KÜÇÜK AYASOFYA AND THE FOUNDATION OF BABÜSSAADE AĞASI HÜSEYİN AĞA

İREM GÜNDÜZ POLAT

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2016

KÜÇÜK AYASOFYA AND THE FOUNDATION OF BABÜSSAADE AĞASI HÜSEYİN AĞA

This 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

İrem Gündüz Polat

Boğaziçi University

2016

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, İrem, 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 ..... İrem

Date ..... August 4, 2016

ABSTRACT

Küçük Ayasofya and the Foundation of

Babüssaade Ağası Hüseyin Ağa

This thesis examines a patron, Hüseyin Ağa (d. 1508), who was serving as the *kapu ağa* (the gatekeeper eunuch of the palace) during the reign of Bayezid II, and the foundation he established at the Byzantine church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. By considering the connections between these two phenomena, the thesis tries to contextualize them from several perspectives. The power, space and the donor constitute the central focus of this thesis and these are reflected in three parts. First, the pious foundations that were established by Hüseyin Ağa, his transactions in the Balkans, the Eyâlet of Rûm, and the lands granted by the Sultan are considered. His position and wealth suggest a close relationship to Bayezid II. Secondly, to have a deep understanding about his last foundation, the history of the church is analyzed. In this context, the conversion of churches conducted by other contemporary statesmen is discussed, in order to see if Küçük Ayasofya has a unique place among the converted churches of the period. Finally, the place is examined as a *zaviye* (dervish lodge). It is an attempt to see the importance of the place in the eyes of the palace, statesmen and religious figures.

ÖZET

Bu tez II. Bayezid döneminde (1481- 1512) kapı ağalığı yapmış olan Hüseyin Ağa'yı ve onun son eseri Küçük Ayasofya'yı kendi bağlamı içerisinde incelemektedir. Tezin iki ana odağını oluşturan kişi ve yere belirli açılardan ele alınmaktadır.İlk olarak, Hüseyin Ağa'nın kurduğu vakıflar, satın aldığı ve Sultan'ın ona hediye ettiği araziler bilhassa Balkanlar'da ve Eyâlet-i Rum dahilinde yaptığı alım satımlar ve inşaatları konu edilmiştir. Böylece, mezkur ağanın yaşadığı dönemde varlıklı ve Sultan'a yakın bir figür olduğu tespit edilmektedir.İkinci olarak ağanın son inşaat faaliyeti olan kilisenin çevrilişini daha iyi anlamak için, Bizans döneminden beri süregülen ehemmiyeti anlaşılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda Bayezid döneminde kiliseleri tahvil eden diğer devlet adamlarının yapıları incelenmiş, Küçük Ayasofya'nın bunlar arasındaki yeri tartışılmaktadır. Son olarak, Hüseyin Ağa'nın zaviyesi olan Küçük Ayasofya'nın kuruluşundan itibaren nasıl bir mekan olduğu saray, devlet ricali ve önem taşıyan ilim adamları tarafından ne ifade ettiği incelenmiştir. Mekandan yolu geçen kişilere bakılmış ve mekan bağlamsallaştırmaya çalışılmaktadır.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a debt of gratitude to many people for their support and help during the process of writing this thesis. First and foremost I would like to express my gratitude to my adviser, Çiğdem Kafescioğlu. I am thankful to her not only for her excellent guidance and her patience with my mistakes but also for her insightful thoughts, advice and constant support in my discovery of the beauties of Istanbul. I would also like to express my thanks to Oya Pancaroğlu, who has been a source of inspiration since the beginning of my undergraduate years at Boğaziçi University. Her lectures and comments played a significant role in the formation of my proclivity for studying the history of art and architecture. I would also like to thank Günhan Börekçi for reading my thesis and making precious comments for its improvement.

I am grateful and delighted to remember teachers and friends that supported me, and who directly and indirectly contributed to this thesis in various ways. Sara Nur Yılmaz always shared my enthusiasm and made valuable comments to help me resolve ambiguities. Benjamin Fortna is an inspirational professor who gave me precious suggestions to improve my academic abilities during my internship in the context of his project in London. Mustafa Koç, Hasan Karataş and Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger shared their work and illuminating comments with me and made insightful suggestions on this study.

The kind staff of the Directorate General of Foundations Archives, the Boğaziçi University Library and the ISAM (Center for Islamic Studies) Library ably assisted my research. I would also like to express my thanks to personnel at the manuscript libraries of Topkapı Palace as well as Süleymaniye Mosque that allowed me access to their collections. I am also grateful to my Arabic teacher, Abdusselam

Kartal, for answering all of my questions during the translation process of the endowment deeds.

I feel very lucky to have had the friendship of Esra Uğurlu and Sena Fidan during all the bad times. I thank them for all their emotional support, frequent help, care and friendship. Seda Gezici, Ubeydullah Kısacık, Dileknur Polat, Kübra Başpınar, just knowing that you are always there is invaluable.

My greatest debts and gratitude is to my family whose love, instincts and prayers always help me overcome any challenge. My dear mother and father have always encouraged and supported me in every direction I wished to go, without any hesitation. My husband, Ahmed Emre, is an optimistic person who has been sharing his compassion and knowledge with me since he entered my life. And finally, I need to mention Furkan, my beloved brother, who departed this life at the age of sixteen while I was conducting this research. He is the one whom I am sighing for and to whom I dedicate this thesis. Beyond that, all the faults and deficits of this study are surely mine only.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 The place and the patron: Two main subjects of the thesis 1

1.2 Questions 2

1.3 Sources 4

1.4 Chapters 5

1.5 Waqf studies 7

CHAPTER 2: AGHAS OF BAYEZID II'S COURT: WEALTH AND PATRONAGE 24

2.1 The time of Bayezid II 24

2.2 Hüseyin Ağa 32

2.3 Firuz Ağa 36

2.4 The properties of the *kapu ağa* 37

2.5 Concluding remarks 51

CHAPTER 3: FROM THE CHURCH OF STS. SERGIUS AND BACCHUS TO THE CONVENT OF KÜÇÜK AYASOFYA 56

3.1 The construction of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus 56

3.2 Sts. Sergius and Bacchus and the persecution of Monophysites 58

3.3 Justinian versus Anicia Juliana 63

3.4 The layout of the church 66

3.5 Medieval Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in travel accounts 71

3.6 Çardaklı Hamam 76

3.7 Hüseyin Ağa's conversion and the other converted churches 84

3.8 Concluding remarks on the converted churches 102

CHAPTER 4: VITAE OF A DERVISH LODGE 104

4.1 The rise of Ottoman Halvetiye 106

4.2 Cemal Halveti or so-called Çelebi Halife 108

4.3 Küçük Ayasofya as a Halveti *zâvîye* 111

4.4 Muslihiddin Nureddinzade (d.1574) and the prominence of Küçük Ayasofya ... 113

4.5 A story of Küçük Ayasofya in a sixteenth century masterpiece: Muhyî-i Gülşenî's *Reşahat-ı Muhyî* 116

4.6 Küçük Ayasofya in the seventeenth century: Ahmed Muhyiddin Efendi's *Tomar-ı Tekâyâ* 120

4.7 The tomb of Hüseyin Ağa and Sheikh Hacı Kamil Efendi (d.1911) 122

4.8 Conclusion 123

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION 126

APPENDIX A: IMAGES 130

APPENDIX B: THE PROPERTIES OF HÜSEYİN AĞA 151

REFERENCES 159

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. First page of Firuz Ağa's *vakfiye* 130

Figure 2. The Properties of Hüseyin Ağa in Constantinople 131

Figure 3. The plan of Hüseyin Ağa's bedesten 132

Figure 4. The plan of the Madrasa of Hüseyin Ağa in Amasya 133

Figure 5. The distribution of Firuz's and Hüseyin's properties 134

Figure 6. The ground plan of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus 135

Figure 7. The ground plan of San Vitale in Ravenna 136

Figure 8. The text of Çardaklı Hamam's foundation inscription 136

Figure 9. The foundation inscription of Çardaklı Hamam 137

Figure 10. The quarter of Küçük Ayasofya in the Pervititch's insurance maps 138

Figure 11. Inside of Çardaklı Hamam 139

Figure 12. The ground plan of Çardaklı Hamam 140

Figure 13. The ground plan of Firuz Ağa Mosque 141

Figure 14. The ground plan of Atik Ali Paşa Mosque 142

Figure 15. The ground plan of Rum Mehmed Paşa Mosque 143

Figure 16. The ground plan of Küçük Ayasofya 144

Figure 17. The interior of the mosque 145

Figure 18. A detail from Byzantine column capital 146

Figure 19. The ground plan of Gül Mosque 147

Figure 20. The ground plan of Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque 148

Figure 21. The ground plan of Fenari İsa Mosque 149

Figure 22. The page of Tomar-ı Tekaya concerning Küçük Ayasofya 150

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The primary purpose of this thesis is to examine a neglected *zâvîye* in the studies of the Ottoman architecture: it is the *zâvîye* of Babüssaade Ağası Hüseyin Ağa (d.1508), so called Küçük Ayasofya. I am primarily focused on his endowment deeds (Küçük Ayasofya Vakıfları) to comprehend and contextualize the changing dynamics of architectural patronage in the time of Bayezid II (r. 1481- 1512) and how these dynamics affected the material environment of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Constantinople.

1.1 The place and the patron: Two main subjects of the thesis

Küçük Ayasofya was the former church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, which was built by the emperor Justinian (r. 527- 565). It was later converted into a dervish lodge by Hüseyin Ağa. Although it is accepted that the lodge was dedicated to the Halveti order beginning with the conversion, there is no extant contemporary source to verify the authenticity of this assertion. In addition, the earliest known sheikh of the place was Abdulkerim Kadiri (d. 1544). As his title suggests he might have some kind of connection with the Kâdirî order. The dedication becomes clear with the arrival of the sheikh Nureddinzade Muslihiddin (d. 1574) who was a zealous follower of the Halveti order and passionate enough to create his own sub-branch. Later on, the lodge faced several phases with other sub-braches of the order: Celvetiye and Şa'bâniye. Küçük Ayasofya was not the primary lodge for Halveti dervishes but it hosted prominent figures and devotees of this tariqa.

Hüseyin Ağa was the gatekeeper eunuch in the court of Bayezid II. It is believed that he was together with the Sultan during his princely years in Amasya. During Bayezid's sultanate, Hüseyin acquired a great amount of wealth and built numerous structures on his assets. The larger part of the property, particularly villages and agricultural land, was granted to him by the Sultan, but he also had an inclination to acquire property around the urban property given to him, through purchases from a former pasha or a famous figure. His transactions and foundations draw an interesting image for the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth century, as he was not alone in constructing on visible locations. That is why his contemporaries such as the eunuch Firuz Ağa, the keeper of the imperial treasury, also attract attention with their assets and edifices. Their close connection to the Sultan is also another point of attention in that it suggests an understanding of the institutional framework of the New Palace.Their position and activities present valuable sources that allow us to make comparisons and to comprehend the changing dynamics of Bayezid's rule.

1.2 Questions

As an essay in the history of art and architecture of the Ottoman Empire this study started with Günay Kut and Turgut Kut's article on *Dergehname,* a poetic list of Istanbul *tekke*s written by Müminzade Ahmed Hasib in the eighteenth century.[1] My purpose was to identify Küçük Ayasofya among other 107 dervish lodges, but the text does not mention it. Since *Dergehname* is a reputable source, the situation aroused a question:. was Küçük Ayasofya a *tekke* of the Halveti order? On the other hand, the bibliography of the mentioned article directed me to Semavi Eyice's work

[1] Kut, "İstanbul Tekkelerine Ait Bir Kaynak: Dergeh-nâme," 213- 236.

on the endowment deeds of Hüseyin Ağa.[2] In this article Eyice analyzes and lists the constructions of the *ağa* in detail, however, there are unclear points regarding the contextualization of the patronage, the conversion of the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus and the position of the *tekke* among the other Halveti *zâvîye*s. Plus, although the title uses the word "vakıfları," the absence of the waqf issue in this study attracted my attention. So, the first article shows that Küçük Ayasofya had been among the neglected dervish lodges where the second one gives clues about the wealth of the patron who once undertook peculiar constructions and who had numerous assets. These two interpretations –as for *Dergehname*, indeed, it is the absence of an interpretation- about the building and the builder creates a sense that studying Küçük Ayasofya needs a holistic approach. That is to say, Küçük Ayasofya would be the focus of various questions from different perspectives.

First of all, while Hüseyin Ağa was conducting the construction of Küçük Ayasofya, numerous patrons connected the palace were also converting other Byzantine structures and having the privilege of patronizing pious and charitable foundations. Starting at the time of Bayezid II, together with viziers, imperial eunuchs and *beys* could also make themselves visible in the topography of the capital. They became agents of urban change in Constantinople. So, what are the changing dynamics of patronage in this period? How did Hüseyin Ağa acquire such wealth to convert an old prosperous Byzantine church? Apart from political and cultural dimensions of the constructions, the primary tool to make a patronage is the waqf institution. It is the tool to erect a building and to mark a particular area within the city. Therefore before analyzing the foundation of Hüseyin Ağa and Küçük Ayasofya it would be advantageous to comprehend this phenomenon.

[2] Eyice, "Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları",149- 246.

Studying waqf institution also means considering its by-product: the endowment deed. What kind of information could the *vakfiyye*s of the *ağa* provide? How could we use this information to expand on the current literature, especially the study of Semavi Eyice on the foundations of Hüseyin Ağa? Is it possible to understand the boundaries of Hüseyin Ağa's wealth? If yes, could his situation be recognized as ordinary for the time?

In this study, I tried to ask several questions from different perspectives by taking Küçük Ayasofya and Hüseyin Ağa into focus. My first concern is about the *ağa* himself, his patronage, pious endowments, and wealth. The second is about his choice of site for his most visible act of patronage. I wonder if there is a particular motivation behind the preference of the church of Sts. Sergius Bacchus. This issue also calls attention to the architectural intervention to the body of the former church during the process of converting it into a mosque and sufi lodge. It is about what the *ağa* chose (or, what was bestowed on him) and what he practiced through his choice. My third perspective is solely about Küçük Ayasofya. Once the conversion process was completed a new life of the building started. It turned into a dervish lodge with its students, sheikhs and other attendees. So, what kind of a place was it? Did the *zâvîye* have peculiarities among the other Halveti lodges? What was its meaning for the people of the city?

1.3 Sources

The *vakfiyes* comprise my main source of research. An endowment deed stands as a beneficial source to locate the assets, and to analyze the buildings that he constructed. In addition, it gives information about employees and beneficiaries, the income, expenditures, and other related details about the foundation, and provides

additional information concerning the patron. An important source that complements the information provided by the deeds is the city wide waqf survey (*tahrir defteri*) of 1546. As for other primary sources, I used chronicles of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and hagiographic accounts such as the *Reşahat* of Muhyi-i Gülşeni.[3] Plus, there are lists of the Ottoman tekkes of the nineteenth century. In each chapter I benefited much from the studies of various scholars, among them Cyril Mango, Semavi Eyice, Alexander van Millingen and İsmail Aydın Yüksel.

1.4 Chapters

In what follows, the first chapter provides a general outline as well as a framework for my study. I will try to deal with the background of institutional and architectural patronage as a multi-faceted phenomenon. Given that the main apparatus behind building projects and founding charitable foundations is waqf, first, I will try to examine the waqf institution and later *vakfiye* as its concrete written proof. I will put emphasis on waqf in the Ottoman context. I will touch upon some alternative perspectives that are suggested by different scholars. I pay attention to waqf studies in order to see how my primary sources, that is to say the foundation deeds, attest to the process of making patronage and its consequences.

The next chapter will focus on the differences between Mehmed II's (r. 1451-1481) and Bayezid II's reign regarding the patronage and the activity of statesmen regarding pious and charitable foundations. At this point, I will turn my attention to the role and importance of a *kapı ağa* in the Palace to understand the life and status of Hüseyin Ağa and later of Firuz Ağa (d.1512?). Then as the primary focus of this thesis, I will examine each of the deeds of Hüseyin Ağa and the properties mentioned

[3] Muhyî-i Gülşenî, *Reşehât-ı Muhyî*.

in these documents. While doing this, I will also examine the foundations and assets of Firuz Ağa as far as I can. My intention in doing so is to comprehend the extent the wealth of an imperial eunuch, how the Sultan supported him and whether or not he was eager to expand his properties. I include Firuz Ağa in this discussion because he was a contemporary of Hüseyin Ağa and I believe that analyzing him would help us understand how officials of Bayezid II's inner palace organization changed the material environment of the capital together with changing the shape of other cities.

In the third chapter, I will first try to understand the history of Küçük Ayasofya beginning with its first construction as the Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in the sixth century. This narrative will continue chronologically up to the conquest of Constantinople, in order to see whether it had a continuous importance as was the case of the monastery of St. Andreas in Krisei (later the Mosque of Koca Mustafa Paşa). Meanwhile, I will describe and contextualize Çardaklı Hamam, as a part of Hüseyin Ağa's foundation. Then I will touch upon the conversion of the church into Küçük Ayasofya and analyze the changes and interventions on its physical appearance. I will do the same for several other converted churches: Kariye Mosque, Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque, Gül Mosque and Fenari İsa Mosque. This is to understand the position of Küçük Ayasofya among the other converted churches and to see if there could be any thematic study of them. As the conclusion of this chapter I will discuss if Küçük Ayasofya has a valuable status among the others or not.

In the fourth chapter I will shift my perspective and try to analyze Küçük Ayasofya as a dervish lodge. With this purpose I will first discuss the rise of the Halveti Order. I will touch upon how the order came to scene in the capital and how other Halveti lodges were established together with Küçük Ayasofya. I will try to discuss its relations with prominent sheikhs and the dervishes of different orders.

In Appendix the reader will see the list of Hüseyin Ağa's properties as found in his accessible endowment deeds. Besides, I have prepared two maps to cover the distribution of Hüseyin Ağa's properties as well as to see the similarities and dissimilarities of his foundations as of Firuz Ağa's. I will also add a list of their foundations to expand the discussion on the patronage mechanisms of the period.

The approach that I will utilize in my thesis is the method established in the late decades of the twentieth century. The prominent feature of this methodology is it that it was derived as an opposition to the formalistic approach based on the physical descriptions of architectural structures and the other works of art. With this purpose scholars of this new historiography highlight the importance of social, cultural, historical context as well as the urban space. Oleg Grabar is known to be the first scholar who applied this methodology in his studies on Islamic art. The works of modern day scholars such as Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, Zeynep Yürekli, Oya Pancaroğlu and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, mostly nourish my approach to my subject. Their works with the methodology encourage me to go beyond the borders of formalistic approach and ask questions about the locations, the reasons and consequences of each phenomenon, each act of patronage and each construction.

1.5 Waqf studies

> It is impossible to understand and appreciate a juridical institution at all without having considered it beforehand in its natural milieu and without having pursued its historical evolution.[4]

It has been almost 70 years since Köprülü wrote this sentence in his article in the first issue of *Vakıflar Dergisi.* Legal scholars and historians have intensely scrutinized the

[4] Köprülü, "Vakıf Müessesesi ve Vakıf Vesikalarının Tarihi Ehemmiyeti," 4. The paragraph is quoted in McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia; Four Hundred Years in the History of a Muslim Shrine,* 3.

waqf institution together with its law and regulations. Their studies investigate the application of the institution in different and specific contexts, sequences and consequences of founding waqfs in different societies and economies. So, there are hundreds of works, which contribute to waqf studies covering a broad chronological and geographical spectrum and illustrating the diversity of waqf studies. The current literature as the product of such an extensive effort allows researchers to comprehend the Islamic phenomenon of endowing. As it is stated in many of studies, the legal procedures and the rules of making waqf are complicated and have changed throughout the history. To make this complicated story apparent, historian Miriam Hoexter presents a historiography of waqf studies by describing how concerns and dynamics of those studies evolved. She also illuminates different stages of this development by dividing it into three phases. In the very first phase, covering the first decades of the twentieth century, historians mostly dealt with the legal aspects of the waqf. She offers William Heffening's study as a brilliant example, which broadly describes the legislature of the institution, differences between various schools of law in terms of making pious foundations and the other similar topics.[5] For Hoexter, in the second stage, discussions on the waqf became more meaningful and contextualized. From then on, with the contributions of eminent Turkish scholars, broader implications of the institution became the focus. This was mostly accomplished in Jerusalem in 1979 by an international seminar where papers about the formation of waqf, relations between economies, state, and the waqf were presented. The third stage has been discerned for some decades in these studies. The studies of that stage based on the material created in the earlier phases and concentrated on incorporating the institution with ideological, sociological and

[5] See Heffening, "Waqf," 1096.

cultural conceptions.[6] As an illustration, Oded Peri's account on the poor kitchen of Hasseki Sultan in eighteenth-century Jerusalem deals with a fundamental feature of the waqf. It analyzes how the institution becomes an instrument of public policy, where the state used it as an apparatus to perform the social welfare, by analyzing the waqfs of the particular imaret.[7]

1.5.1 What is "waqf"?

Waqf is an Arabic infinitive means, "to prevent, restrain, stand." In Muslim legal terminology, it refers primarily to "protect a thing, to prevent it from becoming the property of a third person (*tamlīk*)."[8] In practice, firstly, a waqf can be a state land, which passed to the possession of Muslim community through a treaty[9], force or conquest. Secondly, it is common as the pious endowment. Definition of that kind of waqf changes according to the Sharia school, but in simple terms, it is a pious act of founding and funding a charitable trust.[10]

In the act of establishing a pious endowment, the founder (*vakıf*) needs to declare a part of his or her property for making it unalienable (*habs, tahbīs*) and to designate persons or public services. Those individuals and things are the

---

[6] Hoexter, "Waqf Studies in the Twentieth Century: The State of the Art," 474-495.

[7] See Peri, "Waqf and Ottoman Welfare Policy. The Poor Kitchen of Hasseki Sultan in Eighteenth-Century Jerusalem,"167-186.

[8] Heffening, "*Waqf,*" 1096.

[9] In this case previous owners have to pay tax and cannot sell it.

[10] Heffening, "*Waqf,*" 1096.

beneficiaries of the particular waqf who are to use the revenues coming from the generator assets.[11]

The roots of the waqf institution have been bonded to the Prophet. Legists first make it by referring to Quran, while the Quran includes no direct mention of the phenomenon. There are several verses that support and encourage the Muslims for spending their wealth for piety alongside with their alms for the sake of God (*fī sabīl Allah*). For example, there are: "And spend in the way of Allah and do not throw [yourselves] with your [own] hands into destruction [by refraining]. And do good; indeed, Allah loves the doers of good" (2:195). Another verse is:

> The example of those who spend their wealth in the way of Allah is like a seed [of grain] which grows seven spikes; in each spike is a hundred grains. And Allah multiplies [His reward] for whom He wills. And Allah is all-Encompassing and Knowing (2: 261).

The Quran also includes several verses related to helping each other and spend effort for benevolence: "And cooperate in righteousness and piety, but do not cooperate in sin and aggression. And fear Allah; indeed, Allah is severe in penalty" (5:2). "They believe in Allah and the Last Day, and they enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong and hasten to good deeds. And those are among the righteous" (3:114).

Most of the legitimacy of the waqf institution comes from the hadith tradition, the narrations from Muhammad's life and statements.[12] In one of the narrations the Prophet says: "When a man dies, only three deeds will survive him:

---

[11] Peters, "*Waqf,*" 59. A generator asset can be anything that produces income for the circulation of waqf expenditures and revenues of designated beneficiaries. It can be rental income, income of a particular shop-such as bakery, bathhouse etc.- or surplus of an arable field.

[12] This tradition is a core for the Muslim religious law in that for most of the legal schools hadiths are the second important step of Islamic jurisprudence (*fikıh*). The first step is Quran itself as the divine revelation.

continuing alms, valuable knowledge and a child praying for him."[13] In another account, it is said that once the Prophet wished to purchase gardens to build a mosque but the owners refused the money and gave the land for God`s sake.[14] Here, the key point for Islamic law is that the Prophet accepts the property without any refusal. It provides Muslim legists with the permission of deducting the result that the waqf is an existing and proven Islamic institution. Thus, the believers are encouraged to perform such rituals.

The waqf, as a pious act, "involves alienation of property both from the public domain and the former owner's control."[15]Besides, by this alienation, the private properties and assets become independent of the secular authorities. In order words, the government has no chance to confiscate (*istimlâk*) and to modify the waqf property. Of course, there are odd cases and exceptions found in the history. Rulers and sometimes notables changed the *şurût* (stipulations) of a particular waqf due to necessities or their personal needs. For example, once Sultan Baybars (d. 1277) demolished waqf shops to build his own madrasa, in their place. Shah Abbas II (d.1666), on the other hand, made some regulations to control the treasures of the powerful *mütevelli*[16] and to suppress them.[17] There are many instances of the

---

13 Peters, "*Waqf*,"59. Peters quotes this *hadis* from *Sahih* of Muslim and states that it is among the often-quoted *narrations* for the legitimacy of the institution.

14 Heffening, "*Waqf*," 1097. Heffening refers to a tradition of Anas b. Malik which is recorded in *Sahih* of Buhari.

15 Rogers, "Waqfs and Waqf-Registers: New Primary Sources For Islamic Architecture," 184.

16 A *mütevelli* is the trustee of a particular waqf and he is responsible for its management. Most of the time the endower designated himself as the first *mütevelli* up to his death.

17 Yediyıldız, "Vakıf," 482.

Ottoman government confiscating or changing the stiulations of the foundations created by members of the Ottoman elite.[18]

1.5.2 What is a *vakfiye*?

A waqf is founded by a declaration of the founder. This statement is often recorded in a document even though Islamic law does not require it.[19]Simply, *vakfiye* is a deed that is prepared with the request of the founder, includes all regulations and conditions that the founder stated for his or her endowment. It has to be legal after the court case mentioned above and after its procession on the *kadı sicili* it cannot be jeopardized.

A usual *vakfiye* starts with *besmele* (mentioning the name of God)*, hamdele* (glorification of God) and *salvele* (blessing the Prophet), *dua* (prayer) and a panegyric of the current sultan and the founder himself. This first part, *mukaddime* is not part of the official section but stands as a literary aspect of the tradition (see Appendix A, Figure 1). Therefore, in addition to Quranic verses and hadiths, it sometimes includes poems. As for the second part, assets of the particular *waqf* are mentioned one by one. Then the founder has to elucidate the administration and the regulations of the endowment. It is the most significant part of a *vakfiye,* where the rights and limits of the attendants are described. Especially, in this part, the founder has to 'personally mention, by name or by indication, the beneficiaries designated to receive a prescribed part of the revenues generated from properties that he or she made possesses and which are specifically intended to produce income for the

---

[18] See Artan, "The politics of Ottoman Imperial Palaces: Waqfs and Architecture from the 16th to the 18th Centuries," 365-408.

[19] Peters, "*Waqf,*" 61.

foundation.'[20] Most of the time, the founder of a particular entity has the reservation of the right to change clauses of the *waqf* during his lifetime. This part also includes the detailed description of the attendants and necessities in relation to their working space. For example, if there is a mosque then there should be an *imam, muezzin* etc. to be employed in the foundation. Salaries and the costs of those attendants also mentioned within their duties.

And in the last part (*hatime*), a rejection of the founder is presented. Finally, with all these necessities the *vakfiye* is written and legally sealed with the presence of witnesses. That is to say, it becomes irrevocable with the signatures of *hazirun,* the people who are ready.

In a *vakfiye*, the founder needs to foresee and stipulate changes and replacements as far as possible. For example, he should explain what would be done in the case of over-exploitation of a field. He should mention them in the foundation charter "by the nominative mention of persons or institutions to replace the first set of administrators, beneficiaries, and revenue-generating properties. This process, theoretically, ensures the endower's personal hand and vision in the future configuration and management of the waqf." [21]

The founder, as it is said above, has to make arrangements for the administration of particular *waqf.* For this he appoints a *mütevelli,* a *nâzır,*a *câbi*, and a *kâtib.*[22] The number and duties of these managers depends, on the size, scope and the utilities of the *waqf.* 'According to most law schools, the founder is entitled

[20] Deguilhem, "The Waqf in the City," 923.

[21] Ibid., 939.

[22] These are the stewards of a waqf. *Nâzir* is the custodian, *câbi* is the accountant, and *kâtib* is the clerk and the secretary.

to administer the *waqf* himself during his lifetime.'[23] He also has the right of appointing an administrator. 'By testament he may transfer this right to his testamentary executor.'[24]

The *mütevelli*, as the chief administrator, has the capacity to act and contract on behalf of the founder. As the most decisive persona of the foundation, his primary duty is to be interested in the maintenance and exploitation of the waqf property.[25] He has to be assisted by the other attendees of the waqf who serve as stewards. This office is generally to remain in the founder's family. If the founder has no family members and offspring then, in the *vakfiye*, he has to state to whom he would leave the administratorship. A *mütevelli* is also responsible and director of the other attendants. The *nazir* and the *cabi* for example, have to inform him about every detail and ongoing processes.

1.5.3 Waqf in practice

By occupying a central position in Islamic civilization, beyond their religious aspects, waqf and its products have social, political and cultural dimensions. These interacted with various social classes in diverse contexts. Waqfs "existed in different cultural contexts, employed for political and social goals, as tools of financial ambition as well as the means to legitimacy and status."[26] So to speak, with these in mind, now it is more conducive to put emphasis on these motivations of the waqf founders rather than describing the formation, features and legal aspects of waqf.

---

[23] Peters, "*Waqf*," 63.

[24] Ibid., 63.

[25] Ibid., 63.

[26] Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*, 25.

Thus, this section does not deal with the concept of waqf as an Islamic legal phenomenon. Rather it will use it as a tool to understand several features of a particular context of the Ottoman Empire.

In the Ottoman society, just as in the Mamluks, the Fatimids, and the other Islamicate polities, Islamic charitable institutions have multiple facets. Although the basic idea behind founding a charitable endowment is piety and the hope to enter Paradise, there are various procedures and consequences of establishing a waqf. As Pascale Ghazaleh states, "waqf should be seen above all as a collection of specific practices that expressed the intentions of a wide variety of users, rather than as a rigid and unchanging institution."[27] Then waqf as an institution was sufficiently flexible to fulfill different purposes by serving divergent founders, employees, and beneficiaries in different contexts.

In the medieval Islamic world, rulers had a claim to maintaining justice among their subjects and providing them with security against internal and external threats. "In every big city, there are social formations which have sophisticated needs."[28] Many of these services, which where performed by today's municipalities and governments had been the task of the charitable institutions. The waqf institution played an influential role in ordering such relations between state and society. [29] Ottoman sultans as well as viziers used waqf as a way of providing the citizens with the most basic and essential public services.[30] So the waqf, first of all, was a service-providing system. It played the role of being the primary force behind public

---

[27] Ghazaleh, "Introduction: Pious Foundations: From Here to Eternity," 1.

[28] Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures: the Case of Ottoman Damascus*, 2.

[29] İbrahim, "The Sadir al-Fuqaha' wa'l-Fuqara' Endowment (Salah al-Dīn al-Ayyubī)," 73.

[30] Peri, "Waqf and Ottoman Welfare Policy," 167.

works.[31] What one can count as the services of education, health, water systems etc. were very often provided by this institution.[32] This came through with the creation of building complexes, opening *imaret*s and endowing soup kitchens. By performing these activities with the help of the waqf institution the Sultan, his entourage and statesmen also created public spaces for the subjects of the community. The establishment of commercial areas from one perspective is a reflection of this point. By the construction (and by allowing them to be constructed by other individuals) of new khans, shops, public baths and such facilities the state offered its subjects with services, an infrastructure of economic activity, and with possibilities for employment. Of course provision of services varied and qualified according to the size of the foundation and the wealth of the donor/endower.

Scholars of the waqf institution delineate that the endowments contributed to the pervasiveness of "tacit bargaining" between the rulers and the society, which was often accomplished through ulama. This "tacit bargaining" does not mean a contest between the two sides. Rather it is "a recognition of the widespread popular support for waqf as an institution and the implicit limits that it placed on the scope of royal authority."[33] Rulers as the major donors established numerous waqfs as a part of their public policy. However, according to rules of the waqf institution once an endowment is founded the property is no more a belonging of the donor. From then on, it is placed for God's sake and becomes inalienable. Thus, the endowed property can be said to become a part of public sphere where community, *ulama* and the rulers integrated their efforts for its utilization and management. Despite the fact that the

---

[31] Akar, "The Role of Waqf in Shopping and Preserving Urban Areas: The Historical Commercial Center of Adana," 197.

[32] Yıldırım, "Dervishes, Waqfs, and Conquest: Notes on Early Ottoman Expansion in Thrace," 23.

[33] Eickelman, 6.

state controlled royal endowments, it was also subject to scrutiny and moral approbation.[34] The ongoing process of construction of numerous endowments by the agents of the state with their funds rather than using the state revenues, "created a bond of shared values between rulers and society…This bond also contributed to legitimating the ruler in the eyes of society."[35] According to Miriam Hoexter, this "tacit bargaining" was an implicit discourse of the Ottoman society and made prominent by the proliferation of the endowments.[36] In this sense by creating waqfs, the rulers showed their concerns about the well being of their subjects.

In relation to that point, these institutions also contributed to the existence of many buildings due to the upkeep of facilities of the foundations. Though innumerable constructions were destroyed for divergent reasons, most of them survived alterations, natural disasters, and various interventions. This is not only because of the advanced structural construction techniques but also possible with the contribution of the upkeep system provided by the endowments.[37] The revenue generated by the commercial structures within the borders of a foundation had been spent on the maintenance and repair of mosques, madrasas and other buildings.

According to historian Richard van Leeuwen, in order to identify city with its own terms, a state needs secular power, religious legitimization and economic organization together. These three elements are necessary to shape the city due to its own concerns. By founding waqfs, the rulers and the elites used spaces to perform their strategies concerning religious symbols and make those areas focal points of

---

[34] Eickelman," Foreword," 7.

[35] Ibid, 7.

[36] See Hoexter, "Waqf Studies in the Twentieth Century," 119-139.

[37] Bakhoum, "Waqf System: Maintenance, Repair and Upkeep," 17.

Islam.[38] In the hands of a ruler, the waqf, as an intermediary, gained a sociopolitical dimension. Moreover, during the Ottoman realm, the institution was also a system of building new cities or transforming the topography of newly conquered areas. It was in the formative period of the state when the waqf was employed as an apparatus to settle especially in Rumelia and the Balkans. After the annexation of a land, the Sultan distributed a part of this to Sufi leaders as private property. In exchange for those grants, sheikhs served the government by building hospices that were financially supported by the revenues of the endowments. Thus the waqf was the vector of this diffusion.[39] Building new imarets and complexes allowed the state to shape the cities. In the case of Constantinople, to illustrate, Eyüp, Fatih, Süleymaniye and other sultanic foundations were all constructed to provide a new image and to expand the urban infrastructure of the city. Consequently, such imarets became the part of the urban landscape.[40]

For the purpose of understanding political motivations of the waqf institution, the re-establishment of Sunni orthodoxy in Egypt could be a good example. Following the collapse of the Fatimid Shi'ite state in 1171, the Zengid, Ayyubid, and then Mamluk emirs worked for the proliferation of mosques and madrasas serving Sunni scholars. By this, they were able to control "the appointments affiliated to these institutions and establish an economic hold on the local religious elites whose support, in turn, was integral of their legitimacy."[41] As for Seljuqid Anatolia of the twelfth and thirteenth century there was a symbiotic relationship between the state

---

[38] Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures,* 2.

[39] Yıldırım, "Dervishes, Waqfs, and Conquest," 24.

[40] Peri "Waqf and Ottoman Welfare Policy," 167. The issue of urban space in the Ottoman Constantinople will be reconsidered while discussing Küçük Ayasofya and its hinterland.

[41] Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficience,* 27.

and local religious elites, which shows parallel features as the Egyptian case. The difference is that this time the rulers encouraged elites to trigger the territorial expansion. The utilization of waqf with political motivations is not limited to supporting scholars and religious elites. A government also has self-interest in keeping its economy alive. In her study on the imperial soup kitchen of Hürrem Sultan in Jerusalem, Amy Singer indicates that:

> The sultans set up endowments not only for the scholars but to benefit merchants (and, by extension, the treasury) in the form of numerous large caravanserais which punctuated the major trading routes across Anatolia, providing lodging, food, and security for those on the roads.[42]

For the government, building caravanserais on the main trade roads turns itself into a benefit of having a vivid commercial activity and growing economy. This time, the rulers use charitable endowments as a mean of to support themselves by producing spheres for commerce. So, this and the two cases mentioned above are the instances where the waqf institution becomes a part of political agenda.

The waqf institution also had the capability of being a vehicle for finance in Islamic societies. Beyond having a crucial role in the establishment of the commercial areas, shops and khans, a considerable portion of the subjects of the Ottoman Empire were employed by the opportunities of the endowments. Besides, it was possible to establish special kind of foundation, guild waqfs, to support divergent social groups of artisans, *esnaf*s and other workshops. Although there are some differences between guild waqfs and mainstream waqf, the former was specially constructed to serve the needs of a particular guild and its members.

In the Ottoman society, waqf is both an omnipresent and a flexible system. It is flexible because it may change according to situation and it is omnipresent because

---

[42] Ibid., 27.

all levels and groups of the society have recourse to it. These features make it a significant part of daily life. 'Almost everyone living in the empire was affected at some point, during his or her life, by *waqf* networks which crisscrossed local, regional and international as well as confessional boundaries.' [43] People from all social and religious spheres employed with job opportunities that were provided by the regulations of the particular waqf. In 1833, for example, Rikne binti Nikola of Edremit, made a special waqf to provide Yenikapı Mevlevihanesi with olive oil. With this foundation, Rikne both did a charitable act to serve dervishes and created an area for people in Edremit to work for her olive gardens and bakeries.[44] For the upper levels of the society, in the Palace, for example, the waqf is also a way of imperial commitment to stimulate the commercial exchange.[45] In order to generate income *waqfs* require shops, villages, farms, houses for rent and several sort of commercial structures. For Dale, besides creating space for employment it provides the city with financial health and recovery:

> The shops or *dukkans* were often built simultaneously with the construction of a mosque or tomb and then rented to merchants, whose rent was assigned in whole or in part to the upkeep of the waqf property and salary of its employees.[46]

In this sense, in practice *waqf* becomes a socio-economic phenomenon rather than being a religious one.

There are divergent motivations that lead people to establish pious endowments. These motivations indeed were very correlated with the different

---

[43] Deguilhem, "*Waqf*", *The Encyclopedia of Islam; New Edition* 10 (2002), 90.

[44] Kunter, "Türk Vakıfları ve Vakfiyeleri," 121.

[45] Dale, "Empires and Emporia: Palace, Mosque, Market, and Tomb in Istanbul, Isfahan, Agra and Delhi," 212.

[46] Ibid., 214.

dimensions of the institution. The effects of waqf creation were also varied and brought out different consequences in macro (urban topography, circulation of wealth) and micro (ex. redistribution of wealth within family groups) levels.[47] As Ghazaleh says "the motives for creating waqf ranged across a broad spectrum wherein pragmatic and worldly concerns were closely intertwined with desire with salvation."[48]Although it is primarily an act of piety with charitable and religious aims –where the endower allotted certain sums for the poor etc-, in practice this pious act evolves into a worldly matter. Of course, the reasons to perform such an act differs according to social and political status of the endower. When it comes to ordinary people, the waqf first of all, protected their property against the confiscation of the rulers. It might be a defensive response to a state, which has the power of manipulating the law without any hesitation.[49] Secondly by making waqfs people could save and direct their property and its revenues towards their heirs or other chosen class of beneficiaries. "Waqfs allowed their founders to preserve their capital while attributing regular stipend to individuals they chose freely."[50]In this sense, waqf served as a legal means to keep family intact through several generations.[51] It is also a way of securing property from future transactions.[52]

In her article in *Encyclopedia of Religion* Hoexter summarizes these clauses:

> Charity, piety, and the hope for recompense in the world beyond were the ideological motivations for founding endowments. Several, more practical

[47] Ghazaleh, "Introduction," 10.

[48] Ibid., 7.

[49] Ibid., 6.

[50] Ibid., 11.

[51] McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia; Four Hundred Years in the History of a Muslim Shrine, 1480-1889,* 3.

[52] Ghazaleh, "Introduction," 6.

> reasons are mentioned in the literature to explain the proliferation of endowments in the Muslim world. Political reasons, such as enhancing their prestige and securing local support, followers, or clients, were found to have been at the root of endowments by rulers, governors, high officials, and local notables. Circumvention of the inheritance laws was a major motive for establishing waqfs, particularly, though not exclusively, among the common people.[53]

1.5.4 Waqf in the Ottoman context

According to Çiğdem Kafescioğlu: "Pious endowments provided an institutional framework for interactions that connected a range of social groups vertically and horizontally, creating spaces for charity, patronage, and accommodation. "[54] From the early years of the Ottoman State, the waqf institution had the role of creating religious, political, social networks via the foundation of permanent social and economic linkage between the endowment and its beneficiaries. These features make the waqf a tool for the state but for the researchers it becomes a system where various features of the Ottoman civilization could be analyzed.

It is possible to say in the current literature the Ottoman usage of waqf is understood through two different phases. First was before the conquest of Constantinople, when the sultans had distributed their new lands to be endowed to Sufi leaders who had taken part in the military activity. In long-term process this resulted in a permanent settlement and those leaders served the Ottoman state by establishing hospices in their properties.

For the second stage, as the state had been growing and turning into a more sophisticated structure the waqf started to fulfill public duties as civil agents together with serving the country for military purposes and territorial expansion. In my humble opinion, the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 also led the institution to

---

[53] Hoexter, "Waqf," 9676.

[54] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 193.

transform itself into a much complicated and multi-faceted phenomena. In the time of Bayezid II, the Sultan continued to support endowments to appropriate the city into Ottoman dynamics. Numerous sheikhs and Sufi groups were brought to the capital to settle down in hospices to create new environments. Gradually, these endowments became entrenched in the social networks of each part of the city and became much more prominent for conducting public services and social welfare. To illustrate, the citizens that were brought to the capital immediately became a part of the economy by attaining job opportunities offered by new endowments.

It is known that immediately after the conquest of Constantinople, the Ottomans dealt with the adaptation of Byzantine structures. It also means that it became a city of pious endowments, waqfs. Mehmed II (r. 1451-1481) converted the most remarkable church, Hagia Sophia, into a mosque. Major structures such as Zeyrek and Kalenderhane mosques were all converted from prominent Byzantine monasteries during the reign of Mehmed II. However, after his death, Constantinople still had a significant amount of glorious Byzantine monuments under the possibility of being converted into a mosque. This process, which is the subject of the next chapter, of conversion of churches into the framework of a new religion and a different cultural identity, moved towards a different pathway in the reign of Bayezid II.

CHAPTER 2

AGHAS OF BAYEZID II'S COURT: WEALTH AND PATRONAGE

2.1 The time of Bayezid II

It would not be accurate to make clear-cut distinctions between earlier years of Constantinople under the Ottoman realm and the reign of Bayezid II. However, it should not be neglected that there are some standing differences between the reign of Mehmed II and that of Bayezid II, his son. The two sultans are different in terms of personality and their styles of administration, as suggested by a number of particular points. The reflections of these peculiarities could also be seen in changing mechanisms of institutional patronage under their respective realms.

First of all, Bayezid II was different from his father in terms of his character. Contrary to his father's cosmopolitan proclivity and hostile behavior towards Sufi groups, Bayezid had a pious disposition and moral self-image. As a sign of his resentment, he blamed Mehmed II for being an unbeliever. While assuming the title *veli*, Bayezid also had a close connection with the Halveti order, and found a place in the genealogy of the order. The group was led by Çelebi Halife –or Cemal Halveti- (d. 1494), who was also the spiritual advisor of the Sultan. The sheikh with his followers was very efficient and helpful in Bayezid's accession to the throne, which makes the order's prestigious position under his reign unsurprising. In turn, his rule "saw the beginning of a close rapport between the state and the Sufi order, which made it the dervish order most actively supported by the Ottoman ruling body, particularly through the sixteenth century."[55] A reflection of this can be seen in the

[55] Ibid., 221.

zâvîyes that were established in Constantinople during Bayezid decades; almost all of them were patronized to and were headed by various Halveti sheikhs.

The religious disposition of Bayezid II does not imply that he was disregardful of imperial ideology; rather he reoriented it according to his inclinations. It has been suggested that Mehmed II was maintaining a collective enterprise with the ruling elite to monumentalize Constantinople and to create imperial capital.[56] This collaboration also took place during Bayezid II's reign, but with some alterations. The realm of Bayezid opened up a space for individuals of higher means[57] to convert former Byzantine structures into new religious spaces for the city's Muslim population. This was also possible in the time of the previous Sultan with two differences. First, the patron of such conversions was the Sultan himself in all cases. Second, in the time of Mehmed II palace officials and ruling elites often used churches and such buildings for residential purposes. In each instance, the Sultan granted these places to individuals.

Under Bayezid's reign, the domain of patronage expanded from the members of the *divan* to palace officials. It was the time for imperial *ağa*s to erect new imarets and make pious endowments on the sites of former Byzantine structures. They converted churches into mosques with the goal of changing the city's Christian identity and making them part of Ottoman social and institutional setting. In the meantime the Sultan started to grant lands to viziers and *ağa*s to promote their

---

[56] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 212.

[57] I use the phrase "individuals of higher means" to indicate statesmen and the people of the palace who were below the rank of a vizier and had to stand outside of *divan* but who were recognized in the Sultan's entourage. For example an individual of higher mean could be an *ağa* as in the case of the Firuz Ağa the Keeper of the Treasure or Hüseyin Ağa the Gate Keeper Imperial Eunuch It could also be a *bey* like İmrahor İlyas Bey, the Commander of Imperial Stables. It is to keep in mind that this statement has no aim to neglect the patronage of viziers, it is just to explain the difference of Bayezid's reign where the people mentioned above were also supported by the Sultan to make pious endowments and could easily find places for themselves to make constructions.

foundations within the urban boundaries of Constantinople and these statesmen had brought their sheikhs and communities to their hospices.

Imperial eunuchs had the chance to make significant investments to build moderate level edifices throughout the city. The Sultan supported these *ağa*s, especially by giving lands from the Balkans and Anatolia. Most of the lands and revenue generators that were outside of Constantinople had been standing to support their main foundations in the capital. For example, it could be comprehended from the endowments deeds of Hüseyin Ağa that his foundations and pious acts were strongly supported by the palace. That is to say, the Sultan did not only support him materially, but he also granted the *ağa* an opportunity to play a role in the transformation of the city.

Starting with Bayezid's reign urban properties were frequently bought and sold among individuals. He also restituted the rights of individuals whose lands were confiscated by his father. This would have also encouraged the individuals of palace to perform patronage and to acquire a land to build an edifice or to convert a present Byzantine structure in their lands.

As for the adaptation of the Byzantine churches within the city, Bayezid's reign was more fruitful than his father's.

> The number of churches converted into mosques or charitable institutions during the reign of Mehmed II was extremely limited, and the founder, in all cases, was the sultan himself. The wave of conversions, contrary to assertions made in narrative sources, would come during the reign of Bayezid II. Many churches, on the other hand, were used for nonreligious purposes. Mehmed, according to Kritovoulos, gave his grandees beautiful churches as their residences. [58]

[58] Ibid., 190.

In the time of Mehmed II, these structures were often used for residential purposes, as storage places or for other utilitarian processes.[59] There is no extant documentation regarding any of standing Byzantine churches being turned into a dervish lodge by a statesman. In order words, the way the Ottomans used religious structures of the former Empire evolved during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Bayezid II's policies also affected the image of the city. There was a growing visibility of Sufi convents in the capital. "The most significant difference between the cityscape at the end of Mehmed's rule and that illustrated in the 1530s is that the latter image projects city's Islamic identity as a central aspect of its Ottoman character."[60]

As stated above, different from the Mehmed's reign, Bayezid II's time represents a period where the architectural patrons could also be found beyond the members of the imperial council (*divan*). Besides, those figures did not use former Byzantine churches for residential purposes by their will; rather the patrons converted them into mosque-lodges. So, it would not be a mistake to say that a prominent feature of the patronage of the time is the churches converted into *zâvîyes* by the grandees of the Sultan. The dynamics that shaped the physical environment in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Constantinople particularly regarding Byzantine churches were led by the figures of higher means of the palace.

As for the members of the *divan,* Mesih Ali Paşa (t.1499-1501) converted the Myrelaion monastery-church (Bodrum Camii) during his grand vizierate. Atik Ali Paşa, the next grand vizier of the Sultan, carried out the conversion of the church of Chora in 1511. Later Koca Mustafa Paşa (t.1511- 1512), on the other hand, radically

[59] For further information, see Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 204-205.

[60] Ibid., 212.

altered the church of St Andrew in Krisei. He converted this famous Byzantine monastery into the primary lodge of the Halveti order in the capital.

Palace officials of the time were also active in these conversions. The *mirahur*, the head of the imperial stables, İlyas Bey remodeled the Studios Monastery as a mosque. The famous church of Theotokos Khalkoprateia was converted into a masjid by the *arpa emini* (a palace official who is responsible for the barley storage) Hayreddin Ağa in 1484. Two years later the *kazasker* Fenarizade Alaaddin Ali appropriated a sepulcher of the Palaiologos Dynasty, the monastery of Constantine of the Lips. In 1497, like his contemporaries Hüseyin Ağa converted the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. Built by Justinian (r. 527-565) in the sixth century, it stands as one of the primary examples of early Byzantine architecture. According to his endowment deeds, Hüseyin Ağa had many lands and estates in Constantinople, Amasya, Trabzon, Tokat and the Balkans. This wealth and its relations to Küçük Ayasofya are complex and need to be understood in its context.

Interestingly, Hüseyin Ağa, Koca Mustafa Paşa, İmrahor İlyas Bey and the others made interventions and additions to prominent Byzantine structures. It would be valuable to know whether they chose these places with specific intentions, of if any careful consideration lay down under these choices. But still, the preferences suggest that during Bayezid's reign the patrons tried to select places, which had an entrenched significance from the former Empire. When thinking about Mehmed's creation of a self-image to claim himself as the successor of the Byzantine Empire, it might be interesting to bond a conversion of a former famous religio-educational center, as in the case of Koca Mustafa Paşa, to show the continuity of the power and the glory of old times. Unfortunately, the sources are mostly tacit in telling how the patrons made decisions on those spaces. Since the conversions were made with the

permission of the Sultan, it cannot be neglected that political motives would have encouraged the patronage.

At this point, certain questions come to mind: Why did Bayezid II not undertake these major conversions as in the case of his father? How did members of the lower ranks of the palace hierarchy start to be involved noticeably in Ottomanizing the new capital?[61] What did the imperial eunuchs and the others achieve by taking a role in shaping the material environment? Although the Christian complexes mentioned earlier do not carry the same significance as Mehmed's conversion of Hagia Sophia and of Pantocrator, they would have also brought changes of inevitable importance to the lives of Byzantines citizens. Plus, they were significant places of religion and religious education that were patronized by the emperors and by the notables. According to historian Edward Mitchell this process also led to the self-realization of the ruling class. "By participating in the rebuilding of Istanbul, members of the ruling class were indeed striving to enhance their individual standing. But they were also collectively constructing the state, the formalized hierarchy upon which they depended."[62]

The rise of imperial *ağa*s, their increased involvement in founding waqfs and their presence in the evolution of Constantinople's urban space especially by converting churches and maintaining the services of their endowments would probably raise questions about their identity, about the dynamics of the patronage, and about the court's goals in changing the topography of newly conquered city. It is

---

[61] By asking these questions I do not intend to ignore the patronage of viziers in the Mehmed's and Bayezid's court. I find quite interesting to see the differences of the dynamics between two reigns. I compare the two by asking, "who converted which place". It is true that viziers and some palace officials made constructions during Mehmed's reign but it is also true that none of them converted a Byzantine monastery into a Halveti lodge.

[62] Mitchell "Institution and Destitution: Patronage Tales of Old Stamboul," 251.

known that when one of the sultans or leaders established an endowment, he, as a Muslim ruler, may have done it to legitimize himself, to prove his power to his subjects and to gain their approval. On the other hand what were the intentions that lay behind when a chief imperial eunuch made a waqf? Is it solely for salvation, to save his soul in the afterworld?

As for the palace, in Dale's terms 'the *waqf* served to codify the symbiotic relationship between palace, mosque and bazaar.'[63]It explains the phenomenon concerning the benefit of the public leaders. What happens when members of the palace hierarchy undertake the foundation of pious endowments, rather than the ruler himself? How can we trace this symbiosis at other social levels? Many bureaucrats, statesmen and notables also used their power to transform the cities. By founding *waqfs*, patronizing endowments they also left permanent marks in the topography of the city. So, what does an imperial chief eunuch's foundations mean for the empire and its society? It is interesting to see that he made his biggest effort to convert a church in the area of a former Byzantine palace. His and other conversion activities of the time give the sense that there should be other dynamics and intention behind this supported patronage.

To turn back to the differences in Bayezid's policies regarding architecture, it would not be a mistake to say that he widened the spectrum of the patronage. Although his grandees made significant architectural activities in the capital, his own emphasis was on Edirne and Amasya initially. In 1484, he ordered a number of constructions; the most prominent of them were a mosque and *şifahane* complex. Alongside Edirne, he constructed a mosque and madrasa in Amasya. The mosque of Bayezid II, as the last construction of the Sultan, "must be accounted the greatest

[63]Dale, "Empires and Emporia," 213.

monument of his reign. It was once the conclusion of the explanatory work executed in the provinces at Edirne, Amasya and Tokat, and the final step forward without which the classical climax could not be reached."[64]

In order to see the tendencies of the Sultan, it would be more comprehensive to look at the location of Bayezid's complex in Istanbul rather than the layout of its structures. Kafescioğlu states that the Sultan had an eye on Mese. He started to change the configuration of the main artery by constructing edifices and by supporting the patronage that would in the following decades create the Divan Yolu. He erected a complex for himself at the edge of the Mese and appropriated a Byzantine forum. During this process, he demolished old Byzantine monuments, such as the Column of Theodosius. It was pulled down to open a space for Bayezid's bath. Moreover, members of his entourage also used the borders of this artery. Firuz Ağa, for example, built his palace alongside Divan Yolu. The *mekteb* and the mosque of this eunuch also underline the centrality of the road. It seems that Bayezid reoriented the focal points of the patronage. [65]

Precisely, the patronage in the time of Bayezid presents some shifts from the earlier dynamics. The ranks of such activities opened, new concerns and new modes of appropriation emerged. The interest of this chapter is, however, on the patronage of an imperial eunuch, Hüseyin Ağa, his conversion and the endowment deeds. Analyzing Hüseyin Aga's deeds in relation with other contemporary, analogous foundations is a good way to comprehend variables. The amount and sources of the *ağa*'s wealth, and the support given to him by the palace is visible in his *vakfiyes*. On the other hand, by providing clues about the status of the endower, these deeds

---

[64] Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 168.

[65] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 214-218.

somehow illuminate the bureaucratic relations of the palace. By focusing on Küçük Ayasofya and these *vakfiyes*, this analysis mainly aims to understand the dynamics of the patronage in the sultanate of Bayezid II. As a secondary question, it also addresses how the hinterland is transformed within context.

To establish an analogy and to comprehend the dynamics of the time in an in-depth manner, I choose to investigate the patronage of another imperial eunuch, Firuz Ağa. He and Hüseyin Ağa would probably have shared similar opportunities in the palace. Since they had the means to make large constructions, their participation in palatial dynamics would also have a reflection in architecture. While having high ranks among the eunuchs of the Sultan, they also took significant roles in the shaping of the capital city. Hüseyin Ağa's conversion of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, Firuz Ağa's underlining Mese as a central area, would be the results of this role.

2.2 Hüseyin Ağa

The gatekeeper eunuchs of the shah of the world
Those are the blessing suns of the time[66]

Hüseyin Ağa bin 'Abdulmu'în[67] was known as *kapu ağası* in his endowment deeds and foundations inscriptions.[68]. Although there is a paucity of information concerning this *ağa*'s life, he would be perhaps one of the closest men of Bayezid II

---

[66]" Kapu ağaları şah-ı cihanun/ Bulardır lutf-ı mihrile zamanun" See Kemalpaşazade, *Selatinname*, 200.

[67] "...Bayezid Han zamanında Kapu Ağasu diye şöhret bulan ve hayrat yaptırmış olan Abdulmuin oğlu Hüseyin Ağa..." See,Eyice, "Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları," 155, 162, 168. The foundations inscriptions of his bedesten and madrasa in Amasya and the mosque in Sonisa all have similar texts. Since his father's name was recorded as Abdulmuin, Hüseyin Ağa most probably came from a Christian or *devşirme* background.

[68] "Hatırlayan ve unutanın katında, Kapu Ağası diye meşhur, ulu, şanlı, yardımlarını esirgemiyen Hüseyin Bey'in bu yüce binayı yaptırması, bu azametli ve aşılmaz eserin temellerini sağlamlaştırması ruhlara ferahlık, vücutlara sağlık verdi, bu 909 yılında oldu." See Eyice, "Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları," 191.

because of his position in the palace. During the late 15th and 16th centuries a *kapu ağası,* so called *babüssaade ağası* of the Ottoman palace had the highest status among the eunuchs. In order to be entitled as the *kapu ağası* a eunuch had to be well trained and loyal.

Kapu ağası had to be a white eunuch who had the primary role of controlling all the gates of the palace and the chief duties of being the prominent custodian and the official of the New Palace. As it can be understood from the title, he also had to protect and command the *Babüssaade* (The Gate of Felicity). In the palace's organization his status came before the *hazinedarbaşı* (the keeper of the imperial treasury), the *kilercibaşı* (the keeper of the imperial storage), the *saray ağası* (the palace eunuch). Until the end of the sixteenth century a *kapu ağası* had been the responsible for the management of the entire palace including the *Harem.* That is to say, in these decades the position of *kapu ağası* had also included *darussaade ağalığı, so called kızlar ağalığı.* This is one of *arz ağaları* (who could make a request of the Sultan); but according to Mehmed II's *kanunname*[69], the *kapu ağası* had to fulfill this duty.[70]

Due to the palace rules all attendants and eunuchs had to sleep together in dormitories. However, the *kapu ağası* was an exception. He had a private chamber with several servants. His position in *enderun* had been as significant as the grand vizier's outside of the palace. Up to the second half of the sixteenth century while the grand vizier had been representing the emperor outside the palace, he was the *vekil-i*

---

[69] "Ve iç halkından kapıağası ve odabaşı ve hazinedarbaşı ve kilercibaşı ve saray-ı amiremin ağası sahib-i arzdır. Ama kapı ağası olan ihtiyar baştır, ekseriya odabaşı ve kapıağası arz etmek gerektir ve name ile arz etmek götürü…" See "Fatih Sultan Mehmet Han-ı Sani Kanunnamesi," 1/6089.

[70] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, 354.

mutlak (the deputy) of the Sultan inside the walls. Besides, his rank was above all other viziers' and he was the second man in the palace after the grand vizier.[71]

A historian of the fifteenth century, Kemalpaşazade (d.1534?) praises *kapu ağaları* in his *Selatinname*. In this book, after praising the prophet and his friends, he starts his narrative from the life of Ertugrul Gazi (d.1281) and closes in 1490 in the time of Bayezid II. His work includes a special part for the eulogies of the Sultan and several attendants of the Ottoman Empire. After glorifying the ruler, Kemal praises the highest officials of Rumeli and of Anadolu, pashas, *kazasker*s (military judges). One of the groups of attendants is the eunuchs of the palace. Interestingly in the sequence of the work the *medh-i agalar* (eulogy for the eunuchs) comes just after the eulogy of the Sultan. All the other officials are stated after the eunuchs. In this part Kemalpaşazade describes the *kapu ağaları* as the forepersons (*server*) and the gems (*cevher*) of the Sultan.[72]

Despite the fact that the knowledge about Hüseyin Ağa's life is highly limited, it is plausible to deduct from the significance and high rank of a *kapu ağası* in the palace, he would be a very vital figure in Bayezid II's entourage. Moreover in *Künhü'l-Ahbar,* the famous work of Mustafa Ali, his name is mentioned as a *mahrem* (very close friend of someone) of the Sultan. To order a poetical work from Zâtî, a famous poet of the time, the Sultan consulted his request to Hüseyin Ağa. Since there was no known Hüseyin among the palace officials of the time other than him, it is possible to suggest that this eunuch is same person with the one who converted St. Sergius and Bacchus into a mosque.[73]

---

71 Ibid., 355.

72 Kemalpaşazade, *Selatinname,* 201.

73"Ve bir zaman ki Sultan Bayezid Han'a faiyye bir kaside virmiş. Bir beyti makbul-ı şehriyari olup haylice pesend buyurulmuş…Ustadlık kar-ı deryadaki dürer-i şehvarı bulmakdur diyu nice atalar

The most comprehensive account about the biography of Hüseyin Ağa is Ayvansarayi's *Hadikatu'l-Cevami.* He mentions the *kapu ağası* as the patron of Küçük Ayasofya who was killed in the time of Bayezid II[74]:

> He was the gatekeeper eunuch Hüseyin Ağa who was killed in the time of Sultan Bayezid and buried there [the site of his mosque]. He has a private mausoleum. A couplet is written on the wall [of his mausoleum]: The life in the world is just an hour/ spend that hour for praying and devotion.[75]

It is known that in his *Sicill-i Osmani* (written between 1893-97)*,* Mehmed Süreyya Bey also uses the Ayvansarayi's account as a source of information on Huseyin Ağa:

> He was the gatekeeper eunuch, who died in the time of Bayezid II. He converted Küçük Ayasofya from a church into a blessed mosque. He erected a school. He was buried in his tomb there.[76]

Beyond these, after a detailed research I still have no valid information about Hüseyin Ağa's biography. Unfortunately, Taşköprüzâde's *Eş-Şakâ'ik en-Nu'mâniye* and the other sources that I searched carefully do not mention him.

Several scholars such as Semavi Eyice believe that Hüseyin Ağa was together with Şehzade Bayezid in Amasya. This seems entirely possible since he had risen to

---

itmişler.Elbette Zati'ye mansıb görülsün diyu Hüseyin Ağa nam mahremlerine ısmarlamışlar. Vezirler dahi tefakkud-ı menasib itmişler." See Mustafa Ali, *Künhü'l-Ahbâr'ın Tezkire Kısmı*, 216.

74 Hüseyin Ağa is also called Kesikbaş Hüseyin, Hüseyin the Cut Head because of an informal story about his death. According to narrative the Sultan murdered him by cutting his throat since he had thought that Hüseyin was a tax smuggler.

75"…Babüssaade Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'dır ki Sultan Bayezid eyyamında maktulen vefat edub anda defn olunmuşdur. Mustakil turbesi vardır. Duvarında bu beyit yazılmıştır: Saat-i vahidedir ömr-i cihan, saati taate sarf eyle heman." See Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi'*, 188.

76 "(Hüseyin Ağa)Babüssaade Ağasıolub asr-ı Sultan Bayezid Han-ı Sanide vefat eyledi. Küçük Ayasofya Camiini kiliseden cami-i şerife tahvil eyledi. Burada mektep yaptı. Orada türbesinde medfundur.." See Mehmed Süreyya Bey, *Sicill-i Osmani: yahud tezkire-i meşahir-i Osmaniye*, 182.

the position of *kapu ağalığı,* and since he had patronage activities in Amasya and Sonisa. [77]

Keeping the life of Hüseyin Ağa in mind, aspects of the waqf institution and policies of the Ottoman state after the conquest in mind, let us move on to an analysis of the waqf deeds mentioned earlier. The process of establishing a foundation is more clearly explained in the narrative of these deeds. While investigating four waqf deeds of Hüseyin Aga that are available in the archives of Topkapı Palace, I will attempt to identify the revenue of Küçük Ayasofya waqfs in the Balkans, Anatolia and in Eyâlet-i Rum. In addition I will try to map out the property, holdings and functions of each endowment and understand the dynamics of his patronage as a reflection of its context.

2.3 Firuz Ağa

Before passing to the endowment deeds it would be beneficial to introduce Firuz Ağa, since he was the *hazinedarbaşı,* and one of the contemporaries of Hüseyin as imperial eunuch. His high status in the palace was just one step below than the *kapu ağa.* It is possible that these two shared the same working space in the palace. Probably, they were also together in Bayezid's princely court because just like Hüseyin, Firuz also undertook patronage and made investments in Amasya. He erected a mosque, *bedesten* and madrasa. The mosque, located in Saray district is also called Kızlarağası Mescidi.[78] The title should not be confusing since the *ağa* was recognized as the next *kapu ağası* in 1507.[79] He also had various foundations in

[77] Eyice, "Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları," 149- 246.

[78] Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid, Yavuz Selim Devri*, 30, 37, 52.

[79] Topkapı Sarayı Arşiv Kataloğu, *Fermanlar,* 4.

and outside of Constantinople. In 1490, he built a mosque, a *mekteb* in the capital.[80] Besides he erected a masjid and a madrasa in Havza (Samsun), a *hammam* in Smederevo (Serbia) and another *hammam* dated to 1485 in Tokat.

Firuz Ağa's utilization of the main artery might be in reciprocity with the Sultan's intention. He did not appropriate a church. Rather he used old imperial procession road, Mese to underline the constructions and to make them visible. Moreover, He had a palace behind his mosque, which was lying upon Binbirdirek Cistern.

The reason why one cannot find any information about persons like Hüseyin Ağa and Firuz Ağa can be explained by their presence in the *harem.* With their higher status in the Palace they were accounted as the inhabitants of imperial household and had strong ties with the inside *harem*. Thus, different from a vizier they were in the private space of the Sultan.

2.4 The properties of the *kapu ağa*

There are four endowment deeds of Hüseyin Ağa available in the archives of Topkapı Palace. The longest, dated to 1507/8, as well as the most comprehensive one is regarding Küçük Ayasofya and the *akâr* (revenue generating)assets that finance the entire foundation. According to this deed, Hüseyin Ağa converted the former church into a mosque along with erecting a *zâvîye* in the courtyard of the mosque.[81]

After completing this process, he donated and consecrated his wealth for the upkeep, goodness, requirements and the expenditure of these edifices.[82] The first

---

[80] Ibid., 249-252.

[81] TS.MA.d6977, folio.11a.

[82] "ثم وقف وحبس الأمير الباني المذكور مصالح الجامع المعمور المسطور ومهمات الزاوية المسفورة وحوائجهما ولوازمهما." See TS.MA.d6977, folio.11a.

revenue generator of Hüseyin Ağa's waqf is his *hammam*, which was built by the endower close to his complex.[83] The *hammam* is the not the only property in the mosque's neighborhood. In total, he has eighteen assets mentioned in Constantinople. Fourteen of them are in the walled city, very close to Hagia Sophia, Topkapı Palace and the other structures that had been carrying imperial importance. The rest are in the borders of Galata (see Appendix B).

It seems that these fourteen assets constitute the most important part of Hüseyin Ağa's properties. His lands cover the area between the sea and the mosque. Plus, there are significant pieces of lands from the southeast of the mosque up to the main gate of the Palace. That is to say, the areas coincide with today's Cankurtaran, Küçük Ayasofya and Kadırga quarters. Hüseyin Ağa also had transactions in Eminönü. He bought several rooms, water well and three ovens from a Jewish woman called Efemya bint Elyaho. He also purchased the house next to Efemya's property. These assets are mentioned in Ibn Çelebi quarter in the deed.[84] The *mahalle* is also referred as the quarter of Hoca Alauddin Mescidi in the records. According to Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, it occupies the area from Fincancılar Yokuşu to the Spice Bazaar.[85]Today the quarter is inside the Tahtakale district. Although purchasing houses from Ibn Çelebi quarter stands valuable, a significant part of Hüseyin Ağa's transactions within the walled city concentrate on the area of imperial importance that mentioned above.[86]

---

[83] The bathhouse of Hüseyin Ağa will be discussed in the next chapter in detail.

[84] TS.MA.d6977, folio.15a. To see the complete list of Hüseyin Ağa's assets please refer to Appendix B.

[85] Ayverdi, *Fatih Devri Sonraların İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskanı ve Nüfusu*, 24.

[86] For more information and the visual representation of Hüseyin Ağa's properties please refer to Figure 2, the map of Hüseyin Ağa's assets in Constantinople.

2.4.1 The garden of Çatladı Kasım bin Mehmed

There are two remarkable purchases of the *ağa* in these districts. First one is the garden of Çatladı Kasım who was famous with his land ownership in the time of Mehmed II. He asked the Sultan several times to buy some areas below the Hippodrome and close to today's Çatladıkapı. Various *fermans* are still surviving regarding his assets. In sum, the Sultan gave him a church attached to his garden, a house next to the Hippodrome, a ruined church (*harab bir kiliseciği*) attached to his garden, a land close to Aya Sirini[87] and another property probably situated around the same district. [88]

Mitchell and Kafescioğlu suggest that this Çatladı Kasım bin Mehmed also built a bath, and unfortunately the Sultan denied him did not give permission to operate it. The mentioned bath was also close to the Hippodrome.[89] Although the tales about this man is complicated, at least the *fermans* and the stories suggest that he was a wealthy person who was able to dominate the area close to the imperial residence of the Sultan.

When it was the time of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus' conversion, the garden of Çatladı mentioned as a ruined and empty place in the endowment deed of Hüseyin Ağa: "And one of them is the big, ruined land known as Çatladı Garden. It is close to

---

[87] Uğur Tanyeli suggests that indeed this Aya Sirini is the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. In the middle of the fifteenth century the church had been called with this name since the saints Sergius and Bacchus were from Syrian origins. For more information, see Tanyeli, "Küçük Ayasofya ve Çevresinin Tarihsel Topoğrafyasına Katkılar," , 90-94 and Tanyeli, *Sınıraşımı Metinleri*, 302.

[88] Topkapı Sarayı Arşiv Kataloğu, *Fermanlar*, 2-3. This catalogue includes the summaries of *fermans* found in the Topkapı Palace Archives. The purchases of Çatladı Kasım dated back to 1464-1467. Today Çatladıkapı became a district in Küçük Ayasofya quarter and it is believed that the district named after Çatladı Kasım.

[89] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 264. Mitchell "Institution and Destitution," 264. Indeed, Çatladı had a complicated story. In his thesis Mitchell investigates documents regarding Çatladı and his assets and tries to overcome confusions. For more information, please refer to Mitchell "Institution and Destitution," 264, footnote no.35.

the Hippodrome (ميدان الفرس). The donor bought this property from Mehmed b. Çatladı."[90]

After Hüseyin Ağa's purchase, Ali Paşa[91]granted him with another land attached to this garden. The deed continues that he then built the *hammam* at one of the sides of this property. The garden had Christian neighbors, and he also bought their houses to settle in the Muslims and repelled the former population before he founded the endowment.[92] It is interesting to see that the *ağa* also converted the population together with the church. In a sense, Hüseyin Ağa might have a motivation to modify the religious image of the mosque neighborhood because after this exclusion the next asset was also attached to the garden and it was the house of a Christian named Himar. To the north, there was the house of the Fisher Yorgi, who also sold his property to the *ağa.*[93]

Mehmed also sold another piece of land to Hüseyin Ağa; it was at the southern side of the mosque and connected to the sea walls. The ruined church of Çatladı is also mentioned in the endowment deed in that the *ağa* bought another land attached to it. The boundaries of Hüseyin Ağa's properties reach up to the Hippodrome because at last, he bought a number of houses attached to it. At the end he might have collected almost all the lands belonging to Çatladı and endowed them to serve his *zâvîye.* It would not be a mistake to say that he would have created a *mahalle* for Küçük Ayasofya.

---

90 TS.MA.d6977, folio.13a.

91 He was probably Hadım Ali Paşa, so called Atik Ali Paşa the grand vizier of Bayezid II, who was in the service between 1511-1512.

92 TS.MA.d6977, folio.13a.

93 For the house of Himar, see TS.MA.d6977, folio.13a-13b; For the house of Yorgi, see TS.MA.d6977, folio.14b.

2.4.2 İshak Paşa Garden, Hüseyin's caravanserais and Galata

Aside from his purchases in Küçük Ayasofya quarter and alongside the Hippodrome, Hüseyin Ağa's land even reunited with the bath of İshak Paşa (d.1494) who served Mehmed II and Bayezid II in the office of grand vizierate. Hüseyin Ağa bought the land with its belongings and ruined building from the inheritors of İshak Paşa. It is known as Ishak Paşa Garden and mostly surrounded by the other belongings of Paşa's waqf. The location of this garden is today Cankurtaran quarter and it is quite close to the Palace.

In March 1495, Bayezid II issued a *fermân* to give permission to Hüseyin Ağa for converting his residence -located between Hagia Sophia and the Hippodrome- into a caravanserai.[94] The document does not only provide information about the *ağa'*s property but it also nourishes the reader with a possibility that like Firuz Ağa, Hüseyin also did own a lavish residence close to the imperial palace.[95] Later on, Hüseyin Ağa built another one facing the former and opened shops on the ground floors of these two. The endowment deed states that it is not necessary to write down the borders of these khans since there are famous with the name of the founder. It means that sometime in the fifteenth and sixteenth century there were places called the Caravanserais of Hüseyin Ağa.

These two are not the only places of commerce of the endower within the borders of Constantinople. Indeed, he had another waqf in Constantinople, which is close to Çemberlitaş. The knowledge comes with an undated copy of the endowment deed. Initially it was sealed by *kazasker* Ali bin Yusuf Fenari (d. 1497) -probably he

---

[94] Topkapı Sarayı Arşiv Kataloğu, *Fermanlar,* 5.

[95] I will not discuss the palaces of individuals of higher means and compare them with of Hüseyin Ağa's with the purpose of limiting my study. Besides since the *ferman* mentions the place as, "*Ayasofya ve Atmeydanı arasında mülkü olan evini*" it is nothing more than a possibility.

was the converter of Fenari İsa Mosque- and copied by an unknown Hüseyin bin Mehmed.[96] The deed was dated to December 1486 and known to be the earliest foundation document of Hüseyin Ağa. It was issued because he built a mosque in the Eski Et Pazarı or so-called Tavuk Pazarı, which seems to have been constructed before the conversion of the church.[97]Consequently, he compensated all of his lands –granted by the Sultan himself- around the mosque to finance his edifice.[98]He built 32 shops in total; twelve of them have boundaries with the khan of Süleyman Paşa.[99] In 1497, the *ağa* also found a pious endowment for his monuments in Amasya and in the Balkans including madrasas, *mekteb*s and mosques -that will be discussed later in this chapter-. The assets of this foundation also include several shops, houses and barn close to Hagia Sophia. [100] So, by erecting these shops Hüseyin Ağa expanded his commercial activities within the city and made his foundation a self-sufficient corpus.

Returning to the deed of Küçük Ayasofya, the endower made valuable investments in Galata. By purchasing three large lands, Hüseyin Ağa acquired five shops two bakeries, various depots and storage places to finance his *zâvîye*. He also bought more than five houses. In addition, the endower built a fountain in Galata.

---

96 "Bu nüshayı i mevla, hatir (?) önde gelen muallimlerden, büyük ilm sahibi, millet ve dine can veren, o tarihte asakir-i mansura kadı olan Ali bin Yusuf el-Fenari'nin mührüyle mühürlenmiş aslından naklettim. Arz ettim ve buldum ki bu nüsha noktası noktasına aslına denktir. Ve aralarında tek bir noktada dahi muhalefet yoktur.
Ve ben vakıfları teftiş ile memur, mevlasına aciz kul Hüseyin bin Mehmed- Allah onları affetsin ve kusurlarını örtsün." See, TS.MA.d6996, folio.3b.

97 I will not describe this mosque of Hüseyin Ağa in detail. The structure had experienced a sharp fire in 1802 and rebuilt by another Kapu Ağa. In terms of architecture nothing is extant from its original features. See Eyice, "Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları", 198.

98 TS.MA.d6996, folio.6a.

99 Probably he was a commander of Bayezid II.

100 See TS.MA.d6936 , folio.60a.

According to Bayezid II's edict dated to July 1494, Hüseyin Ağa was permitted to carry the water, which had its source in Fındıklı, to his fountain.[101]

The endowment deed mentions that the location of the *ağa'*s assets is Cami quarter of Galata.[102] According to Ayverdi's list, this quarter is at the north end of Karaköy Bridge.[103] So, it is presumable that the name Cami refers to Arab Mosque, and Hüseyin Ağa's lands had been laying on today's Tersane Street.

2.4.3 Edirne

The wealth of Hüseyin Ağa was beyond the borders of Constantinople. The deed mentions a village called Binbucak in İznik and a farm in the same region. At the west of the capital the Sultan granted three villages and a few acres in the town of İncüğez located in today's Kırklareli.[104] The above-mentioned deed regarding Amasya and the Balkans also specifies three villages, four farms and lands in the same region.[105]According to the documents these transactions took place between April 1486 and March 1490.

The *ağa* also bought several assets in Edirne for the sustenance of Küçük Ayasofya. As he did in the case of İshak Paşa Garden, the *ağa* obtained 23 shops out of 36 in the khan of Çandarlı Halil (d.1453). He bought them from the descendants of the *paşa*. An unknown Hüseyin Bey also sold two shops to the endower. Besides, the Sultan gave him two pieces of land attached to the Kal'a Gate of the fortress.

---

101 Topkapı Sarayı Arşiv Kataloğu, *Hükümler- Beratlar,* 107.

102 TS.MA.d6977, folio.16b.

103 It should be the Galata Bridge. Ayverdi, *Fatih Devri Sonraların İstanbul Mahalleleri,* 67.

104 TS.MA.d6977, folio.22b-23a. Topkapı Sarayı Arşiv Kataloğu, *Fermanlar,* 4-5.

105See TS.MA.d6936

There is also another gate named after Hacı İvaz Paşa (d. 1429). Hüseyin Ağa purchased a land just out of this gate.[106] Interestingly, in addition to permitting him to possess this land, the Sultan also let him build a *başhane* (a place of storing and selling animal giblets and a variety of other meat) and a *kapan* (stock market of a particular product) on this land.[107]

Usually, a *kapan* stands with the purposes of (1) regulating the taxes of particular product, (2) to avoid black market, (3) to distribute coming goods deliberately. *Kapan*s had been in a significant place in the economy almost from the beginnings of the Ottoman state. There should be specialists in each *kapan* who investigates -especially- the imported goods.[108] Having the features of such place in mind, his erection of *kapan* seems kind of remarkable because this construction is different than the others. It would have let the *ağa* have a voice in the economy of an important Ottoman city. So, Bayezid II might have allowed his chief imperial eunuch to be active in the regulations of prices, taxes and distribution of some goods in the Edirne's market. In my opinion having this opportunity in hand is much more germane than purchasing hundreds of shops in the same district. It is presumable that after these transactions and constructions Hüseyin Ağa's patronage became an inevitable part of the city.

2.4.4 The Balkans and Firuz Ağa

Bayezid II is known as the consolidator of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans. During his long reign he made campaigns to various Balkan regions including Herzegovina

[106]TS.MA.d6977, folio.21b.

[107] Topkapı Sarayı Arşiv Kataloğu, *Fermanlar,* 4.

[108] Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* 2, 164.

and Belgrade. From the patronage of his entourage in could be understood that he distributed these lands to keep them safe and to manage their circulation. For example, in May 1483, the Sultan ordered the qadi of Filibe not to intervene Çaşnigir village since it belonged to Hüseyin Ağa.[109] At this point together with analyzing Hüseyin Ağa's deeds it is important to see the patronage of Firuz Ağa in the Ottoman geography. Although they made constructions in different cities, it would be fruitful to see the parallels between the acts of two eunuchs.

To begin with Filibe (located in today's Bulgaria), the city was conquered by Murad I and had been standing as an important city of the region. Bayezid II granted two villages of Filibe to the *ağa* one is Çaşnigir as referred above and the other is Yakacak. In the endowment deed issued according to the construction of his mosque in Tavuk Pazarı, it is mentioned that Hüseyin Ağa built a *mekteb* and a masjid in Saraçlar Pazarı quarter of the city.[110] According to waqf records of the year 1546, he also had two mills in Filibe. Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi notes that the mosque was demolished.[111]

Samokov is another city of Bulgaria where Hüseyin Ağa found another masjid and a *hammam*. The city was hundred and fifty kilometers away from Filibe and close to Sofia. The annual income the *hammam* is 3150 *akçe*s.[112] The only valuable information is concerning these two edifices the stipends of the attendees.

Apart from Bulgaria, the other Balkan properties of the *ağa* were in the boundaries of today's Serbia. The Sultan gave him a number of meadows, fruit

---

[109] Topkapı Sarayı Arşiv Kataloğu, *Hükümler,* 4-5.

[110] TS.MA.d6996, folio.7b-8a; Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid, Yavuz Selim Devri,* 135.

[111] Ayverdi and Barkan, *İstanbul Vakıflar Tahrir Defteri 953 (1546)*, 71.

[112] Ibid., 71.

gardens, mills and large mortars in Leskovac, Paracin, Ürgüb and Krusevac. Hüseyin Ağa built a *hammam* in Leskovac with annual income of 1900 *akçe*s.[113]

As for the other imperial eunuch, Firuz Ağa, in the Topkapı Palace the only available endowment deed with his name is dated to 1492.[114] Although this deed is only related to his constructions in Amasya and Constantinople, thanks to the waqf record of 1546 we know that he has a fountain Smederevo together with a *hammam*. Plus, his was the owner of a fountain in today's Sarajevo. [115]Since he had the chance to build such structures, it is a significant possibility that Bayezid II also granted him lands around the same city as the custom.

Of course, Hüseyin Ağa and Firuz Ağa are not the only statesmen of Bayezid II who had properties and construction in Rumeli. İmrahor İlyas Bey, for example, had a mosque in İoanina.[116] According to waqf records, Hadım Ali Paşa, above-mentioned grand vizier had villages, mills and such properties in Mora, Filibe, Yambol and in the others.[117]

2.4.5 Imperial eunuchs in the Eyâlet of Rum

The Eyâlet of Rum or so-called Rumiyye-i Suğra had been a state of the Ottoman Empire up to the second half of the nineteenth century. It consists of various cities like Amasya, Sivas, Tokat, Trabzon, Çorum and the others. Before his enthronement,

---

[113] Ibid., 71.

[114] TS.MA.d6931, folio 1a-70a.

[115] Ayverdi and Barkan, *İstanbul Vakıflar Tahrir Defteri,* 23.

[116] Ayverdi and Barkan, *İstanbul Vakıflar Tahrir Defteri,* 375.

[117] For more information, see Ibid., 69-70.

Bayezid II held the princely court of Amasya, which was known to be the capital of the *eyâlet* 27 for years between 1454 and 1481.[118]

As it is mentioned the Sultan brought his entourage to the capital and they made prominent constructions within the city. The patronage of these people went beyond the borders of Constantinople and as of Amasya after their transportation. Rather they continued to establish foundations both in Amasya and in the surrounding vicinities. Although they settled in the capital, their constructions in Bayezid's princely court is an indicative of their ongoing ties with their primary power base.

In his article published in 1978, Semavi Eyice analyzed the Hüseyin Ağa's constructions in Amasya. The earliest of them is dated to 1483 and a *bedesten* in the commercial area of the city. He concludes that Hüseyin's bedesten is the core of cities economic life and was built to support the *ağa*'s life in Amasya. The structure is partly destroyed in the nineteenth century and does not preserve its original plan (see Appendix A, Figure 3).[119]

Hüseyin Ağa's most flamboyant construction is probably his madrasa in Amasya. Built in 1489, it shows a specialty in the Ottoman madrasa architecture. Because of its octagonal plan Albert Gabriel suggests that a foreign architect of the Greater Iran should have built it (see Appendix A, Figure 4).[120] A later similar example was constructed by Mimar Sinan and ordered by Rustem Paşa (d.1561). It was built almost 70 years later than the one in Amasya and this might also honor

---

[118] I chose Eyâlet-i Rum to determine the provinces of patronage because the constructions not only concentrate on Amasya but also includes the regions such as Sonisa (Uluköy), Ladik, Tokat, Sivas.

[119] For more information about the *bedesten*, see Eyice, "Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları", 154-159.

[120] Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie: Ouvrage Publié Sous Les Auspices du Ministère Turc de L'instruction Publique,* 56.

Hüseyin's patronage. [121] If Gabriel's suggestion is true than Hüseyin Ağa had to be a real strong and charismatic persona among Bayezid's entourage and seems to have the full support of the Sultan. At least, these constructions and the possessions in Edirne suggest that the Sultan had trusted him to give such opportunities.

As it is mentioned above, in 1495 Firuz Ağa built a *bedesten* and masjid in Amasya.[122] Unfortunately, these buildings are not extant today. In March 1485 Bayezid declared that assigned the ownership of various field to Firuz Ağa.[123] Chronicler Abdizade Hüseyin Hüsameddin states that in 1494 Firuz built his madrasa in a town called Gümüş, seventy kilometers away from the center of the city. According to him, the building is made out of stone and in a good condition.[124]

These eunuchs also had constructions in Tokat. Unfortunately they are not extant today. Semavi Eyice, Yüksel, Ayverdi and Barkan do not mention Hüseyin Ağa's patronage in the city but in the archives of the Topkapı Palace there is an endowment deed dated to October 1493. The deed also includes his villages in Mecidözü. The summary of this deed may be translated as follows:

> [This document] includes the registration that Hüseyin Ağa built a hammam an imaret and a madrasa at the center of Tokat and donated all fields and villages in his possession to these foundations. And he also donated the same villages, field and the others that recorded in this document to the mosque in Mecidözü.[125]

---

121 With the purpose of limiting my research I do not go into detail for contextualizing the madrasa and describing its architectural features. For more information about its features, please refer to Eyice, "Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları", 159-166.

122 Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid, Yavuz Selim Devri*, 30, 37, 52.

123 Topkapı Sarayı Arşiv Kataloğu, *Fermanlar,* 4.

124 Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Amasya Tarihi* 1, 365; Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid, Yavuz Selim Devri*, 141. I was able to reach this information and the account of Abdizade with the help of Yüksel's study.

125 "Babüssaade Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın, Tokad şehri merkezinde inşa ettirdiği bir hamam, imaret ve medrese ile kendi tasarrufunda bulunan bütün karye, mezra ve Mecidözü nahiyesindeki cami için, mezkur karyelerle, defterde isimleri yazılı sair karye ve mezraları vakfettiğinin tescilini havi" See TS.MA.d10773, folio 1b-41b.

With this document it becomes evident that he made patronage in Tokat.[126] As for Mecidözü (a province between Amasya and Sivas), the information is unclear that if he built the mosque or he just directed source to finance its sustenance. In all cases this document verifies that Hüseyin Ağa also had possession at the east and west of Amasya.

On the other hand Yüksel mentions a hammam of Firuz Ağa in Tokat, which was built in 1485 and so called Saray Hamamı; it had an annual income of 12000 *akçe*s in 1546. Besides there were 39 shops in front of that hammam; which means that just his contemporary Firuz was also active in the economic life of a city; Tokat.[127] Different from Hüseyin Ağa, he also built another hammam together with three shops in Sivas. This one is not active as the one in Tokat since the annual income was just 3500 *akçe*s.

As for hammams, in one his endowment deeds, it is recorded that Hüseyin Ağa purchased a hammam inside the fortress of Trabzon. The ownership of the asset was divided among several siblings. With the permission of them he bought the bath from a *vekil* called Mustafa Bey bin Abdullah. The endowment deed does not mention the features and surrounding structures of the buildings because of its fame among the people of the city. [128]The income of this hammam is to finance the foundations in Amasya and Constantinople. Besides it is not mentioned in the waqf

---

126 Unfortunately, I could not find any information regarding these structures other than the endowment deed. Then, I checked whether this Tokat would not have covered the boundaries that we know today but the center of the city was well-known with many monuments like Gök Medrese.

127 Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid, Yavuz Selim Devri,* 389; Ayverdi and Barkan, *İstanbul Vakıflar Tahrir Defteri,* 24.

128 " ومنها جميع الحمام الكائن في باطن قلعة طربزون بقرب باب قلعة معروفة بأورته قلعة، قد اشتراه الواقف المذكور من مصطفى بك بن عبد الله"
See, TSMA.d6936, folio 20a.

records and Yüksel's work. Thus, it is impossible to know the capacity and the income of the asset.

Firuz chose Havza (a district in today's Samsun) to built a masjid and madrasa among his possessions. Yüksel tells that there is no trace related to the time of establishment of these structures.[129] Again all the knowledge comes from 1456's waqf record; it shows that Firuz's *müderris* (the teacher of the madrasa) had been receiving 20 *akçe*s per day.[130]

These two also had some lands in Sonisa district of Amasya. Bayezid II gave the village called Topnaklar to Hüseyin Ağa with all of its fields, farms and meadows.[131] Hüseyin Ağa canalized all of his income from Topnaklar together with the other villages in the region such as Sepdelü, Kırca Kerem, Kırca Viran, Ali Fakih to his foundation.[132] The document also shows that he build a mosque since he stipulates that there should be a *hatib* (the preacher), an imam and other necessary attendees in this mosque.[133] Eyice states that there is also a madrasa attached to it and mosque is known as Kurşunlu Camii. It was destroyed in the earthquake of 1942. [134]Contrary to Hüseyin, Firuz Ağa just had a village called Omalu in the boundaries of Sonisa.[135] At last both eunuchs had also various other villages in Merzifon, Ladik.

---

129 Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid, Yavuz Selim Devri,* 145.

130Ayverdi and Barkan, *İstanbul Vakıflar Tahrir Defteri,* 24.

131 TS.MA.d6936, folio 21a.

132 Ibid., 21b-26a. For more information, see Appendix 1.

133 "للمسجد الجامع الذي بناه في محروسة صونسا." See TS.MA.d6936, folio 39a.

134 Eyice, "Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları," 166-168.

135 Ayverdi and Barkan, *İstanbul Vakıflar Tahrir Defteri,* 24.

2.5 Concluding remarks

There are two patterns that emerge from an analysis of the map of Hüseyin Ağa's wealth and patronage. The first one regards the sites of patronage and second is related to his companionship with the Sultan (see Appendix A, Figure 5).

2.5.1 Different dynamics in different regions

Firstly, it is possible to analyze Hüseyin Ağa's patronage in two distinct geographies: the Balkans, and the Eyâlet-i Rûm. Both regions have different dynamics in terms of architectural and institutinal patronage.

While looking at Hüseyin Ağa's assets in the Balkans, the most visible thing is that the points of transactions and constructions create a line as if he was eager to be active on an already present road. During the time of the conquests, Murad I (r. 1362- 1389) moved towards to the Balkans through three different routes: the north, the middle, and the south. The middle road, which Bayezid II also utilized in 1483 while moving from Sofia to Constantinople after repairing two castles along the shores of Tuna River[136], has a great match with the cities including Hüseyin's assets. It has marks from Constantinople to Bosnia including the towns of Edirne, Samakov, Filibe and Sofia. The presence of middle and left roads dated back to the Roman and Byzantine times.[137]

To turn back to the waqf record of 1546, while keeping the three directions in mind, it suggests that Koca Mustafa Paşa's assets were extending on the south road. His assets were starting from Constantinople up to the Vlore, the southwest

---

[136] "Sultan hazretleri de 1483'te Sofya'dan Filibe'ye, Filibe'den Samakov'a, Samakov'dan Edirne'ye, Edirne'den saltanat merkezi İstanbul'a gelip, istirahate çekildi." See Matrakçı Nasuh, *Tarih-i Sultan Bayezid* , 55.

[137] For more information, see *The Via Egnatia Under Ottoman Rule 1380-1699,* xii- 45.

coast of the Balkans. While moving to the latter city, he made waqfs in Didymoteicho, Gotse Delçev (former Nevrekop), Drama, Serez, and Thessalonica.[138] These cities draw a line through the south shores of the same region.

As for the Eyâlet of Rûm, making constructions in the area, especially in Amasya and Tokat is different from those in the capital and in the Balkans. In Amasya for example, it was not possible to introduce new insitutions and patronage networks within the city because it had a past full of earlier Islamic structures from the Selkujids, other medieval Turko-Islamic dynasties and the Ottomans. One had to accommodate himself to the present social and physical topography and the edifices. In this perspective according to Uğur Çelik's research Hüseyin Ağa's *bedesten* in Amasya was built by preserving the established commercial and historical axis of the earlier monuments including Burmalı Camii (b. 1247) and other khans.[139] Another point is that the *ağa*'s madrasa in the same city, with its unique plan and layout, might also be a result of the desire to create a more visible structure. He did not build it in the capital, in the Balkans or in Tokat but he chose Amasya to for this project.

The other city in the Eyâlet of Rûm, Tokat does not contain any of Hüseyin Ağa's edifices today. However, the point is that there is an earlier figure, a statesman of Çelebi Mehmed (r. 1413- 1421). Hacı İvaz Paşa was active in the city both as an architect and as a soldier. As Hüseyin Ağa started his career in Amasya and made the most prominent patronage in the capital, İvaz Paşa was also known for his proximity to Mehmed I. He was born in Tokat and contributed to a paramount construction in the former capital, Bursa.

---

138 Ayverdi and Barkan, *İstanbul Vakıflar Tahrir Defteri*, 68.

139 Çelik, "Amasya Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa Bedesteni Restorasyon Önerisi," 13.

2.5.2 Hüseyin Ağa, Hacı İvaz Paşa and Tokat

Hacı İvaz Paşa's father was the spiritual advisor of Çelebi Mehmed during his princely years in Amasya. İvaz himself was also in the court of the Sultan and helped him in his struggle to the throne. In 1414, he successfully defended the castle of Bursa from the Karamanids. He also served Murad II (r. 1421-1451) as a vizier. Although he was an active politician and a soldier his service as an architect and as a lieutenant of the Sultan, make his relationship with Çelebi Mehmed similar as of Hüseyin's with Bayezid II. He was not the patron himself but he made a palace in Edirne and most importantly oversaw the construction of the Yeşil Complex in Bursa for his Sultan. While İvaz is known to have been involved in the construction of Mehmed I's complex in Bursa, his exact role in the planning and design of particular aspects of the buildings remain unclear.

There were also cases in which İvaz was the both the patron and the architect of the buildings. He had foundations in the Balkans, such as the mosque in Didymoteicho. Moreover, it is believed that he built himself a palace in Edirne together with a mosque. In addition there was also a neighborhood in Edirne with his name, which might have been named after the founder's mosque and residence. Interestingly, Hüseyin Ağa also made transactions around the İvaz Paşa Gate of Edirne city walls. What mostly shows parallels between İvaz Paşa's patronage and Hüseyin's constructions is the former's building activities in Tokat. Like Hüseyin, İvaz Paşa also had a madrasa and a mosque in the city. Later on, the madrasa was considered to be among the highest ranking educational institutions within the Empire.[140] As for Hüseyin's foundation in Tokat, although there is a paucity of information, the endowment confirms the presence of teachers, sheikhs, muezzins

[140] All of my information about Hacı İvaz Paşa comes from Diyanet Vakfı's Encyclopedia of Islam. See Özcan, "Hacı İvaz Paşa," 485-486.

and a number of students. The case of İvaz Paşa shows that Hüseyin Ağa was not unique for his time and his positions; there could be other cases where a figure had a great proximity to the ruler by serving in numerous offices.

All in all, most of the structures mentioned above are not surviving today. If there had been a chance for physical investigation, it would be possible to offer more concrete interpretations regarding them. It seems that Firuz, Hüseyin and İvaz Paşa had a range of properties from Balkans up to Trabzon but the intersection point is Amasya and Constantinople. [141]

Throughout this chapter it is described that Hüseyin Ağa made numerous transactions to expand his holdings. The archival documents and endowment deeds show that he made these purchases in a period of almost twenty years between 1483 and 1500. This suggests that he might have acquired these properties to establish his later foundation: Küçük Ayasofya. He then made necessary stipulations and got his endowment deed sealed. Around the time that he was purchasing the garden of Çatladı Kasım, he also built another masjid in the Balkans and purchased a hammam in the Eyâlet-i Rum. During his office as a *kapu ağa* he did not stop his economic and architectural activities; he was remarkably consistent in developing his land ownership. Did he get acquire the wealth that enabled him to make these purchases because he was a *Babüssaade Ağası*? Was this a projection of the Sultan's affiliation to Hüseyin?

To answer these questions one may take a look at Firuz's foundations. It is true that his mosque is in an exceptional location in Constantinople, at the beginning of Divan Yolu but he did not convert a Byzantine church; he did not make purchases of the possessions of prominent people such as İshak Paşa or Çandarlı Halil Paşa. It

[141] For the locations of Firuz's and Hüseyin's assets, see Appendix A, Figure 5.

is also true that Firuz had various constructions in Amasya, which I think also stand for his affiliation with the Sultan. Bayezid II must have also supported his land ownership, but Hüseyin Ağa's madrasa with its unique design may attest to the latter's relative prominence in comparison to Firuz. Still, since all of Firuz's deeds are not completely accessible, we cannot make clear-cut deductions and have to avoid a possible underestimation of Firuz Ağa's patronage.

At this point I think Hüseyin is the person who corresponds with Kafescioğlu's statement:

> As the creation of a new monumental order gave concrete form to a resignification of urban space, minor focal points, in less conspicuous ways, contributed to that process [the process of the Ottomanization of the capital] which would at once manifest the political order within the city and be instrumental in its reproduction.[142]

Naturally, Bayezid gave a material support to his entourage by granting them villages, lands and other mansions but I think that the immaterial motivations behind Hüseyin's activity have to be understood from other perspectives. His contribution to the process of adaptation of Constantinople, investments to minor focal points of other cities give me a sense that he was acquiring property in a competitive manner, creating his image as a patron. An examination of the waqf records of 1546 in terms of the involvement of other statesmen of the reign of Bayezid II in such projects, it appears that with the exception of some grand viziers, no official was able to acquire an amount of land comparable to the acquisitions of Hüseyin Ağa. At least, it is true that he remained an influential figure up to his death.

[142] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul,* 189.

CHAPTER 3

FROM THE CHURCH OF STS. SERGIUS AND BACCHUS TO THE CONVENT OF KÜÇÜK AYASOFYA

In this chapter, I first focus on the construction of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus and its history up to the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. I then turn to its conversion into a lodge-mosque under the patronage of Hüseyin Ağa and want to look at the peculiarities of this this period in the building's history. Later on, in this chapter, I will examine the processes of several contemporary conversions to see if one could suggest a pattern in the Ottoman conversions of churches into mosques during the same period. I would like to see if Küçük Ayasofya has a unique place among the fifteenth and sixteenth-century mosques. From a broader perspective, I hope this will nourish the study by highlighting the boundaries of the appropriation process that took place during the reign of Bayezid II.

3.1 The construction of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus

As a significant structure among the buildings of the Emperor Justinian, the underlying problem about the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus is that there has been an ongoing debate about the reason for and the exact date of its construction. Several scholars have studied it to put emphasis on a number of assertions. In this context the chapter aims to comprehend how and in what circumstances the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus was built. Moreover, it seems that there is a gap in the history of the building, as the situation of the church during the medieval centuries and its life before the Ottoman intervention has attracted little scholarly attention.

In the year 518 Justinian, the nephew of Emperor Justin, was the heir apparent to the throne and with his wife Theodora they started to reside in the mansion of Hormisdas. [143] When he became the Emperor, in 527, the couple moved to the Imperial Palace.

During these nine years, the political career, activities and the patronage of Justinian, regarded to be glorious, have been topics of discussion among the historians of the Byzantine Empire. While he had been living in the Palace of Hormisdas, he also took the highest honorific titles and positions of Byzantine palace. In 525 he became the *caesar*, [144] the junior emperor. It is also known that in the meantime he had involved in other building activities. Some of Justinian's churches are St. Acacius, St. Plato, St. Mocius, St. Thecla, St. Thyrsus and others outside the city.[145]

Among his constructions as an emperor, of course, the most important was Hagia Sophia. He and his wife were also recognized as the patron of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. It is the church that may be compared with Hagia Sophia in terms of structure and interior illumination.[146] According to Alexander Van Millingen "Sts. Sergius and Bacchus and Hagia Sophia still reflect the splendor of the spacious days

---

143 In 323, Roman Emperor Constantine I helped Persian Prince Hormizd to escape to Constantinople and gave him a palace along the seaside. From then on this place called the Mansion of Hormisdas. The place was close to the Imperial Palace and there was an ongoing debate between scholars about its integration to the Palace. Contrary to the others Cyril Mango believes that it did not at any time form an integral part of the Imperial Palace. It was a separate but a prestigious residence. For more information see: Mango, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus Once Again,": According to Alexander van Millingen "it seems unavoidable to conclude that the Palace and Harbour of Hormisdas were the Palace and Harbour of Bucoleon, under an earlier name." See Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople,* 278.

144 "A caesar immediately created a separate court ceremonial with associated dignitaries. To express his elevated status, a caesar needed his own palace for himself and family his own staff and resources, his own ceremonial." See Croke, "Justinian, Theodora and the Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus," 29.

145 Ibid. , 29.

146 Schibble, *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience*, 85.

of Justinian the Great; days in which men still dreamed of the restoration of the Roman Empire to its ancient bounds…"[147]

As mentioned before, there has been a debate about the date and function of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople. Various historians discuss the topic with different assertions to solve the question.[148] The exact construction date of the church is unknown, but scholars have agreed that it roughly spanned five years between 527 and 532.

3.2 Sts. Sergius and Bacchus and the persecution of Monophysites

Cyril Mango's examination mostly depends on the account of John of Ephesus, a Monophysite monk who was in Constantinople during the détente.[149] Although Ephesus' record[150] did not mention Empress Theodora as the patron, Mango believes that she was responsible for the construction. He strengthens his point with the dedication of the church. Saint Sergius was a prominent Monophysite monk and for Mango, without the help of Theodora, it would have been impossible to build such a church dedicated to such a monk without a cult in that particular city. Saint Sergius was not only a Monophysite saint precisely; Chalcedonies, and indeed all Christians

[147] Millingen, *Constantinople*, 156.

[148] Bardill, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople and the Monophysite refugees"; Croke, "Justinian, Theodora, and the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus"; Krautheimer, "Again Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople"; Mango, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople and the alleged tradition of octagonal palatine churches"; Mango, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus once again"; Shadid, "The Church of Sts. Sergios and Bakhos at Constantinople, Some New Perspectives."

[149] A period of relaxation between Orthodox christians and Monophysites.

[150] John of Ephesus, "Lives of the Eastern Saints," 145-150.

revered Sergius.[151] Therefore, some scholars find Mango's argument superficial and shaky.

Mango also strengthens his case on Monophysite settlement in Sts. Sergius and Bacchus by questioning Justinian's proclivity of building a second church in his former residence. "And why the dedication to St. Sergius, a saint who had no cult at Constantinople, but whose enormous prestige in the Oriental provinces needs no commentary?"[152] According to Mango after the death of Theodora in the year 548, defilement emerged with the perpetuations of provocative agents among the Monophysite monks. "The community, which Justinian had vowed to protect, was then transferred."[153]

During Monophysite persecution, Pope Vigilius, who had placed himself in open opposition to the emperor, found himself a sanctuary either in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul or in Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. Because of this confusion and such cases of the time in the palace and –somehow- among the rulers, Mango believes that it is unlikely that this church should have formed at the time an integral part of the Imperial Palace.[154] Monophysites gained Theodora's patronage during a persecution. It is because "a community of Monophysite monks, numbering at its height as many as 500, is installed under Theodora's auspices in the Palace of Hormisdas."[155]

According to Procopius, Justinian built the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. For several scholars such as Irfan Shadid, Procopius' veracity becomes

---

[151] Shadid, "The Church of Sts. Sergios and Bakhos at Constantinople, Some New Perspectives," 468; He quotes from Elizabeth Key Fowden, *The Barbarian Plain: Saint Sergius between Rome and Iran,* (Berkeley: 2003).

[152] Mango, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus Once Again", 388.

[153] Ibid., 386.

[154] Ibid., 387.

[155] Ibid., 386.

apparent with the inscription that circulated the church. It leaves no doubt that Justinian built it. On the other hand, Theodora is mentioned at the end of the inscription with an invocation as the divine consort of the Emperor.[156]

Contrary to the Mango's arguments, it is also believed that rather than Theodora, it was Justinian who built the church on their residence before her husband's monarchy; that is to say before 527. In this narrative, [157] Justinian was blamed for a betrayal of his uncle, Justin. Thus he had to be punished by the Emperor, but Justin had a dream; he saw St. Sergius convincing him about the innocence of Justinian. Then he forgave his nephew. Consequently, Justinian dedicated a church to SS. Sergius and Bacchus as a sign of his gratification.

In several scholars' argument, such as Thomas Matthews, after his coronation, Justinian renovated the Mansion of Hormisdas and incorporated it to the main complex of the Imperial Palace.[158] However, according to Cyril Mango, "Sts. Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople was not built as a palace church, but in connection with auspices of the empress Theodora."[159]

In general point of view that SS. Sergius and Bacchus cannot have been completed earlier than 527. This opinion came from the church's inscription, which mentions Justinian as "emperor." Since he became sole *augustus* on 527, before this date he could not be referred as "emperor". For this reason Mango argues that the Empress handled construction. She built it quickly to serve Monophysite monks who had fled persecution in the East.

---

156 Shadid,"The Church of Sts. Sergios and Bakhos at Constantinople", 469; Mango,"The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus Once Again", 386.

158 Mathews, *The Early Churchs of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*, 47.

159 Mango, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus Once Again", 387.

The dedicatory inscription carved around the nave of the structure says:

> Other sovereigns have honoured dead men whose labour was unprofitable, but our sceptered Justinian, fostering piety, honours with a splendid abode the Servant of Christ, Begetter of all things, Sergius; whom not the burning breath of fire, nor the sword, nor any other constraint of torments disturbed; but who endured to be slain for the sake of Christ, the God, gaining by his blood heaven as his home. May he in all things guard the rule of the sleepless sovereign and increase the power of the God-crowned Theodora whose mind is adorned with piety, whose constraint toil lies unsparing efforts to nourish the destitute.[160]

Jonathan Bardill provides another side of the discussion. He revisits the topic several decades later and suggests a close reading of John of Ephesus'. According to Bardill this account suggests that the surviving church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus may have been built to replace a collapsed hall in Hormisdas, which had been used as a chapel.[161] Krautheimer's and Mathews' observation is also a similar one. For them the Monophysite arrangement in Hormisdas was an emergency situation and in that case, there was no time to build such a beautiful church.

It seems that there is an obscurity about how and in what circumstances these monks used exactly the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus during the détente. With the paucity of information both Krautheimer's, Mango's and to an extent Bardill's arguments are hard to prove and delimitate the boundaries of the research.

For Brian Croke, Bardill's and Mango's assumptions on Monophysite persecution are mistaken. There are two phases of the event: one in the early to mid-520s, and the other from 536/7. Fortunately, John of Ephesus is the essential eyewitness of each phase. According to Croke, the persecution does not solve the

---

[160] Translation taken from Mango, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople and the alleged tradition of octagonal palatine churches", 552; Bardill, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople and the Monophysite Refugees," 2.

[161] Bardill, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople and the Monophysite Refugees", 8.

problems, rather clarifying the nature and timing of this imperial action reopens fundamental questions about the date, purpose, and original context of the church.[162]

After analyzing two phases of the persecution, Croke asserts "up to 530 or so there was simply no need to find a suitable home in Constantinople for hundreds of displaced Monophysite monks. Even if large numbers of monks had arrived in the imperial capital during the height of the persecution from 519 to 526, there would not have been room for them in the Palace of Hormisdas, which had been occupied by Justinian, Theodora, and their household."[163] That is to say, it is highly unlikely that Sts. Sergius and Bacchus was constructed for Monophysite monks. Brian Croke is the last scholar who wrote his article in 2006; he has the chance to analyze all the previous arguments and studies on the topic. Rather than the problems with Monophysites, his assertion is about Justinian's vigorous architectural activities. For him, Justinian designed Sts. Sergius and Bacchus to entrench his political and religious standing. At the end of the study, he concludes, "the church is best explained as a programmatic response to Anna Juliana and the overt imperial ideology of her St. Polyeuctus church."[164] His deductions seem more satisfactory than the others. In my opinion looking through the church from this perspective is more illuminating than struggling to attach the reason of construction to highly complicated and indefensible stories.

[162]Croke, "Justinian, Theodora, and the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus," 32.

[163]Ibid., 36.

[164]Ibid., 62.

3.3 Justinian versus Anicia Juliana

In the sixties, Martin Harrison made the excavation of Church of Polyeuktos that was built by Anna Juliana. This investigation also articulates a new dimension to the discussion of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. The question "Why it was built?" again came to the scene. After his work Harrison concluded, "Justinian's erection of the third church of Hagia Sophia in 532-537 on the ashes of the second is best seen as Justinian's decisive answer to -this- challenge."[165] Recent research by different scholars such as Brian Croke and Irfan Shadid suggested that the impetus for the construction of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus could also be found in this rivalry during the early mid-520s. According to them construction of the church was also a part of this competition.

Anicia Juliana (d.527/8) was the daughter of Western Roman Emperor Olybrius. At the court of Constantinople, she was considered as the wealthiest aristocrat of the city. Besides, she was one of the non-reigning patrons of art. As a distinguished noblewoman, she built the church of Hagios Polyeuktos. The construction of her church decisively shaped the architectural developments of the sixth century Constantinople. The church might have been completed presumably completed not earlier than 522 and many scholars recognize it as the direct precursor of Justinianic foundations. It is indicated that together with Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, Hagia Sophia and Hagios Polyeuktos were closely connected regarding style, layout and decoration. But still, among them, Juliana's church was the most embellished one.[166] Moreover, as it is suggested Justinian's construction of two edifices was to

---

[165] Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*.

[166] For more information, see Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium: The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana's Palace-Church in Istanbul*.

defeat Anicia Juliana in their imperial and architectural rivalry.[167] In Croke's point of view, the answer to St. Polyeuktos was not Hagia Sophia; it was Sts. Sergius and Bacchus.[168] Add to the point, for Carolyn Connor, although Justinian's construction might be a response to Anicia Juliana, Juliana's primary motivation was not to show her piety and generosity to the Emperor. Instead, she wanted to build this church adjacent to her residence to "provide herself a final resting place, through which she intended to claim an enduring place in history, to achieve immortality."[169] But still, it was enough to an emperor like Justinian, for accepting a construction like Hagios Polyeuktos as a threat for his glory.

In this point of view, the erection of the church was related to the outbreak of the first Persian War. Justinian had been planning the reconquest of Eastern fronts, and the occurrence of the war had to alarm him. Shadid explains the relevance of the church to the war.

> Sergios was military saint, hence he was the right kind of saint to invoke in the context of the war with the archenemy Persia…. He could possibly have fought the Persians, perhaps in the army of Galerius during the latter's campaign against the Persians, a few years before the saint was martyred.[170]

The author also suggests that apart from Sergius no better Saint could have been invoked as palladium of Byzantium against infidel Persia. Moreover, Sergius has been particularly attractive to the emperor because of his military mission. He belonged to the Guards, which was an elite group in the army. Justinian's favorite commander Belisarios had also been a Guardsman and was very successful on the

---

[167] Croke, "Justinian, Theodora, and the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus," 26.; Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium,*40; Shadid, "The Church of Sts. Sergios and Bakhos at Constantinople," 475.

[168] See Croke, "Justinian, Theodora and the Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus."

[169] Connor, *Women of Byzantium*, 107.

[170]Shadid, "The Church of Sts. Sergios and Bakhos at Constantinople," 470.

Eastern Front. The church was to honor this privileged soldier. According to Shadid this may explain why Justinian dedicated a church to Sergius and why he built it in his residence.[171]

Justinian also built a church dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul. It has been suggested that this church with Sts. Sergius and Bacchus formed a double sanctuary, sharing continuous narthex and the same atrium. For Croke, Justinian also constructed the latter with the former.[172] Both churches are equal in size and the materials used in two constructions exhibited the same richness. Together they shaped one of the chief ornaments of Constantinople. In Millingen's opinion, Sts. Peter and Paul's location must have been the north side of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. This deduction was derived from remnants of spur walls, which can be still seen at the northeast corner of the latter church.

> There was, however, one striking difference between them; Sts. Sergius and Bacchus was a domical church, while Sts. Paul and Peter was a basilica. Styles of ecclesiastical architecture destined soon to blend together the grandeur and beauty of Saint Sophia were here seen converging towards the point of their union, like two streams about to mingle their waters in a common tide.[173]

According to Millingen and for the most of the others, the construction of Sts. Peter and Paul started in 519 before the enthronement of Justinian. The date of erection is evident with the Justinian's letter to the Pope Hormisdas, in which the writer asks for some relics of Sts. Peter and Paul to glorify his erection. The Pope immediately granted Justinian's request.[174]

---

[171]Ibid., 472.

[172] Croke, "Justinian, Theodora, and the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus," 27-29, 38.

[173] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople,* 63.

[174] Ibid., 65.

Presumably, the church of Sts. Peter and Paul was built before the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. The inscription on the entablature of the latter assigns the building to Justinian and Theodora, to the time when they were already enthroned. By this, one could say that Sts. Peter and Paul and Sts. Sergius and Bacchus were two separate projects, which uniformed with the construction of the latter. Besides, the church is mentioned in the acts of the council that took place in Constantinople in May 536, so the construction was certainly completed by the same year.[175]

Millingen states that the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus was one of the sanctuaries of Constantinople that the Emperor paid an annual visit in state.

Upon his arrival at the church he proceeded to the gallery and lighted tapers at an oratory, which stood in the western part of the gallery, immediately above the Royal Gates, or principal entrance of the church. He went next to the chapel dedicated to the Theotokos, also in the gallery, and after attending to his private devotions there, took his place in the parakypticon, at the north-eastern or south-eastern end of the gallery, whence he could overlook the bema and follow the public service at the altar.[176]

3.4 The layout of the church

> In the city walls, a little to the west of Tchatlady Kapou, opposite the beautiful Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, is a small postern, opened, doubtless, for the use of the monastery attached to that church. Its side-posts are shafts of marble, covered with a remarkable inscription, and were evidently brought from some other building, when the postern was constructed or repaired.[177]

---

[175] Mango, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople,"191. Mango, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus once again," 385. Schibble, *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience,* 86. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople,*63.

[176] Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, 65-66.

[177]Ibid., 262.

The church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus is a splendid, domed church built above the sea walls, on the south side of Constantinople. Its location is at southwest of the site of the old imperial palace, "beneath the towering substructures of the curved of the Hippodrome, just inside the sea walls along the shores of the Marmara."[178] According to R. Janin, it was the western limit of the mansion of Hormisdas (see Appendix A, Figure 6).[179]

The church is a near-square building, roofed with a central dome. It has a narthex along the west side. The distinguishing architectural feature of the building is its irregular ground plan with an octagonal core. "The core of the building is composed of eight wedge-shaped piers that mark the corners of the octagon and that are connected with eight broad arches, forming the sides of the octagon."[180] Between each wide arch there are two embellished columns. Of those column pairs, which situated at the corners created four exedras. This form gives a semicircular shape to the octagon and widens the central area. The columns of the octagon follow this form; create colonnades on the second floor and merge into spherical drum to buttress the dome. These columns are alternatively made of green Thessalian and red Synnada marble. The dome rises upon the main arches, divided into "16 alternating concave and flat segments, of which the latter are pierced by windows."[181]

According to Thomas Mathews', the skewed plan of the church might be a result of different building campaigns. [182] Moreover, for Millingen "it might be due

---

[178] Bardill, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople", 1.

[179] Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine: Developpment Urbain er Repertoire,* 334.

[180] Schibble, *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience,* 86.

[181] Ibid., 86.

[182] Mathews, *The Early Churchs of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy,* 44.

to sloven work or the product of the effort to adapt the church to the lines of the earlier church of Sts. Peter and Paul, with which it was united."[183]

The church originally opened through many entrances on the north side into the mansion of Hormisdas and on the south side to the church of Sts. Peter and Paul.[184] Later on, all windows and doors of the church had been altered by the Ottomans. They are now rectangular instead of showing semicircular heads, which had been the case before the church's conversion. The biggest Ottoman intervention to the church is the addition of a portico (*son cemaat yeri*) in front of the west side of the building. [185] This portico also represents the old atrium of the church; "and to the rear of the portico is still found the ancient narthex."[186] At the south end of this old narthex there is a staircase leading to the second floor. The arch at the foot of this staircase is decorated with the fragments from the old pieces of the church.[187]

As for the interior decoration, Van Millingen narrates that the walls of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus once gleamed with marbles and glittered with mosaics. [188] Procopius defines the church of Sergius and Bacchus together with the church of Sts. Peter and Paul and says "indeed each equally outshines the sun by the gleam of its stones, and each is equally adorned throughout with an abundance of gold and teems with offerings."[189] So to speak, at first, the church would have been embellished with mosaics. Destruction of such decorations might be related to iconoclastic

---

[183] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople,* 71.

[184] Schibble, *Hagia Sophia*,86; Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople,* 42-51.

[185] Details of Hüseyin Ağa's construction will be discussed later in this chapter.

[186] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople,* 71.

[187] Ibid., 71.

[188] Ibid., 75.

[189] Procopius, *Buildings*, 45.

controversy. It is known that the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus had been a prominent place during the years of iconoclasm. Patriarchs used the church as a center of their movement.[190]

Apart from the issue of mosaic decoration, the beauty of the church is embedded in its column capitals and stone carvings around the nave. Firstly, the capitals represent the type known as 'Pseudo-Ionic.' The church is a perfect example of sculptural decorations that cover beautiful vegetal compositions with expressive forms of acanthus with scrolling branches. Such carvings go beyond the capitals cover the nave, the architrave, both beneath and above the dedicatory inscription. In the center of each capital the monogram of the title Basileus, or of Justinian or of Theodora is carved.[191]

The plan of central domed core with encircling ambulatories makes Sts. Sergius and Bacchus a kind of miniature version of Hagia Sophia. Since Hagia Sophia is a product of following building activity, it is also believed that the church was an experimental model for its greater version.[192]Although its association with the Great Church is important, it is also germane to look at other churches of Justinian's time.

It is said that the octagonal church with a central dome was a favorite type of ecclesiastical architecture of the time.[193] This form could be seen in a contemporary construction; in San Vitale of Ravenna. It was probably found between 526- 532. There are obvious differences between the plan of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus and San

---

190 Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası,* 179.

191 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches,* 75.

192 Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople,* 42.

193 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches,* 70.

Vitale; however, it is not a mistake to say that the one in Italy adopted the Constantinopolitan features of Byzantine architecture. Like Sts Sergius and Bacchus, San Vitale's structure is in the shape of double-shell octagon and it is unique among the other churches of Ravenna. The exception is that its outer shell is also an octagon instead of a square. Besides, all sides of the inner octagon created exedras with half domes but the southeastern bay (see Appendix A, Figure 7).

The interior of San Vitale appears much steeper than that of Sts. Sergius of Bacchus. Because of the steepness of its drum –with the help of more exedras- the windows that are set vertically into the drum create light impression that enhances the sense of verticality in San Vitale.[194] Besides splendid mosaics of the church, including one depicting the emperor Justinian and the empress Theodora, are among the rich decoration of the church.

> There can be no doubt that the church of San Vitale drew inspiration from the architectural innovations and the new styles in the Byzantine capital. As an architectural example from the other end of the Byzantine Empire, San Vitale thus reflects the wider validity of the aesthetic of light that defined the development of ecclesiastical architecture in the sixth century.[195]

It would not be a mistake to say that in the layout of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus one can observe the principles of Justinianic architecture. Whether the application of such this double-shell, central dome to Hagia Sophia is derived from his church in the mansion of Hormisdas or not, by using these forms several times, I think Justinian would sign the core formula of many feature constructions even including Suleymaniye Mosque. From this point of view, Sts. Sergius might be the precursor of this architectural form.

---

[194] Schibble, *Hagia Sophia,* 88-90.

[195] Ibid., 90.

3.5 Medieval Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in travel accounts

After the age of Justinian, Byzantine Constantinople faced several adverse experiences. During the seventh century the Avars and the Bulgars attacked the city from the West. As for the East, the Sassanids and later on the Arabs sieged the city and shattered its walls and monuments. Up to the prelude of the Comnenian period in the early eleventh century a decisive Iconoclastic Controversy took place. In 726, the Emperor Leo III was against the images and ordered the destruction of a statue of Christ since many treasures and buildings of the city were damaged and burned.

Later on, during the last decade of the twelfth century the Crusaders attacked the city. They occupied Galata and created a tension between the citizens and the rulers. When the Emperor Alexius V fled, the Latins took over the control. Under their control up to 1261, the city and its buildings had declined.

> The presence of crusading army not only culminated in a violent sack that dispersed and destroyed the accumulated wealth and culture of centuries; it was accompanied by three terrible fires that ravaged through the whole northern and central sections of the city, and it resulted in the establishment of a Latin regime that set off a steady exodus of Constantinopolitans to the Greek centers of the government in exile. Far from restoring the damaged done in 1203-4, the impoverished Latin emperors melted down the statues for coin and sold the lead from palace roofs, while the Venetians, who now controlled much of the city, exported their declining profits, along with choice relics and architectural spolia for their churches.[196]

The last Byzantine phase of the city before the Ottoman Conquest was the Palaiologan Period. Michael VIII Palaiologos achieved the recovery of the former number of the citizens but in the fourteenth century the Black Death spread to Constantinople. It also caused a sharp decline in the city's population.

[196] Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople: Built Environment and Urban Development," 535.

Unfortunately, the two centuries of Palaiologan rule in Constantinople were not fruitful for the urban construction of the city since their resources were inadequate.[197]

> The external impression which Constantinople left on its inhabitants and even more on visitors to the city was at best contradictory, and sometimes catastrophic. Large urban areas remained undeveloped and uninhabited. The existing building stock was outdated. Many buildings were practically in ruins and could only be partly used, if at all. In fact, discrepancy between the city's aspirations and reality was hardly ever greater than in the late Byzantine period.[198]

During the Palaiologan times monuments of the city were thwarted and many of the biggest churches including Hagia Sophia faced an inevitable decline. Moreover, beyond being run out of economic resources the cities' cisterns ran dry.[199] Alice-Mary Talbot, with her study on the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos, explains that although the emperor had spent efforts to restore the city by making changes in numismatics, taking care of public works, these were not enough for development because of that inadequacy.[200]Later on, his son Andronikos II was a much more active patron of churches in that he restored monasteries of Lips and Sts. Kosmas and Danian, Chora, Pammakaristos, Christos Philanthropos and several others as well.[201]

To the best of my knowledge, with this general outline although Constantinople was a glorious and prestigious center, it had been declining, losing its shine and somehow experiencing a sharp deprivation during its medieval life. My

---

[197] Ibid., 535.

[198] Matschke, "Builders and Building in Late Byzantine Constantinople," 315.

[199] Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," 536.

[200] Talbot,,"The Restoration of Constantinople Under Michael VIII," 243- 261.

[201] Ibid., 257.

question aroused from this case is what the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus' condition was at this chaos? How had people and visitors observed it?

It seems hard to draw a clear image of the church's state between the years of its construction and Hüseyin Ağa's conversion under the reign of Bayezid II. However, although Constantinople had been losing its wealth, this had not prevented its position as an important religious and political center. It had welcomed thousands of pilgrims and visitors. Thus, medieval travel accounts became the most fruitful sources that give clues about the presence and the usage of the church are.

Thanks to George Majeska, one can read accounts of several Russian travelers who visited Constantinople in fourteenth century. One of them is Alexander the Clerk; he probably came to the city in around 1391. His visit was because of religious purposes and according to the story; Alexander entered all the churches that he was able to visit. In each church he touched the relics and prayed for salvation. Among these churches Sts. Sergius and Bacchus also took its place:

"Near the imperial palace of Constantine is the Monastery of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, [and] among the relics [are] both their heads."[202]

Another fourteenth century pilgrim Stephen also narrates their trip to Constantinople and visits the church for kissing the heads. "The Monastery of Sergius and Bacchus where we kissed their heads is nearby [the Great Palace]. All this is if you follow the direction of the sun, keeping the city wall along the sea on the left hand."[203]

There is also Ignatus, who made his way to Constantinople from Russia in 1389. As mentioned before, in this period, the city was a relic of its former glories.

---

[202] Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*,164.

[203] Ibid., 38.

Many of great churches, ecclesiastical monuments of past greatness including St. Sophia and of the Holy Apostles were in such a bad state of repair. For example, some parts of St. Sophia were closed off and Holy Apostles was not safe to visit. Even part of the imperial residence had been serving as a prison.[204] In his account Ignatus does not directly mention the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, rather he confused the location of the heads of two martyrs. Ignatus locates them in the Pantocrator Monastery by mistake.[205]

In his book *Bauten in Konstantinopel,* historian Vassilios Kidonopoulos' studies positions, histories and current situations of monasteries, churches, chapels, palaces, houses and public places of Constantinople between 1204 and 1328. Unfortunately, he does not specify the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. There is only one reference to the church and that is to explain the location of the Hippodrome.[206]

As for earlier times one can see references from the eighth century. It was the iconoclastic Emperor Constantine V (r. 741- 775) who was against the monks and had notorious hatred for monasticism, and he referred its practitioners 'the unmentionables'.[207]

> Here again, a pious and edifying tale contrives to make the great persecutor of icons and monks reluctant patron of religious foundations, in this case the monastery of the Hodegoi, the cult center of the famous icon of the Virgin Hodegetria. After recounting the legend of the foundation of the original church by the empress Pulcheria, the story tells how a monastic community

[204] Ibid., 13.

[205] Majeska, "The Journey of Ignatus of Smolensk to Constantinople", 184.

[206] See page 198 in Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204- 1328*.

[207] Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine*, IV 8.

> became attached to it in circumstances arising from the breakdown of a mechanical clock…[208]

Constantine V was appended to this mechanical clock. After its breakdown the only person found with the technical ability for repairing the clock was a monk called Hypatios. He could not achieve the duty. The emperor overlooked the monk's failure and he even promised him a monastery if he could repair the clock. He had three choices.[209] One of these monasteries is Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. Although it is impossible to know why Constantine suggested the church as a gift still it is interesting to see the church in this story. This reference as a clue tells that the church had been used as a monastery in the eighth century.

Moreover, the church of St. Sergius and Bacchus also played a major role between 9th and 11th centuries. As Alexander Müller Wienner refers from chronicler Georgios Cedrenos (d. early twelfth century), the church was also as the settlement of Iconoclastic Controversy patriarchs during their movement.[210]

Byzantine bureaucrat and chronicler John Skylitzes (d.1101) also provides us with similar information. During the reign of Michael III (d.867), his mother Thedora (d.855) examined the question of iconoclasm. Although her husbands Theophile and later Manuel the Armenian were iconoclasts, the Empress venerated the icons. She had survived a harsh policy to restore the images. Firstly, she made an assemble in the Palace of Theoktistos to discuss the matter of orthodoxy. During this senate, the majority of bishops and senators changed their ideas related to icons. At the end of the meeting the Empress exiled the people who had chosen to remain as iconoclasts. One of these iconoclast patriarchs was Jannes, known as knavish person

---

[208] Ibid., IV 9.

[209] Ibid., IV 9.

[210] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'unTarihsel Topografyası,* 178.

was closed in a monastery. Skylitzes states that this Jannes was one of the priests who was advanced in years in the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. [211]

Although there is no firm proof, with the information in hand it might be said that before the Ottoman Conquest, that is to say during the fourteenth century the church of Sergius and Bacchus was still active. It had a community of monks and was used as a monastery. However, it was not among the most famous sites of pilgrims and travelers because most of the people who visited Constantinople cite Hagia Sophia, Justinian Statue, Hippodrome and the Pantocrator Monastery among important places to see in the city.[212] As for the church it is only a topic of discussion for more religious people like Alexander and Stephen. It had been known as a shrine and a part of Christians' pilgrimage.

3.6 Çardaklı Hamam

> And the whole new hammam which the *vakıf* (God's favor will be upon him) built close to the blessed mosque (May God extends its life till the Day of Judgment) is one of [the assets of Hüseyin Ağa]. There is no need to mention its (hammam's) characteristics since it is famous with a distinguished name.[213]

While founding the Küçük Ayasofya endowment, Hüseyin Ağa also built a double-bath, Çardaklı Hamam to finance his convent-mosque. There are some plates and remnants in and on the building suggesting that it has a connection with an old

---

211 Skylitzes, *Empereurs de Constantinople*, 76.

212 For more information, see Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople.*

213 "ومنها جميع الحمام الجديد الذي بناه الواقف المشار الله أنعم الله تعالى عليه في قرب الجامع المبرور عمره الله إلى آخر الدهور المستغني عن التحديد لاشتهاره باسمه الكريم."

See, TS.MA.d6977, folio.11b. All translations from Hüseyin Ağa's endowment deeds into English are mine.

Byzantine bath. That is why it might be substantial to analyze this structure together with the church.

The bath is mentioned as a "hamam-ı çifte der nezd-i câmi'-i mezbûr," a double-bath next to the –aforementioned- mosque- in the waqfs register of the year 1546.[214] The annual income of the bath was 42500 akçes, which seems like a good amount comparing to the baths of other state officials recorded in the same register.[215]

There is an inscription on the main entrance of the hammam, with an interlaced writing. It was built it in 1503/4 (see Appendix A, Figures 8-9). Together with his endowment deed and *Tahrir Defteri* it is obvious that it was constructed in conjunction with the conversion of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. In 1571/72 and 1575/6 there was a renovation of Çardaklı Hamam, carried out by an imperial architect named Omer bin Veli. A later renovation also took place in 1600/1 by the architect Mehmed bin Uveys.[216]

In 1918, the hammam was still in service.[217] Around the 1920s, art historian Heinrich Glück defines this bath as one of the most interesting and peculiar edifices.[218]Later on, the hammam became private property.[219] Between 1935-1940,

---

[214] Ayverdi and Barkan, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri,* 16.

[215] For example, the annual income of Mahmudpaşa Bath was 63000, the bath of Atik Ali Paşa was 32000, the bath of Nişancı Mehmed Paşa (the last vizier of Mehmed II) was 40000 *akçe*s. In this record the avarage income of public baths is between 3000-9000 *akçe*s. For more information, see Ayverdi and Barkan, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri 953 (1546) Tarihli.*

[216] Orgun, "Hassa Mimarları," 338-339.

[217] Koçu, "Çardaklı Hamam," 3750. In his assertion about this date, Koçu refers to *Rehnumayi Zabıta,* a book by Mustafa Galib Bey, which was finished in 1918.

[218] "Es ist eine der interessantesten und eigentümlichsten Anlagen." See Glück, *Probleme des Wölbungsbaues Die Bader Konstantinopels*,102.

[219] In *Diyanet Ansiklopedisi* Semavi Eyice notes that "Bu vakıf eserin ne zaman özel mülkiyete geçirildiği bilinmemekle beraber İstanbul'un idarî makamlarda bulunmuş önemli bir şahsiyeti olan

the building had been used as a storage and atelier of texture. Unfortunately, during these years, precious marble decorations, basins and such remnants were displaced and sold. Several decades later it was converted into a little factory (*imalathane*) and the inner part of the building was changed permanently.[220] Mehmet Kemal Aru noted that around 1949, it had been used as a winding factory.[221] In 1976, Semavi Eyice established a new survey of the hammam. He was not able to complete this task since the women's section had been devastated. All he could do is to correct some mistakes of Heinrich Glück's plan.[222] In the Istanbul's cadastral maps; Pervititch drew the Küçük Ayasofya section of the city in 1922-23. According to this map, several decades before the study of Eyice, the women's *soğukluk* is a ruin (see Appendix A, Figure 10-11). As İsmail Aydın Yüksel in his work on the architecture of Bayezid II's time, notes during 1982 "we have learned that the building is closed and will be renovated."[223]

Today the structure is abandoned and there is a restaurant in front of the men's entrance. Almost half of the shares of Çardaklı Hamam belong to the Fahrettin Kerim Gökay Foundation. However, since the other inheritors of the waqf could not be found, now there is no way to revive or renovate the building.

During his investigation, Eyice realized that primarily the building was designed as a single bath. This assertion comes from an adjacent wall, which connects the men's section to the women's. There are tracks of windows that joined

---

sahibinin onu yok etmek için büyük gayret gösterdiği anlaşılmaktadır." Eyice, "Çardaklı Hamam," 225-6.

220 Ünver, "Türk Hamamları," 189-203; Koçu, "Çarşı Hamamlarımız," 12.

221 Aru, *Türk Hamamları Etüdü*, 70.

222 Eyice, "Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları," 194.

223 Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid, Yavuz Selim Devri*, 267.

into the wall by laying bricks. Yüksel finds Eyice's assertion eligible because it is impossible for Ottoman baths to have windows between men and women's sections. This external wall was converted into an adjacent one between two sections.[224] So, according to this view, later on, the women's section was built and the hammam was transformed into a double bath.[225] Today it is partly demolished and ruined that makes almost impossible to verify Eyice's and Yüksel's thesis. Besides, if it is true, then it is problematic to give an exact date for a later construction. Since it is mentioned in 1546' waqf registers as a *çifte hamam,* it might take place sometime in the first decades of sixteenth century. At last, the endowment deed does not specify a detail related to the extension of the first hammam.

Almost all of the information about Çardaklı Hamam comes from Gluck's work *Probleme des Wölbungsbaues*.[226] According to Eyice, while Glück was processing this research in Istanbul around 1916, he learned a rumor related to Çardaklı Hamam. Greek habitants of the Küçük Ayasofya quarter told Glück that, the bathhouse had belonged to the time of Emperor Constantine.[227] Glück does not specify any information about this story. What Glück's work covers indeed is the explanation of the layout and the architectural forms of the hammam in detail. Indeed, he was in a prestigious position since the marble decoration was present and the bath had been functioning during the first decades of the twentieth century. Thus,

[224] Ibid. ,268.

[225] Eyice, "Çardaklı Hamam," 225-6.

[226] Glück, *Probleme des Wölbungsbaues,* 102-106, 169.

[227] Eyice, "Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları", 192.

he was able to draw the plan and cross-sections in detail. Apart from this, Glück's account is a formalistic narrative and description of the building.[228]

There are various reasons why Eyice and several scholars –İsmail Aydın Yüksel, Çiğdem Kafescioğlu- presume the hammam's relation with Byzantine architecture. First of all, there is a plate placed above the men's entrance below the foundation inscription. Although no relevant information is present regarding this plate, it is apparent from its style and decoration presumably it is a Byzantine piece of work. Eyice also notes an identical plate, which was found later. In 1944, Fahrettin Kerim Gökay gave this second piece to Hagia Sophia Museum.[229]

Secondly, for Eyice some properties of the hammam remind a Byzantine bath. For example, the *sıcaklık* of men's section is in the shape of Greek cross (see Appendix A, Figure 12). According to the author, such a form is not common for Turkish baths.[230] This suggestion seems irrelevant because it is easy to comprehend that this form was quite common in Ottoman baths of the fifteenth and sixteenth century with the help of a brief survey. One could see the Greek cross shaped *sıcaklık* in various constructions such as the bath of Yakup Ağa in Samatya, Çukur Hamam (constructed by Mehmed II) in today's Fatih district, the bath of Gedik Paşa, as well as in the bath of Bayezid II's own complex.[231]

In my humble opinion, what is more appealing than men's *sıcaklık* in terms of layout is the women's *sıcaklık.* Under normal circumstances, it has to protect its axiality from the main entrance up to the *sıcaklık*. Each user should be able to pass

---

[228] For more information, refer to Glück, 102-106, 169.

[229] Eyice, "Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları," 193.

[230] For more information, refer to Ibid., 195.

[231] To analyze the plans of Turkish baths of classical period refer to Mehmet Kemal Aru, *Türk Hamamları Etüdü,* ITU Mimarlık Fakultesi, İstanbul 1949.

through all sections without turning right or left. Interestingly in Çardaklı Hamam one has to turn left to enter women's *sıcaklık* since the plan is skewed. Although I have no information why it has been the case for the hammam however this is more unusual than having a cross-in-square *sıcaklık.* Beyond that the form of this section is also normal as it can be seen in the bath of Mahmutpaşa and Yenicuma bath in İznik.

The assumption Byzantine past becomes more exciting when I revisit the foundation inscription. It includes a phrase saying that Hüseyin Ağa also strengthened the matrixes (*temel*) of this sturdy/insurmountable edifice. It supposes that as if he was not only built a new hammam but also renovated a present building together with the mosque. In this point of view, it is germane to add that together with the mosque, the site of Çardaklı Hamam was a place for Byzantine Imperial residences. [232] It might be the case that there had been a Byzantine bath before Hüseyin Ağa's hammam. As an alternative estimation, it is also entirely possible that there was a use of spolia and the mentioned plate could be brought from another Byzantine structure.

As it is understood from the present knowledge, the historians of the late Byzantine Empire never mention the hammam. For example, Wolfgang Muller-Wiener who studies the historical topography of Istanbul says "There is no information about Constantinople's bathhouses for the period between 13th and the 15th centuries. On the other hand, it is known that Latin colonies of the city also had their own bathhouses already in the twelfth century."[233] Although his study stands as a canonical work about the Byzantine structures in the city, Müller-Wiener can only mention the name of several Byzantine baths. They are the Kalenderhane Bath,

---

[232] The mansion of Hormisdas and the Palace of Boukeleon.

[233] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, 48.

Private Bath and the Baths of Zeuksippos.[234] As for Çardaklı Hamam, he categorizes it under the baths of the Bayezid II's time.[235]

Historian Albrecht Berger, in his work Byzantine baths, states that it is impossible to make an investigation of Constantinople's baths between fifth and seventh centuries. In his suggestion during the seventh century, there were several *thermae'* s in the city but since the water supply ran dry these baths could not serve the population. As Müller-Wiener, he cautions that after the beginnings of seventh century the only well-known Byzantine bath was the Baths of Zeuksippos.[236] Finally, for him analyzing several monastery baths in today's Greece could give clues about the medieval and late Byzantine baths.[237]

Slobodan Curcic, the editor of *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*, conducts such a study. He also admits the point that the knowledge of Middle and Late Byzantine baths is virtually null.[238] The exceptions are the Byzantine bath in Thessaloniki and bath buildings of Kaisariani Monastery. In the chapter of this book related to the public baths, these two baths are analyzed by six scholars together with two Ottoman hammams in today's Greece and Skopje. As he summarizes "while the Roman emphasis on public bathing relied on the presence of monumental, state-funded *thermae* (baths), Ottoman hammams (baths) were considerably smaller in scale, and were privately endowed. Conceptually, and possibly physically as well,

---

234 Ibid., 48-52.

235 Ibid., 325.

236 Berger, "Bizans Çağında Hamamlar," 68-69.

237 Ibid. ,78.

238 Curcic, "Public Baths," 309.

the Ottoman baths appear to have resembled types of semi-private baths introduced in late antiquity."[239]

Precisely, it is true that Çardaklı Hamam shows some peculiarities in its plan with its two different *sıcaklık*s, but is not enough to assert that one side of it was a Byzantine construction. Additionally, although it might be a cursory statement, two Byzantine baths help to see that there is no accurate resemblance to prove a connection between their plans and as of Hüseyin Ağa's double-bath.[240]

As for the layout of the hammam*,* normally it has two entrances; one is for men[241] and the other is for women. For each entrance, there are *soğukluk*s covered with a dome. Men's *soyunmalık* is bigger than women's as usual, but for the rest of the bath, *soğukluks*, sıcaklıks and other parts are almost in the same size. Glück draws an ablution fountain in men's *soyunmalık* but in Eyice's records, it does not exist today.[242]

As mentioned above, one property of the bath is that its *sıcaklık* of women's side has a heptagonal shape. From this part one can pass to another *halvet hücresi*. According to Eyice this passage from the *sıcaklık* to *another hücre* is peculiar to Çardaklı Hamam.[243] Add to the point, the name of this hammam also comes from an architectural feature. There is an arbor, *çardak*, situated over the entrance of men's *sıcaklık.* That is why the bath is called Çardaklı Hamam.[244]

---

[239] Ibid., 309- 331.

[240] For more information, refer to Curcic, 312, 313, 316.

[242] Eyice, "Çardaklı Hammam," 226.

[243] Ibid., 226.

[244] For more information on Çardaklı Hamam refer to Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid, Yavuz Selim Devri ,* 66-269.

To conclude, if the new hammam was constructed on a former Byzantine structure –which is very normal in early sixteenth-century Constantinople since there had been various Byzantine structures- it would not be a mistake to say that the Byzantine past was also preserved with Çardaklı Hamam. Hüseyin Aga did not only convert the church, but he also attached another edifice to his convent. Although there are controversies about its construction, the bath has still been preserving its importance among the contemporary structures.

3.7 Hüseyin Ağa's conversion and the other converted churches

> Despite various influences, technological advancement and beyond surface ornamentation, the idea of reposeful, simple interior space encasement by four walls, which is surmounted by a modest dome remained the common-denominator of early Ottoman mosque architecture.[245]

In his book related to the evolution of Ottoman Turkish mosque Aptullah Kuran explains the nature of Ottoman mosque up to 1506, when the Mosque of Bayezid II in Istanbul was inaugurated. This mosque –together with the nonexistent mosque of Mehmed II -is considered as being the first of the monumental Ottoman mosques. According to Kuran mosques of the previous period were modest and experimental buildings. They must precede the peak and prepare the groundwork for the masterpieces.[246]

It is true that with the conquest, Mehmed II not only made critical changes in the social and administrative structure of the Ottoman state he also opened a way to a new architectural vocabulary. This architectural vocabulary did not come into being spontaneously, rather; it was shaped by new constructions as well as by the

---

[245] Kuran, "Basic Space and Form Concept in Early Ottoman Mosque Architecture," 187.

[246] Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, 3.

conversions from Byzantine structures. After 1453, Ottoman architectural practice was influenced and transformed not only by medieval Anatolian traditions but also Byzantine, and particularly Constantinopolitan, forms of ecclesiastical architecture such as the half-done and the conch. With those in mind Kuran tried to show the evolution of patterns in the early Ottoman mosque up to the emergence of the mature and rational "classical" style in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent.

According to Kuran, the common denominator of early Ottoman mosque architecture and the backbone of classical architecture is the domed-square unit. In this unit "the dome completely dominates the interior and draws the space toward the center."[247] By being acutely aware that any generalization has its exceptions and that there would always be odd examples, Kuran made a typological study of the Ottoman mosques. He divided the Ottoman mosques into three groups: The first group (single-unit) has a square-shaped prayer area with a single dome and three-bay portico. As for the examples of Constantinople, one could show the Firuz Ağa mosque, which has a perfect square interior with a dome, sits on pendentives. This structure can be seen as the ideal example of Kuran's typology (see Appendix A, Figure 13).

The second group is what he calls traditional great mosque (multi-unit). It is more spacious with divided compartments by means of columns and piers which make it easier to establish domes on the roof. As for multi-unit mosque, one can observe more than one domed-squares comprised the formal prayer area of a particular mosque. It would not be an exaggeration to say that it was also quite common to expand the area of the building not by multiplying the domed-square unit but by joining dissimilar units around a central dome as in the case of Atik Ali Paşa

[247] Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture,* 27.

Mosque in Istanbul (see Appendix A, Figure 14). In this mosque 'in addition to two-unit side sections, there is a rectangular area surmounted by a halfdome in front of the domed central unit.'[248]

Mehmed II's mosque in Istanbul can also be an example of this type. Although it has two massive piers underneath the biggest, central dome, the spatial plan still serves as a formal prayer area without interruption.

The third group is also called Bursa type or T-shaped mosque (eyvan-type). This type represents a combination of open madrasa that surrounds the main prayer hall with four eyvans and an enclosed courtyard. The mosque of Has Murad Paşa and the Mosque of Rum Mehmed Paşa are two clear examples of this type erected in Constantinople (see Appendix A, Figure 15).[249]

In Kuran's opinion 'this basic unit is used in a variety of ways in all three types of mosques [single-unit, eyvan-type and multi-unit]. The domed-square structure, with the addition of a porch and a minaret, establishes the basic mass of the typical single-unit mosque."[250] This form as the most distinctive element differs the Ottoman mosques from Anatolian Seljuk mosques. In Anatolian Seljuk mosques, space is broken up by vertical supports. However, a typical Ottoman mosque is a combination of domed-square units without having adjacent walls. This quality supplies the users with wider and uninterrupted prayer area.[251]

The common element in all types is that along with to be oriented to the qibla, the prayer area has to be not interrupted as possible. Even if we think of

---

[248] Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture,* 139.

[249] For more information, refer to Kuran, "Basic Space and Form Concept in Early Ottoman Mosque Architecture," 28.

[251] It is to keep in mind that this objective cannot be fulfilled all the times. Firstly because there are arches and piers in the prayer area and secondly it is not always possible to create such a space. For example, it is case for the layout of Ulucami in Bursa.

minuscule masjids such as Yatağan Mosque in Ayvansaray one can see the mihrab and the minbar immediately and without any visual disruption as he enters the prayer hall. These necessities are recorded or counted in any sources but are understood by surveying and analyzing the plans of various mosques. I observed that although the architecture had become more sophisticated, as the time passed by, the idea reposeful prayer hall remains the same.

It is true that the Ottoman architectural agenda entered into a new phase with the conquest of Constantinople. It provided the Ottoman architect with the opportunity of studying Byzantine structures. But still, the issue of formal prayer space had been the main focus of attention for Ottoman patrons and architects. The conversion process of Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque, which I will discuss, could be an example of the presence of this phenomenon. When analyzing the converted mosques, it seems to me that the inner space becomes more important than the outer.

Kuran states "repetition of like units gives the interior space sense of repose. Accentuation of the central area by two or large and high units gives a sophisticated and dramatic quality to the building."[252] When taking a former church into consideration this would not be the case. The structure stands with its own characteristics and the architect has to make it convenient for Islamic prayer. In my opinion for the converted structures it is hard to speak of three typologies. Rather there should be a new type like the appropriated mosques.

The church of St. Sergius and Bacchus was one of the important structures that were converted during the reign of Bayezid II. In the endowment deed related to Küçük Ayasofya Mosque the mosque is mentioned as follows:

---

[252] Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, 138.

> Originally it was a church; the noble master expelled the Christians out by a proper (شرعي) way and made it one of the priceless mosques. And he supplied the mosque with all of its necessities such as a straight minaret, a mihrab, a minbar and a *mahfil*. And he embellished it with lights and oil lamps. [253]

It is difficult to imagine the building's life in the period between the conquest of Constantinople and its conversion. The phrase "he expelled the Christians" suggests that it had been used as a church before Hüseyin Ağa's construction. The former Sultan might have let the Christians to perform their rituals. Moreover, Hüseyin Ağa's transactions that are recorded in the deed include the lands of numerous Christians. For example, there was Yorgi the Fisher and a *zimmi* called Himar. [254]That is to say, these people living in the vicinity of the church would need their own place of worship. Moreover, it is already mentioned that the famous Çatladı had important transactions in the district and bought parcels of lands around the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus but he did not touch the church.

Beyond that the scope of this construction is obscure in terms of archival material. It seems that after the conversion the main body of the former church was not intervened except some necessary changes in the entrances and addition and changes of windows. Semavi Eyice suggests Şehrizade Mehmed Çelebi as the performer of these alterations in the windows and doors.[255] However, he mistakenly states that Çelebi's intervention took place in the time of conversion. Ayvansarayi also confirms Çelebi's attempts but it occurred at the eighteenth century.[256]

---

253 TS.MA.d6977, folio.10b. " الذي كان في الأصل من الكنائس فأخرجه العامر الكريم من أيدي النصارى بطريق شرعي وجعله من الجوامع النفائس وألحقه علىه/بماله جميع ما لزم فيه من محض منارة من المحراب والمنبر والمحفل وزينه بالمصابيح والقناديل".

254 TS.MA.d6977, folio.11b-16a. For more information, see Appendix 1.

255 Semavi Eyice, "Küçük Ayasofya Camii", *TDIA* 26 (2002), 521.

256 Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmi* , 252.

As mentioned before, one of the Ottoman interventions is the addition of a portico (*son cemaat yeri*) to the west façade of the building. This portico has five sections each covered with a small dome. The dome in the middle is higher than the others with the main entrance under it. The main prayer hall of Küçük Ayasofya also seems well preserved after the construction in that there is not any trace of significant intervention to its architecture. The marble columns and engraved capitals are still present in the mosque. Nothing is known in terms of decoration of the church, since the Ottoman times it has been embellished as a regular mosque.

The church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus did not experience any sharp change through Hüseyin Ağa's construction. His conversion was much more related to the addition of new structures. One of the primary additions is the skewed U-shaped *zaviye* (see Appendix A, Figures 16-18):[257] "Then he also built an honorable *zâvîye* known as *sûfîhâne*[258] close to the blessed mosque."[259]

According to Ayvansarayi, this *zâvîye* had 36 rooms (*hücerât*).[260] However, as Eyice states only 32 of them could be determined.[261] It is believed that later on, it was used as madrasa rather than a *zâvîye*. The details of shuttling between two

---

[257] This *zâvîye* and other parts of Küçük Ayasofya such as the tomb of Hüseyin Ağa will be discussed in the next chapter in detail.

[258] During my research I did not come across with the word *sûfîhâne* as a proper name. It is presumable that the term is a compound word derived from the form and purpose of *zâvîye* because the physical structure of this place is a *hane* that hosting the Sufis. But still there is a room for the opposite possibility because in the endowment deed the phrase "the *zâvîye* known as *sûfîhâne*" is used three times. This let me estimate that the place would have been called Sufi Hane among the local population after its completion. This case seems quite possible because the *sûfîhâne* was built around 1498 and the endowment was completed in 1507. So, the time was quite sufficient for the structure to become famous with such a secondary name.

[259] TS.MA.d6977, folio.11a. "ثم بنى هو أيضا في جوار الجامع المبرور زاوية شريفة معروف بصوفي خانه."

[260] Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmi',* 252.

[261] Eyice, "Küçük Ayasofya Camii," 522.

institutions will be discussed in the next chapter in detail. Mübahat Kütükoğlu records from waqf registers that it was active and serving 55 students in 1869. Around 1914 it housed 25 students.[262] She refers to *Cedvel-i Medaris-i Asitane ve Bilad-ı Selase,* an archival register from Konya Koyunoğlu Library. According to this document the patron of the madrasa of Küçük Ayasofya is Mehmed II.[263] I have searched for this record specifically but I was unable to find it. I have also checked the endowment deeds of Mehmed II, published by Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü in 1938, to verify the accuracy of that information.[264] In these sources, I have not come across any connection between Küçük Ayasofya and the Sultan.

This *zâvîye* together with the mosque and bath, constitute Hüseyin Ağa's expanded complex. In addition to converting a church to establish a foundation, by building these dervish rooms the endower created a much more active place.

As far as I understand, the architect of Hüseyin Ağa's conversion did not make any sharp intervention to the core architectural forms of the church. Although there are alterations of windows and some changes on the facades, qıbla orientation and other inner aspects of the church remained unaltered. Then the questions appear, what are the basic architectural interventions take place during the conversion processes of this period? How did the conversion process of other churches take place? What aspects of the building was changed, and under what circumstances? Is there any typology of conversion that we can distinguish? To comprehend the

262 Kütükoğlu, *XX. Asra Erişen İstanbul Medreseleri*, 80.

263 Ibid., 80.

264 Türkiye Vakfiyeleri No.1, *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*.

phenomenon of conversion of churches into mosques during this period, I will make a quick thematic survey.

According to Robert Ousterhout "the standard approach to Byzantine architecture has been typological- that is, building are classified according to ground plan, definition of space, and other formal criteria."[265] With this and Kuran's typology in mind, is it possible to suggest a typology of these churches regarding their conversion processes? Is it possible to consider them in relation to the mosque typologies suggested by Kuran? To pursue my questions, I pick up several impressive edifices converted during Bayezid II's reign; Kariye Mosque (Chora Church), Gül Mosque (Church of St. Theodosia), Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque (Monastery of St. Andreas in Krisei) and Fenari İsa Mosque (Lips Monastery). These structures are converted by statesmen of higher rank. The reason why I choose these particular mosques has several points. I select Kariye because of its interesting architecture coming from Byzantine times and its splendid mosaic decoration that has been preserved much more carefully even after its conversion. I choose Gül Mosque because its history is interesting and full of obscurities. In addition, it serves a good example for seeing how the Ottomans used this monumental building due to their necessities. Finally, I will mention Fenari İsa Mosque since its architectural history is much harder to follow –even for the Ottoman era- and it is an assembly of three different constructions. While doing this, my main sources are Semavi Eyice's articles in *Diyanet Ansiklopedisi,* Müller-Wiener's book *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası* and Istanbul's waqf registers from 1546, and studies that address aspects of the particular buildings in question. One may also take a look at Semavi

[265] Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, 25.

Eyice's comprehensive book *Son Devir Bizans Mimarisi*.[266] This study is a compilation of his studies on Palaiologan churches. Since the articles in the encyclopedia are much more comprehensive, I prefer to use them instead of the book. In addition, I refer to Van Millingen's book on Constantinople's churches and Dumbarton Oaks' collection of Byzantine pious endowments if necessary.

3.7.1 Kariye Mosque (Chora Church)

Kariye Mosque was a part of a big monastic complex and formerly a church dedicated to Jesus Christ. Although the information about its history is limited the church attracts attention because of its irregular architectural form and splendid mosaic decoration. It is believed that the monastery was first built in 742 with the name of a Byzantine governor whose children had imprisoned in the monastery because of his rebellion against the Emperor. The second time, the church is mentioned in the registers of the eleventh century. Maria Dukaina, the mother-in-law of Emperor Aleksios Komnenos I, renovated the devastated complex. Aleksios' son Isaakios Komnenos also made a repair and prepared a burial place for himself in the inner vestibule of the church. In the thirteenth century, during the Fourth Crusade the monastery was demolished. A time later, Byzantine statesman Theodokos Metokhites made a full construction and changed the decoration of the church. He also had a special chamber for himself in the monastery.

The site had been used as a monastery and dynastic cemetery until the entrance of the Ottomans to the city. Kariye Mosque was one of the first structures captured during the conquest. After then it had remained empty until the grand vizier Atik Ali Paşa (d.1511) converted the Church of Chora Monastery into Kariye Mosque.

---

[266] Eyice, *Son Devir Bizans Mimarisi.*

This conversion of Ali Paşa was a part of his foundation dated to the last decade of the fifteenth century. Kariye Mosque is among three major constructions of the vizier in Constantinople together with Atik Ali Paşa Mosque –which was also known as Sedefçiler Mosque- in Çemberlitaş and Zincirlikuyu Mosque in the district of Beyceğiz close to Edirne Gate.[267]

In the waqf registers dated to 1546 Kariye Mosque is mentioned as Kenise Mosque in Balat. As Ayverdi mentions this mosque is the Kariye Mosque and the *mahalle* of it is still known as 'Ka'riye-i Atik Ali Paşa.'[268]

The mosque is not the only property of the donor in the district of Kariye, Ali Paşa has six new rooms close to the mosque (*höcerat-ı cedide der nezd-i Cami'-i Kenise*) and Cemal's house with its basement (*hâne-i Cemmâl ma'a bodrum*). His waqf had been receiving 1500 akçes from these assets annually.[269]

In 1546 total daily expense of the mosque recorded as 16 akçes. This amount includes the regular salaries of muezzin, imam, *kayyum, siraci* (man who burns the candles), and the cost of candles and the other necessities of the building.[270]

According to Robert Ousterhout part of the beauty of the Kariye's architecture was its breaking of the established rules. Monumentality is replaced by

---

[267] Ayverdi and Barkan, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri,* 67.

[268] Ibid., 67.

[269] Ibid., 68.

[270] Ibid., 70.

"Be-cihet-i cemaa'at-i Cami'-i Şerif der Balat
Cihet-i hitabet 4 akçes par day
Cihet-i imamet 3 akçes
Cihet-i tez'in iki neferen 6 akçes
Cihet-i kayyım be sirâcî 1 akçe
Cihet-i ta'rif 1 akçe
Cihet-i behâ-i revğan be şem' ve buriya 1 akçe"
Total annual cost is 5760 akçes.

complexity in the building's design. There are individual functional units, which are clearly identified on the exterior and given a visual integrity. "In plan, axial symmetry is avoided, and where axiality is employed, the axes appear unrelated, and symmetry is not maintained around them."[271]

> But irregularity may speak as eloquently as regularity. Architecture speaks in many languages and responds to many needs. Buildings achieve their final form by intention, not by lack of intention, and an understanding their visual vocabulary-their style- helps us to determine what those intentions might have been, and how the building was meant be interpreted in its own day.[272]

In the sixteenth century, Austrian cleric Stephan Gerlach visited Kariye Mosque and recorded that it was fully embellished with frescos and mosaics.[273] Evliya Çelebi also describes the mosque as a former artful church; 'evvelce bir sanatlı kilise'. [274] These accounts give the idea that after its conversion decoration of the church was not covered and rather it was preserved.

It is hard to guess how Atik Ali Paşa intervened in the architecture of the building. According to Semavi Eyice, today one can see traces of diverse constructions of different centuries. The center of the building with four buttresses and architrave are probably dated to the building activity of Isaakios Komnenos. In the fourteenth century, Metokhites built a chapel to the south and an outer vestibule to the west side of the building. His constructions are certain because of monograms inscribed on the arches. So to speak, there are no specific alterations dated back to

---

[271] Ousterhout, "Reading Difficult Buildings: The Lessons of the Kariye Camii," 97.

[272] Ibid., 105.

[273] Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü 1577- 1578* 2, 592.

[274] Semavi Eyice, "Kariye Camii," 496.

the churches conversion. The minaret standing today was built in 1894 after a devastating earthquake and it has nothing to do with the main architectural form. [275]

3.7.2 Gül Mosque (Church of St. Theodosia)

There is a paucity of information related to the first patron of this church in Byzantine times and its converter to Gül Mosque under Ottoman the realm. It is mostly believed that it was the Church of St. Theodosia inside Evergetis Monastery where the body of St. Theodosia has reposed. "The generally accepted location for the shrine of St. Theodosia on the slope leading down to Aya Kapı, a gate in the sea walls along the Golden Horn, is confirmed by the topographical notes of Russian pilgrims", says George Majeska.[276] In one of the travel accounts translated by Majeska translated, Alexander the Clerk locates the church close to the Pantocrator: "Nearby [the Pantacrator Monastery] is the body of Theodosia the Virgin."[277]An anonymous Russian pilgrim also tells that one should go to east from the church of St. Cosmas and Damian to reach the church.[278]

As far as I understand these statements of travelers are not enough to mark Gül Mosque as the former church of St. Theodosia. The identification might be right or it might be wrong. At least there is also a contradictory idea that rejects the idea that accepts Gül Mosque, as the former church of St. Theodosia. Neslihan Asutay-

[275] Ibid., 497.

[276] Majeska, *Russian Travelers,*347.

[277]Ibid., 162.

[278] Ibid., 150.

Effenberger for example, believes that Gül Mosque is neither St. Theodosia nor Evergetis Monastery.[279]

Ayvansarayi states that firstly Gül Mosque had been used as a storage place after the conquest. According to him Selim II (r. 1566-1574) ordered its conversion and it had been financed by the waqfs of the same sultan.[280]

However, the mosque is mentioned as "Câmi-i Gül" in the waqf registers of the year 1546.[281] It means that the construction took place most probably before the reign of Selim II. It was at least 30 years before his enthronement.

The source of the mosque's name is also unknown. One narrative says that when the Ottomans surrounded the church it was the anniversary of a Christian festival by which they have been celebrating the sanctity of St. Theodosia with millions of roses. So, later the Ottomans named it Gül for this occasion. Secondly, it is believed that there is the shrine of a saint, Gülbaba, placed in the mosque at the right side of mihrab.[282] Gerlach's account also corroborates to first possibility, since he mentions Gül Mosque as the former St. Theodosia, and tells the story of the same festival took place on May 29, 1453.[283]

---

279 Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger, *e-mail message to author,* March 6, 2016. For more information, refer to Asutay-Effenberger, "Überlegungen zum Christos-Evergetis-Kloster und zur Theodosiakirche am Goldenen Horn," 435- 443.

280 "Câmi-i mezbûr kilisadan münkalibdir. Fi'l-asl Tersâne-i âmire'nin âlât ve levâzımât-ı sâ'iresi içün mahzen olub, ba'de Sultân Selîm Hân-ı Sâni hazretlerinin emriyle minare ve sâir malzemesi binâ olunarak câmi-i serif kılınmışdır. Vazîfesi anın vakfından verilür." See Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l-Cevami,* 250.

281 Ayverdi and Barkan, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri,* 2, 56, 124, 269, 282, 398, 402, 433.

282 Majeska, *Russian Travelers,* 223.

283 Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü,* 599. "Bugün Aya Theodosia adındaki eski bir Rum kilisesi olup sonradan camiye çevrilen ve Gül Camii denilen yere gittim. Bu büyük, geniş ve tepesi kurşunla kaplı bina, şimdilerde Türklerin kullanımına tahsis edilmiş bulunuyor. Bu kilisede (29 Mayıs 1453 tarihinde) ayin yapıldığı sırada, kilisenin bulunduğu deniz kıyısındaki kapıdan Türkler kente girmişler."

Semavi Eyice analyzed architectural features of the building. He concludes that the original church was in cross-in-square plan. Around four main buttresses there are galleries each with two arches. The narthex was devastated and a wooden one was built accordingly. Eyice believes that the arches of the galleries are Ottoman construction since they have sharp-ending corners. [284]

The building has three apsides; the one serving the altar is in the middle and bigger than the others. There are many patches in the brickwork, which Eyice suggests were the results of later renovations dating to the 13th and 14th centuries (see Appendix A, Figure 19). [285]

Gül Mosque has a spacious prayer hall as a former church with a cross-in-square plan. In terms of inner space not much has changed. The building is suitable for the qıbla orientation and the addition of a minbar and a mihrab solved the case. One problem in terms of conventions of Ottoman mosque layout is that the two side aisles remained unconnected from the main area. But still, the space beneath the altar and the dome is quite spacious and provides the performers with an uninterrupted prayer area and the aisles do not attract attention.

In all, the Ottoman intervention was mostly related with the outside of the structure and resulted in a permanent change. Two facades were reconstructed with additional windows. There are three domes with heptagonal drums and are also Turkish construction.[286]

[284] Semavi Eyice, "Gül Camii," 224.

[285] Ibid., 224.

[286] Ibid., 224.

3.7.3 Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque (Monastery of St. Andreas in Krisei)

Koca Mustafa Paşa, the grand vizier of Bayezid II, converted the former monastery of St. Andreas into a mosque-lodge. It is believed that it was first built by Princess Arcadia during the fifth century. After Iconoclastic Controversy Emperor Basileios I renovated the church. Later on, in the thirteenth century Michael VIII Palaiologos' niece Theodora Raouleina reestablished the monastery and the church. Eyice states that this establishment took place just after 1284 and spolia was used in this reconstruction. From then on, this monastery had been recognized as an important religious and educational space of the city.[287]

A few decades after the conquest, the church's faith changed completely. In 1486, with Koca Mustafa Paşa's construction the place was recreated with significant architectural modifications. Among the other converted mosques of Bayezid's time, Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque has a unique place because of structural interventions during the conversion process (see Appendix A, Figure 20).

The task of the architect was a tough one since he had to change the direction according to the qıbla and place the mihrab as visible as it could be. To achieve this, he changed the orientation of the building axially, by this avoided creating a skewed plan. So, three aisles of the former church were oriented towards the east, the south wall beyond a side aisle was now used as the mihrab wall, hence the building was now oriented towards the south. Accordingly, the main entrance was also transported from the west façade to the northern one. A *son cemaat yeri* with 5 domes was built adjacent to this wall. The architect opened secondary entrances under the first and the fifth domes of the portico.

[287] Eyice, "Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii," 133.

The structure as it stands today has four main piers with a heptagonal central dome above, in the prayer hall. The architect also reconstructed the vaulting system and columns. Some columns were pulled down to widen the praying space. This created a new gallery. Additionally, two half domes were built at the sides of the central dome on the north-south axis. Following earlier practice, the minaret was erected at the right side of the qibla wall.

As for the exterior new windows and entrances were opened according to the necessities and the new orientation. The significant aspect about the exterior is that the architect went one step further and enveloped all sides with stonewalls to that altered the general outlook of the brick building. At the end, the main original architectural forms of the earlier church that remained visible were piers and the pendentives between them.

As a result of this construction Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque has a much more different appearance than the other converted churches of the time, in that it seems more like a regular Ottoman mosque rather than a converted Byzantine church. According to Eyice, this mosque is a pioneer for the later mosques, mostly for the Bayezid Mosque, which was built two decades later.[288] It would not be a mistake to say that the architect was highly successful in creating an Ottoman edifice from a Byzantine structure. His interior and exterior modifications follow the architectural agenda of its time in a remarkable fashion.

3.7.4 Fenari İsa Mosque (Lips Monastery)

Fenari İsa Mosque was the former church of Lips Monastery built by the Byzantine admiral Constantine Lips in the first decade of the tenth century. Beyond this

[288] Eyice, "Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii," 135.

construction nothing is known of the site. Three centuries later, after Michael VIII Palaiologos' death his wife Theodora undertook the restoration of the foundation and erected a new church adjacent to the present one and revived the monastery. Following her construction, the site became the mausoleum of the Palaiologan Dynasty.

The *typikon*, endowment deed, of the monastery still survives with some absences. The empress was the author of the deed and she also refers to the construction of her tomb inside the monastery.[289] Her descendants, including sons, grandsons' and their wives were also buried there.[290]

During the fourteenth century new ambulatories were added to expand the burial area of the church. Finally, the last recorded burial in the church, of the Russian Princess Anna, took place in 1417.[291] The anonymous Russian traveler translated by George Majeska also mentions the church as an active convent.[292] It means that the monastery had survived almost up to the conquest.

A brief history of the structure in Ottoman hands could be summarized as follows:

> The structure that housed both of the foundation's churches has survived down to our own times in modern Istanbul. Circa 1460–80, Alaeddin Ali of the Fenari family converted the south church of St. John into a *mescid*, a mosque without a pulpit, under the name Fenari Isa Camii, to which a minaret was added on the southwest corner. The tombs located in the former south church were cleared of human remains, while those in the nave, narthex, and exonarthex of the former north church were left undisturbed until they were rediscovered by Theodore Macridy in 1929. A general conflagration that swept through Constantinople in 1633 damaged the building. In 1636, the

---

289 Talbot, "Lips: Typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople," 1254.

290 Eyice,"Fenari İsa Camii," 338; Talbot, "Lips: Typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople," 1254.

291 Ibid., 1255.

292 Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 310.

> Grand Vizier Bayram Pasha restored the *mescid* as a regular mosque, instituting some important changes to the exterior architecture and removing the interior decoration. The former north church was put to use as a *tekke* for dervishes. There was another fire in the eighteenth century, perhaps in 1782. The damages were not repaired until 1847/48. A final fire damaged the structure in 1917 and left it in ruins. The Turkish Ministry of Mosques began the work of restoring the interior of the structure in 1960, and the work on the exterior was continued by the American Byzantine Institute under Arthur Megaw. In recent times the building has been returned to use as a mosque.[293]

Fenari İsa Mosque is composed of three adjacent parts, which are the products of different construction phases. It had its own peculiarities already before its conversion into a Muslim prayer space (see Appendix A, Figure 21). It is a double sanctuary with a Greek cross church –the former part- and a basilica type church. During the conversion, the north side (one in the form of Greek cross) was turned into a *tekke* as Talbot states. On the other hand the south church was used for placing the *minbar* and mihrab and became a mosque. Two more supportive arches were added inside the mosque vertical to the qibla wall after the conflagration in 1633.[294]

The mosque differs itself from Gül Mosque and Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque in that it does not serve spacious place for religious rituals. Rather it is a complicated result of different forms of Byzantine architectural agenda. Various arches and columns interrupt the vision of *minbar* and reduce the size of praying lines (*saf*) during the rituals. Interestingly, instead of making significant intervention to the church's plan the Ottomans had used it in respect to the former shape. However, there is no trace to understand the reasons behind this attitude. From that perspective, I think Fenari İsa Mosque is a good place to observe the differences between the mosque and the church architecture where one can see the importance of the prayer hall in Islamic rituals. In addition, it could be a case where the adaptation of a place

---

[293] Talbot, "Lips: Typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople," 1255.

[294] Eyice, "Fenari İsa Camii," 338.

into other terms might be problematic. It also reminds me the accomplishment of Koca Mustafa Paşa's architect in creating a regular mosque from a cross in square type church. He could create the space that provides the necessities of the regular prayer hall of a mosque.

3.8 Concluding remarks on the converted churches

With this brief survey, I tried to discuss the manner in which Ottomans changed the architecture of the former churches according to their necessities and religious tendencies. In terms of decoration, they sometimes demolished and/or covered the mosaic and frescos with mortar as in the case of Kariye Mosque, whose frescoes were covered possibly in the seventeenth century. Although they gained these places as a result of an occupation, which could have destructive results for some of the structures, it seems that the central tendency behind their architectural intervention was to make those places more utilitarian. If the former church with its architecture is suitable for Islamic prayers and qibla orientation then they conserved the place in its original form. In the case of Küçük Ayasofya for example, the principal area together with its columns have been surviving in their original configuration. Fenari İsa Mosque complicates the task of interpreting and offering a typology on the converted churches, since the interior is highly different than the others. Of course, it should be added that the absence of radical interventions to the fabric of a building might also be due to economic reasons and availability of construction materials.

I believe the conquest opened a fresh lane for the Ottoman architecture and the Byzantine churches might be the main provider of new forms. The idea of obtaining a Hagia Sophia in the later constructions, which is most apparent in Süleyman the Magnificent's edifice might be the best echo of this contribution.

While converting a former church, the duty of the architect is much more different than creating a new plan. He had to make changes according to necessities. He sometimes accomplished this mission successfully and was sometimes stuck with the obstacle of the church's layout as in the case of Gül Mosque. I think among the converted churches, Küçük Ayasofya stands in an excellent position because its architect allows the structure to preserve its heritage while appropriating it into the necessities of Islamic prayer space.

CHAPTER 4

VITAE OF A DERVISH LODGE

> It is presumable that the octagonal inner form of early Byzantine architecture found in the plan of specific martyriums and the churches of orders, which housed some circular processions as religious rituals, had an impact on the *tekke* architecture beginning by the early 16th century through the hands of Halvetis when they started to use the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus (the mosque and *tekke* of Küçük Ayasofya) as *tevhîdhâne* [the main space for rituals in a dervish lodge].[295]

It was the late fifteenth century, 1497, when Hüseyin Ağa converted the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus into a mosque and built dervish cells around the structure. This period, which coincides with the reign of Bayezid II, also offers another dimension to the picture. It is also the time for the Halveti order to install in and accommodate itself to Constantinople with the great support of the Sultan. Together with the Ottoman government, the visual image of the capital and the Halveti order transformed themselves in tandem. With the changing the face of the Empire and the conversion of the churches profoundly affected the community in that with the establishment of Koca Mustafa Paşa Convent in 1486, it gained a new impetus. This situation also signals the changing dynamics of Sufism and Sufi brotherhoods within the empire. In this context, new branches and sub-branches emerged and created relationships both with the Ottoman community and with the palace. Such bonds between an order and political power, which often assumed ideological facets, have not yet been adequately studied.

---

295 "Erken dönem Bizans mimarisinde, alelade kiliselerden farklı biçimlerde kullanılan birtakım dairevi *procession* lara sahne olan tarikat kiliseleriyle aziz kültlerine bağlanan *martyrion* larda gözlenen sekizgen tasarım şemalarının, İstanbul'da XVI. Yüzyılın başlarından itibaren Halvetiler tarafından *tevhidhane* olarak kullanılan Aziz Sergios ve Bakhos Kilisesi (Küçük Ayasofya Cami-Tekkesi) yoluyla tekke mimarisine ulaştığı tahmin edilebilir." See Tanman, "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Tarikat Yapıları/ Tekkeler," 341.

John Curry, in his article "The Meeting of the Two Sultans" suggests three types of relationship between political figures and prominent Sufi leaders. (1) In vanguard theory rulers support Sufi leaders to establish local institutions and act as vanguards, (2) in civil society theory Sufi leaders are highly praised by rulers and stand as de facto representatives of the political power. (3) There is also political-religious orthodoxy theory where Sufi orders are efficient in keeping both religious doctrine and the legitimacy of the state alive.[296] It could be said that the conquest of Constantinople with the arrival of Halvetiye to the city the relationship between the order and political authority evolved in a manner that encompasses all three approaches. From then on Sufi leaders became much more than guards of local institutions, as they started to play decisive roles in *mahalle*s where their lodges were located. It began to have greater significance for rulers to have influential Sufi leaders by their side, and in return they provided these figures with political and social privileges. And it started to be more crucial for Sufis to situate themselves within the molds of Orthodoxy, in order not to conflict with the *ilmiye*.

As the quotation from Tanman at the beginning of this chapter suggests, Hüseyin Ağa's *zâvîye* of Küçük Ayasofya, which was a lodge of an ascendant Sufi order, would probably have a part in this mobile environment. Although it was not the *asitâne* (the primary lodge) of the Halveti order, I still wonder what the position and the role of Küçük Ayasofya was. How was it affected by the religio-political currents, and how was it used in the sixteenth century? Was it was a privileged convent among the other houses of Halvetiye? With these questions in mind, in this chapter I will make a survey on a number of primary sources including hagiographies to see how and in what contexts Küçük Ayasofya and its sheikhs

[296] See Curry, "The Meeting of the Two Sultans."

appeared and were described. Before starting this discussion, however, it would be illuminating to see the fate of the order under the reign of Bayezid II.

4.1 The rise of Ottoman Halvetiye

Halvetiyye is an Azerbaijan-based Sufi order that was founded in greater Iran and strengthened itself in the Ottoman domains mostly during the time of Bayezid II. It was divided into main branches in consequence with the death of its second founder Seyyid Yahya Şirvani (d.1466). After him, his caliphs initiated the expansion of his doctrine.[297] Yahya Şirvani is also an important figure in the Ottoman lands since he is recognized as the founder sheikh of the order for the *silsile* (the chain of succession) of the Ottoman Halvetiyye.[298]

Indeed, the relations with the Ottoman court and the Halveti dervishes began before Bayezid II's reign. It was probably Dede Ömer (d.1487), who as a Halveti sheikh encountered the Ottoman palace by taking a scholarly position at the madrasa of Çelebi Sultan Mehmed.[299] Although this meeting took place before his devotion to the order, later on, his branch was named after his successor, İbrahim-i Gülşenî and became a powerful branch in Egypt and Diyarbakır.

Yahya Şirvani also sent another of his successors to the Ottoman lands. It was Aladdin Halveti, who was called to Edirne by Mehmed II:

> Alaaeddin Halveti (d. 1463), another successor of Yahya-yı Şirvani who was active in the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II after his conquest of Constantinople. In another part of the work, Hulvi explains that Alaeddin had gone to Şirvan to escape the "confusion" of the Karamanoğlu dynasty in southern Anatolia in the years preceding its conquest and incorporation into the Ottoman Empire. After completing his training with

[297] See Sarı Abdullah Efendi, *Semerâtü'l-Fuad*, 144-150.

[298] Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought,* 55.

[299] Ibid., 60.

> Yahya in Baku, he was sent to Anatolia to spread the order's teachings, and was apparently so effective at winning followers among the Sultan's entourage that he aroused suspicion among the other factions at the court and eventually fled the scene, leaving a successor by the name of Ma'sûd Rûmî in the lodge built for him on the banks of the Tunca river near Edirne. He then returned to his home region of Aydın, before returning to Larende in Karaman to become powerful figure at the Karamanid court shortly before its collapse to Mehmed's forces.[300]

It is quite interesting to see the connections between politics and the Halvetiyye from the earlier years of the Empire when these Sufi figures had been making moves among the courts of the Karamanids, the Akkoyunlus and the Ottomans as the sources suggest. To illustrate, Dede Ömer died as a sheikh in the Akkoyunlu Dynasty but his successor İbrahim Gülşenî established himself in Cairo to escape the harsh political environment of the same court.[301] Although these people ended up in a different geography rather than Anatolia, the effects of the Gülşenî sub-branch should not be neglected as the Ottoman conquest of Egypt created an inevitable intersection.

The role and position of the sub-branch could also be understood by the two hagiographic accounts of Muhyî-i Gülşenî (d.1605) that will be discussed below in this chapter: *Menakıb-ı İbrahim-i Gülşenî* and *Reşahat-ı Muhyî*.

However before coming to this discussion, it would be significant to mention Cemaliyye branch of the Halveti order. Apart from having a complicated relationships with the Ottoman court as in the case of Gülşenîyye, Cemaliyye is recognized as more influential in the Ottoman circles. [302] Besides this branch was

---

[300] Ibid., 62.

[301] Ibid., 63.

[302] Ibid., 64- 65.

founded directly within the capital. The scholar John Curry describes this position of the Cemaliyye as "the shift of the Halveti order into the Ottoman Empire".[303]

4.2 Cemal Halveti or so-called Çelebi Halife

The founder of the Cemaliyye sub-branch, Cemal Halveti (d.1494) was born in Amasya as a descendant of an elite family. His great grandfather Cemaleddin Aksarayi (d.1388), was a pivotal Amasya-based Sufi and scholar who was mostly famous for his work on the interpretation of Ibn Sina. He also raised the first Ottoman *şeyhülislam* Molla Fenari (d.1431). *Şeyhulislam* Zenbilli Ali Efendi (d.1526) and Selim I's vizier Piri Paşa (d.1533) were also members of the same lineage.[304]

In the early years of his life, Cemal Halveti attached himself to Sheikh Abdullah, one of the principles of Alaeddin el-Halveti's followers.[305] After completing his training with Abdullah, Cemal moved to Tokat and became a disciple of the illiterate sheikh Tahirzade. While he was performing his duties under the guidance of this master, unfortunately he passed away before Cemal's completion. According to John Curry, the death of the second sheikh was a turning point in his life because "once Tahirzade died… he made a fateful decision to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors and head eastward to seek out Yahya-yı Şirvani."[306]

Unfortunately, the sheikh had died before Cemal finished his way to Baku. Then he completed the Sufi training with one of Şirvani's disciples named

---

[303] Ibid., 65.

[304] For more information about the life of Cemal Halveti and his family refer to, Küçükdağ, *II. Bayezid, Yavuz ve Kanuni Dönemlerinde Cemali Ailesi*.

[305] He was a successor of Yahya Şirvani based and preaching in Karaman.

[306] Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought*, 66.

Muhammed el-Erzincani. However still, "the variant narratives suggest a desire by some later hagiographers to tie Cemal el-Halveti directly to Yahya [instead of Erzincani] as a means of giving him additional legitimacy."[307]

At this point one of Erzincani's followers, Pir Ahmed also found a place in Mehmed II's court. Curry finds it interesting that there is another relationship between Aksarayi family and the sheikh Erzincani in that Ahmed was married to a woman from Cemal's family. According to Curry, this may also explain his diplomatic activity.[308]

A few decades later Cemal found himself in Amasya and attracted the attention of Prince Bayezid. When Mehmed II died in 1481, Bayezid asked Cemal for spiritual support to cope with his struggles for the throne. So, following the victory of Bayezid II, Cemal and his followers settled in the capital, gained the full support of the palace and Halveti order became one of the most prominent Sufi orders within the Empire. Grand vizier Koca Mustafa Paşa converted a Byzantine church into a lodge for Cemal Halveti and it became the primary lodge of the order.

In his brief survey B. G. Martin summarizes the following years of the order as follows:

> The thirty-year reign of "Sufi Bayezid" (1481-1551), was the real heyday of the Khalwati order in Ottoman Turkey. The sultan himself attended Sufi exercises, and his presence doubtless attracted many persons to the order who thought that membership in it would be useful handhold in the climb to a higher career. It may be that the tradition of Khalwati membership among certain urban classes of the Ottoman military, the upper ranks of the civil service, and aristocratic persons generally began in this era. Basking in royal favor, the Khalwatiya had no need to anything but orthodox. Political activism was no longer a requirement of the moment. Chelebi Khalifa saw it that the order consolidated its position. As a royal request, the headquarters of the order moved from Amasya to Istanbul, and when Chelebi Khalifa and his men reached the capital, they were presented with a former Byzantine church

[307] Ibid., 66.

[308] Ibid., 67.

> to remodel into a *tekke* or Sufi lodge. Royal favor for Khalwatiya could not have been more marked: the rebuilding of the former church was entrusted by Bayezid to his vizier Koca Mustafa Pasha, and the *tekke,* to be the citadel of Khalwatis in Istanbul for a very long time, was known by the minister's name. Bayezid turned over his son Ahmad to Chelebi Khalifa to be educated. Thus Bayezid repaid the huge political debt he owed to the order.[309]

The situation of the order was shattered when Selim I ascended the throne. Although the Halveti dervishes were still active on the political scene the new sultan attempted to demolish the central lodge. Fortunately, his wife Hafsa Sultan (d.1576) was influential in returning back the favor of the palace when the sheikh Merkez Muslihiddin (d.1551) treated her illness. "This alternation of dynastic favor and disfavor continued in the seventeenth century as the Kadizadeli movement twice challenged their existence."[310]

Martin's interpretation of "citadel" seems apt to me when I consider the position for Küçük Ayasofya. The citadel was found and the order settled in the city now. As Derin Terzioğlu finds the individuals - such as Cemal Halveti - instrumental in conveying the "norms and values that were deep rooted among the urban elites of the Islamic heartlands." [311] I think once the order is institutionalized enough by the prominent figures then it is new lodges' turn to convey the dogma and to affect the religious landscape of a particular city. In the case of the Halveti order, the "plantation" process took place in Amasya, and then the order was transported to another center. [312]

---

309 Martin, "A Short History of the Khalwati Order of Dervishes," 282.

310 Karataş, "Ottomanization of the Halvetiye Sufi Order by the City of Amasya in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,"; The Kadızadeli movement and the quarrels between the *ilmiye* and the Sufis are not my point of attention. That is why I do not go further to discuss the details about the circumstances.

311 Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the Age of State-Building and Confessionalization," 90.

312 For more information, see Karataş, "Ottomanization of the Halvetiye Sufi Order."

4.3 Küçük Ayasofya as a Halveti *zâvîye*

Hüseyin Ağa's convent is one of the Halveti lodges founded in this context. The period is quite early in that if the founder directly transformed it into a lodge of the Halveti order then Küçük Ayasofya would probably be among the earliest ones within Constantinople. The endowment deed does not give enough clues to identify the first sheikh but it states that Hüseyin Ağa made this charity for the interest of devoted Sufis who reside in the *zâvîye*.[313]

Moreover, there is a stipulation that a sheikh should be present in the *sûfîhâne* –or in Sufi Hane- with his circle, disciples and followers. These people need to be Sunni Muslims and avoid worldly inclinations and perpetuation of *bid'at.* The sheikh has to reside in the lodge on the rug of guidance (*seccâde-i irşad*) and teach his disciples the details of the tariqa and occupy them with prayings and *zikir.*[314]

Another stipulation is regarding the stipends of this sheikh and his dervishes. The sheikh should receive 5 dirhams per day from the income of the endowment. As for his disciples together they receive fifteen dirhams per day in total to spend for their sustenance and personal requirements. [315]

These are the only parts of the document that indicate the presence of a dervish community in the lodge. It seems these are enough to conclude that Hüseyin Ağa paid attention to a certain dervish community and provided them with necessary material environment to perform their practices. With the construction of this

---

313 "ووقفها على مصلحة سكنى الصلحاء الموحدين من أهل الطريقة والسلوك المتصوفين." See TS.MA.d6977, folio.11a.

314 وشرط هو أيضا أن يسكن في زاوية المزبورة المعروفة بصوفي
خانه شيخ مرشد مع أصحابه ومريديه وأحبابه من أهل السنة والجماعة لا من أهل الأهواء والبدعة يجلس هو على سجادة الإرشاد ويرشد من عنده من الزهاد ويشغل كلهم فيها بالطاعات والدعوات أو العبادات مع الأذكار والأوراد." See TS.MA.d6977, folio.29a.

315 ويصرف إلى من يكون شيخا مرشدا في الزاوية المذكورة المعروفة بصوفي خانه كل يوم خمسة دراهم وإلى مريديه وأصحابه " جميعا كل يوم خمسة عشر درهما يصرفونه إلى حوائج أنفسهم ووجوه معيشتهم." See TS.MA.d6977, folio.33a.

sûfîhâne and other essential parts such as the kitchen[316] Küçük Ayasofya became a self-sufficient microcosm where the circle that Hüseyin Ağa mentions in his endowment could find necessities of daily life.

Apart from the foundation deed the earliest mentioning of the *zâvîye* is in Nevizade Atai's addendum to Taşköprüzade's work *Şakaik-i Nu'maniye*. He mentions Abdulkerim Kadiri (d. 1544)[317] of Suleyman I's time. Abdulkerim is the sheikh who was sitting on *seccade-i irşad* in Küçük Ayasofya. As an intelligent person he was well educated in religious sciences. The Sultan granted him with the privilege of issuing fatwas as the *şeyhülislam.* His daily income for this duty is a hundred *akçe*s.[318] This position of Abdulkerim also indicates a close connection of the lodge with the palace. Zeynep Yürekli interprets the case as the indicator of religious legitimacy of the convent and states that Küçük Ayasofya was "known for its orthodoxy."[319]

The next person in *Şakaik* in relation with Küçük Ayasofya is Mehmed bin Sinaneddin. In the earlier years of his life Mehmed was under the service of the *kadi* of Constantinople. Then he changed his mind and became a follower of Arabzade Abdulbaki (d.1544). According to Atai, he followed his father's footsteps and then attached himself to Merkez Efendi (d.1552). The interesting point about Mehmed is that his father Sinan Erdebili died when he was the sheikh of Küçük Ayasofya in 1544. [320] It is known that Dede Ömer educated Sinan and sent to Constantinople to

316 TS.MA.d6977, folio.33a.

317 Atai does not give information if Aldulkerim has a relation with the Kadiri order.

318 Nevizade Atai, *Şakaik-i Nu'maniye ve Zeyilleri* I, 517.

319 Yürekli, "A Building Between the Public and Private Realms of the Ottoman Elite: The Sufi Convent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Istanbul," 183.

320 Atai, *Şakaik* II*,* 87.

be a follower of Çelebi Halife. He had a tekke close to Hagia Sophia, which was also known as Caferiye Tekkesi.

4.4 Muslihiddin Nureddinzade (d.1574) and the prominence of Küçük Ayasofya

To the best of my knowledge, Küçük Ayasofya attained much more prominence and became a stronger point of attraction when Nureddinzade, a prestigious sheikh of the Balkans and a disciple of Sofyalı Bali –a second generation student of Çelebi Halife- (d. 1553) settled in Constantinople. After an investigation, the grand vizier and the *şeyhülislam* Ebussuud Efendi understood Nureddin's accuracy in religious sciences and assigned him to Küçük Ayasofya as preacher. Nureddinzade attracted the attention of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa (d.1579)[321] According to Atai "*vezir-i azam Mehmed Paşa ahz-ı tövbe ve inayet ve padişah-ı alim ve arz-ı iradet ve muhabbet etmişler idi*."[322] That is to say, the grand vizier devoted himself and became a disciple of the sheikh. As Atai continues, Mehmed Paşa invited the sheikh to the palace frequently and loved to listen to his suggestions.[323] Yürekli states that "contemporaneous and later sources account…that Sokollu, endowed the convent in Kadırga for his own spiritual advisor Nureddinzade Musluhiddin…"[324] Unfortunately the sheikh died before the completion of the convent.

Nureddinzade was in charge of a few mosques in the capital as a preacher.[325] Yürekli states that "He himself preached in several prestigious locations in Istanbul,

---

321 Atai, *Şakaik,* 212.

322 Ibid., 213.

323 Ibid., 213.

324 Yürekli, "A Building Between the Public and Private Realms," 162.

325 Atai, *Şakaik* II, 213.

and his sermons were attended by prominent ulema."[326] His effect in the Balkans is even more powerful. In *Silsiletü'l- Mukarrabin,* Münir-i Belgradi asserts that since he had numerous successors Nureddinzade was considered to have founded his own branch of the order.[327]

The sheikh was also important for the Suleiman I. It is known that there are "a number of accounts of Halveti shaykhs joining in the Ottoman campaigns in Rumili."[328] According to Belgradi Suleiman chose him as a religious escort.[329] Hüseyin Vassaf verifies this information and adds that Nureddinzade was also together with the Sultan during his campaign to Zigetvar.[330]

The connection between Küçük Ayasofya and Nureddinzade is a minute detail, but it carries a sort of significance because such an influential figure had his first office in the *zâvîye* of Hüseyin Ağa. Nureddinzade and his master Sofyalı Bali are "known for the support they lent to the Ottoman Sunni ideology against certain dervish groups in the Balkans considered heretical by the state, and also against the Safavids."[331] This situation would also have attached a sort of popularity to the *zâvîye.* Although we do not know later relations between the convent of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and that of Hüseyin Ağa, we can presume that Nureddinzade's school continued to be present in Küçük Ayasofya.

---

326 Yürekli, "A Building Between the Public and Private Realms", 163.

327 "Zamânında çok hulefâ nasbeyledi. Ve tarîkat kendiye nisbet olunup, Nûreddînzâde tarîkatı diye diyâr-ı Rûm'da şeyû' buldu(r.h)." See Bitiçi, "Münir-i Belgradi ve Silsiletü'l-Mukarrebin Adlı Eseri," 198.

328 Yürekli, "A Building Between the Public and Private Realms," 183.

329 Bitiçi, "Münir-i Belgradi," 197.

330 Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya* III, 343-344.

331 Yürekli, "A Building Between the Public and Private Realms," 162.

Tatar İbrahim Efendi (d. 1590/93 or 1634) completed his Sufi training under the guidance of Nureddinzade. He was preaching at Cerrahpaşa Mosque for a while and became the sheikh of Küçük Ayasofya immediately after his master's death. Just as his master, he was the spiritual advisor of the Sultan; Murad III (d.1595). [332] Selaniki Mustafa Efendi describes him as a man of wisdom and perfection. His funeral prayer took place at the Mosque of Mehmed II. Selaniki states that viziers, a lot of statesmen and scholars were present at his funeral.[333]

Hüseyin Vassaf mentions Tatar Efendi as the caliph of Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi (d. 1628), the founder of the Celveti branch of the Halveti order.[334] Hüdayi had also closely connected to the palace in that he was also the spiritual advisor of a number of sultans. In the early years of his career, *şeyhülislam* Hoca Sadeddin (d.1599) directed him to Küçük Ayasofya and Hüdayi had served as the sheikh of the *zâvîye* for eight years.[335] Meanwhile, he was also preaching at the mosque of Mehmed II. Later on, he purchased the land of his own *tekke* at Uskudar and moved there permanently.[336]

Küçük Ayasofya was directly affected by the teachings of Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi in that for the later decades of its history the *zâvîye* was known for its dedication to his branch. Some sources mention it as a lodge, where Celveti methods

---

[332] Bitiçi, "Münir-i Belgradi," 188-189.

[333] Selaniki, *Tarih-i Selaniki* I, 306.

[334] Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya* III, 11.

[335] I presume that Hüdayi's Küçük Ayasofya years would probably took place before Nureddinzade's arrival.

[336] Yılmaz, "Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi," 338.

of Sufism were followed. One of these is from 1888; Seyyid Ahmed Munibi notes it as a *Celveti tekyesi.*[337]

It seems that Küçük Ayasofya would be a popular place for religious education in the late nineteenth century. Two years before the composition of Munibi's *Mecmua-i Tekaya* , *şeyhulislam* Ahmed Esad ordered an investigation on Hagia Sofia and Küçük Ayasofya. According to this document there were 41 resident students in Hagia Sophia who were previously resident in Küçük just had. There were also followers who visited the two locations each day but did not reside within the *zâvîye*s. The number of such students in Hagia Sophia is 72. Interestingly this figure for Küçük Ayasofya is 92. Although this equation is incomplete because of the absence of hundreds of such institutions, the numbers still suggest a possible comparison with Ayasofya. [338]

4.5 A story of Küçük Ayasofya in a sixteenth century masterpiece: Muhyî-i Gülşenî's *Reşahat-ı Muhyî*

Looking at the history of Küçük Ayasofya in the sixteenth century suggests some similarities with the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus' situation in the medieval Byzantine context. One could easily find information about the *zâvîye* in hagiographies of the Halveti figures at it has been happening throughout this chapter. However, there is also a hagiography of the Nakşi order, which tells a story about a Halveti lodge.

---

[337] Bandırmalızade, "Mecmua-i Tekaya," 192.

[338] "Dersaatteki Medaris-i İlmiyyede Bulunan Talebenin Müfredat Defteri", *Osmanlı Kaynaklarına Göre İstanbul: Cami, Tekke, Medrese, Mekteb, Türbe, Hamam, Kütüphane, Matbaa, Mahalle ve Selatin İmaretleri*, 675-681.

Muhyî-i Gülşenî is a Halveti dervish who was born in Edirne in 1529. When he was eight years old a Nakşi leader adopted him. In 1552 he moved to Cairo as a state officer and became a disciple of İbrahim Gülşenî's (1534) son Ahmed Hayâlî. He was buried in the shrine of İbrahim Gülşenî.

As it is known Ibrahim was a famous disciple of Dede Ömer and he was the founder of the Gülşenî branch of the Halveti order. He settled in Cairo and interpreted the order differently. As Side Emre states Gülşenî Sufism is an adaptation of the Islamic frontier and the translation of "the Halveti heritage into a voice of one's own."[339]

Muhyî is an inventor of one of the first constructed languages, Baleybelen. His language was discovered at the end of the nineteenth century and could not be decrypted by a number of scholars. Later on, Mustafa Koç analyzed it after five years of study in 2005. Muhyî's invention is a unique one that speaks of his intelligence.[340]

The relationship between Küçük Ayasofya and Muhyî started with his master's request. Ahmed Hayâlî wanted him to translate a *silsile* (geneaology) titled Reşehat-ı Aynü'l-Hayat. Written by Safi Fahrüddin Ali b. Hüseyin (d.1533) in Persian this work was accepted as the only reliable source of the Ahrarî branch of the Nakşibendi Order. In the meantime, the number of disciples had been increasing, especially in Constantinople, which made it necessary for *Reşahat* to be translated into Turkish.[341]So, upon the master's request Muhyî translated the work by making significant additions related to information about the Nakşibendi sheikhs. One of

[339] Emre, "İbrahim Gülşenî (ca. 1442-1534): Itinerant Saint and Cairene Ruler," 92.

[340] On Muhyî's life, see Karaismailoğlu, "Muhyî-i Gülşenî," 79-81.

[341] Muhyî-i Gülşenî, *Reşehât*, 10.

these additions is *Zencir-i Zeheb*. In this pamphlet he also describes his own meetings with the masters.

The founder of the Ahrarî branch, Ubeydullah Ahrar (d.1490) determined his little son Muhammed Yahya as the next leader of the order. Yahya was killed in a political chaos and left two successors: Hâfız Muhammed-i Semerkandî and Muhammed-i Lâciverşûy. These two found themselves in Constantinople and Muhyî had a chance to meet them separately.

On March 17, 1546, Muhyî went to Küçük Ayasofya to see Hâfız Muhammed-i Semerkandî. The date was the anniversary of Muhammed Yahya's death, so the sheikh was yearning for his master. Muhyî was impressed by Muhammed's mood and felt very upset. Muhammed relieved Muhyî and told him that he would be a very blessed person with a high spirituality and his seventy-seventh age would be the age of spiritual discoveries. [342]

In Muhyi's narrative Muhammed had lodged in Küçük Ayasofya for a particular time period. It was not a permanent position, and he did not perform activities as a sheikh. However, it is certain that he lodged there for a while and then moved to Egypt to perform the hajj. His accommodation in Küçük Ayasofya does not seem to be a very short one. Muhyi states that he visited Muhammed to serve him.[343] Muhyi also speaks about three friends of Muhammed who were also coming to Küçük Ayasofya to be in the service of him. Moreover, the tune of the text also suggests that Muhammed-i Semerkandî was not active in Küçük Ayasofya as a sheikh. During the narrative, Muhammed admitted that he did not perform the duties of a Sufi master. Even though Muhyî was a Halveti dervish and did not follow the

342 Ibid., 120; "Saña dahı yetmiş yedide çoḳ haḳâyıḳ nasîb olsa gerek."

343 "hıdmetlerıne vardum." See Ibid., 120.

Nakşî-Melamî path, Muhammed also suggests him helping people by attending a *zâvîye* as a sheikh.[344]

Muhyî's story in Küçük Ayasofya ends at this point. The last connection between the two is a letter sent from Mecca. In this letter the sheikh advises him about the Nakşi doctrine.[345] Later in his story Muhyî understood the spiritual power and effect of Muhammed-i Semerkandî.

Baba Haydar (d.1550) was a caliph of Ubeydullah Ahrar and was teaching at Eyüp. Together with Muhyî's, Muhammed also sent a letter to this sheikh. He felt an extreme happiness by receiving Muhammed's message and said: "if God does not want me to stay blind, his letter would be enough to make me see again."[346] For him, Muhammed's spiritual and non-worldly abilities were sufficient to reshape the fate.

Almost two centuries ago, a Christian counterpart of Muhammed-i Semerkandî, Alexander the Clerk entered the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. There were also Christian pilgrims who had visited the church as Stephen the Pilgrim. Muhyî's story directs me to two points. First, Küçük Ayasofya was still carrying the medieval characteristics by being a stop in location for pilgrims. Second, just as in the case of Nureddinzade, an important Nakşi sheikh also had a connection with the *zâvîye.* There emerge unanswerable questions: Why did Muhammed-i Semerkandî choose this location to reside? How was his relation with the dervish community and the sheikh of the zâvîye? If Muhyî would have told us more about Küçük Ayasofya, then we would be able to comprehend the situation. All I can say undoubtedly is that somehow it became a spot of intersection for two orders. The

344 Ibid., 121.

345 Ibid., 25.

346 Ibid., 122.

zâvîye did not only house Halveti dervishes, but it was also a place where the devotees of the Nakşi order could find a place for themselves. It is possible that there would be more circles as Semerkandî's or there were more wandering dervishes like Muhyi.

4.6 Küçük Ayasofya in the seventeenth century: Ahmed Muhyiddin Efendi's *Tomar-ı Tekâyâ*

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Ministry of Pious Foundations was established in the Ottoman Empire. This caused oppression on the *zâvîye*s since they were financed by the pious endowments because from then on their financial management was in the hand of that ministry. To solve the problem *Meclis-i Meşayih* (The Chamber of Sheikhs) was founded. The chamber needed to check all *zâvîye*s within the Empire, especially the ones located in the capital. Consequently, various people started to list the lodges and record details about them.

In this context, the head of *Meclis-i Meşayih* and the Kadiri Şeyh Muhyiddin Efendi (d. 1909) prepared one of these works called *Tomar-ı Tekaya.* He meticulously collected information about the foundations and at the end the work included 252 *zâvîye*s in total, mostly of Constantinople together with some primary lodges in Kırşehir, Konya, Edirne and Kastamonu. [347]

[347] For more information on Muhyiddin Efendi's work refer to Mahmut Erol Kılıç, "Yedi Tepeli Şehrin Tekkeleri ve Muhyiddin Efendi'nin "Tomâr-ı Tekâyâ"sı," 259-277.

Küçük Ayasofya is the eighty-second *zâvîye* in the list. One folio is allocated to it and briefly describes the building together with eleven sheikhs. The earliest of them is Abdulkerim Kadiri (d.1738)[348]. Second sheikh İsmail Efendi passed away a year after the first one and interestingly he was also the preacher of Hagia Sophia, the most iconic and one of the most famous mosques in the Empire.

The list also records Ruşen Efendi (d.1788/95), another *postnişin* of Küçük Ayasofya. According to the text, he was the sheikh of the Hüdayi *asitâne* in Üsküdar. His father Abdurrahman Efendi (d. 1751) was the previous *postnişin* of Küçük Ayasofya. As a family their Sufi lineage comes from İsmail Hakkı Bursevi, a Bursa-based famous Halveti sheikh of the seventeenth century; Ruşen's grandfather Mustafa Efendi had built a *zâvîye* in Bursa.

The last sheikh in the list is Cemil Efendi. He was recorded as *şehbender* (consul) and a person among the circle of Bab-ı Ali (Sublime Porte).

Apart from the sheikhs, *Tomar-ı Tekaya* also provides information about the plan and usage of the *zâvîye.* There were 36 rooms, 11 of them were reserved for sheikhs. The rest was divided into two; 13 rooms for *mekteb* and 12 had been using as *cemiyyethane.*[349] These numbers do not correspond to the rooms of the plan in Pervititch's cadastral maps. Almost twenty years after Muhyiddin's study he drew just 24 cells.[350]

All in all, the *Tomar* is a work suggesting that in the eighteenth century the sheikhs of Küçük Ayasofya were among the important figures that sometimes had

---

348 As far as I understand he was not the sheikh Abdulkerim who died in 1544.

349 *Tomar* has a tough writing to read. Besides, the text was corrupted and that makes it harder to understand the letters. I read the word as *cemiyyethane* but could find any equivalent in terms of meaning.

350 Unfortunately, I could not find why there is such a difference between two accounts. Either the remaining 12 rooms were demolished in the first decade of the twentieth century or one of the authors made a counting mistake.

dual positions together with their duty in the *zâvîye.* One was preaching at Hagia Sophia; the other was serving as a consul. Most importantly, it seems that there might be a keen relation between the lodge of Hüdayi as the center of the Celveti branch and Küçük Ayasofya. Küçük Ayasofya might be a step in the career line of Celveti sheikhs. For example, just as Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi himself, primarily Ruşen Efendi was the sheikh of Küçük Ayasofya then appointed to the main lodge.

4.7 The tomb of Hüseyin Ağa and Sheikh Hacı Kamil Efendi (d.1911)

As it is noted in the first chapter, Ayvansarayi states in *Hadika* that Hüseyin Ağa was murdered and buried in his private tomb next to his mosque.[351]

Ayvansarayi finished his book at the end of the eighteenth century. A century later, in 1911 Hüseyin Ağa started to share his tomb with Hacı Kamil Efendi.

The mausoleum of Hüseyin Ağa is a modest one with an octagonal plan and contains these two sarcophagi. It has no inner decoration and is covered by a wooden roof. The entrance has a simple arch, and it is steeper than the usual. According to İsmail Aydın Yüksel, the place of the door and some windows of the structure had been changed during some of the restorations because he noticed traces of modification in one of the windows.[352]

Hacı Kamil Efendi, the next and the only person not buried in *hazîre* but inside the tomb, is an interesting case to analyze. Firstly, this figure is not known to be a sheikh of the *zâvîye*, rather he was a *hücre-nişîn* (a person who lodges one the rooms) and was praying alone and restraints himself from worldly pleasures. He was born in Edremit and moved to Constantinople to complete his education. From then

---

[351] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi',* 188.

[352] Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid, Yavuz Sultan Selim Devri*, 265.

on he started to live in Küçük Ayasofya and continued the lessons of Büyük Kazım Efendi in the madrasa of Bayezid II. Later on, he completed his training with a teacher of Fatih's madrasa and started to be known as a Şa'bâni sheikh.[353] It is possible that Kamil had his own circle in Küçük Ayasofya. Hüseyin Vassaf tells in *Sefine* that he was in Kamil's circle and benefited from his spiritual experiences.[354]

4.8 Conclusion

The enthronement of Bayezid II designates a new epoch in the construction of the capital. This construction was not only a material one; it also had significant elements of religious institutions. If converting a church into a dervish lodge is a physical action, then settling the dervishes and creating new circles of religious education mean constructing a new environment and new dynamics in the social life of the Ottoman community.

I believe that the time of adaptation of Constantinople to the Ottoman elements coincides with the expansion of the Halveti order. New lodges furnished the city and new pious foundations were established, that is to say, more dervishes and sheikhs found a place for themselves in the growing community. The conversion of the Byzantine churches may have been intimately intertwined with the arrival and the taking roots of the Halveti order in the newly conquered Ottoman capital.

This development of the order was interrupted during the reign of Selim I (r. 1512- 1520) since:

> Most of the scholarly activity of the period was aimed at extirpating heretical beliefs and practices, and Sufi orders like the Halveti who came from eastern origins and had nominal links to Safavid ancestors came under increased

[353] Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya* IV, 137.

[354] Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya* V, 317.

> scrutiny, and could become targets of suspicion in the eyes of the Ottoman rulers and scholars.[355]

İbrahim-i Gülşeni for example was imprisoned in Cairo for a similar reason.[356]Later on, they were able to protect the equilibrium between their Sufi paths and the state. An appearance of this, as Yürekli suggests, could be the construction of Sokollu convent in Kadırga in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The vizier went beyond the usual *tevhîdhâne* in Constantinople and separated it from the mosque by erecting an individual building within the complex "The coupling of a madrasa with a convent in the architectural program should be evaluated against the background of the close and relatively unproblematic relation of the Cemali-Halvetis to the 'ilmiyye."[357]

Moreover, most of the prominent Halveti sheikhs were coming from scholar backgrounds in his career as in the case of Dede Omer, Abdulkerim Kadiri, Nureddinzade and Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi. They were also keeping good relations with the palace by advising the Sultan spiritually and serving him during campaigns. Particularly in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent and during the vizierate of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa (1565-1579) the Halveti community became well planted in the Balkan domains.

The Nureddinzade School in the Balkans takes the discussion again back to Bayezid II's reign where the Sultan provided statesmen with huge lands in the same region. He was a driving force behind the growth of the Halveti order. To illustrate Hüseyin Ağa was granted with lands in Filibe, Leskofça, Somakov, Toplica and in the others. In turn, he built madrasas, mosques and *zâvîye*s in these territories.

---

[355]Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought*, 73.

[356] Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler*, 315.

[357]Zeynep Yürekli, "A Building Between the Public and Private Realms," 172.

Indeed, Bayezid's support was not limited to the Sunni Sufi orders. His reign was also a critical period for the early institutionalization of the Bektashi order. Derin Terzioğlu describes the case as follows:

> The writing down of the hitherto oral traditions about Hacı Bektaş, the renovation of the lodge of Hacı Bektaş, and the reorganization of the administrative structure of the order by the sheikh Balım Sultan all took place around this time. Even though Bayezid's role in each of these developments remains unclear, his conciliatory policies may have laid the foundation for the subsequent accommodation of various nonconformist Sufis under the Bektashi umbrella.[358]

When Cemal Halveti arrived the capital and Koca Mustafa Pasha established his foundation the convent became the primary lodge of the Halveti Order. A few years later, at the end of the fifteenth century, Hüseyin Ağa turned the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus into a Halveti lodge. Among the others, Küçük Ayasofya stands like a usual Halveti *tevhîdhâne*. However, it has its own properties, which attach it a sort of particularity. The *zâvîye* seems like a junction where various prominent figures lodge for a period during their careers. As far as I understand from the available sources, Nureddinzade and Muhyî are among the most important of them.

[358]Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the Age of State-Building," 93.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis focused on a former Byzantine church, Küçük Ayasofya, which was later converted into a mosque and sufi lodge by the patron Babüssaade Ağası Hüseyin Ağa. The primary purpose is not only to understand the dynamics that lay behind the conversions activated by the statesmen of Bayezid II, but also to see how these people, especially Hüseyin Ağa gathered the property that was instrumental in the creation of his foundation. Thus, the power relations, the spatial dynamics, and the donor constitute the central foci of this thesis and are explored in the three main chapters.

First, as being *kapu ağa,* an endower and as a patron Hüseyin Ağa made numerous transactions, purchased many villages and lands within the borders of the Ottoman State that made him the owner of affluent assets. Bayezid II, as the supreme ruler, on the other hand, did not only allow the *ağa*, but he also issued decrees that granted him more properties. Moreover, Hüseyin Ağa is not the only person who enjoyed the Sultan's support. Different from Mehmed II's reign, now, in the time of Bayezid, statesmen and palace members outside of the *divan* could also make prominent acts of patronage and had privileges of deploying spaces of imperial significance. The conversion of former Byzantine structures was among these acts. Thus, apparently, Bayezid II had a more flexible approach to his subjects of higher means or he had a different imperial vision than that of his father. The case of İvaz Paşa shows that there are earlier examples comparable to Hüseyin's case regarding a proximity to the ruler which also entailed participation in significant construction activity. Moreover, this study also reveals that prominent figures of Bayezid's court

included eunuchs, who shared a past with him in Amasya. For example, this would not be case for the reign Süleiman the Magnificent, where the viziers were much more visible with their patronage and transactions. It could be said that Bayezid's reign witnessed the rise of imperial *ağa*s, a phenomenon that would again become visible beginning in the final decades of the sixteenth century.

Although there is a paucity of information concerning the biography of Hüseyin Ağa, he has a significant position in the formation of Ottoman Constantinople with his conversion of the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus and with his erection of a nearby dervish lodge. Plus, he constructed a monumental edifice in Amasya, a madrasa of a particular plan. It is the city to which his Sultan attached a special significance and where he also established a complex in his own name. Hüseyin and Firuz Ağa preferred, for their acts of patronage, such cities of regional importance as Amasya and Filibe. As a result they made visible transactions in the Balkans and in Eyâlet-i Rum.

Second, it is mentioned numerous times that during the reign of Bayezid II, statesmen were the actors of important conversions. Koca Mustafa Paşa ,for example, converted a prominent nunnery of the late Byzantine Empire. Aladdin Ali's patronage as another case covers a huge monastery with a Byzantine imperial graveyard. If a statesman did not convert a former church, then he positioned his buildings on highly visible places such as Firuz Ağa's construction at the beginning of Divan Yolu. The situation arouses a question: What does the location and the history of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus tell us in terms of the long term history of the Byzantine and the Ottoman city?

Indeed, the church had a complicated history, but it shows a kind of continuing significance through the Byzantine period, with its own peculiarities. It

was home to the iconoclastic controversy and the Monophysite détente. In addition, it was a place of religious visits with its relics during the last centuries of the Byzantine Empire. During its conversion, Hüseyin Ağa did not intervene in the architecture of the building as far as possible. So, what aspects of the buildings did other Ottoman patrons preserve while making constructions on former Byzantine sites? Is it possible to discern a consistent approach?

The answer to the second question seems a "no" since it is not possible to observe a particular tendency in the several conversions such as Kariye Mosque, Gül Mosque, Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque and Fenari İsa Mosque. At least, it is analyzed whether the former church with its interior architecture was suitable for Islamic prayers and qibla orientation or not, the place was conserved in its original form to the degree that it conformed to the requirements of Muslim prayer. In the case of Küçük Ayasofya for example, the principal area together with its columns has survived in its original state.

In the third chapter, the focus shifted to the later times when Küçük Ayasofya functioned as a Halveti lodge. The site stood as a prominent place of education, in addition to keeping its feature of hosting influential individuals. Famous members of the ulema were educated in the lodge or sat as the sheikh before passing to their next step in their career lines. As the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus had housed Monophysites, Küçük Ayasofya was a sanctuary for Hafız Muhammed Semerkandi and his circle. Muhyi's *menakıbname* and other such sources show that the lodge became a sort of junction during the sixteenth century.

Finally, studying Küçük Ayasofya is not an easy task. I could say that at least this thesis stands as a compilation of stories regarding Küçük Ayasofya's life, regarding the social and political networks that underlay its foundation and later life,

the making and transformations of its architectural fabric, and its connection to its urban and imperial context. But still, it must be admitted that there are aspects of this history that have not been revealed, and documents about the complex that have not been unearthed or deciphered yet. A further research regarding an analogy of the patronage of imperial eunuchs of different centuries could be conducted to have a broader vision on the subject.

APPENDIX A

IMAGES

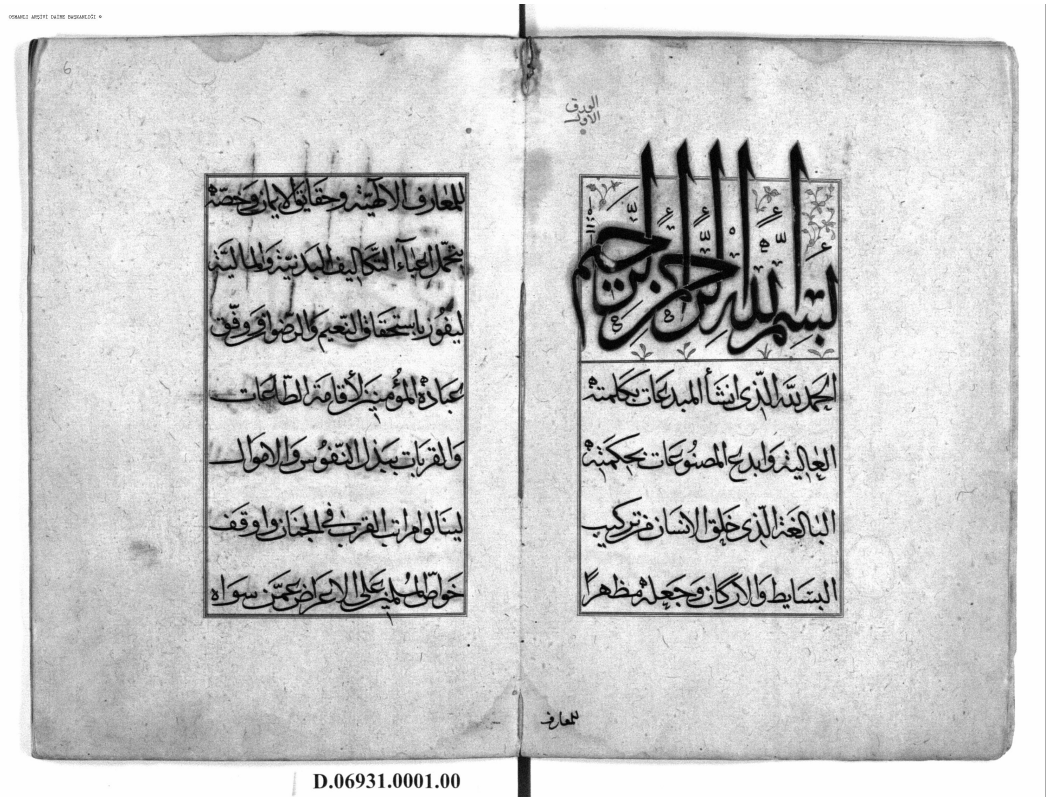

Figure 1. First page of Firuz Ağa's *vakfiye* (TS.MA.d6931, folio 5a.)

Figure 2. The Properties of Hüseyin Ağa in Constantinople (the basic map is taken from Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*.)

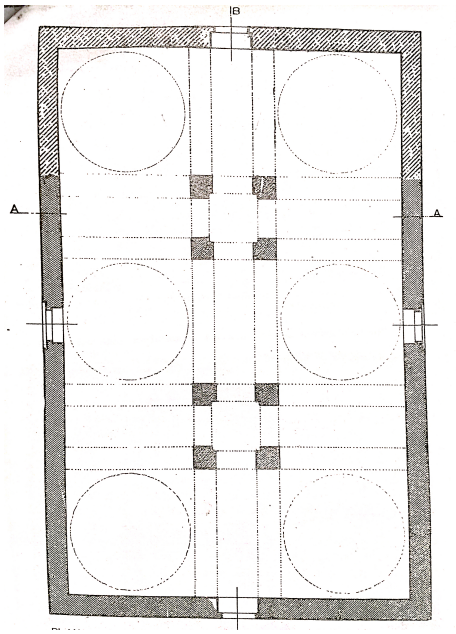

Figure 3. The plan of Hüseyin Ağa's bedesten (from Semavi Eyice, "Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları," 206.)

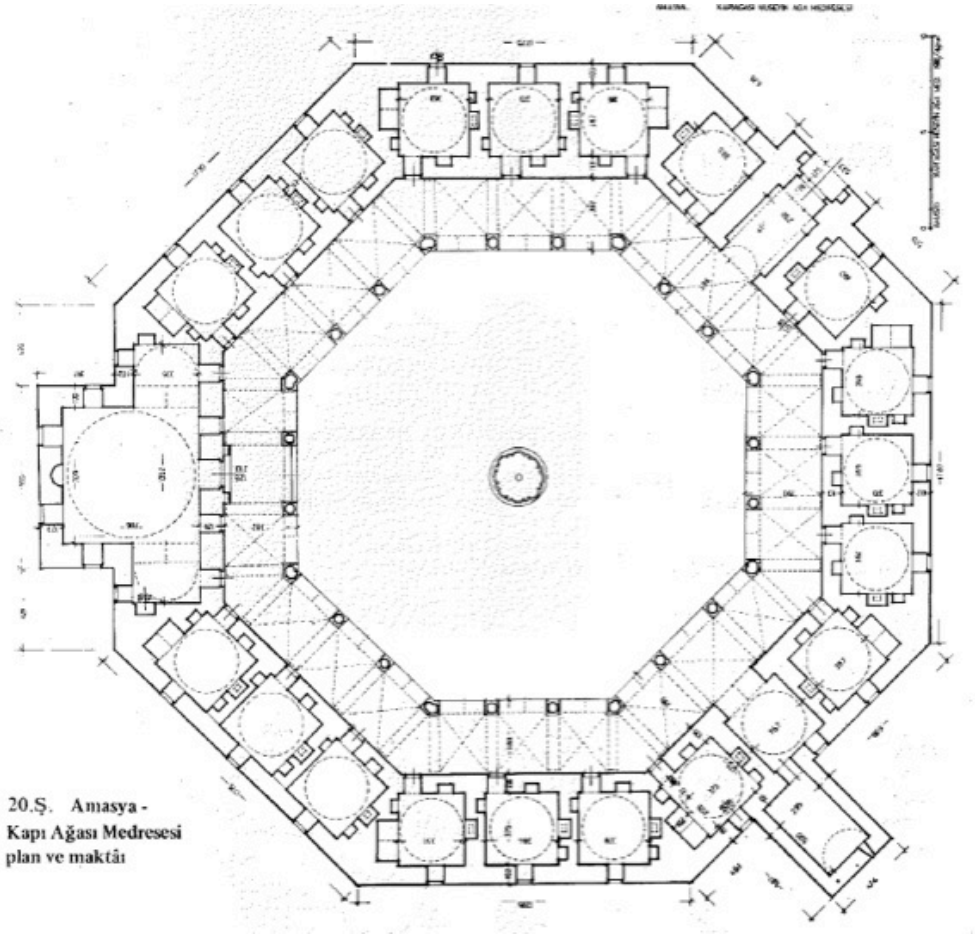

Figure 4. The plan of the Madrasa of Hüseyin Ağa in Amasya (from İsmail Aydın Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid, Yavuz Selim Devri*, 46.)

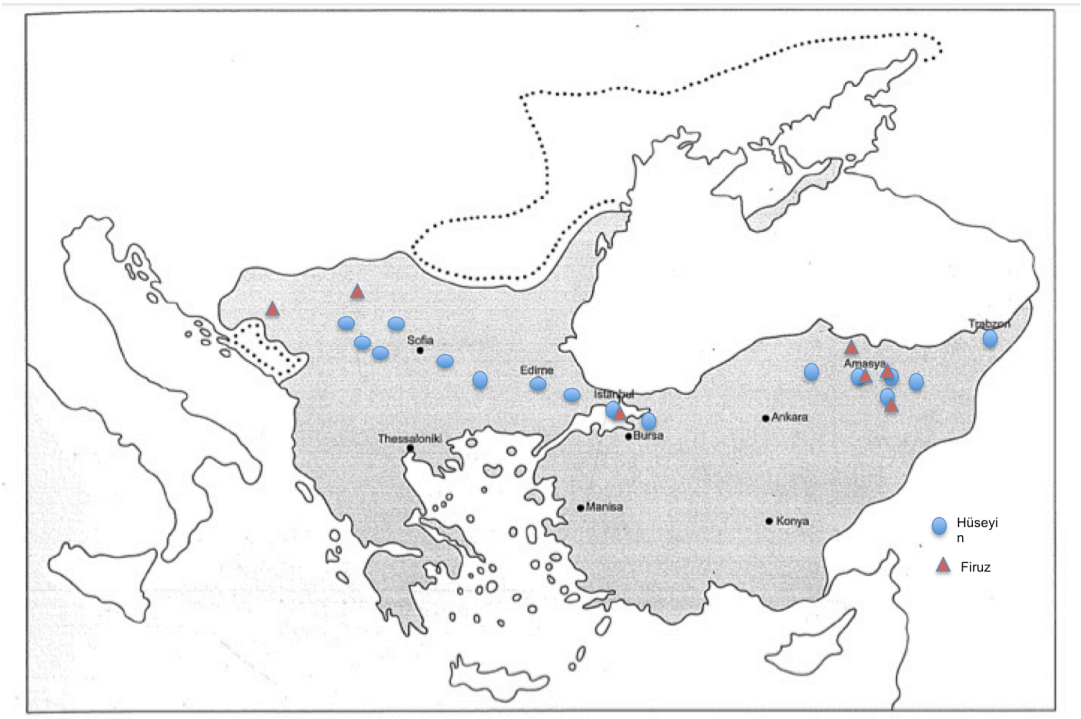

Figure 5. The distribution of Firuz's and Hüseyin's properties (the basic map is taken from Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*.)

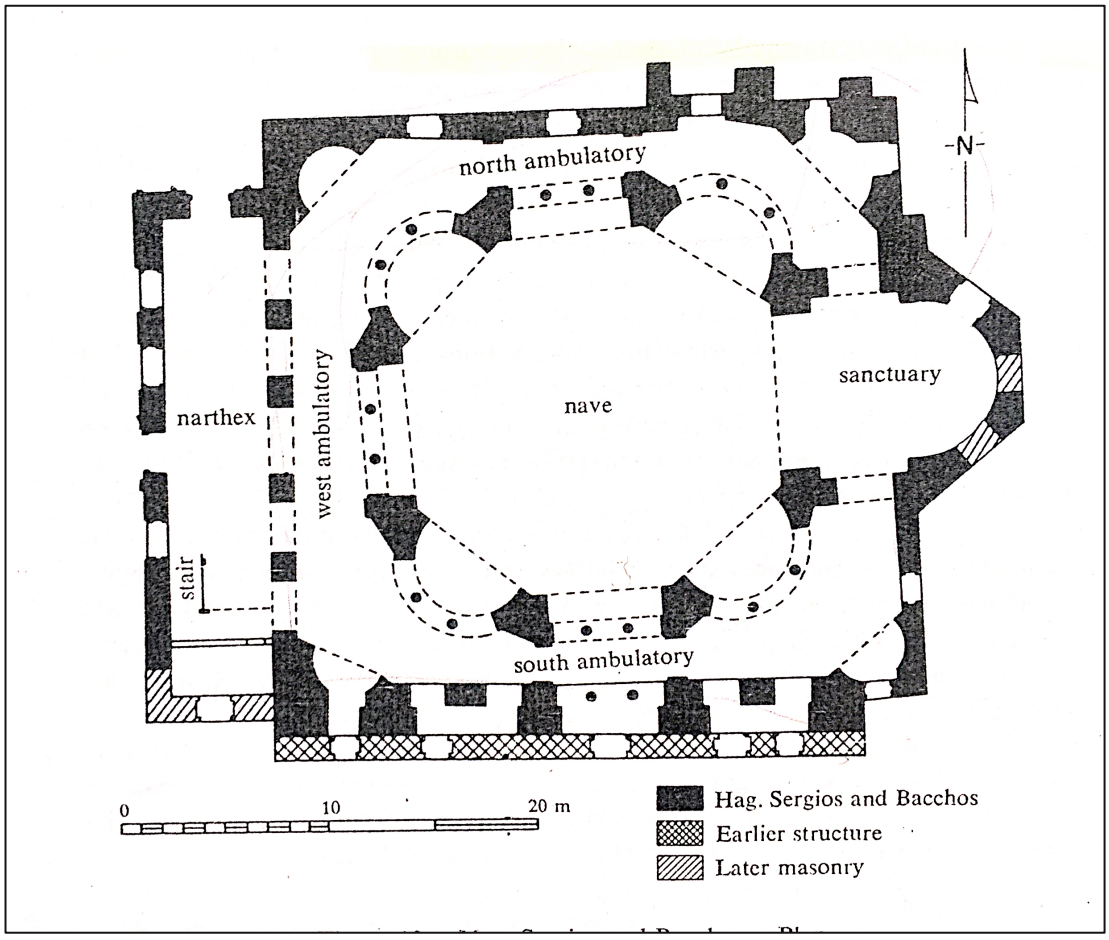

Figure 6. The ground plan of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus (from Alexander van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, 80.)

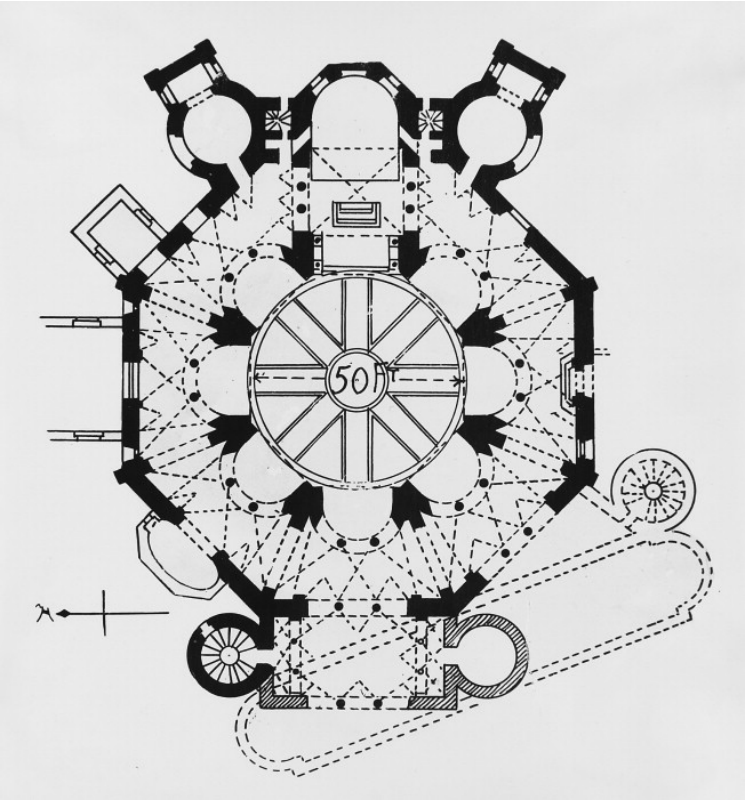

Figure 7. The ground plan of San Vitale in Ravenna (from http://www.artandarchitecture.org.uk/images/conway/7b9c30f1.html accessed in September 2, 2016.)

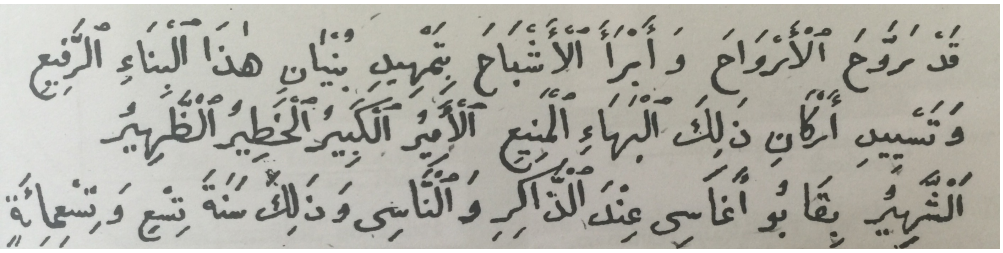

Figure 8. The text of Çardaklı Hamam's foundation inscription (from Heinrich Glück, *Probleme des Wölbungsbaues Die Bader Konstantinopels*, 105.)

Figure 9. The foundation inscription of Çardaklı Hamam, photo taken by the author

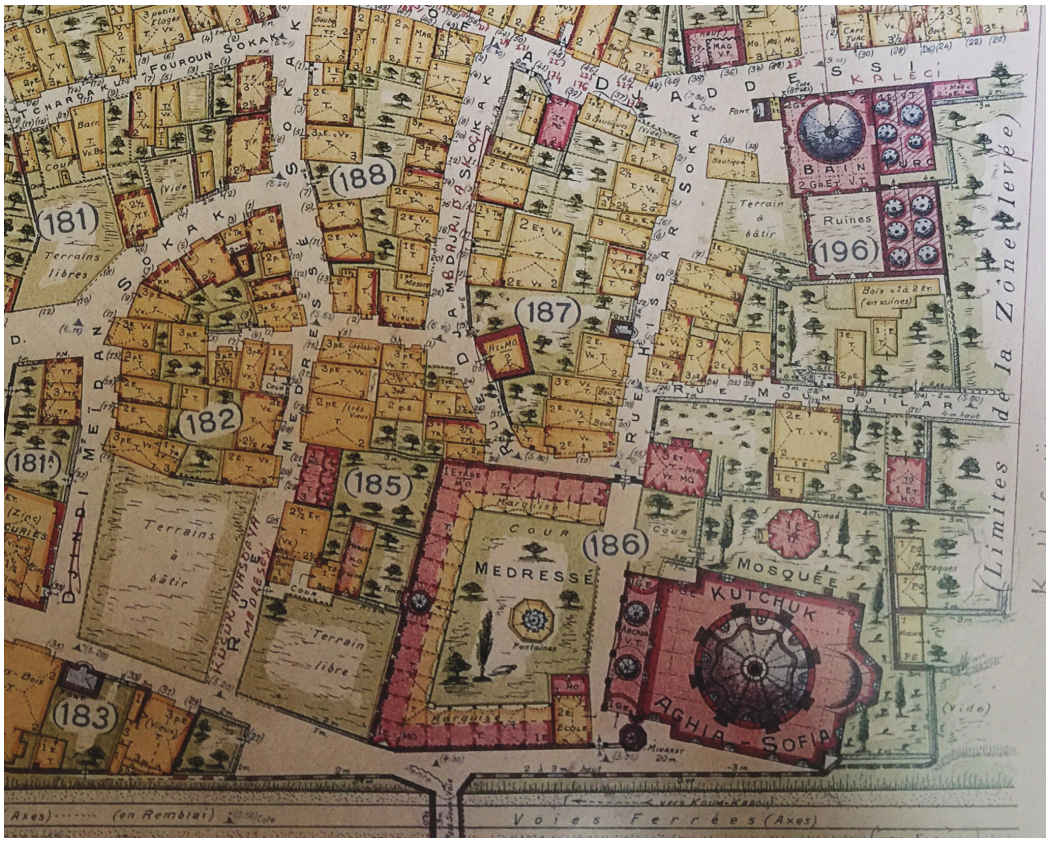

Figure 10. The quarter of Küçük Ayasofya in the Pervititch's insurance maps (from *Jacques Pervititch Sigorta Haritalarında İstanbul,* 67.)

Figure 11. Inside of Çardaklı Hamam, photo taken by the author

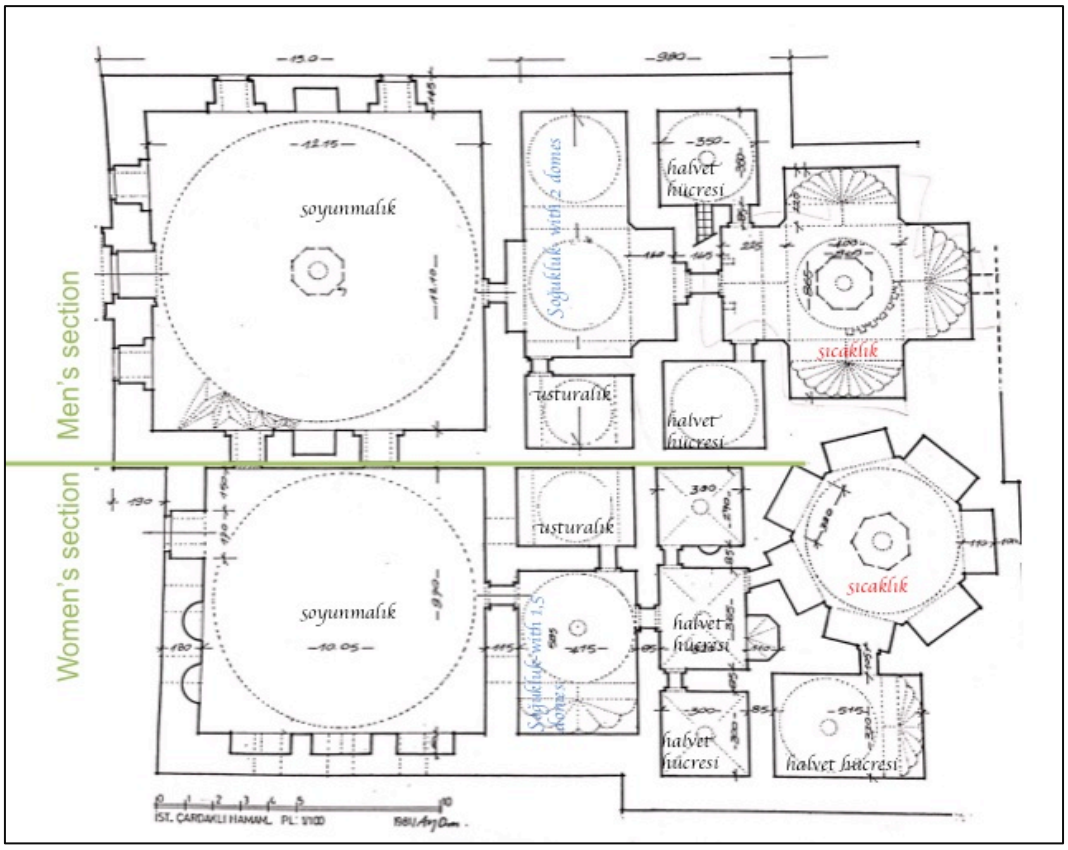

Figure 12. The ground plan of Çardaklı Hamam by Eyice based of Gluck's version (from Semavi Eyice, "Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları," 243.)

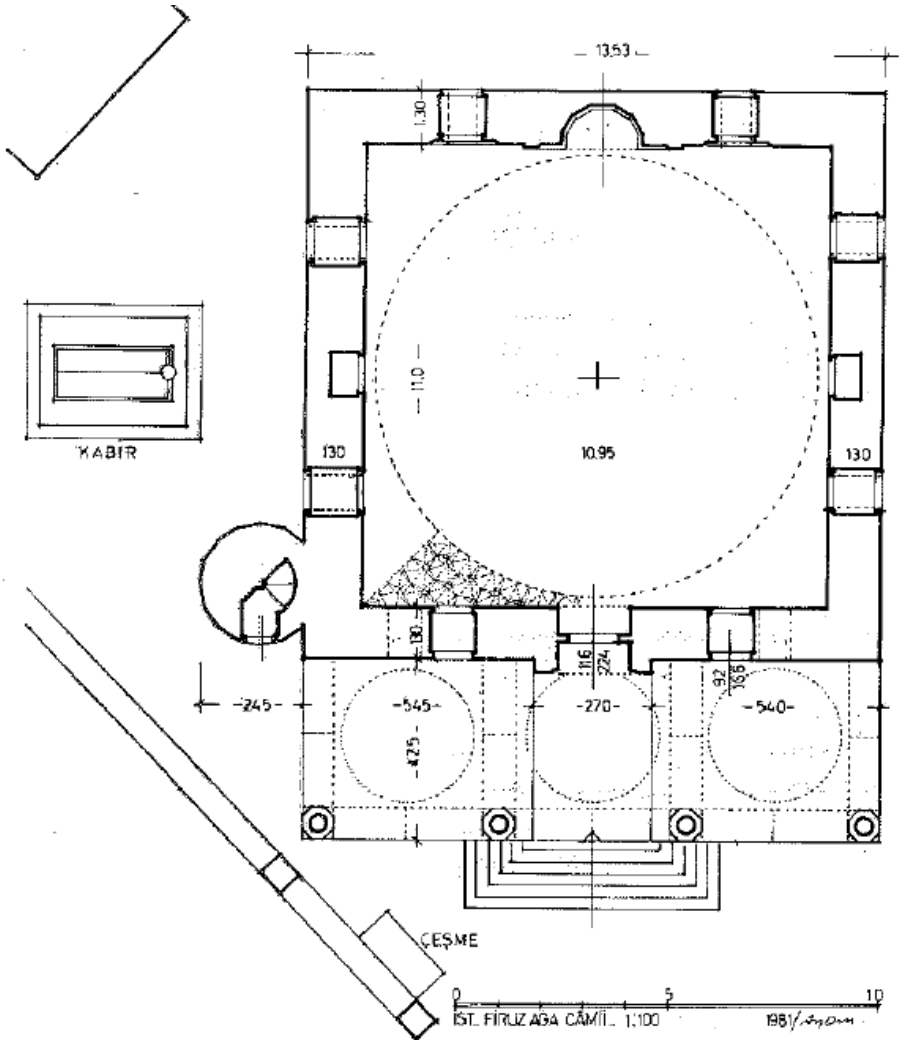

Figure 13. The ground plan of Firuz Ağa Mosque (İsmail Aydın Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid, Yavuz Selim Devri*, 249.)

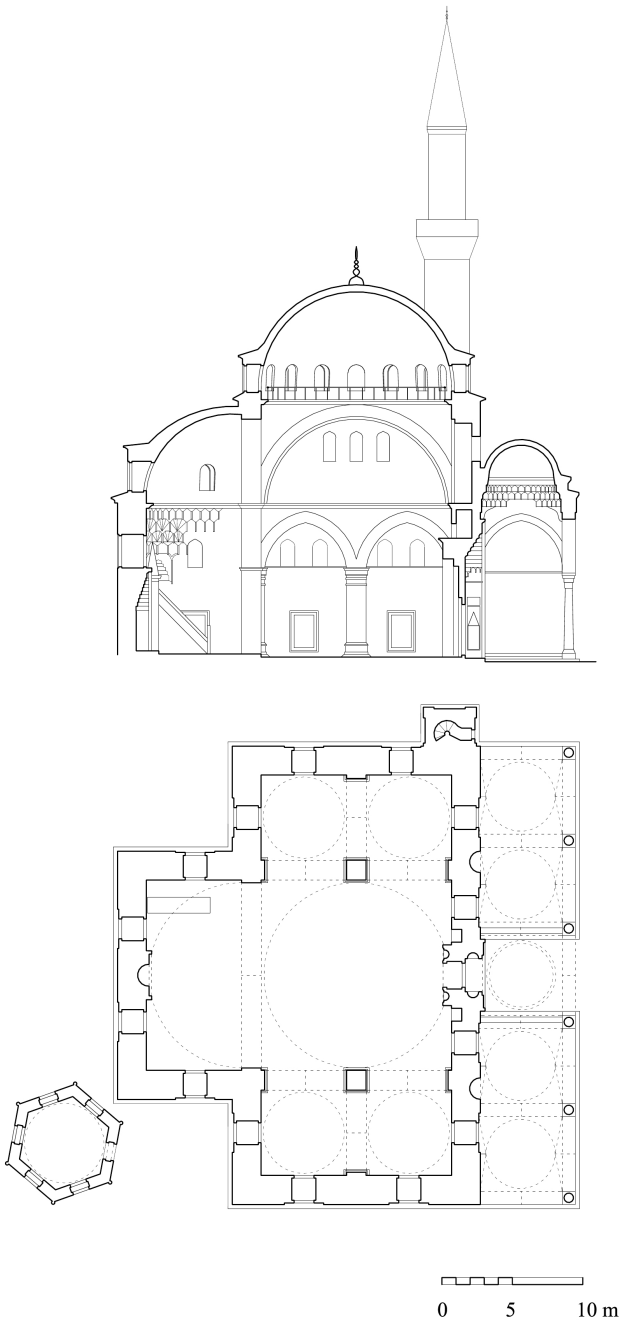

Figure 14. The ground plan of Atik Ali Paşa Mosque by Arben N. Arapi (from http://archnet.org/media_contents/49208 accessed in September 2, 2016.)

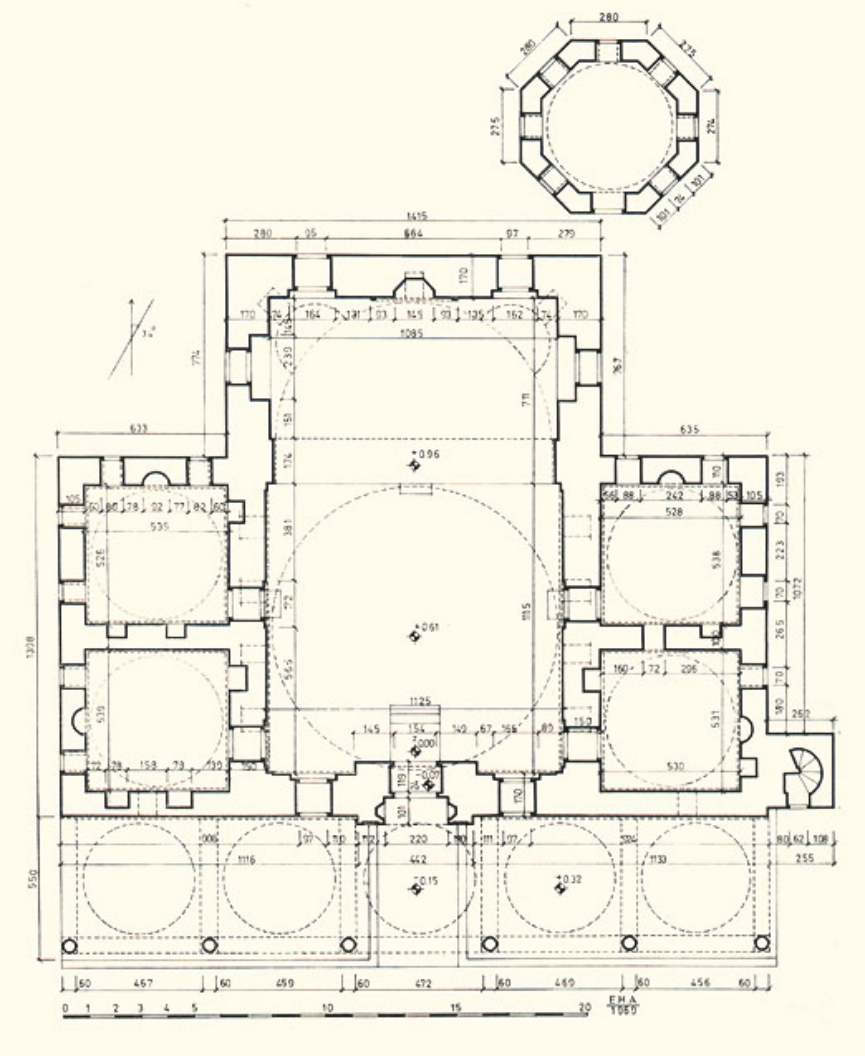

Figure 15. The ground plan of Rum Mehmed Paşa Mosque (by Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, http://archnet.org/media_contents/7782 accessed in September 2, 2016.)

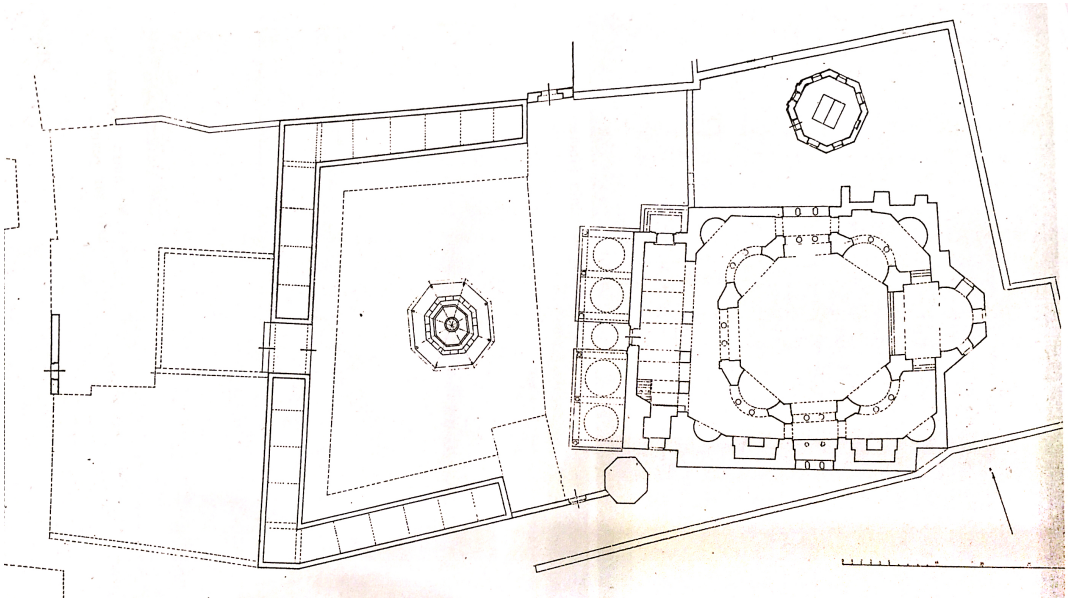

Figure 16. The ground plan of Küçük Ayasofya, together with *zâvîye* and the tomb (from Semavi Eyice, "Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları," 220.)

Figure 17. The interior of the mosque, taken by the author

Figure 18. A detail from Byzantine column capital, taken by the author

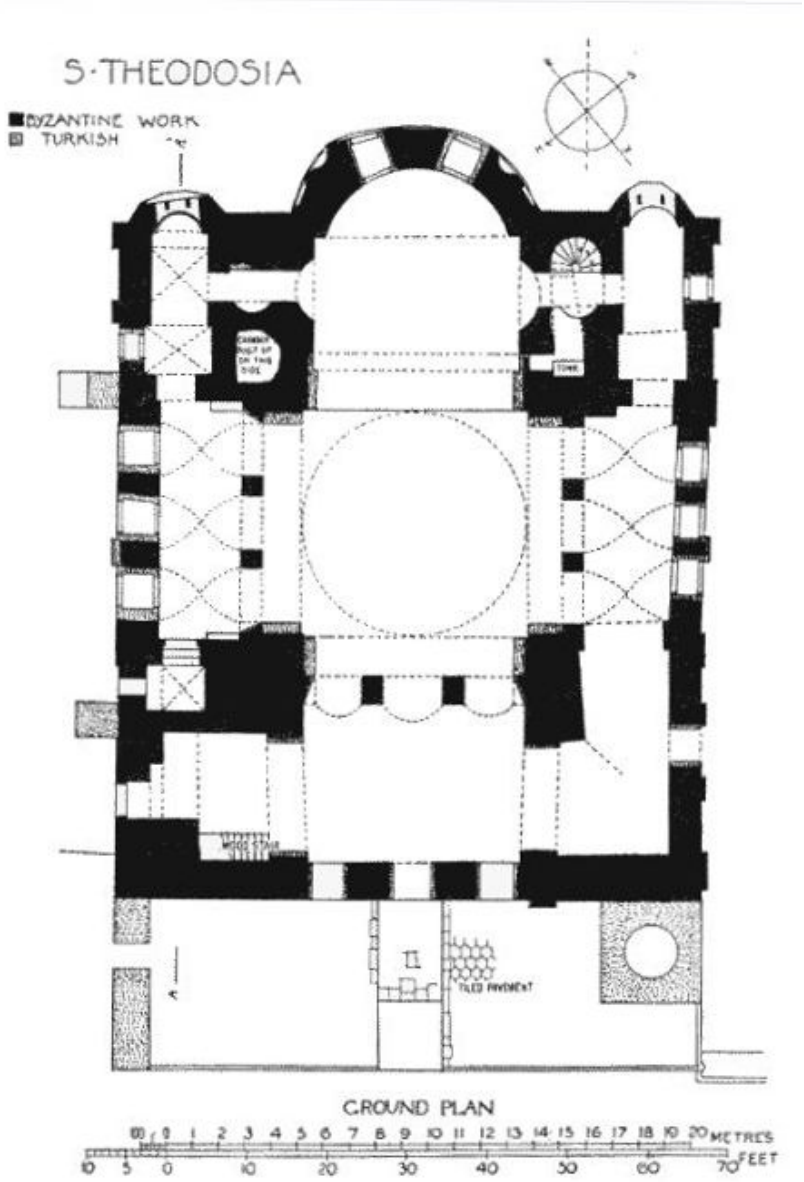

Figure 19. The ground plan of Gül Mosque by Alexander van Millingen (from Alexander van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, 179.)

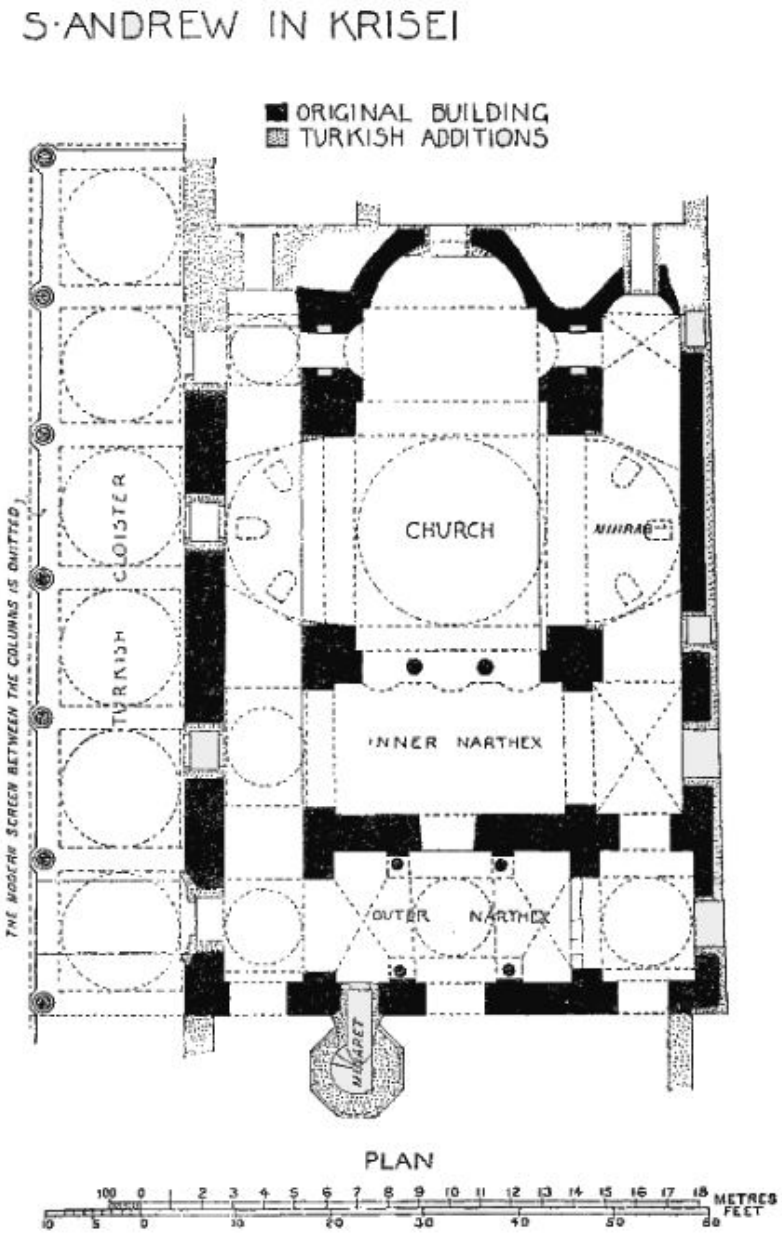

Figure 20. The ground plan of Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque (by Alexander van Millingen, *http://mapio.net/o/3122349/* accessed in September 2, 2016.)

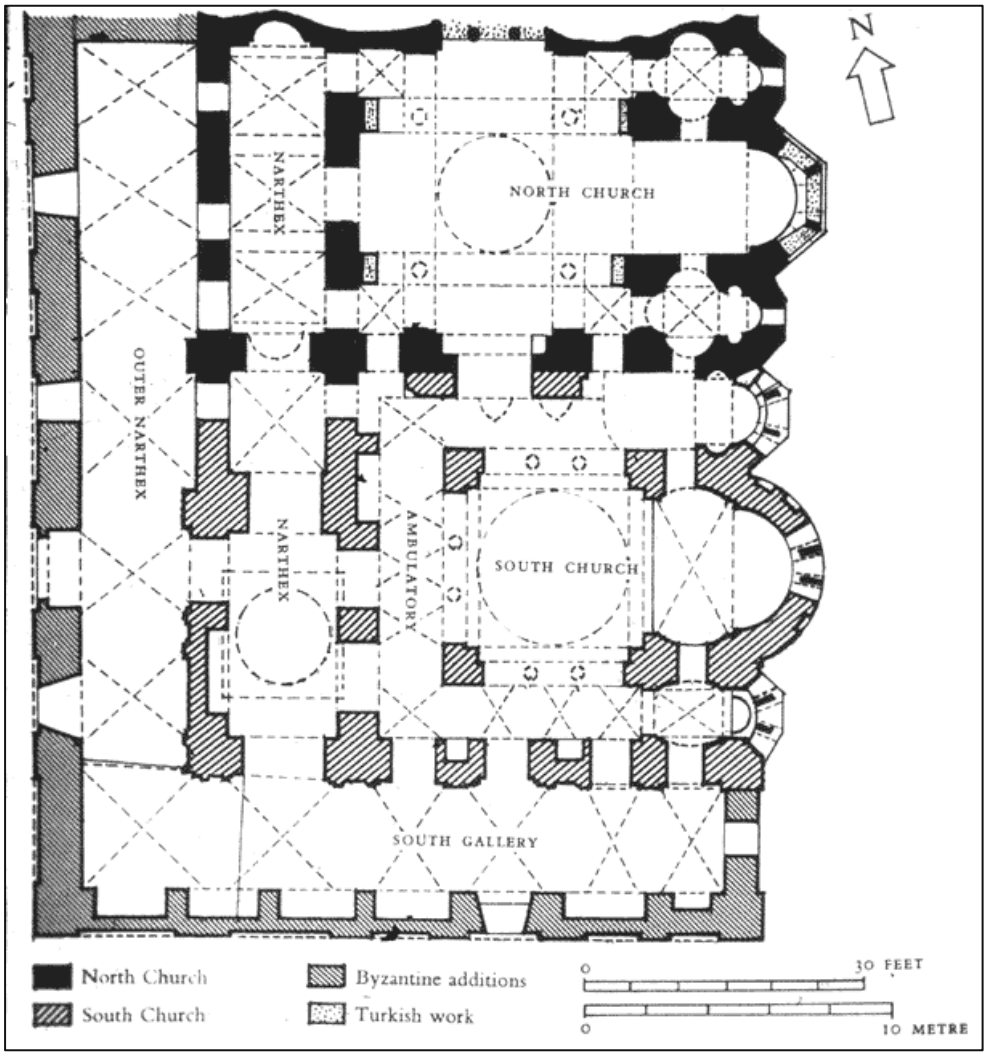

Figure 21. The ground plan of Fenari İsa Mosque by Alexander van Millingen (from Alexander van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, 119.)

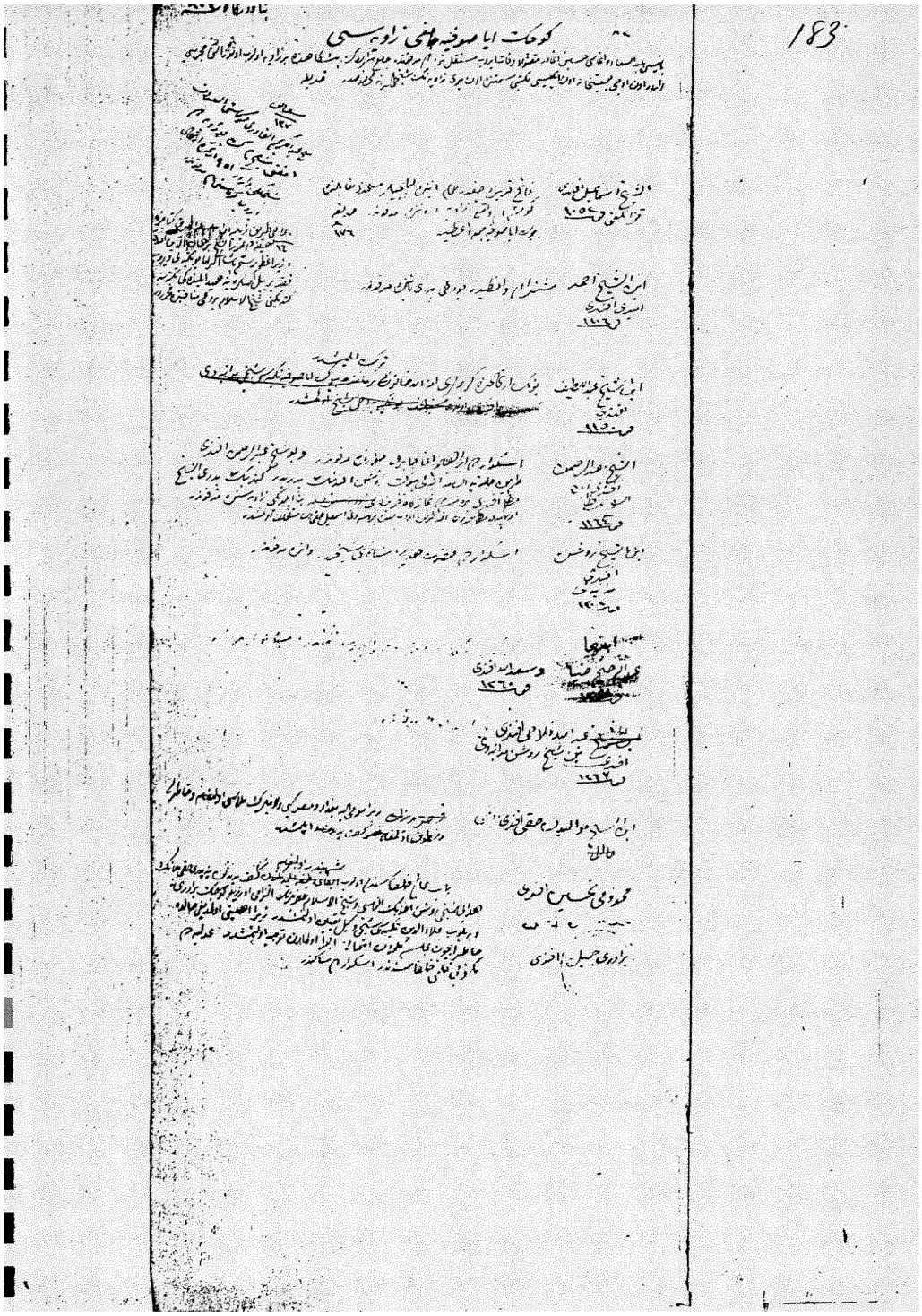

Figure 22. The page of Tomar-ı Tekaya concerning Küçük Ayasofya, folio 183

APPENDIX B

THE PROPERTIES OF HÜSEYİN AĞA

1. In TS.MA.d6977

CONSTANTINOPLE

- Hamam-ı Cedid (New Bathhouse) constructed by the donor in the neighborhood of the mosque (fi qurb al-cami). It is so-called Çardaklı Hamam.

- 16 *dukkan*s/shops close to hammam mentioned above. 3 of them (a butcher, a barber and a shop for *bozahane*) are at the right side of the hammam*'s* door. The others (13 of them) are at (واقعة في مقابلة وراء الطريق في الجانب الأيسر) at the across and the beginning of the road situated on the left side of the hammam. Those have borders with the main road (بالطريق العام شرقا وقبلة) from the east and the southern sides, and with the property of Uveys bin Karagöz from north, and the asset of Hasan bin Abduhu (…) Al-Qadiri from the western side.

- And one of them is the land of the big, ruined garden known as Çatladı Garden. It is close to the Hippodrome (ميدان الفرس). The donor bought this property from Mehmed b. Çatladı. Then built the hammam at one of the sides of it. Ali Paşa (Probably Atik Ali Paşa, who later became the grand vizier in 1501) gave a land to Hüseyin Ağa, which is attached to the aforementioned garden. The donor also bought adjacent land (close to Çatladı Bahçesi) from Christians with their houses. He sold them before his waqf and repelled the Christians then gave it to Muslims after once the endowment is founded (ثم باع الأبنية قبل الوقف ودفع عرصتها إلى المسلمين بعد الوقف). The city walls, surround this land from south, the main road from southeast (قبلة وشرقا), the houses of the Christians from the west side.

- Another piece of land is next to the Çatladi Garden. It is in south and surrounded by the main road from all sides. The donor bought it from a *zimmi* called Himar.

- And there is another land of the houses at the eastern side of the mentioned garden and behind the road, which is connected to the Hippodrome. The donor bought this land from its previous owners. It has a boundary with mentioned *meydan* from the eastern side, with the main road from west and south and with the asset of Muhammed, whose father is Qasım al-Fera[359] from north.

[359] فراء: a dealer in or dresser of furs

- Another piece of land is close to mentioned garden from the northern side. The donor bought it from Yorgi the Fisher (بوركي السماك). This land is surrounded by main road from the southeastern and southern sides (العام قبلة وجنوبا)[360], by the mentioned garden from west and by the asset of Muhammed bin Çatladi by North.

- Another empty land, which is close to neighborhood of the mentioned garden, which is at the southern side of the mentioned mosque that is connected to the walls (by the sea). Hüseyin Ağa bought it from Muhammed bin Çatladi. It has boundaries with mentioned two walls (close to the sea) from south (قبلة وجنوبا), with the road from the west side, with a well (*kuyu*, البئر المعمول بها) from east.[361]

- There is another empty land at the west of the specified garden which is surrounded by a private road from south, from the land of a ruined church (وبعرضه الكنيسة المنهدمة) from east and north, and land of the Head of the Poor (رئيس الأعسرين) from west and from the property of the Water-Carrier (السقا) from south.

- Another land of a big ruined garden known as İshak Paşa Garden, which is closed to İshak Paşa Hamamı. Hüseyin Ağa bought this land with its belongings and ruined building from the inheritors of İshak Paşa (الخربة من ورثة الأمير المذكور). It has limited by the building of Sarachane Commandership (بالداري الأميرية المعروفة بسراج خانه), garden of al-Hac Avs (الحاج عوص), garden of Kara Hıdır (قره خضر) the military zone (*al-muhassar al-askerî*) from south, the mentioned İshak Paşa bath (*muhavvata*), shops of İshak Paşa, the property of Beni al- Bustani from east, the asset of Zağanos al-Kethuda[362] and the asset of Ahmed the (from the/son of) Quilt-maker (al-Lahhâfî), the asset of Hamza the Yarn Maker (al-Hayyat), the asset of Davud bin Idris from north, by the asset of Ghabî, the asset of Mustafa who is known as Karaderzi (?) and the asset of Oruc Hatun binti Ahmed from west.

- All of the big houses in Ibn Çelebi district (Constantinople). The donor bought them from a Jewish woman called Efemya bint Elyaho. This asset includes various second-floor and ground-floor rooms (بيوت متعددة علوية وسفلية). There are 14 lower rooms and seven higher rooms surrounded by well and various toilets (على على كنف متعددة) and a water wall, and three bakeries. The asset is limited by road from west, with the asset of Semirye (?) bin Davud from south, and the asset of two brothers who are called Yusuf and Munahim (الأخوين المعوين يوسف ومناحم) and the asset of Yaho from east, with the asset of Safa Hatun from north.

---

360 As far as I understand, *katib* uses قبلة to refer the South. This time he uses both قبلة and جنوب . That is why I translated the former as the Southeast.

361 As far as I understand, there is the Çatladı Garden at the North of this empty land.

362 I think it could be Zağanos Paşa. But in the text the word *kethüda* is open to be read differently.

- And there are other houses in the same district (Ibn Çelebi Mahallesi). Which is close to mentioned house (بقرب من الدار المزبورة), and the enclosed road of a lower house. It has borders with the mentioned road, with another road, with the asset of Yaho and with the asset of Semriye(?). The donor bought them from Efemya.

- There are two khans in Constantinople, facing each other, and there is road between them. The donor built them close to Ayasofya. In the upstairs, there are rooms (الحجرات العلوية) and on the first floor there are shops (والدكاكين السفلية) and there is barn[363]. It is not necessary to write down the borders of these two khans since there are known with the name of the founder.

- All of the houses (جميع الدار) that are close to mentioned (two) khans. This asset includes a house, a chamber (حجرة), a room, and a barn, another three lower houses, a toilet and surrounded by wall. It has boundaries with the main road from north, with the asset of Esma the Singer/ the Emir of the Singers (أسما المطرب) from south, with the imperial water?? (وبمسيل الماء الخاقاني) from west and the asset of the Cook/or the soup kitchen (الطباخ) from east.

GALATA

- The houses in the Galata's Cami quarter. The donor bought them from lumberjack al-Hac Seyyid Ahmed (خَشَّاب). The asset includes two *mahzen*s, two shops, and another *mahzen*, a high house with another higher house on it with two toilets and a *kiler*.[364] Above the latter there is another higher house with oven and kiosk/shade (ظلة). The asset has boundaries with the asset of Silver (سلور), with the asset of Aişe, with the main road and a house (which Hüseyin Ağa bought from Ferhad as-Sallah –the weapon maker).

- The houses in Galata, common with mentioned Ferhad (المشتراه من فرهاد المومى إليه). The asset includes two *mahzen*s, three shops and a well; above them there are three upper houses (وبئر فوقها ثلاث علويات) with kiosk (صفة[365]) and an oven. And above them there are two higher houses (فوقهما بيتان علويان) with *kiler* and another kiosk (صفة). It is bordered with the house mentioned earlier, with the asset of Balaban the Carrier (الحمال), with the asset of Şir Merd, with the asset of al-Hac Muhammed.

- There houses in the same district (جميع الدار الكائنة أيضا فيها في محله أغابي). Hüseyin Ağa bought them from Berry bin Thomas al- Afranci (بري بن توماز والأفرنجي). The asset includes a *mahzen* and two houses on it (مخزن فوقه بيتان علويان). It has boundaries with the asset of Minvel al-Nasrani, with the House

---

363 barn: إصطبل
- building to shelter farm animals like cows, horses, etc, or building for a fleet of buses, vans, etc
- a place for breeding the cattle or keeping horses

365 kiosk: صفة
- a light open pavilion in Turkey and Iran
- long seat of stone in a public park, etc
- narrow horizontal surface projecting from a wall, etc; cornice; rack

of Commandership/ the house of the emir?? (وبالدار الأميرية) and with the main road from two sides.

- There three floors (الدور الثلاث) in Galata in that district. The donor bought them from Antoine bin Yakomi. But the first house is comprised of two *mahzen*s and two floors on it. It has boundaries with the asset of Shevma bin Ani (شوما بن اني), and private road, and main road from two sides. And the second house is comprised of two connected lower houses (بيت سفلية متلاصقين) and two floors on it. It has boundaries with the asset of Bernardo bin Hazo (پرناردوبن حازو) and with the asset of Yakomi the Baker (ياقومي الخباز), with the main road from two sides. The third house/asset is comprised of a *mahzen* and two floors on it. It has boundaries with the Waqf of Ayasofya, with the asset of Rani the Baker (راني الخباز), and with the waqf of al-Hac Huseyin Ağa and with the main road.

- The big garden in Galata at the place called Kozlu Bekkar (?)(قوز لوبكار). Hüseyin Ağa bought it from Yahşi Bey bin Ahmed Bey, the emir of Hamid Sancağı (in Isparta and Eğirdir???) with the agreement of his sales representative (بعقد وكيله بالبيع) Şadi bin Abdullah(?). -كما نطق به صك البيع- This asset includes various fruit trees, with a house and a room on it (بيت فوقه غرفة)[366], a kiosk (ظلة), and another wooden but strong house (وبيت آخر من حشب اما مرصفة), and a water well, and a chamber (حجرة), and two ponds known as dolab (وحوضين معورفين بدولا). The asset has boundaries with the garden of Dimitri al-Nasrani from east, a road adjacent to sea from south, the wells of Bostani İskender from west, and the vineyard of İlyas the Bachelor (بكرم إلياس العزب).

EDIRNE

- A big share (حصته الشائعة) from a big khan in Edirne, which is at the bazaar of Carpenters/Lathers (في سوق الخراطين ثم) which is later known as Halil Paşa[367] Hanı. The shops are connected with the mentioned khan. Hüseyin Ağa has 23 shares. The total of the khan is 36. He bought this asset from the descendants of Halil Paşa.

- Two shops in Edirne at Hamam Bazaar. The donor bought them from Huseyin Bey Emirü'l-Alem Es-Sultani. It has boundaries with the asset of Yusuf the amir of the cooks, with two sultani shops, with the main road from two sides.

- The land close to Yeni Cami in Edirne. The donor bought it from mentioned Huseyin Bey. It has boundaries with main road from all four sides with the butcher that the donor built near a side of the waqf of mentioned İbrahim Pasha, and attached to another shop from other that coherent to the waqf of Mevlana Fahreddin Acemi. And there are other buildings that are not related to the waqf. Their rental price is equal to the half of their income.

---

[367] He is Çandarlı Halil Paşa (d.1453)

- There is a land close to the right side of Kal'a Gate. Sultan Bayezid II gave it to the donor. From one side this land is attached to the fortress' wall and the main road. As for other three sides, together with the butcher (and to other shop-the donor built them-, it is attached to main road.

- There is another land piece at the left side of Kal'a Gate. It is in the face of the mentioned land (number 22). It has boundaries with an oil shop (بالأرض الأميرية التي فيها دكان ياغي) from east, with main road from remaining three sides. This land piece was also given to the donor by Sultan Bayezid II. النشور مع الدكانين المتلاصقين اللذين بناهما الواقف في الأرض المذكورة بعد تملكه إياهما

- There is a land out of the Hacı Pasha Gate at the end of the Carpenters' Market. It has boundaries with a trench from south, a main road and a bridge from west, and main road from north, with shoe shop from east. This land is also given by the mentioned Sultan. This is also attached to the previously mentioned one. The donor built new shops after the Sultan gave the land to him.

- There is another land that is close to the previous one, outside of the Al-Hac İvez Paşa Gate. The height of it is sixty arms (ذراع) and the width of it is twenty arms. It has boundaries with the bridge mentioned above, an empty land and main road from two sides. This piece of land is also given by the Sultan.

- And the entire village of Binbucak (بنبوجاق) in the İznik region. The donor bought this village from Hadice Hatun. There is no need to describe that village since it is known with its place and to its people. There is also a Doğancı Çifliği (طوغانجي جفتلكي) in the borders of that village.

- There three villages in the town of İncüğez (أنجوكز). These are given by the Sultan. Once one of these villages sometimes called the asset of Karaca Kerameddin and sometimes the New Village (قرية جديدة). The second is called the village of Ali Fakih and the third is the village of Murad Fakih.

- There are three other arable lands in İncüğez. The first one is close to Constantinople and called Köse Aslıhan, second is the land of Köse Adil, and the third is the land of Kolağız (or Kılağuz) (قولاغوز).

- Other three lands located in different positions in the area of İncüğez. One of them is known as the land of Aziz, the second is the land of Hüseyin, and the third is known as the land of Uğurlu. These lands are given the Sultan. All of them are known by the people of the area with their locations, limits.

- The endower also donated 100000 dirhams.

2. In TS.MA.d6996

CONSTANTINOPLE

- The donor built a mosque at Eski Et Pazarı.

- The land in the place called Otluk Pazarı (أوتلوق بازارى). It has borders with a main road from two sides, with the asset of Başçı Hacı Evi, with a main road that is attached to the asset of Hallac Mustafa, with the asset of Borkcü Muhammed, with the asset of Hoca Buri? (بُرَى), with the asset of Hoca Dursun, with a well-known main road which ends with the fountain of ??? (چشمهء التوكلت). The donor built 20 shops in this land.

- There are 12 shops and a house opposite to mentioned 20 shops. It has boundaries with the khan of Süleyman Paşa, with the asset of Huseyin Alufi (حسين علوفي), with the shops of the Sultan, and with a main road which end with the previously mentioned fountain (چشمهء التوكلت).

- There are 89 rooms (حجرات) and a piece of land close to the mosque that the donor built.

THE BALKANS
Samokov (Bulgaria), Filibe (Plovdiv in Bulgaria), Leskofça (Leskovac in Serbia), Parakin (Paraćin in Serbia, براكين), Ürgüb (Toplica in Serbia), Alaca Hisar (Kruševac in Serbia). (These assets are all granted by Sultan Bayezid II)

- Filibe: Two villages called Çaşnigir Köyü (چاشنكير كويي) and Yakacak (يقاجق) with their farms and fields. The donor built a mosque and a school in Filibe.

- Samakov: The donor built a hammam and shops close to the mosque.

- Leskofça (in district of Niş, ناحية قضاء نيش): The donor built a hammam and a number of mills (والطاحونية المتعددة) in this town. He has a small meadow called Hıdır Ağa. A mill and a dipper (دنك) near the river of Morava (نهر موراوا), and a meadow.

- Parakin: He has a number of dippers (دنك), a mill and a meadow.

- Ürgüb: A big meadow called Ormanı Dipli?? (أورماني ديلي)

3. In TS.MA.d6936

Amasya (He built a *bedesten* and a madrasa)

- Dar al-Bezzazin (دار البزازين) with four shops (الحوانيت الأربعين)

- The land of an old bazaar (البزازية العتيقة)

- (ناحية سيمرة)A village called Kordani (قورداني). The donor bought it from İskender Çelebi and Şehsuvar Çelebi bin Mahmud Çelebi bin al-Hac İlyas Ağa.

- ¾ of the Yuva village in (…) (قلوات) district of Amasya.

- The entire village called Çiftlik in Ladik district.

- Two attached villages called Bozoklu and Şehriman in Osmancık province (قضاء) of Amasya.

- A village called Yıkan (يكان) and a farm called Güngörmez in the province of Zile (زيله).

- A village called Lab (لاب) in Kazaya(قازآيا) province.

- Kırca Viran (قرچه ويران) village in (…).

- Half of the village called Öhömro (أوخمره) in Zile?? (أعمال زيلة)

- A farm. The donor bought it from Şah Paşa Hatun bint(?) Kasım Çelebi.

TRABZON

- The bathhouse in the citadel of the city. It is situated close to the door of the citadel, which is called Orta Kale. The donor bought this hammam from the family of Mustafa Bey bin Abdullah.

SONISA (the *ağa* built a masjid)

- The entire village called Topnaklar (طوبنا قلر) with a stream for rice (جدول ارز). Sultan Bayezid II gave this asset to the donor.

- A village called Bayat Burnu known as Sonlu (صونلو).

- A village called Sepdelu (سپدلو) in (…) (فليند) district of Sonisa. The donor bought it Ali Çelebi bin İskender.

- A village called Kanaryaltı ?? (كناريالتي). Vakıf bought it from Hamza Bey ibn Ahmed.

- Half of the village of Karabük (قرة بوك) and half of the two fields called Behram Şah which is known as Örencik (اورانجك) and the other is the field of Ilıca (إيلجة). The donor bought them from the biggest follower (خلفي الأكبر) of Torak (طوراق) Çelebi bin Mahmud Çelebi bin Mehmed Çelebi bin Ali Çelebi bin Mahmud Çelebi Ali.

- Seyyid Yahya ibn merhum Seyyid Zeyn al-Abidin. All of them are in Ladik (لاذيق) district of Amasya.

NIKSAR

- A village called Tazılar (تازيلر) and a field (مزرعة) called Endeksi?? (اندكسي). The donor bought them from Hamza Bey ibn Ahmed Ali. These are in Niksar district.

MERZIFON

- A village called Şıh Yeki (شيخ يكي).

İNCÜĞEZ PROVINCE (it is close to Constantinople, Bayezid II gave these assets to Hüseyin Ağa)

- A field called the Field of Aslıhan.
- The field of Köse Adil.
- A field called Kılavuz (قولاوز)
- The field of Keramuddin.
- The land of Aziz, the land of Hüseyin and the land of Uğurlu.
- The land of Kırca (قرچه) Keramuddin and the New Village (القرية الجديدة).
- The village of Ali Fakih.
- The village of Murad Fakih.

CONSTANTINOPLE

- Two houses close to Ayasofya, including shops, rooms and a barn.

3. In TS.MA.d10773

TOKAD AND MECİDÖZÜ

He has a bathhouse, an *imaret* and a madrasa in Tokad.

- Various villages and lands in Mecidözü province and in Tatoz Özü (طانون أوز) province.

REFERENCES

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

TSMA.D.6996, Babüssaade Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakfiyesi, 1486.

TSMA.D.6931, Firuz Beg Vakfiyesi, 1492.

TSMA.D.6936, Hüseyin Ağa bin Abdulcelil Vakfiyesi, 1499.

TSMA.D10733, Hüseyin Ağa Vakfiyesi, 1493.

TSMA.D.6977, Hüseyin Ağa Vakfiyesi, 1510.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES

Abdizade, H. H. (1912-1928). *Amasya tarihi* (Vol. 1). Istanbul: Necm-i İstiklal Matbaası.

Akar, T. (2011). The Role of Waqf in Shopping and Preserving Urban Areas: The Historical Commercial Center of Adana. In *Held in Trust: Waqf in the Islamic World*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

Artan, T. (2015). The politics of Ottoman Imperial Palaces: Waqfs and Architecture from the 16th to the 18th Centuries. In Michael Featherstone, Jean-Michel Spieser, Gülru Tanman, Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (Eds.), *The Emperor's House: Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Aru, M. K. (1949). *Türk Hamamları Etüdü*. Istanbul: ITU Mimarlık Fakültesi.

Atai, N. (1989). *Şakaik-ı nu'maniye ve zeyilleri* (A. Özcan, Ed.). İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları.

Ayvansarayi, H. (1865). *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi'*. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire.

Ayverdi, E. H. (1958). *Fatih Devri Sonraların İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskanı ve Nüfusu*. Ankara: Doğuş Limited Şirketi Matbaası.

Bakhoum, D. I. (2011). Waqf System: Maintenance, Repair and Upkeep. In P. Ghazaleh (Ed.), *Held in Trust: Waqf in the Islamic World*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

Bandırmalızade, S. M. (2003). Mecmua-i Tekaya. In A. N. Galitekin (Ed.), *Tekaya",in Osmanlı Kaynaklarına Göre İstanbul: Cami, Tekke, Medrese, Mekteb, Türbe, Hamam, Kütüphane, Matbaa, Mahalle ve Selatin İmaretleri*. Istanbul: İşaret Yayınları.

Bardill, J. (2000). *DOP 54*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Barkan, O. L., & Ayverdi, E. H. (1970). *İstanbul vakıfları tahrîr defteri: 953 (1546) târîhli*. İstanbul: Baha Matbaası.

Behrens-Abouseif, D. (2002). Waqf. In *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (New Edition 10 ed.).

Berger, A. (2012). Bizans Çağında Hamamlar. In N. Ergin (Ed.) & A. Ö Erozan (Trans.), *Anadolu Medeniyetlerinde Hamam Kültürü: Mimari, Tarih ve İmgelem*. İstanbul: Koç University Publications.

Bilmen, Ö N. (1969). *Hukuk-i İslamiyye ve Istılahat-ı Fıkhıyye Kamusu* (Vol. 4). İstanbul.

Bitiçi, T. (2001). *Münir-i Belgradi ve Silsiletü'l Mukarrebin Adlı Eseri* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis). Marmara University.

Çelik, U. (2008). *Amasya Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa Bedesteni Restorasyon Önerisi.* (MA Thesis). Gazi University.

Connor, C. L. (2004). *Women of Byzantium*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Croke, B. (2006). Justinian, Theodora and the Church of Sts. Bergius and Bacchus. *Dumbarton Oak Papers*, (60).

Curcic, S. (1997). Public Baths (E. Hadjitryphonos, Ed.). In S. Curcic (Ed.), *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans*. Thessaloniki: AIOMOS.

Curry, J. J. (2012). The Meeting of the Two Sultans. In J. Curry & E. S. Ohlander (Authors*), Sufism and Society: Arrangements of the Mystical in the Muslim World 1200- 1800*. London: Routhledge.

Curry, J. J. (2010). *The transformation of Muslim mystical thought in the Ottoman Empire: The rise of the Halveti order, 1350-1650*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Dale, S. F. (2010). Empires and Emporia: Palace, Mosque, Market, and Tomb in Istanbul, Isfahan, Agra, and Delhi. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, 53*.

Deguilhem, R. (2008). The Waqf in the City (R. Holod, A. Petruccioli, & A. Raymond, Eds.). In S. K. Jayusi (Ed.), *The City in the Islamic World*. Leidin: Brill.

Eickelman, D. (2002). Foreword: The Religious Public Sphere in Early Muslim Societies. In M. Hoexter & S. N. Eisenstadt (Eds.), *The Public Sphere in Muslim Socities.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Emre, S. (2009). *Ibrahim-i Gulseni (ca. 1442-1534): Itinerant Saint and Cairene Ruler* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Chicago.

Eyice, Semavi. Çardaklı Hamam. *TDIA,* 8.

Eyice, Semavi. (1995). Fenari İsa Camii. *TDIA,* 12.

Eyice, Semavi. (1996). Gül Camii. *TDIA,* 14.

Eyice, Semavi. (1978). Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları. *EFAD,* (Özel Sayı), 9th ser.

Eyice Semavi. (2001).Kariye Camii. *TDIA,* 24.

Eyice, Semavi. (2002).Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii, *TDIA*, 26.

Eyice, Semavi. (2002). Küçük Ayasofya Camii.*TDIA,* 26.

Eyice, S. (1980). *Son Devir Bizans Mimarisi*. Istanbul: Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu.

Fatih Sultan Mehmet Han-ı Sani Kanunnamesi, in Külliyat-ı Kevanin, 1/6089.

Gabriel, A. (1931). *Monuments turcs d' Anatolie: Ouvrage Publié Sous Les Auspices du Ministère Turc de L'instruction Publique 2* (Vol. 2). Paris: E. de Boccard.

Galitekin, A. N. (2003). Dersaatteki Medaris-i İlmiyyede Bulunan Talebenin Müfredat Defteri, in *Osmanlı Kaynaklarına Göre İstanbul: Cami, Tekke, Medrese, Mekteb, Türbe, Hamam, Kütüphane, Matbaa, Mahalle ve Selatin İmaretleri.* İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları.

Gerlach, S. (2007). *Türkiye Günlüğü. 1573-1576*. Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi.

Ghazaleh, P. (2011). Introduction: Pious Foundations: From Here to Eternity. In P. Ghazaleh (Ed.), *Held in trust: Waqf in the Islamic world*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Glück, H. (1921). *Probleme des Wölbungsbaues Die Bader Konstantinopels*. Wien.

Goodwin, G. (1987). *A history of Ottoman Architecture*. New York: Thames & Hudson.

Harrison, M. R. (1986). *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*. Washington: Princeton University Press.

Heffening, W. (1934). Waqf. In *The Encyclopedia of Islam: A Dictionary of The Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples* (Vol. 4).

Hoexter, M. (1998). Waqf Studies in the Twentieth Century: The State of the Art. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient,* 41.

İbrahim, N. (2011). The Sadir al-Fuqaha' wa'l-Fuqara' Endowment (Salah al-Dīn al-Ayyubī. In P. Ghazaleh (Ed.), *Held In Trust: Waqf In the Islamic World*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

Janin, R. (1950). *Constantinople Byzantine: Developpment Urbain er Repertoire Topographique*. (p. 334). Paris: Institut Français D' etudes Byzantines.

John of Ephesus, "Lives of the Eastern Saints". (2010). In A. Kaldellis (Ed.) & A. Kaldellis (Trans.), *Prokopios, The Secret History with Related Texts*. Cambridge: Hackett Publishing.

Kafescioğlu, C. (2009). *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision and The Construction of the Ottoman Capital*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Karaismailoğlu, Adnan. Muhyî-i Gülşenî. *TDIA*,31.

Karataş, H. (2011). *The City as a Historical Actor the Urbanization and Ottomanization of the Halvetiye Sufi Order by the City of Amasya in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of California, Berkeley.

Kazıcı, Z. (2003). *Osmanlı vakıf medeniyeti*. İstanbul: Bilge Yayınları.

Kemalpaşazade. (2001). *Selatinname(1299-1490)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

Kidonopoulos, V. (1995). *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204- 1328*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Kılıç, M. E. (1997). Yedi Tepeli Şehrin Tekkeleri ve Muhyiddin Efendi'nin"Tomâr-ı Tekâyâ"sı. In *İstanbul Armağanı 3: Gündelik Hayatın Renkleri*. Istanbul: İz Yayıncılık.

Koçu, R. E. (1958). Çardaklı Hamam. *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi,* (7).

Koçu, R. E. (1954). Çarşı Hamamlarımız. *TTOK Belleteni, 155*.

Köprülü, M. F. (1938). Vakıf Müessesesi ve Vakıf Vesikalarının Tarihi Ehemmiyeti. *Vakıflar Dergisi,* (1).

Krautheimer, R. (1974). Again Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople. *Jahrbuch Der Österreischen Byzantinistik,* (23).

Kunter, H. B. (1938). Türk Vakıfları ve Vakfıyeleri. *Vakıflar Dergisi,* (1).

Kuran, A. (1965). Basic Space and Form Concept in Early Ottoman Mosque Architecture. In *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale Di Arte Turca*. Napoli.

Kuran, A. (1968). *The mosque in early Ottoman architecture*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Kütükoğlu, M. S. (2000). *XX. Asra Erişen İstanbul Medreseleri*. Istanbul,: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Leeuwen, R. V. (1999). *Waqfs and urban structures: The case of Ottoman Damascus*. Leiden: Brill.

Magdalino, P. (2002). Medieval Constantinople: Built Environment and Urban Development. In A. Laiou (Ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium*. Washington.

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. (1972). The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople and the Alleged Tradition of Octagonal Palatine Churches. *JÖB,* (21).

Mango, C. (1975). The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus Once Again. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.

Martin, B. G. (1972). A Short History of the Khalwati Order of Dervishes. In N. R. Keddie (Ed.), *Scholars, Saints and Sufis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mathews, T. (1971). *The Early Churchs of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*. London: The Pennsylvania Press.

Matrakçı, N. (2015). *Tarih-i Sultan Bayezid*. Reha Bilge (Ed.) İstanbul: Arvana Yayıncılık.

Matschke, K. P. (2001). Builders and Building in Late Byzantine Constantinople. In N. Necipoğlu (Ed.), *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*. Leiden: Brill Publications.

McChesney, R. D. (1991). *Waqf in Central Asia: Four hundred years in the history of a Muslim shrine, 1480-1889*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mehmed Süreyya Bey. (1890-93). *Sicill-i Osmani: Yahud Tezkire-i Meşahir-i Osmaniye 2*. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire.

Mitchell, E. B. (1993). *Institution and destitution: Patronage tales of old Stamboul* (Unpublished Ph.D.'s thesis). University of California.

Müller-Wiener, W. (2001). *İstanbul'unTarihsel Topografyası* (Ü Sayın, Trans.). Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Mustafa Ali (Ed.). (1994). *Künhü'l-Ahbâr'ın Tezkire Kısmı*. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını.

Ocak, A. Y. (1998). *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler: 15.-17. yüzyıllar*. (p. 315). Istanbul: Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı.

Orgun, Z. (1938). Hassa Mimarları. *Arkitekt,* (12), 338-339.

Ousterhout, R. G. (1999). *Master builders of Byzantium*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Pakalın, M. Z. (1983). *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*. Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.

Peri, O. (1992). Waqf and Ottoman Welfare Policy. The Poor Kitchen of Hasseki Sultan in Eighteenth-Century Jerusalem. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, 35*(2), 167.

Peters, R. (2002). Waqf. *The Encyclopedia of Islam, 11*.

Rogers, M. (1976/1977). Waqfs and Waqf-Registers: New Primary Sources For Islamic Architecture. *Kunst Des Orients, 11*.

Sarı Abdullah Efendi. (1967). *Semerâtü'l-Fuad* (Y. K. Necefzade, Trans.). Istanbul: Yeni Şark Yurdu Matbaası.

Schibble, N. (2014). Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience. *Ashgate Publishing*.

Selâniki Mustafa Efendi. (1989). *Tarih-i Selâniki*. İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi.

Shadid, I. (2003). The Church of Sts. Sergios and Bakhos at Constantinople, Some New Perspectives. In *Byzantium State and Society: In Memory of Nikos Oikonomides*. Athens: Institute for Byzantine Studies.

Singer, A. (2002). *Constructing Ottoman Beneficience: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Skylitzès, J. (2003). *Jean Empereurs de Constantinople* (B. Flusin, Trans.). Paris: P. Lethielleux.

Talbot, A. M. (2000). Lips: Typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople. In J. Thomas (Ed.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents:A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks.

Talbot, A. (1993). The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 47*.

Tanman, B. (2005). Osmanlı Mimarisinde Tarikat Yapıları/ Tekkeler. In A. Y. Ocak (Ed.), *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf ve Sufiler*. Istanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

Tanyeli, U. (1990, August). Küçük Ayasofya ve Çevresinin Tarihsel Topoğrafyasına Katkılar. *Tarih Ve Toplum, 80*.

Tanyeli, U. (2015). *Sınıraşımı Metinleri*. p. 302. Istanbul: Bek Tasarım ve Danışmanlık.

Terzioğlu, D. (2012). Sufis in the Age of State-Building and Confessionalization. In C. Woodhead (Ed.), *The Ottoman World*. London: Routhledge Publishing.

Ünver, S. (1950). Türk Hamamları. *Tarih Dünyası, 1*, 189-203.

Uzunçarşılı, I. H., Baybura, I. K., & Altindağ, U. (Eds.). (1985). *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Osmanlı Saray Arşivi Kataloğu*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Van Millingen, A. (1912). *Byzantine Churches in Constanitnople*. London: Macmillan.

Van Millingen, A. (1899). *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and The Adjoining Historical Sites*. London: J. Murray.

Vassaf, H. (2006). *Sefine-i Evliya*. Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi.

Yediyıldız, B. (2012). Vakıf. *TDIA, 42*.

Yıldırım, R. (2011). Dervishes, Waqfs, and Conquest: Notes on Early Ottoman Expansion in Thrace. In P. Ghazaleh (Ed.), *Held In Trust: Waqf In the Islamic World*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

Yılmaz, H. K. (1991). Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi. *TDIA, 4*.

Yüksel, I. A. (1983). *Osmanlı Mimârîsinde II. Bâyezid, Yavuz Selim Devri*. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti.

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*(1), 159-185.