# The Northern Shore of the Golden Horn in the 17th Century: The Development of the Urban Landscape and its Reflections in Social Life

by

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**A Thesis Submitted to the**

**Graduate School of Social Sciences**

**in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for**

**the Degree of**

**Master of Arts**

**in**

**Anatolian Civilizations and Cultural Heritage Management**

**Koç University**

**June 2009**

**Dayım Şükrü Yarcan'a**

***To my uncle Şükrü Yarcan***

**For his trust and motivation in my academic studies**

Koc University

Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities

This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank very sincerely Günsel Renda and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, my advisors, for their kind support, guidance and encouragement. Through my master's study, Günsel Renda was not only my source of inspiration for accomplishing academic works but also my mentor for taking my steps in the academic world. I am grateful to Lucienne Thys-Şenocak for her everlasting motivation talks whenever I am lost and her invaluable advises and motivation throughout my research.

I am deeply indepted to Ayşe Sirel and Ümit Sirel, my professors at Trakya University. I am grateful to my other professors at Koç University; Carolyn Chabot-Aslan, Aslı Niyazioğlu and Gül Pulhan for their support during my master's study. I also would like to thank Nina Ergin and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu for contributing to my study with their invaluable advises and critics.

I wish to thank İdris Bostan of İstanbul University who booked his morning for my endless questions on Tersane-i Amire and Kasımpaşa, Naim Güleryüz who replied my emails concerning the synagogues, Barış Kıbrıs who answered all my queries about the paintings at Pera Museum, for their kind interest and help during my research and Itır Yakar who kindly spent her days while editing my final draft. I thank in particular Rahel and Metin Rozanes for their assistance in meeting Çeli and Erol Coşkun who kindly welcomed me and answered many questions about the Karaite community of Istanbul.

Leslie Schick is my trusted advisor and guide that had never left me alone throughout my studies and I would like to thank her and Arben Arabi for their hospitality, caring attention and encouragement in my studies. I owe thanks to Serpil Bağcı and Yasemin Bağcı who offered their valuable support and motivation. I wish to thank my friend Mostafa Minawi for his suggestions, exchange of ideas and for being there whenever I need his encouragement.

My deepest gratitude goes to my family who stood by me and lived this long process with me, my mother and father, Hülya and Cafer Gökpınar, my brother Yarcan Gökpınar, my aunt Dilek Yarcan and Tan Turan for their patient and invaluable support not only in accomplishing my academic goals but also in shaping my character and future.

Finally, I would like to give my deepest thanks to Alper Rozanes who brought the idea of applying to Koç University and encouraged me to do so. I am indepted in his understanting and his insightful guidance throught out my study.

## ABSTRACT

From Kaşımpaşa to Kağıthane, districts such as Hasköy, Piri Paşa and Sütlüce developed, and the social groups and religious communities that lived in this area shaped the urban landscape and architectural commissions of the time. The purpose of this study is to understand the historical and cultural context of the northern shore of the Golden Horn during the 17th century and to determine how the urban and social landscape developed. This study is based on the examination of visual material such as historical maps and engravings of Istanbul, and the accounts of 17th century travelers, as well as Ottoman documents. The aim of this study is to create an understanding of how these various districts were related to each other both topographically and socially, how Istanbul developed along the northern shore of the Golden Horn, and how social developments of the time were reflected in the urban landscape.

# ÖZET

Haliç'in kuzey yakasınının mimari ve şehirsel oluşumu, Kasımpaşa'dan Kağıthane'ye doğru sırasıyla Hasköy, Piri Paşa ve Sütlüce semtleri oluşturan sosyal ve dini topluluklara bağlıdır. Bu çalışmanın amacı Haliç'in kuzey yakasının 17. Yüzyıl'daki tarihi ve kültürel oluşumunu anlamak; şehirsel ve sosyal dokunun birlikte nasıl geliştiğini belirlemektir. Bu çalışma; tarihi İstanbul haritaları ve gravürleri gibi görsel malzemelere, 17. Yüzyıl'da yaşamış olan gezginlerin kitaplarına ve Osmanlı dökümanlarına dayanarak hazırlanmıştır. Çalışmanın amacı hem fiziksel hem de sosyal olarak bağlı olan bu farklı semtlerin birbirleri ile olan ilişkilerini anlamak ve bu ilişkiler sonucu İstanbul'un, Haliç'in kuzey yakasına doğru nasıl geliştiğini ve sosyal etkileşimlerin bu şehirsel gelişim üzerindeki etkisini gözlemlemektir.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

**Approval Page**

**Acknowledgements**

**Abstract**

**Özet**

**List of Figures**

**Chapter 1 Introduction 1**

**Chapter 2: Kasımpaşa 10**

2.1. The history of the Tersane-i Amire in Kasımpaşa…….. .**12**

2.1.a. The buildings of Tersane-i Amire in Kasımpaşa……**18**

2.2. The quarters of Kasımpaşa……**22**

2.2.a. The mosques of Kasımpaşa ……...**22**

2.2.b. Examining the quarters of Kasımpaşa from the mosques……..**51**

2.2.b.1. The Türbedar - Sivrikoz quarter……....**53**

2.2.b.2. The Kanlıkozlar - Bedreddin Quarter……..……..**54**

2.2.b.3. The Kasımpaşa - Güzelce Kasım Paşa Quarter……..**54**

2.2.b.4. The Ketohorya - Sirkeci Quarter……**55**

2.2.b.5. The Piyale Kethüda -Yahya Kethüda Quarter……..…..**55**

2.2.b.6. The Büyükdere Quarter…….....……...**55**

2.2.b.7. The Küçükdere Quarter.....……...**56**

2.2.b.8. The Cuma Pazarı Quarter.....….**56**

2.b.9. The Uşşaki - Hüsameddin Uşşaki Quarter……..……...**56**

2.2.b.10. The Tatavla - Hacı Hüsrev Quarter…….……..**56**

2.2.b.11. The Tepebaşı - Çatma Mosque Quarter…..…...…..…..**56**

2.2.b.12. The Badille (Badulla) - İbadullah Quarter……..…..**57**

2.2.b.13. The Sarı Kethüda - Sarı Lütfi Quarter…….....**57**

2.2.b.14. The Dere Quarter.……...…….….**57**

2.2.b.15. The Aydın Çavuş - Tahta Kadı? Quarter ……...……..**57**

2.2.b.16. The Çelebi Çetin Koz - Kurd Çelebi Quarter ……..**57**

2.2.b.17. The Yeldeğirmeni - Yeldeğirmeni Quarter……...**58**

2.b.18. The Küçük Piyale Quarter…….……..……..…...**58**

2.b.19. The Emir Efendi - Süruri Quarter…….……....**58**

2.b.20. The Sinan Paşa - Sinan Paşa Quarter……...……**59**

2.b.21. The Koca Piyale Paşa - Piyale Paşa Quarter……...……**59**

2.2.b.22. The Kulaksız - Kulaksız Quarter……..…….**59**

2.2.b.23. The Hamdi Efendi Quarter……**60**

2.2.b.24. Hacı Ahmed - Hacı Ahmed Quarter……...…….…..…**60**

2.2.c. The Sacred tombs located in and around the district of Kasımpaşa……**60**

2.3. Demographics of Kasımpaşa according to its quarters……...…..**63**

2.4. Conclusion.....**71**

**Chapter 3: Hasköy 75**

3.1. History of Hasköy…….**75**

3.2. Demographical Information ……..……..…….**81**

3.2.A.a.The Jews of Hasköy……..……..…….**84**

3.2.A.a.1. Karaism and Karaites……..…….**84**

3.2.A.a.2. The Khazar conversion to Judaism and its effects in Istanbul……..…**88**

3.2.A.b. Karaites and Rabbinic Jews of Hasköy……..…**90**

3.2.A.c. The Synagogues of Hasköy……...……..…**94**

3.2.A.d. The Establishment and History of the Hasköy Jewish Cemetery……...…….**100**

3.2.B. The Muslims of Hasköy……..……..…..**101**

3.2.B.a. The Mosques of Hasköy……...**101**

3.2.C. The Greeks of Hasköy…..……..…..**105**

3.2.D. The Armenians of Hasköy…….……..……**105**

3.2.E. The Quarters of Hasköy…….……..……**106**

3.3. Economic and Administrative Setting..……..……..…**106**

**Chapter 4: Districts of Piri Paşa and Sütlüce 111**

4.1. Piri Paşa……..…….**112**

4.2. Sütlüce……..……..…….**116**

4.2.A.The Religious Buildings of Sütlüce ……..……...**119**

4.2.A.1. The Mosque of Mahmud Çavuş……..…….**119**

4.2.A.2. The Kaysunizade Mosque……..……..**120**

4.2.A.3. The Dervish Lodge of Caferabad……..……...**120**

4.2.A.4.The Dervish Lodge of Hasanabad……..……...**122**

4.2.A.5. The Dervish Lodge of İshak Cemleddin Karamani…..**123**

4.2.A.6. The Tomb of Sultan Süleyman I's Calligrapher Ahmed Karahisari ……..……...…….**123**

4.2.A.7. The Tomb of Habibi, Sultan of Poets……..…….**124**

4.2.B. The Mansions and Gardens of Sütlüce…..…….……...…….….**124**

4.2.B.1. The Mansion of Karaağaç and its garden…….……...**124**

4.2.B.2. The Garden of Ebussuud…..…….…….…….….**125**

4.2.B.3. The Mansion of İbrahim Hanzade…..……..….**126**

4.2.B.4. The Mansion of Derviş Şemizade…..……..…….**127**

4.2.B.5. The Mansion of Kemal Efendi…..……...…...…….**127**

4.2.B.6. The Mansion of Murad Molla …..……...…….**127**

4.2.B.7. The Garden of the Abdüsselam Dervish Lodge…..….**127**

4.2.B.8. The Garden of Ali Ağa….....….**128**

4.2.C. The Gardens of Sütlüce along the shore.....….**128**

**Chapter 5 Conclusion** **132**

**Bibliography** **150**

**Map** **158**

**Figures** **159**

**Pictures** **194**

# FIGURE LIST

**Map 1.** The northern shore of the Golden Horn

**Figure 1.** Approximate location of Kasımpaşa in the seventeenth century

**Figure 2.** "View of Constantinople", C. Boundelmonti. Liber İnsularum Archipelagai, Bibliothéque Nationale Marciana, Venice, 1422, f.22r, ca. 1450

**Figure 3. "**Mehmed II Besieging Constantinople", Bibliothéque National de France Cod. Par. Français 9087, ca. 1455

**Figure 4. "**Mehmed II Besieging Constantinople", Bibliothéque National de France Cod. Par. Français 6487, ca. 1455

**Figure 5.** "Vavassore's Plan of Istanbul", 1550

**Figure 6.** Kasımpaşa Cemetery in the 15th century, detail from "Vavassore's Plan of Istanbul", 1550

**Figure 7.** Floating galleons and ships produced by the arsenal, detail from "İstanbul", Matrakçı Nasuh, *Mecmu'-i Menazil*, 1537, İÜK, T.5964, 8b-9a

**Figure 8.** Tersane-i Amire in the end of the sixteenth century, detail from "İstanbul", Lokman, *Hünername*, TSMK, H1523, 121a, 1584

**Figure 9.** Tersane-i Amire in the seventeenth century, detail from a late copy of Piri Reis İstanbul Map, Deniz Müzesi, 3538-990, 269b

**Figure 10.** Tersane-i Amire in the seventeenth century, detail from "Plan de Constantinople", Gravier d'Ortieres, Bibliothéque National de France, ms. fr. 7176

**Figure 11.** Tersane-i Amire, detail from "Palais de Constantine", engraving by Grelot, Gennadios Library, ca. 1680

**Figure 12.** Tersane-i Amire, detail from "Map of Istanbul", Walters Art Gallery

**Figure 13.** Reconstruction of the 17th century Tersane-i Amire, original drawing by Wolfgang Müller-Wiener

**Figure 14.** The Mosques of Kasımpaşa

**Figure 15.** "Map of Istanbul" Christoforo Buodelmonte, 1422

**Figure 16.** "Panorama of Istanbul", artist unknown, dated to mid 18th century, Suna ve İnan Kıraç Koleksiyonu

**Figure 17.** Some of the mosques that were identified in the "Panorama of Istanbul", artist unknown, dated to mid 18th century, Suna ve İnan Kıraç Koleksiyonu

**Figure 18.** Quarter Distribution of the mosques

**Figure 19.** Quarters that matched each other according to accounts of Evliya Çelebi and Ayvansarayi

**Figure 20.** The ports of the Golden Horn, Wiener-Müller

**Figure 21.** "The map and panorama of Istanbul", Pera Museum, SVİKV RK 227, 17th century

**Figure 22.** Detail of the panorama, "The map and panorama of Istanbul", Pera Museum, SVİKV RK 227, 17th century

**Figure 23.** Vanmour, Pera Museum, SVİKV RK 051

**Figure 24.** The Major cemeteries of Istanbul indicated on Hellert's 1836 map of the city. Eldem, Ethem. Death in Istanbul. Death and its Ritualism in Ottoman-Islamic Culture. Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives, 2005, p.16

**Figure 25.** Kasımpaşa mosques based on their construction dates

**Figure 26.** Kasımpaşa mosques based on their patrons

**Figure 27.** "Simitçi: Rolled Bread Seller", Ho Brettanikos aster, Londinon: 1861, c2, p5, Milli Kütüphane Türk Ocağı Koleksiyonu

**Figure 28.** Approximate location of Hasköy in the seventeenth century

**Figure 29.** Locations of the Holy Springs in Hasköy

**Figure 30.** "Aynalıkavak Sarayı", Gazneli Mahmud Mecmuası

**Figure 31.** Levni, Festival on the Golden Horn, Surname

**Figure 32.** Detail, Levni, Festival on the Golden Horn, Surname

**Figure 33.** Detail, "Panorama of Istanbul", artist unknown, dated to mid 18th century, Suna ve İnan Kıraç Koleksiyonu

**Figure 34.** Locations of the synagogues in Hasköy

**Figure 35**. Location of the synagogue of Yeni Mahalle

**Figure 36.** Approximate location of the Jewish Cemetery in the 17th century

**Figure 37.** Hasköy Cemetery and Environs, 1954, Istanbul Municipality (Rozen 1994: 9)

**Figure 38.** Hasköy Cemetery and Environs, 1989, Istanbul Municipality (Rozen 1994: 10)

**Figure 39.** Working Map of Hasköy Cemetery, Klaus Bockmann,1989 (Rozen 1994: 11)

**Figure 40.** Mosques of Hasköy

**Figure 41**. Approximate location of Piri Paşa in the 17th century

**Figure 42.** Approximate location of Sütlüce in the 17th century

**Figure 43.** Mosques and Gardens of Sütlüce

**Figure 44.** "1800-1830 Haliç'te Yerleşim", Cahit Kayra-E. Üye Pazarcı, II.Mahmud'un Bostancıbaşı Sicilleri

**Figure 45.** The Outer Lid of a writing cabinet, TSMK CY 463

**Figure 46.** "Panorama of Istanbul", Pieter Van Den Keere, 1616 (from Babinger,1960)

**Figure 47.** "Panorama of Istanbul", Giovanni Temini, 1642 (from Babinger, 1960)

**Figure 48.** Şekl-i Haliç-i Kostantiniyye, Katip Çelebi, IUK, 1648

**Figure 49.** Detail, Şekl-i Haliç-i Kostantiniyye, Katip Çelebi, IUK, 1648

**Figure 50.** Map of Istanbul, 17th century, Halil Bezmen Private Collection (from İstanbul Haritaları, TSKB, 1990)

**Figure 51.** Detail, Map of Istanbul, 17th century, Halil Bezmen Private Collection (from İstanbul Haritaları, TSKB, 1990)

**Figure 52.** "Plan de Constantinople", Gravier d'Ortieres, Bibliothéque National de France, ms. fr. 7176

**Figure 53.** "Palais de Constantine", engraving by Grelot, Gennadios Library, ca. 168

# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

Hesychius of Miletus, the sixth century Greek chronicler and biographer of Justinian, claimed that the original name of the Golden Horn, Keras, was named after Keroessa. Keroessa was the mother of Byzas, the heroic founder of Byzantion, and was born on the edge of the Golden Horn, where the rivers of Alibey and Kağıthane reached the sea. The same story also appears in Procopius's account, another sixth century historian of Justinian. According to Procopius, Hera punished her husband Zeus's lover, Io, for having an affair and made her give birth in exile on the heights of the Golden Horn. According to the myth, Io's daughter Keroessa who was raised by the nymph Semestra on the banks of Golden Horn gave birth to a son, Byzas, by the sea-god Poseidon. Byzas was raised by the nymph Byzia and later became the founder of the Byzantion (Eyice 1975: 263).

Surrounded by fertile lands and a large and secure natural harbor for ships, the edge of the Golden Horn has been home to the earliest settlements of Istanbul. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, a fourth century Roman historian, Khrysokeras was the name not only for the Golden Horn, but also for the Peninsula of Istanbul (Eyice 1975: 263). While the mythological stories of the Golden Horn reflect the bay's legendary importance, in reality, the advantages of this natural harbor as a secure place for ships, surrounded by fertile lands and a fish supply for the locals played a major role in the building of the city of Byzas and its becoming a capital for sixteen centuries (Eyice 1975: 264, Turnalı 2004: 57-59).

On the outskirts of Hasköy, there was the sacred temple of Hero Nisaios, and the shore of the district allowed for fishing. On the east, the river of Keison, also known as Maison and Peison as well as Kozludere in the later periods ran on the bay of Kasımpaşa. The north of Kasımpaşa was surrounded by an area called Khoiragria, which took its name from Khoiros, meaning hog (Eyice 264-65).

From the fourth century on, Constantine I urbanized the southern shore of the Golden Horn in an attempt to create a rival capital city for the Roman Empire. As Constantinople developed throughout the centuries, the city increasingly benefitted from the Golden Horn, which was becoming an inner sea that offered easy access to the inner parts of the city and more efficient trade ports.

Although the southern shore of the Golden Horn was engaged in trade activities and home to many places of worship, the northern shore was not urbanized except for a settlement in Galata, which became home to a colony of Genoa in the twelfth century. There were also very few monasteries located on the northern shore. No

significant investment was made on the northern shore of the Golden Horn until the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

Once Sultan Mehmed II entered the city from the river of Kasımpaşa, Kozludere, the northern shore was populated and urbanized very rapidly. The construction of the arsenal on the Kasımpaşa shores accelerated urban development. By the seventeenth century, the districts of the northern shore were already populated by various communities and featured many quarters with beautiful gardens, mansion, dervish lodges, mosques and shops.

Today, many scholars study the urban setting of Istanbul, especially during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and many others work on the later representations of the city starting from the eighteenth century. But very few publications have focused on the urban geographies of this particular region during the understudied seventeenth century. The aim of my thesis is to contribute to a better understanding of the northern shore of the Golden Horn and its rich and varied past.

The imperial capital experienced many changes as the old Byzantine city was transformed into an Ottoman metropolis incorporating features from both old and new cultures. The city not only recreated itself within the city walls but also expanded its borders to impact the adjacent rural areas. As Iffet Orbay suggests (Orbay 27), “Istanbul’s impressive cityscape that particularly commands the Golden Horn is both accidental and deliberately shaped.”

From the fifteenth century on, the northern shore of the Golden Horn increasingly became a focal point of the city especially after the Ottoman fleet

became dominant on the world seas. Therefore the arsenal, *Tersane-i Amire*, played a big role in the development of the Golden Horn's northern shore.

This study is based on the examination of seventeenth century travelers and chroniclers, as well as other scholarly studies that concentrated on this particular region. I have also examined visual materials such as historical maps, panoramas and engravings that could provide information about the urban fabric of the region.

Although the northern shore appears as a group of districts dominated by the arsenal, besides the main role of the arsenal urbanizing the shore, each district had its own significant character. A lack of primary sources created a problem in analyzing the district's significant and individual role on the development of the shore. Seventeenth and eighteenth century travelers such as Evliya Çelebi, Eremya Çelebi and İnciciyan clearly wrote about their impressions on Istanbul, but did not specifically portray this region. Unfortunately, many scholarly works have not gone any further than the limited information that could be supplied from these travel books. What were the main criteria to seek more information about the topic? The answer is delving into the Ottoman archives.

The motive of my study is to understand how the various communities that lived in neighboring districts perceived the region and how the social characters of these groups created an urban environment. While I lack primary texts that were transcribed into Turkish, I was limited to very few travel books, drawings or official documents found in the archives and studied by scholars who have concentrated on the social structure of these different religious communities. Since the districts should be studied individually, I have divided them into chapters.

In the chapter on Kasımpaşa, I attempt to give the history of the technological development of the *Tersane-i Amire* and its important role within the district. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı and İdris Bostan were the first historians to work on the establishment of the arsenal and the how it functioned as an administrative unit. In his book *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilatı: XVII Yüzyılda Tersane-i Amire* published in 1992, İdris Bostan has given an extended bibliography about the history of the arsenal and analyzed it in three parts. The first part had been concerned the administrative units and the arsenal workers, which had helped me to understand the social structure of the arsenal and its effects in Kasımpaşa. The second part had been concerned the ship construction activities and from where the arsenal supplied its needs. This part helped me to understand how the arsenal played an important role in the economical setting of Kasımpaşa. The main problem that İdris Bostan encountered was the lack of a detailed explanation of documents concerning the Ottoman institutions.

İdris Bostan went through many of the documents concerning the arsenal, analyzing the *Tersane-i Amire Yoklama Defterleri* and *Mevacib Defterleri*, which provide the official information about who the arsenal workers were, what their salaries and their background were. The *Tersane-i Amire Muhasebe Defterleri,* the accounts of the arsenal, also provide more information about how Kasımpaşa was involved in trade.

Katip Çelebi's *Tuhfetü'l-kibar fi esfari'l bihar – The history of Maritime Wars of the Turks*, has provided more information about the biographies of the navy captains, the social structure of the arsenal workers and other technological improvements of the arsenal between 1453 and 1656.

My interview with İdris Bostan showed me that it was interesting to study the interrelations between the arsenal workers such as the captains or other officials who became the patrons of many urban features in Kasımpaşa and the urban setting created as a result.

Robert Mantran's *17. Yüzyıl'ın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul: Kurumsal, İktisadi, Toplumsal Tarih Denemesi* published in 1990 had provided compiled information about the political and economic structure of seventeenth century Istanbul and its districts. Although he has analyzed the northern shore and its districts as separate section, Mantran's examinations on the region did not go much further than Evliya Çelebi' account.

The mosques and their patrons created the main structure of my chapter since the patrons were directly or indirectly related to the arsenal workers. In order to study the mosques, Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayi had provided a detailed documentation in his book *Hadikat'ül Cevami*. Comparing Evliya Çelebi' account of the seventeenth century and Ayvansarayi's of the eighteenth century has made possible a comparison between the changing dynamics of the district, how the use of the mosques and medreses changed over time and moreover how much of this change was related to the arsenal.

In the chapter on Hasköy, it was important to learn the history of the various Jewish sects. The district was not only a residence of Rabbinic Jews but also for another sect, the Karaites. The differences between the Karaites and the Rabbinic Jews played an important role in shaping the Jewish settlement. Moreover, there were always various debates on the Khazar conversion to Judaism that were related

to Karaism. Living in Hasköy for centuries, the Karaites not only shaped the urban environment, but also adopted Muslim practices.

Moshe Sevilla Sharon's *Türkiye Yahudileri Tarihsel Bakış,* published in 1982, had provided a general history of the Jews in Turkey from the Byzantine period to the Turkish Republic. Sharon not only had given historical information about the Jewish sects, but also wrote about the social and religious differences between the Rabbinic Jews and Karaites. Yet, his approach is not objective and these differences are reflected from a rabbinic point of view.

Abraham Danon is the first historian who wanted to cast light upon the Karaites in European Turkey. His article published in several parts in 1925 relied on unpublished documents provided by the head of the Karaite community in the 1900s. These sources brought forth primary information about the Karaite existence in Hasköy. Written from the Karaite perpective, Danon had studied Karaites not only as a separate sect, but also as a social group in European Turkey.

Şaban Kuzgun's *Hazar ve Karay Türkleri: Türklerde Yahudilik ve Doğu Avrupa Yahudilerinin Menşei Meselesi,* published in 1985, provided an extended bibliography and introduced the Khazar and Karaite debate from an objective point of view, analyzing earlier scholarly works that examined the Khazar conversion on a limited scale.

My interview with Erol Coşkun, one of the last Karaite representatives of Hasköy, and indeed of Turkey, had provided an insight into how the Karaites carried seventeenth century customs into the twenty-first century. Erol Coşkun's knowledge of Karaite religious practices and how they practice it today helped me interrelate Karaite and Muslim social life.

Naim Güleryüz's *Türkiye Sinagogları,* published in 2008 contributed more detailed information about the history of the synagogues than Güleryüz's *Yahudi Sinagogları,* published in 1995. Both of these books lack the exact location of some synagogues and cemeteries used in the seventeenth century. My correspondence with Naim Güleryüz concerning the location of these synagogues showed that these synagogues disappeared over the years and did not receive any scholarly attention. Yet, Minna Rozen's *Hasköy Cemetery: Typology of Stones,* published in 1994, has not only presented the location of these synagogues but also given original reference to some documents (such as regarding the existence of the Jewish cemetery in Kasımpaşa). Although this information was given in the work of İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşıl, İdris Bostan, Naim Güleryüz and many others, Minna Rozen was the first to include more information from the archival documents.

Süleyman Faruk Göncüoğlu's *Tarih'de Hasköy, Sütlüce ve Halıcıoğlu,* published in 2005, is the only compilation that had studied the northern shore of the Golden Horn as a region. The topographical and legendary history of these districts has been compiled by relying on few primary sources and a few other scholarly works. Although the book did not include new information about the region, the study was an overall examination of the region.

In this thesis, I have tried to compile the historical, social and urban context of the area during the seventeenth century and to analyze how the urban and social landscape developed. I have particularly tried to determine the ways in which different social groups and religious communities that lived in this region shaped the

urban fabric and how the shore developed from the east to the west. Starting from Kasımpaşa, I have examined the districts of Hasköy, Piri Paşa and Sütlüce.

The aim of my current research is to better understand how these districts along the Golden Horn were linked to each other both topographically and socially, the ways in which they developed in the seventeenth century, and how the social development of the time was reflected in the urban texture.

# CHAPTER 2

# KASIMPAŞA

Kasımpaşa is one of the main districts on the northern shore of the Golden Horn and is located between Galata and Hasköy, bordered by Piyale Paşa, Okmeydanı, and Aynalıkavak on the northwest, and Galata on the west **(Figure 1).**

In the Byzantine period, the district was affiliated with *Pegai*, springs. At the end of the ninth century, it became the hinterland of a summerhouse built by Basil I. Unfortunately, neither the innumerable churches built in the same period nor the summerhouses have survived (Crane 329 note 2518).

It is believed that the Kozludere (Kozluca)[1] stream, which has completely dried up today and was located in present day Kasımpaşa, was used to transport Mehmed II's ships from the upper lands of the Golden Horn down to the valley during the

[1] The stream of Kozluca Deresi was also known as the stream of Kasımpaşa Deresi.

siege of Constantinople (Abaç 7, Crane 329 note 2518). The Kozludere stream was located along the present day street of Bülent Demir Caddesi **(Figure 2).**

According to Abaç, another important role that Kasımpaşa played during the siege of Constantinople was the bridge from Kasımpaşa to the eastern bank. Chained between the two banks, the bridge was able to transfer five soldiers carrying a cannon to the other side. Although Constantinople was attacked from several different gates at the same time, it is believed that the troops from Kozludere of Kasımpaşa were the first to enter the city (Abaç 7) **(Figures 3 and 4).**

As Mehmed II transformed the Byzantine city into an Ottoman capital, he established the arsenal in Kasımpaşa, and in the sixteenth century, Süleyman I enlarged the arsenal there (Crane 329 note 2518). Kasımpaşa thus became one of the most thriving districts of not only the Golden Horn but also the imperial capital.

In the seventeenth century, Kasımpaşa and its surroundings were the residential quarters of the arsenal workers and the members of the Ottoman Navy who ranged from workers to high-ranked officers. Thus, the urban development and social atmosphere of the district largely depended on the technological development of the arsenal and its changing demographics. Since the arsenal played such an important role, the Kasımpaşa district must be studied along with the development of the arsenal. Furthermore, the arsenal officials became patrons of various pious buildings within the district and changed Kasımpaşa's architectural setting by contributing to the complexity of the urban fabric.

Kasımpaşa was named after Güzelce Kasım Paşa, who was one of the participants of Selim I's Mamluk expedition. During Süleyman I's reign (1520-1566), Güzelce Kasım Paşa became the governor general, *beylerbeyi,* of Anatolia and joined Süleyman's Rhodes expedition in 1522. After becoming governor of Egypt in 1524 and being assigned to many other appointments, such as third vizier in 1529, and after becoming the military governor, *sancakbeyi*, in 1537, Kasım Paşa retired in 1541. Kasım Paşa was the main patron responsible for reconstructing the Kasımpaşa district (Vefeyat 78, Encyclopedia of Islam 4, 722).

### 2.1. The History of the Tersane-i Amire in Kasımpaşa

In the fifth century, the shipyards of Constantinople were located in the west of the city, in *Exartysis*, present day Eminönü. With the development of the city and an increasing need for more sufficient fields for ship construction, Kasımpaşa, with its larger bay, was chosen as the new settlement for ship construction activities (Müller-Wiener 11).

Kasımpaşa had been a major ship construction site throughout the Ottoman era as well as Byzantine times. In Vavassore's plan of Istanbul, the arsenal was the only architectural structure depicted on the northern shore of the Golden Horn **(Figure 5).**

Starting in the mid fifteenth century, during the reign of Mehmed II, the Ottoman Navy started to play a major role in both the Black Sea and the Aegean. Before the Tersane-i Amire became the spotlight of naval activities in the Ottoman Empire, the shipyard of Gelibolu, built in 1390 by Bayezid I, served as the main

shipyard for the Ottoman Navy (Bostan 14-5, Uzunçarşılı 390-91). In order to secure the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara from Venetian attacks and protect the land of Rumeli, the Gelibolu shipyard had a significant function for the navy (Uzunçarşılı 390). It retained its importance until the end of Sultan Selim the Grim's reign in 1520 (İnalcık 985).

Besides securing the Aegean lands by the Gelibolu shipyard, the Ottoman Navy was also engaged in naval activities in the Black Sea and inherited the Sinop shipyard from the Candaroğulları (Uzunçarşılı 1984: 145-46). Serving the Ottoman Navy until the seventeenth century, the Sinop shipyard was the third largest shipyard after those of Istanbul, the *Tersane-i Amire*, and the Gelibolu shipyard (Bostan 18).

According to Katip Çelebi,[2] during the reign of Murad II in the early fifteenth century, the Ottoman Navy expeditions were so infrequent that they were not even worth mentioning. While besieging Constantinople by land, Mehmed II realized how important it was to attack the city by sea as well. With the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the need for a permanent and strong navy to enlarge the conquered lands by both sea and land intensified. The Ottoman Navy inevitably had to build ships and make weapons in order to conquer the shores of Rumeli and Anatolia, as well as the islands of the Mediterranean (Katip Çelebi 12).

[2] Katip Çelebi (1609-1657) was a historiographer and the author of several very important geographical works in the seventeenth century. His full name was Mustafa Bin Abdullah Hacı Kalif. His father was a *sipahi*, a cavalry, and he was educated to read and write at a very early age. Then, he became a student in the office of the chief historiographer. He died in 1657. Some of his books about Ottoman Cartography and Maritime Expeditions are: *Cihannümâ* (the view of the world), *Tuhfetü'l Kibar fi Sefari'l-bihar* (the history of the maritime wars of the Turks), and *Keşf-i El Zunun* (the bibliographies and Encyclopedically dictionary).

Before constructing a new shipyard, Mehmed II restored the harbor of Kadırga and used it as a shipyard (Oruç 74). The Kadırga harbor was located on the southern side of Constantinople, facing the sea of Marmara (Wiener-Müller 8). The first shipyard of Istanbul constructed by the Ottoman Navy was the Galata shipyard near Aynalıkavak, located on the northern shore of the Golden Horn. This shipyard was constructed of few and small dockyards where the construction activities took place in (Bostan 3, Uzunçarşılı 396).

According to Katip Çelebi, Süleyman Bey was the first admiral of the Ottoman Navy who was responsible for establishing a proper fleet and constructing a shipyard for the Ottoman Navy. Süleyman Bey constructed the vessels behind Sütlüce (referring to the dockyards of the Galata Tersanesi). The term Kapudan Paşa was never used either in the accounts of Gelibolu shipyard or in other's (Katip Çelebi 13).

Although the Galata shipyard is referred to as being near Ayvalıkavak and behind Sütlüce, none of the Istanbul depictions pinpoint the exact location of the shipyard. The shipyard must have been located somewhere east of Pera and west of Aynalıkavak. The suggested location was vast, and since the shipyard could not have covered such a huge area, the reason why the location was referred to be so must be because the shipyard extended through Aynalıkavak and Sütlüce.

Although Mehmed II intended to build a strong Ottoman fleet and Beyazid II (1481-1512) enlarged the shipyard with several additions (Parry 1120, Dümer 363),

it was Selim I (1512-1520) who expanded the arsenal[3] with the intention of both empowering the Ottoman Navy and establishing an excellent shipyard at the center of the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul. According to a few sixteenth century accounts, after learning that Pope Leon X was seeking alliances to defeat the Ottoman Army, Selim I wanted to win victories throughout the Mediterranean and take precautions to avert possible attacks against the empire from the sea (Cevdet Paşa 1.131, Celalzade 1.275, Hammer 4.245 as cited in Uzunçarşılı 396). His grandvizier, Piri Mehmed Paşa, who was also the patron of the Piri Paşa district of the northern shore, was responsible for establishing a developed shipyard (Hammer 4, 151-52).

The land for the new shipyard construction was in the surroundings of the existing Galata shipyard. Since this area was occupied by a graveyard, after deciding how much of the land was needed for construction, the bones were exhumed from the graves and buried somewhere else (Uzunçarşılı 397).

Given the sultan's edicts ordering the establishment of a new Jewish cemetery in Hasköy, one can conclude that, in the fifteenth century, a major part of the Kasımpaşa graveyard was used by Jews who had been residing in and around the area since the Byzantine period. The sultan's edict dated November 22, 1584 suggested that Mehmed II granted the Jews a burial place in Kasımpaşa at a time when the area was uninhabited. The same edict also suggested that the Jews were disturbed by some people who were building homes even inside the cemetery. Some

[3] Although the word "arsenal" is used for a collection of weapons and military equipment stored by a country, the word originally comes from early-sixteenth century French word used for denoting a dock for the construction and repair of ships (Oxford American Dictionary, 2005) From now on, the word "arsenal" will refer to the shipyards of the Ottoman Navy where the actual construction and repair of ships took place.

of the Muslim residents of Kasımpaşa had been taken to court after trespassing the Jewish cemetery. The countercomplaint of the Muslim residents in Kasımpaşa was that, by using large tombstones for their graves, the Jews made it difficult to pass the cemetery at night, since it invited thieves for easy robbery. Muslims were requiring Jews to either remove the tombstones or cover them with earth so that they would become invisible. The sultan did not ask the Jews to remove their tombstones and instead ordered the judge, *kadı*, of Istanbul to bring all lawbreakers to his attention (Rozen 1992: 87-90). In Vavassore's engraving of Istanbul, the cemetery with its large tombstones and along with houses built inside and near by the cemetery can be seen **(Figure 6).** Although these complaints were resolved in favor of the Jews, the cemetery could not stay since the arsenal construction in Kasımpaşa had automatically erased the cemetery.

In 1515, the construction of the arsenal had begun, and covered docks were built to shelter the ships coming back from expeditions. Upon the request of Selim I, the docks and ships were constructed in light of their European counterparts. Besides the Gelibolu shipyard, Istanbul was home to the second largest shipyard of the Ottoman Empire (Uzunçarşılı 397).

Finding the existing fleet insufficient, Selim I wanted to double the size of the fleet and ordered the construction of one hundred fifty new ships of various types. Although Selim I died before the construction of the ships was completed, Süleyman I completed Selim I's intentions to establish a better Ottoman Navy and double of the size of the fleet (Uzunçarşılı 398).

After the battle of Çaldıran in 1514 and the Ottoman annexation of the Dulkadiroğulları in 1515, Selim I wanted to move towards Syria and Egypt (Finkel 108). The Ottoman expedition to Syria and Egypt in 1516-17 succeeded thanks to Selim I's work to empower the Ottoman Navy (Uzunçarşılı 396).

According to Evliya Çelebi, Piyale Paşa, the conqueror of the Chios, *Sakız Adası,* Ferhad Paşa, the conqueror of a province in present southwestern Georgia, Akhaltsikhe, *Ahıska,* and Ayas Paşa expanded the borders of the Ottoman Empire after beating Alaüddevle Bey of Dulkadiroğulları. The above-mentioned high-ranked officers were also assigned to develop interior lands of Kasımpaşa. Therefore, many high-ranked officials embellished the district with pious buildings (Evliya Çelebi 125a).

The arsenal's construction ended in 1515, the same year in which it had started and, served the Ottoman Navy both as an administrative unit and a dockyard for ships until the end of the Ottoman Empire. After 1515, the arsenal became even larger and more productive when all the construction activity in the Gallipoli arsenal moved to the Kasımpaşa arsenal (Bostan 4, Uzunçarşılı 396).

In representations of Istanbul depicted at the end of the fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth century, ship construction in the dockyards took place, and the ships constructed there were also in the area anchored. These representations show that Istanbul had become the center of construction activity by the end of the fifteenth century (Eyice 1975: 273) **(Figure 7).**

Following the sixteenth century renovations and additions, the imperial arsenal reached its zenith in the seventeenth century and became a showcase of the Ottoman Navy not only in local representations **(Figures 8 and 9),** but also in foreign representations of the city **(Figures 10 and 11).**

Starting from the early sixteenth to the mid seventeenth century, the Tersane-i Amire was used both for ship construction and by the administrative units of the Ottoman Navy. The *gözler* were the actual places where ships were constructed, and the other units were used for administrative services (Bostan 2) **(Figure 12).**

In late sixteenth century representations of the Golden Horn, the arsenal's expansion throughout the Kasımpaşa harbor, the locally built galleons and ships, as well as the construction dockyards of the Tersane-i Amire, are easily recognized as dominating the cityscape of Istanbul.

### 2.1.a. The Buildings of the Tersane-i Amire in Kasımpaşa

The buildings of the imperial arsenal welcomed the residents and arsenal workers who constituted the active inhabitants of the Kasımpaşa district. According to the *Kitab-ı Bahriye*'s sixteenth century map of Istanbul, the arsenal extended to Hasköy, starting from Azap Kapısı gate of Galata. In the seventeenth century, the Kasımpaşa arsenal expanded to the east of the Golden Horn to encompass the harbor of Meyit; the old *divanhane*, the council hall; *küreklik*, houses where oars were made and kept; cellars; the dockyards, and the arsenal garden (Bostan 7) **(Figure 13).**

According to Evliya Çelebi, the naval arsenal grounds included the Baruthane Tower, seventy captain cellars, one *kürekhane* (*küreklik*), seven storage buildings, the new *divanhane* building, the dungeon of the Sanbule, the kiosk of Cirid, the gate of Şahkulu, and the gate of the Meyit Harbor (Evliya Çelebi 125a).

The *divanhane* building was the arsenal's administrative building. Mehmed II built the old *divanhane*, and Selim I built the new *divanhane*. In the seventeenth century, the commander-in-chief or grand admiral, *Kapudan Paşa*, of the Ottoman Navy, resided in the new divanhane; the intendant or authorized deputy of the arsenal, *Tersane Kethüdası*, resided in the old *divanhane* (Ayvansarayi 2.13, Bostan 11). A fountain was added to the *divanhane* complex during Ahmed I's reign (1603-17), and a dock was installed in front of the building in 1660-61 (Bostan 11).

The cellars, *mahzenler*, were used for storing all the arsenal supplies for construction such as nails, irons, copper cans, anchors, ropes, sail canvases and barrels. There were also the workshops, *karhane,* of the arsenal. In the seventeenth century, eight hundred sixteen workers were employed in various branches of arsenal work. One of the documents registered by the head-architect İsmail confirmed that these workshops had thirteen rooms of a length of sixty-five cubits, *zira*[4], and the width of eight cubits. In the middle, there was a ten by ten cubit sofa. There was a small mosque in the room of seven by seven cubit and a gateway surrounded by walls on three sides. The head of the workers had a room of five by five cubit. A fountain and five toilets, ten cubits long two and a half cubit wide were

[4] Zira is the Ottoman equi-term for a cubit, which is twenty-four *boğun*, a joint or inch. Each *boğun* is two and a half *barmak*, a finger (Özduran 107).

also at the service of the workers (Maliyeden Müdevver 15976.18-19, 4875.62 as cited in Bostan 10).

Evliya Çelebi wrote that during Süleyman I's reign, twelve thousand Arabian soldiers, a hundred and fifty captains in the inner service of the sultan, *Enderun captains,* a hundred and fifty captains in the outside service of the sultan, *Birun captains*, seventy learned naval marines, *azab ağası*, who theoretically (though not always in practice) were not allowed to get married before they were retired, and many other azab marines from the islands and forty different provinces who had been brought to the arsenal (Evliya Çelebi 125a, Crane 551-55 glossory).

According to Evliya Çelebi, every night for night watching, one guard was assigned to watch each of the dockyards, and three hundred *azab* guards were assigned to the Sanbule Dungeon.[5] Captains were assigned to patrol the safety of both the arsenal and the city, with thirty-five assigned to the construction sites and thirty-five to other parts of the city. In the sixteenth century, almost thirty one thousand prisoners were kept in the Galata Tower and the arsenal dungeon. The arsenal dungeon was constructed to be so strong and secure that not even a bird could fly into the building, as Evliya Çelebi claimed. Even the basement was covered with many layers of marble, preventing any potential attempt at digging escape tunnels in the ground (Evliya Çelebi 125a). The prisoners of the arsenal dungeon were used as rowers and participated in the naval sieges as well.

There are many accounts of prisoners who spent time in the arsenal dungeon. Not surprisingly, these accounts reflect the changing dynamics of the various

[5] The Sanbule dungeon referred to the St. Paulo dungeon, which was the dungeon in the arsenal.

religions and groups that resided within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. There was a small church that served the Christian prisoners. Baron Winceanus Wratislaw was sent to Istanbul by Hungarian King Rudolph II in 1591 and was imprisoned on espionage charges in 1599. According to Baron Wratislaw, once the prisoners had learned that there was a priest among them, they asked for permission to pray there. Permission was granted and, as a result, a small room in the dungeon was transformed into a small church (Hubbard 207-11, as cited by Andreasyan in Kömürciyan).

Antoine Galland also visited the prisoners in the Arsenal dungeon in the seventeenth century and wrote that there were three churches in the dungeons that served the service of Latin, Greek and Russian prisoners. Galland witnessed how these groups actively practiced their religion in the dungeons and how they were called to prayer with a loud church bell (Galland 1.80). Another seventeenth century traveler, Aubry de la Mortraye, also remarked that no countries were as welcoming to different religions as the Ottomans were, and he also referred to the arsenal churches in the service of three different faiths (De La Mortraye 1.166-7, cited by Andreasyan in Kömürciyan).

Evliya Çelebi states that Kasımpaşa was developing very fast because of the busy arsenal and that the district had reached eleven thousand households by the time of Murad IV's reign (1623-40) (Evliya Çelebi 125a).

## 2.2. The Quarters of Kasımpaşa

Ottoman cities were organized as quarters, *mahalles,* based on the communities residing in the quarter and their religious identity. Most of the time, the founder of the local mosque named the Muslim quarter. The residents of this quarter would establish a foundation, *vakıf*, to raise funds for the local mosque. The quarter would also have its school and fountains as well as its local mosque. When Ayvansarayi wrote *Hadika'tül Cevami* (The Gardens of the Mosques), he indicated whether the mosque had a quarter or not, specifying whether the mosque was the central worship place for the quarter's residents or not (Crane Introduction: XXX).

In order to investigate the quarters of Kasımpaşa, a comparison of the names of the quarters and the mosques is essential. Mentioned in Evliya Çelebi's account, some of these quarters can be located by comparing the names of the quarter with the similar names of the mosques built there.

### 2.2.a. The Mosques of Kasımpaşa (Figure 14)

According to the *Hadika'tül Cevami* of Ayvansarayi and the book of Tahsin Öz published in 1962, based largely on Ayvansarayi, on the mosques of Istanbul, the Kasımpaşa district had thirty-six mosques.

**The Altuncu Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Altıncı Hacı Şaban who was a goldsmith. The mosque had a quarter (Ayvansarayi 2.12, Öz 4).

Although the location and the building date of the mosque are uncertain, this mosque was probably the Hacı Şaban Mosque in Hasköy, which no longer has its inscription.

**The Bedreddin Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Bedreddin Bey, naval commander of Beyazid II. The chronogram next to the mihrab is dated 1509. The mosque had a quarter (Ayvansarayi 2.9, Öz 11).

The Bedreddin Mosque still stands in the Bedreddin Quarter of Kasımpaşa on the main street of Evliya Çelebi Caddesi **(Picture 1)**.

**The Çatma Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque is Koca Kasım Paşa, who also built the Güzelce Kasımpaşa Mosque in the sixteenth century. The mosque had a quarter (Ayvansarayi 2.9). The Çatma Mescidi, also known as Kasımpaşa Mesciti, is located on the intersecting streets of Çatma Kuyu Sokağı and Çatma Mescit Sokak in the Çatma Mescit Quarter. Unfortunately, there are no remains of this original structure,

and the present structure dates to recent times (Crane 336, note 2563 - Öz 17) **(Picture 2)**.

**The Divanhane Mosque:**

According to Ayvansarayi, the builder of the original mosque was Mehmed II in the fifteenth century, and the area around the mosque was vacant when it was first built. In the sixteenth century, because of the need for a new the council hall of the naval commanders, *divanhane,* the mosque was surrounded by the new *divanhane* building and an exalted mansion, *saray*, was built enclosing three sides of the mosque (Ayvansarayi 2.13, Öz 20).

The mosque had an imperial tribune, *mahfil-i hümayun*,. Ahmed I built a significant fountain, which had a great view of Istanbul, in front of the *divanhane* building. All the expenses of the mosque were supplied by the income of the imperial arsenal rents (Ayvansarayi 2.13, Öz 20). Evliya Çelebi referred to the mosque as the Fatih Mehmed Han Camii, which indicated that in the seventeenth century the mosque was referred to by the name of its patron. Evliya Çelebi also mentioned the mosque of Süleyman Han in his accounts. None of the mosques documented in Ayvansarayi's work refer to the mosque built by Süleyman I. It is possible that Evliya Çelebi could have referred to the same Divanhane Mosque by a different name in order to indicate Süleyman I's renovation (Evliya Çelebi 125b).

The Divanhane Mosque was located beside the council hall of the naval arsenal, in the Camii Kebir quarter of Kasımpaşa. The mosque no longer exists (Crane 339, note 2580).

**The Dizdar Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Dizdar Ahmed Bey who was a fortress commander. Although there are no remains left, Öz has suggested that the location of the mosque could be on the street of Hacı Hüsrev. Neither of the sources suggested the date of the mosque (Ayvansarayi as cited in Crane 338, note 2573, Öz 20).

**The Emin Bey Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Baş Hasan Efendi, who was the supervisor of the naval arsenal, *tersane emini,* in the years of 1576-77. The mosque had a quarter (Ayvansarayi 2.8).

The mosque is located on the Emin Street of the Mehmet Süruri Quarter of present day Kasımpaşa **(Pictures 3 and 4)**.

**The Eyyühüm Mosque:**

Şemseddin Ahmed Efendi ibn Yusuf Yegani, the *kadı* of Amasya, Bursa, and Gelibolu, built the Eyyühüm Mosque in the early sixteenth century. Kamer Hatun commissioned the minbar to be built in the seventeenth century. The income of the *vakıf* of the Eyyühüm Mosque came from its property, a bathhouse located next to the mosque. Ayvansarayi wrote that one of the dervishes of Kasımpaşa's Sufi lodge was buried in the stokehole (where the bath's boiler), bath's *külhan*. In the eighteenth century, this bathhouse became a place of pilgrimage. The mosque had a quarter (Ayvansarayi 2.6).

This mosque was known as the Eyyühüm Ahmed Efendi Mosque. Evliya Çelebi referred to the mosque as the Ahmed Efendi Mosque located near the Okmeydanı district. Evliya Çelebi also stated that the mosque was small with a minaret, and that the roof was covered with lead (Evliya Çelebi 125b).

The original mosque does no longer exist. Today, there is a new mosque in its place, located on the Ahmed Efendi Camii Street in the Süruri Mehmed Efendi Quarter of present day Kasımpaşa **(Picture 5)**.

**The Gedik Abdi Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Gedik Abdullah Ağa, who was a naval commander. The mosque was built in 1621-22. It was Çavuşzade Mustafa Efendi

who commissioned the minbar to be built fifty years after the construction of the mosque (Ayvansarayi 2.22).

The mosque is located on the street of Kasımpaşa Zincirlikuyu of the Küçük Piyale Quarter of present day Kasımpaşa **(Picture 6)**.

**The Güzelce Kasımpaşa Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Kasım Paşa, who also gave his name to the district. Kasımpaşa was not appointed grand admiral of the naval arsenal, *kapudan paşa,* but the captain with the rank of vizier, *üç tuğlu kapudan*. The original mosque was built in the mid-sixteenth century. Since it was burned down at the end of Ahmed III's reign (1703-1730), Feyzullah Bey, who was the administrator of the mosque foundation, *mütevelli*, renovated it (Ayvansarayi 2.3).

The original building had a *medrese* and a reservoir, *şadırvan,* in the mosque courtyard used for ablutions. In the afternoon, classes were held on the Mesnevi and Celaleddin Rumi in the medrese. The *vakıf* of the mosque received its source of income from its properties, which were the court of justice, *mahkeme,* a double bathhouse and other rentals properties in Kasımpaşa. The Islamic primary school, *mekteb,* was built by Kasım Paşa's daughter Nefise Hanım and administered through the foundation attached to Kasım Paşa's mosque. The mosque had a quarter (Ayvansarayi 2.3-4).

According to Evliya Çelebi, the mosque had a wooden dome, and there were no columns in the interior. The courtyard had two gates and was embellished with plane and mulberry trees. The minaret of the mosque was high and had one balcony. Evliya Çelebi also indicated that the mosque had a court, *şeriye mahkemesi*, in the courtyard. This *şeriye mahkemesi* should be among the properties that provided income to the *vakıf* that Evliya Çelebi stated. Evliya Çelebi also wrote that the mosque used to have a soup kitchen, *imaret*, which was transformed into a hospital and functioned throughout the seventeenth century. Evliya Çelebi also mentioned that, since the mosque was very centrally located, it had a large congregation (Evliya Çelebi 125b).

The mosque is also known as Camii Kebir, Kasımpaşa or Koca Kasımpaşa Eski Camii (Crane 329 note 2519). The Güzelce Kasımpaşa mosque is still standing and located on the intersection of the main street of Bahriye Caddesi and Kasımpaşa Camii Sokak in the Camii Kebir quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa **(Pictures 7 and 8)**.

**The Hacı Ahmed Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Ahmed bin Abdüssamed el-Yegani who was the *hasırcıbaşı,* the head of mat-makers, of Sultan Süleyman I. Built in 1544, the mosque had a fountain, which dried up at the time of Ayvansarayi. The mosque also had a quarter (Ayvansarayi 2.6).

The mosque is located on the street of Kurtoğlu Yokuşu in the Hacı Ahmet quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa **(Picture 9)**.

**The Hacı Hüsrev Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Hacı Hüsrev, who was one of the high-ranking officials of Murat IV's reign (1623-1640). The mosque had a quarter (Ayvansarayi 12, Öz 28).

Evliya Çelebi wrote that the mosque was located on the ramp, *Tatavla Yokuşu,* climbing up to the district of present-day Kurtuluş, *Tatavla*. The minaret of the mosque was built of brick (Evliya Çelebi 125b).

The mosque still stands today at the intersection of the streets of Hacı Hüsrev and Büyük Yokuş Sokağı of present-day Kasımpaşa **(Pictures 10, 11 and 12)**.

**The Hüsameddin Uşşaki Mosque:**

Evliya Çelebi states that the dervish lodge, *tekke,* of Hazreti Uşşaki Efendi was close to the gardens of Hacı Haydar and that the dervishes of the lodge were very conservative people (Evliya Çelebi 126a).

The Hüsameddin Uşşaki Mosque is on the Pir Hüsameddin Street of the Hacı Ahmet quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa **(Picture 13)**.

Also known as Pir Hüsamettin Mescidi, the builder of the mosque was Hüsameddin Şeyh Hasan Efendi who died in 1595 (Öz 31). Hüsameddin Uşşaki was originally from Bukhara in Uzbekistan and went to Erzincan for his religious education. In Erzincan, he received initiation into Seyyid Ahmed Semerkandi's Sufi lodge and was appointed as advanced initiate, *halife*, in a Sufi brotherhood. Then, he settled down in Uşak, became known in the city, and was later appointed *halife* in the dervish order of the Halvetiye. He was returning from the Hajj when he died in Konya. He was buried in his mosque in Istanbul. In 1623-24, his son, Mustafa Efendi, became the judge of Istanbul. After his retirement, Mustafa Efendi founded a *vakıf* and donated his properties to this foundation. Mehmed Efendi also appointed and paid Hüsameddin Uşşaki's tomb keeper. Mustafa Efendi assigned this specific office to his sons. Mustafa Efendi was buried beside his father's tomb after his death in 1627-28. Mustafa Efendi's son, Abalı Şeyh Hüsameddin, took over the office of the tomb keeper after his father's death. Because Abalı Şeyh Hüsameddin did not have male descendants, the office of the tomb keeper was assigned in the late seventeenth century to Şeyh Abdullah Hüsami, one of his three son-in-law's (Ayvansarayi 2.23-24).

In the mid-eighteenth century, Yusuf Efendi, the supervisor of the naval arsenal, *tersane emini,* demolished the original mosque, which was about to collapse. He built a new mosque on top of the original foundations. The second mosque built by Yusuf Efendi had a wooden minaret, and there was a stipend provided for an imam and muezzin. Yusuf Efendi also built a house for the sheik. Yusuf Efendi died in 1754-55 and was buried in Karacaahmed in Üsküdar (Ayvansarayi 2.23-24).

**The İbadullah Camii:**

The builder of the mosque was Seyyid Ali Reis, who was a naval captain and succeed in a number of sieges. He joined the navy at an early age, since his father was the steward of the arsenal, *tersane kethüdası*. He fought in the conquest of Rhodes in 1522, the conquest of Preveze under Barbarosa Hayreddin Paşa in 1538, and the conquest of Tripoli under Sinan Paşa in 1551. In 1554, he led the Ottoman Navy through the Persian Gulf from Basra to fight the Portuguese. Driven by strong winds, his fleet had to land in Surat in western India. Part of his fleet was captured by the local Muslim rulers and forced to work for them. Those who wanted to return to Istanbul stayed under Seyyid Ali Reis's command, and they returned by land to Istanbul over the Punjab, Afghanistan, Iran, and Anatolia. His accounts of the India blockade, his navigation expertise, and maritime and geographical records were famous by the end of the sixteenth century (Ayvansarayi and İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, as cited in Crane 342 note 2596).

According to Ayvansarayi, on the day when the foundations of the mosque were laid, Sultan Murad III (1574-1595) was on his way to the hunting kiosk in Okmeydanı. As he passed by the mosque and saw the gathering, he stopped by and asked why the *ibadullah*, servants of God, had gathered in that place. The mosque was named after Murad III's exclamation of *ibadullah* to the gathered crowd. The mosque had a quarter (Ayvansarayi as cited in Crane 342 note 2595).

In Evliya Çelebi' account, there is the mosque of Kethüda, which could not be identified among the mosques of Kasımpaşa by its name or the description of the mosque. Because Evliya did not specify the name of the Kethüda, as he did in the

mosques of Piyale Kethüda and Yahya Kethüda, I strongly believe that Evliya Çelebi named the Ibadullah Mosque as Kethüda Mosque, referring to Seyyid Ali Reis and his position in the arsenal.

The mosque was built of rubble walls, *moloz taşı,* and had a wooden roof. The minaret was originally made of stone (Öz 32).

Today, the mosque is known as Seyit Ali Reis Mosque and still stands. It is located on Seyit Ali Mescidi Sokağı in the Kulaksız quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa **(Picture 14)**.

**The Kapıüstü Mosque:**

The mosque was built by Rabia Hatun, the wife of the supervisor of the naval arsenal, *tersane emini*, Mehmed Emin Ağa, in the seventeenth century. The mosque was built on the *divanhane* side of the naval arsenal over the gate of Kasımpaşa,[6] and did not have a quarter (Ayvansarayi 2.12). The mosque no longer exists (Crane 339 note 2578).

**The Kapudan Mosque:**

Şaban Kapudan, a captain in the Ottoman Navy, built the mosque in the sixteenth century. Buried near his mosque, the chronogram of Şaban Kapudan's

[6] Mescid-i mezbur Tersane'nin Kasımpaşa içine açılan üç kapudan divanhane tarafında olan kapu üzerindedir (Ayvansarayi 2.12, translated by Galitekin in Galitekin 408)

gravestone is dated 1643-1644 and was moved to the Lohusa Kadın Türbesi, because the mosque was demolished and not renovated again. The land of the mosque was sold. The mosque had a quarter (Crane 336 note 2561, Öz 35).

Crane suggested that the mosque, also known as Kaptan Mescidi or Şaban Kaptan Mescidi **(picture 15)**, must have been located in the Bedreddin Quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa (Crane 336 note 2561, Öz 35) .[7] In Evliya Çelebi Quarter of present-day Beyoğlu, there was a mosque named Şaban Kaptan Mescidi. Although this might not be the exact location of the mosque, it could not have been located far.

**The Karaimam Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Sahhaf Muhiddin, a second-hand bookseller who died in 1615. Şehid Kaymak Mustafa, who was the grand admiral, *kapudan paşa*, of Sultan Ahmed III (1703-1730) installed the minbar. Şehid Kaymak Mustafa also built a *mekteb* and endowed funds to support the two functionaries of a mosque charged with summoning believers to worship, *müezzin*. The mosque had a quarter (Ayvansarayi 2.12). Salih Ağa, Mahmud II's assistant to the chief eunuch of the harem apartments, *başağa*, restored the mosque in 1813 (Crane 339 note 2576).

[7] In the İstanbul Şehir Rehberi haritası on the official website of the İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, the Lohusa Kadın Türbesi located in the Evliya Çelebi Quarter of Beyoğlu could have been referred to as Şaban Kaptan Mescidi. Therefore, the location of the mosque shown on the map is the estimated location of the sixteenth century mosque.

Also known as Karamanlı Mescidi or Sahhaf Muhiddin Mescidi, the mosque still stands on the intersection of İplikçi Sokak and Sahhaf Camii Street in the Hacı Hüsrev Quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa.

**The Mosque of Kasımpaşa Mevlevihanesi:**

The builder of the mosque was Şeyh Abdullah Efendi, who was also known as Abdi Dede. He was the *şeyh* of the Galata Mevlevihanesi. When İsmail Dede Efendi was nominated as the şeyh of the Galata Mevlevihanesi in the reign of Murad IV (1623-1640), Şeyh Abdullah Efendi built the Kasımpaşa Mevlevihanesi and its mosque in his garden in Kasımpaşa (Ayvansarayi 2.10-12).

Mahmud II renewed and enlarged the mosque and the *mevlevihane* in 1834-35 (Ayvansarayi 2.10-12). The ground floor was built with rubble walls, *moloz taşı*, and bricks, and the second floor had a wooden structure. After Mahmud II's renovation, there were wall paintings of flags and pictures of musical instruments such as the lute, *ud*, tambourine, *tef,* a small double drum, *kudüm*, and flute, *ney,* depicted on the ceiling of the meeting space in the mevlevihane where rituals were practiced, *semahane*. The lodge was turned into a school after the dervish lodges were closed in 1925 (Crane 337 note 2570, Öz 37). The mevlevihane was located on the street of Kasımpaşa Mevlevihane Sokak in the Süruri Mehmed Efendi quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa. Nothing remains of the original building except the entrance stairs, which were built in the early nineteenth century, during Mahmud II's reign **(Picture 16)**.

**The Koltukçu Mosque:**

The Koltukçu Mosque was built of stone and it had a wooden roof [8] (Öz 41).

**The Kulaksız Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Ahmed Reis; Gümrükçü Hüseyin Paşa, the governor of Basra in 1681, endowed the minbar of the mosque. The mosque had a quarter (Ayvansarayi 2.18).

Evliya Çelebi wrote that the domes of the mosque were covered with lead and that the dervish lodge at the mosque complex belonged to the Halveti order (Evliya Çelebi 125b-126a). Ayvansarayi did not mention that the mosque had a dervish lodge. Since the district of Kasımpaşa was also a residence for dervishes as well as arsenal inhabitants, it is possible that the mosque had a lodge that Evliya Çelebi visited which was then closed in Ayvansarayi's time.

The Kulaksız Mosque is still standing and located on the main street of Kulaksız Caddesi on the northwest side of the street near the Kulaksız Çeşmesi Sokağı in the Kaptanpaşa quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa **(Pictures 17 and 18)**.

[8] The Koltukçu Mosque was described by Tahsin Öz. Ayvansarayi did not write about the mosque and I could not find any more information about the building.

**The Kurd Çelebi Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Kurd Kapudan, a naval commander, *ümera-yı derya* who died in 1611-12. Kurd Kapudan, also known as Kurt Kaptan Çelebi, was buried in his mosque. The mosque was built as a dervish lodge in the reign of Ahmed I (1603-1617) (Ayvansarayi 2.23).

Also known as Acı Çeşme Camii, the Kurd Çelebi Mosque was built of stone and had a wooden roof. The minaret of the mosque was built of brick. The mosque had a quarter (Crane 348 note 2632, Öz 42).

The Kurd Çelebi Mosque still stands and is located on the Mutfak Kapısı Street in the Kadı Mehmed Efendi Quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa **(Picture 19)**.

**The Küçük Piyale Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Piyale Paşa, the grand admiral of the naval arsenal, *kapudan paşa*. He was also the builder of the Great Piyale Paşa Mosque.[9] The foundation of the mosque was laid in 1565. The *mekteb* and the fountain, which were the parts of the complex, were located to the northwest of the mosque. These buildings were constructed by Kadri Çavuş, an officer in the naval arsenal, between 1703 and 1704. The steward of the naval arsenal, Sefer Kethüda, built another *mekteb* next to the *mekteb* of Kadri Çavuş (Ayvansarayi 2.21-22). Evliya Çelebi refers to this mosque as the Piyale Kethüda Mescidi (Evliya Çelebi 125b).

[9] See Piyale Paşa Mosque on page X.

The mosque had a quarter (Ayvansarayi 2.22). It was built of stone and had a wooden roof. The narthex, *son cemaat yeri,* of the mosque was also made of wood (Öz 43).

The Küçük Piyale Mosque was demolished in the twentieth century, and there is now a new structure standing in the location of the original building (Crane 347 note 2623 - 2625). The mosque was located on the main street of Kasımpaşa at Zincirlikuyu Caddesi, next to the intersecting street of the Piyale Paşa Mektebi Sokağı in the Kaptan Paşa quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa **(Picture 20)**.

**The Nalıncı Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Hacı Hasan Ağa, a clog maker, *nalıncı*. The construction date of the mosque is not known, and there are no traces left from the original building. Crane and Öz have suggested that it was located on the street of Nalıncı Hasan Efendi Sokağı of the Küçük Piyale Quarter in present-day Kasımpaşa (Crane 348 note 2631, Öz 49).

**The Congregational Mosque of Piyale Paşa:**

The builder of the mosque was Vizier Piyale Paşa ibn Abdurrahman, also known as Kapudan Damad Piyale Paşa. Piyale Paşa died in 1578 and was buried in the above-mentioned mosque. Piyale Paşa was originally from Croatia and later appointed grand admiral of Gelibolu and commander of commanders, *beylerbeyi,* of

Algeria. He became a vizier of Selim II in 1565-66 (Ayvansarayi 2.25-26). Although he was raised to the rank of third vizier, Piyale Paşa was always known as "Kapudan Piyale Paşa" because of his fouteen-year-long career as naval commander (Necipoğlu 423, Peçevi I: 441).

The architect of the mosque was referred to as Mimar Sinan only in "*Tufetü'l Mi'marin* (The Gift of the Architects), Mimar Sinan's draft autobiography dedicated to Murad III. Since the architectural style of the building diverges from Mimar Sinan's, and since Ayvansarayi has suggested that the completion date of the mosque was 1573, a time when Mimar Sinan was building the mosque of Selimiye in Edirne, the mosque has been attributed to another court architect (Necipoğlu 2005: 422, Öz 54).

The two *vakfiyes* of Piyala Paşa ibn Abdurrahman are dated April 2, 1565 and November 25, 1573. According to the first one, which was dated a few days before the departure of Piyale Paşa for Malta, Piyale Paşa had already built a small mosque in Kozludere (VGM, Defter 573, Document no.1, as cited in Necipoğlu 424). This first *vakfiye* could have been the one that belonged to Küçük Piyale Mosque. This same vakfiye also suggested that Piyale Paşa endowed funds and properties for the construction of a Friday Mosque that he initiated.

Prof. İdris Bostan was suspicious that the first *vakfiye* dated 1565 belonged to the Küçük Piyale Mosque. In my opinion, this is highly possible, since the construction date of the Küçük Piyale Mosque, 1565, matches the registration date of the vakfiye. This vakfiye also documented the construction of a small mosque, *mescit*, not a Friday mosque, suggesting that the Küçük Piyale Mosque was Piyale

Paşa's endowment for himself. The Piyale Paşa Mosque could have been initiated for other reasons, such as a governmental urban project ordered by Sultan Süleyman, as Evliya Çelebi mentioned.

The second *vakfiye* of Piyale Paşa ibn Abdurrahman, registered 1573, suggests the completion of the Friday mosque near the Okmeydanı and an elementary school nearby (VGM, Defter 573, Document no.2 as cited in Necipoğlu 2005: 424).

The *vakfiyes* that belonged to the mosque do not supply sustainable information about the construction date of the mosque. However, Necipoğlu suggests that Mimar Sinan should have been involved in the project at least during the planning stage, since Piyale Paşa was a very high-ranked official married to Gevherhan Sultan, Selim I's daughter. Necipoğlu also suggests that Mimar Sinan must have consulted with and received assistance from the naval architects of the arsenal (Necipoğlu 2005: 422).

The mosque was also known as Tersane Mosque initiated by its builder. It was located behind the arsenal, suggesting a new settlement on the northwestern side of Kasımpaşa. Piyale Paşa financed his pious mosque along with a garden in Kozludere and his properties in Istanbul and Gallipoli. Since the mosque was commissioned by such a high-ranked navy official, though less experienced in building construction, it was the building crew of the arsenal and the galley slaves who worked on the construction of Piyale Paşa's mosque (Necipoğlu 2005: 422, Selaniki 2: 23-24). According to Evliya Çelebi, Piyale Paşa had twelve thousand slaves that worked on its construction. Evliya Çelebi also wrote that Piyale Paşa populated the vacant area under order of Sultan Süleyman and dug a canal from the arsenal up to the mosque

in order bring water from an hour's distance to the mosque. As a result, multi-storey houses with gardens and vineyards were aligned on the sides of this canal, urbanizing Kasımpaşa's northeastern parts. After Piyale Paşa's death, the canal was not cleaned frequently enough to keep the debris brought by rainwater from flooding into the canal. After a while, the canal was inaccessible to boats and abandoned; hence, new houses were built further down (Evliya Çelebi 125b).

The mosque had a rectangular plan and six domes supported by two piers. Evliya Çelebi wrote that he counted twelve domes (Evliya Çelebi 125b). The mosque has six large domes and two small ones. There are also six smaller domes decorating the front façade.

There are rows of windows enabling light to come in. The calligraphic inscriptions of the mosque that decorated the interior were the work of Çerkes Hasan Efendi, one of the students of the famous sixteenth century calligrapher Karahisari Ahmed Efendi. There is a water dispenser, *sebil*, outside the west gate. The medrese rooms and cells belonging to the dervish lodges were on the sides of the forecourt. There was an upper-story elementary school in the cemetery of Piyale Paşa's tomb facing the market. There was also an exalted double *hamam* in its market (Ayvansarayi 2.25-27).[10]

Evliya Çelebi wrote more about this than any other mosque in the Kasımpaşa district. This particular difference in the attention he paid to it and the detailed information he provided about the interior and exterior program of the mosque could

[10]… ve türbe mezaristanında çarşuya nazır bir fevkani mekteb ile çarşusunda çifte bir ali hammamı dahi vardır. (Ayvansarayi 2.27).

indicate that Evliya Çelebi spent a lot of time in the mosque and found it interesting enough to many details. The mosque was well known in the district because of the famous calligraphy work of Karahisari as well as its architectural elegance.

Evliya Çelebi praised the beauty of the minbar and the mihrab. The window frames were made of bronze. Evliya Çelebi claimed that Piyale Paşa brought back the bells of the churches from places that he had conquered and placed them on the windows of his mosque. Because the glass in the windows of the mosque was made of rock crystal, the interior of the mosque was bright. Then, Evliya Çelebi praised the beauty of the golden calligraphy written by Karahisari over the entrance gate. In the courtyard, Evliya Çelebi counted six plane trees and wrote that they brought happiness to travelers who would stand under the huge trees. Surrounding the west gate, there was a courtyard with four gates and forty rooms of the medrese. Evliya Çelebi wrote that when Piyale Paşa started construction they found seven large jars, *küp*, on the northern side of the mosque. Each marble jar was full of gold and sent to the kiosk of Piyale Paşa in Uzunçarşı for safekeeping. According to Evliya Çelebi, Piyale Paşa also built a dervish lodge, a bathhouse, a family cemetery and a bazaar around the mosque (Evliya Çelebi 125b).

The mosque still stands and is located on the main street of Kasımpaşa Zincirlikuyu Caddesi of the Kaptan Paşa Quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa **(Pictures 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26)**.

**The Congregational Mosque of Saçlı Emir Efendi:**

The builder of the mosque was Seyyid Osman Haşimi-i Sivas who was a teacher, *müderris,* and became a *halife,* a follower of Gazanfer Efendi of the Bayrami dervish order. Seyyif Osman Efendi also built a *tekke* near his mosque. Seyyid Osman Efendi died in 1594 and was buried next to his mosque in a separate tomb (Ayvansarayi 2.18).

Evliya Çelebi also mentioned the dervish lodge of Emir Sultan in his accounts and wrote that it was very large, accommodating more than one hundred dervishes. Hence, the dervishes of the lodge kept occupied all night, praying. According to Evliya Çelebi, Kapudan Mehmed Paşa spent a lot of money on bringing drinking water to the lodge and built an *imaret* to feed the poor (Evliya Çelebi 126a).

The mosque did not have a quarter. The mosque was built of rubble stone with a wooden roof; its minaret was built of stone and brick. In the cemetery of the dervish lodge, there are fifteen tombs of former *seyhs* of the dervish lodge (Öz 57). Evliya Çelebi wrote that the mosque was located on a high hill and that the minaret was four-sided with a diagonal bond. According to Evliya Çelebi, the roof was covered with lead (Evliya Çelebi 125b).

The mosque is still standing at the intersection of the streets of Kulaksız Caddesi and Emir Efendi Camii Sokak in the Kulaksız Quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa **(Picture 27)**.

**The Sakız Ağacı Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Sahhaf Muslihiddin, a second-hand book dealer. The mosque was built in the seventeenth century, and in 1813, Salih Ağa, the assistant of the chief eunuch of the harem of Mahmud II, renovated the mosque. The mosque was built of stone and brick and had a wooden roof and a quarter (Ayvansarayi 2.12, Öz 57).

The mosque still stands at the intersection of the streets of Hacı Kabuli Caddesi and Sıhhat Sokak in the Hacı Hüsrev Quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa.

**The Sarı Lütfi Mosque:**

Built by Molla Lutfullah Tokadi, Mehmed II's librarian and one of the ulema under Bayezid II's reign (1481-1512), the mosque had a quarter. The mosque does no longer exist and could not be located exactly. It does not appear in Evliya Çelebi' account, either. According to Crane, the mosque could have been located in the Yahya Kahya Quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa, whereas Öz suggests that the location of the mosque is around the Aynalıçeşme district in Beyoğlu (Crane 335 note 2557, Öz 57).

**The Congregational Sinan Paşa Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Sinan Paşa, the governor of Egypt and commander-in-chief of the army during the conquest of Yemen in 1572-73. He was also appointed grand vizier five times and died in 1597 (Ayvansarayi 2.21).

The mosque was built in 1579-80. Sinan Paşa also built a reservoir, *şadırvan,* in the courtyard of a mosque used for ablutions and a bathhouse in Kulaksız. The Islamic primary school, *mekteb,* of the mosque was built by Kapudan Paşa Uluç Çelebi Hasan Paşa. The mosque had a quarter. Several Ottoman naval commanders were buried in the cemetery of the mosque (Ayvansarayi 2.21).

Evliya Çelebi wrote that the dome of the mosque was covered with lead. He also wrote that the dervish lodge was affiliated with the Ümmi Sinani order (Evliya Çelebi 125b - 126a). Ayvansarayi mentions neither the mosque nor the existence of the dervish lodge in the Kulaksız Mosque. This could indicate that in the seventeenth century, the dervish lodges were actively used by the inhabitants of Kasımpaşa, but may have lost their significance in later periods.

The congregational mosque of Sinan Paşa still stands and is located on the street of Sinan Paşa Yumak to the west of the Sinan Paşa Çıkmazı street in the Kaptanpaşa Quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa **(Picture 28)**.

**The Sirkeci Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Sirkeci Musliheddin, a vinegar merchant. The mosque was built in the seventeenth century. Hacı Hasan Ağa commissioned the minbar of the mosque. Uzun Piyale Paşa, who was the grand admiral of the navy, *kapudan paşa;* built the fountain and a medrese in the southwest section of the mosque in the seventeenth century (Ayvansarayi 2.22, Crane 348 notes 2629-2630).

The Sirkeci Mosque, also known as Zincirlikuyu Mosque, had a quarter. It was built of stone and had a wooden roof. The minaret of the mosque was built of stone (Öz 60) **(Picture 29)**.

The Sirkeci Mosque still stands at the intersection of the streets Nalıncı Bayırı and Kasımpaşa Zincirlikuyu Caddesi in the Küçük Piyale Quarter of Kasımpaşa **(Picture 29).**

**The Sivrikoz Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Sivrikoz Mehmed Efendi, also known as Seferikoz Camii. It was built in the seventeenth century. The foundation of the mosque belonged to the foundation of the Güzelce Kasımpaşa Camii. It had two stories. The mosque had a quarter (Ayvansarayi 2.15).

Also known as Seferikoz or Gümrük Mosque, this building is at the intersection of streets in Kasımpaşa Hasköy Caddesi and Kasımpaşa Kabristanı cemetery of the Camii Kebir quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa **(Picture 30)**.

**The Süruri Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Musliheddin Mustafa ibn Hoca Şaban. The mosque was built in 1519-20. Musliheddin became a teacher, *müderris,* after his pilgrimage to Mecca, and Mahmud Efendi, the son-in-law of Emir Buhari, initiated Musliheddin as a dervish. Hence, he was assigned as tutor to Prince Sultan Mustafa, and the medrese of Kasım Paşa was built for him. After the unfortunate execution of Prince Sultan Mustafa by his father Sultan Süleyman I in 1553, Musliheddin became a *halife,* an advanced initiate in Sufism and the head of the Sufi lodge, and he devoted himself to giving lessons to his followers who worshipped at his mosque (Ayvansarayi 2.5).

The library of Musliheddin was kept in another room adjoining to the mosque. The mosque also had a medrese. In the late eighteenth century, İbrahim Bey, also known as Uzun Bey, who was the commissioner of the naval arsenal, *tersane emini*, commissioned the minbar to be built. Arsenal officials, commanders of the fleet, and captains were buried in the mosque's cemetery. The mosque had a quarter (Ayvansarayi 2.5).

The Süruri mosque still stands and is located at the intersection of the street of Aynalı Çeşme Sokağı and Süruri Camii Sokağı of the Süruri Camii Quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa **(Picture 30)**.

The *mevlevihane* of Kasımpaşa was also established in the same quarter. This may not have been a coincidence, as the followers of the Sufi order could have been residing in the same quarter in order to create a bigger religious community.

**The Tahta Kadı Mosque:**

Kadı Mehmed Efendi, one of the participants in Mehmed II's conquest of Istanbul, had built this mosque in the mid-fifteenth century. The mosque had a quarter. Although its date is not known, we know that Abacı Yusuf commissioned the minbar (Crane 332 note 2540).

The mosque is also known as the Taht Kadı, Taht Kadısı, or Kadı Mehmed Efendi Mosque. The mosque presently standing is not the original building. The mosque was located in the Küçük Piyale Quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa at the intersection of Bahriye Boulevard and Tahtakadı Street **(Picture 31)**.

**The Türabi Dede Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Mustafa Ağa, who was an architect working for the arsenal. Built in 1598, the mosque was constructed of stone and had a wooden roof; the minaret was also built of stone (Öz 67).

The mosque is still standing on the street of Muvakithane Boulevard in the Camii Kebir Quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa. Ayvansarayi does not mention this mosque **(Picture 32)**.

**The Congregational Mosque of Yahya Kethüda:**

Yahya Kethüda Ağa, the steward of the former grandvizier Mehmed Paşa-yı Tavil (Sokullu Mehmed Paşa), built this mosque in the mid-sixteenth century. Yahya Kethüda was buried in his mosque (Crane 332 note 2538). The architect of the mosque was Mimar Sinan (Öz 2.70). The mosque had a quarter, a dervish lodge, and an Islamic primary school, *mekteb,* on the lodge's upper-story, and a şadırvan, reservoir in the courtyard of the mosque used for ablutions, in the courtyard (Crane 332 note 2538- 2539).

Evliya Çelebi described the mosque near the tekke as having four domes covered with lead (Evliya Çelebi 125b).

The Yahya Kethüda Mosque still stands and is located in the Yahya Kahya quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa at the intersection of Sipah Fırını Street and Pirinçci Kahya Street **(Picture 33)**.

**The Yeldeğirmeni Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was the imam Abdülkerim Efendi. Abdülkerim Efendi was reputed to be a despotic person and infamous for his cruel behavior toward non-Muslims. In order to designate the Christian and Jewish community, he ordered the blue and yellow caps of the non-Muslim religious persons to be changed to black and red broadcloth. After he killed a Jewish slave, the caps of Jews were changed to purple. The motivation for Abdülkerim Efendi to build the mosque was

to erect a mosque on the site of the Jewish cemetery. According to Ayvansarayi, all the Jewish graves were removed and the construction of the mosque took only a single night in 1591-92. Mehmed Ağa who was the steward*, kethüda*, of Piyale Paşa, and the grand admiral of the naval arsenal, founded the Islamic primary school, *mekteb*, of the mosque in the late sixteenth century (Ayvansarayi 2.16-17).

The construction of the mosque on the Jewish cemetery is further evidence that Kasımpaşa was once the land of the Jews, even before the arsenal was established.[11]

According to an early-fifteenth century plan of Istanbul, there was a watermill on the west side of Pera. Although there are no traces of a watermill, it is possible that the name Yeldeğirmeni, meaning watermill, came from a former watermill that existed in the area **(Figure 15).**

The mosque had a quarter. It was built of stone and had a wooden roof. The minaret of the mosque was built of brick (Ayvansarayi 16, Öz 70). The mosque still stands on Bahriye Hastanesi Arka Street in the Kadı Mehmed Efendi Quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa **(Picture 34)**.

**The Yeni Çeşme Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Kadı Mehmed Efendi, and he also gave the quarter its name. The mosque was built in the mid-sixteenth century, and the secretary of the Janissaries, *yeniçeri efendisi*; commissioned the minbar to be built

[11] See the further discussion by Minna Rozen on the Kasımpaşa cemetery in "A Survey of Jewish Cemeteries in Turkey," summarized in the History of the Tersane-i Amire section of this thesis.

(Ayvansarayi 2.17). Kapudan Uzun Piyale Paşa built the fountain of Yeni Çeşme, also known as Uzun Piyale Paşa Çeşmesi, in 1638 (Tanışık 2.23-24). In the same year that he had commissioned the fountain, Kapudan Uzun Piyale Paşa was appointed grand admiral of the Ottoman Navy, *kapudan-ı derya,* promoted from the position of the keeper of the accounts under the commissioner of the arsenal, *tersane kethüdası*. The mosque had a quarter (Ayvansarayi 2.17).

The Yeni Çeşme Mosque still stands and is located at the end of İbadullah Sokağı Street near the main Boulevard of Kadı Mehmed in the Kadı Mehmed Efendi quarter of present-day Kasımpaşa **(Picture 35)**.

**The Zindan Mosque:**

The builder of the mosque was Bayezid II in the late fifteenth century. The mosque was located in the naval arsenal dungeon, *zindan* (Ayvansarayi 2.15). Nothing has survived from the original building (Crane 341 note 2591).

I have also tried to identify some of the seventeenth century Kasımpaşa mosques in the panorama of Istanbul at the Pera Museum **(Figure 16).** Although this panorama, dating to the mid-eighteenth century, does not depict a particular spot, some of the mosques can be identified, supposing the artist drew the panorama from various parts of the city. The mosques were placed on the figure, after examining various possibilities and their topographical locations, as well as taking into account the various perspectives of the panorama **(Figure 17).**

**2.b. Examining the quarters of Kasımpaşa based on the mosques**

Evliya Çelebi described twenty-four quarters of Kasımpaşa. One of these quarters was the quarter of Türbedar, tomb keeper. This was the quarter where the devout residents of this quarter held all funeral services. Evliya Çelebi wrote that the Türbedar quarter was an old neighborhood established within the cemetery. The other quarters were the quarter of Kanlı Kozlar, which was located within the cemetery and planted with walnut trees; throughout the quarter of Kasımpaşa, Ketohorya, Piyale Kethüda, Büyükdere, Küçükdere, Cuma Pazarı, Uşşaki, Tatavla, Tepebaşı, the quarter of Badille, Sarı Kethüda, Dere, Aydın Çavuş, Çelebi Çetin Koz, Yeldeğirmeni, Küçük Piyale, Emir Efendi, Sinan Paşa, Koca Piyale Paşa, Kulaksız, Hamdi Efendi, and the quarter of Hacı Ahmed (Evliya Çelebi 127a).

According to Ayvansarayi, twenty-three of thirty-six mosques had quarters, and Evliya Çelebi accounted for twenty-four of them. The suggested numbers of the quarters are very close to each other, and the contemporary borders of these quarters allow for an approximate understanding of the extension of Kasımpaşa throughout the seventeenth century. Although the precise borders could not be specified when placed on a map, it is possible to draw a brief distribution of these quarters **(Figure 18).**

In the quarter distribution map of **Figure 19**, the circled mosques depict the mosques with quarters according to Ayvansarayi. The hatched-circled quarters are those identified to match each other under Evliya Çelebi's and Ayvansarayi's accounts.

| | **Quarters accounted by**<br><br>**Evliya Çelebi** | **Mosques that are accounted as "having quarters" by Ayvansarayi** |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Türbedar | Sivrikoz |
| 2. | Kanlıkozlar | Bedreddin |
| 3. | Kasımpaşa | Güzelce Kasım Paşa |
| 4. | Ketohorya | Sirkeci |
| 5. | Piyale Kethüda | Yahya Kethüda |
| 6. | Büyükdere | (could not be identified) |
| 7. | Küçükdere | (could not be identified) |
| 8. | Cuma Pazarı | (could not be identified) |
| 9. | Uşşaki | Hüsameddin Uşşaki |
| 10. | Tatavla | Hacı Hüsrev |
| 11. | Tepebaşı | Çatma Mescid |
| 12. | Badille (Badulla) | İbadulah |
| 13. | Sarı Kethüda | Sarı Lütfi |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 14. | Dere | (could not be identified) |
| 15. | Aydın Çavuş | Tahta Kadı? |
| 16. | Çelebi Çetin Koz | Kurd Çelebi |
| 17. | Yeldeğirmeni | Yeldeğirmeni |
| 18. | Küçük Piyale | Küçük Piyale |
| 19. | Emir Efendi | Süruri |
| 20. | Sinan Paşa | Sinan Paşa |
| 21. | Koca Piyale | Piyale Paşa |
| 22. | Kulaksız | Kulaksız |
| 23. | Hamdi Efendi | (could not be identified) |
| 24. | Hacı Ahmed | Hacı Ahmed |
| | | |

**2.2.b.1. The Türbedar - Sivrikoz quarter:**

Evliya Çelebi wrote that theTürbedar Quarter was established within the cemetery. Since the quarters of Sinan Paşa, Kulaksız and İbadullah are already matched by name based on the accounts of Evliya Çelebi and Ayvansarayi, the only quarter that was left by the cemetery is the quarter of Sivrikoz Mosque.

### 2.2.b.2. The Kanlıkozlar – Bedreddin Quarter

According to the eighteenth century *Tezkire of Safayi* (Biographies of Poets), written by Safayi, the poet Lutfi-i Tatar was on the way back to his residence in Kasımpaşa when he was murdered by two drunk men in the quarter of Kanlıkozlar. Safayi wrote that while Lutfi was walking back to Kasımpaşa from Galata, where he had been drinking and stayed until late at night, he passed through the quarter of Kanlıkozlar, where he met the two drunken men who caused his unfortunate death.[12] The same information was repeated in another biography written by Salim (Çapan 21 - 22). In order to pass through a cemetery to reach his home, the poet needed to walk through the cemetery of Kasımpaşa.

Evliya Çelebi wrote that the quarter was located within the cemetery. The word *koz* means walnut. Since the mosque of Bedreddin was built within the cemetery of Kasımpaşa, the quarter of Kanlıkozlar could be attributed to the quarter of Bedreddin.

### 2.2.b.3. The Kasımpaşa - Güzelce Kasım Paşa Quarter

The name of the quarter and the name of mosque match in Evliya Çelebi' account and Ayvansarayi's documentation.

[12]...mezbûr Kasımpaşa'da sâkin olmağla bir gün Galata'da Beyoğlu meykedelerinde çokca eğlenip kandiller yanınca elden ayağı bırakmayıp ahşamdan sonraya kalıp tek ü tenhâ mestâne Kasımpaşa'ya giderken yolu Kanlıkozlar nâm mahalle uğrayıp kazâ-yi nâgehânî bir iki sarhoş önüne çıkıp mezbûru bıçak ile urmağla sahbâ-keş-i câm-ı memât olup...

### 2.2.b.4. The Ketohorya – Sirkeci Quarter

According to Evliya Çelebi, one of the major vinegar production houses was located in Kasımpaşa. The vineyards of Ketohorya served vinegar production. The mosque of Sirkeci, meaning vinegar maker, was commissioned by the vinegar merchant Musliheddin and built in the seventeenth century (Evliya Çelebi 170b). This information suggests that the quarter of Ketohorya referred to the quarter of Sirkeci. Since there were no quarters to the northwest of the Sirkeci quarter (where the mosques of Gedik Abdi and Nalıncı were located), the land could have been occupied by the vineyards of Ketohorya, which probably expanded to the northwest of the Sirkeci mosque.

### 2.2.b.5. The Piyale Kethüda – Yahya Kethüda Quarter

Evliya Çelebi wrote of two quarters with the name of *kethüda*. One of them was Piyale Kethüda; the other was Sarı Kethüda. These two quarters were next to each other. Although this quarter could also be the Sarı Lütfi Quarter, since the word *sarı* means yellow is more distinctive than the word kethüda, I believe Evliya Çelebi referred to the Yahya Kethüda quarter when he said Piyale Kethüda.

### 2.2.b.6. The Büyükdere Quarter

The Büyükdere quarter could not be identified.

### 2.2.b.7. The Küçükdere Quarter

The Küçükdere quarter could not be identified.

### 2.2.b.8. The Cuma Pazarı Quarter

The Cuma Pazarı quarter could not be identified.

### 2.2.b.9. The Uşşaki - Hüsameddin Uşşaki Quarter

The name of the quarter and the name of the mosque match in Evliya Çelebi's account and Ayvansarayi's documentation.

### 2.2.b.10. The Tatavla - Hacı Hüsrev Quarter

The ramp of Tatavla is the ramp climbing up to Kurtuluş from Kasımpaşa on which the mosque of Hacı Hüsrev was located. The name of the Tatavla ramp has been changed into the street of Hacı Hüsrev in present-day Kasımpaşa.

### 2.2.b.11. The Tepebaşı – Çatma Mosque Quarter

The Mosque of Çatma is still located on the main street of Tepebaşı of present-day Kasımpaşa. The mosque is located at the beginning of the hill climbing up to Galata. Today, the area is known as Tepebaşı, and the quarter must have taken on its name in the seventeenth century.

### 2.2.b.12. The Badille (Badulla) – İbadullah Quarter

The name of the quarter, Badulla, was a variation of the word ***İbadullah***. Hence, the name of the quarter, and the name of the mosque referred to each other (See Abaç 16).

### 2.2.b.13. The Sarı Kethüda- Sarı Lütfi Quarter

Please see the quarter of Piyale Kethüda-Yahya Kethüda.

### 2.2.b.14. The Dere Quarter

The Dere quarter could not be identified.

### 2.2.b.15. The Aydın Çavuş – Tahta Kadı Quarter

According to Evliya Çelebi, Aydın Çavuş, who was an alchemist, was the master of *taht kadısı* Kara Sümbül Ali Efendi. Since Kara Sümbül Efendi was in Evliya Çelebi' account of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Evliya Çelebi could have been referring to the quarter of Tahta Kadı as Aydın Çavuş.

### 2.2.b.16. The Çelebi Çetin Koz – Kurd Çelebi Quarter

According to Evliya Çelebi, the quarter of Çelebi Çetin Koz was located by the hill on the way to the arsenal's *divanhane* building (Evliya Çelebi 127a). The

location of the mosque and the name “Çelebi” match in Evliya Çelebi’s account and Ayansarayi’s documention.

### 2.2.b.17. The Yeldeğirmeni – Yeldeğirmeni Quarter

The name of the quarter and the name of mosque match in Evliya Çelebi’s account and Ayvansarayi’s documentation.

### 2.2.b.18. The Küçük Piyale Quarter

The name of the quarter and the name of mosque match in Evliya Çelebi’s account and Ayvansarayi’s documentation.

### 2.2.b.19. The Emir Efendi - Süruri Quarter

According to Evliya Çelebi, the son-in-law of Emir Buhari initiated Musliheddin as a dervish, and Müsliheddin Efendi was the patron of the Süruri Mosque. The quarter could have been dedicated to the Müsliheddin’s father-in-law, Emir Buhari.

Although there is the mosque of Saçlı Emir in Kasımpaşa, Ayvansarayi documented that the mosque did not have a quarter. This quarter could also have been the quarter of the mosque Saçlı Emir that may have existed in the seventeenth century.

### 2.2.b.20. The Sinan Paşa – Sinan Paşa Quarter

The name of the quarter and the name of mosque match in Evliya Çelebi's account and Ayvansarayi's documentation.

### 2.2.b.21. The Koca Piyale Paşa – Piyale Paşa Quarter

Although Ayvansarayi did not mention whether the mosque had a quarter or not, Evliya Çelebi accounted for the quarter of Piyale Paşa. Since the mosque of Piyale Paşa was further away than the other quarters and mosques located in Kasımpaşa, and since it was a congregational mosque, I believe it had a quarter. The borders of the quarter could have been even larger than the others, as there are no existing mosques with quarters to be identified nearby (please see the quarter distribution map on **Figure 19**).

### 2.2.b.22. The Kulaksız – Kulaksız Quarter

The names of the quarter and the mosque match in Evliya Çelebi's account and Ayvansarayi's documentation.

Quarters were often named after certain attributes of their residents. For example, deaf people populated the quarter of Kulaksız, which means "earless." Evliya Çelebi pointed out that the equipment in the bathhouse of Kulaksız was very clean and that the bath attendants were very active. However, because the bathhouse

was in the Kulaksız quarter, Evliya Çelebi added that most of the bath attendants were deaf people (Evliya Çelebi 126a).

### 2.2.b.23. The Hamdi Efendi Quarter

The Hamdi Efendi Quarter could not be identified.

### 2.2.b.24. Hacı Ahmed – Hacı Ahmed Quarter

The names of the quarter and the mosque match in Evliya Çelebi's accounts and Ayvansarayi's documentation.

### 2.2.c. The Sacred Tombs located in and around the Kasımpaşa district

Evliya Çelebi wrote that there were thousands of tombs in the cemetery behind the arsenal and that numerous couplets were inscribed on the tombstones (Evliya Çelebi 127b). This cemetery was also associated with the gate and dock of Meyyit, *Meyyit Kapısı* and *Meyyit İskelesi*, located on the eastern side of the arsenal **(Figure 20).**

One of the tombs in the cemetery belonged to *Meyitzade*, which meant the son of the dead. According to Evliya Çelebi, there is a legend about this individual, whose father joined the siege of Eğri in 1596 when his mother was pregnant. His father left saying, "Oh Divine, I am leaving for holy war. I entrust my wife's unborn

child to you." According to Evliya Çelebi's legend, after a while, his wife died before the child was born and they buried her. Allegedly, she gave birth inside her grave. The child reached his dead mother's breasts and nursed himself. When the father safely returned from the siege, he asked for his wife. They informed him that she was dead. The veteran cried "I entrusted her unborn child to God. Promptly take me to her grave." They quickly visited the grave and heard the child's cry inside the grave. They exhumed the grave and saw that the child was feeding on his mother's perfectly preserved breast. His father, praising God, took his beloved son home and raised him. Evliya Çelebi claimed that this child became an *ulema* during the reign of Ahmed Han. Evliya Çelebi is referring to Ahmed I, who reigned between 1603 and 1617, Meyitzade should have died at a very early age. If Meyitzade died during the reign of Ahmed II, who was in power between 1691 and 1695, then Meyitzade should have lived about a hundred years. Evliya Çelebi did not mention anything specific about his age. Meyitzade was buried next to his mother. There was a shrine built over his grave, and according to Evliya Çelebi, many people visited the shrine in the seventeenth century (Evliya Çelebi 127b).

According to Ayvansarayi, the builder of the Yeldeğirmeni Mosque, located to the northern side of the arsenal, was Abdülkerim Efendi who was famous for his cruel behavior toward non-Muslims. His motivation for building the mosque was to designate non-Muslim communities; in order to do so, he removed the graves of the Jews and built his mosque in their place in 1591-92 (Ayvansarayi 2.16-17).

According to a sultan's edict dated November 22, 1584, there was a Jewish cemetery in Kasımpaşa, which existed even before the conquest of Istanbul (Güleryüz 2008: 165, Rozen 1992: 87-90).

Both Evliya Çelebi and Ayvansarayi suggested that the arsenal was surrounded by a graveyard. Uzunçarşılı has given the same information: when Selim I wanted to enlarge the arsenal in 1515, the surrounding area of the Galata dockyard was occupied by a graveyard, and the graves were removed to somewhere else in order to provide area for the new arsenal (Uzunçarşılı 397).

Based on the information about this graveyard, there is no doubt that a part of this cemetery was used by Jews. It could also be speculated that this cemetery was used by both Muslim and non-Muslim communities. Since the graveyard was attached to the Galata walls on the western side, it is possible that the residents of Galata used it. Although the name of the cemetery was not clearly known, Eldem has indicated that the cemetery behind the arsenal was called *küçük kabristan*, behind the arsenal (Eldem 16-17) **(Figure 24)**. The cemetery could also have been affiliated with the mosque of Meyyit İskelesi, which was built by Musa Çelebi, but demolished during the construction of the arsenal (Ayvansarayi 2.37).

The cemetery was also depicted in paintings and maps. In the seventeenth century copy of Vavassore's map of Istanbul reprinted by Probft, the cemetery extended beyond the walls of Galata **(Figure 21).** The same extension can be observed in the panorama drawn under the map of Istanbul **(Figure 22).** When both the map and the panaroma are closely examined, it is possible to recognize the tombstones, with some bordering walls. In Vanmour's painting **(Figure 23)**, one can

also see a tombstone with a turban, which possibly belonged to a Muslim, suggesting that there were Muslim graves in the cemetery. According to Eldem's map showing the cemeteries of Istanbul, this cemetery existed at the end of the nineteenth century (Eldem 16-17) **(Figure 24).**

### 2.3. Demographics of Kasımpaşa according to its quarters

Kasımpaşa quarters were mostly populated by the workers and officials of the arsenal who also constituted the majority of the patrons. The quarters were established around the Kasımpaşa mosques, medreses and fountains near their mosques. These quarters were populated and established by the arsenal workers and officials, and the district expanded to the outer lands of Kasımpaşa through Zincirlikuyu, starting from the arsenal. The patrons of the Sufi lodges and mosques constituted the second largest group of residents in Kasımpaşa. Unlike the mosques built in the quarters located closer to the arsenal and commissioned by the arsenal members, the Sufi lodges were established starting from the arsenal borders **(Figures 25 and 26).**

When the maps of the mosques are examined according to their construction dates and patrons, the expansion to the north of Kasımpaşa is obvious. Almost twice as many mosques were built in the seventeenth century, when compared to the sixteenth century (**Figure 25**). The patrons of the mosques, who were mostly the arsenal workers, also affected this proliferation (**Figure 26**). For example, the mosque of Piyale Paşa created both a residential and a social expansion. With new

gardens and residences built along the sides of the Piyale Paşa mosque stream, the district was inevitably enlarged to the northeast.

There were also a number of mosques that were built by patrons of other professions. However, arsenal officials did not hesitate to commission new installations to these mosques such as a minbar, mekteb or fountain (see further information about the mosques of Hüsamaddin Uşşaki, Karaimam, Sirkeci and Süruri). Although the Sinan Paşa Mosque was not built by a naval commander but a grandvizier, Sinan Paşa, the graves of Ottoman fleet were placed in the mosque's cemetery.

As Evliya Çelebi did, it is possible to divide the residents of Kasımpaşa into three social classes. According to Evliya Çelebi, the military men who were the naval arsenal officers of the arsenal constituted the first group. These people were the naval commanders, *Kapudan,* the guardians of the arsenal, and the marines. There were also Arab marines who worked in the arsenal and resided in Kasımpaşa (Evliya Çelebi 127a).

As ordered by Süleyman I, they earned three thousand and seventy purses of gold each year. They received their salaries every three months in the building, council hall, *divanhane,* in the presence of the grand admiral (Evliya Çelebi 127a).

The second group was the tradesmen and artisans. One of the main trade arters of Istanbul was between Karaköy and Kasımpaşa. Trade ships frequently loaded and unloaded their goods in the harbors of Kasımpaşa (Mantran 1990: 1.40). Thus, various tradesmen and artisans constituted the second group of residents in

Kasımpaşa. According to Evliya Çelebi, these were mostly orchard gardeners, traders, carpenters and arsenal workers. These people did not have special clothing and wore different clothes as they pleased (Evliya Çelebi 127a). Since Kasımpaşa was on the main trade route, goods such as swordfish were brought from the Black Sea to the Kasımpaşa harbor and distributed to other places from there; the customs officers of the sea trade also resided in the district (Kömürciyan 17).

Craftsman who needed to be close to the shore in order to benefit from easy access to transportation found that they could generate revenue in the Kasımpaşa district. For example, tanners constituted a part of the trade in Kasımpaşa, although most of the slaughterhouses were located in Yenikapı. The tanners of Kasımpaşa had to procure animal skins from various slaughterhouses around the city, which sometimes caused problems among the tanners of Istanbul. In one instance, the tanners of Yedikule protested because the skins of the animals cut in the Yedikule slaughterhouse were distributed not only to the Yedikule tanners, but also to the Kasımpaşa tanners (BOA, Mühimme Defteri 85. 491, as cited in Mantran 1991: 105). Hence, the tanners of Kasımpaşa asked for the skins of animals cut in the Galata slaughterhouse (Ibid 496 as cited in Mantran 1991:105). When Evliya Çelebi wrote about the mad people of Istanbul, he remarked that there were two in Kasımpaşa. One of them was Boynuzlu Divane Ahmed Dede, the mad man of the tanners. Divane Ahmed Dede used to spend time around the slaughterhouse of Kasımpaşa and he used to collect the horns from the slaughterhouse; hence the name *Boynuzlu,* "horned" was given (Evliya Çelebi 114b). This information suggested that there was a slaughterhouse in the area where the tanners of Kasımpaşa were located.

According to Evliya Çelebi, the shops of Kasımpaşa were comprised of nearly three hundred sixty shops, and there was not *bedesten*, a covered market. Yet, Evliya Çelebi suggests that it was possible to locate all valuable items in these shops. Especially the leather tradesmen formed a large group of merchants in these shops. These tradesmen had approximately three hundred workshops, and each employed twenty to thirty strong *pehlivan*, a term that refers to the strong workers in leather production. These leather shops were famous for their yellow Moroccon leather, *sahtiyan,* red stout leather, and glue (Evliya Çelebi 126b).

According to Evliya Çelebi, social justice and rehabilitation existed among the shop owners and tradesmen. Evliya Çelebi tells that if a murderer or a thief took sanctuary among them, the tradesmen did not surrender him to the judge. However, the tradesmen could not set such a felon free for the rest of his life. He was given a profession, taught an art and saved from banditry (Evliya Çelebi 126b).

Although the leather tradesmen and tanners owned the majority of the shops, other business also existed in Kasımpaşa. According to Evliya Çelebi, tailors cut out "Algerian" style clothing, and those in Kasımpaşa were much more talented than the tailors of Istanbul. Gloves of various colors were made in the dungeons of the arsenal and could only be embroidered in Georgia and in the "country of the Franks." The quality of these gloves was unmatched anywhere else. These tailor shops must have been serving the arsenal as well. In the Tersane-i Amire, the naval arsenal, there were skilled carpenters who built ships unmatched even in non-Muslim countries. The rare conical hats made of felt and produced in Konya and Manisa were sold in the bazaar of Piyale Paşa (Evliya Çelebi 126b).

There were also shops belonging to other craftsmen in Kasımpaşa. The banks of the Kasımpaşa stream, which flowed into the city, were lined with shops. The stream had three arched bridges. The strongest of these was the bridge of Kaşımpaşa. Evliya Çelebi also found the bridge of the Ağa worthy of mention in his accounts. The bridge at the Arsenal Gate was a one-arched bridge and open to everyone. Moreover, there were eleven wooden bridges that crossed the Piyale Paşa stream (please see Piyale Paşa Mosque). All the way up from the bridge of the Cuma Pazarı quarter of Kasımpaşa on the stream of Şeyh to the garden of Hacı Ahmed[13], there were seventeen bridges close to the water level, available only for pedestrian use. All the bridges were fastened with fetters and chains (Evliya Çelebi 126b).

Evliya Çelebi described seven bazaars in the Kasımpaşa district: the Friday Bazaar, the Bazaar of Kasımpaşa, Piyale Paşa, the tailors', Kulaksız, the tanners', *debbağ,* and the bazaar of the dockyard (Evliya Çelebi 126b). None of the other sources indicate the location of these bazaars. The bazaar of Piyale Paşa and Kulaksız must have been located in the quarters of Piyale Paşa and Kulaksız. However Evliya Çelebi wrote that Piyale Paşa built a bazaar close to the mosque of Piyale Paşa (Evliya Çelebi 125b). The bazaar of the dockyard could be settled in the quarter of the Camii Kebir by the arsenal, since the dockyard of Meyyit was the main dockyard of the Kasımpaşa disrict.

[13] The stream of Şeyh and the garden of Hacı Ahmed could not be located. Yet, Evliya Çelebi could have refered to the stream going up to Piyale Paşa Mosque and the garden of Hacı Ahmed could be one of the gardens on the side of this stream.

The Kasımpaşa district was famous for its white ring-shaped small rolls of bread, *gevrek;* white rolls of bread in the shape of a ring, *simit;* and round cakes often sweetened and made with butter, *yağlı çörek* **(Figure 27).** The district was also famous with its reddish peaches, *papa şeftalisi,* apricot, *şirin kameri kayısı,* grapes of Cem Şah and Damascus, roses of Bosnalı Dede, yogurt with cream and meat of the well-fed fleshy sheep (Evliya Çelebi 127a).

Those gardens were also depicted in the maps of Istanbul. In the Louis XIV plans of Istanbul **(Figure 48)**, "vignea dea greca – wines of the Greek goddess" is written underneath the arsenal area to the north.

The naval arsenal also played an important role for the artisans of the Kasımpaşa district and in its demographics. Some of the shops served the needs of private boat construction. A few of the shops that could sell equipments such as the caulkers, rope makers, sail and mast producers and iron ateliers were in the service of the naval arsenal. There were even nomadic gypsies who lived there, who were reputed to be skilled ironwork (Mantran 1990: 2.7).

Because of the professional job opportunities in and around the arsenal and the constant need for manpower, the Kasımpaşa district welcomed Georgians, Abkhasians of North Caucasia, and the above-mentioned gypsies. People from Anatolia and Laz people from the Black Sea region migrated to the imperial capital and benefited from various jobs provided by the Kasımpaşa workshops, including in boat construction (Mantran 1990:2. 25-26).

According to Kömürciyan, there were also Jewish people in the district. Kömürciyan wrote that the houses of the Jewish people were built along the shore and had shops on their ground floors. Then, he continued describing the feasts cooked in these houses and wrote that fish was served for the guests (Kömürciyan 17).

The third group that constituted the residents of Kasımpaşa was the members of the Sufi brotherhood. According to Evliya Çelebi, these dervishes wore stout coarse woolen clothes. They spent most of their time praying. Their wives were very modest and wore more conservative clothes than other residents (Evliya Çelebi 127a).

Evliya Çelebi claimed that there were seven primary schools and three schools for reciting the Quran, *dar'ül'kurra* that served the Georgian people and others. There were nearly twenty thousand dervish lodges in the service of the Halveti, Celveti, Uşşaki and Mevlevi orders in Kasımpaşa (Evliya Çelebi 126a). Although there could not have been twenty thousand dervish lodges in the district, Evliya Çelebi's remark does provide evidence that there was a substantial number of different dervish orders that resided in the Kasımpaşa district.

Evliya Çelebi also wrote about the promenades, *mesire yerleri,* in the Kasımpaşa district, which were used as recreation areas to socialize. The first one was the promenade of Tirendazlar in Okmeydanı, which was built by Mehmed II in order to practice archery. According to Evliya Çelebi, idols were removed from the St. Sophia and placed in this promenade as targets. Evliya Çelebi also wrote about the promenade of Ayazma, which was in the center of the district. This promenade

was not reconstructed, but surrounded by trees. The promenade of Hasan Karlığı was a popular recreation area for archery. Most of the men arranged times to meet regularly and enjoy their conversations outside of the city. This promenade had a spring. The promenade of Pota Yeri was a gathering place for thousands of archers to meet each Friday and practice their skills. This promenade had three fountains. The promenade of Divardar Fountain was also located in Okmeydanı. The fountain of Divardar was surrounded by big plane trees and people used to enjoy their conversations under the shade of these trees. The promenade of Piyale Paşa was surrounded by walls, like a castle. All the craftsmen would go there to show their respect in a ritual to the leader of Piyale Paşa dervish lodge.[14] The promenade of Hacı Ahmed Bostani was famous for its delicious fruits. Hacı Ahmed Bostani was a member of the Uşşaki order and the gardener of his own garden. The promenade of Dede Bostani was the promenade built by Sufi Şeyh of Abdi Dede. Trees surrounded the promenade of Kurd Çelebi, and Evliya Çelebi referred to the garden there as a heaven (Evliya Çelebi 126a-126b). Evliya Çelebi mentioned that there were many promenades that he did not document individually. Hence, the documentation of the above-mentioned promenades shows that most of the patrons of the mosques and the şeyhs of the lodges also built promenades. The residents of the district socialized in these recreation areas, either by practicing archery or gathering for social occasions such as showing their respect to the şeyh in rituals.

[14] … cümle ehl-i hiref anda halife revane edüp sahib-i post ederler (Evliya Çelebii 126a).

## 2.4. Conclusion

In the district of Kasımpaşa, the arsenal officials and arsenal workers populated the quarters surrounding the arsenal. Kasımpaşa was founded by a grand vizier but enlarged its borders through the hinterlands of Istanbul along with the expansion of the arsenal. Since there were a total of thirty-six mosques accounted for either by Ayvansarayi or Evliya Çelebi, it is clear that the quarters of Kasımpaşa were dominated by Muslims. Hence, the existence of the dervish lodges and their social impact created a greater Islamic presence in the district. The demographical dominance of Muslims in the quarters and the existence of the dervish lodges also affected the types of trade that were conducted in the district. Although the arsenal officials and workers liked to drink wine, Kasımpaşa lacked in taverns. This could be because of the social and residential setting of Kasımpaşa.

First, the arsenal expanded along the northern shore from Galata to Hasköy. This expansion also blocked the use of the land by sea. This topographical expansion of the arsenal may have prevented taverns from being built along that shore. Instead of building taverns in the inner parts of Kasımpaşa, where no one could benefit from the view of the Golden Horn, the tavern owners may have preferred to locate their establishments in other places along the shore, such as the districts of Hasköy, Piri Paşa and Sütlüce.

Second, since the taverns could not be built along the shore as it was blocked by the arsenal, they should have been built in the inner parts. However, the more conservative setting of the district due to the dervish lodges could also have prevented the establishment of the taverns. As a result, tavern owners took

advantage of the vacant areas of the vineyards in the districts of Hasköy, Piri Paşa and Sütlüce and established their taverns in those parts of the northern shore.

In the seventeenth century, the Kasımpaşa district was also populated by the congregation of the mosques commissioned by patrons either related to the arsenal or to dervish lodges. Most of these lodges could have lost their occupancy and importance in later periods. For example, according to Evliya Çelebi, the mosque of Sinan Paşa had a lodge that belonged to the Halveti order (Evliya Çelebi 125b). Yet Ayvansarayi did not mention the existence of a lodge in the eighteenth century. Another example is the mosque of Kulaksız. According to Evliya Çelebi, the dervish lodge of the mosque was affiliated with the Ümmi Sinani order (Evliya Çelebi 126a), while Ayvansarayi does not mention a dervish lodge within the mosque complex. When the seventeenth century is considered in the light of the patronage of Muslim şeyhs coming from various Sufi orders, it is possible to argue that the significance of these lodges started to wane in the later periods.

However, it is important to study the connection between the congregation of these lodges and the arsenal workers. These Sufi lodges might have supplied the arsenal workers and naval officers with accommodation, as they sailed most of the year. Consequently, it has been believed that most of the sailors were very superstitious and/or religious and paid great attention to rituals. These lodges could have been welcoming toward the religious needs of these sailors and provided pleasant and safe accommodation during their short-term stays.

When the map of the mosque distribution based on their construction dates is examined (**Figure 25**), it is apparent that the mosques built in the sixteenth century

were built either along the Galata walls extending to the north or along the arsenal border. Two exceptions to this distribution are the mosques of Küçük Piyale Paşa and Piyale Paşa, both built by the same patron in the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

For the construction of the Piyale Paşa Mosque, Piyale Paşa constructed a canal from an hour's distance at the arsenal up to the vacant area. This canal did not only provide transportation but also enabled the construction of multi-storey houses with gardens and vineyards aligned on the sides of this canal. When first built, the canal urbanized the northeastern parts of Kasımpaşa to be used by wealthy people who could afford large mansions with gardens and vineyards.

In the seventeenth century, when Evliya Çelebi visited the site, the canal was inaccessible to boats and abandoned. According to Evliya Çelebi, the reason for the canal being abandoned was that it was not cleaned frequently enough to keep the debris of rainwater from flooding into the canal after Piyale Paşa's death (Evliya Çelebi 125b).

The reason for the canal's being abandoned could also be the result of a quickly urbanizing area no longer needing a canal running. When the map of the mosque distribution based on their construction dates is examined (**Figure 25**), one can easily realize how quickly the inner parts of the district were filled with mosques and, as a result, with the households of the congregations of these mosques. This urban move could have benefitted the canal, and the extension of the Kozludere.

When viewed as a governmental urban project, the construction of the Piyale Paşa mosque caused a large-scale urban tranformation of Kasımpaşa, transforming the gardens, vineyards and vast areas into new neighborhoods offering permanent residence to its citizens.

The reason for this transformation could also be related to the increasing demands for accommodation, as the population of the arsenal reached its peak in the seventeenth century. Although it is known from the chroniclers that the lodges located in the Kasımpaşa district were actively used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they could have lost their occupancy because of the transformation of the urban setting of Kasımpaşa. Naval and arsenal workers as well as officials might have started settling down permanently in these new neighborhoods, instead of staying at the lodges for short terms.

However, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, naval commanders kept on renovating the mosques that were built by *şeyhs*. Also, some of the naval commanders were buried in the cemeteries of these lodges, suggesting that these officials were a part of the lodge congregation. In order to understand how the arsenal and these lodges are related to each other, the *vakfiyes*, personal accounts, as well as tombstones related to these lodges need to be studied further.

# CHAPTER 3

# HASKÖY

Hasköy is one of the districts on the northern shore of Golden Horn. It is bordered by Piri Paşa, and Sütlüce on the north, Halıcıoğlu on the northwest, and Kasımpaşa on the east. Piripaşa is at the center of present-day Hasköy **(Figure 28).**

## 3.1.History of Hasköy

In the fifth and sixth centuries, Byzantine elites began to build their summer residences in the area of Hasköy, and the district started to gain fame. The ancient name of Hasköy, Pikridion, originated from the monastery of Ionnes Pikridios. The first account of Pikridion was about a rebellion of Nica in 532 (İstanbul Ansiklopedisi 4:10, Göncüoğlu 19).[15] According to the nineteenth century *Constantiniade*, Hasköy was called the "village of Arabant" or "Arabind" referring

[15] There are no references given by Göncüoğlu in his book.

to Aravinthos, a Byzantine elite who built a small palace on the lands of Hasköy in the Byzantine period. His name was also mentioned in the Nica Rebellion (Constantiniade 157).

Although there is no detailed information about the monasteries of Hasköy, it is known that there were a few located in the district. In the sixth century, the monastery of Eftihiui, also known as the monastery of Likaonus, located in the Kiremitçi region of Hasköy, was registered to the patriarchy. This monastery was located next to the church of Agia Lavrentios, which was across the gate of Ayvansaray. The church of Agia Lavrentios was built by Justinian I in the sixth century (Skarlatos II.5, as cited in Göncüoğlu 98).

Another monastery that existed in Hasköy was the monastery of Agia Pandeleimon, which was built by Theodora, the wife of Emperor Theophilos in 813. It must have been affiliated with the church of Agia Pandeleimon (Göncüoğlu 19). The church of Agia Pandeleimon, which was located between Aynalıkavak and Hasköy, was restored by Justinian I in the sixth century and used as an armory depot in the eighth century. Although the foundations of this church were found in the 1891 excavations, nothing remains from the church today (Acemoğlu 89). Janin has suggested that Emperor Michael III (847-867) used to hunt in Hasköy (Janin 391).

The church of Antimios was located on the former lands of Humbarahane, which was established in the eighteenth century for producing grenades. It was built by Justinian I in the sixth century as a monastery and a church (Skarlatos II.2 as cited in Göncüoğlu 98) (see **Figure 29** for the approximate locations of the holy springs in Hasköy).

In 1147, Hasköy was the residential area for Emperor Manuel Komnenos I's household and used for hunting and recreation (Göncüoğlu 19).

According to Pierre Gilles, a chronicler of the late sixteenth century, the neighborhood was called St. Pereskevi, suggesting that the church of Agia Pereskevi had given its name to the larger environs. Although we do not know the exact date of the church, Janin has suggested that it dates to the Byzantine era because the Christians did not have the right to build places of worship in the sixteenth century (Janin 391).

The church of Pereskevi was the burial place of the Patriarchs. At least, six of them were identified as bishops and were Fenerian dignitaries of a high status. At the end of the seventeenth century, the governor, *hospodar,* of Wallachia, Constantin Bassarab Brancoveanu, made an important donation for the restoration of the building. Other Wallachian families like the Lahovary of Radula had many of their family members buried there (Janin 391). According to the Patriarch Constantios, some of the sculptures that once decorated the, bathhouse, *hamam*[16]*,* and other Byzantine buildings, were kept in the church of Agia Pereskevi. Unfortunately, the Europeans took these sculptures in the late eighteenth century (Constantiniade 157). The seventeenth century donation and use of the graveyard at the Church of Pereskevi show that there was both an interest and development in Hasköy during this era.

An Ottoman legend about Hasköy provides another possibility about the etymology of this district. According to this legend, the name comes from the

[16] Neither the name of the bathhouse, nor its location are mentioned in Constantiniade.

transformation of the legendary cypress trees to imperial garden, a *hasbahçe,* of the arsenal.

Other sources suggest that the name of the Hasköy district comes from the church of Agia Paraskevi, which was called "Parasköy." In later periods, Parasköy may have been transformed into Hasköy.

Recounted by Evliya Çelebi, an urban myth of Hasköy from the time of the conquest of Istanbul considered the cypress trees around the location called *Çemşirlik havuzu* (also called Çamaşırlık Havuzu by Evliya Çelebi) (Evliya Çelebi 124b). Mehmed II allegedly set up his imperial tent, *otağı,* in Hasköy before the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul and distributed booty to the soldiers. During this campaign, Mehmed II himself is reported to have planted seven cypress trees in Hasköy, and Akşemseddin, the tutor of Mehmed II, planted two more. According to the myth, the trees planted by Akşemseddin grew taller and faster than the others and were white instead of green. Then, Mehmed II ordered another twelve thousand to be planted at the same location. Later on, this garden became the garden of the arsenal (Atasoy 43-44). Thus, Hasköy was not a residential district until the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Mantran 2001: 226).

The first building that was registered to the *hasbahçe* of the arsenal date to Ahmed I's reign. According to a document, Ahmed I restored some of the buildings in the *hasbahçe* in 1612.[17] This information suggests that there were already some buildings before 1612 used by the *hasbahçe* visitors. According to Na'ima, Ahmed I, who enjoyed this garden very much, ordered a palace to be built in the *hasbahçe*,

[17] BOA, MAD No. 3780, p.75 as cited in Alarslan 61

which later would become the Tersane Sarayı, also known as Aynalıkavak Kasrı. In the winter of 1614, the construction of the palace ended, and Ahmed I could not wait for the summer. After making a long and uncomfortable journey, Ahmed I came to rest in the palace for a few days (Atasoy 43-45, Na'ima 651). During his stay, Ahmed I ordered various vegetations to be planted in the garden, and many of the *ulema* presented him seeds of rare species (Şehsuvaroğlu 161).

Two years after the completion of the palace, in 1616, Şehzade İbrahim was born at the palace and spent his life there taking care of both the buildings and the gardens extensively (Alarslan 62). According to Na'ima, Sultan Ibrahim demolished the high walls of the palace in 1647 and ordered boats not to pass in front of the palace. Although the shorter walls enabled the harem section to have a larger and wider panoramic view of the Golden Horn, İbrahim's order precluding the boats from passing by the palace caused much inconvenience for people. As a result, the order was withdrawn (Na'ima 162).

Upon Sultan İbrahim's death, the palace was not used very actively. Although Mehmed IV restored some of the buildings in 1668, a fire destroyed the major buildings in 1677 (Öner 13).

According to Silahtar, Mehmed IV, who restored the palace after the fire, was welcomed with a festival that lasted for three days and nights. For this important occasion, a long procession of artisans and tradesmen were held. Those who wanted to take place in the procession rented boats, built kiosks on them and sailed from Galata to the Tersane Sarayı, performing various spectacles. Mehmed IV watched the procession from his kiosk of Tersane Sarayı (Silahtar 660-61). The miniature

painting of the Tersane Sarayı printed in the *Mecmua-i Eser* of Gazneli Mahmud, which was presented to Mehmed IV in 1685, is the only known seventeenth century representation of the palace **(Figure 30).** Furthermore, the kiosks of the Tersane Sarayı served the visitors who wanted to watch the performance of acrobat Şahin. Şahin performed on ropes tied to the tower of Fenerkapısı and the port of Şahkulu, located on the west of the palace garden (Silahtar 112) **(See the locations of the ports on Figure 20).** The port of Şahkulu was located to the east of Aynalıkavak Palace.

The circumcision festival of Ahmed III's sons (Süleyman, Mehmed, Mustafa and Bayezid) took place around the Golden Horn, and the sultan watched the festivities from his kiosk in the Aynalıkavak Palace. Levni depicted this festival in the *Surname-i Vehbi* in 1727 (Renda 1977: 35). The page depicting the performance of the acrobats on the Golden Horn is one of the most fascinating pages of Levni's work, which provides a detailed illustration of the palace and the performances (Renda 2006: 267). On folio 93a, the rope is tied to a tree behind the port of Şahkulu as it used to be done in the seventeenth century (Atıl 39, 40) **(Figures 31 and 32).** The depiction also suggests that the arsenal and the garden of Aynalıkavak Palace were separated by walls surrounding each of the units.

In the eighteenth century, the Tersane Sarayı was enlarged with additional buildings constructed by Ahmed III in 1726 (Çelebizade Asım 427-428).

### 3.2. Demographical Information

In Evliya Çelebi's words, Hasköy, on top of being called as Hasköy (royal village) was exceptionally beautiful district and had a cheerful atmosphere (Evliya Çelebi 1: 317-318). Hasköy was also among the one hundred six recreation areas counted by Evliya Çelebi (Mantran 2001: 271). It had nearly three thousand multi-storeyed mansions with gardens, many facing the Golden Horn. People grew lemons and bitter oranges in some of the vegetable gardens. Especially lemons and pomegranates were grown in the gardens of the Jewish residents by the name of Küpelioğulları, Mordakay, Nesim and Kemal, and the peaches cultivated by the young Jewish family members were very delicious. The scented apple juice of the Jew Küpeli and the Muscat wine of the Greek Tiryandafile were very popular, as the grapes grown in these gardens were as good as the grapes grown in Bozcaada in the Sea of Marmara (Evliya Çelebi 124a-124b).

Besides the mansions, pavilions, vegetable fields and gardens of the valleys of Hasköy, there was the Papaz İskelesi (priest port) on the shore, used frequently by Armenians to go to Balat. Armenians constituted a minority of the resident population. Kömürciyan also explained that there were religious sites belonged to Armenians in Hasköy (Kömürciyan 32).

There was a Greek holy spring and a sanctuary dedicated to Aghia Pereskevi, visited by Greeks, as well as Muslims coming from various parts of Istanbul. As discussed earlier, whether this holy spring was identified with the church or not, it was clear that this sanctuary gained fame with its healing miracles. However, the Jewish residents of Hasköy were not happy about its popularity and many visitors.

According to Kömürciyan, they made many attempts to reduce this popularity. Their attempts failed to succeed. According to Kömürciyan, their discomfort intensified as the numbers of Muslim visitors offering their vows to a Christian saint, Aghia Paraskevi, increased (Kömürciyan 32). Kömürciyan did not write what exactly the Jewish residents did to reduce the fame of the sanctuary. Yet, we know that Hasköy was a stronghold for Karaite Jews to fight against Rabbinaic Jews upon their independence in the community. The Greeks, whose districts attracted more attention than the Jewish quarters, might have intruded in the Jewish quarters.

The Jews had a cemetery close to the church of Aghia Paraskevi (Kömürciyan 32). [18] The Hasköy cemetery was opened to service in 1582 (Rozen 59-60). Evliya Çelebi describes this cemetery as white pebble stones on the heights of Hasköy. A cemetery that looks like pebbles stones on the heights of Hasköy is also recognizable in the representations of Istanbul **(Figure 33).** There were no other cemeteries in Istanbul, and Jews carried their deceased even from Galata and Üsküdar to hold their funeral services in Hasköy. In the mid-seventeenth century, due to this persistence the rabbi of Istanbul let the Jewish community build new cemeteries around Istanbul with the permission of the judge, *kadı* (Evliya Çelebi 1: 318).

The Greek holy spring of Aghia Paraskevi is also mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, and he called it İne Ayazma. According to him, whoever caught temporary malaria would be healed by drinking from and being washed seven times in the holy spring water. Indeed, Evliya Çelebi was one of the witnesses who had an unusual

[18] Jews settled in Hasköy even before the Ottoman occupation and the Hasköy cemetery behind Halıcıoğlu exists from the Byzantine period onwards.

experience at this holy spring. One Saturday night, Evliya Çelebi emerged in divine love in the Hasköy cemetery and cried out "Come my fortune, come."[19] A large Gul-i beyabani[20] appeared to him, and Evliya Çelebi, calling and crying "Ya, Hafız", ran to the holy spring and hid. Then he lost consciousness. He thought no one else could have experienced so intensely what he experienced that night (Evliya Çelebi 124b).

The holy church and spring of Aghia Pereskevi was very close to the Hasköy cemetery. It was located on Ayazma Altı Street of present-day Hasköy. According to Kömürciyan, the Jewish community was not happy about the popularity of a Greek sanctuary so close to their religiously important neighborhood. As a result of being the dominant population in the neighborhood, they might have been annoyed by the intrusion of other religious groups. Yet, the sanctuary of Aghia Pereskevi was located in Hasköy centuries before Hasköy became a settlement mainly dominated by Jewish residents. It is interesting to find a Muslim traveler, Evliya Çelebi, visiting a Jewish cemetery and hiding in a Greek sanctuary after seeing a Gul-i beyabani, an Islamicized demon character. One wonders why Evliya Çelebi went to a Jewish cemetery to call his fortune while emerged in divine love on a Saturday night. According to the Karaite tradition, everyone must stay at home on Saturdays, and even the tombkeepers would not go to the cemetery. Why Evliya Çelebi chose a

[19] I do not exactly know what Evliya Çelebi refers to when he says "aşk aleminde iken" I translated it as "being emerged in divine love." This could also refer to real love and he might be in love with somebody, suffering from the pain of love, too. Referring to how he mentions the tasteful wines of Hasköy, there is also the possibility of him being drunk, although he mentions in his memoirs that he never drinks alcohol.

[20] Gul-i beyabani refers to a demon supposed to trick and destroy travelers in Redhouse.

night when no Jewish resident would be visiting the cemetery is another question to ponder.

### 3.2.A.a. The Jews of Hasköy

Hasköy is mentioned by both Kömürciyan (32) and Evliya Çelebi (1: 317-318) as an area populated predominantly by Jewish people. Although the Karaite Jews were more dominant in Hasköy, by the seventeenth century the Jewish community had became even larger and more influential with the arrival of newcomers such as the Romaniots, Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews migrating from other lands (Rozen 57-91).

Although there were the congregations of the Romaniots, Ashkenazis and Sephardic Jews in Hasköy, it is important to note that the Jewish sect known as *Karaite,* inhabited the district in the Byzantine period starting from the end of the eighth century (Zajackowski 36). According to Ankori, Karaites arrived at Byzantine lands in the ninth and tenth centuries, yet there was no migration in vast numbers before the tenth century (Ankori 84-85, 152).

#### 3.2.A.a.1. Karaism and Karaites

The Karaite sect separated from Rabbinical Judaism in the eighth century. According to Rabbinical Judaism, the Talmud and other works interpreted from the Torah were taken as the source of Judaism, and Jewish laws were produced

accordingly. Yet, Anan Ben David, one of the dignitaries of the Talmud School of Babylon, established the Karaite sect in Babylon, rejecting some parts of the Talmud, which was the record of Jewish laws and customs. The Karaite sect only believed in the Torah and took the teachings of the Torah as the main source for their religion. Hence, they rejected Rabbinical Judaism, which had formed a Jewish tradition and sanctions throughout the centuries. According to the Karaite sect, the teachings of the Talmud could not be relied on, since it consisted of the personal interpretations of the Rabbis. Hence, they considered the plain text of the Torah as the only source to form the teachings of their sect (Sevilla-Sharon 106-08).

After the establishment of the Karaite sect in the eighth century, it started to spread the other Jewish sects of İsavi, Yudgani, Tseduki and Botusi, which already had Islamic tendencies. This was also the time when the Karaites arrived on Byzantine territory (Zajaczkowski 36). Anan Ben David's movement of establishing a new sect within the Jewish community was referred to as a reformist movement, which caused many disagreements between the Rabbinate and the Karaite communities (Sevilla-Sharon 106).

Reforming the Jewish customs under a new sect, Anan Ben David changed the customs of the circumcision ceremony, the days of the fast, and the Shabbat celebrations. With these major changes in the customs, which were set by the Ten Commandments of Judaism, Anan Ben David, and thus the Karaite sect, opposed Rabbinical Judaism (Sevilla-Sharon 106).

It was not only the missionaries that enlarged the Karaite sect. In the eighth century, the Kingdom of Khazar in Southern Russia converted to Judaism. Koestler

has suggested that this conversion to Judaism was a very political decision for the Khazars who were under the pressure of Islam and Christianity. The positive relations between the Caspians and the Byzantine Empire caused many Karaite Jews to migrate to Constantinople (Koestler 67-85, Runciman 53-54, Zajaczkowski 19) (See further discussion on the Khazar conversion to Judaism below).

In the ninth century, Binyamin Nihavendi strengthened the Karaite doctrine in Nihavendi, a city in the south of Persia. Binyamin Nihavendi coined the term "karaşte"to refer to the sect of Anan Ben David. In the tenth century, Karaite scholars started to write down their customs and document their teachings. Since the sect was settled in Persia and its surroundings, most of the scripts were written in Arabic (Sevilla-Sharon 107).

In the eleventh century, the missionaries of the Karaite sect became active in western countries. In Spain, Sidi ibn Altaras, one of the missionaries of the Karaite sect, enlarged the member of followers. After Sidi ibn Altaras died, his wife continued their mission to enlarge the Karaite sect. This enlargement exasperated the Rabbinic Jews and caused the Kingdom of Castile to expel the Karaites. As a result, the Karaites moved to Constantinople, influencing many people around them (Sevilla-Sharon 107).

In the Byzantine period, the Karaites and the Rabbinic Jews had good relations (Sevilla-Sharon 107-08). Yet, good relations did not necessarily mean that the Rabbinic Jews accepted the Karaites in their community. Danon has suggested that in the Byzantine period, especially during the messianic movements in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, both the Karaites and the Rabbinic Jews

suffered from restrictive rules against Jews, such as being forbidden to ride on horseback, and being banned from civil and military offices. Furthermore, Jews were treated very badly, and Greeks generally insulted the people of the two sects (Danon 291). Since the Rabbinate and the Karaites were assimilated into Greek culture and exposed to cruel behavior, the good relations between them might be a result of sharing the same grim destiny in Byzantine life.

Although the Karaites and the Rabbinates could not continue to pursue their interest in poetry, literature and science during the late eleventh century, the Karaites of Constantinople started to translate Karaite writings into Turkish (Danon 291-92, Sevilla-Sharon 107).

In the thirteenth century, Byzantium became the center of the Karaite sect, and one of the most important Torah experts, Joseph ha-Rofe, lived in Constantinople in the thirteenth century. Joseph ha-Rofe wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch and contributed liturgy to the Karaite sect. In the early fourteenth century, Aaron Ben Elijah of Nicomedia (1300-1369) took the name of *Maimonides,* after the Jewish philosopher and theologian who had lived in the thirteenth century, and he became famous for his contributions to Karaite literature (Danon 290-96, Sevilla-Sharon 107).

Even the Rabbinates respected and followed the works of Karaite scholars. Yet this situation changed after the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul. Jews from Spain were welcomed in the Ottoman city in the fifteenth century, and by the sixteenth century Jewish culture was transformed under the influence of these newcomers. Jewish schools and synagogues were established in the Ottoman cities. Karaites and

Rabbinates cooperated with each other in these schools, and Rabbinate scholars accepted Karaite scholars to Rabbinate schools (Sevilla-Sharon 107-08).

### 3.2.A.a.2. The Khazar conversion to Judaism and its effects in Istanbul

The conversion of the Khazars has attracted scholars' attention for years, and the lack of careful study and sources has caused much confusion about how the Khazars accepted Judaism (Kuzgun 96). For example, Kutschera has suggested that the majority of Eastern Europe countries were Jewish, relying on the assumption that Khazars accepted Judaism in the eighth century (Kutschera 209). This conversion also caused other theories to surface, such as Poliak and Koestler's suggestion that the majority of the Jewish population originated from the Khazar conversion (Koestler 16-17), or Grayzel's suggestion that the Jews of Eastern Europe were a combination of those coming from Khazar and European countries (Grayzel 445).

Furthermore, the lack of reliable sources has caused another problem in understanding the Khazar conversion. On the one hand, the rabbinic sources suggest that Khazars were accepted as Rabbinic Jews, as they believed in the Talmud. On the other hand, Karaite Jews suggested that the Khazars belonged to the Karaite sect, since they only believed in the Torah and did not accept the laws of the Talmud (Kuzgun 97).

Rabbi Petahyah of Regensburg, a twelfth century traveler, wrote that the Jews he had met in Khazar prepared all the food and the bread for the weekend holiday

the night before and ate their meals in the dark without leaving their seats for the whole day (Ankori 61-62). Although it is not possible to understand which sect those Jews he met belonged to, this tradition accounted by Rabbi Petahyah was a Karaite tradition for the holiday suggesting that most of the Khazars practiced Karaite rituals. Hence, they must have considered themselves Karaites (Kuzgun 115).

Whether Khazars accepted Rabbinic Judaism or Karaism, it is important to note that Rabbinic Jews and Karaites always lived together. At first, there were eighty Karaite congregations located in the Byzantine Empire, both in Trace and Anatolia. After the conquest of Edirne, *Adrianople*, by Murat I in 1361, the city became the center for Karaite Jews in the Balkans (Şişman 99). The Ottoman conquest of Istanbul extended the migration of Karaites to Istanbul. Khazar Jews also started to migrate to Istanbul after the conquest and settled down in Hasköy (Avramoğlu 33-34). There was also a Karaite congregation residing in the neighborhood that later in the seventeenth century became the site of the Yeni Camii (Karaşemsi 28). In the twelfth century, Karaites inhabited *Karayköy*, the village of the Karaites, which later transformed into Karaköy. Binyamin me Tudela, a twelfth century Jewish chronicler, visited Constantinople and wrote that nearly five hundred Karaites were living in Karayköy (Binyamin me Tudela 24, as cited in Sevilla-Sharon).

Although the various Jewish congregations in the different districts did not suggest the nationality and the origins of the Karaites in Istanbul, undoubtedly, Jewish and Khazar migrations to Istanbul caused the union of the city's Khazar Jews

and Karaites (Kuzgun 173). As a result of this union and the good relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Crimea, Crimean Karaites were taking care of the Karaite congregation and sites of Istanbul for centuries (Şişman 101-102).

### 3.2.A.b. The Karaites and Rabbinic Jews of Hasköy

The Ottoman conquest of Istanbul was an important change for the Jews as well as the Karaite sect. Since Jews were treated badly during the Byzantine Empire, the Karaites started to centralize themselves as a community, relying on Mehmed II's welcoming attitude toward other religions. Mehmed II, eager to increase the population of the new Ottoman capital, moved the Karaite Jews of Edirne to Istanbul, along with other groups of Muslims, Jews and Christians from other provinces, and established the Karaite congregation in Hasköy (Danon 299-34). In 1492, Bayezid II relocated some of the Sephardic Jews who had escaped from the Spanish Inquisition in Hasköy (Rozen 57-91). Thus, Hasköy became a central neighborhood for other Jewish congregations as well as Karaite Jews by the early sixteenth century.

According to Document Sixty-one, Danon has suggested that Mehmed II granted an ancient temple in Hasköy to the custody of the Karaites (Danon 299). However, Danon did not clarify what the suggested temple was. It is possible that it was a synagogue already built by the Karaites who had moved to Istanbul in the Byzantine period, and that Mehmed II gave permission to the Karaite sect to conduct their religious services in that synagogue.

The members of the Karaite sect were individually registered to the civil state registers, *sicil kayıtları,* which could be an indication of the independent position of the Karaite Jews of Hasköy with respect to the Rabbinate community of Istanbul (Danon 299).

The small group of Karaites that had been transplanted from Edirne was also referred to as the Karaites of Edirne, *Adrianople*. They were recorded under the same name in the Rabbinate congregation of Istanbul. Although, the Karaite community of Istanbul increased with the arrival of new Karaite Jews from Asia, the South of Poland and the Crimea; between 1550 to 1570, the population was approximately thirty to forty households (Document 80 as cited in Danon 299-344).

Although the Karaite population was more populous in Hasköy, after the conquest of Istanbul and the Spanish inquisition in the fifteenth century, the Rabbinic Jews started to settle down in Istanbul, as well as in Hasköy, in large numbers (Nemoy 317 as cited in Kuzgun 170).

According to Mantran, the Ottoman officials required these Jewish communities to be settled in one particular neighborhood to facilitate stricter control of these groups. Grouping the Jews in one neighborhood could have allowed non-Muslims to feel more secure in their own communities, rather than having to absorb them into predominantly Muslim neighborhoods. Mantran states that the religious leaders of these communities were responsible to the Ottoman officials, and non- Muslims gathered in their neighborhoods for religious services. Hence, the newcomers from other districts of Istanbul were welcomed in the community of Hasköy. By the late seventeenth century, these non-Muslim communities started to be referred to as

minorities, *azınlık*; and the term *azınlık* became widespread in the eighteenth century (Mantran 2001: 224).

Many of the conflagrations in Istanbul in the seventeenth century destroyed the areas where Jews resided on the southern shore of the Golden Horn, causing many of them to be transferred to other neighborhoods. At the Şuhud Gate, the fire in 1569, also called the Jewish or Çıfıt Gate, on the Eminönü side of the Golden Horn ruined the Jewish quarters, causing the loss of their houses and businesses. Ottoman officials transferred the residents of these areas to Hasköy by 1598 as part of the construction of Yeni Valide Mosque (Rozen 57-91, Thys-Şenocak 188-190). Relocating the Jews to Hasköy provided a neighborhood to Islamicize by the construction of the mosque. Jews also took advantage of tax exemptions that were offered as part of this imposed transfer (Mantran 2001: 258, Thys-Şenocak 189).

As a result of this increase in population throughout the seventeenth century, Jews also played a major role in commerce. They ran shops and various markets creating revenue for the Ottoman Empire. Settling in many quarters especially by the shores and docks, they controlled the goods passing through the customhouses. They gathered revenue not only from the major ports of Istanbul or Gallipoli, but also from the smaller ports such as Hasköy (Epstein 1: 104).

The Jewish traveler Samuel Bar David witnessed Karaites living in both Balat and Hasköy in 1642, and an unknown Jewish traveler passing through Istanbul wrote that all the Karaite Jews were moved to Hasköy in 1685 (Mantran 1990: 1.58).

Evliya Çelebi recorded the Karaite population as comprised of more than twenty communities and numbering approximately at seventeen thousand (Evliya Çelebi 124b). The registration of official poll-tax payers, *cizye tahrir defterleri,* recorded the Jewish population of Hasköy as five hundred fifteen in 1691 (Heyd 309-310). This number not only included Karaite Jews, whose communities had resided in this area since the Byzantine era, but also members of other Jewish congregations such as the Romaniot, Sephardic or Ashkenazi Jews (Rozen 57-91).

It is also known that the assimilation of Romaniot Jews by Iberian Jews caused the migration of Romaniots from Samatya to Hasköy. Also, many of the tombstones dated between 1583 and 1647 in the Hasköy cemetery, which had opened to service in 1582, belonged to Ashkenazi Jews. These tombstones also suggest an increase in the numbers of the Ashkenazi residents in Hasköy during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Rozen 59-60). The migration of Romaniot and Ashkenazi Jews from other places also increased the Jewish population of Hasköy during the seventeenth century (Rozen 90).

According to archival documents examined by Danon, the number of Karaite Jews living in Hasköy increased to seventy from forty in 1670 (Danon 299-344). Still, seventy was not a large number out of five hundred fifteen Jews living in this neighborhood. Thus one wonders, what caused the high degree of integration of the Karaite Jews in the Ottoman Empire?

### 3.2.A.c. The Synagogues of Hasköy (Figures 34 and 35)

According to Evliya Çelebi' account, the Jews had seven churches, and twelve synagogue rabbis (Evliya Çelebi 124a-124b). [21] The twelve synagogues that Evliya Çelebi accounted for were documented as fifteen in Danon's study and eleven in Güleryüz's study. Kömürciyan also wrote that Jews had their own bazaar and market places (Kömürciyan 32).

#### The Karaite Synagogue of Kal Ha Kadoş be Kuşta Bene Mikra

In the eighth century, newcomers to Constantinople settled down in Hasköy and built a synagogue, Kal ha Kadoş be Kuşta Bene Mikra, meaning the holy synagogue of the Karaite Jews under the ground (Güleryüz 101-02).

The word Karaite was a deviation of the word *Mikra,* which meant the sacred writings of the Torah. Hence, Karaites were also known as *Baalei La Mikra,* which meant the owners of the Torah, and *Bnei ha Mikra,* which meant the sons of the Torah (Güleryüz 101-02).

In one of David's calls, David said that he had been calling God from the depths of the underground. Karaites, taking David's words literally, builds their synagogues under the ground. Karaites take off their shoes before entering synagogues. Building the synagogues under the ground and taking the shoes off in

[21] "Yedi keniseleri ve oniki sinago hahamları vardır" (Evliya Çelebi 124a). Although Evliya Çelebi gives this information while talking about the Jewish congragation, he could have referred either to the churches or synagogues as "kenise." Also, it is not clear whether he gave the number twelve for the synagogues or the number of the rabbis.

the synagogue were reformed Jewish customs introduced by Anan Ben David (Güleryüz 101-02).

The synagogue Kal ha Kadoş Be Kuşta Bene Mikra, which had been given to Karaite Jews by Mehmed II in Hasköy was an important catalyst for Karaite Jews to declare their independence from the Rabbinate community, as there had been much tension between them and Karaite Jews.

In the seventeenth century they repaired and restored the building. Danon suggests that the restoration and dedication of the synagogue was a result of the Karaite community's conscious attempt to strengthen their independence against the Rabbinates. Thus, the temple in Hasköy symbolized the independence and existence of Karaite Jews not only in the Ottoman Empire but also in the Jewish community (Danon 299-345).

The synagogue was restored in 1536, but burnt down twice in 1729 and 1774. In 1776, it was rebuilt with the help of the Karaites of Crimea and Egypt (Güleryüz 102). When it endured another fire in 1918, a large number of documents and manuscripts were destroyed (Güleryüz 2008: 176).

According to a seventeenth century document examined by Danon, there was another synagogue used by Karaites. This synagogue, located in the Kiremitçi Ahmed Efendi quarter of present-day Hasköy, used to be the house of Moses, father of Mohammed Bey, which was devoted to the Karaite community that had come from *Adrianople*, Edirne. Although the house was used as a synagogue and worked in the service of seventy Karaite Jews residing in Hasköy, Mohammed Bey, who

converted to Islam, claimed his share from the house upon his father's death. As a result of this request, the court of justice prepared a report documenting the house and its belongings. Since the synagogue had not been legally given to the Karaite possession and since it was not an ancient building, the court decided to demolish the building. It is not known whether the court decision was made under political pressure and if the oratory was demolished (Danon 1927: 252-53).

The Karaite community's move to Hasköy, across their former hometown, Balat, after the 1569 fire and the arrival of newcomers throughout the seventeenth century must have strengthened this stronghold of the Karaite community against the Ottoman court and as well as the Rabbinates.

**The synagogue of Cordoba**

The synagogue of Cordoba was built by Sephardic Jews who migrated from Cordoba, a city in Andalusia in southern Spain, after the Spanish Inquisition (Güleryüz 2008: 166).

The synagoue was located in the area surrounded by Baçtar Street and Sürücüler Street.

**The Synagogue of Mayor**

The synagogue of Mayor was built by Jews who migrated from the Mallorcan Islands (Güleryüz 2008: 166). The synagogue was located on the street of Aziz.

According to Avram Galante, Head Rabbi Rafael Şaban had found a document, which suggested that Sultan Mehmed II had given permission to renovate the synagogue. Used as a synagogue until 1962, it lost its religious function because of the descrease in the Jewish population and started to be used as a warehouse (Galante I.48, Göncüoğlu 119).

**The Synagogue of Yeni Mahalle**

Also known as the synagogue of Çıksalın, the synagogue of Yeni Mahalle had a square plan and a wooden structure. During the Second World War, it was used by soldiers for shelter. Located on the street of Tokaç, the synagogue was converted into a private hospital in 1996 (Güleryüz 2008: 166).

This synagogue might have existed in the seventeenth century,[22] and the neighborhood of Yeni Mahalle in Evliya Çelebi' account could have taken its name from the synagogue **(Figure 35).**

**The Synagogue of Sinyora (Ha Giveret)**

The synagogue of Sinyora (Ha Giveret) was named after Dona Gracia Nasi (Güleryüz 2008: 166). Dona Gracia Nasi was a wealthy and powerful Spanish Jew who was born in Portugal in 1524. She was forced to convert to Christianity and became a Marrano, also known as Anusim, people forced to accept Christianity but

[22] Göncüoğlu has suggested that the synagogue was built in the ninth century, but does not give a reference. Güleryüz did not give any information about the construction date of the synagogue.

continuing to practice Judaism secretly during the Spanish Inquisition. Dona Gracia had to flee to Istanbul in 1553 after being denounced by her own sister while helping the Marranos who were trying to flee Portugal. In 1556, Dona Gracia organized a boycott against the city of Ancona, as it was responsible for burning twenty-four Marranos to death after granting them permission to practice Judaism. The synagogue of Sinyora was one of her pious buildings in Istanbul (Scheindlin 128-132).

The synagogue of Sinyora was located in the area surrounded by Küçük Tenekeci Street and Baçtar Street.[23] According to a ferman dated 1803, the neighboring houses were belonged to a Jewish doctor and a Jewish customs commissioner (Göncüoğlu 103). Only a portion of the synagogue walls have survived to our day.

**The synagogue of Naftali**

The synagogue of Naftali was demolished after the big fire in 1908 (Güleryüz 2008: 166). The synagogue was located on the street of Merhamet in the neighborhood of Arabacılar. The construction date is unknown and one cannot say whether it existed in the seventeenth century, given the accounts of the 1908 fire, the synagogue was located in the Arabacılar neighborhood. This location might also

[23] Although I contacted Prof. Naim Güleryüz, I could not receive further information about these synagogues. The approximate locations of the synagogues of Cordoba and Sinyora were marked by Minna Rozen on a 1954 map of Istanbul which she used to evaluate the Hasköy cemetery (Rozen 1994: 9-11).

suggest the location of the Arabacılar neighborhood accounted by Evliya Çelebi (Galante II, Göncüoğlu 119).

**The Synagogue of Parmakkapı**

Located on the street of Mahlül in Hasköy, the construction date of the synagogue is unknown. The earliest document on the topic suggests that the borders of the synagogue dated to 1804. According to the document, the synagogue located in the Jewish neighborhood was bordered by the watermill of Ağa Beyasin and surrounded by two streets (B.O.A. Mühimme Defterleri no 251, 256, 261 as cited in Göncüoğlu 99-100, Galante V.259-260).

Since the neighborhood of Parmakkapı was among the neighborhoods that Evliya Çelebi described, the synagogue must have existed in the seventeenth century.

**The Synagogue of Maalem**

Although the construction date of the synagogue of Maalem is not known, Türkoğlu has suggested that the building dates to the seventeenth century relying on the construction style of the building (Türkoğlu 52). In order to be protected from fires, the synagogue was surrounded with high walls, and there were two gates on the north and south sides of the courtyard (Güleryüz 2008: 166).

### 3.2.A.d. The Establishment and History of the Hasköy Jewish Cemetery

The cemetery of Hasköy was founded in 1582, after the burial ground in Kasımpaşa was destroyed to make room for the arsenal construction and as a result of the development of the district as well. Hence, the government planned to enforce laws to prevent the residents of Kasımpaşa from destroying burial ground. Before these laws were in effect, Jewish community leaders had been searching for other places to establish a new cemetery (Rozen 1992: 9, Rozen 1994: 88-9). According to a document from 1582, the judge of the Eyüp district noted that the Jewish community leader had requested a new burial place in Hasköy long ago from the foundation of Bayezıd Han, who was the owner of the parcel; and the government agreed to let them establish the new cemetery (Rozen 1994: 8). As a result, the uninhabited land beginning from Karlık Harman up to the vineyard of Yorgi, to the land overlooking the garden of Mustafa Ağa was granted as new Jewish burial place (Altınay 80, Galante 5: 52-53).

With the addtion of fifty-four *dönüms* the cemetery had one hundred eighty-two *dönüm*[24] in 1814. As a result of the growing Muslim population and their burial needs, the Muslim community started to use the empty places of the Jewish cemetery. Yet, the cemetery was not used by the Muslims until the twentieth century. Another important and significant intervention to the Jewish cemetery was the *çevreyolu*, the peripheral highway of Istanbul constructed in 1960s, causing the demolition of a large portion of the cemetery (Rozen 1994: 8) **(Figures 36, 37, 38 and 39).**

[24] Dönüm is a unit of land area that valued 1000 square meters.

### 3.2.B. The Muslims of Hasköy

In his accounts, Evliya Çelebi has written that there was only one Muslim neighborhood in Hasköy and neither soup kitchens nor medreses could be found in the neighborhood. Also, Evliya wrote that in Hasköy there was one mosque and two small mosques, one by the port, another by Saraçhane (Evliya Çelebi 124a-124b).

### 3.2.B.a. The Mosques of Hasköy (Figure 40)

#### The Mosque of Piri Mehmed Paşa

One of the mosques mentioned in Evliya Çelebi' account is the Piri Paşa Mosque, also known as the Piri Paşa Mescidi, which was located on the Piri Paşa Street of Hasköy. This mosque was a pious foundation with a single hamam built by the Grand Vizier Piri Mehmed Paşa of Selim I's reign (1512-1520) (Ayvansarayi 1.137). Built in 1520, the Piri Paşa Mosque was located on a second story and had a main dome surrounded by four smaller domes (Ayvansarayi 1.308, Öz 115). Piri Mehmed Paşa founded other mosques, *zaviye*s and medreses, too. His pious donations must have been connected to his relationship with Cemaleddin Aksarayi, a fourteenth century philosopher and theologian (Ayvansarayi 1.137). Piri Mehmed Paşa was a descendant of Cemaleddin Aksarayi and may have inherited his ancestor's interest in writing poetry. He wrote his poems under the penname "Piri" and was buried next to his mosque in Silivri (Öz 115). A şeyh of the Emir Buhari *zaviye* in Ayvansaray, to which Piri Paşa was also related, was buried in the

cemetery of the Piri Paşa Mosque, along with the other religious persons belonging to various zaviyes. The mosque had a quarter(Ayvansarayi 1.137).[25]

In the eighteenth century, a high-ranking official of Mustafa III's reign commissioned the minbar of the mosque to be installed. This action suggests that the arsenal officials's interest in Hasköy continued into the eighteenth century (Ayvansarayi 1.308, Öz 115).

The mosque of Piri Mehmed Paşa was located on the İskele Street; the name has changed to Piri Paşa Hamamı Street across the port of Hasköy. The mosque is not existent today.

In the district of Hasköy, Evliya Çelebi also mentions that there was a bathhouse for the Muslims. It is possible that this bathhouse was built by Piri Mehmed Paşa next to the Piri Paşa Mosque. This bathhouse may have been used by, roof-tile makers, the *kiremitçiler* as Evliya Çelebi describes (Evliya Çelebi 96b).

**The Mosque of Handan Ağa**

The other mosque of Hasköy was the Handan Ağa Mosque, also known as the Kuşkonmaz Mosque or the Kuşkonmaz Mescidi (Öz 67). Handan Ağa, one of the attendants of Mehmed II, built this mosque (Ayvansarayi 1.307). It was constructed of solid masonry and had a wooden roof. It did not have a quarter (Ayvansarayi 1.307, Öz 67).

[25] On the arsenal garden, see Chapter 2.

The mosque was located by the shore, next to the garden of the arsenal (Ayvansarayi 1.307, Öz 67). This was the small mosque by the port mentioned by Evliya Çelebi (Evliya Çelebi 124a). The mosque of Handan Ağa still stands after many renovations throughout the centuries. next to the Camii Street on the Hasköy Caddesi.

According to Hovannesyan, as cited in İnciciyan, a little farther down from the iron-casting workshop along the shore, there was a wooden mosque believed to be built by Mehmed II (İnciciyan 153). The mosque that Hovannesyan wrote about was the Handan Ağa Mosque located by the shore in the arsenal garden, and it was not built by Mehmed II, but built by Handan Ağa in Mehmed II's reign.

In the eighteenth century, one of the high-ranking officials of Ahmed III's reign, Kıblelizade Mehmed Bey rebuilt this mosque; and by Selim III's reign, the mosque had become a part of the arsenal property (Ayvansarayi 1.307). The Handan Ağa mosque stands in the arsenal garden after many renovations throughout the centuries.

**The Mosque of Kiremedçi Ahmed Çelebi**

The third mosque of Hasköy was the Kiremedçi Ahmed Çelebi Mosque (the mosque of the roof-tile maker), built by Ahmed Ağa in 1591 (Öz 90). The chronogram of the minbar's gate recorded that the gatekeeper, *kapıcı*, working at the main gates of the imperial palace, Esadullah Ağa and his wife Ayni Hatun commissioned the minbar to be installed. There were two other names for this

mosque: the Ayni Hatun Mosque and the Kızıl Minare Mosque. The former of these names refers to the person who bequeathed the minbar, Ayni Hatun; the other refers to the red color of its brick minaret (Ayvansarayi 1.307).

Evliya Çelebi has documented this building in his accounts of the district of Piri Paşa. Accoding to Evliya Çelebi, Ayni Hatun was a wealthy woman, and the mosque of Ayni Hatun was used as the main mosque of the Piri Paşa district. Evliya Çelebi also praised the beauty of the thin and elegant minaret of the mosque and claimed that the head of the gatekeepers, *Kapıcılarbaşı,* Arslan Ağa, renovated the building in 1592-93 (Evliya Çelebi 123b). Yet Evliya Çelebi might have been wrong either about the dates or the builders of the mosque. According to Ayvansarayi, Ayni Hatun was not the builder of the mosque, but she was the person who commissioned the minaret. Evliya Çelebi also claimed that the architect was Mimar Sinan (Evliya Çelebi 123b).

The mosque was built of solid masonry and had a raised platform in the interior of a mosque, *mahfil;* the minbar and the roof were made of wood (Öz 90). Kiremidçi Mosque still exists and is located at the intersection of Kalaycı Bahçesi Street and Kırmızı Minare Street in the Hasköy district.

Since the Mosque of Kiremidçi Ahmed Çelebi was considered to be located both in Hasköy and Piri Paşa, the borders of these districts could not be drawn precisely. Hence, the change in the social setting, such as in the areas dominated by the Jewish communities in Hasköy, and in Piri Paşa as an extension of Hasköy caused a social transition from one district to another.

### 3.2.C. The Greeks of Hasköy

According to Evliya Çelebi, Hasköy had two Greek neighborhoods in which there were one hundred taverns, three hundred houses (residences) and three churches that belonged to the Greeks (Evliya Çelebi 124a).

One of the churches had a holy spring, *ayazma*, running under the ground dedicated to Aghia Paraskevi. There was a little cemetery for the Greek residents of Hasköy in the courtyard of this church (İnciciyan 78). Kömürciyan informs us that the sweet taste of the spring healed everyone who was a believer and that many people witnessed the miracles of Aghia Paraskevi at that site (Kömürciyan 32). Documented by Janin, we know that the church of Aghia Pereskevi had a cemetery, and many of the patriarchs were buried there (Janin 391). Evliya Çelebi and İnciciyan mentioned the church of Aghia Pereskevi and the holy spring together.[26] Yet, in other accounts, the holy spring and the church were identified together as both dedicated to the cult of Aghia Pereskevi.

### 3.2.D. The Armenians of Hasköy

There was one Armenian neighborhood with more than six hundred shops with valuable merchandise, but it did not have a covered bazaar. Fifty of these shops were dye houses for tanning (Evliya Çelebi 124a).

[26] Janin indicated that the spring was not to be identified with the sanctuary (Janin 391).

**The Church of Surp Istepanos**

The Church of Surp Istepanos was located on the former street of Bademlik in present-day Halıcıoğlu district where the highway leading to the Golden Horn's third bridge begins. The church was built by Priest Garabed and Gazar in 1163 as a chapel. The church had renovations done in 1703 and 183 (Tuğlacı 81) **(For the location, see Figure 34).**

### 3.2.E. The Quarters of Hasköy

According to Evliya Çelebi, there were ten Jewish quarters in Haköy. These were Hasköy, Parmakkapı, Keçeci Piri, Arabacılar, Kordova, Yeni Mahalle, Şeyh Salih, Kalaycıbahçe, Sarayiko and Piri Paşa (Evliya Çelebi, as cited in Göncüoğlu 2004: 142). The quarters were mostly attributed to the name of the synagogue or a mosque.

## 3.3. Economic and Administrative Setting

Göncüoğlu has suggested that the first settlement in Hasköy was around the Illios stream, which was also known as Kalaycıbahçe. During the Byzantine period, there were ceramic ateliers in the Keramaria quarter in Hasköy, the region around the mosque of Kiremidçi Ahmed, close to the neighborhood of Piri Paşa (Göncüoğlu

20) (see the Piri Paşa section on chapter 4).[27] Ceramic kilns produced bowls and jugs up until the nineteenth century Hasköy (Deleon). While documenting the mines of Istanbul, Evliya Çelebi wrote about the black clay, *tin-i siyah,* mines between the lagoons of Eyüp and Hasköy. This blackish clay collected by divers was used for earthen mugs, bowls or plates (Evliya Çelebi 2: 18b).

According to Evliya Çelebi, the visitors of the bathhouse of Eyüb were sick people. Hence, it was possible that the bathhouse of Hasköy served tile workers, probably coming from Harmanlar[28], as well as the black clay divers and workers.

Evliya Çelebi describes Hasköy as one of the districts of Istanbul that was full of taverns. He writes that several districts of Istanbul had taverns, including Samatya Kapısı, Kum Kapısı, Yeni Balık Pazarı, Unkapanı, Cibali Kapısı, Aya Kapısı, Fener Kapısı, Balat Kapısı, Hasköy, and Galata (Evliya Çelebi 213b).

In addition to the taverns, other commercial enterprises existed in Hasköy such as a fish market. Evliya Çelebi includes Hasköy among the list of two thousand fish markets. These fish sellers were not the actual fishermen who went fishing; rather, they were the merchants who displayed various kinds of fish on tables in front of their shops. Evliya Çelebi described how they would shout out to customers passing by to sell their fish (Evliya Çelebi 174b). Mantran has indicated that shrimp fishing was also a popular activity in Hasköy. According to Evliya Çelebi, shrimp was either fried in olive oil or eaten raw with fresh lemon juice by tavern diners. Based on archival documents that Mantran has examined and wrote that the head gardener

[27] I have studied the district of Piri Paşa under a separate chapter. Although the borders of Hasköy and Piri Paşa cannot be drawn precisely and Piri Paşa was very close to Hasköy, seventeenth century chroniclers did not include Piri Paşa as a part of Hasköy.

[28] See the Harmanlar section for further information in the chapter 4 on Piri Paşa – Sütlüce chapter.

of the court gave the income from the shrimp to professional fishermen in return for 12,000 *akçe*, aspers (Mantran 1990: 1.67).[29]

Hasköy was also one of the four districts of Istanbul where glass blowers worked. The other districts where this occupation was practiced were Cibali Kapısı, Ayvansaray Kapısı and Çömlekçiler. These were the only quarters in Istanbul where this difficult craft was practiced. As Evliya Çelebi comments, who wishes to undertake the difficulties of these glass blowers should visit their ateliers to see the sparks of the fires of hell (Evliya Çelebi 2: 196b).

As cited in İnciciyan's accounts, Sarraf Hovannesyan[30] stated that there was a small factory where cannons are manufactured, *tophane,* in Hasköy, and that it was the second largest place in Istanbul to produce anchors[31] (İnciciyan 153). In the eighteenth century, with the establishment of the atelier for casting anchors, *lengerhane,* Hasköy moved towards becoming an industrial district. Establishing small ateliers and cannon factories in Hasköy should have been caused by the arsenal's presence, which had expanded to the west of the shore during the seventeenth century.

The chief administrator, *kadılık,* of Galata had jurisdiction over Hasköy, but the district also had its own holder of a military fief, *subaşı* (Evliya Çelebi 124a). The the administrator of the military school, *Talimhaneci,* was responsible for ensuring

[29] Mantran did not identify the document from where he took the information (Mantran 1990: 1.67)
[30] Sarraf Hovannesyan of Balat was the eighteenth century writer of the İstanbul Topoğrafyası in Paris Nubarian Library. Andreasyan cites this book in order to make additions to İnciciyan's eighteenth century accounts.
[31] This building could have been transformed into *lengerhane,* house of anchor and chain, which was constructed on a Byzantine building, built in twelfth century during Ahmed III's reign. This building was purchased by the Rahmi Koç Museum and Culture Foundation in 1991 (See Rahmi Koç Museum website).

the security of the Okmeydanı and the hinterlands of Hasköy, Kasımpaşa, and other districts surrounding Hasköy and Kasımpaşa. Mantran mentions the existence of a customhouse, *çardak,* and a governmental depot on the northern bank of the Golden Horn. Yet we do not know the exact location of this *çardak.* Although the main *çardak* of Istanbul was actually located near the Süleymaniye Mosque, the existence of another one near Hasköy suggests that the *talimhaneci* of Okmeydanı may have been responsible for the safety of this *çardak,* too (Mantran 1990: 1.142).

Although we do not have much information about the port taxes collected in the seventeenth century, one of the inspectors of markets and public morals, *muhtesib,* documented the revenues collected by the representative of the laws relating to public morals and commercial transactions, *ihtisab emini* Mehmed Ağa. According to the documents examined by Mantran, Mehmed Ağa collected 150 aspers, *akçe*, from the large boats, 100 *akçe*, from medium-sized boats and 60 *akçe* from the smaller ones to dock for the winter, *kışlak resmi*. In addition, he collected 60 *akçe,* per boat as a rudder tax, *dümen resmi*. Mehmed Ağa's attempts to create a revenue for himself was later forbidden, as it was found to be against the law, and he had to give up his extra income from these taxes (Mantran 1990: 1.301).

Other than the tribute collected from the boat rents, tribute and taxes collected from the taverns of Istanbul was another large source of income for the arsenal. Tavern owners were either supposed to provide oarsmen for the arsenal or pay the salaries of oarsmen who were employed there (Documents BOA, MAD. 8480 and 8481 as cited in Bostan 200). In 1669 and 1670, tavern owners were charged 5,000 aspers for each oarsman that the arsenal hired. In addition to paying the costs for

subsidizing the oarsmen, tavern owners were responsible for finding oarsmen to work in the arsenal. The taverns of Kumkapı, Galata, Samatya, Yedikule and Hasköy provided two hundred twenty seven oarsmen between the years 1646 and 1650, two hundred forty seven or forty-eight oarsmen between 1652 to 1678, and one hundred forty eight oarsmen between 1685 to 1690. In the tax accounts of the seventeenth century, the oarsmen provided by taverns were documented; but with the banning of the taverns in 1669 and 1670, these oarsmen were not documented in the later accounts of the arsenal. So that, in 1671, a new law was enacted requiring other artisans to provide oarsmen for the arsenal (BOA, KK 2612, 2651, BOA, MAD. 968, 2787, 2790, 3809, 3810, 3830, 3835, 4951, 5014, as cited in Bostan 200-01).[32]

[32] See Bostan 200-01 for further information on the documents.

# CHAPTER 4

# THE DISTRICTS OF PİRİ PAŞA AND SÜTLÜCE

Although Kasımpaşa and Hasköy were urbanized by various communities in the seventeenth century, the western banks of the northern shore were mostly occupied by recreation areas, holy springs and monasteries, large gardens and summerhouses. Located next to each other, Piri Paşa and Sütlüce were two districts that were integrated to each other by land. The district of Piri Paşa was also integrated with Hasköy and became a part of it area the centuries. As the precise borders of these districts cannot be drawn, I have studied Piri Paşa and Sütlüce in separate sections relying on the primary sources that have accounted for them separetely.

## 4.1.Piri Paşa

Today, Piri Paşa is one of the districts of Golden Horn's northern shore, bordered by Hasköy on the south and Sütlüce on the north. The district was established during Bayezid II's reign **(Figure 41).**

Kara Piri Paşa was one of the viziers under Bayezıd II (1481-1512) and Selim I (1512-1520), and he was a descendant of Ebu Bekir. According to Evliya Çelebi, Kara Piri Paşa liked the area where Piri Paşa is now located and built a garden there. Since Kara Piri Paşa commanded his men to establish a village on the lands of his garden, the district was named after him. Evliya Çelebi claimed that the district of Piri Paşa had nearly one thousand mansions with gardens (Evliya Çelebi 123b).

Evliya Çelebi wrote that there were Jews, Greeks and Armenians who populated the district of Piri Paşa. According to Evliya Çelebi, most of the Greek notables resided in Piri Paşa (Evliya Çelebi 123b-124a).

There were about two hundred shops along the dock of Piri Paşa. It is said to have been beautiful, and there were small boats that sought shelter here during the winter. Since the taverns attracted captains, most of the residents ran taverns or *bozahanes,* where *boza*, a beverage made of slightly fermented millet, was served (Evliya Çelebi 123b).

Harmanlar was populated by roof-tile makers in the district of Piri Paşa. Even in the Byzantine period, the district was called Keramitya referring to the roof-tile making that was done there (Andreasyan, in Kömürciyan 201). There were

about two hundred roof-tile furnaces in the district. In June, Albanian divers extracted a blackish mud from the Golden Horn and filled vessels with mud. Evliya Çelebi claimed that this type of mud could not be found elsewhere. After drying this mud for forty days, the workers would mash and knead the mud until it was ready to be made into roof-tiles. Once the blackish mud was fired, the tiles turned red. The notables of Istanbul used these tiles and bricks for their roofs, lending a red silhouette to the city. The district of Piri Pasa became famous for its red roof tiles, thanks to the production in tile making (Evliya Çelebi 123b).

Kömürciyan also visited Harmanlar and recounted that there were forty roof-tile furnaces instead of two hundred as Evliya Çelebi had suggested. During Kömürciyan's visit, he saw villagers going to the furnaces. According to him, these villagers worked during the three months of summer, processed the mud removed from the sea and produced roof-tiles (Kömürciyan 32). Kemahlı Kirkor, who was a seventeenth century chronicler of Kemah, a province of Erzincan fifty kilometers to the west of that city's center, also recounted that the Armenians of Piri Paşa were originally from Eğin, another province of Erzincan two hundred kilometers away from the city center to the southwest. Kemahlı Kirkor also suggested that Armenians worked in the production of roof tiles (Kemahlı Kirkor 190, as cited in Kömürciyan 201).

Since Kömürciyan reported seeing these villagers going to the furnaces, and Kemahlı Kirkor mentioned that Armenians worked in these furnaces it is certain that some of the residents of the district were employed at the furnaces and that the mud

source found on the shores of Piri Paşa, as well as the tile industry, provided an income for the residents of the district.

Piri Paşa was administred by the judge, *kadı* of Galata. Yet the provincial administrator, *subaşı,* was not under the jurisdiction of the judge of Galata (Evliya Çelebi 123b).

The district had neither a soup kitchen nor a medrese. Although Evliya Çelebi suggested that the district lacked a *han*, Mantran has suggested that the *han* of Piri Paşa did exist and that it was used by slave traders (Evliya Çelebi 123b, Mantran 85). The *han* was comprised of apartments used by caravan traders. Once a caravan reached the city, it would stay for a short-term or long-term period and store its merchandise in the *han*. Some of the *han*s were used by specific groups of tradesmen, or by the sellers of specific groups of products. Accordingly, the *han* of Piri Paşa was used by the slave traders (Mantran 85).

Evliya Çelebi described two mosques in the area. One of these mosques was the mosque of Kiremidçi Ahmed Çelebi.[33] The other was the congregational mosque of Turşucuzade Hüseyin Çelebi. The mosque of Abdüsselam was located in between Piri Paşa and Sütlüce. Although Evliya Çelebi accounted for the garden of Abdüsselam in Sütlüce, both the garden and the mosque were located closer to the district of Piri Paşa.

[33] See Kiredmidci Ahmed Çelebi Mosque in the chapter 3.

**The Mosque of Turşucu Hüseyin Ağa**

The builder of the mosque was Turşucuzade Hüseyin Ağa, and it was built in the seventeenth century. The mosque had a quarter. It was built of rubble and had a wooden roof. The minaret was built of bricks (Ayvansarayi 1.309, Öz 147). According to Evliya Çelebi, this mosque was located in Kiremitçiler, the neighborhood of the roof-tile makers, and the architect of the mosque was Mimar Sinan (Evliya Çelebi 123b). Since Ayvansarayi claimed that the mosque was built in the seventeenth century, either Evliya Çelebi was wrong or the building was renovated in the seventeenth century.

The mosque of Turşucuzade Hüseyin Ağa is located on Turşucu Hüseyin Street in the Piri Paşa district.

**The Mosque of Abdüsselam**

The mosque of Abdüsselam was built by the *Başdefterdar* Abdüsselam Bey. Although the construction date of the mosque is unknown, the *vakfiye* of the mosque suggests that it was built before 1525. In 1823, Aşçı Hüseyin Ağa commissioned the minbar to be built, and the mosque became a dervish lodge belonging to the Kadiriyye order in 1840. After additions in 1823, the mosque underwent another restoration in the twentieth century (Hadika I.309, Göncüoğlu 78).

The mosque of Abdüsselam is located on the Abdüsselam Street of the present-day Halıcıoğlu district.

Evliya Çelebi wrote that there was also a holy spring called Ayazmiyum in Piri Paşa. If someone had a fever and drank the waters of this holy spring three times, he would be healed immediately after throwing out the water. Since there were notable Armenians who resided in the district of Piri Paşa, mostly the Armenian residents visited the spring (Evliya Çelebi 124a).

Sultan Mehmed IV discovered a spring in a garden outside the district and built a fountain there in 1653. The chronogram of the fountain, commissioned by Teknecizade Mustafa Çelebi and decorated with gold, suggested that the fountain was called the fountain of Sultan Mehmed (Evliya Çelebi 124a).

### 4.2. Sütlüce

Sütlüce is one of the districts on the Golden Horn's northerneastern shore. Sütlüce is bordered by Kağıthane to the northeast and Piri Paşa to the southeast. It is located across from Eyüp **(Figure 42).**

In the Byzantine period, there was a floodgate separating the fresh waters of the Kağıthane River and the saltwater of the Golden Horn. If the Kağıthane River flooded, the water could have passed over the floodgate, and the mud that the river carried would have stayed in the river. Hence, the Golden Horn would not fill up with the mud accumulated from the Kağıthane River. As times other than such flooding, the floodgate was used as a bridge (İstanbul Ansiklopedisi 6.118).

There were rowboats running between Eyüp Sultan and Sütlüce. The insufficient depth of the water between Eyüp Sultan and Sütlüce prevented larger boats from crossing the Golden Horn. Evliya Çelebi claims that in the Byzantine period, there used to be chain bridge, *zencir üzre cisr-i azim*, connecting Eyüp Sultan and Sütlüce and that the remains of this bridge were standing in the seventeenth century (Evliya Çelebi 123a).

The hills of the northern Golden Horn prevented the district from expanding into the hinterlands; and starting in the sixteenth century, Sütlüce became famous for its beautiful mansions and gardens facing the Golden Horn. Since the district was at the entrance of Kağıthane, there were houses along the shore with vineyards and gardens facing Eyüp and the Golden Horn. According to Evliya Çelebi, there were about two hundred mansions, and their gardens were like the gardens of heaven. There were taller buildings in the district of Sütlüce (Evliya Çelebi 123a).

In the Byzantine sources, the name of the district was Galatiani, which means "milk" in Greek (Göncüoğlu 45). The district had clean air and a healthy vegetation, which made for particularly delicious milk; hence, it was called Sütlüce. Evliya Çelebi recorded that the district was also called the same in other languages: "Kend-i şir" in Persian, "Rabta-i Leben" in Arabic, and "Galata" in Greek. All these names allegedly mean milk (Evliya Çelebi 123a).

A twelfth century historian, Çeçes, suggested that the name Galatiani came from Galatians who settled down in the district during their migration (Göncüoğlu 45). [34]

It is known that the church and monastery of Agia Antimas were there in the sixth century. According to Skarlatos, Galakrines, who was a Byzantine elite member, built a temple in the ninth century, called "the temple of milk" in Sütlüce (Göncüoğlu 46). These holy sites must have preserved their importance under the Ottoman occupation as well, after the gardens and recreation areas were transformed into an urbanized and populated district.

According to Kömürciyan, there was a holy spring in the seventeenth century, which healed women who were unable to nurse, and it was believed that new mothers who came to drink water from the spring of Sütlüce would produce more milk (Kömürciyan 32). In the eighteenth century, İnciciyan also recounts the existence of the holy spring. According to İnciciyan, there was a cave under the Mosque of Çavuşbaşı, and the bronze sculpture of a woman in that cave. The water ran into the spring from the breasts of the sculpture. The guardian of the spring distributed the water to the female visitors, and these visitors drank it and washed themselves in it. Furthermore, it was claimed that the water tasted like milk (İnciciyan 78).

Although Evliya Çelebi did not mention the existence of a holy spring in the district, he described the rowboats running between Eyüp and Sütlüce. These boats could have served the visitors going to the holy spring, which was located right

[34] No specific date was given.

across from the pious tomb and mosque of Eyüp Sultan. They may also have served the residents and guests visiting the gardens and mansions.

The judge, *kadı* of Galata was responsible for the district of Sütlüce, which had one provincial administrator, *subaşı,* and one judge appointed to it. Visited both by Kömürciyan and Evliya Çelebi, Sütlüce had four dervish lodges, one closed bazaar and fifty shops. Along the shore were many meadows for people to enjoy the view of the Golden Horn while resting (Evliya Çelebi 123a). In the eighteenth century, the district of Sütlüce was a small village that consisted of fifty households (İnciciyan 78).

### 4.2.A. The Religious Buildings of Sütlüce (Figure 43)

#### 4.2.A.1. The Mosque of Mahmud Çavuş

The builder of the mosque was Mahmud Ağa, the chief white eunuch, *babüssaade ağası,* and the overseer of the imperial palace. The mosque was built in 1538. In the cemetery of the mosque, followers of the lodge were buried (Ayvansarayi 1.303-04, Öz 2.45).

The mosque had a wooden dome and a minaret built of stone. According to Evliya Çelebi, except for the Cavuşbaşı Mosque, which was quite large, there were smaller mosques for praying (Evliya Çelebi 123a).

The mosque is also known as the Mosque of Sütlüce, the mosque of Mahmud Çavuş or the Mosque of Mahmud Ağa (Öz 2.45). The mosque stands after a few

renovations and is located on the street of Hamam Sokak in the present-day Sütlüce district.

### 2.A.2. The Kaysunizade Mosque

The builder of the mosque was Kaysunizade Mehmed Efendi who was the head physician of the palace. The mosque was built in 1570-71. Mehmed Efendi was also known as Malulzade Seyyid Mehmed Efendi, and he was the chief of the imperial physicians, *hekimbaşı*. Kaysunizade Mehmed Efendi died in 1611-12 and was buried near his mosque. The mosque did not have a quarter (Ayvansarayi 1.306, Göncüoğlu 79).

The Kaysunizade Mosque, also known as Gaysunizade Mehmed Efendi Mosque, was located at the intersection of Gaysuni Mehmed Efendi Sokak and Elif Efendi Streets in the Sütlüce quarter of present-day Hasköy.

### 4.2.A.3. The dervish Lodge of Caferabad

According to Evliya Çelebi, the oldest dervish lodge in the district was the dervish lodge of Caferabad, built by Cafer, one of the stewards of Süleyman I. According to Skarlatos, the lodge was built by one of Sultan Süleyman's doctors, and an Indian worker was responsible for the building (Skarlatos II.5). A document found by Fuad Köprülü suggests that the lodge was built in 1528. According to the

document, the lodge of Caferabad was founded eight years after Sultan Süleyman's enthronement (Gülşen-i Şuara 54, as cited in Göncüoğlu 142).

The building was located on the hills of the Sütlüce district and embellished with many trees, benches with views of the Golden Horn that one could enjoy watching, courtyards, and kitchens. Evliya Çelebi stated that while Süleyman I was walking around the lodge one day and admiring the view of the Golden Horn, various gifts from the Sultan of India arrived including a tablemat made of Russian leather with variegated embroidery, a hundred plates, bowls adorned with Hıtayi motifs, which were the typical style of the Timurid, decorated with grapes, tulips, and marble imitation. All of these gifts were given to the foundation of the lodge. Evliya Çelebi praised the beauty of the calligraphy, drawings, and paintings that decorated the walls of the lodge. Furthermore, Evliya Çelebi described a wild deer figure on the rocks that Nakkaş Ağa Rıza had drawn in charcoal (Evliya Çelebi 123a, Necipoğlu 1990: 157).

In Persian, the term *abad* means a place with a small population settled around a water source. Also affiliated with its name, the lodge of Caferabad was founded as a small lodge with a very small congregation. It functioned more like a lodge-promenade, *mesire-tekke,* and the dervishes in the lodge took care of the needs of those who came to visit the promenade such as food serving or accommodation. Although the lodges no longer supplied the needs of the promenades in the twentieth century, this function was widely common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as the lodge of Caferabad functioning both as a recreation area and a lodge (Göncüoğlu 141).

The lodge of Caferabad belonged to followers of the Bektaşi order. Following a detailed survey on the location of the lodge, Turnalı and Yüzel have suggested that the lodge was located on Elifi Efendi Street (also known as Salaş Street) in the Sütlüce quarter of present-day Hasköy and that the dervish lodge of Hasirizade was founded in 1784 on the former site of the dervish lodge of Caferabad. (Turnalı and Yücel 145-149, Tanman 107-42, as cited in Crane 323 note 2495).

### 4.2.A.4.The Dervish Lodge of Hasanabad

According to Evliya Çelebi, under the reign of Murad IV (1623-1640), Hasan, a wealthy and generous slave of Perviz Ağa of Unkapanı, built the dervish lodge of Hasanabad. The dervish lodge was also called *niz-nam-ebad*. Niznam means science in the Slavic language (Evliya Çelebi 123b). Sertoğlu has suggested that its name came from "Nezman," which means "do not know" in Bosnian (Sertoğlu 435). At the time when Evliya Çelebi visited the lodge, the founder of the lodge, Hasan, was still alive and he used to invite guests to enjoy excursions along the Golden Horn and offer feasts every month, entertaining his guests with singers, *hanende,* and*,* Turkish musical instrument players, *sazende* (Evliya Çelebi 123b). As in the example of the lodge of Caferabad, having the name "abad," the lodge of Hasanabad must have served as a promenade and a lodge.

The lodge of Hasanabad does not exist today and iI could not locate it exactly.

### 4.2.A.5. The dervish lodge of İshak Cemleddin Karamani

This lodge was one of the three lodges that Piri Mehmed Paşa built for Şeyh İshak Cemleddin Karamani who died in 1533. One of the three lodges was located on the Hamam Street in Sütlüce. The other two lodges were located on the Zeyrek and Fızdıkzade Streets of present-day Sütlüce. Although the lodge in Fındıkzade survived until 1925, the one in Sütlüce and Zeyrek did not survive long. The lodge belonged to the followers of the Nakşibendi order (Evliya Çelebi 123b, Ayvansarayi II.303, Göncüoğlu 122).

The lodge of İshak Cemleddin Karamani is located on Hamam Street on the east of the Mahmud Çavuş Mosque of present-day Sütlüce.

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### 4.2.A.6. The Tomb of Sultan Süleyman I's Calligrapher Ahmed Karahisari

Ahmed Karahisari, also known as Ahmed Şemseddin Karahisari, was a celebrated Ottoman calligrapher, who died in 1556. His work in the congregational mosque of Süleymaniye was his masterpiece (Rado 369-72, as cited in Crane 20 note 113). According to Evliya Çelebi, the tomb was located to the north of the Çavuşbaşı Mosque's entrance. The tomb had a plan without a dome, and the sarcophagus was built of white marble. Evliya Çelebi stated that the visitors to the tomb were impressed by the beautiful chronogram of the gravestone that was engraved by Ahmed Karahisari himself (Evliya Çelebi 123b).

### 4.2.A.7. The Tomb of Habibi, Sultan of Poets

According to Evliya Çelebi, Habibi was originally an Arab and he was one of the poets of Selim I (1512-1520). Since Habibi was a follower of the Caferabad dervish lodge, he was buried in the cemetery of the Caferabad dervish lodge upon his request (Evliya Çelebi 123b).

## 4.2.B. The Mansions and Gardens of Sütlüce

### 4.2.B.1. The Mansion of Karaağaç and its Garden

One of the mansions often pointed out in the seventeenth century and eighteenth century maps was the mansion of Karaağaç. According to Evliya Çelebi, this mansion was surrounded by the garden of Karaağaç and belonged to Defterzade İbrahim Paşa. Since Murad IV (1623-1640) liked to drink the water, and breathe the air in the garden, he used to spend many days in Karaağaç. Murad IV also enjoyed watching people who rowed enthusiastically to Kağıthane and passed in front of the gardens of Karaağaç (Evliya Çelebi 123a). A document written by the head gardener, *Bostancıbaşı,* accounts suggests that a part of the sultan's household had been transferred to the mansion of Yusuf Efendi (Reşat Ekrem Koçu, as cited in Göncüoğlu 48). İnciciyan claimed that the mansion bordered the garden of Kırkağaç. According to İnciciyan, the mansion of İmrahor was located in the garden of Kırkağaç (İnciciyan 78). Sarraf Hovhannesyan, a chronicler of the eighteenth century, recorded that the mansion was made of wood (Hovhannesyan 144)

When Evliya Çelebi visited the garden of Karaağaç, the vineyard belonged to Murad IV (1648-1687). In 1672, Mehmed IV built the *kasr-ı bahçe-i Karaağaç*, the mansion and the garden of Karaağaç. The garden was used as *hasbahçe*, a garden of the sultans. The head gardener and his assistants maintained the garden (Evliya Çelebi 123a). According to Kömürciyan, Mehmed IV used to go hunting in the gardens of Kağıthane and visit the gardens of Kağıthane and Karaağaç with the harem ladies (Kömürciyan 32).

The garden of Karağaç became very famous among the sultans in the seventeenth century; and, (in the eighteenth century), the garden and its mansion was renovated by Ahmed III between 1704 and 1708. The mansion did not survive; it had already been destroyed in 1815 when Mahmud II was re-urbanizing Kağıthane (Atasoy 285, Erdoğan 164-66).

#### 4.2.B.2. The Garden of Ebussuud

Visited by Evliya Çelebi, the garden of Ebussuud was bordered by the garden of Karaağaç and embellished with pine trees. Nightingales lived in the garden. The adjoining garden of Bezirganbaşı had a mansion with a few courtyards (Evliya Çelebi 123a). Ebusuud Efendi, who was the *şeyhülislam* of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, cultivated carnations and tulips in his garden. According to Mehmed Aşki Efendi, Ebusuud Efendi was the person who cultivated the first tulip in Istanbul (Göncüoğlu 48). Furthermore, it was said that Ebussuud Efendi was

covering his tulips with white sheets in order to protect their fresh color from the direct sunlight in summers (Akyavaş 2.194).

On the shore of the Ebussuud Garden, there was a stone that had survived from the Byzantine building. It was believed that people inscribed their wishes on this stone, and hoping that the şeyülislam would find and deliver them to the sultan. That was why the stone was called the stone of wishes, *arzuhal taşı* (Göncüoğlu 51).

#### 4.2.B.3. The Mansion of İbrahim Hanzade

According to Evliya Çelebi, the first owner of the mansion was the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa in the mid sixteenth century. Evliya Çelebi did not indicate who the owner was in his time. Yet, he stated that the various fruits and flowers grown there could not be found easily around the other gardens of Istanbul (Evliya Çelebi 123a).

Ibrahim Han was the son of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and Esmehan Sultan, who was the daughter of Selim II. Sokollu Mehmed Paşa was the owner of the land of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, and Ahmed I expropriated the land, granting him in exchange the mansion of İbrahim Hanzade in Sütlüce. The shirt that Sokollu Mehmed Paşa was wearing on the day he died was kept in this mansion. As a result, those who wanted to see Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's shirt widely visited the mansion. The mansion was demolished because of a fire in 1874, and the slaughterhouse of Sütlüce was built on its former land (Göncüoğlu 48-51).

#### 4.2.B.4. The Mansion of Derviş Şemizade

According to Evliya Çelebi, the mansion was newly built when he visited it, and it did not have a garden at that time (Evliya Çelebi 123a).

#### 4.2.B.5. The Mansion of Kemal Efendi

Evliya Çelebi only indicated that the mansion was small and beautiful (Evliya Çelebi 123a).

#### 4.2.B.6. The Mansion of Murad Molla

This mansion, which was owned by Murad Molla, was rather smaller than the other mansions of Sütlüce. In 1657, the *şeyhülislam* Balizade Mustafa Efendi bought the mansion and lived there for the rest of his life (Göncüoğlu 51).

#### 4.2.B.7. The Garden of the Abdüsselam (Abdi Selam) Dervish Lodge

Evliya Çelebi claimed that this garden was the most beautiful garden in the district of Sütlüce. According to Evliya Çelebi, the garden was surrounded with trees and looked like the gardens of Eden; the tradesmen of the district used to take walks in this garden (Evliya Çelebi 123b).

Although Kömürciyan visited the gardens of Sütlüce and praised their beauty, he only mentioned the garden of Abdi Selami (Kömürciyan 32). Thus, this garden must have had a great beauty to be referred to as the most beautiful garden in Evliya Çelebi' account, and as the only one to be cited in Kömürciyan's accounts.

#### 4.2.B.8. The Garden of Ali Ağa

According to Evliya Çelebi, the garden of Ali Ağa was the former garden of Yusuf. Surrounded by the garden of Ganizade to the north, the west of the garden faces the district of Eyüp. The garden of Ali was planted with peanut and cypress trees (Evliya Çelebi 123b).

### 4.2.C. The Gardens of Sütlüce Along the Shore

The accounts of the districts and hence the gardens, coming from the primary sources provide enough information to determine the approximate location of these gardens. Considering how travelers visited the northern shore of the Golden Horn, it is clear that the buildings and gardens were described in a topographical order. For example, Evliya Çelebi described the districts from Galata to Kağıthane, traveling from East to West. Either sailing on the sea or walking over land, it would be appropriate to suggest that the gardens were depicted as being lined up next to each other. When other sources provide more information such as the location of a garden with respect to a building, it can be located more exactly.

If one begins to locate the gardens based on the garden of Karaağaç, which was often depicted in the seventeenth and eighteenth century maps, the other gardens can be placed accordingly. The garden of Ebussuud was surrounded by the garden of Karaağaç, suggesting its approximate location on the east. As claimed by İnciciyan, the garden of Kırkağaç must have been located to the west of the garden of Karaağaç, since it was surrounded by the garden of Ebussuud to the east. The garden of Karaağaç was blocked by other private gardens to east and west. Archival documents suggest that the garden was extended to the garden of Yusuf Efendi in order to provide more residential buildings for the sultan's household, thus, the garden of Yusuf Efendi was located to the north of the garden of Karaağaç. The garden of Bezirganbaşı was located to the north of Ebussuud's garden, adjoining it, as Evliya Çelebi described. The location of the İbrahim Hanzade mansion, which was determined by Göncüoğlu in a map of settlements on the Golden Horn in 1800-1830 **(Figure 44),** suggests that the garden of İbrahim Han was located to the east of Ebussuud's garden. Evliya Çelebi suggested that the garden of Ali Ağa was surrounded by the mosque of Ganizade, referring to the mosque of Gaysunizade.

There is no information suggesting the location of the mansions of Derviş Semizade, Kemal Efendi, and Murad Molla. These mansions must have been located by the shore, as the residential buildings were mostly located by the shore in Sütlüce. As Evliya Çelebi wrote them down in topographical order and recounted that they were smaller than the others, they must have been distributed between the garden of İbrahim Hanzade and the garden of Ali Ağa. Since the garden of Abdüsselam was referred to as the most beautiful garden in Sütlüce by Evliya Çelebi and praised by Kömürciyan, it must have been a large garden. Göncüoğlu has

suggested its location to be around the Mosque of Abdüsselam extending through the west **(see figure 43).**

In the Topkapı Palace Museum, in the writing cabinet numbered C.Y. 463 and dating to the early eighteenth century, there is a landscape decoration painted on the outer lid **(Figure 45).** There are galleons, boats and imperial rowing boats depicted on the landscape, and in the fareground, there are animals and hunters in a beautiful garden with kiosks (Renda 1977b 2-4). Since there are so many boats of various kinds and galleons, the landscape might have been depicted from one of the gardens of Sütlüce. It was known that the garden of Ebussuud was famous for its nightingales, and Ebussuud was the first person to cultivate tulips in Istanbul. The landscape could have referred to the beauty of the seventeenth century gardens of Sütlüce, which kept their presence in the eighteenth century. The landscape was the work of Derviş Hasan Eyyubi (Renda 1977b: 3) who might have depicted the landscape from one of the promenades that belonged to the Sufi lodges, such as Hasanabad and Caferabad, placed on the heights of Hasköy to the north (see the approximate locations of Hasanabad and Caferabad in **figure 43).**

The district of Sütlüce was populated by gardens and lodges that belonged to various orders. Some of these lodges functioned as promenades to its visitors, and the dervishes were responsible for serving the needs of these visitors. Gardens and mansions clearly served their owners and offered guests a comfortable stay along the shore.

Being across the Eyüp district, which had a very important religious identity because of Eyüp Sultan, the owners of the gardens might have benefitted from the

perfect location close to it as if praising its sacredness. Hence, the boats running between Eyüp and Sütlüce could have provided easy and fast transportation for those who would be delighted for a religious visit and an enjoyable day to spend in the gardens of Sütlüce. It is also important to note that these boats were also used by the visitors of the holy springs located between Sütlüce and Hasköy as well. According to Kömürciyan, the Armenians who resided in Hasköy went to Balat to pray, as there were no churches in service in the district. These boats might have been used by those who wanted to go to Balat, too.

In the Byzantine period, most of the holy springs were located in Sütlüce. Although it was populated by mansions and gardens, Sütlüce never lost its sacred identity and stayed as the center of many lodges in the Ottoman period. Hence, Sütlüce always served as a recreation area for its residents and guests sometimes visiting the lodges and sometimes visiting the holy springs.

# CHAPTER 5

# CONCLUSION

From the fifth century to the seventeenth century, it is possible to see that the northern shore of the Golden Horn was transformed from an unpopulated region of holy springs and very few summerhouses into an urbanized and highly populated region. This transition first started with the establishment of the Byzantine arsenal in the area of Kasımpaşa in the sixth century. By the fifteenth century, the fertile vineyards of Kasımpaşa and the graveyard located on the shore started to develop along with the growth of the arsenal. Hasköy, which had already been dominated by Jews, became a center of Jewish congregations in the seventeenth century, especially after the many migrations to the district because of Spanish Inquisition and local resettlements. The increase in population transformed the residential, and thus the urban setting of the district converting the vast lands of Byzantium into a systematically developed and urbanized city. In the seventeenth century Piri Paşa was a buffer zone between the east and west sides of the northern shore. To the east,

the shore underwent fast urban development, whereas to the west, Sütlüce and Kağıthane (especially throughout the eighteenth century) provided more and more recreational areas outside of the historical peninsula with their beautiful gardens and mansions. In the seventeenth century, the development of the northern shore was residential on the east and recreational to the west.

In order to fully understand the development of Istanbul through its suburbs in the seventeenth century, the political atmosphere of the city should be considered. Being led by small groups among the military, the four revolts between 1648 and 1656 disturbed the political and social ambiance of Istanbul involving the citizens (Kafadar 63).

In the seventeenth century, the religious leaders belonging to orthodoxy had changed the religious profile of the city and the public condemnation of these leaders must have caused annoyance not only for the Muslim residents but also for non-muslim communities. Katip Çelebi, the seventeenth century historian and thinker, played an important role by warning against the mosque preachers and suggested to encourage people to turn to the Sunna, the Muslim law practiced based on Prophet Mohammed's words and mostly followed by Sunni Muslims (Katip Çelebi 1957- 90, Zilfi 251).

Kadızade Mehmed and his followers created a religious movement against the Sufi way that had bounded to pantheism and syncretism. Kadizadeli provoked many other followers to join their movement; accordingly, between 1630 and 1680, there were few revolts that disturbed the social life (Zilfi 252-53).

Kadızaleli movement played a major role in the seventeenth century Istanbul. It counteracted the Sufi brotherhood that supported by the ulema. The vicious conflict between the two sides was focused in and around the mosques without disturbing the Sufi lodges (Zilfi 267). These violent confrontations should have affected the congregations of Kasımpaşa mosques which most of them belonged to various orders.

The Kadızali revolts were not the only factor that economically suffered the city. The Venetian blockade on the Dardanelles caused serious shortages especially on rice importing and other essentials provided from Egypt and the Mediterranean (Kafadar 63).

The Thirty Years War (1618-1648) also played a major role in shaping the political and economical atmosphere of the seventeenth century Istanbul. The changing dynamics of Europe, the rise of Russia in 1613, and the war against Venice to conquer Crete longed for twenty-five years caused constant warfare in the Aegean and Mediterranean. The Ottoman state was having difficulties in affording the consequences of these changing dynamics (Kafadar 64).

Although the seventeenth century Istanbul was shaken by these confrontations and it was era of conservatism, the Ottoman cultural life was restructured by new social interpretations. Katip Çelebi and many others presented new ideas of universal geography and history writing (Kafadar 60-61).

In the mid-seventeenth century, the exchange of ideas and growth in trade and diplomacy affected the cultural life. The new activities and styles in dress and

entertainment reshaped the urban life in Istanbul's suburbs and also other cities of the empire. Although Istanbul became the spotlight of conservative outbreaks throughout the seventeenth century, the non-Muslim residents quickly adopted the enthusiasm of the new urban life (Kafadar 70).

One cannot consider the urban setting of the northern shore without taking the political and economical dynamics of the empire throughout the seventeenth century. Obviously, the architectural and urban environment was shaped according to the needs and demands of the political atmosphere of the city affecting the distribution of the Kasımpaşa mosques and the Jews moving from the city center to the suburban areas such as Hasköy.

Starting from Kasımpaşa, I have summarized the development of the northern shore. It is impossible to study Kasımpaşa without considering the intense impact of the Tersane-i Amire on the district's development.

It is important to note that the *tersane-i amire* was not only used for the actual ship construction serving the navy, but also for the administrative units of the navy. Inevitably, the *tersane-i amire* played a major role in the development of the northern shore. The more the needs of the arsenal grew, the more the boundaries of the districts expanded to the outskirts of Istanbul, offering more economic and social opportunities to their residents.

The administrative units of the arsenal as well as the construction docks lined along the shore completed Istanbul's cityscape, symbolically empowering the Ottoman Empire. Located across the Topkapı Palace, the arsenal symbolized the

dominance of the Ottoman Navy. Through this stupendous territory, the Ottoman Navy was the symbolic gatekeeper of Istanbul, intimidating foreign visitors and guarding the empire, and thus the city, from outside attacks.

Only a few of the seventeenth century representations depict the urbanized parts of Kasımpaşa and Hasköy. Most of these maps depicted the arsenal in detail as if it was the only urban presence in the region, ignoring any residential development. This selection could have been due to two reasons. First, it might have been the choice of the artist to illustrate the whole region in detail because of the limited time and other difficulties. Second, the artist might have wanted to represent the power of the Ottoman Navy, thus the arsenal. The arsenal, depicted as a tremendous set of buildings across the Topkapı Palace, dominated the cityscape as a complete structure. It was ready to attack and defend, located in the heart of the empire. Even in seventeenth century panoramas of Istanbul, the arsenal and many galleons floating on the Golden Horn have dominated the drawings **(Figures 46 and 47).**

Although the members of the arsenal constituted the population of the district of Kasımpaşa, it is important to remember that the arsenal was a separate and closed complex. There were many galley slaves (some of them were kept as prisoners) who worked either as oarsmen or construction workers and prisoned in the dungeons of the arsenal. Even these prisoners had their own religious congregations and churches within the arsenal complex. There must have been a daily traffic of arsenal personnel who came to work in the administrative buildings. Outside the arsenal complex, the whole district was there ready to supply the arsenal's needs.

The demographic study of the mosque patronage and quarter distribution suggest that the arsenal officials resided in the outskirts of Kasımpaşa. In the seventeenth century, after the sixteenth century investments in the arsenal, Kasımpaşa became more dominated by the mosque patrons, who were mostly affiliated with the arsenal.

As Evliya Çelebi also suggested, it is possible to divide the residents of Kasımpaşa into three groups. The first group was the naval officers (such as the commanders, guardians and marines) who played an important role in the urbanization of the residential areas through the north by commissioning many mosques.

The second group included the tradesmen and artisans (such as the orchard gardeners, traders, carpenters, and arsenal workers) who supplied the needs of the arsenal. This group must have constituted the majority of shopkeepers and residents located near the arsenal. As the arsenal needed these kinds of suppliers from the beginning, they must have been the first to create residential buildings in the district and must have started to urbanize the areas closest to the arsenal. They must have also benefitted from the easy and fast sea transportation because of their proximity to the shore.

The residents of the Sufi brotherhood constituted the third group, contributing to the development of the district with the dervish lodges. These lodges had two important functions in Kasımpaşa. The first one was the result of the relationship between the arsenal officials and these lodges. This Sufi lodges might have supplied the accommodation need of the arsenal workers, some of whom would have sailed

for long periods of time and needed temporary residency upon arrival in Istanbul. The second function that Sufi lodges might have had was to offer religious services to those arsenal workers (mostly the temporary residents of the district) who expressed an interest in such services. Supposedly, the sailors and most of the seamen affiliated with the arsenal were religious people, paying a lot of attention to rituals. These people might have developed strong bonds with the lodges. In alliance with each other, these lodges might have provided more comfortable stays to the arsenal workers, and in return, arsenal officials might have strengthened the presence of the Sufi brotherhood by commissioning more mosques or affiliating themselves more closely with the lodges.

The Mosque of Piyale Paşa was a striking governmental project that played a major role in the development of the district. Transforming the gardens, vineyards and vast areas into new neighborhoods, this urban project resulted in more mosques and quarters being developed within the district. More quarters meant more permanent residents in Kasımpaşa. Although there were many lodges in the seventeenth century, some were closed in the eighteenth century, suggesting that some of the lodges had lost their congregation when Kasımpaşa was increasingly urbanized after the construction of the Piyale Paşa Mosque.

However, in order to fully understand the relations between the congregations of the mosques, lodges and the arsenal personnel, the *vakfiyes* as well as the tombs in the cemeteries of these pious buildings must be studied in detail. Only then can one speculate further about how the patrons and the lodges related to each other in the seventeenth century, who were the congregations of these lodges, and what kind

of a role the arsenal played (for further discussion about the connection between Kasımpaşa and arsenal workers, see conclusion of chapter 2).

The district of Hasköy was the land of holy springs in the Byzantine period; and it was transformed into a district mostly populated by Jewish congregations without losing its sacred identity over the centuries, as the holy springs kept their presence in the Ottoman period.

Muslims and Greeks visited the holy springs and offered their vows to the spirit of the spring. On the one hand, they played an important role in increasing the economic and social revenue of the district. More visitors must have meant an increase in the demand for transportation and shops to supply the visitor's needs, as well as increased popularity. On the other hand, the different religions gathering in the same place caused some problems: The Jews were not happy with and felt disturbed by the Greek holy spring which attracted much attention to their cemetery located to the west of the spring.

Although it was urbanized very rapidly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Hasköy always allowed for the cultivation of various plants and fruits. The residents of the district must have benefited from the vast lands of Kasımpaşa to the north, and once the arsenal demanded more land to urbanize throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the residents of Hasköy would have benefitted from these fertile lands. The Jews grew various fruits and vegetables such as lemons, peaches, apples; and the Greeks cultivated grapes for tasteful wines.

Most of the representations reproduced in the seventeenth century are copies of earlier maps and panoramas, such as the copies of Vavassore's plan of Istanbul, and do not shed light on the urban fabric of the northern shore. However, the panoramas and maps of the seventeenth century provide a lot of information about the urban setting of the shore. The map of Katip Çelebi **(figures 48 and 49)** and its variations **(figures 50 and 51)** help to examine how the districts and important urban elements related to each other topographically.

As to the map of Istanbul drawn by Gravier d'Ortieres that does not respresent the city in detail as it was copied from the map of De Combes. Both maps were drawn with the intention to allow Louis XIV to attack the city in the seventeenth century (Bilici 194). Yet, the land of Kasımpaşa, extending through Hasköy, was defined as Greek vineyards **(Figure 52).**

When the panorama of Galata by Grelot is examined, one can see that Kasımpaşa was extending with the Galata walls to the north. Without a trace of vineyards or gardens, the district was urbanized by two-storeyed houses. Altough few of the panoramas and maps of Istanbul depicted in the seventeenth century did not represent the urbanized neighborhoods of Kasımpaşa, Grelot's representation is important in order to examine the urban lands of the district. Hence, the same representation depicted a graveyard in the middle, suggesting that the graveyard of Kasımpaşa kept its religious presence at the end of the seventeenth century. Grelot depicted the hill of Agios Theodoros, identified as Saint Demitre on the original map, and draw the vine groves of Stavrodromi, referring to the vineyards of Greeks **(Figure 53).**

When evaluated together with the primary sources and other accounts, these two representations of Kasımpaşa's northern side in the seventeenth century suggest that Greeks and Jews had been cultivating the vast lands between Kasımpaşa and Hasköy. The urbanization of Kasımpaşa caused the demolition of these vineyards located on the former lands of the Kasımpaşa neighborhoods. Yet, the production and cultivation on the lands of Hasköy continued in the seventeenth century. The transition of cultivated lands from Kasımpaşa to Hasköy might also have extended to the north of Hasköy in order to compensate for the lands that were lost due to urbanization.

Hasköy, predominantly inhabited by Jewish people, had various Jewish congregations. In the seventeenth century, newcomers such as Romaniots, Askenazis and Sephardic Jews moved to Hasköy because of various reasons, such as the construction of the Yeni Valide Mosque or other major fires that forced the Jewish residents to leave their former houses. It is known that, starting from the eighth century, Hasköy was the residential district of the Karaites, and in the sixteenth century, it was their central neighborhood. When the seventeenth century profile of Jewish Hasköy is examined, it is important to note that the population of the Karaites was decreasing among the district while others increased.

Although the Karaite Jews were never accepted as Jews by the rabbinic congregations, the synagogues in Hasköy were located very close to each other without giving a chance to create separate and individual neighborhoods that belonging to particular congregations **(Figure 33)**. However, when Kasımpaşa's urban development is analyzed according to mosque congregations and their

relationship with the quarters, one can easily realize that the Muslim neighborhoods were developed and expanded around a mosque. It is not possible to see such a development in Hasköy.

It is also interesting to see that Evliya Çelebi accounted for most of the quarters of Hasköy under the name of the synagogues. If each of the quarters was limited to the congregation of the synagogues, there would have been too few districts to accommodate the Jewish population of Hasköy in the seventeenth century. Evliya Çelebi must have followed the Muslim tradition of assigning quarter names according to the religious congregation. Hence, the Jewish quarters must have extended much beyond the synagogues, creating one large settlement with the synagogues located in the middle.

From the map of Hasköy, one can easily understand how dominant the Jewish settlement was could be realized easily. The Mosque of Handan Ağa was located by the shore to the west of the arsenal, in Kasımpaşa, and the Mosque of Kiremidci Ahmed Çelebi was surrounded by the Jewish settlement. Both the west and east were allocated to Muslim monuments, as if these were drawing symbolic borders around the residential areas according to the religious communities.

Hasköy was not only prevalent as a Jewish settlement, but also well known for its taverns. Inevitably, Hasköy must have taken advantage of its gardens producing Muscat grapes. Although the district of Galata was famous for its taverns inherited from the Genoese, Hasköy must have benefitted from being located next to the arsenal and owning fertile lands with various crops.

The arsenal blocked the shores of Kasımpaşa, and the inner lands were the residential areas for many observant people, some related to a dervish lodge. Many the arsenal workers and officials shaped the development of Kasımpaşa in many ways such as through commissioning mosques or affiliating themselves with the dervish lodges. The variety of arsenal members must have also played a role in the economic development of Hasköy. Since there were no taverns in Kasımpaşa either because of the arsenal blocking the shores or because of presence of the Muslim congregations, the arsenal workers who wanted to go to taverns might have visited the taverns of Hasköy.

In the seventeenth century, it was not only the taverns of Hasköy that benefitted from the arsenal. The arsenal created revenue for itself by collecting taxes from the tavern owners as well. The tavern owners were required to either provide oarsmen for the arsenal or pay the salaries of oarsmen employed in the arsenal. This could also suggest that the arsenal benefited from the taverns whose most frequent visitors were probably the arsenal workers.

Kasımpaşa developed thanks to the arsenal; both social and economic life depended on the shops run for the arsenal's needs, the residents who served the arsenal workers, or mosques commissioned by the arsenal officials. The variety of cultures and communities created a colorful atmosphere in Hasköy, which could not be seen in Kasımpaşa. There were various trades practiced, such as roof-tile production, fish markets and fishing, glass-blowing, and taverns. The *tophane,* where canons were produced, was one of the business branches among many others that served the arsenal. Therefore, Kasımpaşa developed in a way to allow the

arsenal to supply all its needs within its borders. When we consider the district of Hasköy located next to the arsenal, one can see that Hasköy developed independently, with various branches of business. The Jewish and Greek presence in Hasköy must have played an important role in developing independent business branches. The more Kasımpaşa needed, the more it had to extend to the north, as it was closed off to the east by Galata and to the west by the Jewish settlement, Hasköy.

The district of Piri Paşa represented the transition of the northern shore from the urbanized areas of Kasımpaşa and Hasköy to a recreational region of gardens and mansions located in Sütlüce, with Kağıthane as its western border.

It would be reasonable to consider Piri Paşa as the neighborhood where Greek, Jewish and Muslim notables lived in their beautiful mansions. The shore was occupied by shops along the dock of Piri Paşa and served as a shelter for small boats that sought a place to dock during the winter. The district benefited from the peaceful and secure waters of the Golden Horn, which could be enjoyed throughout the year.

The district of Piri Paşa was popular for its Harmanlar quarter where Albanian divers extracted blackish mud to produce the famous reddish roof-tiles that created the red silhouette of Istanbul. The roof-tile furnaces also generated revenue for the district and offered jobs to many of its residents. These furnaces might have offered additional jobs even for the residents of Hasköy, as mud extraction was a busy enterprise in the summer.

The Armenians of Piri Paşa who originally came from Kemah, a district in Erzincan, and worked in tile production, might also have constituted the Armenian congregation of Hasköy.

The district of Sütlüce was the far end of the Golden Horn, where large boats could not cross due to insufficient depth. In the Byzantine period, there was a floodgate separating the fresh waters of the Kağıthane River and the saltwater of the Golden Horn. Having a fresh water source and not being subjected to heavy boat traffic, unlike Hasköy and Kasımpaşa, Sütlüce must have benefited from the healthy and beautiful vegetation; there were many gardens, promenades, and mansions constructed in the district.

The main difference between Sütlüce and the districts of Hasköy and Kasımpaşa was that the former had large gardens with varied vegetation and animals. The district was affiliated with the delicious milk and milk products starting in the Byzantine period.

In the mid-seventeenth century, not only in the Golden Horn but also along the Bosphorus, the Ottoman ruling elite built mansions with gardens (villas) regenerating the Byzantium imperial villa tradition. The gardens along the Bosphorus had variety of plants, herbs and flowers; fruits like pomegranate, lemon, mulberry, apple and cherry. In the sixteenth century, even the Sultan used to pay frequent visits to these gardens and spent a day there (Necipoğlu 1997:33-39).

Necipoğlu also suggested that the mansions along the suburban shores of Istanbul that were built by the Ottoman elite were smaller versions of the imperial mansions. Although the main palaces of the grand viziers or viziers, who were married to royal princesses, were built inside the city walls, their mansions with large courtyards, gardens, kiosks and fountains were built outside of the city as if stretching the city borders to its suburban (Necipoğlu 1997: 39-40).

There were also many monasteries founded in Sütlüce. These monasteries must have enjoyed the peaceful gardens in the district, creating a religious and spiritual atmosphere. During the Ottoman reign, the district was embellished with gardens and promenades that belonged to dervish lodges of various Sufi orders. Undoubtedly, the monasteries that had benefitted from the peaceful atmosphere of the district had given way to the dervish lodges, as if passing on the inheritance of Sütlüce's sacred identity. The district must have been respected because of its location across the tomb of Eyüp Sultan. The tombs in the district belonged to poets, calligraphers or important artists of the time. Possibly, this sacred identity of the district was the main motivation for burying so many artists, such as Ahmed Karahisari or Habibi, who had contributed to the interior decoration of many pious buildings of Istanbul.

While the outskirts of Sütlüce were dominated by the promenades of the dervish lodges, the shore was lined with mansions and gardens, built one after another. These mansions belonged to notables of the time, who spent their summers busy hosting guests, cultivating plants and enjoying their gardens.

Starting in the seventeenth century, the gardens of suburban areas became a focal point of receptions that were given for ambassadors (Necipoğlu 1997: 42). The outdoor areas for relaxation and diversion, the leisurely life in Sütlüce and later on in Kağıthane would continue throughout the eighteenth century, causing many political, economic and social conflicts that would lead the Ottoman Empire to face difficult times.

The aim of my study is to create more interest in the social and urban history of Istanbul in the seventeenth century. Rather than examining the districts of the northern shore of the Golden Horn through the seventeenth century accounts of Evliya Çelebi's and a few other travelers and chroniclers, a more detailed survey of primary sources (such as the *vakfiyes* of the mosques and dervish lodges, administrative accounts of state registers, *kadı sicilleri*, is required. In order to create a better understanding, the communities of different religions should be studied more in depth.

Kasımpaşa has usually been studied with respect to the development of the arsenal, *tersane-i amire*. Although it is impossible to separate these two interwined developments since they very much depended on each other, there is a need for studies other than of the technological development of the arsenal. The accounts of the arsenal should shed light on the worker profile, where these workers stayed, how many days they worked or sailed, from which shops the arsenal supplied their needs from, and many other questions.

Regarding Jewish life in Hasköy, it is important to study how the rabbinic Jews lived together with the Karaites and how their relationship with other congregations

functioned. In order to do so, one could further study the rabbinic sources as well as Karaite sources, which may be available in Lithuanian and Crimean archives. The tombstones of existing Jewish graves may also supply more reliable information about seventeenth century life.

The *vakfiyes* of the dervish lodges and mosques may provide reliable information to illustrate the relationships between the owners, patrons, congregations and residents. I have not included in this study the fountains, which would have provided a lot of information about their patrons and their motivations. A very brief survey on the fountains has shown that most of the patrons were arsenal officials, as in the case of the Kasımpaşa mosques.

From Kasımpaşa to Sütlüce, it is possible to see that mosques, lodges, tombs and fountains were somehow related to arsenal officials or their household. One can go so far as to conclude that the northern shore of the Golden Horn developed in line with the development of the arsenal. On the one hand, the arsenal urbanized and completely changed the profile of Kasımpaşa and Hasköy because of its demands and needs that exceeded district borders. On the other hand, the areas that were protected from the arsenal's expansion kept on developing more recreational areas for Istanbul, such as in the case of Sütlüce and Kağıthane. However, these districts could not meet the industrial demands of the arsenal any longer and lost their recreational identity starting at the end of the eighteenth century. Since these vast and beautiful gardens were not urbanized, it was very easy to build industrial factories there, and the transition from gardens to factories happened very rapidly.

The Golden Horn suffered from industrialization throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Finally, I would like to mention that, with this research, I hope to contribute to a better understanding of the complex geographies of this region and the extent to which the development of its urban fabric was a result of the changing environment and demographics. Even this limited study has shown that the northern shore of the Golden Horn developed along with the districts that were topographically and socially related to each other. Further studies would extend the scope of the social history of this particular region.

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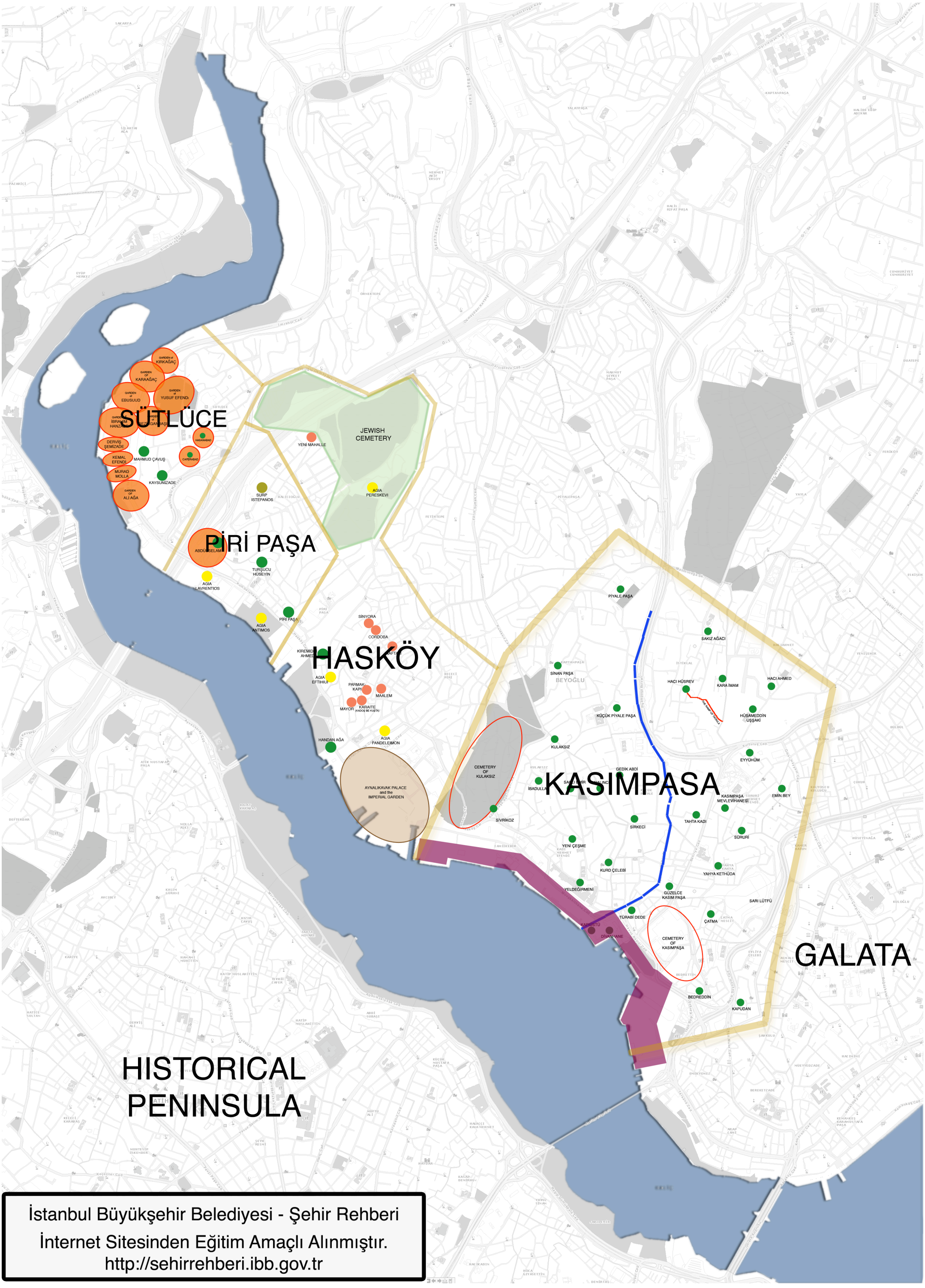
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CEMETERY OF KASIMPAŞA
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GARDEN of EBUSUUD
GARDEN of YUSUF EFENDİ
GARDEN of İBRAHİM HANZADE
GARDEN of HEZARFEN AHMED ÇELEBİ
GARDEN OF ALİ AĞA
DERVİŞ ŞEMİZADE
KEMAL EFENDİ
MURAD MOLLA
MAHMUD ÇAVUŞ
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**Figure 1.** Approximate location of Kasımpaşa in the seventeenth

**Figure 2.** "View of Constantinople", C. Boundelmonti. Liber İnsularum Archipelagai, Bibliothéque Nationale Marciana, Venice, 1422, f.22r, ca. 1450

**Figure 3. "**Mehmed II Besieging Constantinople", Bibliothéque National de France Cod. Par. Français 9087, ca. 1455

**Figure 4. "**Mehmed II Besieging Constantinople", Bibliothéque National de France Cod. Par. Français 6487, ca. 1455

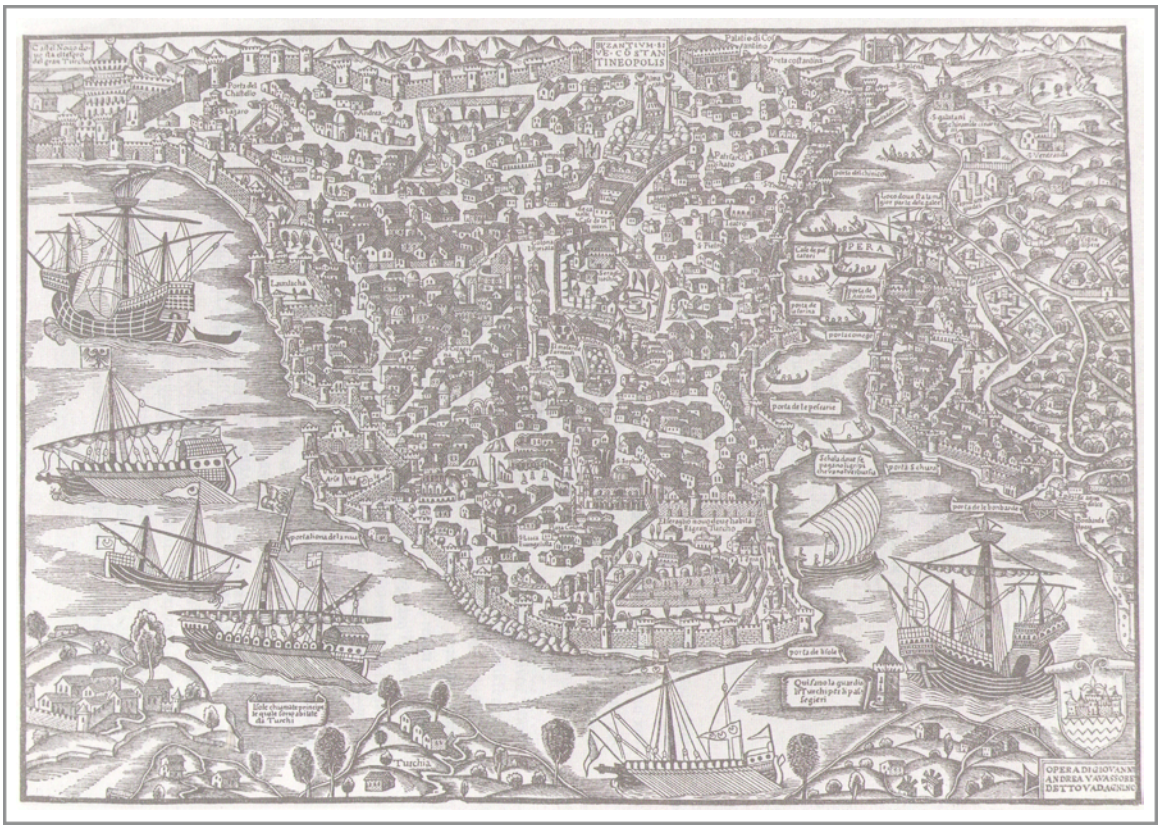



**Figure 5.** "Vavassore's Plan of Istanbul", 1550

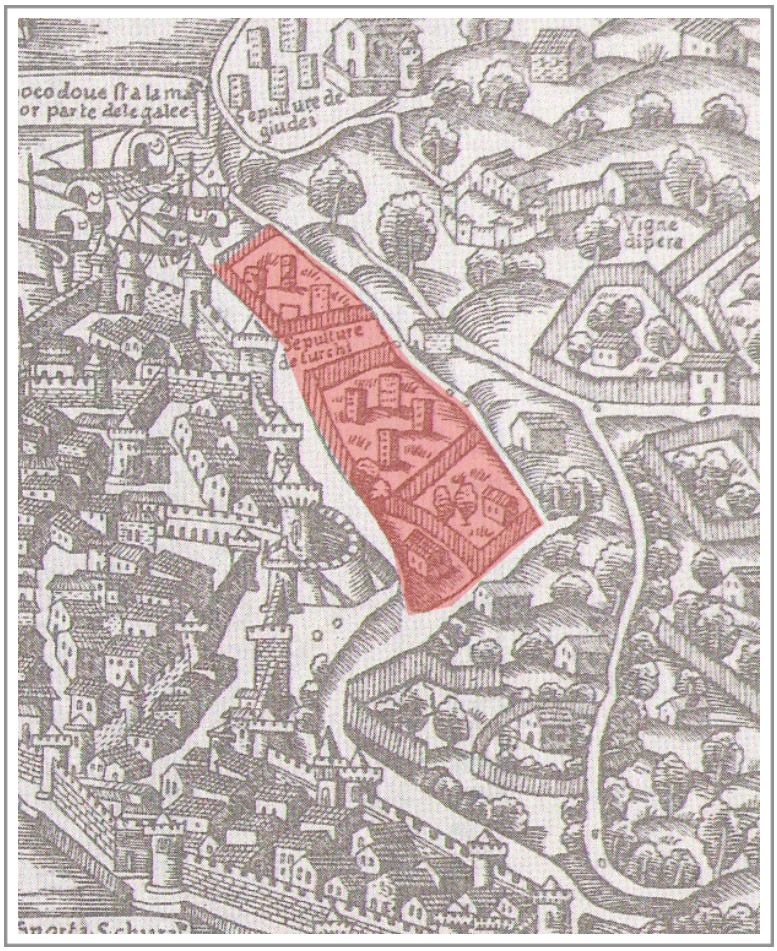



**Figure 6.** Kasımpaşa Cemetery in the 15th century, detail from "Vavassore's Plan of Istanbul", 1550

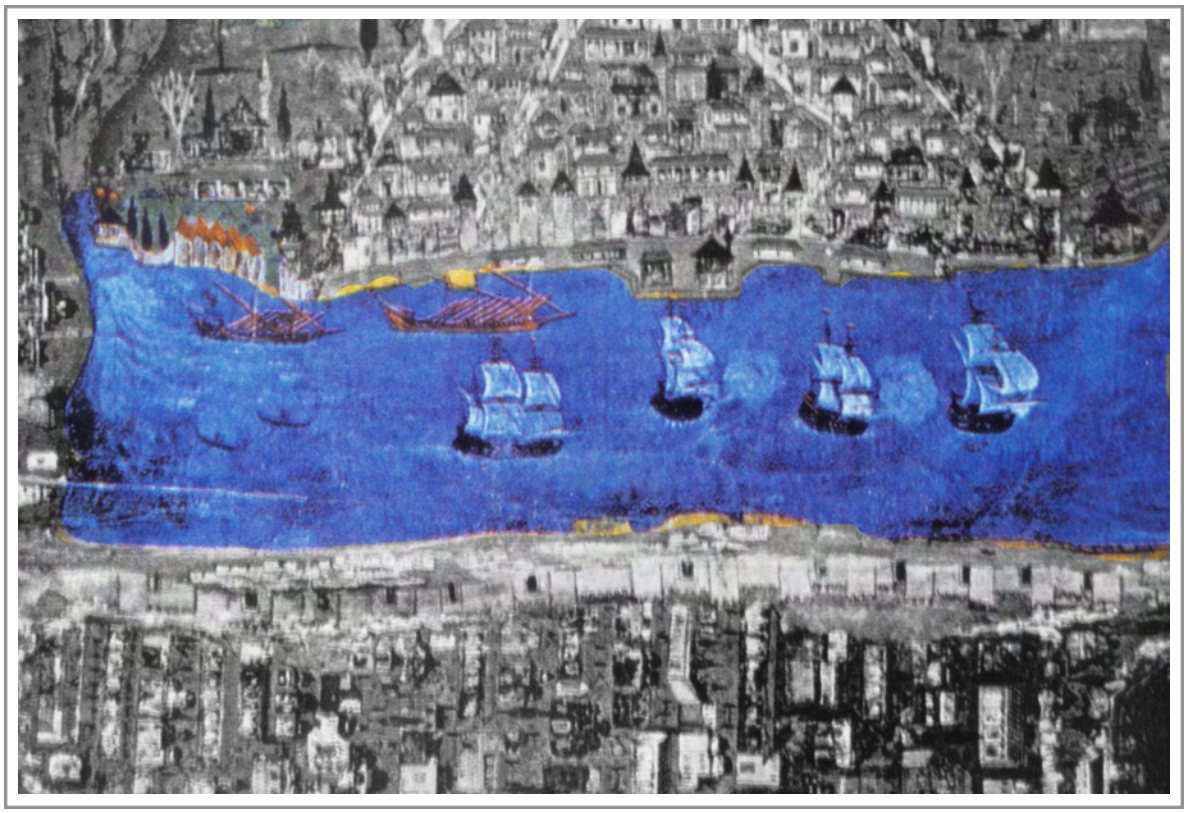


**Figure 7.** Floating galleons and ships produced by the arsenal, detail from "İstanbul", Matrakçı Nasuh, *Mecmu'-i Menazil*, 1537, İÜK, T.5964, 8b-9a

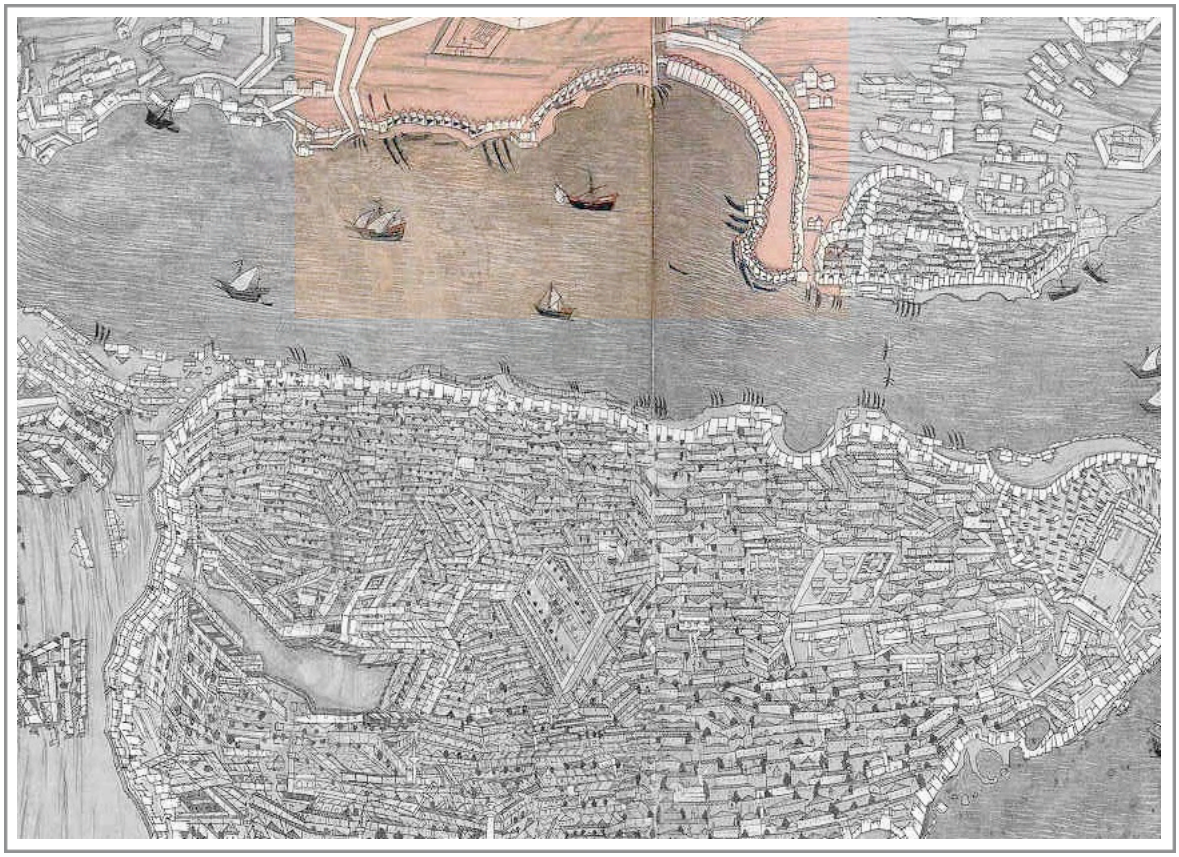


**Figure 8.** Tersane-i Amire in the end of the sixteenth century, detail from "İstanbul", Lokman, *Hünername*, TSMK, H1523, 121a, 1584

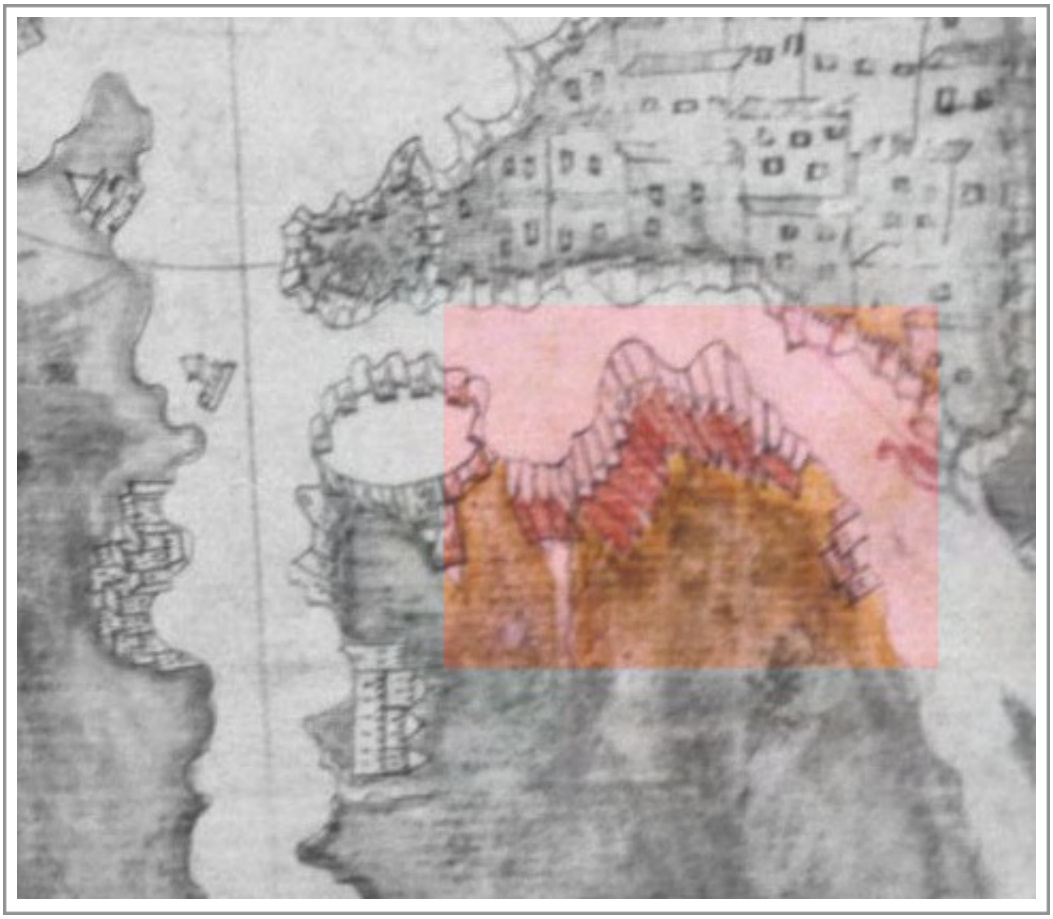


**Figure 9.** Tersane-i Amire in the seventeenth century, detail from a late copy of Piri Reis İstanbul Map, Deniz Müzesi, 3538-990, 269b

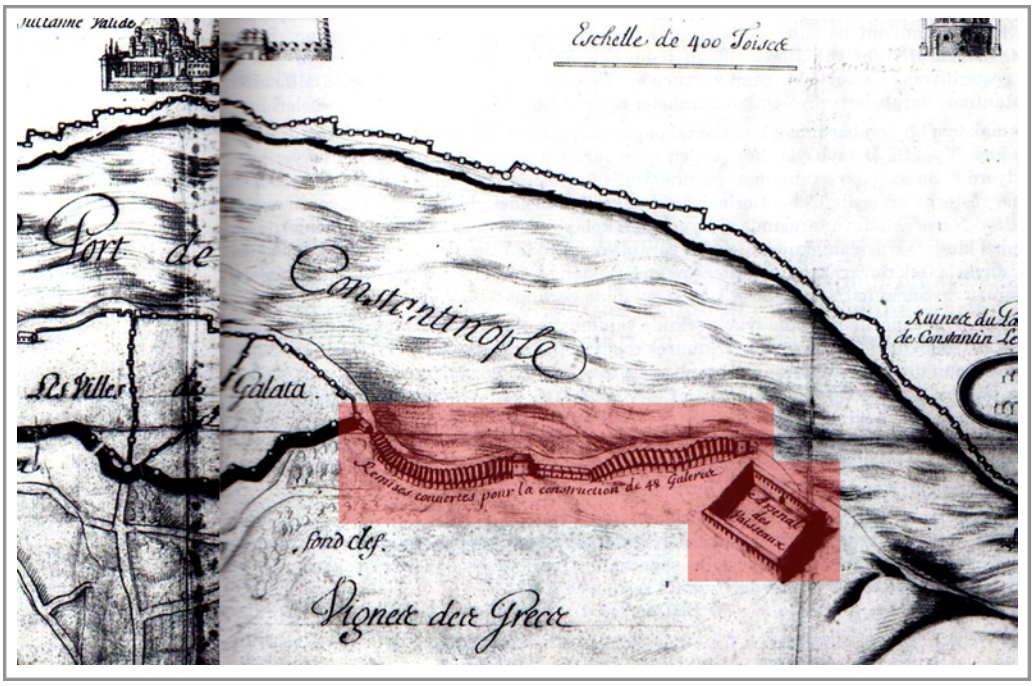



**Figure 10.** Tersane-i Amire in the seventeenth century, detail from "Plan de Constantinople", Gravier d'Ortieres, Bibliothéque National de France, ms. fr. 7176

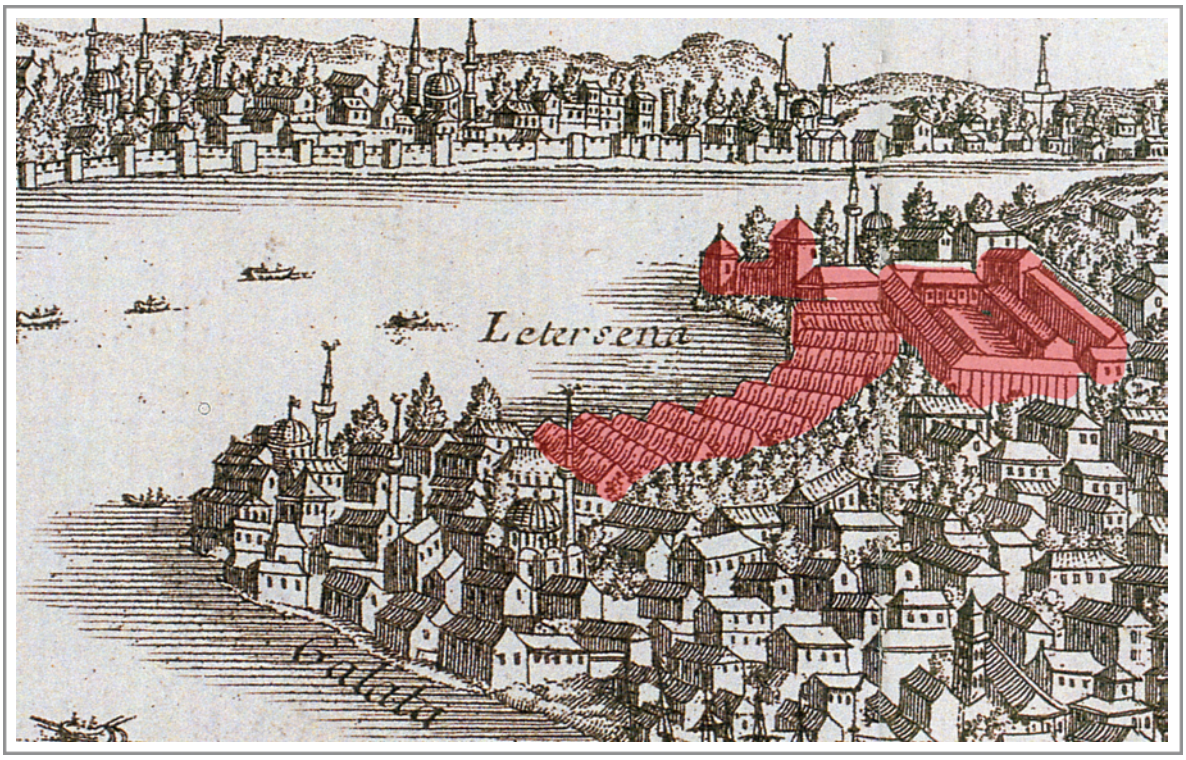



**Figure 11.** Tersane-i Amire, detail from "Palais de Constantine", engraving by Grelot, Gennadios Library, ca. 1680

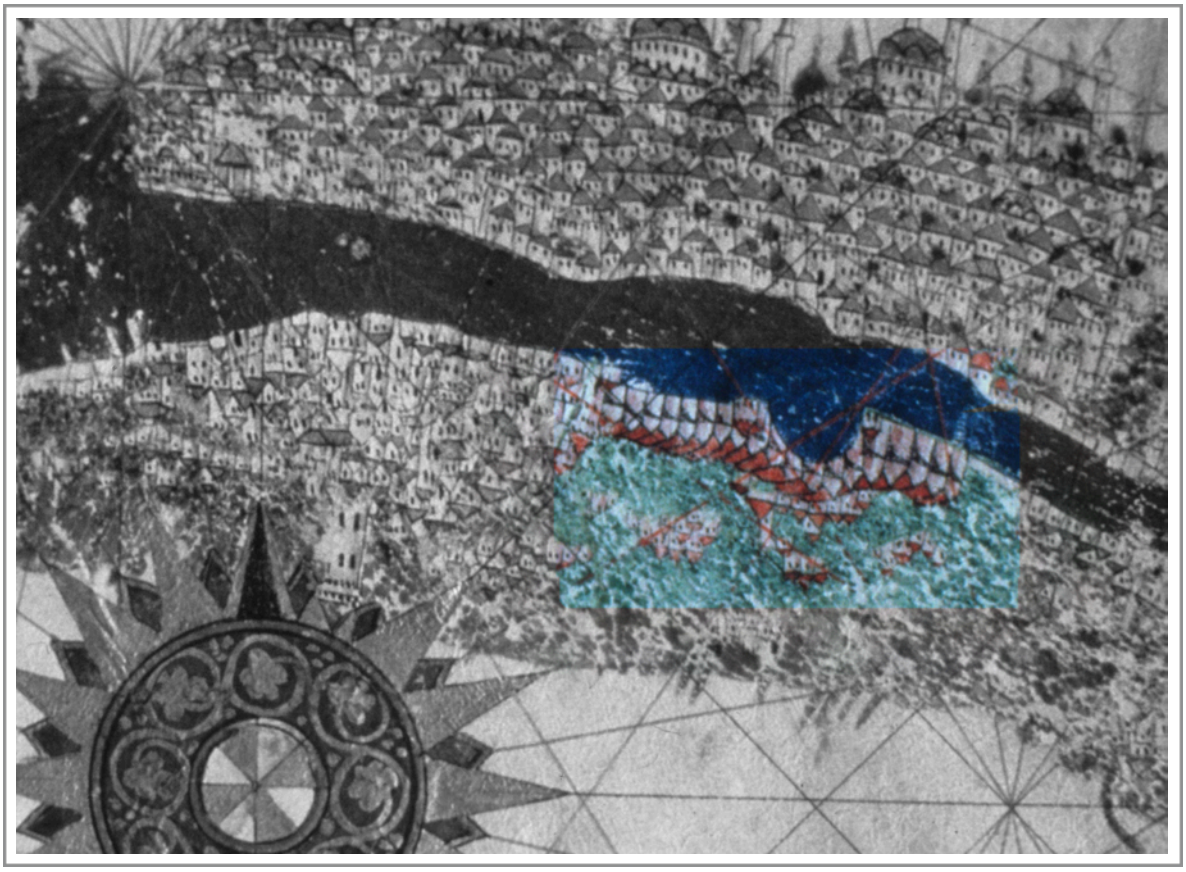


**Figure 12.** Tersane-i Amire, detail from "Map of Istanbul", Walters Art Gallery

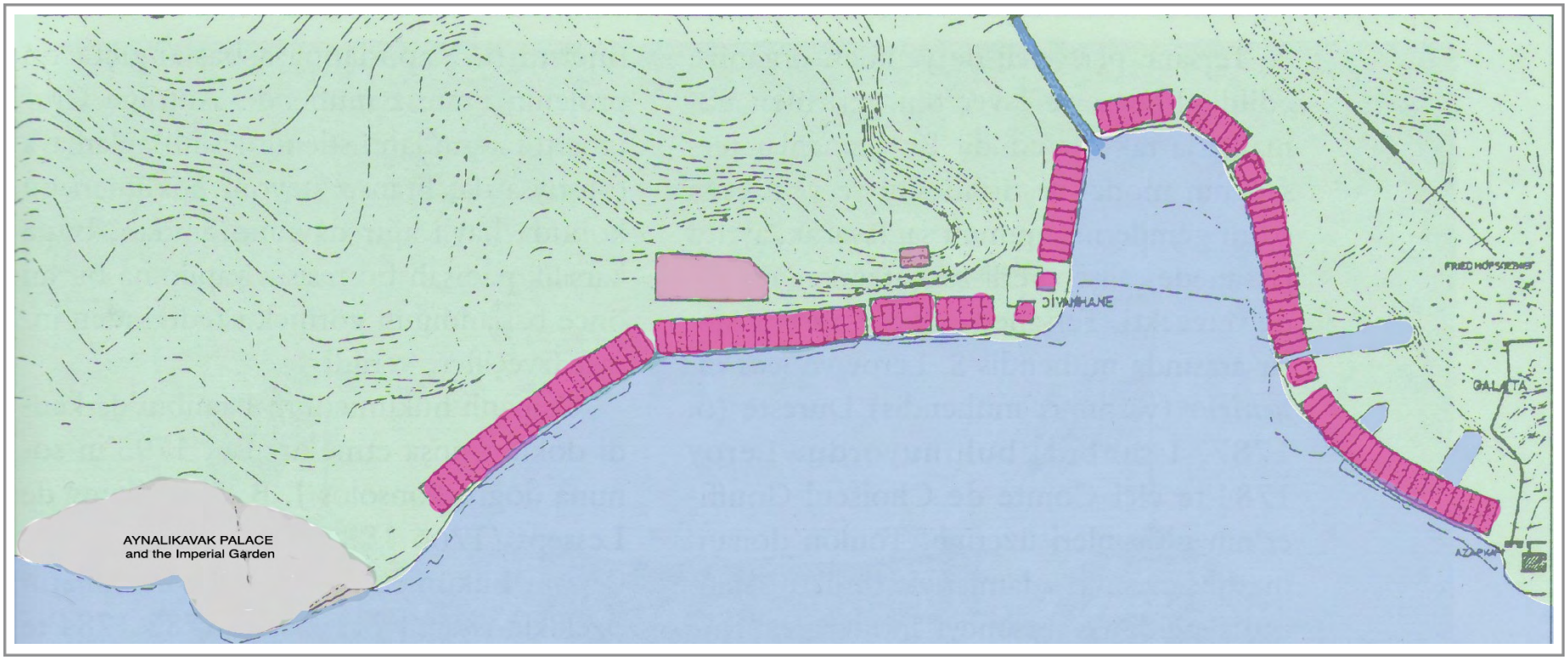



**Figure 13.** Reconstruction of the 17th century Tersane-i Amire, original drawing by Wolfgang Müller-Wiener

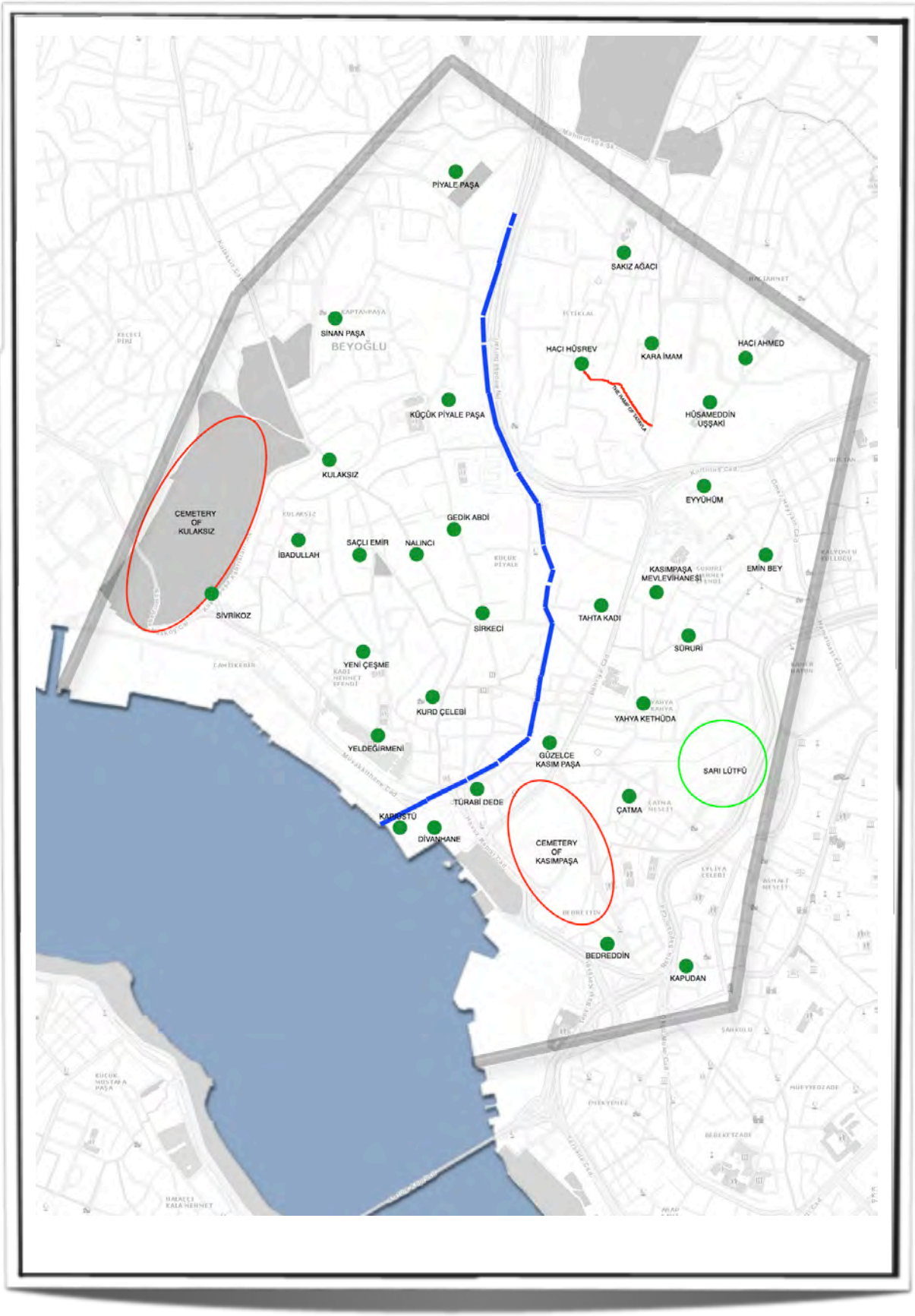



**Figure 14.** The Mosques of Kasımpaşa

**Figure 15.** "Map of Istanbul" Christoforo Buodelmonte, 1422

**Figure 16.** "Panorama of Istanbul", artist unknown, dated to mid 18th century, Suna ve İnan Kıraç Koleksiyonu

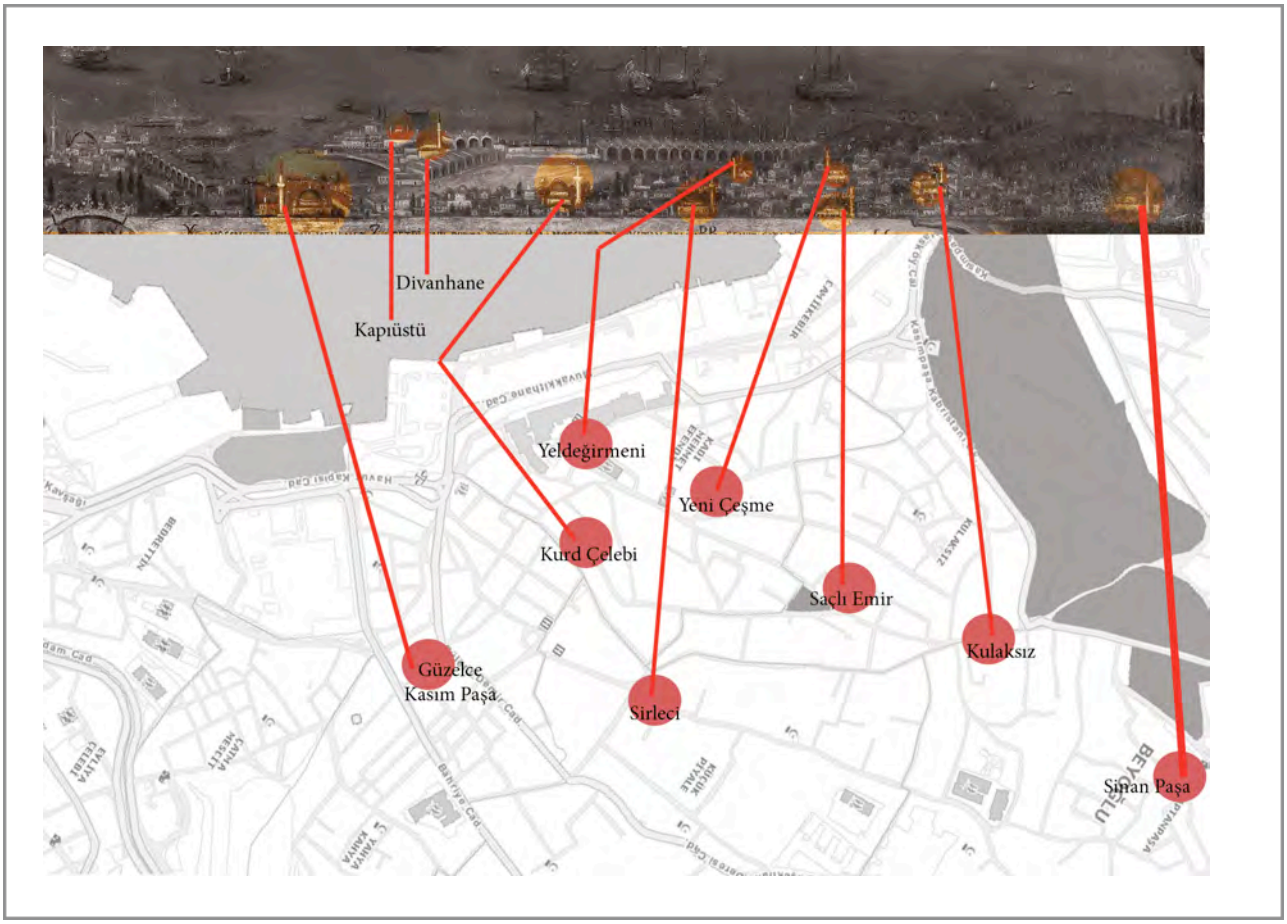



**Figure 17.** Some of the mosques that were identified in the "Panorama of Istanbul", artist unknown, dated to mid 18th century, Suna ve İnan Kıraç Koleksiyonu

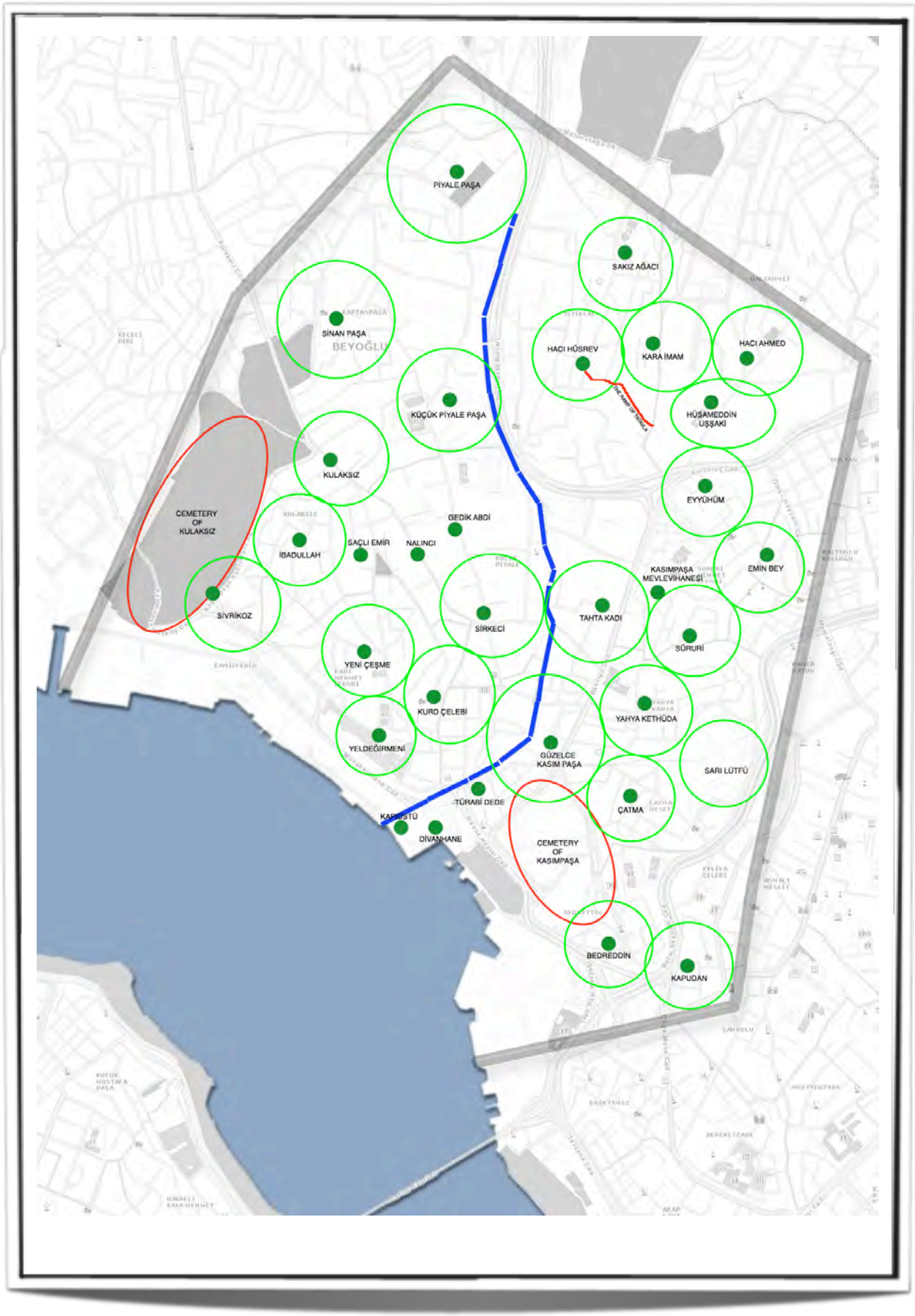



**Figure 18.** Quarter Distribution of the mosques

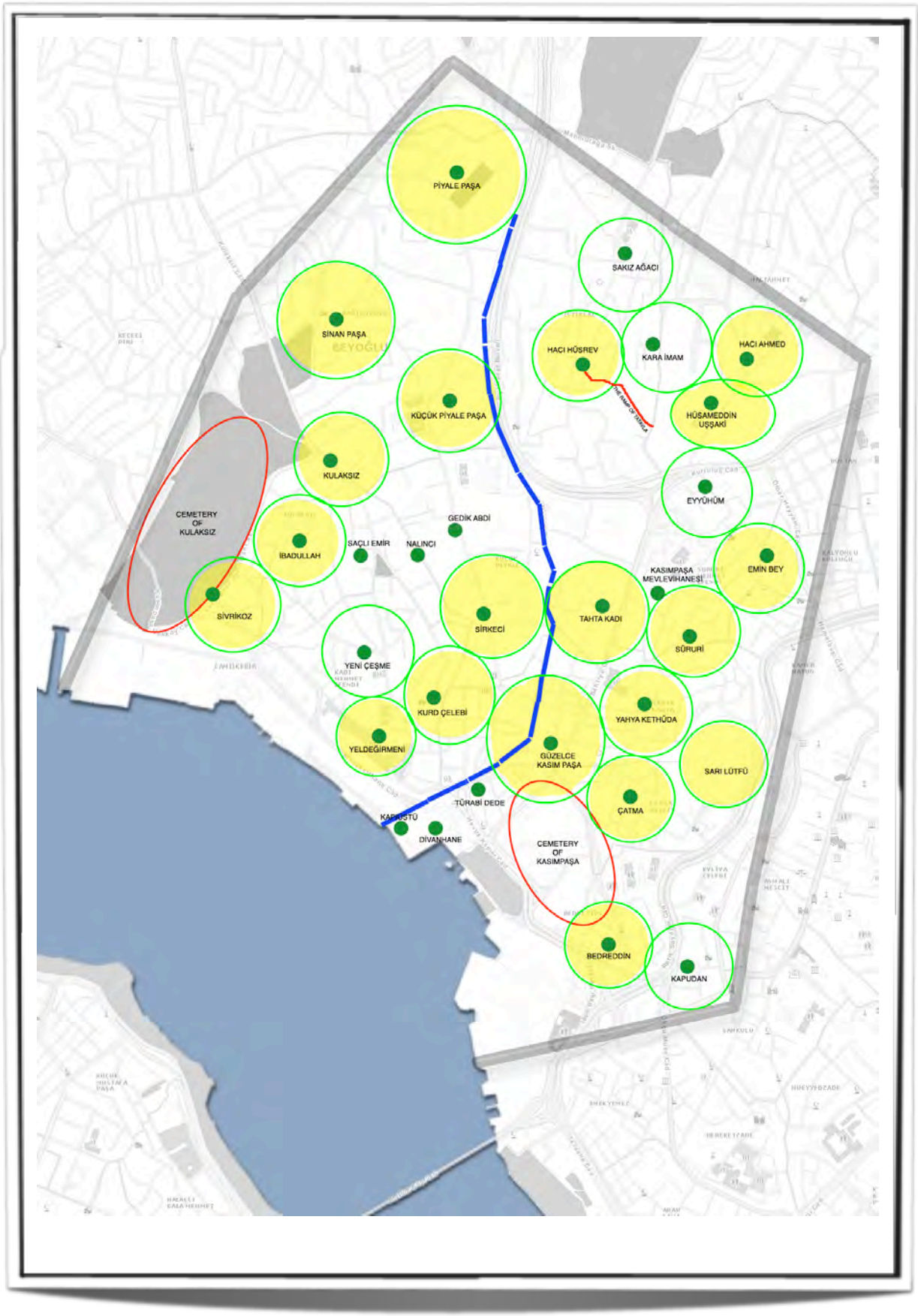



**Figure 19.** Quarters that matched each other according to accounts of Evliya Çelebi and Ayvansarayi

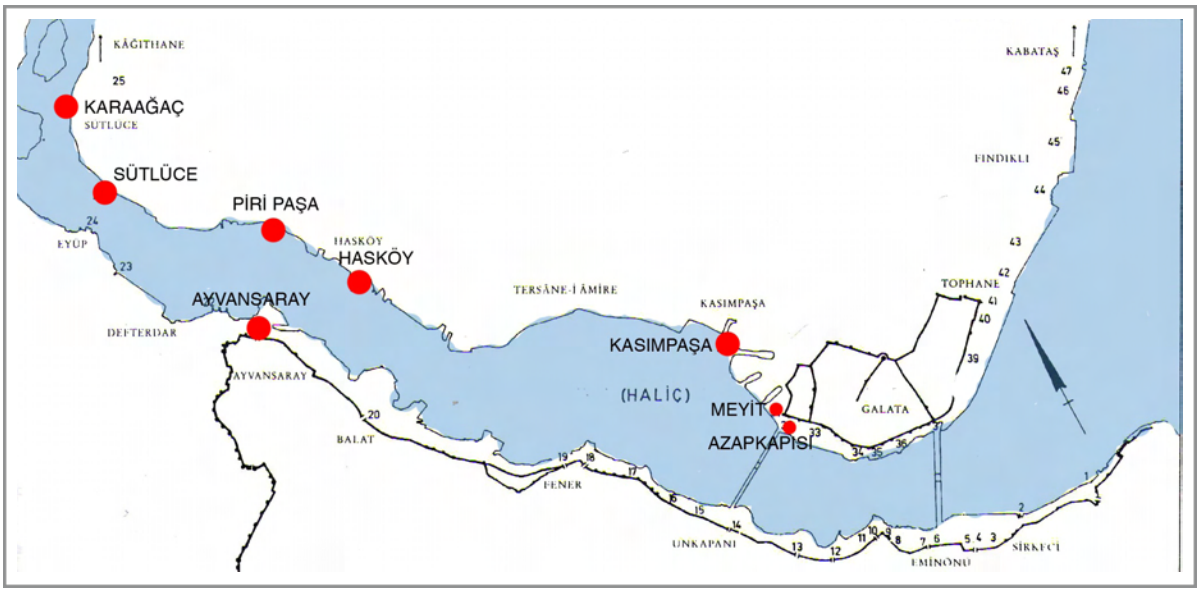



**Figure 20.** The ports of the Golden Horn, Wiener-Müller

**Figure 21.** "The map and panorama of Istanbul", Pera Museum, SVİKV RK 227, 17th century

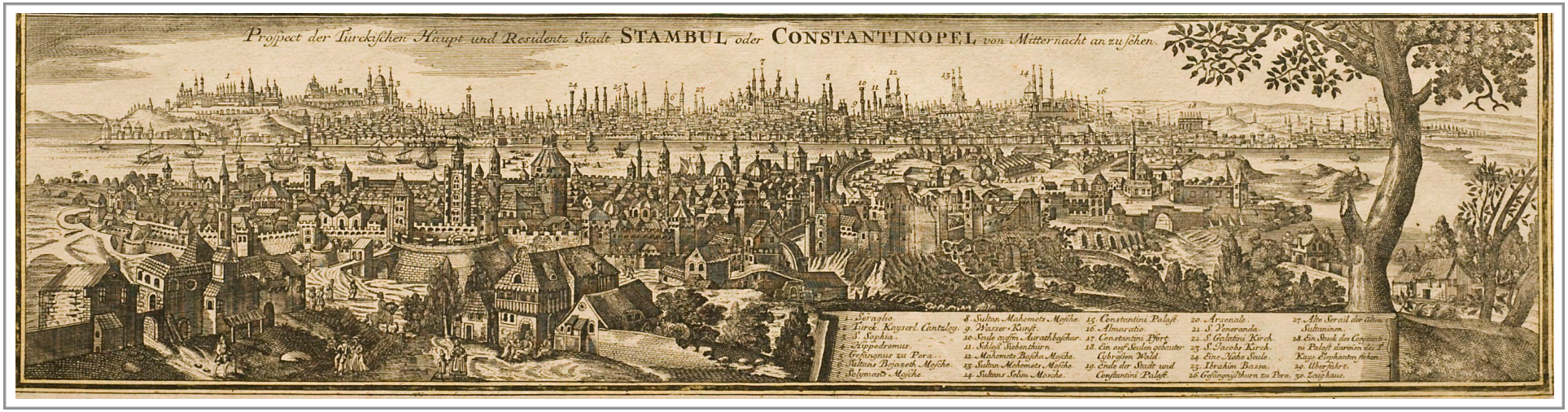



**Figure 22.** Detail of the panorama, "The map and panorama of Istanbul", Pera Museum, SVİKV RK 227, 17th century

**Figure 23.** Vanmour, Pera Museum, SVİKV RK 051

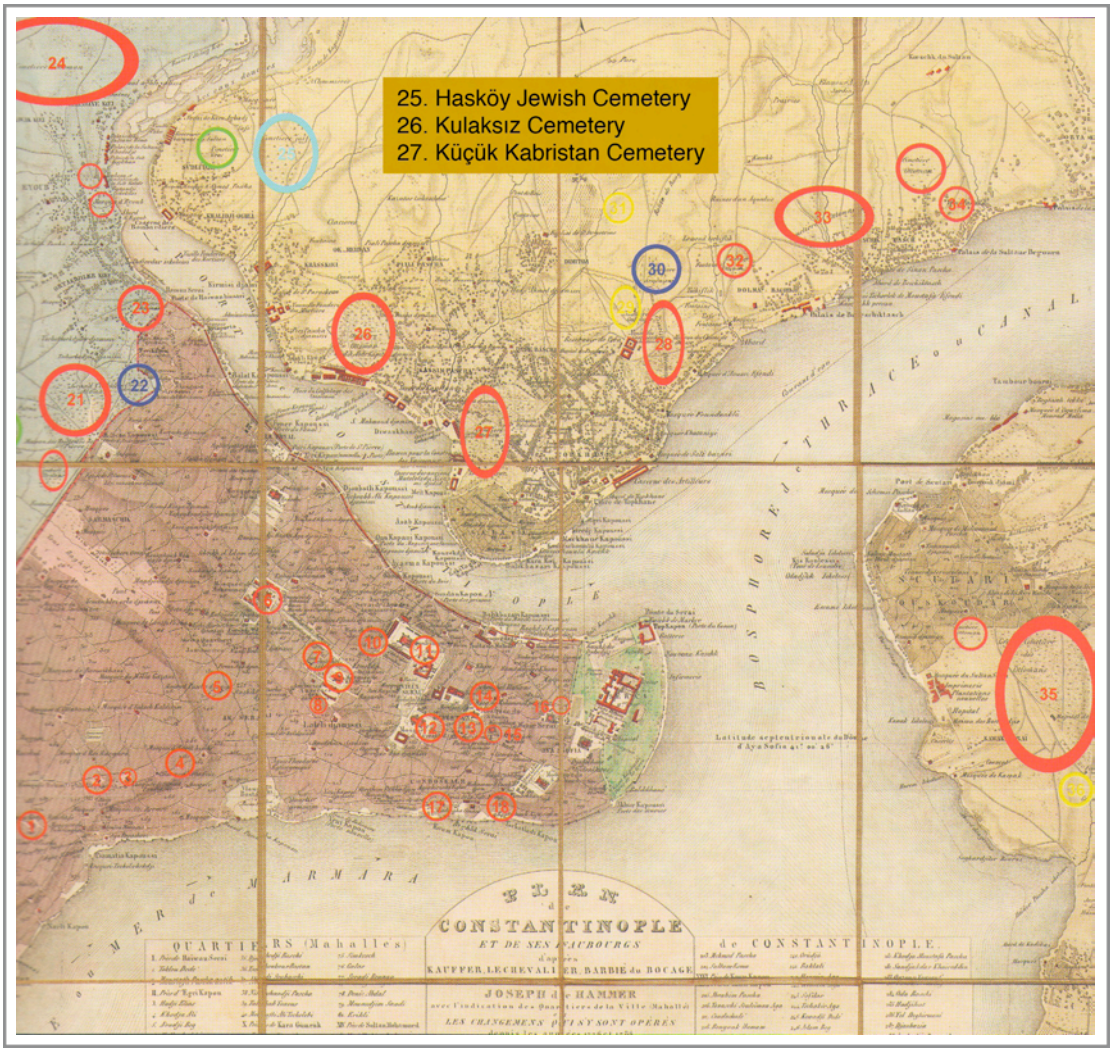



**Figure 24.** The Major cemeteries of Istanbul indicated on Hellert's 1836 map of the city. Eldem, Ethem. Death in Istanbul, 2005, p.16

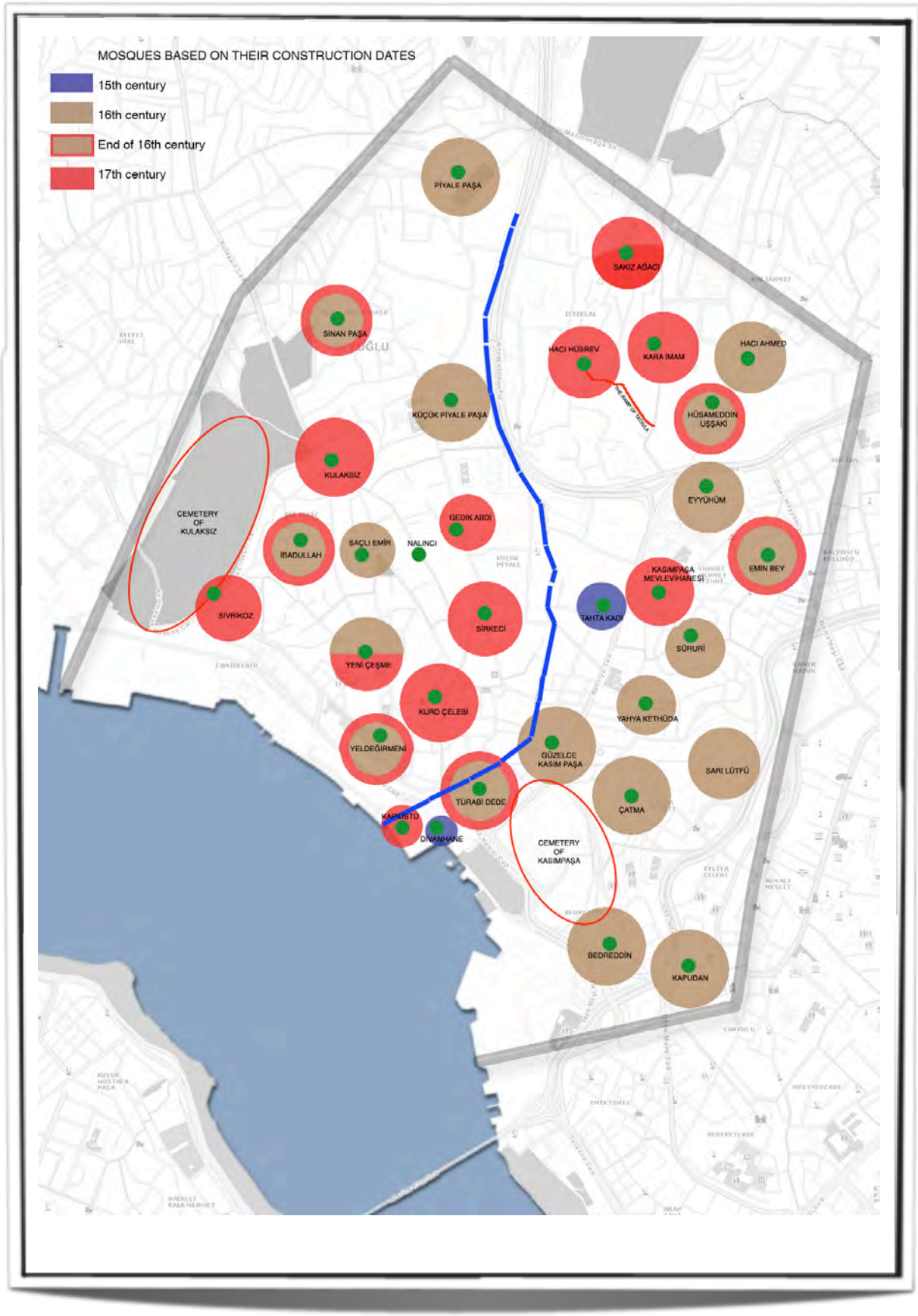



**Figure 25.** Kasımpaşa mosques based on their construction dates

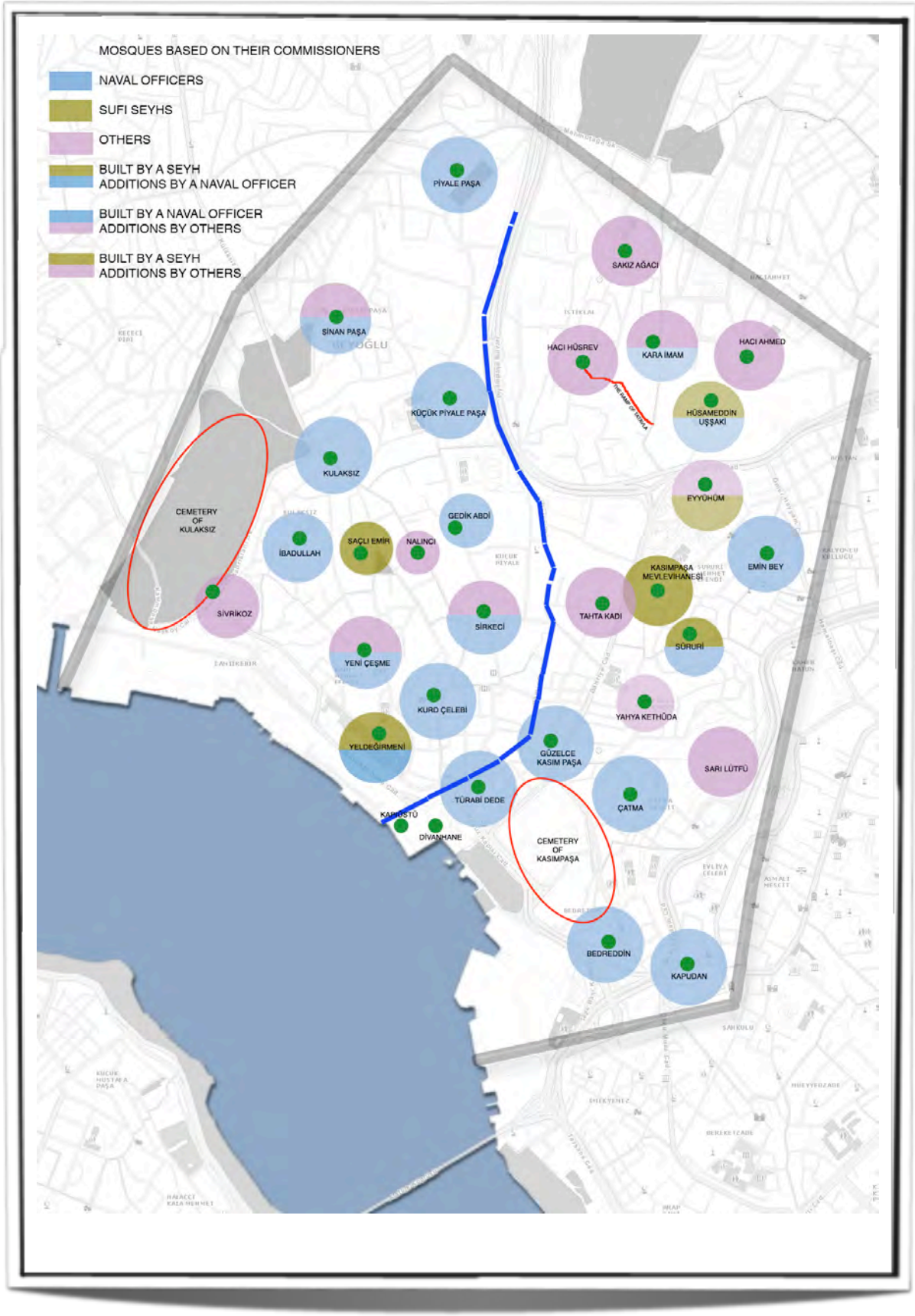



**Figure 26.** Kasımpaşa mosques based on their patrons

**Figure 27.** “Simitçi: Rolled Bread Seller”, Ho Brettanikos aster, Londinon: 1861, c2, p5, Milli Kütüphane Türk Ocağı Koleksiyonu

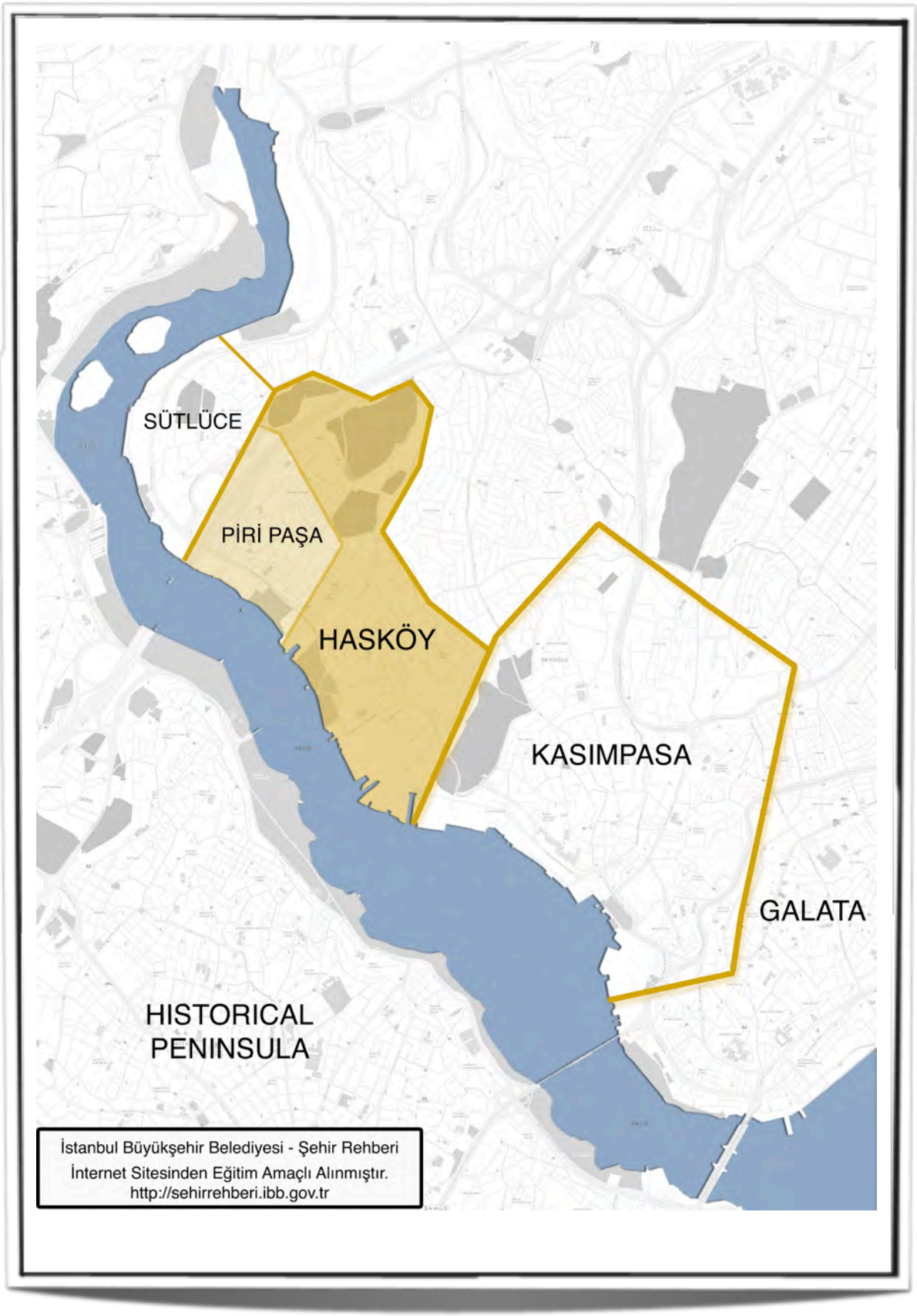



**Figure 28.** Approximate location of Hasköy in the seventeenth century

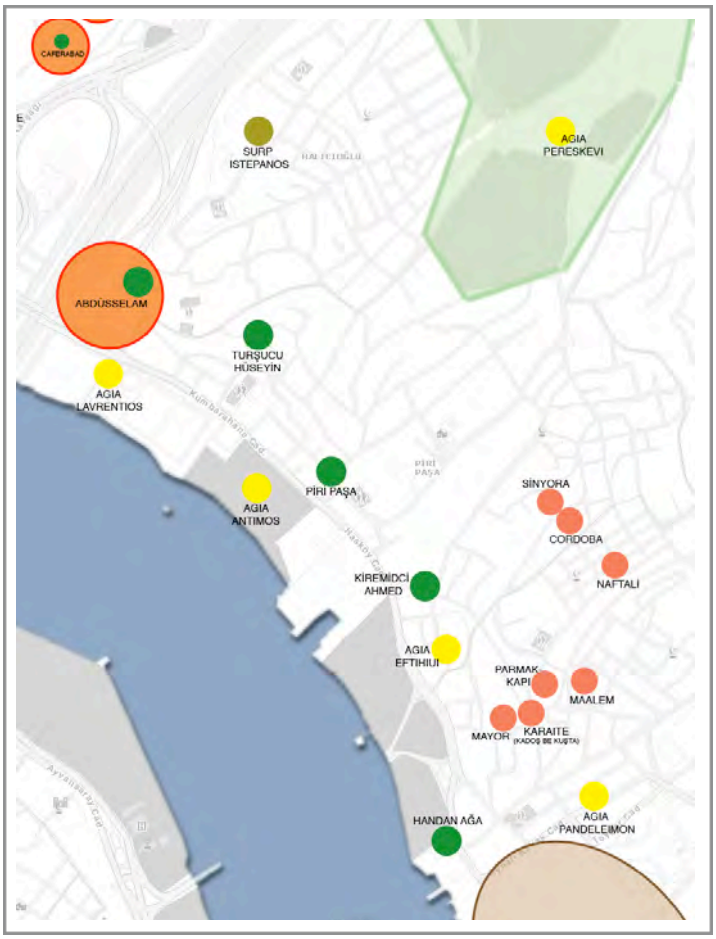



**Figure 29.** Locations of the Holy Springs in Hasköy

**Figure 30.** "Aynalıkavak Sarayı", Gazneli Mahmud Mecmuası

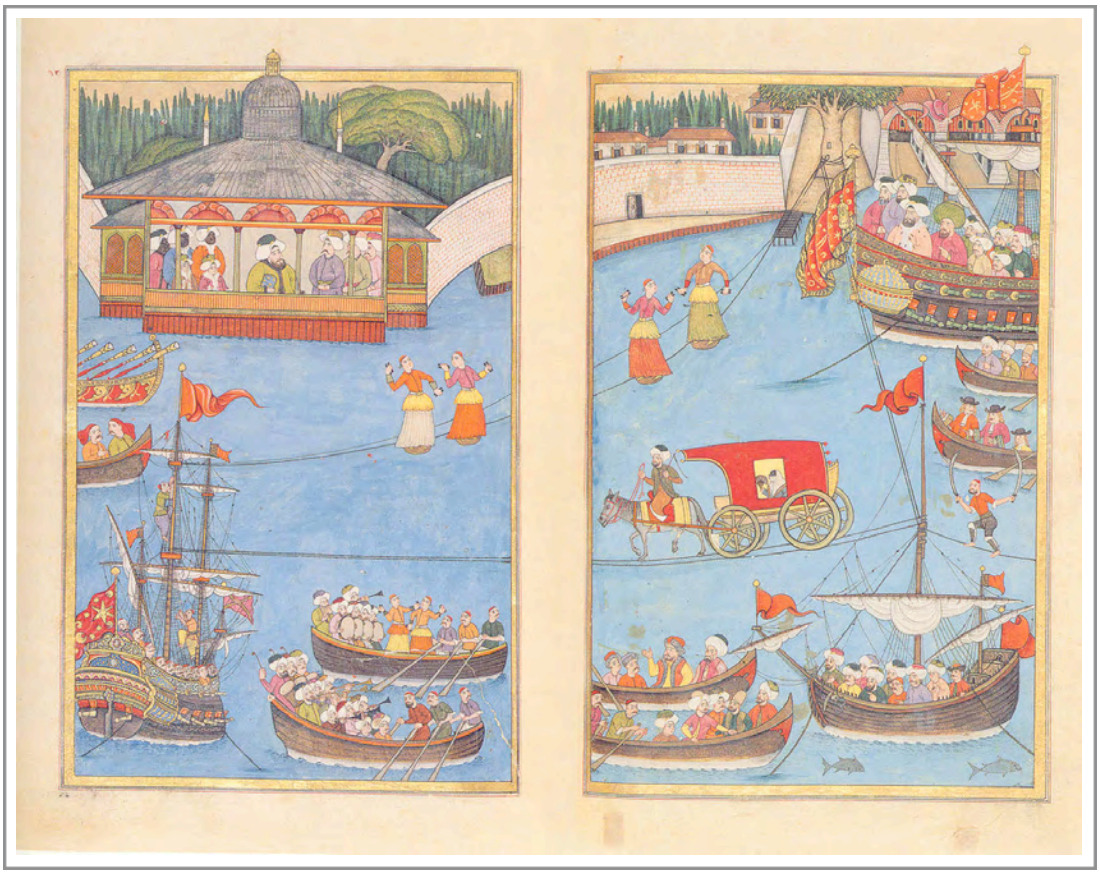


**Figure 31.** Levni, Festival on the Golden Horn, Surname

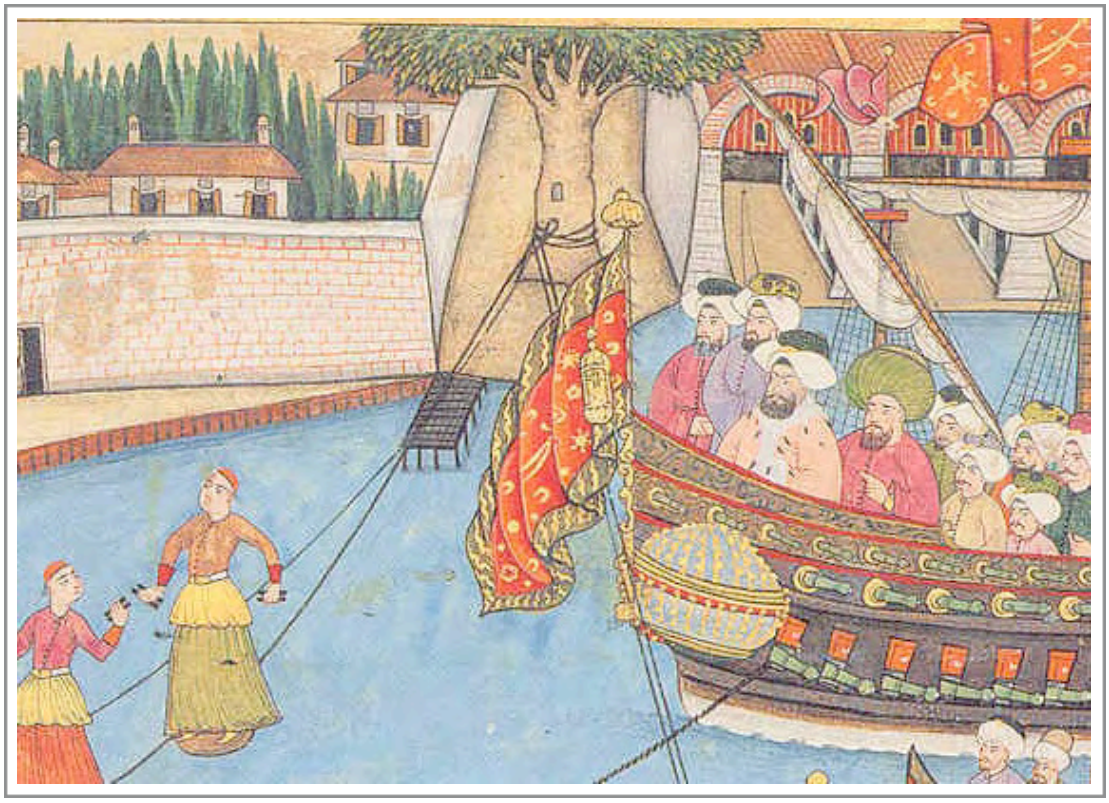


**Figure 32.** Detail, Levni, Festival on the Golden Horn, Surname

**Figure 33.** Detail, "Panorama of Istanbul", artist unknown, dated to mid 18th century, Suna ve İnan Kıraç Koleksiyonu

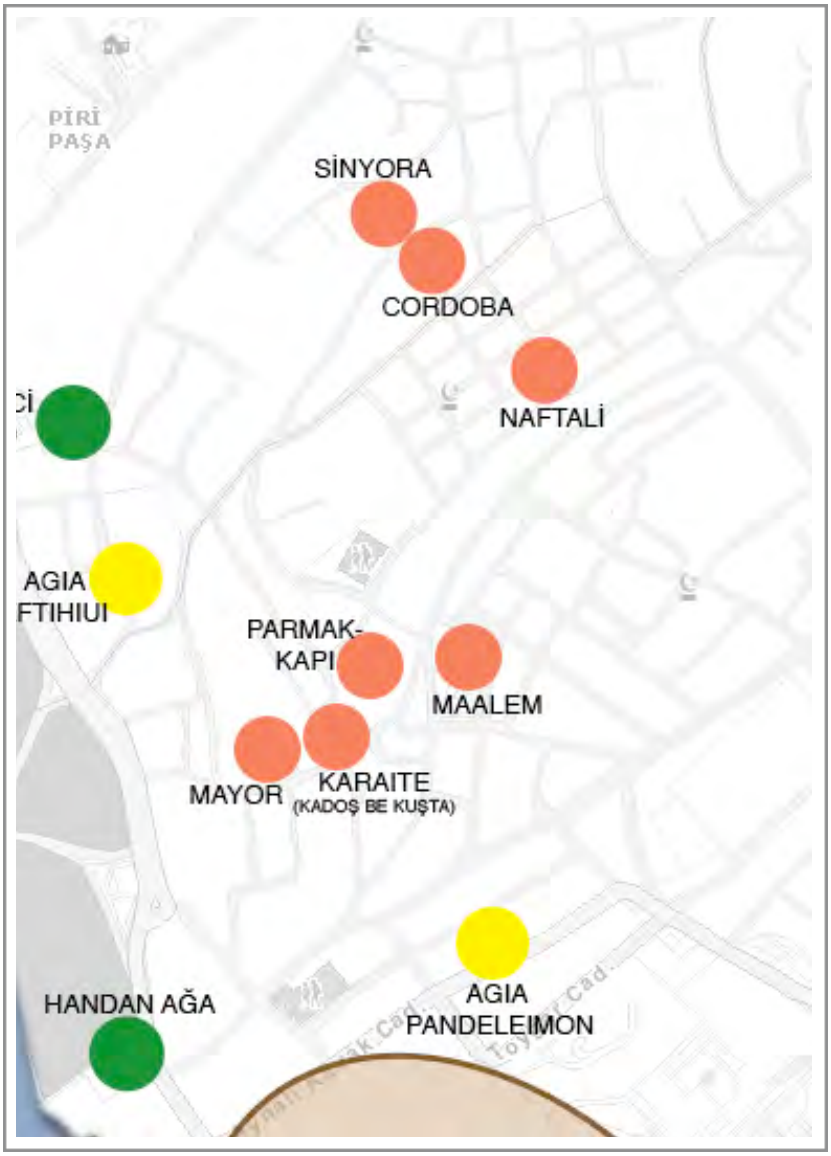



**Figure 34.** Locations of the synagogues in Hasköy

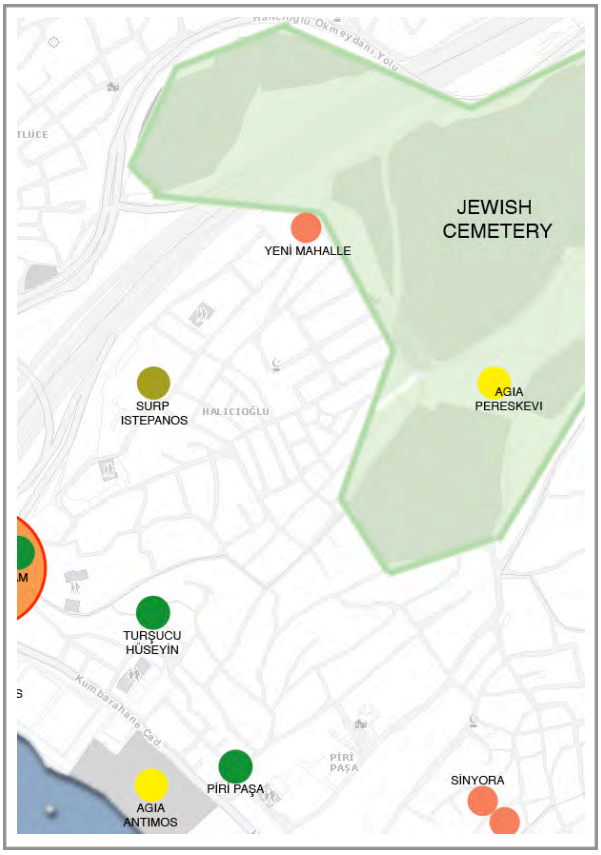



**Figure 35**. Location of the synagogue of Yeni Mahalle

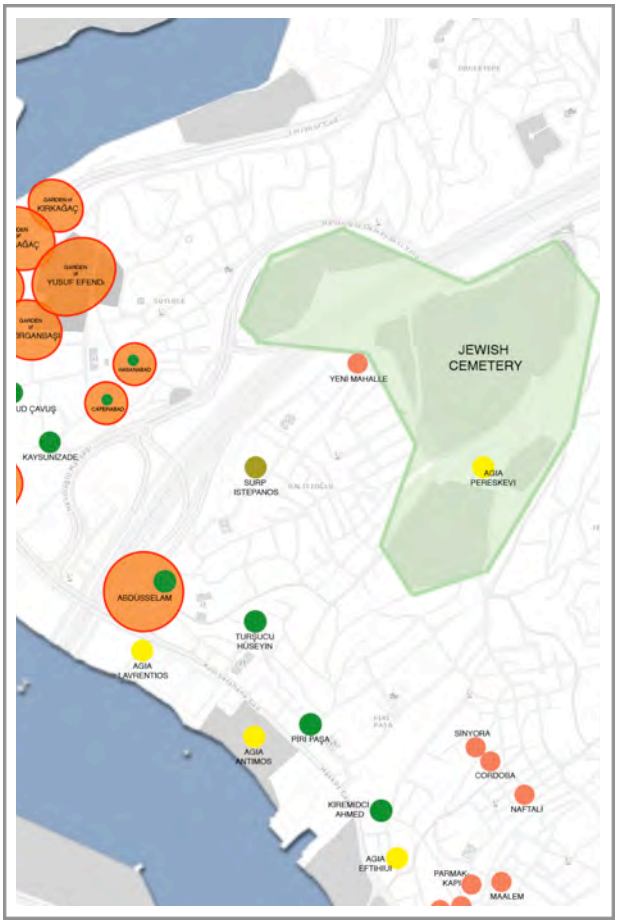



**Figure 36.** Approximate location of the Jewish Cemetery in the 17th century

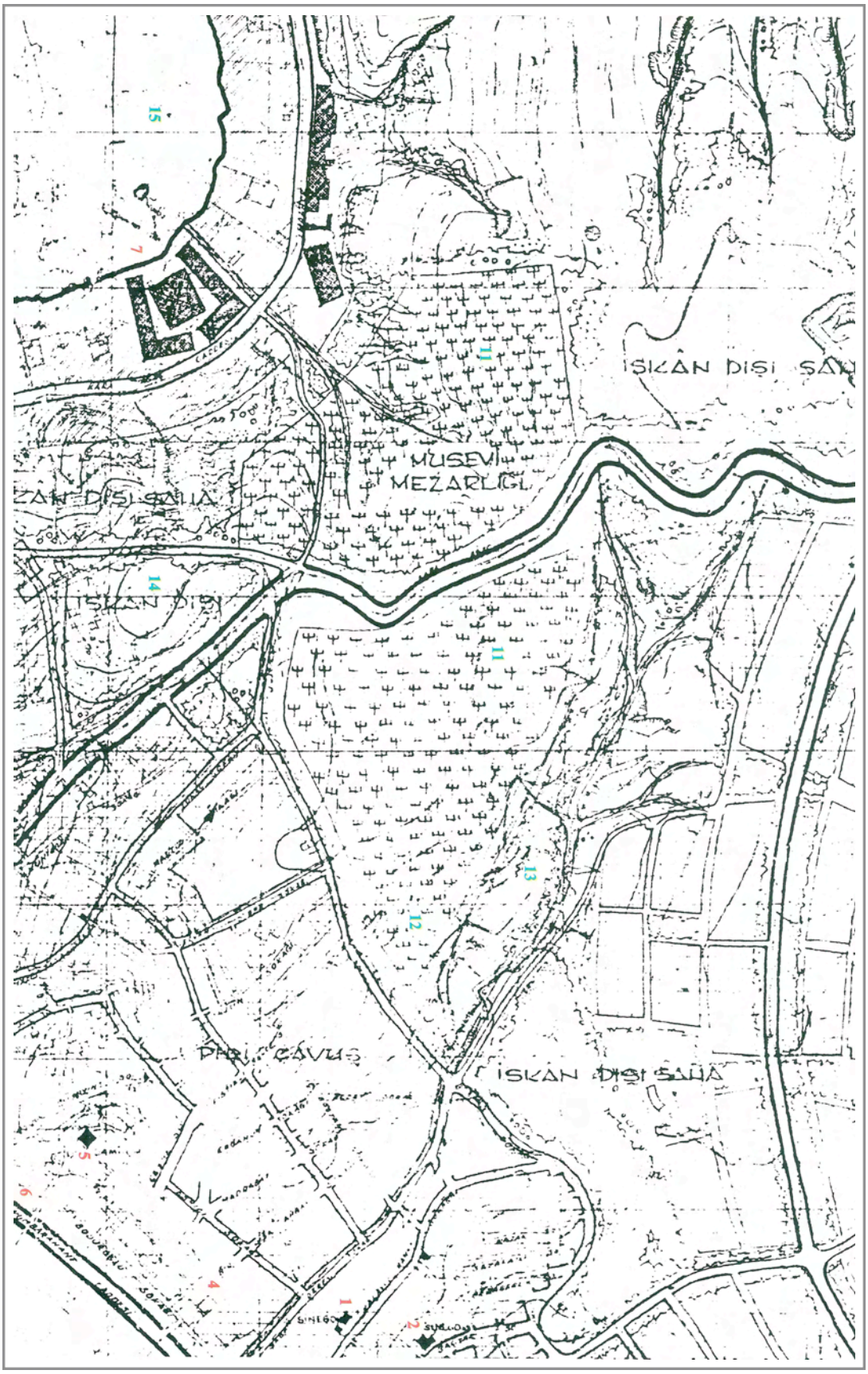



**Figure 37.** Hasköy Cemetery and Environs, 1954, Istanbul Municipality (Rozen 1994: 9)

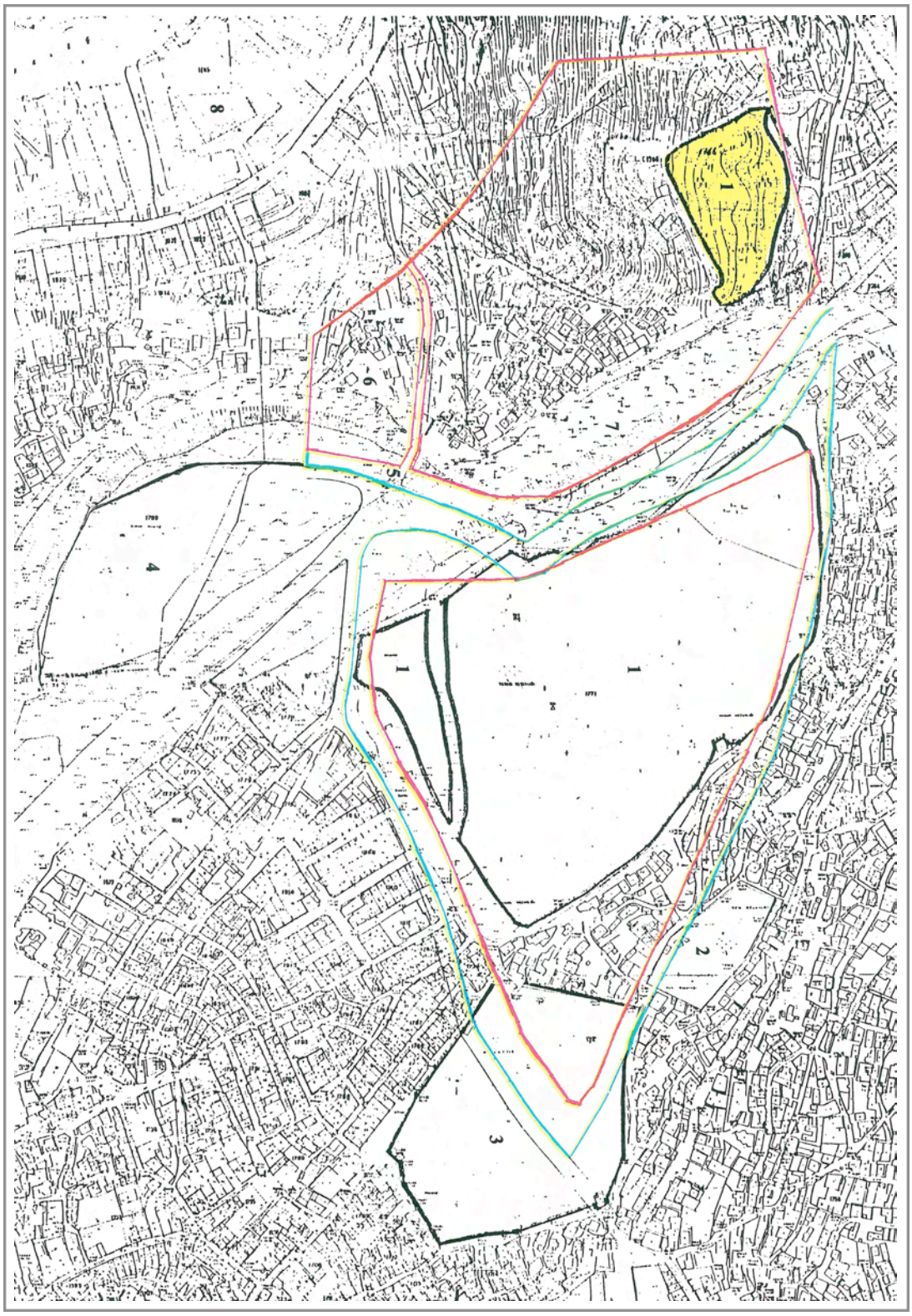


**Figure 38.** Hasköy Cemetery and Environs, 1989, Istanbul Municipality (Rozen 1994: 10)

**Figure 39.** Working Map of Hasköy Cemetery, Klaus Bockmann,1989 (Rozen 1994: 11)

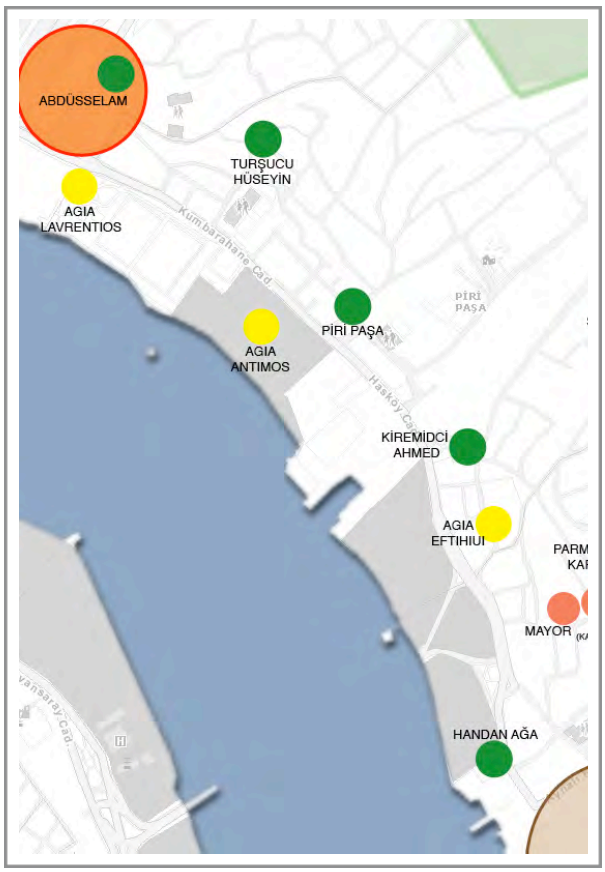



**Figure 40.** Mosques of Hasköy

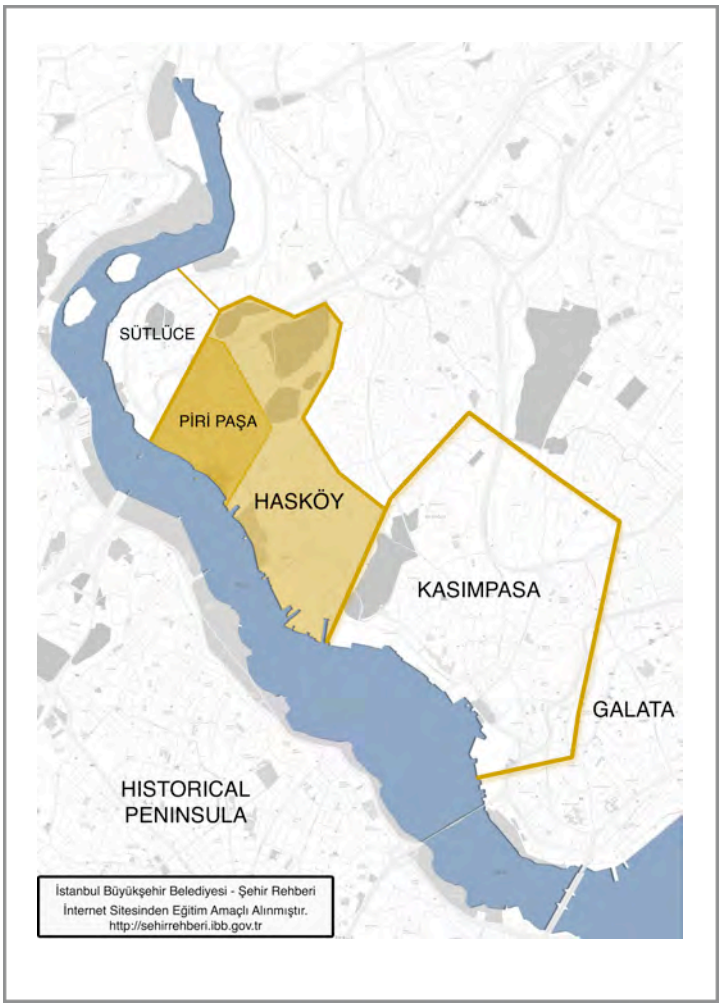



**Figure 41**. Approximate location of Piri Paşa in the 17th century

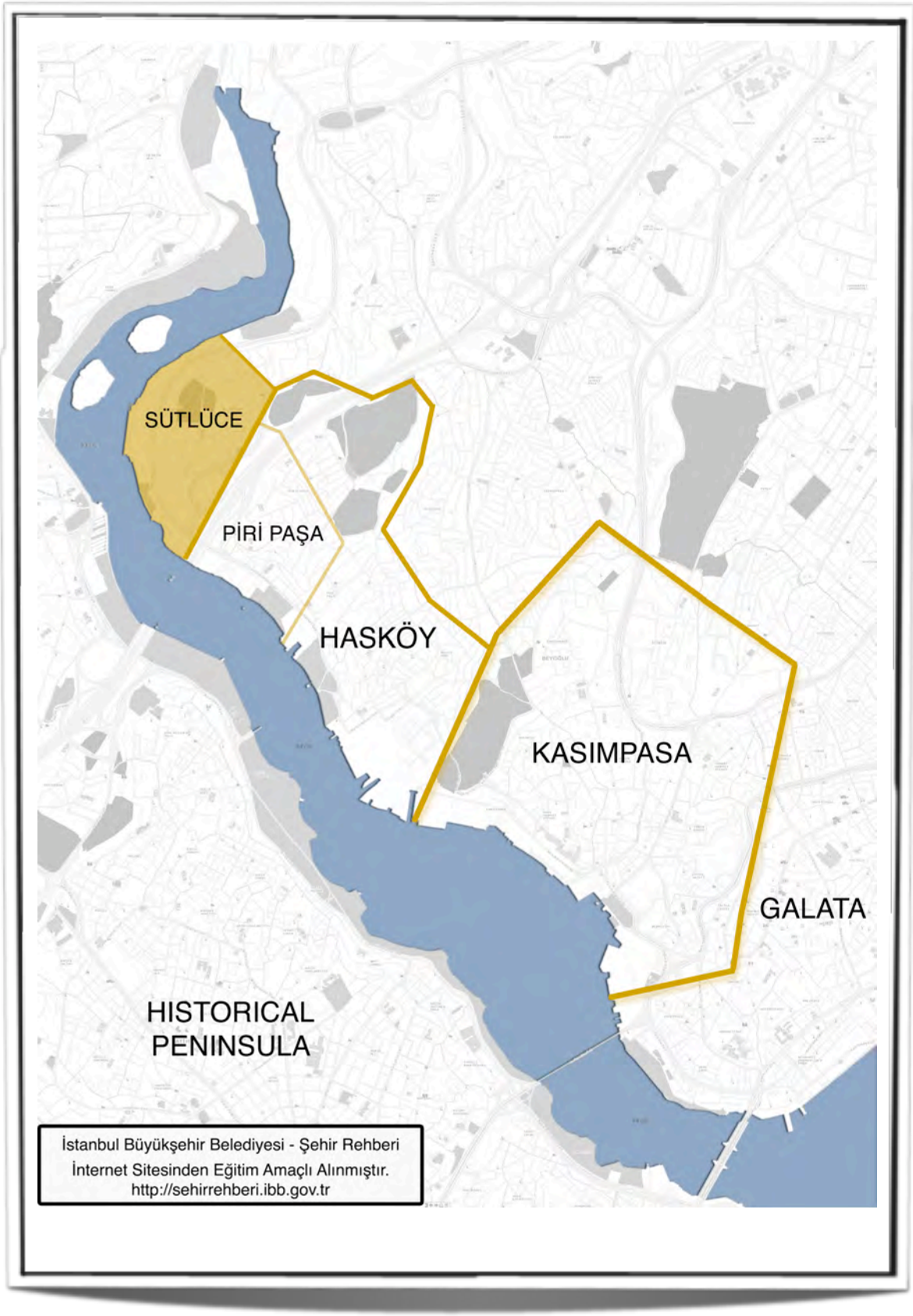



**Figure 42.** Approximate location of Sütlüce in the 17th century

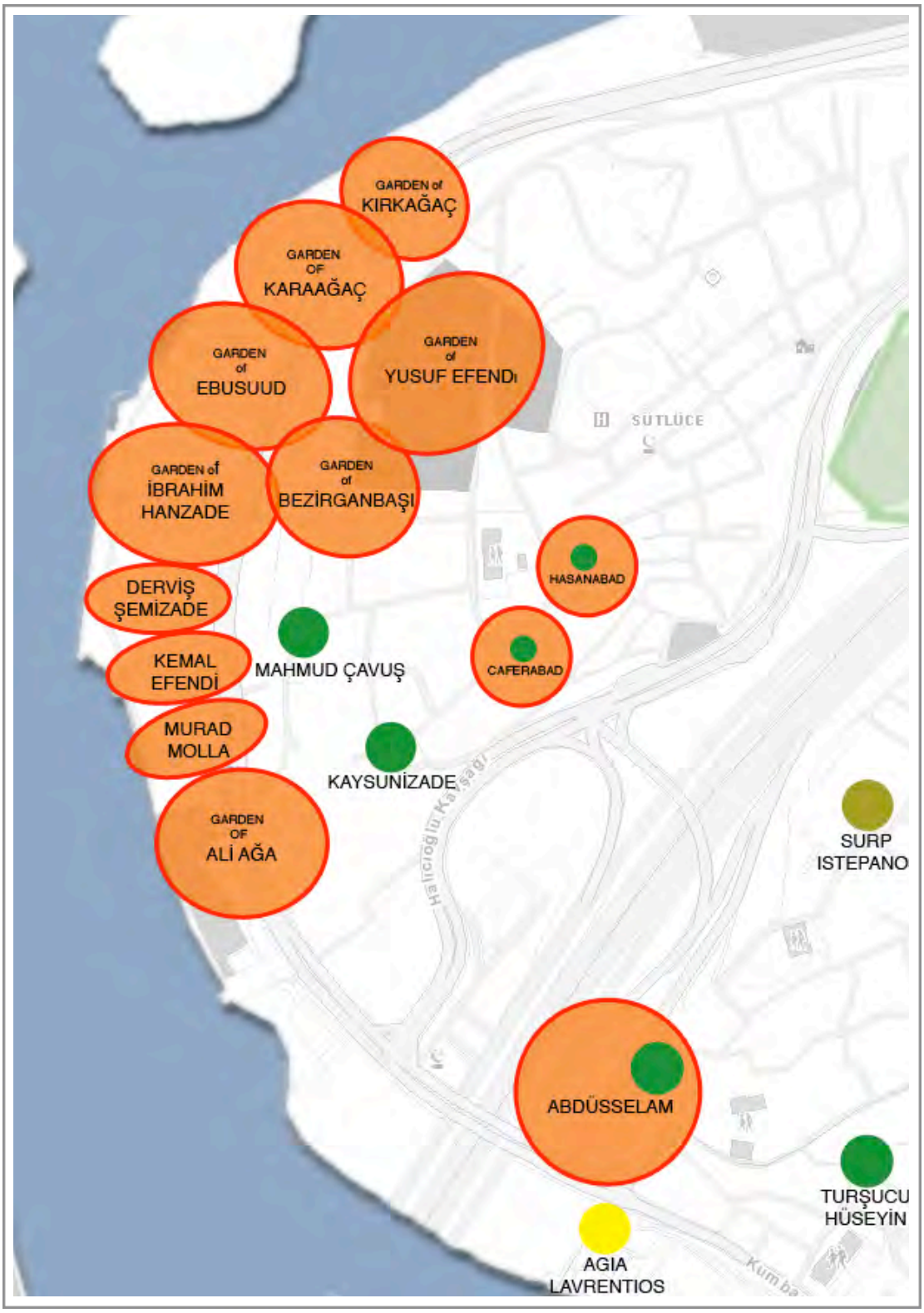



**Figure 43.** Mosques and Gardens of Sütlüce

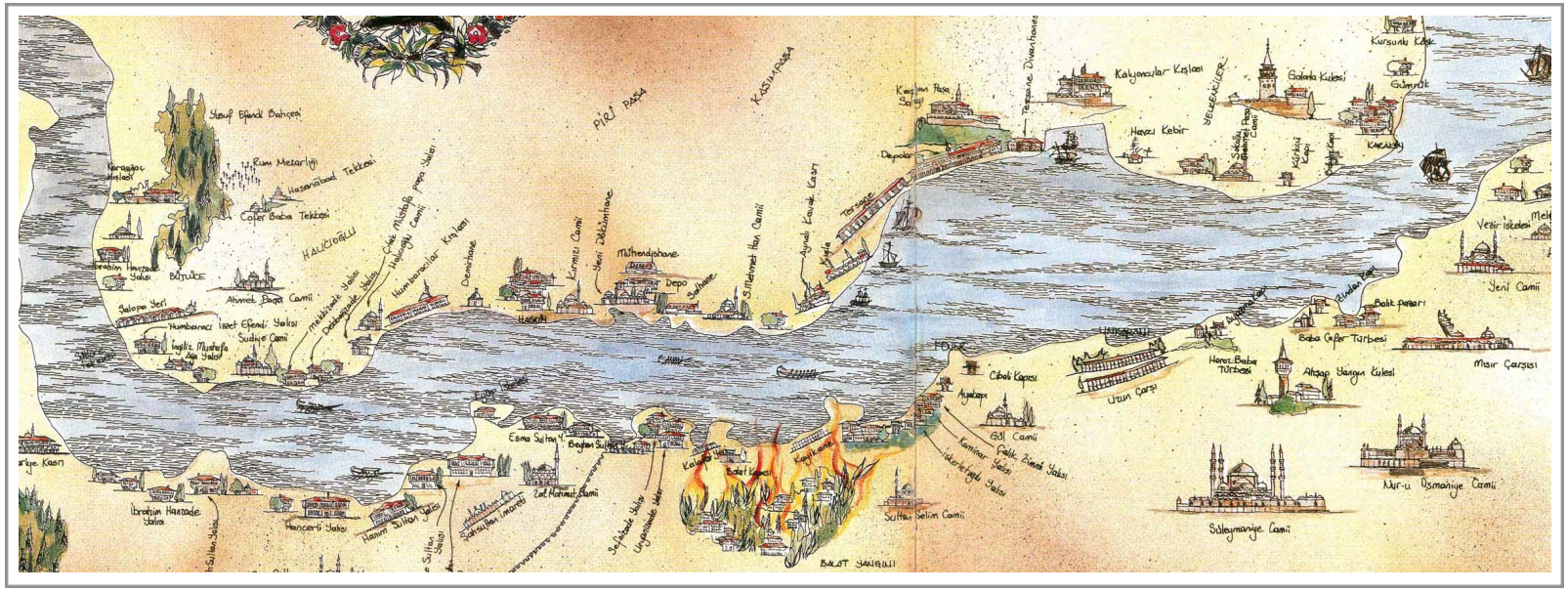



**Figure 44.** “1800-1830 Haliç’te Yerleşim”, Cahit Kayra-E. Üye Pazarcı, II.Mahmud’un Bostancıbaşı Sicilleri

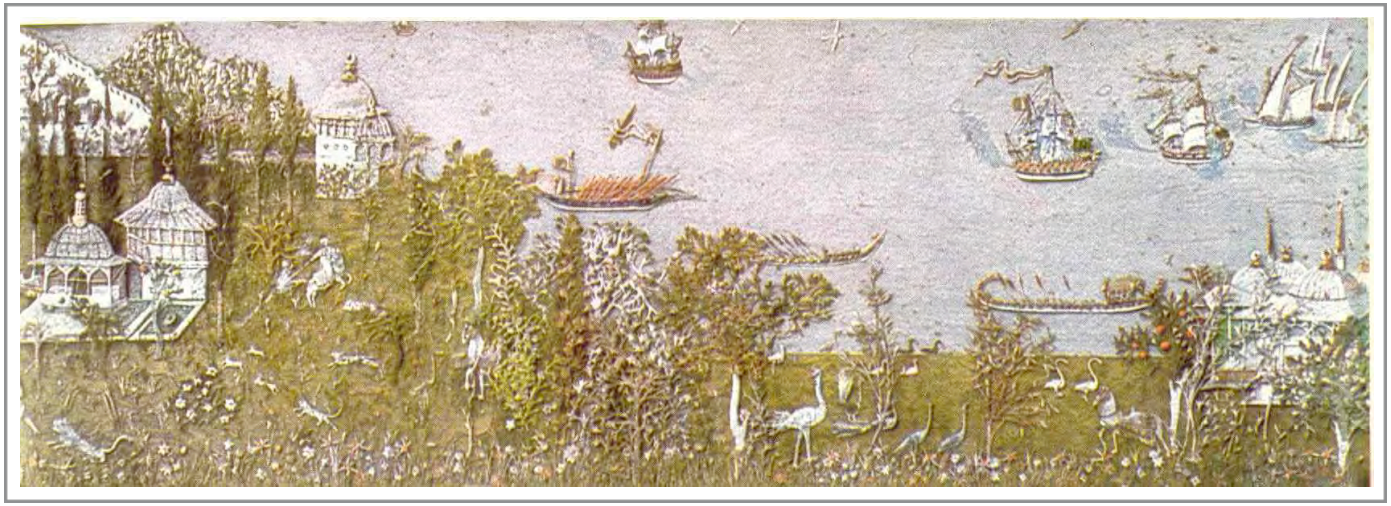


**Figure 45.** The Outer Lid of a writing cabinet, TSMK CY 463

**Figure 46.** "Panorama of Istanbul", Pieter Van Den Keere, 1616 (from Babinger,1960)

**Figure 47.** "Panorama of Istanbul", Giovanni Temini, 1642 (from Babinger, 1960)

**Figure 48.** Şekl-i Haliç-i Kostantiniyye, Katip Çelebi, IUK, 1648

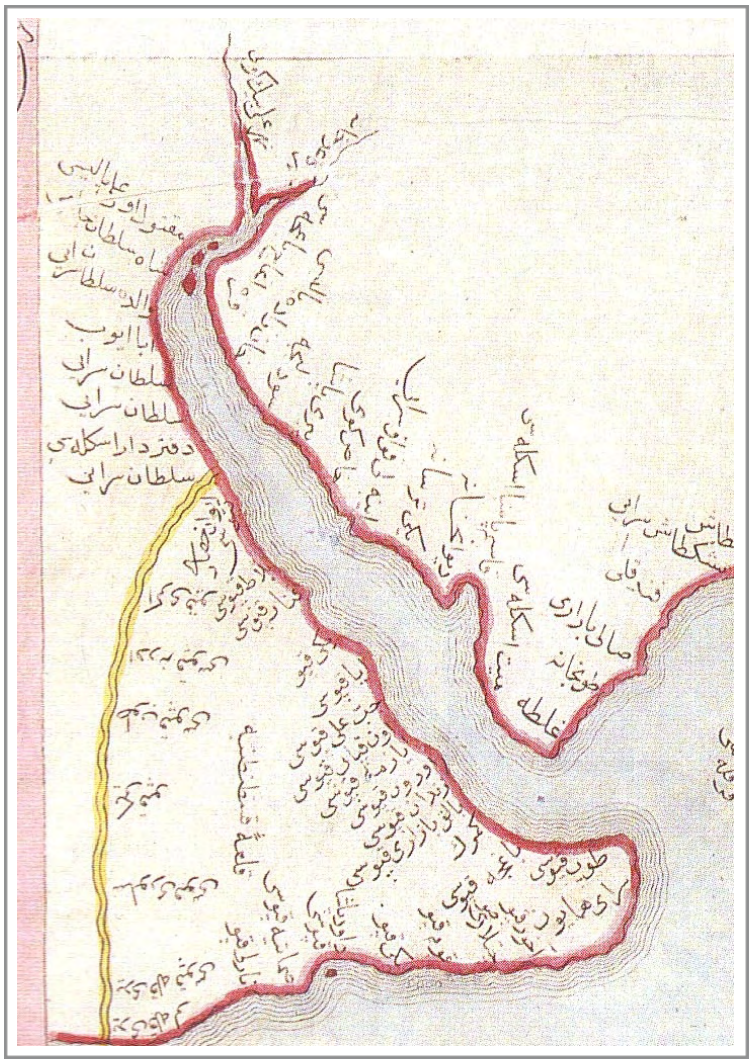


**Figure 49.** Detail, Şekl-i Haliç-i Kostantiniyye, Katip Çelebi, IUK, 1648

**Figure 50.** Map of Istanbul, 17th century, Halil Bezmen Private Collection (from İstanbul Haritaları, TSKB, 1990)

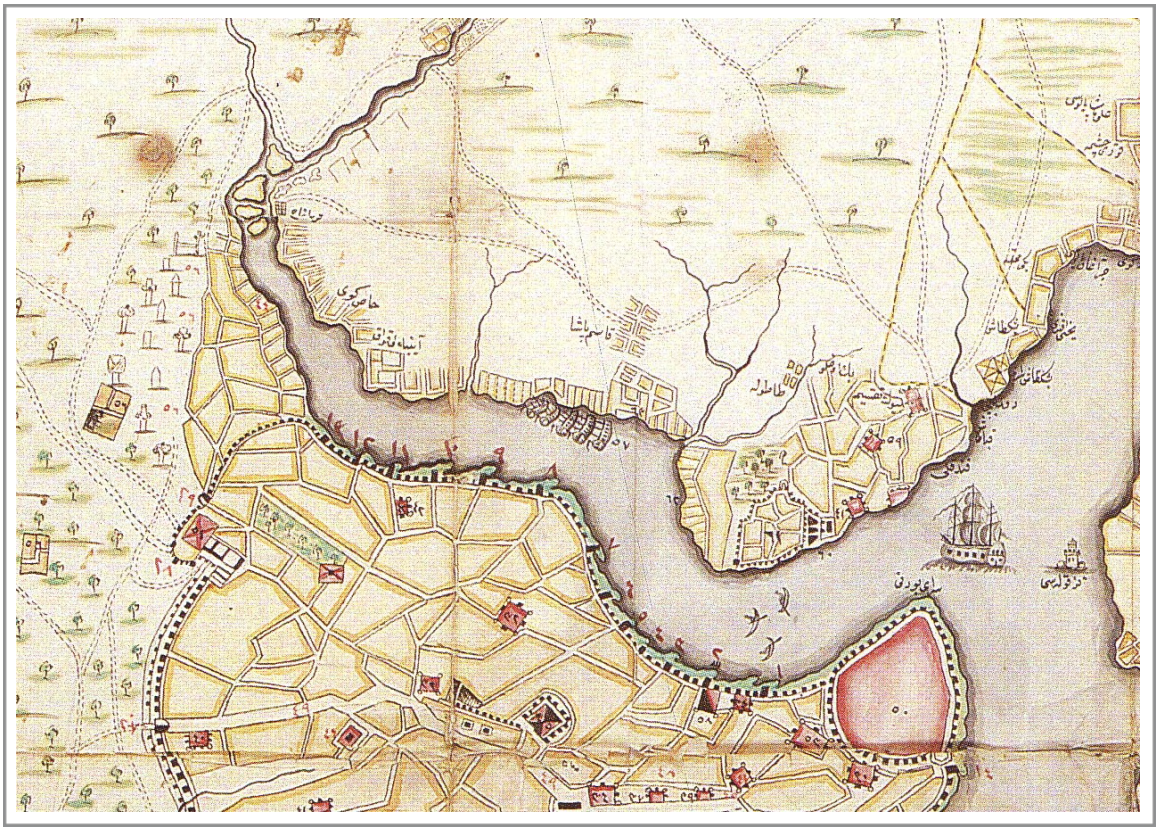


**Figure 51.** Detail, Map of Istanbul, 17th century, Halil Bezmen Private Collection (from İstanbul Haritaları, TSKB, 1990)

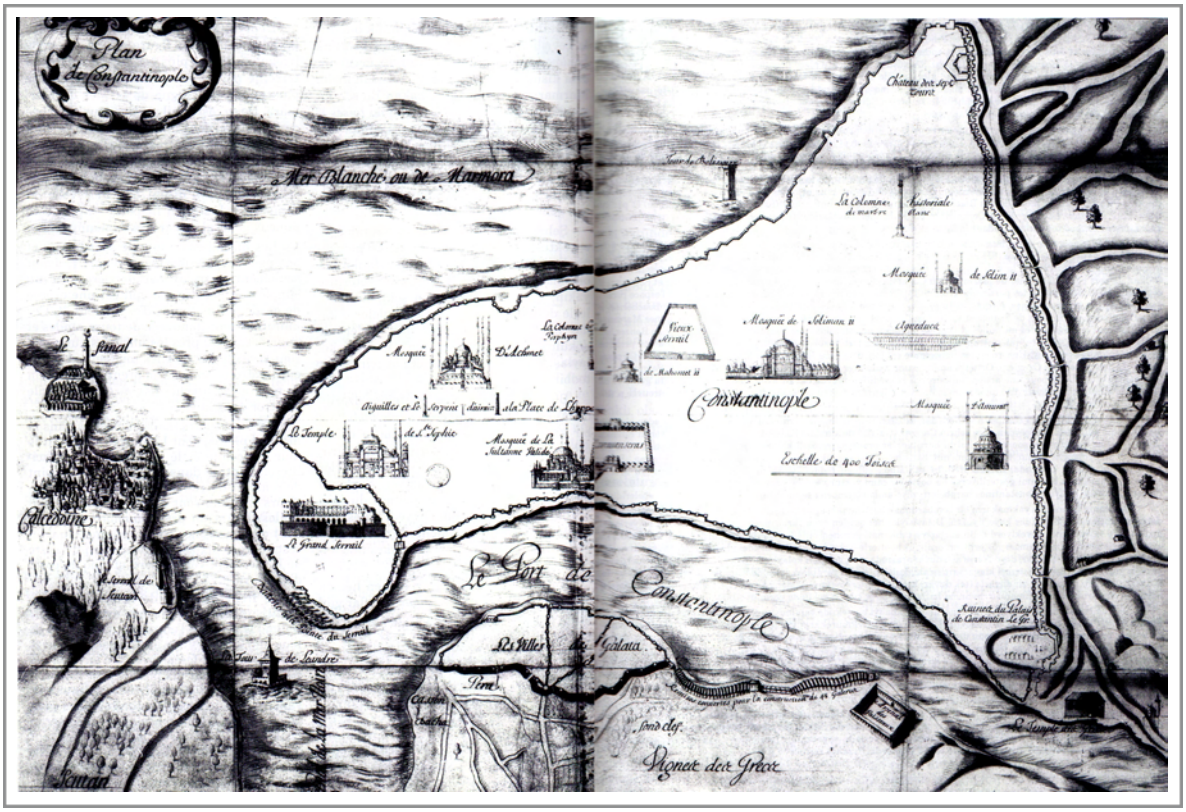



**Figure 52.** "Plan de Constantinople", Gravier d'Ortieres, Bibliothéque National de France, ms. fr. 7176

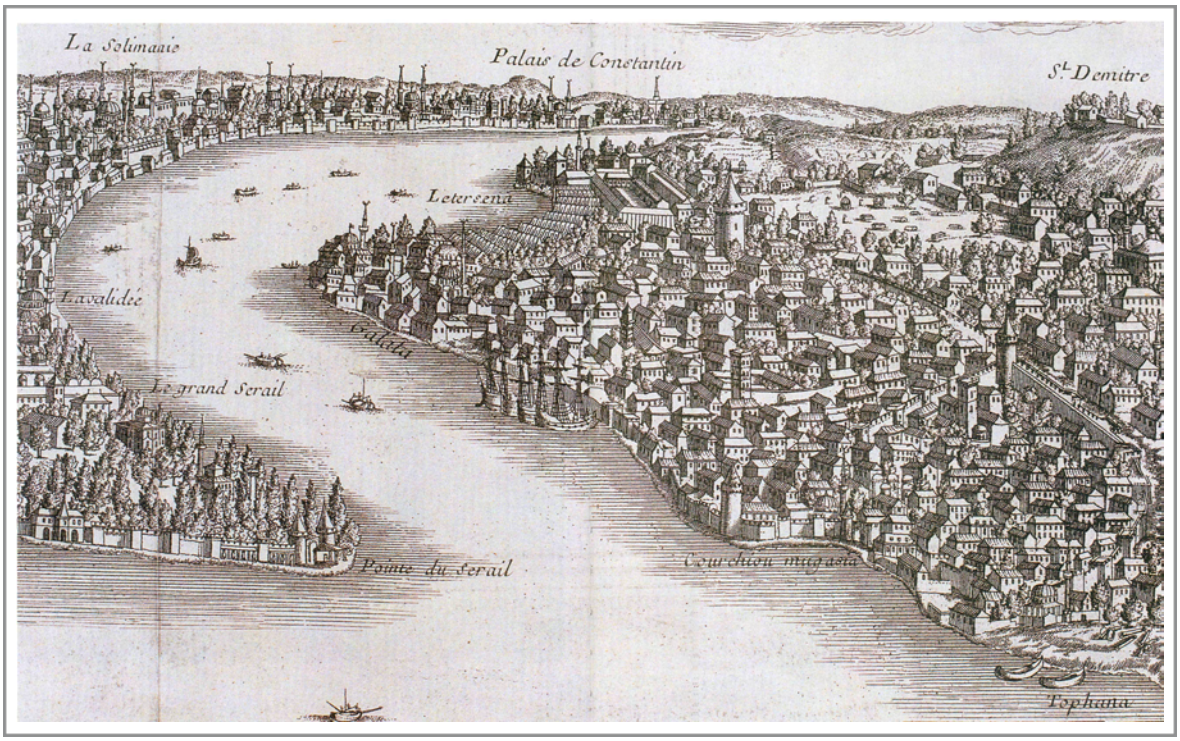



**Figure 53.** "Palais de Constantine", engraving by Grelot, Gennadios Library, ca. 1680

**Picture 1**. The Bedreddin Mosque

**Picture 2**. The Çatma Mosque

**Pictures 3 and 4.** The Emin Bey Mosque

**Picture 5**. The Eyyühüm Mosque

**Picture 6.** The Gedik Abdi Mosque

**Pictures 7 and 8.** The Güzelce Kasımpaşa Mosque

**Picture 9.** The Hacı Ahmed Mosque

**Picture 10.** The Hacı Hüsrev Mosque

**Pictures 11 and 12.** The Hacı Hüsrev Mosque

**Picture 13.** The Hüsameddin Uşşak, Mosque

**Picture 14.** The İbadullah Mosque

**Picture 15.** The Kapudan Mosque

**Picture 16.** The Remains of Kasımpaşa Lodge

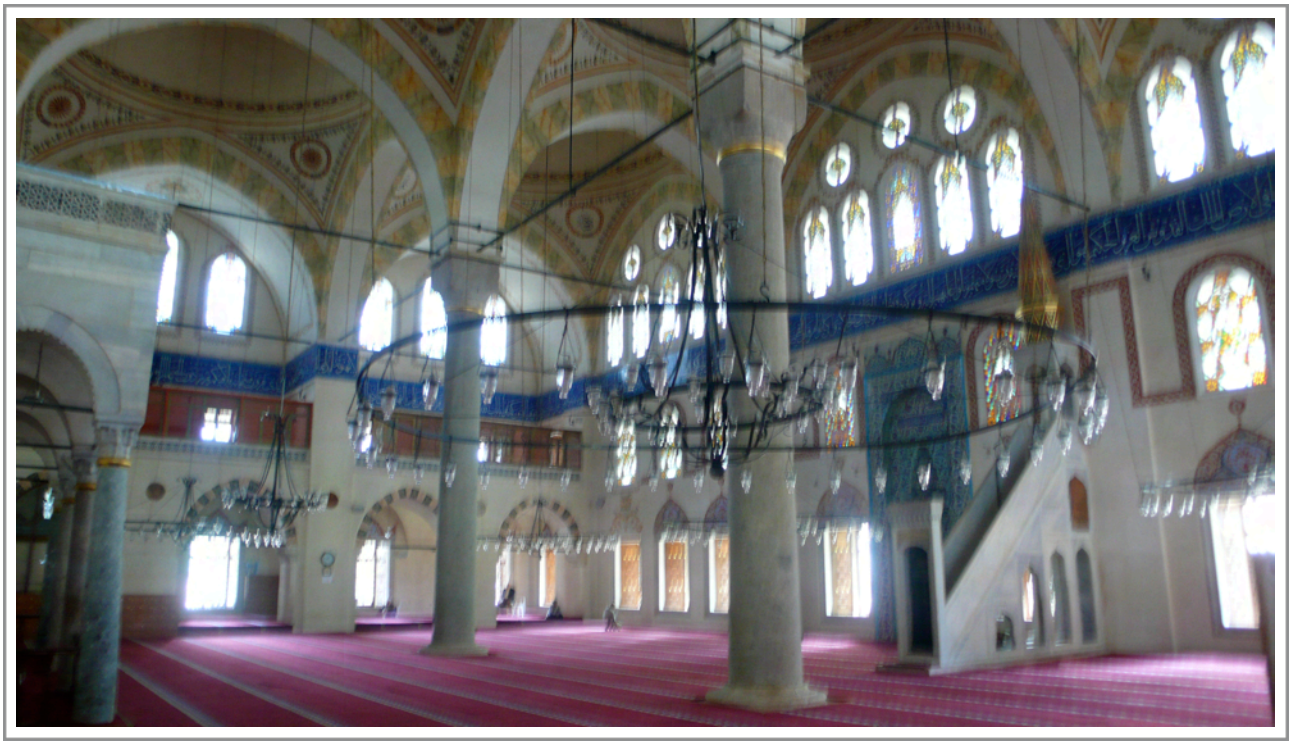
**Pictures 17 and 18.** The Kulaksız Mosque

**Picture 19.** The Kurd Çelebi Mosque

**Picture 20.** The Küçük Piyale Mosque

**Pictures 21 and 22.** The Piyale Paşa Mosque

**Pictures 23 and 24.** The Piyale Paşa Mosque



**Pictures 25 and 26.** The Piyale Paşa Mosque

**Picture 27.** The Saçlı Emir Mosque

**Picture 28.** The Sinan Paşa Mosque

**Picture 29.** The Sirkeci Mosque

**Picture 30.** The Sivrikoz Mosque

**Picture 30.** The Süruri Mosque

**Picture 31.** The Tahta Kadı Mosque

**Picture 32.** The Türabi Dede Mosque

**Picture 33.** The Mosque of Yahya Kethüda

**Picture 34.** The Yeldeğirmeni Mosque

**Picture 35.** The Yeni Çeşme Mosque