yenişehir (Larissa). The strategic elevation in

⁷⁷ Süreyya, Sicill-i Osmani, 3: 320.

⁷⁸ Baltacı, "Hünkâr İmamı," 18 (1998): 487-88.

⁷⁹ Arzu Güldöşüren. "Üç Asır İstanbullu Bir Ulema Ailesi: Arabzadeler" *Divan* 23 no. 45 (2018/2): 27-79.

⁸⁰ Altuntaş, Z. "Tanzimat Döneminde Rumeli Kazaskerleri (1839-1861)", 171-201.

⁸¹ Süreyya, Sicill-i Osmani, 3: 190-191.

question likely strengthened the family's connections with the Ottoman dynasty. The Arabzade family maintained a continuous presence within the ilmiye bureaucracy throughout the nineteenth century. Arabzade Mehmed Rıza Bey (1883-1893) serves as a notable illustration, having held a lengthy position as an Istanbul Judge.⁸²

The ensuing discourse explores the genealogical paths of the prominent families that had significant sway within the Ottoman ilmiye administration, complemented by brief biographical accounts. In addition to these lineages, the genealogies of other prominent families, such as Ebuishakzades, are also examined in this chapter. These families have played a significant role in nurturing a lineage of Şeyhülislams and ilmiye bureaucrats, and their contributions are duly acknowledged. A noteworthy aspect is found in the remarkable occurrence whereby the lineage of the Ebuishakzades demonstrate a succession of Şeyhülislams over four generations—beginning with Ebu İshak İsmail Efendi (1645-1725), followed by his son Mehmed Esad Efendi (1685-1753), then his grandson Mehmed Şerif Efendi (1717-1790), and concluding with the latter's son, Mehmed Ataullah Efendi (1760-1811). The remarkable consistency of this lineage serves as evidence of the family's deep-rooted legacy within the administrative framework. Following this, a comprehensive examination of Ataullah Efendi, the final Şeyhülislam in this lineage, who serves as a prime example of the family's presence in the Şeyhülislam office.⁸³ Last but not least, these prominent ulema families remained present on the shores of the Bosphorus for an extended period of time as their seaside mansions will be the topic of the following part of the thesis.

In conclusion, the upcoming chapter not only identifies the primary sources that are crucial to this study but also conducts a short examination of the architectural

⁸² Arabzade Mehmed Rıza (Ulema Sicil Dosyaları, 0420 01).

⁸³ Ibid.

and urban aspects related to seaside mansions. The investigative approach aligns with the discussion surrounding the social changes that occurred, characterized by a significant movement from the old city to the Bosphorus shoreline in the early eighteenth century. This migration (*göç*) serves as a fundamental basis for the subsequent discourse on ulema families as well. In fact, a tendency towards ostentation through the opulent seaside mansions during the nineteenth century remained, which can be seen in the chronicles of the time. However, in the genealogies of the ulema families, a number of claims, such as the patronage networks of high-level ulema, bureaucratic positions passed down from father to son, the ties established by families through marriage, and the fact that some family members lived in the same *sahilhane* stand out. Likewise, the women (wives and daughters of the ulema) identified from the ulema families are shown in the tables and can be considered as a general survey, which enables the view of the ulema individuals as well as preparing the ground for further household analysis.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ On the genealogies below, Şeyhülislams are shown in green, and Kazaskers and judges are shown in blue. On the other hand women are shown in purple.

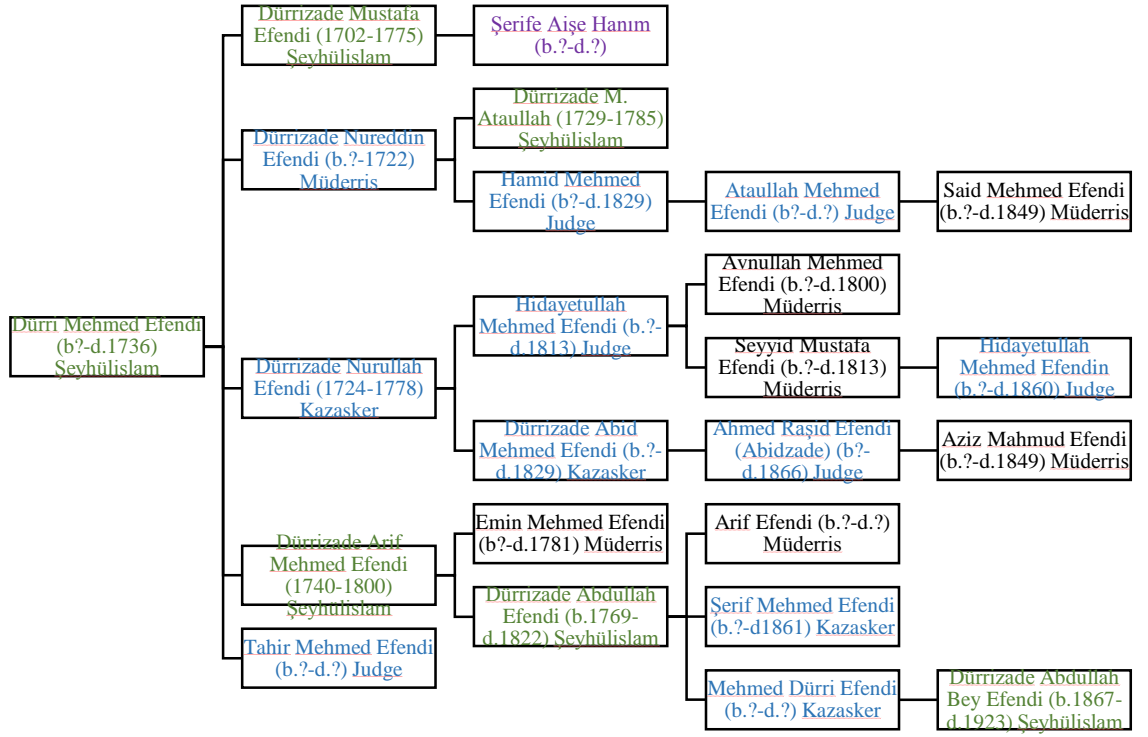


Figure 3. Genealogy of the Dürrizade family

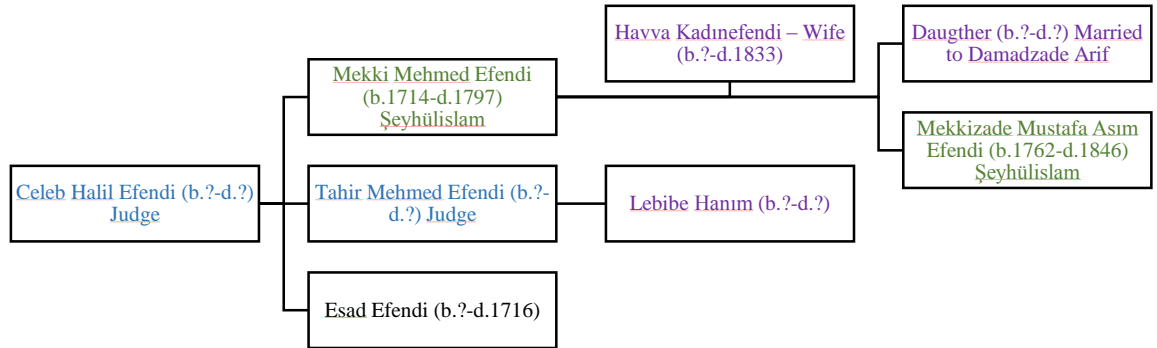


Figure 4. Genealogy of the Mekkizade family

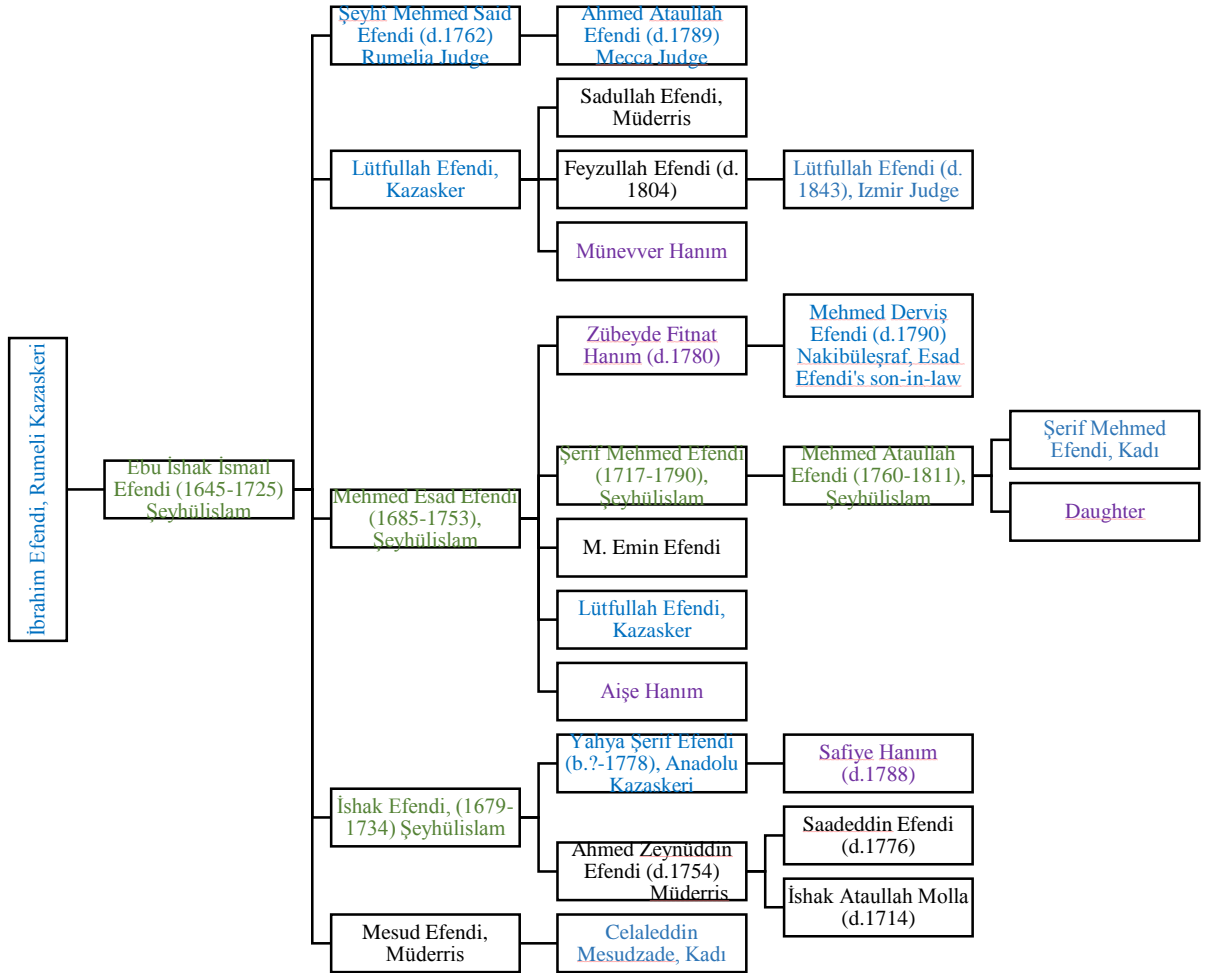


Figure 4. Genealogy of the Ebuishakzade family

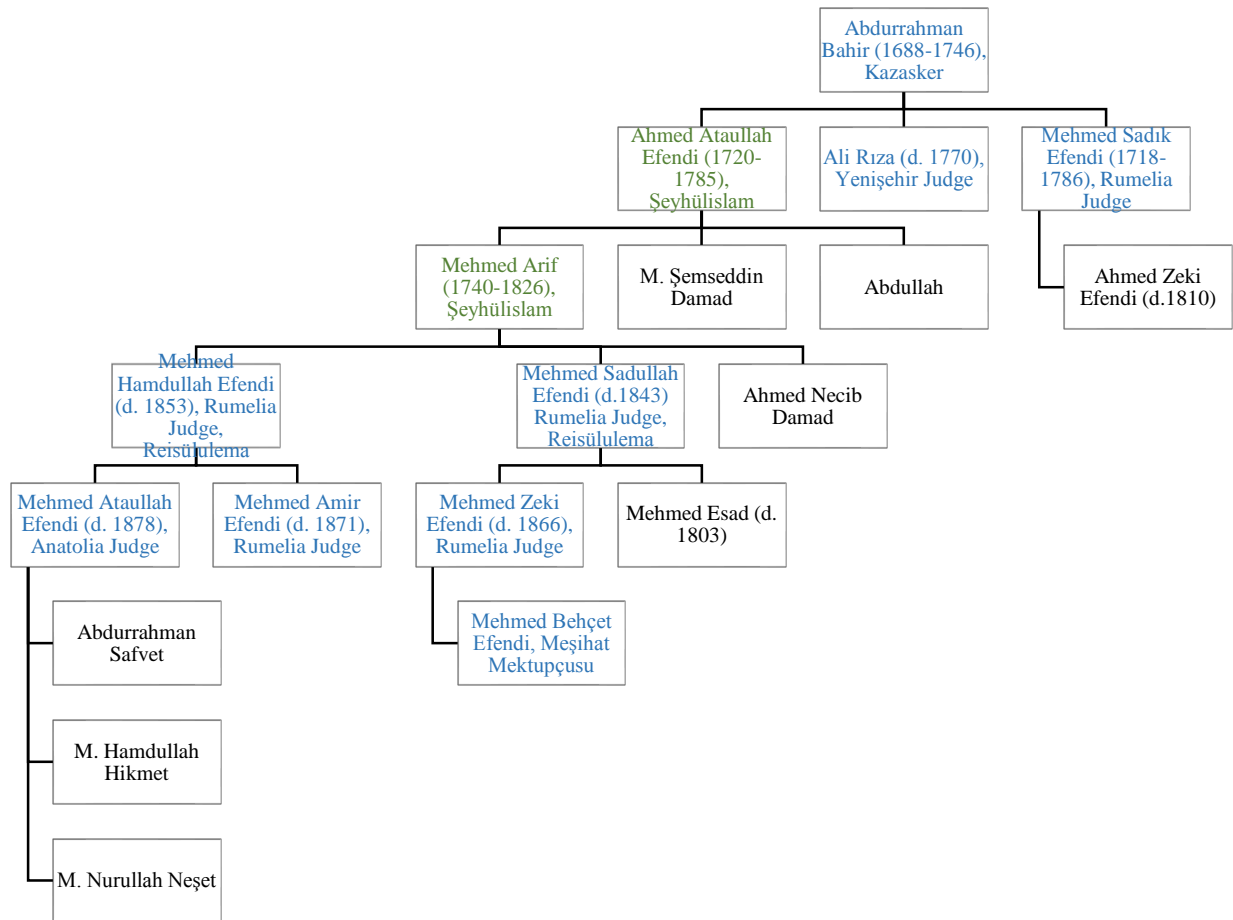


Figure 6. Genealogy of the Arabzade family

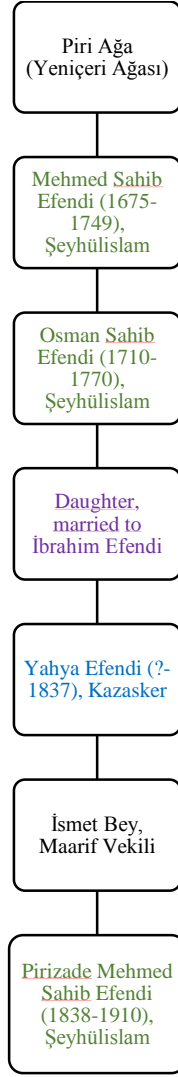


Figure 7. Genealogy of the Pirizade family

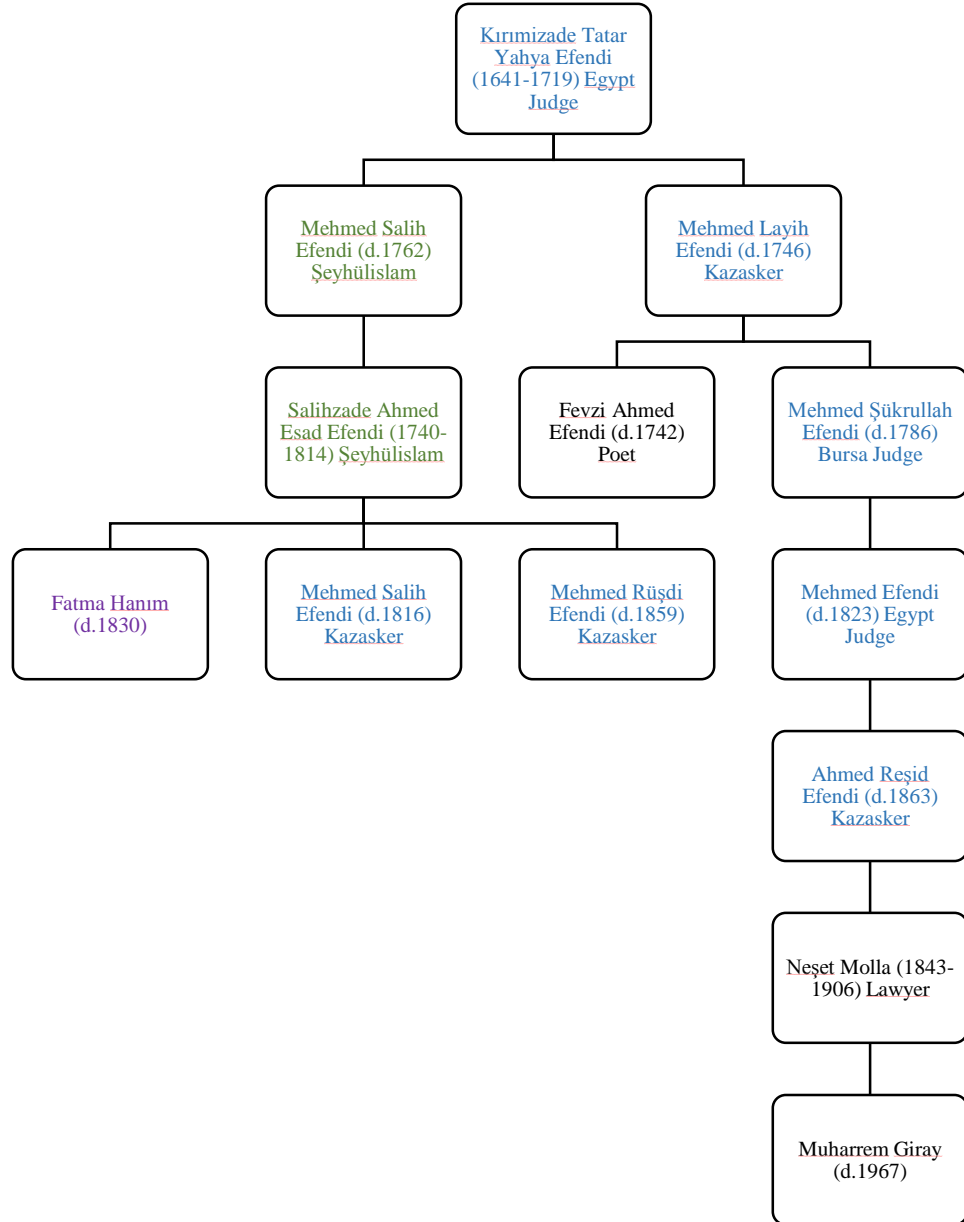


Figure 8. Genealogy of the Salihzade family

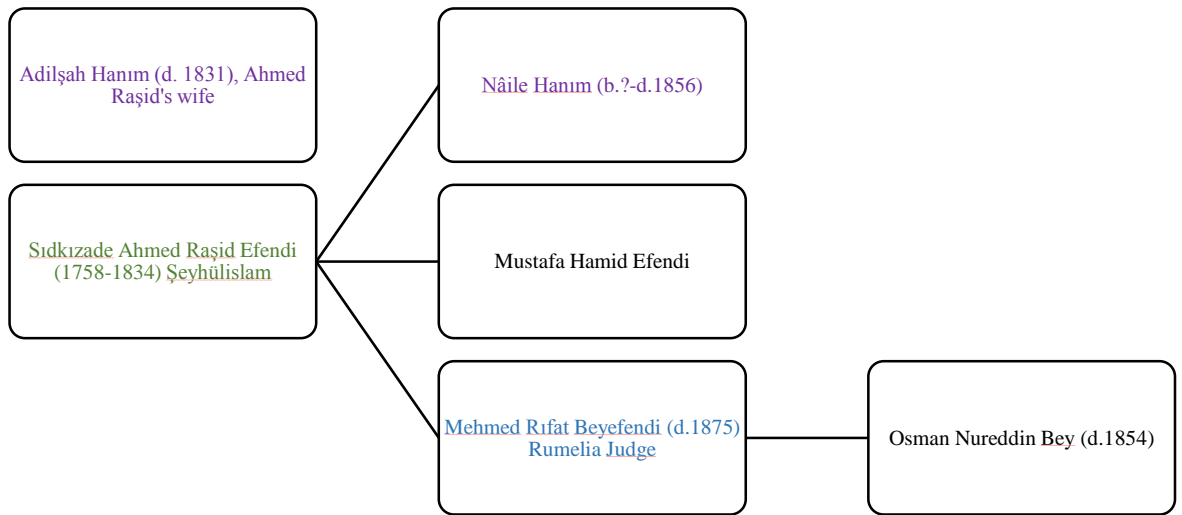


Figure 9. Genealogy of the Sıdkızade family

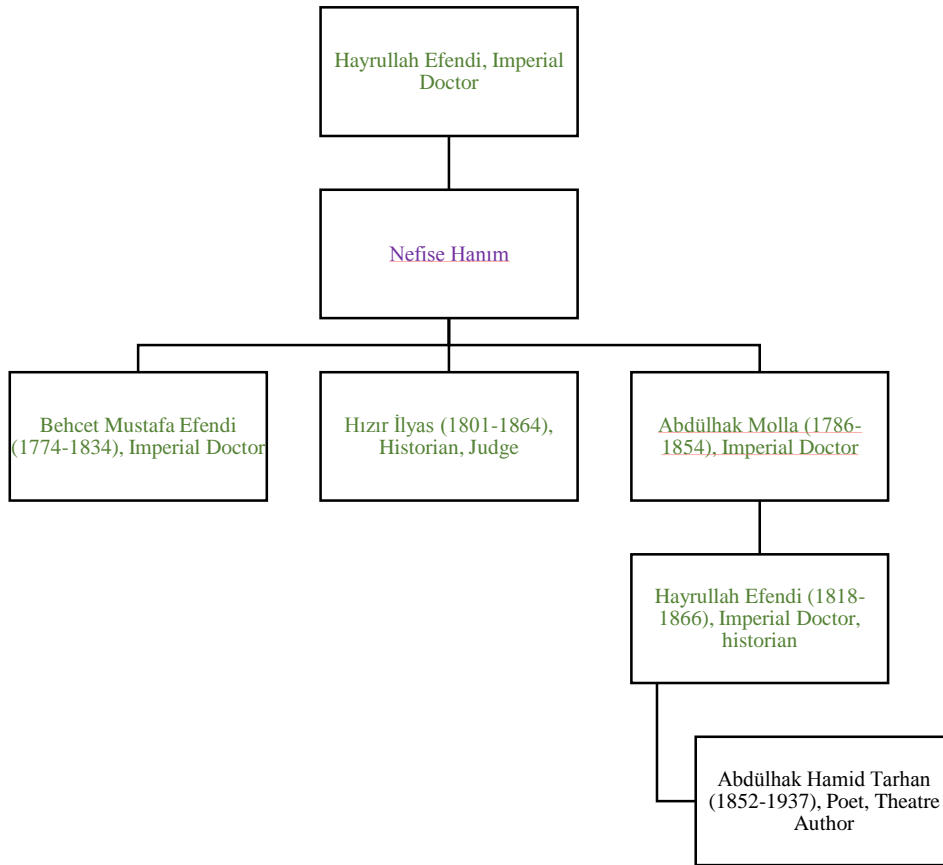


Figure 10. Genealogy of the Hekimbaşızade family

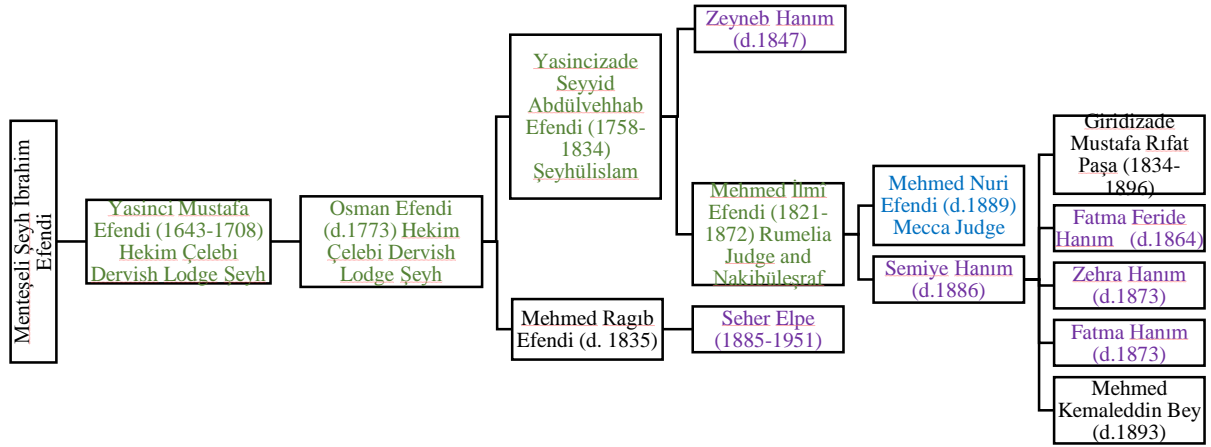


Figure 11. Genealogy of the Yasincizade family

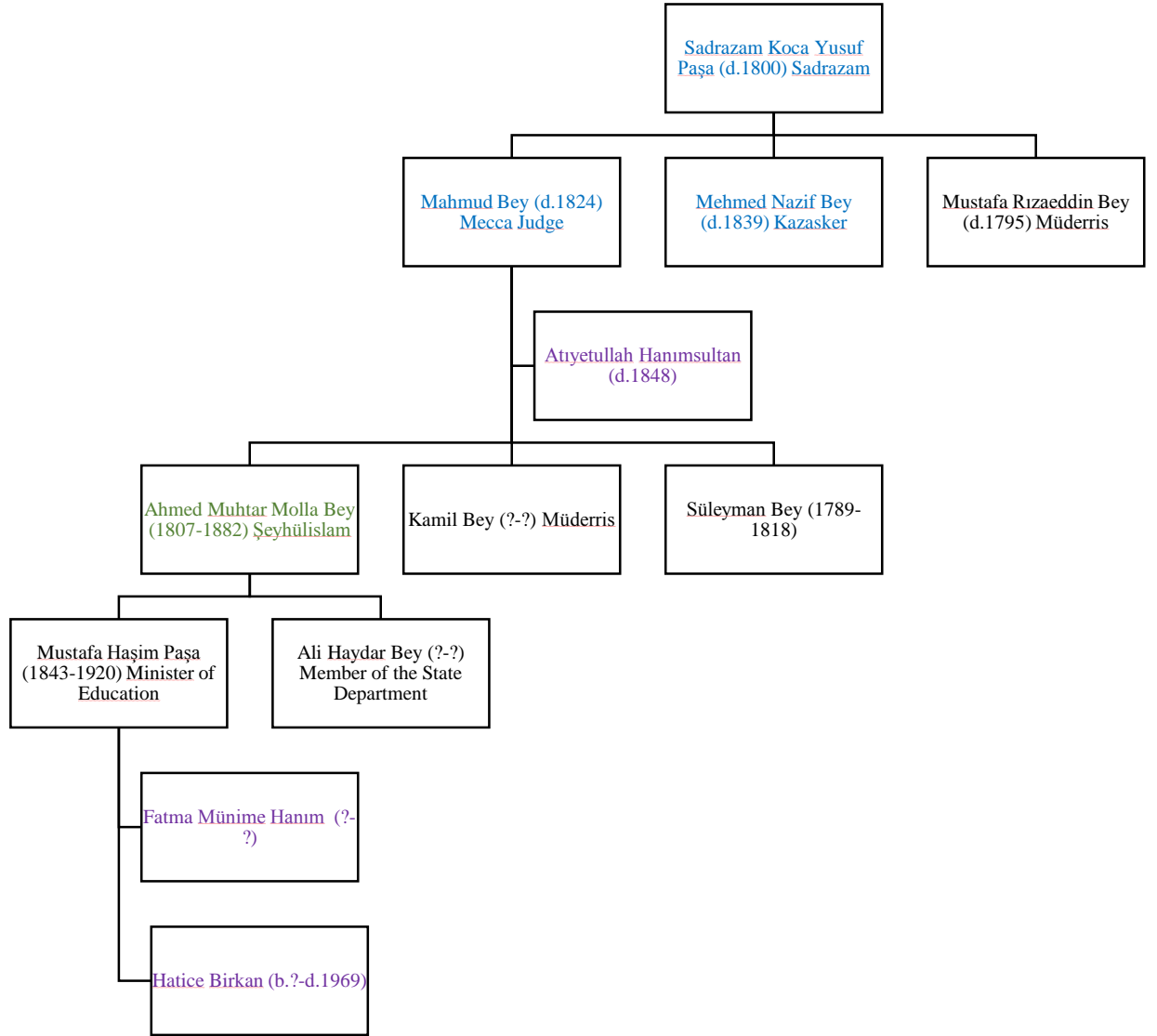


Figure 12. Genealogy of the Kocayusufpaşazade family

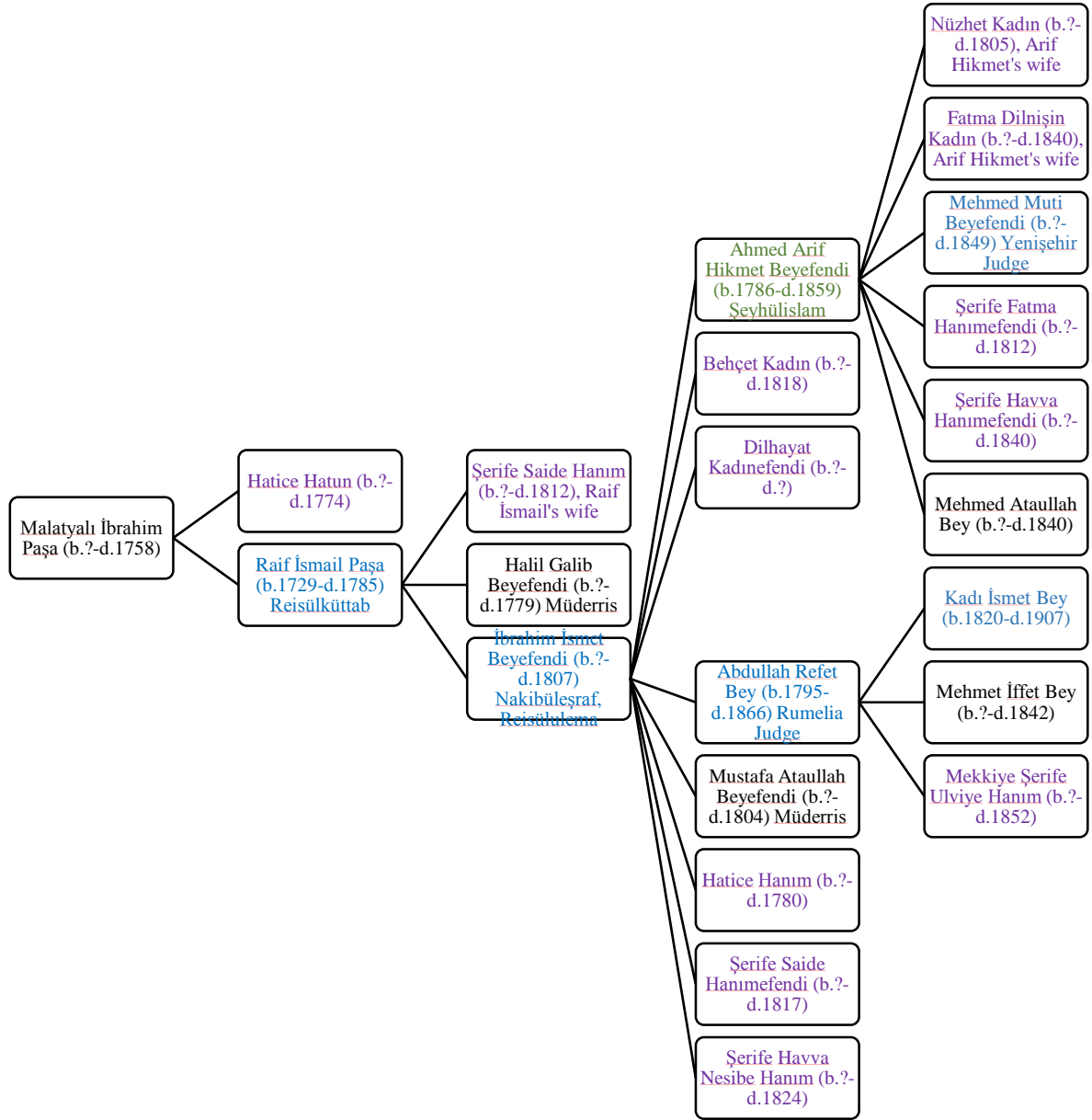


Figure 13. Genealogy of the Arif Hikmet Bey's family

CHAPTER 3

THE BOSPHORUS AND THE ILMIYE

3.1. Bosphorus and Ulema families

After introducing a cluster of essential *ilmiye* concepts, the first part of the thesis proceeds to discuss historiographic misconceptions that have hindered scholarly examinations of the ulema. It also explores the historical evolution of the Şeyhülislams and Kazaskerlik, which are significant institutions within the religious and legal structure of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, the study identifies ulema families and presents genealogies of specific ulema lineages. Following the examination of the genealogies of the Şeyhülislams of the period, the focus shifts to a household analysis of ulema families. The objective of this chapter, on the other hand, is to provide a temporal and spatial framework for the Bosphorus. This framework enables an in-depth exploration of the seaside mansions, integral parts of the Bosphorus, and the ulema families who were among the primary proprietors. This framework encompasses several aspects, including mobility resulting from "göç" and other factors during the eighteenth century. Likewise, the idea of the Bosphorus becoming a scene for ostentation for the Ottoman elites during the nineteenth century can be mentioned. Nevertheless, during the tenure of Governor Abbas Pasha of Egypt, a significant number of pashas, gentlemen, and women migrated from Egypt to Istanbul. The individuals acquired lavish gardens and seaside mansions and adorned their properties' interiors in an opulent fashion. Ahmed Cevdet Pasha describes this situation as follows: "They spent and wasted a lot of money. They opened the doors of depravity and debauchery. The elites of Istanbul sought to

compete with this Egyptian trash and coveted the splendor.”⁸⁵ Therefore, the Bosphorus became an opulent residential hub for the elites of Istanbul during the nineteenth century; it can be argued that the concept of *göç* has remained. However, within this chapter, the initial part will offer a concise introduction and comparative analysis of the primary sources related to the thesis. This will be followed by a section on the architectural and urban aspects of the seaside mansions and the Bosphorus in general. Furthermore, this study aims to examine the correlation between ulema families and the mansions along the Bosphorus, focusing on topics such as debt, philanthropy, and judicial disputes.

This current chapter is crucial as it introduces and examines the primary sources underpinning the thesis. This statement underscores how these sources have been situated within a specific context and subjected to rationalization to ascertain their credibility and relevance to the study. Similarly, in the previous chapter, the scope of ulema families was traced and identified through kinship and bureaucratic patronage relations, which can be shown in the family genealogies. In conclusion, the elements presented in the timeline, including the Şeyhülislams of the century, their family genealogies, and the dominance of specific ulema families over the Rumelia Kazaskerlik, should be seen as complementary aspects to this thesis’ multifaceted approach. In this respect, the scope of the thesis will be taken one step further by prioritizing the examination of the *Bostancıbaşı Defterleri* and population records, which will be covered in 3.2. Likewise, the overlap and practical connections between the households randomly selected from the material and the individuals and families of the *ilmiye* mentioned in the previous chapters will be effectively seen.

⁸⁵ Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Maruzat*, transliterated by Y. Halaçoğlu (İstanbul: Çağrı, 1980), 7-8.

The primary objective of this study is to examine the pathways leading to the residences of the *ulemazades*, that is, the descendants of ulema lineages. In the following part, the chapter examines the urban and architectural features of the *sahilhanes* and other seaside dwellings inhabited by ulema individuals. The primary aim of this study is to offer insights into the spatiality of the seaside mansions in the context of examining ulema families. These seaside mansions served as both residential dwellings and venues for recreational activities and social gatherings. Furthermore, the seaside mansions of the Şeyhülislams hosted various meetings. To provide a comprehensive understanding of the social environment in the Bosphorus, a household analysis will provide ethno-racial, demographic, and cultural aspects. This historical analysis sheds light on the relationships and dynamics among the various populations residing in the region, offering a general overview of the ulema households.

In order to portray the correlation between the Bosphorus and the seaside mansions, the depiction made by Albert Smith (1816-1860), who was an English author and entertainer, can be mentioned. In his trip to Istanbul in 1849, he makes noteworthy depictions of the Bosphorus, especially Bebek shores as follows: "...The banks display every variety of water scenery. Now the handsome villas and palaces remind one of the edges of an Italian lake, Como or Orta, for instance; the next turn of the stream brings you to rocky eminences with such ruins on them as you might see on the Rhine or Moselle..."⁸⁶ At this point, one shall argue that the high ranks of the *ilmiye* officialdom took their place by owning a property like these "handsome villas". To give an example, Şeyhülislam Sadeddin Efendi rented a mansion in Baltalimanı for forty thousand kuruş for a duration of six months, which was owned

⁸⁶ Albert Smith, *A Month in Istanbul* (London, 1851), 158-59.

by Halim Pasha of Egypt. Following the arrival of Şeyhülislam, an elderly individual approached him to extend congratulations and informed him about the fact that the mansion was sold for forty thousand kuruş on such and such a date. During this particular time, a significant number of craftsmen and bureaucrats belonging to the middle-upper class purchased properties along the Bosphorus, driven by the substantial and quick growth in the value and rental rates of real estate.⁸⁷

Before delving into specific details concerning the ulema' residences, it is essential to provide an overview of the spatial extent of the *sahilhanes*. This chapter offers a broader perspective on the distribution and evolution of coastal regions along the Bosphorus, avoiding in-depth architectural and urban historical discussions. Within this context, the mobility of people from old Istanbul to the Bosphorus villages in the eighteenth century will be analyzed while examining the concept of “göç.” While the thesis primarily focuses on ulema households, it aims to present a broader social and human context by emphasizing several archival data. For instance, one can readily observe that boatmen and fishermen constitute one of the most prominent occupational groups among the registered individuals along the Bosphorus, particularly on the Northern shores of the strait, which are distant from the old city.⁸⁸

In order to determine the composition of the ulema families and individuals who resided in a specific part of the Bosphorus for close to a century, this study makes use of *Bostancıbaşı Defterleri*, population records, and a number of external archival documents. That is to say, the current study primarily utilizes the Bostancıbaşı Records of 1802, 1803, 1815, and 1822, along with various population

⁸⁷ Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Maruzat*, transliterated by Y. Halaçoğlu (İstanbul: Çağrı, 1980), 8.

⁸⁸ As an interesting anecdote, referring to the population record dated 1844 it is observed that a number of the children of boatmen became students and even sergeants in the *Mızıka-i Hümayun*. See. NFS.d 182 29.12.1260.

registers from 1826, 1844, and 1856, to trace notable ulema families. Inevitably, as was demonstrated in previous chapters of this thesis, materials in Ottoman such as *Tarik Defterleri*, *İlmiye Salnamesi*, and *Sicill-i Osmani* were also used to discuss issues such as the tenure and bureaucratic positions of the Şeyhülislams and Kazaskers. Furthermore, the sources mentioned above were used as a basis for determining the human geography of the Bosphorus. Although the characteristics of the materials utilized in this study may pose certain difficulties, the study modestly examines the Bosphorus region from a specific temporal perspective. Throughout the historical analysis, it becomes evident that the *ilmiye* presence along the shores of the Bosphorus persisted for centuries and dominated the region for decades, if not centuries, particularly around the two fortresses of Anatolia and Rumelia. Despite the initial purpose of recording the seaside mansions, *yalıs*, the *Bostancıbaşı* Records offer valuable insights into social and public buildings, such as coffeehouses and *kayikhanes*, as well as green spaces like gardens and *bostans*. Additionally, it should be noted that the *Bostancıbaşı* Records and the 1826 Population records generally emphasize employment and age rather than providing detailed information regarding the population's physical traits and ethnic mix, which can be seen in the population record 1844, for example.⁸⁹

To sum up, by setting its framework in a specific geographical and temporal context, the research seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of the socio-economic and political dynamics of the aforementioned Ottoman ulema families. In general, it can be asserted that the Bosphorus and its surrounding villages, characterized by distinctive topographical features, together with the ulema families, played a central role in the phenomenon of migration from old Istanbul to these

⁸⁹ See. NFS.d 182 29.12.1260

coastal areas, which saw significant growth throughout the eighteenth century. The primary goal of this chapter is to offer an alternative, albeit limited, opportunity to develop a spatial understanding related to the subject matter. It can be seen as a preliminary step that precedes the inspection and analysis of the households. In this regard, the primary objective of this study is to utilize the social historiographical possibilities offered by primary sources, with a specific focus on the *sahilhanes* of senior *ilmiye* members and families during the nineteenth century. While it may not be possible to discuss the architectural history of all *sahilhanes* in minute detail due to their vast number and complex histories, this research aims to envisage and describe the mansions, particularly the waterfront mansions of the Şeyhülislams and ulema families. By evaluating these examples from a social-historical perspective, the thesis seeks to enrich the examination of the social dynamics and historical significance of these residences. Furthermore, it can be argued that the households and seaside mansions of the ulema shall be regarded as one of the components that constitute their survival during the nineteenth century opposing the decline paradigm. Through an analysis of the architectural features, spatial distribution, and historical context of *sahilhanes*, the thesis provides deeper insights into Ottoman ulema families' lifestyle and socio-economic status during the long nineteenth century. Last but not least, it illuminates the evolving social fabric of Istanbul and its coastal regions during the nineteenth century, in which the presence of Şeyhülislam's residence on the Bosphorus remained until the end of the century.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Şeyhülislam Cemaledin Efendi's seaside mansion can be given as an outstanding example of this. See. ML.EEM. 227 26 23.02.1312

3.2. A Glimpse into the sources: *Bostancıbaşı Defterleri* and *Nüfus Defterleri*

Having discussed the existing literature on the ulema, the chapter proceeds to outline the sources used in this present work. The primary focus is on the *Bostancıbaşı Defterleri*, which serves as an essential tool for investigating the social, economic, ethnic-racial, and urban history during Selim III's reign, as the *Bostancıbaşı Ocağı* was responsible for maintaining public order and security along the coastal lines of Istanbul, including the Golden Horn coasts and both sides of the Bosphorus.

Additionally, it was responsible for granting permission to construct and renovate various buildings, such as *yalis*, coffeehouses, and shops, until 1826. These records were essential for the *Bostancıbaşı* to acknowledge the Sultan when needed while strolling around the Bosphorus. Moreover, the *defters* systematically recorded *sahilhanes*, imperial palaces, and other beachfront buildings, providing a wealth of information for analyzing the visual and spatial characteristics of Istanbul's coastal lines in terms of architecture, economics, and social and political transformations.⁹¹ However, the *Bostancıbaşı Defterleri* span from 1791, with the first defter, to 1822, the last one written during Mahmud the Second's reign. There are a total of eleven independent copies of the *defters*, providing valuable data on demographic and urban topographic changes and continuity.⁹² Apart from the Bostancıbaşı Records, *Nüfus*

⁹¹ Abdülkadir Özcan, "Bostancı" in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1992), 308-309.

⁹² Şevket Rado, Murat Bardakçı, MA. Şevket Rado studied the first one in 1972 "Bostancıbaşı Defteri. 1802 yılında Boğaziçi ve Haliç Kıyılarında Kimler Oturdu?" olarak isimlendirdiği çalışmanın kaynağı olan defter İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Kütüphanesi'nde, Tophane-i Amire'den Rumeli Kavağına varınca sahil ve bahirde vaki' cami-i şerifler ve sahilhaneler ve iskeleler defteridir başlığıyla ŞR_000267/01 olarak Yalı Kasrı Hümayûnu'ndan Bahriye Sarayına varıncaya değin vaki' olan cami-i şerifeler ve iskeleler ve sahilhaneler beyanındadır başlığıyla da ŞR_000267/02 ,olarak Şevket Rado Yazmaları'nda kayıtlıdır. Toplam 64 varaklık defter 23 x15 cm'dir. Keçeci Ailesinin özel kütüphanesinde Keçecizâde İzzet Mollâ'nın evrakı ile Sultan II. Mahmud ve Sultan Abdülmecid dönemine ait bazı yazışmalar arasında bulunan bir defter de Murat Bardakçı 2013 yılında III. Selim Dönemine Ait Bir Bostancıbaşı Defteri adıyla yayımlamıştır.²³ 1803 olarak tarihlenen defter 63 varaktır.

Defterleri, the population records, also serve as essential sources for this research. The first official and large-scale population record was conducted in 1831 under the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, following the establishment of the new modern army, *Asakir-i Mansure-yi Şahane*, in 1826. This census record aimed to accumulate data on potential military personnel from the male population.⁹³ Different types of *nüfus defterleri* provide various aspects of social life in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul. While Bostancıbaşı records offer an overview of the population of the coastlines without a sectarian or religious distinctions, the population records provide detailed information based on religious backgrounds. In this research, the focus is on the *defters* of the Muslim inhabitants of the aforementioned geographical areas, with a particular emphasis on the ulema families.

The primary sources used in this thesis, including the *nüfus defteri* from the Bebek coastline dated back to 1844, provide valuable insights into the professional, and ethno-physical features of the individuals and their place of birth, and age. While the records of the higher strata of Ottoman society may not always include physical features, *nüfus defterleri*, offers cumulative information about the regular inhabitants of Istanbul's *mahalle's* and their religious and sectarian compositions. According to the available primary sources, the socioeconomic diversity of the Bosphorus can be seen through various occupations. According to the census records, the residents across the Bosphorus can be mentioned as civil servants of different ranks, imams, barbers, merchants, bathers, tobacconists, and so on. Likewise, although fishermen's and boatmen's houses might not reflect the pomp and wealth of the ulema and pasha beach houses, it can be reported that some of the boatmen's households often were

⁹³ Sultanic orders can be found in 1830-1831 concerning the public and massive population recording. See. HAT 334-19185 (11.03.1246/1831)

home to children of slaves of African descent. Similarly, people without a job stand out as “without an art/occupation” in the records.⁹⁴

After introducing the main primary sources, the following section focuses on the *sahilhanes* that form an essential spatial framework along the Bosphorus. These *sahilhanes* are often referred to as the "Pearls of the Bosphorus" due to their distinctive architectural and stylistic characteristics. The research addresses the architectural features of the Bosphorus villages with a primary emphasis on *sahilhanes* that emerged as dynamic quarters for upper-middle-class social life in the eighteenth century. In addition, several residences, including the Dürrizadeler Mansion, the Bahai Mansion, and the current Egyptian Consulate General (formerly a seaside mansion predating today's Consulate building), serve as precise examples in this context. These examples provide a window into the lives of ulema families and the Şeyhülislams, offering insights into their lifestyle, social status, and interactions within society. Section 3.3 will seek the ways in which the *sahilhanes* can be imagined and examine the ulema's past in the region. This will further enhance the understanding of the architectural history of *sahilhanes* and provide a glimpse into the Bosphorus' historical landscape. Last but not least, a number of archival data is presented along with the aforementioned sources.

⁹⁴ Despite the fact that the vast majority of the literature on slavery and domestic labor tend to claim that the slaves can be found in the houses of the upper-middle class of Istanbul during the nineteenth century, the small and modest houses were also homes for the slaves and slave sons. See. NFS.d 182 29.12.1260

3.3 How to imagine a *Sahilhane*: Architectural landscape of the yalis and human geography

The historic homes that grace the Bosphorus, known as *yalis*, hold a special place in Istanbul's architectural and cultural history. Since the Bosphorus Strait exhibited distinct geographical features as a waterway to separate the Rumelian and Anatolian sides of the city, the opulent waterfront mansions employ a testament to Istanbul's architectural heritage. Furthermore, despite the fact that livelihood dates back to the Byzantine times on the shores of the Bosphorus, the Ottoman era showcased the significance of the waterway in several aspects. The Byzantine emperors and, subsequently, the Ottoman sultans erected fortifications along the sides of the strait, particularly on the European side, because of the waterway's strategic importance for the protection of Constantinople. The fortresses of Anadoluhisarı, which was built on the Asian coast by Sultan Bayezid I at the end of the fourteenth century, and Rumelihisarı, which was erected immediately across the strait by Mehmed II in 1452, are noteworthy instances.⁹⁵ Furthermore, the Bosphorus Strait has been an outstanding geography that provides several massive gardens with distinctive flora.⁹⁶ Hence, Bosphorus can be imagined as an exclusive geographical frame in which the dynasty and other elites have been attracted for a critical period of time.

Nevertheless, in order to outline the civil architecture and the hints of social organization across the Bosphorus, urban and architectural structures that were recorded in the materials shall be discussed. According to the sources used in the present work, these structures can be seen as *sahilsaray*, *sahilhane*, and *hane*. It is

⁹⁵ Abdullah Avunduk, "Rumelihisarı", in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 35 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2008), 237-240.

⁹⁶ Shirine Hamadeh, "Public Spaces and the Garden Culture of Istanbul in the eighteenth century" in *The Early Modern Ottomans* ed. Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 277-312.

worth noting that achieving a comprehensive and standard definition of the terms from available sources remains elusive. Nevertheless, it is clear that *sahilsaray* typically refers to the grand and imposing structures associated with the Ottoman dynasty. On the other hand, the *Bostancıbaşı Defterleri* use the terms "yalı" and "hane" interchangeably. However, a closer examination of demographic statistics reveals a consistent use of the term "sahilhane," with no instances of "yalı." Similarly, it can be inferred that the term "hane" in the demographic data refers to somewhat smaller entities.⁹⁷

In order to have a closer idea of seaside mansions, the definition and peculiarities of the *yalıs* can be given. Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, a Turkish novelist from the twentieth century, states that the authentic and ancient *yalıs* of the Bosphorus were often referred to as "leb-i derya," which etymologically translates to "seaside," and is thought to allude to the pearls that could be found in the sea. Hisar paints a vivid picture with his words, describing the *sahilhane* in evocative terms, such as;

...the architect who builds the yalı that gives body to the elegance, beauty, and wonder of arts which we call the Bosphorus relies on some very delicate considerations: he opens the yalı in between the unequaled blue of the sea in the front and the green of the mountains at the back such that, when the doors of the rooms around the sofas are opened, the waters in front and the slopes of the mountains at the back unite in the eyes of the observer.⁹⁸

In the work of Sedat Hakkı Eldem, the term "yalı" is described as a grand residence that ideally occupies a waterfront location with a dock situated in its immediate vicinity and situated in proximity to the coastal pier or even extending over the sea itself.⁹⁹ Therefore, the defining essence of a *yalı* often lies in its uninterrupted proximity to the sea, free from any road infrastructure obstructing the

⁹⁷ Interestingly, the housing units in 1844 Records were mentioned as *hane*. See. NFS.d 182 29.12.1260

⁹⁸ Hisar, *Boğaziçi Yalıları*, 13-14.

⁹⁹ Eldem, *Boğaziçi Yalıları*, 45.

view or access to the shoreline. Additionally, it is noteworthy that these seaside mansions are sometimes constructed directly on the water's edge or even over the sea itself rather than on solid land.¹⁰⁰ As to Abdülhak Şinasi's assertion, it can be argued that mansions, unless they possess distinct structures, typically combine elements of both *haremlik* and *selamlık*. The lower floor of the building is adorned with marble couches and rooms, while a spacious and expansive stairway leads to the second floor. The upper floor features wooden couches and chambers. Notably, the architectural design of *yalıs* often includes boathouses situated beneath the rooms, allowing occupants to experience the soothing sounds of the water as if they were immersed in it.¹⁰¹ Şinasi Hisar further emphasizes that a significant majority of historical seaside mansions maintain a direct connection to the Bosphorus. Additionally, he asserts that the unique character of each palace is attributed to its garden and the surrounding flora.¹⁰² Indeed, when examining the households residing in these mansions, one can observe not only the diversity of their domestic economies, and but also the distinct characteristics that define the *yalıs*.¹⁰³

The subsequent discussion will center on the significant shift in the preferred locations for leisure and resort settlements of the imperial dynasty during the eighteenth century. Specifically, it will be explored how the influence of palace dignitaries played a crucial role in this transition, as the choice shifted from Kağıthane and the Golden Horn to the Bosphorus shoreline. Consequently, the elite class of the Ottoman Empire, including the imperial household, gradually moved to the Bosphorus region for their summer retreats. Following this, the use of archival

¹⁰⁰ Hisar, *Boğaziçi Yalıları*, 46.

¹⁰¹ Hisar, *Boğaziçi Yalıları*, 14.

¹⁰² "The expression of this love of the old Turk, who wanted to satisfy the love of the waters he longed for up close, was the Bosphorus mansion." This citation could be represented the level of passion for the pearls of the Bosphorus addressed by Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar.

¹⁰³ Hisar, *Boğaziçi Yalıları*, 14-16.

materials will contribute to a more thorough depiction, in addition to the concept of migration within the city. The residences of the sultan and his family, known as *sahilsaray*, are characterized by their expansive waterfront locations and grand proportions. Based on the materials utilized in this study, the terms "*sahilhane*" and "*yali*" pertain to the opulent residences situated along the shoreline, which were predominantly held by those belonging to the elite and/or upper-middle strata of Ottoman society. However, according to Özlem Atalan, there exists a distinction between the smaller mansions owned by Muslims, referred to as *sahilhane*, and those owned by non-Muslims, referred to as *hane*.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, it is important to note that this differentiation is not supported by the available archival evidence. In fact, the term "*hane*" can be used to denote modest dwellings that are typically occupied by individuals, nuclear families, or households with limited financial resources. On the contrary, the owner of the *yali* may be either an Ottoman Christian or a descendant of an esteemed ulema family. The *sahilsaray*s function as summer houses for members of the royal family, while, the *yali*, serving as the secondary residence of affluent residents of Istanbul along the shores of the Bosphorus.¹⁰⁵

Nevertheless, Tülay Artan presents an anecdote derived from a *ruzname* dating back to 1735-36, wherein the author recounts a visit to the imperial gardens situated in Kuleli, Çubuklu, and Fenerbahçe during the aforementioned year. Artan asserts that the Sultan's excursions to the Golden Horn were exclusively dedicated to visiting members of the imperial family.¹⁰⁶ In contrast, during the winter season, the

¹⁰⁴ Özlem Atalan, "Ortaköy-Kuruçeşme Arasındaki Sahilsaray; 19. Yüzyıl," *Turkish Studies* 10, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 83-120.

¹⁰⁵ Özlem Atalan, "Boğaziçi Kıyı Yerleşmelerinin Tarihsel Değişim Süreci ve Koruma Yöntemleri Üzerine bir Araştırma Ortaköy-Kuruçeşme Sahili" (PhD diss., Yıldız Technical University, 2008), 64.

¹⁰⁶ Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the 18th Century Bosphorus" (PhD diss., MIT, 1989)

Sultan chose to continue his visits to the neighboring *köşks* (pavilions) of the Topkapı Palace. The *sahilsaray*s of the eighteenth century exhibit similarities to the affluent lifestyle observed along the Bosphorus.¹⁰⁷ In addition, the transportation of goods and people across the Bosphorus over land has been a significant challenge for the local population. This is particularly evident when considering the historical context leading up to the early nineteenth century, when the prevalence of shipping as a more convenient mode of transportation is reflected in available sources, which document a notable rise in the number of fishermen and boatmen.¹⁰⁸

Therefore, the coastal residences situated along the Bosphorus have long served as notable exemplars of civil architecture in Istanbul over the centuries. As previously stated, the establishment of coastal palaces along the Bosphorus throughout the eighteenth century, commissioned mainly by courtiers such as the *valide* and *hanım* sultans, facilitated the ongoing movement of the middle-upper class from old Istanbul to the villages situated along the Bosphorus. The elites of the empire, encompassing individuals ranging from sons-in-law to pashas to ambassadors, procured a multitude of houses across the coastal regions from Beşiktaş to Sarıyer. It is noteworthy to observe that certain ulema families, such as the Dürrizade lineage, who are referenced in the Bostancıbaşı Records as residing between Bebek-Rumelihisarı and İncirköy-Paşabahçe, continued to own a house in the vicinity even after a span of fifty years. Similarly, the occurrence of migration and the aspiration to utilize the Bosphorus as a platform for prestige was not limited to certain ulema families but also extended to common ilmiye bureaucrats. Thus, the *sahilsaray*, denoting the residences of the imperial family, especially the daughters

¹⁰⁷ Ayşe Kaplan, "From Seasonal to Permanent: A Study on the Effects of Göç Tradition on the Bosphorus Shores 1791-1815", MA, Bilgi University, 2012), 3-4.

¹⁰⁸ Kaplan, "From Seasonal to Permanent," 89.

and spouses of the sultans, alongside the *sahilhane*, abodes of high-ranking officials within the Ottoman Empire. Interestingly, these could be found in close proximity to the simple abode of a mosque imam or a humble *hane* inhabited by a financially disadvantaged fisherman constructed from basic wooden materials.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, the Bosphorus region comprised a wide spectrum of residential properties encompassing the imperial family, high-ranking bureaucrats, and the ulema, reflecting the diversity of society.

However, the presence of the *ilmiye* in the Bosphorus can be traced back to the late seventeenth century, exemplified by the Bahai Mansion in Kanlıca. This mansion, named after Şeyhülislam Bahayi Efendi (1601-1654), serves as evidence of *ilmiye*'s presence during that era. It is also crucial to recognize that the relocation to the Bosphorus was not solely the privilege of elite ulema families; it embraced by ulema of ordinary status. The phenomenon of migration, known as *göç*, served as a testament to the social and economic influence wielded by *ilmiye* families.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting a paradox highlighted in a monograph written in Armenian in 1794 by Paul Lucas Inciciyan, who resided in Istanbul. He pointed out that religious scholars, the ulema, who actively cautioned the public about the dangers of ostentation, ironically found themselves residing in the affluent districts of Bebek.¹¹⁰ Hence, the coastal neighborhoods across the city has become gentrified by the second half of eighteenth century as Bebek, Emirgan, İstinye, and Rumelihisari were chosen by the *ilmiye* whereas non-Muslims tended to reside in Arnavutköy. Sarıyer, on the other hand, has become a hub for low-middle class

¹⁰⁹ Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life", 122.

¹¹⁰ Tülay Artan, in her dissertation, cites from Ingigiyan's book, which was translated into Italian. See. Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life", 59-60.

Muslim Turks.¹¹¹ In fact, the consolidation of the *ilmiye* on Bebek, for example, reaches to the level that almost all the houses belonged to the *ulema*.

Another historical record from 1790 indicates that the esteemed Şeyhülislam İbrahim Efendi (1701-1783) was granted permission to acquire a *sahilhane* in Kurucesme. The familial connections of İbrahim Efendi exemplify a distinct pattern highlighting the interconnectedness of *ulema* families and their ties to the Ottoman dynasty. Moreover, he was closely related to Zeynelabidin Efendi, a prominent judge of Rumelia, and eventually married his daughter, strengthening their familial bonds.¹¹² During this era, *ulema* houses gathered in significant numbers along the Bebek and Rumelihisarı coasts. Several seaside mansions linked to Şeyhülislams can be identified, such as the Yasincizade Mansion in Anadoluhisarı or the Dürrizade Mansion in Bebek. Yasincizade Mansion, constructed during the early nineteenth century, served as Şeyhülislam Yasincizade Abdülvehhab Efendi (1758-1833) residence. Following the demise of Abdülvehhab Efendi, the familial occupancy of the house persisted, as evidenced by the residence of his son-in-law, Mizancı Murad Bey, throughout the 1890s. Another illustration may be derived from the Dürrizade Mansion, which was in possession of the Dürrizade lineage.

Nevertheless, archival documents indicate that Şeyhülislam families were permitted to acquire *sahilhanes* on the Bosphorus, which had market value and were considered property. These *sahilhanes* were involved in various legal proceedings, including debt settlements and transfers of wealth.¹¹³ It is also worth mentioning that

¹¹¹ Orhan Erdenen, “Çağlar Boyunca Boğaziçi: 2”, *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası*, no.9 (Ekim 1968), 52.

¹¹² Mehmet İpşirli “Seyyid İbrahim Efendi” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2000), 301-302.

¹¹³ SEE. Kuruçeşme'de sahilhane iştirasına müsaade-i Şahane buyrulan Şeyhülislam-ı esbak İbrahim Bey'in Kuzguncuk'da ikameti mukteza-ı İrade'den olmakla, yeni sahilhanesine nakline müsaade Şeyhülislam'ın takririyile istirahat edildiğine dair. (HAT 266- 15414) 29 12 1205 Ulema Reisi, borcunu

upon their dismissal or voluntary resignation, Şeyhülislams would often retreat to their *sahilhanes* and lead a solitary life. Instances have been documented where Şeyhülislams inherited *sahilhanes* subsequent to their demise, as these dwellings were considered assets. An example of this could be Kadızade Tahir Efendi (1747-1838), who, subsequent to his demise, did not leave any heirs apart from his wife, leading the transfer of the remaining assets to the Treasury in 1838.¹¹⁴ There is also evidence that libraries and book collections were amassed in *sahilhanes*, reserved for individuals of higher social status. This connection can be seen in the proliferation of printing presses during this period, warranting further investigation into material culture and the history of the book.¹¹⁵ Additionally, some legal cases involving *sahilhanes*, considered valuable property, took place during the war years. For instance, there was a lawsuit involving the trustee of Kazasker Mustafa İzzet Efendi's (1801-1876) foundations and Mediha Sultan (1856-1928), Sultan Abdülmecid's daughter, and centered on a *sahilhane* located in Baltalimanı.¹¹⁶

To sum, the Bosphorus mansions play a significant role in the context of Ottoman architectural history, exemplifying the social dynamics and different origins of its inhabitants. The thesis endeavors to question prevalent views and illuminate the lasting impact of the *ilmiye* inside Ottoman society through the examination of

sahilhasını satarak ödeyeceğinden maaşından kesinti yapılmaması isteği. (A DVN 143-38) 1275. Sadr-ı Esbak Nuhum Sarım Paşa'nın borcu için ettiği Rumelihisarı'ndaki sahilhane, köşk ve bağın hanımı ve kayınvalidesine satılması. (A MKT. MVL. 73 5) 26.09.1271. İstanbul payeli Dürrizade Mehmed Şerif Efendi'ye atıyye olarak verilen elli bin kuruşa mahsuben her ay verilmekte olan iki bin kuruşun sahilhane icarı münasebetiyle beş bin kuruşa iblağı (C. ML. 75-3424) 29 12 1300

¹¹⁴ Vefat eden Esbak Şeyhülislâm Kadızade Tahir Efendi'nin sahilhanesinin taht-ı temhire aldırıldığına ve terekesinden zevce-i menkûhesine rubu hisse isabet edip varis-i aharı olmadığından, baki muhallefatının Hazine-i Amire'ye ait bulunduğuna dair şeyhülislâm efendiden Sadaret'e (HAT 647- 29 12 1254)

¹¹⁵ Sadaret sahilhanesinde olan kitapların gönderilmesi (A. MKT. NZD. 29 12 1267)

¹¹⁶ Kazasker Mustafa Efendi Vakfı mütevellisi ile Mediha Sultan arasında Balta Limanı'nda kain sahilhane ile ilgili dava hususu. (Adliye) (BEO 4288 321571) 03 07 1332)

these mansions and the ulema households. It is important to note that since this thesis focuses explicitly on mansions and the social and human landscape of the Bosphorus, the offshore pavilions belonging to Şeyhülislams and ulema families will be provided as illustrative instances without delving into further discussion. In this perspective, an example can be given: *Dürrizadeler* Mansion, a collection of structures located near Paşakapısı in Üsküdar, which dates back to the early 1700s.¹¹⁷ However, the residences of the ulema were concentrated in close proximity to the fortifications along both banks of the Bosphorus. This trend persisted due to the active involvement of ulema and their families in the vibrant scene along the Bosphorus. Examples such as the Bahai Mansion, Yasincizade Mansion, Mekkizade Mansion, and Dürrizade Mansion can be added to the list. The subsequent part of the thesis will undertake a more meticulous examination of the residences and domestic arrangements of the *ilmiye*. The objective of the following chapter is to assess homes as a representative case to challenge the prevailing notion that Ottoman ulema families and the *ilmiye* experienced a decline in social and economic status during the nineteenth century. Indeed, the presence of bureaucrats migrating to the Bosphorus can be seen as a contributing factor to the aforementioned framework.

Overall, the Bosphorus mansions hold significant importance within the realm of Ottoman architectural history, effectively embodying the intricate interplay of social forces and the different origins of its inhabitants. By studying these mansions and the households of ulema, the thesis aims to challenge prevailing beliefs and shed light on the enduring legacy of the *ilmiye* within Ottoman society. In this regard, the accumulation of ulema families along the Bebek and Rumelihisarı lines on the western coasts of the Bosphorus can be observed. As a result, the existence of

¹¹⁷ Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu, “İstanbul Konaklarına Dair” Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu (Ekim 1958), 3-4.

religious scholars in the opulent vicinity of the Bosphorus will serve to endorse the notable socio-economic influence of the ulema households, many of whom held esteemed positions as senior government officials. One possible indication of the non-decline in the socio-economic status of the ulema families throughout the nineteenth century is their ownership of *sahilhanes*, located on the picturesque shores of the Bosphorus and serving as prominent venues for social activities. In this sense, the aforementioned observations suggest that there exists a notable concentration of seaside mansions among the middle and upper ulema within the region. Furthermore, it can be deduced that these seaside mansions are often passed down within the same family, and the seaside mansions are sometimes owned by the same ulema family for several decades.

CHAPTER 4

THE ULEMA HOUSEHOLDS

4.1. The Ulema households: An overview

As the thesis progresses, it turns its focus to the *sahilhanes* and Bosphorus villages that served as the residential areas for the ulema families for an extended period. These *yalis*, often located along the scenic Bosphorus shores, were not only symbols of prestige and wealth but also centers of social and cultural exchange. The thesis situates these mansions within the broader historical context, considering their architectural features and social functions while closely examining the ulema households. Within this context, the thesis touches upon domestic labor and slaves who were also part of the ulema households in this chapter. Before delving into the households of the ulema, this part aims to outline how the census records have been analyzed to portray the ulema houses. By doing so, it also suggests that the subsequent part can be determined as a case study to understand the ulema's social and familial lives with a closer glimpse. However, due to limited available data, the total population of each household, including women, enslaved women, and children, remains uncertain. This chapter also analyzes these residences to understand the spatial organization, social dynamics, and daily lives of the ulema families residing there during this era. Finally, it elaborates on the characteristics of each household, including the number of inhabitants, the professions of the household members, and their socio-economic backgrounds.

Overall, the chapter endeavors to shed light on the often overlooked aspects of Ottoman *ilmiye*, uncovering the importance and influence of the ulema families in the *ilmiye* bureaucracy. Through a rigorous analysis of historical records,

genealogical data, and architectural features, the thesis provides insights into the lives and roles of the ulema families. Therefore, the subsequent section will analyze a dozen households selected randomly from the population record dated 1826, in which the houses of ulema can be outlined with considerable detail. To put it differently, the aforementioned population records not only exhibit a significant number of seaside mansions belonging to the ulema as recorded in the Bostancıbaşı records but also seem to serve as the predecessors of later records to showcase the ilmiye's consolidation on the region. Furthermore, this analysis of households may be regarded as a case study that unveils the microcosm of Bebek during the initial decades of the nineteenth century. By doing so, it aims to address the fact that the ulema's dominance on the specific lines of the Bosphorus can be seen as one of the indicators that oppose the ulema's decline in the nineteenth century.

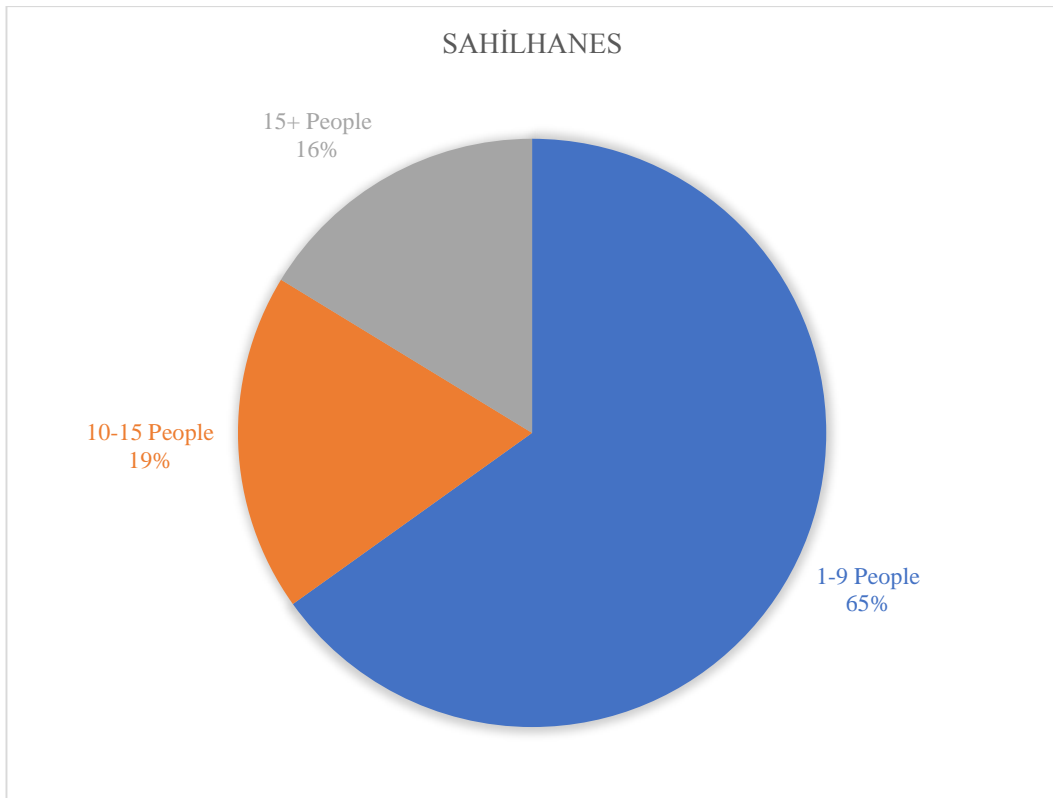


Figure 14. Sahilhanes by the number of residents¹¹⁸

However, the provided graphs offer insights that prompt a discussion about the sahilhanes' demographics. Primarily, it becomes apparent that the majority of these *sahilhanes* housed fewer than ten men. It is worth noting that the presence of women and female slaves could potentially double or even triple these figures. Unfortunately, due to a lack of sufficient data or parameters for estimating the number of women, including wives, daughters, and female servants, it remains impossible to predict the total population of each household accurately. Nevertheless, it is plausible to suggest that variations in professions within these households might

¹¹⁸ This table represents a case study that showcases the recorded forty-three sahilhanes from Kurucesme to Emirgan, which excluded the hanes of the line. Despite the fact that the numbers are taken from 1826 population records, the ratio as well as the outcomes shall be articulated and juxtaposed with the Bostancıbaşı records and other population records. Samples from the other records are given in the appendix.

serve as a valuable tool for estimating their total populations. In essence, some households employed individuals such as tobacco makers or imams for their religious practices, offering clues about the size and composition of the household. Additionally, a noteworthy observation is that the vast majority of the small-sized *sahilhanes* belonged to non-*ilmiye* bureaucrats. This observation can be interpreted in two ways: firstly, it may signify the predominance of the ulema class in the larger and more opulent *sahilhanes* along the Bosphorus shores. Secondly, upon closer examination, it reveals that even within small and medium-sized households, middle-ranking *ilmiye* individuals could be found. In other words, the ulema class monopolized the larger residences, but they also had a significant presence within the households of non-*ilmiye* bureaucrats, which will be explored in more detail later. Last but not least, as it is added to the appendix, Bostancıbaşı records, as well as the 1844 and 1856 population records, to some extent refer to the fact that the Ulema remained dominant in specific shores of the Bosphorus. Hence, the dominance of the ulema on Bebek shores can be expanded throughout the aforementioned time frame.

However, this chapter delves into the discussion of the dozen households that were randomly selected from 1826 population records.¹¹⁹ These households have been clustered based on their number of residents, and each cluster contains four households. Each of these households either belongs to a specific individual, often an *alim* or bureaucrat, or constitutes a family unit. In essence, it will be classified the selected *sahilhanes* into three categories based on size: large, medium, and trim. To

¹¹⁹ Big size Sahilhanes: Sıdkızade Ahmed Reşid (39), Mir Arif Efendi (43), Müşir M. Arif Efendi (39), Mustafa Behçet Efendi (38)
Medium Size Sahilhanes: Hasan Tahsin Efendi (25), Mekkizade Mustafa Asım Efendi (21), Yusuf Rıza Efendi (18), Hasan Hüsnü Efendi (15)
Small size Sahilhanes: Dürrizade Mehmed Abid Efendi (10), M. Ratib and İbrahim Fuad Efendiler (10), Mehmed Arif Efendi (12), Yahyazade Mehmed Said Efendi (10)

provide a basis for this categorization by size, various population registers have been thoroughly examined. It is important to note that the small-sized *yalıs* considered in this study are categorized as small in comparison to the medium and large-sized *sahilhanes*' number of residents covered in the thesis. In fact, numerous households were home to a couple of individuals in these records, which are not included in the present work. In summary, the chapter will focus on this group of a dozen households, aiming to analyze them as a microcosm of late Ottoman *ilmiye* society. As explored in earlier chapters of this thesis, significant disparities exist among the population registers from different time periods. These differences encompass variations in the depiction of occupational groups and discernible differences in the physical attributes of the individuals recorded.

Furthermore, achieving a comprehensive understanding of the nuclear household structure is a complex endeavor. The documents, exemplified by the 1844 records, reveal peculiarities in recording practices, such as the inclusion of brother-in-law relationships. This highlights the dynamic and evolving nature of recorded familial connections and interpersonal relationships. Additionally, these population registers, much like living organisms, undergo periodic revisions spanning several decades and encompassing various alterations. Within this context, the age groups can be meticulously traced using birthdates, although precise dating may sometimes prove challenging. Moreover, a fundamental aspect of characterizing a household, as gleaned from the population records, centers around the individual designated as the titular owner of the *sahilhane*. This individual is intricately linked to other male relatives, whether directly or indirectly, including siblings, children, grandchildren, brothers-in-law, slaves, slave children, and even the *meczubs*. Consequently, the narrative emerging from this material vividly portrays households as intricate and

multifaceted structures, where familial relationships extend far beyond the owner's immediate family and encompass a diverse range of individuals and connections.

4.2. Sahilhanes by size: An analysis of the households

In this section, there will be an examination of twelve different households. The following households were chosen randomly from the population registers in the vicinity of Kuruçeşme-Emirgan, with a specific focus on the areas of Bebek and Rumelihisarı. The names of their owners commonly refer to these historic residences, and their order of listing in the records is determined by the number of households they accommodated. So, the classification of these households into large, medium, and small units within this section is given with reference to the number of male household members documented in the material. According to the primary source, the small households are classified as those in which twelve or fewer male individuals are documented as household members. Medium-sized units typically encompass approximately two dozen male names. In contrast, large units, which can host up to a hundred individuals when considering unregistered women and female slaves, usually have around thirty-eight to forty registered male household members. Therefore, the socioeconomic prominence of the ulema class and their presence around the fortresses on two sides of the Bosphorus will be analyzed. This examination will be based on cumulative samples, gaining insights into the occupations and backgrounds of the members within these households, thereby facilitating comprehensive comparisons. Similarly, the occupational composition and hometowns of the servants mentioned in the households will be emphasized to draw modest inferences about their roles and origins within the historical narrative.

In examining the enormous-sized households of the ulema families, the present work uncovers insights into their opulent lifestyles and influential roles within the Ottoman society of the nineteenth century. One such remarkable example is the *sahilhane* of Şeyhülislam Sıdkızade Ahmed Reşid (1758-1834). This mansion stands out as an epitome of a high-ilmiye residence, boasting around thirty-five servants and accommodating dozens, perhaps even over a hundred, of individuals. The sheer number of servants alone distinguishes it as an impressive establishment akin to a humble palace. Both his sons, Mehmed Rıfat Bey (d. 1875) and Mustafa Hamid Bey, were affiliated with the ilmiye positions, exemplifying the continuity of ilmiye affiliation across generations. Additionally, his older son served as a former Galata Judge, a prestigious post within the Meşihat, while his younger son and son-in-law, Mehmed Arif Efendi, were professors (*müderris*) and held influential positions within the *Evkaf Müfettişliği*. This demonstrates how kinship and son-in-law relations played crucial roles in consolidating the elites' power and maintaining the household's high status in the Ottoman realm.¹²⁰

The mansion's elaborate structure and size allowed for various specialized professions among its inhabitants. Within the immense *sahilhane*, one could find professions such as coffee makers (*kahveci*), imams, praying callers (*müezzin*), doorkeepers (*kapıcı*), and even tobacco makers. These occupations shed lights on the diverse and luxurious needs of the ulema households of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the dataset reveals an interesting observation about the *kethüdas* of the ulema households, who were often engaged in the *kadıship*. This indicates a strong

¹²⁰ Bouquet, "Old Elites in a New Republic: The Reconversion of Ottoman Bureaucratic Families in Turkey (1909-1939)," 589.

trust relationship among the elite bureaucrats, where financial matters were likely handled through established hierarchies and personal connections.

Moving on to another substantial *sahilhane*, the residence of former Rumelia Judge, Mir Arif Efendi, hosted an impressive population of forty-three males. This mansion epitomizes an imperial milieu, as it accommodated individuals from different ethnicities, languages, and professions. However, Mir Arif Efendi's post receiver was linked to the judgeship, and an *imam* served within the premises. Interestingly, the records suggest that the household included female servants, possibly of African origins, who gave birth. Furthermore, his older son, Raşid Efendi, was a professor (*müderriş*), whose own family shared the same house. Another fascinating example to be explored is the *sahilhane* of Müşir Arif Efendi (1808-1865), a statesman, and pasha. With sixteen children and at least a dozen servants, this mansion exemplifies a bustling household. The presence of specialized professions such as imams, *mirahurs* (chamberlains), *kethüdas*, cooks, boatmen, farmland *kethüda* (estate managers), and three shepherds highlights the diverse nature of the household's operations.¹²¹ Interestingly, this *sahilhane* not only housed multiple people but also accommodated livestock, symbolizing the political and socio-economic power of the pasha.

Similarly, the residence of former Rumelia judge and present imperial doctor (*Mir Etübbâ*), Mustafa Behçet Efendi, (1774-1834) housed around forty individuals and employed several coffee makers, tobacco makers, cooks, and other servants. This

¹²¹ It can be mentioned that the prevailing focus of Ottoman labor history studies has predominantly centered around the examination of the tobacco and textile workers. In this regard, the subsequent studies might be regarded as illustrative instances. See. Erdem Kabadayı, Kate E. Creasey “Working in the Ottoman Empire and in Turkey: Ottoman and Turkish Labor History within a Global Perspective” *Int. Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 82, (Fall 2012), pp. 187-200. Can Nacar, *Labor and Power in the Late Ottoman Empire: Tobacco Workers, Managers, and the State, 1872-1912*. Palgrave Macmillan (2019).

mansion exemplifies the grand scale of living spaces for numerous people, reflecting the socio-economic and political power of the bureaucrat class. In fact, this mansion was home to significant *ilmiye* individuals and families, which was also a practical mansion among the bureaucrats of the Tanzimat period. It was also known as Abdülhak Molla Mansion, bequeathed to Abdülhak Molla (1786-1854) by his brother, Hekimbaşı Behçet Efendi. Abdülhak Molla was also an imperial doctor as well as his son Hayrullah Efendi (1818-1866). Evidently, their grandfather Hayrullah Efendi was also a renowned imperial doctor. It was nestled among the seaside mansions of Şeyhülislam Esadefendizade Şerif Efendi and Nuri Molla, a descendant of Dürrizade Ata Molla.¹²²

In his Oriental Memoirs, Helmuth Von Moltke (1836) makes reference to this mansion while discussing the area. He describes it as follows;

In Bebek, under beautiful plane trees, there was a palace belonging to the Sultan, a graceful mosque, and the residences of prominent individuals, especially his acquaintance Hekimbaşı. Despite holding the position of Hekimbaşı, the leader of all doctors, he had never pursued any medical education. The sahilhane possessed a very exquisite garden replete with an abundance of resplendent flowers. The garden is situated on the inclines of a long mountain. Subsequently, the path leads one through a cemetery adorned with majestic cypress trees, culminating in the ascent into a historic fortress, serving as my primary place of leisurely strolls.¹²³

Notably, Abdülhak Molla passed away within the confines of this palace in 1853. Mütercim Rüştü Pasha (1811, 1882) resided at the Hekimbaşı mansion for a period, during which secret gatherings took place with the grand vizier, Hüseyin Avni Pasha, Midhat Pasha, and the Şeyhülislam Hayrullah Efendi. Subsequently, ownership of this esteemed estate was transferred to Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, a prominent statesman renowned for his intellectual pursuits. In 1895, Cevdet Pasha met his demise inside this residence. Following his passing, the Hekimbaşı mansion

¹²² Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Tan Matbaası, 1958): 83-84.

¹²³ Helmuth Von Moltke, *Şark Notları*, (ter. Hayrullah Örs) Remzi Kitabevi: İstanbul, (1969) pp. 41.

came under the ownership of Faik Bey, the father of the highly regarded artist Fahire Fersan. The mansion underwent extensive renovations and repairs, dramatically altering its original appearance.¹²⁴ Overall, Hekimbaşilar Mansion presents a noteworthy depiction of the interconnections among the late Ottoman elites. In this respect, the mansion, also known as Abdülhak Molla Mansion, served as an intersection point for many influential late Ottoman elites, from pashas to imperial doctors and high-ranking ulema.

However, the present work explores how these considerably big *sahilhanes* belonging to the ulema class exhibited resemblances in terms of socioeconomic power. By analyzing their size, inhabitants, and professional affiliations, the thesis paints a vivid picture of the influence wielded by the ulema families within the Ottoman bureaucracy. These mansions, with their grandeur and specialized professions, were more than sole residences; they represented centers of ostentation and prestige within Ottoman society. Moreover, the presence of considerable seaside mansions within the ulema class emphasizes their elevated social status and economic prosperity. Furthermore, the *sahilhanes* of the Ulema families were not isolated from the broader context of Ottoman society. Instead, they were interconnected with other mansions and households along the Bosphorus coast, creating a vibrant social network. As mentioned above, immigration from the old town to the lavish shores of the Bosphorus has been an ongoing phenomenon for the *ilmiye*, similar to the other pashas. One shall discuss the presence of high-ranking ulema individuals who resided in the Bosphorus line during their early careers before obtaining significant positions within the Rumelia and Anatolia Judiciary. This migration of the ulema to the Bosphorus coast points to the strategic importance of

¹²⁴ Reşad Ekrem Koçu, İstanbul Ansiklopedisi (1958) pp. 46-47.

these residences in building connections. Another way of building patronage, as discussed above, was marriage, as the family ties were not merely personal matters; they were strategic moves to solidify alliances, consolidate power, and expand influence.¹²⁵ The interconnectedness of various ulema families through marriage alliances further strengthened their scope within the *ilmiye* officialdom.

Nonetheless, while the population records do not provide comprehensive data on the number of women and female children in each household, they hint at their significant presence. Female servants played essential roles in managing the household, taking care of the family, and supporting daily activities. The existence of female slaves, some possibly of African origins, adds a layer of complexity to the household dynamics and reflects the interconnectedness of the Ottoman Empire with the broader world through trade and slavery.¹²⁶ In addition to this, the servant-sons of African origins can be found in other types of seaside mansions that belonged to boatmen or fishermen, in which a couple of male members were registered.¹²⁷ However, throughout the late nineteenth century, there was a progressive rise in the number of families that expressed opposition to the utilization of slave labor. Additionally, middle-income families, who were unable to support the ownership of slaves financially sought domestic assistance for their households. However, there was no regular slave market in Istanbul at the time. As Albert Smith underlines the fact that “The fair Circassians and Georgians reside in the houses of the merchants, to whom many of them are regularly consigned by their friends.”¹²⁸ Nevertheless, the social organization of Circassians consisted of distinct social classes, including an

¹²⁵ Bouquet, “Old Elites in a New Republic: The Reconversion of Ottoman Bureaucratic Families in Turkey (1909-1939),” 589.

¹²⁶ Ehad Toledano, “Late Ottoman Concepts of Slavery (1830s-1880s)” *Poetics Today*, 14, no. 3 (Autumn, 1993): 477-506.

¹²⁷ See. Population record 1844 NFS.d 182 29.12.1260

¹²⁸ Albert Smith, *A Month in Istanbul* (London, 1851), 175-76.

aristocratic group, liberated peasants, and a significant number of enslaved persons, both male and female, who were held by aristocratic houses and were subject to transactions involving their acquisition and transfer. Upon the migration of the Circassian people to the Ottoman territories, it was typical for them to undergo a substantial deprivation of their belongings. As a result, slave owners opted to sell their female slaves, as there existed a continuous need for their labor inside the affluent homes of Istanbul and Cairo. Moreover, the anguish endured by expelled individuals prompted fathers to partake in the act of commodifying their daughters, anticipating that this would lead to an enhanced standard of living for the latter.¹²⁹ To sum, the seaside mansions of the ulema were home for the Circassian slaves as they also took their place within the middle-class Ottomans.

The medium-sized *sahilhanes*, on the other hand, provide us with a more nuanced understanding of the diversity within the ulema households and the non-ilmiye bureaucrat's residences. Hasan Tahsin Efendi's seaside mansion, being one such example, holds particular significance in shedding light on the intersection of piety, philanthropy, and the interrelations between high-ranking bureaucrats and the ilmiye entity. Despite not being part of the ulema class, Hasan Tahsin Efendi's household demonstrates how religious figures, such as the imam of Selimiye Mosque, were connected to the high-ranking bureaucrats, possibly indicating a level of mutual support and collaboration between the two groups. One might claim that the presence of *meczups* in his household highlights the consideration and care for the less fortunate members of society within these residences. These *meczups*, were often marginalized individuals with no particular job and were provided for and taken care of, reflecting a sense of social responsibility among the Ottoman elites. In

¹²⁹ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Women in the Ottoman Empire: A Social and Political History*, (IB Tauris 2023), 170.

order to understand the concept of philanthropy, building a fountain can be given as an example in the Ottoman Empire, three groups of women were involved in the construction of fountains. The first group consisted of women from the dynasty and the administrative staff of the *harem*, such as *kalfa*, *kethüda*, and treasurer-master. The second group consisted of women belonging to the ruling class and ulema families. The last group consisted of women who were the founders of the fountains built to meet the water needs of their neighborhoods. In this regard, the high-ranking ulema families enjoyed humanitarian aid by building fountains and mosques around the city.¹³⁰

When it comes to philanthropy, Mekkizade Mustafa Asım needs to be underlined as his *sahilhane* stands out as a captivating example of wealth and prosperity among the *ilmiye* class. His immense fortune, as evidenced by the approximately eight and a half million *kuruş* he left behind, showcases the economic power that some ulema families held during the nineteenth century. The capability to contribute sums of money for the renovation of Hagia Sophia Mosque underscores the ulema's impact not only within the religious sphere but also in the economic and political realms¹³¹ Thus, examining Mekkizade's mansion, an insight into the level of richness and affluence preserved by some ulema families and individuals can come up with a broader understanding of the core ruling strata of late Ottoman society.

Moving to Yusuf Rıza Efendi's household, whose main occupation was *Haremeyn Muhasebecisi*, was home to his *müderris* son. The idea that the expected pattern of sons following their fathers' footsteps into either the *ilmiye* or non-*ilmiye*

¹³⁰ Betül İpşirli, *Hayatlarının Çeşitli Safhalarında Harem-i Hümayun Cariyeleri, 18. Yüzyıl*, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2017): 254. Suraiya Faroqhi, *Women in the Ottoman Empire: A Social and Political History*, (IB Tauris 2023), 304.

¹³¹ İlhami Yurdakul, "Şeyhülislam Silsilesinin Son Büyük Zengini Mekkizade Mustafa Asım Efendi'nin Muhallefatı" *Osmanlıda Şehir, Vakıf ve Sosyal Hayat* (2017): 247-268.

bureaucrats solidifies the interconnectedness of these households. The involvement of slave sons, such as Circassian Alaaddin and Greek Hurşid, in this household reflects the cosmopolitan nature of a typical Ottoman ulema household. In fact, the slave sons have been named after their mothers' ethno-racial origins. Last but not least, Mekkizade Mustafa Asım's father, Mekki Efendi, a former Şeyhülislam, owned a seaside mansion located in Anadoluhisarı.¹³²

Hasan Hüsni Efendi's *sahilhane* can be given as another example worth examining due to his position as the *Mevkufat Kalemi Kisedarı*. His son's occupation in the civil bureaucracy further exemplifies the standard pattern of having family members within the same bureaucratic circles. That is to say, the practice of following the father's bureaucratic affiliations enables the sons to maintain acceptable positions over generations. However, through the examination of these residences, one might gain insights into the intersections between the ulema and non-ilmîye bureaucrats, the practice of nepotism in various kinds, and the economic welfare of certain ulema families. However, due to the lack of materials, it has been hard to detect economic activities and the level of economic power across the Bosphorus Strait during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In fact, the economic activities were limited to small stores and industries.¹³³ To give an interesting example, two French men were operating a small brewery in the Bosphorus suburb of Kuruçeşme until 1855, when they were attacked and injured. Therefore, the lack of significant growth and sustainability among small-scale

¹³² An anecdote can be mentioned from a conversation between Tatarcık Abdullah Efendi (1730-1797), a former Rumelia Judge, and Mekki Efendi. So, Tatarcık Abdullah Efendi paid a visit to Mekki Efendi, whom he had caused to be dismissed, at his mansion in Anadoluhisarı, both to appease the old Mekki Efendi and to prove that he was supposedly innocent. On this visit, Mekki Efendi was bothered by the mosquitoes and the destructive mansion. See Koçu, pp. 47.

¹³³ Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life", 149-150.

businesses in Istanbul during the later years of Mahmud's and the initial years of Abdülmecid's rule may be attributed to two main factors: local pressure and legal instability.¹³⁴

The small-sized *sahilhanes* offer a diverse and dynamic view of the ulema households, revealing intriguing patterns and interconnections among the elite families. One such *sahilhane* belonging to the prominent Dürrizade family, headed by Dürrizade Mehmed Abid Efendi, sheds light on the family's status and influence. Dürrizade Mehmed Abid Efendi, a former Istanbul judge with affiliations to the Anatolia judgeship, represented the pinnacle of the family's achievements. His son, Ahmed Raşid, served as a müderris. Remarkably, the Dürrizade family owned another small-sized *sahilhane*, inhabited by Dürrizade Mehmed Ataullah, Dürrizade Mehmed Nurullah, and Paşmakçızade Abdullah. This particular arrangement hints at the deep connections between the Dürrizade and Paşmakçızade families, extending beyond mere marital exchanges. They shared the same residence, indicating shared experiences in their daily lives. The intertwining of the ulema families in various spheres underscores the cohesive nature of the elite social fabric during the nineteenth century. Hence, the case of the Dürrizade family, with its two seaside mansions, further exemplifies the allure of the Bosphorus line for the elite ulema families. The Dürrizades had a longstanding tradition of serving the Meşihat as their residential presence in the neighborhood signifies their wealth and prestige.

Another example of a small-sized *sahilhane*, which was owned jointly by two alim brothers, Mehmed Ratib and İbrahim Fuad, served as the former Üsküdar judge, whereas the other served as the Sofia judge. Similar to the vast majority of the households, their *kethüda* was an old judge from Rumelia, Ahmed Raif Efendi. And

¹³⁴ Malte Fuhrmann, *Port Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean: Urban Culture in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020): 179.

they had a couple of servants and cooks. Another sample can be mentioned as a small *sahilhane* belonging to Mehmed Arif Efendi, an Istanbul judgeship holder. In spite of the fact that this household was considered minor, both his sons, Ahmed Haydar and Mehmed, without a doubt, obtained a professorship. His *kethüda*, again, was an old judge, Mehmed Tahir, along with a couple of servants and cooks, as well as Circassian son Rüstem. The presence of a Circassian son reflects the practice of having male slaves within the household, a common phenomenon among the Ottoman elite. Before finishing with the households, Yahyazade Mehmed Said Efendi's residence can be drawn as another sample. So, he obtained the Istanbul judgeship, whose *kethüda* was an old judge similar to the other households. Interestingly, this household was home to an *imam*, even though not many people were mentioned in the record. The fact that an imam resided in the household highlights the importance of religious practices and spiritual guidance within elite families. To add, his son from a *cariye* mentioned after the name Mehmed Şeref with no ethno-racial affiliation. Hence, one might claim that the servant was Muslim. However, these records draw an interesting outline: a critical number of compelling *ilmiye* figures of the nineteenth century have resided in these opulent shores of the Bosphorus Strait.

In conclusion, the exploration of the small-sized *sahilhanes* reveals an intricate web of connections, ambitions, and social mobility among the Ottoman elite. These residences, while more modest in size compared to their larger counterparts, played a vital role in shaping the social fabric of Ottoman Istanbul in the nineteenth century. The dynamics observed within these households, such as shared residences among influential families, the presence of male slaves, and the dedication to education, all contribute to understanding the ulema's socio-political

and cultural influence at a micro level. Likewise, It is essential to acknowledge that the *sahilhanes* were not static entities as families rose and fell in prominence, their fortunes changed, and political dynamics shifted. The investigation of these households provides a snapshot of a particular period, but it is crucial to recognize the fluidity and evolution of Ottoman ulema households over time.

Nevertheless, later documented evidence implies that a number of ulema families remained a residential presence on the glamorous shores of Bebek. Last but not least, ulema families and individuals such as Dürrizades and Ebuishakzades remained present within the Bosphorus shores for several decades. Likewise, Şeyhülislam Ataulah's mansion can given as an example that remained for decades, which was later owned by his son Mehmed Şerif Efendi, former Smyrna Judge. Likewise, the idea that Şeyhülislam families ought to be an owner of the *sahilhanes* during the long nineteenth century has remained till the end of the century. Lastly, according to several archival sources, Şeyhülislam Cemaleddin Efendi's seaside mansion was built on the shores of Bebek at the turn of the twentieth century.¹³⁵ In this regard, the idea that Şeyhülislam, the highest post of the *ilmiye*, owned a seaside mansion on the Bosphorus has remained for centuries. This can be interpreted as a symbolic testament to the resilience of the Ottoman high-ranking *ilmiye* in the face of turbulent political and economic circumstances throughout the long nineteenth century.

¹³⁵ Şeyhülislam Cemaleddin Efendi's seaside mansion can be given as an outstanding example of this. See. ML.EEM. 227 26 23.02.1312

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

As a social entity, the *ilmiye* class, which eventually grew into one of the most significant administrative components of the Ottoman state, rarely attracted substantial attention from academia. It is possible to assert that the studies of the twentieth century on the ulema are solely institution-based and pay less attention to the social aspects of the individuals or families. In contrast, a number of recent studies and approaches paid attention to opposing the aforementioned problems. In addition, one of the most prominent historiographical problems in the field of ulema studies is that it is entangled in either secularist or nationalist paradigms. At this point, this thesis began unveiling the fundamental concepts that define the *ilmiye*, examining the primary historiographical problems that have obscured a comprehensive understanding of the subject. Through a critical examination, the present work has paved the way for a more nuanced and insightful analysis of the ulema households. *Meşihat*, is an institution that has wielded significant influence and has shaped the framework of this study while unraveling the multifaceted layers of the ulema families' roles and contributions within the Ottoman Empire throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By doing so, the present work aims to provide a general survey of a number of prominent ulema families and their presence and consolidation across the Bosphorus Strait from late eighteenth to the nineteenth century.

As mentioned in this thesis, Madeline Zilfi's main argument, that the bureaucracy of the *ilmiye* was dominated by the ulema families in the eighteenth century, can be partially extended to the nineteenth century through the *Meşihat* and

Rumeli Kazaskerlik posts. Nevertheless, this can only serve as a benchmark for the interpretation of the *ilmiye* bureaucracy. Although this thesis attempts to explain the idea that the ulema did not decline through social assets by analyzing the *sahilhanes* and households, it does not argue that the *Meşihat* never declined politically during the Tanzimat period. In fact, a critical amount of work circulated around the high-ranking ulema's political roles during the Tanzimat period, which tended to question the political roles of the Şeyhülislam and other high-ranking *ilmiye* bureaucrats. One shall argue that the social and political privileges that were primarily given to the ulema in the pre-Tanzimat period represented a supreme level of rights. However, these rights faced a gradual decrease due to Tanzimat bureaucratization.

Nevertheless, the initial chapter of the thesis covers the Tanzimat period and the Ulema, in which the general portrayal of the *Bab-ı Meşihat* and the ulema genealogies are given. In this regard, the present work claims that the dominance of particular ulema families within the *ilmiye* bureaucracy can be prolonged through the nineteenth century. Hence, it can be articulated that even though the *ilmiye* bureaucracy faced an institutional transformation from the late eighteenth century to the end of the empire, the idea of belonging to an ulema family can be found among the backgrounds of the majority of Şeyhülislams of the period. The second chapter was followed by a representation of more than fifteen ulema genealogies while discussing the established patronage networks. By doing so, chapter two gives particular focus on the Şeyhülislams who obtained tenure after Mekkizade Mustafa Asım Efendi. In fact, the idea that the Şeyhülislams after him exhibited a low profile can be questioned with specific reference to their familial backgrounds. The following chapter aims to draw attention to the spatiality of the Bosphorus after introducing the primary sources of the thesis. In this regard, it analyzes the

Bostancıbaşı Records and population registers, followed by examining the architectural aspects of the seaside mansions. Furthermore, the third chapter aims to emphasize the social transformation of Bosphorus' specific neighborhoods, Kuruçeşme and Bebek, in terms of the notion of immigration as well as the ostentation exhibited during the reign of Abdülmecid. In this respect, one can claim that from the earlier Bostancıbaşı records to the 1856 population records, many ulema individuals and families remained on the opulent shores of the Bosphorus. Although the thesis aims to provide a case study on a dozen households and the seaside mansions that belonged to the ulema during the first half of the nineteenth century, one might observe that the presence of the *ilmiye* remained until the end of the century. As mentioned previously, the Ottoman palace provided financial aid for building a new and immense seaside mansion for Şeyhülislam Cemaleddin Efendi in 1894. Therefore, to some extent, building or buying an immense seaside mansion located on the Bebek-Rumelihisarı coastlines remained present till the last Şeyhülislams of the empire.

Although the scholarship on Ottoman ulema has been the subject of more accurate and appealing studies in recent years, it needs further examination. In this respect, new studies that prioritize the sociocultural assets and economic accumulations of the ulema families would be convenient. In addition, new prosopographical approaches centered on ulema registry documents and studies of ulema that include more comprehensive and mutually reinforcing specific examples from population registers would be favorable for examining this topic. However, the present work aims to make a modest contribution to the ulema studies by juxtaposing the material with the idea of *göç* from old Istanbul to the Bosphorus shores during the eighteenth century. Likewise, the interest of the *ilmiye* and non-*ilmiye* elites in

ostentation as well as owning property on the shores of the Bosphorus, has become a phenomenon during the nineteenth century. It has coincided with the mobility of the workers of specific industries and middle-class merchants. Last but not least, the microcosm of the Istanbulite ulema families is discussed and outlined by conducting a household analysis of particular *sahilhanes* on a specific location. To construct a robust argument, the primary sources which were meticulously contextualized and analyzed, revealing pathways leading to the households of the ulema. An intricate exploration of *sahilhanes*' architectural attributes illuminated the broader ethno-racial, demographic, and cultural landscape of the Bosphorus, with particular emphasis on the residences of the ulema families.

APPENDIX A

BOSTANCIBAŞI DEFTERLERİ AND NÜFUS DEFTERLERİ

Kuruçeşme	
Bebek	Şeyh Himmetzade Molla Necib
	Seretıbbı-I Hassa Numan Efendi
	Dürrizade Molla Efendinin Yalısı
	Merhum Yesarizade Molla Efendi
	Edirne Mollası Abdurrahimzade Ali Rıza Efendi
	Sabık Şeyhülislamın Hemşiresinin Yalısı
	Halen Nakibüleşraf Efendi
	Ataullahzade Abdülhamid
	Hanımının Yalısı
	Nurullah Efendizade İlyas
	Kardeşi Salim Efendi
	Kardeşi Abid Efendi
	Maktül Süleymanın Çocukları
Rumelihisari-Baltalimani	Sabık Şeyhülislam Aşir Efendinin Yalısı
	Sabık Sofya Mollası Feyzullah Efendi
	Rakım Paşazade Abdülgani
	Gelenbevizade Said Efendi
	Nakibüleşrafzade İbrahim Edhem
	Hıfızade Kızının Yalısı
	Kassam Katibi Mehmed Emin Efendi
	Mekkizade Molla Efendi
	Benlizade Ahmed Reşid
	Sabık İstanbul Kadısı Osman Molla Efendi
	Yenişehir Mollası Emin Efendi
	Müderristen Abdullah Efendizade Süleyman
	Raşid Efendizade Mehmed Salim
	Sabık Bursa Mollası Kebirizadeler Yalısı
İncirköy-Paşabahçe-Pazarkayı	Sabık Mekke Mollası Abdülkerim Efendi
	Dürrizade Nuri Molla Efendinin Oğullarının Yalısı
	Keçecizade Efendinin Kızlarının Yalısı
	Kerim Beyzade Derviş Bey
	Hafız Ali Ağa
	Arabzade Zeki Molla
	Sabık İzmir Mollası Münib Efendi
	Kadılardan Minnet Efendi Haznedarı Mustafa
	Sabık Sadr-I Rum Salihzade Efendinin Yalısı

	Sabık Mekke Mollası Said Efendinin Yalısı
	Çelebi Efendizade Torunu Zihni Efendi
	Sabık Üsküdar Mollası Hüsameddin Efendizadelerin Yalısı
	Sabık Bursa Mollası Mekki Molla Efendinin Yalısı
	Sabık Şam Mollası Şeyhzade Ali Efendi
	Mekki Bey'in Yalısı
	Hacegandan Tahir
	Müderrişten İzzet Efendizade
Bostaniskelesi-Anadolu Hisari	Arabzade Arif Molla Kiracı (Hakkı Paşanın Yalısında)
	Kadırlardan Hasan Efendi
	Sabık Edirne Mollası İsmail Efendi
	Halen Bursa Mollası Atıfzade Ömer Efendi
Kandilli	
"	Merhum Şairzade İbrahim Ağanın Ođlu
"	Kadırlardan Mustafa Efendi
"	Halen Mekke Mollası Bayburtluzade Molla Efendi
"	Kadırlardan Tosyalızade Alizadelerin Yalısı
"	Veli Efendizade Kethudası Kadırlardan Said Efendi
"	Hayatizade Torunu Molla
"	Tuti Molla Hanımın Yalısı
"	Bekir Efendizade Ahmed Molla
Kuleli-Çengelköy	
"	Müftüzade Selim Molla
"	Sadr-I Sabık Yusuf Paşazade Müderriştan Mahmud Bey
"	Sadrazam Yusuf Paşanın Yalısı
"	Halen Veliyünniam Samanizadenin Yalısı
"	Sabık Selanik Mollası Celal Efendi
"	Melek Mehmed Paşazade Salih Efendi
"	Müderrişten Adem Efendi
"	Atıfzade Mühürdarı Hafız Mustafa Efendi
"	Cabizade Mustafa Efendi
"	Kadırlardan Hammami Ali Efendinin Zevcesi Ve Kızının Yalısı
"	Sabık Eyüp Mollası Osmanpaşazade İzzet Bey
"	Müderrişten Kamil Molla
Nakkaşpaşa	Köprülüzadelerin Meşruta Yalısı Ve Kayıkhanesi
Kuzguncuk	Arabzade Arif Molla
	İsmailpaşazade İsmet Bey
•	Hacegandan Emin Efendi
Öküzlmani	Sabık Şeyhüislamrlardan Mehmed Mollazadelerin Yalısı

•	Vezir Müfettişinin Yalısı
	Kadıllardan El Hac Mustafa Efendinin Yalısı
•	Sabık Esrar Katibi Sabık Üsküdar Mollası İbrahim Efendi
•	Mekke Mollası Halil Efendi
Kadiköy	Arabzade Oğlu Molla Efendinin Hanesi

Figure 1. Bostancıbaşı Defteri 1802

Hasköy	Bülbülzade Hasan Ağanın Yahudhanesi
Üsküdar-Haydarpaşa	Karışık Kürkçü-İpekçi-Kahveci
Kadıköy	Arabzade Oğlu Molla Efendinin Hanesi
Öküz Limanı	Eşrafı Kuzattan Mustafa Efendinin Yalısı
Üsküdar	Merhum Şeyhülislam Mollazadelerin Yalısı
"	Sabık Sır Katibi İbrahim Efendinin Yalısı
Balaban	Merhum Raşid Efendinin Yedi Kayıkhanesi
Kuzguncuk	Büyük Yahudi Haneleri
"	Merhum Ata Bey Halilesi Hanımın Yalısı
"	Sadrı Rum Arapzade'nin Arsası
"	Sabık Sadrı Rum İsmail Paşazade İsmet Beyin Yalısı
Beylerbeyi	Atıfzade Mühürdarı Mustafa Efendi Yalısı
Beylerbeyi	Sultan Katibi, Bekir Ağanın Damadı
İstavroz -Nakkaşpaşa	Müderrişden Adem Efendinin Yalısı
İstavroz -Nakkaşpaşa	Merhum Şeyhülislam Kamil Efendinin Yalısı
İstavroz -Nakkaşpaşa	Merhum Tezkire-I Evvel Enveri Efendi Halilesi Yalısı
İstavroz -Nakkaşpaşa	Köprülüzadelerin Yalısı Ve Kayıkhanesi
	Sadr-I Sabık Merhum Yusuf Paşazadelerin Yalısı
Hamam İskelesi	Merhum İstanbul Kadısı Hamdullah Beyin Yalısı
"	Hala Sadrazam Yusuf Paşa Yalısı
"	Sabık Üsküdar Mollası Celal Efendinin Yalısı
"	Sabık Mimar Tahir Ağanın Yalısı
"	Kıbrıslı Ali Ağanın Yalısı
Vaniköy	Hayatızade Hafidi Molla Efendinin Yalısı
"	Çaprazlıdamadzade Hasan Efendinin Yalısı, Kurbünde Bahçesi
"	Tuti Molla Hanımın Yalısı
"	Bekir Efendizade Ahmed Mollanın Yalısı
"	İbrahim'in Kerimesinin Yalısı
Kuleli -	Müftüzade Selim Mollanın Yalısı
Vaniköy	Kuzattan Sait Efendi
Göksu	İzzet Paşazade Sait Beyin Yalısı
"	Defterdar Efendi Yalısı
Kandilli	Merhum Mekke Mollası Tosyalı Ali Efendinin Yalısı
Göksu - Kandilli	Hatvanizade Hafidi Hakkı Mollanın Yalısı
"	Sabık Yenişehir Mollası Mekki Mollanın Yalısı

"	Müderisini Kiramdan İzzet Efendizade Yalısı
Gübre İskelesi	Halil Paşazade Ahmed Beyin Cedit Yalısı
"	Sadrı Anadolu Sabık Şemseddin Efendi Yalısı
"	Sabık Reisülküttab Rasih Efendinin Yalısı
"	Sabık Edirne Mollası İsmail Efendinin Yalısı
"	Sabık Üsküdar Mollası Atıfzade Ömer Efendinin Yalısı
Kefeli - Anadolu Hisarı	Kuzattan Seyit Ahmet Efendinin Yalısı Ve Kayıkhanesi
"	Eşrafı Kuzattan Hasan Efendinin Yalısı
"	Kurbunda Çeşmizade Efendinin Yalısı
"	Hacegandan Aziz Efendizadelerin Yalısı
"	Evliya Ahmed Paşazade M. Beyin Halilesi Yalısı
"	Tavukçubaşı Emin Ağanın Yalısı
Kanlıca - Bahayi	Sabık Edirne Mollası Muratzade
"	Sabık Sadrı Rum Salihzade Efendinin Yalısı
"	Sabık İzmir Mollası Münib Efendinin Yalısı
"	Müderisi Kiramdan Atabeyin Yalısı
"	Kuzattan Münib Efendi Haznedarı Mustafa Efendinin Yalısı
"	Kuzattan Ahmet Reşid Efendinin Yalısı
"	Hala Üsküdar Mollası Çelebizade Hafidi Zeyni Molla
"	Sabık Şam-I Şerif Mollası Şeyhzade Ali Efendinin Yalısı
"	Bursa Mollası Mekki Mollanın Yalısı
"	Mekke Mollası Said Efendinin Yalısı
"	Sabık Üsküdar Mollası Hüsamettin Efendizadelerin Yalısı
"	Memin Efendizade Kadri Efendinin Yalısı
Çubuklu-Paşabahçe	Kara İsmail Efendizade Ali Efendinin Yalısı
"	Merhum Mekke Mollası Abdülkerim Efendinin Yalısı
"	Dürrizade Nuri Molla Oğullarının Yalısı
"	Arabzade Zadesi Zeki Mollanın Yalısı
"	Keçecizade Efendi Kerimelerinin Yalısı
"	Solakzade İsmail Efendinin Yalısı
"	Kuzattan Fındık Ahmed Efendinin Yalısı
"	Kerim Bey Zade Derviş Beyin Yalısı
"	Merhum Kudüs Mollası Vereselerinin Yalısı

Figure 2. Bostancıbaşı Defteri 1803

Vaniköy	Kenan Efendizade Kullarının Yalısı
"	Rumeli Eşrafıdan Seyit Ethem Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Müderresin-I Kiramdan Ahmet Necip Efendisinin Yalısı
"	Kurbine Dolapaltı Nam Mahaldir
"	Veliefendizade Efendi Kethudası Said Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Ahmet Beyzade Numan Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	Hayatizade Molla Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Kuzzattan Halil Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Müderresin-I Kiramdan Sadullah Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Mekke-I Mükerreme Mollası Taki Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Defterdar Müteveffe Feyzi Efendizade Kullarının Yalısı
"	Şevki Efendizade Kullarının Yalı
Göksu	İzzet Paşa Torunu Ata Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	Soğukçeşmeli Ebubekir Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Anadolu Muhasabe Kisedarı Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kapudanpaşa Hazinedarı Emin Ağa Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Kandilli İskelesi
"	Şam Valisi Silahdar Süleyman Paşa Kulları Yalısı
"	Mekke Mollasızade Arif Efendinin Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Şükrüzade Efendinin Yalısı
Kefeli - Anadolu Hisarı	Kurbinde Yasincizade Efendinin Yalısı
"	Hakkı Paşazade Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Kuzzattan Hüseyin Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Hasanpaşazade Oğlu Ahmet Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Abdi Efendi Mahdumlarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde İsmail Efendi Kerimesinin Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Mehmet Eminzade Kadri Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Hacı Hasanzade Sadık Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Sabık Reisülküttap Galip Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Şerif Paşazade Sait Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	Derviş Efendizade Tahir Efendi Yalısı
"	Salihzade Efendi Kethüdası Emin Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
Anadolu Hisarı-Kanlıca	Hüsameddinzade Yalısı Müsteciriri Yahya Efendi Hazine Katibi Mustafa Efendi
"	Kurbinde Münip Efendi'nin Yalısı

"	Nakibül-Eşraf Zihni Molla Efendi Yalısı Müsteciri Mühürdar-I Sabık Nuri Efendi Kulları
"	Sultan Beyazıt İmamı Sadık Eefendi Yalısı.Müsteciri Teşrifat Kesedarı Necip Efendi Kulları
"	Nakibül-Eşraf Zihni Molla Efendi Yalısı Müsteciri Mühürdar-I Sabık Nuri Efendi Kulları
"	Sabık Şeyhülislam Salihzade Efendi Yalısı
"	Müderresin-I Kiramdan Mehmet Raif Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Fındıkzade Sadık Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Ataullah Efendi Vereselerinin Yalısı
"	Nakibül Eşraf Kayıkhanesi
Çubuklu	Kurbinde İzmir Mollası Derviş Beyin Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Defter Emini Sabık Muhib Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Sabıka İstanbul Kadısı Hammamizade Efendi'nin Yalısı
Paşabahçe	Mevali-I İzamdan Yenişehirli Yahya Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	Üsküdar Mollasızade Şakir Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Molla Kadın'ın İki Bab Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Mollacıkzadenin Köhne Bahçesi
	AVRUPA
Emirgan	Kurbinde Müderresin-I Kiramdan İsmail Efendi'nin Yalısı
"	Müderresin-I Kiramdan Kapan Naibzade Abdülhalim Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Ebubekir Paşa Hemşiresi Cariyelerinin Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Şerif Molla Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Surre-I Hümayyun Emini İrfanzade Arif Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Müderresin-I Kiramdan Cafer Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Kuzzat'tan Abdullah Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Fevkinde Nakşibendi Dergahı
Baltalımanı	Müderresin-I Kiramdan Meftahağası Sabık Arif Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Cabbarzade Kapu Kethüdası Mustafa Beyin Yalısı Müsteciri Hacı Numan Beyzade Efendi Kulları
"	Edirne Mollazade Yusef Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Mevküfat Kesedarızade Hamdi Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Edirne Mollası Kalyoncuzade Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Esbak Valide Sultan Kethüdasızade Münir Bey Kullarının Yalısı

"	Tevfik Efendi Kethüdasızade Selim Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
Rumeli Hisarı - Bebek	Küttaptan Rifat Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Sabık Hisar Sardarı Numan Kullarının Kahvesi
"	Dergah-I Ali Kapucubaşı Ağalarından Berberi Şehriyari Sabık Mehmet Ağa Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Aralık İskele
"	Kurbinde Beğlizade Reşit Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Kapu Halifesi Emin Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Kevakibizadenin Kayıkhanesi Ve Dükkanları
"	Kurbinde Zumandan Şakir Ağa Kullarının Yalısı
"	Sabık Kazasker-I Anadolu Mekkizade Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Mumaileyh Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Hisar Mektebi Ve Hamam Ve İskele Kurbinde Arif'in Dükkanı
"	Kurbinde Sabık Gümrük Katibi Emin Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Sait Efendinin Yalısı Müsteciri Şehsuvarzade Derviş Bey Kulları
"	Kurbinde Mekkizade Sebili Ve Çeşmesi İskele
"	Müderresin-I Kiramdan Köprüzade Asım Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kumkapı İmam Hacı Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Hububat Katibi Sabık Lütfullah Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Müneccim-I Sani Emin Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Kalaycızade Osman Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Serapa Kahve Dükkanları
"	Şeyh Dülgerzade Kerimesi Hatunun Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Aralık İskele
"	Şamlı Elhac Seyyit Halil Ağa Kullarının Yalısı
"	Nakibzade İbrahim Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde İmam Abdullah Efendi Kullarının Harap Yalısı
"	Cebhane Halifesi İsmail Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Gelenbelizade Halilesinin Yalısı
"	Biraderzadesi Halilesinin Yalısı Müsteciri Rumeli Kassamı Sabık Sıtkı Efendi Kulları
"	Rumelihisar Cami-I Şerifi. Pişgahı İskelesi
"	Kurbinde Kasap Salhanesi
"	Binyüzcü Halil Ağa Halilesinin Yalısı

"	Kurbinde Attar Ali Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Kayalar Nam Mevkidir
"	Rumeli Orta Hisarı Kalesi
"	Nalburzade Mustafa Kullarının Yalısı
"	Musullu Ali Efendi Kerimesinin Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Cami-I Şerif Mevzileri
"	Durmuş Dede Türbesi Ve Mescid-I Şerifi
"	Kurbinde Kal'a-I Mezburun Nöbet Yeri
"	Bekaya Katibi İbrahim Efendi'nin Yalısı Müsteciri Piring Bezirgan Kulları
"	İbrahim Hanzade Vakıf Cabii Veresinin Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Hasan Tahir Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Türbedan Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Esiri Eminağazase Yalısı.Müsteciri Bursa Müderrisi Efendi Kulları
"	Efendi-I Muamileyh Kullarının Yalısı
"	Bebek Ustası Mahmut Ustanın Kullarının Hanesi
"	Kurbinde Balışçıbaşı Kullarının Odası
"	Sabık Şeyhülislamzade Molla Efendinin Yalısı
"	Nurullah Efendizade Kullarının Yalısı
"	Sabika Yeniçeri Ocağı Divan Katibi Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Hamamcı Mustafa Ağa Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Bebek Bostanı Nam Mahaldir
"	Sabık Hekimbaşı Behçet Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Karındaşı Salim Efendi Vereselerini Yalısı
"	Sabika Topçubaşı Eminağazadenin Yalısı
"	Şeyhülislam Efendi Biraderi Ata Efendizade Molla Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Dürrizade Efendi Kerimesi Hanımın Yalısı
"	Ata Efendi Hafidi Nuri Molla Efendi'nin Yalısı
"	Diğer Karndaşı Abid Molla Efendinin Yalısı
"	Süleyman Raşit Efendizade Mehmet Bey Kullarının Yalısı
Bebek	Şeyhülislam Dürriefendizade Efendi Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Dividigüzel Halilesinin Yalısı
"	Sultan Ahmet Han Salis Hazretlerinin Cami-I Şerif Ve Mektep Ve İskelesi
"	Sabık Haremi Şerifeyn Müftisi Efendi Kullarının Yalısı

"	Kurbinde Hasan Tahir Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Müderrisin-I Kiramdan Elmas Ebezade Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Bebek Bostaniyan Kullarının Ocağı
"	Kuzat-I Kiramdan Mehmet Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Paşa Mahmut Ağa Halilesinin Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Ömer Efendi Halilesinin Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Yeserizade Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Bebek Kasr-I Hümayunu
"	Kurbinde Soğancıbaşızade Kadri Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	Küçük Bebek Nam Mahaldir
"	Kurbinde Hançerli Karısı Nasraninin Hanesi
"	Kurbinde Baş Eski Bostanı Kullarının Kahvesi Ve Beş Bab Dükkan
"	Müşarünilayh Kullarının Biraderi İstanbul Kadısı Arif Efendi Kulları Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Bedestani Ahmet Ağa Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Miri Peksimet Fırını
"	Kurbinde Akıntı Burnu Nam Mahaldir
"	Kurbinde Berber Ve Bakkal Dükkanı
"	Biniş-I Hümayun Yeri. Mehmet Paşa Kasrı
"	Kurbinde Hazinedarbaşı Şakırağa Kullarının Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Hekimbaşı Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Beyhan Sultan Hazretlerinin Ma-I Leziz Çeşmesi
"	Halilpaşazade Mimirandan Keramettin Nuri Paşa Kullarının Yalısı
"	İsmetlu Beyhan Sultan Hazretlerinin Sarayı
"	Kethüda-I Sadr-I Ali Müteveffa İbrahim Efendi Halilesinin Yalısı
"	Kurbinde Himmetzade'nin Yalısı
Kuruçeşme	Kurbinde Aralık İskelesi
"	Kurbinde Şarapçı Andriyas Zimminin Hanesi
"	Kurbinde İnhiliz Bezirganı Hanesi Ve Bahçesi
"	Cevahirci Avram Yahudisinin Hanesi Müsteciri Bohor Yahudi
"	Kurbinde Sarraf Uzun Artin Oğlunun Hanesi
"	Kurbinde Karaca Boyar'ın İki Çeşm Kayıkhanesi
"	Kurbinde Avram Yahudinin Hanesi Ve Tahtında Kahvesi
"	Kurbinde Avramço Yahudinin Kayıkhanesi

"	Kurbinde Sarraf Artin Karısı Nasraninin Hanesi
"	Hançerli Bey Kullarının Hanesi Müsteciri Şarapçı Bohraki Sarraf Kulları
"	Kurbinde Dölbentçi Esnafından Sekis Zimminin Hanesi
"	Kurbinde Kuruçeşme İskelesi
"	Kurbinde Aralık İskelesi
"	Kurbinde Yahudilerin İrad Kayıkhanesi
"	Kurbinde Sarraf Kasbar Zimminin Hanesi
"	Müderriş-I Kiramdan Yenişehirli Mustafa Paşazade Şefik Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	İsmet Eşma Sultan Hazretlerinin Tırnakçı Yalısı
"	Yahya Paşazade Ali Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	İsmet Beyhan Sultan Hazretlerine İntşkal Eden Yalı Arsası
"	Dergah-I Ali Kapucubaşlarından Abdullah Paşazade Muhammet Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	İsmetli Hibetullah Sultan Hazretlerinin Saray-I Alileri
"	Kapudan Paşa Divan Efendisi Emin Efendi Kullarının Arsası
"	Hekimbaşı Arif Efendi Kerim Eşinin Arsası
"	Hala Çarhçıbaşı Çevuşzade Emin Efendi Kullarının Yalısı
"	Boyar Anaştaş Zimminin Hanesi
"	Kurbinde Ekmekçioğlu Deresi Nam Mahaldir
"	Enderun-U Hümayun Pazarbaşısı Mustafa Bey Kullarının Arsası
"	Kadıasker Mütevaffa Ata Efendizade Molla Efendi
"	Tırnakçızade İbrahim Bey Kullarının Yalısı
"	Karaca Boyar Zimminin Hanesi
Ortaköy	Sarraflar Çok
"	Kurbinde Sarraf Zimminin Agopyan Zimminin Hanesi Ve Kayıkhanesi
"	İsmetli Hatice Sultan Hazretlerinin Neşetabad Saray-I Alileri
"	Çavuşlar Emiñi Tahir Efendi'nin Yalısı

Figure 3. 1815 Bostancıbaşı Defteri

Ayvansaray- Eyüb	Müteveffa Uryanizade Mahdumu M. Said Efendinin Hanesi
Eyüp	Müteveffa Kazasker Bekir Ağazadenin Vereselerinin Yalısı
"	Müteveffa Medine Mollası Vereselerinin Yalısı
Hasköy	Müderisten Derviş Mustafa Efendi Kullarının Yahudhanesi
36.B Sf 154	Bebek:
"	Şeyhülislam Abdullah Molla
"	Şeyhülislam Dürrizade Abdullah Molla
"	Sadrazam Salih Paşa
37.B Sf 156	
"	Dürrizade Biraderi Ata Efendi
"	Ata Efendi Hafidi Nuri Efendi
"	Rumeli Kazaskeri Sıdkizade Efendi
"	Mekke Kadısı Abid Efendi
"	Şeyhülislam Esad Efendizade Molla
39.B Sf 160	Rumelihisari
"	Mekkizade Asım Efendinin Yalısı
"	Sarrafcâde Mahdumu Raşid Efendi Kullarının Yalısı Müste'ciri Sabık İslambol Kadısı Abdulhayr Efendi Kulları
"	Köprülüzâde Asım Beyzâde Saffet Hamid Bey Kullarının
"	Mevaliden Sabık Edirne Monlası Yusuf Efendizâde Kullarının
"	Sabık Şam Monlası Yahyazâde Mehmed Said Efendi Kullarının Yalısı

Figure 4. 1822 Bostancıbaşı Defteri

Hane No	Ad	Vazife	Ek/İlişki	Doğum Tarihi
1	Devletlü Hacı Rauf Paşa Hz.	Devletlü		
2	Kamil Paşa	Devletlü		b. 1223
3	M. Şerif b. Şeyhülislam Ataullah	Encümen-i daniş, sudur-i izamdan		b. 1213
4	Mehmet Rıfat b. Sıdkızade	Sudur-i izamdan	Sıdkızadenin oğlu	b. 1213
	Gulamı ... b. Abdullah Çerkes	Köle		b. 1263
5	Mustafa İzzet b. Mustafa	Meclis-i Vala azasından		b. 1218
	Gulamı M. Ataullah b. Mustafa İzzet,	müderresin-i kiramdan		b. 1264
	Abdurrahman Efendi akrabasından	mektupçuları		b. 1249.
	2 kişi daha var birisi kırşehirli			
6	Hayrullah Efendi	Encümen-i Daniş reisi	Seretıbba Abdülhamid'in oğlu	b. 1242
	Fusus Efendi		Hayrullah Efendi's son	b. 1255
	Hamid Efendi	Müderres	Hayrullah Efendi's son	b. 1270
7	İbrahim Bey Efendi	Meclis-i Vala Evrak Müdürü		b. 1242
8	Mehmed Emin Efendi	Nizamiye Muhasebecisi		b. 1219
	Ahmed Abdüşşekur		M. Emin's son	b. 1262
	Ali Bey			
	Ali Rıza Efendi	Mektub-u Maliye hulefasından, rütbeyi saniye sahibi	M.Emin Efendi's son-in-law	b. 1243
	Halil Necib Bey	Mektupçu	Defterdar Esbak İzzet's son	b. 1250
9	Ahmed Arifi	Mütercim-i evvel, rütbeyi saniye Mimarlardan	Meclis-i Vala reisi esbak Şekib Paşa's son	b. 1246
	Mehmed Nuri	Arifi's son		b. 1271
	Mehmed Memduh	Tercüme Odası hulefasından	Meclis-i Vala reisi esbak Şekib Paşa's son	b. 1255

10	Mehmed Raşid Bey Efendi	Hazineyi hassa kefeciyi hümayun nazırı	Çavuş Şekib Paşa's son	b. 1223
	Abdulkadir Salim Bey	Mektubi sadrı gurre hülefasından	M. Reşid Bey's son-in-law	b. 1251
	Kamil b. Abdullah el-Habeşi	Zenci Gulamı	Slave	b. 1267
11	Mehmed Şevket Bey	Mektubi sadrı gurre hülefasından	Kamil Paşa's son-in-law	b. 1243
	Ali Bey		Şevket's son	b. 1269
	Süleyman Bey		Şevket's son	b. 1272
12	Hacı M. İzzet	İstablı amire müdürlüğü payelilerinden	Abdullah's son	b. 1224
	M. İzzet	Emtia Gümrüğü ketebesinden	İzzet's son	b. 1250
	Halid Bey		İzzet's son	b. 1252
	M. Necib	Hariciye mektubu hülefasından	İzzet's son	b. 1254
	Sabit Bey		İzzet's son	b. 1260
	M. Asım Bey		İzzet's son	b. 1261
13	Cabbarzade Mehmed Naim Bey	... kiramdan	Abdurrahman Paşa's son	b. 1216?
	M. Emin		Naim's brother	b. 1269
14	M. Ağa b. Süleyman	Bolu Sancağı .. kazalı		b. 1193
	Mustafa (tebadan)		Mehmed Ağa's son	b. 1233
	Rıfat Efendi	Mızıkayı Hümayundan	Mehmed Ağa's grandson	b. 1254
	M. İzzet Efendi	Enderunu hümayun .. sından	Mehmed Ağa's grandson	b. 1260
	Ali Efendi		Mehmed Ağa's grandson	b. 1265
15	Mustafa b. Abdullah (tebadan)	Vidin sancağı ...lı		b. 1233
16	M. Latif Efendi	bila sanat		b. 1240
17	Sadullah b. Abdullah			b. 1233
18	H. Mehmed b. Zeynelabidin	Bebek Camii muhtarı sani	Babası Küreli	b. 1233
	Hafız Ahmed		Muhtar's son	b. 1256
	Zeynelabidin		Muhtar's son	b. 1261
	Salih		Muhtar's son	b. 1265

19	Ahmed Ağa	Kasr-ı Şahane Bekçisi	Taşköprülü, Mehmed Ağa's son	b. 1218
	M. İzzet	Enderunu hümayun	Ahmed Ağa's son	b. 1260
	Mustafa b. Ali		Taşköprü Abdal karyeli	b. 1266
	Hafız Ahmed Efendi	Bebek Mosque müezzin	Ahmed Ağa's son- in-law, Boyabadlı	b. 1228
20	Hacı Mahmud Ağa	Kayıkçı		b. 1218
	Ali Ağa	Tebadan	Mahmud's son	b. 1248

Figure 5. Nüfus Defteri (1844) NFS.d 182 29.12.1260.

Semt	Ad	Vazife	Ek/İlişki	Yaş
Bebek	Yesariefendizade Mustafa İzzet Efendi	Mevaliden, Mekke Payeli	Sahilhane Sahibi	Merhum
"	Ataullah Efendizade Mehmed Şerif Efendi	Sabık İzmir Kadısı	Babası Şeyhülislam	
"	Mir Etıbbı Mustafa Behçet Efendi	Sahilhanesi pek kalabalık	Birkaç müderris mevcut	
"	Dürrizade Mehmed Ataullah	Sahilhane sahibi	Merhum	
"	M. Nurullah	Müderris	birader	35
"	Paşmakçızade Abdullah Efendi	Müderris	Yanında	20
"	Dürrizade Mehmed Abid Efendi	İstanbul kadısı, Anadolu payeli		
"	Ahmed Raşid Efendi	Müderris	Mahdumu	35
"	Hasan Tahsin Efendi	Sahilhane sahibi	Ricali devletten	
Kuruçeşme	Selim Efendi	Sabık Galata kadısı	mevaliden	
"	Mehmed Sadeddin Efendi	Müderris	Mahdumu	30
"	Mehmed Eşref Efendi	Eşraf-ı Kuzattan	Yanında sakin	65
"	Ömer Ağazade Mehmed Tevfik Efendi	Müderris		
"	Sıdkızade Ahmed Reşid Efendi	Sabık Şeyhülislam	Sahilhane sahibi	
Baltalimanı	Mir Arif Efendi	Sahilhane sahibi	Sadr-ı Rumeli	
"	Mir Seyyid Yahya Efendi	Sahilhane Sahibi ve Müderris	Hanım Sultan Hafidi	40
Rumelihisarı	Mekkiefendizade Mustafa Asım Efendi	Şeyhülislam	Sahilhane Sahibi	Merhum
Kuruçeşme	Mehmed Emin Efendi b. Hüseyin	Kethüda (Kuzattan)		48
Emirgan	Cafer Bey Efendi	Sabık İstanbul Kadısı, Anadolu Payeli	Sahilhane Sahibi	
"	M. Hidayet Efendi	Kethüda		45
Rumelihisarı	Lütfullah Efendi	Divanı Hümayundan		55
"	İbrahim İffet Efendi	Sofya Kadısı	Sahilhane Sahibi	

Figure 6. Nüfus Defteri (1826) BOA, NFS 1242/1826, NFS 13

APPENDIX B
VISUAL MATERIALS



Figure 1. (From right to left) Sâbık Erzurum Valisi Rauf Paşa kullarının, Vasıf Efendi veresesinin ve Hasan Paşa veresesinin sâhilhâneleri



Figure 2. (From right to left) Ârif Bey kullarının, Müze-yi Hümâyunları Müdürü Hamdi Bey kullarının ve Şeyhülislam Efendi dâilerinin sâhilhaneleri



Figure 3. Bâb-ı Meşihat, Süleymaniye



Figure 4. Bebek



Figure 5. Kuruçeşme



Figure 6. High-ranking bureaucrats' costumes



١٦
باشچوقدار
1^{er} VALLET DE CHAMBRE
DU CHANLIK
DE LA RELIGION
16

١٢
درس ديكلي افندي
PROFESSEUR EN CHEF
DES
SEMINAIRES TURCS
12

١٤
شيخ الاسلام افندي
حضرته
GRAND CHEF DE LA RELIGION
ET
GRAND JUGE
14

١٥
وقايح افندي
GREFFIER
DU
CHEIKH UL-ISLAM
15

Figure 7. Şeyhülislam and Dersvekili

REFERENCES

Archival sources

Directorate of State Archives (BOA)

Bostancıbaşı Defterleri

Ulema Sicil Dosyaları

Meşihat Arşivi

İlmiye Salnamesi

Salnameler

II. Abdülhamid Fotoğraf Albümleri

Books, articles and encyclopedia entries

Abu-Manneh, B. (2011). *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman empire in the 19th century (1826-1876)*. İstanbul: The ISIS Press.

Adanır, F., Faroqhi, S. (2002). *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A discussion of historiography*. Leiden: Brill.

Agoston, G. Masters, B. (2009). *Encyclopedia of Ottoman empire*, New York: Facts On File.

Ahmed Cevdet Paşa. (1980). *Maruzat*, transliterated by Y. Halaçoğlu İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları.

Araz Y., Kokdaş İ. (2022). The changing nature of the domestic service sector in 19th century İstanbul: Female slaves and wage-earning girls *Archiv Orientalni* 90, 61-91.

Artan, T. (1989). *Architecture as a theatre of life: Profile of the 18th Century Bosphorus*, PhD diss. MIT.

Atasoy, N. (2004). *From Count Ostrorog to Rahmi Koç: The story of a yalı on the Bosphorus*, İstanbul: Rahmi Koç Müzesi.

Arslan, H. (2019). *Son Bostancıbaşı defterine göre Boğaziçi ve Haliç sahilhaneleri*, MA thesis, Fatih Sultan Mehmed Vakıf Üniversitesi.

- Akiba, J. (2003). A new school for qadis: Education of the Sharia judges in the Late Ottoman empire.” *Turcica*, 35: 125-63.
- Akiba, J. (2005). From Kadi to Naib: Reorganization of the Ottoman sharia judiciary in the Tanzimat period. In *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province and the West*, edited by C. Imber and K. Kiyotaki, 43-60. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Akiba, J. (2018). Sharia Judges in the Ottoman Nizamiye Courts, 1864-1908. *Osmanlı Araştırmaları 51*: 209-237.
- Akgündüz, M. (2012). *XIX Asır başlarına kadar Osmanlı Devleti'nde Şeyhülislamlık*. İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları.
- Akgündüz, M. (2002). Osmanlılarda Bab-ı Meşihat'a bağlı Tedkik-i Müellefat ve Teftiş-i Mesahif meclisleri. *Harran Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi 3*, 89-100.
- Alkan, M. (2009). “Softa” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi 37*. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 342-343.
- Altuntaş, Z. (2013). *Sultan Abdülmecid dönemi Osmanlı Uleması*. PhD diss., Marmara University.
- Altuntaş, Z. (2023). Tanzimat döneminde Rumeli Kazaskerleri (1839-1861). *Journal of Anatolia and Balkan Studies*, 6(11), 171-201.
- Anscombe, E. F. (2010). Islam and the age of Ottoman reform. *Past & Present*, 208, 159-189.
- Ardaman, El. (2007). Perspective and Istanbul, the Capital of the Ottoman Empire, *Journal of Design History*, 20(2), 109-130.
- Argun, S. (2013). *Elite configurations and clusters of power: The Ulema, Waqf, and Ottoman State (1789-1839)*, PhD diss., McGill University.
- Atalan, Ö. (2008). *Boğaziçi Kıyı Yerleşmelerinin Tarihsel Değişim Süreci ve Koruma Yöntemleri Üzerine bir Araştırma Ortaköy-Kuruçeşme Sahili*, PhD diss., Yıldız Technical University.
- Atçıl, A. (2017). *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bang K. A. (2003). *Sufis and Scholars of the Sea: Family Networks in East Africa, 1860-1925*, New York: Routledge.
- Behar, C., Duben, A. (1991). *Istanbul households, marriage, family and fertility: 1880-1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bein, A. (2011). *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic: Agents of Change and Guardians of Tradition*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Bektaş, E. (2019). *The Ulema in the late Ottoman Empire (1880-1920): The formation of professional Ulema identity*, PhD diss. Boğaziçi University.
- Beyazıt, Y. (2010). Tanzimat devri Şeyhülislamlarından Meşrepzade Arif Efendi ve Kadılık kurumundaki istihdam sorunu, *Bilig Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 54, 47-74.
- Beyazıt, Y. (2009). Osmanlı İlmîyye Bürokrasisinde Şeyhülislamlığın Değişen Rolü ve Mülazemet Sistemi 16.-18. yüzyıllar. *Belleten* 73(267), 424-442.
- Bouquet, O. (2011). Old elites in a new republic: The reconversion of Ottoman bureaucratic families in Turkey 1909-1939. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 31(3), 588-600.
- Bursalı Mehmed Tahir. (2000). *Osmanlı Müellifleri I-II-III*. Ankara: Bizim Büro Basımevi.
- Chambers, R. L. (1978). The Ottoman Ulema and the Tanzimat, *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500*, edited by Nikki R. Keddie, Berkeley: University of California Press, 33-46.
- Chambers, R. L. (1973). The education of a nineteenth-century Ottoman Alim, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 4(4), 440-464.
- Cihan, A. (2004). *Reform Çağında Osmanlı İlmîyye Sınıfı*. İstanbul: Birey.
- Çelik, Z. (1986). *The remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman city in the nineteenth century*. Seattle University of Washington Press.
- Çetintaş, B. (2005). *Dolmabahçeden Nişantaşına Sultanların ve Paşaların semtlerinin tarihi*. İstanbul: Antik Kültür Yayınları.
- Doğan, O., Tunç, S. (2011). *Bir Zamanlar Boğaziçi 1851*. İstanbul: Çamlıca Basım Yayın.
- Doumani, B. (2017). *Family Life in the Ottoman Mediterranean: A Social History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Erbay, H. İ. (2009). *Teaching and learning in the Madrasas of Istanbul during the Late Ottoman period*. PhD Diss., London: SOAS, University of London.
- Eruz, F. (2013). "Yalı." In *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 43, 301-305. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları.
- Eldem, S. H. (1979). *Boğaziçi Anıları* İstanbul: Alarko.

- Eldem, S. H. (1993). *Boğaziçi Yalıları, Rumeli*. İstanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı Yayınları.
- Eldem, S. H. (1993). *Boğaziçi Yalıları, Anadolu* İstanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı Yayınları.
- Erdenen, O. (1993). *Boğaziçi Sahilhaneleri*. İstanbul: İBB Kültür AŞ.
- Faroqhi, S. (1985). Civilian society and political power in the Ottoman Empire: A report on research in collective biography (1480-1830). *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 17(1),17, 109-117.
- Faroqhi, S. (2002). *Stories of Ottoman Men and Women*. İstanbul: Eren.
- Faroqhi, S. (2023). *Women in the Ottoman Empire: A Social and Political History* London: I.B. Tauris.
- Findley, C. V. (2006). Political culture and the great households. in Suraiya Faroqhi eds., *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Findley, C. V. (1989). *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Fortna, B. C. (2001). Education and autobiography at the end of the Ottoman Empire. *Die Welt des Islams* 41(1), 1-31.
- Fortna, B. C. (2003). *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fuhrmann, M. (2020). *Port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean: urban culture in the Late Ottoman Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gleave, R. (2004). "Ulema" in *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, ed. Richard C. Martin, New York: MacMillan, 2: 703.
- Güldöşören, A. (2013). *II. Mahmud dönemi Osmanlı Uleması*. PhD Diss., Marmara University.
- Güldöşören, A. (2018). Üç asır İstanbullu bir Ulema ailesi: Arabzadeler. *Divan* 23(45), 27-79.
- Hamadeh, S. (2007). Public spaces and the garden culture of Istanbul in the eighteenth century. in *The Early Modern Ottomans* ed. Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 277-312.
- Hathaway, J., Barbir, K., (2019). *The Arab Lands under Ottoman rule, 1516-1800*. Routledge.
- Hatina, M. (2009). *Guardians of Faith in Modern Time: "Ulama" in the Middle East*. Leiden: Brill.

- Heyd, U. (1993). The Ottoman 'Ulema and Westernization in the time of Selim III and Mahmud II. In *the Modern Middle East*, edited by Albert Habib Hourani, Philip S. Khoury and Mary C. Wilson, 29-59. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hisar, A. Ş. (2005). *Boğaziçi Yalıları*, İstanbul: YKY.
- İpşirli, B. (2017). *Hayatlarının çeşitli safhalarında Harem-i Hümayun Cariyeleri, 18. yüzyıl*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi.
- İpşirli, M. (2002). "Kazasker" In *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 25, 140-143. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları.
- İpşirli, M. (2008). Medreseler ve Ulema üzerine. *TALİD*, 6(12), 451-470.
- İpşirli, M. (1990). II. Mahmud Döneminde Vakıfların İdaresi," in Sultan II. Mahmut ve Reformları Semineri (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi): 49-57.
- İpşirli, M. (1988). "Osmanlı İlmiye Mesleği Hakkında Gözlemler: XVI-XVII. Asırlar," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* no. 7, : 273-285.
- İpşirli, M. (2010). "Şeyhülislam", in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 39 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları), 91-96.
- İpşirli, M. (1994). "Dürrizadeler." In *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 10, 38-39. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları.
- İpşirli, M. (1994). "Dürrizade Abdullah Beyefendi." In *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 10(36), İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları.
- Itzkowitz, N., Joel S. (1972). The office of Seyhülislam and the Tanzimat: A prosopographic enquiry. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 8(1), 93-101.
- Kaplan, A. (2012). *From seasonal to permanent: A study on the Effects of Göç tradition on the Bosphorus shores 1791-1815*. MA thesis, Bilgi University.
- Kara, İ. (2005). Turban and Fez: Ulema as opposition. in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, edited by Elisabeth Özdalga, 162-200. London: Routledge Curzon.
- Kara, İ. (1999). "Ulema Siyaset İlişkinine Dair Metinler II: Ey Ulema Bizim Gibi Konuş!" *Divan* 7 (): 65-134.
- Karateke, H. T., Reinkowski, M. (2005). *Legitimizing the Order the Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*. Leiden: Brill.
- Karpat, H. K. (2001). *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Karpat, H. K. (1978). Ottoman population records and census of 1881/82-1893. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 9(2), 237-274.
- Kırmızı, A. (2019). Şer'an Olamadığı Halde Kanunen ve Nizamen: Osmanlı Uleması ve Tanzimat" *Sahnı Semandan Darülfünuna*
- Palmer A. (1992). *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. New York: M. Evans.
- Koçu, R. E. (1958). *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul: Tan Matbaası.
- Kushner, D. (1987). The place of the Ulema in the Ottoman Empire during the Age of Reform (1838-1918). *Turcica* 19, 51-74.
- Kushner, D. (1994). Career patterns among the Ulama in the Late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries. In *Tanzimat'ın 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyum*, 165-172.
- Lewis, B. (1968). *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Levy, A. (1971). The Ottoman Ulema and the Military Reforms of Sultan Mahmud II
- Mansel, P. (2006). *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire, 1453-1924*. John Murray.
- Mardin, Ş. (2017). *Türkiyede Din ve Siyaset: Makaleler 3*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Moltke, H. Von. (1969). *Şark Notları*, trans. by Hayrullah Örs. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi.
- Neumann, C. K. (2022). Elites' Networks and Mobility in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, edited by Shirine Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, 114-142. Leiden: Brill.
- Nizri, M. (2014). *Ottoman high politics and the Ulema household*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ocak, A. Y. (2021). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve İslam*. İstanbul: Alfa.
- Ochsenwald, W. (1984). *Religion, Society, and the State in Arabia: The Hijaz under Ottoman Control, 1840-1908*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Özcan, A. (1992). "Bostancı" in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 308-309.

- Özcan, A. (1994). "Edirne Vakası." In *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 10, 445-446. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları.
- Pakalın, M. Z. (2008). *Sicill-i Osmanî Zeyli* (19 Cilt), İstanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Pakalın, M. Z. (1993). *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*. İstanbul: MEB.
- Repp, R. C. (1986). *The Müfti of Istanbul: A study in the development of the Ottoman learned hierarchy*, London: Ithaca Press, Oxford University.
- Smith, A. (1851). *A Month in Istanbul*. London.
- Shakir, A. N. (2016). Ordinary and extraordinary Ottoman scholar types in fifteenth century Edirne as seen in Taşköprülüzade's Şekâ'iku'n-Nu'mâniyye fî 'Ulemâ'id-Devleti'l-'Osmâniyye and Mecdî's Hadâ'iku'ş-Şekâik. *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 3(1), 49-88.
- Şehsuvaroğlu, H. (1958). *İstanbul Konaklarına Dair*. Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu.
- Şeker, F. M. (2011). *Modernleşme devrinde İlmiye*. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları.
- Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi. (2018). *Vekâyi'u'l-Fuzalâ*, yayına hazırlayan Ramazan Ekinci, İstanbul.
- Tanman, B. (2008). *Boğaziçinde Yalı Mimarlığının Gelişimine İlişkin Bir Deneme Sadullah Paşa ve Yalısı: Bir Yapı Bir Yaşam*. İstanbul: YEM.
- Tezin, S. (2022). *Osmanlı Devletinde Çok yönlü bir Ulema Ailesi: Hocazadeler*. PhD diss., Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi.
- Toledano, E. (1993). Late Ottoman concepts of slavery (1830s-1880s). *Poetics Today: Cultural Processes in Muslim and Arab Societies: Modern Period I* 4(3), 477-506.
- Toledano, E. (1997). The emergence of Ottoman-local elites (1700-1900): A framework for research, in Ilan Pappé and Moshe Maoz, eds. *Middle Eastern politics and ideas*, London: I. B. Tauris, 145-62.
- Uzunçarşılı, İ. H. (1988). *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İlmiye Teşkilatı*. Ankara: TTK Basımevi.
- Ünver, Süheyl and Eldem, Sedat Hakkı. *Amucazade Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı*, Turing (1970).
- Yakıt, İ. (1999). Osmanlı İlmiye Teşkilatı ve Şeyhülislam, *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 6, 19-48.

- Yakut, E. (2005). *Şeyhülislamlık: Yenileşme Döneminde Devlet ve Din*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi.
- Yıldız, E. (2021). *Meşihat Arşivi Belgelerine Göre Şeyhülislamlığın Bürokratik Yapısı* PhD diss., İstanbul University.
- Yurdakul, İ. (2008). *Osmanlı İlmiye Merkez Teşkilatında Reform*. İstanbul: İletişim.
- Yurdakul, İ. (2017). Şeyhülislam silsilesinin son büyük zengini Mekkizade Mustafa Asım Efendi'nin Muhallefatı. *Osmanlıda Şehir, Vakıf ve Sosyal Hayat*, 247-268.
- Yurdakul, İ. (2011). Gelenek ve Değişim Sürecinde Tanzimat Devri Şeyhülislamı in *Sultan Abdülmecid ve Dönemi* edited by Kemal Kahraman and Ilona Baytar, İstanbul: İBB Kültür AŞ.
- Zerdeci, H. (1998). *Osmanlı Ulema Biyografilerinin Arşiv Kaynakları*, MA thesis. İstanbul University.
- Zilfi, M. (1983). Elite circulation in the Ottoman Empire: Great Mollas of the eighteenth century. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 26(3), 318-364.
- Zilfi, M. (1988). *The politics of piety: the Ottoman Ulema in the postclassical age 1600-1800*, Minneapolis, USA: Bibliotheca Islamica.
- Zilfi, M. (2006). The Ottoman Ulema" in *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, ed. Surayya N. Faroqhi, vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.