SPATIAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGES IN EYÜP BETWEEN THE FIFTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

NAİDE GEDİKLİ GORALI

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2018

SPATIAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGES IN EYÜP BETWEEN THE FIFTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

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

Naide Gedikli Goralı

Boğaziçi University

2018

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Naide Gedikli Goralı, 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 Gedikli

Date 09.01.2019

ABSTRACT

Spatial and Socio-Cultural Changes in Eyüp

Between the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

The district of Eyüp was one of the three largest extra muros settlements of Ottoman Constantinople/ Istanbul along with Galata and Üsküdar. Eyüp has received much attention in academia as a sacred site where a funerary complex dedicated to Abu Ayyub al-Ansari (a.k.a. Eyüp Sultan in Turkish) —a companion of the Prophet Muhammad— was constructed as a marker of the new Islamic identity of Constantinople after the Ottoman conquest in 1453. Besides its religio-political importance, Eyüp developed into a significant social and cultural center with its gardens, promenades, lodges, shrines, waterside mansions, taverns, and shops, where artists, craftsmen, poets, scholars, and commoners were meeting. Furthermore, it was an agricultural production area which played a crucial role in provisioning the city. As a result of the multifunctional uses of spaces in Eyüp, there were fluid relationships between sacred, recreational, and agricultural sites; its tomb courtyards and orchards were used as excursion destinations and picnic spots, and cemeteries were utilized as market gardens. Thus, my purpose in this research is to understand the visual and spatial reflections of the entangled social, cultural, and environmental histories and the changes in functions, practices, and conceptions of public spaces from the conquest until the eighteenth century.

ÖZET

On Beşinci ve On Yedinci Yüzyıllar Arasında
Eyüp'te Mekansal ve Sosyo-Kültürel Değişimler

Eyüp, Galata ve Üsküdar ile birlikte, Osmanlı İstanbul'unun üç büyük sur dışı yerleşiminden biriydi. İstanbul'un fethinden sonra, eski Bizans başkenti Konstantinopolis'e yeni bir İslami kimlik kazandırma amacının bir parçası olarak, Hazreti Muhammed'in yakın arkadaşı ve sancaktarı olarak bilinen Eyüp Sultan'ın türbe kompleksi Fatih Sultan Mehmet'in emriyle Eyüp'te inşa edildi. Bu hem dinsel hem politik yönü dikkate alınarak, başta tarih alanı olmak üzere Eyüp üzerine pek çok akademik çalışma yapılmıştır. Ancak bunun ötesinde, Eyüp'ün, erken modern İstanbul'unda önemli bir sosyal ve kültürel merkez olma özelliği genellikle ıskalanmıştır. Bu tez, bahçeleri, gezinti yerleri, tekkeleri, türbeleri, yalıları, konakları, kahvehaneleri, tavernaları ve çok çeşitli dükkanları ile, sanatçılar, zanaatkarlar, şairler, bilginler ve sıradan halkın buluşma noktası olan Eyüp'e farklı bir açıdan bakmayı amaçlamaktadır. Osmanlı İstanbul'unun sosyal ve kültürel yaşamındaki öneminin yanında, Eyüp aynı zamanda, tarım, bahçecilik ve hayvancılık için sunduğu doğal imkanlar ile kentin gıda temininde de önemli bir yer tutmuştur. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma, erken modern dönemde Eyüp'te yakın bir ilişki içinde konumlanan ve hatta iç içe geçen kutsal mekanlar, eğlence ve sosyalleşme mekanları ve üretim mekanlarını ele almayı amaçlamaktadır. On beşinci ve on yedinci yüzyıllar arasında Eyüp'ün kentsel ve mimari gelişimi ele alınmış, kamusal alanlar, buralarda gerçekleşen aktiviteler ve devletin günlük hayatı düzenlemedeki rolü üzerinde durulmuştur.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to extend my sincere thanks to my advisor, Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, for her endless guidance, support, and patience. Without her insightful comments and corrective suggestions, this thesis would not have been possible. Beyond that, I should also thank her for initiating my interest in architectural and urban history with her seminal book titled *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, which I had read long before I came to Boğaziçi University as a graduate student. I will always feel myself very lucky to have such a great academic mentor, whose works have been a source of inspiration for me.

I am grateful to Oya Pancaroğlu and Shirine Hamadeh for accepting to be a committee member and giving useful criticism and advice that improved this thesis substantially. Moreover, I would like to specially thank Oya Pancaroğlu again for her intellectually stimulating art history seminars and kind support in every aspect of my academic life.

Last but not least, from the bottom of my heart, I wish to express my thanks to my friends, companions, and family. No words can describe how grateful I am for unconditional love, encouragement, and patience that my parents Hayriye and Rasim Gedikli have given me. A heartfelt thanks goes to my sister Sibel Gedikli for her extraordinary support whenever I need. I would also like to thank Birsen Goralı and Evren Goralı for being my ‘second’ caring and loving family. Above all, I owe my deepest gratitude to my beloved husband Gökhan Goralı who has always been there for me. Without him, I would have never dared to switch my ‘safe’ career path and embark on this 'unconventional' journey.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of the study

The initial motivation for conducting this study has come from a graduate seminar on comparative urban history offered by Çiğdem Kafescioğlu in my first semester at Boğaziçi University in fall 2016. We had an extensive reading list covering both primary and secondary sources, and during our weekly meetings, we were focusing on different aspects of urban life in early modern Istanbul, Isfahan, and Delhi such as urban layouts and spatial configurations, palace architecture and ceremonial, saints, shrines and their narratives, residential fabrics, and public spaces. Many questions and concepts that I attempt to delve into in this study are actually based on these fruitful discussions. Moreover, the research paper that I wrote as an assignment for this seminar and the valuable feedback that Çiğdem Kafescioğlu gave me afterwards also immensely helped me to discover my main interests and specify my thesis topic.

The research paper was about public gardens in the Ottoman Istanbul, more specifically recreational sites and pleasure spots outside the city walls between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.[1] In this context, the borough of Eyüp was also one of my focal points, but actually, in the beginning, I did not expect finding a significant connection between the 'entertainment' life of Istanbulites and this renowned 'sacred'

[1] The public use of gardens in the Ottoman context has been generally seen as a new development that was initiated by the royal household during the so-called 'Tulip period' under the rule of Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730). In this regard, the eighteenth century has been discussed as a kind of turning point towards a new way of socialization in urban life as a result of the construction of Sadabad Palace at Kağıthane and the transformation of the shores of Golden Horn into a promenade area. This prevalent narrative made me curious about the situation prior to the eighteenth century; therefore, I decided to focus on the period particularly between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.

town. After I started examining various sources from literary narratives to court records, I slowly realized that my prejudgment was wrong and that Eyüp was not only a primary place for pilgrimage but also a favored excursion destination. In addition, quite differently from our perception today, the 'religious' and 'profane' spaces or activities were not necessarily divided from each other in daily life. A reflection of this fluidity can also be seen in architectural development of the town. For instance, many luxurious mansions in which the elites and the members of royal household spent ostentatious lives were just beside the holy shrine of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari or other religiously important places such as mosques, Sufi lodges, and tombs. This made me think of that it would not be possible to understand 'religious' landscape of Eyüp independently of its 'secular' landscape. Moreover, although it has been widely known as the first 'Islamic' settlement of Istanbul after the Ottoman conquest, neither its dwellers nor its visitors were actually limited with Muslims. Non-Muslim communities, mostly Christians, also lived in the town and became active participants of social, cultural, and economic life and of leisure activities. These little 'explorations' aroused my curiosity about Eyüp's urban history more and more and led me raise many questions which would finally compose the basis of this thesis.

As I have been interested in both physical and social fabric of the town, the purpose of the present study is twofold. Firstly, I aim to examine the foundation process of Eyüp following the construction of the funerary mosque complex of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari and its transformation period into one of the largest extra muros settlements of Istanbul in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this context, the emergence of the legend of the Muslim warrior saint Abu Ayyub and its role in shaping the urban fabric, the religio-political motivations of the Ottoman sultans for promoting the Islamic

identity of the town, the patterns of the elite architectural patronage, topographical boundaries that may have had an impact on the urban development, and spatial relationships between different kinds of buildings and open spaces are among the main concerns of this thesis. Secondly, I attempt to investigate Eyüp's wide range of public spaces from eateries to dervish lodges and the dynamics of social and cultural life that developed in this lively environment. The urban experiences of diverse groups of people including men, women, Muslims, non-Muslims, locals, and migrants, the leisure and pleasure activities that were taken place in Eyüp, and the state's role in regulating social life and public order are some of the significant issues that I aim to elaborate on further.

1.2 Sources

Considering the secondary literature on Eyüp, it would not be wrong to say that most of the publications are monographs, which either represent general historical and architectural surveys or focus on more specific topics such as a particular monument (e.g. the shrine complex of Abu Ayyub), a site (e.g. Piyer Loti Hill), and a type of structures (e.g. tombs) in Eyüp.[2] In some of these works, only Eyüp's religious character and its importance for Muslims are dominantly emphasized, and other aspects of the town are usually neglected. Moreover, the content of several of them are quite similar, and it is difficult to find new information and original interpretations. On the other hand, this does not mean that they are totally useless. For instance, Mehmet Nermi Haskan's two-volume monograph called *Eyüp Tarihi*, which is an arduous survey of the architectural works in Eyüp, has been a kind of reference book for this research. Even

[2] As examples of these monographs, see Öğüt, *Eyyub Sultan*; Alpak, *Eyüp Sultan ve türbesi*; Bilgin, *Eyüp Sultan ve civarını tanıyalım*; Koman, *Eyüp Sultan Loti Kahvesi ve çevresi*; Nidayi, *Medeniyetimizin sessiz tanıkları*; Demiriz, *Eyüp'de türbeler*; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi*.

though he is not a specialist in the fields of history or art history and his descriptions are solely based on physical characteristics rather than providing a broader social and cultural context, his study is still very beneficial especially as a starting point. In addition to the library research, Haskan investigated every street of Eyüp and tried to identify every historical building that he could find any trace.[3]

In the beginning of the 1990s, History Foundation (Tarih Vakfı) and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Republic of Turkey developed a collaborative project with the aim of introducing and publishing sources that would contribute to shed light on the history of Eyüp. Within the framework of this project, a symposium was organized on 11-12 December 1993 with the participation of very valuable historians, and some proceedings of this meeting were published in a book entitled *Eyüp: Dün / Bugün* edited by Tülay Artan. It is a small book that includes only nine articles together with the introduction.[4] However, I think it is one of the most important and pathbreaking sources on Eyüp's urban history because the articles cover a wide range of topics from non-Muslim population in Eyüp to the seaside mansions on the Golden Horn and each of them brings a new perspective into the subject.

In 2008, History Foundation (Tarih Vakfı) published another book on Eyüp.[5] It is composed of the studies in which court registers were utilized to offer a better insight on different aspects of social life in Eyüp town such as villagers, migrants, life styles and consumption habits, and money and credit issues. Although the book is focusing on the

[3] Parlar, "Haskan, Mehmet Nermi."
[4] The selected articles are as follows: 1) Halil İnalcık, "Eyüp projesi" 2) Halil Berktay, "Azizler, cismani kalıntılar, haclar, yatırlar: tektanrıcılık içinde özümsenmiş paganizm" 3) Cemal Kafadar, "Eyüp'te kılıç kuşanma törenleri" 4) Jean-Lois Bacque-Grammont, "Eyüp mezarlıklarının incelenmesi üzerine düşünceler" 5) Tülay Artan, "Eyüp'ün bir diğer çehresi: sayfiye ve sahilsaraylar" 6) Abdülaziz Bayındır, "Eyüp mahkemesi" 7) Ahmet Hazarfen, "Havas-ı Refi'a (Eyüp) kazasındaki gayrimüslimler" 8) İlber Ortaylı, "Eyüp'te sanayi ve çevre kirlenmesi" 9) Aptullah Kuran, "Eyüp Külliyesi"
[5] The book titled *18. yüzyıl kadı sicilleri ışında Eyüp'te sosyal yaşam* is edited by Tülay Artan.

eighteenth century that is out of scope of this study, for me, it is quite a helpful source especially for seeing how I can use court registers and what kind of information I can get them.

Eyüpsultan Municipality has held a series of symposiums on history, art, and culture of Eyüp starting from 1997, and the proceedings between 1997 and 2004 were published in eight volumes.[6] It can be found a wide array of topics pertaining to Eyüp in this extensive collection. In addition to many studies on various architectural works from well known mosques to unknown tombs or fountains, the pre-Ottoman history of the site of Eyüp, the waqf documents of the complex of Abu Ayyub, the craftsmen such as potters and toy makers, the agricultural production, and the flower markets are just a few examples to illustrate the variety of subjects that are examined. As you may see throughout this thesis, I have extensively used articles from these books to expand and support my discussions.

Overall, the available secondary sources provide a good amount of information on Eyüp's urban history, including its architectural development, public spaces, and social and cultural life. On the other hand, it is not an easy task to collect and contextualize this scattered information. As the sources mainly consist of the proceedings of the symposiums that touch upon a limited aspect of a certain issue, to have a broader sense about Eyüp's urban life in the early modern period is a little bit challenging.

[6] The proceedings were collected under the title *Eyüpsultan Sempozyumu: tebliğler*. Eyüpsultan Municipality has intermittently continued to organize this symposium with a little bit different name and concept. As far as I could find on the Internet, the last symposium was the thirteenth and was held in 2016. For more information, see http://www.eyupsultansempozyumu.com/

I have also benefitted from a broad array of primary sources, both textual and visual. The textual sources can be basically classified into two groups as literary narratives and archival documents. Travelogues, diaries, biographical dictionaries (*tezkire*), a city description (*evsaf*), treatises on architecture, a book of adventure (*sergüzeştname*), and unofficial and official histories provided me a good amount of information that constitute the main body of this research. Among the authors of these sources, I should underline particularly two names, the seventeenth-century Ottoman travellers Evliya Çelebi and Eremya Çelebi. Their narratives cover not only geographic, topographic, spatial, and architectural characteristics of urban environment but also many details regarding social, cultural, and commercial life and social practices and daily habits of people; therefore, they became very useful sources for this study in which I attempted to analyze both physical and social aspects of Eyüp. Moreover, in most of travel accounts about Ottoman Istanbul, particularly the ones who produced by foreigners, Eyüp as a settlement outside of the city walls was ignored or was briefly mentioned within the context of the shrine of Abu Ayyub. In this respect, the works of Evliya Çelebi and Eremya Çelebi are invaluable since they offer an immense amount of information regarding Eyüp, its environs, and the Golden Horn. On the other hand, all of these literary sources should be examined with a critical eye in a comparative perspective, as it is impossible to be sure to what extent they represent reality.[7]

In addition to these literary sources, I used various archival documents such as endowment deeds (*vakfiye*s), court registers (*kadı sicilleri*), records containing sultan's

[7] By saying that, I do not mean that authors' imagination and their ways/ preferences to narrate their urban environment are not important.

orders (*mühimme defterleri*), and records of chief gardeners (*bostancıbaşı defterleri*). On the other hand, as a crucial note, these are limited with only published sources. Besides textual sources, I have also benefitted from visual city depictions produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The panoramic drawing of Istanbul by Melchior Lorichs dated 1559 and the pictorial depictions of the city that are found in various Ottoman manuscripts such as *Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i Irakeyn-i Sultan Süleyman Han* (1530s), *Süleymanname* (1579), *Hünername* (1584), and seventeenth-century copies of *Kitab-ı Bahriye* contributed to this study to develop a broader perspective regarding the urban fabric and spatial setting of Eyüp.

The methodology of this thesis is in conformity with the typical historical method of textual and visual analysis of primary sources with contextualization by secondary sources. Moreover, since I have also investigated the spatial formation and architectural development of the town of Eyüp, the surviving architectural works and spatial setting are also taken into consideration.

CHAPTER 2

THE FOUNDATION OF EYÜP IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

2.1 Geographic and topographic features of Eyüp

To have a better understanding of urban fabric and built environment of Eyüp, first of all, it is essential to examine its location considering its geographic, topographic, and environmental characteristics. Eyüp is situated at the far end of the Golden Horn, outside of the city walls (see Appendix B, Figure 1). It is surrounded by the Golden Horn in the north and east, the hills in the north and west, and the land walls in the south, it is thus a safe and pleasant bay (see Appendix B, Figure 2). These physical boundaries including waters, hills, and walls were effective on shaping the urban patterns of Eyüp; therefore, particularly the center of the town was developed along the shoreline of the Golden Horn in the early modern period.[8]

The Golden Horn has been known as one of "the three seas" of Constantinople alongside with the Marmara Sea and the Bosphorus.[9] It is an inlet about seven and half kilometers long on the west side of the Bosphorus, and its width changes between 200 meters around Eyüp at the north and 700 meters around Kasımpaşa at the south.[10] It is deep enough to allow big ships to enter; however, since it has V-shape at the bottom, its depth may vary.[11] Two small rivers named Cydarus (Alibeyköy) and Barbyses (Kağıthane) flow into the northern end of the Golden Horn. The Byzantine historian Procopius (ca. 500-ca. 560), whose works are immensely valuable sources for not only

[8] Özaslan, "Historic urban fabric," 231.
[9] Arseven, *Eski Istanbul*, 25.
[10] Eyice, *Tarih boyunca Istanbul*, 233.
[11] Eyice, *Tarih boyunca Istanbul*, 233.

political and military events of his time but also geographical information, describes the Golden Horn as the third strait of Constantinople. According to him, "this bay is always calm, being fashioned by nature that is never roiled, just as if limits were set there for turbulent waters and all billows were excluded from that area so as to do honor to the city."[12] Similarly, in his extensive travel account, Ruy González de Clavijo (d. 1412), who was the ambassador of King Henri III of Castile (r. 1390-1406) to the court of Timur (1336-1405) at Samarkand, indicates that the Golden Horn is the most beautiful port of the world as well as the most protected from both winds and enemies.[13]

As a result of its location, Eyüp was the last stopping point rather than a way station that was passed through. Considering that Eyüp was the most respected and visited pilgrimage site of the Ottoman capital, its position in the city was also important for ceremonial aspect. Furthermore, it was like an enclosed and complete settlement in itself, however, linked to the other parts of the city by main roads and sea routes. The waterways were particularly important for the transportation as we learn from various accounts from different periods. For instance, Procopius portrays that flatboats were used to carry people to this area in the sixth century.[14] About a thousand years later, the sixteenth-century endowment document of the complex of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari also shows that the rents of boathouses on the coastline of the Golden Horn constituted one of the main sources of income for the waqf.[15] According to the chief gardener (*bostancıbaşı*) records of 1815, there were seven piers and ten boathouses between

[12] Procopius, *Buildings*, 61.
[13] Clavijo, *Narrative of the embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo*, 47.
[14] Procopius, *Buildings*, 63.
[15] Yerasimos, "16. yy'da Eyyüb Vakfı muhasebelerinde Eyüp kasabası," 146.

Ayvansaray and Bahariye Kasr-ı Humayun, a distance of approximately three kilometers.[16]

The lands of Eyüp were very fertile for agricultural production and horticultural activities. Various vegetables and fruits were cultivated to contribute to supplying fresh food to the city. Numerous market gardens (*bostan*s) thus became the part of urban fabric of Eyüp, and they created great open and green spaces between the buildings and provided nice view, fresh air, and good light to the inhabitants of the town. Moreover, there were many farms for animal husbandry, particularly for dairy products.

Thanks to its lush greenery, mild climate, and nice weather, Eyüp became a much frequented excursion spot of Istanbulites in the early modern period. In addition to being the main pilgrimage site of the city, the function of Eyüp as a recreational area is also crucial to comprehend its multifaceted roles in the urban life. For instance, the sixteenth-century Ottoman poet Latifi, who wrote a book on the urban fabric and social life of Istanbul around 1525, describes the beautiful natural landscape of Eyüp and how popular it was among the denizens as a pleasure spot in the city.[17]

2.2 Pre-Ottoman period of Eyüp

Located at a very well protected harbor in a natural way, the site of Eyüp has many geographical and topographical advantages with its favorable living conditions including mild climate, fruitful lands, and access to sea and streams. It is therefore estimated that one of the earliest settlements of Istanbul may have been situated in the vicinity of Eyüp, most probably in the northwestern part of the Golden Horn on a hilly area known as

[16] Özaslan, "Historic urban fabric," 232.
[17] Lâtifî, *Evsâf-ı Istanbul*, 65.

Silivri Tepesi between two small rivers of Cydarus (Alibeyköy) and Barbyses (Kağıthane).[18]

Some stories from the Greek mythology regarding the origins of Constantinople and the foundation of Byzantium also refer to the similar area. According to the sixth-century Byzantine chronicler and biographer Hesychius of Miletus, one of the most plausible versions of these legends is that Io, who was the daughter of the Argive king Inachus and had to escape from the wrath of Zeus' wife Hera,[19] gave birth to Ceroessa near an altar of Semestre, a local water nymph, at the far end of the Golden Horn.[20] The inlet was named after Ceroessa as the Ceras (*keras* in Greek meaning 'horn').[21] It was believed that Byzas, the son of Ceroessa and Poseidon and the founder of the city, was born at the confluence of Cydarus (Alibeyköy) and Barbyses (Kağıthane) streams where their sweet waters mixed with the sea; therefore, it would not be wrong to assume that this location was quite sacred in the Byzantine's eyes.[22] It seems that these mythical stories were closely related to the geography of the area. The shape of the inlet which rounds like a horn or the metaphorical connection between the waters as source of life and the born of Byzas can be interpreted as clear indications of this understanding.

There are not sufficient archeological findings from ancient Byzantium that would allow us to develop further interpretations. However, several sculptures dated

[18] Eyice, "Eyüp Sultan semtinde tarih ve sanat tarihi," 13.
[19] The legend told by Hesychius of Miletus says that Zeus fell in love with Io and sent to his son Hermes to kill her guardian Argus and then raped her. Io was transformed into a cow, and the wife of Zeus, Hera, who was very jealous of Io sent a gadfly to suffer Io. As a result, Io was driven place to place and arrived in Thrace. She passed across the strait and returned to the Golden Horn. In addition to the Golden Horn, the origin of the name of 'Bosphorus', which in Greek signifies 'the passage of the cow', was also believed to come from Io. In addition to Hesychius of Miletus, similar stories can also be found in the works of Dionysius of Byzantium, who was a Greek geographer of the second century, and Procopius, who was a Byzantine historian of the sixth century.
[20] Russell, *Byzantium and the Bosporus*, 43-44.
[21] Russell, *Byzantium and the Bosporus*, 44; Procopius, *Buildings*, 57.
[22] Russell, *Byzantium and the Bosporus*, 44-45.

circa AD 300 including the depictions of the goddesses Nike and Artemis and the war of the giants (*gigantomachia*) were discovered during the excavation initiated as a result of a construction close to the Silahtarağa electrical power station at the northwestern end of the Golden Horn in 1949.[23] Moreover, the remains of water pipes were also unearthed, suggesting that there may have been a nymphaeum, namely a monument with a fountain built for consecrating a water nymph.[24] Except these archaeological discoveries indicating an ancient pagan sacred center close to Eyüp, no evidence of earlier settlements has been found yet in this area. For that reason, it would be useful to examine literary sources in order to illuminate the historical topography and the transformation of the site.

During the Byzantine period, the area was known as Cosmidion. Christian Saints Cosmas and Damian were believed to have extraordinary healing power and to cure desperately sick people without asking for anything, and a monastery dedicated to them was built on where today Eyüp is located. Because of that Ss. Cosmas and Damian, who were twin brothers, refused to monetary payment for their service, they were called *Anargyroi*, which literally means "without silver" in Greek. In Procopius' book focusing on the architectural works built by Justinian (r. 527-565), he states:

> At the far end of the bay, on the ground which rises steeply in a sharp slope, stands a sanctuary dedicated to Saints Cosmas and Damian. When the Emperor himself once lay seriously ill, giving the appearance of being actually dead (in fact he had been given up by the physicians as being already numbered among dead), these Saints came to him here in a vision, and saved him unexpectedly and contrary to human reason and raised him up. In gratitude he gave them such requital as a mortal may, by changing entirely and remodeling the earlier building, which was unsightly and ignoble and not worthy to be dedicated to

[23] Russell, *Byzantium and the Bosporus*, 45; Eyice, "Eyüp Sultan semtinde tarih ve sanat tarihi," 14; Başak, "Silahtarağa kazısı/ The Silahdarağa excavations," 51-55.
[24] Karagöz, "Silahtarağa sculptures," 65.

> such powerful Saints, and he beautified and enlarged the church and flooded it with brilliant light and added many other things which it had not before.[25]

It is clear that the town was called Cosmidion after this sacred building, furthermore, became a kind of healing center of the Byzantine Constantinople. Procopius states that anyone who was assailed by illness that could not be cured by physicians got into flatboats and travelled up the bay to this holy place as a last hope.[26] The Byzantine philosopher, theologian and statesman Michael Psellus (1018-1078) indicates that St. Cosmas and his brother St. Damian, who had been physicians and made no charge for their medical services, were put to death in the Diocletian persecution at the beginning of the fourth century. Justinian built the church in Constantinople in their honor.[27] According to Cyril Mango who is one of the most distinguished scholars in the field of Byzantine history, at Eyüp (Cosmidion), the famous shrine of Ss. Cosmas and Damian existed well before Justinian's reign, and quite possibly there was also an imperial palace, where Justinian had laid seriously ill and the saints appeared to him in a dream and healed him.[28] Alexander van Millingen (1840-1915), who was a professor of history and Byzantine architecture at Robert College between 1879 and 1915, claims that the celebrated church and monastery of Ss. Cosmas and Damian on the hill at the head of Golden Horn commanding the most beautiful view of the harbor was built by Paulinus, the friend of Theodosius II (r. 408-450).[29] However, Mango points out a Syrian woman, Paulina, as a founder and asserts that the shrine was built in the fifth century, no later than 480, and became popular in the sixth century.[30] Both male and female pilgrims

[25] Procopius, *Buildings*, 63.
[26] Procopius, *Buildings*, 63.
[27] Psellus, *The Chronographia*, 297.
[28] Mango, "The Fourteenth region of Constantinople," 4.
[29] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 170; Eyice, "Eyüp Sultan semtinde tarih ve sanat tarihi," 15.
[30] Özaslan, "From the shrine of Cosmidion to the shrine of Eyüp Ensari," 384-85. In her article, Özaslan

were allowed access to healing tombs. In the shrine of Ss. Cosmas and Damian, the pilgrims brought their own bedding and stayed under shaded porticoes; although sometimes curtains were used to divide private spaces, men and women often were laying right next to each other.[31] This demonstrates that the site of Eyüp has been a significant pilgrimage center since at least the sixth century; and although Constantinople was transformed from the Christian capital to the Muslim one, a kind of continuation between the urban patterns can be identified.

An anonymous chronicle from the early seventh century known as *Chronicon Paschale* or *Easter Chronicle*, which explains the major events of world history, speaks of the attacks of Avars and Slavs to Constantinople during the reign of Heraclius II (r. 610-641). According to this account, Avars harshly plundered the suburbs outside of the city walls and entered the church of Ss. Cosmas and Damian; and then, Slavs burnt both the church of healer saints and the church of St. Nicholas at Blachernae and all surrounding areas.[32] The church of Ss. Cosmas and Damian was rebuilt after these damages; moreover, the walls were constructed around it in order to prevent further attacks. In the beginning of the eleventh century, Psellus recounts how the church was enlarged and beautified by the emperor Michael IV (r. 1034-1041) who was seriously suffering from hydropsy (today known as oedema). The whole body of Michael IV was swollen because of his illness and nobody was able to cure him; therefore, the healing site in honor of the Anargyroi was the last hope for the emperor. Psellus says:

---

also argues that the cult center of Ss. Cosmas and Damian, who had lived and were martyred at the end of the third century, was in Syria; and the cult was spread by Syrian immigrants to other parts of the Empire such as Cilicia, Antioch, Constantinople, Thessaloniki, and Ravenna.

[31] Talbot, "Women's space in Byzantine monasteries," 116.

[32] *Chronicon Paschale 284-628*, 165, 180.

> There had been a sacred building on the spot before, although it was not noted for any magnificence, nor it was remarkable for architectural style. This erection he now beautified, built additions, on to it, and surrounded it with walls. The new chapels enhanced its glory. When all the work was done, he dedicated this church as a monastery. So far as the building of sacred churches, was concerned Michael suppressed all his predecessors, both in workmanship and in magnificence. The depths and heights of this edifice were given a new symmetry, and his chapels harmonized with the church to bestow on it an infinite beauty. The most wonderful stones were used in the floors and walls, and the whole church became resplendent with gold mosaic and the painter's art. Images that seemed almost to live, set in every possible part, filled the sacred building with glory. Besides all this, there were near this church, and practically incorporated into its precincts, lovely baths, numerous fountains, beautiful lawns, and whatever else can delight or attract the eye.[33]

Today unfortunately we do not have any remains from neither baths nor fountains described by Psellus; however, there are some literary works that mention the building of church covered by the walls and the pleasurable environment of the area. For instance, Bohemond I (ca. 1054-1109), who was one of the commanders of the First Crusade (1095-1099), encamped with his army at the monastery of Ss. Cosmas and Damian; the building thus started to be known as the castle of Bohemond.[34] An account written by the chronicler and one of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204), Geoffrey of Villehardouin, demonstrates that after about two hundred years, this name was still being used. Villehardouin explains that the crusaders came to the end of the harbor where a river flows into the sea, then they passed over the bridge and set up a camp "between the palace of Blachernae and the castle of Bohemond, which was, in fact, an abbey enclosed behind high walls."[35] Another crusader Odo de Deuil (1110-1162), who was a monk and took part in the Second Crusade (1147-1149), vividly describes the beautiful view of the harbor and the city from the top of the hill. He says,

[33] Psellus, *The Chronographia*, 71-72.
[34] Eyice, "Eyüp Sultan semtinde tarih ve sanat tarihi," 14-15; Özaslan, "From the shrine of Cosmidion to the shrine of Eyüp Ensari," 387.
[35] Villehardouin and Joinville, *Chronicles of the crusades*, 68.

"It gives its inhabitants a threefold pleasure, for it looks over sea, meadow, and city."[36] This depiction provides a useful clue to imagine the location of the monastery of Ss. Cosmas and Damian; it was most likely located on the hill above Eyüp, which is called Piyer Loti Hill today and famous for its wonderful scenery.

As is understood from these accounts, since Cosmidion was outside of the land walls and close to the city at the same time, it was a target of many besiegers of the Byzantine Constantinople. Hence, it was looted and destroyed many times; moreover, it was also chosen as an encampment site because of its strategic situation and suitable environmental and topographical conditions. Furthermore, the literary sources show that the cult of the healer saints Cosmas and Damian survived for hundreds of years, at least from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries as far as is known. The church and monastery dedicated to them were renovated several times and Cosmidion continued to be one of the well-respected pilgrimage sites of the city. For instance, in the thirteenth century, after fifty-seven years of Latin occupation, Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1261-1282) restored the Byzantine capital, and the members of the imperial family highly contributed to the construction and restoration activities in Constantinople. In this period, the empress Theodora Palaiologina, the wife of Michael VIII, was the patron of the monasteries of Lips and Ss. Cosmas and Damian.[37] This high-level funding and support can be interpreted as an indication of the symbolic importance of the site for not only the urban dwellers but also royal elites.

Thanks to many travel descriptions of Constantinople written by Russian travellers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, more specifically between the years

[36] Bradford, *The great* betrayal, 82; Odo de Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, 65.
[37] Talbot, "The restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," 257.

1349 and 1422,[38] it can be possible to follow the traces of Cosmidion until the Ottoman period. The work known as the "Wanderer of Stephen of Novgorod" dated around 1349 represents quite detailed geographical and topographical information of Constantinople; and since its author was a pilgrim, it is particularly a useful source to learn more about the sacred sites of the city.[39] Stephen of Novgorod tells that they went farther outside the city to a field near the sea, where a large monastery in honor of Cosmas and Damian was located, and there they kissed the heads of the healer saints that were artfully covered in gold.[40] There are also other reports of Russian travelers mentioning the monastic establishment at Cosmidion and the relics preserved in it; however, it is still unclear where this building was exactly situated. Stephen's depiction points out a field near the sea as the place of the monastery; on the other hand, in many other sources that I mentioned above, it is indicated as on one of the hills overlooking the Golden Horn. More archeological researches are needed in order to have more precise topographical information. In any case, it can be asserted that the area of today's Eyüp has been perceived as sacred based on different beliefs by various groups of people since antiquity.

The latest reference to a structure at the site of the monastery of Ss. Cosmas and Damian can be found in the narrative of Giovan Maria Angiolello in the fifteenth century.[41] Angiolello was a Vicenzan captive and took different roles at the Ottoman court between the years 1470 and 1483; thus, he was able to observe the transformation of Constantinople after the Ottoman conquest and described the city in a very detailed

[38] Majeska, *Russian travelers to Constantinople*, vii.
[39] Majeska, *Russian travelers to Constantinople*, 15.
[40] Majeska, *Russian travelers to Constantinople*, 44.
[41] Özaslan, "From the shrine of Cosmidion to the shrine of Eyüp Ensari," 389.

manner in his account.[42] He does not indicate the name of the saints or the character of the building and just mentions that at the site close to the grave of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, there was a tower built for besieging Constantinople by the Tatars.[43] Stephanos Yerasimos argues that the Tatars have never attacked to the city and the tower was a remnant from the monastery of Ss. Cosmas and Damian that was later surrounded with the walls and transformed into the castle.[44] From the fifteenth century onward, the cult of Cosmas and Damian vanished in Ottoman Istanbul, and a new Islamic legend in relation to the sacredness of the site has been emerged and rapidly grown.

2.3 Discovery of the burial site of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari and its significance

Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd al-Ansari hailing from Najjar branch of the Khazraj tribe was a close companion of Prophet Muhammad.[45] Along with his wife Umm Ayyub, Abu Ayyub was among the first people who embraced Islam.[46] When the Prophet migrated from Mecca to Medina in 622, he took up residence in Abu Ayyub's two-storey house in Lower Medina, also known as Safila; therefore, the epithet "the owner of the house of the Messenger of God" started to have been used for Abu Ayyub.[47] According to a well-known narrative, all Muslims in Medina were willing to host the Prophet in their houses. The Prophet did not want to hurt the feelings of his supporters by choosing a specific person; instead, he decided to stay where his camel would stop and kneel down. As a result, the camel knelt down at a place very close to Abu Ayyub's house, and the

[42] Yerasimos, "Giovan Maria Angiolello," 34-35.
[43] Yerasimos, "Giovan Maria Angiolello," 36.
[44] Yerasimos, "Giovan Maria Angiolello," 41.
[45] Lecker, "Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī."
[46] Algül, "Ebû Eyyûb el-Ensârî," 123-24.
[47] Lecker, "Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī."

Prophet stayed there as a guest for seven months, until a mosque and his own house were constructed.[48]

Abu Ayyub participated in the Prophet's expeditions and the battles of early Islam, and he took significant political and military roles during the reigns of the fourth caliph Ali (r. 656-661) and his successor, the Umayyad caliph Muawiyah I (r. 661-680).[49] In several literary sources, it is indicated that Abu Ayyub died during an Arab campaign against the Byzantines with the aim of the conquest of the imperial city Constantinople in 668 and 669 and his body was buried somewhere close to the land walls. There is no consensus between the sources about the exact date of his death and the precise location of his grave.[50] Moreover, while some authors claim that the tomb of Abu Ayyub was protected and venerated by the Byzantines, others do not mention such sacred historical figure or place in Constantinople.

Ibn Sa'd (d. 845), an Arab scholar and biographer, is the first to tell the story of Abu Ayyub in his work entitled *Kitab al-Tabaqat al-Kabir* (The Great Book of Strata).[51] Ibn Sa'd recounts that Abu Ayyub died during the siege of Constantinople led by Muawiyah's son Yazid (d. 683), then Yazid buried him in a place next to the city walls within the Byzantine lands.[52] The earliest source that clearly mentions the tomb of Abu Ayyub that was visited by the Byzantines as a sacred site of the city is Ibn Qutayba's (d. 889) *Kitab al-Ma'arif* (Book of Knowledge).[53] According to that, Yazid aimed to hide Abu Ayyub's grave from the enemies, therefore, ordered his horsemen to run over the

[48] Algül, "Ebû Eyyûb el-Ensârî," 124; Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad*, 228.
[49] Lecker, "Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī."
[50] For a brief and useful discussion about these questions, see Coşkun, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unda müstesna bir ziyaretgah," 548-50.
[51] Yerasimos, *Konstantiniye ve Ayasofya efsaneleri*, 238.
[52] Yerasimos, *Konstantiniye ve Ayasofya efsaneleri*, 239.
[53] Yerasimos, *Konstantiniye ve Ayasofya efsaneleri*, 239.

grave in order to flatten the soil. However, the Byzantine emperor noticed the importance of this grave and said that it would immediately be destroyed after the Arabs pulled back. In response, Yazid threatened the emperor and indicated that if such a thing happened, then he would take the revenge from the Christians in his territory. As a result, a domed tomb was built for Abu Ayyub by the Byzantine emperor, and the site became a place that was highly respected by Constantinopolitans and especially visited for rain prayer during the drought. After Ibn Qutayba, many authors from the Arab world repeated the same story. For instance, Ali ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawi (d. 1215), who was an Iraqi Muslim scholar and traveller and wrote a guide book about the medieval pilgrimage sites of the Near East, North Africa, Byzantium, and Mediterranean islands,[54] says:

> Next to its [Constantinople's] wall is the tomb of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, may God be pleased with him, Companion of the Messenger of God, may peace be upon him. His given name is Khalid ibn Zayd. When he was killed, the Muslims buried him and said to the Byzantines: "This was among the most important companions of our Prophet. Should his grave be desecrated, not a church bell will ever ring in the lands of the Arabs."[55]

This common motif in the Arab narratives can be interpreted as an effort to represent a military failure as a spiritual victory,[56] in other words, to put an Islamic mark to the Christian capital with the help of a Muslim saint and warrior. On the other hand, Yerasimos argues that Christian historians never mentioned Abu Ayyub, and Muslim historians gave a limited space to Abu Ayyub in their stories and were mostly interested in Yazid.[57] Moreover, according to Theophanes the Confessor (ca. 752- ca. 818) who

[54]Ali ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawi, *A lonely wayfarers guide to pilgrimage*, xix.
[55] Ali ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawi, *A lonely wayfarers guide to pilgrimage*, 144.
[56] Coşkun, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unda müstesna bir ziyaretgah," 550.
[57] Yerasimos, *Konstantiniye ve Ayasofya efsaneleri*, 240. As Yerasimos indicates, Yazid was accused of killing Imam Husain, therefore, the positive or negative comments of Muslim historians about Yazid were closely related to their attitude towards the Shiite belief.

was the author of the earliest source as far as is known about the Arab siege in the seventh century, the Arab army barely reached Chalcedon (today's Kadıköy) in the Asian side of the Bosphorus and then returned to Syria.[58] Considering that the Arab chroniclers also do not indicate the existence of sea power to cross the Bosphorus and arrive to the European side of Constantinople, the claim of Theophanes is implicitly supported.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many travellers who visited the sacred places of Constantinople were also silent about Abu Ayyub and his alleged tomb.[59] In this regard, the Muslim traveller Ibn Battuta (1304-ca. 1377), who stayed in the Byzantine capital for more than a month in 1332, is an intriguing example. He depicts the Great Church of Hagia Sophia and the monasteries of the city, however, does not speak of the tomb of Abu Ayyub as a pilgrimage site.[60] Similarly, the fifteenth-century Castilian diplomat and traveller Clavijo illustrates the churches and monasteries in Constantinople in a detailed manner including their relics, altars, architectural features, and decoration; but he does not mention the grave of Abu Ayyub as a venerated site by the Byzantines although he visited the area of Blachernae.[61] Another Castilian traveler and writer Pero Tafur who came to Constantinople in 1437 also does not give any clue about Abu Ayyub even though he describes the prominent architectural monuments and the holy sites of the city.[62]

We do not know which of these earlier narratives were transmitted to what extent to the Ottomans during and after the siege; however, many Ottoman sources tell the

[58] Yerasimos, *Konstantiniye ve Ayasofya efsaneleri*, 240; Theophanes, *The chronicle of Theophanes*, 48-50.
[59] Özaslan, "From the shrine of Cosmidion to the shrine of Eyüp Ensari," 390.
[60] Ibn Battuta, *Ibn Battuta Seyahatnamesi*, 504-8.
[61] Clavijo, *Narrative of the embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo*, 30-49.
[62] Tafur, *Travels and adventures*, 139-42.

miraculous discovery of the grave of Abu Ayyub, and this discovery is generally attributed to the Sufi sheikh Akşemseddin (1390-1459), who was the spiritual guide of Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446, 1451-1481). According to the epic story (*menakıb*) of Akşemseddin written by Emir Hüseyin Enîsî in the sixteenth century, Mehmed II asked for the opinions of prominent members of ulema about the conquest of Constantinople, and in contrast to several negative comments indicating the impossibility of the victory, Akşemseddin supported such a military attack.[63] Furthermore, after a long siege continuing for fifty-four days, at a time when the Ottomans started to be desperate, Akşemseddin boosted the morale of the troops by saying that the conquest would be achieved very soon and specifying the exact time of the triumph.[64] After the Ottomans captured the city, upon the request of Mehmed II, the sheikh found the location of the blessed grave of Abu Ayyub in a forest and marked it with his wand.[65] Some people did not believe him, and hid his wand in order to test him on whether he could point out the same place in night. Akşemseddin confidently determined the grave again, and claimed that there was the tomb of Abu Ayyub under the earth near a holy spring, which was constructed by a member of the clergy who converted to Islam after he had seen the Prophet Muhammad in his dream. Akşemseddin told that the Prophet ordered the Christian cleric to become a Muslim and to build a tomb for his companion Abu Ayyub who was buried in the enemy's lands.[66] As the Sufi sheikh asserted, after the soil was dig up, the tomb and the holy spring were discovered; therefore, under the patronage of

[63] Enîsî, *Menâkıb-ı Akşemseddin*, 47-48.
[64] Enîsî, *Menâkıb-ı Akşemseddin*, 49-50.
[65] Enîsî, *Menâkıb-ı Akşemseddin*, 51.
[66] Enîsî, *Menâkıb-ı Akşemseddin*, 51.

Mehmed II, a mausoleum (*mezar-ı şerif*), a convent (*hankah*), and a lodge (*tekye*) were constructed on this site in the honor of Abu Ayyub.[67]

In the early sixteenth century, the Ottoman Kurdish historian and bureaucrat İdris Bidlisi (d. 1520) asserts that there were two different visiting sites that were venerated as the grave of Abu Ayyub; one was located within the city walls, and other was in the same neighborhood but approximately two thousand feet outside from the walls.[68] After the conquest, Mehmed II began to investigate the truth about the tomb of Abu Ayyub that he had heard from the hadiths, the exegesis of Quran (*tafsir*), and the comments of religious scholars; furthermore, he wanted help from the eminent Islamic leaders to solve this mystery.[69] Akşemseddin as one of the most significant figures among the Muslim scholars interpreted certain remarks and signs and designated that Abu Ayyub's real grave was situated outside of the walls; consequently, the sultan ordered to have been built a very nice mausoleum along with a mosque with two minarets, a convent, a madrasa, and a kitchen.[70] Moreover, the revenues of many waqfs, lands, and farms were allocated to cover the costs of the funerary complex of Abu Ayyub.[71] The Austrian historian Paul Wittek (1891-1978) also argues that two sites, not one, were respected as the warrior saint's grave based on the anonymous history of Constantinople written in 1491.[72] According to Wittek, the second site was within the enclosure of the Blachernae Palace where the land walls met the sea; and the Ottoman name of this quarter, Ayvansaray, was derived from the name of Ayyub Ansari.[73] As these narratives show,

[67] Enîsî, *Menâkıb-ı Akşemseddin*, 52.
[68] İdris Bidlisi, *Heşt-Bihişt*, 79.
[69] İdris Bidlisi, *Heşt-Bihişt*, 79.
[70] İdris Bidlisi, *Heşt-Bihişt*, 79.
[71] İdris Bidlisi, *Heşt-Bihişt*, 79-80.
[72] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 46-47.
[73] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 47.

although there are some differences in terms of when, where, and how Abu Ayyub's grave was determined, the miraculous discovery attributed to Akşemseddin has continued to be told.

According to the account of Ottoman poet and bibliographer Latifi (1491-1582), Akşemseddin found the body of the warrior saint covered with blood during the siege and informed Mehmed II immediately; later, the sultan ordered a shrine, a mosque, and a madrasa to be built on the grave of the blessed martyr.[74] Another significant Ottoman intellectual figure from the second half of the sixteenth century, Mustafa Ali of Gallipoli (1541-1600), recounts that the sacred tomb of Abu Ayyub had been disappeared and nobody knew its place; therefore, after the conquest of Constantinople, Mehmed II wanted Akşemseddin to locate where Abu Ayyub was buried.[75] The Sufi sheikh claimed that the tomb was situated on the shoreline and was still a visiting site; however, Mehmed II had some doubts and asked for further evidence. Then, Akşemseddin showed a certain point that was the head of the body of Abu Ayyub; furthermore, he explained that over the grave, there was a white marble inscribed in Hebrew stating the name of the saint. After the grave was unearthed and the inscription was read by someone who knew Hebrew, Mehmed II was entirely convinced. Thus, upon the sultan's order, a strong and nicely decorated building with a dome on the grave, a mosque with two minarets, a beautiful madrasa, and a hammam were erected and the waqf dedicated to Abu Ayyub was maintained very carefully.[76] In his famous Ottoman history titled *Tarih-i Solakzâde*, the seventeenth-century chronicler Solakzâde Mehmed Hemdemi

[74] Lâtifî, *Evsâf-ı Istanbul*, 62-63.
[75] Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Künhü'l-Ahbar*, 68.
[76] Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Künhü'l-Ahbar*, 68.

Çelebi (ca. 1590-1657) repeats exactly the same story as Mustafa Ali.[77] Evliya Çelebi (1611-1684), who produced an extensive travelogue that provides very valuable information about Istanbul and other regions of the Ottoman lands in the seventeenth century regarding various aspects from geographical features to social life, speaks of the similar narrative with slightly different details. Mehmed II, after having laid siege to Constantinople, searched for the tomb of Abu Ayyub with his seventy-seven attendant saints during the whole seven days.[78] In the end, Akşemseddin exclaimed the good news that he had found the blessed grave; then, he entered in a forestland and began to pray. After a while, he fell asleep; and many people rumored that he slept because of his shame that he had lied about the grave. Yet, after one hour, Akşemseddin woke up, his eyes became bloodshot, his face was sweating, and he said to the sultan that Abu Ayyub's tomb was located under where he spread out his prayer rug. The ground thereupon was dug up by three attendants, together with the sheikh and the sultan; and, a green stone on which was written, "This is the tomb of Abu Ayyub" in Kufic letters, was found along with his well-preserved body wrapped up in a saffron-colored shroud, with a brazen signet ring in his right hand.[79] According to Evliya Çelebi, all Ottoman soldiers witnessed this discovery, and they respectfully filled the earth that had been dug up, and laid the foundation of the new mausoleum of Abu Ayyub.[80] A domed monument for the grave, a mosque, a madrasa, a khan, a hammam, a soup kitchen (*imaret*), and a bazaar

[77] Solakzâde, *Solak-zâde Tarihi* (Vol. 1), 362-63.
[78] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 170.
[79] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 170. Gülru Necipoğlu makes an analogy between the grave of Abu Ayyub in Constantinople and the relics of St. Mark in Venice. She argues that in a similar manner of how Abu Ayyub's brazen signet ring, an ancient emblem of sovereignty, symbolically sanctioned Mehmed II's rule in Constantinople, the golden ring on St. Mark's finger legitimized the power of Doge in Venice. See Necipoğlu, "Dynastic imprints on the cityscape," 25.
[80] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 171.

were built by Mehmed II to commemorate the martyr saint.[81] Hafız Hüseyin al-Ayvansarayi (d. 1786) also mentions the essential role of Akşemseddin for discovering the location of Abu Ayyub's grave in his *Hadikat-ül Cevami*, in which he introduces the mosques of Istanbul and other civic and religious buildings in the eighteenth century.[82]

In contrast to the commonality of Ottoman sources produced from the sixteenth century onwards regarding the miraculous revelation of Abu Ayyub's burial place, contemporary chroniclers of the siege of Constantinople do not say a word about this discovery.[83] For instance, one of the most significant historians of Mehmed II, Tursun Bey (1420-1499), illustrates the shrine and mosque complex of Abu Ayyub as the earliest constructions of the conquered city; however, he does not explain how the site of Abu Ayyub's grave was determined and by whom.[84] Similarly, in his famous work *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, Aşık Paşazade (ca. 1400-1484), also known as Derviş Ahmed or Aşıki, elucidates how Istanbul was rebuilt after the conquest and turned into a prosper city; in this context, he also mentions the imperial complex dedicated to Abu Ayyub including the tomb, mosque, madrasa, and soup kitchen.[85] On the other hand, he does not give a hint about the exploration of Abu Ayyub's burial place. As German historian Franz Babinger (1891-1967) argues, it is not also possible to find a word about the Prophet's companion Abu Ayyub and his blessed grave in the official letters of Mehmed II sent to the Muslim world, even his missive to Mecca, regarding the conquest of

[81] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 171.
[82] Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami*, 333.
[83] Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his time*, 113; Kuran, "A spatial study of three Ottoman capitals," 126; Özaslan, "From the shrine of Cosmidion to the shrine of Eyüp Ensari," 391.
[84] Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü'l-Feth*, 75. Like Tursun Bey, another important court historian Kritovoulos (1410-1470) also does not point out either the legend of Abu Ayyub or the miraculous discovery of his grave. See Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, 93-94, 104-5.
[85] Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, 220.

Constantinople.[86] Because of that, Babinger defines the legend of Abu Ayyub's tomb and Akşemseddin's miracle as "a pious fraud" which was invented for political reasons.

This 'discovery' was represented as a symbol of the Islamic roots of the city, which had been the center of the Orthodox Christianity; thus, the cultural transformation from Constantinople to 'Islambol' was legitimized and this 're-explored' spiritual center turned into one of the most venerated sites of the new Ottoman capital. Similar to the conversion of the church of Hagia Sophia into a mosque, the construction of the memorial tomb complex of Abu Ayyub was a major step for creating the 'Islamic-Turkish' character of the city and establishing physical, social, and religious connections between the new dwellers and the new urban sphere.[87] Another reason for inventing such a story can also be considered as military, in other words, Mehmed II aimed to keep up Ottoman soldiers motivated during the long and exhausting siege.[88] For centuries the conquest of Constantinople had been represented as the ultimate objective of Islam by referring to various hadiths; therefore, innumerable attempts to capture the city had been occurred.[89] In parallel, Mehmed II took the advantage of the legend of 'discovery' to strengthen the faith of his armies, hence, inspired them to fight against the 'infidels' and achieve the conquest.[90] At that point, it should be noted that the tomb of Abu Ayyub was not a unique example, and such 'discoveries' were quite common in the

[86] Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his time*, 113; Ateş, "İstanbul'un fethine dair," 11-50.
[87] As Gülru Necipoğlu argues, there is also a myth claiming that Abu Ayyub was the first Muslim to pray in the church of Hagia Sophia before he was betrayed and martyred by the Byzantines. According to the Prophet Muhammad, the church was predestined to become a mosque and whoever prayed in it would go to paradise. Based on this prophecy, Abu Ayyub made an agreement with the Byzantine emperor to stop the Arab siege of Constantinople in return for permission to pray in Hagia Sophia. See Necipoğlu, "The life of an imperial monument," 200.
[88] İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 2-3. In relation to that, Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan also tells a well-known story among the Rum (Greek) community of Istanbul about how Abu Ayyub became the source of faith and enthusiasm for Ottoman soldiers during the siege. See Kömürcüyan, *Istanbul tarihi*, 27-30.
[89] Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his time*, 84.
[90] Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, 278; Kuran, "A spatial study of three Ottoman capitals," 126.

Muslim world.[91] For instance, at the siege of Baghdad in 1534 under Süleyman I, where religious animosities might be used to encourage the soldiers, the tomb of the orthodox (Sunni) doctor Abu Hanifa was 'discovered' under the walls of the heretic (Shia) town.[92] Prior to the Ottoman period, such memorials were also sought for and identified in a similar manner by the Seljuks as we can see in the case of Seyyid Battal Ghazi.[93] The grave of the saintly figure Seyyid Battal Ghazi, who is thought to have been attended in the eighth-century Arab campaigns, was discovered by a revelation to the mother of the Seljuk ruler Alaeddin Keykubad I (r. 1220-1237) in her dream.[94] Then, the mother of the sultan, Ümmühan Hatun, built a mausoleum for the saint, and the site located at the south of Eskişehir has become one of the most respected pilgrimage centers of Anatolia. Although the authenticity of all these 'miraculous discoveries' is quite doubtful, it is obvious that they were very useful tools to legitimize the new political and religious power in newly conquered lands.

2.4 Construction of the funerary mosque complex dedicated to Abu Ayyub al-Ansari

One of the earliest Ottoman sources that provides information about the construction of the funerary complex of Abu Ayyub is the endowment deed of the foundation dated 1457. According to that, the first building near the designated grave was a convent

[91] Halil İnalcık discusses the importance of such folk narratives in the medieval and early modern periods. He indicates that today we as people living in the materialist world describe these stories as 'legends', yet we should remember that they were the 'realities' of people in the past. In another article, he also remarks, "every Ottoman city had its own *wali* or saint whose tomb, usually located on a hilltop outside the city, combined Islamic mystic tradition with a Pre-Islamic monument cult." In this context, Halil Berktay develops a broader comparative perspective and argues that these traditions are not limited with Islam and can be seen in other religions and belief systems. See İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 3-4; İnalcık, "Istanbul: an Islamic city," 4; Berktay, "Azizler, cismani kalıntılar, haclar, yatırlar."

[92] Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the sultans*, 716.

[93] Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the sultans*, 714.

[94] Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the sultans*, 704-7. For more information on the shrine of Seyyid Battal Gazi considering its social, religious, political, and architectural contexts, see Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire*.

established by the vizier Sinanüʾd-din Yusuf Pasha. The land for the convent was gifted by the sultan to the vizier, and the deed was signed by prominent statesmen such as Mahmud and Ishak Pashas who were the members of the imperial council.[95] As these details imply, thanks to this document, we can understand how much the Ottoman elite respected the blessed grave and gave importance to the site. Around two years after the convent, Mehmed II initiated the construction of an imperial complex containing the monumental mausoleum of Abu Ayyub along with a mosque, madrasa, soup kitchen, hammam, and dervish rooms.[96] Ayvansarayi refers to an inscription at the entrance of the mosque which indicates the construction date as 863 according to the hegira calendar; therefore, although the chronology of the buildings is not precisely known, it can be estimated that the complex was completed in 1458-59.[97]

This is the first religious building in monumental scale that was newly built in or near the city under the commission of the Ottoman sultan during the early years after the conquest of Constantinople.[98] As I have discussed regarding the political message of Abu Ayyub's legend in the previous part, the establishment of this complex also aimed to legitimize the decision of Mehmed II to inhabit the city. The imperial claims over the site was consolidated by the completion of the royal mosque near the blessed grave, thus, the initial step in the imperialization of the city itself was taken.[99] According to Yerasimos, the discovery of the saint's grave and the construction of such a monument were not only linked to the conquest but also to Mehmed's choice of moving the

[95] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 46; *Fatih Mehmed II vakfiyeleri*, 336-39.
[96] Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü'l-Feth*, 75; Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, 220; Tâcî-zâde Cafer Çelebi, *Heves-nâme*, 118-19.
[97] Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami*, 333. Aptullah Kuran also remarks that in addition to the tomb and the mosque, a madrasa, a soup kitchen (*darül-it'am*), and a double bathhouse were erected in 1458. See Kuran, "Eyüp Külliyesi," 129.
[98] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 46.
[99] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 51.

imperial capital from Edirne to Istanbul.[100] The ghazis (Muslim frontier warriors), who had been emphasizing the traditional way of governance, did not support Mehmed II's imperial vision of creating a centralized bureaucratic state and his wish to make Constantinople the seat of the empire.[101] In the view of ghazis, "the city was no more than a target of conquest and expansion," hence, they were against the idea of rebuilding and repopulating it.[102] In a collection of the ghazi legends compiled around 1470s by Ebu'l Hayr-i Rumi, who was a member of Prince Cem's court, it is remarked that the commanders of Mehmed II advised him to "build a wall around Ayasofya and destroy the rest [of Constantinople]."[103] We do not know to what extent this story reflects the reality; however, it may still help us to understand the mentality of ghazis. In order to change this perception seeing the city as the lands of 'infidels', the sultan developed the cult of Abu Ayyub and built a complex dedicated to him, in this way, the memories of a distant Islamic past of the recently vanquished Christian city were reminded and the whole area of Istanbul was made a consecrated place for Muslims.[104] Along with the Topkapı Palace at the tip of the peninsula and Mehmed II's funerary mosque complex inside the walled city, the tomb complex of Abu Ayyub outside the city walls became one of the symbolic monuments which determined the urban, architectural, and ceremonial patterns in the new capital.[105]

---

[100] Yerasimos, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unun kuruluşu," 200.
[101] For more information on the ghazi traditions and the changes in the polity of Ottoman state in the fifteenth century, see Kafadar, *Between two worlds*.
[102] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 46-47.
[103] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 20, 46; Ebu'l-Hayr-i Rumi, *Ṣalṭuḳ-nāme* (Vol. 3), 365.
[104] İnalcık, "Istanbul: an Islamic city," 4; Necipoğlu, "Visual cosmopolitanism," 23. In addition to Abu Ayyub, the tombs of many Companions of the Prophet who had taken part and fallen in the sieges of Constantinople under the Umayyads were discovered by the Ottomans, and following the conquest, the mausoleums for them were erected in Istanbul. Most of the tombs are located around Eyüp. For further information, see Ünver, *İlim ve sanat bakımından Fatih devri notları,* 108-111; Ünver, *İstanbul'da sahabe kabirleri*.
[105] Necipoğlu, "Dynastic imprints on the cityscape," 23.

Abu Ayyub's tomb rapidly grew into a town, which was predominantly settled by Muslims, and became the most venerated place in Istanbul that has been visited by hundreds of people seeking the saint's help everyday. The royal visits to the tomb, which were organized for different significant reasons such as the beginning/end of a military campaign or the enthronement of a new ruler, were also a crucial part of this vivid picture. For instance, in the sixteenth century, it is noted that Selim I (r. 1512-1520), Süleyman I (r. 1520-1566), and Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603) performed visits to the tomb before military expeditions.[106] A record in the imperial council's register of important affairs (*mühimme defteri*) clearly shows the motivation behind these visits. On 7 May 1566, before the critical siege of Szigetvar under the command of Süleyman I, it was requested from the ulema and *huffaz* (someone who has completely memorized the Quran) to gather at the mosque of Abu Ayyub and pray for the victory of the Ottoman army.[107] Beyond that, in order to understand the high degree of the Ottoman court's respect to the tomb, the sword girding ceremony, which was comparable to the Western ritual of consecration and coronation, was of primary importance. Each sultan upon his accession to the throne visited the tomb following the same procession route, and at the site the most respected sheikh of that time girded the sultan with the sacred sword of *ghaza* (holy war).[108] A tradition reports that Mehmed II was also girded there with the sword of sovereignty by Akşemseddin though it is not possible to confirm this narrative, because there is no reliable information on the girding ceremony until the seventeenth

[106] Coşkun, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unda müstesna bir ziyaretgah," 559. Selim I visited the tomb before the campaign against the Safavids, Süleyman I before the sieges of Belgrad and Szigetvar, and Mehmed III before the expedition of Hungary.
[107] *5 numaralı mühimme defteri*, 249-50, edict no: 1555.
[108] İnalcık, "Istanbul: an Islamic city," 4. For more information on the history of sword girding ceremony and the Ottoman ceremonials at Eyüp, see Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the sultans*, 604-22; Kafadar, "Eyüp'te kılıç kuşanma törenleri."

century.[109] As far as is known, the earliest source mentioning this subject was written by Mustafa Safi (d. 1616), who was the imam of Ahmed I (r. 1603-1617).[110] In his work *Zübdetü't-tevarih*, Safi recounts Ahmed I's enthronement ceremony taken place at the inner courtyard between the tomb and mosque of Abu Ayyub.[111] According to Safi's description, the sultan reached the complex located on the Golden Horn through the sea route; after the ceremony, he returned to the palace on horseback by following the main arteries, and on his way back, he also paid visits sacred tombs of his ancestors.[112] There are many unanswered questions concerning the earlier stages of official royal visits to Abu Ayyub's tomb; on the other hand, the ritual visits to the sacred mausoleum were possibly initiated by its founder, namely Mehmed II.[113] Taşköprizade (d. 1561) suggests that the sultan visited the tomb from time to time, and the route that he passed through during these visits was most likely the Divan Yolu, a branch of the Byzantine Mese leading from the Imperial Gate of the Topkapı Palace to the Edirne Gate of the city walls.[114]

Since the early years of its construction, the tomb of Abu Ayyub has gained importance not only as the most respected pilgrimage site that was frequented by both elites and commoners but also as a burying ground. There are many graves belonging to the prominent members of the state, religious, and intellectual high class within the complex area.[115] Among the first persons buried in the mosque graveyard, the famous

[109] Necipoğlu, "Dynastic imprints on the cityscape," 25.
[110] Kafadar, "Eyüp'te kılıç kuşanma törenleri," 54-55.
[111] Kafadar, "Eyüp'te kılıç kuşanma törenleri," 54-55; Mustafa Safi, *Zübdetü't-Tevarih* (Vol. 1), 8-9.
[112] Mustafa Safi, *Zübdetü't-Tevarih* (Vol. 1), 8-9.
[113] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 50.
[114] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 50.
[115] Ahmet Süheyl Ünver represents a detailed list of scholars and high-ranking members of the religious elite buried in the graveyard within the complex by referring a story of Abu Ayyub from the mid sixteenth century. In addition, Jean Louis Bacque-Grammont has analyzed the texts of Ayvansarayi and Evliya

astronomer and mathematician Ali Kuşçu (d. 1474), who came to Istanbul from the court of Uzun Hasan in Tabriz by request of Mehmed II, and the grand vizier Sinan Pasha, who had endowed the first convent near Abu Ayyub's tomb, can be indicated.[116] Semiz Ali Pasha (d. 1565), Lala Mustafa Pasha (d. 1580), and Gürcü Mehmed Pasha (d. 1626) were also among the high-level bureaucrats buried close to the tomb.[117] The chief eunuchs Mustafa Ağa (d. 1623) and Hacı Beşir Ağa (d. 1746) were buried in two sides of Abu Ayyub's tomb.[118] This can be interpreted as a clear indication of the eunuchs' powerful position in the court particularly from the seventeenth century onwards. Moreover, the grave of Mahfiruz Hatice Sultan (d. 1628), the wife of Ahmed I and the mother of Osman II, was at the back of the tomb, and Saliha Sultan (d. 1778), the daughter of Ahmed III, was buried in the outer courtyard.[119]

With a mosque, a soup kitchen, a madrasa, and a bathhouse, the complex of Abu Ayyub replicated the royal complexes in other Ottoman cities. Its architectural plan was a variation of those in Bursa dated in earlier periods.[120] The layout of the buildings was asymmetrical rather than symmetrical and axial that began to be seen in the complexes built in later years of Mehmed II's reign.[121] The tomb, which was an octagonal structure of ashlar masonry with a lead-covered dome and had two-storey windows on its walls,

---

Çelebi and created a prosopographic index. See Ünver, *İlim ve sanat bakımından Fatih devri notları*, 38-41; Bacque-Grammont, "Eyüp mezarlıkları," 70-105.

[116] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 50.

[117] Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami*, 334.

[118] As I will mention in the following paragraphs, Hacı Beşir Ağa built two lodges in Abu Ayyub's complex, but they were demolished during the restoration under Selim III in the eighteenth century. Besides that, Hacı Beşir Ağa established many pious foundations including a library, a school, and a fountain at Eyüp. See Hathaway, *Beshir Agha*, 85-106.

[119] Similar to Hacı Beshir Ağa, Mahfiruz Hatice Sultan also endowed a building in the complex. She constructed a room for reciting Quran.

[120] Kuran, "Eyüp Külliyesi," 130.

[121] Tanman, "Eyüb Sultan Külliyesi," 239.

was a significant monument pioneering the later Ottoman mausoleums in the city.[122] This is the first monumental funerary structure in Ottoman Istanbul and has mostly preserved its original form and character except the tiles from the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the mosque standing across from the mausoleum was rebuilt in the end of eighteenth century; therefore, only the historical accounts can help us to illustrate its original situation. Based on the descriptions of Evliya Çelebi and Ayvansarayi, Aptullah Kuran suggests that the praying hall in square shape was covered by a single dome resting on squinches and that there was another half-dome on top of the mihrab placed in a niche at the qibla side.[123] The convent rooms were located at two sides of the main building. Considering the asymmetrical positions of the minarets, Kuran argues that first a single minaret was built at the right of the entrance, and after some time, the second one was added at the left side.[124] According to Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, this addition was made by Mehmed II in order to mark the transformation of the building from convent-mosque into sultanic monument.[125] Furthermore, since the mosque was depicted with two minarets in a drawing of the city produced around 1481 for the manuscript of the Italian traveler Cristoforo Buondelmonti, and in a narrative of İdris Bidlisi, the second minaret was possibly erected in a short time after the completion of the building (see Appendix B, Figure 3).[126] As Evliya Çelebi describes, Kuran designates that the sixteen madrasa rooms/cells were placed around the three sides of the courtyard in front of the

[122] Kuran, "Eyüp Külliyesi," 130.
[123] Kuran, "Eyüp Külliyesi," 130-1; Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 168-69; Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami*, 333-36. Before Aptullah Kuran, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi analyzed the available sources, which provide glimpses about the architectural plan of the complex, and suggested a plan. In his article, Kuran also takes into consideration the work of Ayverdi and develops further interpretations on it. For more information on Ayverdi's study, see Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinde Fatih devri*, 348-56.
[124] Kuran, "Eyüp Külliyesi," 131.
[125] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 49.
[126] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 236.

mosque like an U-shape.[127] However, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi argues that these units were located at longitudinal sides of the rectangular courtyard in the direction of qibla.[128] The soup kitchen, which was close to the southeast corner of the mosque, has been standing until 1950s despite its neglected and poor condition; however, it was demolished as a result of the restoration and road-widening projects in this period.[129] Since it was not documented before destruction, we do not have enough information about its architectural features. The double hammam, which is located at the northeast of the mosque, has in large part survived. Evliya Çelebi describes it as one of the oldest bathhouses in Istanbul and recommends to patients to go there for recovering their health.[130]

In the following years, not only the Ottoman sultans and the members of imperial family but also many high officials added new parts to the complex or made renovations. For instance, in 1494, Çandarlı İbrahim Pasha (d. 1499) built a fountain (*şadırvan*) at the center of the inner courtyard shared by the mosque and the tomb; and around a hundred years later, in 1580, Koca Sinan Pasha (d. 1596) erected an elevated (*fevkani*) kiosk on top of this fountain.[131] Interestingly, as far as is known, there is no similar example of such kiosk in another Ottoman mosque. Hence, Baha Tanman argues that the reason of its construction was closely related to the special position of Abu Ayyub mosque in the sword girding ceremonies and it was probably used as both a resting place of the sultans

[127] Kuran, "Eyüp Külliyesi," 131.
[128] Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinde Fatih devri*, 350-5. In relation to this issue, Çiğdem Kafescioğlu raises important questions that are worthwhile to think about further. She asks why the madrasa did not have its own courtyard and classroom. Was the madrasa planned later? Or would it be possible that the complex was built on an older monastic establishment, therefore, its layout was different than other mosque complexes? See Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 49-50.
[129] Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinde Fatih devri*, 355.
[130] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 136-37.
[131] Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami*, 334-5; Tanman, "Kılıç kuşanma törenleri," 79.

and a meeting point for the ulema and high bureaucrats.[132] Evliya Çelebi describes that there were two big plane trees between the kiosk, which was elevated by four marble columns, and the tomb, and under the shadows of these trees, crowded communities were praying.[133] Since the kiosk was completely demolished in 1798-1800 during the restoration of the mosque by Selim III (r. 1789-1807), we do not have further evidence regarding its architectural features and possible functions. In 1591-92, Ekmekçizade Ahmed Pasha (d. 1618), who worked as the head treasurer between 1606 and 1613, constructed an additional building (*zamime*) whose purpose is not known.[134] Ahmed I (r. 1603-1617) did some significant changes in the complex. In 1613-14, a wall covered with tiles from different periods between the mausoleum and the mosque was set up, and these two buildings were visually connected with a big window (*hacet* or *muvacehe penceresi*), which opened on the left side of that wall with the aim of providing a view of the cenotaph of Abu Ayyub to those wishing to pray.[135] Moreover, the well situated near an inner wall of the tomb was restored, and in order to share this water with public, Sedefkar Mehmed Ağa (d. 1617), who was the chief architect of the time, built a new fountain.[136] The wife of Ahmed I and the mother of Osman II (r. 1618-1622), Mahfiruz Hatice Sultan, built a special room (*cüzhane*) next to the door of Abu Ayyub's tomb for Quran recitals.[137] During the reign of Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730), in 1723-24, it was ordered that light illuminations (*mahya*) should be hanged between the minarets of all sultanic mosques in the city during the Ramadan; however, the minarets of Abu Ayyub

[132] Tanman, "Kılıç kuşanma törenleri," 79-81.
[133] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 168. Today only one of these plane trees has survived.
[134] Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami*, 333; Eyice, "Eyüp Sultan Külliyesi," 10.
[135] Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami*, 334; Eyice, "Eyüp Sultan Külliyesi," 10-11.
[136] Eyice, "Eyüp Sultan Külliyesi," 11; Coşkun, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unda müstesna bir ziyaretgah," 553.
[137] Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami*, 334.

mosque were not high enough for such decorations.[138] Accordingly, the minarets were elevated. After two years, the minaret facing the Golden Horn was demolished by a thunderbolt but was restored in a short time.[139] In the same period, the tomb was restored and the silver railings around the sarcophagus of Abu Ayyub were renewed by Nevşehirli Damat İbrahim Pasha (d. 1730) who served as the grand vizier of Ahmed III.[140] In 1732-33, the chief eunuch of the Ottoman imperial harem during the time of Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754), Hacı Beşir Ağa, added two lodges (*mahfil*) to the complex.[141]

As is seen, throughout the years, many spatial and visual alterations took place with the aim of decreasing the negative effects of time or natural disasters on the buildings and of conforming to the changes in Ottoman ceremonial. On the other hand, the complex has generally preserved its initial state until the second half of the eighteenth century. The catastrophic earthquake of 22 May 1766 caused crucial destruction, particularly on the mosque.[142] Consequently, an extensive restoration project started in 1797-98, however, it was understood that there was no solution except completely demolishing the mosque and rebuilding it.[143] The mosque, which has been still standing today, was reconstructed in the baroque style under the patronage of Selim III (r. 1789-1807) in only two years between 1798 and 1800.[144] During this process, the madrasa rooms, the lodges, the fountain at the center of the inner courtyard and the kiosk

[138] Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami*, 333.
[139] Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami*, 334.
[140] Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami*, 335. Abu Ayyub's sarcophagus (or symbolic coffin) was first encircled by Ahmed I with silver wires. The beautifully adorned silver sarcophagus of Abu Ayyub that we can see today was placed by Selim III.
[141] Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami*, 334.
[142] Mazlum, *1766 Istanbul depremi*, 51-56.
[143] Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinde Fatih devri*, 351-52.
[144] Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinde Fatih devri*, 351-52; Kuran, "Eyüp Külliyesi," 132.

on top of it were also torn down.[145] While a new fountain (*şadırvan*) was built in the outer courtyard and its each tap was marked with the seal of Sultan Selim III, on the place of the older fountain in the inner courtyard, a rectangular green area containing the plane trees was created.[146] The outer courtyard was enlarged and four rooms for attendants, such as imam and tomb keeper, were added. Furthermore, a ramp that provides a direct entrance to the sultan's lodge (*hünkar mahfili*) of the mosque was constructed in the outer courtyard, and a roof (*sakıf*) was attached to the tomb for protecting visitors at the inner courtyard from rain and snow.[147] The last important restoration of the complex was conducted between November 1819 and March 1820 under Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839).[148]

2.5 The initial growth process of Eyüp

Mehmed II, who was eager to transform Constantinople into his new capital, wanted the rapid recovery of the city, both physically and socially.[149] As a part of this imperial project aiming to rebuild, repopulate, and restructure Ottoman Istanbul, the first religious and social complex was established around the tomb of Abu Ayyub at the end of the Golden Horn. Besides its function as a shrine commemorating the Muslim warrior saint and providing a religious and social symbol for the newcomers, the complex was conceived as the core of a district to be developed.[150] As Doğan Kuban argues, it must have developed fairly soon, because in the administrative division of the city, Eyüp had

[145] Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami*, 338.
[146] Eyice, "Eyüp Sultan Külliyesi," 11; Coşkun, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unda müstesna bir ziyaretgah," 553-54.
[147] Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami*, 338; Coşkun, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unda müstesna bir ziyaretgah," 554.
[148] Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami*, 338-39.
[149] For a very detailed and useful study covering political, religious, social, cultural, and architectural aspects about the transformation of the city between the Byzantine and the Ottoman rule, see Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*.
[150] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 50.

its own jurisdiction.[151] Following the conquest, Istanbul was divided into four administrative regions (*Bilad-ı Selase*) and each region was under the jurisdiction of a *kadı* (a judge who was the supreme official responsible for municipal and legal affairs).[152] According to that, Eyüp was determined as one of the four administrative units along with the walled city, Galata, and Üsküdar.[153] *Eyüp Kadılığı*, which was also known as *Haslar Kadılığı* or *Havass-ı Refia*, was responsible for the lands extramural in the west and northwest of the city including Çatalca, Büyük-Küçük Çekmece and Silivri.[154]

When Mehmed II and his army appeared before its walls in the spring of 1453, Constantinople was a half-ruined city whose population was probably no more than fifty thousand.[155] The city had progressively declined since the Latin occupation in 1204; and already in the second half of the fourteenth century, Constantinople and its vicinity were like a small island surrounded by Ottoman territories.[156] Considering the damages of the siege and of the sack that followed the conquest, it is not hard to imagine that the picture of the city became gloomier.[157] Seemingly, Constantinople in the fifteenth century was

[151] Kuban, *Istanbul, an urban history*, 254.
[152] The exact establishment date of Bilad-ı Selase is not exactly known. Kuban and Ayverdi suggest the date as early as 1459, but it is difficult to be sure about that. See Kuban, *Istanbul, an urban history*, 234; Ayverdi, *Fatih devri sonları*, 5.
[153] The most elevated level of jurisdiction belonged to the *Istanbul Kadılığı* (the walled city). Besides that, the three administrative units outside of the city walls, Eyüp, Galata, and Üsküdar, were called *Bilad-ı Selase* (the three cities).
[154] Kuban, *Istanbul, an urban history*, 234; Artan, "Eyüp," 2. As is seen, the *Eyüp Kadılığı* covered a very large area. For instance, although we cannot be sure about the accuracy of these numbers, in the seventeenth century Evliya Çelebi indicated that seven hundred villages and twenty six districts were administered by the *Eyüp Kadılığı*. Therefore, it should be kept in mind that this thesis examines only the central area of Eyüp and that other areas are out of scope of this study.
[155] İnalcık, "The policy of Mehmed II," 230.
[156] İnalcık, "The policy of Mehmed II," 230.
[157] Tacizade Cafer Çelebi (d. 1515) reports that Mehmed II proclaimed the assault and sack in these terms: "The stones and the land of the city's appurtenances belong to me; all other goods and property, are booty for the troops." The sultan first had granted permission for three days of sack, but he put an end to the plunder on the evening of the first day. Both Byzantine and Ottoman sources recount that he felt profound

not an attractive resettlement destination for Ottoman subjects living in other parts of the empire; therefore; Mehmed II developed some policies, such as offers of free property, and forced deportations, to increase the city's population.[158] The sultan appointed Karıştıran Süleyman Bey, who was the former *subaşı* (chief of police) of Bursa, as the first prefect of the city; furthermore, "he put him in charge of everything, but particularly of the repopulation of the city, and instructed him to be very zealous about this matter."[159] In this context, Eyüp was subject to the same policies of repopulation as the city proper, and Muslim communities forced to emigrate from Bursa were settled in the environs of the complex of Abu Ayyub.[160] Yet, it should be noted that this process could not be carried out very easily. Wealthy dwellers of Bursa such as merchants engaged in silk trade resisted deportation; however, although they felt themselves powerful enough to attempt to resist the sultan's order, they lost.[161] Mehmed II intervened and stayed in Bursa for more than a month to deal with the local revolts.[162] As a result, deportees from Bursa were placed in Eyüp and had a significant role in the foundation of the township.

After the conquest, Istanbul was rebuilt and transformed by not only the intensive construction effort of the sultan but also the contribution of high-ranking state

---

sadness as he toured the looted and enslaved city. See İnalcık, "The policy of Mehmed II," 233; Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, 76-77, 104-5; Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü'l-Feth*, 62-64.

[158] For more information on the policies of Mehmed II, the changes in demography of Istanbul after the conquest, and how the neighborhoods were developed socially, institutionally, and architecturally, see Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 178-206. For some contemporary primary sources mentioning this issue, see Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, 93-4, 104-5; Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü'l-Feth*, 65-76; Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, 219-21.

[159] İnalcık, "The policy of Mehmed II," 236; Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü'l-Feth*, 65.

[160] İnalcık, "The policy of Mehmed II," 237; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 50.

[161] İnalcık, "The policy of Mehmed II," 237.

[162] İnalcık, "The policy of Mehmed II," 237; Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, 95.

officials and other affluent people.[163] Kritovoulos recounts that Mehmed II commanded wealthy and most able persons to erect places of worship, baths, inns, marketplaces, workshops, and grand houses and to adorn and embellish the city with many other such edifices.[164] New neighborhoods (*mahalle*s) commonly emerged around religious buildings and were named after founders of these local institutions. This pattern of Ottoman urban development was also applied in Eyüp. According to the available sources,[165] in the fifteenth century, including the complex of Abu Ayyub, ten mosques and masjids were built in Eyüp, and eight of them became the nuclei of further spatial developments (see Appendix B, Figures 4-5).[166] In addition, there were also three dervish lodges, but one of them, Yavedüd Convent, was actually erected as a part of a convent-mosque that was called either Abdülvedüd or Yavedüd (see Appendix B, Figure 6).[167] Considering today's historic urban area of Eyüp, which is spanned roughly between Ayvansaray and Piyer Loti Hill, it can be said that a significant part of this area started to be developed in the fifteenth century. On the other hand, there were probably

[163] As Çiğdem Kafescioğlu indicates, a central method of urban construction inherited by the Ottomans from former Turco-Mongol and Islamic polities was the delegation of public works to high-ranking state officials and this method was implemented in Eyüp too. See Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 50.
[164] Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, 140-41.
[165] Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi argues that in comparison to the walled city, the amount of information about what happened in the suburbs of Istanbul in the fifteenth century is much more limited, and that especially Eyüp was not mentioned at all in many documents at that period. Because of that, he uses Ayvanasarayi's *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami* and a neighborhoods list dated 1922 as main sources of his research. In addition, I also benefitted from Mehmet Nermi Haskan's extensive work on Eyüp. See Ayverdi, *Fatih devri sonları*, 53, footnote 60; Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosque*; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vols. 1-2).
[166] Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi lists these neighborhoods as: Abdülvedüd Mosque Neighborhood, Cami-i Kebir (the grand mosque or the Abu Ayyub Mosque) Neighborhood, Fethi Çelebi Mosque Neighborhood, Kasım Çavuş Masjid Neighborhood, Mehmed Bey Masjid Neighborhood, Çayırbaşı (Otakçıbaşı) Masjid Neighborhood, Sofular Masjid Neighborhood, and Ülice (Evlice) Baba Neighborhood. In addition to them, there were also Arpacı Hayreddin Masjid and Bıçakçı Masjid that were not indicated as having neighborhoods. See Ayverdi, *Fatih devri sonları*, 53-54; Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, xxviii, 304; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 26.
[167] The fifteenth-century dervish lodges built in Eyüp can be listed as Karyağdı, Yavedüd, and Balçık. These are discussed in more detail later in this chapter, in the section focusing on dervish lodges in Eyüp.

many empty spaces and the density of construction activities and of population was low compared to the later periods.

Contemporary sources portray that after the completion of Abu Ayyub's complex, a settlement, almost a small city, was developed in Eyüp rapidly. In 1470s, Angiolello describes that a lot of people were living there and many houses and palaces had been built around the shrine so that a large and beautiful town emerged.[168] Similarly, Tursun Bey indicates that a number of houses and kiosks were built close to the complex, which was visited by the folk coming from various places.[169] Consequently, a very nice town was constructed, and people who want peace and rest went there both by a caique through sea and by horses or on foot from the land, to socialize and pilgrimage.[170] Parallel to the narratives of Angiolello and Tursun Bey, İdris Bidlisi recounts that thanks to the benevolence and donations of the sultans, Abu Ayyub's complex and its vicinity turned into a beautiful and prosperous city.[171] Even though these literary depictions are quite useful to get a glimpse of how urban dwellers conceived their environment in a period full of changes and transitions after the conquest, they are not sufficient enough to provide a clear picture of Eyüp's urban image in the fifteenth century. Moreover, in contrast to the extensive archival documentation produced in later periods, the fifteenth century lacks many sources, such as court records or *mühimme* registers, which would be very helpful to researchers of Ottoman urban history.[172] Some available documents, which could be examined to shed light on the monuments, patrons, and residents of the city during this period, are unbound imperial

[168] Yerasimos, "Giovan Maria Angiolello," 36.
[169] Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü'l-Feth*, 75.
[170] Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü'l-Feth*, 75. Tursun Bey describes Eyüp as "bir hoş teferrüc-gah kasaba." Since 'teferrücgah' means excursion spot, his depiction implies that the town was similar to a promenade.
[171] İdris Bidlisi, *Heşt-Bihişt*, 80.
[172] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 13.

edicts, surveys of urban property, sales and ownership documents, and the deeds and account books of pious endowments.[173]

The original waqfiyya (endowment deed) of Abu Ayyub complex had been lost; what we have is a waqfiyya compiled in 1582 under Murad III (r. 1574-1595) to reorganize the maintenance of the waqf.[174] The only document, which can give us an idea about the complex and its vicinity in the fifteenth century, is an account book dating to 1489-1490.[175] According to the list of income sources given in this register, most of the properties devoted to the waqf for covering its costs were located in Thrace and Western Anatolia, and near the complex, only two bathhouses and the lands and gardens around the tomb were recorded. On the other hand, in the waqfiyya of 1582, many houses and shops located within the township of Eyüp were indicated as sources of income.[176] In addition, compared the costs of the complex registered in these two documents, it is seen that in the sixteenth century, a larger number of people were employed with higher wages. These differences can show us that after the foundation and initial growth process of Eyüp in the fifteenth century, from the sixteenth century onwards, the town developed more dramatically and its population increased.

[173] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 13.
[174] Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinde Fatih devri*, 348-49.
[175] Barkan, "Ayasofya Cami'i ve Eyüp Türbesi," 373-79.
[176] *Fatih Mehmed II vakfiyeleri*, 313-27; Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinde Fatih devri*, 348.

CHAPTER 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE URBAN LANDSCAPE OF EYÜP IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are the most significant periods for the urban development of Eyüp. Numerous architectural structures serving different needs of its dwellers were built in this period and its image as the first 'Islamic' settlement of the Ottoman new capital was strengthened.[177] As a result of extensive building campaigns, as Evliya Çelebi indicates in the seventeenth century, Eyüp and Istanbul became fully connected with each other, and no empty field remained between the land walls and Eyüp.[178] Moreover, besides its religious sacredness and ideological importance, the town developed as a significant social and cultural center and a favored recreation site. In addition to this vibrant environment, Eyüp also expanded as a city of the dead with its large cemeteries that emerged around the tomb of Abu Ayyub. Therefore, its urban landscape presents a harmonized combination of motifs of death and life.

In this chapter, I will explore the physical structure of Eyüp and its architectural and spatial development considering the social and cultural contexts of the time. In this regard, I aim to examine the essential elements of Eyüp's urban landscape including

[177] According to the account of Ayvansarayi and the detailed study of Mehmet Nermi Haskan on the built environment of Eyüp based on both library research and his travel notes, 57 mosques and masjids, 41 dervish lodges, 109 tombs, 11 madrasas, 26 primary schools, 105 fountains, 13 bathhouses, and many seaside mansions and kiosks were constructed in Eyüp from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. Based on Ayvansarayi's and Haskan's works, I have prepared a detailed list of architectural structures built in Eyüp in different periods to comprehend its urban development better. As a result, I saw that most of these buildings were erected during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the other hand, I should note that it is hard to be sure about the precision of these numbers considering that many buildings are no longer extant, or some of them started to have been used for another function, for instance a madrasa or a convent may have been turned into a masjid. Still, I wanted to provide this data in order to offer an idea about the size of architectural ventures in the township. See Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vols. 1-2).

[178] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 168.

mosques, tombs, madrasas, dervish lodges, soup kitchens, bathhouses, fountains, shops, boathouses, piers, houses, palaces and seaside mansions as well as open spaces such as courtyards, squares, promenades and cemeteries. The structures in this list can be simply classified according to their functions as socio-religious, commercial, residential, and infrastructural. However, I do not think that such a classification would be appropriate for this study, taking into account that in many cases, a number of building types were built together and constituted multifunctional complexes. For instance, commercial and production areas were mostly built as a part of charitable foundations to provide income, or some funerary complexes had socio-religious buildings such as madrasas or dervish lodges. Furthermore, these places were closely settled with each other in the spatial setting of the township, and apparently, there was no clear separation between religious, social, commercial, and residential areas.

Because of these reasons, rather than depending on a conventional classification, first I would like to follow the urban growth of Eyüp within a historical framework (mostly based on religious buildings because new settlements were generally established around them), and then discuss the significant urban nodes around which the main parts of the township developed. In this context, in Appendix A, more information on particular buildings, which had significant roles in the town's historical and architectural development, can be found. The locations, patrons, architectural features, and symbolic or functional importance of these structures are some of the questions that are dwelled on. In the last part, I will examine the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century visual representations of Eyüp, which offer further insight regarding the urban landscape and the Ottoman's perception of their urban environment.

3.1 Historical overview of the urban growth in Eyüp

3.1.1 The earlier sixteenth century, 1500s-1530s

Considering the architectural ventures that took place in Eyüp in other historical periods, it would not be wrong to claim that the township developed much faster in the sixteenth century and that the backbone of Eyüp's urban fabric and identity was formed.[179] However, in the first two decades of the sixteenth century under Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512) and Selim I (r. 1512-1520), only a few significant construction projects were initiated in Eyüp. The most common public buildings that were erected in this period were masjids.[180] Unlike Friday mosques that required royal approval, the sultan's permission was not compulsory for the construction of masjids because Friday prayers were not held in them.[181] Compared to congregational mosques, masjids were relatively modest institutions with small waqfs; hence, they were commissioned by a wider spectrum of patrons in terms of their positions in social hierarchy.[182] Therefore, not only the members of the royal household and highest-ranking grandees but also minor officers, servants or aghas of the imperial palace, and craftsmen founded endowments in Eyüp. Other than the masjids, until 1530s, only one congregational mosque, which was called Cezeri Kasım Pasha, was built in the township together with a primary school and madrasa, which are no longer extant. The founder Cezeri Kasım Pasha was a high-level

[179] According to the list that I have prepared based on the works of Ayvansarayi and Haskan, 27 mosques and masjids, 40 tombs, 30 fountains, ten primary schools, eight dervish lodges, seven madrasas and one school for training of Quran (*darülkura*), three bathhouses, and three open-air praying platforms (*namazgah*) were built in Eyüp in this period. See Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vols. 1-2).
[180] The masjids that were built in this period were Kara Süleyman (Defterdar), Saçlı Abdülkadir Efendi, Kızıl (Kiremitçi Süleyman), İslam Bey, and Zeyneb Hatun. Each of them is discussed in more detail in Appendix A, and their locations can be seen in Appendix B, Figure 7.
[181] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 47.
[182] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 47.

state official who also served as grand vizier; thus, his endowment was important as one of the early examples of elite patronage in Eyüp.[183]

Considering the locations of these structures, most of them were concentrated around the complex of Abu Ayyub, such as the masjids of Kara Süleyman (Defterdar), Saçlı Abdülkadir Efendi, and Kızıl (Kiremitçi Süleyman). On the other hand, a few buildings such as İslam Bey Masjid, Zeyneb Hatun Masjid, and Cezeri Kasım Pasha Mosque were situated a little bit far away from the very center of the township (see Appendix B, Figure 7). As the foundation of the most important personage among the patrons of this period, Cezeri Kasım Pasha's mosque complex was on the royal ceremonial route that connected the venerated shrine of Abu Ayyub to the Topkapı Palace. Zeyneb Hatun's and her husband İdris Bidlisi's foundations, which were located close to today's Piyer Loti Coffeehouse, contributed to enlarge the settlement towards a more hilly terrain beyond the flat land on the shore of the Golden Horn. Except Saçlı Abdülkadir Efendi Masjid, all other mosques and masjids mentioned above had neighborhoods.[184] Taking into account the area in which buildings spread in the fifteenth century, it can be claimed that the boundaries of the township did not change dramatically in this period.

[183] For more information on Cezeri Kasım Pasha Mosque and other masjids in terms of their patrons, locations, and architectural features, see Appendix A.

[184] The main source of this information is Ayvansarayi's *Hadika'tül Cevami* (The Gardens of the Mosques). In his work, he indicated whether the mosque had a quarter or not, specifying whether the mosque was the central worship place for the quarter's residents or not. Considering that Ayvansarayi lived in the eighteenth century, it would be good to keep in mind that we do not actually know when neighborhoods exactly developed around these mosques or masjids.

3.1.2 The mid- to late sixteenth century and the era of chief architect Sinan

Parallel to the military, economic, and political developments in the Ottoman state, most of the investments were realized in later years of the sixteenth century under three sultans: Süleyman I (r. 1520-1566), Selim II (r. 1566-1574), and Murad III (r. 1574-1595). In this process, the contribution of Sinan, who served as chief royal architect between 1539 and 1588 for nearly half a century, was of huge importance. Sinan's appointment as chief architect coincided with a multivalent transformation in Ottoman political structures and culture, and in relation to that, changes in imperial ideology and iconography.[185] Under Süleyman I, the Ottoman territories were expanded extensively to include Hungary in the West, to Azerbaijan, Western Iran, and Iraq in the East, and to the North African coast with the exception of Morocco in the South. The Ottoman state thus turned into a powerful empire that dominated the eastern Mediterranean basin, and on that had claims for universal sovereignty. Moreover, as a result of the extension of Ottoman rule over the three holy cities Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, Süleyman I claimed symbolic leadership over the Islamic world and began to represent himself as 'the caliph of the whole world'.[186]

As a consequence of these military and political developments, the state organization evolved into a much more autocratic, centralized, and bureaucratized structure, and Sunni orthodoxy dramatically increased its impact on imperial institutions and discourse. Ebussuud Efendi, who was the confidant and counselor of Süleyman I and held the office of shaykh al-Islam about thirty years between 1545 and 1574, formulated the new official policy, which marked the beginning of a more conservative

[185] For a detailed examination of how architectural trends were articulated in connection with the political agenda of the period between 1520s and 1570s, see Kafescioğlu, "The visual arts," 510-28.
[186] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 27.

and sharia-minded Ottoman state.[187] His activities included the construction of masjids in every village and Friday mosques in towns and cities where they were lacking, along with the compulsory observance of congregational prayers.[188] He even declared several fatwas authorizing the punishment of those who failed to attend the five daily prayers in the masjids.[189] The state's growing emphasis on the obligation of the communal prayers caused a considerable increase in the number of Friday mosques and masjids both in Istanbul and other parts of the empire during the reign of Süleyman I and his immediate successors.[190] Parallel to this trend, in Eyüp, four congregational mosques and five masjids were built, all commissioned to the chief architect Sinan (see Appendix B, Figure 8).[191] The majority of the sponsors of these institutions were members of the ruling elite, as a continuation of patronage patterns that had been established in the 1460s and 1470s.[192] Moreover, the visibility of royal women as patrons of foundations and architecture increased saliently in connection with changes in their political role.[193] The dynastic women established urban institutions in Eyüp either alone or with their high-ranking spouses. For example, Şah Sultan, the daughter of Selim I and the half-sister of Süleyman I, commissioned a convent-mosque in the town to the architect

[187] İnalcık, "State and ideology," 81.
[188] İnalcık, "State and ideology," 81; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 35.
[189] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 48-49.
[190] According to Gülru Necipoğlu, the large number of Friday mosques that Sinan built in Istanbul must have been blurred their difference from masjids and turned them into monuments associated with specific neighborhoods rather than towns or cities. See Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 57.
[191] These are Arpacı Hayreddin (Arpacıbaşı) Masjid (restoration), Davudağa (Kapı Ağası) Masjid, Defterdar Mahmud Efendi Masjid, Dökmeciler (Düğmeciler) Masjid, Emir Buhari Mosque, Nişancı Mustafa Pasha Mosque, Münzevi Süleyman (Müzevvir) Masjid, Şah Sultan Mosque, and Zal Mahmud Pasha and Şah Sultan Mosque. Except Arpacı Hayreddin (Arpacıbaşı) Masjid, each of these buildings is discussed in more detail in Appendix A, and their locations can be seen in Appendix B, Figure 9.
[192] Kafescioğlu, "The visual arts," 514.
[193] Kafescioğlu, "The visual arts," 516.

Sinan.[194] Another Şah Sultan, who was one of the three daughters of Selim II, was the builder of a mosque and mausoleum complex in Eyüp together with his husband Zal Mahmud Pasha.[195]

In addition to the political and ideological agenda of the state, another reason that contributed to the rising demand for Friday mosques in this period was the general population growth in the sixteenth-century Mediterranean world and consequently the increase in urbanization.[196] Istanbul's population had grown from about 100,000 people at the end of the fifteenth century to over 500,000 in the 1590s.[197] Although the sixteenth-century Ottoman intellectual Mustafa Ali thought that building so many Friday mosques in the city was a wasteful extravagance triggered by prestige value rather than piety and need, these establishments had been created at the request of community members.[198] The two common criteria that were presented in the petitions to justify the foundation of a new Friday mosque were the increased size of a congregation and the inconvenience caused by the distance of the nearest existing Friday mosque.[199] Besides initiating new construction projects, another practice was to transform a sufficiently large masjid into a Friday mosque simply by the addition of a minbar.[200] For instance, the status of the masjid that was built by Şah Sultan, daughter of Selim I, in Eyüp was changed in this way by the approval of the Sultan Süleyman I.

---

[194] For more information on Şah Sultan's architectural patronage and her motivation behind endowing a convent-mosque, see Appendix A.
[195] For more information on the patrons, history, location, architectural layout, and other stylistic characteristics of Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque Complex, see Appendix A.
[196] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 57.
[197] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 57.
[198] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 45, 57; Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Meva'idu'n-nefais fi-kava'ıdi'l-mecalis*, 118.
[199] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 57.
[200] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 57.

Sinan's monuments, particularly mosque complexes, which were preferably sited on hilltops or along the waterfront, enhanced the spectacular image of Istanbul by elaborating already established urban patterns.[201] His complex and multivalent architectural compositions were in a close relation with the topography of the city as well as its extant urban fabric.[202] Not only his major works like the Süleymaniye in the walled city but also his relatively minor works in Eyüp also reflect these characteristics. For instance, Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque Complex, which is situated on a slope at Eyüp, was organized around two courtyards at two different levels connected with stairs; in this way, Sinan provided multiple points of visual and physical access to the visitor (see Appendix B, Figure 9). Besides its sophisticated layout and design, the visual dominance of the complex was also strengthened with its significant location on the royal ceremonial route (see Appendix B, Figures 10-11). Defterdar Masjid, which is a more modest work of Sinan (see Appendix B, Figure 12), is located along the shore of the Golden Horn, close to Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque. Seemingly both of these buildings were more intimately connected to the sea than they are today.[203] In the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi expresses that there were piers called Defterdar and Zal Pasha.[204] Şah Sultan Mosque, which was commissioned by the daughter of Selim I, is also located on the shoreline at the northern side of the shrine of Abu Ayyub (see Appendix B, Figure 13). Sinan's monuments developed the township not only along the Golden Horn but also towards more hilly and inner terrains (e.g. Dökmeciler Masjid,

[201] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 108-9.
[202] Kafescioğlu, "The visual arts," 525.
[203] Constructed in the mid-twentieth century as a part of the renewal project for Eyüp, the large boulevards and roads, together with the fill areas at the coastline, decreased the physical connection of these monuments with the sea. Moreover, taking into account that people were generally reaching Eyüp by sea in the early modern Istanbul, the locations of these mosques probably had of more importance than we perceive today.
[204] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 167.

Nişancılar Mosque, Davud Ağa Masjid, Münzevi Süleyman Masjid, Emir Buhari Mosque).[205] They became the center of further settlements and gave their names to new neighborhoods.[206]

The great master Sinan, whose works played a crucial role in shaping the unique urban structure and character of Eyüp, also conducted important infrastructural projects for supplying water to the city. For instance, Kırkçeşme waterways, were restored and expanded by Sinan during the reign of Süleyman I.[207] One of the most important water distribution centers of Kırkçeşme waterways, Eğrikapı Maksemi, also known as Savaklar Fountain, is located in Eyüp, just outside of the city walls, and the neighborhood located around it is known with its name, Savaklar.[208]

In addition to the works of Sinan, from the 1530s to the end of the sixteenth century, eleven more masjids, whose architects are unknown, were erected in Eyüp, and eight of them had neighborhoods.[209] As can be observed on the map, they expanded the borders of the town towards west and contributed to increase the density of the settlement in general (see Appendix B, Figure 14). It should also be noted that some of these masjids like Baba Haydar, Nakşi Musa Çavuş, and Savak functioned also as

[205] For the full list of Sinan's works in Eyüp, see Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 164-65; Kuran, *Sinan*, 254-67. One significant difference between these two sources is about the tomb of Ayas Paşa. Haskan claims that this monument is the first work of Sinan. On the other hand, Kuran explains that the tomb of Ayas Paşa registered in *Tuhfetü'l-Mi-marin* was actually located in Diyarbakır and that the Ayas Paşa mentioned here is not the Grand Vizier Ayas Mehmed Paşa, who was buried in Eyüp, but the Beylerbeyi Ayas Paşa, who was executed for his complicity in the feud between Süleyman I's two sons Bayezid and Selim. Semavi Eyice also supports the argument of Kuran. See Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 156-58; Kuran, *Sinan*, 27-28; Eyice, "Ayas Paşa Türbesi," 204.

[206] Except Arpacı Hayreddin (Arpacıbaşı) Masjid which is thought to have been restored by Sinan, other masjids and mosques mentioned above as Sinan's works had neighborhoods.

[207] Çeçen, *Mimar Sinan ve Kırkçeşme tesisleri*; Çeçen, "Kırkçeşme tesisleri."

[208] Çeçen, "Eğrikapı maksemi." Kazım Çeçen notes that when Eğrikapı Maksemi was built, it was not immediately used for distribution of water to the township of Eyüp. Another water distribution center called Eyüp Maksemi was most likely constructed there in a later period.

[209] Aşçıbaşı Masjid, Baba Haydar Masjid, Topçular Masjid, Semiz Ali Pasha Masjid, Dede (Dere) Masjid, Nakşi Musa Çavuş Masjid, Servi Masjid, and Savak Masjid had neighborhoods. Other three masjids were Demirciler, Kaptan Pasha, and Bali Hoca.

convent. Similarly, among the architect Sinan's works, the mosques of Emir Buhari and Şah Sultan included dervish lodges. Other than these, four more Sufi convents were established in Eyüp in this period (see Appendix B, Figure 15).[210] One of them, Cafer Pasha Convent, was a part of a complex containing a madrasa and a tomb (see Appendix B, Figures 16-17). Cafer Pasha (d. 1587) served as the weapons bearer (*silahdar*) of Süleyman I, then he was promoted as the Janissary agha and the vizier. As these examples demonstrate, dervish lodges were quite prevalent charitable endowments in the sixteenth-century Eyüp. Not only certain sheikhs but also imperial family members and Ottoman grandees were among the founders and had connections with Sufi orders.[211]

In addition to the Muslim places of worshipping, in the sixteenth century, a church called the Apostolic Armenian Church of Surp Yeghia (Saint Elia) was also erected in the town (see Appendix B, Figure 18).[212] Its construction date is not exactly known, however, it is believed to have been built during the reign of Süleyman I. According to that, for the construction of the Kırkçeşme water supply system, Süleyman I employed Armenian master masons from Palu, which is in the city of Elazığ today, and established a brick-making workshop for manufacturing water pipes, roof tiles, and bricks. Armenians who were working in this workshop settled in the surroundings, and seemingly, they also founded a church and developed a neighborhood around it.[213] The church, which is located on Karayel Street in Nişanca quarter, was rebuilt in the nineteenth century. Elmon Hançer argues that this is a small and modest but harmoniously designed church built for a community of low-income Armenians (see

[210] These are Ümmi Sinan, Molla Çelebi, Yahyazade, and Cafer Pasha.
[211] For a useful historical overview of the institutionalization of Sufism in the Ottoman central lands during the first three centuries of the Ottoman rule, see Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the age of state-building."
[212] Hançer, "Eyüp Ermeni kiliseleri," 167-70.
[213] Hançer, "Eyüp Ermeni kiliseleri," 167.

Appendix B, Figure 19).[214] Although Eyüp has been generally recognized with its 'Islamic' character, as this church demonstrates, Christian communities also lived in the town and left their mark on the urban fabric.

3.1.3 The seventeenth century

Starting from the late sixteenth century, construction activities in Istanbul dramatically slowed down parallel to the changes in economic, military, and political circumstances of the state. A complex combination of factors such as inflation, budget deficits due to the expanded army, lack of territorial expansion, recurrent rebellions in the provinces, and changing identities of the dynasty and ruling elite led to the emergence of a new architectural paradigm by the turn of the seventeenth century.[215] Monuments commissioned in the city began to shrink not only in number but also in scale, as patrons adapted their aspirations to their diminishing means.[216] A very limited number of royal mosque complexes were built in Istanbul in the seventeenth century; moreover, during the second half of the period, the sultans preferred to reside in Edirne and refrained from big building campaigns in the capital.[217] Consequently, there was a shift from mosque-centered monumental complexes to more modest ones organized around madrasas, sometimes featuring Sufi convents and masjids.[218] At that point, it should be noted that in the case of Eyüp, as is discussed above, convents were already a prominent part of the foundations in the sixteenth century.

---

[214] Hançer, "Eyüp Ermeni kiliseleri," 170.
[215] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 46, 506-19.
[216] Kafescioğlu, "The visual arts," 529.
[217] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 511, 518.
[218] As an alternative reason of this transformation, Gülru Necipoğlu also points out a large number of Friday mosques already built in Istanbul. According to her, it must have become increasingly difficult to find a legal justification for the construction of new congregational mosques in the seventeenth century. Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 509-10; Kafescioğlu, "The visual arts," 530.

The shrinking number and scale of architectural works sponsored in Istanbul found a parallel in the township of Eyüp. As far as I have investigated from the account of Ayvansarayi and the detailed work of Mehmet Nermi Haskan, in the seventeenth century, only three masjids were built in Eyüp, and only one of them had a neighborhood (see Appendix B, Figure 20).[219] Additionally, three convents were established (see Appendix B, Figure 21).[220] As is expected, the number of high-ranking Ottoman statesmen and members of royal household who founded urban institutions in the township in this period is very limited.

Other than these Islamic endowments, similar to the previous century, in the second half of the seventeenth century, presumably in 1675, a new church was built in Eyüp.[221] The Apostolic Armenian Church of the Surp Asdvadzazin (Mother of God) is located in Islambey quarter at the northwest of the Abu Ayyub Mosque on a picturesque hill from where one has a complete view of Eyüp Cemetery (see Appendix B, Figure 22).[222] The original building was made of wood, and after several restorations, it was rebuilt in stone in 1855. According to Hançer, as in the case of Surp Yeghia Church, Surp Asdvadzazin Church was also built modestly for a not wealthy community, but nevertheless it can be said that it was done with a good artistic taste especially considering its interior decoration (see Appendix B, Figure 23).[223] Whatever their architectural merits, these two Armenian churches are important as monuments representing the presence of multi-religious and multicultural environment in Eyüp.

---

[219] These are Tahta Minare Masjid, Ümmühan Hatun (Hacı Hüsrev) Masjid, and Arakiyeci Masjid. Only Arakiyeci Masjid had a neighborhood. More information on these buildings can be found in Appendix A. Also see Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 303-4, 306; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 97-99, 104.
[220] These are Kara Mezak Ahmed Ağa Convent, Sivasi Convent, and Murad Buhari Convent.
[221] Hançer, "Eyüp Ermeni kiliseleri," 170-73.
[222] Hançer, "Eyüp Ermeni kiliseleri," 171.
[223] Hançer, "Eyüp Ermeni kiliseleri," 173.

3.2 The surrounding area of the Abu Ayyub al-Ansari Shrine Complex

It is no doubt that the most prominent urban node in the development of Eyüp was the tomb and mosque complex of Abu Ayyub. It was not only a place of internal pilgrimage for Istanbulites and a major stop on the ceremonial map of the imperial capital but also a center of a new Ottoman settlement developed on an area that was almost empty in the Byzantine era. The town of Eyüp grew starting from this nucleus. On the other hand, considering the urban fabric in the immediate vicinity of the complex, the most dominant element would not be probably identified as residential, commercial, or religious buildings. Instead, numerous funerary structures and large graveyards that surrounded it would grab the attention.

As I previously discussed, because of the legendary reputation of the Muslim warrior saint Abu Ayyub, a lot of people wanted to be buried near his venerated shrine; therefore, the town turned into one of the largest and the most famed necropolis in the city (see Appendix B, Figure 24). This interest was not only limited with common folk, and many Ottoman grandees built prestigious mausoleums for themselves and their families, which were often accompanied by other socio-religious endowments such as madrasas, Quran schools, convents, or fountains (see Appendix B, Figure 25). For instance, as far as is known, only the great architect Sinan was commissioned to build seven mausoleums around the complex of Abu Ayyub. The tombs of Dukakinzade Mehmed Pasha, Lala Hüseyin Pasha, Pertev Pasha (d. 1572), Semiz Ali Pasha (d. 1565), Siyavuş Pasha (d. 1602) and his children, and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1579) and his children were all built by Sinan and became the salient structures reflecting the Eyüp's

historical urban character (see Appendix B, Figures 26-27).[224] Among them, the mausoleum of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha is a part of a complex, which was actually a collaborative endowment of the pasha and his wife İsmihan Sultan, who was the daughter of Selim II. Together with the tomb, Sinan was commissioned to construct a madrasa and a fountain in 1568-69; and after a decade, a school for teaching the reading of Quran was added in 1579 again by Sinan (see Appendix, Figures 28-29).[225] In addition to the works of Sinan, many other tombs belonging to important personages were built, which made Eyüp an elite burial place. The tombs of sheikh al-Islam Ebussud Efendi (d. 1574), the chief admiral Plak (Bulak) Mustafa Pasha, the vizier Mirmiran Mehmed Agha (d. 1589), the chief accountant Feridun Ahmed Pasha (d. 1552), and the vizier Cafer Pasha (d. 1586) are just some examples in this regard (see Appendix B, Figures 16-17, 30-33),[226] and this list can be easily expanded.[227]

The religious and symbolic importance of Eyüp was most likely the main reason of this increase in the number of funerary structures. Besides that, a new regulation regarding the memorial tombs in the second half of the sixteenth century might have also caused a special interest to Eyüp among the high-ranking officials. Accordingly, the construction of founders' mausoleums adjoining non-royal mosque complexes in Istanbul was seriously restricted, requiring special written permission from the sultans.[228] Mausoleums were allowed only in marginal districts along the city's land

[224] Kuran, *Sinan*, 255, 259, 261-63.
[225] Parlak, "Sokullu Mehmed Paşa Külliyesi" 358; Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 364; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 257-59; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 9, 26-27, 41-42.
[226] The tomb complex of Cafer Pasha containing a convent and a madrasa is also briefly discussed in the previous part. It should also be noted that Cafer Pasha was the son-in-law of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. The proximity of their complexes in Eyüp can also be considered in this context. In Appendix B, figures 16 and 17 show the complex of Cafer Pasha.
[227] Bacque-Grammont, "Eyüp mezarlıkları," 62-105; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vols. 1-2).
[228] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 111.

walls, in the three townships, and their outlying suburbs. As a result of this policy, the number of monumental domed mausoleums in the blessed necropolis of Eyüp proliferated. Stephan Gerlach (1546-1612), who was assigned to the Istanbul mission by the Habsburg emperor as a Protestant priest between 1573 and 1578, writes in his diary that Ottoman grandees were paying great sums to be buried near the tomb of Abu Ayyub.[229] Similarly, in his travelogue, the Maghribi traveller Ebu'l-Hasan Ali, who arrived to Istanbul in 1589, recounts that the high-ranking Ottomans were competing with each other to buy a burial place in Eyüp.[230] Not only empty spaces but also a number of urban gardens endowed for the complex of Abu Ayyub were also converted into graveyards in the later sixteenth century.[231] On the other hand, it should be noted that despite this interest of Ottoman elite, Eyüp was not preferred by the sultans as a site to be built their dynastic mausoleums. During the long history of the empire, Mehmed Reşad V (r. 1909-1918) was the first and only sultan ever to be buried in Eyüp, outside the walls of the city.[232]

In addition to these prestigious funerary structures, Eyüp cemetery was also considerably enlarged from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards. It developed mainly on the slopes of the hill to the northwest of the shrine and encircled parts of the town.[233] Apart from sacredness of the site and people's wish to be buried there, the expansion of burial grounds in the township might be related to the state's regulations for public health and hygiene, particularly against the spread of diseases like

[229] Gerlach, *Türkiye günlüğü*, 331, 572.
[230] Yerasimos, "Ebu'l-Hasan Ali."
[231] Kafescioğlu, "Eyüp;" Barkan, "Ayasofya Cami'i ve Eyüp Türbesi," 373-80; Yerasimos, "16. yy'da Eyyüb Vakfı muhasebelerinde Eyüp kasabası," 140-9.
[232] Eldem, *Death in Istanbul*, 34.
[233] Kafescioğlu, "Eyüp."

plague.[234] Although it is not exactly known how burial space was organized in Ottoman Istanbul, the city's increasing exposure to epidemics and high levels of mortality might have contributed to the development of such policies.[235] For instance, Evliya Çelebi recounts that a great plague broke out in Istanbul under the reign of Selim II (r. 1566-1574) and because of that, three thousand corpses were carried out of the twenty-seven gates of the city every day.[236] To ensure health in the city, it seems likely that starting in the sixteenth century, most of Istanbul's dead were buried outside of the city, even when there was no plague going on.[237] As a consequence, graveyards along with their essential embellishment, cypress trees, and other greeneries became a crucial part of the built environment of Eyüp (see Appendix B, Figures 34-36).

Despite its dominant association with concepts of death, other world, and mysticism, the shrine complex of Abu Ayyub was at the same time was the center of very vibrant social and economic life. A great number of people who came to Eyüp to pay a visit to the sacred mausoleum of the Muslim saint and their various needs contributed to emerge a lively market place consisting a wide range of shops from food sellers to toy makers.[238] Furthermore, commercial structures and production facilities were erected to provide income for the waqf of the complex. Stephanos Yerasimos examines the earnings and expenses of the shrine complex of Abu Ayyub between the

---

[234] For a detailed study for the history of plague in the Ottoman lands from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, see Varlık, *Plague and empire*, 131-203.
[235] Varlık, *Plague and empire*, 274.
[236] Varlık, *Plague and empire*, 259; Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 53-54.
[237] Varlık, *Plague and empire*, 272. Nükhet Varlık explains that it is important to consider the ideas of miasma, the prevalent epidemiological paradigm, to better understand the rationale behind these policies. It was believed that dead bodies and the effluvia believed to arise from them were associated with miasma. Therefore, to protect 'healthy air' from contamination with miasma, the state would remove the plagued bodies outside the walls to a controlled area. There were also additional regulations such as proper digging of graves and possibly using lime scattered on top. For further information on disposal of the bodies and regulating bodies in urban space, see Varlık, *Plague and empire*, 262-83.
[238] Even today there is a street called Oyuncakçılar (*Toy Makers*) as a reference to its history even though the products selling in these shops totally changed.

years 1575 and 1598 thanks to the detailed registers in the endowment deed of the waqf. In this sixteenth-century document, shops (*dekakin*), slaughterhouses (*selhane*), tanneries (*debbağhane*) candle workshops (*mumhane*), soap workshops (*sabunhane*), storehouses (*mehazin*), and boathouses (*kayıkhane*) were listed as sources of income.[239] Two bathhouses, known as the Old Hammam and the New Hammam, and the shops adjacent to them were also indicated as important revenue sources.[240] Further information about the shops, for instance what kinds of products were sold or who the workers and owners were, was not given in the document. It was just recorded that on the one side of the Old Hammam, there was a shop that served cooked animal heads (*başçı dükkanı*). In another study, which represents a more detailed analysis of the waqf's accounting registers for the fiscal year between March 1575 and March 1576, it is indicated that 73.41% of total revenue was provided from sources in the vicinity of Eyüp.[241] When it is compared to the fiscal year 1489-1490, in which only around 4% of the total income was provided from the rents of the bathhouse in Eyüp and the rest of the income was from the produce of 28 villages in Anatolia and Rumelia,[242] it is better understood that in the sixteenth century many new commercial buildings and production areas were built in the township.

According to Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, the shops and bazaars located around the sacred shrine constituted the busiest commercial site; on the other hand, she states that the market place of Eyüp developed towards the south and southwest of the complex of Abu Ayyub and continued up to the area called Defterdar, passing nearby the Şah Sultan

[239] Yerasimos, "16. yy'da Eyyüb Vakfı muhasebelerinde Eyüp kasabası," 146-47.
[240] Yerasimos, "16. yy'da Eyyüb Vakfı muhasebelerinde Eyüp kasabası," 144-45.
[241] Öztürk, "Eyüb Camii, Türbesi ve İmareti Vakfı" 54.
[242] Cezar, *Typical commercial buildings*, 270. Mustafa Cezar's analysis is based on the balance sheets of the complex of Abu Ayyub that were published by Ömer Lütfi Barkan. For the details of the records dated 1489-1490, see Barkan, "Ayasofya Cami'i ve Eyüp Türbesi," 373-79.

and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque.[243] Parallel to this view, it would also be plausible to suggest that workshops mentioned above were mostly established on the coastline of the Golden Horn, especially close to the piers (see Appendix B, Figure 37).[244] In this way, artisans and craftsmen might have used sea transport more effectively for carrying commercial goods as well as reached more people who visited the township to sell their products. The area spreading roughly between the complex of Abu Ayyub and the land walls will be examined in detail in the following part; in this context, I will turn to the subject of the commercial and production facilities again.

3.3 The route between the Abu Ayyub al-Ansari Shrine Complex and Edirnekapı

From the time of its foundation onwards, the shrine of Abu Ayyub was a site of royal and urban visits, and with the Ottoman accession ceremonies that began to take place at the shrine presumably at the end of the sixteenth century, Eyüp acquired a new and more important role.[245] As I also pointed out in the second chapter of this thesis, although it is generally thought that the ritual of sword girding goes back to the reign of Mehmed II, until the beginning of the seventeenth century, there is no reliable historical record describing this kind of tradition. Nevertheless, it is known that the tomb complex of Abu Ayyub was established by Mehmed II as one of the three essential imperial projects,

[243] Yenişehirlioğlu, "Eyüp çarşısı."
[244] The estimated locations of piers (*iskele*s) mentioned in literary and archival sources, Bostan İskelesi, Eyüp İskelesi, Zal Paşa İskelesi, Balçık İskelesi, Defterdar İskelesi, and Yavedüd İskelesi, are showed on the map in figure 37 in Appendix B. It is quite difficult to identify which pier existed in which period and where they were situated exactly because of the lack of sources. In a certain extent, the chief gardener (*bostancıbaşı*) records are helpful for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; however, we do not have such records for the previous centuries.
[245] A girding ceremony was held at the shrine shortly following the enthronement of a sultan that preceded a visit along Istanbul's ceremonial artery to the tombs of former Ottoman rulers. For more information, see Kafescioğlu, "Eyüp;" Kafadar, "Eyüp'te kılıç kuşanma törenleri," 50-61; Tanman, "Kılıç kuşanma törenleri."

along with the Topkapı Palace and his funerary mosque complex, which determined urban, architectural, and ceremonial patterns of the new capital.[246] Moreover, Ottoman sultans visited the venerated tomb of Abu Ayyub not only for a girding ceremony during their enthronement but also for other purposes such as marking the beginning or end of a big military campaign.

Parallel to the growing ceremonial significance of Eyüp, the routes connecting the shrine complex to the Golden Horn shore and the city center also gained importance. The main artery lying along the shoreline between Eyüp and Ayvansaray was adorned with the dynastic and elite foundations. As can be seen in figure 25 in Appendix B, the prominent endowments of the township such as Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque Complex, Cezeri Kasım Pasha Mosque Complex, and Defterdar Mahmud Efendi Mosque were situated on this road. Moreover, many other more modest urban establishments such as masjids, dervish lodges, madrasas, primary schools, soup kitchens, and fountains were spread out its environs. Compared to the area around the shrine of Abu Ayyub, the number of mausoleums and graveyards was less on this main artery and its vicinity. Although there were some tombs (e.g. Mehmed Vusuli Efendi, Hubbi Ayşe Hatun, and Nakkaş Hasan Pasha) and small-scale burial grounds mostly shared by family members and relatives, apparently large cemeteries did not develop (see Appendix B, Figures 38-39).

As in the case of the waqf of Abu Ayyub Shrine Complex, to maintain the operations of pious and charitable foundations from big complexes to very small endowments, founders gave special attention to construct some income-yielding buildings such as shops, markets, and workshops and stimulate commercial and

[246] Necipoğlu, "Dynastic imprints on the cityscape," 23.

production activities. For instance, according to the endowment deed of the Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Complex, twenty-four rental rooms, six shops, and a candle factory were built along an avenue bordering Golden Horn in order to increase the revenue of the waqf.[247] It was also recorded that a building, which included six shops and sixty-three rooms, at the backside of the qibla wall of the mosque and a bakery in Eyüp were erected as source of extra income.[248] In a similar manner, Ayvanasarayi recounts that a madrasa and a primary school that had been accompanying the Defterdar Mahmud Efendi Masjid were turned into rental properties for providing income to the waqf.[249]

The court registers are also substantial sources that provide some useful hints about the types of shops and workshops operated in the township and their locations and architectural characteristics. For example, a record dated 1644 indicates that Harito v. Rizo, who was a candle maker from the town of Hasköy, was appointed as a protector (*vasi*) to Agoro and Haydo, the orphan daughters of İsterpo.[250] In this regard, it was noted that İsterpo had a workshop producing candles near the Balçık Pier in Eyüp. Therefore, besides taking care of these young girls, Harito was responsible for maintaining this production place until the girls would reach the legal age. This document supports the assumption that many of the production areas in Eyüp were most

[247] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 371.
[248] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 371; Eyice, "Eyüp'de Zal Mahmud Paşa Camii," 18; Orman, "Zal Mahmud Paşa Külliyesi," 109.
[249] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 305; Eyice, "Defterdar Camii ve Türbesi," 97. Ayvansarayi indicates that the madrasa was made into lodgings for married persons (*müteehhilin odaları*) and the school was torn down to build rental properties. Eyice claims that the madrasa was turned into the bachelor rooms. On the other hand, neither Ayvansarayi nor Eyice gives information about the date of when this change happened. Ayvansarayi also writes that coffeehouses and other shops were built on the two sides of the Defterdar Pier at the beginning of the reign of Abdülhamid I (r. 1774-1789) and that therefore, this quarter gained a more commercial character.
[250] *Eyüb mahkemesi 49 numaralı sicil*, 102, case no: 83.

likely situated on the shoreline. In parallel to that, another court register dated 1680 reports that Hacı Mehmed Beşe b. Bali sold his boathouse, which was located next to the Bostan Pier and candle-makers (*şem'haneler*), to Hasan Ağa b. Ali.[251] The Bostan Pier was very close to the complex of Abu Ayyub, and it was symbolically very important since it was the landing point of the sultans when they came to Eyüp via sea route. Thus, despite this piece of evidence demonstrating the presence of production places at the very center of the town, it can be suggested that it was not probably very common to establish a workshop in this ceremonial area. A record dated 1637 is another example that shows that a slaughterhouse and a candle workshop in Eyüp were located side by side on the shoreline of the Golden Horn.[252] In this register, it was reported that Mustafa Ağa, who was the administrator of the waqf of İbrahim Ağa, came to Eyüp to investigate the renovation activities of these waqf properties. The exact location of the slaughterhouse and candle workshop was not specified, but it was noted that they were situated near a pier and on the one side of them was a farrier shop (*nalbant dükkanı*).

A register dated 1679 is about the fifty per cent share transfer of a candle workshop from Hristo v. Nikola to İstamola v. Panav.[253] It was recorded that this candle production place (*mumhane*, *şem'hane*), which was located in the neighborhood called el-Hac Hüsrev in the township of Eyüp, was actually a property belonged to the waqf of the Sheikh Hüseyin Efendi. Hristo rented it from the waqf and then wanted to share it

[251] The document gives further information about the boathouse, which was an important commercial structure. It was reported that the boathouse, which had nine cells, was a waqf property and its annual rent was 120 *akça*. The closed area was situated on a plot about 348 *zira*, and there was open space about 462 *zira* (33 *zira* in length and 14 *zira* in width). '*Zira*' is an Ottoman unit of measure that was equal to 0.57417 square meters. The same term, '*zira*', was also used for measuring length and width, and in this case, it was equal to 0.75774 meter. No additional information regarding the candle workshops was provided. See *Eyüb mahkemesi 90 numaralı sicil*, 460, case no: 558.
[252] *Eyüb mahkemesi 37 numaralı sicil*, 208, case no: 233.
[253] *Eyüb mahkemesi 90 numaralı sicil*, 280, case no: 299.

with İstamola. It was described that on the one side of the workshop was a slaughterhouse (*selhane*), which was also the waqf's property, and on the other three sides were Hasan's home, Muslim graveyards (*mekabir-i müslimin*), and a street (*tarik-i am*). According to the register, both the slaughterhouse and the candle workshop were two-storey buildings. At the upper floor of the slaughterhouse was only one room while at the second floor of the candle workshop were three rooms side by side and a hall (*sofa*). It was explained that the tenant Hristo had the right to use these four rooms together with a storehouse (*mahzen*) and a toilet (*kenif*). However, it was not clearly indicated whether the rooms were utilized as a part of the production place or as a residential unit. Considering that next to the candle workshop was also a residential structure (Hasan's home), it is possible that the ground floor was a work place and the upper floor was a living area. Moreover, two-story buildings, whose ground floors were used for commercial purposes and upper floors as residences, were quite common in the Ottoman commercial architecture.[254]

Thanks to many court registers, it can also be understood that workshops and shops that manufactured and sold potteries had an important role in commercial life of the township. In the registers, some of these pottery ateliers were recorded as boundary markers of other buildings,[255] or the sales and share transfer of pottery shops in Eyüp were indicated.[256] In addition, it can be seen that in several records, people involved in different court cases were introduced as among Eyüp's artisans who were working in

[254] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 31.
[255] The locations of some buildings in Eyüp were described by referring to their proximity to the pottery shops/ workshops (e.g. *çömlekçiler sükunda*, *çömlekçiler çarşısında, Çömlekçi mahallesinde*). For example, see *Bab mahkemesi 3 numaralı sicil*, 719, case no: 929; *Eyüb mahkemesi 37 numaralı sicil*, 255, case no: 303; *Eyüb mahkemesi 19 numaralı sicil*, 238, case no: 263.
[256] As an example of these registers, see *Eyüb mahkemesi 49 numaralı sicil*, 134, case no: 127; *Eyüb mahkemesi 49 numaralı sicil*, 176, case no: 184.

ceramics production.[257] As I will focus on in a detailed manner in the next chapter, the seventeenth century Ottoman travelers Evliya Çelebi and Eremya Çelebi also provides a good amount of information about the pottery makers in Eyüp. According to Evliya Çelebi, Çömlekçiler Neighborhood, which was located on a flat land on the shoreline of the Golden Horn, included 250 pottery shops in rows on the two sides of a street.[258] Furthermore, he writes that a big number of farrier shops and around 300 shops selling various products were also located in the market place of this neighborhood.[259] Although it is not possible to rely on the numbers that Evliya Çelebi provides, similar to his depiction, the court registers demonstrate that a wide variety of shops were located in the vicinity of Çömlekçiler. Among these were the shop of a halvah maker,[260] a grocery,[261] a yoghurt shop,[262] and a bakery.[263]

In that regard, another court register dated 1680 offers a broader picture about what types of commercial and production spaces could be found in Eyüp in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this record, certain materials were requested from the artisans and craftsmen of Eyüp for the Ottoman imperial tent complex (*Otağ-ı Humayun*).[264] Accordingly, more than twenty groups of occupations were listed, and among them are market gardeners, stallholders, tailors, yoghurt makers, bakers, herbalists (*attaran*), barbers, bathhouse attendants, mug and glass makers, pottery

[257] These artisans were described as a member of the community of potters or a pottery-maker (e.g. *erbâb-ı hırefden çömlekçi taifesinden*, *çömlekçi*). For example, see *Eyüb mahkemesi 3 numaralı sicil*, 137, case no: 191; *Eyüb mahkemesi 90 numaralı sicil*, 110, case no: 61; *Eyüb mahkemesi 90 numaralı sicil*, 135, case no: 92.
[258] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 167.
[259] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 167.
[260] *Eyüb mahkemesi 49 numaralı sicil*, 109, case no: 94. Halvah is a tahini-based sweet.
[261] *Eyüb mahkemesi 61 numaralı sicil*, 57, case no: 16.
[262] *Eyüb mahkemesi 82 numaralı sicil*, 118, case no: 125.
[263] *Eyüb mahkemesi 90 numaralı sicil*, 153, case no: 117.
[264] *Eyüb mahkemesi 90 numaralı sicil*, 542, case no: 679.

makers, tanners, shoe makers (*haffafan*), iron heel makers (*nalçacıyan*), timber sellers, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, silk manufacturers (*kazzaz*), gardeners, halvah makers, farriers, and well diggers and water carriers. This list might not cover all types of occupations of artisans and tradesmen who served in Eyüp; yet, it still helps us develop further interpretations of what kinds of commercial buildings and production places that were built in the township.

As is understood from all these examples represented above, in Eyüp, there were many commercial enterprises that produced income for the upkeep and running of charitable institutions in different scales, stimulated economic activity, and provided employment. Unfortunately we do not have enough sources to help us to create a bigger and clearer picture, but at least we can get some general ideas regarding the locations, spatial settings, and architectural features of these buildings. It can be interpreted that the commercial and production establishments were situated in close proximity to the coastline and piers in order to take advantage of the sea transport. Apparently, shops and workshops that sold and manufactured similar types of products were located close to each other and formed a kind of specialized market area, such as the pottery makers.[265] Moreover, since the fat of slain animals was used for producing candles and soaps, it was probably quite common that slaughterhouses, tanneries, and candle- and soap-makers were situated next to each other.[266] These commercial and production places

[265] In parallel to that, Halil İnalcık indicates that in Ottoman Istanbul, the shops and production spaces were generally built as rectangular blocks and were situated in rows according to the related occupations. Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu also remarks that in Eyüp, the names of streets, where similar shops and workshops were located side by side, were given according to their common products, such as *Çömlekçiler* Street or *Oyuncakçılar* Street. She states that many shops were used as both production place and selling area. See İnalcık, "Istanbul (Tarih/ Türk devri)," 222; Yenişehirlioğlu, "Eyüp çarşısı."

[266] Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak also describes slaughterhouses, tanning workshops, candle- and soap-makers as "dependent' establishments" in her article which focuses on the topographical, economic, and social

were built as one- or two-storey structures; furthermore, the upper floors of some of them were used as residential.[267] Today no significant remains of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century commercial structures have survived in Eyüp; therefore, it can be said that they were generally timber constructions that were not so durable.[268]

Other types of wooden buildings that have almost completely disappeared but once constituted the fundamental element of urban form of the township were houses. As one of the largest settlements outside of the city walls, Eyüp had a huge number of residential structures in a wide range from simple houses to more luxurious pavilions (*köşk*s), mansions (*konak*s), and seaside villas (*yalı*s). At the end of the reign of Mehmed II, eight neighborhoods, whose total population is estimated as 4,000 people, emerged around the socio-religious establishments in the town.[269] In the sixteenth century, particularly during the reign of Süleyman I, the population of both Istanbul and Eyüp increased significantly. In the last years of Süleyman I's rule, 30-40% of total population of Istanbul, which is thought to have been around 500,000 people, was settled outside of the city walls, and Eyüp was among the densest suburban settlements together with Galata and Kasımpaşa.[270] In the seventeenth century, the building activities decelerated compared to the previous century and the boundaries of Eyüp did not expand so much; on the other hand, the current residential areas continued to become denser and a large

---

development of the districts of Edirnekapı and Yedikule in the sixteenth century in relation to the system of meat supply. See Özkoçak, "Two urban districts," 28.

[267] For Edirnekapı and Yedikule, Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak states that in both districts, commercial and residential areas developed at some distance from the unpleasant occupations related to the slaughter of animals. On the other hand, we cannot see such a clear separation between these areas in Eyüp considering the examples in the court registers above. This might be because that the scale of slaughterhouses in Eyüp and the production processes in relation to that may have been smaller than Edirnekapı and Yedikule. On the other hand, I do not know the exact answer and just want to put a question mark here.

[268] Moreover, it should also be noted that many of them were demolished during the new construction and urban transformation projects in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

[269] Kara, "Eyüp," 247.

[270] Kara, "Eyüp," 248.

number of migrants from the villages of Rumelia and Anatolia settled in the township.[271] Moreover, due to its religious significance, natural beauties, and vivid social and cultural life, Eyüp was also a preferred residential site among the members of royal households, high-ranking officials, scholars, artists, and poets. From the sixteenth century onwards, it became quite fashionable to construct seaside mansions (*yalı*s) along the Golden Horn among the Ottoman royal women, which will be discussed separately later in this chapter.[272]

The residential areas of early modern Istanbul were mostly composed of one- or two-storey houses that were built of modest material in small size (see Appendix B, Figure 40).[273] In 1534, the Venetian Benedetto Ramberti (1503-1546) writes that the city was full of houses, not many of which were good, being made of clay and wood and only a few of stone.[274] As is seen in the endowment deeds of a number of foundations, there were also larger residential complexes, which laid out around multiple courtyards and included more facilities such as a garden, stables, furnace, water well, and numerous rooms.[275] Based on travelers' accounts and waqf documents, Halil İnalcık considers the types of houses in Istanbul into five groups as follows: rooms (*oda*, *hücre*) that were built either detached in rows around a court or in the style of khan, neighborhood (*mahalle*) houses that were one- or two-storey structures of wood or mud-brick for people in humble circumstances, houses with gardens, palaces (*kasr*) of statesmen and

[271] As Suraiya Faroqhi states, in contrast to forced migration policy which was ordered to repopulate the city after the conquest, from the seventeenth century onwards the state authorities put effort to stop the migration flows from different parts of the empire to Istanbul. Eyüp was one of the favored destinations among these newcomers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See Faroqhi, "Eyüp kadı sicillerine yansıdığı şekliyle 18. yüzyıl 'büyük İstanbul'una göç."
[272] Artan, "Eyüp," 3-4; Artan, "Eyüp'ün bir diğer çehresi," 107.
[273] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 200.
[274] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 200; Ramberti, "The second book," 239.
[275] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 200.

rich merchants; and villas and *yalı*s of sultans and dignitaries.[276] These general remarks about the residential fabric of Istanbul, apparently, conform to that of Eyüp. Since nothing remains of residential structures built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, court registers, which covered various issues regarding new constructions, renovations, inheritance, renting, sales, and endowment deeds, are quite useful sources that offer further information about domestic architecture in Eyüp. Although it is not possible to have a complete picture by using these records, below I would like to discuss some examples to provide a glimpse of different types of residential buildings that could be found in the township.[277]

A register dated 1655 describes how the deceased Abdurrahman Çelebi b. Ali's estate would be shared among his inheritors.[278] Accordingly, it was recorded that his house, which was located in the neighborhood around the complex of Abu Ayyub, composed of a room on the ground floor (*bir tahtani oda*), two upper-storey rooms (*iki bab fevkani odalar*), a hall (*sofa*), a water well, a stable, and a toilet (*kenif*).[279] On the three sides of the house were a residence (*menzil*) and a freehold property (*mülk*), which belonged to two Muslim men, and a street (*tarik-i am*). According to the court registers

[276] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 261, endnote 101; İnalcık, "Istanbul (Tarih/ Türk devri)," 231; İnalcık, "Istanbul." In the matter of rooms (*oda*, *hücre*), Halil İnalcık adds that these places were generally occupied by unmarried men who had come to Istanbul for searching job. Therefore, these rooms were known as bachelor's rooms (*bekar odaları*) and were not encouraged in a neighborhood where mostly married households were settled. Moreover, as İnalcık states, "unmarried workmen frequently used a single room in a khan or a caravanserai both as a workshop and living quarters." In this regard, I would like to note that the 'rooms' could be thought in association with commercial buildings and spaces of production.

[277] In addition, as I could not identify a clear change/ difference between the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century residential structures, I did not make a classification while choosing examples from the registers. It seems that domestic architecture of the seventeenth century in Istanbul was a continuation of the sixteenth century. For a similar comment on this issue, see Açık and Düzenli, "XVI-XVII. yüzyıl Istanbul evleri," 245.

[278] *Eyüb mahkemesi 61 numaralı sicil*, 187, case no: 198.

[279] It was also indicated that the plot on which the house was built was around 168 *zira* (length 24 *zira*, width 7 *zira*). Considering that one *zira* is equal to about 0.57 square meters, the plot was approximately 95 square meters.

that I have examined, most of Eyüp's houses were spatially connected with public streets (*tarik-i am*) that were open to everyone's use, and residential structures rarely had private streets (*tarik-i has*). Therefore, in this section, I use the word 'street' in the meaning of 'public thoroughfare'.[280]

Considering the spatial relationships that were noted in the court registers, it seems that the boundaries between residential, agricultural, and sacred areas in Eyüp were quite fluid (see Appendix B, Figure 41).[281] One of the examples in this regard can be a record dated 1586, which is about the deceased person's estate. Since there was no one as inheritor, his property was shared among the waqfs.[282] It was reported that a part of the residential complex, which was located in Yavedüd Neighborhood, had been endowed to a dervish lodge before, and that the rest of it would be given to the waqf of Abu Ayyub. The number of rooms was not exactly indicated; however, it was implied that it was a large two-storey building.[283] More importantly, as border markers of the residence, it was recorded that there were two market gardens (*bostan*s), Muslims's graves (*mezarat-ı müslimin*), and a street. Similar to that, a register dated 1679-80 describes a house, which was bordered by two streets and two Muslim graveyards (*mekabir-i Müslimin*).[284] It was recorded that Hüseyin Dede b. Abdullah endowed his house (*mülk menzil*) to a waqf. The house was a one-storey building that composed of four rooms set aside for male visitors (*selamlık*), a toilet, a water well, a garden (*bahçe*), and a courtyard (*avlu*). Another register dated 1637-38 illustrates that on the two sides of

[280] I should also note that for English translations of words regarding residential buildings in the registers, I got help from the glossary prepared by Suraiya Faroqhi. See Faroqhi, *Men of modest substance*, 222-27.
[281] The photo (figure 41) in Appendix B was taken in the end of the twentieth century. But I think, in a way, it can give a sense of this fluidity mentioned here.
[282] *Eyüb mahkemesi 3 numaralı sicil*, 174, case no: 270.
[283] It was written that numerous rooms were situated on the first and second floors (*fevkani ve tahtani odalar*).
[284] *Eyüb mahkemesi 90 numaralı sicil*, 65, case no: 3.

a house were market gardens, which belonged to the two different waqfs.[285] Apparently, in the neighborhoods of Eyüp, residential areas were not settled separately from agricultural production lands and burial grounds. In this respect, it would not be wrong to claim that urban and rural elements, and profane and sacred spheres coexisted in daily life.

In many court registers, in addition to the architectural features and layout of residential structures, information about trees and plants in gardens and courtyards could also be found. This might be an indication of that agricultural and horticultural products were also perceived as a significant part of the property. For instance, a record dated 1619-20 depicts the sales of a two-storey house, which had a room (*beyt*) on the ground floor, a room on the upper floor, two porches (*sundurma*), and a barn (*samanlık*).[286] The house was bordered with three other houses and a street. Moreover, it was indicated that in the courtyard (*muhavvata*), there were trees with and without fruits (*eşcar-ı müsmire ve gayr-ı müsmire*). Similarly, in another sales contract register from the same year, it was recorded that the house included an upper room, two halls, a pantry (*kiler*), a veranda-like structure/balcony (*şehnişin*), a kitchen (*matbah*), a toilet, and a stable (*ahır*).[287] Located next to two other residential buildings and a street, the house had also a courtyard with both fruit-bearing and fruitless trees. In some records that are mostly related to houses with larger courtyards or gardens, the types of trees such as mulberry,

[285] *Eyüb mahkemesi 37 numaralı sicil*, 153, case no: 151.
[286] *Eyüb mahkemesi 19 numaralı sicil*, 76, case no: 24. In the registers, it seems that the words 'beyt' and 'oda' were used interchangeably and both mean 'room'. On the other hand, 'beyt' could also mean 'residence, house', so there is a little bit ambiguity. For more examples on the registers in which the word 'beyt' was written, see Açık and Düzenli, "XVI-XVII. yüzyıl Istanbul evleri," 258-61.
[287] *Eyüb mahkemesi 19 numaralı sicil*, 107, case no: 70.

olive, fig, quince, pear, and walnut and their numbers were also indicated in a detailed manner.[288]

3.4 Eyüp's shoreline: *yalı*s

Apart from modest houses and relatively larger residential complexes that I have represented above, numerous palaces and seaside mansions (*yalı*s) were also built in Eyüp. On the other hand, it is not easy to identify the construction dates, architectural features, and spatial setting of these opulent houses due to several reasons. First of all, we have no or very little architectural remains from these less durable structures, which were mostly built of wood. Secondly, they very often changed hands between the members of royal household or high-ranking officials, and according to the tastes of their new residents, they were renovated, rebuilt, and redecorated many times. Moreover, when their owners changed, same buildings may have started to be known with different names, and this makes it harder to establish a chronology for these buildings.[289] Finally but more importantly, historical documents about them are very dispersed.[290] Nonetheless, several pieces of information, from both archival and narrative sources, demonstrate that prestigious and luxurious residential buildings were added to the urban fabric of Eyüp in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In the early sixteenth century, Hançerli Fatma Sultan (d. 1533), who was the granddaughter of Sultan Bayezid II and the wife of Mehmed Bey, son of the grand vizier

[288] For some examples, see *Eyüb mahkemesi 49 numaralı sicil*, 85, case no: 57; *Eyüb mahkemesi 37 numaralı sicil*, 140, case no: 130; *Eyüb mahkemesi 19 numaralı sicil*, 95, case no: 51; *Eyüb mahkemesi 61 numaralı sicil*, 132, case no: 125; *Eyüb mahkemesi 82 numaralı sicil*, 142, case no: 163.
[289] In this respect, another difficulty is that the names of some Ottoman princesses, who lived in different periods, could be the same. For instance, in this study, we can see two 'Şah Sultan', one of them was the daughter of Selim I and the other was the daughter of Selim II.
[290] Tülay Artan explains very well why it is hard to follow the chronology of the mansions, see Artan, "Eyüp'ün bir diğer çehresi," 107-11.

Çandarlı İbrahim Pasha, was one of the owners of these seaside mansions.[291] The *yalı* was built on the coastline of Bahariye, which was one of the most prestigious districts spanned between Bostan Pier and today's Silahtarağa.[292] The grave of Hançerli Fatma Sultan overlooking the main road was located next to her mansion.[293] Her tomb, which was supported by four columns in a square plan without walls covered with a thin dome, is today situated within the enclosure of cemetery of Abu Ayyub. After the death of Hançerli Fatma Sultan, her seaside palace most likely passed into the hands of Şah Sultan (d. 1572), a daughter of Selim I, who built a mosque and a dervish lodge next to this mansion.[294] In the end of the eighteenth century, the *yalı* of Hançerli Fatma Sultan was recorded as the fourth mansion following the *yalı*s of Beyhan Sultan, Hatice Sultan, and Esma Sultan after the Bostan Pier.[295]

At the end of the coastline of Bahariye, there was also an imperial kiosk (*kasr-ı hümayun*) that gave its name to the area.[296] Its construction date is not known; however, archival documents show that in 1708 and 1722, it was extensively restored and its garden was rearranged.[297] Based on this information, it is possible to claim that it was built before the eighteenth century.[298] We do not have enough evidence of the earlier

[291] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 70.
[292] For more information on the district of Bahariye in Eyüp, see Artan, "Bahariye," 235-36.
[293] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 280, 292; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 198-99.
[294] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 70; Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 280. Ayvansarayi claims that Şah Sultan was the first owner of the well-known seaside palace (*sahilsaray*) known at present as 'Hancarlı' Sultan Sarayı. However, chronologically it seems more plausible that Şah Sultan was the second owner after Hançerli Fatma Sultan. I will discuss Şah Sultan Mosque in more detail in the following chapter.
[295] Artan, "Esma Sultan Sahilsarayı," 208.
[296] Bahariye Kasr-ı Hümayunu was indicated as the last mansion on the coastline of Bahariye in the nineteenth-century registers of chief gardener (*bostancıbaşı defterleri*); and after this building, the area until Alibeyköy was empty. See Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 64; Artan, "Bahariye Kasrı."
[297] Artan, "Bahariye Kasrı."
[298] According to Mehmet Nermi Haskan, Bahariye Kasrı is thought to have been built during the reign of Mehmed II or Bayezid II. On the other hand, he does not point out any reference to solidify his claim. See Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 64.

history of the kiosk. On the other hand, taking into account that in the eighteenth century, the sultans hosted many official events in this imperial residence and visited it for entertainment and relaxation, it can be thought that it was used in similar ways in the previous periods.[299]

Besides official historical documents, narrative sources also offer some evidence of palaces and seaside villas. For instance, Evliya Çelebi describes the Melek Ahmed Pasha Palace located in the Topçular Neighborhood in Eyüp as a very beautiful mansion, and likens it to a garden of angels. Near it, there were also palaces of Gürcü Pasha and Defterdar Nişancı Pasha.[300] Melek Ahmed Pasha (d. 1662), who was an Ottoman statesman and grand vizier during the reign of Mehmed IV (r. 1648-1687), was first married to Kaya Sultan (d. 1659), daughter of Murad IV. Evliya Çelebi writes that Kaya Sultan died while giving a birth in her seaside villa in Eyüp when she was twenty-seven years old.[301] He calls this villa 'Eba Eyyub Ensari Yalısı'; hence, possibly because it was close to the venerated shrine of Abu Ayyub.[302] After Kaya Sultan, Melek Ahmed Pasha became so sad and was forced to marry Fatma Sultan (d. 1667), the aged daughter of Ahmed I, in 1662; but this unhappy marriage was short-lived, ended by Melek Ahmed Pasha's death in the same year.[303] Evliya Çelebi recounts that the wedding took place in

[299] Tülay Artan asserts that after the renovations in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the kiosk recovered its prestige. According to her, it was particularly used during the reign of Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754) for hosting ambassadors and other official guests or organizing banquets. She also writes that during the visits of the sultans, many traditional games and entertainments took place there. See Artan, "Bahariye Kasrı."
[300] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 166. Haskan also recounts Gürcü Mehmed Pasha's and Melek Ahmed Pasha's palaces based on the available sources; see Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 69, 75.
[301] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 149.
[302] Haskan mentions this villa as 'Kaya Sultan Yalısı'; see Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 75.
[303] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 122-23; Uluçay, *Padişahların kadınları ve kızları*, 51-52.

Fatma Sultan's seaside mansion, which was located on the Golden Horn just outside of the city walls after the gate of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari.[304]

The Ottoman historian Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa (d. 1723) points out another *yalı*, which was located between the Şah Sultan Mosque and the Bostan Pier in the Bahariye area on the Golden Horn. He remarks that Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha (d. 1683), Ottoman military commander and grand vizier, gave a feast in this palace for the Sultan Mehmed IV.[305] According to Haskan, after Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha, this mansion passed to his son, Ali Paşa, who was married to Safiye Sultan, daughter of Sultan Mustafa II (r. 1695-1703), in 1710. The next owners of the seaside villa were Safiye Sultan's daughter and granddaughter, Zahide Hanım Sultan and Ümmü Gülsüm Hanım Sultan. Because of the title of its residents, it was known as 'Hanım Sultan Yalısı'.[306]

Despite many missing pieces of information about these luxurious residential complexes built in Eyüp mostly along the Golden Horn, it would not be wrong to claim that they played an important role in the urban fabric of the township. They functioned as resort houses and pleasure grounds for elites and members of royal household. In this respect, these prestigious buildings and flamboyant life style represent Eyüp in a 'different' way than its sacred image. On the other hand, as Tülay Artan discusses, considering these examples, we should question how Ottomans might perceive the boundaries between 'sacred' and 'recreational' sites in the early modern world. Although we generally tend to think spiritual values and earthly habits as conflicting concepts, for the Ottomans instead of this dichotomy, they might be intertwined in daily

[304] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 135; Artan, "Eyüp'ün bir diğer çehresi," 108-9.
[305] Silahdar, *Nusretname* (Vol. 2), 41.
[306] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 70-71.

life in a more harmonious way.[307] In a similar manner, these delightful palaces and mansions in Eyüp were in close spatial connections with numerous sacred sites such as mosques, mausoleums, dervish lodges, and cemeteries.

3.5 Sufi networks in Eyüp: dervish lodges

Earlier in this chapter, in the part focusing on the historical overview of the urban development of Eyüp, I briefly mentioned the Sufi lodges that were built in the town between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries (see Appendix B, Figure 42). Here, I would like to elaborate more on the significant role of these foundations in both the urban texture and the religious, social, and cultural life of Eyüp. This is actually a very broad topic that would be almost impossible to cover thoroughly within the limited scope of this study. Therefore, rather than to attempt to offer a very detailed examination, my aim is simply to highlight the importance of Eyüp as one of the richest areas in terms of the dervish lodges in the early modern Istanbul.[308]

Although most of these buildings have not survived to the present day, according to Baha Tanman, more than sixty dervish lodges were located in Eyüp to represent almost all Sufi orders that were active in Istanbul.[309] Tanman remarks that Eyüp as a borough connected to the capital included a much higher number of Sufi lodges than many Ottoman cities. Hence, a careful investigation of dervish lodges just in Eyüp would make it possible to follow the architectural development of Sufi orders' buildings

[307] Artan, "Eyüp'ün bir diğer çehresi," 106.
[308] Eyüp kept this characteristic for a long period of time and remained as one of the most important centers of various Sufi orders until the abolition of all dervish lodges in 1925 by the Republic of Turkey.
[309] Tanman, "Eyüpsultan'da tarikat yapıları," 102. For more information on the historical background and characteristics of each of these Sufi orders, see Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 1), 82-151.

and identify certain typologies between the mid-fifteenth to the twentieth centuries.[310] Tanman divides dervish lodges in Eyüp, and in Istanbul in general, into three main groups based on their layout and prominent design features.[311] The first group, which consists of masonry structures having porticoed open courtyards, bears a resemblance to Ottoman madrasas and mosque-madrasa complexes. In this type of building, the courtyard provides a peaceful and silent environment away from the chaos and noise of outside world for dervishes. The spaces of ritual and prayer, dervish rooms, and sometimes kitchen, refectory, and storage rooms are situated around the courtyard; thus, a connection between different functional parts is established, and closed areas can get fresh air and natural light thanks to the openness in front of them. The house in which the Sufi sheikh and his family were living is usually a separate unit that is situated a bit away from the main building.[312] One of the best-preserved examples of this first group is the Şeyhülislam Dervish Lodge, which was established in 1744-45 by the sheikh al-Islam Seyyid Mustafa Efendi (d. 1745) in the Nişanca Quarter in Eyüp (see Appendix B, Figures 43-44).[313] Even though the eighteenth-century structures are not included in the scope of this research, I think it would be useful to share this building as an exception because its original form has been mostly kept.

According to Tanman's classification, the buildings in the second group functioned as both mosque (or masjid) and dervish lodge.[314] It was a very common model in Ottoman religious architecture, and many examples of it could also be found in

[310] Tanman, "Eyüpsultan'da tarikat yapıları," 102, 113.
[311] Tanman, "Eyüpsultan'da tarikat yapıları," 102; Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 1), 257-62.
[312] Tanman, "Eyüpsultan'da tarikat yapıları," 102-3; Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 1), 257-59.
[313] Tanman, "Eyüpsultan'da tarikat yapıları," 103-5; Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 2), 72-81. Şeyhülislam Dervish Lodge is today located at the intersection of Baba Haydar Mektebi Street, Balcı Yokuşu, and Haydar Çeşmesi Street in the Nişanca Quarter.
[314] Tanman, "Eyüpsultan'da tarikat yapıları," 105; Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 1), 259-61.

Eyüp. This type of buildings were used by dwellers of the surrounding neighborhoods for performing five daily prayers, and other times, by members of Sufi orders for their gatherings and rituals. Some of these foundations were planned as dual-functional from the beginning and their endowment deeds and architectural program were arranged accordingly; others were initially designed as mosque or masjid, then, started to be utilized also as dervish lodge. In any case, the additional units that are necessary for a dervish lodge such as sheikh's house, dervish rooms, or kitchen were usually constructed separately from the main place of worship.[315] Moreover, the east, west, and south sides of mosques (or masjids) were often reserved for burial grounds in which Sufi sheikhs' tombs were also located.

To have a better understanding of the characteristics of the second group's buildings, Baba Haydar Masjid-Dervish Lodge can be a good example as it has mostly kept its original architecture (see Appendix B, Figures 45-47).[316] It was commissioned by the Sultan Süleyman I in honor of Baba Haydar Samarkandi (d. 1550), who was one of the great sheikhs of Naqshbandi order.[317] It is situated in the middle of the plot, and as described above, its three sides are surrounded by graves including the tomb of Baba Haydar. In front of its northern façade is a courtyard. Other units of the dervish lodge, which are no longer extant, were probably wooden structures situated around this

[315] Baha Tanman points out that these additional units were wooden constructions, and in time, most of them have been completely ruined and disappeared. On the other hand, the mosques (or masjids) of these small complexes were usually made of stone masonry and covered with wooden roofs; therefore, they have been mostly survived. Because of that, in some examples, although mosques and masjids might have been a part of larger complexes together with dervish lodges, it is not always possible to identify. See Tanman, "Eyüpsultan'da tarikat yapıları," 105; Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 1), 259.
[316] For the location of Baba Haydar Masjid-Dervish Lodge, see Appendix B, Figures 14-15. It is today located at the intersection of Haydar Baba Street and Baba Haydar Mosque Street in Eyüp.
[317] Tanman, "Eyüpsultan'da tarikat yapıları," 105; Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 2), 106-11; Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 303. During the reign of Sultan Mustafa III (r. 1757-1773), Baba Haydar Masjid was turned into a mosque; Sheikh Abdullah Efendi, the imam of Arpacı Masjid in Eyüp, installed its minbar.

courtyard. Although three walls of the masjid were constructed with rubble masonry, the northern wall was made of wood and has a roof fringe measuring two meters. In this way, it may have been aimed to create a kind of conformity between the masjid and other wooden structures of the dervish lodge.[318] Emir Buhari Mosque-Dervish Lodge, which was again built by Süleyman I, and Şah Sultan Mosque-Dervish Lodge, whose patron was the daughter of Selim I and the half-sister of Süleyman I, are also important examples of the second group.[319] Savak (Cemalizade) Masjid-Dervish Lodge, which was commissioned by the vizier Hirami Ahmed Pasha (d. 1599) in the last quarter of the sixteenth century in Eyüp, can also be classified under this category. However, its interior layout has a different characteristic that is worth mentioning. In this dervish lodge, the tomb of the sheikh was located within the place of worship on an elevated platform just behind the prayer niche (see Appendix B, Figure 48).[320] According to Tanman, as a result of this spatial setting, which was as an effective way of showing honor and reverence to the sheikh, the building was moved away from mosque architecture and its function as dervish lodge was emphasized.[321]

The third and last group consists of dervish lodges that have many similarities with civil architecture in terms of their both exterior and interior design, therefore, it is even possible to call them 'house-convents'.[322] The main difference of Sufi orders' buildings than other religious structures was to combine various functions such as

[318] Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 2), 108. Baha Tanman asserts that even though there may be some changes in time, the original façade was most likely very similar to the present day.
[319] These buildings are discussed in more detail in Appendix A. For more information, also see Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 2), 218-22, 264-74.
[320] Tanman, "Eyüpsultan'da tarikat yapıları," 106-7; Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 2), 398-405; Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 257-59; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 79-82.
[321] Baha Tanman also states that this striking feature unfortunately cannot be observed now because during the restoration around 1958 a wall between these two parts was erected. See Tanman, "Eyüpsultan'da tarikat yapıları," 106-7.
[322] Tanman, "Eyüpsultan'da tarikat yapıları," 107; Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 1), 261.

prayers, Sufi ceremonials, visitation, education, accommodation, and feeding. This characteristic can be seen most obviously in the examples of the third group because all these various units or most of them were generally gathered under the same roof like a house. One of the reasons of applying this kind of architectural layout might have been the smallness of the plot or the financial incapability. On the other hand, many important Sufi lodges, which were established on large lands and had wealthy endowments, also followed this type of plan.[323] As the main construction material, wood was used. Moreover, both the façade arrangements and the architectural ornamentations were likening to residential architecture. It seems that although some of the dervish lodges under this category were similar to modest houses and some of them grand mansions, in general their design aimed to represent them as a part of residential fabric, rather than as conspicuous monuments.

In Eyüp, Karyağdı and Ümmi Sinan dervish lodges, which are thought to have been built in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively, are good examples of the third group (see Appendix B, Figures 49-50).[324] Karyağdı was a Bektashi convent, which was established on the highest hill of Eyüp, today known as Piyer Loti Hill.[325] Karyağdı Baba is said to have been one of the saints from Khorasan and attended in the conquest of Constantinople.[326] Tanman states that in addition to the members of

[323] The mawlawi houses (*mevlevihane*s) in Yenikapı, Kasımpaşa, and Galata can be showed as some well-known examples in this regard. See Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 1), 262.
[324] It is important to note that both of these dervish lodges were rebuilt or extensively restored in the nineteenth century; however, it is thought that their original appearance was probably taken as reference. Therefore, based on what has remained today, we can have an idea about how they looked like when they were first constructed. For more detailed architectural analysis, see Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 2), 484-93, 601-6; Tanman, "Eyüpsultan'da tarikat yapıları," 108-10.
[325] Bektashi dervish lodges were usually located away from densely settled areas. Parallel to that, Karyağdı Dervish Lodge was founded on the hilly site of Eyüp rather than on a more central area along the Golden Horn.
[326] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 285, 320, 322-23; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 128-30.

Bektashi order, who later mostly served in Janissary corps, various Sufi orders supported the Ottoman army during the conquest of Constantinople. Therefore, it is thought that some convents around Istanbul, which were located in strategic positions such as Karyağdı in Eyüp and Şehidler Dervish Lodge in Rumeli Hisarı might have been built during the conquest, even before the city was captured.[327] Compared to Karyağdı, Ümmi Sinan was a larger convent. Because the tomb of Ümmi Sinan (d. 1568), who was the founder of the Sinaniye branch of Khalwati order, was located there, it had a special status for the followers of this branch.[328] Although these two dervish lodges were built in different scales in different periods for the use of different Sufi orders, their general design was quite similar. Without seeing what kinds of rooms they have (see Appendix B, Figure 51), from outside, it is almost impossible to distinguish these buildings from ordinary houses. According to Tanman, this harmony of the dervish lodges with the urban fabric of neighborhoods can be seen as a piece of evidence that Sufi orders comprehended the public life in a deep manner and became a part of it.[329]

As is seen from all these examples that I have discussed above, it would not be enough to describe dervish lodges as only religious foundations. Instead, they were like multifunctional centers that served different needs of members of Sufi orders as well as

[327] Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 1), 74.
[328] Tanman, "Eyüpsultan'da tarikat yapıları," 108-10; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 143-44.
[329] While discussing this issue, Tanman also points out the role of dervish lodges on shaping the 'popular religion' that directed daily life of populace besides the 'official religion' that was represented by the ulema and madrasa system. I agree with this idea to a certain extent. On the other hand, it should keep in mind that there was not always a clear-cut distinction between Sufism and Ottoman religious institution (*ilmiye*). It is known that many Ottoman high-state officials and members of royal family, even sultans, endowed Sufi lodges in many places including Eyüp. As Zeynep Yürekli correctly explains in her article focusing on the Sufi convent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Kadırga, "The fact that part of the sixteenth-century ulema criticized Sufi rituals and part of the seventeenth-century ulema did not want to see Sufis in the pulpit does not mean that we should conceive Sufism and '*ilmiyye* as two different universes, since this would ignore the members of the '*ilmiyye* who attended Sufi convents." See Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 1), 536-37; Yürekli, "A building between the public and private realms of the Ottoman elite," 181. For further information on *ilmiye*, see İpşirli, "İlmiye."

local population. Parallel to that, for the construction of dervish lodges, hybrid architectural styles that had several commonalities with religious, education, and residential structures were applied. From the conquest onwards, new Sufi convents were established in Istanbul, and in this regard, Eyüp became one of the most favored districts owing to its location outside of the city walls and its fame related to the holy shrine of Abu Ayyub. The followers of various Sufi orders not only combined mysticism with religious duties but also took an interest in the arts and sciences of the time in these dervish lodges that provided a freer atmosphere for intellectual life and social intercourse. Thus, in addition to Sufis, poets, composers, musicians, calligraphers, painters, and other artists and craftsmen were grown up in these socio-religious institutions, and these learned people highly contributed to the development of social and cultural life in Eyüp.[330]

The last point that I would like to underline is that some dervish lodges in Eyüp also functioned as recreational sites and excursion spots of the dwellers of Istanbul. According to Tanman, it was quite a popular activity to organize a few-day trips to pay visit the Sufi convents, which were located in the suburbs of the city, especially in the spring and summer seasons.[331] During their visit, people were either staying in the guest houses of dervish lodges if available or setting up tents in gardens and meadows. It is also known that food was served to the visitors from the kitchens of some convents.[332] Similar to that, travellers and itinerant Sufis from other parts of the Ottoman territories or farther Islamic lands like Afghanistan or India were welcomed in dervish lodges.[333]

[330] Kara, "Eyüp," 249.
[331] Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 1), 175.
[332] Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 1), 175.
[333] Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 1), 170-2.

Furthermore, some convents were particularly built for this purpose. In Eyüp, for instance, Özbekler Dervish Lodge was constructed in the first half of the eighteenth century to provide a place for Sufis, who came to Istanbul from Central Asia, particularly from the area of Uzbekistan.[334] This shows us that Sufi centers might have also played an important role for creating communication networks and establishing cultural connections between different regions in the Muslim world.

3.6 Visual representations of Eyüp in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources

The earliest known Ottoman map of Istanbul, which is a miniature contained in a manuscript entitled *Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i Irakeyn-i Sultan Süleyman Han*, also known as *Mecmu'-i Menazil* (*The Collection of Stations*), illustrates the city with its important architectural monuments and provides visual information regarding the initial stages of urban development in the sixteenth century (see Appendix B, Figure 52). The manuscript, which is an account of Süleyman I's military campaign in eastern Anatolia, Persia, and Iraq undertaken against the Safavids between 1533 and 1536, was completed by the famous Ottoman polymath Nasuh'üs-Silahi el-Matraki, today more commonly called Matrakçı Nasuh, in 1537-38.[335] Matrakçı Nasuh, who made contributions in the fields of mathematics, geography, history, and calligraphy, asserts that he was not only

[334] Tanman, "İstanbul tekkeleri" (Vol. 1), 170; Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 282-83, 296; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 126-27.

[335] The manuscript was first published in facsimile in 1976 with an introduction and a transcription of the text by Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın. Recently, in 2015, Nurhan Atasoy has published the facsimile of the manuscript with a translation of the text to contemporary Turkish and a comparative analysis between the Nasuh's images and the narrative of Evliya Çelebi. See Nasuh'üs-Silahi el-Matraki, *Beyān-ı menāzil-i sefer-i 'Irāḳeyn-i Sulṭān Süleymān Ḫān*; Atasoy, *Silahşör, tarihçi, matematikçi, nakkaş, hattat Matrakçı Nasuh ve Menazilname'si*.

the author of the text but also the painter of the illustrations.[336] Nasuh's Istanbul map measures 31.6 x 46.6 centimeters and covers the entire surface of two book pages.[337] The walled city of Istanbul almost fully occupies the right half of the picture surface while the three suburbs, Galata, Eyüp, and Üsküdar, and the waters of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn are all shown on the remaining left half.

Eyüp is depicted as a small settlement including Abu Ayyub's complex and a few buildings with lead-covered domes. Even though we cannot assess the precise layout of Eyüp on Nasuh's map because of its truncated state as the result of trimming its lower and upper edges, apparently the town was not big enough to deserve much pictorial emphasis.[338] In this regard, Nasuh's Istanbul map, compared with the images of the city produced in the later periods, helps us to see that although construction activities in the town began in the early years of the sixteenth century, Eyüp's urban development was much faster and remarkable after 1540s. As Kafescioğlu explains, Nasuh's painting represents Ottoman Istanbul at the end of 1530s, that is, on the eve of the wide-scale building campaign launched by Süleyman I and his grandees and realized by the chief architect Sinan and the imperial office of architects working under him.[339] Similar to Mehmed II's ambitious project transforming the Byzantine Constantinople to the Ottoman capital, Süleyman I aimed to consolidate the new imperial image through architecture and to make Istanbul the capital of a world power. In this context, many

[336] These are the notes of Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın, who prepared Nasuh's *Mecmu'-i Menazil* for publishing and wrote a useful introduction that provides information about Nasuh's life and his works. See Nasuh'üs-Silahi el-Matraki, *Beyān-ı menāzil*, 13, 31-32.
[337] In terms of the measurements, it should be noted that the manuscript has been rebound at least twice, hence, during the rebounding process, the pages must have gone considerable trimming. Because of that, it can be claimed that its original format was probably somewhat larger. See Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 47.
[338] According to İffet Orbay, we may assume that originally, the settlement of Eyüp was approximately twice the size we see now. See Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 55.
[339] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 207.

new public buildings serving religious, social, cultural, educational, health, and economic needs of the community were constructed in Eyüp; consequently, the town's borders were expanded and its urban fabric became denser.

It is possible to follow the traces of the extensive building campaign in the Ottoman imperial capital in the second half of the sixteenth century thanks to visual materials produced in this period. Although Eyüp was neglected in some of these sources because of its location outside of the city walls, there are still useful representations to understand the urban development of the town.

The panoramic drawing of Melchior Lorichs dated to about 1559 is one of the most essential visual documents in this regard (see Appendix B, Figure 53). He illustrates Eyüp from the Golden Horn as a dense settlement developed around Abu Ayyub's complex. Together with the religious buildings, this depiction also shows residential, commercial, and transportation structures. Furthermore, it is seen that the core of the town was developed along the coastline of the Golden Horn with respect to topographic boundaries.

In a historical work on Süleyman I's reign entitled *Süleymanname* completed in 1579, the map of Kırkçeşme water distribution system attributed to Nakkaş Osman represents Eyüp in a detailed manner (see Appendix B, Figure 54). The mosques of Abu Ayyub, Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha, and Nişancı Mustafa Pasha can be identified together with Eyüp Pier, small islands in the Golden Horn, water structures, and neighborhoods settled in lush greeneries.[340]

Another fundamental visual source to offer further ideas about the urban fabric of Eyüp in the late sixteenth century is a schematic map of Istanbul in *Hünername*,

[340] Genim, "XV. ve XVI. yüzyıllarda seyreyle gözüm Eyüp'ü," 145-46.

which was produced during the reign of Murad III and consists of two volumes completed in 1584 and 1588 respectively (see Appendix B, Figure 55).[341] The map associated with Veli Can depicts Eyüp as a considerably developed settlement that almost borders the walls of the city.[342] Many monumental buildings within their courtyards and lots of houses around these structures can be identified from this miniature painting. More importantly, as İffet Orbay points out, it demonstrates that in the second half of the sixteenth century, Istanbul's urban life and growth had gravitated toward the Golden Horn, and consequently, the slopes also began to be settled.[343]

For the seventeenth-century depictions of the city, among prominent sources are the later manuscript copies of a book entitled *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, which was composed by the Ottoman admiral and geographer Piri Reis (d. 1553) in the early sixteenth century. *Kitab-ı Bahriye* (*The Book of Matters Pertaining to the Sea*) is a navigational manual that covers the Mediterranean Sea and is illustrated with coastal detail maps.[344] Considering that Istanbul and the Marmara Sea are out of scope of the geographical coverage of the work, it is not known whether Piri Reis added the Istanbul map himself or not.[345] The earlier examples of Istanbul map are dated to the second half of the sixteenth century, and especially in the copies that were produced from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, Istanbul appeared as an impressive topographical view of the Ottoman capital.[346] Although Eyüp was not represented in all versions of the Istanbul

[341] Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 74.
[342] For a further discussion regarding the issue of authorship for the map of Istanbul in *Hünername*, see Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 74-80.
[343] Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 307-8.
[344] For more information on *Kitab-ı Bahriye* and detailed analysis of its later versions that include the map of Istanbul, see Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 117-298.
[345] Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 119-20.
[346] Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 162-63.

map,[347] there are a few illustrations that offer significant evidence of the urban landscape of the town in the seventeenth century. For instance, in a manuscript (Nuruosmaniye-2990) dated 1645, Eyüp and Kasımpaşa can be seen at the edge of the Istanbul map (see Appendix B, Figure 56).[348] Compared to the images of the city in earlier copies of *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, these settlements appeared as new details and, according to Orbay, corresponded to the increased interest in depicting the Golden Horn as an urban area.[349] Moreover, Orbay states that in both this map and two other maps (London-4131 and University-123), which are thought to have been produced in the same period, Istanbul was depicted in the northern view as seen on the Golden Horn (see Appendix B, Figures 57-58).[350] She asserts that this might be evidence of the particular attention to the Golden Horn. In the illustration of Istanbul in a copy of *Kitab-ı Bahriye* (Paris-956) dated to the mid-seventeenth century, Eyüp was fully represented for the first time in comparison with the previous versions (see Appendix B, Figure 59).[351] The town was also listed as 'Hazret-i Ayyub' among the place names in the legend of the map.[352] Since standard houses and mosques were used for depicting the urban areas, the map does not reflect every detail regarding the urban fabric; yet, it demonstrates that a dense settlement developed in Eyüp in the seventeenth century. In a similar manner, in another Istanbul map (Topkapı-1633) that is estimated to have been produced in the 1680s, Eyüp was also illustrated as among the densely built areas (see Appendix B, Figure 60).[353]

[347] İffet Orbay lists twenty manuscripts of *Kitab-ı Bahriye* that contain the map of Istanbul. For the list including the estimated dates of the manuscripts and the locations where they are preserved now, see Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 118-19.
[348] Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 215.
[349] Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 216.
[350] Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 220-21.
[351] Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 235-36.
[352] For the whole list of the place names, see Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 342.
[353] Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 254.

The elaborate topographical content of the seventeenth-century Istanbul maps in copies of *Kitab-ı Bahriye* properly reflect the city's growth including the settlements outside of the walls such as Eyüp.[354] Besides that, according to Orbay, the most significant aspect of the variants in this later stage is that they illustrate not only the residential areas extending beyond Istanbul but also the green areas.[355] In addition to the royal gardens, informal green areas were also represented either because of their visual impact on the landscape such as cemeteries densely planted with cypress trees, or because of their social importance such as places of public excursion.[356] In this regard, as I will discuss in detail in the following chapter, the emphasis on gardens and other pleasure grounds in contemporary narratives like accounts of Evliya Çelebi and Eremya Çelebi greatly correspond to the seventeenth-century pictorial depictions of the city and of Eyüp. Together with its function as being the most venerated pilgrimage site, Eyüp took on a new meaning as a social and cultural center in this period and strengthened its function as a resort place where people from other parts of Istanbul came for enjoyment.

Lastly, I would like to draw attention to one more Istanbul map, which was most likely produced in the end of the seventeenth century and provides a good amount of details of Eyüp's urban fabric at that time (see Appendix B, Figure 61).[357] The map has been published online in 2016 in the digital library of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, widely known as Gallica. It is a part of a collection of the cartographic

[354] Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 312.
[355] Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 313.
[356] Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 313.
[357] I would like to thank Çiğdem Kafescioğlu for sharing this map with me. Kafescioğlu has estimated the production date of the map as the end of the seventeenth century by examining the absence and/ or presence of certain monuments, whose construction dates are known.

documents of the Hydrographic Service of the Navy of France.[358] The beginning date of this archive goes back to the period in which Jean-Baptiste Colbert (d. 1683) was the secretary of state for the navy (from 1668) under the King Louis IX and undertook to make France a great power at sea.[359] The map of Istanbul consists of two large folios depicting the Bosphorus and Constantinople, whose measurements are 165 x 178 and 165 x 219 centimeters respectively. As the map does not neglect the suburbs of the city, it is quite a helpful visual source for this study. When we look at Eyüp closely on the map, the route along the Golden Horn between the complex of Abu Ayyub and Edirnekapı that I have previously discussed can be clearly seen. Several important monuments on this route including the mosques of Abu Ayyub, Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha, Cezeri Kasım Pasha, and Defterdar Pasha can be identified (see Appendix B, Figure 62). Moreover, smaller religious buildings with a minaret and settlements around them were also illustrated. Although it is not possible to distinguish between luxurious and modest houses as all residential structures were depicted in the same standard way, the density of houses on the shoreline of the Golden Horn can be interpreted as a reflection of the increasing number of the seaside mansions from the sixteenth century onwards.

[358] The series of cartographic works that includes this map is dated to 1686-1793 in Gallica; however, as far as I can understand, each work's date has not been indicated separately. See https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb442888752.
[359] Sarazin, "Service hydrographique de la Marine"; Tapié, "Jean-Baptiste Colbert."

CHAPTER 4

PUBLIC SPACES AND URBAN EXPERIENCES IN EYUP

Founded following the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Eyüp developed rapidly and became one of the largest extra muros settlements where many high state officials, members of ulema, artists, craftsmen, poets, and scholars lived and built significant architectural works. In addition to the venerated shrine of Abu Ayyub which has always been the focal point of the township, numerous urban institutions were established. Furthermore, as Harrison Griswold Dwight correctly puts, Eyüp was indeed, more than any other place, the Pantheon of Istanbul, so that many important personages chose to be buried near the friend and standard-bearer of the Prophet.[360] Apart from that, it was an essential agricultural and horticultural area where fresh vegetables, fruits, and dairy products as well as various types of flowers and plants were produced. The town's lush green fields were also quite charming for picnicking, walking, and enjoying the nice weather. For all of these outlined reasons, Eyüp attracted a lot of people from all around the city and even other parts of the empire and turned into a lively social, cultural, and commercial center. Because many diverse urban and rural or religious and secular elements existed together in Eyüp, it would be more useful to examine overlaps and connections between different spaces rather than simply making classifications.

Before going into the detail of issues regarding public spaces and diversity of their use, I would like to briefly mention Eyüp's population, considering that the dwellers of the township were the main actors who experienced as well as shaped these places of encounters. Even though Eyüp has been famous for its Islamic character and

[360] Dwight, *Constantinople*, 139.

predominantly Muslim settlers, communities of other religions also lived in the township together with Muslims through the Ottoman period. For instance, Christian Armenians, who were forced to migrate from Anatolia to repopulate Istanbul during the reign of Mehmed II, were first settled in the walled city; after some time, a group of them moved to Eyüp.[361] Reşad Ekrem Koçu remarks that Armenians in Eyüp engaged with various sorts of crafts.[362] Two Armenian churches in Eyüp, which are estimated to have been founded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively, represent the presence of Armenian community in the township.[363] It is also known that a huge number of non-Muslim migrants from the Balkans such as Bulgarians and Albanians resided in Eyüp and worked in gardens and dairy farms.[364] Based on her analysis of the court registers in the eighteenth century, Suraiya Faroqhi points out that Eyüp was like a part of the Balkans due to the large populations from this region.[365] Moreover, she mentions that according to records that indicated the occupations of migrants, in this period, several grocery shops in Eyüp were owned by Orthodox Greeks, who came from small villages located in the borders of today's Greece and Macedonia.[366]

The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century court registers also demonstrate the presence of non-Muslims in Eyüp since we can see their names in various cases such as

[361] Kara, "Eyüp," 249; Hançer, "Eyüp Ermeni kiliseleri," 165-66.
[362] Koçu, *İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 10), 5452-53. In this regard, the account of the eighteenth-century historian Sarkis Sarraf Hovhannesyan (d. 1805) supports Koçu's argument. He explains that there were forty-two ceramics manufacturers in Eyüp and Armenians constituted the majority of pottery makers working in these ateliers. See Hovhannesyan, *Payitaht İstanbul'un tarihçesi*, 32.
[363] For more information about these churches, which are called the Apostolic Armenian Church of Saint Elia (Surp Yeghia) and the Apostolic Armenian Church of the Mother of God (Surp Asdvadzazin), see Hançer, "Eyüp Ermeni kiliseleri," 167-73; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 53; İnciciyan, *XVIII. asırda İstanbul*, 92; Hovhannesyan, *Payitaht İstanbul'un tarihçesi*, 33-34.
[364] Ayşe Nur Akdal, who focused on market gardens and gardeners of Istanbul between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries in her master's thesis, explains that the registers do not show any evidence of ethno-religious divisions. According to her, apparently, Muslims and non-Muslims, natives and migrants worked together in the same garden. See Akdal, "Provisioning the Ottoman capital," 81.
[365] Faroqhi, "Eyüp kadı sicillerine yansıdığı şekliyle 18. yüzyıl 'büyük İstanbul'una göç," 40.
[366] Faroqhi, "Eyüp kadı sicillerine yansıdığı şekliyle 18. yüzyıl 'büyük İstanbul'una göç," 43.

estate sales, inheritance, divorce, and illegal acts.[367] Seemingly in daily life there were many interactions and both personal and professional relationships between different communities regardless of religion. To illustrate, a record dated 1661-62 indicates that non-Muslims called Dimo and Yorgi sold fruit trees situated in their garden close to Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque to a Muslim named Ali Beşe.[368] Another register dated 1644 shows that a Muslim woman, Aişe Hatun, rented her bread bakery located near the complex of Abu Ayyub to a non-Muslim man called Kiro.[369] Two records dated 1670-71 mentions a conflict that broke out about money between a Muslim yoghurt maker, Seydi Beşe, and Şiro, who was a dhimmi. Accordingly, we learn that Seydi Beşe sold goats to Şiro but could not take money from him. After the judge intervened in the situation, Şiro paid his debt to Seydi Beşe; thus, they made peace.[370] There was no need to be a Muslim to consult the court applying Islamic law. For instance, a register dated 1670-71 recounts that an Armenian pottery maker called Avanos bought alcoholic drinks from another Armenian known as a tavern owner Margos but did not pay the price, and Margos applied to the kadi of Eyüp for taking his money from Avanos.[371] The last interesting example that I want to share is a register dated 1619-20. This document explains that a certain Todori divorced his wife, Kirana, at the court of Eyüp based on the Sharia law, and their witnesses consisted of both Christians and Muslims.[372] As these cases imply, not only Muslims but also communities from different religions were a part

[367] Regarding these registers, it should be noted that the court of Eyüp was responsible for not only the central neighborhoods of Eyüp that are covered in this study but also a very large area, including Çatalca, Büyük-Küçük Çekmece, and Silivri. Therefore, I tried to choose more relevant records for the scope of this research. Although not all of them, many documents provide information about locations of where events happened or where plaintiffs or defendants were living.
[368] *Eyüb mahkemesi 74 numaralı sicil*, 219.
[369] *Eyüb mahkemesi 49 numaralı sicil*, 106.
[370] *Eyüb mahkemesi 82 numaralı sicil*, 57-58.
[371] *Eyüb mahkemesi 82 numaralı sicil*, 58.
[372] *Eyüb mahkemesi 19 numaralı sicil*, 355.

of the population of Eyüp. On the other hand, we should keep in mind that this does not mean that they lived there without any constraints. The public order in Eyüp, particularly in the neighborhoods located around the complex of Abu Ayyub, was strictly controlled by the Ottoman state.[373] As I will discuss later in this chapter, in archival sources, there are many imperial orders sent to the judges of Eyüp with the aim of regulating social life and designating some standards regarding proper manners, especially in relation with non-Muslim populations.

4.1 Ottoman use and perception of public spaces

As this chapter focuses on public spaces in Eyüp, first I will briefly discuss what 'public' meant in the early modern Ottoman world and how Ottomans conceived and defined 'public' and 'private' spaces.

In his work that was produced to provide a manual of etiquette to Ottoman society, the sixteenth-century intellectual and bureaucrat Mustafa Ali makes a clear distinction between public and private places. He describes 'the rooms/ houses of strangers/ foreigners' (*büyut-ı bigane*) and 'private rooms' (*halvet-i has*) as follows:[374]

> Public places (*eyl evi*) consist of rooms and pavilions for pleasure in the dressing rooms and private areas of bathhouses, as well as in wine taverns, *boza* taverns, and coffeehouses, and in the chambers of worship in masjids and mosques and dervish lodges. Furthermore, the term alludes to *han*s, caravansarays, and the delightful places known as *düğün evi*, as well as the tight slots and narrow holes inside constricted spaces aboard boats and ships.
>
> But private chambers consist of the following: the choice pavilions in the palaces of kings and commanders; the sublime private devotional chambers in the mansions of veiled ladies; the cells, free of blemish, in the dervish lodges of

[373] Ahmet Refik Altınay asserts that considering the efforts of the state in terms of maintaining law and order, Eyüp received the most attention in comparison to other settlements of Istanbul. See Altınay, *Eski İstanbul Manzaraları*, 50.
[374] Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Meva'idu'n-nefais fi-kava'ıdi'l-mecalis*, 210.

> sheikhs; the libraries in the houses of scholars and masters of gnosis; above all, the private galleries in noble mosques and masjids and the nicely furnished upper stories of the houses of grandees and famous men. This shows that persons of renown and of insignificance, princes and paupers, even monarchs and ministers, desire private chambers to which entrance is forbidden without permission and leave.[375]

As is seen from this detailed depiction, according to Mustafa Ali, one of the crucial differences between public and private places is about whether permission was needed to enter or not. In his view, public places belonged to the 'others/ strangers' and their entrance or exit was not restricted with a special permission, namely, they were open to everyone. He points out mostly residential areas such as pavilions, mansions, cells, and houses as 'private' and indicates that not only elites but also commoners had private places. On the other hand, although Mustafa Ali describes masjids and mosques as public places, he expresses that noble masjids and mosques may have included private chambers that were reserved for certain persons' use. Similarly, 'wedding houses' (*düğün evi*s) were halls or houses where circumcision feasts or wedding feasts were held.[376] Because of that, he classifies these places as 'public' differently from 'private' houses. In this respect, considering that Mustafa Ali's description is a reflection of the Ottoman mentality of his time, it would not be wrong to claim that public and private places were conceptualized separately in the sixteenth-century Ottoman world.

The seventeenth-century traveller Evliya Çelebi also makes a distinction between public and private spaces in his account. For instance, he classifies gardens in Istanbul into two groups concerning their status as either public (*amm*) or private (*has*). One of his lists includes imperial gardens that were reserved for the sultans (*padişahlara*

[375] Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *The Ottoman gentleman of the sixteenth century*, 142-43.
[376] Douglas S. Brookes, who did the annotated English translation of Mustafa Ali's *Meva'idu'n-nefais fi-kava'ıdi'l-mecalis*, describes *düğün evi* in this way. See Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *The Ottoman gentleman of the sixteenth century*, 142, footnote 848.

mahsus bağ-ı İremezat misilli has bağçeler) and the other contains gardens that could be frequented by both elites and commoners (*has u amm içün bi-tekellüf olan mesiregah-ı ferah-fezalar*).[377] In this context, Evliya Çelebi's definition of 'private' implies formal, privileged, and therefore restricted spaces.

Parallel to that, Tülay Artan indicates that in the Ottoman court registers, the terms, *'amm(e)* and *hass(a)*, are identified as referring respectively to the public and non-public.[378] She suggests that the intimate physical and emotional space into which civil or religious authorities could not intrude should be regarded as private.[379] On the other hand, she points out that such privacies may have occurred within public sphere, and at the same time, violations of privacy in non-public areas may have also be observed. Therefore, she offers a third area between the public and the private, an "intermediate sphere where boundaries between the individual and society tended to blur."[380]

In this study, the term 'public space' is used in connection with its social function. In other words, my main aim is to examine public gathering places that were frequented by the city's dwellers for meeting their various social and cultural needs. Moreover, the issues regarding forms of sociability, urban experiences, and leisure, pleasure, entertainment culture within the Ottoman context are also concerned. Another

[377] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 237-41.
[378] Artan, "Forms and forums of expression," 381. In her another article focusing on the miniatures of the eighteenth-century copies of *Hamse-i Atayi*, Tülay Artan argues that until the end of the seventeenth century, *amme* was used as 'public' and *hassa* as 'official'. According to her, in parallel to the social and cultural changes in the eighteenth century, the terms *amme* and *hassa* acquired some meanings that we can associate with the notion of 'public' and 'private'. In this period, some instances from the private life of urbanites (e.g. entertainments, wine drinking, dancing, playing music, women in low-cut dresses, and homosexual relationships) were depicted in miniatures. In this way, for the first time, people started to represent their privacy, and this raised the concept of 'non-private', namely 'public'. See Artan, "Mahremiyet: mahrumiyetin resmi."
[379] Artan, "Forms and forums of expression," 381.
[380] Artan, "Forms and forums of expression," 381.

significant aspect of public space that will be taken into consideration in this study is its function as a space of surveillance. In this regard, the relationship between the authorities and the subjects and the state control mechanisms over social life will also be investigated. Besides coffeehouses, wine taverns, *boza* houses, and other eateries, public gardens were the most vibrant venues of social life in early modern period both in Istanbul and Eyüp. Because of that, to take a brief look at Ottoman garden culture with special emphasis on Istanbul would be helpful to examine the situation in Eyüp in a broader perspective.

Green areas, including gardens, courtyards, promenades, meadows, orchards, and vineyards, had huge importance as outing spaces of leisure and recreation in early modern urban life of Istanbul. Differently from our modern age, the motivation of going to these kinds of 'natural' places was not to run away from tiring, polluted, and noisy city life. Although today it is quite hard for us to find such an open space to rest and enjoy nature in Istanbul, in Ottoman times these pleasure grounds were not physically very separated from urban structure and architectural and natural elements were overlapping harmoniously, particularly in boroughs. Thus, social practices and daily habits were shaped accordingly.

The garden-related terminology in the Ottoman world is quite complex, as can be seen in the texts of Evliya Çelebi, Eremya Çelebi, and their contemporaries. There is a wide range of words to describe gardens with different functions, locations, vegetation, and characteristics, such as *mesiregah*, *teferrücgah*, *bağçe*, *has bağçe*, *bağ*, *bağ-ı irem*, *koru*, *saydgah*, *avgah*, *seyrangah, temaşagah* and *ziyaretgah*. There were most likely some nuances between these places according to people's view at that time. On the other

hand, for us it is not always easy to differentiate one from another.[381] According to Nurhan Atasoy, this wide array of words demonstrates that the term 'garden' should be understood within a broader perspective than warranted by Western garden studies. Furthermore, she states that very different places from wilderness to the urban, qualify as gardens in an Ottoman perspective.[382] In parallel to that, Gülru Necipoğlu discusses that Ottoman garden tradition did not fit well into the usual definitions of the so-called Islamic garden.[383] For instance, she indicates that compared to generally known 'Islamic' garden types such as quadripartite formal gardens with straight water channels that came to be known as *chaharbagh* in the Iranian world, classical Ottoman gardens were less formal.[384] According to her, even in royal estates where some structures were built in gardens, the primacy of nature was clearly expressed and architectural elements were kept to a minimum.[385]

In the first half of the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi lists scores of public spaces that were used by both elites and commoners for amusement, relaxation, and

[381] Suraiya Faroqhi suggests some comparative descriptions for these terms. For instance, she indicates that *mesire*/*mesiregah* stands for 'picnic place' or 'beauty spot'. *Teferrücgah* means 'promenade' and 'place of enjoyment' and seems to be a synonym for *mesire*/*mesiregah*. *Bağçe* is probably one of the most general terms and stands for 'garden'. *Has bağçe* refers to a garden that belonged to the sultan. *Koru* refers to 'grove' or 'orchard'. *Saydgah* and *avgah* both mean 'place for hunting'. *Seyrangah* can be defined as 'excursion spot' similar to 'promenade'; moreover, it can imply a place with a nice view. *Temaşagah* has also a similar meaning with *seyrangah* as *temaşa* means contemplation and spectacle. The word *ziyaretgah* was used for indicating shrines, cemeteries, and other sacred sites as *ziyaret* means 'visit'. For further information, see Faroqhi, "What happened in Istanbul gardens," 122-23.
[382] Atasoy, "Matrakçı Nasuh and Evliya Çelebi," 209.
[383] Necipoğlu, "Suburban landscape," 32.
[384] Necipoğlu, "Suburban landscape," 32.
[385] Necipoğlu, "Suburban landscape," 39. In her article, Gülru Necipoğlu focuses on the sixteenth-century gardens and suburban landscape of Istanbul as reflection of garden culture. She says, "Unlike the Persianate *chaharbagh*s or the formal gardens of Renaissance Europe, the relatively informal Ottoman gardens that merged Turko-Islamic elements with Byzantine ones were not the creation of architects but of gardeners." On the other hand, she explains that this classical Ottoman garden tradition was transformed in the eighteenth century, and the Sadabad Palace along the Golden Horn, built for Sultan Ahmet III (r. 1703-1730), was a marker of this change in garden design and court ceremonial. See Necipoğlu, "Suburban landscape," 45.

excursion without any restraint.[386] He describes more than thirty places in intramural Istanbul, and among them are public squares (*meydan*s) such as Atmeydanı, Eminönü, Süleymaniye, Fatih, Şehzade, Valide Mosque, Ayasofya, Ayazmakapısı, and Ebu Ensari Kapısı, vegetable gardens and vineyards such as Langa and Lalezar, and even a pier, Langa, where people went for sea bathing. Moreover, outside of the city walls, Evliya Çelebi illustrates many other promenades, meadows, squares, mosque courtyards, villages, dervish lodges, green areas around aqueducts and lakes, fishing zones, and dairy farms as delightful open places.

Similar to Evliya Çelebi, Eremya Çelebi tells about plenty of beautiful and pleasant park-like landscapes located on the banks of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus and in the overlying hills. According to him, there was almost no empty area from Kağıthane to the Bosphorus due to a large number of mansions and gardens. The coastline was full of assorted trees such as cypress, sycamore, bay, pine, and Judas trees, and the local folk of Istanbul were going to these enchanting pleasure grounds for entertainment from the advent of spring to the end of November.[387]

In his article about the emergence and spread of coffeehouses in the sixteenth-century Istanbul, Cemal Kafadar also focuses on the rise of new forms of entertainment such as *Karagöz* shadow theatre and *Meddah* story-telling performances.[388] He indicates that the recurrent themes in the stories offer hints of various types of leisurely activities taking place according to newly established routines of experiencing the city.[389] In this context, in the *Meddah* stories, 'secular' sightseeing could be found as a common

[386] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 206-9.
[387] Kömürciyan, *Istanbul tarihi*, 45.
[388] Kafadar, "How dark is the history of the night," 244.
[389] Kafadar, "How dark is the history of the night," 263.

theme.[390] Even the visit to the Hagia Sophia or to the shrine of Abu Ayyub was part of seeing the beauties of the city rather than being part of a religious performance.

4.2 Public spaces in Eyüp: entanglements of sacred, recreational, and agricultural sites

With its picturesque hills, rich vegetation, nice weather, streams, and favorable location along the shore of the Golden Horn, Eyüp became one of the most celebrated excursion spots among the denizens of the city from the fifteenth century onward. Besides the venerated shrine of Abu Ayyub that was the main attraction point for pious visitations, the town had also many pleasurable recreational areas that were used by a wide range of people for leisurely activities. In Eyüp where urban and rural elements combined, gardens cultivating fruits, vegetables, and flowers, or dairy farms having large meadows were also used as places for rest and relaxation. Furthermore, although it seems unusual to us today, tranquil green graveyards of Eyüp full of trees, plants, and flowers were perceived as public parks by the early modern Istanbulites; therefore, strolling, picnicking, or gathering with friends were quite common activities taking place in the cemeteries.[391] In connection to a large number of visitors, commercial life in Eyüp was also vibrant. Ateliers producing ceramic ware and toys, and shops selling delicious local food, such as yoghurt, clotted cream, and kebab, were very popular. Considering the topography of the town, the sea route was the main transportation method for reaching

[390] Kafadar, "How dark is the history of the night," 264.
[391] Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet explain that the importance of green and its association with paradise encouraged the desire for trees and flowers in the graveyards in the Ottoman period. Accordingly, it was believed that any green plant over a grave would aid the soul of the dead by decreasing the effect of the first punishment after death before going to the other world. Maurice Cerasi also comments on the green environment of Ottoman cemeteries and points out that there are many travelogues depicting denizens of Istanbul who were walking, eating, or singing songs in the cemeteries. See Boyar and Fleet, *A social history of Ottoman Istanbul*, 230; Cerasi, *Osmanlı kenti*, 201.

Eyüp; however, beyond its practical aspect, tours by rowing boats throughout the Golden Horn was an enjoyable event in itself and liked very much.

In his work entitled *Heves-name* dated 1493, which provides one of the earliest depictions of Ottoman Istanbul, Tacizade Cafer Çelebi (d. 1515) represents Eyüp as the most prominent sacred site of the city and as a favored pleasure ground with its beautiful gardens and rose-beds.[392] According to him, despite its distance from the city center, it was worthwhile to see this nice town, which delighted its visitors.[393] In the beginning of the sixteenth century, parallel to Cafer Çelebi, Latifi described Eyüp as a charming promenade like a part of heaven and wrote that this sanctified, pleasant, and peaceful town was frequented by a large number of folk.[394]

In the 1570s, Stephan Gerlach, the Protestant priest attached to the Habsburg embassy at Istanbul, reported that the mausoleum of Abu Ayyub was visited by huge crowds, particularly women.[395] He portrayed the long candles were lighting around the tomb, some old women kissing the stairs of this blessed place, and some people sacrificing animals.[396] Gerlach also mentioned some communal celebrations that took

---

[392] Tâcî-zâde Cafer Çelebi, *Heves-nâme*, 190-94. The Ottoman bureaucrat and poet Cafer Çelebi, who was born in Amasya, small town in the northeastern part of Anatolia in the Black Sea region, was assigned to the madrasa of Mahmud Çelebi in Istanbul in 1493. Here he made a circle of friends including poets, artists, and intellectuals, and in the same year, completed his work. Written in *sergüzeştname* style in which adventures that an author experienced was told, *Heves-name* depicts a love story of Cafer Çelebi. According to that, during a warm spring day, he and his friends were bored to be sitting inside, and they decided to gather at a nice recreational area known as Kağıthane for entertaining, drinking, dining, and having conversations. In the pleasing atmosphere of this popular public park, he fell in love with a beautiful woman. This literary narrative is important as it both provides a description of the city about forty years after the Ottoman conquest and gives some hints regarding daily life, leisure culture, and ways of socialization in the end of the fifteenth century. For more information about Cafer Çelebi and his work, see the introduction part of *Heves-nâme* written by the editor of the book, Necati Sungur.
[393] Tâcî-zâde Cafer Çelebi, *Heves-nâme*, 194.
[394] Lâtifî, *Evsâf-ı Istanbul*, 65.
[395] Gerlach, *Türkiye günlüğü*, 330, 572.
[396] Gerlach, *Türkiye günlüğü*, 330, 572. As Gerlach mentions, Evliya Çelebi also recounts that numerous people were offering sacrifices to God in Eyüp and the meat was given to needy and poor ones. A share of this meat was also most probably donated to charitable institutions such as public kitchens. See Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 170.

place in Eyüp, including not only Muslim feasts but also special days for Christians. For instance, he explained that it was very common among Muslims to visit the township on the third day of Eid al-Fitr, and during this festival, they were strolling through streets, greeting each other, and offering desserts, meat dishes, flowers, and some other gifts.[397] As an example of a non-Muslim celebration, Gerlach recounted that there were a holy spring and a small church called "Ayia Fotini" in Eyüp and that thousands of people were coming to this place to celebrate the feast day of St. Philip and St. James, Apostles, on the 1st of May.[398] He stated that Turks, Jews, Catholics, and Greeks were washing with the water of the holy spring because it was believed to have been beneficial for eye health. Moreover, Greeks were sticking candles into the walls; afterwards, they were eating, drinking, and having fun whole day around the holy spring.[399] These observations by Gerlach imply that religious rituals were not limited to a certain community. Instead, either Islamic or Christian, sacred days had broader and intercommunal social and cultural implications in daily life; furthermore, holy sites in Eyüp functioned also as recreational areas.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi describes Eyüp as a grand city (*şehr-i azim*) that was like paradise.[400] According to him, the heaven-like city was praised a lot due to its pleasant weather and water as well as its beautiful men and women.[401] Located on the west side of Istanbul, nine miles away from the sea, Eyüp was full of well-cared, prosperous mansions many of them owned by viziers, high-ranking

[397] Gerlach, *Türkiye günlüğü*, 289-90.
[398] Gerlach, *Türkiye günlüğü*, 783.
[399] Gerlach, *Türkiye günlüğü*, 783.
[400] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 168.
[401] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 170.

officials, elegant folks, and sultans.[402] Many notables were living in the township, and the majority of its population was composed of scholars.[403] There were 9,800 homes and 1,085 shops in Eyüp, and no empty land remained between the city walls and the township.[404]

In addition to the core area of Eyüp, Evliya Çelebi describes its significant neighborhoods such as Topçular, Otakçılar, Nişancı Paşa (today Nişanca), and Çömlekçiler separately. In his depictions, besides residential structures, he often explains public places such as pious foundations, market places, bazaars, squares, and gardens; in this way, he helps us imagine both spatial setting and social life in the settlements. According to him, Topçular, located in the inner part of Eyüp far from the sea, was a high and pleasant place having about a thousand mansions and houses.[405] Similarly, Otakçılar, founded on a high land compared to the sea level, was a lively neighborhood that had very nice weather and water. More than two thousand residential structures, including both modest houses and prestigious mansions with paradise-like gardens, were located in Otakçılar. Moreover, there were four mosques, seventeen masjids, six convents, three khans, and approximately a hundred shops. Evliya Çelebi also mentions a public space called Otak Meydanı, which was a pleasing lush meadow frequented by dwellers especially in the afternoon to take a rest and relax.[406] Nişancı Paşa Neighborhood situated on an airy hill was a large settlement with three thousand prosperous, fancy mansions and about twenty shops.[407] On the coastline of the Golden Horn on a flat area was Çömlekçiler Neighborhood, which had four thousand prosperous

[402] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 168.
[403] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 170.
[404] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 168-69.
[405] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 166.
[406] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 166-67.
[407] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 167.

mansions and seaside villas with their beautiful gardens and orchards.[408] On the two sides of the main street of Çömlekçiler, three hundred shops that belonged to all kinds of craftsmen were located. Apart from this market place, Evliya Çelebi notes that there was also a special bazaar for pottery makers, where two hundred and fifty shops selling various pots, jugs, plates, and drink ware were situated. According to him, very special amber-scented clay was brought from Kağıthane and Sarıyer, and goods produced here were as beautiful as Chinese porcelains or İznik tiles. Evliya Çelebi recounts that in this neighborhood, there were four piers called Yavedud, Defterdar, Zal Pasha, and Hoca Efendi respectively. This shows us that Çömlekçiler was quite a crowded and developed settlement in the 1630s. Furthermore, it would not be wrong to argue that as Eyüp was easily accessible from water, rowing boats were the traditional means of transport in this period.

Evliya Çelebi remarks that white bread, clotted cream, yoghurt, peach, apricot, and sour pomegranate were the most famous, unique products of Eyüp.[409] He thus points out the well-known bakeries, shops, dairies, and urban gardens of the township. He recounts that every Friday thousands of men were coming to visit the mausoleum of Abu Ayyub, consequently, the bazaar and market place became like a sea of men.[410] Since Friday afternoon prayer is obligatory for adult male Muslims, the complex of Abu Ayyub might have been visited by a larger number of males on Fridays compared to the other days of the week.[411] Evliya Çelebi tells that these gentlemen were sitting at the

[408] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 167.
[409] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 170.
[410] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 169.
[411] Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu discusses that the weekly local markets of Eyüp were held on Fridays; therefore, it was the busiest visit day to the tomb of Abu Ayyub. Moreover, she does not indicate the gender and translates Evliya Çelebi's expression (*niçe bin adem*) as 'thousands of people'. See Yenişehirlioğlu, "Eyüp çarşısı."

balconies of the clotted cream shops with pleasure, drank fresh milk and ate cheese and pure honey.[412] He also points out the third days of Muslim feasts, Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha, as the most crowded times of Eyüp. Yoghurt and clotted cream shops were again packed with people on these days. He indicates that there were five hundred yoghurt shops in total in Istanbul, and one fifth of them were located in Eyüp. The taste of dairy products produced in the township was believed to have been delicious due to the miracle of Abu Ayyub among the folk.[413] On the other hand, it is apparent that thanks to the fresh and pure milk provided from dairy farms in the township, clotted cream and yoghurt were so tasty.[414] From the sixteenth century onwards, clotted cream shops emerged as significant places of socialization in Eyüp for both men and women. Because of that, as I will discuss in detail in the next section, these places also gained attention from the state authorities, who perceived them as "the spatial culprits."[415] In addition to the clotted cream shops, *boza*-houses, taverns, and particularly coffeehouses were also important socializing places, which were mainly male-dominated.

Kebab shops in Eyüp were also frequented by Istanbulites.[416] According to Reşad Ekrem Koçu, who composed his text in the twentieth century based on written and oral sources, the reason of this popularity was that Eyüp's cooks were very famous for their skill of marinating meat.[417] Taking into account the fact that in 1580, 48 butcher shops were operating in Eyüp while there were only four or five shops in Galata and one or two in Kasımpaşa, Eyüp's significant role in supplying meat products to the city

[412] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 169.
[413] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 243.
[414] Koçu, "Eyyubsultan kaymağı, kaymakçı dükkanları," "Eyyubsultan yoğurdu," *İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 10), 5459, 5469.
[415] Zilfi, *Women and slavery*, 57.
[416] Kara, "Eyüp," 250; Yenişehirlioğlu, "Eyüp çarşısı."
[417] Koçu, *İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 10), 5459-60.

would be understood better.[418] In addition to the kebab shops, which were mostly located around the complex of Abu Ayyub, in a small village called Küçükköy close to the Rami Farm uphill from Eyüp, a flock of sheep was raised for the royal household by a special corps (*saya ocağı*).[419] The members of this corps, whose number was around forty, were very good at cooking meat with different methods; therefore, many people were directly going to this village and eating delicious meals, enjoying the nice view of meadows and green lands.[420]

Evliya Çelebi states that there were also many confectionery stores in the township. These sweet shops belonged to the candy makers of Galata, who were mainly Europeans (*Frenk*s) or Greeks coming from Chios.[421] The candy makers purchased violets, tulips, hyacinths, and daffodils, which were grown in the flower gardens of Eyüp, to prepare syrups and sweets.[422] Besides the renowned food shops, Eyüp was also famous for its toy sellers. It was believed that Abu Ayyub liked children very much, so, as a kind of tradition, particularly little boys who would be circumcised and children who would start school were brought to the tomb of Abu Ayyub to pay a visit.[423] Moreover, considering the large number of women visitors, it can be estimated that many of them were coming to the township together with their children. As a result, toy production developed, and according to Evliya Çelebi, there were 105 toy maker craftsmen and 100 shops selling toys in Eyüp.[424] Colorful playthings, such as carriages,

[418] Altınay, *Onuncu asr-ı hicride İstanbul hayatı*, 135, footnote 1.
[419] Göncüoğlu, "Saya ocağı."
[420] Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Eski zamanlarda İstanbul hayatı*, 103-4.
[421] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 253.
[422] Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Eski zamanlarda İstanbul hayatı*, 267.
[423] Kılıç, "Eyüp oyuncakçılığı," 252.
[424] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 300.

tambourines, end-blown flutes, drums, roly-poly toys, and spinning tops, entertained children who visited the township.[425]

Evliya Çelebi elaborately depicts Eyüp's excursion spots that were frequented by denizens of the city for rest, relaxation, and pleasure. Accordingly, he illustrates ten different recreational sites with their distinctive features.[426] The promenade called Eyüp Sultan was located on a high hill overlooking the Golden Horn on the way to Kağıthane. There was a sacred spring known as Küplüce, and Evliya Çelebi depicts it as life-giving water, which cured the disease of malaria.[427] Another promenade looking over the Golden Horn was Ağa Sekisi, which was a meadow.[428] Ceres Square was a large open space, where thousands of cavalries gathered in every Friday and displayed their talent for swordsmanship, and Evliya Çelebi points out that this square, which was located on the way to Kağıthane, was similar to At Meydanı.[429] Kalamış was an excursion area covering the small islands, which can be still seen in front of Eyüp, in the Golden Horn. According to Evliya Çelebi, it was a particularly favored site for fishing, and every Friday hundreds of friends were taking boats and going across there.[430] Similarly, Deniz Hamamı, literally meaning sea bath, was a popular pleasure spot on the islands of Eyüp. It was especially preferred for swimming, and many folks were relaxing and entertaining themselves on the green lands of the islands, eating, drinking, and having nice

[425] Eyüp toys were also sold in other parts of Istanbul mostly by peddlers. From the nineteenth century onwards, they started to lose their popularity, and in the twentieth century, they were almost completely lost. It has been argued that they were roughly made products, which did not contribute to the child development; therefore, they could not compete with new types of toys imported from Europe. See Koçu, *İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 10), 5461-62; Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Eski zamanlarda İstanbul hayatı*, 104-5.
[426] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 169-70.
[427] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 169.
[428] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 169.
[429] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 169. Rather than pointing out any hippodrome, Evliya Çelebi refers to At Meydanı in Istanbul. This area was hippodrome of Constantinople in Byzantine period, and is today generally known as Sultanahmet Meydanı.
[430] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 169.

conversations. Evliya Çelebi remarks that such a pleasing place, which made people cheer up, was unmatched and could only be found in the city of Eyüp.[431] Can Kuyusu was a promenade around a water well that was believed to have the magical power of answering any question. For instance, Evliya Çelebi expresses that people visited this site to learn who stole their belongings or what happened to their beloved ones, who had been lost. The 'magical' well was situated in one of the old houses located in a graveyard at the northern side of Eyüp.[432] This depiction is one of the examples, which demonstrates that a site in the cemeteries could be designated as promenade in early modern Istanbul.

İdris Köşkü, which was actually a dervish lodge, was another pleasure spot in the township of Eyüp. Built by Sheikh İdris who was a member of Bayramiye Sufi order, the lodge's garden became a joyful meeting place for dervish friends. Evliya Çelebi recounts that the sheikh was accused of being a nonbeliever during the reign of Sultan Mustafa I (r. 1622-1623). As a consequence of these slanders, his dervish lodge was destroyed. Nevertheless, its garden remained as a pleasure ground with its grand trees, green lands, sweet water fountain, and big pool.[433] Eyüp's other public gardens in the list of Evliya Çelebi are Kırkserviler, Ağakarlığı, and Bülbül Deresi. According to him, Kırkselviler was an airy, high, and wooded excursion spot. Ağakarlığı was a meadow located in lush greenery so that its ground looked like green velvet. Bülbül Deresi was famous for its thousands of nightingales whose sound gave joy and pleasure to the visitors.[434]

[431] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 169.
[432] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 169-70.
[433] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 170.
[434] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 170.

Parallel to Evliya Çelebi's account, Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan (1637-1695), Ottoman Armenian historian and poet who wrote a book on physical and social topography of Istanbul, depicts Eyüp as a well populated and developed settlement. He indicates that it had been a seclusion place where monasteries had been located in Byzantine period; however, now, the town was predominantly populated by Muslims and had many mosques, masjids, bazaars, shops, bakeries, and bathhouses.[435] Eremya Çelebi praises the quality of potteries produced in the Çömlekçiler Neighborhood, and explains that various cups for olive oil, honey, wine, and water manufactured here were very precious gifts, which were carried to even far away lands.[436] Besides pottery makers, there were also many shops selling toys for children of different ages. On the shoreline of the Golden Horn, a lot of mansions had been built for sultans and princes, and a little further away from them were pits for preserving snow for summer use.[437]

Eremya Çelebi points out the density of green spaces, which had different forms and functions such as promenades, meadows, orchards, and market gardens, and recounts that these gardens lying under shades of trees made people refreshed and cheerful.[438] He notes that in many market gardens located in the vicinity, Bulgarian and Armenian gardeners were working.[439] Furthermore, he expresses that so many kinds of flowers were sold in Eyüp that he could not write their names.[440] In a similar manner, Reşad Ekrem Koçu describes that the hilly areas around the valley where Silver Spring

[435] Kömürciyan, *Istanbul tarihi*, 27-28.
[436] Kömürciyan, *Istanbul tarihi*, 27.
[437] Kömürciyan, *Istanbul tarihi*, 30.
[438] Kömürciyan, *Istanbul tarihi*, 27.
[439] Kömürciyan, *Istanbul tarihi*, 30.
[440] Kömürciyan, *Istanbul tarihi*, 30.

(*gümüş suyu*) was located were full of flower gardens.[441] Roses, tulips, hyacinths, and daffodils, which were raised there, were sold in the flower bazaar set up on Fridays on the street where toy stores were situated.[442] A separate market for selling varied types of roses was also established in the Yavedüd Neighborhood during the rose season.[443] Moreover, one flower garden called Fulya Tarlası or Fulya Bağı was used as an excursion spot, and as it was far from the eyes, it became a meeting place particularly for friends who wanted to entertain themselves until late night playing music, drinking and having amicable conversations.[444]

Differently from the previous examples, although they were not public spaces that were open to everyone, several private gardens in Eyüp were also significant gathering places for Ottoman intellectuals, scholars, poets, and artists. As Gülru Necipoğlu explains, these gardens, which were owned by the urban middle classes, functioned as private, informal spaces for pleasurable relaxation.[445] Reading and writing poetry, playing backgammon and chess, conversing, musical entertainments accompanied by dance performances, and drinking wine were some of the activities that took place in these gardens.[446] In a way, they were quite similar with public parks, promenades, and coffeehouses, but access to them was limited to a certain intellectual circle. In this regard, the private gardens were also a part of vivid social life of the

[441] Koçu, "Eyyubsultan'da fulya tarlası," *İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 10), 5451. Reşad Ekrem Koçu does not give an exact date for the flower gardens but states that they existed much earlier than the nineteenth century. He also reports that in 1962 the gardens were completely lost and their place was occupied by shanty houses (*gecekondu*).
[442] Koçu, "Eyyubsultan'da fulya tarlası," *İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 10), 5451.
[443] Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Eski zamanlarda İstanbul hayatı*, 266.
[444] Koçu, "Eyyubsultan'da fulya tarlası," *İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 10), 5451-52. Abdülaziz Bey (1850-1918) also lists Fulya Bahçesi as a promenade in Eyüp along with 'Türbe Bahçesi' (the Garden of the Tomb) and 'Bahariye Köşkü yeri' (the place of Bahariye Pavilion). See Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı adet, merasim ve tabirleri*, 298.
[445] Necipoğlu, "Suburban landscape," 43.
[446] Necipoğlu, "Suburban landscape," 43.

township, so it would be useful to illustrate a few of them. For instance, in his biographical dictionary of poets, Aşık Çelebi (1520-1572) describes the garden of Hayati and Memati, who were the sons of the imam of Sultan Selim Mosque.[447] Two brothers created a beautiful garden like heaven, which was located close to the complex of Abu Ayyub, and gatherings full of wine and joy were held there throughout the year. Another garden that Aşık Çelebi depicts as a meeting place for the Istanbulite elegant folk was owned by Nigari, who was a talented painter (*nakkaş*).[448] Nigari was originally from Galata and his father was a chess player called Satranç-baz Arab. Nigari's house with a pleasing garden in Eyüp became a popular gathering spot, which was frequented by artists, members of ulema, high-ranking officials, and notables. Aşık Çelebi notes that it also functioned as a lodge (*tekyegah*, *hankah*) for Qalandar dervishes. He recounts that during a meeting at Nigari's place, a hookah that contained opium was offered the guests. The hookah with opium offered to the guests was likened to mesir paste, which was believed to have been like a medicine good for health. However, consequently, as Aşık Çelebi notes, among those who consumed it, Sinan Çelebi, who was the judge of Eyüp, died. Some of them became sick and some became fuddled.[449] Even though we do not know to what extent Aşık Çelebi's narrative reflects the reality, it is still a useful source that gives an idea of the intellectual networks in the sixteenth-century Istanbul, the socialization places of these people, and their leisure, pleasure and entertainments habits. In addition to the private gardens, Aşık Çelebi also points out the promenades and meadows of Eyüp. He tells that he and his friend Celali frequented these spots as

[447] Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ* (Vol. 2), 637. Hayati and Memati were their pen names, and their real names were respectively Mehemmed Çelebi and Ali Çelebi.
[448] Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ* (Vol. 2), 893. Aşık Çelebi notes that Nigari's real name was Haydar and that he was also known as Galatalı Nakkaş Haydar.
[449] Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ* (Vol. 2), 894-95.

they did the Kağıthane garden, Galata and Hasköy gatherings, Zati's shop, Atmeydanı, Davut Paşa pier, and dervish convents.[450]

To sum up, as is seen from all these examples, besides its religious importance, Eyüp was one of the most prominent recreational sites of the early modern Istanbul, which included a wide variety of public places. Visiting sites (e.g. the shrine of Abu Ayyub, mausoleums, and sacred springs), open green areas (e.g. promenades, meadows, market gardens, flower gardens, vineyards, and farms), cemeteries, dervish lodges, bazaars, and shops in Eyüp were frequented by the city dwellers for socialization, rest, relaxation, and pleasure. Furthermore, apparently, religiosity and sacredness were not so separate from worldly life, and it was quite common to combine devotional and leisure activities, for instance, first paying a visit to the venerated shrine of Abu Ayyub and afterwards enjoying green spaces and the seashore or taking a stroll in bazaar. In this regard, Eyüp was quite a unique place in which sacred, recreational, and agricultural sites were entangled and religious and worldly life intermingled.

4.3 State control over public life in Eyüp

As I have discussed throughout this study, Eyüp was the most sacred pilgrimage center of Istanbul and developed as one of the largest settlements outside of the city walls. It was visited by thousands of people particularly on Fridays and special feast days. Without a doubt, the venerated mausoleum of Abu Ayyub was the main attraction point of the township; however, its beautiful recreational sites, vibrant commercial areas, and socio-religious establishments together with delightful geographical and topographical features and tasty foods were also significant motives for city dwellers to come to Eyüp.

[450] Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ* (Vol. 3), 469.

Therefore, a quite vivid social life emerged in the vicinity. In addition to the visitors, a large number of newcomers arriving in Istanbul chose to settle in the township, temporarily or permanently, due to the different reasons such as job opportunities and existing networks. Consequently, although the majority of its population was composed of Muslims, ethno-religiously diverse groups gathered in Eyüp, and various social, cultural, and leisure habits were intermingling in daily life.

In response to that, state authorities defined many rules, regulations, and prohibitions to attempt to control public spaces. As is expected, it was not only the case for Eyüp, and the control and surveillance mechanism over all spheres of social life did work for the whole city and even the empire. For instance, Shirine Hamadeh argues that sumptuary regulations covered a broad sphere of intervention in various domains of behavior and consumption, and among them, public recreation was one of the main concerns.[451] She indicates that sumptuary laws dated back to at least the second half of the sixteenth century.[452] Based on the Sharia (or Islamic religious) law and former rules concerning the conduct of non-Muslim subjects (dhimmi), these measures, which were promulgated in the form of imperial edicts, sometimes pertained to matters of public life and public spaces such as bathhouses, taverns, and coffeehouses.[453]

In this context, considering the religious, political, and ideological importance of Eyüp, it would not be wrong to think that state authorities placed more emphasis on the regulation of spaces of sociability and the prevention of improper behavior in public sphere in this highly reputable town. The imperial edicts aimed for imposing certain social norms that were sent to the judge of Eyüp mostly focused on issues associated

[451] Hamadeh, *The city's pleasures*, 127.
[452] Hamadeh, *The city's pleasures*, 128.
[453] Hamadeh, *The city's pleasures*, 128.

with complaints that arose from the presence of non-Muslims in the township, disorders caused by those who migrated from the Balkans and Anatolia, and restrictions on women's participation in public life. In some cases, the whole population of Eyüp was addressed regardless of religion, settlement status, and gender; thus, intending to regulate public spaces and public behavior in a broad manner. On the other hand, as I will discuss in detail below, taking into account that similar imperial orders were issued more than once, it is worthwhile to question to what extent these rules and regulations may have been applied in reality.

An imperial edict dated to the 26th of October 1567 demonstrates that a wide range of restrictions on different aspects of social life in Eyüp was imposed.[454] In the beginning of this document, it was stated that sinful acts, lewdness, and debauchery became quite common in Eyüp, and therefore, an intervention was deemed necessary. In this respect, it was commanded that producing, selling and drinking wine (*hamr*) and heavily fermented millet drink (*Tatar bozası*),[455] playing backgammon and chess in market places, and playing musical instruments were to be forbidden in the township. It was also ordered that prostitutes living and working in Eyüp were to be caught and punished. In addition to the judge, it was noted that imams, muezzins, and wardens (*kethüda*s) were responsible for reporting on prostitutes, burglars, and anyone who committed crime in their neighborhoods.[456] Moreover, it was recorded that all

[454] *7 numaralı mühimme defteri* (Vol.1), 80-81, edict no: 155; Altınay, *Onuncu asr-ı hicride İstanbul hayatı*, 202-3.
[455] There were two different kinds of *boza* (fermented millet drink): sweet *boza* (*tatlı boza*) and *Tatar bozası*. Since *Tatar bozası* contained excessive alcohol, the production and sales of it were generally restricted similar to wine.
[456] As Marinos Sariyannis explains, in the Ottoman Empire, the inhabitants themselves were the guardians of public morality in the neighborhood level, especially when they had moral standing, when for instance they were bearing titles such as *el-Hac* or *es-Seyyid*. In this regard, a special position was reserved for imams and muezzins. They clearly had an institutional role, as is seen from imperial decrees which

coffeehouses in Eyüp were to be closed down and henceforth the new ones were not to be opened.

Similar to that, in another imperial edict dated to the 23rd of May 1568, which was sent to the judges of Istanbul and Galata, it was ordered that the coffeehouses, taverns, and *boza*-houses in Istanbul and Galata were to be shut down,[457] for the reason that in these places, alcoholic drinks were sold and rumors in opposition to the state became widespread.[458] Particularly coffeehouses, which were introduced to Istanbul in the mid-sixteenth century, became one of the major targets of state authorities because these novel public institutions were perceived as sites of social unrest, indecent discourses, and political gossip.[459] As far as is known from two registers above, the regulations about this matter was first enforced in Eyüp and after about six months in the intramural city and Galata.[460] However, it seems that despite the prohibitions, the number of coffeehouses increased. Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740-1807), historian and diplomat, who was born in Istanbul as a son of a Catholic Armenian family, remarks that nearly fifty coffeehouses were operating in Istanbul around 1560s, and this number raised up to nearly six hundred in the last years of the reign of Selim II (r. 1566-1574).[461]

---

charged them to search for criminals and other wanted people. See Sariyannis, "Law and morality in Ottoman society," 309-10.

[457] *7 numaralı mühimme defteri* (Vol. 2), 130, edict no: 1453.

[458] Yaşar, "The coffeehouses in early modern Istanbul," 19.

[459] Hamadeh, *The city's pleasures*, 128. For more information about the spread of coffee, the rise of coffeehouses and controversy over coffee in the early modern period, see Hattox, *Coffee and coffeehouses*; Yaşar, "The coffeehouses in early modern Istanbul," 89-110.

[460] Although it is not exactly known why Eyüp came before the intramural city and other suburbs, the priority given to the town might be related to its religious, political, and ideological importance as I suggested above.

[461] Yaşar, "The coffeehouses in early modern Istanbul," 19-20. In his article focusing on the history of coffee and its impact on leisure and pleasure life in early modern Istanbul, Cemal Kafadar indicates d'Ohssons's first figure might well be accurate while the second figure of six hundred could be slightly exaggerated. To reach such conclusion, he compares the number of coffeehouses and populations in Jerusalem and Istanbul in that period and also briefly looks at the situation in India. See Kafadar, "How dark is the history of the night," 251, footnote 20.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, the Ottoman historian and geographer Katip Çelebi (1609-1657) explains, "But these strictures and prohibitions availed nothing. The fetwas, the talk, made no impression on the people. One coffeehouse was opened after another, and men would gather together, with great eagerness and enthusiasm, to drink."[462] Likewise, it did not also become possible to completely prevent the opening and spreading out of the coffeehouses in Eyüp after the imperial edict issued in 1567 (and probably after many more orders). It is known that when Murad IV (r. 1623-1640) gave the same order to close down all coffeehouses and ban coffee drinking in the city, 120 coffeehouses were shut down only around Eyüp.[463] The coffee controversy is a useful example to think about further about the dynamics between the state and its subjects in the context of public spaces and public life, and to question the effectiveness of strict regulations and prohibitions of the authorities.

An imperial edict dated to the 25th of May 1573 is significant in this regard. We learn that it was sent after a letter that was written by Eyüp's judge to the imperial court in order to report unpleasant situations that disrupted peace in the township and disturbed its Muslim dwellers.[464] The judge reported that some women were sitting at clotted cream shops with the pretext of eating cream but that their real purpose was to meet with men/ unrelated people (*namahrem*). Moreover, it was recorded that shops, bakeries, and market gardens around the complex of Abu Ayyub were mostly frequented by non-Muslims (*kefere taifesi*). In the document, regarding the improper behaviors of non-Muslim groups, it was further explained that they were playing end-blown flutes, dancing by strongly tapping their feet, and making too much noise that was hindering

[462] Katip Çelebi, *The balance of truth*, 60.
[463] Yaşar, "The coffeehouses in early modern Istanbul," 95.
[464] Altınay, *Onuncu asr-ı hicride İstanbul hayatı*, 60-61.

the call to prayer. As a result, it was ordered that all of these non-Muslims were to be expelled from shops and gardens in the vicinity and women were not to be allowed to enter the clotted cream shops. However, apparently, the sultan's strict command did not work.

A new imperial edict issued in 1581 indicated that despite several orders that had been issued to prohibit the non-Muslim communities from residing around the sacred mausoleum of Abu Ayyub, there were still a lot of non-Muslims in the very center of the town.[465] It was recorded that they were working as day laborers, gardeners, sellers in the market, or artisans such as yoghurt maker and baker, and that their entertainment and leisure habits including drinking alcohol, playing music, and watching belly dancers were not acceptable. Therefore, it was dictated that the settlers around the complex of Abu Ayyub were to be only Muslims, and these kinds of immoral activities were not to take place near this blessed site.[466] As Halil İnalcık argues, this archival source demonstrates that non-Muslims, who came from the Balkans and Anatolia, constituted a big population in Eyüp, and as in the case of Galata, taverns and other places of entertainment were run by these communities.[467] However, it seems that Eyüp's development as a kind of entertainment center contradicted its religious reputation and disturbed members of ulema and elegant, pious Muslim folk living in the township. Because of that, since it was impossible to expel all of these non-Muslim migrants from the town completely, regulations aimed at least to drive them out of the most sacred areas.[468]

[465] Altınay, *Onuncu asr-ı hicride İstanbul hayatı*, 79.
[466] Altınay, *Onuncu asr-ı hicride İstanbul hayatı*, 79.
[467] İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 14.
[468] İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 14.

An earlier document dated 1567 also reflects the disturbances in both Eyüp and the city of Istanbul due to a considerable number of uncontrolled migrants, but this time their religion was not specified.[469] It was explained that many Ottoman subjects (*reaya*) left agricultural lands in their hometowns, came to Istanbul, and settled in either the walled city or the coasts of Eyüp and Kasımpaşa. The local judge of Eyüp was requested to investigate the dwellers of each neighborhood to identify the newcomers with the help of neighborhoods' imams, muezzins, and wardens. In this regard, one of the major concerns of the state was that poor migrants caused a dramatic rise in criminal acts and prostitution, and accordingly, maintaining public order became more difficult.[470]

During the religious festivals, more attention was given to social order and extra regulations were enforced on those days. According to a local court record (*kadı sicili*) of Eyüp, in 1665, the chief police (*subaşı*) of the township was commanded not to allow women to go to the market places, bazaars, and the swings and to shut down the taverns from the eve of the festival (*ıyd-i serif*) until the end of the fourth day.[471] Moreover, he was ordered to prevent fights and noisy quarrels.

Besides the imperial orders, the change in the administrative role of chief gardener (*bostancıbaşı*) in the seventeenth century was another significant state policy that aimed to control the scope, nature, and forms of public life.[472] The main duty of the chief gardener, until then, had been limited to the maintenance of the gardens of the

---

[469] *7 numaralı mühimme defteri* (Vol. 1), 67-68, edict no: 130; Altınay, *Onuncu asr-ı hicride İstanbul hayatı*, 205-6.
[470] İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 13. In addition to that, as Halil İnalcık expresses, migrants coming from different parts of the empire increased the population of Istanbul, as a result, providing food for the whole city became a bigger issue and a danger of food scarcity emerged. Furthermore, since migrants left agricultural lands in the Balkans and Anatolia, many fertile plots remained uncultivated and empty.
[471] *Eyüb mahkemesi 61 numaralı sicil*, 296.
[472] Hamadeh, *The city's pleasures*, 126-27.

Topkapı Palace and those of the imperial suburban retreats.[473] Moreover, imperial gardeners (*bostancı*s) under the command of the chief gardener were responsible for guarding the imperial palace, steering the imperial barge, transporting material by sea for the construction of new imperial buildings, and if necessary, attending the military campaigns.[474] Although the exact time of this change is not known, in the second half of the seventeenth century, the jurisdiction of chief gardener spread beyond the boundaries of imperial gardens and into the public domain; and imperial gardeners were now expected to maintain order in all of the public gardens, promenades, meadows, and forests located all around the city from the Golden Horn to the Black Sea.[475]

In relation to that, the account of Eremya Çelebi is a good source that we can find further information and some (unpleasant) personal experiences regarding the rising power of chief gardener. He reports that the chief gardener kept an eye on the whole shoreline of the city including 'Filurya' (Florya), Ayestefanos (today Yeşilköy), Hebdomon (today Bakırköy), Kağıthane, villages along the Bosphorus, Üsküdar, Pendik, Kartal and the islands. He was patrolling the shores on his boat all day and giving orders like a sultan in his capacity as sultan's representative. When he heard any noise from a garden, he was immediately going there to see what was happening, and if he encountered drunken men and women, he severely punished them.[476] Eremya Çelebi indicates some incidents to illustrate the arbitrary and unethical executions of the chief gardener. For instance, if wealthy women were caught during garden entertainments,

[473] Hamadeh, *The city's pleasures*, 127.
[474] Hamadeh, *The city's pleasures*, 127.
[475] Hamadeh, *The city's pleasures*, 127. Shirine Hamadeh argues that these changes were most probably instituted during the periods of absence of the court from Istanbul in the seventeenth century, however, for now, it is not easy to determine whether they occurred at one particular moment or as the consequence of a series of gradual developments. See Hamadeh, *The city's pleasures*, 270, endnote 47.
[476] Kömürciyan, *Istanbul tarihi*, 50.

they had to offer their valuable earrings, bracelets, or belts to chief gardener as a bribe in return for saving their lives. Similarly, if Greeks did not bribe the chief gardener, they were not allowed to access certain places of pilgrimage. Eremya Çelebi also gives an example of extreme punishments of the chief gardener. Accordingly, when the chief gardener encountered a group of men and women singing and entertaining themselves on a boat in the sea, he would sink the boat without hesitation and further questions.[477] As a result of the change in the role of the chief gardener and imperial gardeners and the stricter control policy over public gardens, it is very likely that the recreational areas in Eyüp were also adversely affected and their use was restricted. In this regard, in the passage where Eremya Çelebi describes the beauty of gardens, promenades, and meadows in and around Eyüp including Kağıthane, he also points out people's unhappiness about the prohibitions of the use of gardens for entertainment and pleasure.[478]

[477] Kömürciyan, *Istanbul tarihi*, 51.
[478] Kömürciyan, *Istanbul tarihi*, 31.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis attempts to investigate the spatial and socio-cultural developments of the district of Eyüp between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries taking into account the political, ideological, religious, social, and cultural contexts. In addition to the physical change in the urban landscape of Eyüp, my purpose is also to understand the dynamics that shaped public sphere and social life.

With these aims, after introduction, in the second chapter, I first focus on the foundation process of Eyüp in the second half of the fifteenth century. I examine the location of the town, and in relation to that, its natural, geographic, and topographic characteristics that may have had an impact on its urban development. Considering that Eyüp was surrounded by the sea, hills, and land walls, this examination is particularly helpful for grasping the patterns of settlement. Then, I look at the history of Eyüp before the Ottomans with a special emphasis on the Byzantine era. Here my aim is to investigate the question of how Eyüp was transformed from a small suburban area, which was settled by a few monasteries and churches in Byzantine Constantinople, to a large and dense extra muros settlement in Ottoman Istanbul. After that, I briefly explain different versions of the legend of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, who is thought to have been martyred outside of the city walls during one of the Arab sieges of Constantinople. By providing this information, my goal is to demonstrate how Abu Ayyub's legend and the 'miraculous' discovery of his grave helped to legitimize the Ottoman rule in a newly conquered land. In this context, I discuss the political, institutional, and symbolic importance of the construction of a shrine complex comprising a mosque, hospice, soup

kitchen, madrasa, and bathhouse around the alleged grave of the blessed saint Abu Ayyub, upon the order of Mehmed II. Lastly, I investigate how Eyüp became a site of patronage by the Ottoman elite from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards, and the first charitable endowments around which new settlements started to develop.

The third chapter is a detailed survey of the urban development of Eyüp during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Rather taking these two centuries as a unit, I try to represent different political, economic, demographic, social, and architectural experiences that Eyüp and Ottoman Istanbul went through in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To offer a deeper insight of the built environment of the town, I examine a wide range of structures, including not only architectural monuments such as mosques that have been received much attention but also commercial and residential buildings, which seem as if insignificant. Moreover, since a lot of people, including both elites and commoners, wanted to be buried near the venerated shrine of Abu Ayyub, large cemeteries and numerous mausoleums also became a crucial part of the urban fabric of Eyüp. Therefore, funerary structures are also a part of this chapter. Lastly, I examine the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pictorial depictions that would offer further idea about the changes in urban landscape of Eyüp. These visual sources, which are partly based on the imagination of their producers, can also be useful to provide insight about how Ottomans perceived and represented their urban environment.

In the fourth chapter, I focus on Eyüp's public spaces having different forms and functions and try to understand how people experienced these spaces as well as how these spaces influenced people's social habits and daily life. Besides its function as a pilgrimage site of the city, Eyüp developed as a favored excursion spot among urban dwellers, and social life in the town was quite vibrant with numerous public gardens,

promenades, shops, market places, coffeehouses, and taverns. Furthermore, mosque courtyards, dervish lodges, shrines, and cemeteries were also among the places that people gathered and socialized. Eyüp was also a significant agricultural production area; therefore, market gardens, orchards, vineyards, and farms should also be taken into consideration as open green spaces that may have been used for rest and relaxation. In this context, this chapter reconsiders the dominant image of Eyüp as a 'sacred' place and makes picture more complicated by adding its less mentioned (but not less important) features. Lastly, I examine how state attempted to control public life and defined social norms, what kinds of leisure activities were determined as 'immoral' and aimed to be prevented, and how people respond to rules and regulations imposed by state. The findings of this study suggest that compared to the other suburbs of the city, state authorities paid more attention to public life in Eyüp, particularly the settlements around the complex of Abu Ayyub. Numerous imperial orders were issued to restrict social life in the town in many ways, and more often, rules and regulations addressed women, migrants, and non-Muslims. However, it is hard to answer to what extent these orders were effective in daily life. All in all, rather than coming to a definite conclusion about these issues, my aim is to reconsider the urban experiences in Eyüp and the reciprocal relationships between public spaces, people, and state.

As a final note, this thesis is by no means a complete study. One of the crucial shortcomings is an extensive archival research, as I did use only published primary sources. For future studies, it would be absolutely useful to strive with the archival documents.

APPENDIX A

DETAILED INFORMATION ON SELECTED BUILDINGS

1. The early-sixteenth century buildings

1.1 Cezeri Kasım Pasha Mosque

One of the significant monuments erected in Eyüp in the early sixteenth century was Cezeri Kasım Pasha Mosque, which is still standing today and is located at the intersection of the Cezeri Kasım Akar Çeşmesi Street and the Zal Paşa Street in the Nişanca Neighborhood. Ayvansarayi recounts that the mosque was built in 1515-16, along with an upper-storey primary school and a wooden madrasa,[479] which are no longer extant.

The patron of the complex, Cezeri Kasım Pasha, was a high state official who served in different positions for a long period from the mid-fifteenth to the early sixteenth century.[480] He worked as an accountant (*defterdar*) in Amasya under Bayezid II, who was a prince at that time, and in the province of Rumelia. After Bayezid II was enthroned, he was appointed as the head of the imperial chancery (*nişancı*) and then the

[479] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 299-300. It should be noted that there is no inscription in the complex that refers to the initial construction date; therefore, some discussions over this issue are going on. As a result of her analysis on the construction materials and building techniques, Gönül Cantay suggests that the construction may have been completed earlier than 1515, most likely around the last years of Bayezid II's reign. She argues that cast iron was used in the walls of the complex of Bayezid II in Edirne by the architect Hayrettin as a new method, and the same approach can be seen in Cezeri Kasım Paşa Mosque. She also shows similarities in terms of design and scale between Firuz Ağa Mosque in Sultanahmet built during the reign of Bayezid II and Cezeri Kasım Paşa Mosque. Moreover, Cantay asserts that this small complex probably had an L-shape layout, but unfortunately we do not have enough architectural evidence of primary school and madrasa to make further interpretations. See Cantay, "Cezeri Kasım Paşa Külliyesi," 117, 120.

[480] There is conflicting information about Cezeri Kasım Pasha's family, background, and career. The date of his death is also given differently in the sources, probably because of other persons who were known as 'Kasım Pasha' but had different nicknames such as Koca, Evliya, and Güzelce. Ayvansarayi asserts that Cezeri Kasım Pasha died in 1485; on the other hand, he also tells that in 1492-93, the Kasımiyye Mosque in Thessaloniki converted from church into mosque by Cezeri Kasım Pasha. For more information about his life and the differences between sources in this regard, see Erünsal, "Kasım Paşa, Cezeri."

grand vizier. He was also sent to Thessaloniki as a local governor. According to the biographical dictionary written by Sehi Bey (d. 1548), Cezeri Kasım Pasha died in Thessaloniki and his grave was located there.[481] On the other hand, Ayvansarayi writes that he died in Bursa and was buried in Emir Sultan Neighborhood, which was settled around the complex of Emir Sultan built in the first half of the fifteenth century in honor of the famous mystic and Bayezid I's son-in-law.[482] Despite this disagreement about the location of Cezeri Kasım Pasha's grave, both Ayvansarayi and Sehi Bey praise his philanthropist character in a same manner and point out his charitable foundations established in different cities.[483] Moreover, Cezeri Kasım Pasha was also famous for his talent in literature, and the poems, which he wrote under the pseudonym of Safi, were quite popular among the folk.[484]

The mosque, which is covered with a single dome having an 8.80 meter-diameter, has a square plan with exterior dimensions of 11.20 x 11.20 meters.[485] Its walls consist of two layers of brick and one layer of ashlar; and, the stone was a type of limestone which was extracted from the quarries between Davutpaşa and Küçükçekmece in Istanbul and have also been used by the chief architect Sinan in later years.[486] The monuments commissioned by the sultans were generally fully built of ashlar; and as in this complex, stone and brick were used together in other buildings. The porch of the mosque is covered by three small domes supported by four columns, which have

[481] Sehi Bey, *Tezkire*, 61.
[482] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 299. For more information on the life of Emir Sultan, who was the husband of Bayezid I's daughter Hundi Fatma Hatun, and the complex dedicated to him, see Algül and Azamat, "Emir Sultan"; Tanman, "Emir Sultan Külliyesi."
[483] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 299-300; Sehi Bey, *Tezkire*, 61-62.
[484] Sehi Bey, *Tezkire*, 61-62.
[485] Eyice, "Cezeri Kasım Paşa Camii," 507.
[486] Vardar, "Tarihsel süreçte Cezeri Kasım Paşa Camii," 353-54, 57. This limestone is called *küfeki taşı* in Turkish.

different colors and shapes and are thought to have been Byzantine construction materials reused by the Ottomans.[487] The balcony of the stone minaret is supported on a corbel elegantly decorated in shape of oyster shell. Inside the mosque, the tiles in the prayer niche (mihrab) and at the left side of the pulpit (minbar) are important decorative elements, and particularly the tile panel illustrating the Kaaba in a realistic style is a quite rare example.[488] The inscription on the panel shows that it was endowed by Osman, the son of Mehmed from İznik, in 1726.

According to the epitaph on the entrance door, the mosque was comprehensively restored in 1822-23 by the housemistress of Sultan Mahmud II.[489] The fountain in the courtyard was constructed in the first half of the eighteenth century by Mehmed Efendi, who was the attendant (*kethüda*) of Hadice Sultan; and as the inscription on the fountain demonstrates, it was renovated in 1850.[490] Apparently, in time, a settlement flourished around this mosque; hence, Cezeri Kasım Pasha Neighborhood was indicated in the eighteenth- century registers as one of the thirteen quarters of Eyüp.[491]

1.2 Zeyneb Hatun Masjid and İdris Bidlisi Primary School

In the early sixteenth century, among the significant builders of socio-religious monuments in Eyüp, İdris Bidlisi and his wife Zeyneb Hatun can also be remarked. As I briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, İdris Bidlisi (d. 1520) was an Ottoman official

[487] Vardar, "Tarihsel süreçte Cezeri Kasım Paşa Camii," 354.
[488] Eyice, "Cezeri Kasım Paşa Camii," 507; Özsayıner, "Eyüp Cezrikasım Paşa Camii ve Kabe tasvirli pano."
[489] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 36; Vardar, "Tarihsel süreçte Cezeri Kasım Paşa Camii," 352.
[490] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 299-300; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 35-36; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 124-25.
[491] İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 7. As İnalcık asserts, the neighborhood names in the eighteenth-century registers have been used until the twentieth century. Probably after this date, because of the name changes of neighborhoods, today the mosque is located in Nişanca Neighborhood rather than Cezeri Kasım Pasha.

and historian. He was born in the mid-fifteenth century in Bitlis located in the southeastern part of Anatolia as a son of a scholar called Hüsameddin Ali, who served in the Aq Qoyunlu court in Diyarbakır and Tabriz.[492] İdris Bidlisi was also appointed to the important positions by the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Yaqub (r. 1478-1490) and his successors; for instance, since he was very good at calligraphy, he was employed in the office of secretary of the divan and became the inscriber of the royal seals.[493] In 1501, the Safavid leader Shah Ismail (r. 1501-1524) defeated the Aq Qoyunlu and İdris Bidlisi was invited to stay in the Safavid court in Tabriz; however, he did not accept the invitation and took refuge in the Ottoman state.[494] According to Sehi Bey, Bayezid II had appreciated the talents of İdris Bidlisi a lot, therefore, brought him from the Persian land to the Ottoman court and made him prosper.[495] Upon the order of Bayezid II, İdris Bidlisi wrote his famous *Heşt Bihişt*, meaning the eight paradises in Persian, which is a history of the Ottoman dynasty covering the reigns of eight sultans from Osman to Bayezid II.

Even though there are no remains from the building, it is known that İdris Bidlisi owned a kiosk close to today's Piyer Loti Coffeehouse.[496] Ayvansarayi tells that he also built a fountain next to his house, and after his death, he was buried in the embankment at the side of this sweet-water fountain overlooking the Bülbül Deresi.[497] Hence, it can be said that the tomb of İdris Bidlisi marks the site of his kiosk. A primary school, which is still standing on the İdris Köşkü Street, is also thought to have been erected by İdris Bidlisi.[498] On the other hand, since the tombs of Ali Ağa, who was the horse master of

[492] Özcan, "İdris-i Bitlisi," 485.
[493] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 284.
[494] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 284; Özcan, "İdris-i Bitlisi," 485-86.
[495] Sehi Bey, *Tezkire*, 46.
[496] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 73; Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 122.
[497] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 285.
[498] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 19-20.

Murad IV (r. 1623-1640), and his family are located in the backyard of this primary school, it is argued that Ali Ağa might be the patron of this foundation.[499]

İdrisi Bidlisi's wife, Zeyneb Hatun, built a mosque that is still extant today between the Kerim Ağa Street and the İdris Köşkü Street.[500] The construction date is not exactly known, but it is estimated as 1520s, probably after İdris Bidlisi's death.[501] The mosque is situated on a small plot, and apparently its architectural plan was arranged according to the position of streets. Its minaret erected separately from the mosque in the direction of the mihrab also supports this observation. In this context, Haskan argues that the mosque was most likely built after the streets of the neighborhood were formed.[502] Ashlar was used in the construction and its roof was made of wood.[503] Two epitaphs placed in the porch indicate that it was restored two times in 1788 and 1842.[504] Since it was plastered with cement in 1985, today it is not possible to see its original building materials.[505] As in the abovementioned case of Cezeri Kasım Pasha's complex, the neighborhood that emerged around this mosque was called Zeyneb Hatun in the eighteenth-century registers.[506]

Besides the mosque, Zeyneb Hatun is also said to have built an open-air praying platform along with a fountain close to the Gümüşsuyu Street.[507] According to Haskan, special water called Silver Spring (*gümüş suyu*) was flowing from this fountain, and it

[499] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 19-20. Ironically, although he was the first master of the sultan's horses (*mirahur-ı evvel*), Ali Ağa died because of falling off a horse. In relation to that, Haskan indicates that local people of Eyüp also call this building 'the school of Ali Ağa who fell of the horse' (*Attan Düşen Ali Ağa Mektebi*).
[500] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 284-86; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 106-7.
[501] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 107; Artan, "Eyüp," 4.
[502] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 106.
[503] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 106.
[504] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 106-7.
[505] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 106.
[506] İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 7.
[507] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 148.

was carried to the Topkapı Palace for the sultans.[508] Similarly, Ayvansarayi recounts that in earlier times, there was a corps of servants, called 'silver water carriers' (*gümüş sakalar*), charged with bringing water from the Silver Spring in Eyüp to the imperial palace for the sultan's coffee.[509] According to him, close to this vanished fountain in the Zeyneb Hatun Neighborhood, there was a wishing well in a house, and a lot of people visited it for making their wishes come true.[510] Ayvansarayi also describes that a great many people were buried in the surrounding cemeteries. This depiction conforms to what Evliya Çelebi writes about a wishing well in a house located in the cemeteries on the northern side of Eyüp.[511]

1.3 Defterdar Masjid

Built by Süleyman Ağa, who was an official responsible for the sultan's finances (*defterdar*) during the reign of Bayezid II, Defterdar Mosque, also known as Tahta Minare Masjid and Kara Süleyman Mosque, was another early sixteenth-century religious monument in Eyüp.[512] It had an upper-storey, and beneath it, there was a fountain. Next to the mosque was Süleyman Ağa's house that was entrusted to the imam of the mosque. It was located at the intersection of the Tahta Minare Street and the Tahta Minare Bostan Street in the İslambey Neighborhood. However, because of its poor condition, it was torn down around 1910, and the site today is occupied by apartment

[508] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 148.
[509] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 285.
[510] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 285.
[511] Evliya Çelebi describes this place as a promenade called Can Kuyusu Mesiresi. On the other hand, he does not say a word about an open-air praying platform or fountain. Based on that, it can be thought that Zeyneb Hatun's open-air praying platform and fountain had been demolished in time. See Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 169-70.
[512] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 287; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 43-44.

buildings.[513] In Ayvansarayi's work, it is explained that the sweet-water fountain of the mosque, which was for a long time in ruins, was restored by the Grand Vizier Alemdar Mustafa Pasha in the middle of 1808.[514] But any renovation activity for the main building is not mentioned. Similar to the mosques of Cezeri Kasım Paşa and Zeyneb Hatun, Süleyman Ağa's mosque also became the nucleus of a settlement, which was indicated in the eighteenth-century registers as Defterdar Kara Süleyman Neighborhood.[515]

1.4 İslam Bey Masjid

İslam Bey Mosque, which is located on the İslam Bey Street near the intersection with İslam Bey Çeşmesi Street, was built in 1521 by one of the commanders of Sultan Süleyman I.[516] İslam Bey, who was from the city of Kırşehir in Central Anatolia, was buried next to his mosque in the direction of qibla.[517]

The mosque was constructed with rubble masonry and was covered with a wooden roof. The base of its minaret was built of ashlar. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the mosque was turned into a grand lodge belonging to Bedevi order (*Bedevi Asitanesi*).[518] Ayvansarayi asserts that the mosque had a neighborhood.[519] On the other hand, its name was not indicated in the eighteenth-century registers.[520]

---

[513] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 43.
[514] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 287. To prevent any confusion, I should note that Ayvansarayi died in 1786, but after his death, his work was reorganized and expanded by Ali Satı Efendi (d. 1842/ 1843), the son of the judge Mahmud Esad Efendi (d. 1813), and grandson of Zileli al-Hac Seyyid Osman Efendi (d. 1782), the imam of Sultan Mahmud I. Because of that, it is possible to find information on the building activities in Istanbul in the nineteenth century.
[515] İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 7.
[516] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 287; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 56-58.
[517] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 56.
[518] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 57; Artan, "Eyüp," 5.
[519] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 287.
[520] İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 7.

According to the statistical records of 1885, among 28 neighborhoods in Eyüp, one of them was called İslam Bey.[521] Haskan states that İslam Bey also founded a primary school, which was located in the same area on a high hill between the İslam Bey Mektebi Street and the Ayten Street.[522]

1.5 Kızıl (Süleyman Çelebi) Masjid

Süleyman Çelebi, a tile maker (*kiremitçi*), who built a mosque in Eyüp in the early sixteenth century, was a good example to see that not only state officials but also wealthy merchants and craftsmen were the founders of charitable institutions. The masjid, which still exists at the intersection of the Zal Paşa Street and Kızıl Değirmen Street, is thought to have been built in 1531 based on the date in its waqfiyya.[523]

The walls were built as a combination of brick and ashlar, and the roof was made of wood. Its minaret was composed of red thin bricks; therefore, it has been called Red Masjid.[524] The mosque had a neighborhood named Kiremitçi Süleyman that was listed in the eighteenth-century registers.[525] The patron was buried next to his mosque; however, around fifty years after his death, in 1586, a primary school was built by Ramazan Ağa, a deputy of commander of janissaries (*sekbanbaşı*), on the site of Süleyman Ağa's grave.[526] Still standing today, the upper-storey school was built with one layer of brick and one layer of ashlar. Beneath it, the tomb of Ramazan Ağa was situated. The author of its epitaph was Sai Mustafa Çelebi (d. 1595), a renowned Istanbulite poet and painter,

---

[521] Artan, "Eyüp," 2-3.
[522] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 20-21.
[523] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 297-98; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 61-62.
[524] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 61.
[525] İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 7.
[526] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 297-98; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 61; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 23-24.

who is famous for his works entitled *Tezkiretü'l-ebniye* and *Tezkiret'ül-bünyan*, autobiographies of the chief architect Sinan, which were composed in collaboration with him.[527]

1.6 Saçlı Abdülkadir Efendi Masjid (Yahyazade Dervish Lodge)

Abdülkadir Efendi Masjid is located on the Kalenderhane Street in the Merkez Quarter close to Abu Ayyub's complex.[528] It was built in 1537-38 by the grand mufti Abdülkadir Efendi for the honor of his father Sheikh Abdürrahim Efendi, who was the head of Sivasi order, after his death.[529] The sheikh was buried beneath the upper-storey mosque. The ground floor was designed as a place for tombs, and the grave of the patron Abdülkadir Efendi (d. 1594) was also located there. The masjid was located on the top floor. This building has fallen into ruin in time and in 1957, its roof and some parts were demolished because of the great risk of collapse.[530] The remains of it can still be seen.

Today another monument, which was originally constructed as a school for teaching the reading of Quran (*darülkurra*) by Hoca Sadeddin around 1585s, is known as Saçlı Abdülkadir Efendi Mosque.[531] It was first turned into a dervish lodge called Yahyazade Tekkesi by the grand mufti Esad Mehmed Efendi, son of Hoca Sadeddin.[532] At the left side of the lodge was a burial area reserved for special people like sheikhs, thus, it is possible to investigate who took a role in the lodge and when. According to the

[527] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 24; Saatçi, "Sai Mustafa Çelebi," 539-40.
[528] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 291; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 15-16.
[529] Abdülkadir Efendi studied with and married the daughter of his maternal uncle, Ebussuud Efendi (1490-1574), who was one of most distinguished and celebrated Hanafi scholars served as teacher, judge, military judge, and shaykh al-Islam during the reign of Süleyman I. For more information about the life of Abdülkadir Efendi, see Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 291.
[530] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 15.
[531] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 15. These two buildings, the original structure of Abdülkadir Efendi Masjid and the Quran School are next to each other.
[532] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 15, 144-46; Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 292.

inscriptions on the gravestones, it seems that the last Sufi sheikh of the lodge died in 1911, which implies that it was an active center from the sixteenth to the twentieth century.[533] After the religious orders were completely banned in 1925 as a part of the secularization process in the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the newly founded Republic of Turkey, probably this dervish lodge was also emptied. From the mid-twentieth century onwards, instead of the old building of Abdülkadir Efendi Masjid, it has been used as a mosque.

The building, which was once Quran school and dervish lodge and now is mosque, is a two-storey structure without minaret. It was built of ashlar on a square plan and was covered with a leaded dome supported by ten piers. It has eight windows on the drum of its dome and nine windows at the bottom. According to Tülay Artan, it partly reflects the Ottoman architectural features of the classical age.[534]

2. Works of the great architect Sinan

2.1 Emir Buhari Mosque and Dervish Lodge

Emir Buhari Mosque-Convent, which is thought to have been built around 1525, is listed as being among the works of Mimar Sinan.[535] Although its construction date is before Sinan was appointed as chief architect, he is indicated as the designer of the building. Ayvansarayi claims that Sultan Süleyman was the builder of this mosque.[536] However, Tanman indicates that in the endowment deed dated 1530, Hace Mahmud Efendi, also

[533] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 16-20, 146.
[534] Artan, "Eyüp," 5.
[535] Mustafa Sai Çelebi, *Sinan's autobiographies*, 92, 105; Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 315; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 47-49; Kuran, *Sinan*, 255. The mosque was situated on a plot which is today at the intersection of the Münzevi Street and the Değirmen Street in the Nişanca Quarter around Otakçılar.
[536] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 315.

known as Şeyh Mahmud Çelebi, who was the son-in-law of and the successor of Emir Buhari, was recorded as the patron.[537]

Emir Buhari (d. 1516), also known as Emir Ahmed-i Buhari, who was born in Bukhara located in today's Uzbekistan, was the founder of Naqshbandi Sufi order in Istanbul.[538] There were three dervish lodges attributed to Emir Buhari in Fatih, Ayvansaray, and Eyüp. The first one was established by Sultan Bayezid II, who felt sympathy to the Naqshbandi teaching, in Fatih; and it has remained the oldest and the most important Naqshbandi center in Istanbul throughout the centuries.[539] The second convent, which was founded by Emir Buhari himself in Ayvansaray in 1512-13, was situated on a structure from the Byzantine period.[540] Emir Buhari Convent-Mosque in Eyüp was chronologically the third one. It was built with rubble masonry, and its minaret located at the right side was made of thin brick.[541] Ayvansarayi indicates that it had the appearance of a dervish lodge and had hospice rooms;[542] however, its layout is not clearly known.

The convent changed hands between different orders including Khalwati in 1675 and Qadiriyya in 1731, but in 1824 it was again in use by members of Naqshbandi order.[543] The sheikh Seyyid Abdülhalim Efendi (d. 1854) completely reconstructed the building.[544] During the First World War, a Ramadan cannon, which was fired in front of the Metris Barracks to announce the breaking of the fast, accidentally hit the Emir

[537] Tanman, "Emir Buhari Tekkesi," 127.
[538] Kara, "Emir Buhari," 125.
[539] Tanman, "Emir Buhari Tekkesi," 126.
[540] Tanman, "Emir Buhari Tekkesi," 127.
[541] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 49.
[542] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 315.
[543] Tanman, "Emir Buhari Tekkesi," 128.
[544] Tanman, "Emir Buhari Tekkesi," 128.

Buhari Mosque-Convent and heavily damaged it.[545] Consequently, its remains were completely demolished in 1942 and were sold to a scrap dealer.

The mosque-convent had a neighborhood named Emir Buhari that was included in the eighteenth-century registers.[546]

2.2 Defterdar Mahmud Efendi Masjid

Defterdar Masjid was commissioned to the architect Sinan by Nazlı Mahmud Efendi, finance minister, in 1541-42.[547] Besides being the official responsible for the sultan's finances, Nazlı Mahmud Efendi was also a talented calligrapher educated by Sheikh Hamdullah (1436-1520), the famous master of Islamic calligraphy; thus, he was the artist of the Arabic chronogram situated on the arch of his masjid's gate. Moreover, he placed an inkpot and a pen on the pinnacle of the minaret; however, both pen and inkpot were lost in time.[548]

According to Evliya Çelebi, the masjid that was located near the Defterdar Pier was an old and small building with a short minaret, but a large congregation was gathering there.[549] It was a rectangular structure of ashlar masonry with a wooden roof, and with a portico supported by four marble columns.[550] The masjid was seriously

[545] Tanman, "Emir Buhari Tekkesi," 128.
[546] İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 7.
[547] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 167; Artan, "Eyüp," 4; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 41; Kuran, *Sinan*, 255. It is today located between the Defterdar Street and the Çömlekçiler Arkası Street. Semavi Eyice correctly points out that in Sinan's autobiographies, this monument was not listed among his works. He also claims that Kuran did not include this monument in his book about Sinan. However, in this regard, Eyice is not right because Kuran recorded Defterdar Mosque as a work of Sinan but noted that it is located in Defterdar rather than Eyüp. See Eyice, "Defterdar Camii ve Türbesi," 97.
[548] Eyice, "Defterdar Camii ve Türbesi," 97; Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 305; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 41.
[549] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 167.
[550] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 41; Eyice, "Defterdar Camii ve Türbesi," 97. Tahsin Öz claims that the mosque had a dome; however, according to Eyice, since it has a rectangular plan, it is not likely that it was covered with a dome. See Öz, *İstanbul camileri* (Vol. 1), 46.

damaged during the earthquake of 1766, and its portico was most probably demolished as a result of this disaster.[551] Then, it was restored, a new wooden portico was constructed, and in the meantime, the marble columns of the old portico remained in the wall.[552] According to Eyice, although it has survived until today, its original sixteenth-century architectural features have not been kept well.[553]

In addition to the masjid, a madrasa, which was a timber structure, and an upper-storey stone primary school were also built in the courtyard.[554] Moreover, at the right side of the courtyard's gate facing the street, the fountain, whose chronogram shows the date of 1543-44, was built of ashlar with a pointed arch in the classical style.[555]

Nazlı Mahmud Efendi, who died in 1546, was buried in a separate, domed tomb in the garden of his masjid.[556] An open tomb with a square plan, it mainly consists four pointed arches supported by four marble columns with diamond-shaped capitals. The four sides between columns were surrounded by nicely decorated marble balustrades whose height is 0.80 meters, and a beautiful marble frame was placed on one side as door. Eyice states that it is one of the most elegant examples among open tombs built in this period.[557]

According to the registers of the end of the nineteenth century, a neighborhood called Defterdar Mahmud Efendi existed around this complex.[558]

---

[551] Eyice, "Defterdar Camii ve Türbesi," 97.
[552] Eyice, "Defterdar Camii ve Türbesi," 97.
[553] Eyice, "Defterdar Camii ve Türbesi," 97.
[554] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 305; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 8, 12.
[555] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 305; Eyice, "Defterdar Camii ve Türbesi," 97; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 101.
[556] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 305; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 175-76.
[557] Eyice, "Defterdar Camii ve Türbesi," 97.
[558] İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 9.

2.3 Nişancılar (Nişancı Mustafa) Mosque

Nişancılar Mosque, also known as Nişancı Mustafa Mosque, which is located at the intersection of Eyüp Nişanca Street and Nimet Street in the Düğmeciler Quarter, is listed as among the works of Sinan in Eyüp.[559] The construction date of the mosque is not exactly known, yet it is estimated to have been built around 1543 in many sources.[560] Its patron was Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi (d. 1567), also known as Koca Nişancı, Ottoman official and historian of the sixteenth century.[561] He was the most famous chancellor (*nişancı*) of Süleyman I's reign and held this position for almost twenty-three years; however, he never rose to the vizierate.[562] The most ambitious historical work that he prepared was a projected description of the Ottoman state and government in thirty books, entitled *Tabakat al-Mesalik fi Derecat al-Memalik*, only the last volume of which survives.[563] Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi was recognized as a generous, compassionate, and kind person, and his mansion in Eyüp became one of the meeting places frequented by intellectuals, scholars, and poets.[564]

Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi commissioned Sinan to build a Friday mosque along the shore of Eyüp next to his residence.[565] Built of rubble masonry with two rows of windows, it is now covered by a wooden hipped roof with terracotta tiles. However, Evliya Çelebi's description of it as "elaborate and perfect like royal mosque" implies that it might originally have a small dome.[566] The mosque, which gave the quarter its name (Nişanca), was completely rebuilt on old foundations after a fire in 1780, and

[559] Mustafa Sai Çelebi, *Sinan's autobiographies*, 68, 80, 92, 105; Kuran, *Sinan*, 260.
[560] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 76; Artan, "Eyüp," 4.
[561] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 313.
[562] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 313; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 482.
[563] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 313.
[564] Kerslake, "Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi," 261.
[565] Kerslake, "Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi," 261; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 482.
[566] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 482; Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 127.

nothing of the original fabric except for the base of the brick minaret has been preserved.[567]

Along with the mosque, there were also a bathhouse, which was also designed by Sinan,[568] and a convent for Khalwati dervishes, but both of them are no longer extant.[569] Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi was buried in the cemetery behind the qibla wall in the courtyard of the mosque, and the tomb of his younger brother, Salih Efendi (d. 1565), who also held the position of chancellor, was situated there.[570]

2.4 Münzevi Süleyman (Müzevvir) Masjid

Müzevvir (Karcı Süleyman, Süleyman Subaşı, or Münzevi) Masjid, which is still extant at the intersection of Süleyman Subaşı Türbesi Street, Eyüp Mescidi Street, and Münzevi Street in the Nişanca Quarter, is listed among the works of Mimar Sinan.[571] Its founder, Süleyman Subaşı, also known as Karcı Süleyman, was one of the high officials of Sultan Süleyman I and also became chief of the ice sellers (*karcıbaşı*).[572]

Built in 1545, the masjid was a masonry structure with a timber roof. Its short minaret is located at the right side, and in the direction of qibla, there is a fountain without epitaph that is thought to have been as a part of the masjid.[573] Süleyman Subaşı was buried nearby his masjid.[574] As both Ayvansarayi indicates and the nineteenth-

[567] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 482.
[568] Mustafa Sai Çelebi, *Sinan's autobiographies*, 54, 57, 73, 85, 99, 111; Kuran, *Sinan*, 260; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 87.
[569] Kerslake, "Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi," 261.
[570] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 313; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 76.
[571] Mustafa Sai Çelebi, *Sinan's autobiographies*, 69, 95; Kuran, *Sinan*, 266.
[572] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 202, 262, 313; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 73-74. Süleyman Subaşı was also called 'Trickster' (*Müzevvir*), but it is not explained how and why this nickname was given to him.
[573] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 74.
[574] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 313.

century registers show, a neighborhood called Süleyman Subaşı emerged around the foundation.[575]

2.5 Davud Ağa Masjid

Davud Ağa (Kapıağası) Masjid is as another monument designed and built by the architect Sinan in Eyüp.[576] The chief white eunuch Davud Ağa established it in 1554-55, just before his death in the same year, and he was also buried there.[577]

The square-plan mosque, which is located on the Davud Ağa Caddesi in the Nişanca Quarter, was built of rubble masonry, but both its roof and its portico were built of wood. Its short minaret was made of stone and covered by a lead cone.

The tomb of Davud Ağa is situated in front of the minaret. Ayvansarayi claims that a primary school was also erected next to the masjid; however, today there is no architectural evidence of it.[578] According to the eighteenth-century registers, one of the neighborhoods of Eyüp in this period was called Davud Ağa because of this establishment.[579]

2.6 Şah Sultan Mosque and Dervish Lodge

Şah Sultan, who was the daughter of Selim I and the half-sister of Süleyman I, was a prolific patron of pious foundations and the arts of the book.[580] Like many other Ottoman princesses, she was also among the patrons of Sinan. Her Friday mosque and

[575] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 313; İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 9.
[576] Mustafa Sai Çelebi, *Sinan's autobiographies*, 69, 81; Kuran, *Sinan*, 255.
[577] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 310; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 39-40.
[578] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 310.
[579] İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 7.
[580] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 293.

convent, which is located on the Silahtarağa Caddesi in the Merkez Quarter of Eyüp, are both listed as the works of Sinan.[581]

Around 1523, Şah Sultan married the Albanian-born Lutfi Pasha (d. 1563), who was a high state official and became grand vizier in 1539 after the death of Ayas Pasha.[582] Lutfi Pasha was also an important character for the career of Sinan. He introduced Sinan to Sultan Süleyman I for the first time during the campaign against Moldavia as a talented architect who would be able to build a bridge for the army to cross over the River Pruth.[583] Then, in 1539, on the recommendation of Lutfi Pasha, Sinan was appointed to the post of chief imperial architect following the death of Acem Ali.[584]

Before his grand vizierate, Lutfi Pasha was posted as provincial governor of Ioannina (Yanya). In this period, Şah Sultan, who was accompanying her husband, became a disciple of Sheikh Yakub from the Sünbüli branch of Khalwati order. When Lutfi Pasha was summoned back to Istanbul as a vizier in 1534-35, Şah Sultan with her former sheikh's recommendation joined the Khalwati-Sünbüli circle of Merkez Efendi.[585]

The architectural patronage of Şah Sultan in Istanbul, including the convent-mosque complex in Eyüp, was shaped by her devotion to her sheikh.[586] Merkez Efendi

---

[581] Mustafa Sai Çelebi, *Sinan's autobiographies*, 66, 79, 92, 105; Kuran, *Sinan*, 266.
[582] Uluçay, *Padişahların kadınları ve kızları*, 32-33; İpşirli, "Lutfi Paşa," 234.
[583] Mustafa Sai Çelebi, *Sinan's autobiographies*, 116.
[584] For more information about Sinan's predecessor, Acem Ali, see Ertuğrul, "Acem Ali."
[585] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 293. After the death of the master Sünbül Sinan in 1529, Merkez Efendi succeeded him as the head of the largest and most important Sünbüli convent, located in Koca Mustafa Paşa in Istanbul. Merkez Efendi also built another convent complex on his own name outside of the city walls around Topkapı and was buried in a mausoleum in this complex in 1552. For more information, see Yücer, "Sünbül Sinan," 135-36; Öngören, "Merkez Efendi," 200-2; Eyice, "Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii ve Külliyesi," 133-36; Tanman, "Merkez Efendi Külliyesi," 202-5.
[586] Gülru Necipoğlu architecturally and symbolically investigates the three pious foundations of Şah Sultan sited in Davudpaşa, Eyüp, and outside the Yenikapı gate. See Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 293-96.

was also esteemed by Süleyman I and other members of the imperial court. The close relationship between the sultan and the sheikh was established in Manisa in the period when the prince Süleyman had been a governor of the city and Merkez Efendi had been serving in the complex of Süleyman's mother, Hafsa Sultan.[587] In 1537, Merkez Efendi was appointed as army sheikh during the military campaign of Corfu commanded by Lutfi Pasha and attended by Sinan.[588] Şah Sultan also accompanied this campaign, and on her way back, she was attacked by a band of robbers and fell into a state of great distress.[589] The miraculous apparition of Merkez Efendi drove away the bandits and rescued her.[590] Because of the miracle that she had witnessed and the joy and consolation that she had obtained, she became an even more passionate disciple of Merkez Efendi, and following her return to Istanbul, she built a mosque and a dervish lodge in Eyüp for the sheikh.[591] Şah Sultan chose to divorce his husband after a serious dispute between them due to a cruel punishment that Lutfi Pasha had given to a female prostitute.[592] Therefore, Lutfi Pasha was dismissed from grand vizierate in 1541 and spent the rest of his life in his farm in Didymoteicho (Dimetoka).[593] Şah Sultan did not marry again and preferred instead to devote herself to her sheikh Merkez Efendi.

Şah Sultan's masjid and convent complex was built in 1537 in Eyüp on a plot of land taken from her seaside palace, which was previously owned by Hançerli Fatma

[587] Öngören, "Merkez Efendi," 201.
[588] Öngören, "Merkez Efendi," 201; İpşirli, "Lutfi Paşa," 234.
[589] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 280.
[590] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 293.
[591] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 280.
[592] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 293-94; İpşirli, "Lutfi Paşa," 234.
[593] Gülru Necipoğlu examines the power relations between royal couples such as Lutfi Pasha-Şah Sultan and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha-İsmihan Sultan. Accordingly, she points out the subordination of viziers and pashas to their royal wives. For instance, Lutfi Pasha remarks in the preface of his *Asafname* that leisurely seclusion at his farm in Didymoteicho was preferable to being subject to subordination by women. See Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 43-44; Kütükoğlu, "Lütfi Paşa Asafnamesi," 61.

Sultan.[594] The complex seems an early work of Sinan before he became chief imperial architect.[595] On the other hand, because the masjid was converted into a Friday mosque with a royal permit obtained in 1555, the construction date of the complex is generally known as 1555.

Evliya Çelebi describes that Şah Sultan's single-minaret mosque, located in a lush garden was built of stone and brick and was covered with a four-hipped lead roof having indigo-blue color.[596] It was seriously damaged by the earthquake of 1766 and was extensively restored during the reign of Mustafa III (r. 1757-1774).[597] Prior to this renovation, a chronogram, which points out the dedication of Şah Sultan to the path of God, was written on the arch of the gate.[598] It yields the date of 1555-56, namely the year the masjid became a Friday mosque. At the left side of the courtyard gate on the street was a fountain.[599] Restored several times during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the complex lost many of its original features particularly after it was remodeled in 1953.[600]

Located along the Golden Horn, the convent included fifteen rooms for dervishes, a house for the sheikh, and a refectory where food was cooked and served daily.[601] There was also a wooden primary school over the courtyard gate along with individual rooms reserved for the teacher and his assistant.[602] The mausoleum of Şah

[594] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 294.
[595] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 294.
[596] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 169. He also indicates that it was a work of Sinan.
[597] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 280; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 87.
[598] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 280; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 86.
[599] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 144.
[600] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 295; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 87.
[601] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 295.
[602] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 295; Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 280; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 2), 27.

Sultan overlooking the main road to Eyüp was another significant part of the complex, however, it fell into ruin and was demolished in 1953.[603]

According to Necipoğlu, the architectural simplicity of Şah Sultan's complex located at a suburb of the city conformed to codes of decorum observed in the domeless, single-minaret mosques that Sinan designed for other princesses who did not belong to Süleyman's nuclear family.[604] Even though she was a member of the royal household, she was relatively a less important princess as a reigning sultan's half-sister born from a different mother. Necipoğlu therefore discusses that the formal modesty of Şah Sultan's complex was not a factor of gender but of social stature.[605]

2.7 Dökmeciler Masjid

Dökmeciler (Düğmeciler) Masjid, which is located at the intersection of Düğmeciler Street and Oluklubayır Street in the Düğmeciler Quarter, was built by Dökmecizade Mehmed Bakır Efendi (d. 1589-90).[606] The patron, who held significant official positions such as judge of Istanbul and military judge of Anatolia, commissioned the architect Sinan for his masjid in Eyüp that was later turned into a Friday mosque.[607] The date of the construction is not exactly known. On the other hand, considering that the earliest gravestone in its burial area, where the tomb of Mehmed Bakır Efendi was also situated, belongs to the year of 1567, it was most likely erected around 1565.[608]

---

[603] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 295; Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 148; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 263-65.
[604] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 296.
[605] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 296.
[606] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 287-88; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 44-46. The mosque is also called Düğmeciler, Dökmecibaşı, or Düğmecibaşı. According to Haskan, its correct name is Dökmeciler (The Mosque of Foundry Workers).
[607] Mustafa Sai Çelebi, *Sinan's autobiographies*, 69, 94, 107; Kuran, *Sinan*, 255.
[608] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 46.

The square-plan structure was made of ashlar and was covered with a wooden roof. The base of its minaret is also ashlar, but the rest of it is thin brick. Apart from the previous simple restorations, Lalezar Kalfa, the second treasurer of Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839), and Ali Satı, who compiled Ayvansarayi's work *Hadikat-ül Cevami*, conducted an extensive renovation at the mosque, repaired the waterways, and brought water to its fountain.[609] It was damaged by the earthquake of 1894, and according to the inscription on its wall, it was restored by two women called Emine and Fatma one year later.[610] In the eighteenth century register, the Düğmeciler Neighborhood, which took its name from the mosque, was listed.[611]

2.8 Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque

The complex of Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha designed by the great architect Sinan is one of the most significant monuments of Eyüp; it also has a quite distinctive character among other works of Sinan.

Şah Sultan, one of the three daughters of Selim II, was born in 1545 when his father was a prince in Manisa. In 1562, she was married the janissary agha Çakırcıbaşı Hasan Pasha.[612] After this marriage, Çakırcıbaşı Hasan Pasha was promoted to the governorship of Bosnia in 1563-64 and in 1570-71 was appointed governor-general of Rumelia in 1570-71; however, he died very soon after, in 1574. In the same year, Şah

[609] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 45; Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 288.
[610] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 45. Only the names of the women were indicated in the inscription, so it is not known who they were.
[611] İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 7.
[612] Uluçay, *Padişahların kadınları ve kızları*, 41. It was actually a triple wedding. The three daughters of Selim II married high-ranking statesmen in the same ceremony organized in 1562. The 'old sultana', İsmihan, was given to the second vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha; the 'second sultana', Gevherhan, to the grand admiral Piyale Pasha, and the 'third sultana', Şah Sultan, to the janissary agha Çakırcıbaşı Hasan. Necipoğlu points out that 1562 was the year that Selim II became heir apparent to the throne. See Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 368.

Sultan, a twenty-nine-year-old princess, was married to the Bosnian-born Zal Mahmud Pasha, who served as governor-general of Aleppo and Anatolia and rose to the rank of vizier.[613] Mahmud Pasha was famous for his strength as a wrestler and showed his immense power when he had strangled Prince Mustafa in 1553; therefore, the title 'Zal', a mythical Persian hero recognized as one of the greatest warriors, was given to him.[614] Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha loved each other a lot, but their happy marriage, which was recounted in historical sources like Peçevi's work, lasted only three years. According to the waqfiyya of the complex, Zal Mahmud Pasha died on 22 October 1577, and only thirteen days later, his devoted wife, Şah Sultan, also passed away.[615] Upon their last will, they were buried together in the tomb of their complex.[616]

There is no foundation inscription on the Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque's portal. The chronogram on the public fountain at the gate of the tomb's courtyard yields the date 1589-90.[617] On the other hand, compared to this chronogram, more useful and reliable source regarding the construction process of the complex is its endowment deed dated on 23 November 1577.[618] According to that, Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque Complex, which consists of a mosque, two madrasas, a mausoleum, and a fountain, was built after the demise of the couple in 1577.[619]

---

[613] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 277.
[614] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 368-69. For more information about Prince Mustafa (Mustafa Çelebi), son of Süleyman, and the conflict which caused his execution, see Turan, "Mustafa Çelebi."
[615] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 369-70. Some studies wrongly date their death to 1580; see Uluçay, *Padişahların kadınları ve kızları*, 41.
[616] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 368. Stephan Gerlach witnessed the successive funeral processions of Zal Mahmud Pasha and Şah Sultan. For his impressions written on his diary, see Gerlach, *Türkiye günlüğü*, 654, 668.
[617] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 372.
[618] Eyice, "Eyüp'de Zal Mahmud Paşa Camii," 18. There are two studies on the waqfiyya of the complex prepared by Mustafa Güler in 2001 and Gülru Necipoğlu in 2005. See Güler, "Şahsultan ile Zal Mahmud Paşa Vakfiyesi"; Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 368-76.
[619] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 370.

The pasha and the princess had each prepared a written will, donating one-third of their inheritance for the construction of a joint mosque and madrasa complex.[620] Şah Sultan chose her mother Nurbanu Sultan (d. 1583) as executor of her will and Hüseyin Agha, chief finance minister, as administrator of the waqf. Moreover, the grand vizier, who was Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1579) at that time, was responsible for overseeing the endowment.[621] First of all, the mausoleum was erected. Then, Hüseyin Agha constructed income-producing structures such as a caravanserai and mills in Plovdiv, where both Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha had had some properties. Subsequently, he laid the foundations of the mosque and its two madrasas, probably around 1578-79.[622] In this period, Hüseyin Agha was sent to the Safavid campaign that took more than ten years between 1578 and 1590; therefore, to prevent delays in the project, the couple's former household steward Mustafa Kethüda was appointed in his stead. He completed the mosque and its twin madrasas, together with a water channel. Furthermore, he built commercial structures such as rental rooms, shops, candle factory, and bakery as source of income.[623] However, today there are no remains from these buildings.

Until 1585-86, Şah Sultan's and Zal Mahmud Pasha's endowments were administered separately; on the other hand, after this date these two accounts were merged because the revenues from the pasha's properties were less than the princess.[624] Building the complex took more than a decade, with delays caused by administrative changes and economic reasons. According to the waqfiyya, in April 1590, the mosque,

[620] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 370.
[621] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 370-71.
[622] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 371.
[623] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 371; Eyice, "Eyüp'de Zal Mahmud Paşa Camii," 18; Orman, "Zal Mahmud Paşa Külliyesi," 109.
[624] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 371.

two madrasas, mausoleum, and commercial facilities had been completed.[625] The chronogram of the fountain also precisely coincides with this completion date.

Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Complex is located on a sharply sloping terrain between the Defterdar and Zal Paşa Streets in the Nişanca Quarter. Because of the irregularity of the site, the buildings were organized around two courtyards at two different levels which were connected by an open stone staircase. Therefore, entering into the complex through the upper and lower arched portals present different visual experiences to the visitor. The mosque and Şah Sultan's U-shaped madrasa occupy the four-sides of the upper courtyard with the ablution fountain, and the octagonal mausoleum with a cemetery garden and the pasha's L-shaped madrasa share a less formal courtyard below.[626]

Only the double-domed monumental mausoleum stands out as the ashlar masonry building of the complex. The other structures were built with courses of stone alternating brick or cheaper materials. According to Necipoğlu, in this way, the importance of the mausoleum as the focal point of the funerary complex has been highlighted.[627]

The madrasas were arranged asymmetrically. Their unorthodox layout, off-center classrooms, unevenly spaced arcades, and non-matching columns have caused many scholarly discussions regarding whether they were really built by Sinan or not.[628]

---

[625] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 371-72. Except the fountain and the commercial structures, other buildings are listed as being among the works of Sinan; see Mustafa Sai Çelebi, *Sinan's autobiographies*, 67, 92, 96; Kuran, *Sinan*, 267.
[626] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 368-69, 373; Kuran, *Sinan*, 202-3.
[627] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 373. As a reason of cheaper materials used in the complex, Necipoğlu points out the adverse effects of the inflation of 1584-85, see Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 372.
[628] Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 373; Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, 257-58.

The single-minaret mosque, which visually dominates the waterfront and the processional upper avenue between Divan Yolu and Eyüp, is quite impressive with its prismatic form, two colored horizontal courses of stone and brick, and massive elevation. From its east and west façades, it looks like a four-storey building because of its windows arrangements. In front of the north façade, which faces the paved courtyard with the ablution fountain, is a five-bay portico supported by marble columns with muqarnas capitals. The mosque is comprised of a simple central space with galleries at three sides, east, west, and north. The 12.40 meters diameter main dome of the mosque is 21.80 meters height from the ground.[629] The weight towers were marked by onion domes on the four corners; thus, the main dome has been visually emphasized. The minaret situated at the northwest corner of the mosque is in the classical style; however, it is not original as it was rebuilt after the earthquake of 1894.[630] The tomb and the mosque were repaired during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. Then, between 1955 and 1963, an extensive restoration was conducted in the complex.[631]

All in all, Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque Complex has caused lots of debates with many distinctive architectural features in its layout and design compared to the previous works of the great architect Sinan.[632] Moreover, after Abu Ayyub's shrine complex, it has been one of the most prominent structures in the urban landscape of Eyüp.

---

[629] Kuran, *Sinan*, 203.
[630] Kuran, *Sinan*, 203.
[631] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 105.
[632] For more detailed architectural analyses of the complex, see Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 368-76; Kuran, *Sinan*, 202-13; Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, 257-59; Günay; *Sinan*, 41-43; Eyice, "Eyüp'de Zal Mahmud Paşa Camii." It should also be noted that although it is a collaborative monument, it has been recognized as Zal Mahmud Pasha's work in many sources. Because of that, as Necipoğlu does, I prefer to identify the complex with the names of its two patrons.

3. The seventeenth-century buildings

3.1 Tahta Minare Masjid (Tımışvar Dervish Lodge)

İbrahim Peçevi (d. 1649-50), famous Ottoman historian and state official, was the patron of a masjid called Tahta Minare, also known as Tımışvar Tekkesi.[633] In 1638, he was appointed as finance minister to Tımışvar, which is today a city in Western Romania, and this position is known as his last mission before his death.[634] It is very likely that he built the masjid when he was on this duty; therefore, the masjid was also recognized with this name. The building, which is located between the Baba Haydar Street and the Baba Haydar Kuyu Street in the Düğmeciler Quarter, was transformed into a dervish lodge about 1779.[635] However, it is no longer extant.

3.2 Arakiyeci Masjid

Another masjid, which is still standing at the intersection of the Abdurrahman Şerif Bey Street and the Arakiyeci Camii Street in the Nişanca Quarter, was constructed by Cafer Çelebi, maker of the felt caps. The Takyeci Masjid, also known as Takkeci or Arakiyeci is a square-plan rubble masonry structure with a wooden roof. In the nineteenth-century registers, a neighborhood called Takyeci in Eyüp is listed.[636]

[633] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 303; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 97-98.
[634] Hancz, "Peçuylu İbrahim," 217.
[635] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 97.
[636] İnalcık, "Eyüp Projesi," 9.

3.3 Murad Buhari Convent

Murad Buhari Convent, located at the intersection of Davud Ağa Street and Nişancı Mustafa Paşa Street in the Nişanca Quarter, was originally built as a madrasa.[637] Its patron Kangırılı (Çankırılı) Mustafa Efendi was the son-in-law of the grand mufti Minkarizade Yahya Efendi (d. 1678). The son of the founder, Ebülhayr Ahmed Efendi, transformed the madrasa into a lodge belonging to Naqshbandi Sufi order in the honor of his sheikh Murad Efendi. Behind the madrasa's domed rooms in U-shaped plan, there was a three-storey mansion with a big garden, which was reserved for the sheikhs of the convent.[638] In 1983, the structure was extensively restored and the mansion, which was in very bad condition, was completely demolished.

3.4 Nakkaş Hasan Pasha Mausoleum

Among the tombs built in Eyüp in the seventeenth century, Nakkaş Hasan Paşa's mausoleum, located on the Zal Mahmud Pasha Street, is a particularly striking example.[639] Ayvansarayi indicates that it was built in a very elaborate and embellished style.[640] Nakkaş Hasan Paşa (d. 1623) was raised in the imperial palace and received education in the court's painting workshop (*nakkaşhane*). He was famous for his talent in book painting and illumination; moreover, he was appointed to official positions such as

[637] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 310-13; Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 89-92.
[638] Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 90-91.
[639] Although he does not indicate his supporting arguments clearly, Haskan asserts that the mausoleum was designed by Dalgıç Ahmed Ağa, who served as chief imperial architect between 1598 and 1605. Dalgıç Ahmed Ağa died in 1607 near Bursa during a military campaign commanded by Nakkaş Hasan Paşa against a group of rebels. Because of that, Haskan argues that the tomb was built about 1605-6. On the other hand, not every author agrees with Haskan regarding that Dalgıç Ahmed Ağa was the architect of the mausoleum. For instance, Ahmed Vefa Çobanoğlu does not provide such information; see Haskan, *Eyüp tarihi* (Vol. 1), 239-41; Çobanoğlu, "Nakkaş Hasan Paşa Türbesi."
[640] Ayvansarayi, *The garden of the mosques*, 279.

janissary agha and provincial governor.[641] Nakkaş Hasan Paşa's square-plan mausoleum in classical style was built of ashlar masonry and was covered with a lead-covered dome. There is a portico on four marble columns in front of its gate, which faces the courtyard. Four windows lined in two rows are situated on each of its three façades. There is a nice small fountain between lower windows on its wall facing the street.

[641] Tanındı, "Nakkaş Hasan Paşa."

APPENDIX B

MAPS, PHOTOS AND DRAWINGS

Figure 1. The location of Eyüp on a map showing Istanbul and environs, ca. 1900 (Çelik, *The remaking of Istanbul*, frontispiece)

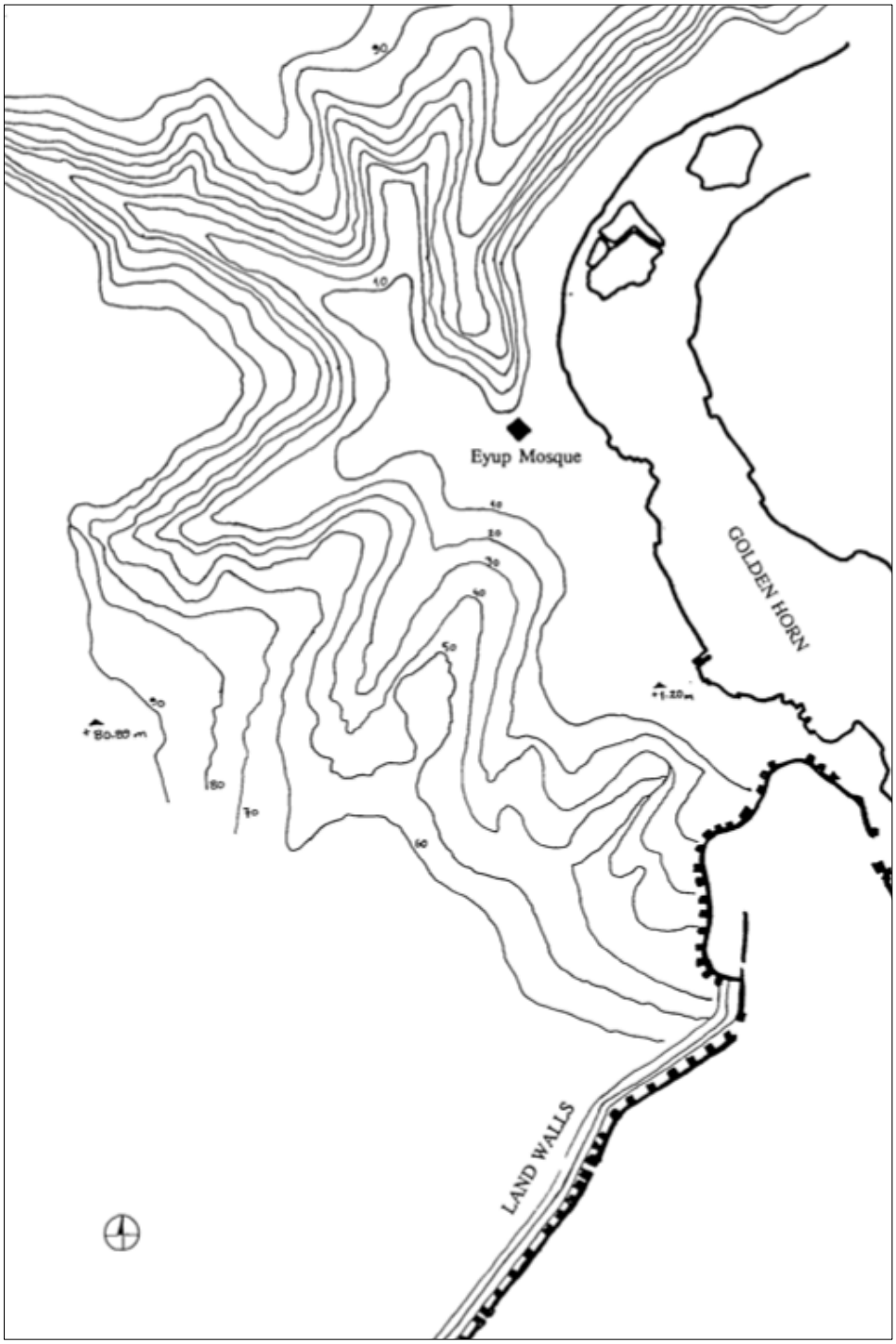

Figure 2. The topographic map of Eyüp
(Özaslan, "Historic urban fabric," 232)

Figure 3. Map of Constantinople in Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, ink drawing, ca. 1481
(Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, xxiv)

Figure 4. Locations of the fifteenth-century mosques and masjids (Blue markers with labels)

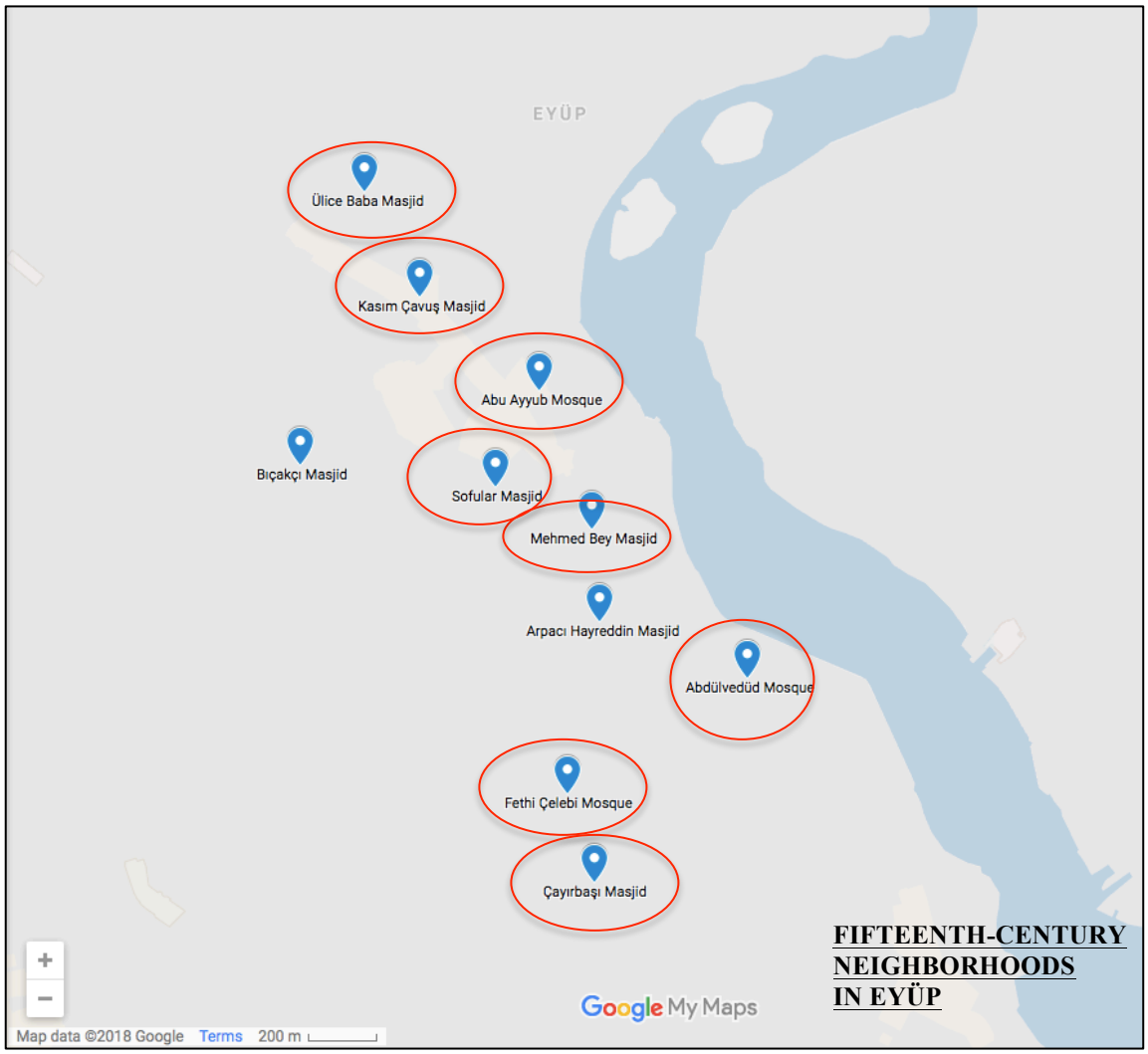

Figure 5. The fifteenth-century Eyüp neighborhoods developed around the mosques and masjids

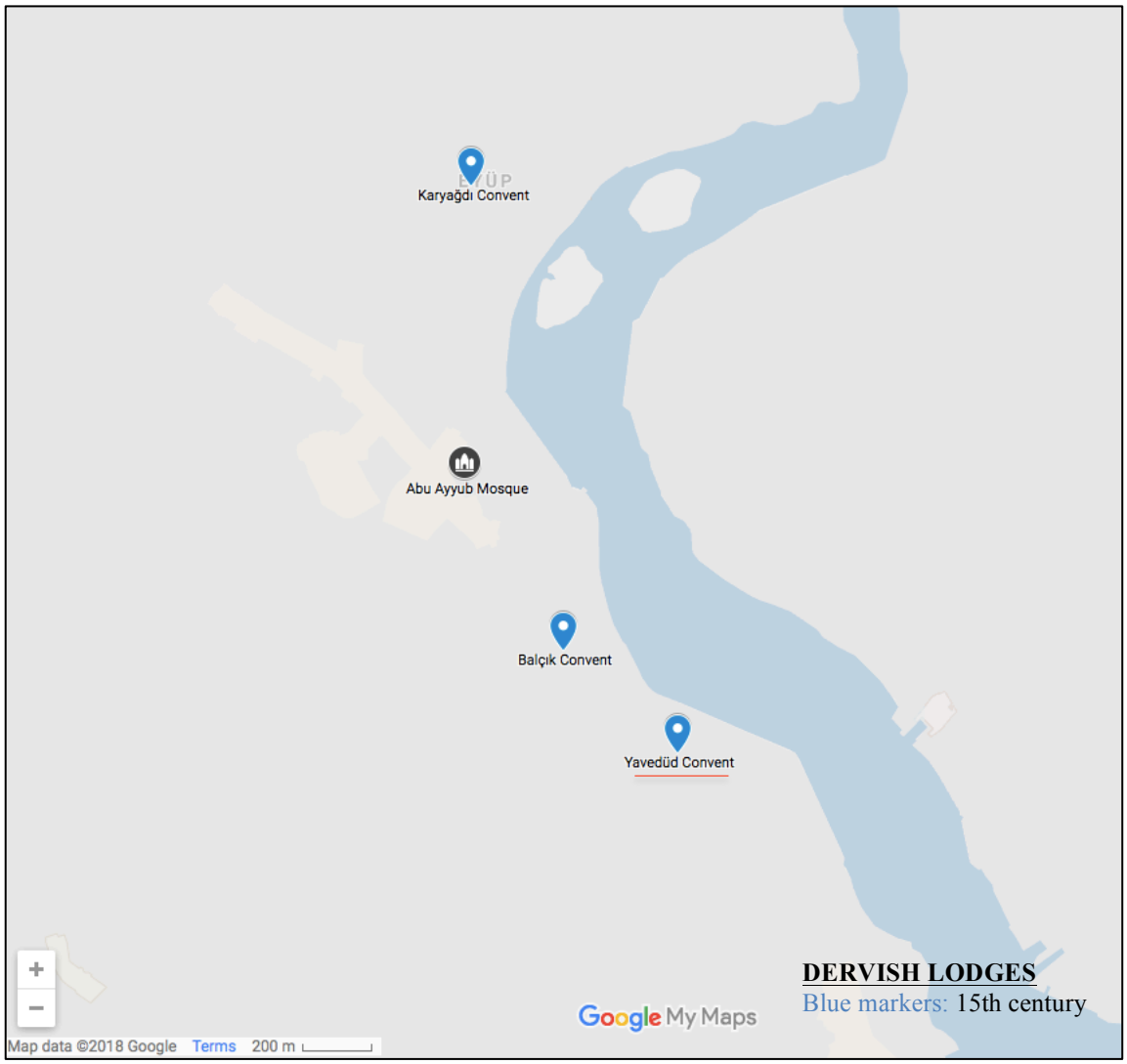

Figure 6. Locations of the fifteenth-century dervish lodges
(Blue markers with labels; red line indicates dervish lodges that were also used as masjids or mosques)

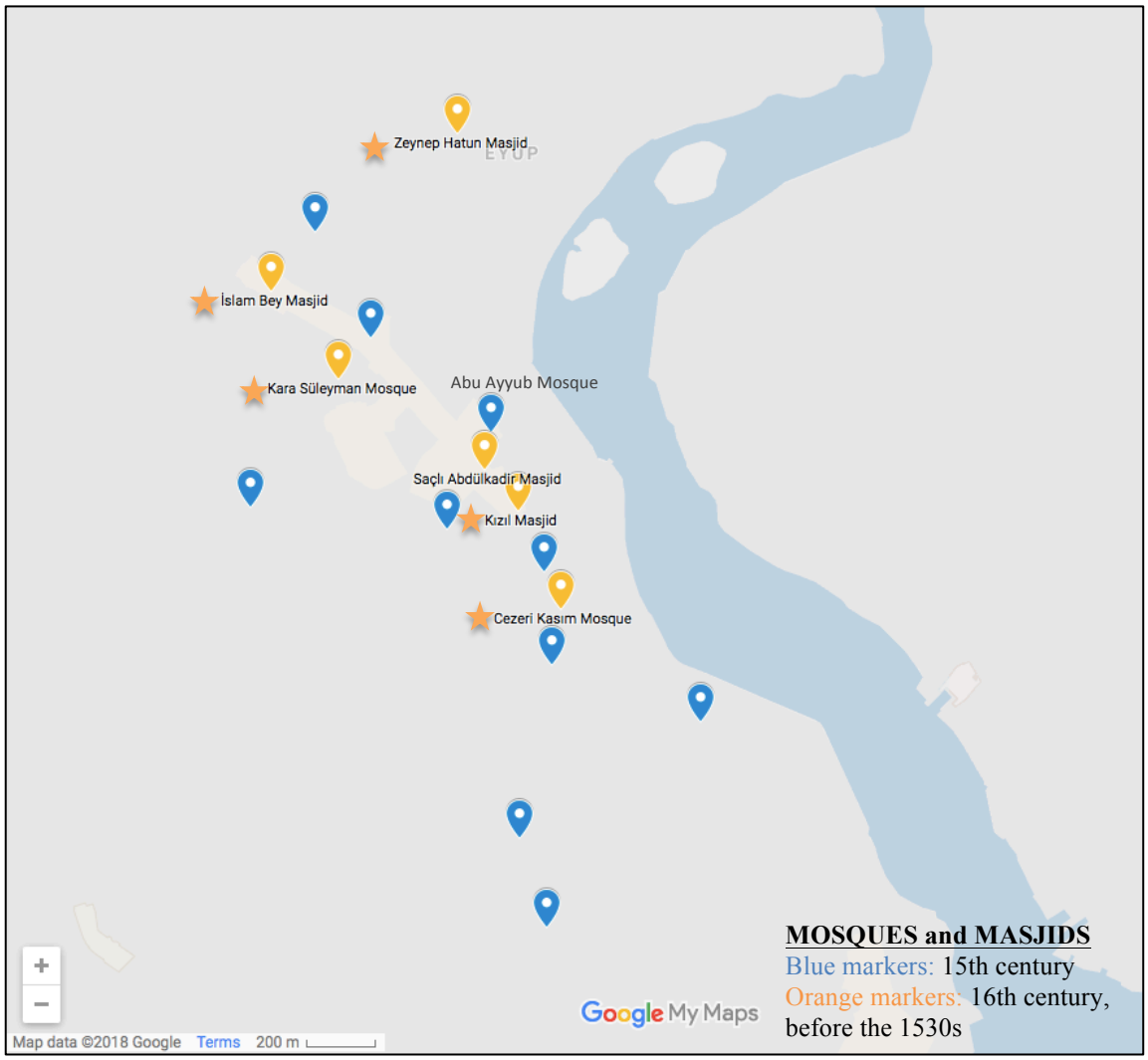

Figure 7. Locations of the early sixteenth-century mosques and masjids (Orange markers with labels; the ones indicated with star had neighborhoods)

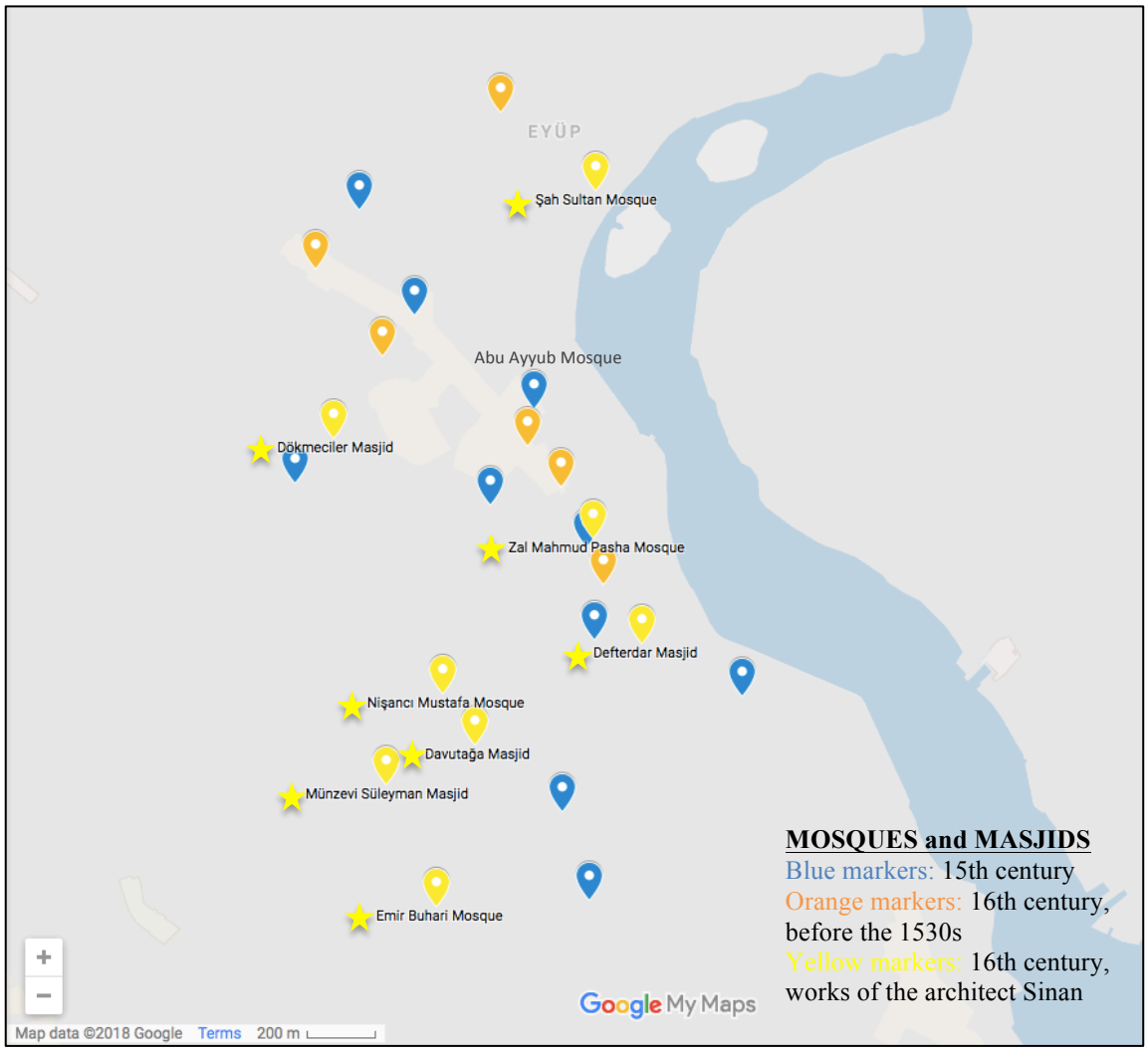

Figure 8. Locations of the sixteenth-century mosques and masjids built by the architect Sinan
(Yellow markers with labels; the ones indicated with star had neighborhoods)

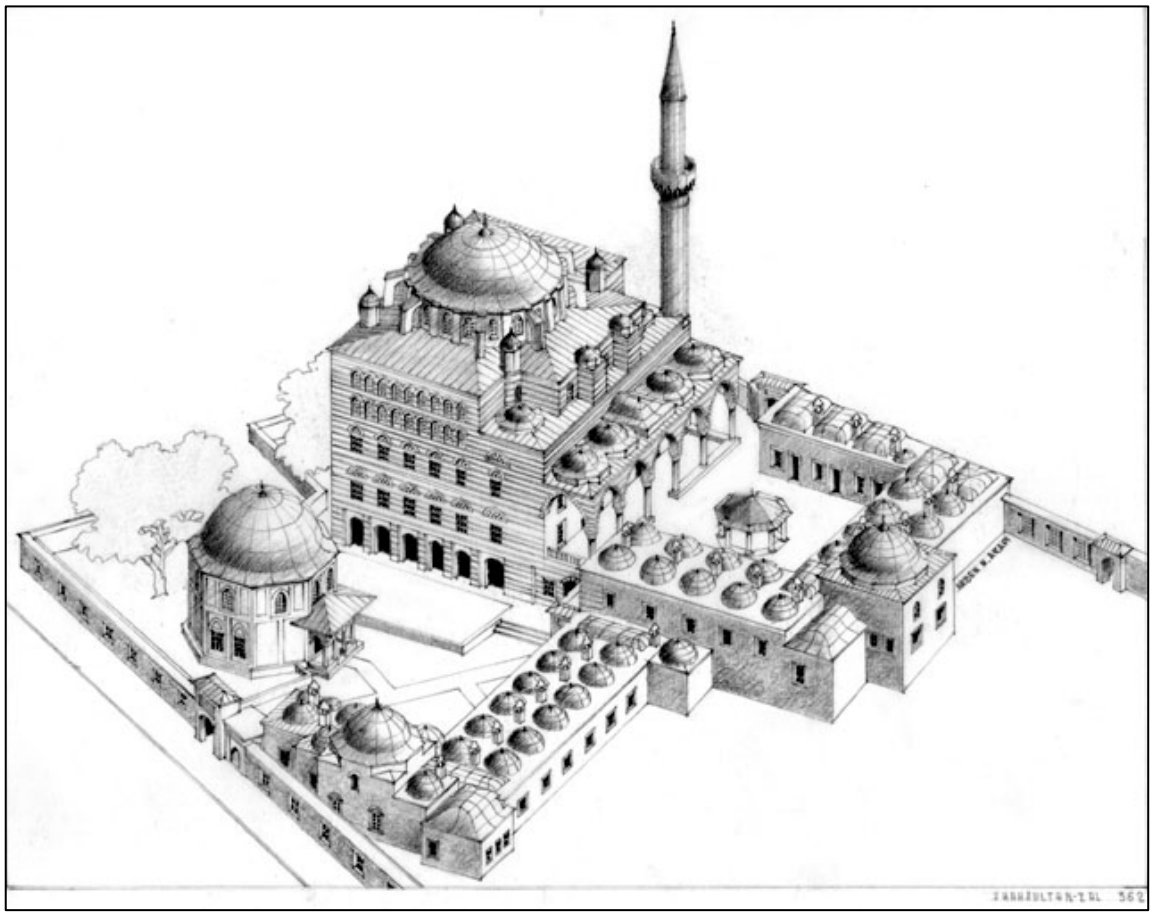

Figure 9. Isometric projection of Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque Complex (drawn by Arben N. Arapi)
(Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*; https://archnet.org/sites/2031/media_contents/42980)

Figure 10. Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque Complex
(https://www.eyupsultan.bel.tr/tr/main/pages/zal-mahmut-pasa-camii-ve-kulliyesi/957)

Figure 11. General view of Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque Complex seen in the left middleground (photo by Reha Günay)
The twin minarets of Abu Ayyub Mosque are seen in the foreground, while Mihrimah Sultan Mosque of Edirnekapı appears in the right background
(Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*; https://archnet.org/sites/2031/media_contents/42980)

Figure 12. Defterdar Masjid
(https://www.eyupsultan.bel.tr/tr/main/pages/nazli-defterdar-mahmut-efendi-camii/950)

Figure 13. Şah Sultan Mosque
(https://www.mimarsinan.gen.tr/sah-sultan-camii/)

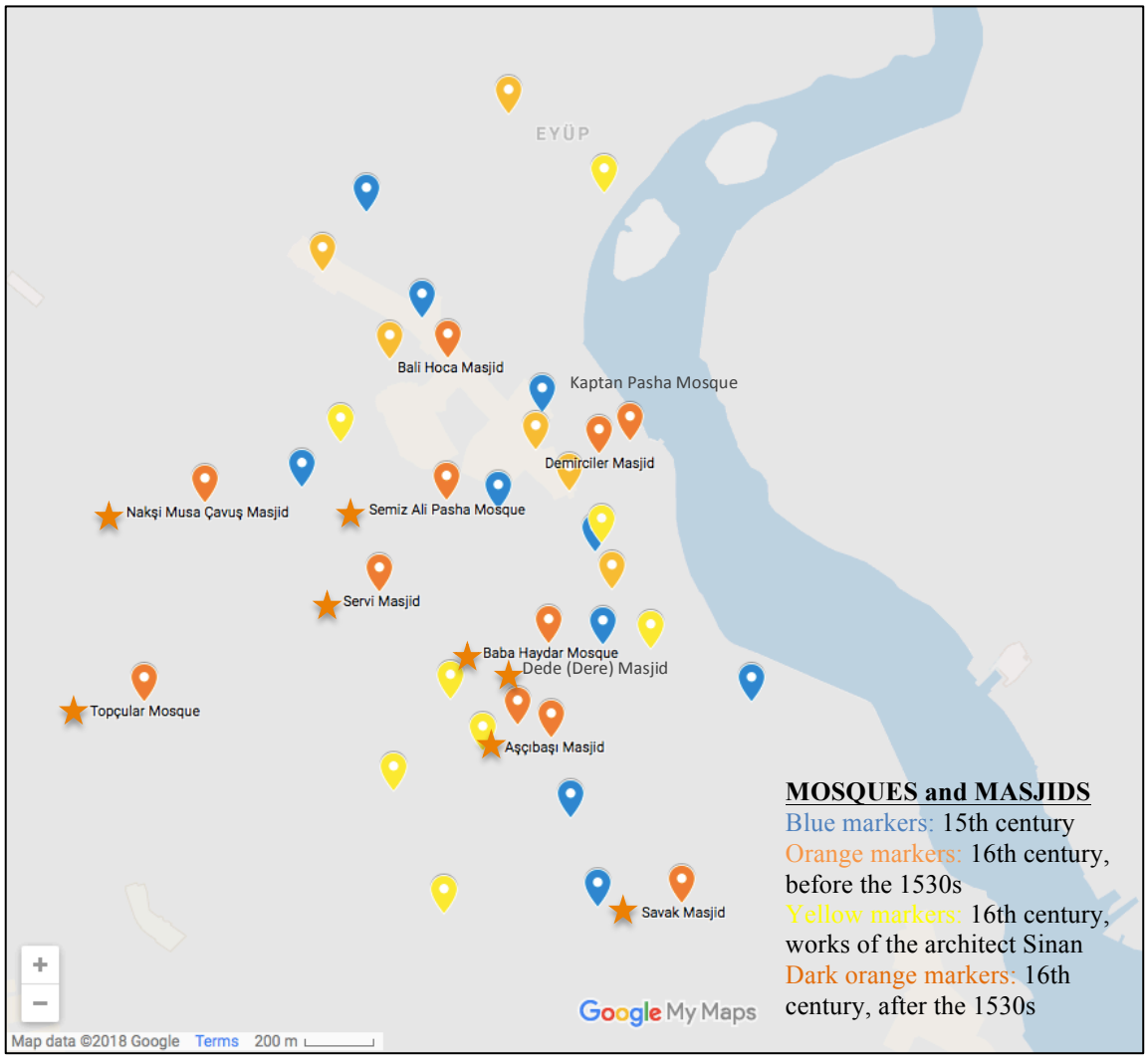

Figure 14. Locations of other mosques and masjids built after the 1530s
(Dark orange markers with labels; the ones indicated with star had neighborhoods)

Figure 15. Locations of the sixteenth-century dervish lodges
(Dark orange and yellow markers with labels; yellow ones show the works of the architect Sinan; red line indicates convents that were also used as masjids or mosques)

Figure 16. Cafer Pasha Tomb's standing walls and his madrasa and convent complex seen in the background
(https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/cafer-pasa-tekkesi)

Figure 17. Cafer Pasha Madrasa
(https://www.eyupsultan.bel.tr/tr/main/pages/cafer-pasa-medresesi/1004)

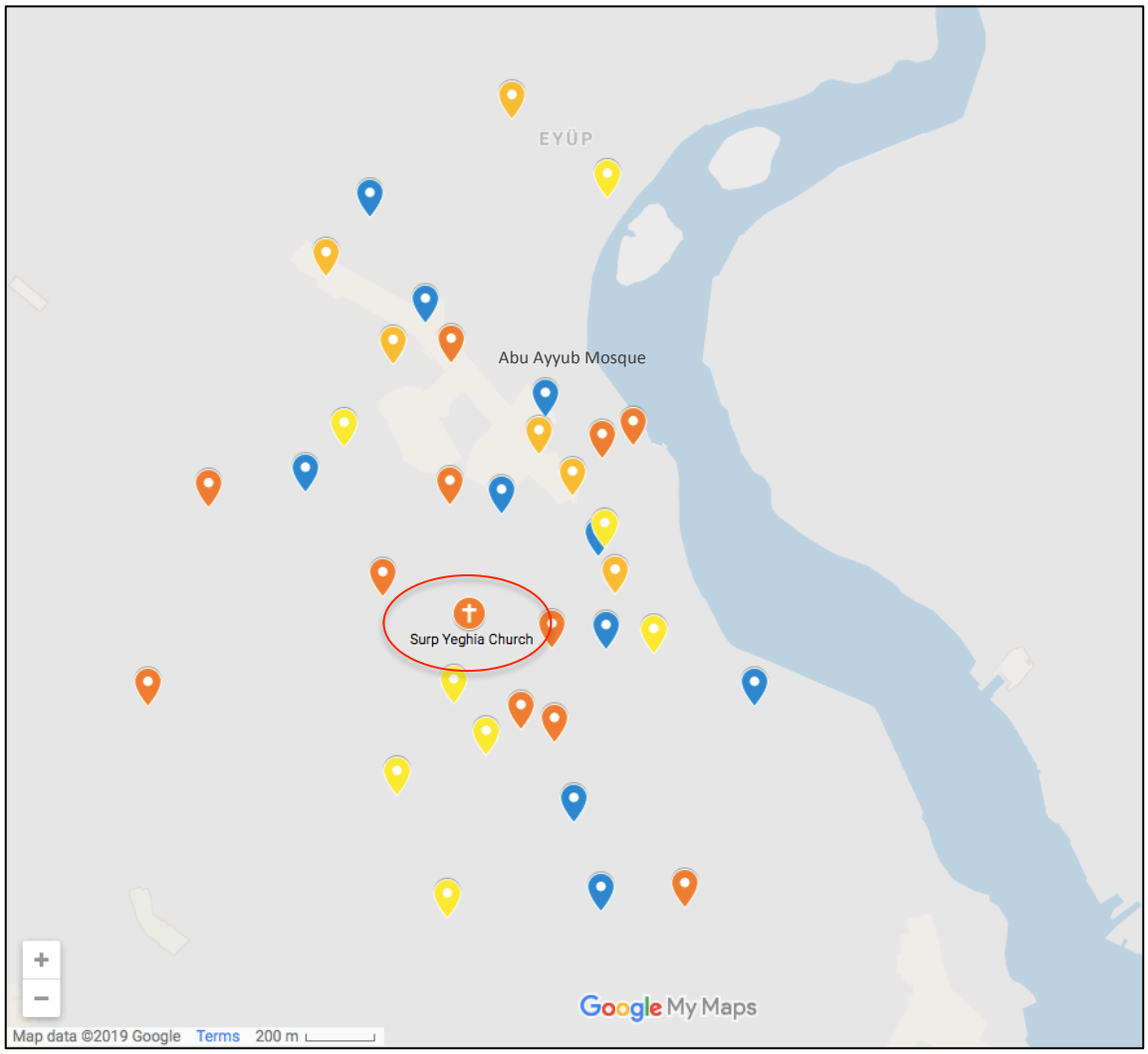

Figure 18. Location of Surp Yeghia Apostolic Armenian Church

Figure 19. Surp Yeghia Church's entrance from the street, courtyard, eastern façade and bell tower
(Hançer, "Eyüp Ermeni kiliseleri.")

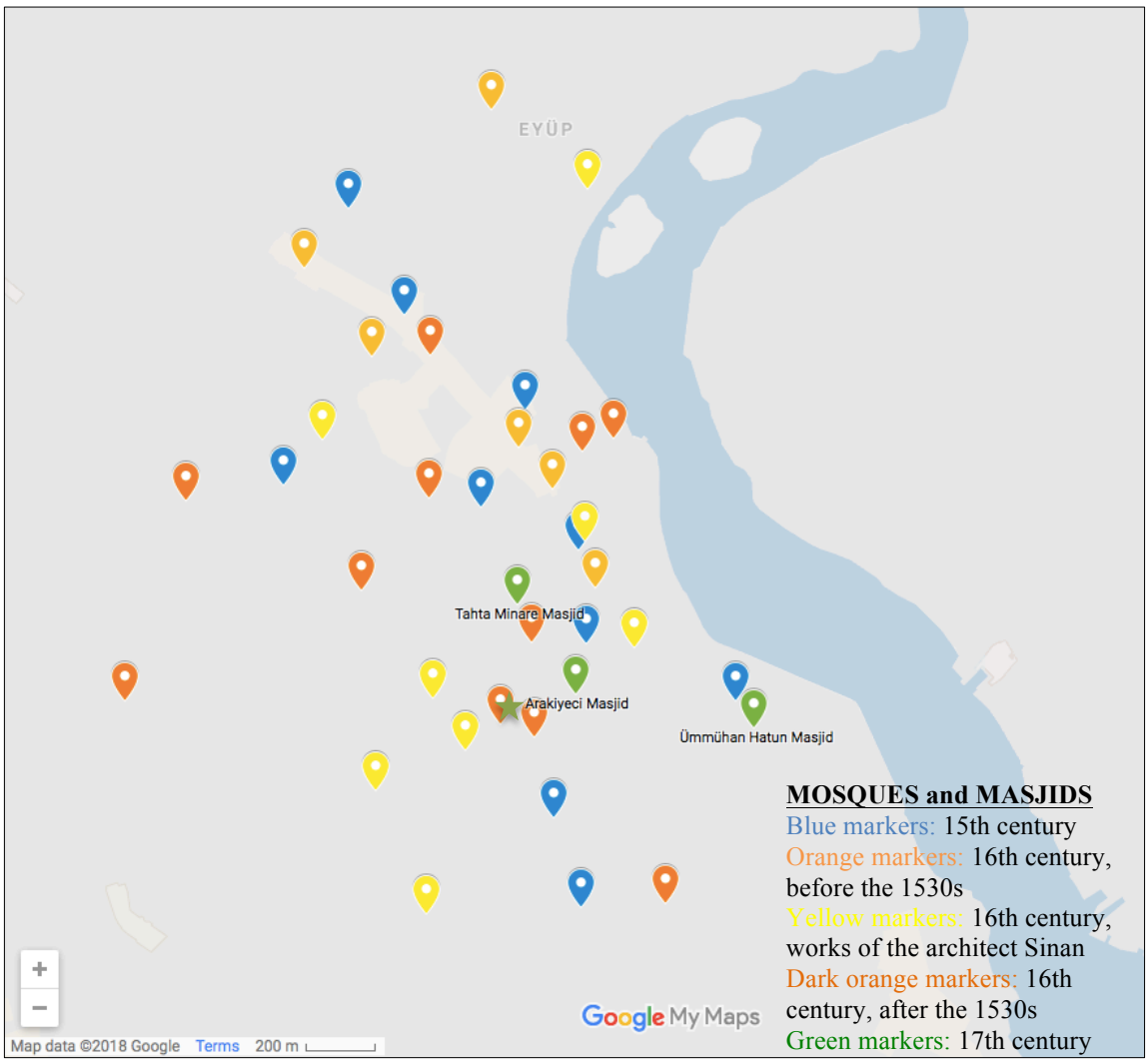

Figure 20. Locations of the seventeenth-century mosques and masjids (Green markers with labels; the ones indicated with star had neighborhoods)

Figure 21. Locations of the seventeenth-century dervish lodges (Green markers with labels)

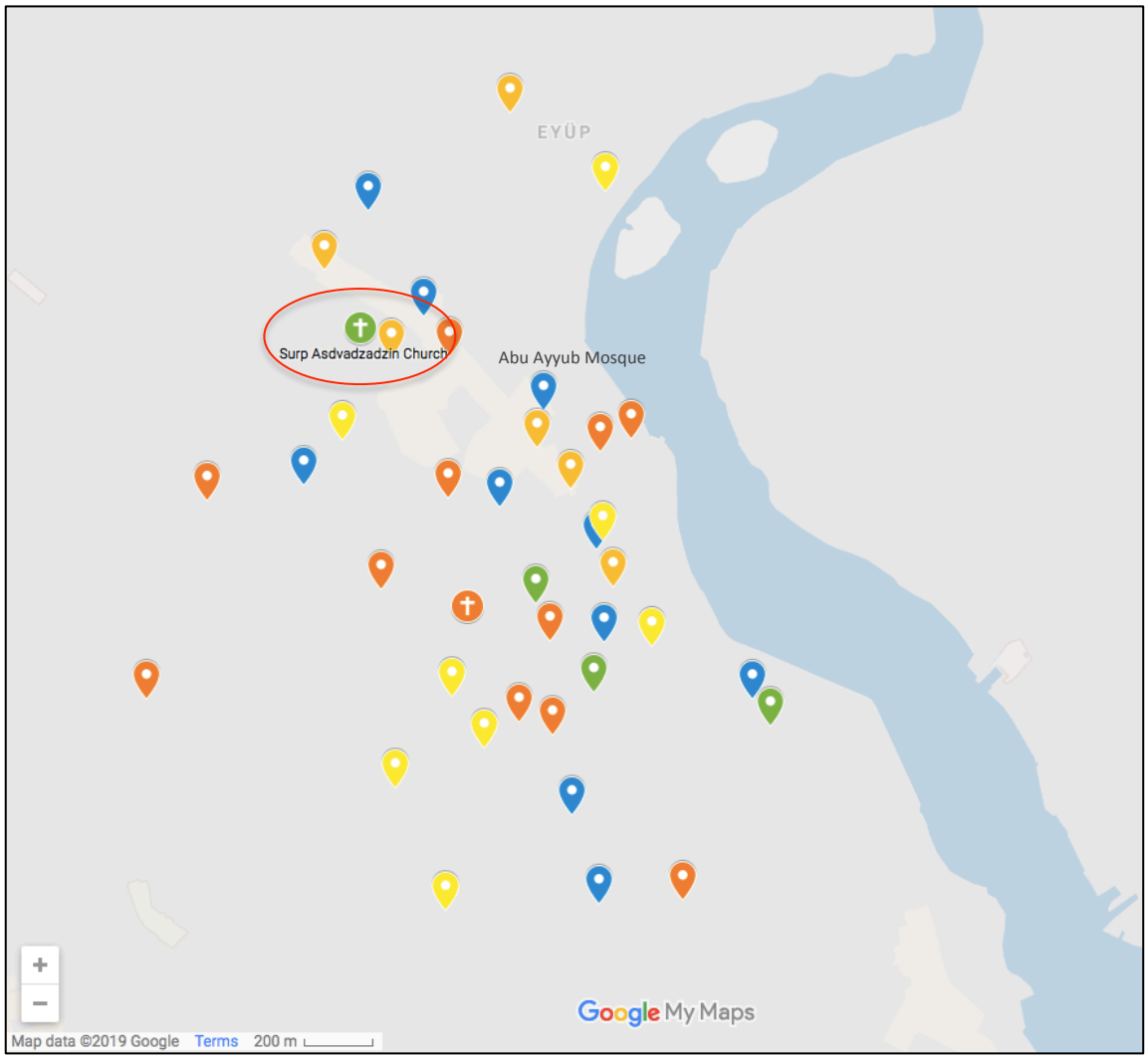

Figure 22. Location of Surp Asdvadzadzin Apostolic Armenian Church

Figure 23. Surp Asdvadzadzin Church's interior as seen from the west, apse and altar table, and interior as seen from the east
(Hançer, "Eyüp Ermeni kiliseleri.")

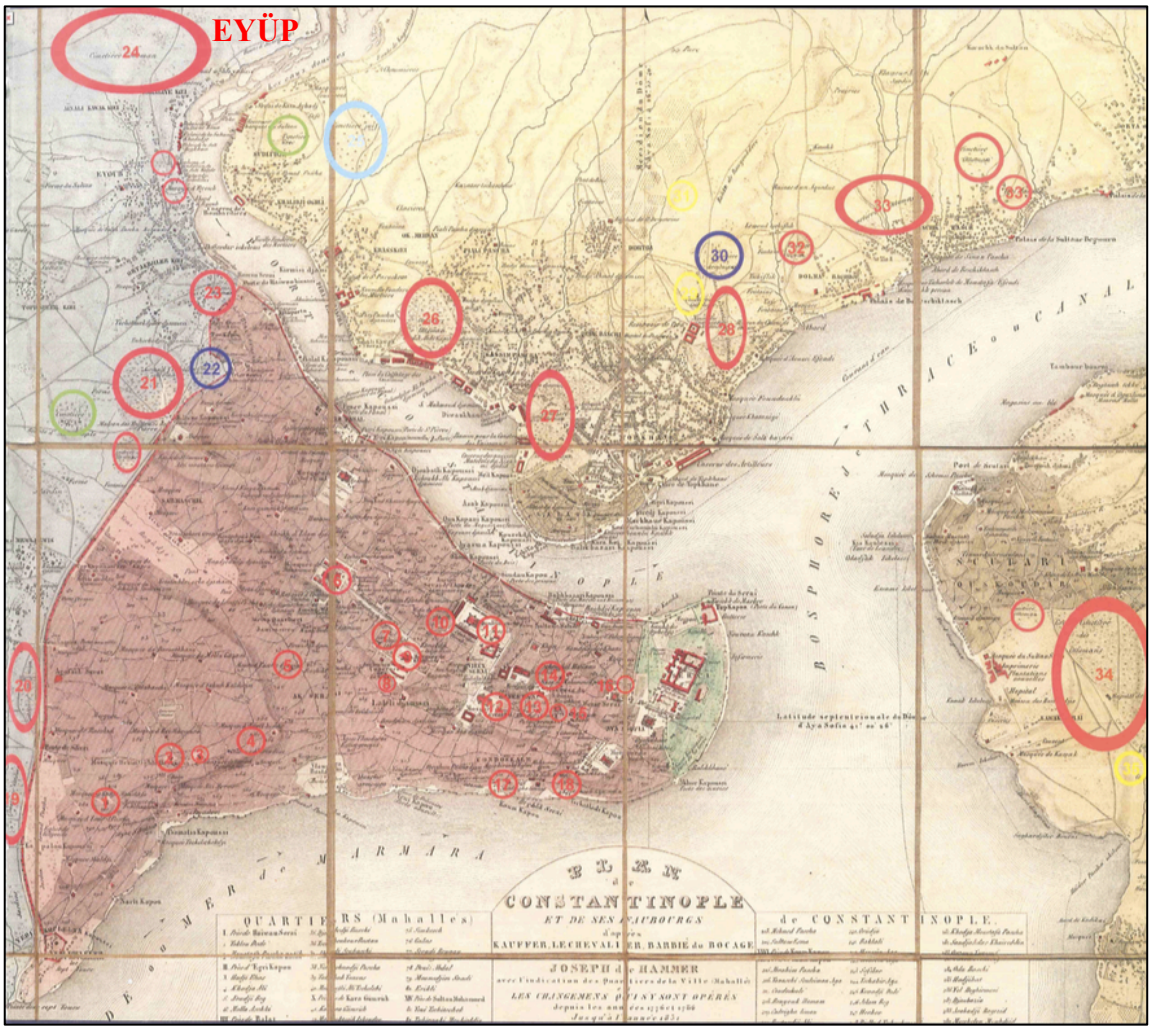

Figure 24. Major cemeteries of Istanbul indicated on Hellert's 1836 map of the city (Eldem, *Death in Istanbul*, 16-17)

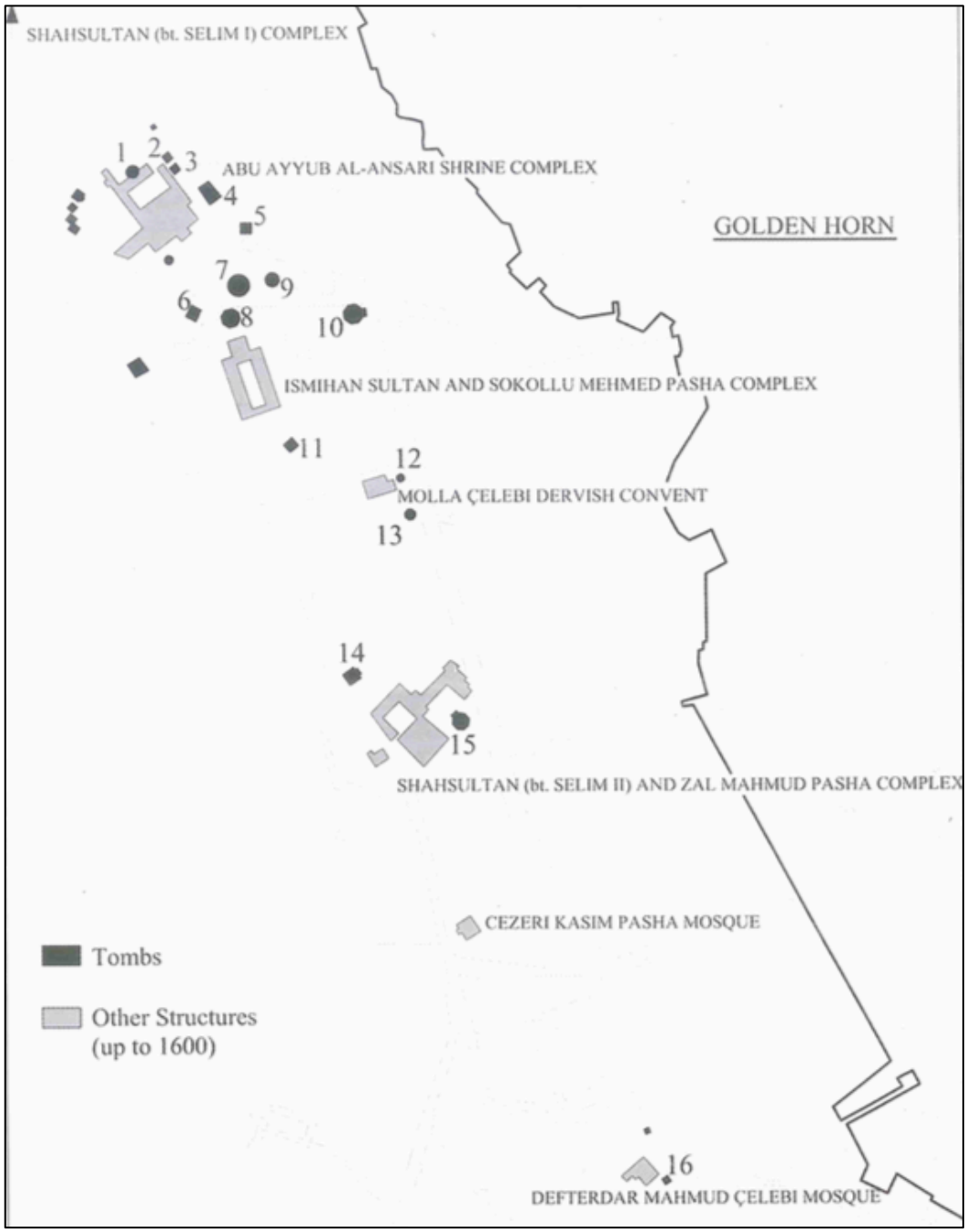

Figure 25. Tombs of grandees and complexes
1. Abu Ayyub al-Ansari 2. Ayas Mehmed Pasha 3. Lala Mustafa Pasha 4. Pertev Mehmed Pasha 5. Feridun Ahmed Beg 6. Ebussuud Efendi 7. Siyavuş Pasha 8. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha 9. Mirmiran Ahmed Agha 10. Ferhad Pasha 11. Cafer Pasha 12. Hubbi Hatun 13. Molla Çelebi 14. Nakkaş Hasan Pasha 15. Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha 16. Defterdar Mahmud Çelebi
(Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan*, 577)

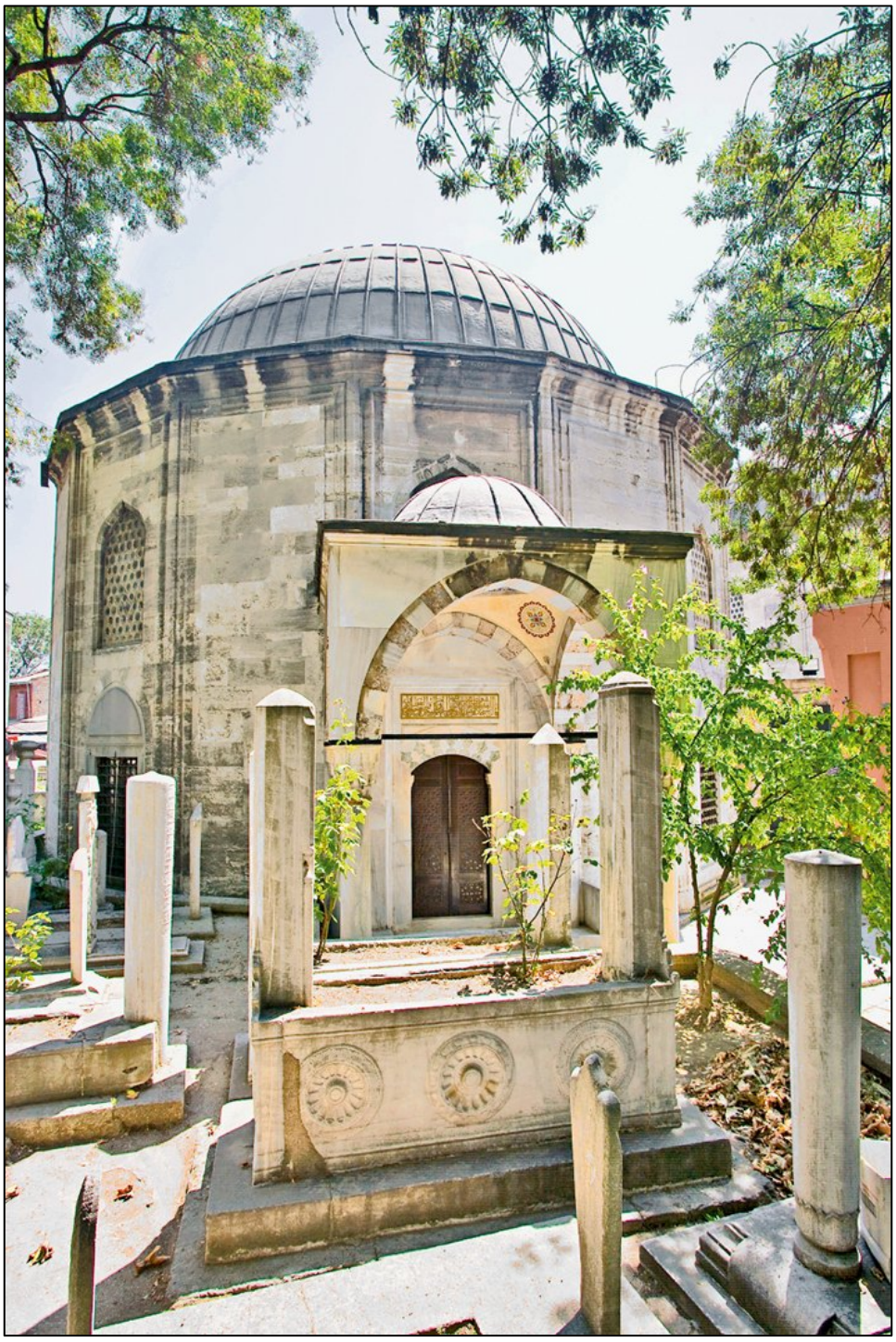

Figure 26. The tomb of Siyavuş Pasha
(https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/siyavus-pasa-turbesi)

Figure 27. The tomb of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha
(https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/sokullu-mehmed-pasa-kulliyesi--eyup)

Figure 28. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and İsmihan Sultan Quran School
(https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/sokullu-mehmed-pasa-kulliyesi--eyup)

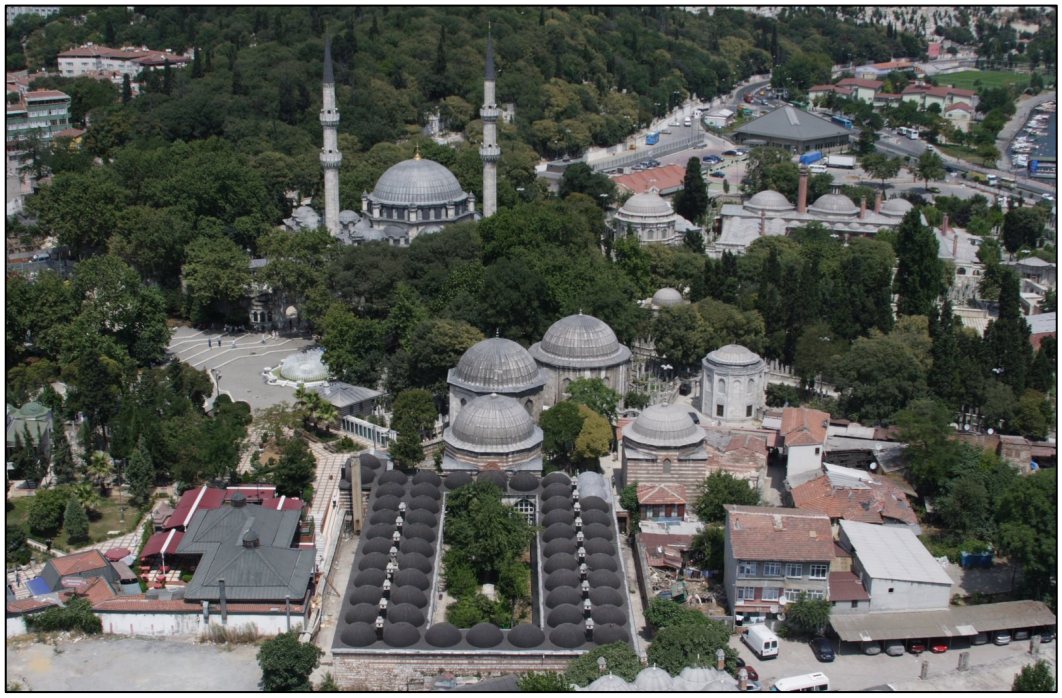

Figure 29. The tomb complex of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and İsmihan Sultan containing a madrasa and a Quran school
Abu Ayyub Mosque with its twin minarets can also be seen in the background
(https://www.eyupsultan.bel.tr/tr/main/pages/sokollu-mehmet-pasa-medresesi/1011)

Figure 30. Ebussuud Efendi Tomb and Primary School Complex
(https://www.eyupsultan.bel.tr/tr/main/pages/ebussuud-efendi-sibyan-mektebi/1005)

Figure 31. Plak (Bulak) Mustafa Pasha Tomb and Abu Ayyub Mosque
(https://www.eyupsultan.bel.tr/tr/main/pages/bulak-mustafa-pasa-turbesi/962)

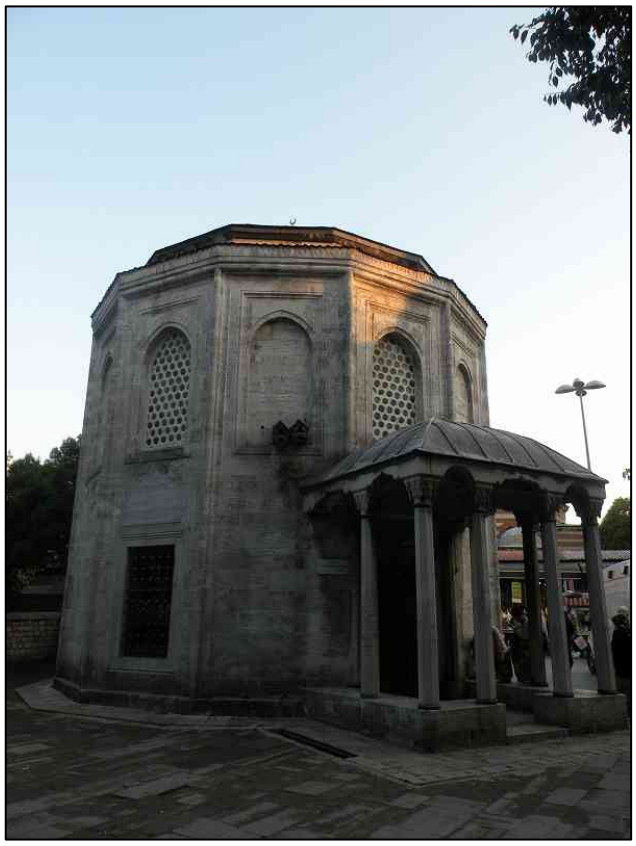

Figure 32. Mirmiran Mehmed Agha Tomb
(http://www.ottomaninscriptions.com/photo/photo_m_1228_1.jpg)

Figure 33. Feridun Ahmed Pasha Tomb
(https://www.eyupsultan.bel.tr/tr/main/pages/feridun-pasa-turbesi/969)

Figure 34. A view of graveyards on a road towards Abu Ayyub Mosque, 1992 (photo by Nuray Özaslan)
(Özaslan, "Historic urban fabric," 259)

Figure 35. A view of the Golden Horn from the Eyüp Cemetery, 19th century (drawn by William H. Bartlett)
(Pardoe, *The beauties of the Bosphorus*, 12; https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/eyup-mezarligi)

Figure 36. A view of the Golden Horn from the Eyüp Cemetery (photo by Engin Özendeş)
(SALT Research, Engin Özendeş Archive, EOZH0052)

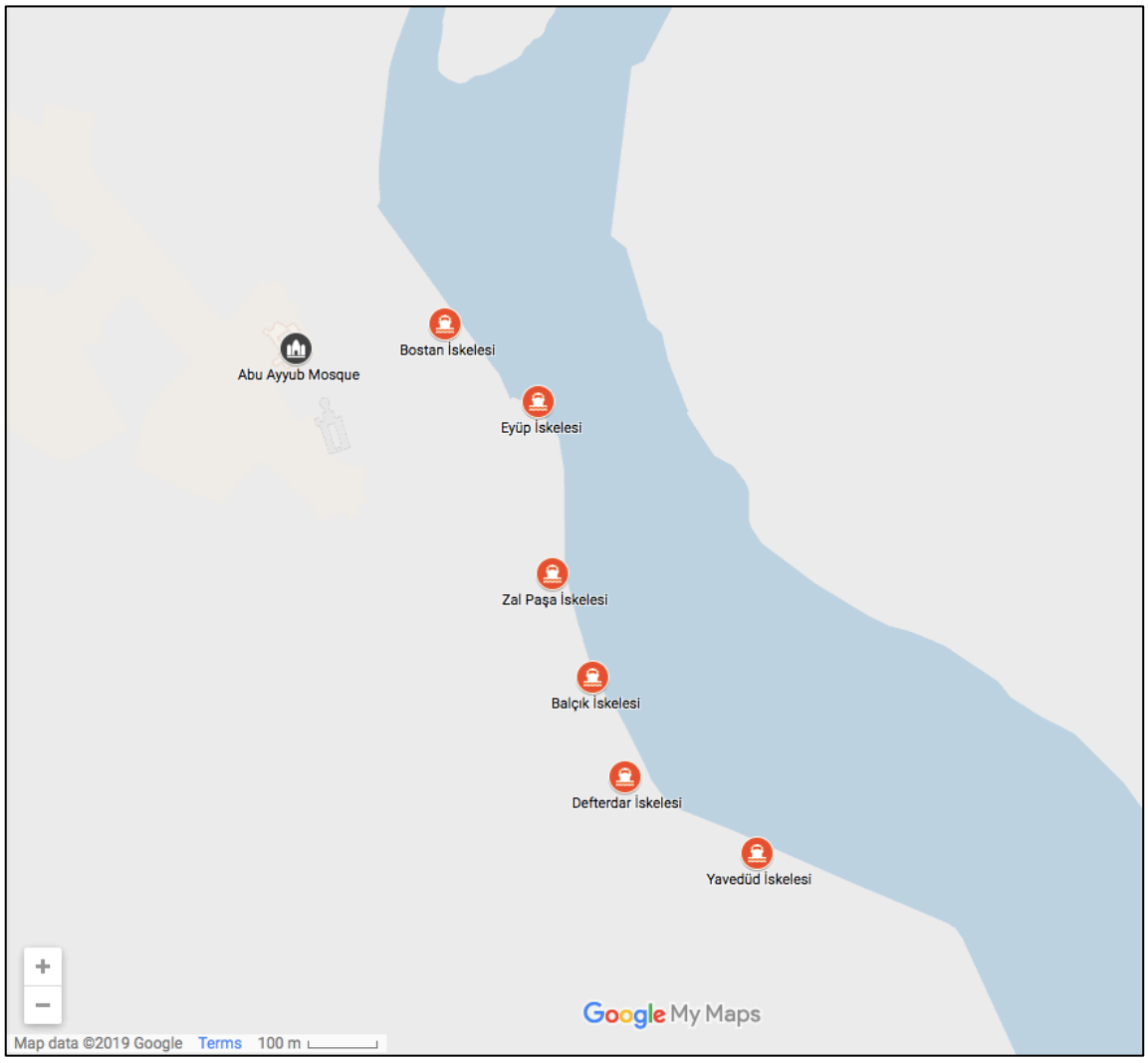

Figure 37. Estimated locations of piers (*iskele*s) in Eyüp

Figure 38. Nakkaş Hasan Pasha Tomb and Abu Ayyub Mosque Complex, a view looking from roof of Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque, 1933 (photo by Ali Saim Ülgen)
(SALT Research, Ali Saim Ülgen Archive, TASUH0717)

Figure 39. Overturned and dismantled graves in graveyard between Kızıl Masjid and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque, 1950s (photo by Ali Saim Ülgen)
(SALT Research, Ali Saim Ülgen Archive, TASUH3269001)

Figure 40. Wooden houses in Eyüp, 1989 (photo by Marc Eginard)
(SALT Research, IFEA / Marc Eginard / Istanbul Collection, IFEAEGIIST109)

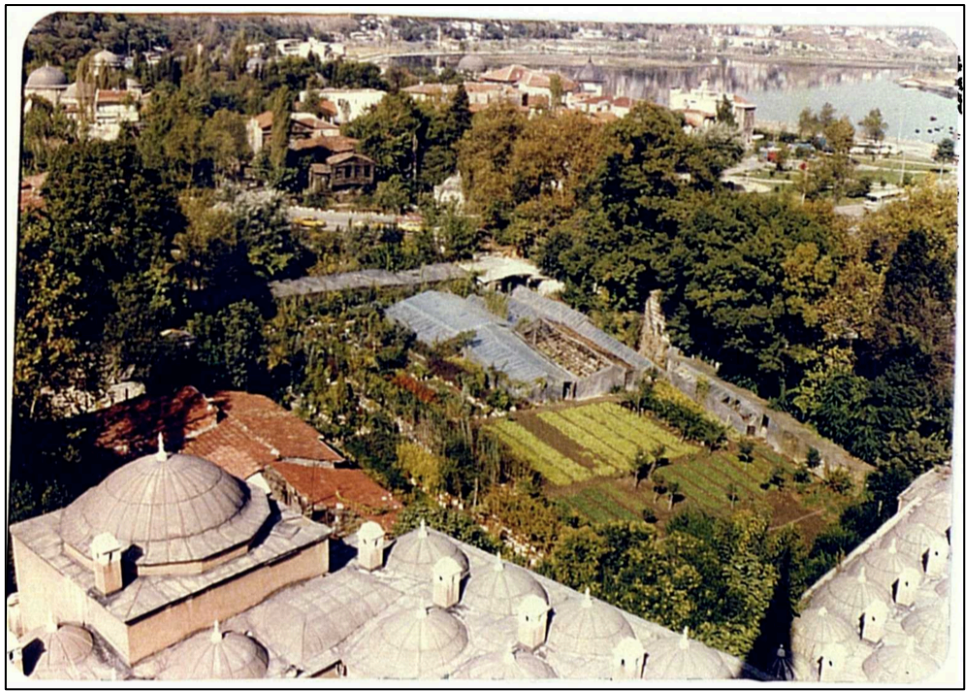

Figure 41. A vegetable garden (*bostan*) in Eyüp, behind the Şah Sultan and Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque Complex, wooden houses seen in the background, 1992 (photo by Nuray Özaslan)
(Özaslan, "Historic urban fabric," 258)

Figure 42. Dervish lodges built in Eyüp between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries

Figure 43. Şeyhülislam Dervish Lodge
(https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/seyhulislam-mustafa-efendi-tekkesi)

Figure 44. The courtyard of the Şeyhülislam Dervish Lodge
(The courtyard has been very recently covered with this roof.)
(https://www.eyupsultan.bel.tr/tr/main/pages/seyhulislam-tekkesi/1001)

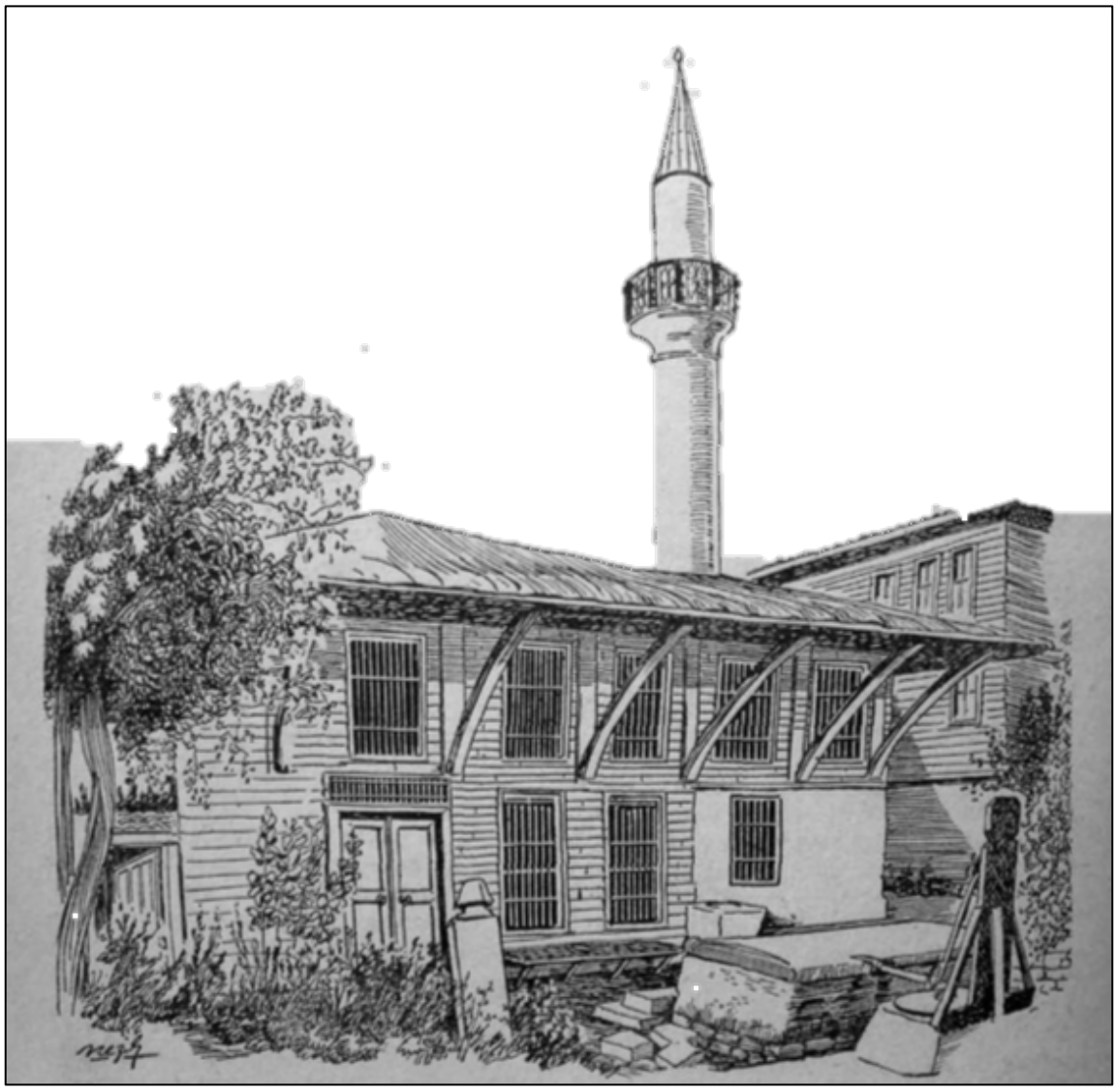

Figure 45. Baba Haydar Masjid-Dervish Lodge (drawing by Nezih)
(Koçu, "Babahaydar mescidi," *İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 4), 1742)

Figure 46. Baba Haydar Masjid-Dervish Lodge, wooden northern façade (https://www.eyupsultan.bel.tr/tr/main/pages/baba-haydar-camii/938)

Figure 47. Baba Haydar Masjid-Dervish Lodge, rubble masonry facades (https://www.eyupsultan.bel.tr/tr/main/pages/baba-haydar-camii/938)

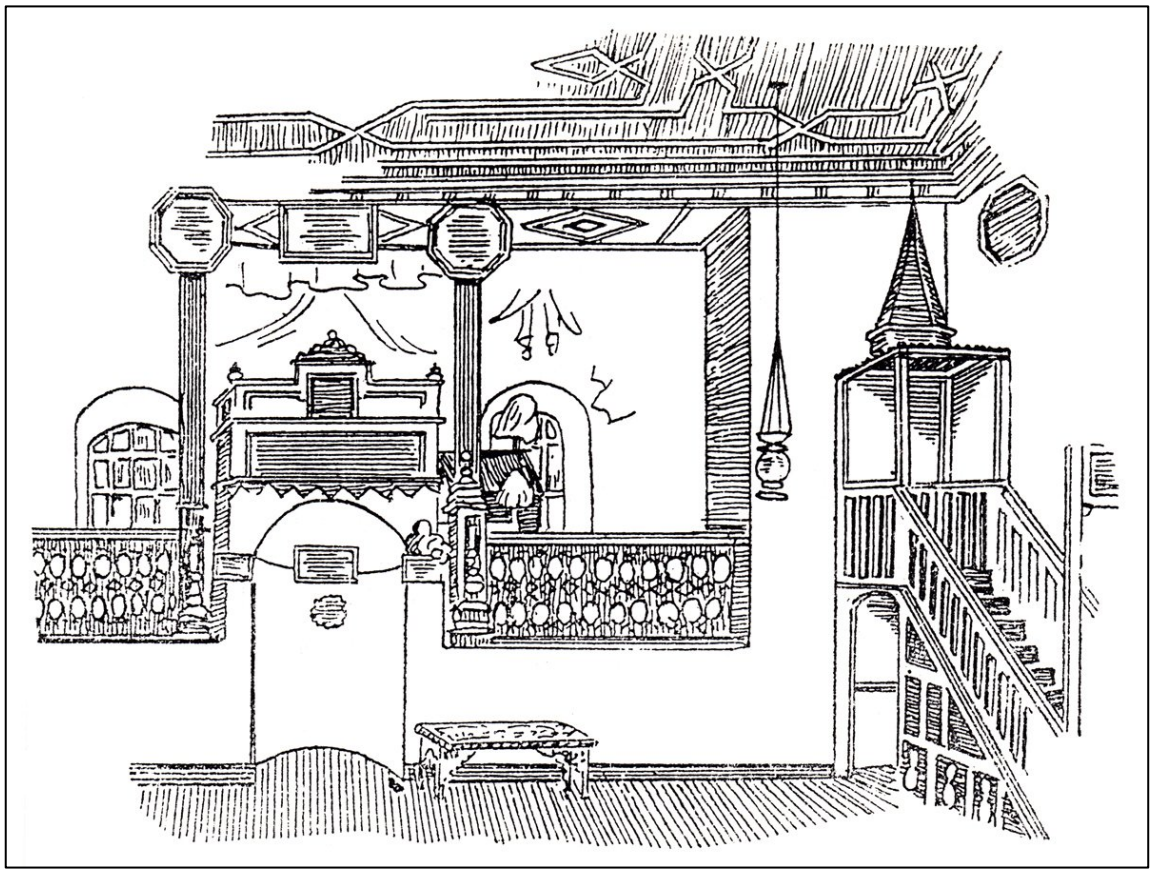

Figure 48. The interior of Savaklar (Cemalizade) Dervish Lodge, the mihrab wall and the tomb of Sheikh Cemaleddin (drawing by Nezih)
(Koçu, "Ahmedpaşa mescidi," *İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 1), 440;
https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/cemalizade-tekkesi)

Figure 49. Karyağdı Dervish Lodge
(http://www.habereyup.com/yazarlar/coskun-sen/eyupteki-gizemli-bektasi-tekkesi/93)

Figure 50. Ümmi Sinan Dervish Lodge
(https://sites.google.com/site/ummisinan/dergah.JPG)

Figure 51. The ritual space (*tevhidhane*) of Ümmi Sinan Dervish Lodge, the windows at two sides of the mihrab opening to the tomb of the sheikh (https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ummi-sinan-tekkesi)

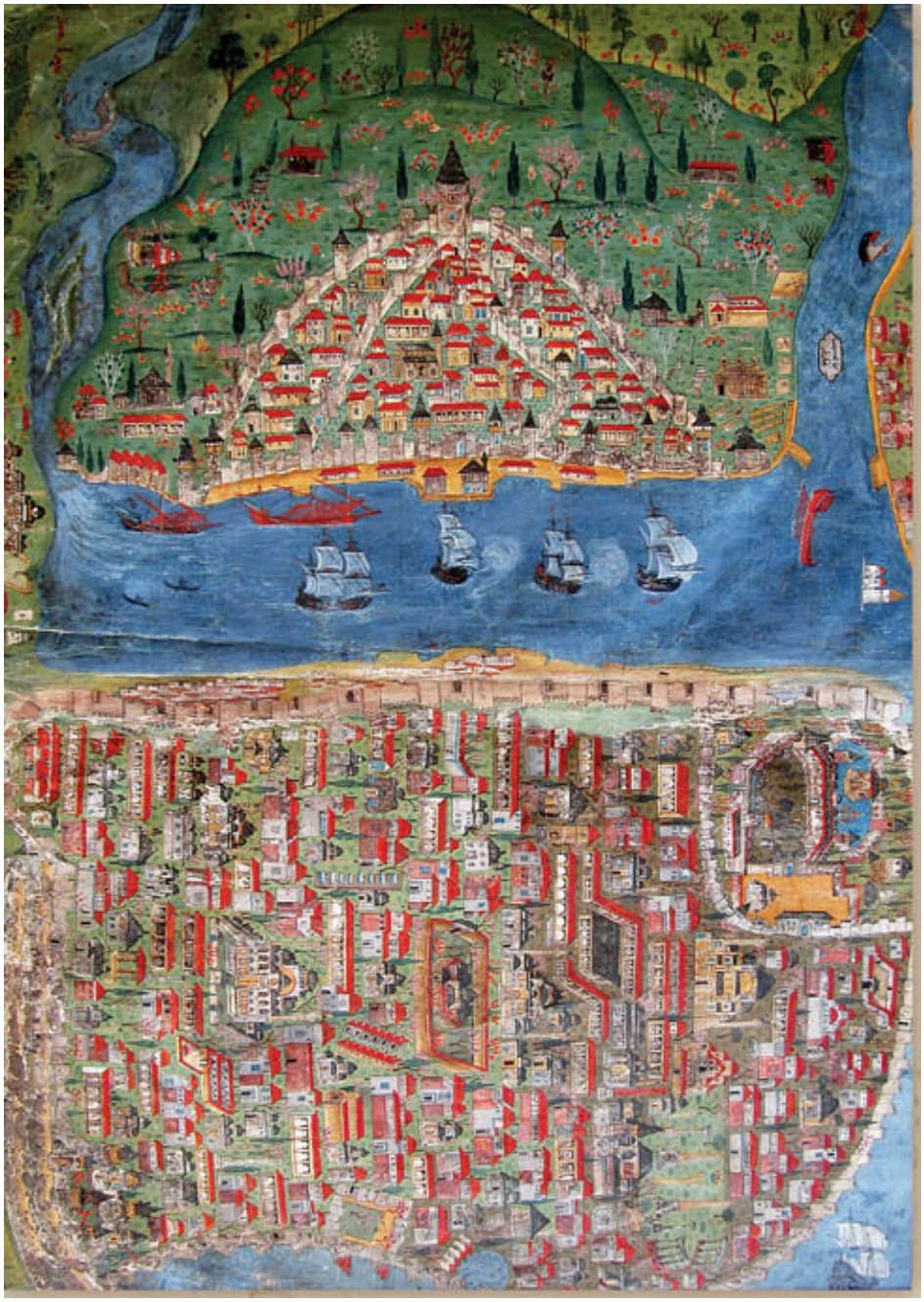

Figure 52. The Istanbul map, 1537-38, Matrakçı Nasuh, *Mecmu'-i Menazil* (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f0/Matrak%C3%A7%C4%B1_Nasuh_-_%C4%B0stanbul.jpg)

Figure 53. The detail of Eyüp from the panorama of Istanbul, Melchior Lorichs, 1559 (Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 45)

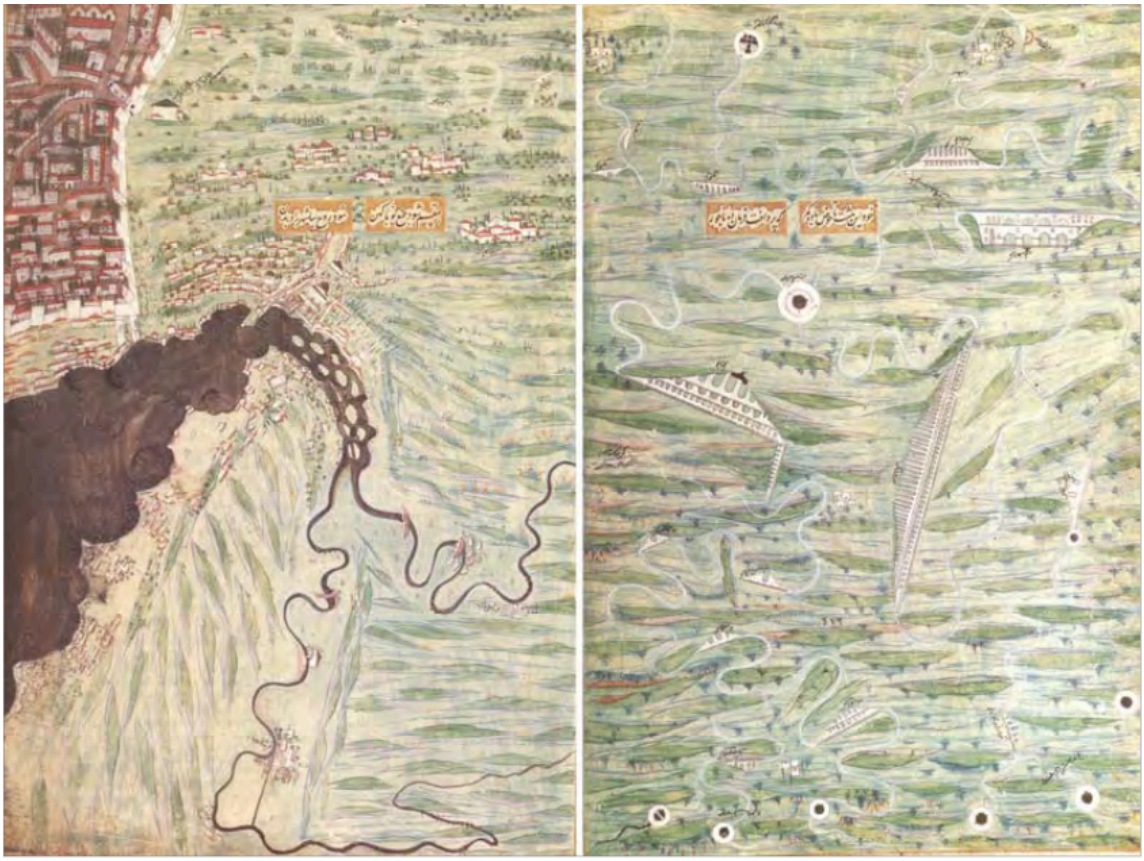

Figure 54. The map of Kırkçeşme waterways, 1579, *Süleymanname*
(Çeçen, *Taksim ve Hamidiye suları*, 28-29)

Figure 55. View of Istanbul, 1584-85, Lokman Bin Seyyid Hüseyin, *Hünername* (Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis / Istanbul*, 168)

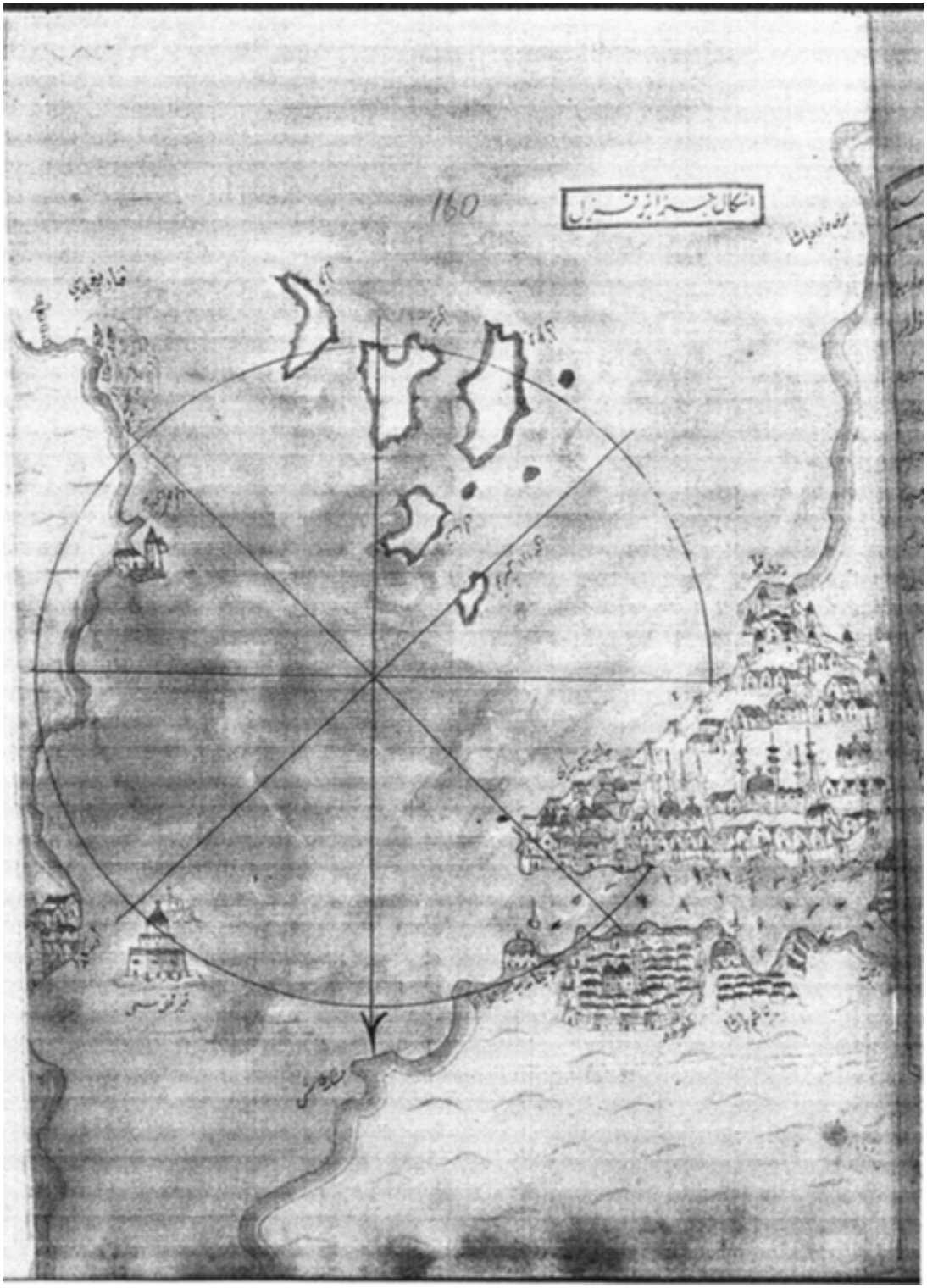

Figure 56. "Nuruosmaniye-2990"; Istanbul map, *Kitab-ı Bahriye* (short version, copied 1645 by Ahmed bin Mustafa)
(Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 479)

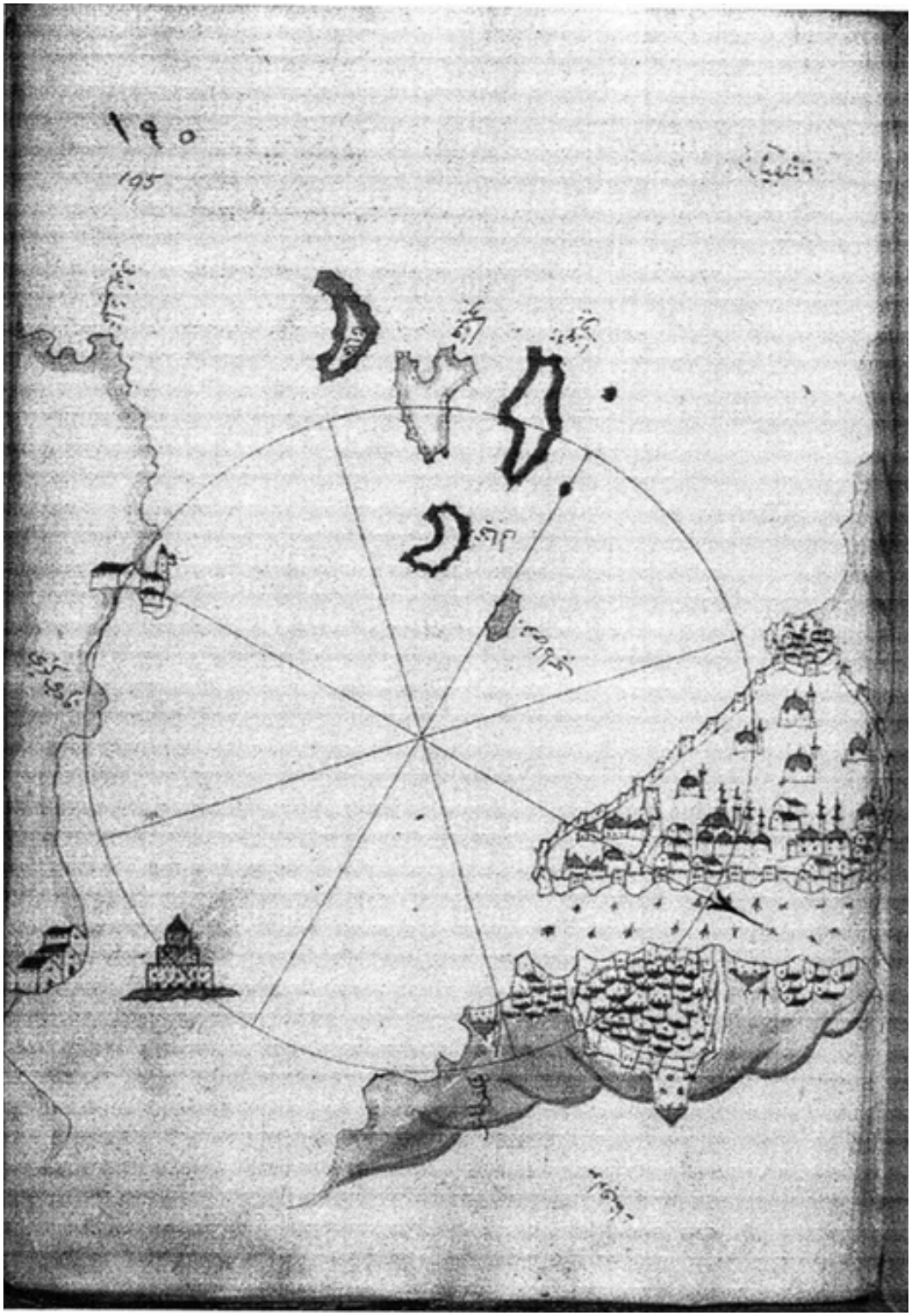

Figure 57. "London-4131"; Istanbul map, ca. 1620, *Kitab-ı Bahriye* (short version) (Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 477)

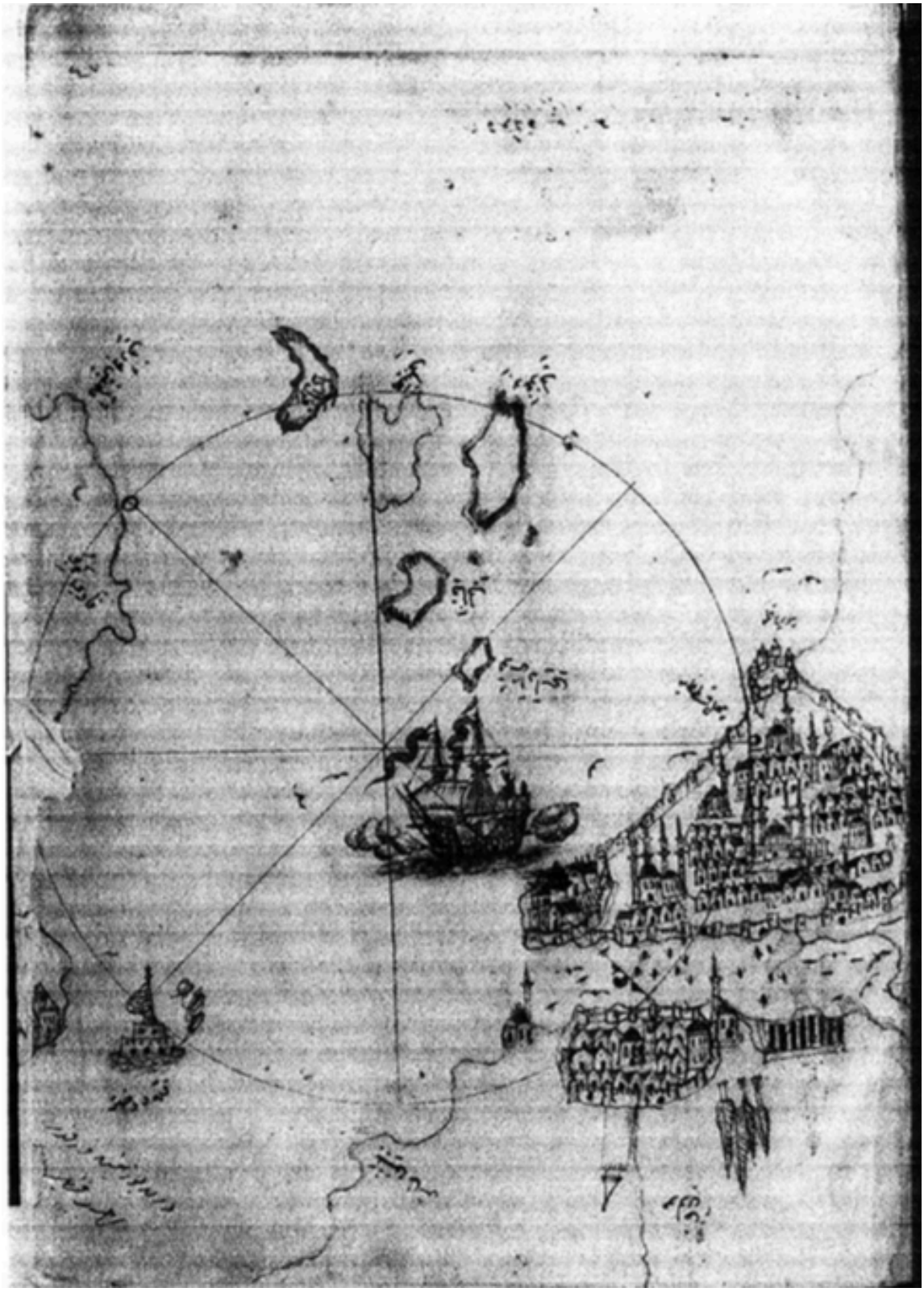

Figure 58. “University-123”; Istanbul map, ca. 1600, *Kitab-ı Bahriye* (short version) (Orbay, “Istanbul viewed,” 478)

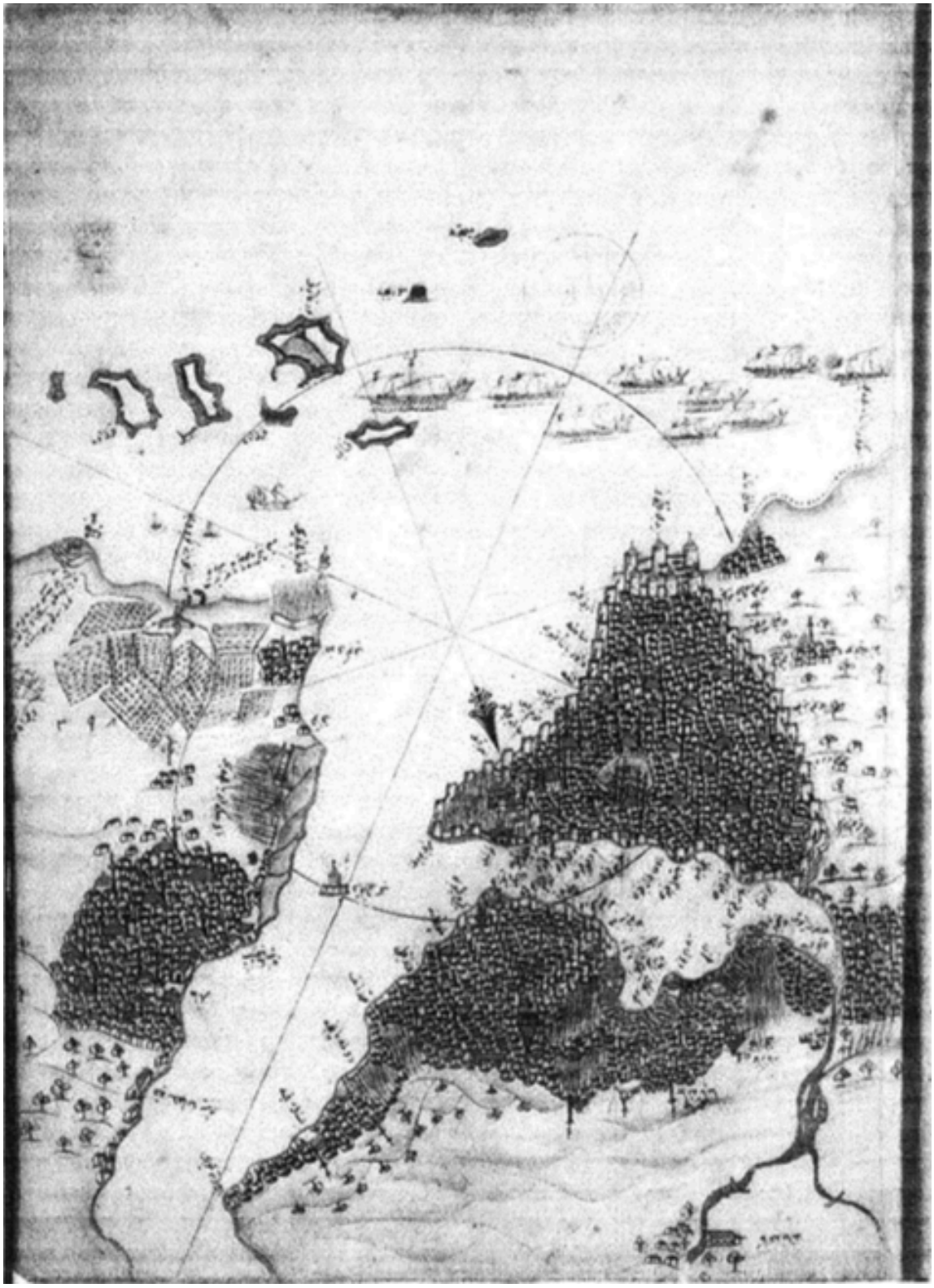

Figure 59. "Paris-956"; Istanbul map, ca. 1650, *Kitab-ı Bahriye* (long version) (Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 486)

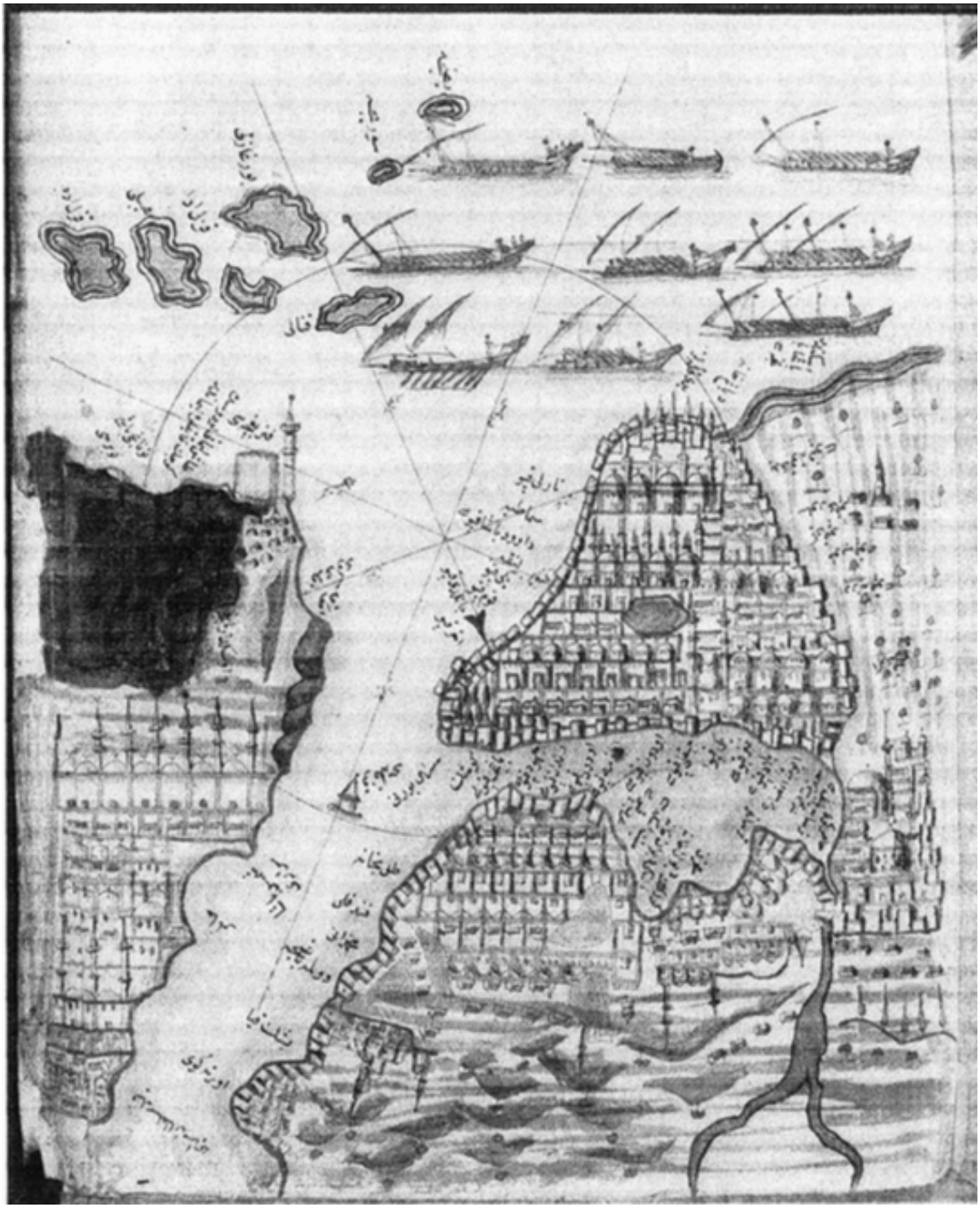

Figure 60. "Topkapı-1633"; Istanbul map, ca. 1680s, *Kitab-ı Bahriye* (long version) (Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 493)

Figure 61. Map of Constantinople, produced by the Hydrographic Service of the Navy of France, late 17th century
(Bibliothèque nationale de France, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55010152b)

Figure 62. Detail of Eyüp from the map of Constantinople given above
(I have inverted the map to show Eyüp better and noted down monument names that I can identify in red color)
(Bibliothèque nationale de France, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55010152b)

REFERENCES

Abdülaziz Bey. (1995). *Osmanlı adet, merasim ve tabirleri*. K. Arısan & D. A. Günay (Eds.). Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Açık, T., & Düzenli, H. İ. (2015). XVI-XVII. yüzyıl Istanbul evlerine dair. In C. Yılmaz (Ed.), *Antik çağdan XXI. yüzyıla büyük Istanbul tarihi* (Vol. 8). Istanbul: Istanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş., Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi.

Akdal, A. N. (2016). *Provisioning the Ottoman capital: Istanbul's market gardens between the seventeenth and nineteeth centuries* (MA thesis). Boğaziçi University, Turkey.

Algül, H. (1994). Ebû Eyyûb el-Ensârî. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 10, pp. 123-125). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Algül, H., & Azamat, M. (1995). Emir Sultan. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 11, pp. 146-148). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Ali ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawi. (2004). *A lonely wayfarers guide to pilgrimage: 'Alī Ibn Abī Bakr al-Harawī's kitāb al-ishārāt ilā ma'rifat al-ziyārāt* (J. W. Meri, Trans.). Princeton: The Darwin Press.

Alpak, C. (1989). *Eyüp Sultan ve türbesi*. Istanbul: Refioğlu Yayınları.

Altınay, A. R. (1987). *Onuncu asr-ı hicride İstanbul hayatı*. A. Uysal (Ed.). Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.

Altınay, A. R. (1998). *Eski Istanbul Manzaraları (1553-1839)*. D. Gürlek (Ed.). Istanbul: Timaş Yayınları.

Arseven, C. E. (1989). *Eski Istanbul*. Istanbul: Çelik Gülersoy Vakfı Istanbul Kütüphanesi Yayınları.

Artan, T. (1993). Bahariye. In *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 1, pp. 535-536). Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

Artan, T. (1993). Bahariye Kasrı. In *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 1, p. 537). Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

Artan, T. (1993). Mahremiyet: mahrumiyetin resmi. *Defter*, 20, 91-115.

Artan, T. (1994). Esma Sultan Sahilsarayı. In *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 3, pp. 208-210). Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

Artan, T. (1994). Eyüp'ün bir diğer çehresi: sayfiye ve sahilsaraylar. In T. Artan (Ed.), *Eyüp: Dün/Bugün: sempozyum, 11-12 Aralık 1993* (pp. 106-114). Beşiktaş, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Artan, T. (1995). Eyüp. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 12, pp. 1-6). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Artan, T. (2012). Forms and forums of expression: Istanbul and beyond 1600-1800. In C. Woodhead (Ed.), *The Ottoman world* (pp. 378-405). Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge.

Aşık Çelebi. (2010). *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme, metin* (Vols. 1-3). F. Kılıç (Ed.). Istanbul: Istanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü.

Aşıkpaşazâde. (2003). *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman* (*Osmanoğulları'nın Tarihi*) (K. Yavuz & M. A. Y. Saraç, Trans.). Istanbul: K Kitaplığı.

Atasoy, N. (2007). Matrakçı Nasuh and Evliya Çelebi: perspectives on Ottoman gardens (1534-1682). In M. Conan (Ed.), *Middle East garden traditions: unity and diversity; questions, methods and resources in a multicultural perspective* (pp. 197-218). Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

Atasoy, N. (2015). *Silahşör, tarihçi, matematikçi, nakkaş, hattat Matrakçı Nasuh ve Menazilname'si: Beyan-ı menazil-i sefer-i Irakeyn-i Sultan Süleyman Han*. Istanbul: MASA Yayınevi.

Ateş, A. (1953). İstanbul'un fethine dair sultan Mehmed tarafından gönderilen mektuplar ve bunlara gelen cevaplar. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, *4*(7), 11-50.

Ayvansarayi, H. H. (2000). *The garden of the mosques: Hafız Hüseyin al-Ayvansarayi's guide to the Muslim monuments of Ottoman Istanbul* (H. Crane, Trans.). Leiden: Brill.

Ayvansarayi, H. H. (2001). *Hadîkatu'l-Cevami: İstanbul camileri ve diğer dini-sivil mi'mari yapılar*. A. N. Galitekin (Ed.). Istanbul: İşaret Yayınları.

Ayverdi, E. H. (1958). *Fatih devri sonlarında İstanbul mahalleleri, şehrin iskanı ve nüfusu*. Ankara: Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü.

Ayverdi, E. H. (1973). *Osmanlı mimarisinde Fatih devri 855-886 (1451-1481)* (Vols. 3-4). Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti/ Istanbul Enstitüsü.

Babinger, F. (1992). *Mehmed the Conqueror and his time* (R. Manheim, Trans.). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Original work published 1953).

Bacque-Grammont, J. L. (1994). Eyüp mezarlıklarının incelenmesi üzerine düşünceler. In T. Artan (Ed.), *Eyüp: Dün/Bugün: sempozyum, 11-12 Aralık 1993* (pp. 62-105). Beşiktaş, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey. (2001). *Eski zamanlarda İstanbul hayatı*. A. Ş. Çoruk (Ed.). Istanbul: Kitabevi.

Barkan, Ö. L. (1963). Ayasofya Cami'i ve Eyüp Türbesinin 1489-1491 yıllarına ait muhasebe bilançoları. *Istanbul Universitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, *23*(1-2), 342-379.

Başak, Z. (1952). Silahtarağa kazısı/ The Silahdarağa excavations. In *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri yıllığı* (Vol. 5) (pp. 51-55). Istanbul: Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi Yayınları.

Berktay, H. (1994). Azizler, cismani kalıntılar, haclar, yatırlar: tektanrıcılık içinde özümlenmiş paganizm. In T. Artan (Ed.), *Eyüp: Dün/Bugün: sempozyum, 11-12 Aralık 1993* (pp. 24-49). Beşiktaş, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

5 numaralı mühimme defteri (973/1565-1566): özet ve indeks. (1994). Ankara: T.C Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başbakanlığı.

Bilgin, H. B. (1965). *Eyüp Sultan ve civarını tanıyalım*. Istanbul: Baha Matbaası.

Boyar, E., & Fleet, K. (2010). *A social history of Ottoman Istanbul*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bradford, E. (1967). *The great betrayal: Constantinople 1204*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Cantay, G. (2002). Cezeri Kasım Paşa Külliyesi. In *V. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu: Tebliğler 11-13 Mayıs 2001* (pp. 116-121). Istanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.

Cerasi, M. (1999). *Osmanlı kenti: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 18. ve 19. yüzyıllarda kent uygarlığı ve mimarisi* (A. Ataöv, Trans.). Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Cezar, M. (1983). *Typical commercial buildings of the Ottoman classical period and the Ottoman construction system* (A. E. Uysal, Trans.). Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Cultural Publications.

Chronicon Paschale 284-628 (M. Whitby & M. Whitby, Trans.). (2007). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Clavijo, R. G. (2009). *Narrative of the embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the court of Timour at Samarcand, A.D. 1403-6* (C. R. Markham, Trans.). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Coşkun, F. (2015). Osmanlı İstanbul'unda müstesna bir ziyaretgah: Eyüp Sultan Türbesi. In F. M. Emecen & A. Akyıldız & E. S. Gürkan (Eds.), *III. Uluslararası Osmanlı Istanbulu Sempozyumu Bildirileri 25-26 Mayıs 2015, Istanbul 29 Mayıs Universitesi* (pp. 547-566). Istanbul: Istanbul 29 Mayıs Universitesi Yayınları.

Çeçen, K. (1988). *Mimar Sinan ve Kırkçeşme tesisleri*. Istanbul: Istanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Su ve Kanalizasyon Genel Müdürlüğü.

Çeçen, K. (1994) Eğrikapı maksemi. In *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 3, pp. 144-145). Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

Çeçen, K. (1994) Kırkçeşme tesisleri. In *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 5, pp. 1-4). Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

Çelik, Z. (1986). *The remaking of Istanbul: portrait of an Ottoman city in the nineteenth century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Çobanoğlu, A. V. (2006). Nakkaş Hasan Paşa Türbesi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 32, pp. 330-331). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Demiriz, Y. (1989). *Eyüp'de türbeler*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.

Dwight, H. G. (1915). *Constantinople old and new*. London: Longmans, Green & Co. Retrieved from https://archive.org/

Ebu'l-Hayr-i Rumi. (1987-1990). *Ṣalṭuḳ-nāme* (Vols. 1-3). Ş. H. Akalın (Ed.). Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları.

Eldem, E. (2005). *Death in Istanbul: death and rituals in Ottoman-Islamic culture*. Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre.

Enîsî, E. H. (2011). *Menâkıb-ı Akşemseddin*. B. Aktan & M. Güneş (Eds.). Istanbul: H Yayınları.

Ertuğrul, Ö. (1988). Acem Ali. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 1, p. 322). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Erünsal, İ. E. (2001). Kasım Paşa, Cezeri. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 24, pp. 545-546). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Evliya Çelebi. (2011). *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 numaralı yazmanın transkripsiyonu-dizini, 1. Kitap: Istanbul*. R. Dankoff & S. A. Kahraman & Y. Dağlı (Eds.). Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Eyice, S. (1991). Ayas Paşa Türbesi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 4, pp. 204-205). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Eyice, S. (1993). Cezeri Kasım Paşa Camii. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 7, pp. 507-508). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Eyice, S. (1994). Defterdar Camii ve Türbesi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 9, p. 97). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Eyice, S. (1995). Eyüp Sultan Külliyesi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 12, pp. 9-12). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Eyice, S. (1998). Eyüp Sultan semtinde tarih ve sanat tarihi. In *II. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu: Tebliğler 8-10 Mayıs 1998* (pp. 12-37). Istanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.

Eyice, S. (2001). Eyüp'de Zal Mahmud Paşa Camii. In *V. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu: Tebliğler 11-13 Mayıs 2001* (pp. 12-21). Istanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.

Eyice, S. (2002). Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii ve Külliyesi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 26, pp. 133-136). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Eyice, S. (2006). *Tarih boyunca Istanbul*. Istanbul: Etkileşim Yayınları.

Faroqhi, S. (1987). *Men of modest substance: house owners and house property in seventeenth-century Ankara and Kayseri*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Faroqhi, S. (1998). Eyüp kadı sicillerine yansıdığı şekliyle 18. yüzyıl 'büyük İstanbul'una göç. In T. Artan (Ed.), *18. yüzyıl kadı sicilleri ışığında Eyüp'te sosyal yaşam* (pp. 33-48). Beşiktaş, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Faroqhi, S. (2012). What happened in Istanbul gardens and beauty spots? Evliya Çelebi on religion, domination and entertainment. In Y. Köse (Ed.), *Şehrâyîn: die Welt der Osmanen, die Osmanen in der Welt: Wahrnehmungen, Begegnungen und Abgrenzungen: Festschrift Hans Georg Majer / llluminating the Ottoman world: perceptions, encounters and boundaries* (pp. 121-132). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Fatih Mehmed II vakfiyeleri. (1938) Ankara: Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü.

Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali. (1997). *Meva'idu'n-nefais fi-kava'ıdi'l-mecalis*. M. Şeker (Ed.). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali. (2003). *Künhü'l-Ahbar C. II: Fatih sultan Mehmed Devri 1451-1481*. M. H. Şentürk (Ed.). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali. (2003). *The Ottoman gentleman of the sixteenth century: Mustafa Ali's Meva'idu'n-nefais fi-kava'ıdi'l-mecalis "Tables of delicacies concerning the rules of social gatherings"* (D. S. Brookes, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University.

Genim, S. (1997). XV. ve XVI. yüzyıllarda seyreyle gözüm Eyüp'ü. In *I. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu: Tebliğler* (pp. 142-147). Istanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.

Gerlach, S. (2007). *Türkiye günlüğü 1573-1576, 1577-1578* (Vols. 1-2) (T. Noyan, Trans.). Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi.

Goodwin, G. (1971). *A history of Ottoman architecture*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press.

Göncüoğlu, S. F. (2000). Saya ocağı. In *III. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu: Tebliğler* (pp. 122-129). Istanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.

Guillaume, A. (1955). *The life of Muhammad: A translation of Ishaq's Sirat rasul Allah*. London: Oxford University Press.

Güler, M. (2002). Şahsultan ile Zal Mahmud Paşa Vakfiyesi. In *V. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu: Tebliğler 11-13 Mayıs 2001* (pp. 210-217). Istanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.

Günay, R. (2002). *Sinan the architect and his works* (A. Ottoman, Trans.). Istanbul: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları.

Hamadeh, S. (2008). *The city's pleasures: Istanbul in the eighteenth century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Hammer-Purgstall, J. (1835). *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman: depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours* (Vol. 2) (J. J. Hellert, Trans.). Paris: Bellizard, Barthès, Dufour, and Lowell.

Hancz, E. (2007). Peçuylu İbrahim. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 34, pp. 216-218). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Hançer, E. (2004). Eyüp Ermeni kiliseleri. In *VIII. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu: Tebliğler* (pp. 164-175). Istanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.

Haskan, M. N. (1993). *Eyüp tarihi* (Vols. 1-2). Istanbul: Türk Turing Turizm İşletmeciliği Vakfı.

Hasluck, F. W. (1929). *Christianity and Islam under the sultans*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hathaway, J. (2005). *Beshir Agha, chief eunuch of the Ottoman Imperial Harem*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications.

Hattox, R. S. (1988). *Coffee and coffeehouses: the origins of a social beverage in the medieval Near East*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Hovhannesyan, S. S. (1996). *Payitaht İstanbul'un tarihçesi* (E. Hançer, Trans.). Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Ibn Battuta. (2004). *Ibn Battuta Seyahatnamesi* (Vol. 1) (A. S. Aykut, Trans.). Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık.

İdris Bidlisi. (2008). *Heşt-Bihişt*. M. Karataş (Ed.). Ankara: Bitlis Eğitim ve Tanıtma Vakfı.

İnalcık, H. (1969/1970). The policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek population of Istanbul and the Byzantine buildings of the city. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 23/24*, 229-249. doi:10.2307/1291293

İnalcık, H. (1990). Istanbul: An Islamic city. *Journal of Islamic Studies*, *1*, 1–23.

İnalcık, H. (1993). State and ideology under Sultan Süleyman I. In *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on economy and society* (pp. 70-94). Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies.

İnalcık, H. (1994). Eyüp Projesi. In T. Artan (Ed.), *Eyüp: Dün/Bugün: sempozyum, 11-12 Aralık 1993* (pp. 1-23). Beşiktaş, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

İnalcık, H. (2001). Istanbul (Tarih/ Türk devri). In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 23, pp. 220-239). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

İnalcık, H. (2012). Istanbul. In P. Bearman & T. Bianquis & C.E. Bosworth & E. van Donzel & W.P. Heinrichs (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0393

İnciciyan, P. Ğ. (1976). *XVIII. asırda İstanbul* (H. D. Andreasyan, Trans.). Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Istanbul Enstitüsü Yayınları.

İpşirli, M. (2000). İlmiye. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 20, pp. 141-145). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

İpşirli, M. (2003). Lutfi Paşa. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 27, pp. 234-236). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

İstanbul kadı sicilleri Bab mahkemesi 3 numaralı sicil (H. 1077/ M. 1666-1667). (2011). Istanbul: Islam Araştırmaları Merkezi. Retrieved from http://www.kadisicilleri.org/yayin.php

İstanbul kadı sicilleri Eyüb (Havass-ı Refia) mahkemesi 3 numaralı sicil (H. 993-995/ M. 1585-1587). (2011). Istanbul: Islam Araştırmaları Merkezi. Retrieved from http://www.kadisicilleri.org/yayin.php

İstanbul kadı sicilleri Eyüb (Havass-ı Refia) mahkemesi 19 numaralı sicil (H. 1028-1030/ M. 1619-1620). (2011). Istanbul: Islam Araştırmaları Merkezi. Retrieved from http://www.kadisicilleri.org/yayin.php

İstanbul kadı sicilleri Eyüb (Havass-ı Refia) mahkemesi 37 numaralı sicil (H. 1047/ M. 1637-1638). (2011). Istanbul: Islam Araştırmaları Merkezi. Retrieved from http://www.kadisicilleri.org/yayin.php

İstanbul kadı sicilleri Eyüb (Havass-ı Refia) mahkemesi 49 numaralı sicil (H. 1054/ M. 1644). (2011). Istanbul: Islam Araştırmaları Merkezi. Retrieved from http://www.kadisicilleri.org/yayin.php

İstanbul kadı sicilleri Eyüb (Havass-ı Refia) mahkemesi 61 numaralı sicil (H. 1081/ M. 1670-1671). (2011) Istanbul: Islam Araştırmaları Merkezi. Retrieved from http://www.kadisicilleri.org/yayin.php

İstanbul kadı sicilleri Eyüb (Havass-ı Refia) mahkemesi 74 numaralı sicil (H. 1072-1073/ M. 1661-1662). (2011) Istanbul: Islam Araştırmaları Merkezi. Retrieved from http://www.kadisicilleri.org/yayin.php

İstanbul kadı sicilleri Eyüb (Havass-ı Refia) mahkemesi 82 numaralı sicil (H. 1081/ M. 1670-1671). (2011) Istanbul: Islam Araştırmaları Merkezi. Retrieved from http://www.kadisicilleri.org/yayin.php

İstanbul kadı sicilleri Eyüb (Havass-ı Refia) mahkemesi 90 numaralı sicil (H. 1090-1091/ M. 1679-1680). (2011) Istanbul: Islam Araştırmaları Merkezi. Retrieved from http://www.kadisicilleri.org/yayin.php

Kafadar, C. (1994). Eyüp'te kılıç kuşanma törenleri. In T. Artan (Ed.), *Eyüp: Dün/Bugün: sempozyum, 11-12 Aralık 1993* (pp. 50-61). Beşiktaş, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Kafadar, C. (1995). *Between two worlds: The construction of the Ottoman state*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kafadar, C. (2014). How dark is the history of the night, how black the story of coffee, how bitter the tale of love: the changing measure of leisure and pleasure in early modern Istanbul. In A. Öztürkmen & E. B. Vitz (Eds.), *Medieval and early modern performance in the Eastern Mediterranean* (pp. 243-269). Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers.

Kafescioğlu, Ç. (2009). *Constantinopolis / Istanbul: Cultural encounter, imperial vision, and the construction of the Ottoman capital*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Kafescioğlu, Ç. (2013). The visual arts. In S. N. Faroqhi & K. Fleet (Eds.), *The Cambridge history of Turkey, volume 2, The Ottoman Empire as a world power, 1453-1603* (pp. 457-547). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kafescioğlu, Ç. (2016). Eyüp. In K. Fleet, G. Krämer, D. Matringe, J. Nawas & E. Rowson (Eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam three*. Retrieved from http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/

Kara, F. H. (1994). Eyüp. In *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 3, pp. 245-250). Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

Kara, M. (1995). Emir Buhari. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 11, pp. 125-126). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Karagöz, Ş. Silahtarağa sculptures. In *From Byzantium to Istanbul: 8000 years of a capital* (pp. 60-65). Istanbul: Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Musum.

Katip Çelebi. (1957). *The balance of truth* (G. L. Lewis, Trans.). London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Kerslake, C. J. (1993). Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 7, pp. 260-262). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Kılıç, F. (1994). Eyüp oyuncakçılığı. In *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 3, pp. 252-253). Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

Koçu, R. E. (1958). *İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vols. 1-11). Istanbul: Tan Matbaası.

Konan, M. M. (1986). *Eyüp Sultan Loti Kahvesi ve çevresi*. Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu.

Kömürciyan, E. Ç. (1988). *Istanbul tarihi: XVII. asırda Istanbul*. H. D. Andreasyan (Ed.). Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık.

Kritovoulos. (1954). *History of Mehmed the Conqueror* (C.T. Riggs, Trans.). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Kuban, D. (2010). *Istanbul, an urban history: Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul*. Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

Kuran, A. (1987). *Sinan: the grand old master of Ottoman architecture*. Washington, D.C.: Institute of Turkish Studies.

Kuran, A. (1994). Eyüp Külliyesi. In T. Artan (Ed.), *Eyüp: Dün/Bugün: sempozyum, 11-12 Aralık 1993* (pp. 129-135). Beşiktaş, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Kuran, A. (1996). A spatial study of three Ottoman capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul. *Muqarnas, 13*, 114-131. doi:10.2307/1523255

Kütükoğlu, M. S. (1991). Lütfi Paşa Asafnamesi. In *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (pp. 49-99). Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi.

Lâtifî. (1977). *Evsâf-ı Istanbul*. N. Suner (Ed.). Istanbul: Baha Matbaası.

Lecker, M. (2013). Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī. In K. Fleet, G. Krämer, D. Matringe, J. Nawas & E. Rowson (Eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam three*. Retrieved from http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/

Majeska, G. P. (1984). *Russian travelers to Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Mango, C. (1993). The Fourteenth region of Constantinople. In *Studies on Constantinople* (pp. 1-5). Hampshire, Great Britain: Variorum.

Mazlum, D. (2011). *1766 Istanbul depremi: belgeler ışığında yapı onarımları*. Istanbul: Istanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü.

Mustafa Safi. (2003). *Mustafa Safi'nin Zübdetü't-Tevarih'i* (Vols. 1-2). İ. H. Çuhadar (Ed.). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.

Mustafa Sai Çelebi (2006). *Sinan's autobiographies: five sixteenth-century texts*. H. Crane & E. Akın (Eds.). Leiden: Brill.

Nasuh'üs-Silahi el-Matraki. (1976). *Beyān-ı menāzil-i sefer-i 'Irāḳeyn-i Sulṭān Süleymān Ḫān*. H. G. Yurdaydın (Ed.). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

Necipoğlu, G. (1992). The life of an imperial monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium. In R. Mark & A. Ş. Çakmak (Eds.), *Hagia Sophia from the ages of Justinian to the present* (pp. 195-225). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Necipoğlu, G. (1996). Dynastic imprints on the cityscape: the collective message of funerary imperial mosque complexes in Istanbul. In J. L. Bacqué-Grammont & A. Tibet (Eds.), *Colloque Internationale: Cimetières et traditions funéraires dans le monde islamique 1991* (pp. 23-36). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.

Necipoğlu, G. (1997). Suburban landscape of sixteenth-century Istanbul as a mirror of classical Ottoman garden culture. In A. Petruccioli (Ed.), *Gardens in the time of the great Muslim empires: theory and design* (pp. 32-71). Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Necipoğlu, G. (2005). *The age of Sinan: architectural culture in the Ottoman Empire, 1539-1588*. London: Reaktion Books.

Necipoğlu, G. (2012). Visual cosmopolitanism and creative translation: artistic conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople. *Muqarnas, 29*, 1-81. doi:10.1163/22118993-90000183

Nidayi, S. (2010). *Medeniyetimizin sessiz tanıkları: Eyüp Sultan'da Osmanlı mezar taşları ve ebedi Eyüp Sultan'lılar*. Istanbul: Kitapdostu Yayınları.

Odo de Deuil. (1948). *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem* (V. G. Berry, Trans.). New York: Columbia University Press.

Orbay, İ. (2001). *Istanbul viewed: the representation of the city in Ottoman maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Unpublished PhD thesis). Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

Orman, İ. (2013). Zal Mahmud Paşa Külliyesi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 44, pp. 109-111). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Öğüt, C. H. (1988). *Eyyub Sultan: Hz. Halid Ebu Eyyub el-Ensari*. Istanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.

Öngören, R. (2004). Merkez Efendi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 29, pp. 200-202). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Öz, T. (1962). *İstanbul camileri* (Vols. 1-2). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Özaslan, N. (1995). *Historic urban fabric: source of inspiration for contemporary city form* (Unpublished PhD thesis). University of York, United Kingdom. Retrieved from http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/

Özaslan, N. (1999). From the shrine of Cosmidion to the shrine of Eyüp Ensari. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, *40*(4), 379-399.

Özcan, A. (2000). İdris-i Bitlisi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 21, pp. 485-488). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Özkoçak, S. A. (2003). Two urban districts in early modern Istanbul: Edirnekapı and Yedikule. *Urban History*, *30*(1), 26-43. doi: 10.1017/ S0963926803001020

Özsayıner, Z. C. (2004). Eyüp Cezrikasım Paşa Camii ve Kabe tasvirli pano. In *VIII. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu: Tebliğler 7-9 Mayıs 2004* (pp. 90-93). Istanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.

Öztürk, S. (1998). Eyüb Camii, Türbesi ve İmareti Vakfı'nın 1575 yılı bütçesi. In *V. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu: Tebliğler* (pp. 50-57). Istanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.

Pardoe, J. (1838). *The beauties of the Bosphorus*. London: Published for the proprietors, by George Virtue.

Parlak, S. (2009). Sokollu Mehmed Paşa Külliyesi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 37, pp. 358-359). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Parlar, G. (2016). Haskan, Mehmet Nermi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. Ek-1, pp. 541-542). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Procopius. (1914). *Buildings* (Vol. 7) (H. B. Dewing, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Psellus, M. (1953). *The Chronographia of Michael Psellus* (E.R.A. Sewter, Trans.). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

Ramberti, Benedetto. (1913). The second book of the affairs of the Turks. In A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent* (pp. 239-261). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Retrieved from https://archive.org/

Russell, T. J. (2017). *Byzantium and the Bosporus: A historical study, from the seventh century BC until the foundation of Constantinople*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Saatçi, S. (2008). Sai Mustafa Çelebi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 35, pp. 539-541). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Sarazin, J. Y. (n. d.). *Service hydrographique de la Marine*. Retrieved from http://comitehistoire.bnf.fr/dictionnaire-fonds/service-hydrographique-marine

Sariyannis, M. (2007). Law and morality in Ottoman society: the case of narcotic substances. In E. Kolovos & P. Kotzageorgis & S. Laiou & M. Sariyannis (Eds.), *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek lands: toward a social and economic history: studies in honor of John C. Alexander* (pp. 308-321). Istanbul: Isis Press.

Sehi Bey. (1980). *Tezkire Heşt Behişt*. Istanbul: Tercüman.

Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa. (1962). *Nusretname* (Vols. 1-2). İ. Parmaksızoğlu (Ed.). Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.

Solakzâde Mehmed Hemdemi Çelebi (1989). *Solak-zâde Tarihi* (Vols. 1-2). V. Çabuk (Ed.). Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı.

Stratos, A. N. (1968). *Byzantium in the seventh century* (M. Ogilvie-Grant, Trans.). Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert.

Tâcî-zâde Cafer Çelebi. (2006), *Heves-nâme: Inceleme-Tenkitli Metin*. N. Sungur (Ed.). Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu.

Tafur, P. (1926). *Travels and adventures 1435-39* (M. Letts, Trans). London: Harpers & Brothers.

Talbot, A. M. (1993). The restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 47*, 243-261. doi:10.2307/1291680

Talbot, A. M. (1998). Women's space in Byzantine monasteries. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 52*, 113-127. doi:10.2307/1291779

Tanındı, Z. (2006). Nakkaş Hasan Paşa. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 32, pp. 329-330). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Tanman, B. (1990). *İstanbul tekkelerinin mimari ve süsleme özellikleri: tipoloji denemeleri* (Vols. 1-2) (Unpublished PhD Thesis). Istanbul University, Istanbul, Turkey.

Tanman, B. (1994). Eyüb Sultan Külliyesi. In *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 3, pp. 237-243). Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

Tanman, B. (1994). Tekkeler. In *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 7, pp. 236-240). Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

Tanman, B. (1995). Emir Buhari Tekkesi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 11, pp. 126-128). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Tanman, B. (1995). Emir Sultan Külliyesi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 11, pp. 148-151). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Tanman, B. (1997). Eyüpsultan'da tarikat yapıları. In *I. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu: Tebliğler* (pp. 102-120). Istanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.

Tanman, B. (1998). Kılıç kuşanma törenlerinin Eyüp Sultan Külliyesi ile yakın çevresine yansıması. In *II. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu: Tebliğler 8-10 Mayıs 1998* (pp. 76-93). Istanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.

Tanman, B. (2004). Merkez Efendi Külliyesi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 29, pp. 202-205). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Tapié, V. L. (n. d.). Jean-Baptiste Colbert. In *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jean-Baptiste-Colbert

Terzioğlu, D. (2012). Sufis in the age of state-building and confessionalization. In C. Woodhead (Ed.), *The Ottoman world* (pp. 86-102). London: Routledge.

Theophanes. (1982). *The chronicle of Theophanes: An English translation of anni mundi 6095-6305 (A.D. 602-813)* (H. Turtledove, Trans.). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Turan, Ş. (2006). Mustafa Çelebi. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 31, pp. 290-292). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Tursun Bey. (1977). *Târîh-i Ebü'l-Feth*. A. M. Tulum (Ed.). Istanbul: Baha Matbaası.

Uluçay, M. Ç. (1980). *Padişahların kadınları ve kızları*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Ünver, A. S. (1948). *İlim ve sanat bakımından Fatih devri notları*. Istanbul: Istanbul Belediyesi.

Ünver, A. S. (1953). *İstanbul'da sahabe kabirleri*. Istanbul: Istanbul Fethi Derneği Yayınları.

Van Millingen, A. (1899). *Byzantine Constantinople: the walls of the city and adjoining historical sites*. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. Retrieved from https://archive.org/

Vardar, K. F. (2017). Tarihsel süreçte Cezeri Kasım Paşa Camii'nin mimari ve süsleme özelliklerinin değerlendirilmesi. *FSM İlmi Araştırmalar İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi*, *10*, 349-373. Retrieved from http://dergipark.gov.tr/

Varlık, N. (2015). *Plague and empire in the early modern Mediterranean world: the Ottoman experience, 1347-1600*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Villehardouin, & Joinville. (1963). *Chronicles of the crusades* (M. R. B. Shaw, Trans.). London: Penguin Books.

Yaşar, A. (2003). *The coffeehouses in early modern Istanbul: public space, sociability and surveillance* (Unpublished MA thesis). Boğaziçi University, Turkey.

7 numaralı mühimme defteri (975-976/1567-1569): özet, transkripsiyon, indeks (Vols. 1-4). (1997-2000). Ankara: T.C Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başbakanlığı.

Yenişehirlioğlu, F. (1994). Eyüp çarşısı. In *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 3, p. 251). Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

Yerasimos, S. (1988). Giovan Maria Angiolello ve Istanbul'un fethinden sonraki ilk tasviri. *Tarih ve Toplum*, 58, 34-41.

Yerasimos, S. (1993). *Türk metinlerinde Konstantiniye ve Ayasofya efsaneleri* (Ş. Tekeli, Trans.). Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları. (Original work published 1990)

Yerasimos, S. (1994). Ebu'l-Hasan Ali. In *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 3, p. 122). Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

Yerasimos, S. (1998). 16. yy'da Eyyüb Vakfı muhasebelerinde Eyüp kasabası. In *II. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu: Tebliğler 8-10 Mayıs 1998* (pp. 140-149). Istanbul: Eyüp Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.

Yerasimos, S. (1999). Osmanlı İstanbul'unun kuruluşu. In N. Akın & A. Batur & S. Batur (Eds.), *Osmanlı mimarlığının 7 yüzyılı: uluslarüstü bir miras* (pp. 195-212). Istanbul: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi.

Yücer, H. M. (2010). Sünbüli Sinan. In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Vol. 38, pp. 135-136). Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı. Retrieved from http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/

Yürekli, Z. (2003). A Building between the public and private realms of the Ottoman elite: The Sufi Convent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Istanbul. *Muqarnas*, 20, 159-185.

Yürekli, Z. (2012). *Architecture and hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The politics of Bektashi shrines in the classical age*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Zilfi. C. M. (2010). *Women and slavery in the late Ottoman Empire: The design of difference*. New York: Cambridge University Press.