

**NURBANU SULTAN’S “WAQF NEIGHBORHOOD” IN ÜSKÜDAR:
CONSTRUCTING, POPULATING AND GOVERNING MA‘MÛRE
(16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES)**

by

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ABSTRACT

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Following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople and the city's subsequent designation as the imperial capital, Üsküdar gradually developed from a rural village into one of the three boroughs of Istanbul. From the latter half of the fifteenth century, Üsküdar served as the principal transit hub and halting station on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, marking the beginning of the routes leading to Anatolia and the eastern provinces of the empire. Its strategic significance made Üsküdar a focal point for construction projects, many of which were commissioned by the royal women of the imperial household. Among these projects, Nurbanu Sultan's urban initiative transformed the rural outskirts of Üsküdar into a prosperous waqf settlement known as Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. This dissertation examines the socio-spatial formation of Ma'mûre over a fifty-year period (1570-1620), detailing its transformation from a vacant rural area initially into a waqf neighborhood and subsequently into an urban district comprising multiple neighborhoods populated by diverse ethno-religious communities. The study conducts a multidimensional analysis of Ma'mûre's development using an extensive range of textual and visual sources, including court records, tax registers, waqf deeds, imperial orders, travelogs, poems, reports of Venetian diplomats, as well as illustrations, layout plans, and maps. Furthermore, it employs digital mapping tools to visualize the socio-spatial development of Ma'mûre.

This dissertation is organized around four central themes, each addressing different facets of Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood. The investigation begins with a detailed examination of the neighborhood's spatial organization, emphasizing how its physical layout and urban infrastructure were crucial in establishing its function as a way station for travelers. The second theme focuses on the local governance of Ma'mûre, discussing how and why this waqf neighborhood was managed by a different administrative cadre than Üsküdar. The third theme shifts the focus to the social fabric of the neighborhood, analyzing the demographic composition of Ma'mûre, as well as the formation of Üsküdar's first Greek, Armenian, and Kibtî neighborhoods. Finally, the dissertation discusses the experiences of those who reside in and visit Ma'mûre, providing various perspectives on life within a waqf-governed settlement. In conclusion, this dissertation not only proposes a framework and a methodology for assessing urban settlements established through waqf institutions from multiple perspectives but also uses this framework to analyze the socio-spatial development of Ma'mûre.

ÖZETÇE

Nurbanu Sultan'ın Üsküdar'daki “Vakıf Mahallesi”: Mahalle-i Ma'mûre'nin İnşası, Nüfuslandırılması, ve Yönetimi (16. ve 17. Yüzyıllar)

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Konstantinopolis'in Osmanlılar tarafından fethi ve imparatorluk başkenti olarak yeniden inşa edilmesinin ardından, öncesinde kırsal ve seyrek nüfuslu bir yerleşim olan Üsküdar şehrin karşı kıyısındaki bir kasaba ve aynı zamanda İstanbul Kadılığı'nın üç kazasından birine dönüştü. Üsküdar, Anadolu ile imparatorluğun doğu illerine giden yolların başlangıç noktası olmasından ötürü on beşinci yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren hanları ve imaretleri ile bir menzil kasabası olarak hizmet vermeye başladı. Üsküdar'ın stratejik konumu ve önemi, özellikle hanım sultanların birbiri ardına gelen hayırseverlik faaliyetleri için bu kasabayı seçmelerine yol açtı. Bu projeler arasında, Nurbanu Sultan'ın külliyesi, Üsküdar'ın kırsal çevresini Mahalle-i Ma'mûre adı verilen bir vakıf yerleşkesine dönüştürdü. Bu tez, Nurbanu Sultan'ın külliyesini inşa ettiği bölgenin elli yıllık bir dönemde (1570-1620) nasıl boş bir kırsal alandan önce bir vakıf mahallesi, ardından çeşitli etnik-dini toplulukların yaşadığı birden fazla mahalleden oluşan bir semte dönüştüğünü incelemektedir. Ma'mûre'nin sosyo-mekansal gelişimi, mahkeme kayıtları, muhasebe defterleri, vakfiyeler, fermanlar, seyahatnameler, şiirler, Venedik diplomatlarının raporları, minyatürler, planlar ve haritalar dahil olmak üzere çeşitli metinsel ve görsel kaynaklar kullanılarak incelenmektedir. Ayrıca, Ma'mûre'nin sosyo-mekansal gelişimini görselleştirmek için dijital haritalama araçları da kullanılmaktadır. Bu tez, Nurbanu Sultan'ın mahallesini çeşitli açılardan ele alan dört dört temel konu başlığı etrafında şekillenmiştir. İlk olarak mahallenin mekansal organizasyonu incelenmiş ve Ma'mûre'nin yolcular için cazip bir konaklama noktasına nasıl dönüştüğü açıklanmıştır. İkinci olarak, Ma'mûre'nin yerel yönetim yapısı ve yöneticileri mercek altına alınmış; Ma'mûre'nin Üsküdar'dan neden farklı bir yönetim kadrosu tarafından idare edildiği tartışılmıştır. Üçüncü olarak Ma'mûre'nin demografik yapısına odaklanılarak Üsküdar'ın ilk Rum, Ermeni ve Kıbtî mahallelerinin oluşumu incelenmiştir. Son olarak, Ma'mûre'de yaşayanların ve orada konaklayanların deneyimleri üzerinden bir vakıf yerleşkesine dair çeşitli perspektifler sunulmaktadır. Sonuç olarak bu tez, Osmanlı vakıf sistemi aracılığıyla kurulan ve yönetilen yerleşimlerin incelenmesi için kapsamlı bir çerçeve ve metodoloji önermekte ve önerilen bu yaklaşım Ma'mûre'nin sosyo-mekansal gelişimini çeşitli perspektiflerden derinlemesine incelemek için kullanılmaktadır.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BOA: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi / Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives

İSTM: İstanbul Mahkemesi / The Court of Istanbul

ŞSC: Şeriye Sicilleri / Sharia Court Records

TDV: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı

VGMA: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi / The Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations

TSMA: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi / Topkapı Palace Museum Archive

SK: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi / Süleymaniye Library

TKA: Tapu ve Kadastro Arşivi/ Land Registry and Cadastre Archive

C. : *Circa* or about.

D. : Died.

R. : Reign dates or dates as ruler.

NOTES ON USAGE

This study adheres to American English spelling conventions, with the Merriam-Webster Dictionary serving as the primary reference for standardization. In cases where multiple spellings are recognized and prevalent—such as “Bosporus” or “Bosphorus,” “sheik” or “sheikh,” and “travelog” or “travelogue,”—the variant most widely used in academic writing has been selected.

Unless specifically required or indicated otherwise, I do not employ the full transliteration alphabet for Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, and Persian words. Instead, I use a simplified transliteration system following the guidelines established by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (IJMES). Accordingly, I use only specific diacritical marks: hamza (ء) and ayn (ع) are shown with (‘) and (’) respectively and I used circumflex (^) when necessary to convey important phonetic distinctions, such as in Mâ‘mûre.

In accordance with the Chicago Manual of Style, 17th edition, I have italicized words and phrases from other languages unless they appear in the Webster’s English-language dictionary. Terms that have been anglicized and are listed in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary—such as muezzin, kadi, imam, Pasha, waqf, and Agha—are not italicized, as they have been fully integrated into common English usage. For place names and other culturally significant terms, the original orthographic characteristics are preserved. For example, place names such as “Kasimpâşa” and “Davudpâşa” retain their Turkish spelling to reflect their local origins while still being comprehensible to an English-speaking audience. Plurals of non-English terms use the English plural suffix *s* (e.g., *subaşıs*, *nâ’ibs* and *nâhiyes*). Additionally, unless otherwise indicated, all translations from foreign language sources are provided by the author.

In the footnotes, all dates are given according to both the Common Era and the Hijri calendar. For the sake of clarity, For clarity, only the months and years of the documents are noted; however, the exact days were carefully considered to ensure precise conversion to their Common Era equivalents. In cases where the exact day of the Hijri month is unknown, the corresponding Common Era month may extend across two months.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. A Brief Overview: The Urban Development of Üsküdar Until 1570

Everyone praises its soul-soothing breeze,
 In short, Üsküdar / is the glory of / is praised by / the children of
 [all] times
 Oh, Mezaki! What if all realms could so thrive?
 Üsküdar is the abode of merriment of the king of the world
 Mezaki Süleyman Efendi (d.1675)¹

Known as Chrysopolis in antiquity and Skoutarion/Scutari during the Byzantine era, Üsküdar lacked a distinct urban identity for centuries. Situated on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, it had long been a maritime village with a bustling ferry harbor since the navigation routes, dictated by the strong currents of the Bosphorus, required navigating along the coast of Scutari to reach Byzantium on the opposite shore.² Additionally, the village held strategic significance both as a site for the transportation of army troops and as a customs checkpoint for vessels departing from the Black Sea.³ In the fourteenth century, when the Ottomans' territorial expansion approached the gates of Constantinople, Scutari became the eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire and emerged as a hub for socio-cultural exchanges among the Byzantines, Latins, and Ottomans, particularly through commercial transactions at its weekly market.⁴

¹ "Medh ider feyz-ı hevâ-yı cân-fezâsın her kişi / Hâsılı memdûh-ı ebnâ-yı zamândur Üsküdâr / Ey Mezâkî n'ola ma'mûr olsa böyle her yeri / 'İşret-âbâd-ı şehen-şâh-ı cihândur Üsküdâr." Mezaki Süleyman Efendi (d.1675) Translated by the author. Ahmet Mermer, *Mezâkî Hayatı, Edebî Kişiliği ve Divanı'nın Tenkidli Metni* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1991), 317-318.

² Klaus Belke, "Gates to Asia Minor: The Harbours of Chalcedon, Chrysopolis, Hiercia and Eutropiu Limen Opposite Constantinople," in *The Byzantine Harbours of Constantinople*, eds. Falko Daim, Ewald Kislinger (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2021), 228.

³ Semavi Eyice, *Bizans Devrinde Boğaziçi* (Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2021), 77-82. Thomas James Russell, *Byzantium and the Bosphorus: A Historical Study, from the Seventh Century BC until the Foundation of Constantinople* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 62.

⁴ The Castilian ambassador Clavijo, who spent the winter months of 1403–1404 in Constantinople, recorded his observations indicating a vibrant cross-cultural exchange between Constantinople and Scutari. He noted that Turkish merchants were regular visitors to Constantinople, while Byzantines and Latins frequented the weekly market in Scutari. Nearly two decades later, the Russian pilgrim Zosima, who visited the Byzantine

The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, followed by the city's reconstruction as the new Ottoman capital, marked the beginning of Üsküdar's development as the Asian borough of *intramuros* Istanbul. During the reign of Mehmed II (1451–1481), the urban development of Üsküdar centered around two sites: the Damalis Cape, which had previously hosted the summer palace of the Byzantine emperors, and Üsküdar's principal boat landing, known as the Great Pier (*Büyük İskele*).⁵ The location of potable water sources, especially holy springs (*ayazmas*), played a crucial role in the early development of Ottoman Üsküdar. The Ottoman settlement in the town began in Salacak (or in Hergele Mahallesi), where Sultan Mehmed built a masjid, a public fountain, and an open-air prayer place (*namazgâh*), drawing people to the area renowned for its two ancient water sources: the Dodeka Apostoli and the Philippikos holy springs.⁶ (see Map 1.1 and Map 1.3, no. 1). These springs met the daily water needs of the inhabitants until the construction of water distribution systems after the 1540s. (see Table 2.3).

In 1471-72, Sultan Mehmed's grand vizier, Rum Mehmed Pasha, commissioned a mosque complex (*külliye* in modern usage) in a site renowned for its holy springs and its commanding views of the Bosphorus.⁷ His complex included a mosque, a madrasa, a public

capital twice between late 1419 and 1422, highlighted the frequent crossings of Greeks and Latins from Constantinople and Pera to Scutari to trade with the Turks. Nevra Necipoğlu, *Byzantium Between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 201. For the original sources, see Ruy Gonz'ales de Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. F. López Estrada (Madrid, 1999), 146. Ignatius of Smolensk, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. and trans. G. P. Majeska (Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, 1984), 190–191.

⁵ Niketas Khoniates, *Historia (Ioannes ve Manuel Komnenos Devirleri)*, trans. Fikret İşıltan (Ankara: TTK, 1995), 144, 281. Şehrazat Karagöz, "Marmaray-Üsküdar Arkeolojik Kazıları," *Mimarist*, vol.10, no.38 (Istanbul: TMMOB, 2010), 69. Paul Magdalino, "Imperial Constantinople," in *The Cambridge Companion to Constantinople*, ed. Sarah Bassett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 142.

⁶ İsmail Orman, "Osmanlı Su Medeniyeti: Üsküdar'daki Su Tesisleri Bağlamında Bir Değerlendirme," in *Üsküdar Sempozyumu Bildiriler: 23-25 May 2003*, vol. 1, eds. Zekeriya Kurşun et. al. (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2003), 117. Ersoy Soydan, "Üsküdar Ayazmaları," in *Uluslararası Üsküdar Sempozyumu IX Bildiriler: October 2018*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2016), 585-600. İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Abideleriyle ve Kitabeleriyle Üsküdar Tarihi*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Türkiye Yeşilay Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1977), 149-151. Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Ayazma, Ayazmalar," in *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 3 (Istanbul: 1960), 1505.

⁷ Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 119. İrfan Özgül, "Üsküdar'ın Kentsel-Mekânsal Dönüşümü Bağlamında Rum Mehmed Paşa Camisi'nin Koruma Sorunları" (master's thesis, Kadir Has University, 2016), 81.

The area where the Rum Mehmed Paşa mosque stood would later be known as Şemsipaşa. The eighteenth-century divan poet İzzet Efendi recounts in his *Sahilname* that most of his friends prefer living in the Şemsi Paşa neighborhood, which is renowned for its holy springs. "*Üsküdâr bağları hayli safâli ammâ /Şemsi Paşa'yı*

kitchen, a bath, a caravanserai, and a covered market, referred to as *Bat Pazarı*, *Sipahiler Çarşısı*, or *Arasta Çarşısı*.⁸ (see Map 1.2) Following the complex's construction, a neighborhood named after Rum Mehmed Pasha, the waqf-endower, developed around it.⁹ (see Map 1.1 and Map 1.3, no. 3) Mehmed II's building projects, including the construction of a bath and a khan near his vizier's complex, further consolidated Üsküdar's socio-economic core along the coast and served as assets generating revenue for the Ayasofya waqf.¹⁰

The earliest fiscal survey providing information about Üsküdar is the detailed tax register (*mufasssal tahrir defteri*) of the Province of Anatolia (*Anadolu Eyâleti*).¹¹ This register contains extensive demographic and socio-economic data for the empire's ten

*makarr itdi gürûh-ı ahbâb / oldu güyâ Balaban şorba yemekden zâhid /nûş ider bulsa Ayazmâ'da eger var ise âb / Üsküdar's vineyards bring much delight, indeed, /Yet friends have made Şemsi Paşa their chosen stea./ Once they ate Balaban's soup, they became like dervishes / They'd drink, should Ayazma's waters meet their need.) Translation by the author. Asaf Halet Çelebi, *Divan Şiirinde İstanbul* (İstanbul: Fatih Derneği Yayınları, 1953), 131.*

⁸ Kolağası Mehmed Raif, *Mir'ât-ı İstanbul: Anadolu Yakası*, vol. 1 eds. Günay Kut, Hatice Aynur (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2021), 136. İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleriyle Üsküdar Tarihi*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Türkiye Yeşilay Cemiyeti, 1977), 429. The covered market was located where, today, the underground metro station of Üsküdar stands, directly across from the Gülnuş Valide Sultan Mosque (*Yeni Valide Camii*).

⁹ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi states that during the later period of Mehmed II's reign, Üsküdar had three neighborhoods, including Salacak, Rum Mehmed Pasha, and Toygar Hamza Mahallesi. While Ayverdi's assertion regarding Salacak and Rum Mehmed Pasha aligns with the data in the court records, the chronology he attributes to the development of Toygar Hamza Mahallesi necessitates reconsideration. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fatih Devri sonlarında İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskâni ve Nüfusu* (Ankara: Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü, 1958), 56. Mine Arslan dates the development of Toygar Hamza Mahallesi to the reign of Süleyman I. Mine Arslan, "Kanuni Döneminde Üsküdar'ın Kentsel Gelişimi ve Demografisi (1520-1566)" (PhD diss., İstanbul Medeniyet University, 2022), 84-85. Therefore, it can be argued that in the 1470s, the population of Üsküdar was primarily concentrated in Salacak and in the area stretching from Mehmed Pasha's mosque complex to the boat landing area (also known as Büyük İskele). This demographic pattern persisted until the first half of the sixteenth century, a period marked by the construction of several mosques along today's Hakimiyet-i Milliye Caddesi. This development significantly shifted the town's residential zone toward the empire's main highway.

¹⁰ Mehmed II's waqf deed (1472/1473) is preserved in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (*Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi*), no. 2202 (old register number 666), 869-870. Eyüp Sabri Kala, "Fatih Külliyesi ve Ayasofya-i Kebir Vakfı (Hayır Müesseseleri, Hizmetleri, Görevlileri ve Yönetimi)," *FSM İlmi Araştırmalar İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi*, vol. 15 (Spring 2020), 120.

¹¹ BOA.TT. d.438.p. 793 (937/1530). Also see Ahmet Özkılınç et. al. ed. *438 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu Defteri (937/1530)* (Ankara: Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1993), 68. Yunus Uğur, "Tarihsel Kaynaklar, Temsil ve Osmanlı Şehirleri: 937/1530 Tarihli Muhasebe-i Vilayet Defterleri'ni Dönemin Benzeri Kaynakları Arasında Konumlandırmak," *Divan*, vol. 24, no. 48 (2020/1): 37-69. Feridun Emecen, "Mufasssaldan İcmale," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 16, (1996): 37-44.

sanjaks. Conducted in 1530 during the reign of Süleyman I (1520-1566), this survey indicates that Üsküdar was categorized as a town (*nefs-i Üsküdar, kasabadır*) and fell under the jurisdiction of the judicial district of Gebze (*Gebze Kazası*) in the sanjak of Kocaeli. In 1530, it boasted a madrasa, two mosques, two convents, three masjids, and two public baths, which were distributed throughout its eight neighborhoods.¹² These neighborhoods accommodated 169 households, 50 tax-exempt households, and 50 single adult male (*mücerred*) residents. Remarkably, the register does not include any non-Muslim taxpayers, indicating a predominantly Muslim population in the town.¹³ If we assume an average of four members per household, Üsküdar's estimated population would have been 926.¹⁴ Given the town's administrative status as the sultan's privy purse (*padişah hâssı*), its revenues were reserved for the sultans' private treasury.¹⁵

¹² These eight neighborhoods include: Salacak (or Hergele), Rum Mehmed Paşa (or İmaret-i Mehmed Paşa), Kefçe Dede, Hamza Fakih, Davud Paşa, Geredeli, Bulgurlu, and Selman Ağa Mahallesi. BOA.TT.d.438.p. 793 (937/1530).

¹³ "The detailed tax registers typically record the tax-paying adult male/*nefer* population in a settlement along with the number of tax-paying households/*hane*. However, there are cases where these registers only provide data on the tax-paying adult male population. Consequently, this data does not reveal the 'total population' of a settlement. This omission has prompted researchers who aim to estimate the 'total population' to introduce specific multipliers for *nefer* or *hane*." Osman Gümüştü, *The Ottoman Tahrir Defters as a Source for Historical Geography*, *Belleten*, vol. 72, no. 265 (2008): 911-941.

For a discussion on the methods for population calculations on tax registers, see Bekir Kemal Ataman, "Ottoman Demographic History (14th-17th Centuries). Some Considerations," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 35, no. 2 (1992): 187-198; Huri İslamoğlu İnanc, *State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire: Agrarian Power Relations and Regional Economic Development in Ottoman Anatolia during the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 27-35; Geza Dávid, "The Age of Unmarried Male Children in the Tahrir Defters (Notes on the Coefficient)," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 3, no. 3 (1977): 347-357.

¹⁴ If we assume an average of four members per household, the population of *nefs-i Üsküdar* was estimated to be 926. I calculated the population by multiplying the total number of households (219) by 4 and then adding the number of single adult males (50).

Ömer Lütfi Barkan used a multiplier of five for each household and added an estimated 10% for those tax-exempt people who might not have been registered. He also did not count single adult males, and he considered them within the households. According to his method, Üsküdar's population was roughly 1204 in 1530. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, vol. 51/ 1 (2001): 6.

¹⁵ In her dissertation on the demographic structure of sixteenth-century Üsküdar, Mine Arslan analyzed 74 estate inventories recorded from 1520 to 1530. Based on these inventories, she calculated that the average household size during this period was 3.7. Arslan, "Kanuni Döneminde Üsküdar'ın Kentsel Gelişimi," 122. Also see: Mine Arslan, "Tahrir Defteri Verilerinin Nüfus Hesaplamaları için Güvenilirliğine Dair Mukayeseli bir İnceleme," *Medeniyet Kültürel Araştırmalar Belleteni, İMÜ Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol.3/2 (2022): 20-34.

Despite its modest population in the first half of the fifteenth century, Üsküdar hosted a significant transient population due to its function as a gathering place for the Ottoman army preparing for eastern campaigns and as a way station (*menzil*) providing overnight lodging for trade caravans coming from Anatolia. Additionally, members of the imperial family, Ottoman viziers, and other dignitaries had waterfront residences in Üsküdar.¹⁶ Most of these residences were located within the royal gardens, namely *Üsküdar Bahçesi* and *Ayazma Bahçesi*, with the former located in Salacak and the latter spanning the area from Harem to Selimiye. (see Map 1.1). These residences, where the Ottoman sultans and their extended households spent the summer days, also became favored venues for official receptions and gatherings of the Imperial Council.¹⁷

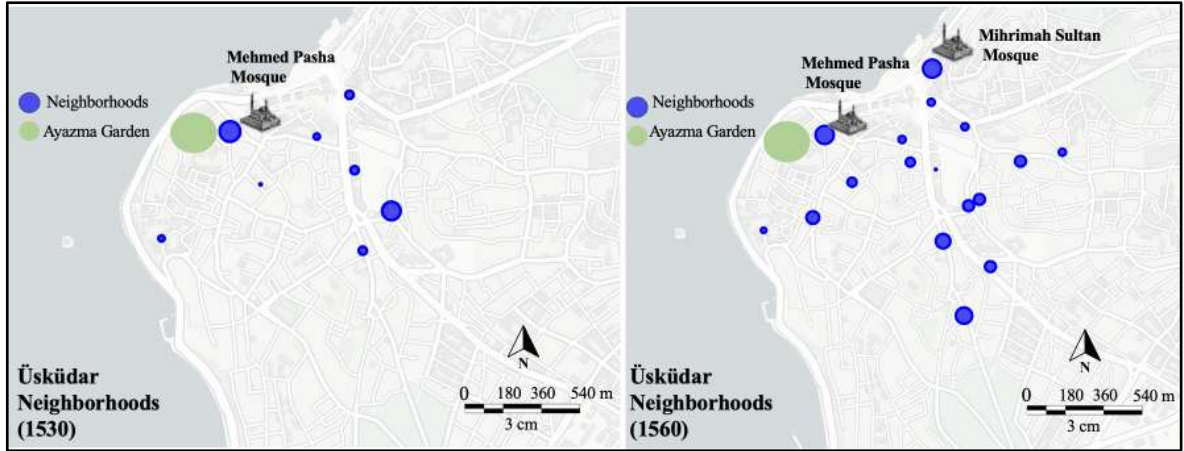
During the reign of Süleyman I, Üsküdar became a favored location for the construction projects commissioned by female members of the imperial household, including Gülfem Khatun, a prominent member of the Imperial Harem and Mihrimah Sultan, the daughter of Süleyman I and Hürrem Sultan.¹⁸ They established a tradition where women patrons of the royal family took the lead in shaping the urban landscape of Üsküdar. In 1539-40, Gülfem Khatun built a mosque, a madrasa, an elementary school, a caravanserai, and several revenue-generating shops. This architectural ensemble catalyzed the formation of a neighborhood and led to the establishment of a marketplace, both of which were named after

¹⁶ Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture," in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 35. Murat Yıldız, "Geçmişten Bugüne Üsküdar Ayazma Mahallesi'nde Yapı-Mekan İlişkisi," *History Studies*, vol. 5/2 (2013): 565-585.

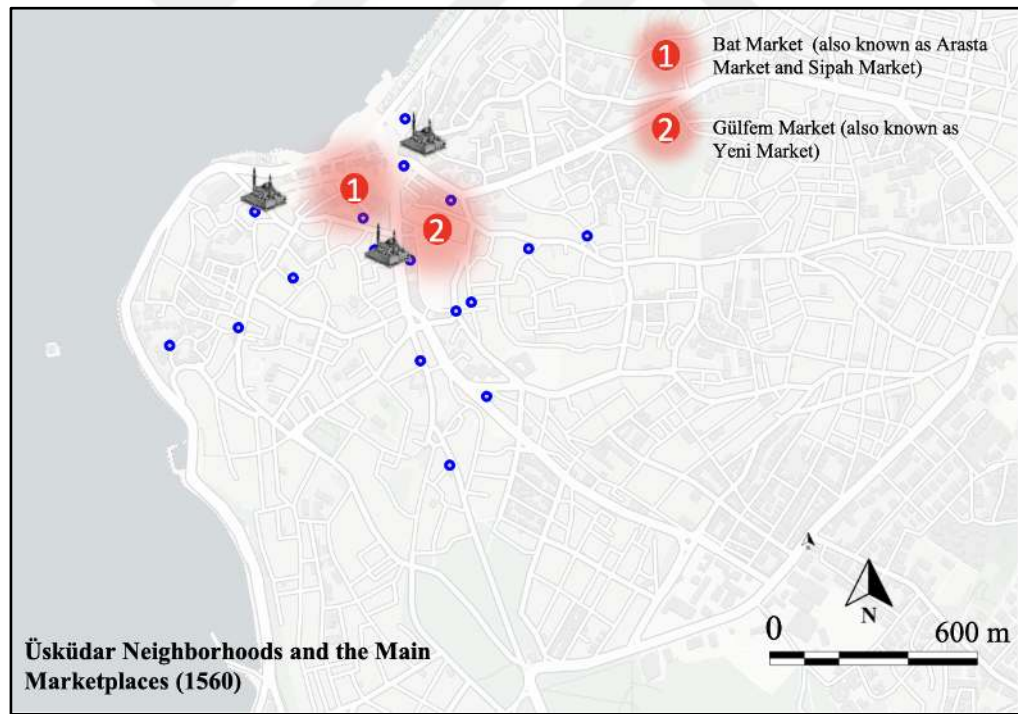
¹⁷ The spatial continuity between the use of the area by the Byzantine and Ottoman ruling elites for recreation and ceremonial receptions was striking. The Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates reported that emperor Manuel Komnenos often resided at his summer palace at Skoutarion, built on a hilltop of Damalis, especially when he was sick. In those days, the assembly of bishops and learned ones had to sail across the Bosphorus to see the emperor. Choniates, *Historia*, 122. The emperor's summer palace was probably sacked during the fourth crusades (1202-1204). Once a great waterfront residence, it was completely destroyed or in ruin when the Ottoman troops captured the town; however, the area once more became the residence of the emperors after a century. Necipoğlu, "Ottoman Garden Culture," 40. Also see, Mehmet Yaşar Ertaş, "Osmanlı Dönemi'nde iktidar ve Mekan: 17. Yüzyılda Politik Bir Mekan Olarak Üsküdar," in *Üsküdar Sempozyumu VIII: Bildiriler* (21-23 November 2014), vol 1 (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2014), 138-141.

¹⁸ Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 133.

Gülfem Khatun, thereby inscribing her architectural patronage on Üsküdar's urban landscape.¹⁹ (see Map 1.1 and Map 1.3, no. 8).



Map 1. 1: The neighborhoods of Üsküdar proper (nefs-i Üsküdar) in 1530 and 1560.
Produced by the author.²⁰



Map 1. 2: The neighborhoods and main marketplaces in nefsi Üsküdar (1560s).
Produced by the author.

¹⁹ For a master thesis on Gülfem Khatun Neighborhood, see Nuray Güler, “16. Yüzyılda Gülfem Hatun Mahallesi: 1540-1600” (master’s thesis, Marmara University, 2008).

²⁰ The second map does not include Abdullah Hoca Mahallesi, as its location could not be precisely identified. The size of the markers is directly correlated with the population inhabiting each neighborhood. The dataset is derived from the tax surveys: BOA.TT.D.438 (dated 1530), p. 793, and BOA.TT.D.436 (dated the 1560s), p. 378-393.

Designed by Mimar Sinan, Mihrimah Sultan's Üsküdar complex was built upon the remnants of an ancient harbor, which had been in continuous use since antiquity and remained active through the Byzantine period.²¹ Her waterfront complex, completed in 1548, featured a double-minaret mosque, a madrasa, an elementary school, an eight-room guest house, a double caravanserai, and a public kitchen serving food two times a day.²² Positioned across from the Great Pier, the complex's extensive service facilities, including two spacious khans and a public kitchen, provided service to the constant flow of people landing at Üsküdar. Additionally, she commissioned a waterway that carried water from Kuzguncuk and the hill of Bulgurlu to the town center and supplied her waqf buildings and the adjacent two fountains.²³ This ambitious project catalyzed the development of a neighborhood around the complex, named "Mahalle-i Cami-i Sultaniyye", or "Neighborhood of the Sultana's Mosque."²⁴ (see Map 1.3, no. 12).

The significant impact of these two imperial projects on Üsküdar's urban growth was evident in the detailed tax register of the sanjak of Kocaeli in the latter years of Sultan Süleyman's reign. According to the register, by the early 1560s, Üsküdar had expanded to include 18 neighborhoods, which were inhabited by 423 households, 110 tax-exempt

²¹ Belke, "Gates to Asia Minor," 227. Christine Isom-Varhaaren, "Mihrimah Sultan: A Princess Constructs Ottoman Dynastic Identity," in *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2016), 150-171.

²² Âşık Mehmed, *Menâzırü'l-avâlim*, vol. 3, ed. Mahmut Ak (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2007), 1094-95. Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 305.

²³ Kazım Çeçen, *İstanbul'un Vakıf Sularından Üsküdar Suları* (İstanbul: İBB, 1991), 39-42.

²⁴ Until the 1570s, when 'Mahalle-i Sultaniyye' emerged as the predominant appellation for Mihrimah Sultan's neighborhood, this urban settlement was registered also as Mahalle-i Cedid or Yeni Mahalle in Üsküdar's court records. Thus, it is important to clarify that when the Üsküdar's court records of the 1550s and 1560s mention 'Yeni Mahalle' or 'Mahalle-i Cedid', they are referring to Mihrimah Sultan's neighborhood, not Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood at the peripheries of Nefs-i Üsküdar.

For the court registers referring to Mihrimah Sultan's neighborhood as "Mahalle-i Cami-i Cedid," see BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.20.p.87/b2 (Recep 966/April 1559); as "Mahalle-i Sultaniyye" and "Cami-i Cedid-i Sultaniyye." BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.20.p.78/a1 (Cemâziyelâhir 966/March 1559); as "Mahalle-i Cedid" and "Yeni Mahalle," BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.15.p.49/a2 (Şaban 956/September 1549), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.20.p.18/a5 (Ramazan 965/June 1558), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.30.p.29/b3 (Safer 976/July 1568).

households, and 143 single adult male (*mücerred*) residents.²⁵ The register does not include non-Muslim taxpayers, suggesting that Üsküdar retained its character as a Muslim town.²⁶ Assuming an average of four members per household, the estimated urban population of Üsküdar in 1560 was approximately 2275.²⁷

After 1560, Üsküdar continued to expand eastward, furthering its urbanization at the expense of the surrounding agrarian landscape. Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project, which began in July 1570, ushered in a new stage in the urban expansion of Üsküdar that had begun under Sultan Süleyman. It marked a substantial departure from the preceding projects, which had focused on enhancing the already urbanized areas along the waterfront. Nurbanu Sultan's project, which consisted of a waqf neighborhood, Mahalle-i Ma'mûre, centered around her mosque complex, was situated inland, at the eastern edge of Üsküdar. Her building project catalyzed Üsküdar's transformation from a Muslim town into an ethnically and religiously diverse urban center.

1.2. Mahalle-i Ma'mûre in the Existing Scholarship on Üsküdar

Despite its considerable physical expanse and demographic significance, Mahalle-i Ma'mûre has been largely overlooked in the existing literature on the Ottoman Üsküdar. This oversight stems primarily from its omission from the sole seventeenth-century tax register of the District of Üsküdar, compiled in the 1610s. The absence of Nurbanu Sultan's land from this register was due to its designation as waqf property, which exempted it from standard tax surveys, rendering the whole area invisible in certain archival records.

According to this tax register, Üsküdar had a tax-payer population of 323 households, 52 tax-exempt households, and 35 single adult male (*mücerred*) residents living in 18

²⁵ BOA.TT.d.436.p.378-393. These 18 neighborhoods include: Mehmed Paşa, Kefçe, Salacak, Hamza Fakih, Davud Paşa, Geredeli, Bulgurlu, Selman Ağa, Emir-i Ahur (İmrahor), Gülfem, Hasan Ağa, Hacı Mehmed, Evliya Hoca, Abdullah Hoca, Toygar Hamza, Hayreddin Çavuş, Sultan (Sultaniye), Solak Sinan Mahallesi.

²⁶ Üsküdar's court records support the data from the tax register, indicating that nefs-i Üsküdar predominantly comprised a Muslim population until the 1560s. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.1-d.26 (1513-1562).

²⁷ I calculated the population by multiplying the total number of households (533) by 4 and then adding the number of single adult males (110).

neighborhoods.²⁸ While the register suggests no change in the number of neighborhoods, it indicates a substantial population decline from 2275 in 1560 to 1689 in the 1610s, which corresponds to a 30% decline over approximately 50 years.²⁹ However, certain gaps in this register's data make it a potentially misleading source.³⁰ First, it fails to acknowledge the existence of several neighborhoods, including Salacak/Hergele Mahallesi, Abdullah Hoca Mahallesi, and Emr-i Ahur (İmrahor) Mahallesi, although Üsküdar's court records from the same period document their existence.³¹ More relevant to this study, the register does not account for Mahalle-i Ma'mûre, which, by the 1610s, already comprised a significant portion of Üsküdar's population. (see Map 1.3)

The studies of Ahmet Güneş and Hanefi Bostan are the most frequently cited works on the demographics of Üsküdar throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³²

²⁸ BOA, TT.d. 630, p. 658-661. The draft of the detailed tax register from the early seventeenth century. Currently, it is in a severely damaged condition.

BOA, TT.d.733.p. 202-206. The document includes the same information as KK.49. It lists eighteen Üsküdar neighborhoods but provides details about only two of those neighborhoods.

TK. KK.D.49, s. 256b-260a. This document is preserved in the Tapu Kadastro Archives in Ankara.

Also see Ahmet Güneş, "16.ve 17. Yüzyıllarda Üsküdar'ın Mahalleleri ve Nüfusu," in *Üsküdar Sempozyumu Bildiriler I: 23-25 May 2003*, vol. 1, eds. Zekeriya Kurşun et. al. (İstanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2003): 42-56. Ahmet Güneş, "Tahrir Defterlerine Göre XVI. Yüzyıl Başlarından XVII. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Kocaeli Sancağı" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 1994).

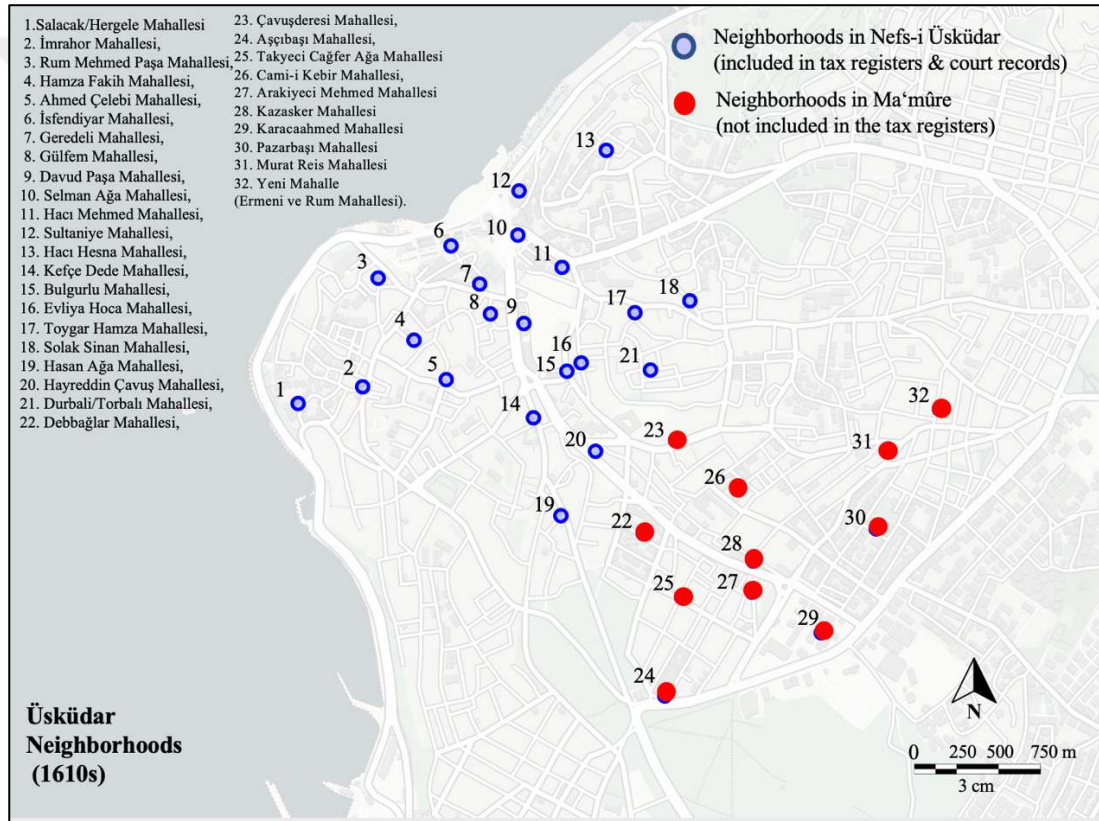
²⁹ Based on an assumption of four members per household, the estimated population of Üsküdar was around 1689. I calculated the population by multiplying the total number of households (375) by 4 and then adding the number of single adult males (35). These 18 neighborhoods include: Rum Mehmed Paşa Mahallesi, Ahmed Çelebi Trabzonî Mahallesi, İsfendiyyar Mahallesi, Geredeli Mahallesi, Gülfem Mahallesi, Davud Paşa Mahallesi, Selman Ağa Mahallesi, Hacı Mehmed Mahallesi, Sultaniye Mahallesi, Hacı Hesna Mahallesi, Kefçe Dede Mahallesi, Evliya Hoca Mahallesi, Solak Sinan Mahallesi, Durbali Mahallesi, Hamza Fakih Mahallesi, Bulgurlu Mahallesi, Toygar Hamza Mahallesi, Hasan Ağa Mahallesi.

³⁰ For the studies discussing the limitations of tax registers for historical analysis, see H.W. Lowry, "The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations," in *Studies in Defterology. Ottoman Society in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (İstanbul, 1992); Suraiya Faroqhi, "Ottoman Population," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey: The Ottoman Empire as a World Power, 1453–1603*, vol. 2, eds. S. Faroqhi and K. Fleet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012): 356-407.

³¹ Hanefi Bostan argues that the absence of these three neighborhoods in the tax register dated 1610 might have resulted from their being registered under other neighborhoods. However, his suggestion does not seem accurate, since a comparative examination of the population data from the 1560 and 1610 tax registers reveals no significant population increases in any of the existing neighborhoods. The reasons for the omission of these three neighborhoods from the register warrant further investigation, which is beyond the scope of this study. Hanefi Bostan, "Üsküdar'ın Sınırları ve Demografisi (XV-XIX. Yüzyıl)," in *Üsküdar Sempozyumu Bildiriler IX: 19-20-21 October 2018*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2019): 117-157.

³² Güneş, "16.ve 17. Yüzyıllarda Üsküdar'ın Mahalleleri," 42-56. Bostan, "Üsküdar'ın Sınırları ve Demografisi (XV-XIX. Yüzyıl)," 117-157.

However, both studies failed to identify the exclusion of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land from the Üsküdar's seventeenth-century tax register. This omission led to misinterpretations and reinforced the impression of a population decline in Üsküdar. For instance, Güneş attributes this supposed decline to state policies aimed at controlling the settlement of migrants in the town.³³ As both studies have significantly influenced subsequent research on the physical and demographic expansion of seventeenth-century Üsküdar, the narrative of a population decline was perpetuated, and more importantly, the significance of Ma'mûre as a waqf neighborhood was neglected.³⁴



Map 1. 3: The neighborhoods of Üsküdar proper (nefs-i Üsküdar) in the 1610s.

³³ Güneş, “16.ve 17. Yüzyıllarda Üsküdar’ın Mahalleleri,” 55. Hanefi Bostan, “Üsküdar,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 42 (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2012), 366. Beginning from its early development in the 1570s, Ma'mûre fell within the boundaries of *nefs-i Üsküdar* or Üsküdar proper. Its absence from the tax register, therefore, does not imply that it was located outside of *nefs-i Üsküdar*.

³⁴ Mustafa Akkaya, “XVII. Yüzyılın İlk Çeyreğinde Üsküdar” (PhD diss., Gazi Üniversitesi, 2010), Raşan Kaynak, “XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Üsküdar’da Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayat” (PhD diss., Gazi University, 2010). Also see: Özlem Özen, “The Atik Valide Complex in Üsküdar” (master’s thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2002); Sinem Arcak, “Üsküdar as the Site for the Mosque Complexes of Royal Women in the Sixteenth Century” (master’s thesis, Sabancı University, 2004).

According to Üsküdar's court records, from the early 1570s onward, the local population began referring to the burgeoning settlement around Nurbanu's complex by several names. Initially, it was known as Haseki Sultan's neighborhood, a designation that remained in use until the end of 1574, when Nurbanu Sultan's status was elevated to that of queen mother (*valide sultan*) upon Murad III's ascension to the throne.³⁵ Other commonly used designations for the area included Yeni Mahalle or Mahalle-i Cedide (literally new neighborhood) and Mahalle-i Mâ'mûre or Mâ'mûriyye (literally thriving neighborhood).³⁶

The term "Yeni" symbolized the transformation of previously undeveloped land into a residential zone, while "Ma'mûre" (معمورة) highlighted the central role of Nurbanu Sultan's "imaret" (عمارت), here in the sense of "mosque complex," as the primary catalyst for the area's urban development.³⁷ Also, court scribes used terms such as "*valide sultan evkâfi toprağı* / the queen mother's waqf land" or "*Haseki Sultan hazretlerinin mülk-i şerîfleri* / the noble estate of the exalted Haseki Sultan" to refer to the yet undeveloped and rural parts of Nurbanu Sultan's land.³⁸

³⁵ "Kasaba-i Üsküdar'da Haseki Sultan Mahallesi'nde sakin..." BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.36.p.88/a1 (Şevval 979 / February 1572).

³⁶ The spatial designations Mahalle-i Ma'mûre and Mahalle-i Cedide (or Yeni Mahalle) were used interchangeably to refer to the newly inhabited area around Nurbanu Sultan's complex. For instance, Mehmed ibn Abdullah, who served as a member of the daily police force within Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land, was variously referred to as "Yeni Mahalle Zabiti" and "Mahalle-i Ma'mûre Zabiti" in different registers of the forty-ninth volume of Üsküdar's court records (1578-79).

"Yeni Mahalle'de zabıt (olan) Pir Ali Ağa'nın ademisi Mehmed ibn Abdullah"

BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.49.p.4/a2 (Rebî'ülâhîr 987 / June 1579).

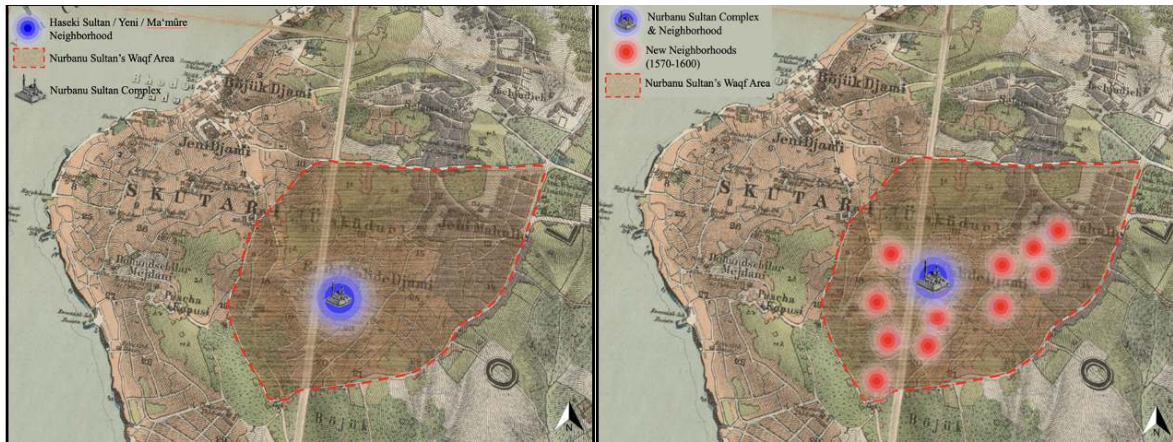
"Mahalle-i Ma'mûre zabiti olan Pir Ali Ağa'nın ademisi Mehmed ibn Abdullah"

BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.49.p.72 /a1 (Recep 987 / September 1579).

Likewise, in Nurbanu Sultan's original waqf deed, the terms Mahalle-i Mâ'mûre and Mahalle-i Cedide were employed interchangeably to indicate the vicinity of the mosque complex. In the original waqf deed, Mehmed Agha's waqf tanneries, the waqf rooms reserved as the residence of families, and the Nurbanu Sultan's double bath, caravanserai, and slaughterhouse were registered on different pages of the deed, both in Yeni Mahalle and Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. VGMA.1426/1, 53-56.

³⁷ The diversity in the nomenclature used for Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land in Üsküdar was mirrored in the various appellations of the sharia court established in 1580 in the neighborhood, namely, *Mahkemeti'l Mahalleti'l Ma'mûret'il Cedide*, *Mahkemeti'l Ma'mûre* and *Mahkemeti'l Cedide*. For an in-depth discussion of the court established in Ma'mûre, see Section 5.3.4.

³⁸ In 1593, when a certain Mustafa apprehended two water buffaloes wandering within the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's land and brought them to the court for registration, the scribe documented the location where the strayed animals were found as *merhume valide sultan toprağı*, the land of the late *valide sultan*. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.86.p.30/a1 (Ramazan 1001/June 1593); BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.125.p.60/b3 (Zilka'de 1023/December 1614); BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.38.p.82/a2 (Cemâziyelevvel 980/September 1572).



Map 1. 4: Nurbanu Sultan's land and her waqf neighborhood.

(a) the early formation of Mahalle-i Mâ'mûre around the mosque complex in the early 1570s, (b) the neighborhoods developed within the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's land (also known as Mahalle-i Mâ'mûre) between 1570 and 1620.³⁹
Produced by the author.

In Üsküdar's court records, the inhabited expanse of Nurbanu Sultan's land was referred to as Mahalle-i Ma'mûre (and sometimes as Yeni Mahalle). This designation persisted even after Ma'mûre expanded beyond the conventional limits of a neighborhood, evolving into what more closely resembled an urban district (*semt*). (see Map 1.4). Despite this physical and demographic growth, the court officials rarely used the term *semt* to refer to the area. For instance, in 1579, a court scribe documenting Subaşı Mehmed Bey's report regarding the immoral activities that had occurred within the waqf boundaries registered the location as Yeni Mahalle *semti*.⁴⁰ This entry indicates that by 1579, Nurbanu's neighborhood had already developed the characteristics of a *semt*, a status that appears to have been recognized by the local population.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the community of Ma'mûre became increasingly segregated along religious lines, with Christian residents forming distinct neighborhoods. In the early seventeenth century, the neighborhood around Nurbanu's complex, now predominantly Muslim, came to be known as "Cami-i Kebir Mahallesi." (see

³⁹ Plan von Constantinopel by C. Stolpe (1882). David Rumsey Map Collection. The territorial limits of the waqf are drawn by the author based on Sultan Selim II's *mülkname*. BOA.MFB.1204 (Muharrem 1224/April-March 1809).

⁴⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.49.p.4/a2 (Rebî'ülâhir 987/June 1579).

Map 1.3, no 26). On the other hand, the neighborhoods predominantly inhabited by Christians were named either “Kefere Mahallesi” (Infidel Neighborhood) or “Rum ve Ermeni Mahallesi (Greek and Armenian Neighborhood).”⁴¹ Additionally, “Yeni Mahalle” was frequently used to refer to the eastern segments of the waqf land, which were largely populated by Armenian and Greek communities, even as it continued to be used interchangeably with “Mahalle-i Ma‘mûre.” to denote the entirety of Nurbanu Sultan’s land. This dual usage created confusion and complicated research efforts into Üsküdar’s urban history.

For example, Mustafa Akkaya and Rahşan Kaynak, in their respective theses on the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Üsküdar, incorrectly asserted that Mahalle-i Ma‘mûre and Yeni Mahalle (or Mahalle-i Cedide) were separate neighborhoods of Üsküdar.⁴² Similarly, Tijen Sabırlı, who studied Nurbanu Sultan’s endowment from a socio-economic perspective in both her master’s thesis and doctoral dissertation, wrongly argued that Ma‘mûre and Yeni Mahalle were distinct neighborhoods.⁴³ Also, Sabırlı misinterpreted certain sections of the waqf deed (*vakfiye*) and incorrectly argued that while Yeni Mahalle was where Nurbanu Sultan’s mosque was built, Mahalle-i Ma‘mûre was located on the shores of Üsküdar.⁴⁴ In another study on the financial framework of Nurbanu Sultan’s endowment, Ramazan Pantık precisely located the construction site within Yeni Mahalle, yet he omitted any mention of its alternate designation, Mahalle-i Ma‘mûre. He accurately characterized “Yeni Mahalle” not merely as a neighborhood but as a *semt*, noting its role as the waqf’s administrative center.⁴⁵ In a similar manner, Pınar Kayaalp, the author of *Building the Atik Valide*, omitted

⁴¹ “Mahalle-i Ma‘mûre’ye tâbi Ermeniler Mahallesi” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.113.p.3/b1. (Safer 1014/JJune 1614).

⁴² Akkaya, “XVII. Yüzyılın İlk Çeyreğinde Üsküdar,” 52-53. Kaynak, “XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Üsküdar,” 164-165.

⁴³ Tijen Sabırlı, “Vakfiyesi ve Muhasebe kayıtları Işığında Nurbanu Atik Valide Sultan Vakfı” (master’s thesis, Istanbul University, 2012). Tijen Sabırlı, “Nurbanu Atik Valide Sultan Vakfı’nın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Açıdan İncelenmesi 1582-1826” (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 2017).

⁴⁴ Sabırlı, “Nurbanu Atik Valide Sultan Vakfı’nın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Açıdan İncelenmesi,” 11.

⁴⁵ Ramazan Pantık, “Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi (1686–1727)” (master’s thesis, Hacettepe University, 2014), 50-52.

any discussion of Nurbanu's waqf neighborhood.⁴⁶ In her formal analysis of Atik Valide Complex within its urban context, she only stated that "by constructing her mosque complex on a vacant plot, Nurbanu was instrumental in creating a neighborhood that drew in the roadside commercial activity, quickly transforming the empty area into a major halting station for caravans coming to and from the east."⁴⁷

Halil Sahillioğlu and Ekrem Tak are the only scholars who have correctly identified Yeni Mahalle (or Mahalle-i Cedide) as Ma'mûre, owing to their extensive research on Üsküdar's court records from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In his article on the hernia surgeons living in Ma'mûre, Sahillioğlu elucidated that the terms "Cedide" and "Ma'mûre" were used interchangeably to denote one of the *niyâbets* (judicial-administrative unit) of Üsküdar. Despite this significant finding, his analysis did not delve into the neighborhood's exact location or its waqf status.⁴⁸ In his dissertation on the document types in Üsküdar's court records, Ekrem Tak examined the appointment registers of Ma'mûre's deputy kadis (*nâ'ibs*).⁴⁹ Based on these records, Tak noted that Ma'mûre, also referred to as Cedide, emerged as a newly established neighborhood in Üsküdar towards the end of the sixteenth century. However, like Sahillioğlu, he did not explore further details about the neighborhood.

Consequently, when I began my research, very little information on Ma'mûre was readily available. This study, therefore, relies predominantly on a rich array of primary sources, which transformed the research and writing process into something akin to assembling a vast jigsaw puzzle as I integrated disparate bits of information drawn from these sources to construct a coherent historical narrative. Although this endeavor posed multiple challenges, it also yielded significant discoveries that might have otherwise

⁴⁶ Pınar Kayaalp, *The Empress Nurbanu and Ottoman Politics in the Sixteenth Century: Building the Atik Valide* (London: Routledge, 2018). Also see Pınar Kayaalp, "The Role of Imperial Mosque Complexes (1543–1583) in Urbanization of Üsküdar," in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009): 645-666.

⁴⁷ Kayaalp, *Bulding the Atik Valide*, 79.

⁴⁸ Halil Sahillioğlu, "Üsküdar'ın Ma'mure (Cedide) Mahallesi Fıtık Cerrahları," *Yeni Tıp Tarihi Araştırmaları*, vol. 4 (1998): 59-66.

⁴⁹ Ekrem Tak, "Diplomatik Bilimi Bakımından XVI.-XVII. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri ve Bu Sicillerin İhtiva Ettiği Belge Türlerinin Form Özellikleri ve Tanımlanması," (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2009), 41.

remained hidden. For the sake of clarity, throughout this study, "Nurbanu Sultan's land" will be used to refer to the overall expanse of the waqf land, while "Mahalle-i Ma'mûre" will specifically refer to the settlement established on this land—initially as a neighborhood and later as a *semt*. Meanwhile, "Yeni Mahalle" and "Kefere Mahallesi" will specifically denote the neighborhoods predominantly inhabited by Christian residents.

1.3. Scope of the Study and Sources

The scope of this study spans from the beginning of Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project in 1570, when Selim II granted his *haseki* a substantial tract of land on the town's outskirts for her mosque complex, to the subsequent development of this once-vacant land into a "waqf neighborhood" that took on the characteristics of an urban district (*semt*) by the early seventeenth century. My analysis primarily focuses on the first fifty years of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre (1570-1620) since this period marks a critical phase in the urbanization of Nurbanu's land, enabling a detailed examination of its socio-spatial development and an exploration of the administrative and legal mechanisms that governed the area. Furthermore, by narrowing the timeframe to this specific period, I was able to conduct a meticulous, labor-intensive examination of the extensive archival sources upon which this study is based. It is important to note that, while the primary focus remains on these fifty years, I have also included examples from both earlier and later periods, where necessary, to deepen the discussion and provide context that strengthens my arguments.

One of the key strengths of this research lies in its engagement with a wide array of textual and visual sources, which has enabled a nuanced interpretation of the subject matter and demonstrated the potential of Ottoman archives for urban historians. By using multiple types of archival sources in parallel, this study has uncovered significant gaps and inconsistencies in the existing literature, such as the omission of Ma'mûre in discussions of Üsküdar's urban growth and the failure to recognize that both Ma'mûre and Yeni Mahalle referred to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land. Therefore, this study not only addresses critical gaps in the narrative of Üsküdar's urban development but also offers a methodological framework on how diverse primary sources can be systematically used to write the socio-spatial history of a sixteenth-century Ottoman neighborhood.

In my analysis of the location, size, and boundaries of Nurbanu's land, the topography of the construction site, the design and construction process of Nurbanu Sultan's mosque complex and waterway, I relied on a range of primary sources, including imperial orders, border deeds (*hudutnâme* or *sınırnâme*), Üsküdar's court records, Nurbanu Sultan's *vakfiye*, as well as historical maps and architectural plans. My on-site investigations both in the complex, presently known as "Atik Valide (or Valide-i Atik) Külliyesi," as well as across the broader area that once fell within Mahalle-i Ma'mûre complemented this documentary research by providing critical insights into the complex's layout and its surrounding urban context. This fieldwork was particularly crucial to see how the original design and function of the complex's components evolved over the centuries, as well as to gain a deeper comprehension of the physical expanse of Nurbanu's neighborhood and how it shaped the urban landscape of Üsküdar.

Nurbanu Sultan's waqf deed and the waqf's accounts registers (*muhasabe defteri*) were the primary sources I consulted for exploring Ma'mûre's built environment with particular focus on its marketplace, tanneries, and khans, which together constituted a commercial-industrial axis along the street leading to the complex. In addition to the waqf registers, official correspondence between Nurbanu's *mütevelli*s and waqf superintendents (*evkâf nâzırı*) regarding the spatial arrangement of Ma'mûre provided crucial data, particularly concerning its designation as Üsküdar's second commercial center, a way station (*menzil*) and customs checkpoint for merchants arriving in the town. However, these documents offer limited information regarding the development of Ma'mûre's residential setting. I needed to consult specific sources to gain insights regarding the parcellation of Nurbanu's land, the early inhabitants of the neighborhood, their motivations for settling, the demographic fabric of the neighborhood and the settlement patterns of different ethnic and religious groups. To address these questions regarding the early formation of the neighborhood, I consulted grant deeds (*temliknâme*) and property certificates (*temessük*), some of which are cataloged in the Topkapı Palace Archives and others in Üsküdar's court records. These sources provided valuable insights into the patterns of land distribution, and the social composition of Ma'mûre.

Among the primary sources I consulted, the court records of Üsküdar occupy a central position. This is notably because Üsküdar's court records include specific volumes

dedicated exclusively to the legal proceedings concerning Ma'mûre.⁵⁰ My investigation into the reasons behind the dedication of particular volumes to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood revealed that a deputy court (*niyâbet mahkemesi*) was established in Ma'mûre in 1580, which led to the separate compilation of its registers.⁵¹ I identified 20 volumes belonging to this court that were compiled between 1580-1620.⁵² A thorough examination of these volumes has yielded essential information that enabled me to document and visualize Ma'mûre's urban development in a detailed manner. However, this focus on court records also constrained the scope of the study to a relatively brief period: the first fifty years of the neighborhood.⁵³

Another significant source for this study is Nurbanu Sultan's waqf deed (*vakfiye*). The original version of the deed and its two copies are in Arabic.⁵⁴ This study primarily relies on the 1940 Turkish translation of *vakfiye* by Abdurrahman Tanrıkulu.⁵⁵ I also benefited from the translations of Pınar Kayaalp and Nina Ergin. In her work on Nurbanu Sultan's public bath in Çemberlitaş, Ergin provided the English translation of Tanrıkulu's Turkish translation of the deed.⁵⁶ In his study *Building the Atik Valide*, Kayaalp provided the

⁵⁰ For a methodological discussion on the use of Ottoman court records, see Metin Coşgel and Boğaç Ergene, *The Economics of Ottoman Justice: Settlement and Trial in the Sharia Courts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 13-18.

⁵¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53,56,57,62,67,75,86,93,99,106,108,110,113,115, 120,123,125,134,136,139. For an early exploration of Üsküdar's deputy courts see, Sahillioğlu, Ma'mûre (Cedide) Mahallesi Fıtık Cerrahları," 59,60.

⁵² This does not imply that Ma'mûre is absent from other volumes; rather, it is these particular volumes that specifically contain records pertaining to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood.

⁵³ I examined all of Üsküdar's court records for the period between 1570 and 1580, as no specific volumes existed for Ma'mûre during this decade. By carefully reviewing these records, I sought to uncover clues related to the neighborhood's early years.

⁵⁴ The original waqf deed: VGMA. 1426/1 (Rebî'ülâhîr 990/ April 1582). See Appendix A. Two other copies: VGMA. 1427/1 and 2311: 281/50 (*tescil kaydı*).

⁵⁵ VGMA.1766.p.136–70. According the original waqf deed, which was issued in April-May 1582, Nurbanu Sultan had already passed away. Consequently, all of her properties were inherited by Sultan Murad III, who endowed them for the benefit of his mother's endowment. It seems that the waqf deed was drafted in 1582, but it was not officially registered until after Nurbanu Sultan's death. In his account, the historian Selaniki states that she passed away on the 22nd day of *Zilka'de* in 991 (6 December 1583) in Bahçesaray in Yenikapı. *Tarih-i Selaniki*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, vol.1, 140-141.

⁵⁶ Nina Macaraig, *Çemberlitaş Hamamı in Istanbul: The Biographical Memoir of A Turkish Bath* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019).

translation of the deed's final section, which includes the list of books endowed to Nurbanu Sultan's *dariülkurra*.⁵⁷ Additionally, Tijen Sabırlı has recently published a translation of Nurbanu Sultan's original *vakfiye* in which she compared the original deed with its two copies.⁵⁸ During my visit to the waqf archives in Ankara, I examined all aforementioned copies and searched for any addenda (*zeyl*) and attachments. My efforts were particularly focused on locating the grant deed (*temlikname*) issued by Selim II to grant the land to Nurbanu Sultan, but the whereabouts of this document remain unknown.

I primarily consulted the court records and jizya registers to analyze the demographic composition of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. While the Üsküdar court records provided essential insights, they were limited in their capacity to provide systematic data concerning the neighborhood community. Conversely, the jizya registers, which recorded the tax contributions of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subjects paying jizya for the waqf, were inherently more structured and detailed. These registers documented the number of Christian, Jewish and *Kıbtî* tax-payers residing in Ma'mûre, as well as their professions and socio-economic statuses, thereby enabling an exploration of the demographic composition and economic activities within the non-Muslim and *Kıbtî* segments of the neighborhood population. This imbalance in the information provided by these two different archival sources prevented me from providing a balanced analysis of the neighborhood community and shifted my focus predominantly towards the non-Muslim sphere of Ma'mûre. Future studies examining additional archival materials or applying alternative methodologies could offer a more comprehensive and balanced account for the neighborhood community.

Although this study primarily relies on official records, I have also consulted a diverse array of textual sources, including Ottoman chronicles, city monographs, geographic treatises, travelogs, and memoirs, each providing varying levels of detail on the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Üsküdar. For instance, Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* and Eremya Çelebi Kömürçiyân's city chronicle on Istanbul provide vivid depictions of Üsküdar as

⁵⁷ VGMA. 1427/1. Kayaalp, *Building the Atik Valide*, Appendix B-9.

⁵⁸ Tijen Sabırlı, *Afife Nurbanu Valide Sultan Vakfiyesi (990 / 1582)* (Istanbul:Libra Yayınları, 2018).

observed by two Ottomans from different religious backgrounds.⁵⁹ Besides, Aşık Mehmed's voluminous work on geography, *Menâzırü'l Avâlim*, provides valuable insights into the early years of Ma'mûre. The memoirs of the nineteenth-century Ottoman-Armenian writers are particularly important for learning about the Armenian community of Ma'mûre, which, from the seventeenth century onwards, emerged as one of the socio-cultural centers of the Ottoman Armenians.⁶⁰ I also examined the observations of foreign travelers like the French pilgrim Jean Palerne and the Lutheran diplomat Salomon Schweigger, both of whom visited Ma'mûre in the late sixteenth century.⁶¹ These accounts provide insights into how Mahalle-i Ma'mûre was perceived from an outsider's view. Moreover, the dispatches (*relazioni*) of Venetian envoys contain important references to Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project. These not only proves the importance of the project to be included in these diplomatic reports in a detailed manner but also provide crucial information on how the Venetian envoys interpreted the valide sultan's patronage and the scale of her urban project.

This study stands out for its extensive use of visual content. Given the focus of this study on the spatial development of a waqf neighborhood and its impact on the urban growth of Üsküdar, maps are an essential component of the analysis. I used cadastral maps of twentieth-century Istanbul, including the German Blue and Pervititch Insurance Maps, to reconstruct the spatial organization of the sixteenth-century Ma'mûre. Their detailed representations of street names, property boundaries, and building locations provided a baseline for discerning long-term changes in the urban layout of Üsküdar. In the sections where my analysis focused on structures, I benefited from architectural plans and axonometric views in order to examine both the physical and functional attributes of the buildings, as well as their strategic positioning within the urban fabric. Additionally, cartographic representations by court painters further enriched the analysis, offering insights into how these artists depicted Ma'mûre within the broader context of Üsküdar. Last but not

⁵⁹ Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan, *Istanbul Tarihi: XVII. Asırda İstanbul*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1988), Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 1-10, eds. Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, Robert Dankoff (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996-2007).

⁶⁰ Hagop Mintzuri, *Istanbul Anıları: 1897-1940*, trans. Silva Kuyumcuyan (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998). Hagop Baronyan, *Istanbul Mahallelerinde Bir Gezinti*, trans. Paris Hilda Teller Babek (Istanbul: Can Yayınları, 2014)

⁶¹ Jean Palerne, *Peregrinations du S. Jean Palerne* (Pillehotte, 1606), Salomon Schweigger, *Ein neue Reiss Beschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem* (1639).

least, historical photographs from various archives and contemporary photographs, taken by the author, provided a visual continuum that links past and present views of the region and the structures under analysis.

1.4. Methodology and Conceptual Framework

This dissertation is grounded in a tripartite methodological framework, with each component playing a significant role in achieving the study's objectives. Central to this framework is the cross-reading of an extensive array of primary sources, enabling a nuanced analysis of the socio-spatial development of Ma'mûre. This approach has allowed me to identify the biases and gaps in the existing literature on the Ottoman Üsküdar, often stemming from reliance on a single type of source, details of which are discussed in Section 1.2. By employing this methodology, this study highlights the potential of diverse types of primary sources for examining early modern neighborhoods and proposes a methodological framework that can inform future research in Ottoman urban studies.

Another methodology I have employed is the visual representation of the study's findings. Throughout the study, I have used charts, tables, and graphs, presenting information in a clear and concise manner, thereby making the complex and voluminous data more straightforward for readers to engage. These visual tools also highlight important points, elucidate correlations among various variables and identify trends and patterns that might otherwise not be readily apparent. Additionally, I used digital tools to visualize spatial data and produced nearly thirty maps, including the ones delineating the official boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land, the urban growth of Ma'mûre and the spatial distribution of its neighborhoods. These maps serve as effective mediums for illustrating key findings, enabling the reader to grasp spatial dynamics and connections more effectively than textual descriptions could provide.

The use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software, particularly QGIS and ArcGIS, is increasingly prevalent in Ottoman studies due to the advanced capabilities of these digital tools for visualizing and analyzing spatial data.⁶² By layering diverse datasets—

⁶² Yunus Uğur, ed. *Dijital Beşeri Bilimler ve Osmanlı Çalışmaları* (Istanbul: Vakıfbank Kültür Yayınları, 2023), Nora Barakat, Yunus Uğur, and Ali Yaycıoğlu, eds. *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association. Special issue: Ottoman History and Digital Humanities*, vol.9/2 (2022). Fatma Aladağ, "Dijital

such as demographic information, land use, and urban infrastructure —onto a single map, GIS platforms provide a holistic view of the area under study, making it easier for researchers to identify patterns and spatial relationships. GIS software is especially effective for analyzing large areas and varied datasets. Since this study focuses on a relatively small geographic area, its advanced analytical functions unnecessary. Therefore, the primary use of GIS in this study is for georeferencing historical maps. This process involves identifying control points, which are fixed locations that present on both historical and contemporary maps, and aligning them to accurately represent historical locations within present-day geographic contexts. For instance, through georeferencing, I was able to locate Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land on historical maps, establishing a geospatial base for further analysis. Additionally, I utilized the Python programming language to create maps, leveraging its exceptional flexibility through open-source libraries such as Folium and GeoPandas. These libraries offer extensive customization options, enabling precise adjustments to various aspects of map design, including data visualization, marker sizes and styles, and map layers.

Lastly, this study places substantial emphasis on contextualization to overcome the inherent limitations of a narrowly focused case study that concentrates on the first fifty years of a single neighborhood. Due to its limited temporal and spatial scope, it bore the risk of presenting Ma'mûre in a vacuum without considering its position within regional urban networks. Thus, I made a conscious effort not to overlook its relation to certain trends, patterns, and applications that had shaped Ottoman urban practices. In doing this, I employed a multidimensional approach to ensure that while the research delves deeply into the

Beşerî Bilimler Ve Türkiye Araştırmaları: Bir Literatür Değerlendirmesi," in *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, vol.18, no.36 (2020): 773-96 .Yunus Uğur, "Mapping Ottoman Cities: Socio-Spatial Definitions and Groupings (1450–1700)." *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 18, no. 3 (2018):16-65.: Daniel Ohanian, Z. Mehmet Başkurt, M. Erdem Kabadayi, "An Historical Geographic Information System for Ottoman Studies: The c. 1907 Ottoman Census and Armenian Settlement in Istanbul," in *Turcica* 51 (2020): 111-116. Fatma Aladağ, "Cities and Administrative Divisions of the Ottoman Empire in the Early 16th Century: A Case Study for the Application of Digital History to Ottoman Studies"(master's thesis, Istanbul Sehir University, 2020) There is increasing number of projects mapping the early modern Istanbul neighborhoods with the means of recently introduced methods of digital humanities: Yunus Uğur, "The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles: Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," (PhD diss., Boğaziçi University, 2014). Yunus Uğur, "Big Data in Ottoman Urban Studies: A Relational Approach to the Archival Data and to Socio-Spatial Analyses of an Early Modern Ottoman City," in *Social Sciences-MDPI*, vol.7/4 (2018): 1-12. Büşranur Bekman, XIX. yüzyılın Dönüşen İstanbul'unda Mahalleler, Kollar ve Belediyeler: Bir Envanter ve Haritalama Çalışması (master's thesis, Istanbul Sehir University, 2020), Özge Eda Kaya, XIX. Yüzyılda bir İstanbul Mahallesinin Sosyal-mekansal analizi: Molla Aşki Mahallesi (master's thesis, Marmara University, 2020).

specificities of Ma'mûre, it also engages with broader themes within the limits of a dissertation. For instance, Chapter 3 addresses Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project in the context of the sixteenth-century state policy of establishing *menzil* (way station) towns along the imperial highway. Accordingly, it explores possible connections between Ma'mûre and other way stations (*menzil*) that developed around imperial complexes, distinguished by their large-scale service facilities. Additionally, in Chapter 4, I discuss that the early Ottoman rulers constructed multifunctional complexes at urban peripheries to expand cities into adjacent rural territories, a strategy also applied in Nurbanu Sultan's project. This discussion demonstrate a consistent and long-standing approach in developing prosperous cities and towns while also put her Üsküdar project in dialogue with the earlier imperial projects.

Consequently, this study's methodological framework guided me through the three stages of the research and writing process: first, in determining how to effectively utilize an extensive array of primary sources; second, in selecting appropriate tools for processing spatial data and presenting the study's findings through visual representations; and third, in formulating research questions that would bridge micro-level details with macro-level contexts. This framework also informed the development of a conceptual framework tailored to the analysis of Ma'mûre's multilayered characteristics. I explore Ma'mûre through its administrative status, its position within the judicial organization of *Üsküdar Kazası*, its function as a socio-economic hub, and its defining urban characteristics. This framework structured the chapters to analyze Ma'mûre, first as a "waqf neighborhood," second as a judicial center or "*niyâbet*," third as a way station or "*menzil*," and finally as an "urban district" or "*semt*" (see Fig. 1.1).

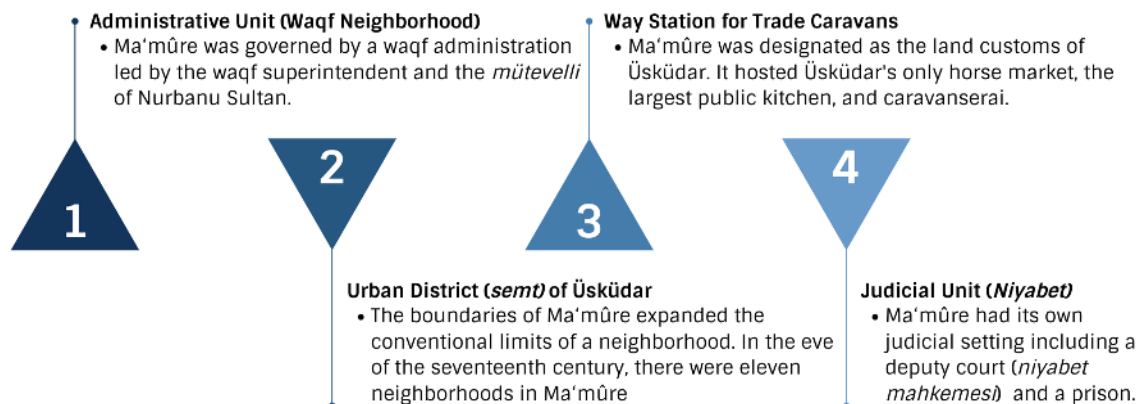


Figure 1.1: The main characteristics of Ma'mûre.

This theoretical framework required reassessing the terminology in urban and waqf studies to determine whether it adequately captures the complexity and nuances of this case study. Consequently, I redefined several terms and concepts and introduced new ones. For example, I propose terms such as *imam-mütevelli* and *mütevelli-emin* to underline the multilayered responsibilities of certain waqf administrators.⁶³ Additionally, the findings of this study prompted a reevaluation of the concepts, including “way station” (*menzil*), “roadside complex” (*menzil külliyesi*), “way station town” (*menzil kasabası*), “urban district” (*semt*), and “sub-district” (*nâhiye* or *niyâbet*). Furthermore, this study puts special effort in describing the concepts of “waqf neighborhood” (*vakıf mahallesi*), “waqf subject” (*vakıf re‘âyâsı*), and “waqf administration” (*vakıf idaresi*), which have not been thoroughly analyzed in the relevant scholarship.

Hasan Hüseyin Güneş's dissertation on Meğaribe Mahallesi in Jerusalem represents the only study dedicated to a waqf neighborhood within Ottoman territories.⁶⁴ In his research, Güneş traces the origins of Meğaribe Mahallesi back to the Fatimid period when North African Muslims—primarily from Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria—established a presence on the western flank of the Aqsa Mosque.⁶⁵ Despite the absence of precise dates for when the city's Maghribi residents formed a neighborhood there, it was not until the Eyyubids' conquest of Jerusalem in 1187 that the area was officially designated as a waqf neighborhood. In recognition of the critical role played by the city's Maghrebi Muslims capturing Jerusalem from the Crusaders, Melik Efdal (‘Afdal Malik Nur al-Din ‘Ali), the governor of Damascus and the son of Selâhaddin Eyyübî (Salah al-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub) constructed a madrasa in Meğaribe Mahallesi to train kadıs according to the Maliki school

⁶³ See Chapter 5.

⁶⁴ Hasan Hüseyin Güneş, *Kudüs Meğâribe Mahallesi* (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, 2017), Hasan Hüseyin Güneş, “XVI. Asırda Kudüs’te Meğâribe Mahallesi ve Cemaati,” PhD diss., Afyon Kocatepe University, (2014). For more information, see Şerife Eroğlu Memiş, “Between Ottomanisation and Local Networks: Appointment Registers as Archival Sources for Waqf Studies. The Case of Jerusalem’s Maghariba Neighborhood,” in *Ordinary Jerusalem 1840–1940, Opening New Archives, Revisiting a Global City*, edited by Angelos Dalachanis and Vincent Lemire (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 75-99.

⁶⁵ Güneş, “XVI. Asırda Kudüs’te Meğâribe Mahallesi,” 73. Memiş, “Between Ottomanisation and Local Networks,” 81.

of jurisprudence, and designated the neighborhood as a waqf property.⁶⁶ His *vakfiye*, issued posthumously in 1267 —when the city was under the rule of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250-1517) —precisely delineated the boundaries of Meğaribe Mahallesi and designated the neighborhood exclusively for the settlement of Maghribis. Consequently, the waqf ensured that they could reside there without the threat of displacement, which solidified their established presence as a distinct community within the city's urban landscape and preserved their social cohesion and communal identity across generations.⁶⁷

Güneş's study also sheds valuable light on the governance of a waqf neighborhood. As in all Arab cities, Jerusalem was divided into neighborhoods called "*hara*", each administered by a sheikh, typically a member of an influential local family.⁶⁸ These neighborhood sheikhs managed internal conflicts and also served as intermediaries, communicating the needs and concerns of the neighborhood community to higher authorities. In the case of Meğaribe Mahallesi, the offices of the waqf *mütevelli* and the neighborhood sheikh were combined and occupied by the same person, appointed from among the local community through the issuance of a diploma of appointment (*berat-i hümayun*) by the sultan.⁶⁹ As the leading local authority governing the waqf neighborhood and its community, these *mütevelli*-sheikhs were responsible for ensuring that all waqf properties continued to serve the purposes outlined in the *vakfiye*. Besides, their appointment from Istanbul positioned them as the agents representing the state in a distant province, thereby extending the central government's reach through waqf framework.

Consequently, this case study provides profound insights into the governance of a waqf neighborhood under Ottoman rule, and also discusses how its administrative-legal status as a waqf reinforced the collective identity of its residents. Given the lack of

⁶⁶ Güneş, "XVI. Asırda Kudüs'te Meğârîbe Mahallesi," 72. Memiş, "Between Ottomanisation and Local Networks," 84.

⁶⁷ Güneş states that Meğaribe Mahallesi existed in Jerusalem even before the establishment of the waqf which suggest the fact that the vakfiye was formulated later suggests that the waqf land had been inhabited by the Maghrebis long before it was officially endowed by Melik Efdal. Ibid, 74.

⁶⁸ For more information, see Güneş, "XVI. Asırda Kudüs'te Meğârîbe Mahallesi," 46. Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials: Rural Administration Around Sixteenth-Century Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 36, 37.

⁶⁹ Güneş, "XVI. Asırda Kudüs'te Meğârîbe Mahallesi," 136. For more information about *haras*, see André Raymond, *Cairo*, trans. Willard Wood (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000), 271-273.

comparable studies on waqf neighborhoods, Güneş aptly highlights the exceptional status of Meğaribe Mahallesi both in terms of its designation as waqf and its specific allocation for the settlement of a single community, the Maghribi Muslims.⁷⁰ This presupposition appears to have directed him to focus on Meğaribe Mahallesi without discussing the general implications of what constituted a “waqf neighborhood” and “waqf community” in the Ottoman context.

This study encountered the same challenge, which is the absence of prior research on waqf neighborhoods that could have provided preliminary understanding of the administrative and legal frameworks governing waqf settlements. The case of Meğaribe Mahallesi provided only limited information for my research, since its waqf status was not established under the Ottoman rule, and Güneş’s conclusions are inevitably constrained by specific contextual factors, particularly by the distinctive socio-political landscape of the empire’s Arab lands. Despite these challenges, drawing on my findings from the case of Ma’mûre, I endeavour to provide an analysis regarding the legal, administrative, and socio-economic dimensions of “waqf neighborhood,” “waqf subject,” and “waqf administration” in the Ottoman context. Thus, this study could have been considered a modest but an important step toward opening these concepts for further scholarly exploration and providing a foundation for future research in the field.

1.5. Theoretical Framework

Since the 1960s, space has been at the center of research agendas in the social sciences and humanities.⁷¹ Increasing interest in socio-spatial analysis, which would later become the “spatial turn,” stimulated new approaches in social theory and urban studies.⁷² For example, the emphasis on city-centric urban development shifted towards the characteristics of

⁷⁰ Güneş, “XVI. Asırda Kudüs’te Meğârîbe Mahallesi,” 235.

⁷¹ For a comprehensive account of spatial turn and its key thinkers, see: Doris Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns: New Orientations in the Study of Culture*, trans. Adam Blauhut (Berlin and Boston, De Gruyter, 2016). Phil Hubbard and Rob Kitchin, ed., *Key Thinkers on Space and Place* (London: Sage, 2011).

⁷² For a detailed evaluation of the reflections on spatial turn in Ottoman Urban Studies see: Yunus Uğur, *Tarihçilikte “Mekânın Yeniden Keşfi”: Osmanlı Şehir Çalışmaları İçin Öneriler* *İdealkent: Kent Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol.11, no. 30 (2020): 678-700.

peripheral regions, and extensive research delved into the new forms of urbanization in the urban fringes.⁷³ The shift of emphasis from urban centers to their peripheries prompted a reconsideration of the urban-rural dichotomy that has long anchored urban studies and yielded fresh perspectives in the field. New concepts such as suburban fringes, edge-cities, intermediate zones, satellite cities, and transition zones challenged the conventional ways of naming those realms lying outside of the town centers but still a part of urban reality.⁷⁴

The existing literature on urban frontiers and liminal spaces is particularly relevant to this study since when Mahalle-i Ma'mûre sat at this liminal edge between the urban to rural and even by the turn of the seventeenth century formed a gradual transition from Üsküdar's urbanized residential core to its rural peripheries.⁷⁵ I employed the concept of "liminality," developed by cultural anthropologist Victor Turner (1920–83) with the inspiration of Arnold van Gennep's treatise on rites of passage.⁷⁶ In his anthropological study

⁷³ For an examination of the peripheral turn see: Arthur Bueno, Mariana Teixeira, and David Strecker, eds., *De-Centering Global Sociology: The Peripheral Turn in Social Theory and Research* (New York and London: Routledge, 2023), Neil Brenner, "Introduction: Urban Theory without an Outside," in *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*, ed. Neil Brenner (Berlin: Jovis, 2004): 14–35. Xuefei Ren, "The Peripheral Turn in Global Urban Studies: Theory, Evidence, Sites" *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, no. 26 (March 3, 2021). <https://doi.org/10.4000/samaj.7413>.

⁷⁴ Christian Schmid, "Networks, Borders, Differences,: Towards a Theory" of Urban," in *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*, ed. Neil Brenner (Berlin: Jovis, 2004), 67. For a valuable study discussing the urban rural dichotomy see: Graeme Hugo, *New Forms of Urbanization: Beyond the Urban-Rural Dichotomy* (New York: Routledge, 2004). For the foundational works on the notion of "edge city" see: Joel Garreau, *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing, 1991). See also: Kristin Poling, *Germany's Urban Frontiers: Nature and History on the Edge of the Nineteenth-Century City* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020), Robert A. Beauregard, Edge Cities: Peripheralizing the Center" in *Urban Geography* (1995), vol.16, no.8: 708-721, Bontje, Marco and Joachim Burdack.. "Edge Cities, European-style: Examples from Paris and the Randstad." in *Cities* (2005), vol.22, no.4:317-30.

⁷⁵ For case studies on urban fringes across various regions of the world, see: Kristian Karlo Saguin, *Urban Ecologies on the Edge: Making Manila's Resource Frontier* (California: University of California Press, 2022), Adam Arenson, Barbara Berglund, Jay Gitlin, eds., *Frontier Cities: Encounters at the Crossroads of Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), Kristin Poling, *Germany's Urban Frontiers: Nature and History on the Edge of the Nineteenth-Century City* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020), Erika Nagy, "Growth and urban differentiation on the urban periphery: A case study from Szeged, Hungary," in *GeoJournal*, vol. 46 (1999): 221–230. Marie-Anne Germaine, Élise Temple-Boyer, Johan Milian, Véronique Fourault-Cauet, Richard Raymond, "The diversity of suburban fringe landscapes: Which indicators to characterize the rural-urban interface – two field cases from Ile-de-France," in *L'Espace Géographique*, vol.46, no.1 (2017): 19-40.

⁷⁶ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti Structure* (London and New York: Routledge, 1969) "The rites of passage as first defined by Arnold van Gennep in his influential book of the same name, include the sequence of three phases: first the subject has to go through segregation from his or her previous role in society. Then he goes through an intermediate phase, before finally being reaggregated into his or her new role.

examining the ritual processes in Lunda-Ndembu, Zambia, Turner defines liminality as follows:

Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial. As such, their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions. Thus, liminality is frequently likened to death, to being in the womb, to invisibility, to darkness, to bisexuality, to the wilderness, and to an eclipse of the sun or moon.⁷⁷

In *Image, and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, authored by Victor and Edith Turner, they argued that liminality should not be confined to a single meaning, namely the “traditional rites of passage,” since that was such an expansive notion that could be easily applied to the transitive moments of cultures, marginal identities or otherness, a transition area between different places, a passage from one state of mind to another during a spiritual experience, and generally, gray areas that remain outside of normative frameworks.⁷⁸ Encouraged by Victor and Edith Turner, the concept has acquired new meanings and has been applied in a wide array of fields, ranging from economic and political anthropology to

Victor Turner is the scholar who with the greatest success has elaborated van Gennep’s theories, most importantly by coining the liminality” Dag Øistein Endsjø, “To Lock up Eleusis: A Question of Liminal Space.” *Numen*, vol. 47, no. 4 (2000): 354. For Gennep’s work that inspires Turner see: Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (London: Routledge, 1909).

⁷⁷ In his analysis of transformative moments experienced during the spiritual rituals in Zambia, Victor Turner employed the concept of liminal space with regard to the “middle phase of any ritual process during which an individual undergoes a transition from one social status to another. Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 95. For more information on the Turner’s concept of “liminality” see: Bjørn Thomassen, *Liminality and the Modern: Living Through the In-Between* (New York: Routledge, 2014), Harry Wels, Kees van der Waal, Andrew David Spiegel, Frans Kamsteeg, “Victor Turner and Liminality: An Introduction,” *Anthropology Southern Africa* (2011), vol.34, no. 1-4. Bruce Kapferer, “Introduction: Ritual Process and the Transformation of Context.” *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, no. 1 (1979): 3–19.

⁷⁸ They identified the act of pilgrimage to a sacred site as a liminal act, signifying a spiritual experience or travel that ends with the salvation and cleansing of the attending souls. Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 2-4, 30.

urban studies, sociology, literature, art history, migration studies, political science, religious studies, philosophy, and the like.⁷⁹

In urban studies, for instance, the concept of “liminal space” did not necessarily correspond to Turner and Genepp’s original concept, which was intimately related to the ritual performances and sacred spaces that promised a spiritual and transformative experience. Instead, its definition is enlarged to include frontier communities, marginalized or underrepresented groups, and the areas at the threshold of city centers, holy lands, and sacred buildings.⁸⁰ For instance, Hilal Uğurlu and Suzan Yalman recently published a highly engaging edited volume, *The Friday Mosque and the City: Liminality, Ritual, and Politics*, exploring the relationship between the Friday mosque and the city, with a particular focus on their interaction within an urban context.⁸¹ In this volume, liminal space is mainly associated with the transition zones or interfaces bridging the city’s profane environment and the mosques’ spiritual atmosphere while taking a share from both.⁸²

⁷⁹ For studies from various disciplines that employed the concept of liminality as a theoretical framework, see: Lynn F. Jacobs, *Thresholds and Boundaries Liminality in Netherlandish Art (1385-1530)* (New York: Routledge, 2019), Hiroko Matsuda, *Liminality of the Japanese Empire: Border Crossings from Okinawa to Colonial Taiwan* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2018), Clemens Wischermann, Aline Steinbrecher, Philip Howell, ed., *Animal History in the Modern City: Exploring Liminality* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), Hein Viljoen, *Beyond the Threshold: Explorations of Liminality in Literature* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2007), Roberta Piazza, ed., *Discourses of Identity in Liminal Places and Spaces* (New York: Routledge, 2019), Anne Haour, *Outsiders and Strangers: An Archaeology of Liminality in West Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), Myriam Moïse, Fred Réno, ed., *Border Transgression and Reconfiguration of Caribbean Spaces* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), Arpad Szakolczai, *The Political Anthropology of Ethnic and Religious Minorities* (New York: Routledge, 2017), Madeleine Mumcuoglu and Yosef Garfinkel, *Crossing the Threshold: Architecture, Iconography and the Sacred Entrance* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2018).

⁸⁰ See Hannah Baader and Gerhard Wolf, eds., *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz: Littoral and Liminal Spaces: The Early Modern Mediterranean and Beyond*, vol.56, no.1 (2014), Isabella Clough Marinaro, *Inhabiting Liminal Spaces: Informalities in Governance, Housing, and Economic Activity in Contemporary Italy* (New York: Routledge, 2022), Dara Downe, Ian Kinane, Elizabeth Parker, ed., *Landscapes of Liminality: Between Space and Place* (London, New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2016), Caroline Wanjiku Kihato, “The Liminal City: Gender, Mobility and Governance in a Twenty-first Century African City,” in *The Sage Handbook of New Urban Studies*, eds. John Hannigan and Greg Richards (London: SAGE Publications, 2017): 126-138. Ursula Lehmkuhl, Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, Laurence McFalls, eds. *Of 'Contact Zones' and 'Liminal Spaces': Mapping the Everyday Life of Cultural Translation* (Münster: Waxmann Verlag GmbH, 2015).

⁸¹ I am grateful to Professor Suzan Yalman for letting me know about this valuable book prior to its publication. A. Hilâl Uğurlu and Suzan Yalman, eds., *The Friday Mosque: Liminality, Ritual and Politics* (Bristol and Chicago: Intellect, 2021).

⁸² Turan Açık, “Osmanlı Şehri Neresi?: Fıkıhın Şehri Tanımlamada ve Finâ’nın Şehrin Sınırlarını Belirlemedeki Yeri,” in *Kadim*, vol.6 (October 2023): 77-107.

In the realm of Ottoman studies, there exists a diverse range of interpretations regarding the concept of liminality. Eric Dursteler, for example, employed the term to describe the in-between status of the members of *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*, the Latin-rite Christians of Istanbul, because they were the members of a small community striving to preserve their identity in “the liminal space where the Ottoman, Venetian, Genoese, Muslim, Orthodox, and Christian ambits intersected.”⁸³ Claire Norton portrayed the Ottoman-Habsburg borderlands as a liminal space where the religious, linguistic, cultural, and political distinctions produced fluid communities in compliance with the local rules of conduct that fell beyond the purview of the central authority.⁸⁴

Last but not least, Patricia Blessing and Dana Sajdi use the term “liminal space” to refer to monasteries and mausoleums, the sacred spaces experienced through visits that may be considered spiritual activities at the margins of urban life. In her recent article, “From Diyārāt to Ziyārāt The Transmutation of the Sacred and Generic Landscape in Syria,” Sajdi explores the two literary genres, the *diyārāt* (Books of Monasteries) and the *ziyārāt* (shrine pilgrimage guides), and addresses shrines and monasteries as liminal spaces located outside of the normative codes and rules of social life.⁸⁵ Each visit to these Muslim and Christian religious sites was, she explains, a liminal practice that involved stepping into communication with what is divine. In a similar manner, Patricia Blessing introduces Ottoman mausoleums as liminal spaces “between the world of the visitor, the here and now, and the afterlife.”⁸⁶ Adhering to the definition offered by Victor and Edith Turner, who asserted a direct association between “the pilgrimage to a sacred site or holy shrine” and the act, mode, or space of liminality, both Sajdi and Blessing ascribe metaphorical meaning to

⁸³ Eric R. Dursteler, “Latin-Rite Christians in Early Modern Istanbul,” in *Osmanlı İstanbulu Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (29 May – 1 June 2013), eds. Feridun M. Emecen and Emrah Safa Gürkan (Istanbul: Istanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014).

⁸⁴ Claire Norton, “Liminal Space in the Early Modern Ottoman-Habsburg Borderlands: Historiography, Ontology, and Politics,” in *The Uses of Space in Early Modern History*, ed. Paul Stock (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015): 75-97.

⁸⁵ Dana Sajdi, “From Diyārāt to Ziyārāt The Transmutation of the Sacred and Generic Landscape in Syria,” in *Journal of Arabic Literature*, vol.53 (2022): 216–245.

⁸⁶ Patricia Blessing, *Architecture and Material Politics in the Fifteenth-Century Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

the act of visiting a tomb and define such rituals as praying or reading the Qur'an at funerals as liminal practices.⁸⁷

In this study, the concept of “liminal space” does not refer to a sacred space or a neutral territory outside the purview of the central authorities. Instead, I use this concept to highlight the distinctive characteristics of Ma'mûre as a way station (*menzil*) and a frontier neighborhood that marked the urban limits of nefs-i Üsküdar. In this regard, Ma'mûre's liminality reflects both its function and location within the urban landscape of Üsküdar. Ma'mûre served as a key conduit for the movement of people and goods, so it was constantly in a state of flux that influenced the dynamics of the local economy and social interactions. The liminality of the area is further underscored by its location on the urban fringes of Üsküdar proper. Its location straddled the divide between urban and rural environments, imbued its residents with an in-between status that influenced their economic activities by merging urban and agricultural practices.

1.6. Literature Review : Contextualizing This Study within Ottoman Urban and Waqf Studies

Cem Behar's seminal study, *A Neighbourhood in Ottoman Istanbul*, which provides a biographical narrative of Kasap İlyas Mahalle from its development in the sixteenth century to the twentieth century, has served as a major inspiration for this dissertation.⁸⁸ In his study, Behar used exceptional sources that he had discovered—the nineteenth-century notebooks kept by the local headman (*muhtar*) — which provided valuable information about the community dynamics and governance of Kasap İlyas Mahallesi, with records even dating back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Given the scarcity of such detailed local sources for earlier periods, it was crucial to rely on alternative archival sources to elucidate the neighborhood's socio-spatial development from the late fifteenth century onwards. Accordingly, Behar analyzed tax records, census registers, *vakfiyes*, and maps to write the

⁸⁷ “Christianity generated its own mode of liminality for the laity. This mode was best represented by the pilgrimage to a sacred site or holy shrine located at some distance away from the pilgrim's place of residence and daily labor.” Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, 4.

⁸⁸ Cem Behar, *A Neighbourhood in Ottoman Istanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003).

history of Kasap İlyas Mahallesi between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. This methodological approach has provided a foundational model for this dissertation and encouraged me to use different types of sources to write the history of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood.

Behar defines *semt* as “a nondescript area, a district” typically named after prominent landmarks that served as primary geographic markers closely associated with urban functions like trade, commerce, education, and socio-religious services.⁸⁹ Ma'mûre aligns with Behar's description of a *semt* as it comprised several neighborhoods and was named after a significant landmark, Nurbanu Sultan's “*imaret*(عمارت),” which served as a geographic reference point.⁹⁰ In this regard, Ma'mûre's status within the urban landscape of Üsküdar can be likened to the thirteen districts (or *nâhiye*) of *intramuros* Istanbul. However, Ma'mûre differs from these Istanbul's *nâhiyes* primarily due to its status as a waqf land with precisely delineated boundaries.

Studies on the *extramural* neighborhoods or suburbs situated along principal trade and hajj routes have provided invaluable insights that significantly enriched my understanding of Ma'mûre as a way station (*menzil*) on the outskirts of Üsküdar. These peripheral zones often evolved into vibrant centers of commercial and cultural exchange, where local communities engaged with travelers, who were integrated within the extensive networks of interregional trade and hajj journey.⁹¹ Major trade centers like Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo typically featured market zones located outside the city gates that

⁸⁹ He explains that, unlike the *semt*, the *mahalle* was a smaller, more localized area whose significance is primarily confined to its inhabitants and less recognized beyond its immediate surroundings. Ibid., 5,6.

⁹⁰ For instance, in the court records, the neighborhoods on Nurbanu's waqf land were registered with reference to Ma'mûre, such as “Debbağlar Mahallesi in Mahalle-i Ma'mûre” or “Kazasker Mahallesi in Mahalle-i Ma'mûre.” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.86.p.1/b1 (Recep 1001 / April 1593), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.108.p.15/a2 (Muharrem 1012/June 1613).

⁹¹ “*Les caravanes, et notamment celle du pèlerinage, constituent un facteur de croissance urbaine en ce sens qu'elles favorisent le développement commercial de l'itinéraire qu'elles empruntent. Ainsi, à Alep, les routes commerciales vers l'Anatolie et vers la Perse ont favorisé le développement des faubourgs nord et est de la ville.* / The caravans, particularly those on pilgrimage, served as a catalyst for urban expansion by stimulating commercial growth along their routes. Thus, in Aleppo, the trade routes towards Anatolia and Persia contributed to the development of the northern and eastern suburbs of the city. Brigitte Marino, *Le faubourg du Mîdân à Damas à l'époque ottomane: Espace urbain, société et habitat: 1742-1830* (Damascus: Institut Français D'études Arabes de Damas, 2003): Chapitre II. Développement du Faubourg à l'époque ottomane: 89-133. <https://books.openedition.org/ifpo/3830>.

served as staging areas for hajj and trade caravans.⁹² For instance, in his study of the cemeteries of Cairo, Louis Massignon showed that the suburb (*le faubourg*) of Darb al-Ahmar, which developed around the city gate Bab Zuwaile, provided essential support to pilgrims traveling from Raydaniyya to Jerusalem and Mecca.⁹³ Similarly, Brigitte Marino demonstrated how the Damascene suburb Midan, located along the road from Kiswe to Jerusalem and Cairo, became a center for hajj caravans.⁹⁴ Moreover, Jean Sauvaget revealed that Banqusa, the northeastern suburb of Aleppo, served as a caravan hub during the Mamluk era. During Ottoman times, Banqusa was incorporated into the expanding city as it grew beyond the city walls.⁹⁵

Unlike Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo, Üsküdar was not surrounded by walls; therefore, it lacked a gate through which the town's entrances and exits could be regulated and where customs officers could be stationed. The functions typically associated with the neighborhoods or suburbs that developed around city gates, as seen in the examples above, were assigned to Ma'mûre. As will be addressed in detail in later chapters, Ma'mûre provided accommodation for merchants and pilgrims and served as a customs checkpoint for trade caravans arriving in Üsküdar.⁹⁶

⁹² For the studies addressing the relationship between the caravan trade, hajj caravans, and the development of extramural neighborhoods, see Jean Sauvaget, *Alep. Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du xix siècle* (Paris, P. Geuthner 1941). Bruce Masters, *The origins of western economic dominance in the Middle East: mercantilism and the Islamic economy in Aleppo, 1600–1750* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), 110–146. André Raymond, "The Economy of the Traditional City," in *The City in the Islamic World*, vol. 2, eds. Salma K. Jayyusi (Boston: Brill, 2008), 731–75. Bruce Masters, "Aleppo: the Ottoman Empire's Caravan City," in *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, Bruce Masters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 17–79. Gangler Anette, *Ein traditionelles Wohnviertel im Nordosten der Altstadt von Aleppo in Nordsyrien* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag Tübingen, Berlin, 1993).

⁹³ Massignon Louis, *La cité des morts au Caire: Qarâfa--Darb al-Ahmar* (Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1958), 276.

⁹⁴ Marino, *Le Faubourg du Mîdân*, 93.

⁹⁵ Sauvaget, *Alep*, 175.

⁹⁶ As Bruce Masters defined eloquently, "Once a caravan arrived at Aleppo, it would halt outside the city walls until the merchants were registered by the Ottoman customs officials. Bruce Masters, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600–1750* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), 121.

This dissertation not only draws insights from but also contributes to the existing scholarship that investigates how the establishment of socio-religious complexes influenced the physical, demographic, and economic expansion of Ottoman cities.⁹⁷ The creation of waqfs served such purposes as urbanizing uninhabited regions, developing towns catering to the needs of merchants and pilgrims, stimulating economic activity, and expanding a city's boundaries in particular directions. Moreover, imperial waqfs were instrumental in the redistribution of local resources and the restructuring of power dynamics. They allowed for the strategic appointment of individuals to roles such as waqf beneficiaries, administrators, and employees, effectively extending the reach of imperial authority into local governance structures. In addition to their practical functions, waqfs also carried symbolic weight, as they were instrumental in introducing Ottoman spatial and visual elements into conquered territories and legitimizing Ottoman rule in newly acquired lands.⁹⁸ Thus, imperial waqfs should not be viewed simply as charitable acts or as instruments that served the personal ambitions of waqf founders. Indeed, they were crucial in supporting the state's urban policies, socio-economic strategies, and political objectives.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ For more studies tracing the urbanization patterns in the Ottoman Empire through different types and uses of waqf endowments, see Suna Çağaptay, *The First Capital of the Ottoman Empire: The Religious, Architectural and Social History of Bursa* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2020); Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Osmanlı Şehirciliğinde Dönüşüm ve Devamlılık: Onbeşinci Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Külliye ve Mahalleler" in *550. Yılında Fetih ve İstanbul* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2007): 177-188. [Kafescioğlu *Constantinopolis/Istanbul* deals with the issue of waqf and urbanization in much greater scope than the TTK publication.]; Dimitri J. Kastritsis, "Ottoman Urbanism and Capital Cities Before the Conquest of Constantinople (1453)," in *Cities as Palimpsests? Responses to Antiquity in Eastern Mediterranean Urbanism*, eds., Elizabeth Key Fowden, Suna Çağaptay, Edward Zychowicz-Coghill and Louise Blanke (Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow, 2022): 287-306. Aptullah Kuran, "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul," *Muqarnas*, vol. 13 (1996): 114-31. Randi Deguilhem, "The Waqf in the City," in *The City in the Islamic World*, vol. 2, ed. Salma K. Jayyusi (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008): 923-953. Irene A. Bierman, Rifa'at Abou-El Haj, Donald Preziosi, eds. *The Ottoman City and Its Parts Urban Structure and Social Order* (New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1991); Ludovico Micara, "The Ottoman Tripoli: A Mediterranean Medina," in *The City in the Islamic World*, vol. 1, ed. Salma K. Jayyusi (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008): 383-407. Fatma Acun, A Portrait of the Ottoman Cities," *The Muslim World*, vol. 92, issue 3-4 (Fall 2002): 255-281.

⁹⁸ Rıza Yıldırım, "Dervishes, Waqfs, and Conquest: Notes on Early Ottoman Expansion in Thrace," in *Held in Trust: Waqf in the Islamic World*, ed. Pascale Ghazaleh (New York and Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2011): 23-40.

⁹⁹ Kayhan Orbay offers categorizing the Ottoman waqfs into three categories in terms of their financial sources and economic function. They are "the ordinary waqfs, which were made by the public and were mostly small; the cash waqfs, of which the main object of the endowment was money; and lastly, the imperial waqfs, founded by dynasty members and high-ranking state servants." Kayhan Orbay, "Account Books of the Imperial Waqfs (Charitable Endowments) in the Eastern Mediterranean (5th to 19th Centuries)," *The Accounting Historians Journal*, vol. 40, no. 1 (June 2013), 33.

Ömer Lütfi Barkan is among the first Ottomanists who has emphasized and examined the strategic use of pious endowments by Ottoman rulers as a means of inhabiting, making prosperous, and administering newly-conquered territories, a valuable endeavor supported by several subsequent studies.¹⁰⁰ For instance, Metin Kunt examined systematically the waqfs established by Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and elucidated their strategic use to advance certain state policies. According to him, Mehmed Pasha's charitable works in Bozcaada, Yanova, Rujnik, Amasya, Karaoglan Beli, Taraklıborlu, and Cisir-i Sugur not only provided security and protection for long-distance travelers but also aimed to "provide prosperity and Ottoman culture to towns that they had conquered for the glory of the sultan and the state."¹⁰¹ Another study emphasizing the state's strategic use of waqf-making is Ramazan Pantık's dissertation on the waqf programme of Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha (d. 1683), who served as the grand vizier between the years 1676-83. Pantık argues that throughout the seventeenth century, the state collaborated with various pashas in redeveloping the regions which had suffered extensive destruction as a result of the Celali rebellions.¹⁰² The choice of Mustafa Pasha's for building mosque complex in İncesu, among the most devastated way stations for the hajj caravans, was not arbitrary but served the policy of investing in its urbanization and reconsolidating Ottoman governance in the region.

Accordingly, the recent study of Grigor Boykov, *Conquered by Sword, Subdued by Charity* provides a systematic examination of how waqfs took an active part in the revitalization and the administration of conquered territories within the boundaries of modern-day Bulgaria. Boykov's study also stands out with his spatial analysis of a rich set of spatial data he extracted from various kinds of primary sources and visualization of these data through advanced mapping techniques by using ArcGIS, a GIS (Geographic

¹⁰⁰ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. 2 (1942): 278-386 ; Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrîr Defteri, 953 (1546) Târihli* (Istanbul, 1970).

¹⁰¹ Metin Kunt, "The Waqf as an Instrument of Public Policy: Notes on the Köprülü Family Endowments," in *Studies in Honour of Professor V.L. Menage*, eds. Colin Heywood and Colin Imber. (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1994), 198. For a case study on the use of waqf in Safavid Empire by Shah Abbas as part of his public policy-making see Robert D. McChesney, Waqf and Public Policy: The Waqf of Shah Abbas, 1011-1023/1602-1614," *Asian and African Studies*, vol. 15 (1981):165-190.

¹⁰² Ramazan Pantık, "Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa Vakıfları: Yönetimi, Kentsel Gelişime Katkıları ve İktisadi Yapısı" (PhD diss., Hacettepe University, 2021), 160.

Information System) software.¹⁰³ According to his analysis, the waqfs controlled more than a quarter of the entire territory of Bulgaria, underscoring the pivotal role of waqf institutions in governing newly acquired lands. Complementing Boykov's research, a recent dissertation by İrem Gündüz-Polat examines Murad II's waqfs and their urban and rural assets to uncover the diverse motivations behind their establishment. Polat argued waqfs in urban areas primarily served at fostering urban development and stimulating economic growth, while, in rural settings, they functioned as a mechanism to connect the regions under the control of powerful agents like frontier lords and certain statesmen to the central authority. In other words, through waqf-making, Murad II attempted to move away from the fragmented order by creating a system where many mechanisms were managed from the center.¹⁰⁴

The scholarship on the empire's Arab cities significantly enriches our understanding of the diverse functions that waqf-making served, illustrating how Ottoman rulers leveraged their endowments to exert influence over socio-political dynamics while at the same time ensuring that the aimed urban development aligned with both the prevailing state agenda and their personal ambitions. André Raymond's seminal studies on Arab cities, including Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, reveal that they experienced significant urban growth, particularly during the formative stages of Ottoman rule, and became the empire's provincial centers and major trade hubs.¹⁰⁵ Based on his findings on how waqfs played a pivotal role in shaping the spatial configuration of cities and providing essential services to their inhabitants, he framed the waqf institution as an alternative to the Western municipal governance model.¹⁰⁶ Building upon Raymond's insights, Doris Behrens-Abouseif examined the waqfs established by Ottoman pashas and local notables in Cairo, further exploring their socio-political

¹⁰³ Grigor Boykov, "Conquered by Sword, Subdued by Charity? Geospatial and Quantitative Analysis of Land Waqfs in Ottoman Bulgaria," *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, vol. 59 (2021): 37-77.

¹⁰⁴ İrem Gündüz Polat, *Waqfs as Political Instruments: An Examination of Murad II's Waqfiyyas and Endowments (1421–1451)* (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2024).

¹⁰⁵ André Raymond: *Grandes Villes Arabes à l'époque Ottomane*. (Paris: Sindbad, 1985); André Raymond, *Cairo*, trans. Willard Wood; André Raymond, "The Economy of the Traditional City" in *The City in the Islamic World*, vol. 2: 731-751.

¹⁰⁶ André Raymond, "Les grands waqfs et l'organisation de l'espace urbain a Alep et au Caire a l'poque ottomane (XVIe-XVIIe siecles)," *Bulletin d'fudes Orientales*, vol. 31 (1979): 113-128.

implications.¹⁰⁷ She revealed that by the end of the Mamluk period, most of Cairo's land and buildings had been converted into waqf properties. After the Ottoman conquest, the new rulers inherited this vast network of pious foundations. She argued that replacing the existing socio-political framework established by the Mamluks by creating new waqfs was crucial in enabling the Ottomans to consolidate their presence in the city.¹⁰⁸

In her study on Aleppo's urban evolution during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Heghnar Watenpaugh argued that "visual culture, including architecture and urban topography, was an essential tool of Ottomanization."¹⁰⁹ She explained that the waqf mechanism was essential for the Ottoman ruling elite, who, through their multifunctional complexes, embedded a distinctly Ottoman "visual grammar" within the cityscape of Aleppo.¹¹⁰ These large-scale waqfs also vested their endowers with prestigious status and strengthened their grip on the socio-economic dynamics in strategic urban centers. In her article *In the Image of Rum*, Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu argued that the agendas of the Ottoman elite governing Aleppo and Damascus were manifested in the complexes they built in these cities.¹¹¹ Waqf-making provided them with both symbolic and practical authority over these trade hubs, thereby enhancing their careers within the military bureaucracy.¹¹²

In his early yet foundational studies on Hürrem Sultan's waqfs, Oded Peri highlighted the role of the imperial waqfs as an instrument to increase and consolidate the political power of the Ottoman sultans.¹¹³ He explained that, according to Ottoman formal

¹⁰⁷ Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 145.

This transition was more complex and pronounced in Damascus and Aleppo, as demonstrated by Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu in her article on the building activities initiated by the Ottoman governors in Aleppo and Damascus. Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, "In the Image of Rum": Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Aleppo and Damascus," *Muqarnas*, vol. 16 (1999): 70-96.

¹⁰⁹ Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 120.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 120.

¹¹¹ Kafesçioğlu, "In the Image of Rum," 70-96.

¹¹² Ibid., 78-79.

¹¹³ Oded Peri, "The Waqf as an Instrument to Increase and Consolidate Political Power: The Case of Khasseki Sultan Waqf in Late Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Jerusalem," *Asian and African Studies*, vol. 17 (1983): 27-

law, all waqf lands were designated as autonomous (*mefrûzü'l- kalem ve maktû'l-kâdem serbest*) domains, which placed them beyond the authority and interference of state officials—including provincial governors and tax farmers. Instead, these lands were governed by *mütevellîs*, who were appointed by the central government.¹¹⁴ According to Peri, through designating landed properties in the sanjaks of Gaza and Ramle as the properties of Hürrem Sultan's imperial waqf in 1742, they strengthened the state's hold over the most important regions within the Province of Damascus in terms of their strategic position and economic value. This strategic move also enabled the state to create "a new third power center in southern Palestine as a kind of counterbalance against the two greater power centers already existent in the north—the *eyâlets* of Damascus and Sidon."¹¹⁵ In other words, waqf land in a distant province, under the control of provincial governors, could be put under the close inspection of the state through the waqf system through *mütevellîs* subordinate to Istanbul, the Sublime Porte.¹¹⁶

In his study on the waqf programme of Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha, Ramazan Pantık reaches a conclusion akin to Peri's.¹¹⁷ He argues that the waqfs endowed by the sultan, his household, and high-ranking officials were integrated into the state's administrative framework rather than functioning as autonomous entities. According to him, this integration was enabled by the waqf administrators (*mütevellîs*) typically chosen among the family members of the endower or appointed by the central government among the high-ranking officials of the imperial palace.¹¹⁸ They managed waqf properties under the stringent

42. Oded Peri, "Waqf and Ottoman Welfare Policy. The Poor Kitchen of Hasseki Sultan in Eighteenth-Century Jerusalem," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 35, no. 2 (1992): 167-186.

¹¹⁴ Peri, "The Case of Khasseki Sultan Waqf," 54.

¹¹⁵ As Peri showed, Hürrem Sultan's *mütevellîs* collaborated with the governors of Gaza and Ramle to benefit their military forces for an efficient collection of waqf revenues. They served as tax farmers or the deputies of the *mütevellîs* in collecting the waqf revenues and, in response, enjoyed authority over control of considerable economic resources. In other words, their authority to intervene in an imperial waqf's administrative affairs enhanced their local power and influence. Peri, "The Waqf as an Instrument to Increase and Consolidate Political Power," 54.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹¹⁷ Pantık, "Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa Vakıfları," 48-59.

¹¹⁸ The *mütevellîs* of the imperial waqfs were generally appointed from the high-ranking members of the Ottoman military class until the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the ulema class began to assume dominance over the office. *Ibid.*, 60.

oversight of the waqf superintendents—a position held by the chief black eunuchs beginning with the reign of Murad III (1574-1595).¹¹⁹

This dissertation supports the argument that the state closely monitored the administration of imperial waqfs by showing that Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs* were appointed from the central government and were chosen among the sultan's servants (*kuls*) with the titles of "Bey" and "Agha" during 1570-1620.¹²⁰ However, instead of viewing the *mütevellîs* solely as agents of the state, this study grants them more agency by tracing their roles and responsibilities in the governance of Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood, Ma'mûre. Additionally, this study explores the various waqf officials and tax farmers with whom the *mütevellîs* collaborated in the local governance of Ma'mûre and particularly in collecting local revenues. By unveiling this network of influence, the study offers a deeper insight into their functions as local military governors of imperial waqfs. Oded Peri's research on Hürrem Sultan's pious foundations similarly underscores how

Although the imperial waqfs served specific political ends and functioned like an extension of the state apparatus, the extent of state involvement in their administration warrants further discussion.¹²¹ As Haim Gerber asserted, even though the imperial waqfs could indeed be viewed as extensions of the central government—given that they were administered by state-appointed bureaucrats—the actual situation was considerably more complex.¹²² According to him, even if *mütevellîs* operated within a tightly regulated framework delineated by *vakfiyes*, waqfs provided room for intensive civic activity and functioned as checks and balances in accordance with "Islamic equity and decorum, which emphasize fairness, ethical conduct, and adherence to Islamic law."¹²³ At that point, Miriam

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 51. For more information, see Section 2.4.2.

¹²⁰ See Section 5.3.2.

¹²¹ Through the dissertation, I used the term "imperial waqfs," pursuing Kayhan Orbay's definition, including waqfs including "Sultanîc waqfs," established by the sultans; "Dynastic waqfs," encompassing endowments from the sultan's family, typically overseen by high-ranking officials; and large waqfs founded by high-ranking state officials and local notables. Kayhan Orbay, "Imperial Waqfs within the Ottoman Waqf System," *Endowment Studies*, vol. 1 (2017), 139.

¹²² Haim Gerber, "The Public Sphere and Civil Society in the Ottoman Empire," in *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies*, eds. Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, Nehemia Levtzion (New York: State University of New York Press, 2002), 75-76.

¹²³ Ibid., 76.

Hoexter's study on the religious endowments established in Mecca and Medina and in Ottoman Algiers is crucial to understanding why a deputy kadi was assigned to hold court in Ma'mûre. Hoexter underlined the active involvement of the kadis in the administration of the large public foundations endowed by rulers or their immediate circle.¹²⁴ As she argued, kadis were the key agents who served as legal intermediaries, who, on the one hand, accommodated the needs of inhabitants and, on the other, exercised a supervisory function in the waqf administration to protect the waqf's financial interests.¹²⁵ In conclusion, this study builds upon a comprehensive body of scholarship on Ottoman urban and waqf studies, particularly those focusing on Ottoman neighborhoods and their town-building practices, and addresses Ottoman waqf-making with its several dimensions.

In conclusion, the comprehensive socio-spatial analysis of Ma'mûre's formation and development into an urban district offers valuable insights that enrich the existing literature on Ottoman neighborhoods and the formation and governance of waqf settlements across the empire. This study proposes a framework or model that could guide future research. Moreover, the case of Ma'mûre could serve as a blueprint for comparative urban studies focusing on different waqf settlements across the Ottoman Empire. Such studies could enhance our understanding of the varied urban strategies and waqf policies implemented across the empire, thereby deepening our insights into the empire's complex urban practices.

1.7. Chapter Outline

My dissertation distinguished from the above-mentioned waqf studies with its focus on a waqf settlement rather than the waqf endower while still exploring to what extent Nurbanu Sultan's motivations in waqf-making aligned with the state agenda. In terms of addressing waqfs as tools for governing mechanisms, this study explores how Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs* governed Ma'mûre, not merely as financial overseers of waqf assets but also as

¹²⁴ Miriam Hoexter, "The Waqf and the Public Sphere," in *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies*, ed. Miriam Hoexter, et. al (Albany: SUNY Press, 2012), 119–39; Miriam Hoexter, *Endowments, Rulers and Community: Waqf al-Haramayn in Ottoman Algiers* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

¹²⁵ Hoexter, "The Waqf and the Public Sphere," 131.

military-administrative officials.¹²⁶ In this regard, Amy Singer's pioneering work on Hürrem Sultan's public kitchen in Jerusalem provides valuable insights. She argues that state officials often entrusted the management of their waqfs to family members, likely as a strategy to retain control within their personal networks and ensure the benefits remained within the family.¹²⁷ In contrast, the sultan and the members of the imperial family appointed high-ranking Ottoman officials to oversee their endowments, aiming to avoid any appearance of personal gain and emphasize the altruistic intent of their charitable endeavors.¹²⁸

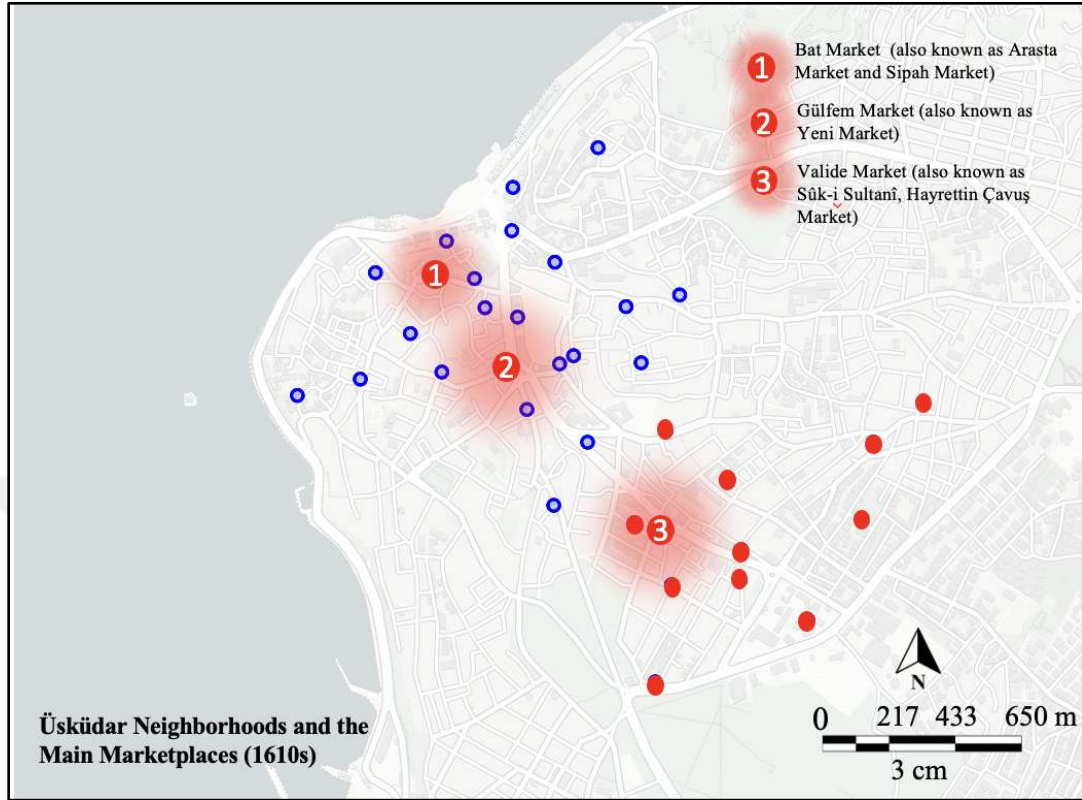
This dissertation comprises eight chapters, including the introduction (Chapter 1) and conclusion (Chapter 8). Chapter 2 introduces "Nurbanu Sultan's land" as the central focus of the study, identifies its boundaries and maps its extent and limits. In this chapter, I provide a thorough examination of the early phases of Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project, including an exploration of the motivations behind the selection of the construction site, a formal analysis of Nurbanu's mosque complex, and an assessment of her endowment's financial sources. Additionally, I discuss the decision to construct a high-capacity waterway and a marketplace, Valide Sûku, near the complex. (see Map 1.5)¹²⁹

¹²⁶ For a study on a waqf neighborhood in Jerusalem, see Hasan Hüseyin Güneş, *Kudüs Meğâribe Mahallesi* (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, 2017) It was a twelfth-century neighborhood, established by the son of Selahaddin Eyyübi after the capture of Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 1187. After being designated as a waqf, it was stipulated that only Maghrebis, who had served as military forces in the conquest, could settle in this neighborhood.

¹²⁷ Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2002), 35.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ *Valide Sûku*, along with other markets, including *Bat Pazarı*, lying along the coast, and *Gülfem Çarşısı*, situated on the street leading to Ma'mûre, contributed to the development of the thoroughfare that ran through the town and led to Kadıköy.



Map 1. 5: The neighborhoods and main marketplaces in nefs-i Üsküdar (1610s.)
Produced by the author.

In Chapter 3, I address Nurbanu's building initiative within the broader context of imperial projects aimed at developing towns along the imperial highway that were planned to serve as way stations (*menzil*) and customs checkpoints. In this endeavor, the chapter opens up with a comparative analysis of the roadside complexes (*menzil külliyesi*) designed by Mimar Sinan for Şehzade Selim, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, and Nurbanu Sultan, all of which led to the development of thriving urban settlements during the second half of the sixteenth century. This analysis views Ma'mûre beyond the geographical limits of Üsküdar, emphasizing its connections with *menzil* towns such as Karapınar (Sultaniye), Payas, and Burgos, all of which played a crucial role in the empire's trade infrastructure. Furthermore, I argue that Nurbanu Sultan's mosque complex integrated the characteristics of both an urban complex (*şehir içi külliyesi*) and a roadside complex, which demonstrates that Mimar Sinan designed it in accordance with an urban plan to enhance Üsküdar's function, as a *menzil* town. Ultimately, this chapter shows that the Ottomans strategically leveraged the waqf institution to implement certain state policies. The large-scale building projects of Nurbanu

Sultan, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, and Şehzade Selim not only enhanced their reputations as benevolent waqf founders and town builders but also served the current state policy of providing safe passage to the trade and hajj caravans along the empire's highway.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the strategies employed to populate Nurbanu Sultan's land and ask how these strategies succeeded in integrating a diverse population group into Ma'mûre and, reversely, what challenges they faced. In doing this, I present a three-tiered analysis of Ma'mûre's physical and demographic growth from 1570 to 1620. This analysis begins with an exploration of the initial efforts to populate the environs of Nurbanu's complex and the early development of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. Secondly, I examine the settlement patterns of diverse ethnic and religious communities residing in Ma'mûre, including Muslims, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and Roma residents (*Kıbtîs*). I support this inquiry by creating maps visualizing the urban growth of Nurbanu's land and showing how Ma'mûre evolved from a single neighborhood centered around the complex into a *semt* with eleven neighborhoods—a process that gradually pushed the boundaries of Üsküdar into its rural outskirts. Finally, I explore Ma'mûre as a liminal space between Üsküdar's coastal center and the surrounding green expanse and discuss how its peripheral location influenced the economic pursuits of its residents. By integrating these three layers of analysis, Chapter 4 portrays the urbanization of Nurbanu's land as a multifaceted and dynamic process shaped by both the direct interventions from the waqf administration and the diverse socio-religious needs and economic pursuits of its residents. Additionally, the chapter sheds light on the formation of the first Greek and Armenian neighborhoods in Üsküdar, addressing a significant gap in the existing scholarship.

In Chapter 5, I show that Ma'mûre was designated as a free or autonomous (*serbest*) urban enclave under the jurisdiction of the waqf administration and thus was beyond the authority and interference of Üsküdar's tax farmers and the janissary unit responsible for maintaining public security in the town. Initially, I introduce the local government cadre of Ma'mûre, including the waqf administrator (*mütevelli*), the head of the local police force, or *kolluk* (Ma'mûre *subaşı*), and the deputy kadi (Ma'mûre *nâ'ibi*). This chapter views the waqf institution beyond its traditionally recognized socio-economic and philanthropic functions, presenting it also as a governing body over waqf settlements. Also, I argue that

Ma'mûre's designation as a waqf settlement imposed specific rights and obligations on its residents that were crucial in cultivating a collective identity among them.

Chapter 6 extends the inquiry initiated in the previous chapter about Ma'mûre's administrative status by exploring Ma'mûre as a judicial center (*niyâbet*). In order to probe the reasons underlying the appointment of a deputy kadi (*nâ'ib*) in Ma'mûre, I map the geographical distribution of deputy courts (*niyâbet mahkemesi*) across Istanbul and its three boroughs (Üsküdar, Eyüp, and Galata), which provides valuable insights into the motivations for the assignment of *nâ'ibs* to certain locales. Furthermore, I propose a tripartite framework as the standard spatial layout of administrative-judicial centers in Greater Istanbul. This framework emphasizes the strategic proximity of sharia courts, headquarters of janissary units, and places of detention (prisons, or equivalent structures), facilitating their coordinated operation to enhance the efficacy of urban management.

Finally, Chapter 7 centers on the administration of justice in Ma'mûre. The chapter begins with an evaluation of whether the tripartite framework outlined in the preceding chapter was implemented in Ma'mûre through an examination of the locations where the *nâ'ibs* of Ma'mûre held court, where the *subaşı* of Ma'mûre and his functionaries were stationed, and the sites within the neighborhood designated as "places of detention." Furthermore, the chapter discusses the role of imprisonment in the urban governance of Ma'mûre. I conclude the chapter by analyzing the intersecting yet distinct spheres of authority exercised by *mütevellis*, *nâ'ibs*, and *subaşıs*, arguing their coordinated efforts were essential for resolving local disputes and maintaining public order.

In conclusion, this study contributes profoundly to the scholarship on Ottoman urban history and waqf studies with its methodology, conceptual framework, and research questions that open new avenues by which to conceptualize the "waqf neighborhood" in the Ottoman context. The case of Ma'mûre exemplifies how the Ottomans used the waqf system to develop urban settlements and govern them through "waqf administrations," which functioned as extensions of the central government in administering imperial waqfs, their properties and also "waqf subjects." Ultimately, this study attempts to explore the socio-legal and economic implications of being a "waqf subject," which is an understudied topic. I argue that this classification was a crucial component of the Ottoman administrative apparatus as it ensured the waqfs operated as autonomous entities with their self-sustaining

economy and human source. This legal arrangement facilitated waqfs to fulfill their intended charitable purposes without interruption, thereby contributing to the society's overall prosperity.



Chapter 2

NURBANU SULTAN'S ÜSKÜDAR PROJECT: BUILDING MA'MÛRE

Nurbanu, that person full of purity,
Set her intention on noble charity,
With the loftiest of thoughts, she erected this
shrine,
Conceived in a vision almost divine,
This act of grace is an imperial monument,
Its date is surely the ultimate heaven."
(991/1583) ¹³⁰

In 1582, the Venetian envoy Giacomo Soranzo embarked on a journey to Istanbul to participate in the circumcision festivities of Prince Mehmed, the son of Murad III, representing the Signoria of Venice. After his return in 1584, he submitted a detailed report to the Senate detailing his experiences and observations in the capital city.¹³¹ This report was particularly insightful regarding Nurbanu Sultan, covering a range of topics, including her debated place of origin, Selim II's enduring affection for her, their marriage, Murad III's deep respect for his mother, her notable personal traits, as well as her architectural patronage.

According to Soranzo, Sultan Murad adhered closely to his mother's counsel to the extent that she wielded substantial influence and control over him.¹³² Additionally, Soranzo portrayed Nurbanu Sultan as highly avaricious, indicating that she was unlikely to grant

¹³⁰ Translated into English by the author.

The inscription of Nurbanu Sultan's mosque written in *ta'lik* script on a wooden panel reads as follows: Nurbânû, o zât-ı pür ismet / Taraf-ı hayra cyleyüb niyyet / Etti bu ma'bed-i lâtifî bina / Habbeza re'y-i ashen-üzîbâ / Eser-i hâssıdır bu hayr-ı güzin / Oldu tarih "[zehî] bihişt-i berin (991). Ayvansarayî Hüseyin Efendi, *Hadîkatü'l Cevâmi'*: *Istanbul Câmileri ve Diğer Dini-Sivil Mimari Yapılar*, ed. Ahmed Nezih Galitekin (Ankara: İşaret Yayınları, 2001), 489.

¹³¹ Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, ed., *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al Senato: Constantinopoli, Relazioni inedite (1512-1780)*, vol. XIV (Padua: AI do Ausilio-Bottega di Erasmo, 1996): 261-310.

¹³² "et non è alcuno che habbia poter con lui di consigliarlo, né comunica li suoi pensieri con alcuno, se non con la sultana sua madre, et con la sua donna ma aderisce mirabilmente alli consigli della madre..../There is no one with the authority to counsel him, nor does he share his thoughts with anyone, except for his mother, the sultana, and his consort. Remarkably, he adheres closely to his mother's advice." Ibid., 271. For a discussion on Giacomo Soranzo's remarks on Nurbanu Sultan's complex in a comparative manner, see Suraiya Faroqhi, *Another Mirror for Princes: The Public Image of the Ottoman Sultans and Its Reception* (New Jersey: The Isis Press, 2009), 72.

favors without receiving substantial, often invaluable gifts in return. He even asserted that the more extravagant the gifts presented in her presence, the more likely the benefactors were to achieve their objectives.¹³³ It is in light of these observations that Soranzo expressed his astonishment at Nurbanu Sultan's considerable generosity in the realm of architectural patronage. He vividly described how the *valide sultan* commissioned a most beautiful mosque endowed with exceptionally vast revenues (*una bellissima moschea, et dottatala di grandissime entrate*) in Üsküdar, a town across the sea, directly opposite the imperial palace.¹³⁴

The envoy's portrayal of Nurbanu Sultan as greedy might have been influenced by his own experiences, particularly because he did not present gifts to Nurbanu Sultan during his official visit, which consequently incited her deep resentment toward him. Bailo Contarini reported in his diplomatic dispatches (*relazioni*), dated 1583, that Nurbanu Sultan interpreted the absence of a gift as a significant sign of disrespect and an unwarranted slight against her dignity.¹³⁵ Reciprocal gestures, particularly in the form of gifts, were a deeply ingrained custom of the period; hence, Soranzo's failure to adhere to this protocol was seen as a grave oversight. However, it seems that Soranzo did not anticipate such a reaction, which might explain why he perceived her as avaricious. Accordingly, his observations of her lavish spending for the construction and continuous maintenance of her mosque complex

¹³³ “*et in effetto si vede che lei domina; ma è anco lei avarissima, né bisogna pensare che la faccia piacer ad alcuno, se non con donativi, et quanto sono maggiori tanto chi gli fa può esser sicuro di ottenere il suo desiderio...*” Indeed, it is evident that she holds the reins of power, yet she is also extremely avaricious, and it is not to be thought that she will please anyone except with gifts, and the greater they are, the more certain the giver can be of obtaining their desire.” Pedani Fabris, ed., *Relazioni di ambasciatori*, 271.

¹³⁴ “*All'incontro spende molto volentieri, et principalmente in fabbriche, et fra le altre fatte con eccessiva spesa ha fabricato al Scutari, luogo al di là dal mare, all'incontro del Seraglio di Sua Maestà, una bellissima moschea, et dottatala di grandissime entrate, parte comprate, et parte fabricate da lei, per sostentar le spese di detta moschea, et usa ogni industria senza riguardo di spesa per far case et botteghe per far habitar quel luogo, godendosi di questa sodisfattione che sia tanto habitato et frequentato, che possa esser chiamato città fabricata da lei...*” She invests substantially, particularly in her construction endeavors. Among these, she commissioned a magnificent mosque at Scutari, located across the sea and directly opposite his majesty's Seraglio. She endowed it with substantial revenues derived from properties partly bought and partly built by her, to support the expenses of her mosque. Furthermore, she employed every possible means, without regard for expense, to build houses and shops to make that area inhabited. She takes great satisfaction in seeing it so inhabited and frequented that it can be recognized as a city built by her.” Ibid.

¹³⁵ Paolo Contarini's 1583 relazione in E. Albèri, ed., *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, series III, vol III, Florence: Tipografia e calcografia all'insegna del Clio (1855), 236. Also see: Kayaalp, *Building the Atik Valide*, 61.

led him to consider that the long-term benefits of her venture likely outweighed the initial fiscal commitments.

When introducing Nurbanu's Üsküdar complex to his audience, Soranzo emphasized that she chose an uninhabited site for the construction of her edifice and spared no expense in building residences and revenue-generating assets, thereby catalyzing the transformation of the area into a vibrant community.¹³⁶ Soranzo accurately reported that while some of the waqf shops existed already and were acquired under Nurbanu Sultan's name to become part of her waqf, the majority of the waqf shops were newly constructed.¹³⁷ Soranzo added that she derived great satisfaction from the area becoming densely populated and frequently visited, which implies her ultimate satisfaction lay not merely in constructing a great mosque but in building a city that would bear her name (*città fabbricata da lei*).¹³⁸ Why would Soranzo, who likely based his account on firsthand observations from his visit to Üsküdar, assert that Nurbanu had created a *città*? In what sense did he use the term "*città*"? Was his statement merely an exaggeration, or did it indeed contain a kernel of truth?

During his visit to Üsküdar, Soranzo, while learning about Nurbanu Sultan's construction of new shops and acquisition of existing ones for financing her mosque complex, Soranzo might have also become aware of the allocation of a vast expanse of land at the southeastern end of Üsküdar. As a waqf neighborhood Ma'mûre was distinct from Üsküdar in its governance, falling under the local administration of a different administrative body formed by a *mütevelli*, a deputy kadi (*nâ'ib*), and a *subaşı*. Moreover, in 1582, a major commercial axis had been established in Ma'mûre that became a hub for travelers, providing lodging, free food, mules for rent, and other essential necessities required for the rest of their journey. Furthermore, Ma'mûre, functioning as the customs checkpoint for trade caravans, saw its khans host the majority of merchants staying in the town. Thus, the Venetian envoy likely used the term "*città*" to refer to a thriving urban district on the southeastern ends of Üsküdar.

¹³⁶ Pedani Fabris, ed., *Relazioni di ambasciatori*, 271.

¹³⁷ See Section 2.4

¹³⁸ Pedani Fabris, ed., *Relazioni di ambasciatori*, 271.

His report suggests that Soranzo had detailed knowledge of Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project. His awareness extended to the substantial revenues from her endowment and the waqf shops, some of which were pre-existing properties acquired in her name while others were newly constructed. This implies that Soranzo may have also been well-informed about the physical extent and administrative status of the *valide sultan's* neighborhood. Thus, while referring to her as a town-builder, Soranzo must have had in mind the comprehensive nature of Nurbanu's urban project, which established a second commercial center of the town.

This chapter provides an introductory exploration of Nurbanu Sultan's ambitious urban project, setting the stage for more in-depth analyses in subsequent chapters. The chapter traces the project's trajectory from the initial phase of site selection and land grants to the construction of Ma'mûre's commercial and water infrastructure. It further discusses the urban layout of Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood and scrutinizes the stream of local revenue that financed her philanthropic endeavors. In doing so, the chapter addresses the early formation of Ma'mûre through a multidimensional approach, including but not limited to a formal analysis of Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar complex, which was both the focal point and the *raison d'être* of Ma'mûre. This comprehensive overview offers a nuanced understanding of her lasting influence on the urban landscape and the community of Üsküdar.

2.1. A Royal Gift to the Imperial Bride: Nurbanu Sultan's Land in Üsküdar

The history of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre began in July 1570 when Sultan Selim II granted a considerable expanse of crown (*mîrî*) land at the southeastern end of Üsküdar to his favored consort (*haseki*), Nurbanu Sultan.¹³⁹ (see Map 2.1) Following the issuance of a freehold deed (*mülknâme*), Haseki Nurbanu relinquished her property rights for a higher purpose, namely, to establish a waqf, that would play a pivotal role in the urban development of Üsküdar.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ BOA. MFB.1204 (Muharrem 1224/April-March 1809).

¹⁴⁰ Only the lands and properties that are classified as *mülk* (privately-held) were eligible to be allocated as waqf estate. Therefore, any state land must first be converted to private property before being designated as a waqf-owned property. For more information, see, Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, 18. For detailed information regarding the Ottoman sultans' land grants to the members of the ruling elite see: Halil

From the very beginning of the process, the aim of the endower—and the other decision-makers—was not only to build a mosque complex but also to create a new urban district on the town's outskirts. In this endeavor, Sultan Selim's land donation would serve a dual purpose. Firstly, it would provide the site for the construction of Nurbanu's mosque complex. Secondly, the revenues generated from this land, specifically tax income from its inhabitants, would be dedicated to the financial sustenance of the complex, ensuring ongoing support for its maintenance, and associated charitable services.¹⁴¹

Selim II's freehold deed (*mülknâme*) defined the boundaries of the land, classified as *miri*—that is, a state or crown land—granted to Nurbanu Sultan as follows:

The imperial *mülknâme* dated the 29th day of *Muharrem* in 978 and sealed by Sultan Selim II, documents that the state land in Çavuşderesi was granted to Nurbanu Sultan. This freehold land begins from the road adjacent to Çini Fırın and the waqf residences of Hayreddin Çavuş and extends to the fountain in front of Ali Agha's Garden, and from there, it continues to the road leading to Koşuyolu and the waqf fields of İvaz Oğlu, and from there it continues to the well near the tomb of late Kara Sheikh and Karacaahmet Convent, and finally it leads to the road and reaches the Muslim Cemetery before ending at the waqf residences of Hayreddin Çavuş mentioned above.¹⁴²

İnalçık and Donald Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire: 1300-1600*, vol.1 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 121-126.

¹⁴¹ This study does not address several other state lands in different parts of the empire that were endowed to Nurbanu Sultan's Complex, as they do not offer direct information regarding Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. Instead, the primary focus of this research is on Nurbanu Sultan's waqf territory situated around her mosque complex in Üsküdar. For Nurbanu sultan's waqf lands, see Map 5.1

¹⁴² “*arazi-i mezkûre Çini Fırın ve Hayreddin Çavuş evleri önündeki tarik-i ammdan Ali Ağa Bahçesi önünde olan çeşme ve andan Koşuyolu tarafına giden İvaz Oğlu Vakfı Tarlası önünde olan yola ve ondan merhum Kara Şeyh Mezarı kurbünde olan kuyuya ve Karacaahmet Tekkesi'ne ve andan Mekabir-i Müslimin'e giden yol ile mezkûr Hayreddin Çavuş'un zikrolunan evine inen yol ile mahdud olup*” BOA.MFB.1204 (Muharrem 1224/April-March 1809).

Although we are aware of the existence of Sultan Selim's *mülknâme*, the original document has not (yet) surfaced. It is not available in the archives of *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü* (General Directorate of Foundations) or in the archives of *Tapu Kadastro Müdürlüğü* (Directorate of Land Registry). However, an imperial decree by Mahmud II (dated 1809), in which he ordered the re-confirmation of the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land mentions its earlier limits with reference to Sultan Selim II's *mülknâme* (dated 1570). For Mahmud II's decree see, See Appendix B.

For Selim II's other seven *mülknâmes* issued between 1567-74 see: Ayşegül Nadir, ed. *Osmanlı Padişah Fermanları : Sergi Kataloğu* (London, 1986): 60-63. M. Uğur Derman, “Ali Emiri Koleksiyonundaki Berat ve Fermanlara Dair,” in *Millet Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi'nden bir seçme: Ali Emiri Efendi ve Dünyası*, ed. Ekrem Işın (Istanbul: Pera Müzesi Yayınları 2007): 100, M. Uğur Derman, *Osmanlı Hat Sanatı, Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, Sabancı Üniversitesi, İstanbul* (Berlin, 2001): 104, 106-107, 168-169. Nuri Taşkın, “Osmanlı Diplomatikasında Mülknâmeler” (master's thesis, Marmara University, 2012), 105-106.



Map 2. 1: Nurbanu Sultan's land as it was defined in Sultan Selim II's *mülknâme* (1570).¹⁴³

Produced by the author.

Identifying the precise locations of certain landmarks, such as “Çini Fırın” and “Ali Agha's Garden,” and accurately delineating them on a map presented a significant challenge. Unfortunately, I could not find satisfying information regarding the exact location of Çini Fırın, except for a court record that refers to Çini Fırın as an area located within Hasan Ağa Mahallesi.¹⁴⁴ Ali Agha's Garden, another boundary marker, was

¹⁴³ 1.Çini Fırın (approx. location), 2.Hayreddin Çavuş's waqf residences (approx. location), 3. Ali Agha's Garden (approx. location) 4. The waqf fields of İvaz Oğlu, 5. The well near the tomb of deceased Kara Şeyh (approx. location), 6. Karacaahmet Convent, 7. Muslim cemetery, 8. Hasan Ağa Mahallesi, 9. Hayreddin Çavuş Mahallesi, 10. Kefçe Dede Mahallesi. 11. Solak Sinan Mahallesi
The georeferenced map is based on Plan von Constantinopel by C.Stolpe (1882). David Rumsey Map Collection.

¹⁴⁴ Thus, one can speculate that this border marker referred to a particular street in Tavaşi Hasan Ağa Mahallesi. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.134.p.40/ b3 (Şaban 1027/ August 1618).

documented in court records under various designations, including Ali Agha's Garden/Vineyard/Orchard (*Ali Ağa Bağı, Bağçesi, and Bostanı*).¹⁴⁵ The garden was not entirely rural; rather, it constituted a residential zone inhabited mostly by Ma'mûre's *Kıbtî* residents.¹⁴⁶

It was identified as an invalid waqf (*gayr-i sahih* or *irsâdi vakıf*), which meant that even though its revenues were granted to Ali Agha, the bare ownership (*rakabe*) of the land remained with the state.¹⁴⁷ In 1574, Sultan Selim II transferred the usufructuary rights of the water source that originated from Ali Agha's garden to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf after obtaining a legal opinion confirming that the water was part of an invalid waqf and, therefore, could be legally allocated to a different waqf.¹⁴⁸ Although no precise location is

¹⁴⁵ According to a grant deed dated 1574, it was a waqf garden that had been bestowed to Ali Agha, likely in acknowledgment of his meritorious services to the state. After the death of Ali Agha, his sister assumed control of his waqf asset and entered into a lease agreement with Şirvan, an Armenian resident. He would use the garden for a yearly rental fee of 8000 *akçe*. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.93.p.45/ a2 (Şevval 1004/ June 1596). BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.25/1602 (Safer 982/ June 1574).

¹⁴⁶ According to this court register, in 1574, Bayram, Hüdaverdi and Mustafa, three Muslim residents of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre residing in Ali Agha garden, were accused of assaulting Civan and his wife, a zimmi (non-Muslim) couple. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.39.p.42/a2 (Rebî'ülevvel 982/ June 1574). According to this *temlik* register, a zimmi named Dilvin was living in Ali agha garden. BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.25/1602 (Safer 982/ June 1574). In the 1600s, Ali Agha garden was one of the locations for Ma'mûre's *bozahouses* and was frequently mentioned in court records as a location where *Kıbtîs* conducted drinking gatherings and engaged in immoral activities. In 1604, Ahmed Bey, the *subaşı* of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre apprehended Derviş, a resident of Toygar Mahallesi (This neighborhood was close to Ali Agha garden and Solak Sinan Mahallesi) and Saliha Khatun while they were engaging in illicit sexual intercourse in Ali Agha orchard. Ahmed Subaşı brought them before the *nâ'ib* of Ma'mûre and charged them with immoral behavior. During the trial, Saliha confessed that she had met Derviş at the Bülbülderederesi region, and that Derviş had offered her 30 *akçe* in exchange for sexual intercourse before they went to Ali Agha orchard. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.106.p.10/a1 (Rebî'ülâhîr 1011/ October 1602), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.108.p.23/a2 (Cemâziyelevvel 1012/ October 1603), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.125.p.15/b1 (Rebî'ülâhîr 1023/ May 1614).

¹⁴⁷ "Foundation of this kind are also called *waqf-i irsadi* or foundations of *tahsîsât* (al-location), where only revenues (*manafî*) of state-owned land are allocated by the president or an authorized person for a motive that has a legal share from the *bait al-mâl* (public treasury) on condition that the bare ownership (*raqabah*) of it should again remain with the state. In other words, the state continuously allocates, under the name of foundation, the revenues of the state's estates for financing of such charitable public services as education, health, social security etc. They are called *waqf-i ghair-i sahih* (invalid foundations) because they are not foundations in the actual sense; as a matter of fact, this does not mean that they are legally invalid." For further information on *sahih* and *gayr-i sahih* waqfs see: Ahmet Akgündüz, *Introduction to Islamic Law: Islamic Law in Theory and Practice* (Rotterdam :IUR Press, 2010), 114-116. Kayhan Orbay, "Imperial Waqfs," 137. Also see, John Robert Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 45,46.

¹⁴⁸ "Üsküdar'da Ali Ağa Bahçesi'nde bulunup Dilvin kâfirin kârizle cârî olan su şer'-i şerîf ve fetvâ-yı münîf mücebince kimesnenin mülkü ve vakfî olmak *sahih* olmadığı ecilden Ali Ağa vakfî *sahih* olmayub mîrîye hüküm olunmağın canib-i miriden Şehzade Sultan Murad validesi Haseki Sultan hazretlerine temlik buyurulub.../The

given, court records indicates that either the entire garden or part of it lay within the confines of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land.¹⁴⁹

Çini Fırın and Ali Agha's Garden, once likely central to the collective memory of Üsküdar's residents and deeply ingrained within their socio-spatial fabric to be marked as boundary markers. However, this collective memory had evidently diminished, as evidenced by the absence of these two landmarks in the nineteenth-century border deed (*hudutnâme* or *sınırnâme*) delineating the spatial limits of Nurbanu's waqf holding, a document that will be further explored in the epilogue section.¹⁵⁰

This loss of collective memory regarding specific landmarks is likely due to their complete disappearance or to the substantial modifications they may have disconnected them from their function as reference points in Üsküdar's urban landscape. Consequently, Map 2.1, which illustrates the boundaries of Nurbanu's waqf land, has been prepared based

water spring located within Ali Agha's garden in Üsküdar, which is flowing near the sewage of a non-Muslim named Dilvin, is neither private property nor an endowment. Therefore, in accordance with Sharia and legal opinion, this water source is an invalid endowment. As a result, the sultan assigned the water source to the charitable foundation established by Haseki Sultan, the mother of Prince Sultan Murad." BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.25/1602 (Safer 982/ June 1574).

¹⁴⁹ It is hard to find exactly when this area was inhabited, but people living here were probably those who constructed residences on the assigned waqf plots or who owned a piece of agricultural land there, working as gardeners or agriculturalists.

¹⁵⁰ The official boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's land as outlined in the border deed issued in 1809. "*vakf-ı müşarünileyha arazisi itlak olunan mahaller merhum Hayreddin Çavuş Vakfı olan menazil önünde tarik-i amm ile At Pazarı kapısı ve Havuzlu Han önünde canib-i yesarda olan Kürd Ali Kahvesi'ne varınca ancak canib-i yemini ve mezbur Kürd Ali Kahvesi'nden Çavuşderesi nam mahalde Çınarlı Tekke kurbünde vaki üç yol ağzına varınca yemin ve yesarda olan menazil ve bağçeler ve zikrolunan üç yolda canib-i yesarda olan yol ile yokuş başında olan diğer üç yol ağzına varınca kezalik yemin ve yesarı ve marüzzıkr diğer üç yol ağzında Selami Tekkesi karşısında vaki köşeye ve andan Acıbadem nam mahal İvaz Fakih Tarlaları'nın canib-i yemininde olan yol ile Bağlarbaşına ve andan canib-i yemin ile tarik-i ammda vaki Nuhkuyusu önünde Karacaahmet Tekkesi köşesinden İnadiye'ye giden yolda mekabir-i müsliminin canib-i yemininde vaki tarik ile Debbağlar Meydanı'ndan zikrolunan Hayreddin Çavuş Vakfı'ndan olan menazil-i mezbure önünde olan tarik-i amm ile mahdud...*/The land designated as the Atik Valide Sultan's waqf territory begins from the road in front of the waqf residences belonging to the deceased Hayreddin Çavuş's waqf. The road extends to the gate of the horse market and then reaches Kürd Ali's coffee shop, which is located on the left side of Havuzlu Han. From Kürd Ali's coffee shop, the road leads to the locality known as Çavuşderesi and continues along the three-way junction near Çınarlı Tekke, flanked by residences and gardens on both sides. The road then goes to a second three-way junction at the top of the slope before arriving at the corner opposite Selami Tekke. From there, it follows the road on the right side of İvaz Fakih fields at Acıbadem that leads to Bağlarbaşı. From there, it continues along the right side of the road to Nuhkuyusu, then to the road that begins at the corner of Karacaahmet Convent and leads to İnadiye. From there, it goes to Debbağlar Square through the road on the right side of the Muslim cemetery and ends at the residences belonging to Hayreddin Çavuş's waqf." BOA. MFB.1204 (Muharrem 1224 / April-March 1809)

on the original boundary markers that have remained unchanged for centuries. These primarily include the Karacaahmet Convent, Karacaahmet Cemetery, and İvaz Fakih's waqf fields (*İvaz Fakih or İvaz Oğlu Vakfı Tarlaları*), all of which have been preserved through successive generations, thus serving as reliable reference points. These references, when complemented by the nineteenth-century version of the *hudutnâme*, enabled the creation of a more detailed and nuanced map.

During the mapping process, I preferred using a historical map rather than a contemporary one as a layer to capture and present the green landscape surrounding Nurbanu Sultan's land, which remained unchanged even until the nineteenth century. This visual representation makes the location of the land very clear at the rural periphery of Üsküdar and marks the urban limits of the town. Also, it is crucial to note that the waqf boundaries shown on Map 2.1 provide only an approximate representation achieved by identifying the boundary markers registered in the *hudutnâme*. The lack of a detailed street network and parcel plan from Üsküdar dating back to the sixteenth century makes it difficult to be more precise in defining the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's land. Despite this limitation, the map facilitates a better understanding of its general layout, size, and limits.

As shown on Map 2.1, Nurbanu's land covered a territory that extended from the sixteenth-century urban fringes of Üsküdar, which included Hayrettin Çavuş, Solak Sinan, Tavaşi Hasan Ağa, and Kefçe Dede neighborhoods, all of which had been formed during the reign of Sultan Süleyman (1520-1566).¹⁵¹ As one moved eastward, the land reached as far as İvaz Fakih's fields, spanning from Kısıklı and Büyük Çamlıca all the way to Haydarpaşa.¹⁵² In essence, Nurbanu's land was flanked by four neighborhoods to the west,

¹⁵¹ For a detailed study on the Üsküdar neighborhoods that emerged during the reign of Süleyman II see Arslan, *Üsküdar'ın Kentsel Gelişimi*.

¹⁵² İvaz Fakih was a jurist (*fakih*), who served as the personal advisor of Çelebi Sultan Mehmed. The villages of Küçük Çamlıca and Büyük Çamlıca were granted to İvaz Fakih by Yıldırım Bayezid in the early fifteenth century. For detailed information on İvaz Fakih's waqf lands, see: İlhami Yurdakul, "Gebze Nahiyesi Çamlıca Karyesi'nde İvaz Fakih'in Laçın Tımarı Temliği ve Vakfı (1329-1522)," in *Uluslararası Orhan Gazi ve Kocaeli Tarihi Sempozyumu V* (Kocaeli, Kocaeli Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2019): 575-582, İlhami Yurdakul, "Osmanlı Vakıf Sisteminde "İstibdal" Uygulaması; Çamlıca'da İvaz Fakih Vakıf Örneği (1831)," in *Uluslararası Osmanlı İstanbul Sempozyumu-VI* (İstanbul: 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi, 2018): 733-745. For a detailed study on the urban development and the neighborhoods of Üsküdar during the reign of Süleyman I see Mine Arslan, "Kanuni Döneminde Üsküdar'ın Kentsel Gelişimi ve Demografisi (1520-1566)" (PhD diss., İstanbul Medeniyet University, 2022).

while the other three sides were surrounded by green expanses, including the Şüca Orchards, İvaz Fakih's waqf fields, and the Karacaahmet Cemetery.¹⁵³ The use of a limited number of reference points for establishing the land's boundaries aligns with the historical context of the area, which, for a significant period, notably since the Byzantine era, remained largely uninhabited.¹⁵⁴ Hence, the majority of the reference points indicate a rural landscape marked by gardens, fields, and orchards, each identified by the name of their respective owner.

Sultan Selim II's land donation to his favored consort, followed by their marriage and the construction of Nurbanu's Üsküdar complex, raises the question of whether this land grant was a lavish expression of the Sultan's affection towards his future wife and, indeed, part of her dowry.¹⁵⁵ In the absence of extant Ottoman sources that document the royal marriage, the Venetian diplomatic dispatches are crucial for ascertaining the details and the chronology of the event to construct a coherent narrative.¹⁵⁶ For instance, the dispatches by Venetian envoy Jacopo Ragazzoni provide insights into this royal marriage as follows:

Selim II has two sons, one of whom is Sultan Murad. Aged twenty-two, Murad is a man of considerable talent and of good letters. He is also very observant of his religion, which endears him to everyone, particularly his father, Sultan Selim II. Six months ago, his father (Murad III) contracted what is known as a '*kebin*' marriage [temporary marriage],¹⁵⁷ a departure from Ottoman customs, as a tangible expression of his deep affection. He formally acknowledged Murad's mother—a Circassian

¹⁵³ There is no reliable information about who Şüca is, but he is believed to be a companion of Battal Gazi. It is believed that he died in the vineyards surrounding Üsküdar, after being bitten by a snake. Şüca Orchards was located at the intersection of Nurbanu Sultan's land and Selamsız. Kayaalp, "Urbanization of Üsküdar," 650. Mehmet Nermi Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, vol.3 (İstanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi Yayınları, 2001), 1295.

¹⁵⁴ In the vicinity of Nurbanu Sultan's Mosque Complex, there was a sacred spring, namely "Hagios Ioannis Ayazması, on which a seventeenth-century Shabani convent, Çınarlı Mehmed Efendi Tekkesi was built. It is likely that a Byzantine church or monastery once stood at the site of the convent and the convent, in its establishment, continued the sanctity associated with the area, long blessed by the spring water. For further information about the spring water and Çınarlı Tekke see Soydan, "Üsküdar Ayazmaları," 597. Pınar Aksoy, "Çamlıcalı Mehmed Efendi Tekkesi Restorasyon Projesi" (master's thesis, İstanbul Technical University, 2007) Furthermore, even today, a cruciform baptismal pool remains within Nurbanu Sultan's public kitchen. The pool, which likely belonged to the spring of Hagios Ioannis, was repurposed and adapted for a new function.

¹⁵⁵ For further information on Nurbanu Sultan's dowry, salary, and allowances, see: Kayaalp, *Building the Atik Valide*, 8-9.

¹⁵⁶ Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 94.

¹⁵⁷ For more information about "kebin marriages," see Betül Başaran, "17. ve 18. Yüzyıllarda Kebin Evlilikleri Üzerine Bazı Değerlendirmeler," *Tarih ve Toplum*, vol.18 (2021): 57-69.

woman—as his lawful spouse and provided her a dowry of 110,000 ducats, surpassing the 100,000 ducats given by his father, Sultan Süleyman I, to his mother [Hürrem Sultan].¹⁵⁸

It is important to note that Ragazzoni's report contains several inaccuracies. For instance, it erroneously attributed a Circassian lineage to Nurbanu when, in fact, she was of Venetian or Corfiot origin.¹⁵⁹ Additionally, the report incorrectly records Şehzâde Murad's age as twenty-two, whereas he was actually twenty-five in 1571.¹⁶⁰ Despite these factual inaccuracies, Ragazzoni's account retains its historical importance as the earliest known source documenting the marriage between Selim II and his favored consort—a matrimony that, though not without precedent, notably diverged from the established norms and practices of the Ottoman imperial tradition regarding matrimonial alliances.¹⁶¹

In his report, Ragazzoni indicates that six months had elapsed since the imperial marriage.¹⁶² While the precise date of the report's completion remains unknown, a meticulous analysis of its twenty-six pages yields insights into the approximate date of the royal wedding.¹⁶³ Based on the chronological framework delineated in Ragazzoni's

¹⁵⁸ “Ha due figlioli maschi, uno nominato sultan Amurat di auni ventidue, di buon ingegno e buone lettere, e molto osservante della sua religione, e perciò amato assai da tutti e dall'istesso Gran Signore suo padre contro l'uso degli Ottomani; il qual signor suo padre, per maggior segno d'amore, ha, sei mesi sono, fatto Chebin, che è come pigliar per legittima moglie sua madre, donna Circassa, con farle contradote di centodiecimila ducati, avendo voluto superar il padre, che alla sultana madre d'esso Selim fece contradote di centomila ducati solamente” Jacopo Ragazzoni, “Relazione dell'Impero Ottomano di Jacopo Ragazzoni Presentata del suo Ritorno da Costantinopoli, il 16 Agosto 1571”, in *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ed. Eugenio Albèri, III, v.2 (Firenze: Società Editrice Fiorentina, 1844), 97. Translated by the author.

¹⁵⁹ For discussions on Nurbanu Sultan's origin see: Rossi, Ettore. “La Sultana Nur Banu (Cecilia Venier-Baffo) moglie de Selim II (1566–1574) e madre di Murad III (1574–1595),” *Oriente Moderno*, vol.33, no. 11 (1953): 433–441. Benjamin Arbel, “Nurbanu (C. 1530-1583): A Venetian Sultana?,” *Turcica*, vol. 24 (1992): 241–259.

¹⁶⁰ Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 93.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 58. Maria Pia Pedani states that the official marriage of Sultan Selim II and Nurbanu Sultan was also mentioned in the *relazioni* of Giovanni Correr in 1578 and Giacomo Soranzo in 1584. Maria Pia Pedani, “Safiye's Household and Venetian Diplomacy,” *Turcica*, vol.32 (2000): 18.

¹⁶² Ragazzoni, “Relazione dell'Impero Ottomano,” 77-102.

¹⁶³ Ragazzoni's report begins with the declaration of his appointment as the representative of the Venetian government on March 4, 1571. Ragazzoni's primary mission was negotiating the release of Venetian traders detained in Istanbul and ensuring their repatriation, along with their possessions. In pursuit of this aim, he set out from Venice on March 11 and, following an extended journey, reached Istanbul on April 26. Once he had successfully concluded his negotiations with Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, he left the city on June 18. Shortly after his return to Venice, he presented his report to the Venetian Senate on August 16, 1571. Ibid., 77, 81, 83, 96.

narrative, it is plausible to surmise that he penned his report on his diplomatic mission in Istanbul sometime between when his return journey began on the 18th of June and the report's submission to the Senate on the 16th of August. According to Ragazzoni's account, one can infer that the royal marriage took place sometime between January and February 1571, approximately six months after Selim II granted a sizable land in Üsküdar to Haseki Nurbanu on July 3, 1570.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that the procurement and transportation of construction materials for Nurbanu's mosque commenced in the first months of 1571. In the earliest imperial order regarding the construction activities in Üsküdar, issued in February of 1571, Selim II ordered the kadis of Sapanca and İzniçmid to provide the necessary assistance and support to the officers sent by Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevelli*.¹⁶⁴ Their duty was to extract marble from a variety of sources: dilapidated edifices, unoccupied territories, arable lands, and even grasslands, as well as other state-owned properties.¹⁶⁵ The decree further stipulated that the kadis expedite the procurement and delivery of crucial materials, including timber, oak planks, and lime, to the construction site.¹⁶⁶

The successive timing of the royal marriage and the commencement of the Üsküdar project might well be interpreted as a strategic move to bolster Nurbanu's standing not only as Selim II's legitimate spouse but also as a notable benefactor of charitable endeavors. His land grant was a crucial first step toward establishing a socio-religious complex with grandeur and importance, on par with major imperial edifices like the Süleymaniye and Fatih complexes.¹⁶⁷ The ambitious program of Nurbanu's complex matched these eminent counterparts not solely in the breadth of services offered but also in terms of the remarkable scope of its financial sources.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.14/1326 (21 Ramazan 978 / 16 February 1571).

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Doğan Kuban states that Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar complex asserted its prominence as the second grandest ensemble of such structures in Istanbul, only succeeded by the Süleymaniye complex. Doğan Kuban, *Osmanlı Mimarisi* (Istanbul: Yem Yayınları, 2021), 258.

¹⁶⁸ In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the total revenue of Nurbanu Sultan Complex was around seven million *akçes*. However, by the late seventeenth century, this figure had declined to a range of

In conclusion, the 1570s marked a crucial phase in the urban history of Üsküdar and Nurbanu's growing political influence at the imperial court. Her marriage marked a pivotal moment in her ascent to prominence, which attained its zenith with her acquisition of significant state resources that enabled her to establish an opulent and outsized socio-religious complex in Üsküdar. This complex not only served to cement her reputation as the benevolent sultana but also constructed her public persona as the founder of a thriving urban district in the Asian borough of Istanbul.

2.2 Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar Complex: A General Overview

Nurbanu Sultan's land, as introduced in the previous section, spanned an expanse of approximately 125 hectares (equivalent to 1,250,000 square meters).¹⁶⁹ Of this extensive land, a relatively modest portion measuring 2.65 hectares (equivalent to 26,500 square meters) was designated for her mosque complex. The selected site was atop Toptaşı Hill, providing a commanding view of Üsküdar that would maximize the edifice's visibility and mark Nurbanu's generosity over the cityscape. The responsibility of designing Nurbanu's mosque complex was bestowed upon Mimar Sinan (d.1588), the chief architect of the period, during the later stages of his illustrious career.¹⁷⁰

Sinan designed the grandest imperial complex of Üsküdar, at the heart of which stood a Friday mosque. (see Fig. 2.1) The visual prominence of the mosque was enhanced

3–4 million *akçes*. For a detailed analysis of the complex's financial capacity, see Pantık, "Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi (1686–1727)," 62.

In the financial year of 1585–86, the total revenue of Süleymaniye Complex was around five and a half million *akçes*. For further information, see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Süleymaniye Camii ve İmaret Tesislerine Ait Yıllık Bir Muhasebe Bilançosu, 993/994: 1585–1586," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 9 (2006): 109–161. The annual revenue of the waqf was around six to eight million *akçes* during the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. Tevfik Güran, *Ekonomik ve Malî Yönleriyle Vakıflar Süleymaniye ve Şehzade Süleyman Paşa Vakıfları* (Istanbul: Kitapevi Yayınları, 2016), 14–15. In the financial year of 1489–90, the total revenue of Fatih Complex was around one and a half million *akçes*. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Fatih Camii ve İmaret Tesislerine Ait Yıllık Bir Muhasebe Bilançosu, 1489–1490," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, vol.23, no: 1–2 (1963): 297–341.

¹⁶⁹ Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land in Üsküdar is calculated by the author via Google Earth Pro.

¹⁷⁰ Mimar Sinan provided the original design for Nurbanu's mosque; yet, his simultaneous commitment to the construction of the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne required the delegation of the complex's execution to another architect. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 286.

by its location on the highest point of the construction site and by its twin minarets, symbolizing the royal status of the endower.¹⁷¹ Equally significant, and perhaps even more frequently visited than the Friday mosque, was a spacious public kitchen that boasted a remarkable capacity to serve nearly a thousand people daily.¹⁷² Additionally, within the same building block, a guest house provided visitors with the opportunity to enjoy their meals in the warmth of their fireplaces and a double caravanserai that accommodated up to 400 horses. This service block proclaimed Üsküdar's status as an important way station for trade caravans, pilgrims, and other travelers.¹⁷³

Nurbanu Sultan's complex also served as a center of learning, featuring four institutions that offered education at different levels. Initially, an elementary school welcomed children where they learned how to read the Qur'an and received basic Islamic education.¹⁷⁴ Following this foundational level, a madrasa provided advanced knowledge of the religious and rational sciences.¹⁷⁵ In March 1579, the madrasa began offering classes after Dökmecizade Mehmed Efendi was appointed as the first instructor (*müderres*) at

¹⁷¹ Aptullah Kuran, *Sinan: The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture* (Washington, Institute of Turkish studies, 1987), 40. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 21.

¹⁷² According to the waqf deed, personnel, students, and dervishes residing in the convent were each entitled to two full meals daily, served in the morning and evening from the public kitchen. A full meal comprised either a soup or another form of stew, a piece of meat weighing 50 *dirhems*, and a loaf of bread weighing 200 *dirhems*. Surplus food was distributed among the needy, the impoverished, and the local residents. The waqf's founder stipulated a daily provision of 260 *okkas* of meat, equivalent to 10,400 *dirhems*. This amounted to a daily distribution of 2,080 portions of meat, divided into two servings and distributed to approximately 1,040 individuals. Of these, around 350 were waqf personnel and students. Consequently, 650 additional needy individuals benefited from the imaret each day. VGMA. 1426/1, 215-240. Also see, Pantik, "Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi," 38-39.

¹⁷³ In his *Seyahatname*, Evliya Çelebi notes that Nurbanu Sultan's caravanserai, located near the *valide sultan's* mosque and public kitchen, is equipped with a hundred fireplaces and has the capacity to stable a thousand horses. He added that the khan functioned as a guest house and also included a stable for camels. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dağlı, Kahraman, and Dankoff, 234. Çelebi's account of the caravanserai's capacity seems overstated, especially when considering the structure's actual size. For a detailed examination of Nurbanu Sultan's caravanserai, see Robin Wimmel, "Architektur Osmanischer Karawanseraien Stationen des Fernverkehrs im Osmanischen Reich," vol.2 (Katalog) (PhD diss., Technische Universität Berlin, 2016), 205-221. Jean Palerne, a French pilgrim, who visited the mosque complex in the early 1580s, provides what seems to be a more realistic estimate. He reports that each section of the caravanserai could house up to two hundred horses. Palerne, *Peregrinations*, 431.

¹⁷⁴ VGM.d.1766, p.136-137, 153-155. (Rebi'ülâhir 990 / April 1582).

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

Nurbanu Sultan's madrasa.¹⁷⁶ Complementing this educational framework were two specialized centers for Islamic studies: the *darülkurra*, dedicated to the expertise in the recitation of the Qur'an, and the *darülhadis*, focused on the in-depth study of hadith.¹⁷⁷ Collectively, these institutions facilitated a comprehensive educational spectrum and were planned to support fifty-three students of diverse ages and academic levels.¹⁷⁸

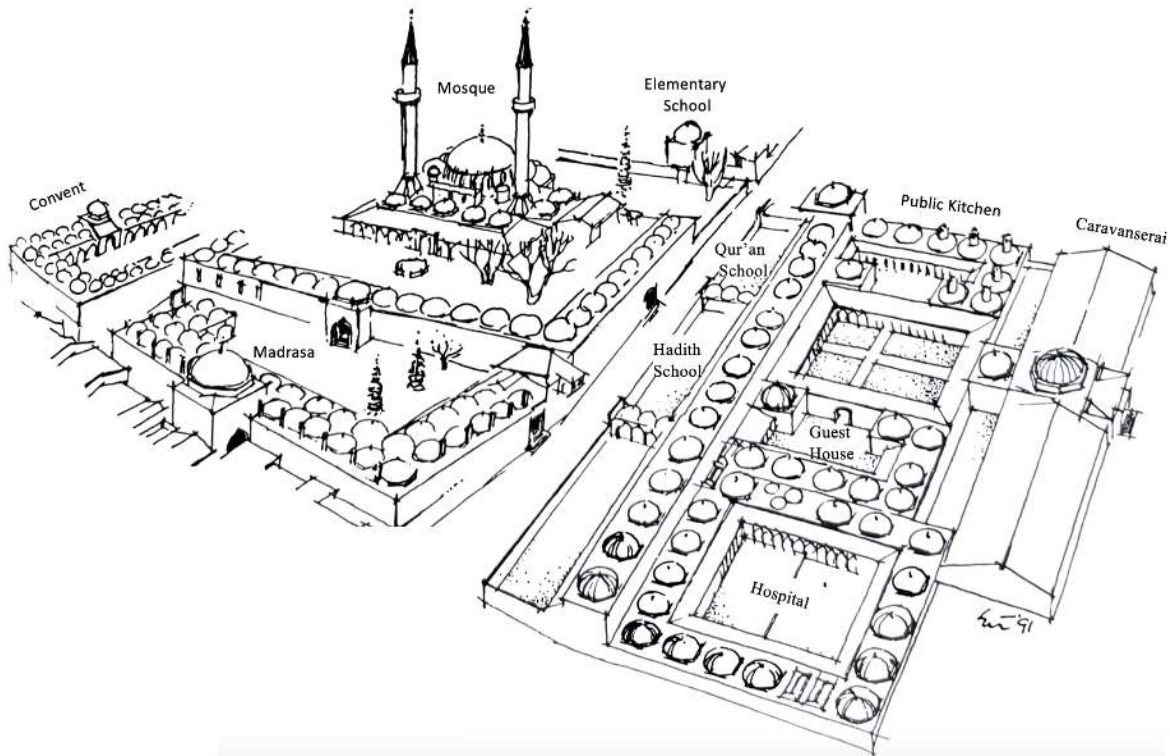


Figure 2. 1: Axonometric view of the Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar Complex by Arben N. Arapi.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Cahit Baltacı, *XV.-XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: M.Ü. İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 2005), 748,749.

¹⁷⁷ VGM.d.1766, p.136-137, 153-155. (Rebî'ülâhîr 990 / April 1582).

¹⁷⁸ According to the waqf deed, the waqf endower stipulated that the *sıbyan mektebi* would accommodate 15, *medrese* 16, *darülhadis* 12, and *darülkurra* 10 students. VGM.d.1766, p. 153-155. (Rebî'ülâhîr 990 / April 1582).

¹⁷⁹ From Hans G. Egli, *Sinan: An Interpretation* (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 1997), 141. The labels are the author's.

The students enrolled in the madrasa, *darülkurra*, and *darülhadis* resided within their respective academic establishments, partaking in their daily sustenance from the public kitchen.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, a *Halveti* convent within Nurbanu Sultan's complex provided shelter and sustenance to thirty-two dervishes and a *Halveti* sheikh while also further enriching the spiritual landscape of Üsküdar, renowned for its numerous dervish lodges.¹⁸¹ Remarkably, even in the nineteenth century, it held the distinction of being Üsküdar's largest and most populated convent, accommodating more than thirty dervishes.¹⁸²

Considering the rarity of integrating hospitals into mosque complexes, a characteristic predominantly associated with royal family endowments and still rare even within this exclusive category, it can be argued that Nurbanu Sultan's hospital (*darüşşifa*) was the most remarkable section of the complex.¹⁸³ Staffed by a team of eight medical experts, the hospital provided care for the sick and injured, thereby transforming Ma'mûre into a center of healing and medical care.¹⁸⁴ Lastly, Nurbanu Sultan commissioned the construction of a double bath, which was built opposite the hospital. Unlike the facilities mentioned so far, which provided their services free of charge, this bathhouse served as a revenue-generating asset (*evkâf musakkafâtı*). Designed to cater to both genders in separate sections, it addressed the hygienic needs of both locals and visitors while simultaneously serving as a socializing hub.

¹⁸⁰ VGM.d.1766, p.136-137, 166. (Rebî'ülâhir 990/April 1582).

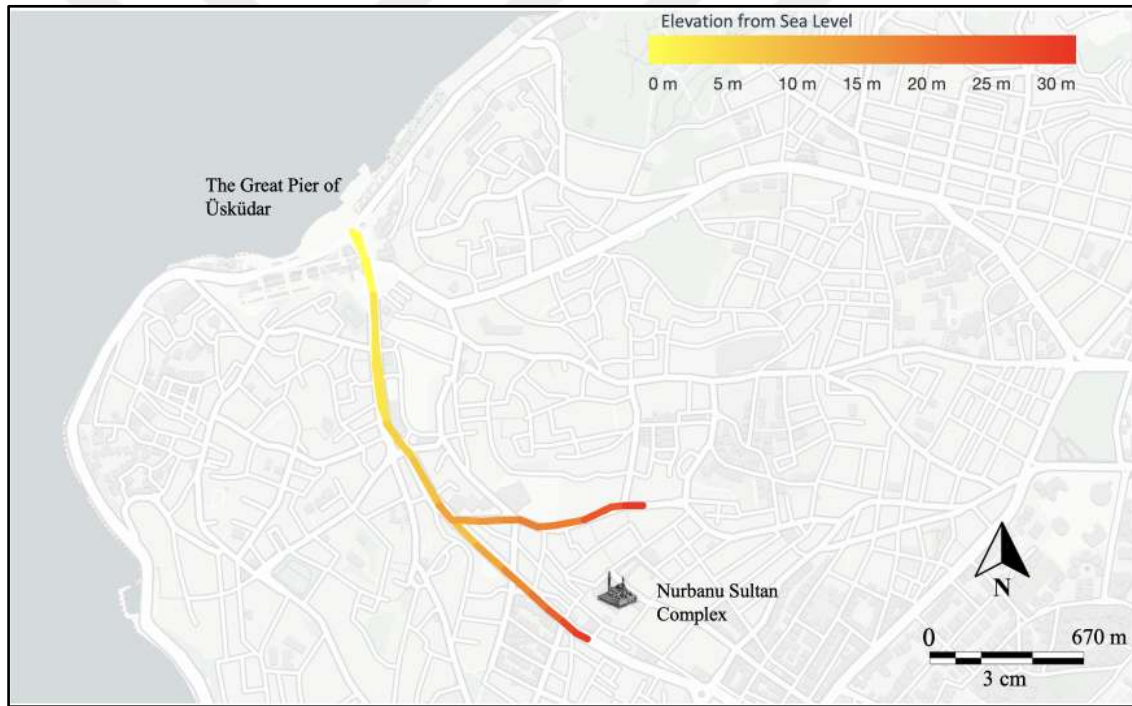
¹⁸¹ For a discussion on the motivations underlying Nurbanu Sultan's decision to her mosque with the Halveti Sufi order, see Kayaalp, *Building the Atik Valide*, 101-103. The first Halveti sheikh appointed to the convent was Vişne Mehmed Efendi (d.1584). For more information on Nurbanu Sultan's convent, see Baha Tanman, "Sinan'ın Mimarisi: Tekkeler," in *Mimarbaşı Koca Sinan Yaşadığı Çağ ve Eserleri*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 1988): 319-322.

¹⁸² For an exploration of Üsküdar's spiritual landscape, see Serpil Özcan, "19. Yüzyıl Listelerine Göre Üsküdar Tekkelerini Haritalamak," in *Uluslararası Üsküdar Sempozyumu XI (15-17 October 2021): Bildiriler*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2022): 436-469.

¹⁸³ When Nurbanu Sultan's hospital was built, there were only three medical centers in Istanbul, founded by each of Mehmed II in 1470, Hürrem Sultan in 1550, and Süleyman I in 1556. For detailed information, see Nina Ergin, "Healing by Design? An Experiential Approach to Early Modern Ottoman Hospital Architecture," *Turkish Historical Review*, vol. 6 (2015): 1-37.

¹⁸⁴ According to the waqf deed, eight medical experts were employed in *darüşşifa*: two physicians, two surgeons, two occultists, and two pharmacists. VGM.d.1766. p.156-157. (Rebî'ülâhir 990/April 1582).

Sinan ingeniously arranged the complex's components across Toptaşı Hill, which was characterized by an undulating terrain where elevations swung between thirty and fifty meters above sea level.¹⁸⁵ (see Map 2.2) Those visitors arriving from the town center would initially follow a gently sloping path and then ascend steep stairs to reach Nurbanu Sultan's mosque complex. (see Fig. 2.2 and 2.3) Upon arriving, they would encounter an additional set of steps connecting the street level to the elevated mosque platform, which stood forty-five meters above sea level, ensuring the mosque's visibility from afar. Similarly, the hospice block was built on platforms of differing heights, necessitating the incorporation of several staircases to bridge the significant height differences between the buildings, thus providing convenient access among the various facilities.



Map 2. 2: The altitude profile of Üsküdar's two thoroughfares.¹⁸⁶
Produced by the author.

¹⁸⁵ The elevations above sea level are measured via Google Earth Pro.

¹⁸⁶ The hill on which the mosque was built was 45 meters above sea level.



Figure 2. 2: The stairs connecting Helvacı Ali Street to Kartal Baba Street.

Figure 2. 3: The stairs linking the central courtyard of the hospice block with the *darülhadis* and *darülkurra* sections.

Photos by the author. 2020.

Sinan's architectural and engineering mastery was evident in the construction of the mosque complex on the sloping terrain of Toptaşı Hill. He skillfully positioned each building to form a cohesive and visually appealing whole, even when intersected by streets. Furthermore, within this intricate design framework, Sinan implemented a hierarchical order among the dependencies of the mosque complex.¹⁸⁷ (see Fig. 2.4) At the summit of Toptaşı Hill, Nurbanu Sultan's mosque adorned the landscape, surrounded by a courtyard to the north and a cemetery garden (*hazire*) to the south.¹⁸⁸ Adjacent to the mosque courtyard, the madrasa with its trapezoid plan was situated at a lower elevation and reached by the stairs descending from the northern portico of the mosque's ablution courtyard.¹⁸⁹ The mosque and madrasa constituted the central block of the mosque complex, cohesively uniting

¹⁸⁷ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 288.

¹⁸⁸ Aptullah Kuran, "Architecture: The Classical Ottoman Achievement," in *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, eds. Halil İnalcık, Cemal Kafadar (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1993), 329.

¹⁸⁹ Tanman, "Atik Valide Küliyesi," 10.

worship and academic learning within an interconnected space while emphasizing the interrelated nature of religious devotion and educational pursuits.

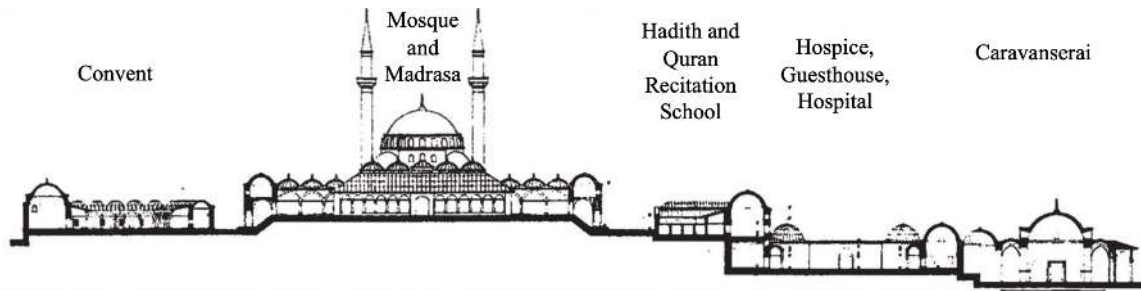


Figure 2. 4: The diagram showing the relative elevations of the waqf components in relation to each other.¹⁹⁰

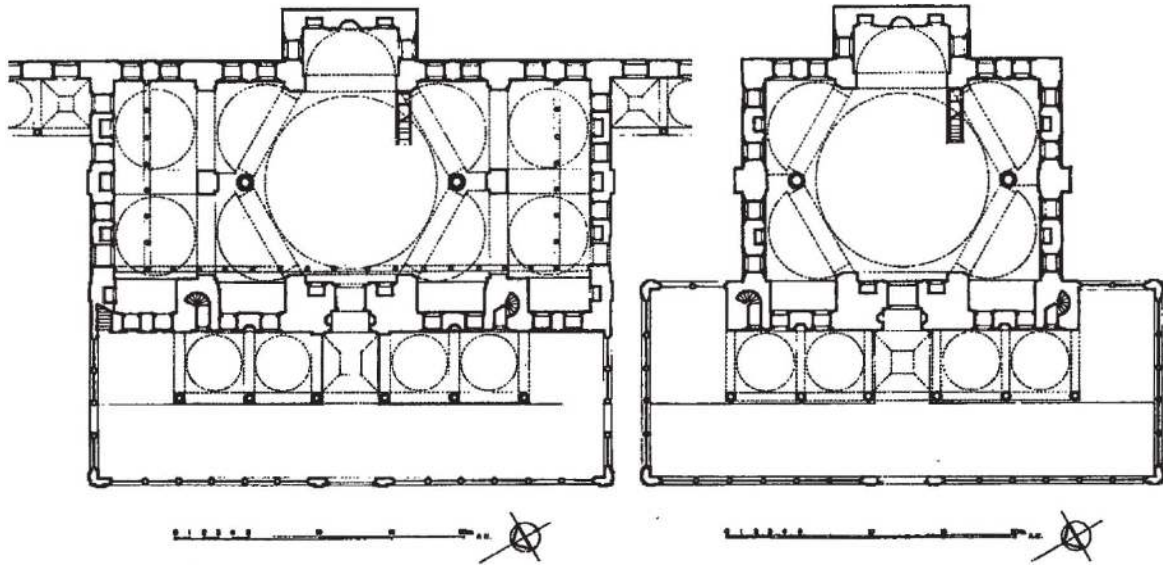


Figure 2. 5: The original and the later plan of Atik Valide Mosque.¹⁹¹

The architectural evidence suggests that the mosque underwent several modifications during its construction process until it reached its final form.¹⁹² According to Gülru

¹⁹⁰ From Ahmet Yılmaz, "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Külliye Olgusu ve Atik Valide Külliyesi Örneği" (master's thesis, Mimar Sinan University, 2001), 41.

¹⁹¹ From Kuran, *Sinan*, 194.

¹⁹² For a discussion on the original layout of the mosque complex and the later additions, see Yılmaz, "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Külliye Olgusu. Also see: Aptullah Kuran, "Üsküdar Atik Valide Külliyesinin Yerleşme Düzeni ve Yapım Tarihi Üzerine," in *Suut Yetkin'e Armağan* (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 1984), 231-248.

Necipoğlu, initially, Nurbanu's mosque featured a central hexagonal layout, a five-bay portico, a dome with a diameter of 12.70 meters, and a single minaret.¹⁹³ However, with the ascent of Murad III to the throne in 1574, Sinan introduced a notable modification to the mosque's plan by adding a second minaret.¹⁹⁴ (see Fig. 2.5) This addition likely served as a symbolic gesture, emphasizing Nurbanu's newly acquired status as the *valide sultan*. Furthermore, following Nurbanu Sultan's death in 1583, the mosque underwent expansion, a process supervised by the waqf superintendent (*evkâf nâzırı*) Mehmed Agha, the Müttevelli Pir Ali Agha and Davud Agha, Sinan's successor as the chief architect.¹⁹⁵



Figure 2. 6: Atik Valide Mosque under repair in 1940.

Figure 2. 7: The double portico of the Atik Valide Mosque in 1940.¹⁹⁶

The mosque's expansion, undertaken between 1584 and 1586, entailed the addition of four half-domes, two on each side, aimed at enlarging the mosque's interior space.¹⁹⁷ This

¹⁹³ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 286.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ The photos are from an album compiled by the Waqf General Directorate titled *Tamiri Biten Abideler* (The Monuments whose restoration ended), volume 3. This album contains photographs of the restoration work of six mosques between 1936 and 1940. Salt Galata acquired at least six such albums, which are now preserved in the Salt Archives.

¹⁹⁷ In his *Mecmuâ-i Tevârih*, Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayî presents Sultan Murad III's order instructing the enlargement of his deceased mother's mosque. The related part of the order reads as follows: "*An zamânin merhûm ve mağfürun-leh Sultân Murâd-ı Salis sebeb-i tâhrîr-i tevkî-i ref'-i humâyûn oldur ki hâliya Dârü's-sa'âde ağası olup merhûme ve mağfürun-lehâ Vâlide Sultân tâbet serâhânın evkâfı nâzırı olan iftihârü'l-havass ve'l mukarribîn umdetü'i-izz ve't-temkin el-muhtess bî-mezîd-i inâyeti'l-melikü's-samed Mehemmed Ağa dâme mecduhu rikâb-ı humâyûnuma arz sunup müşârünileyha merhûme ve mağfürun-lehâ Vâlide Sultân tâbet serâhânın vefâtından sonra Üsküdar'da binâ ettirdiği câmi'-i şerîfîn tevsî'i ferman olunmağın iki cânibinin kubbelerine ve fevkâniyelerine ve câmi'-i şerîfîn haremlerine sene isnâ ve tis'in ve tis'a mi'e muharreminin*

expansion also included the incorporation of upper galleries and an outer portico that enlarged the “last congregation place” (*son cemaat yeri*), an area typically situated near the entrance of the mosques and designed to accommodate latecomers to Friday prayers. The addition of a double portico would not only add a lateral layer to the building’s visibility but would also reinforce the mosque’s status as a Friday mosque, aptly designed for accommodating large congregations.¹⁹⁸ (see Fig. 2.6 and 2.7) This posthumous extension of the mosque’s inner and outer spaces must have been a quick response to the increasing population of Nurbanu Sultan’s neighborhood, which witnessed significant growth within just a decade of its establishment.

Adjacent to the mosque’s courtyard, Nurbanu Sultan’s madrasa was constructed at a lower elevation, accessible through a staircase descending from the northern portal of the mosque’s ablution courtyard.¹⁹⁹ This courtyard, enclosed by nineteen chambers on three of its sides, featured a trapezoidal layout that aligned seamlessly with Valide Kahyası Street. (see Fig. 2.8 and 2.9) Among these chambers, fifteen were designated for student accommodations, two for the professor and his assistant, and one served as the gatekeeper’s quarters.²⁰⁰ The classroom, crowned with a dome and quadruple the size of the student accommodations, protruded from the building’s northern facade. Its strategic placement, recessed from the remaining madrasa chambers and with Valide Kahyası Street passing beneath it, accentuated its prominence in the building’s exterior design.

The sloping plot earmarked for Nurbanu Sultan’s convent, located across from the mosque-madrasa block and divided by the street now called Tekke Önü, was transformed

gursesinden (1 Muharrem 992/ 14 January 1584) mübâşeret olunup sene erba’â ve tis’in ve tis’a mi’e rebîü’lâhirine gelince (1 Rebîü’lâhir 994 / 22 March 1586) temâm” Mehmed Agha, the Chief Eunuch of the Imperial Palace and overseer of the Valide Sultan’s endowments, who was revered as a symbol of dignity and as a favored recipient of the sultan’s continuous grace, submitted a petition to the imperial court. He asked for the enlargement of the mosque the late queen mother had founded in Üsküdar. Renovations to the mosque’s domes, upper galleries, and main prayer hall commenced on the 1st of Muharrem in 992 (14 January 1584). The work was completed by the 1st of Rebîü’l-ahir in 994 (22 March 1586)...“(5 Rebîü’lâhir 997/21 February 1589) Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayî, *Mecmuâ-i Tevârih*, trans. Fahri Ç. Derin and Vahid Çabuk (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1985), 362-363.

¹⁹⁸ Kuban, *Osmanlı Mimarisi*, 337-339.

¹⁹⁹ Tanman, “Atik Valide Küliyesi,” 10.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

into a level platform through the construction of retaining walls. These walls not only stabilized the land and facilitated a flat surface suitable for construction but also integrated the convent into the existing street fabric. The trapezoidal plans of the madrasa and the convent suggest that the streets surrounding the mosque complex had been laid out prior to the design of these buildings.²⁰¹ This likely stemmed from the earlier efforts to parcel out the vacant land around the construction site into waqf plots ready to be distributed to those who would populate the area in the early 1570s.²⁰² In this context, it is plausible to argue that the development of Ma'mûre's initial street network, which connected the neighborhood to Üsküdar's coastal center, began concurrently with, or perhaps slightly preceded, the commencement of building activities.²⁰³

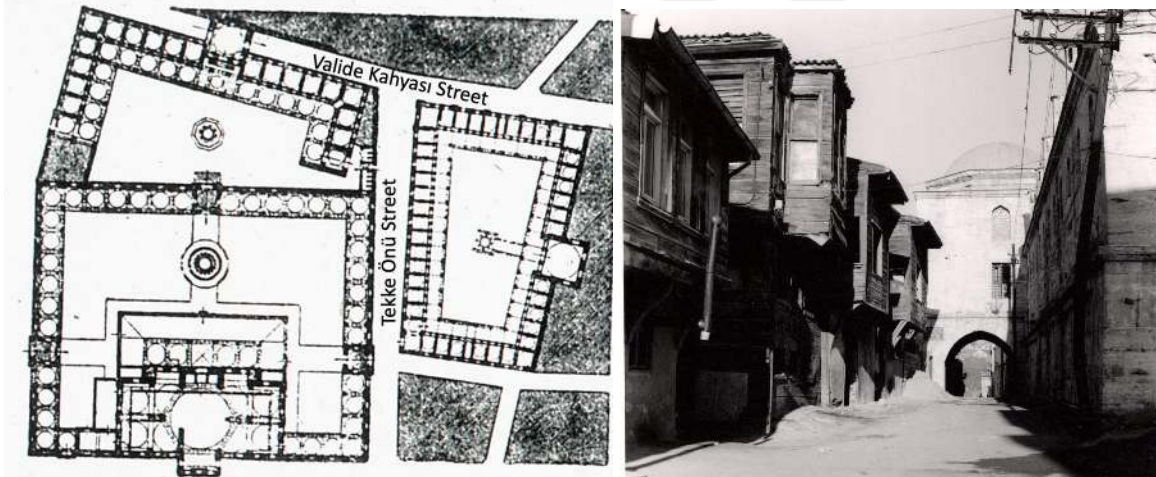


Figure 2. 8: The trapezoidal plans of Nurbanu Sultan's madrasa and the convent.²⁰⁴

Figure 2. 9: Valide Kahyası Street in 1988.²⁰⁵

Located at a lower level, the hospice block, occupying an area approximately equal to that of the mosque-madrasa block, was similarly oriented in accordance with the qibla

²⁰¹ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 288. Tanman, "Atik Valide Küliyesi," 10.

²⁰² For further information on the land allocations, see Section 4.1.

²⁰³ For further discussion on how Sinan carefully tailored his architectural designs to align with the surrounding urban environment, adapt to the topographical challenges and existing street network, see Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 109-110 and Kayaalp, *Building the Atik Valide*, 72.

²⁰⁴ From the Ali Saim Ülgen collection. Salt Archives.

²⁰⁵ Photographed by Marc Eginard, an architect and urban planner who established the Istanbul Centre for Urban Observation within the IFEA. From the IFEA collection, preserved in the Salt Archives.

direction, extending from the southwest to the northeast. The main entrance to this block was distinguished by a high gate featuring a flat segmental arch leading into a domed entrance hall.²⁰⁶ (see Fig. 2.10) Flanking this hall were two wings of the caravanserai, each accessible through a passageway. From the entrance hall, another passageway led to a spacious courtyard shared by the guest house and the public kitchen, symmetrically arranged around T-shaped inner courtyards. The central courtyard functioned as an interconnecting hub between different sections of the block, transforming it into an open-air communal area where students, travelers, and locals could interact, exchange conversations, and foster a vibrant social environment. Additionally, staircases from this courtyard provided access to the Quran recitation and the hadith school. The strategic placement of these specialized colleges at a higher elevation and oriented towards the mosque, facilitated a harmonious alignment of the waqf's four educational institutions, interconnected by the Valide İmareti and Toptaşı Meydanı streets (see Fig. 2.11, nos 2, 3, and 12).



Figure 2. 10: The main gate of the hospice block and the domed entrance hall.²⁰⁷
Photos by the author, 2022.

²⁰⁶ Wimmel, "Architektur Osmanischer Karawanseraien," vol. 2, 207.

²⁰⁷ Currently, the hospice block serves as a university campus.

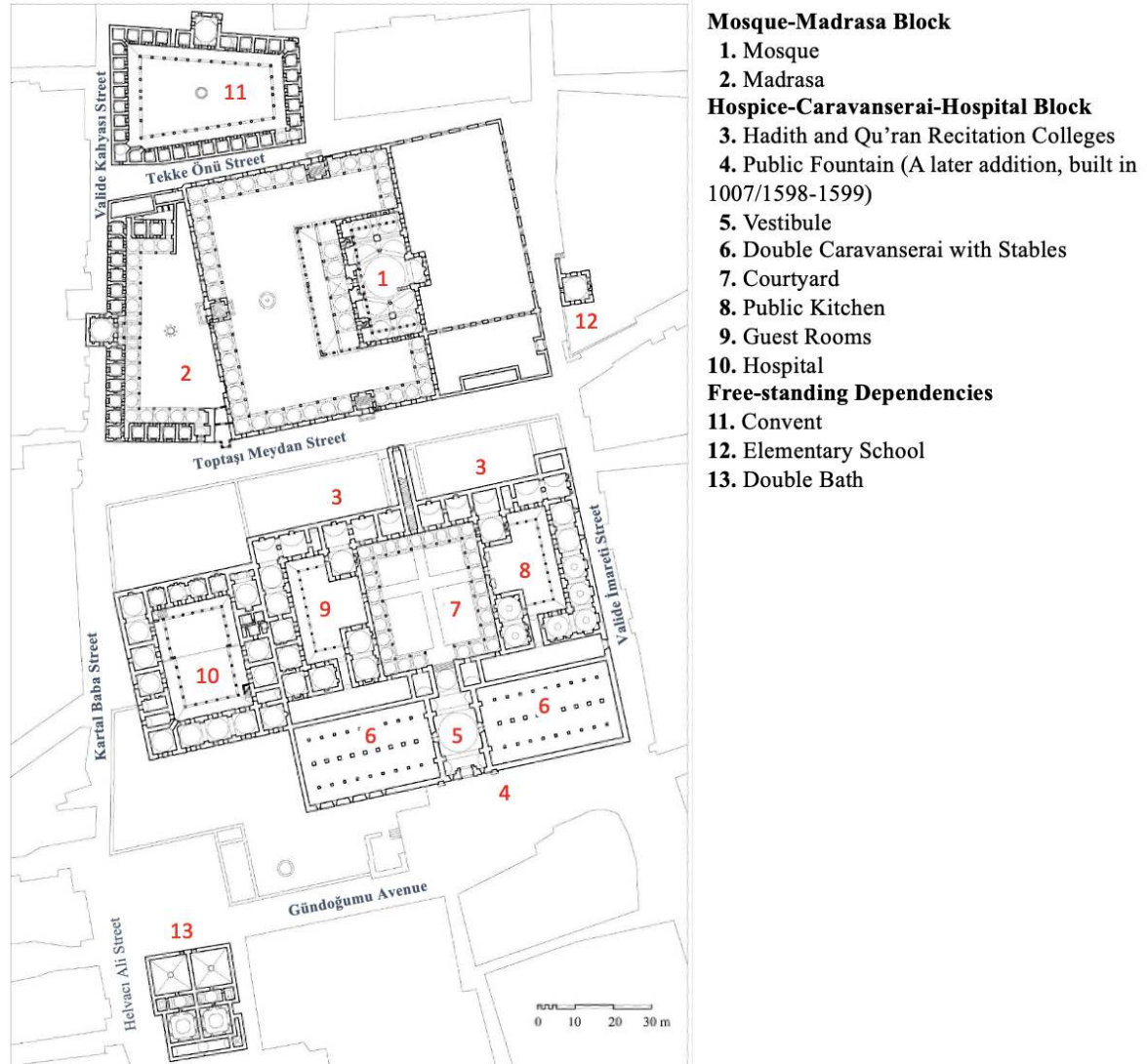


Figure 2. 11: The Plan of the Nurbanu Sultan Üsküdar Complex.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ Source for the layout: Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 282, Fig. 261. Based on the mostly erased inscription of the fountain commissioned by Hasan Çavuş, Gülru Necipoğlu, Aptullah Kuran, and Baha Tanman date its construction to 987 (1579-80). In contrast, İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı and İbrahim Hilmi Tanışık suggest a construction date of 1007 (1598-99) for the same fountain. This public fountain, situated near the entrance of the hospice block, is believed to have been funded by Hasan Çavuş, who served as the *mütevelli* of Nurbanu's waqf between 1597 and 1601. Based on the list of Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellis*, presented in Section 5.3.2, it becomes evident that the claims put forth by Konyalı and İbrahim Tanışık are more accurate. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 284-285. Konyalı, *Üsküdar Tarihi*, vol. 2, 29. İbrahim Hilmi Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, vol.2 (İstanbul: Maarif Matbası, 1945), 258. Baha Tanman, "Atik Valide Küliyesi," *Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol.1, no.2 (April, 1988), 16. Kuran, *Sinan*, 40. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 192-193.

Also see the website: Database for Ottoman Inscriptions, the inscription of the fountain near the hospice section of Atik Valide Complex, <http://www.ottomaninscriptions.com/verse.aspx?ref=list&bid=2998&hid=4721>.

As a prudent design solution for health and safety, the hospital section was built adjacent to the guest house but remained completely separate, having its own gate opening to Kartal Baba Street. The corridors now linking the hospital to the guest house are, in fact, contemporary additions not included in the original design. The original layout effectively separated hospital visitors, who may have been afflicted with serious illnesses, from the community of the hospice block.²⁰⁹

Aptullah Kuran argued that Nurbanu's Üsküdar complex exhibited traits typical of roadside complexes (*menzil külliyesi*) situated along the hajj and trade routes. He identified these traits in such design features as the relatively small mosque contrasted with the large-scale public kitchen and accommodation facilities.²¹⁰ However, Kuran also remarked that Nurbanu's complex had a hierarchical and centralized composition, more akin to urban complexes typically endowed by the royal family, marking a divergence from standard layouts of roadside complexes.²¹¹ I suggest that the integration of features typical of roadside and urban complexes in its design indicates a twofold objective: creating a functional way station (Ma'mûre) for travelers while also promoting the urban expansion of Üsküdar towards its rural surroundings.

As will be explored in Chapter 3, Nurbanu Sultan's project involved the expansion of Üsküdar's residential area towards its southeastern peripheries, establishing a new urban district specifically designed to cater to the needs of trade caravans resting in the town. In this newly developed urban district, the visitors would have access to accommodation and free food, along with other basic necessities, while also contributing to the Üsküdar's socio-economic vibrancy. Furthermore, Nurbanu Sultan's land stretched across the uninhabited, rural hinterland of Üsküdar was expected to serve as the de facto entrance point to the town and to augment its prominence as a way station along trade and pilgrimage routes. I argue

²⁰⁹ Further information on the hospital section will be covered in Section 7.2.

²¹⁰ Aptullah Kuran states that "The Atik Valide in Üsküdar was planned not as an urban complex but as an intercity complex. For this reason, it has a small mosque and a vast 'imaret. Yet its overall design, by its hierarchical formation, stresses the centralized composition of an urban imperial complex rather than the axial organization of an intercity complex." Kuran, "Architecture: The Classical Ottoman Achievement," 330.

²¹¹ Ibid.

that this broader vision for the urban development of Üsküdar explains why Nurbanu's complex was designed to combine the functional features typical of a roadside complex with the grandeur and scale typical of an imperial urban complex.

2.3. Financing Nurbanu Sultan's Architectural Patronage: The Revenues of Nurbanu's Land

The Atik Valide Complex stands as the pinnacle of Nurbanu Sultan's architectural patronage, yet this monumental achievement was just one facet of her broader philanthropic vision. As her *vakfiye* specifies, she also commissioned a masjid, a public kitchen, an elementary school, and a convent, known as Çardak Zaviyesi, in Lapseki, near Çanakkale. Unfortunately, the Lapseki complex, which once employed thirty-nine personnel, has not survived to the present day.²¹² Furthermore, she commissioned the construction of a waterway in one of the villages of *Üsküdar Kazası* (judicial district of Üsküdar), Sarı Kadı, now called Sarıgazi.²¹³ She also took the initiative to rebuild the fifteenth-century convent of Sarı Kadı, converting the dilapidated structure into a mosque.²¹⁴ In addition, Nurbanu's endowment allocated resources, both in kind (*aynî*) and in cash (*nakdî*), to support various convents, including Ali Baba and Ahi Mehmed Zaviyesi in Yeni-il (in Sivas) and Sarı Kadı (or Sarıgazi) Zaviyesi in a village near Samandıra, where she owned farmlands that generated income for her endowment.²¹⁵

Her *vakfiye* also reflects her compassionate consideration for the freed slaves from Sultan Selim's harem, particularly those who were widowed, impoverished, and in need. They were the beneficiaries of Nurbanu Sultan's endowment, receiving both a daily

²¹² VGM.d.1766, 162.

²¹³ Ibid., 161. As reported by Evliya Çelebi, Sarı Kadı was a two-hundred-household settlement with a mosque, an elementary school, a dervish lodge, an inn, and a bathhouse. The settlement was notably devoid of commercial establishments, a characteristic that underscored its primary function as a residential and recreational area amidst the forests. The seasonal appeal of Sarı Kadı was particularly pronounced during the cherry harvest period, attracting residents from Istanbul in search of leisure. Visitors would take home various goods and provisions, and they also made visits to the Sarı Gâzi Sultan convent to seek blessings. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 4, eds. Dağlı, Kahraman, and Dankoff, 9.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 141.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 168.

allowance and meals from the Üsküdar complex during their lifetime.²¹⁶ Additional provisions were made beyond the scope of the *vakfiye* to extend support and care to those in need. One such example of this extended benevolence was the financial support provided to the retired preacher of Ayasofya, who had moved to Üsküdar to enjoy his retirement yet found himself in poverty in 1614. Recognizing his plight, Nurbanu Sultan's waqf administration granted him a daily pension of 30 *akçe*, thus ensuring his financial stability and well-being during his later years.²¹⁷

Nurbanu Sultan's philanthropy spanned all stages of life, ranging from supporting the elderly in their retirement years to the youngest minds embarking on their educational journeys. Thirty students in her elementary schools in the Üsküdar and Lapseki complexes were to receive clothing twice a year.²¹⁸ Furthermore, on special occasions like *bayrams*, i.e., the Islamic festivities, relevant clothes, shoes, and turbans totaling a value of 1500 *akçes* were to be distributed among indigent Muslim orphans.²¹⁹ Nurbanu's generosity also reached Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, as well as Damascus, which made her endowment one of the waqfs of *Evkâfı'l-Haremeyn*, whose revenues were earmarked for Islam's holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Her endowment funded the salaries of the *cüzhans*, who recited the sacred verses of the Quran on her behalf in the various mosques.²²⁰ The salaries of the sheikhs employed in Jerusalem were also allocated from her endowment.²²¹ Additionally, needy residents living in these cities were the beneficiaries of her charitable foundation, which earmarked an annual allocation of 120,000 *akçe* for their sustenance. (see Table 2.2)

²¹⁶ Ibid., 165. I couldn't find information confirming whether they also resided in Ma'mûre.

²¹⁷ BOA.TS.MA.e.845.33 (Safer 1013/ July 1614).

²¹⁸ VGM.d.1766,p. 164.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Based on the waqf account registers dated 1592, Nurbanu Sultan's endowment was making payments to 108 *cüzhans* serving in various mosques, with 34 in Jerusalem, 33 in Medina, and 41 in Damascus. These positions, not mentioned in the endowment deed was established later. BOA.TS.MA.d.1334, 76-87. Sheikh Abdullatif, who delivered a sermon from the marble pulpit named after Nurbanu Sultan at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, received a salary from Nurbanu Sultan's endowment. BOA.TS.MA.e.811.7 (Recep 1027/ July 1618).

²²¹ For a list of these sheikhs, see BOA.TS.MA.e.1427-44 (Rebî'ülevvel 1025/April 1616).

Selim II and Murad III played crucial roles in supporting Nurbanu Sultan's philanthropic projects, allocating substantial financial support disbursed in various forms such as dowries, royal gifts, and allowance (*paşmaklık*), with the latter denoting state lands or revenues granted to palace women for their lifetimes.²²² The waqf's accounts registers indicate that the annual income from her endowment fluctuated between three to eight million *akçes* throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²²³ For instance, according to the summary (*icmâl*) waqf account registers for the fiscal years of 1588-89 and 1589-1590, the waqf revenues amounted to four to six million *akçes*.²²⁴ (see Table 2.1 and 2.2) These funds were generated from a variety of sources, including revenues from villages and farmlands in Yeni-il, Rodosçuk, Lapseki, Orhanlı Çatalca, Şile, and Yoros, as well as rental income from workshops, baths, bread ovens, lodging facilities, and shops in Istanbul, Üsküdar, Bursa, and the Fortress of Rodos. The waqf's revenue streams were further bolstered by *jizya* and land tax (*ispençe*)²²⁵ from Armenian, Greek, Jewish, and *Kıbtî*²²⁶ communities settled on the lands owned by Nurbanu Sultan's endowment, as well as taxes collected from semi-nomadic groups grazing their livestock on Nurbanu Sultan's waqf pastures.²²⁷

²²² For more information, see M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Başmaklık," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (1943), 333–334. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 214.

²²³ Pantık, "Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi," 62.

²²⁴ TS.MA.d.3662 (Zilhicce 997/November 1589).

²²⁵ For non-Muslims living in an urban setting who were predominantly not involved in agriculture, the tax normally paid by non-Muslim agriculturalists was substituted with the *ispençe*. While *ispençe* is typically considered a land tax equivalent to the land tax (*çift resmi*), in cities, it functioned differently—and was more akin to a head-tax. For more information, see Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlılarda Raiyyet Rûsûmu," in *Belleten*, vol. 23, no. 92 (October 1959), 602.

²²⁶ Since the medieval period, Roma communities have established their presence across Central, South-Eastern, and Eastern Europe. Local populations have historically referred to them by various names, with the Ottoman Empire notably using terms such as "Kıbtî" and "çingene." While acknowledging that such terms do not encapsulate the diverse ethno-religious identities within Roma communities, this chapter adopts "Kıbtî" (Copt) as a term to align with Ottoman usage. *Roma Voices in History, A Sourcebook: Roma Civic Emancipation in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe from the 19th Century until World War II*, eds. Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2021), xxxii.

²²⁷ VGMA.1766.144.

Table 2. 1: The brief (*icmâl*) accounts register of Nurbanu Sultan's endowment. (1588-1589).²²⁸

Muharrem-Zilhicce 997 / The financial year 1588-1589		
This register outlines the annual financial activities concerning the pious foundations of the late <i>valide sultan</i> —may her soul rest in peace—in Üsküdar. Covering the Islamic year 997, from the month of <i>Muharrem</i> through to the end of <i>Zilhicce</i> , this report specifies the funds that have been raised and spent under my supervision (the <i>mütevelli</i>). ²²⁹		
Incomes		
Title	Quantity (<i>akçe</i>)	Percentage (%)
Yeni-il, state (<i>hâşş</i>) land ²³⁰	3,429,224	76.98
Yanbolu, state (<i>hâşş</i>) land	166,799	3.74
The waqf's farmlands and villages in <i>Üsküdar Kazası</i>	145,386	3.26
Gazi Oğlu Village in Rodosçuk	50,246	1.13
The waqf's farmlands in İnceğiz (Çatalca)	24,877	0.56
The waqf's bread ovens in Bursa	2,580	0.06
Half share of the waqf's vessel (<i>barça</i>)	31,097	0.70
The waqf shops in Rodos	9,260	0.21
Shops and orchards in Lapseki	2,588	0.18
Revenues of Üsküdar (rent revenues, taxes collected from the waqf community)	388,987	8.73
The shops, rooms, and baths in Istanbul	203,640	4.57

²²⁸ BOA.TS.MA.d.3662²²⁹ “*Muhasebe-i mahsulat ve mesarif-i evkâf muhasebetü'l-hayrat ve'l-hasanat merhume ve mağfurleha Valide Sultan - tabet seraha- der mahruse-i Üsküdar an gurre-i Muharrem ül-Haram sene 997 ila gayet-i Zilhicce-i sene-i mezbur tamam bir senede bu kulları nezaretiyle hasıl ve sarf olunduğu beyan olunur.*” TS.MA.d.3662. Calculation errors in the original document have been corrected to display the accurate values in the Table. These adjustments includes minor variations that do not significantly affect the overall figures.²³⁰ *Hâşş* lands refer to state-owned territories, the revenues from which are reserved for the central treasury. These revenues could be allocated to high-ranking military officials as remuneration or reward for services rendered to the state. Alternatively, the *hâşş* lands may be granted to non-military elites, such as palace women or retired dignitaries, in the form of stipends or pensions. İnalçık and Quataert, *An Economic and Social History*, vol. 1, 141.

Balance brought forward from the previous year	1,156,153	
Annual Income	4,454,684	
Total Income (with previous year balance)	5,610,837	
Expenses		
Title	Quantity (akçe)	Percentage (%)
Salaries of waqf personnel & The allowance to be distributed to the poor living in Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Damascus	922,230	19.17
Expenses of the Üsküdar Complex, Lapseki Convent and Sarıgazi Mosque & Stables	2,443,033	50.79
Expenses of the public kitchen in Üsküdar	1,444,556	30.03
Total Expense	4,809,819	
Carryover balance for the next year	801,018	

Table 2. 2: The brief (*icmâl*) account register of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf (1589-1590).²³¹

Muharrem-Zilhicce 998 / The financial year 1589-1590		
This register outlines the annual financial activities concerning the pious foundation of the late <i>valide sultan</i> —may her soul rest in peace—in Üsküdar. Prepared by Mehmed Agha, the scribe of the waqf, this register was compiled under the supervision of the waqf superintendent, Mehmed Agha, the Chief Black Eunuch of the Imperial Harem, and the waqf administrator, Pir Ali Agha. Covering the Islamic year 998, from the month of Muharrem through to the end of Zilhicce, this register details the waqf's revenues and expenditures. ²³²		
Incomes		
Title	Quantity (akçe)	Percentage (%)
Yeni-il, state (hâşş) land	4,999,915	80.69

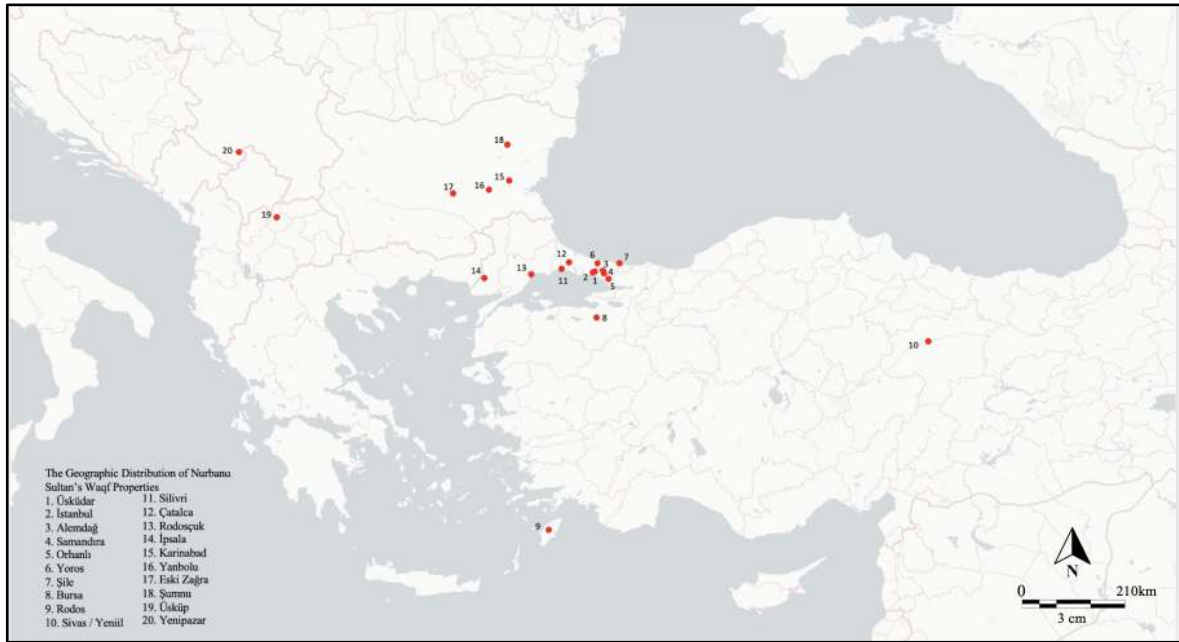
²³¹ BOS.TS.MA.d.3662.²³² “sâhibetü'l-hayrât ve'l-hasenât, sâyidetu'l-hayve, şehîdu'l-memât, merhûme ve mağfûrleha Vâlîde Sultan - tâbet serâha- hazretlerinin Üsküdar'da vâkî evkâf-ı şerîfelerinden, Dârüssaâde Ağası Mehmed Agha kullarının nezâretiyle, mütevellî Pir Ali Ağa bendeleri tahvîlinden, vakf-ı mezbûr kâtibi olan kapıcılar kâtibi Mehmed kullarının, defter-i muhâsebece hasıl olan beyan olunur, fî sene 998.” TS.MA.d.3662. Calculation errors in the original document have been corrected to display the accurate values in the Table. These adjustments includes minor variations that do not significantly affect the overall figures.

Yanbolu, state (hâşş) land & Gazi Oğlu Village in Rodosçuk & The bread ovens in Bursa & The waqf shops in Rodos	336,561	5.43
The waqf's farmlands and villages in <i>Üsküdar Kazası</i>	183,771	2.97
Half share of the waqf's <i>barça</i>	75,646	1.22
Revenues of Üsküdar (rent revenues, taxes collected from the waqf community)	407,346	6.57
The waqf's shops, rooms, and public baths in Istanbul	193,235	2.29
Balance brought forward from the previous year	2,244,556	
Annual Income	6,196,474	
Total Income (with previous year balance)	8,441,030	
Expenses		
Title	Quantity (<i>akçe</i>)	
Salaries of waqf personnel	903,640	16.61
Allowance to be distributed to the poor living in Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Damascus	120,000	2.21
Expenses of the public kitchen in Üsküdar	1,796,313	33.01
Expenses of the Lapseki complex	122,710	2.26
Repair and transportation expenses	369,827	6.80
Balance brought forward from the previous year and delivered to <i>rikab-ı hümayun</i> (presence of the sultan)	801,018	14.72
Unidentified expense	175,160	5.84
Various expenses of the waqf assets	1,152,379	21.18
Total Expense	5,441,047	
Carryover balance for the next year	2,999,983	

The tables above present data from the waqf's brief accounts registers and thus do not offer a detailed breakdown of every revenue source or expenditure.²³³ Nonetheless, they

²³³ For a detailed study on the waqfs' accounts registers, see Orbay, "Account Books of the Imperial Waqfs," 31-50.

provide key insights into the major financial components of Nurbanu Sultan's endowment and the primary categories where these funds were allocated. For instance, the records show that the income derived from the Yeni-il lands, which amounted to a range of three to five million *akçes*, was the most substantial revenue stream for the endowment. Notably, the proceeds from Yeni-il had been initially designated as *paşmaklık* for Mihrimah Sultan, who subsequently transferred these funds to her mosque complex in Üsküdar.²³⁴ Following her demise in 1578, Murad III rechanneled the Yeni-il revenues, designating them as *paşmaklık* for his mother, who then endowed them to her mosque complex.²³⁵



Map 2. 3: The map showing the geographic distribution of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf assets. Produced by the author.²³⁶

The registers also reveal that the waqf held a fifty percent stake in a *barça*, a type of Ottoman vessel used for both transportation and military purposes.²³⁷ Nurbanu Sultan

²³⁴ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.35/1014 (Şevval 986/December 1578) Also see, İlhan Şahin, "Üsküdar ve Türkmenler," in *Osmanlı İstanbulu: IV. Uluslararası Osmanlı İstanbulu Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, eds. Feridun Emecen, Emrah Sefa Gürkan (İstanbul: 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016), 281-282.

²³⁵ Ibid. Also see Section 5.1.2

²³⁶ VGM.d.1766, 137-147.

²³⁷ İdris Bostan, "Gemi," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 14 (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1996): 14.

apparently endowed the partial ownership of this *barça* to facilitate the transportation of essential supplies such as vegetables, grains, and wood to her public kitchen in Üsküdar. For instance, in 1582, Murad III entrusted the ship captain Hacı Veli Reis with navigating Nurbanu Sultan's *barça* to Egypt to procure supplies such as rice, sugar, lentils, spices, and timber vital for the functioning of her public kitchen and hospital.²³⁸ The same *barça* was likely utilized to transport revenues that had accrued from the waqf's properties across the empire. This arrangement suggests a continual flow of both financial resources and essential commodities to Nurbanu's complex via maritime routes that span the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Sea of Marmara, all converging at the piers of Üsküdar.²³⁹ Evidently, the *barça* not only reduced the waqf's transportation expenses but also generated additional revenue. Although the analyzed waqf documents do not mention the multipurpose use of the *barça*, it is plausible to speculate that it likely participated in seafaring enterprises, possibly of a commercial nature. Given that Nurbanu Sultan's endowment held a fifty-percent share in the *barça*, a corresponding share of the profits from such ventures was allocated to the waqf's treasury. In the financial years 1588-89 and 1589-90, this share amounted to 31,097 and 75,646 *akçes*, respectively.

What will be examined in further detail in the subsequent section is the waqf's annual income from Üsküdar, which comprised six to nine percent of its total revenues. This income was derived from a variety of revenue-generating structures, most of which were built in the vicinity of Nurbanu's complex. As outlined in the *vakfiye*, Nurbanu Sultan endowed her foundation with 159 commercial units, including seventy-nine shops, a khan with twenty-two rooms, a double-bath, two slaughterhouses, an offal shop, a candle manufactory, seven tanneries²⁴⁰, a stable, and sixty-five rooms—some with accompanying courtyards—designated for family residences, all located in Ma'mûre.²⁴¹ Additionally, there were several

²³⁸ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.47, p. 65/a1 (Rebî'ülâhir 990/ July 1582)..

²³⁹ See the *mühimme* register detailing the goods transported from the ports of the Black Sea to Nurbanu Sultan's public kitchen in Üsküdar, BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.74, p.252/ a1 (Zilka'de 1004/July 1596).

²⁴⁰ The number of Nurbanu Sultan's tanneries increased to twelve following the acquisition of new shops that were subsequently converted into tanneries in the seventeenth century. Ahmet Kala, *Debbağlıktan Dericiliğe İstanbul Merkezli Deri Sektörünün Doğuşu ve Gelişimi* (Istanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, 2012), 144.

²⁴¹ VGM.d.1766,137-139.

more waqf assets that remained unaccounted for in the *vakfiye*. This omission occurred because Murad III expanded the assets of his late mother's endowment by acquiring multiple properties in Üsküdar after the deed's compilation in 1582. These additional assets, as documented in the accounts registers, included a khan,²⁴² a double bath, several shops and rooms primarily located in the coastal town center.²⁴³

An equally noteworthy source of revenue generated from Nurbanu Sultan's land were the dues and taxes collected from those who inhabited it.²⁴⁴ According to Ottoman land laws, even after crown lands were converted into private holdings, their revenues continued to be a part of the state treasury (*beytülmal*), except in cases where a sultanic decree explicitly granted the new owner the rights to collect revenues.²⁴⁵ Within this legal framework, it is

²⁴² The mentioned khan was registered as "*han-ı atık*," the old khan, in the accounts registers. This suggests that the khan in the town center was not a newly constructed building. Instead, it was likely a later transfer to Nurbanu Sultan's endowment either through purchase or *istibdal* (exchange). Unlike this khan, the double bath in the town center was a new building. As we learn from an imperial order addressed to Üsküdar kadi in 1586, Mimar Sinan required additional *benna* (skilled construction worker) and *neccar* (carpenter) for the ongoing construction of Nurbanu Sultan's double bath, built opposite the Gülfem Mosque. BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.61.p.28/b3 (Recep 994/July 1586).

After its construction, the double bath near Nurbanu Sultan's mosque complex began to be referred to as Hamam-ı Atık, the Old Bath, while the one at the town center became known as Hamam-ı Cedid, or the New Bath. See Pantık, "Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi," 67.

Today Hamam-ı Cedid serves as a shopping center known as Mimar Sinan Çarşısı. For more information, see Macaraig, *Çemberlitaş Hamamı in Istanbul*, 64-69.

²⁴³ BOA.TS.MA.d.1393.p. 68 (the financial year 1593-94), BOA.TS.MA.d.1393.p. 2 (the financial year 1600-1601) Eight of the endowed shops were located over the bridge in Üsküdar's central market area near Gülfem Mosque. BOA.TS.MA.e.1258/36, p.1 (Şevval 1008/October 1600). Additionally, in the Bulgurlu neighborhood in Üsküdar, the waqf owned an unoccupied plot. TS.MA.e.845/32 (Safer 1008/September 1599).

²⁴⁴ It should be noted that the revenues mentioned herein refer to the Islamic and customary taxes and dues collected from residents living within the waqf land. This does not necessarily imply that every plot and estate within Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land was part of her endowment. In fact, there were, for instance, immovable properties that belonged to various other waqfs, including but not limited to the waqf of Mustafa Pasha, Gülfem Khatun's and Chief Eunuch Mehmed Agha. For instance, the residence known as "Şahkulu Evi" (Şahkulu's Dwelling) in Ma'mûre was a part of the Gülfem Khatun waqf. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.57.p.9//b3 (Zilhicce 991/January 1584). Similarly, a certain Ahmed Çelebi endowed the rental income of a dwelling in Ma'mûre to Mustafa Pasha's waqf. There is no further information on the identity or the waqf of Mustafa Pasha, but he might have been Çoban Mustafa Pasha, who commissioned a mosque complex in Gebze in the 1520s. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.38/b2 (Cemâziyelevvel 991/May 1583).

²⁴⁵ Barnes, *Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire*, 40-41. For a detailed discussion of the legal status of the lands converted from state lands to freehold or waqf lands, see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "İmparatorluk Devrinde Toprak Mülk ve Vakıflarının Hususiyeti II: Mülk Topraklar ve Sultanların Temlik Hakkı," in *Istanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol. 7, no. 1 (1941): 157-176. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "İmparatorluk Devrinde Toprak Mülk ve Vakıflarının Hususiyeti III," in *Istanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol. 7, no. 4 (1941): 906-942.

apparent that Selim II not only endowed Nurbanu with the use of the crown land to build her mosque complex but also vested her with jurisdiction over its tax incomes.²⁴⁶ As mentioned in the *vakfiye*, Selim II issued a decree confirming that he had relinquished the state's claim to tax revenues from the granted land, including tithes as defined by Islamic law, customary taxes, and occasional dues paid to the state.²⁴⁷

The tax collectors employed by the waqf administration were tasked with collecting a diverse array of irregular taxes and dues from the residents of Ma'mûre. These levies, collectively referred to as *bâd-ı heva*, which means irregular and occasional revenues, including marriage tax (*resm-i arûs*), fines for crimes and transgressions (*cürm ü cinayet*), revenues arising from the sale of confiscated inheritances of those who died in Ma'mûre without legal heirs, as well as the revenues derived from the sale of fugitive slaves and animals (*yave* and *kaçgun*) seized within the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land.

In 1585, the responsibility of collecting fines, fees, and other sources of income categorized as "*bâd-ı heva* revenues from the *Kıbtî* community residing in Ma'mûre" was entrusted to Sefer ibn Karagöz, one of the members of the local *Kıbtî* community.²⁴⁸ He carried out this duty through the method of tax-farming (*iltizam*), which meant that he collected *bâd-ı heva* revenues in return for a predetermined sum of money that he had initially paid to the waqf administration. The waqf administration appears to have strategically delegated the duty to a member of Ma'mûre's *Kıbtî* community, leveraging his familiarity with the community members, thereby making him an effective intermediary between them and the local administration.

²⁴⁶ VGM.d.1766,143.

²⁴⁷ The mentioned decree must have been issued by Selim II, as these stipulations came into effect following his land grant in 1570. As people began to settle around Nurbanu Sultan's mosque under construction in 1571, the *mütevelli* dealt with the inheritance matters of those who passed away within the waqf boundaries. The decree stated the following: "The sultan issued a decree ordering that the waqf administrator shall keep the tithes defined by Islamic law and customary levies collected from Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subjects, and he shall seize the possessions of the missing and the lost properties found within the waqf boundaries, as well as the public and private properties belonged to the state treasury, the fees taken from the known criminals, and the occasional taxes (*bâd-ı hevâ*). These revenues are to be allocated and spent for the waqf's benefit, and no one is allowed to interfere with this process." Ibid. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.38.p.82/a2 (Cemâziyelevvel 991 / May 1583).

²⁴⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.3/a5 (Rebî'ülevvel 993/March 1585).

The rent income generated from the waqf-owned properties was collected by the waqf's tax collectors (*cabi*). On the other hand, the predominant method the waqf administration used for collecting customary taxes and various fees for providing essential urban services, as well as the taxation of various products and commercial transactions, was tax farming (*iltizam*), which ensured the highest possible profitability.²⁴⁹ These included the fees collected for the service of the court summoner (*ihzariye*), a fee exacted for policing services (*kolluk*), as well as taxes like the market tax (*ihtisab*), a tax levied on horse dealers for each horse sold at the market in Ma'mûre (*bâc-ı pazar-ı esb*) and the wine tax (*resm-i fiçî-i hamr*) collected from non-Muslims.²⁵⁰

In 1578, Murad III issued a complementary decree that expanded the jurisdiction of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf over local revenues.²⁵¹ Addressed to the kadi of Üsküdar, the decree stipulated that the Christian, Jewish, and *Kıbtî* communities residing in the vicinity of the *valide sultan's* mosque were required to pay their *jizya* to the waqf administration. Furthermore, recent arrivals in the neighborhood who had yet to fulfill the six-month residency criterion for their registration as Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subject (*vakıf re'âyâsı*), were obliged to pay the fees levied on unregistered Ottoman subjects, known as *yava*, to the waqf's tax collectors.²⁵² These fiscal arrangements ensured the allocation of local revenues

²⁴⁹ Many waqf endowers did not prescribe a specific method for collecting revenues, suggesting that the endowers might have left the decision up to the waqf administrators. Sometimes, even if a specific method was originally stipulated, waqf administrators might opt for a different method if it was considered more beneficial for the waqf. Orbay, "Imperial Waqfs," 138. As shown in Table 1, during the financial year 1588-89, a total of 388,987 *akçes* was generated from the rental income of the waqf assets in Üsküdar, as well as the *jizya* levied on Nurbanu Sultan's non-Muslim waqf *reaya* living in Üsküdar. In the subsequent year, this amount increased to 407,346 *akçes*.

²⁵⁰ Ali, the son of Abdullah, the summons officer (*muhzır*) and the market inspector of Ma'mûre, was collecting the *ihzariye* tax exacted for the service of bringing a defendant to court for confrontation with the plaintiff and market tax (*ihtisab*). He was also responsible for collecting the fees levied on the horse dealers (*canbâzs*) employed in the horse market. In the fourth month of the year, he transferred his duties to Mehmed, the son of Abdullah. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.13/a1 In 1585 (15 Rebi'ülâhîr 983/16 April 1585).

²⁵¹ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.35, p. 251/b3 (Recep 986/September 1578).

²⁵² The *yava* tax was imposed on individuals who, unregistered and mobile, roamed the countryside, thus remaining outside the formal tax registry of the state (*hariç ez defter*). The *yave/yava* groups mentioned in Sultan Murad's decree are likely the semi-nomadic *Kıbtî* communities that settled in Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood. Faika Çelik, who has studied the sixteenth-century *Kıbtîs* through Üsküdar's court records, suggests that although the majority of the *Kıbtîs* living in the rural environs of Üsküdar led semi-nomadic lives, there is substantial evidence in the court records of many beginning to establish themselves in Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood, coinciding with an influx of new inhabitants to the region. Faika Çelik, *Community in*

for the waqf to be used for the maintenance of social services provided by a wide range of facilities. In other words, the residents of Ma'mûre would contribute, albeit indirectly, to financing the urban amenities they used daily through the waqf framework, thereby fostering an economic cycle wherein the local community's own resources were allocated for its collective welfare.

This section has provided an overview of the waqf's primary income and expenditure units. Given that the main focus of this study is the socio-spatial development of Ma'mûre rather than the endowment itself, it does not offer an in-depth examination of the waqf's financial framework, a topic that has been extensively covered in various scholarly works.²⁵³ Instead, it places emphasis on the revenue streams from Ma'mûre, which yield significant insights into its spatial organization, as well as its residents. A thorough analysis of the *vakfiye*, along with the financial records from the late sixteenth century, reveals that the waqf assets within Ma'mûre were the primary source of local income. Also, these assets played a crucial role in forming the commercial infrastructure of the neighborhood. The following section examines the formation of Ma'mûre's commercial infrastructure, highlighting how the strategic use of real estate not only facilitated the financial sustainability of the waqf but also fostered local economic growth and enhanced social welfare.

2.4 The Formation of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre's Commercial Infrastructure: The Joint Efforts of Nurbanu Sultan and Habeşi Mehmed Agha

2.4.1. The Establishment of Üsküdar's Tanneries and Horse Market in Ma'mûre

Nurbanu Sultan's *vakfiye* lacks the precise details required to pinpoint the exact locations of 159 waqf assets built in Ma'mûre mentioned earlier. Instead, the deed often describes their locations in relation to privately owned properties, with phrases like "near the dwelling of Mehmed the barber" or "in the vicinity of the waqf residences of Hayrettin Çavuş."²⁵⁴

Motion: Gypsies in Ottoman Imperial State Policy, Public Morality, and at the Sharia Court of Üsküdar (1530s-1585s) (PhD diss., McGill University, 2013), 364.

²⁵³ Pantık, "Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi." Sabırlı, "Nurbanu Atik Valide Sultan Vakfı'nın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Açıdan İncelenmesi"

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

Fortunately, some entries in the deed are more specific, describing locations in reference to certain dependencies of the mosque complex. Additionally, the accounts registers, which track the rental income from the waqf's commercial properties, offer valuable insights, especially about the properties built or acquired by the waqf after 1582, thus not listed in the deed. Although these registers, too, might not furnish exhaustive details on the exact locations of the waqf buildings, they nonetheless offer more substantial clues than those available in the deed.²⁵⁵

A comparative analysis of the deed along with the late sixteenth-century accounts (*muhasabe*) registers provides insights into the spatial organization of the revenue-generating waqf assets built in Ma'mûre. Most of these waqf-owned shops, khans, and rooms were strategically located along both sides of what is today known as Eski Toptaşı Street, running between the hospice block and the double bath, and leading to the horse market. (see Fig. 2.12) This spatial arrangement resulted in the emergence of three focal points around which commercial activities were centered. These landmarks were the horse market, the town's sole venue for horse trading; Tanners Square, named after the nearby tanneries; and lastly, Nurbanu Sultan's double bath, around which Ma'mûre's commercial and industrial spaces intertwined with the residential fabric of the neighborhood. (see Fig. 2.13)

The vacant parcels around the public bath were earmarked for an array of shops and manufactories, each supplying the various needs of the mosque complex, especially the daily meat and grain requirements of the public kitchen, where six cooks and six bread makers prepared meals for an estimated 1,000 individuals twice a day.²⁵⁶ For instance, a mill was established on the parcel opposite the bath to ensure a steady supply of ground grain for the kitchen.²⁵⁷ Near the mill stood a waqf shop dedicated to baking bread.²⁵⁸ There were also waqf assets dedicated to certain manufacturing and service activities, including two

²⁵⁵ The earliest *mufasssal muhasabe defteri* (detailed accounts register) covered the income and expenditures of the endowment from 1591 to 1600. BOA.TS.MA.d.1334.p.2, 31,44,68,80,92.

²⁵⁶ VGM.d.1766, 159.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 137.

²⁵⁸ BOA.TS.MA.d.1334.p.2, 31,44,68,80,92.

slaughterhouses (*selhhane*), where livestock designated for the public kitchen were slaughtered and skinned; a line of tanneries (*debbaghane*), which processed the animal skins into durable leather; an offal shop (*serhane*), where specific animal parts, such as heads and trotters, were cooked and sold; and a candle manufactory (*şemhane*) dedicated to processing the fats of slaughtered animals into candles, thereby fulfilling the illumination needs of the mosque complex.²⁵⁹

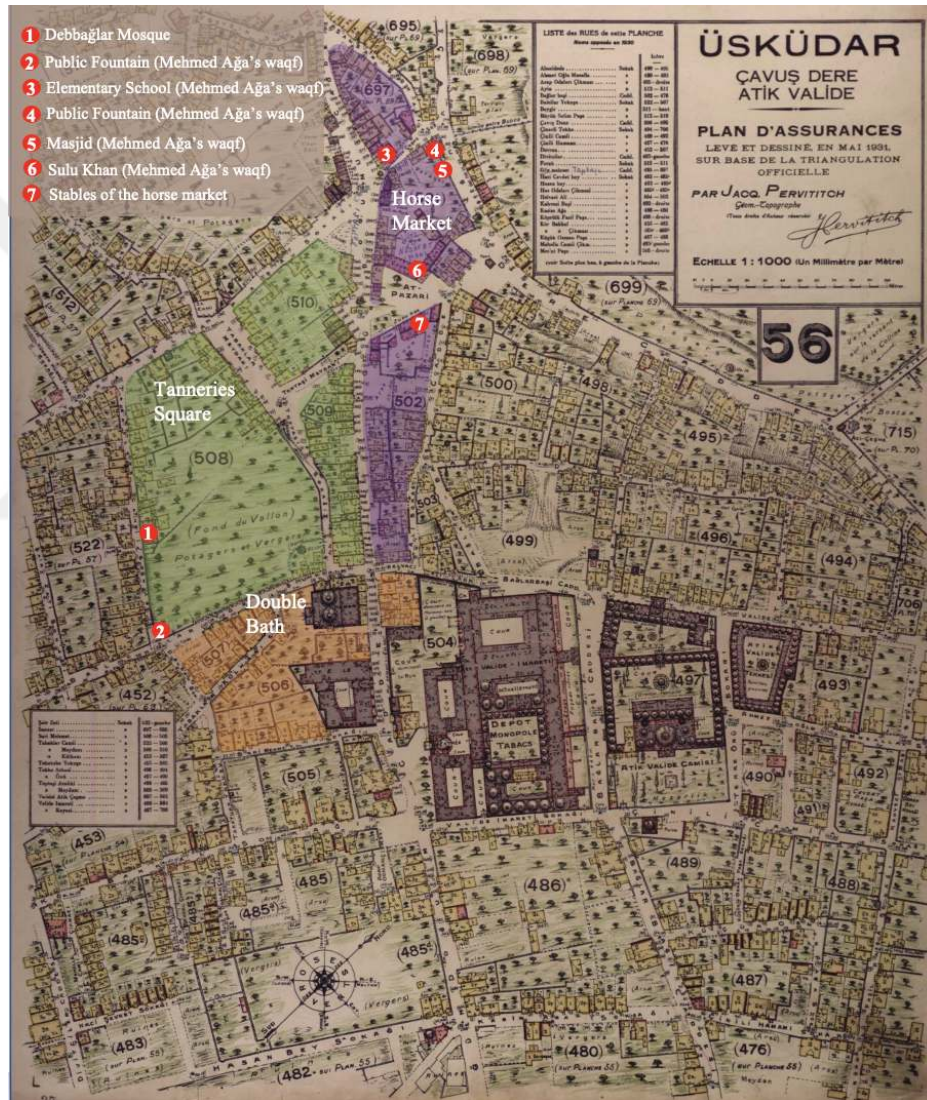


Figure 2. 12: The three main landmarks around which Nurbanu Sultan's waqf assets were built.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁹ VGM.d.1766, 137, 138.

²⁶⁰ The parcels on which Nurbanu Sultan's double bath and environs are located are shown in orange. Those of Tanners Square and its environs are shown in green. The horse market and its environs are shown in purple.

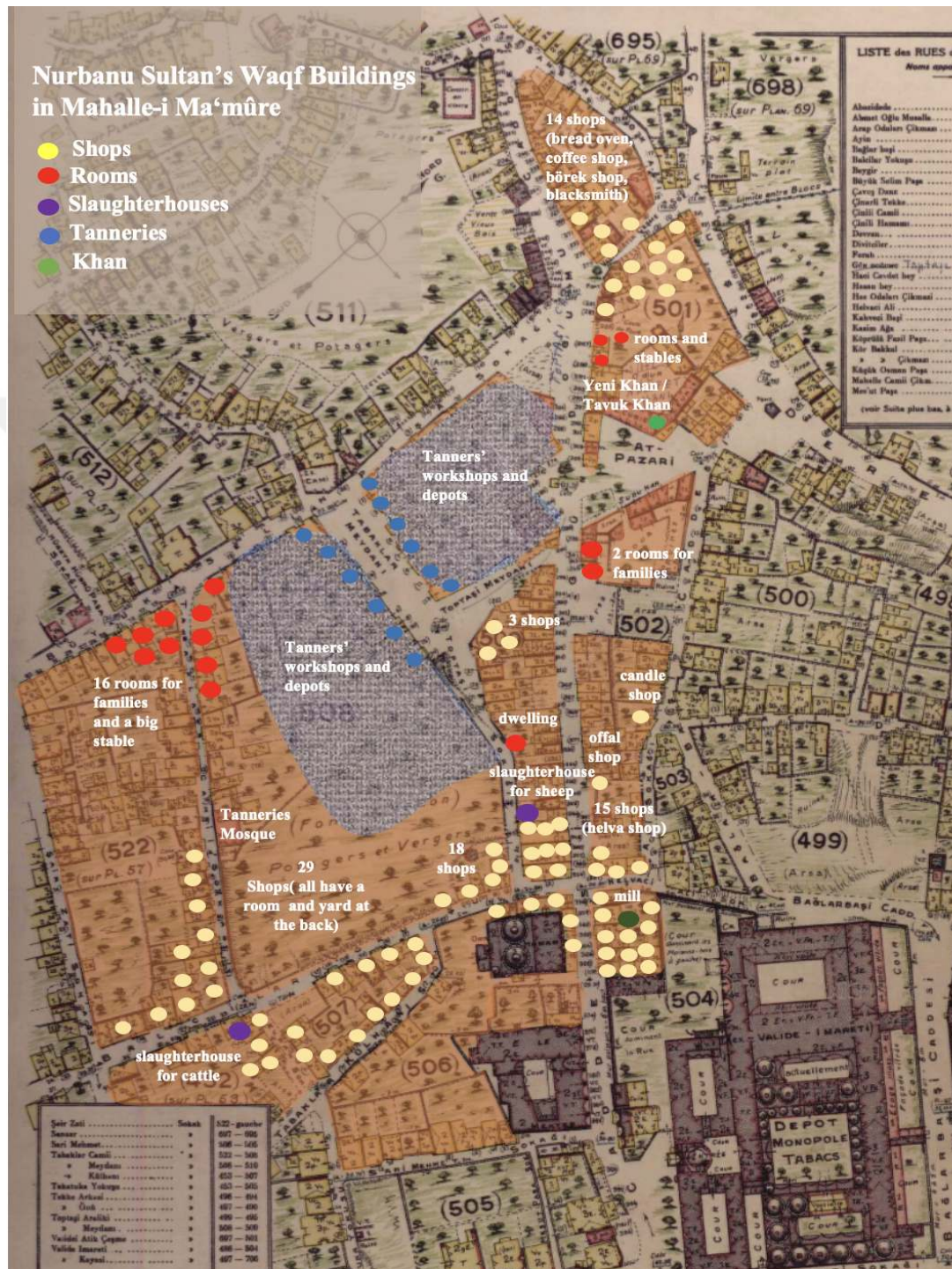


Figure 2. 13: Nurbanu Sultan's waqf assets as listed in the waqf deed.²⁶¹

Among these facilities, two slaughterhouses and the candle manufactory became operational as early as the summer of 1572.²⁶² The following year, Nurbanu Sultan's public bath began to accept its visitors.²⁶³ The waqf tanneries began operations in 1576, two years prior to the completion of Nurbanu Sultan's mosque.²⁶⁴ The choice of their location was determined by the necessity for an ample water supply, a key factor for maintaining hygiene and sanitation in tanning processes.²⁶⁵ Accordingly, the tanneries were strategically located near a branch of the Çavuş Stream, which would later be known as the Tanners Stream.²⁶⁶ Nurbanu Sultan's twelve tanneries, together with Chief Eunuch Habeşi Mehmed Agha's three tanneries and the residences occupied by the tanners working in the area, led to the formation of a second tanneries zone in Üsküdar, with the first located along the coast, near Şemsi Pasha Mosque and Balaban Pier.²⁶⁷

²⁶² "Haseki Sultan Hazretleri'nin binâsına emîn olan Mustafa ibn (Durmuş) nam kimesne Pervane ibn Abdullah nam kimesne ile meclis-i şer'a gelüp ikrâr ve i'tirâf kılıp eyitdi ki Haseki Sultan Hazretleri'nin) bina ettiği selhâne ile şem'hâneyi mezbur Pervane'ye yevmî onüç akçeye icareye verdim.../ At the sharia court, Mustafa Bey, the mütevellî, stated that he had leased Haseki Nurbanu Sultan's slaughterhouse and candle manufacturing facility to Pervane ibn Abdullah, for a daily rent of thirteen akçes." BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.38.p.43/b1 (Rebi'ülevvel 980 / July 1572).

In 1576, Pervane ibn Abdullah formed a business partnership with a zimmi, İskolat, to manage the leasing of this candle manufacturing facility. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.63.p.8/b5 (Muharrem 984/April 1576).

²⁶³ In August 1573, Hacı İbrahim ibn Hacı Ömer, from Mahmudpaşa Mahallesi in Istanbul, engaged in a double rent (*icareteyn*) contract for the waqf-owned bathhouse with the Mütevellî Ali Bey. The terms of this contract stipulated a rental fee of 32,000 akçes for a duration of one year. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.37.p.127/b2 (Rebi'ülâhîr 931 / August 1573). *İcareteyn* (double-rent) contract simply provided a way for waqfs to secure a substantial sum upfront while still ensuring a continuous income stream. It also offered tenants long-term security of tenure, making it a mutually beneficial arrangement. Suraiya Faroqhi, "Artisans and Guilds: Practices, Negotiations, and Conflicts," in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, ed. Shirine Hamadeh, Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 265.

²⁶⁴ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d. 27.p.264/ 624 (Zilhicce 983/ March 1576). The imperial order regarding the allocation of fat and skin from the dedicated butchers for Nurbanu Sultan's tanneries. Also see BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.63.p.8/b1,b2,b3,b4.

²⁶⁵ Ronald C. Jennings, *Studies on Ottoman Social History in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2011), 618 (footnote 1).

²⁶⁶ Mehmet Nermi Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi Yayınları, 2001), 246.

²⁶⁷ Evliya Çelebi notes that the tanneries of Üsküdar were clustered in two separate locations without giving further detail. We know that of these locations was the Debbağlar Mahallesi and the horse market since they housed the tanneries of Nurbanu Sultan and Habeşi Mehmed Agha. As we learn from the account of Eremya Çelebi, the tanners of Üsküdar operated along the shores of Üsküdar near Şemsi Pasha Mosque. So, the second location was probably Mihrimah and Safiye Sultan's waqf tanneries. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dağlı, Kahraman, and Dankoff, 235. Kömürciyan, *Istanbul Tarihi*, trans. Andreasyan, 48.

As reported by Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayî, the author of *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi'*, in 1587, two brothers from Konya, who had worked in the construction of Nurbanu's mosque, built a masjid near the waqf tanneries using surplus materials from the complex.²⁶⁸ While the authenticity of this account remains uncertain, it is at least known that by the early 1590s, a neighborhood known as Tanners Neighborhood (Debbağlar Mahallesi) had developed in this vicinity.²⁶⁹ In other words, the parcels surrounding Tanners Square became one of the earliest neighborhoods developed on Nurbanu Sultan's land.²⁷⁰ In the Üsküdar's court records, this neighborhood was registered with reference to Ma'mûre (such as *Debbağlar Mahallesi in Mahalle-i Ma'mûre*), thereby signifying its administrative affiliation to Nurbanu Sultan's endowment.²⁷¹

It was a standard urban practice to locate the tanning industry on the urban fringes, next to meat suppliers and manufacturers using animal parts as raw materials. For instance, Yedikule, located at the city's edges, was a significant hub for leather makers.²⁷² Its location along the Sea of Marmara and proximity to the city gates made it an ideal spot, offering both vast open spaces and an abundant water supply, both of which are essential for the tanning process.²⁷³ Additionally, the tanneries of Yedikule were surrounded by slaughterhouses, butcher shops, and manufactories dedicated to producing candles and soap, which means that this area was not only central to the leather industry but also to a broader ecosystem of related trades.²⁷⁴

The development of Üsküdar's tanning industry in Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood followed a similar spatial organization, ensuring that industries producing unpleasant odors

²⁶⁸ Ayvansarayî, *Hadikatü'l Cevâmi'*, 627.

²⁶⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.85.p.9/b2 (Recep 1000/April 1592).

²⁷⁰ This area likely housed Nurbanu Sultan's endowed tanneries and family residences, possibly occupied by the tanners working in the region. VGM.d.1766, 137, 138.

²⁷¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.86.p.1/b1 (Recep 1001/ April 1593).

²⁷² Selma Yazıcı Özkoçak, "Two Urban Districts in Early Modern Istanbul: Edirnekapi and Yedikule," *Urban History*, vol. 30, no. 1 (2003): 36.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 43.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 28, 37.

and waste thrived on the town's expanding edges. As Üsküdar grew towards its southeastern periphery, Ma'mûre emerged as the town's new center for leather production. Nurbanu Sultan's two slaughterhouses—one designated for the slaughtering of sheep and the other for the slaughtering of cattle—were appropriately situated close to the tanners' workshops.²⁷⁵ Although these slaughterhouses were not the sole suppliers of the waqf tanneries, since certain butchers in Galata, Kasımpaşa, and Karaköy supplied animal hide and fat to Nurbanu Sultan's tanneries, they likely played a significant role in the supply chain, contributing to the sustainability and efficiency of the tanning operations.²⁷⁶ Moreover, the waqf's candle manufactory and offal shop used animal fat and animal parts provided by the local slaughterhouses. Together, these facilities created a hub of industrial and economic activity near the mosque complex.

The establishment of a horse market one block away from the tanners' workshops introduced a new dimension to the commercial life of the neighborhood. This transition occurred in 1580 when Üsküdar's horse market was moved to Ma'mûre from its original site, which was presumably near the *Bat Pazarı*, Üsküdar's earliest marketplace, situated along the coast.²⁷⁷ By transferring the horse market to a location within the confines of Nurbanu Sultan's land, it was ensured that the waqf administration would collect the market taxes from the horse dealers operating in Üsküdar, thereby ensuring an important revenue stream was channeled into supporting the *valide sultan*'s charitable endeavors.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ VGM.d.1766, 137, 138.

²⁷⁶ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.42.p.118/407 (Cemâziyelâhir 989/July 1581).

²⁷⁷ For more information regarding *Bat Pazarı*, see Section 3.2. For a court register regarding the appointment of a warden (*kethüda*) for Üsküdar's horse market, see BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.8/b4 (Rebi'ülevvel 9984/une 1576), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.174/b2 (Cemâziyelevvel 984 / August 1576). For the case of a novice janissary who ran a horse ship and a horse dealer who worked in the horse market, see BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.42.p.33/b5 (Recep 983/October 1575). Even though these registers confirm the existence of a horse market prior to the one established in Ma'mûre, they do not provide additional details regarding its exact location.

²⁷⁸ The stipulation regarding Üsküdar's horse market in the dead reads: "Located in Yeni Mahalle [Ma'mûre] in Üsküdar, and directly opposite the shops and residences of the local Kıbtî community, lies an open field serving as Üsküdar's horse market. According to the imperial decree by Murad III, this market is the only location officially designated for horse trading in Üsküdar, and trading horses elsewhere in the town is strictly prohibited. Additionally, the tax revenue from each sale in this market is to be collected by the waqf administrator, with these funds allocated for the benefit of Nurbanu Sultan's endowment." VGM.d.1766, 143.

This strategic relocation was overseen by the Mütevelli Pir Ali Agha. In June 1580, he informed the central government about a large vacant plot adjacent to the waqf-owned shops, which he deemed should be designated as a horse-dealing area. Upon Pir Ali Agha's recommendation, Murad III ordered the only horse market in Üsküdar to be moved to the location recommended by the *mütevelli*. The related decree reads as follows:

The administrator of the newly constructed noble mosque in Üsküdar, Pir Ali Agha, has sent a letter to my esteemed presence. He suggests that it would be appropriate to establish a horse market on the vacant land adjacent to the shops of Ma'mûre. In response to his proposal, I hereby order the establishment of a horse market in Mahalle-i Ma'mûre and decree that no other area in Üsküdar shall be designated for horse dealing.²⁷⁹

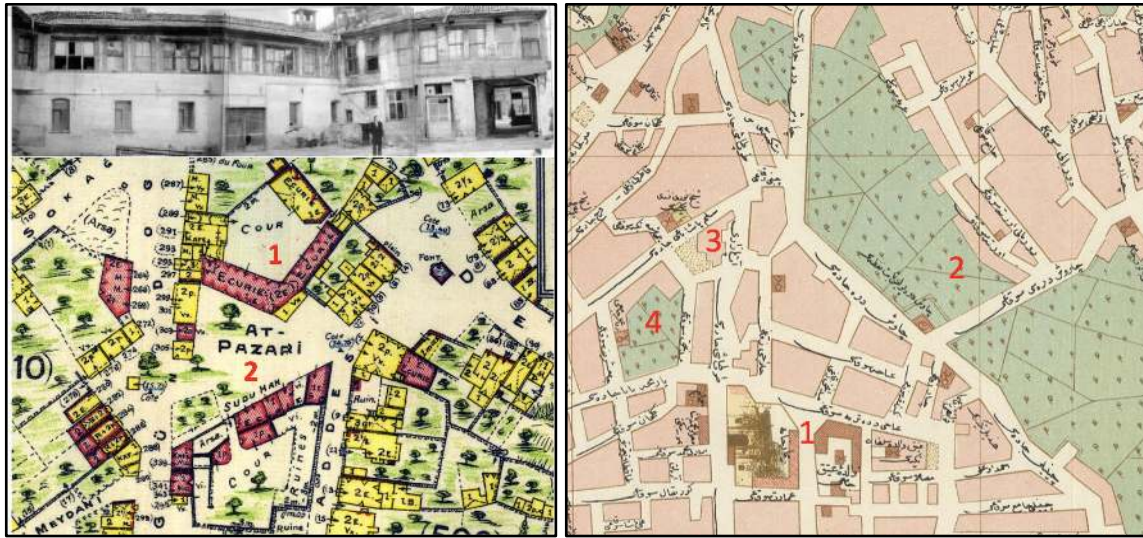


Figure 2. 14: One of the khans near the horse market.²⁸⁰

1) L-shaped stables in which the horses for sale were preserved. 2) Sulu Khan commissioned by Habeşi Mehmed Agha.²⁸¹

Figure 2. 15: The commercial and industrial zone of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre.

1) Nurbanu Sultan's Complex 2) Çavuşbaşı Orchards 3) Horse Market 4) Tanners Square.²⁸²

²⁷⁹ “Üsküdar’da müceddeden bina olunan cami-i şerif evkâfı mütevellisi Pir Ali -zide kadruhû- südde-i saadetime mektub gönderip Mahalle-i Ma’mûre dükkânlarının altı yanında bir mikdar arazi-i haliya olub at bazarı olmağa ber vechle münasibdir deyu minbad mahalle-i mezburede at bazarı ikamet olunmasın bildirmeğin zıkr olunan mahallede at bazarı kurmasın emr idüb buyurdum ki ferman-ı hümayunum mucebince minbad at bazarı Mahalle-i Ma’mûre’de ikamet etdirüp ...emr-i şerifde aher yerde (ikamet) etdirmeyesün/ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.62/a2 (Cemâziyelevvel 988/ June 1580).

²⁸⁰ The two-story, L-shaped khan featuring stables was demolished in the 1990s. The photo is from the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Regional Board. Alidost Ertuğrul, “19. Yüzyıl İstanbul Kentsel Dönüşümünde Üsküdar ve Koruma Sorunları” (PhD diss., Istanbul Technical University, 2011), 407, 408.

²⁸¹ Pervititch Map of Üsküdar, Plate 56 (1931), Salt Archives.

²⁸² David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, Necip Bey’s Istanbul Map (1918), detail from Plate 3.2.

Fig. 2.14 and 2.15 illustrate the horse market as an area organized into squares, flanked by commodious stables, an array of khans, and diverse shops. According to financial documents from the late sixteenth century, some of these shops functioned as blacksmiths, coffee shops, pastry bakeries, and *bozahouses*.²⁸³ Moreover, the area accommodated several of Nurbanu Sultan's rooms for rent and the waqf tanneries belonging to the endowment of Chief Black Eunuch (*darüssaade ağası*) Mehmed Agha.²⁸⁴ Consequently, along with the blocks leading to Tanners Square, this area represented an uninterrupted commercial-industrial axis.

After the establishment of a horse market near the banks of the Çavuş Stream, which wound its way through the vast orchards at the southeastern edge of Üsküdar, the area swiftly emerged as a prominent local landmark. This development was instrumental in building Ma'mûre's reputation as a neighborhood known for its khans and vibrant social environment. That was why, in his account, Evliya Çelebi introduced Nurbanu's Friday mosque to his audience with reference to the horse market. He states: "Close to the horse market lies a grand mosque, one beyond mere description. Erected in the year 1577-78 by the esteemed mother of Sultan Murad III, the mosque stands atop the hill and radiates like a divine light."²⁸⁵

From the late sixteenth century onwards, this market thrived as a central hub for both private and waqf-owned khans, turning Ma'mûre into a gathering point for travelers. A study of the surety (*kefalet*) register dated 1792 reveals that of the documented forty khans of Üsküdar, twenty-one were situated in or around the horse market, while thirteen were noted to be in proximity to Üsküdar's Great Pier (*Büyük İskele*).²⁸⁶ This spatial distribution

²⁸³ BOA.TS.MA.d.1334.p.2,31,44,68,80,92. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.106.p.10/a2 (Rebî'ülevvel 1011/ September 1602). In 1592, Rıdvan ibn Abdullah leased Nurbanu Sultan's coffee shop for 4000 *akçes*. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.85.p.5/a1 (Rebî'ülâhir 1000/ February 1592).

²⁸⁴ *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri: Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, (H. 1204-1207 / M. 1790-1793), vol.81, ed. Rıfat Günelan (Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş., 2019), entry 1472 [123a-1]. TS.MA.e.756/61 (Ramazan 998/ July 1590).

²⁸⁵ "Atbâzârı kurbünde hayrât-ı azîmdir kim ta'bîr olunmaz. Sene 985 târîhinde Sâlis Murâd Hân'ın vâlidesi binâ etmişdir. Eşkâl-i câmi', bir bayır üzre bir câmi'-i azîmdir kim gûyâ nûrdur." Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dağlı, Kahraman, and Dankoff, 233.

²⁸⁶ Serdar Genç, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Üsküdar Hanları," in *Üsküdar Sempozyumu X (19-21 October 2018): Bildiriler*, vol.2, ed.Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2019):135-136. The locations of these khans were defined with reference to the Great Pier, Balaban Pier, Arasta (*Bat Pazarı*) and *Sipahlar* Market.

of lodging facilities points to the existence of two main centers for short-term accommodation, social welfare, and shopping, located at opposite ends of the town. This observation aligns with the central argument of this dissertation, which posits that Nurbanu's Üsküdar project aimed at building a new residential and socio-economic center. This new center was envisioned to expand Üsküdar's socio-economic landscape, alleviate the pressure of the transient population on the coastal center, spread economic activity more evenly throughout the town, and guide the urbanization of Üsküdar towards its southeastern peripheries.



Figure 2. 16: The illustration depicting a seventeenth-century horse market in Istanbul. ²⁸⁷

Figure 2. 17: The nineteenth-century illustration depicting a horse market in Istanbul. ²⁸⁸

One of the earliest khans built in the horse market was commissioned by Nurbanu Sultan to generate revenue for her mosque complex. As documented in the *vakfiye*, it was a two-story building with twenty-two chambers.²⁸⁹ This sizable khan was initially listed in the accounts registers as “Han-ı Cedid” or “Yeni Han” and after 1596 as “Han-ı Makiyan” or “Tavuk Hanı.”²⁹⁰ Its construction can be reasonably dated to a period after June 1580, when Üsküdar's horse market was moved to Ma'mûre. A number of shops, lodging facilities, and

²⁸⁷ From an illuminated manuscript dating to the early 1660s, named "*Memorie Turchesche*" (*Turkish Memories*). Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 30r, in Museo Civico Correr in Venice.

²⁸⁸ From Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, January 19, 1856, p. 85.

²⁸⁹ VGM.d.1766, 137.

²⁹⁰ Although the deed does not specify the location of Yeni Han, the waqf's financial records indicate that it occupied a strategic position in the horse market. BOA.TS.MA.d.1334.p.44,68,80,92.

stables were also built in the horse market. These establishments not only provided essential services to the traders, travelers, and residents frequenting the market but also transformed the vicinity into a bustling business center and a halting station for merchants.

In his travel account, Salomon Schweigger, a Lutheran theologian and diplomat who served as chaplain to the Habsburg embassy in Istanbul for four years (1577-1581), introduces the horse market as a prominent landmark in Üsküdar.²⁹¹ He described the market as a bustling hub where invaluable horses from Persia, Armenia, Karaman, and Arabia found eager buyers.²⁹² Even though his visit likely predates the relocation of the market, his observations nonetheless provide insights into Üsküdar's enduring significance as a convergence point for merchants from various trade centers. Further insights into the relocated horse market, also known as "Valide Sultan Sûku,"²⁹³ can be gleaned from the nineteenth-century *hudutnâme*, which delineated the official boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land in Üsküdar.²⁹⁴ According to the document, one of the boundary markers was the gate of the horse market, which proves the existence of fence-like barriers to delineate this space from its surroundings. This physical demarcation led to the distinction of nearby structures as being either within (*dahilinde*) or outside (*haricinde*) of the horse market, revealing distinct yet interconnected market spaces both bustling with a variety of shops and khans.²⁹⁵

This spatial categorization fulfilled a twofold function. Firstly, it established the physical location of the structures defined with reference to the horse market, a well-known landmark. Secondly, it communicated the administrative status of these structures,

²⁹¹ Schweigger, *Constantinopel und Jerusalem* (1639), 135.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.108. p.24/a1 (Rebî'ülevvel 1012 / August 1603).

²⁹⁴ The *hudutnâme* attached to the imperial edict issued by Mahmud II reads: "*vakf-ı müşarünileyha arazisi itlak olunan mahaller merkum Hayreddin Çavuş Vakfı olan menazil önünde tarik-i amm ile Atpazarı kapısı ve Havuzlu Han önünde canib-i yesarda olan Kürd Ali Kahvesi'ne varınca...*" The areas endowed to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf extend from the residences belonging to the Hayreddin Çavuş waqf. The border runs along the main road in front of these residences, continuing to the Atpazarı gate and Havuzlu Khan. From there, the boundary extends to Kürd Ali's coffee shop, situated to the left of Havuzlu Khan." BOA.MFB.1204 (Muharrem 1224/April-March 1809). See Appendix B.

²⁹⁵ For a list of Üsküdar khans located within and outside the horse market, see Genç, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Üsküdar Hanları, 151-153.

distinguishing between those within the jurisdiction of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf and those outside it. The official boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land were closely associated with, and especially apparent in, tax collection practices. As previously mentioned, horse dealers trading in the horse market were obliged to give some of their profits as horse market tax (*bâc-ı bazar-ı esb*) to the waqf administration. Furthermore, the bread sellers operating within the horse market were required to sell the products of the waqf-owned bread ovens.²⁹⁶ This legal arrangement not only ensured a steady demand for the waqf's bread, thereby bolstering its financial returns, but also integrated the market's commercial activities with the waqf's financial framework.

The adherence to the waqf administration's stipulations fostered a collective sense of unity among the tradespeople and artisans working in the horse market. For instance, the market-based oil-makers (*yağcı*) and grocers (*bakkal*) collectively paid the *sürsat*,²⁹⁷ that is, military taxes, along with other extraordinary levies, while the oil-makers operating outside the market fulfilled their tax obligations separately.²⁹⁸ In 1712, these oil-makers, operating outside the market bounds, urged their market-based coworkers to share tax responsibilities. This led the horse market's oil makers to seek legal resolution, resulting in a court ruling that upheld the distinction between the two groups in terms of their tax obligations, thus exempting plaintiffs from sharing the fiscal burden with the oil makers operating outside the market.

²⁹⁶ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.112.p.137/453 (Ramazan 1113/February 1702).

²⁹⁷ Pal Fodor defines the *sürsat* tax as follows: "Forced sale" or "provisions by way of forced sale" (*sürsat, sürsat zahiresi*). Strictly speaking, this tax was not in the same category as the *avarız*, but its use and imposition was often so tied up with it that it makes sense to examine it as part of the same group of taxes. If *sürsat* was imposed on a judicial district, it meant that under the supervision of the *kadı*, a certain quantity of foodstuffs and livestock (flour, bread, barley, grease/oil, honey, hay, straw, firewood, and most importantly, live sheep) had to be collected from and/or by the inhabitants at fixed local prices and then transported to a specified place (in most cases to a station by a military road). The foodstuffs and livestock were then sold to soldiers at regulated prices. The *sürsat*, like the *nüzül*, could also be assessed and paid in cash (*sürsat bedeli, bedel-i sürsat*), and if those who were required to deliver goods failed to do so, they could be compelled to pay a cash equivalent for the missing products." Pál Fodor, *The Business of State Ottoman Finance Administration and Ruling Elites in Transition: 1580s–1615* (De Gruyter, 2020), 197.

²⁹⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.344.p.77/b2 (Muharrem 1124 / February 1712) For information regarding the arrangement of major and assistant guilds (*yamak*) to pay military taxes, see Eunjeong Yi, *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth Century Istanbul: Fluidity and Leverage* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 105–107.

The narrative thus far may have unfairly given undue attention to Nurbanu Sultan as the only figure in the development of Ma'mûre's commercial infrastructure. It is crucial, then, to acknowledge the contributions of other waqf endowers and private initiatives in the early formation and commercial vitality of Valide Sûku. The strategic allocation or leasing of waqf-owned plots and shops to those who developed commercial, industrial, or artisanal businesses to fulfill local needs broadened the spectrum of commercial activities, thereby enriching the market's socio-economic fabric.²⁹⁹ For instance, Habeşi Mehmed Agha, the chief eunuch of the imperial harem (*darüssaade ağası*), played an instrumental role in the early development of Ma'mûre as a waqf endower.³⁰⁰ The following section will explore how Mehmed Agha's elevated status as the superintendent (*nâzır*) of Nurbanu Sultan's endowment, intertwined with his critical role in the *valide sultan*'s harem faction, positioned him as a pivotal figure in the urban development of Ma'mûre.

2.4.2. Habeşi Mehmed Agha's Architectural Legacy in Ma'mûre

Habeşi Mehmed Agha stands out as a notable figure in sixteenth-century Ottoman history, distinguished for being the first black eunuch to wield unparalleled power and prestige in the imperial palace. His rise to prominence was achieved by strategically outmaneuvering the white eunuchs, which led to the reallocation of roles between the court's white and black aghas. This shift eventually resulted in the redefinition of the position of the *darüssaade ağalığı*, as the chief black eunuchs began to hold this office and gained considerable power that at times even rivaled that of grand viziers.³⁰¹

²⁹⁹ A similar arrangement was evident in the fact that some of Nurbanu's shops were situated within Üsküdar's central market area. Notably, eight of Nurbanu Sultan's shops were located in Üsküdar's central market area, established between the Gülfem Khatun's mosque and the double bath, designed by Mimar Sinan, for Nurbanu Sultan. BOA.TS.MA.e.1258/36 (Şevval 1008/April 1600). The register of these eight shops over the bridge was leased to İsmail Efendi.

³⁰⁰ For a detailed study on Habeşi Mehmed Agha, see Jane Hathaway, *The Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Harem: From African Slave to Power-Broker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). Jane Hathaway, "Habeşi Mehmed Agha: The First Chief Harem Eunuch (Darüssaade Ağası) of the Ottoman Empire," in *The Islamic Scholarly Tradition: Studies in History, Law, and Thought in Honor of Professor Michael Allan Cook*, eds., Asad Q. Jane Ahmed, Behnam Sadeghi and Michael Bonner (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011):179-197. Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2013), 149-191. Leyla Kayhan Elbirlik, "Dialogue Beyond Margins: Patronage Of Chief Eunuchs In The Late 16th Century Ottoman Court," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, vol. 22 (2010): 63-99.

³⁰¹ Hathaway, *The Chief Eunuch*, 57.

Mehmed Agha's close relationships with the royal family paved the way for him to become the first *darüssaade ağası* once Murad ascended to the throne in 1574, a post he held until his death in 1591.³⁰² By assuming responsibilities formerly held by chief white eunuchs (*babüssaade ağası*), such as overseeing the imperial harem and managing imperial waqfs, Habeşi Mehmed Agha solidified his position as a key intermediary between Murad III and increasingly authoritative royal women. Moreover, his role proved pivotal in facilitating Nurbanu Sultan's participation in the wider sphere of state politics, particularly through managing critical appointments due to his expanding influence in state politics and his close relationship with the sultan.³⁰³

Another pivotal moment in Mehmed Agha's career was his appointment as the *Evkâfî'l-Haremeyn Nâzırı*, the superintendent of the pious foundations which allocated revenues for the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina.³⁰⁴ Even though he attained this appointment in 1588, during the latter years of his life, this promotion significantly increased his control over the empire's financial resources. Yet, this appointment was not his first experience in waqf management, as he had previously been entrusted with the supervision of certain imperial endowments, marking an early expansion of his responsibilities within the Ottoman administrative hierarchy.³⁰⁵ An imperial order informing the kadi of Üsküdar about Mehmed Agha's request for a comprehensive inspection of the waqfs under his supervision proves his responsibility for certain endowments of royal women and aghas (*havâtîn ve ağayân evkâfi*) as early as 1575.³⁰⁶ Among these endowments, Nurbanu Sultan's

³⁰² Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, vol. 1, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999), 230-231.

³⁰³ The sixteenth-century Ottoman bureaucrat Mustafa Ali states that, unlike previous rulers, Murad III insisted on personally reviewing and signing most appointment documents, except for timar grants. This shift in protocol diminished the grand vezirs' authority and independence and allowed harem eunuchs and concubines to start gaining control of administrative matters. This represented a significant change in the power dynamics within the Ottoman bureaucracy. Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat, and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli, 1540-1600* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 295.

³⁰⁴ Hathaway, *The Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Harem*, 60.

³⁰⁵ Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court*, 180. Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 101-104.

³⁰⁶ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.27.p.396/948 (Muharrem 983/April 1575).

Üsküdar complex must have held a special place for him not only because of the grandeur of the project and its substantial financial sources but also due to his strategic alliance with Nurbanu Sultan. Their alliance was particularly evident in their opposition to the faction led by Safiye Sultan, grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, and the chief white eunuch Gazanfer Agha.³⁰⁷



Figure 2. 18: An illustration from *Zubdat-al Tevarih* (1583) showing Sultan Murad III and Mehmet Agha.³⁰⁸

Figure 2. 19: An illustration from *Kitâb-i Gencine-i Feth-i Gence* (1590) showing Habeşi Mehmed Agha presenting a manuscript to Murad III.³⁰⁹

In her study on the patronage activities of Habeşi Mehmed Agha and Gazanfer Agha, two eunuchs who ascended to key roles in the imperial palace during the late sixteenth century, Leyla Kayhan Elbirlik argues that “like the viziers and other military milieu in the court, the chief eunuchs’ patronage activity in arts and architecture was a conscious and strategically planned effort in legitimizing their status.”³¹⁰ Corroborating Elbirlik’s

³⁰⁷ For more information about these palace factions, see Hathaway, *The Chief Eunuch*, 55-56, 75.

³⁰⁸ Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, 1973, fol. 88b. Zenan Tanındı, “Bibliophile Aghas (Eunuchs) at Topkapı Saray,” *Muqarnas*, vol. 21 (2004): 334.

³⁰⁹ Topkapı Palace Museum Library, R. 1296, fol. 8b. Ibid., 335.

³¹⁰ Elbirlik, “Dialogue Beyond Margins,” 65.

assertion, this section argues that the cooperation between Mehmed Agha and Nurbanu Sultan in the internal affairs of the imperial harem was also evident in their architectural endeavors. In a framework of reciprocal benefit, they provided the necessary support for each other's urban initiatives. Nurbanu Sultan generously granted several plots of land in Ma'mûre to Mehmed Agha, enabling him to construct various assets that would generate revenue for his mosque complex in Istanbul's Fatih district. In return, he served as the *nâzır* of her endowment, which means Nurbanu had a reliable confidant supervising her waqf assets. Furthermore, Mehmed Agha's influence as an architectural patron was profoundly evident in Ma'mûre's commercial landscape.³¹¹

Mehmed Agha's involvement in the Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar initiative can be traced back to the launch of the project in 1570. At that time, Nurbanu had not yet ascended to the status of *valide sultan*, nor had Mehmed Agha risen to the esteemed rank of *dariüssaade ağalığı*.³¹² At this juncture, he was still serving as one of the harem eunuchs under the auspices of Selim II. Despite his then-modest position, Mehmed Agha was one of the privileged few to be awarded waqf plots during the initial phase of land allotments, a process overseen by the *mütevelli* on behalf of Haseki Nurbanu Sultan.³¹³ Merely a month

³¹¹ For an extensive study on the architectural patronage of Habeşi Mehmed Agha and the following chief black eunuchs, see, A. Ezgi Dikici, "Âdâb ve Bağlam: Erken Modern Dönem İstanbul'un-da Osmanlı Saray Hadımlarının Mimari Hâmilikleri," in *Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi'nin Hâtırasına: Osmanlı Mimarlık Kültürü*, eds. Hatice Aynur, A. Hilal Uğurlu (İstanbul: Kubbealtı, 2016): 67-101. Also see, A. Ezgi Dikici, "Obscure Roots, Solid Foundations: A Comparative Study on the Architectural Patronage of Ottoman Court Eunuchs" (master's thesis, Koç University, 2009). A. Ezgi Dikici, "Eunuchs and the City: Residences and Real Estate Owned by Court Eunuchs in Late Sixteenth-Century İstanbul," *Yıllık: Annual of İstanbul Studies* (İstanbul: İstanbul Research Institute, 2021): 7-37.

³¹² İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı states that Nurbanu Sultan was the first among the mothers of the Ottoman sultans, who officially used the title of "*valide sultan*." İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1984), 154.

³¹³ "...Sultan Murad Han Hazretleri -tâbe bekâhu- vâlidesinin vekîl-i şer'îleri kudvetü'l-emâcid ve'l-akrân ali ağa ibn el merhûm Cihan Bey Hazretleri meclis-i şer' de Üsküdar kurbunda, iki canibi tarîk-i âm ile ve bir cânibi Hanîfe Hatun yeri ile ve bir cânibi Hasan Ağa ve Kabil Ağa yerleri ile mahdud olan hane yeri ve bir cânibi tarîk-i âm bir canibi bağad-i müslimin ile mahdud olan fahrü'l -havâs ve'l-mukarrebîn harem-i kerîmin muhterem ağalarından Mehmed Agha Hazretlerine temlik olunub mülkiyet üzere hüccet ibraz eylemek için tezkire verildi keyfa ma yeşa mutasarrıf olalar.../ In the presence of the kadi of Üsküdar, Ali Agha, ibn Cihan Bey, representing Sultan Murad's esteemed mother, stated that two plots close to Üsküdar, one of which is bordered by the properties of Kabil and Hasan Agha and Hanife Khatun, and the thoroughfare by two sides, the other plot adjacent to the orchards of certain Muslims and the thoroughfare, is granted to Mehmed Agha, one of the venerable harem aghas. These plots are thus legally recognized as Mehmed Agha's property, with full rights to utilize them as he wishes. BOA.TS.MA.d.4163, p.67 (Rebi'ülevvel 978/Eylül 1570).

after Sultan Selim's land grant to his future wife in July 1570, Mehmed Agha received two waqf-owned plots, as confirmed through a grant deed sealed by the kadi of Üsküdar.³¹⁴ The location of these plots was registered as near Üsküdar (*Üsküdar kurbunda*) because the environs of the construction site were in the rural outskirts that had not yet been integrated into the urban fabric of the town.³¹⁵ One of the granted plots was adjacent to two other properties owned by Hasan Agha and Kabil Agha—possibly other harem aghas in the service of Nurbanu Sultan.

The grant deed does not specify the reason behind this early allocation, therefore leaving room for speculation. For instance, Gülru Necipoğlu suggests that according to Salomon Schweigger, Nurbanu Sultan had a summer palace near her mosque in Üsküdar: “*ein schöne Behausung und ein schönen Tempel*” (a beautiful residence and temple).³¹⁶ Necipoğlu further adds that Nurbanu's Üsküdar suburban palace was likely surrounded by the residences of her extended household, as evidenced by the fact that one of the streets near the mosque complex is still named *Valide Kahyası Sokağı* (steward of the queen mother street).³¹⁷ (see Fig. 2.9) She also concludes that Mehmed Agha's garden in Ma'mûre must have been close to this suburban palace.³¹⁸ Even though my research verified Mehmed Agha owned two market gardens in Ma'mûre, located near the mosque complex, I have yet to find any definitive evidence supporting Schweigger's claims or confirming that Nurbanu Sultan and Habeşi Mehmed Agha had palaces in Ma'mûre.

The waqf superintendent, Mehmed Agha, responsible for numerous endowments across the empire in addition to his palatial duties, administered these affairs from his official residence within the harem section of the imperial palace or his palatial mansion near the Old Palace.³¹⁹ This fact does not preclude the possibility of him having a residence in

³¹⁴ BOA.TS.MA.d.4163,p.33 (Rebi'ülevvel 978/Eylül 1570).

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Schweigger, *Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, 136. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 287-288.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ Hathaway, *The Chief Eunuch*, 59.

Ma'mûre; however, it is important to note that only the construction supervisor (*bina emini*), who also served as *mütevelli*, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, was required to reside in Ma'mûre. His direct involvement in overseeing the project and managing the waqf assets required his prolonged presence in the area.

Furthermore, Ma'mûre, due to its relatively inland location and lack of immediate access to the picturesque seafront views along the coast, did not offer the ideal setting for the construction of a summer residence in Üsküdar. Instead, the majority of garden palaces, kiosks, and pavilions associated with the royal family and high-ranking bureaucrats were situated on the Salacak-Doğancılar axis, close to or within the royal gardens; *Ayazma* and *Üsküdar Bahçesi*.³²⁰ Initially constructed by Süleyman I in the early 1550s and later expanded by his successors, the imperial palace complex in *Üsküdar Bahçesi* underwent gradual expansion as royal family members and senior officials incorporated their kiosks during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³²¹ An eighteenth-century account book cataloging the buildings in the palace complex notes the existence of residential quarters specifically allocated for royal women and their servants.³²² Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Nurbanu Sultan might have preferred to stay in the Üsküdar Palace during her visits to her mosque complex.

Sai Çelebi's biography of Mimar Sinan, titled *Tezkiretü'l Ebniye*, mentions Nurbanu Sultan's garden palace in Yenikapı, located along the Sea of Marmara. Remarkably, it omits any mention of a residence in Üsküdar that Sinan designed for Nurbanu Sultan.³²³ Given that

³²⁰ Kemal Kahraman, "Üsküdar'ın Kayıp Sarayları," *Milli Saraylar Sanat Tarih Mimarlık Dergisi*, vol.17 (July 2019): 103-121. Murat Yıldız, "Bahçeden Kışlaya Üsküdar Bahçesi," in *Osmanlı İstanbulu III (III. Uluslararası Osmanlı İstanbulu Sempozyumu Bildirileri, 25-26 Mayıs 2015)*, eds., Feridun M. Emecen, Ali Akyıldız, Emrah Safa Gürkan (İstanbul : İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi and İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2015): 379-442.

³²¹ Necipoğlu, "Ottoman Garden Culture," 35.

³²² Ibid, 36.

³²³ Sai Mustafa Çelebi, *Tezkiretü'l-Bunyan, Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye*, eds. Hayati Develi and Samih Rifat as *Yapılar Kitabı: Tezkiretü'l-Bunyan ve Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye* (İstanbul: Koçbank, 2002), 106. Pınar Kayaalp interprets the absence of Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar Palace in *Tezkiretü'l Ebniye* in two ways. She says that Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar Palace "was either not built by Sinan or, more likely, was subsumed within the Atik Valide Complex's framework." However, this interpretation needs to be reconsidered, mainly because it relies on the assumption that Nurbanu Sultan owned a palatial mansion in Ma'mûre. Moreover, there is no evidence proving that the construction of a personal residence for the waqf endower was a part of the building program. Kayaalp, *Building Atik Valide*, 107 (footnote 67)

in this treatise, Mimar Sinan is registered as the architect of Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar complex, it is reasonable to deduce that if a palace had been constructed concurrently, it would have been unequivocally recorded. Therefore, this omission challenges the scholarly view concerning Nurbanu Sultan's ownership of a palace in Ma'mûre, largely based on a misinterpretation of Evliya Çelebi's account of the prominent palaces, mansions, and waterfront residences of Üsküdar. In his *Seyahatname*, Evliya mentions a palace known as the "Atik Valide Sarayı" but offers no further details.³²⁴ This palace is unlikely to have been Nurbanu Sultan's palace because Evliya consistently referred to her buildings with the title of "orta valide/middle-queen mother" and not "atik valide/ old-queen mother."³²⁵ Therefore, the palace to which he refers is more likely to be the Ayazma Palace, also known as the Atik Sultan Palace, situated on the Salacak shoreline near the Şerefabâd Palace. It was demolished in 1758 and was subsequently replaced by the Ayazma Mosque, commissioned by Selim III in honor of his mother, Mihrişah Emine Sultan.³²⁶

Consequently, the initial land grants made by Nurbanu Sultan to Mehmed Agha and possibly other members of her retinue can be construed as an act of generosity or as a token of her appreciation of their unwavering loyalty and dedicated service. Unlike the standard requirements for the ordinary people benefiting from Nurbanu Sultan's land grants, who were required to build houses and occupy them within a six-month period, Mehmed Agha enjoyed the flexibility to use the land as he pleased, without any restrictions (*keyfe-mâ-*

³²⁴ The palaces in Üsküdar mentioned by Evliya Çelebi includes: Ayşe Sultan Sarayı, Atik Valide Sultan Sarayı, Kaya Sultan Sarayı, Hanzade Sultan Sarayı, Hacı Paşa Sarayı, Koca Mehmed Paşa Sarayı, Nazif Paşa Zade Sarayı, Doğancılar Sarayı, Piyale Paşa Yalısı, Cinci Hoca Sarayı, Arslan Ağa Sarayı. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dağlı, Kahraman, and Dankoff, 233.

³²⁵ *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 233. Baha Tanman suggests that the reason Evliya Çelebi referred to Nurbanu Sultan's mosque in Üsküdar as the 'Orta Valide Cami' is because of its central location in the town. Tanman, "Atik Valide Külliyes," 18, endnote 4.

³²⁶ "Şeref-bahş-i sudûr eden hatt-ı hümayûn-ı şeref-makrûn mucibince vakf-i hümayûn-i hazreti şehriyâriden Medine-i Üsküdar'da Şerefabâd sahil saray-i hümayûnunun canib-i berrisinde vaki Ayazma Sarayı demekle tarîf Atik Sultan Sarayı arazisinden bu defa bazı kesana icâr olunan arsalarından kabzolunan icâre-i müecceleleri defteridir ki belunr-vech-i âti 'z-ikr olur/ Pursuant to the imperial decree, this register includes the revenues accrued from parcels of land that have been leased to designated tenants. These plots, part of the Atik Sultan Palace—commonly known as the Ayazma Palace—which is located near the Şerefabad coastal palace within Üsküdar. "cited from Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleriyle Üsküdar Tarihi*, vol.2, 267-268. Konyalı says that the document is registered in the Archives of Topkapı Palace with the catalog number of 5444. The current catalog number of the document is BOA.TS.MA.d. 5466 (Rebî'ülevvel 1172/ November 1758).

yeşâ).³²⁷ This means that he had the discretion to develop the land for residential or commercial purposes, convert it into a waqf, lease it out, or sell it for financial gain. On the other hand, the successive land grants received by Mehmed Agha following the completion of Nurbanu Sultan's Mosque in 1577 were more than a mere gesture of royal benevolence. Rather, I argue that these later grants were strategically aligned with the urban initiatives of both parties and yielded mutual benefits.

A series of grant deeds (*temlikname*) and property certificates (*temessük*) cataloged in the collection of Topkapı Palace Archives reveal Mehmed Agha's systematic acquisition of vacant lands, gardens, and residential properties in Ma'mûre.³²⁸ These acquisitions were facilitated through the combination of purchases and imperial grants, particularly during the period spanning 1577 and 1581. That was the period when he built several revenue-generating assets across Istanbul and its three boroughs to fund his charitable foundation. The vast scope of his architectural undertakings included two schools attached to a water basin (*sebil-mektebs*)³²⁹ near Çemberlitaş, a madrasa with ten cells and a classroom in the Hacı Rüstem neighborhood, and a series of six fountains scattered across Istanbul's various neighborhoods.³³⁰ Additionally, he built the ablution fountain of Mercan Agha's Friday mosque near the Old Palace, another *sebil-mekteb* near Irgadpazarı, a mosque-tomb complex in the Fatih district, and a mosque complex in İsmail Geçidi, in southwestern Ukraine.³³¹

³²⁷ BOA.TS.MA.d.4163, p.67 (Rebi'ülevvel 978/Eylül 1570).

³²⁸ These documents are now preserved in the collection of the Topkapı Palace Archives of the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives in Istanbul. BOA.TS.MA.e..853/127 and BOA.TS.MA.d.4163.

³²⁹ Shirine Hamadeh describes the *sebil* as follows, "The sebil can be best described as a spoutless "water tank" structure where water was distributed to the public free of charge, usually by an appointed person (*sebilci*). Sebils were most often built as corner structures which sometimes extended into a wall fitted *çeşme*" Shirine Hamadeh, "The City's Pleasures: Architectural Sensibility in Eighteenth- Century Istanbul" (Ph.D. diss: Cambridge, MIT, 1999), 101 (footnote 143). As Jane Hathaway discussed in detail, the "*Sebil-mekteb* or *sebil-küttab* is a distinctive type of Qur'an school that developed in Cairo during the late Mamluk period and carried over into the Ottoman era: the *sebil-mekteb* or *sabil-küttab*, a Qur'an school (*mekteb* or *küttab*) built on top of a public water fountain (*sebil* or *sabil*)." Hathaway, *The Chief Eunuch*, 194.

³³⁰ Completed in 1585 under the supervision of the future court architect Davud Ağa, Mehmed Agha's complex is composed of a mosque, tomb, hadith school, convent, double bath, and a public fountain. There are two waqf deeds of Habeshi Mehmed Agha registered in 1582 and 1591 preserved in Topkapı Archives, E.H. 3001, dated 990, fol. 37v and E.H. 3028, dated 10R, 999. For more information, see, Elbirlik, "Dialogue Beyond Margins", 73. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 498-499. Dikici, "Âdâb ve Bağlam," 93.

³³¹ Ibid.

Moreover, he commissioned the construction of two masjids, an open-air mosque, and five fountains in Üsküdar.³³²

Mehmed Agha's architectural endeavors received significant support from Nurbanu Sultan through her generous allocations, including waqf-owned vacant lands, gardens, orchards, water sources, as well as various raw materials needed for his industrial workshops in Ma'mûre. For instance, in 1577, she granted him a garden with a water well already built around her mosque complex.³³³ He enlarged this garden by purchasing the neighboring parcel, on which stood a one-story dwelling owned by one carpenter (*neccar*) named Halil.³³⁴ Two months later, this expansion was furthered when he was granted the adjacent vacant land at no cost, substantially enlarging his available space for construction projects.³³⁵ Mehmed Agha's holding covered a considerable area of 5,420 square meters and was registered as a beautiful garden (*hadikâ-i enîke*) in his *vakfiye* (1591).³³⁶ This sizable garden was likely the one listed in the waqf's accounts registers as a large garden in front of the *valide sultan*'s mosque complex (*bağçe-i kebir, mukâbil-i imaret-i valide sultan*), generating an annual income ranging from 1,000 to 2,000 *akçes*.³³⁷ According to the deed, Mehmed Agha further developed the property he had acquired from Neccar Halil by erecting a shop, two upper-story dwellings, and a room. These structures were likely among the twenty rooms

³³² Ibid.

³³³ BOA.TS.MA.d.4163.p.74 (Cemâziyelevvel 985/July 1577).

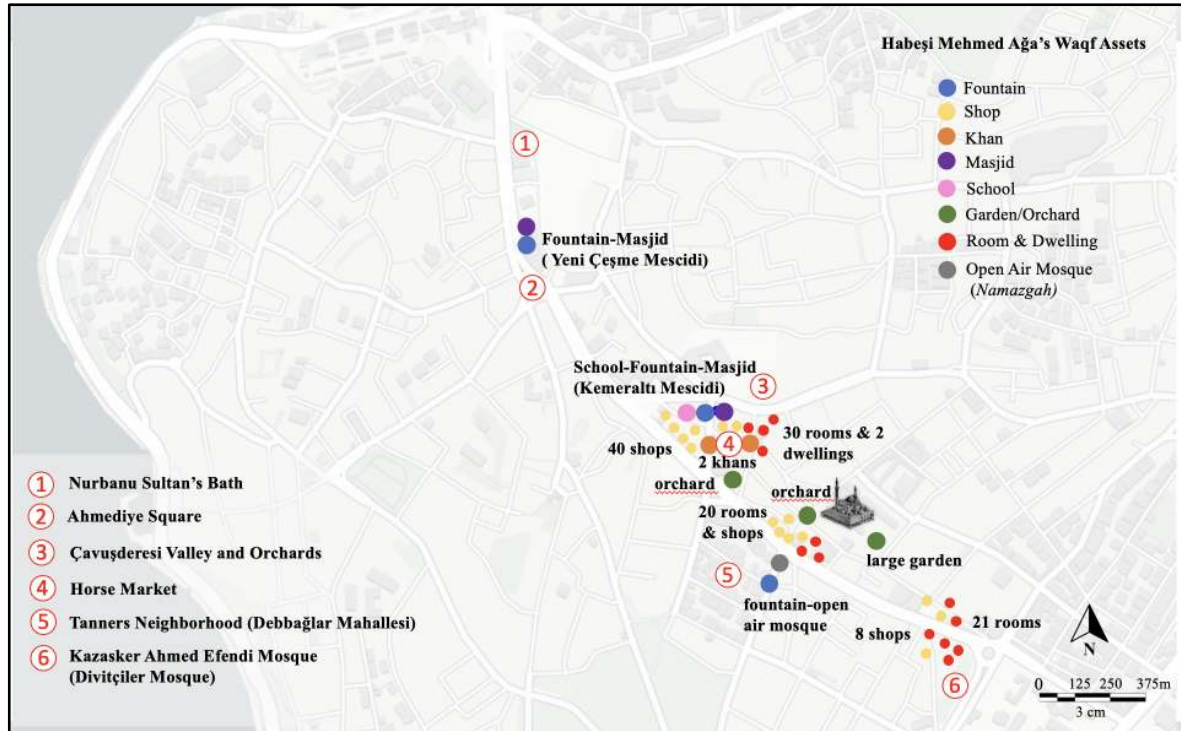
³³⁴ This estate also comprised a kitchen, reclusion cell, water well, lavatory, a shop beneath a pergola, and a courtyard with fruit-bearing trees, all purchased by Mehmed Agha for 13000 *akçes*. BOA.TS.MA.e. 853/127, p.6 (Cemâziyelevvel 986/August 1578).

³³⁵ BOA.TS.MA.e. 853/127. p. 5 (Şaban 986/October 1578).

³³⁶ The garden was bordered on two sides by public thoroughfares and on the remaining sides by the estate of Hacı Ahmed Pasha and the residence previously owned by Neccar Halil. TSMK, EH 3028 (10 Rebî'ülâhîr 999/5 February 1591), 52b, 53a. Also see Dikici, "Eunuchs and the City," 34.

³³⁷ According to the financial records, the annual revenue of Mehmed Agha's large garden was 1,250 *akçes* in 1598 and increased to 1,800 *akçes* in 1604. BOA.TS.MA.d.3681.p.3a (the financial year 1598-99), BOA.TS.MA.d.1708.p.2b (the financial year 1604-1605). These annual payments were largely symbolic, given that the tenant had already made a substantial initial down payment to secure the lease. Şevket Pamuk states that during the mid-16th century, the monetary value of a single Venetian gold coin fluctuated between 55 and 60 Ottoman *akçes*. The daily wage of a master mason was approximately 10 to 12 *akçes*. Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi: 1500-1914* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), 61.

and shops that Mehmed Agha built around Nurbanu's mosque complex, as shown on Map 2.4.³³⁸



Map 2. 4: Habeşi Mehmed Agha's waqf assets in Üsküdar.³³⁹

Produced by the author.

In the following years, Mehmed Agha significantly expanded his land holdings in Ma'mûre. In spring 1580, Nurbanu Sultan granted him another garden with a water well and fruit trees situated near what was soon to be Ma'mûre's horse market.³⁴⁰ After the establishment of the town's only horse market nearby, the garden's increased value likely

³³⁸ Ezgi Dikici suggests that Mehmed Agha might have used these parcels to build his residence, surrounded by a pleasure garden. However, since the mentioned lands were among the revenue-generating waqf assets, it is more likely that he used these lands as sources of income. Dikici, "Eunuchs and the City," 22.

³³⁹ Based on Mehmed Agha's waqf deed and the waqf's accounts registers for the sixteenth century. The number of waqf assets recorded in financial records may have varied across different years and also differed slightly from the figures specified in the waqf deed. Hence, the figures shown on the map are approximate. This variation likely stemmed from changes in the number or function of the waqf-assets over time. For the waqf deeds, see E.H. 3001 and E.H. 3028. For the accounts registers, see, TS.MA.d.3753, 1267, 3681, 1617, 1708.

³⁴⁰ BOA.TS.MA.e. 853/127. p.4 (Rebî'ülevvel 988/April 1580), BOA.TS.MA.d.4163.p. 69/a (Rebî'ülevvel 988/April 1580).

served as a catalyst for Mehmed Agha's decision to acquire the adjacent plot from a certain Ali, a resident of Ma'mûre.³⁴¹ As we learn from a lease agreement, the plot was a market garden that generated income for the upkeep of his endowment.³⁴² In 1596, Halil ibn Hızır leased the garden's entire harvest of diverse fruits and vegetables for three years at 15,000 *akçes*.³⁴³ Mehmed Agha had another vegetable garden located near Nurbanu Sultan's public bath in Ma'mûre, which was equipped with a water wheel (*su dolabı*) for irrigation.³⁴⁴ This garden generated an annual income ranging from 1,500 to 3,000 *akçes* in the late sixteenth century.³⁴⁵ His waqf also included a rose garden in Ma'mûre. In 1591, Nesim, Salomon, and Yasef, three Jews whose professions are not documented in the sales register, purchased all the roses harvested from this garden for the sum of 8,000 *akçes*.³⁴⁶

Besides the cultivable fields, Mehmed Agha had other vacant plots in Ma'mûre that served his construction endeavors. In September 1580, he was granted 220 square meters of land flanked on two sides by public thoroughfares, bordered by another vacant land, and a wool yard (*yapağı avlusu*). This yard was likely used by tanners for various stages of wool processing, such as cleaning, combing, drying, and storing the raw wool sourced from Nurbanu Sultan's slaughterhouses.³⁴⁷ Thus, we can assume the allocated plot was around the tanneries of Ma'mûre, which were scattered across the horse market, where Mehmed Agha's waqf assets were predominantly located.

³⁴¹ BOA.TS.MA.e. 853/127. p.3/b (Cemâziyelevvel 988/June 1580), BOA.TS.MA.d.4163.p. 41/a (Cemâziyelevvel 988/June 1580).

³⁴² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.93.p. 48/b2 (Recep 1004/March 1596).

³⁴³ For a study on the leasing practices of the orchards in Istanbul and its boroughs, see Aleksandar Shopov, "When Istanbul Was a City of Bostāns: Urban Agriculture and Agriculturists," in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, ed. Shirine Hamadeh, Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2021): 279-307.

³⁴⁴ BOA.TS.MA.e. 853/127, p.1 (Muharrem 989/February 1581) BOA.TS.MA.d.4163.p. 72/a (Muharrem 989/February 1581).

³⁴⁵ According to the financial records, the annual revenue of Mehmed Agha's garden near the bath was 2670 *akçes* in 1593 and decreased to 1,465 *akçes* in 1594 and decreased to 1250 *akçes* in 1598. TS.MA.d.3753.0002.p.3a (the financial year 1593-94), TS.MA.d.3753.0003.p.2b (the financial year 1594-95), BOA.TS.MA.d.3681.p.3a (the financial year 1598-99).

³⁴⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.79.p.31/a2 (Şaban 999/May 1591).

³⁴⁷ BOA.TS.MA.e. 853/127.p.3/a (Recep 988/September 1580).

Map 2.4 illustrates the strategic positioning of Mehmed Agha's waqf assets near key locations in Ma'mûre: Nurbanu's mosque complex, the horse market, Debbâğlar Mahallesi, and also near Ahmediye Square and Kazasker Ahmed Efendi's masjîd.³⁴⁸ His shops and rooms near Ahmed Efendi's masjîd indicated the direction of Üsküdar's urban expansion. In the 1590s, the burgeoning development of the area developed into a neighborhood, officially registered in the court records as "*Kazasker Mahallesi in Mahalle-i Ma'mûre*," a denomination reflecting its administrative affiliation to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land.³⁴⁹ While Agha's charitable foundations, including five fountains, a school, two masjîds, and an open-air mosque, were scattered along the main thoroughfare connecting Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood to the town center, his commercial assets were predominantly concentrated around Ma'mûre's vibrant market area.

Mehmed Agha's ventures in Valide Sûku were not only diverse but also lucrative, including two khans (Sulu Han and Semerciler Hanı)³⁵⁰, several rooms and residences available for lease, three upper-story tanneries³⁵¹, and forty shops.³⁵² These shops spanned the spectrum from retail to manufacturing, featuring notable enterprises such as a *bezirhane* for linseed oil production and a *şir-i revgan hane* dedicated to sesame oil pressing, which began operations in 1580 when Murad III assigned them three shares of the sesame and flax seeds that arrived in Istanbul.³⁵³ Additionally, in 1581, Mehmed Agha undertook the

³⁴⁸ Also known as Divitçiler masjîd, Kazasker Ahmed Efendi masjîd was commissioned by Kazasker Ahmed Efendi (d. 1572–73), who was first appointed as the Anatolian and subsequently as the Rumelian chief military kadi (*kazasker*) in 974 (1566–67). The masjîd could not survive the fire of 1927 and has not been preserved to this day. Ayvansarayî, *Hadikatü'l Cevâmi'*, 632. Mehmed Agha's masjîd was located just outside the gate of the horse market. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.466.p.45/a2 (Safer 1179 July 1765).

³⁴⁹ Although the exact date of the masjîd's establishment is unknown, it must be sometime around the 1560s or 70s. However, the formation of its neighborhood dates back to the early 1590s, after Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project triggered urban growth in the area. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.79.p.3/b2 (Rebî'ülevvel 999/January 1591), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.108.p.15/a2 (Muharrem 1012/June 1613).

³⁵⁰ TS.MA.e.1197/7 (Ramazan 1144/March 1732).

³⁵¹ Mehmed Agha's tanneries were located close to his masjîd near the horse market. BOA.TS.MA.e.756.61 (Ramazan 998 / July 1590)

³⁵² TS.MA.d.3753, 1267, 3681, 1617, 1708.

³⁵³ This is revealed in a register about the raw material procurement for these presses.

BOA.TS.MA.d.4163.p.39 (Recep 988/August 1580).

In 1587, Mehmed Reis, ibn Bayram, an officer in the *müteferrika* regiment in Egypt, made the initial payment of 20000 *akçe icare-i müeccele* for renting Mehmed Agha's linseed-oil press, sesame oil press, an

establishment of a masjid, a fountain, and an elementary school adjacent to the market, thereby enriching the commercial landscape of Ma'mûre's with essential public services.³⁵⁴ He also built two other public fountains, one in Debbağlar Mahallesi and the other near Nurbanu Sultan's public bath, the latter of which has not survived to the present day.³⁵⁵



Figure 2. 20: Habeshi Mehmed Agha's Fountain in Debbağlar Mahallesi (Number 4 in Fig. 2.12).

Figure 2. 21: Habeshi Mehmed Agha's Fountain near the horse market. (Number 2 in Fig.2.12).

The photos by the author, 2022.

As will be explored in the forthcoming section, integral to Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project was her undertaking of a large-scale water infrastructure known as the Atik Valide waterway. This was an extensive network of underground channels, outlet basins, water towers, distribution chambers, and pipes, which not only provided running water for her mosque complex and the surrounding fountains but also supplied the town's many other

upper story room and one shop, but then cancelled the agreement and was repaid in full. BOA.TS.MA.e.1253.2 (Zilhicce 995/ November 1587).

³⁵⁴ Habeshi Mehmed Agha's masjid in the horse market used to be known as *Kemeraltı* or *At Pazarı Mescidi*. According to the inscription on his tripartite fountain, constructed from cut stone and situated just beyond the horse market, it was erected in 1581-82. Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, vol.2, 258. Also see the website: Database for Ottoman Inscriptions, the inscription of El-Hac Mehmed Agha's fountain, <http://www.ottomaninscriptions.com/verse.aspx?ref=list&bid=652&hid=695>.

³⁵⁵ The waqf deed of Mehmed Agha states he commissioned five fountains in Üsküdar. The reason for this is that his fountain, situated near the horse market, is a tripartite fountain. It features three distinct yet interconnected arches, each equipped with its own water spout and basin. Together, these elements create a cohesive whole. TSMK, EH 3028 (10 Rebî'ülâhîr 999/5 February 1591), fols 15v- 29r. From Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 499.

fountains, public buildings, and even private residences.³⁵⁶ In line with her concern to ensure proper water distribution, Nurbanu Sultan – and after her passing, Murad III – supported Mehmed Agha's ambitions to expand the number of fountains in Üsküdar.

In 1581, Nurbanu Sultan granted the chief eunuch the right to use waqf-owned water sourced from the wells of a garden in Ma'mûre, known as the "Garden of Jewish Yasef," to be used for his fountain in the horse market.³⁵⁷ This water, provided at no cost, was to be directed through a water conduit constructed by Mehmed Agha.³⁵⁸ The short distance between the water source and the fountain suggests that his waterway was likely modest in scale. When it came to bringing water from a distant location, he relied upon Nurbanu Sultan's expansive water infrastructure. This is evidenced by his petition, in which he expressed his financial constraints in building a waterway that would carry water from Bulgurlu to the fountain he built in Debbaglar Mahallesi.³⁵⁹ In the petition, he sought and subsequently obtained imperial approval to channel the water he purchased for his fountain through Nurbanu Sultan's waterway.

In conclusion, the wide variety of Mehmed Agha's waqf assets, which span across the religious, educational, industrial, and commercial realms, strategically aligned with the intended centrality of Ma'mûre as a vital node in Üsküdar's socio-economic life. By investing in Nurbanu Sultan's land grants, Mehmed Agha either built new structures or repurposed existing properties, either way turning them into profitable assets. In particular, he left a significant imprint on the formation of the open-air market complex centered around the horse trading area, Valide Sûku. Additionally, his architectural patronage played a crucial role in developing the main thoroughfare that linked Nurbanu Sultan's Ma'mûre with the center of Üsküdar. Eventually, Mehmed Agha achieved two aims with a single effort. By building revenue-generating assets on the allotted waqf lands, he not only financed his endowment but also contributed to the urban development of his patroness' neighborhood.

³⁵⁶ Nurbanu Sultan commissioned one tripartite and three single-arched fountains, all annexed to the walls of her complex. Çeçen, *Üsküdar Suları*, 48,176.

³⁵⁷ BOA.TS.MA.e. 853/127. p. 8 (Rebî'ülevvel 989/May 1581).

³⁵⁸ In 1579, Mehmed Agha hired three Armenain *lağımçı* (diggers/ sappers) for the repair of his waterway, which supplied water to his fountain. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.46.p.154/a1 (Şaban 987/ October 1579).

³⁵⁹ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.60.p.107/266 (Zilhicce 993/December 1585).

2.5. Constructing Urbanity Through Water: Atik Valide Waterway

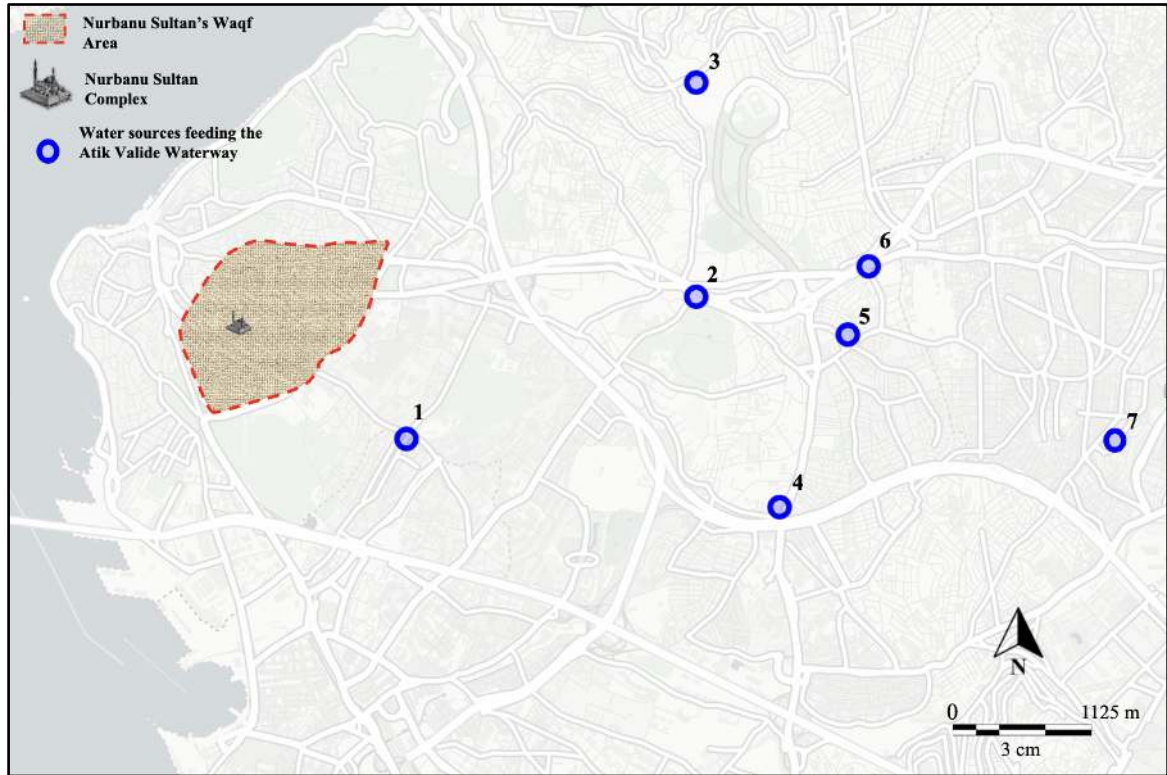
In the waning days of the summer of 1571, three Armenian water channel builders, Marko, Budak, and Karakaş, came before the kadi of Üsküdar and reported that their colleague Martroz had an accident while laboring on the construction of Nurbanu Sultan's waterway.³⁶⁰ They recounted that Martroz had fallen into one of the shafts of the waterway and died sometime after his colleagues found him lying there.³⁶¹ This tragic incident offers insights into the early stages of Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project. First, it provides evidence that her hydraulic project began alongside the construction of her mosque complex.³⁶²

³⁶⁰ “oldur ki hala Üsküdar kurbunda sittü'l-muhadderât tâcü'l-mestûrâ Haseki Sultan Hazretleri'nin su yolunda işleyen kimesnelerden Budak bin Karagöz ve Marko veled-i Andon ve Karakaş veled-i Ovanes nam zimmiler meclis-i şer'a hâzırân olub dün akşam vakti Martroz nam Ermeni su yolunda baca hizmetinde iken düşüp mürd oldu deyu mürd-i mezburun karındaşı Arakil nam zimmi tarafından takrîr-i kelâm idüüb karındaşıyla sual olundukda eğer ben anda işlemezdim ama dedikleri gibi işitdim deyucek mezburunun kelimine muvafık beyyine taleb olundukda Ahmed bin Mustafa ve Ali bin Süleyman nam kimesneler mezbur Martroz düştüğüün haber edip üzerine vardıkda kendinin ağzından şöyle işittik ki beni kimse düşürmedi ben kendim ayağım çarpıp düştüm minbad davam ve nizam yoktur. / Budak, the son of Karagöz, Marko, the son of Andon, and Karakaş, the son of Ovanes, non-Muslim laborers working on Nurbanu Sultan's waterway near Üsküdar, appeared before the sharia court to report an incident that occurred the previous night. The incident involved an Armenian named Martroz, who was working on the chimney of the waterway and tragically fell to his death. Arakil, Martroz's brother, stated that he was not present at the site but had heard the same account from others. In order to ascertain the details, the kadi consulted witnesses Ahmed, the son of Mustafa, and Ali, the son of Süleyman. They both corroborated that Martroz's fall was indeed accidental. According to their testimonies, Martroz had tripped over his own feet, and there was no involvement of any other individuals. Furthermore, there were no additional disputes or claims related to the incident.” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d. 35, p.175 / b3 (Rebî'ülâhîr 1579/ August 1571).

³⁶¹ For more information on the technical details of waterwork infrastructures, see Deniz Karakas, “Water for the City: Builders, Technology and Private Initiative” in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, 308-338.

³⁶² The earliest record announcing the beginning of the construction activities is an imperial decree dated February 1571, which was addressed to the kadis of Sapanca and İznikmid, instructing supply of kayağan stone for Nurbanu sultan's mosque; BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.14/1326 (21 Ramazan 978 / 16 February 1571) Subsequent imperial decrees pertaining to construction materials' procurement for Nurbanu's mosque: BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.12/ 102 (25 Ramazan 978 / 20 February 1571); procurement of marble, lime and timber for Nurbanu's mosque. BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.14/1685 (21 Ramazan 978 / 20 February 1571); procurement of marble, lime and timber for Nurbanu's mosque. BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.12/105 (25 Ramazan 978 / 20 February 1571); procurement of stone, lime, kiriş for Nurbanu's mosque. BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.14/1415 (26 Zilhicce 978 / 21 May 1571); procurement of flagstone for Nurbanu's mosque BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.10/ 535 (4 Muharrem 979 / 29 May 1571); procurement of flagstone (kaygan taşı) for Nurbanu's mosque BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.17/10 (25 Muharrem 979 / 19 June 1571); procurement flagstone for Nurbanu's mosque BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.12/1080 (11 Zilka'de 979 / 26 March 1572); procurement of timber for the shops of Nurbanu Sultan.

Second, it shows that the Armenian water channel builders were not operating in Üsküdar but rather on Üsküdar's outskirts (*Üsküdar kurbunda*). The register does not specify the exact location of the construction site. Nonetheless, given that Nurbanu's waterway drew its supply from the springs that emerged at the foothills of Çamlıca and Bulgurlu, it is likely that the Armenian laborers were working somewhere in the vicinity between the site chosen to build Nurbanu's mosque and the hilly terrain situated in the eastern hinterland of Üsküdar.



Map 2. 5: The main water sources feeding the Atik Valide waterway.

1. Validebağ, 2. Küçük Çamlıca, 3. Çakal Dağı (Kirazlıtepe), 4. Libadiye, 5. Bulgurlu, 6. Yalnızservi (Ümraniye), 7. Apostol's Farmland (Ümraniye/Atakent) Produced by the author.³⁶³

³⁶³ In his study titled 'İstanbul Evkaf Suları' (1922), Galip Ata (also known as Ataç), the director of the Sıhhiye Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi (General Directorate of Health, 1921), states that Nurbanu Sultan's waqf water originates from forty-five different springs. These springs are located in Alemdağ Avenue, Çakal Mountain, on Lime Quarries Avenue (though its specific location is not specified), Libadiye Avenue, several vineyards in Küçük Çamlıca and Bulgurlu, and Validebağ." Galip Ata, "İstanbul Evkaf Suları," in *İstanbul Su Külliyyatı: Su Tahrirleri, 19. ve 20. Yüzyılda İstanbul Suları*, vol. 13 (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2000), 155.

On the other hand, Nazım Bey, who provides a detailed description of the route of Atik Valide Waterway, states that there were three main springs feeding the waterway, which were located in Çakal Dağı (Kirazlıtepe), Yalnız Servi (Ümraniye/Alemdağ Avenue) and Apostol's Farmland (Ümraniye/Atakent) Nazım Bey, "İstanbul Vilayeti Şehremaneti'ne Evkafdan Devr Olunan Sular," in *İstanbul Su Külliyyatı: Su Tahrirleri*, 182-

Nurbanu Sultan's architectural patronage was crucial in shaping the water infrastructure of Üsküdar since she generously financed the construction of the town's longest and highest-capacity waterway, spanning 15.3 kilometers and capable of delivering 13 *lüle*, equaling 676 m³ of water daily.³⁶⁴ As reported by Nazım Bey, the director of Istanbul Municipality Waterworks (1922-23), Nurbanu Sultan's waterway, which included forty-five auxiliary conduits (*katma*) feeding water into the main channel, remained operational until the early twentieth century but fell into considerable disrepair by 1922.³⁶⁵ Nevertheless, he said, if fully repaired and restored, this waterway had the capacity to supply between seven and eight hundred cubic meters of water every twenty-four hours.³⁶⁶ As detailed in Table 2.3, which lists Üsküdar's primary waterways, Nurbanu's sixteenth-century water supply system remained unparalleled in both length and capacity even into the end of the nineteenth century.

Unlike the walled city, renowned for its cisterns and the Roman Aqueduct of Valens, built by the city's early rulers, Üsküdar (or Skoutarion, as it was known during Byzantine times) lacked significant water infrastructure, reflecting its status as a waterfront village with a low population density. Throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the water needs of Üsküdar were met by subsistence-level resources, which were a few holy springs and water wells that provided water for the basic needs of its inhabitants.³⁶⁷ On the other hand, the more substantial water requirements of the mosques, public baths, and public kitchens, including those commissioned by Rum Mehmet Pasha (completed in 1472) and Davud Pasha (completed in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century), were presumably supplied by small galleries carved into the hills.³⁶⁸

183. For the original text, see, Nazım Bey, *Istanbul Vilâyeti Şehir Emaneti'ne Evkafdan Devr Olunan Sular* (Istanbul: Şehremaneti Matbaası, 1341), Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri, Mtf. 626.

³⁶⁴ Kazım Çeçen, *Üsküdar Suları*, 36.

³⁶⁵ Nazım Bey, "Evkafdan Devr Olunan Sular," 183.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Soydan, "Üsküdar Ayazmaları," 585-600. Çeçen, *Üsküdar Suları*, 24.

³⁶⁸ Çeçen, *Üsküdar Suları*, 26.

Table 2. 3: Major waterways of Üsküdar.³⁶⁹1 lüle = 36 liters/min= 52 m³/day, 1 masura= 4,5 liters/min= 6,5 m³/ day

Name of the Waterway	Length of Waterway in 1930 (in-city water lines not included)	Flow Rate (İsmail Remzi) ³⁷⁰	Flow Rate (waqf registers) ³⁷¹	Construction Date	Waqf Benefactor
Mihrimah Waterway I, II	3000m, 1700 m	1,5 lüle = 78 m ³ /day	2 lüle + 4 masura= 130 m ³ /day	1547	Mihrimah Sultan
Solak Sinan Waterway	2200 m	1,5 lüle = 78 m ³ /day	4 or 7 masura = 26 or 45,5 m ³ /day	1547	Solakbaşı Sinan Agha
Atik Valide Waterway	15300 m	13 lüle= 676 m ³ /day	11 lüle + 5 masura= 604,5 m ³ /day	1583	Nurbanu Sultan
Hüdâi Waterway	3000 m	1 lüle= 52 m ³ /day	6 lüle + 3 masura= 331,5 m ³ /day	1610	Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi, a <i>Celveti</i> sheikh
Çinili Waterway	9900 m	3 lüle= 156 m ³ /day	6 lüle= 312 m ³ /day	1642	Mahpeyker Kösem Sultan
Arslan Agha Waterway	850 m	3 lüle= 156 m ³ /day	3 lüle + 5 masura = 188,5 m ³ /day	1646-47	The <i>kethüda</i> (steward) of Turhan Sultan
Selami Efendi Waterway	700 m	1 lüle= 52 m ³ /day	4 masura= 26 m ³ /day	1677	Sheikh Selami Efendi
Yakup Agha Waterway	12000 m	No information	1 masura= 6,5 m ³ /day	1678	Yakub Agha, the chief white eunuch
Çınar Waterway	500 m	No information	No information	1707	Matbah Emîni Hacı Halil Efendi, the purveyor of imperial kitchen
Cedid Valide Waterway	2900 m	2 lüle= 104 m ³ /day	8 lüle + 6 masura= 451 m ³ /day	1709	Gülnuş Valide Sultan
Tophanelioğlu Waterway	3900 m	3 masura= 19,5 m ³ /day	6 lüle= 312 m ³ /day	1727	Tophanelioğlu Mustafa Efendi

³⁶⁹ From Çeçen, *Üsküdar Suları*, 36.³⁷⁰ Kazım Çeçen provides different water capacities of Üsküdar's waterways according to two different sources; first, the waqf registers, including information regarding waqf-owned fountains and second, the flow rates allocated to them. The flow rates outlined in this column are derived from İsmail Remzi's maps and calculations on the flow rates of Üsküdar's waterways, which he conducted in the 1920s and 1930s. Çeçen, *Üsküdar Suları*, 32.³⁷¹ The flow rates in the table are derived from a waqf register that encompasses details about waqf-owned fountains, including their locations, benefactors, and assigned flow rates. Kazım Çeçen points out that this register is preserved at the Chief Directorate of Pious Foundations in Istanbul, yet he does not disclose a specific number or provide an original compilation date but merely indicates that it was transcribed into modern Turkish in 1930. Ibid.

Name of the Waterway	Length of Waterway in 1930 (in-city water lines not included)	Flow Rate (İsmail Remzi) ³⁷⁰	Flow Rate (waqf registers) ³⁷¹	Construction Date	Waqf Benefactor
İbrahim Pasha Waterway	14600 m	6 lüle= 312 m ³ /day	8 lüle+ 5 masura= 448,5 m ³ /day	1718-1728	Damat İbrahim Pasha, the grand vizier
Ayazma Waterway	1300 m	1 lüle= 52 m ³ /day	4 lüle + 3 masura = 227,5 m ³ /day	1760	Mustafa III
Selimiye Waterway	5000 m	2 lüle= 104 m ³ /day	11 lüle+ 6 masura + 4 hilal = 614,5 m ³ /day	1802	Selim III
Mihrişah Waterway	3800 m	2 lüle= 104 m ³ /day	No information	1802	Mihrişah Sultan
Altunizade Waterway	1600 m	1 lüle= 52 m ³ /day	2 lüle+ 5 masura= 136,5 m ³ /day	1862	Altunizâde İsmail Zühtü Pasha
Paşalimanı Waterway	1900 m	1 lüle= 52 m ³ /day	2 lüle=104 m ³ /day	1874	Cevri Kalfa, Hüseyin Avni Pasha

Notable efforts to channel water from the countryside into Üsküdar began no earlier than the 1540s under the patronage of Mihrimah Sultan and Solak Sinan, who was the head of the janissary corps serving as infantry bodyguards.³⁷² While Mihrimah Sultan built a socio-religious complex in the town center, near the Great Pier, Solak Sinan's masjid, located on Toygar Hill catalyzed the development of a neighborhood, delineating the eastern limits of Üsküdar's urban expanse.³⁷³ In a marked departure from previous architectural projects conducted in Üsküdar, both patrons commissioned water channels to supply their mosques and public fountains, signaling a transformative approach to Üsküdar's urbanization. The waterway of Sinan Agha, originating in Bağlarbaşı, channeled water to the fountains around his masjid, located in the neighborhood named after him (Solak Sinan Mahallesi).³⁷⁴ In a parallel endeavor, Mihrimah Sultan allocated funds to construct two water

³⁷² Çeçen, *Üsküdar Suları*, 43.

³⁷³ Arslan, "Kanuni Döneminde üsküdar'ın Kentsel Gelişimi," 83-84.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

conduits originating from Kuzguncuk and İcadiye, providing fresh water to her mosque, public kitchen, madrasa, and two fountains.³⁷⁵

These early efforts highlight that, until the 1540s, Üsküdar had largely retained its Byzantine-era character as a sparsely populated town with its eight neighborhoods accommodated approximately 926 residents.³⁷⁶ From the 1540s onwards, however, a significant shift occurred as the area became a favored site for charitable endowments by the royal family and high-ranking officials. This shift marked Üsküdar's evolution into a favored location for the construction of imperial edifices, which likely led to significant urban growth and, thereby, a shortfall in the water supply. Nurbanu Sultan's hydraulic project stands as a response to this emerging challenge and proves that the small-scale water lines, private water supplies, fountains, wells, holy springs, and water galleries were no longer adequate to cater to the escalating needs of Üsküdar's growing population by the second half of the sixteenth century.³⁷⁷

Beyond supplying running water to her mosque complex, this waterway fed several fountains and also the residences of local dignitaries along its path.³⁷⁸ For example, in 1578, Hacı Ahmet Pasha, a high-ranking bureaucrat, submitted a petition to Habeşi Mehmed Agha, the waqf superintendent, requesting access to water from Nurbanu's waterway for his recently built palace in Doğancılar, which featured a pool and fountain.³⁷⁹ The route of the

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 39, 42, 163.

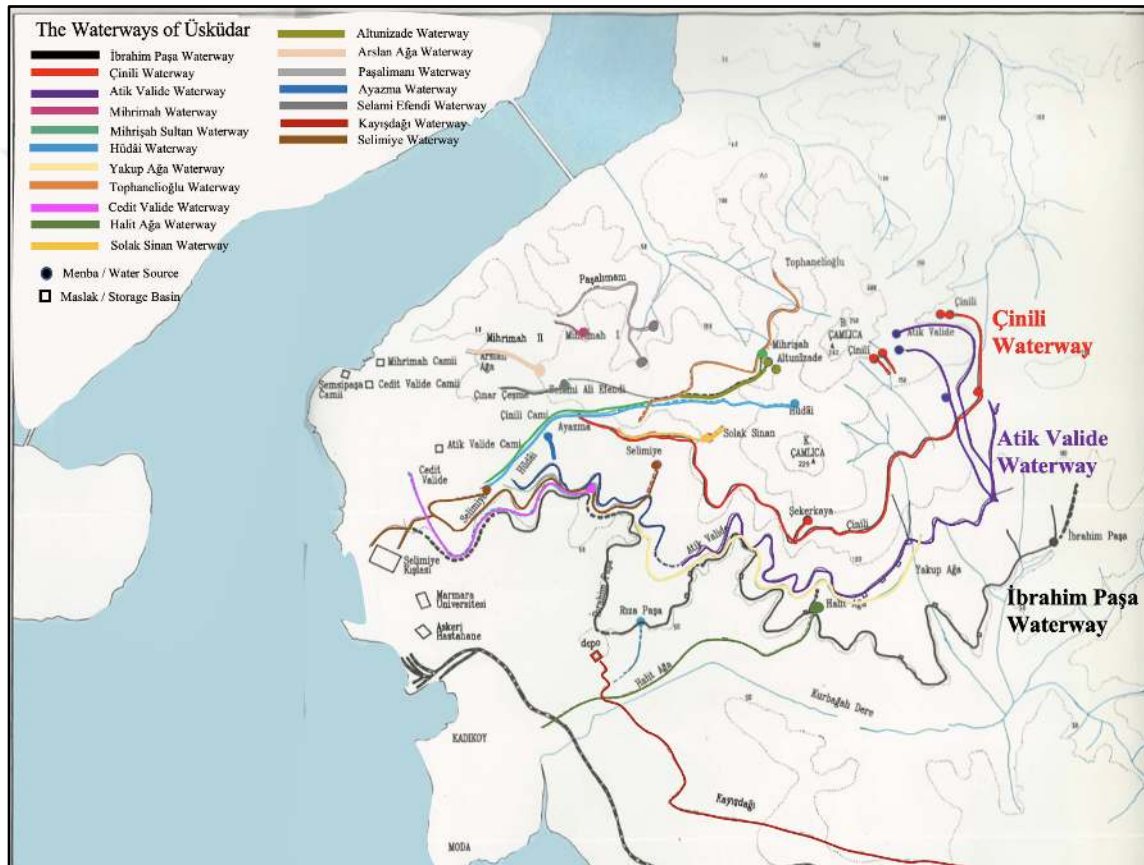
³⁷⁶ BOA.TT.d.438.p. 793 (937/1530). See Section 1.1.

³⁷⁷ Çeçen, *Üsküdar Suları*, 87, 89.

³⁷⁸ 2 masuras were allocated for the Ahmediye mosque, 1 masura for the ablution fountain in Murat reis Mosque, 2 masuras for the convent in Çinili Camii Street, 2 lüles for the madrasa in Bağlarbaşı/Kartalbaba Street, 1 masura for the imaret in Bağlarbaşı/Kartalbaba Street, 2 masuras for the elementary school in Bağlarbaşı/Kartalbaba Street, 2 masuras for the fountain in Çinili Camii Street, 2 lüles for the fountain in Kemeralı Street, 1 masura for the fountain in Bağlarbaşı Street, 1 masura for the fountain in Nevzat Reis Neighborhood, 1 masura for the fountain in Çavuşderesi, 1 masura for the fountain in Davutpaşa Neighborhood, 1 masura for the fountain in Nuhkuyusu Street, 2 masuras for Nurbanu's hospital. Total 11 lüles and 5 masuras. One lüle, equaling 0.6 litres per second, 1 masura = 1/8 lüle = 0.075 liters per second. Ibid., 48.

³⁷⁹ Doğancıbaşı Hacı Ahmet Pasha built a public bath, a darülkurra, a masjid and a tomb in Üsküdar. Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleriyle Üsküdar*, vol.1, 351-354. Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleriyle Üsküdar*, vol. 2, 439. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 233, 235. TS.MA.d.4163.pg 41(Şaban 986/ October 1578).

water supply network passing close to the pasha's palace worked to his advantage, leading to Mehmed Agha officially recording in court that Hacı Ahmet Pasha was permitted to divert one *kamış* (equivalent to 2 *masura*, approximately 9 liters per minute) of water from Nurbanu Sultan's waterway. This case clearly suggests that by 1578, the construction of the waterway was largely completed, and extensions through privately owned pipes were already under way.³⁸⁰



Map 2. 6: The waterways of Üsküdar.³⁸¹

³⁸⁰ A similar request was made in 1692 by Behram Kethüda, Mahpeyker Kösem Sultan's steward. He sought access to the water supply from the Atik Valide waterway for his mansion, which was likely situated near Mahpeyker Sultan's mosque, commonly referred to as the Çinili Mosque. For the relevant imperial order, see the published register, İski Archives of the Waqf Waters, vol. 1 (1577-1804). *Istanbul Su Külliyyatı I: Vakıf Su Defterleri: Hatt-ı Hümayun (1577-1804)*, ed. Ahmet Kal'a (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997), entry 1-61-1, 99. On these "private" extensions, see Karakaş, "Water for the City: Builders," 308-38.

³⁸¹ The map was originally produced by Kazım Çeçen. Color-coding and English legend by the author. From Çeçen, *Üsküdar Suları*, appendices.

By the early twentieth century, despite being largely in ruins, the Atik Valide waterway continued to supply water to several public buildings. According to Nazım Bey's detailed survey of the operational fountains in Üsküdar, Nurbanu Sultan's waterway was still active in 1922. The survey reveals that the waterway served Nurbanu's mosque complex, a military school near the complex (Mekteb-i Rüşdiyye-i Askeriyye), and a dozen public fountains distributed across the Atik Valide, Debbaglar, Arakiyeci Cafer, Arakiyeci Mehmet, and Salacak neighborhoods.³⁸² This attests to the waterway's transformation from its initial purpose of supplying Nurbanu Sultan's waqf assets to becoming an extensive water distribution network, adeptly meeting the increasing water demands of Üsküdar's growing population.



Map 2. 7: The in-city water conduits belonging to Üsküdar's waterways.³⁸³

³⁸² Ibid., 178-180.

³⁸³ The map was originally produced by Kazım Çeçen. The author applied a distinct dark blue color to the Atik Valide waterway and also prepared an accompanying legend. Çeçen, *Üsküdar Suları*, appendices.

The availability of potable water has always been a critical driver of demographic growth since a reliable supply of clean water is essential for sustaining larger populations. Therefore, albeit indirectly, governing authorities could steer demographic shifts by allocating resources to establish or enhance water distribution systems. In the Ottoman context, such crucial decisions typically fell within the purview of the elites, endowed with the necessary resources and political influence to initiate significant infrastructure projects. Indeed, the motivation behind investing in water provision served more than practical purposes; it was not just a civic duty but was also imbued with spiritual significance, offering power holders a means to earn divine grace and mercy.

In his chronicle, Selaniki Mustafa Efendi (d. circa 1600) mentions a dialogue between Süleyman I and his grand vizier, Semiz Ali Pasha, regarding the sultan's intention to renovate the Byzantine-era water distribution system in *intramuros* Istanbul, which had been damaged by a severe flood.³⁸⁴ Selaniki describes a scene where Sultan Süleyman, during a meeting with the chief architect, learns about Nikola, an Armenian waterway builder renowned for his competency. As conveyed by the chronicler, Sultan Süleyman, eager to employ Nikola for the restoration project, learned that he had been imprisoned by his vizier. Seeking an explanation, the Sultan immediately summoned Semiz Ali Pasha to inquire about Nikola's detention. Ali Pasha, carefully handling the matter, explained that Nikola had likely fled, fearing consequences for his unauthorized spending on the work he was contracted for, yet assured the Sultan that Nikola would soon be brought back.

According to Selaniki, Nikola's arrest was connected to Ali Pasha's concerns about the renovation of the water infrastructure. While acknowledging the noble intent of providing water to those in need, he feared that the free, abundant water (*suların sebil olması*) could draw a massive influx of people to Istanbul, causing a shortage of essential food supplies, such as meat, bread, and grain. Although there is serious doubt regarding the authenticity of the incident reported by Selaniki, it certainly expressed the author's critical stance on the construction of the Kırkçeşme water conduit system.³⁸⁵ In his conclusion to

³⁸⁴ Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, vol. 1, 3-4.

³⁸⁵ Ahmet Önal, "Osmanlılar Döneminde Mağlova Kemerı," in *Mimar Sinan ve Su*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: Sultangazi Belediyesi, 2017), 286.

this anecdote, Selaniki pays homage to the foresight of the grand vizier, stating, “Ali Semiz Pasha had insightfully expressed his concerns about the troubles that the state would face three decades later.”³⁸⁶

Selaniki's account aptly exemplifies the correlation between the provision of flowing, clean water and the rate of urban growth. He also highlights the contentious nature of large-scale infrastructure projects that could ignite disagreements among state authorities due to their far-reaching impacts. As a counter-example, the population influx to Üsküdar was neither an unintended consequence nor a matter of concern; rather, it was a strategically envisioned aspect of Nurbanu Sultan's project. Her large waqf land was not just capable of supporting a considerable population but also stood to benefit from it, as the local revenues were allocated to the endowment. Eventually, the Atik Valide waterway achieved more than its primary objective, which was to create a thriving, populated urban district. It also provided fresh water to many other neighborhoods in Üsküdar, thus contributing to its overall urban growth.

2.6. Conclusion

Chapter 2 provided a detailed exploration of Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project, portraying it as a multifaceted urban development initiative with far-reaching impacts on the town's urban expansion. Throughout the chapter, I argued that the project was strategically devised to achieve three key goals. The first goal was the construction of a mosque complex on the rural fringes of Üsküdar, serving not only as a place of worship but also as a center for education, provision of food, lodging, and medical services, thus extending Üsküdar's urbanization towards its southeastern boundaries. While the mosque complex was indeed the central component of the project, it constituted merely one facet of a far more expansive urban development endeavor.

The second goal was to establish a waqf settlement that would become a hub of socio-economic and industrial activity. From the early stages of the project, Ma'mûre was built as Üsküdar's second socio-economic center, distinguished by boasting its grandest mosque

³⁸⁶ “*Fil'-hakika otuz yıldan sonra saltanata lâzım gelecek muzâyakayı kayırıp haber virmişlerdü*”/ Indeed, he prudently warned of the unavoidable hardships and challenges the state would face, thirty years before they unfolded.” Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, vol.1, 4.

complex and the town's only horse market, surrounded by Valide Sûku and accommodation facilities. Third, and equally important, the initiative included the construction of a water supply system designed to provide a reliable water supply for the developing residential zone around the mosque complex and to ensure that Üsküdar's physical growth would be complemented by its infrastructural advancement. These three goals suggest a holistic approach to urban development, one that not only addresses the immediate needs of the local population but also lays the foundations for future needs and invests in sustainable growth and prosperity over the long term.

My exploration of Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project started with the introduction of her land on the outskirts of Üsküdar and expanded to include her project's financial sources, the design and construction of her mosque complex and its surrounding street network, the development of her neighborhood's commercial-industrial fabric, and finally the establishment of her water distribution system. Following Selim II's generous grant of a large tract of land to his *haseki*, the project commenced with its different components progressing in parallel without implying a strict sequential order. Such an approach allowed for a dynamic and responsive construction process, where progress in one inspired adjustments or developments in another and where the project's various components could be woven into a cohesive and integrated whole.

For example, while the construction workers excavated the foundation for the Friday mosque, the land allocations had already begun. Beginning from the launch of the project, Nurbanu Sultan issued land grants to certain state officials, such as the chief eunuch Habeşi Mehmet Agha, as well as to those families who planned to settle in the vicinity. This strategic move would facilitate the early formation of a neighborhood around the construction site, thereby fostering the growth of a Muslim congregation for the Friday mosque under construction. The construction of a water supply system commenced in the early days of the project as a crucial measure for the region's accelerated and sustainable growth. Additionally, the commercial-industrial infrastructure of the burgeoning neighborhood was largely built before even the *vakfiye* was formally issued in 1582. Nurbanu Sultan and Habeşi Mehmed Agha, the partners in the governance of the imperial harem, emerged as prominent waqf endowers and collaborated in the development of Ma'mûre, as a second urban center, located at the other end of Üsküdar.

Chapter 3

**BUILDING ROADSIDE COMPLEXES, ESTABLISHING MENZIL
TOWNS:
MA‘MÛRE AS A WAY STATION AND CUSTOMS CHECKPOINT**

In the wake of the sixteenth-century Ottoman conquests, the empire's territorial sovereignty reached eastern Anatolia, Bilad al-Sham³⁸⁷, Yemen, Egypt, and the Hijaz. This remarkable expansion not only facilitated the empire's control over crucial maritime routes and the lucrative caravan trade that connected European, Arab, and Indian markets but bestowed upon the Ottoman sultans the custodianship of Islam's holy cities, Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.³⁸⁸ In this capacity, sultans were entrusted with the noble duty of ensuring the safety and well-being of pilgrims traveling through Ottoman territories on their spiritual journeys en route to sacred destinations. Consequently, the increasing volume of trade and the obligation to keep the pilgrimage routes open and safe required the prompt implementation of measures to ensure the safety and accommodation of the trade and hajj caravans, which followed the same roads for much of their journeys.

In conjunction with these developments, there was a remarkable surge in the expansion of the empire's trade, road, and security infrastructure throughout the sixteenth century. Central to these efforts was the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, as well as the establishment of roadside complexes designed to provide essential services to travelers. The construction of these complexes was part of a larger plan to stimulate growth and development in the surrounding areas and encourage the development of a network of towns along the main routes. They were strategically positioned at distances that could be traversed in a day's journey by caravans or marching army, and their founders were mainly members of the royal family or high-ranking Ottoman bureaucrats.³⁸⁹ Throughout the

³⁸⁷ Bilad al-Sham includes modern-day Syria, Lebanon, Israel/Palestine, and Jordan.

³⁸⁸ For detailed information, see: Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

³⁸⁹ Fatih Müderrisoğlu, "16. Yüzyılda İnşa Edilen Menzil Külliyyeleri" (Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe University, 1993). Gülçin Küçükaya, "Mimar Sinan Dönemi İstanbul-Belgrad Arası Menzil Yapıları Hakkında Bir

chapter, I will refer to these towns as “*menzil* towns,” emphasizing their role in facilitating travel and logistics within the Ottoman Empire.

Reflecting the Ottoman dynasty’s noble role as the guardian of the Holy Cities of Islam, Sultan Süleyman I and his extended household placed a great emphasis on the improvement of the hajj route extending from Rumelia to Syria.³⁹⁰ Süleyman’s building projects, most of which were along the imperial highway (or Great Diagonal Road),³⁹¹ were complemented by those commissioned by his grand-viziers and members of his household: Hürrem Sultan’s mosque complex and waterworks in Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Svilengrad (near Edirne); Sokollu Mehmed Pasha’s roadside complexes in Havsa (Edirne), Payas (near Aleppo), and Lüleburgaz; Prince (*Şehzade*) Selim’s roadside complex in Karapınar, a then-uninhabited pass (*derbend*) on the Konya-Adana road; Rüstem Pasha’s roadside complexes in Büyükkarışdırın (Kırklareli in Thrace), and Rodosto (Rodoscuk/Tekirdağ); and Mihrimah Sultan’s complex in Üsküdar. Mihrimah Sultan also

Deneme,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. 21 (1990): 183-254. Anastasia Dologlou, “Tracing the Ottoman Trade Network in North Greece,” *Kadim*, vol. 1 (April, 2021):111-126. Elisabeth Zachariadou, ed., *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule (1380–1699)* (Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1996). In addition to the centrally planned and financed large-scale projects, which were mostly concentrated on the principal routes of mobility, local governors, especially in the Western Balkans, played a significant role in the development of local infrastructure that integrated the regions they governed into the state’s economic and administrative centers. Jesse C. Howell, “The Ragusa Road: Mobility and Encounter in the Ottoman Balkans (1430-1700)” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2017), 104-105.

³⁹⁰ The sixteenth-century court historian Seyyid Lokman listed Sultan Süleyman’s charities, emphasizing his role as the protector of pilgrims, in his *Hünernâme* (Book of Skills) as follows: “On the road from Rumelia to Damascus, and from there until Mecca he built and organized many needed stone bridges, khans, and caravansarays, while in the desert at dangerous halting stations he created lofty castles and reservoirs for the collection of rainwater. The following is a list of his charities along that road: At the Dil pass between İzmit and Gebze, he endowed a few ships free of charge for the pilgrims, stipulating that in their honor, others wanting to cross the sea should also be taken along. And he also built an elevated Friday mosque at Konya on the burial site of the sufi saint Mevlana Celalüddin Rumi. Also at the mountain pass (*derbend*) of Bakras [Belen], a frightful halting station on the road from Edirne to Aleppo and Damascus, he built two solidly-constructed monumental khans facing one another, creating there a large village resembling a town. It was made prosperous with a bath-house, Friday mosque, bazaar, and a dervish convent (*zaviye*) providing soup for travelers. It thus became a safe haven protected from the harm of bandits.” The original source. Seyyid Lokman, TSK, H. 1524, fols 2 88r-v. Translation by Gülru Necipoğlu. *The Age of Sinan*, 72.

³⁹¹ I am using the term “Great Diagonal Road”, a widely recognized designation within the related scholarly literature, to refer to the main imperial highway stretching from Europe to the Arabian Peninsula. This historical thoroughfare had been first laid by the Romans, further developed during the Byzantine era, and later expanded by the Ottomans. For a comprehensive exploration of the Ottomans’ contributions to this ancient network of roads, see Klaus Belke, “Roads and Routes in Northwestern and Adjoining Parts of Central Asia Minor: From the Romans to Byzantium, with Some Remarks on their Fate during the Ottoman Period up to the 17th Century,” *Gephyra*, vol. 20 (2020): 79-98.

took the initiative to complete Hürrem Sultan's already started project of an aqueduct ('Ayn Zubayda) carrying water to Mecca.³⁹²

The emergence of Üsküdar as a favored location for the architectural ventures of the Ottoman elite was deeply intertwined with the policy of catalyzing urbanization along the hajj and trade routes over which the empire exerted dominance. Üsküdar held strategic and logistical importance due to its proximity to the imperial capital and also its position as the starting point of the roads traversing to Asia Minor, Anatolia, and extending to the eastern provinces, reaching as far as Damascus, Aleppo, Jerusalem, and the Hijaz. As the assembly site for prospective pilgrims embarking on their hajj travel, Üsküdar held significant reverence among Muslims. This reverence led to the town being referred to as the "*harem*," which means sacred land, signifying its esteemed status as the threshold of a journey of spiritual fulfillment and religious devotion.³⁹³ Additionally, Üsküdar served as an encampment for the Ottoman army when preparing for eastern campaigns.³⁹⁴ Last but not least, it was a key transit point for the commercial goods transported along the Spice Route, establishing it as an important customs checkpoint and way station.³⁹⁵

³⁹² Ibid., 71, 234.

³⁹³ In the words of a seventeenth-century divan poet who was also a well-known resident of Üsküdar, Şair Nuri praised his hometown with reference to the holy lands by saying; *Der leb-i bahreyn cayı dilküşâyist Üsküdâr / Ez der cânib-i mülk-i âb u hevâyist Üsküdâr / Nâm-ı hâ-i Ka'be dâred derheme şehr-i cihân / Zîb-i şeref-i der her tarafa-ı mergûb-ı câyist Üsküdâr* (Üsküdar, nestled between two seas, soothes hearts / With its delightful climate and waters, it imparts / If the Kaaba is renowned among cities worldwide / Üsküdar, too, deserves recognition with pride). Translation by author. Mustafa Safâî Efendi, *Tezkire-i Safâî (Nuhbetü'l-Asar Min Fevâ'idü'l-Eş'âr)*, trans. Pervin Çapan (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları: 2005), 678. Also see, Mustafa Çağhan Keskin, "Sultan III. Ahmed Dönemi Üsküdar Çeşmeleri Üzerine Bir Kaynak: Üsküdarlı Şair Nuri'nin Manzum Tarihi," in *Üsküdar Sempozyumu XII (2-4 November 2012): Bildiriler*, vol.1, ed. Süleyman Faruk Göncüoğlu (İstanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2013):347-359. In a similar manner, the author of *Sahilname*, the eighteenth-century Ottoman poet Mustafa Fenni Efendi, used the sacred image of Üsküdar to articulate his overwhelming devotion and longing for the beloved one. He says, *Ka'be toprağı diyu olsa bile nâm âver / Üsküdar'dan dahi yeğdir bana kûy-i dilber* (Though it may be called the sacred soil of the Kaaba's land / Yet, more dear to me than Üsküdar, is my beloved's land.) Translation by author. Asaf Hâlet Çelebi, *Dîvân Şiirinde İstanbul* (İstanbul: Fetih Derneği Yayınları, 1953), 104. Nihat Öztoprak, "Fennî ve İzzet Efendi'nin Sahilnameleri Ve Bu Sahilnamelerde Üsküdar," *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi*, vol. 11 (İstanbul 2004), 127.

³⁹⁴ For a comprehensive study on the imperial highway, see Franz Taeschner, *Osmanlı Kaynaklarına Göre Anadolu Yol Ağı*, ed. Yücel Öztürk (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2010).

³⁹⁵ As Giancarlo Casale states, "In the 1580s, as the volume of merchant and pilgrim traffic bound for the Red Sea continued to grow, Ottoman commercial relationships expanded into progressively more distant areas of the Indian Ocean, most notably the Bay of Bengal, where the first regular maritime links were established between Ottoman ports and the important trading centers of Pegu and Masulipatnam." Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 184.

In this regard, Chapter 3 argues, based on both architectural and textual evidence, that Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project was a significant part of the urban initiatives aimed at either establishing new towns or enhancing existing ones that functioned as way stations along the imperial highway. In this respect, initially, Section 3.1 provides a comparative analysis of the roadside complexes designed by Mimar Sinan for Şehzade Selim, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, and Nurbanu Sultan in the 1560s and 1570s. This analysis seeks to uncover whether there was a set of guiding principles for the establishment of *menzil* towns in this particular period, and if so, how they were implemented in the design and construction of Nurbanu's complex and neighborhood in Üsküdar. Additionally, this chapter sheds light on how the most prominent and affluent architectural patrons of the era aligned their personal visions and ambitions with the state agenda by integrating their philanthropic projects into the development of the trade and road infrastructure, thereby contributing to the state interests.

After introducing the development of Prince Selim's *menzil* towns in Sultaniye and those by the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Burgos and Payas, Section 3.2 turns the focus to Üsküdar and discusses its urban development from the late fifteenth century to the end of the sixteenth century, when it was established as a way station for the trade caravans arriving from the East. This section aims to contextualize Nurbanu Sultan's project within the broader context of Üsküdar's urban growth and explores how her project enhanced Üsküdar's identity as a significant *menzil* town, just one stop away from the capital city. In conclusion, Chapter 3 argues that the overarching goal of Nurbanu's Üsküdar project was to create a neighborhood (or urban district) tailored to the specific needs of travelers. Here, they could rest during their journeys, find free food and the warmth of a bath, and meet their essential needs in the local market. Additionally, the development of Ma'mûre's into the principal khans district of Üsküdar would significantly enhance the town's identity as a dynamic, thriving *menzil* town for travelers on their journeys.

3.1. A Comparative Analysis of the Roadside Complexes Designed by Mimar Sinan During the 1560s and 1570s

The imperial chief architect, Mimar Sinan, designed several roadside complexes for his patrons, during which he set new standards for the layout and composition of these functional structures strategically situated along major roads.³⁹⁶ For instance, he developed a distinctive type of caravanserai, characterized by two symmetrical khans arranged around courtyards and connected to each other through a central hall covered with a splendid dome.³⁹⁷ (see Fig. 3.1) Moreover, his integration of shopping arcades into the roadside complexes represented an innovative solution that enhanced their functionality as centers of economic activity. His efforts, thus, not only increased the number of service facilities for travelers but also established a visual connection across the *menzil* towns.

This harmonious blend of functional design and aesthetic appeal left a profound impression on those who traversed through the *menzil* towns that developed around Mimar Sinan's roadside complexes and highlighted the empire's grandeur, vision, and wealth.³⁹⁸ Among the observers of this architectural dialogue was the French pilgrim Jean Palerne (d.1592), who, during his return from Jerusalem, passed through the newly established *menzil* town of Burgos (Lüleburgaz) and also visited Ma'mûre on his way to Edirne.³⁹⁹ In his travelogue, which chronicles his journey during 1581-1583, Palerne underlined the

³⁹⁶ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 111. For the list of roadside endowments attributed to Mimar Sinan, see Küçükkaya, "Mimar Sinan Dönemi İstanbul-Belgrad Arası Menzil Yapıları."

³⁹⁷ "The double-wing caravanserai evolved in two variations distinguished by the shape of the central hall: one type with a central hall as a transition space, and a second type with a semi-open central hall giving access only to the mirror symmetrically attached halls. The first type also functions as a main entrance into the precinct of a building complex; it thus has a lockable gate instead of open arches." For detailed information, see Robin Wimmel, "Edirne as a Stopover Destination: The Ekmekçioğlu Caravanserai and Ottoman Road Network" in *The Heritage of Edirne in Ottoman and Turkish Times: Continuities, Disruptions and Reconnections*, ed. Birgit Krawietz, Florian Riedler (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020): 195-197. Machiel Kiel, "The Caravanserai of Tuğgun Pasha in Belgrade: Its Description by Hans Dernschwam (1555) and Some Notes About Its Founder in the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul," in *Belgrade: 1521-1867*, eds. Srđan Rudić, Selim Aslantaş, Dragana Amedoski (Belgrade: Yunus Emre Enstitüsü, 2018): 33.

³⁹⁸ For a discussion on the symbolic aspect of the state investments along the main highways under Ottoman control, see Florian Riedler, "The Istanbul-Belgrade Route in the Ottoman Empire: Continuity and Discontinuity of an Imperial Mobility Space," in *The Balkan Route: Historical Transformations from Via Militaris to Autoput*, eds. Florian Riedler and Nenad Stefanov (Berlin/ Boston: De Gruyter, 2021):103-121.

³⁹⁹ Jean Palerne was born in 1557 in La Fouillouse, a suburb of Saint-Étienne in France. In 1583, he wrote his observations from a two-year expedition (1581–1583) across Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Starting in Paris, his journey included stops in several French and Italian cities before sailing to Alexandria. He visited major cities such as Cairo, Jerusalem, and Damascus, crossed Mount Lebanon, and concluded his travels by navigating through Mediterranean islands to reach Istanbul. Gilbert Argoud et Jean-Yves Guillaumin, *Sciences exactes et sciences appliquées à Alexandrie* (Saint-Étienne: Université de Saint-Étienne, 1998), 11-14.

similar layouts of the mosque complexes commissioned by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Nurbanu Sultan as follows: “Borgos (Lüleburgaz) is yet another large town, which is home to a beautiful mosque, baths, imarets, and a great caravanserai constructed by a pasha in the style of the one in Scutari (Üsküdar) that belongs to the Sultana.”⁴⁰⁰

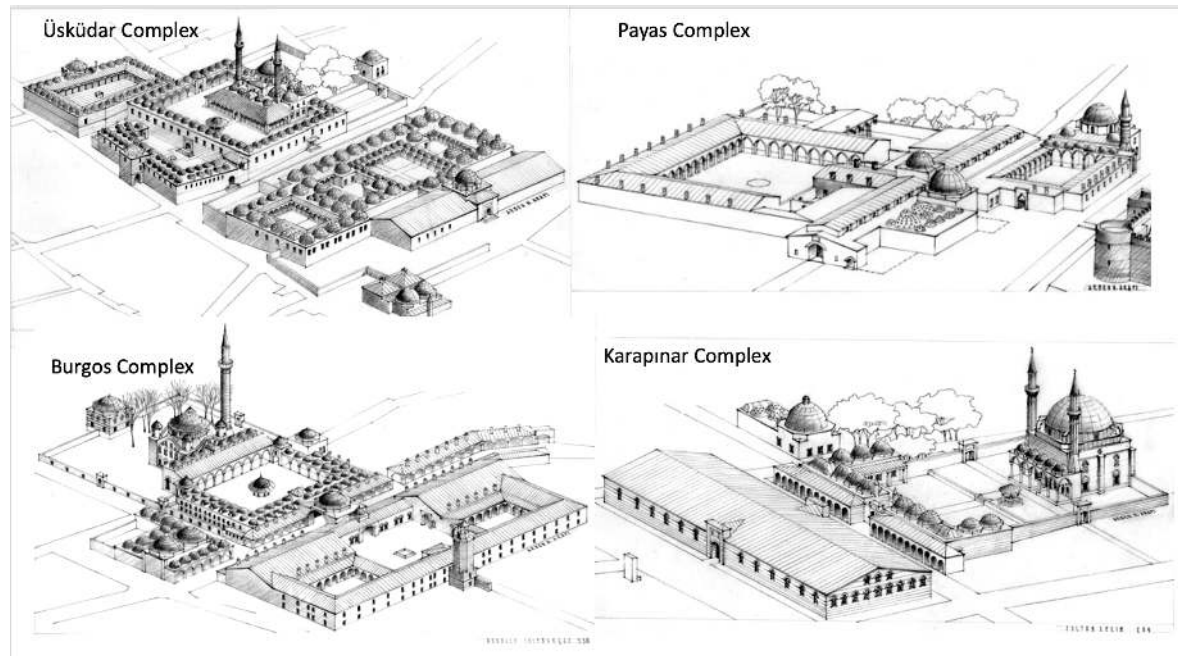


Figure 3. 1: Axonometric projections of Mimar Sinan's roadside complexes by Arben N. Arapi.⁴⁰¹

Palerne's observation was indeed accurate, as the layout of Sokollu's complex in Burgos, characterized by a mosque at its core surrounded by courtyards linking a variety of facilities, was implemented in the Nurbanu's Üsküdar complex.⁴⁰² The similarity was not limited to these two complexes alone but extended to most of Mimar Sinan's roadside complexes, which were accentuated by their double-wing caravanserais (except in Sokollu's Payas complex) and axially composed plans in which different units were aligned along one or more central axes to create a sense of unity and symmetry.⁴⁰³ Typically, the main axis,

⁴⁰⁰ “Borgos qu'est encores un autre gros bourg, ou il y a des belle mosquées avec ses bains & amarats, & un caravansérail fort superbe édifié par un pacha à l'imitation de celui de la sultane qu'est en Scutari” Palerne, *Peregrinations*, 149.

⁴⁰¹ From Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 283, 357, 350, 234.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 353.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, 237.

oriented towards Mecca, was highlighted by the presence of a Friday mosque, while the other axis or axes served to link the complex's sacred space with the profane reserved for accommodations, dining, and, in some instances, commercial activities.⁴⁰⁴ This layout, with its variations, improved the functional interconnectivity of the parts within the whole while also enhancing the aesthetic unity and visual coherence of the entire ensemble.

Another common attribute among these edifices lay in their being part of a series of urban endeavors centered around the empire's main thoroughfares. Collectively referred to as the Great Diagonal Road, it encompassed the "middle" branch of the Rumelian road network and the "right" branch of the Anatolian road network, which diagonally traversed Anatolia and extended towards Syria.⁴⁰⁵ (see Map 3.1) Serving as the main artery that connected the Ottoman central administration with the empire's provinces, the Anatolian road also served as the pilgrimage route, thereby garnering the interest of royal patrons for their ambitious architectural endeavors.⁴⁰⁶

Although there is no evidence proving the existence of a state-led building campaign that was launched to provide the necessary infrastructure along the pilgrimage route, there was a concerted effort to establish an uninterrupted network of way stations along the Anatolian road. These endeavors were notably initiated and supported by Sultan Süleyman's building projects.⁴⁰⁷ His architectural initiatives included a roadside complex in Belen (1550), the mountain pass on the road to Aleppo, a large caravanserai in Büyükçekmece (1562–68), the first stop towards Edirne, and a mosque complex, *Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya* (1553–1559), in Damascus, a major gathering point for pilgrims.⁴⁰⁸ During the reign of

⁴⁰⁴ For a comparative study focused on the architectural features and construction techniques of the roadside complexes commissioned by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Lüleburgaz, Havsa, and Payas, see, Leyla Etyemez Çıplak, "Understanding the Construction Technique of Mimar Sinan's Buildings: The Case of Lüleburgaz Sokollu Mehmed Paşa Mosque" (PhD diss., Orta Doğu Technical University, 2017).

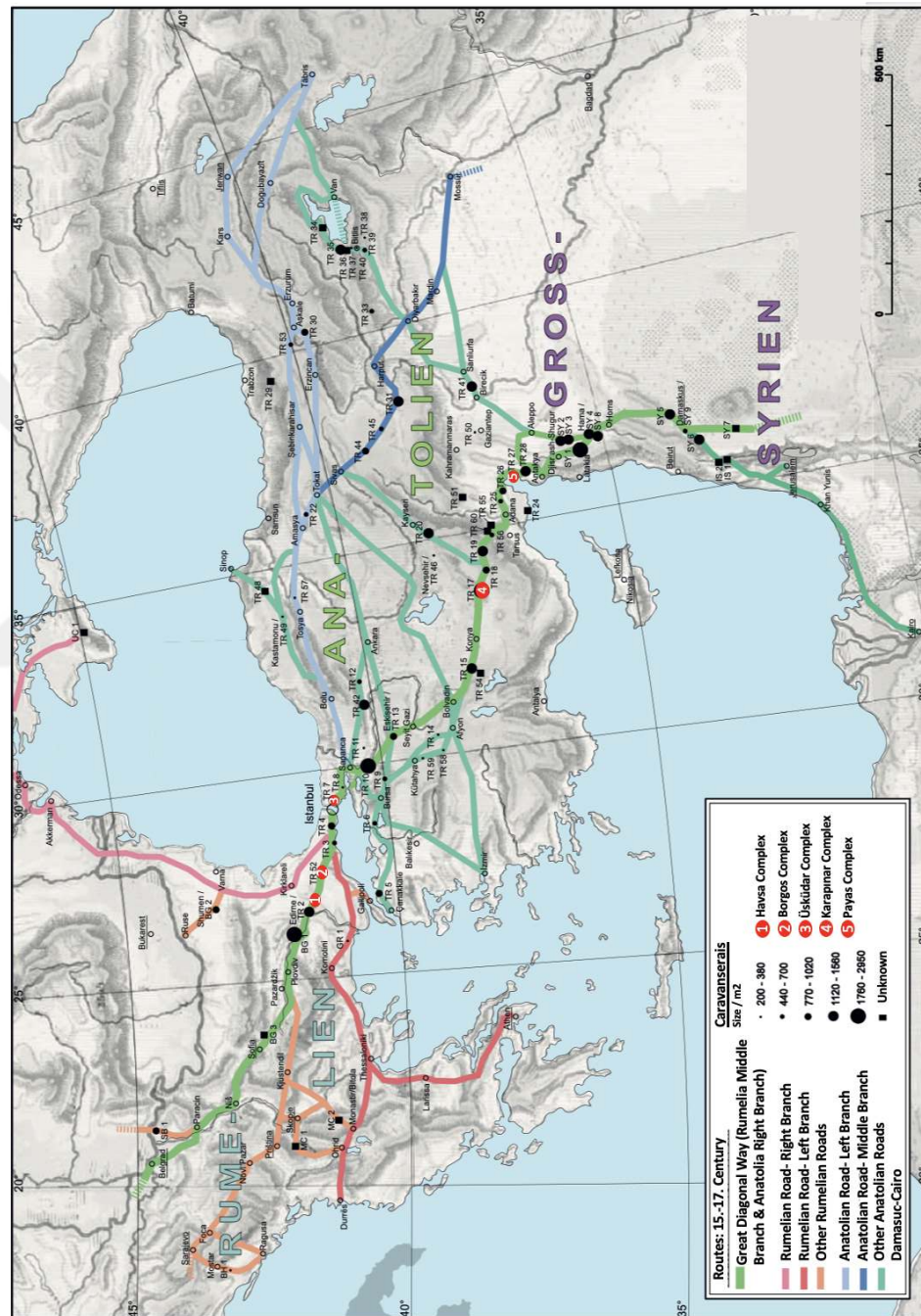
⁴⁰⁵ The Anatolian Road Network; starting from Üsküdar consisted of the so-called right, middle and left branches: the right branch connecting Üsküdar to Damascus, the middle branch linking Üsküdar with Baghdad, and the left branch extending from Istanbul to Erzurum. See Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Ulaşım ve Haberleşme: Menziller* (Istanbul: İlgi Kültür Sanat, 2014).

⁴⁰⁶ Wimmel, "Architektur Osmanischer Karawansereien," vol.1, 80.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 230.

Selim II and Murad III, Sultan Süleyman's initiative gained further momentum, leading to an unprecedented expansion of the urban and trade infrastructure along the Great Diagonal Road. (see Map 3.1)



Map 3. 1: The Great Diagonal Road and the primary caravanserais along the way.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁹ From Wimmel, "Architektur Osmanischer Karawanseraien," vol.1, 494. Color-coding and English legend by the author.

The overarching aim of these projects was to build or further develop *menzil* towns at strategic intervals along the Great Diagonal Road. Thus, the construction of roadside complexes required supplementary measures to draw populations to the area under construction. This strategy embodied the Ottoman principle of “enlivening, developing, and bringing prosperity to previously vacant or deserted areas (*şenledüb ma‘mûr ve âbâdân etmek*).⁴¹⁰ Achieving this mostly relied on particular concessions and incentives provided by the state. These included free land allocations, tax exemptions, and operational support. In the following section, I will discuss the towns of Selim II in Karapınar (Sultaniye) (1560-64) and Sokollu in Burgos (1565-69/70) and in Payas (1567-74) to determine whether a specific urban strategy was followed in establishing these *menzil* towns and assess whether Nurbanu Sultan’s Üsküdar project can be viewed as part of the state’s broader initiative to create and develop way stations.

3.1.1. Şehzade Selim’s Karapınar/Sultaniye Complex

The development of Karapınar (which became known as Sultaniye) as a *menzil* town following the construction of Selim II’s complex (1560–1564) exemplifies the standard patterns of building a self-sustaining urban community that facilitated the logistics of Ottoman troops and trade caravans arriving from far-flung regions. The Karapınar complex was commissioned by Süleyman I upon the request of his son, then crown prince Selim, with the goal of revitalizing a barren way station ninety kilometers east of Konya.⁴¹¹ The inclusion of Karapınar within the network of way stations along the imperial route was intended to reduce the distance between Konya and Ereğli.⁴¹² Designed by Mimar Sinan and built under the supervision of Mimar Cemalüddin from Aleppo, this complex featured a mosque, a

⁴¹⁰ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol.2 (1942), 356.

⁴¹¹ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.3.p.339/993. p.374/1106-1107, p.375/1108 (Şaban 967/May 1560) Also see Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 234-236.

⁴¹² In an eighteenth-century edict, Karapınar was defined as follows: “*Konya ile Ereğli beyrinde olan Karapınar menzili Mekke ve Medine ve Mısır ve Şam ve Haleb ve sâ’ir bilâd-ı adîdenin memur ü câddesinde olub* / The Karapınar menzil, located between Konya and Ereğli, stands as a pivotal way station along the route connecting significant destinations such as Mecca, Medina, Egypt, Damascus, Aleppo, and various other distant regions.” BOA. C.NF. 10 / 476 – 1.

hospice-cum-guest house, a double-wing caravanserai, an elementary school, a public bath, a fountain, and a shopping arcade (*arasta*) with thirty-nine shops.⁴¹³ (see Fig. 3.2)

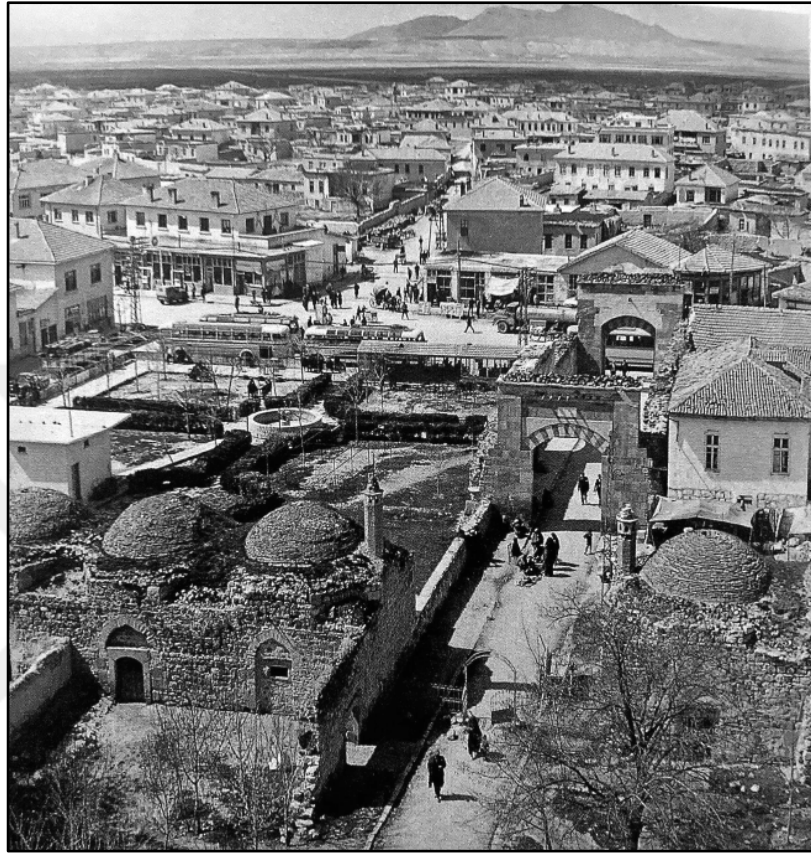


Figure 3. 2: *Karapınar Complex. Air view from the south.*⁴¹⁴

The integration of a shopping arcade within a roadside complex emerged as a novel feature, one that would later be repeated in Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's Burgos, Payas, and Havsa projects. Another notable similarity between these projects was the difficulty of bringing water from long distances, which required the construction of lengthy waterways, entailing considerable labor and financial investment. In 1569, five years after the completion of the complex, a fifty-five-kilometer-long waterway was constructed to bring water from the pastures of Ovacık to the town of Karapınar.⁴¹⁵ Remarkably, it was nearly

⁴¹³ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 234,237. Wimmel, "Architektur Osmanischer Karawanseraien," vol. 2, 112-113.

⁴¹⁴ From Aptullah Kuran, *Sinan: The Grand Master*, 166.

⁴¹⁵ Hasan Basri Karadeniz, "Sultaniye (Karapınar)'ye İçme Suyu Getirilmesi, Suyollarının Tahribi Ve Tamiri (1568–1582)," *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* (December, 2016): 356, 419.

four times the length of Nurbanu Sultan's waterway, which held the distinction of being the most extensive hydraulic project supplying water to Üsküdar.

Sultan Süleyman allocated the annual income derived from eighty-four villages, amounting to 11000 *akçes*, for the sustenance and upkeep of Selim II's princely complex.⁴¹⁶ Additionally, through an imperial order, he proclaimed that those who settled in and revitalized his son's town would be exempted from extraordinary levies and certain land taxes, namely *resm-i bennak* and *caba*.⁴¹⁷ In addition, these inhabitants would be spared from the state's policy of compulsory relocation of selected urban and rural population of the Anatolia and Karaman provinces to Cyprus.⁴¹⁸ Following his decree, approximately 120 households, predominantly Turkmen nomadic groups living in nearby pastures, moved to Sultan Selim's *menzil* town.⁴¹⁹

The efforts of Selim II to cultivate an urban community in Sultaniye continued into his son's reign. In 1579, Murad III ordered the kadis of the nearby towns to dispatch a group of local artisans and tradespeople—especially blacksmiths, butchers, grocers, bakers, tailors, and sheep trotter dealers—to live and practice their crafts and trades in Sultaniye.⁴²⁰ This arrangement would foster an urban community capable of sustaining itself through a mix of essential services and commercial activities.⁴²¹ Tax records from the late sixteenth century show that Sultaniye was organized into sixteen neighborhoods, several of which were named after where its residents came from, such as Niğde, Aksaray, and Larendi.⁴²² The town had

⁴¹⁶ Barkan, "Vakıflar ve Temlikler," 355.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid. For detailed information regarding the exiles to Cyprus, see Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571-1640* (New York, London: New York University Press, 1993): 212-240.

⁴¹⁹ Barkan, "Vakıflar ve Temlikler," 355.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Yusuf Küçükdağ, "Karapınar," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 24 (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2001): 471.

⁴²² BOA.TT.d.615.p.6-14.

a male population of 1028 (adult males, *neferan*), who still benefited from tax exemptions, indicating the enduring efforts to keep the town populated.⁴²³

This figure, however, may not precisely capture the actual population of Karapınar, as the town lost most of its population in the 1580s. Most of the tax-exempt inhabitants of Karapınar returned to their former villages or resumed their semi-nomadic lifestyle in nearby pastures.⁴²⁴ Moreover, when confronted by tax collectors, they invoked their status as Sultan Selim's waqf subjects and refused to pay taxes.⁴²⁵ Consequently, Karapınar remained largely deserted for an extended period; shops shut down, leaving passersby without the means to make purchases, and neighborhoods were left abandoned and dilapidated, thereby increasing the region's vulnerability to banditry.⁴²⁶ In an effort to address these challenges, a new tax register was commissioned in 1584 to ascertain the status of those who had returned or left the town, thereby jeopardizing their privileges as waqf subjects. Subsequently, many of these runaway inhabitants consented to an annual fine of seventy-five *akçes* as a penalty for abandoning their land, should they choose to leave again.⁴²⁷

Maintaining the population of newly established towns posed significant challenges when they were located in areas characterized by inhospitable conditions like harsh weather, constant threat of banditry, enforced settlement of nomadic tribes, and inadequate urban and commercial infrastructure. These negative factors had the potential to undermine the socio-economic stability required to attract new households and maintain the existing population. Therefore, being a part of the extensive network of way stations on the pilgrimage route proved insufficient to keep Sultaniye from being deserted. A confluence of factors that collectively made it difficult for the town to sustain and grow its population. Among these, the enforced settlement of nomadic tribes, who were traditionally accustomed to a mobile lifestyle for their pastoral activities, played a significant role. This also happened in Payas. The tax-exempt population of Sokollu's town, Payas, was also composed of Turkmen nomad

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ BOA.TT.d.615.p.3-4. Also see Barkan, "Vakıflar ve Temlikler," 362-363.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ BOA.TT.d.615.p.3-4.

groups brought from the surrounding plateaus. As we learn from Evliya Çelebi, in summer, the weather of Payas was so overwhelming that all townspeople moved to high plateaus and spent their summer in their tents.⁴²⁸

Unlike Karapınar and Payas, Üsküdar and Burgos (also known as Lüleburgaz) were endowed with inherent advantages, including a temperate climate, proximity to significant urban centers (Istanbul and Edirne), surrounding fertile lands ensuring food security, and vibrant commercial activity, demonstrated resilience against population decline. These attributes not only rendered them less vulnerable to population fluctuations, but they also experienced considerable urban growth after receiving significant investments in urban infrastructure, public services, and commercial activities. While Karapınar faced challenges in maintaining its population, Üsküdar experienced a consistently increasing demographic trend, which will be addressed in Chapter 4. Although special efforts were made to attract the population to Ma'mûre, there was no concerted effort to prevent inhabitants from leaving or to encourage their return to the neighborhood, as the region already had a considerable population.

3.1.2. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's Burgos Complex

Following the completion of the Karapınar complex in 1564, Şehzade Selim's advisor and grand vizier, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, embarked on the construction of a complex in Burgos, a small Byzantine town that had been inhabited by Ottomans since the late fourteenth century.⁴²⁹ Contrary to Şehzade Selim's choice of an uninhabited pass for his building project, Sokollu built a complex in an established settlement with a functional urban infrastructure, albeit modest in scale. In the first half of the sixteenth century, Burgos was a sparsely populated *menzil* town with forty-one households spread across three neighborhoods.⁴³⁰ Despite its small community, the town was equipped with essential public

⁴²⁸ Evliyâ Çelebi *Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 3, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 32.

⁴²⁹ Müderrisoğlu, "Menzil Külliyesi," 525-526.

⁴³⁰ Machiel Kiel, "Lüleburgaz," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol.27 (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2003): 256. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 352. Can Bozkır uses the term "waqf-town" to describe Burgos, noting that Sokollu's waqf not only triggered the town's urban growth but also financed the repair and upkeep of its infrastructure, including roads, and bridges, while also public buildings in need of maintenance.

facilities and urban infrastructure, including two mosques, an elementary school, a convent, two public baths, and a bridge over the stream of Burgos, one of the branches of the Ergene river.⁴³¹ Due to its strategic location on the main road between Istanbul and Edirne, the town served as a stopover destination, facilitating the flow of commerce, information, and administrative directives along the route. Moreover, it played a crucial role in supporting the mobility of the sultan and the Ottoman army on their journeys to Edirne and beyond.⁴³²

Sokollu's complex was built on a large tract of land on the plains near the pre-existing urban fabric of Burgos to serve as a way station for travelers en route to Edirne. This urban initiative was notable for its extensive building program, including a mosque, a madrasa, an elementary school, a double caravanserai, a hospice-cum-guest house, a shopping arcade with fifty-three shops, a prayer dome, a double bath, and a stone bridge on the Stream of Burgos.⁴³³ (see Fig. 3.3) Sokollu also constructed residences with courtyards for the senior staff of the complex: the *mütevelli*, imam, muezzin, preachers, and scholars.⁴³⁴ Additionally, he built a residence for his personal use during visits and a palatial mansion dedicated to Sultan Selim's stay during his travels to Edirne.⁴³⁵

Can Bozkır, "Between Two Capitals: Infrastructure, Architecture, and Urbanism on the Ottoman Orta Kol," (PhD diss., Boğaziçi University, 2023), 168.

⁴³¹ Kiel, "Lüleburgaz," 256. Also see, Bozkır, *Between Two Capitals*, 151, 152.

⁴³² As Edirne rose in prominence as a political center during the reign of Mehmed IV (1648-1687) the importance of Burgos grew correspondingly, serving as a vital link that supported the court's regular movement between the two cities. Bozkır, *Between Two Capitals*, 69.

⁴³³ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 348.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, 352.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*



Figure 3. 3: Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's Burgos Complex.⁴³⁶
Photos by the author, 2022.

Sokollu's Burgos and Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar complexes exhibited remarkable similarities, particularly in their comprehensive building programs and strategic placement on the urban edges of *menzil* towns. They exemplified a harmonious blend of architectural features typical of both roadside and urban complexes and formed the urban cores of residential settlements that extended the towns' urban sphere toward the surrounding rural landscape. Fatih Müderrisoğlu, who studied sixteenth-century Ottoman roadside complexes,

⁴³⁶ Top left to right: Friday mosque, ablution fountain in the courtyard, last congregation place (*son cemaat yeri*). Bottom left to right: prayer dome between the shopping arcade and caravanserai, waqf shops adjacent to the courtyard walls, Mimar Sinan Bridge.

observed that certain *menzil külliyes* extended slightly beyond the existing urbanized fabric. This strategic placement not only delineated the outer edges of towns but also served as checkpoints, managing the flow of people entering and leaving.⁴³⁷



Figure 3. 4: The surroundings of Nurbanu's Complex facing Üsküdar's coastline.(1950s).⁴³⁸

Figure 3. 5: The surroundings of Sokollu's Burgos Complex towards the plain.⁴³⁹

As seen in Figures 3.4 and 3.5, both Nurbanu Sultan's and Sokollu's edifices were erected at a distance from existing town centers. Ma'mûre lay beyond Üsküdar's early sixteenth-century limits, thus marking the direction of the town's urban expansion. Similarly, Sokollu's Burgos complex was built near the remnants of the old Byzantine walls, towards the eastern outskirts of the Ottoman town that centered around the Kadı mosque near the stream.⁴⁴⁰ Several waqf shops were built near a new bridge that was planned to serve as a major thoroughfare for travelers.⁴⁴¹ The bridge also served as a customs checkpoint, which stood approximately 500 meters away from the grand vizier's complex.⁴⁴² As will be

⁴³⁷ Such roadside complexes were Sokollu's Havsa and Burgos, Sultan Süleyman's Büyükçekmece, Pir Mehmed Pasha's Silivri, Semiz Ali Pasha's Babaeski and Rüstem Pasha's Büyükkarışdıran complexes. Müderrisoğlu, "Menzil Külliyesi," 166.

⁴³⁸ From Ali Saim Ülgen Archives in Salt Galata Archives. Ali Saim Ülgen likely took this photo while working on the restitution plan of the mosque complex in the early 1950s. For more information, see Zeynep Ahunbay, "Genç Cumhuriyetin Koruma Alanındaki Öncülerinden Y. Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen 1913–1963," *Restorasyon ve Konservasyon Çalışmaları Dergisi*, vol. 16, (2016): 3–20.

⁴³⁹ From Salt Galata Archives.

⁴⁴⁰ Kiel, "Lüleburgaz," 256.

⁴⁴¹ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 3, eds. Dağlı, Kahraman, and Dankoff, 174.

⁴⁴² Müderrisoğlu, "Menzil Külliyesi," 544.

explored in Section 3.2, Nurbanu's waqf neighborhood was also designated as a customs checkpoint for trade caravans, where they were stationed and subjected to inspections by customs officials. Fatih Müderrisoğlu states that;

The emphasis on the size of the caravanserai, the *tabhane* [guest house], and the *imaret* [public kitchen] within the design of the Burgos complex, alongside the presence of an *arasta* [shopping arcade], suggests that the complex was constructed as a roadside complex. However, the inclusion of structures more commonly found in urban complexes, such as madrasas and elementary schools, as well as the monumental and meticulous design of the mosque and the positioning of the mosque and madrasa around a common courtyard, indicate that the Burgos complex was also designed to function as an urban complex.⁴⁴³

Supporting Müderrisoğlu's argument, Zeynep Ahunbay contends that both Sokollu's Burgos and Nurbanu's Üsküdar complexes exhibited the characteristics of both urban and roadside complexes.⁴⁴⁴ Ahunbay classifies these complexes as "urban" not merely because they were built on the outskirts of urban settlements but also due to their comprehensive building program and the distinguished typology of their lodging facilities.⁴⁴⁵ According to Ahunbay, mosque-madrasa ensembles formed the core of urban complexes and were complemented by various other structures like hospitals, convents, guest houses, public kitchens, fountains, tombs, bathhouses, and shops. By contrast, roadside complexes were designed to provide essential services to travelers. Thus, they featured modestly scaled mosques and omitted tombs, hospitals, and institutions for advanced education. (see Table 3.1) Instead, they were characterized by their extensive caravanserais, large kitchens, double baths, and spacious guest houses.

Ahunbay also emphasizes the distinct functions and layouts of caravanserais within each complex category.⁴⁴⁶ She notes that roadside caravanserais, often larger, were designed to accommodate both guests and their mounts under one roof. On the other hand, the imperial urban complexes like Süleymaniye and Şehzade Mehmed in Istanbul reinterpreted the

⁴⁴³ Ibid. The content within brackets has been provided by the author for additional clarification.

⁴⁴⁴ Zeynep Ahunbay, "Mimar Sinan'ın Şehirci Yönü," in *Vakıf Haftası Dergisi*, vol. 6 (1989): 135. Müderrisoğlu, "Menzil Külliyesi," 545.

⁴⁴⁵ Ahunbay, "Mimar Sinan'ın Şehirci Yönü," 135.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

intercity caravanserais for urban environments, employing guest houses for the accommodation of visitors and providing distinct stables for their mounts.

Table 3.1: The essential details regarding the roadside complexes designed by Mimar Sinan.⁴⁴⁷

Waqf Endower	Location	Construction Date	Building Program	Type	Total Area / Net Area (without courtyards) Caravanserai (m ²)	Dome Size Mosque (m)
Şehzade Selim, Süleyman I	Karapınar/ Sultaniye (<i>menzil</i> town) Konya-Adana Highway (Right Branch of the Anatolian Road Network)	1560-1564	mosque, double caravanserai, guest house, public kitchen, shopping arcade, elementary school, public bath, public fountain	Roadside Complex	2740 / 2160	14.8
Sokollu Mehmed Pasha	Burgos/ Lüleburgaz (<i>menzil</i> town) Istanbul-Edirne Highway. (Middle Branch of the Rumelian Road Network)	1565—1570	mosque, madrasa, elementary school, public kitchen, shopping arcade, guest-house, double caravanserai, double bath, public fountain, prayer dome, residences for leading waqf employees, bridge	Roadside Complex & Urban (In-City) Complex	4400 / 1450	12.5
Sokollu Mehmed Pasha	Payas (<i>menzil</i> town) Antakya-Aleppo Highway (Right Branch of the Anatolian Road Network)	1567-1574	mosque, convent, bath, guest house, elementary school, public kitchen, shopping arcade, public fountains, caravanserai, prayer dome	Roadside Complex	6000 / 1430	8

⁴⁴⁷ Wimmel, “Architektur Osmanischer Karawanseraien,” vol. 2. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 558-561.

Waqf Endower	Location	Construction Date	Building Program	Type	Total Area / Net Area (without courtyards) Caravanserai (m2)	Dome Size Mosque (m)
Nurbanu Sultan	Üsküdar/ Ma'mûre (<i>menzil</i> town / way station) The first station of the Great Diagonal Road of Anatolia	1571-1586	mosque, madrasa, convent, double bath, guest house, elementary school, public kitchen, public fountains, double caravanserai, hadith school, Quran recitation school, hospital	Roadside Complex & Urban (In-City) Complex	2180 / 1420	12.7
Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (on behalf of his son Kasım Pasha)	Havsa (<i>menzil</i> town) Istanbul-Edirne Highway (Middle Branch of the Rumelian Road Network)	1573-1577	mosque, convent, double bath, shopping arcade, guest house, elementary school, public kitchen, caravanserai, prayer dome, bridge	Roadside Complex	Unknown (Destroyed during an earthquake in 1752)	13

As addressed in Chapter 2, recognizing the function of Üsküdar as a *menzil* town, Nurbanu's Üsküdar project placed a significant emphasis on providing accommodation to the transient population passing through the town. Her double-wing caravanserai and guest house built as a part of the mosque complex, as well as the waqf's revenue-generating khans and rooms built in Ma'mûre, ensured that visitors had access to a range of accommodation options that suited their specific needs and preferences. The double-wing caravanserai, for instance, offered free-of-charge accommodation and meals twice a day for visitors and their riding and pack animals. (see Fig. 3.7) The French pilgrim Palerne, who stayed in her caravanserai during his journey, described the building as follows: "There are two long stables, each with the capacity to accommodate two hundred horses, complemented by a

beautiful courtyard. At the heart of the courtyard lies a marble fountain, encircled by four splendid building blocks, partitioned into two hundred small chambers.”⁴⁴⁸



Figure 3.6: The illustration depicting the interior of a seventeenth-century Ottoman caravanserai. People slept on elevated platforms and stayed together with their animals.⁴⁴⁹

Figure 3.7: One of the two wings of Nurbanu Sultan's caravanserai. The upper floors are later extensions.⁴⁵⁰

Guests who chose to stay at Nurbanu's caravanserai were required to share a communal sleeping area with their horses, and as Palerne noted, the free stay was limited to three days.⁴⁵¹ (see Fig. 3.6) The nearby guest house was typically reserved for distinguished guests, where they could spend the night in a warm and secluded environment. Alternatively, travelers willing to pay for a longer stay could enjoy the comfort and privacy of their own individual rooms in the waqf khans around the horse market.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁸ “Il y a deux longues écuries, en chacune desquelles peuvent loger deux cents chevaux, avec la belle cour: la fontaine de marbre au milieu, renfermée de quatre beaux corps de logis, séparés par petites chambrettes, au nombre de deux cents...” Palerne, *Peregrinations*, 431.

⁴⁴⁹ From an illuminated manuscript named “Memorie Turchesche” (Turkish Memories). (ca. early 1660s) Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 32r, in Museo Civico Correr in Venice.

⁴⁵⁰ From Aptullah Kuran, *Sinan: The Grand Master*, 187. For an examination of the original layout and shape of the caravanserai, see Robin Wimmel, “The Caravansaray of the Atik Valide Complex in Üsküdar: Some Ideas About the Original Shape, Alterations, and Its Value As A Monument,” in *Konya Kitabı*, vol. 10 (December 2007): 735-745.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 431.

⁴⁵² For a discussion between the differences in khan and caravanserai, see Robin Wimmel, *Caravanserais and Khans as Commercial Architecture: Accommodating Long-Distance Travelers in West Asia*, in *The Routledge Handbook of Global Islam and Consumer Culture*, eds. Birgit Krawietz and François Gauthier (London and New York: Routledge, 2024): 108-123. Machiel Kiel, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans* (Variorum: Hampshire, 1990), 307 (footnote 4). Also see Ahmet Yaşar, “The Han in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Istanbul: A Spatial, Topographical, and Social Analysis” (PhD diss., Boğaziçi University,

Another parallel between the Burgos and Üsküdar projects can be observed in the strategic investments towards the lucrative sectors: leather and oil production. Both Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Habeşi Mehmed Agha established linseed and sesame oil presses —the former near the Burgos complex and the latter in Ma'mûre, near the horse market.⁴⁵³ Linseed and sesame oil emerged as significant rivals to olive oil and butter in the market, especially since they were the cheapest edible oils that could also be used for non-culinary purposes.⁴⁵⁴ Linseed oil, for instance, served as a protective coating on wooden water pipes, providing a waterproof barrier to prevent decay and leakage.⁴⁵⁵ In 1583, the procurement of linseed oil was a priority for the construction of waterproof pipes, such as those that would supply water to Nurbanu Sultan's bath in Çemberlitaş.⁴⁵⁶ Furthermore, linseed oil was an important lubricant in the leather industry, used particularly throughout the tanning process.⁴⁵⁷ Establishing oil presses and tanneries together and in close proximity was thus a deliberate choice. Similarly, sesame oil emerged as a highly valued commodity on the market, primarily due to its affordability both as a culinary ingredient and as an affordable source for lighting.⁴⁵⁸ The decision by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Habeşi Mehmed Agha to

2016): 2-3. Mathilde Demirçivi Pinon, "Le Grand Bazar d'Istanbul et ses environs : formes, fonctions et transformations des han construits entre le début du XVIIIes et le milieu du XIXes" (PhD diss., l'université Paris-Sorbonne, 2009): 44-54.

⁴⁵³ In parallel with his efforts in Burgos, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha established a tanneries complex in Aleppo, around which emerged a tanneries quarter. This was only a part of his several other endowments in Aleppo, including several masjids and a commercial complex, the Khan al-Gumruk. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 346.

⁴⁵⁴ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Should it be Olives or Butter? Consuming Fatty Titbits in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire," in *Earthly Delights Economies and Cultures of Food in Ottoman and Danubian Europe, c. 1500–1900*, eds. Angela Jianu, Violeta Barbu (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018): 38.

⁴⁵⁵ For a detailed description of the preparation of water-proof *lökün*, a kind of mortar prepared with linseed oil used for surfaces exposed to water, see, Priscilla Mary Işın, Aspects of Ottoman Technology Described in the Unpublished Sections of Dr. John Covel's Diary," in *Living in the Ottoman Lands: Identities, Administration and Warfare*, eds. Hacer Kılıçarslan, Ömer Faruk Can, Burhan Çağlar (Istanbul: Kronik, 2018): 200.

⁴⁵⁶ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d. vol.49.p.41/a3 (Rebî'ülâhîr 991/ May 1583)

⁴⁵⁷ Nelly Hanna, *Artisan Entrepreneurs in Cairo and Early-Modern Capitalism (1600–1800)* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 116.

⁴⁵⁸ Remarkably, the North Aegean region, known for olive cultivation, witnessed a significant shift towards a leading role in sesame oil production during the sixteenth century. Fikret Yılmaz, "16. Yüzyılda Tarımsal Yapılarda Değişim ve Yağ Kullanımı," *Tarih ve Toplum*, vol.10 (Spring 2010): 23–42.

establish oil presses, thus, can be seen as a strategic move aimed at establishing a self-sustaining industrial ecosystem in Burgos and Ma'mûre to ensure the long-term prosperity of these regions.

As explained in Section 2.4.1, Nurbanu Sultan and Habeşi Mehmed Agha's fifteen tanneries formed a tannery cluster in Ma'mûre and paved the way for the emergence of the tanners' neighborhood on the outskirts of Üsküdar. Notably, a portion of the raw materials used by these tanneries, including the hides of the sheep and cattle, were procured from Nurbanu Sultan's slaughterhouses in Ma'mûre.⁴⁵⁹ In a similar vein, in Burgos, Sokollu established three tanneries, in addition to a candle manufactory and a soap manufactory near the Burgos Stream.⁴⁶⁰ Each of these manufactories required access to water sources and a steady supply of animal hides and fat. The Burgos Stream served as the essential water supply, while the required raw materials were likely sourced from a nearby slaughterhouse that also provided animal parts for the waqf's offal shop near the complex.⁴⁶¹ The strategic proximity of the tanneries, soap and candle manufactories, slaughterhouses, and offal shops facilitated the waste or by-products of one process (such as animal fat, hides and parts, linseed, and sesame oil) being repurposed as inputs or raw materials in the production of leather, candles, and soap. This spatial arrangement increased the efficiency of manufacturing processes and contributed to the economic resilience and self-sufficiency of the burgeoning urban settlements.

Another critical step toward nurturing a prosperous urban settlement was bringing clean, flowing water, essential for the operations of the waqf facilities as well as for the inhabitants' daily needs. In this endeavor, the grand vizier commissioned an extensive water supply system carrying water to Burgos from the springs of Küçük and Büyük Kaynarca in Pınarhisar, thirty-five kilometers away.⁴⁶² Sokollu's architectural initiatives were supported by Selim II, who granted tax exemptions to the residents of Burgos, a policy that "blurred

⁴⁵⁹ VGM.d.1766,p. 138-139.

⁴⁶⁰ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 352.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² Müderrisoğlu, "Menzil Külliyesi," 536.

the boundary between private and state patronage” in building waqf settlements.⁴⁶³ Through providing certain fiscal privileges, the Ottoman sultans generously supported urban projects that served broader public interests and were in line with the overarching goals of the state.

As reported by Evliya, “*Menzil-i kasaba-i pürnâz ya‘ni Büleyde-i Burgaz*,” the *menzil* town known as Pürnâz or Burgaz, was a large and densely populated settlement with three Friday mosques and seven hundred households living in six neighborhoods.⁴⁶⁴ The considerable urban growth of the town was also documented by several European travelers. When the Austrian traveler Hans Dernschwam passed through Burgos in 1553 before Sokollu’s urban initiative introduced a new visual and spatial order to the town, he described Burgos as “*ein zerschleifte mark*” (a frontier in ruins) near the stream where the remnants of the town’s Byzantine fortifications and gate were still visible.⁴⁶⁵ By contrast, Jean Palerne, who visited the town in the 1580s, introduced Burgos to his audience as “*un gross bourg*” (a large town), confirming the transformation of a sparsely populated settlement into a thriving town within a decade of the completion of the Sokollu’s complex.⁴⁶⁶

The rapid urban expansions of Burgos and Ma‘mûre were also closely linked to local commercial activity, driven by the establishment of marketplaces near the roadside complexes and by the considerable presence of merchant communities in the respective towns. By virtue of their strategic locations as transportation nexuses, *menzil* towns emerged as the centers for the exchange and taxation of goods from distant provinces. Consequently, most of them developed into thriving market towns over time and were designated as customs checkpoints. Typically, it was in the most frequented khan, or the town gates, piers, or bridges, that merchants had to pay the necessary dues to customs officials before selling

⁴⁶³ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 362.

⁴⁶⁴ Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 3, eds. Dağlı, Kahraman, and Dankoff, 172-174. According to the *avarız* registers of 1712, there were 270 *nefer* (male population) in nefs-i Lüleburgaz, so Evliya Çelebi’s report could be accurate. Bekir Gökpınar, “1712 Tarihli Avârız Defterine Göre Bergos (Lüleburgaz) Kazası,” in *FSM İlmî Araştırmalar İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi* (2020), 80.

⁴⁶⁵ Hans Dernschwam, *Hans Dernschwam's orientalische Reise, 1553-1555 aus Handschriften im Auszuge mitgetheilt* (Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1887), 28.

⁴⁶⁶ Palerne, *Peregrinations*, 149.

their wares.⁴⁶⁷ In coastal towns, the customs operations at boat landings were chiefly focused on the regulation of maritime imports. Moreover, khans designated as customs houses, like Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's Khan al-Gumruk in Aleppo, served not only as residences for merchants but also as centers for customs procedures and the primary venues for conducting business transactions.⁴⁶⁸

Burgos, for instance, was both a way station for travelers and a market town renowned for its annual fair, which was held in mid-spring, when pomegranate flowers bloomed.⁴⁶⁹ This event brought together long-distance merchants, local traders, and nomadic herders from the nearby highlands. The taxes collected during the Burgos fair were allocated to Sokollu's waqf in a manner similar to the allocation of tax revenues from Üsküdar's horse market to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf. In 1568, an imperial decree addressed to the kadi of Burgos mandated that commercial goods introduced during the fair, specifically the hides of cattle, goats, and sheep, were to be sold only at the livestock market established near the Burgos bridge.⁴⁷⁰ The decree also instructed slave traders to conduct their business in the market area designated for the fair.⁴⁷¹ These directives sought to address concerns about

⁴⁶⁷ For instance, in Bursa, the İpek Han was designated for the accommodation of caravans coming from Iran. Here, their merchandise was weighed, and the necessary duties were paid. The merchants were not allowed to leave the caravanserai until they had paid their duties and received a verified document. Habibe Kazancıoğlu, "Osmanlı Dönemi Kervansaraylarının Sosyo-Kültürel ve Ekonomik Fonksiyonları" (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2014):256-262.

⁴⁶⁸ Built in 1574, Sokollu's Khan al-Gumruk was the largest khan of Aleppo and hosted a large merchant community over the following three centuries. Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City*, 102-111. Masters, "Aleppo: the Ottoman Empire's Caravan City," 26.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ve cümle üç yüz aded çârsû-yı bâzârdır ammâ bezzazistânı yokdur. Lâkin her zî-kıymet bî-minnet bulunur. Ve bu şehirde mevsim-i gülnârda panayır bâzârı durur. Rûm u Arab u Acem'de Burgaz'ın sığır bâzârı meşhûrdur kim kırk gün kırk gice germ-â-germ bâzâr-ı muhabbet olup eyle bey' [u] şîrâ olur kim yük bozulup düzülp sürür [u] şâdumân, ayş [u] işret olur. Nehr-i Ergene kenarında tâ Sokollu Mehmed Paşa cisrinde varınca şehir tarafında bin adedden mütecâviz müfîd [ü] muhtasar çalaşdan ve külbe-i ahzândan dükkânlardır. Ankâ bâzergânlar için kârgîr dekâkinler dahi vardır ammâ azdır.*/The bazaar boasts three hundred shops, yet it lacks a covered market. However, one can find every luxury here without difficulty. As the season of pomegranate flowers comes, a fair market is held. Burgaz is also renowned across Roman, Arab, and Persian lands for its cattle market, which lasts for forty days and nights. During the market season, the town becomes a bustling hub of trade where merchants unpack their commodities in an atmosphere of joy and festivity. Alongside the Ergene River, stretching up to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's bridge, there are more than a thousand shops. Additionally, there are masonry shops for merchants, though they are few in number. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 3, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 174.

⁴⁷⁰ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.7.p.744/993 (7 Ramazan 975/6 Mart 1568).

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

merchants selling their wares in private residences or secluded orchards in order to evade taxes.⁴⁷² To prevent this, it was stipulated that goods must be displayed near the bridge, where customs officials were stationed to collect taxes on behalf of the waqf administration.⁴⁷³ The revenue generated from customs taxes was earmarked for the upkeep and maintenance of the bridge.⁴⁷⁴ We will see in Section 3.2 that Ma'mûre, likewise, was designated as a way station for trade caravans, offering overnight accommodation and market access to traveling merchants. It was also a customs checkpoint, where merchants had to declare their goods and pay their duties at the local customs office before heading towards Istanbul or Galata.

3.1.3. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's Payas Complex

Payas was an uninhabited pass (*derbend*) in present-day Hatay until the region received significant urban investments on the eve of the Cyprus campaign in 1570–71, and it developed into one of the important port towns along the Eastern Mediterranean coast.⁴⁷⁵ Its strategic position on the route between the sea and the mountain pass through the Amanus Mountains leading to Aleppo made Payas an indispensable node in the network of military, trade, and pilgrimage routes. Thus, the 1570s investments in the area, including the construction of a pier, an imperial dock⁴⁷⁶, a sea tower, a fortress, and a roadside complex, turned Payas at once into a strategic base for Ottoman naval forces, a gathering area for pilgrims on their way to Mecca, and one of the trade ports of Aleppo.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷² Ibid.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 3, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 174.

⁴⁷⁵ C.E. Bosworth, "Payas," In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 13 February 2024
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6104>

⁴⁷⁶ As of 1568, the imperial dockyard in Payas began building ships for the Ottoman fleet. Müderrisoğlu, "Menzil Külliyesi," 612.

⁴⁷⁷ Stefan Weber, "The Making of an Ottoman Harbour Town: Sidon/Saida from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries," in *Syria and Bilad al-Sham under Ottoman Rule* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 193. Müderrisoğlu, "Menzil Külliyesi," 602-615.

Following the completion of Sokollu's complex in 1574, an imperial order was issued for the forced relocation of five hundred Muslim and non-Muslim households to Payas, who would benefit from certain tax exemptions and could bequeath their privileges to their sons.⁴⁷⁸ According to Stefan Weber, however, Payas had never developed into a port city and regional trade center because it was too close to the coastal urban centers of İskenderun, Sidon, and Tripoli. He says:

Payas became quite a busy harbor town, but despite imperial patronage, this settlement of 800 tax-exempt households never developed into a proper city for several reasons. It was never of supra-regional importance; it was not the administrative center of a regional unit, and it did not enjoy the support of local or regional players as Sidon would do later. Another reason for the settlement's failure to acquire the status of a regional center was the competition from Tripoli and from İskenderun, founded in the 1590s.⁴⁷⁹

Even if it did not develop into a major port city of the Mediterranean Sea, Payas gradually developed into a regional market and a customs zone controlling the passage of commercial goods between Cyprus, Aleppo, Damascus, Baghdad, Egypt, and southwestern Anatolia.⁴⁸⁰ In the eighteenth century, the port of Payas was a central hub for the sale and redistribution of coffee arriving from Egypt, Aleppo, and Damascus to the surrounding cities, which meant that high customs revenues were levied in Payas.⁴⁸¹ The customs house was located near the sea tower (known as Cin Kule), which was close to the harbor where merchants unloaded their cargo.⁴⁸² The customs revenues were allocated for the Sokollu's

⁴⁷⁸ “*buyurdum ki şimdiye değin ve bundan sonra zikr olunan mevzide tavattun edenler kendileri ve oğulları avarız-ı divaniye ve tekalif-i örfiyeden ve sair rüsundan muaf ve müsellemlub ziraat ettikleri ...dahi kanun üzre üç yıl öşrleri alınmayub üç yıl sonra defter-i hakanide tayin olunduğu üzere öşrleri alınıb öşürden ve zimmi olanların haraçdan maada gayri resm taleb olunmamak bu babda mezkurları kimse rencide etmeye/* I have decreed that those who have settled in the mentioned location up to now and from now on, they and their sons are to be exempt from the extraordinary taxes and any other dues. The tithe levied on them will not be collected for three years; after three years, the tithe will be collected as designated in the imperial registers. Beyond the tithe and the poll tax collected from non-Muslim subjects, no other tax will be demanded, and no one is to harass those mentioned in this regard.” BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d. 26/909 (18 Şaban 982/ 3 December 1574).

⁴⁷⁹ Weber, “The Making of an Ottoman Harbour Town,” 194.

⁴⁸⁰ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 356.

⁴⁸¹ M. Sait Türkhan, “18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz’de Ticaret ve Haleb” (Ph.D. diss., Istanbul University, 2014), 147,152.

⁴⁸² Müderrisoğlu, “Menzil Külliyyeleri,” 610. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 3, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 31-32.

waqf, which was the *raison d'être* of the town.⁴⁸³ Additionally, Payas was one of the major centers for silk production and, together with the port of İskenderun, served as the trading port of Aleppo.⁴⁸⁴ The town's strategic location facilitated not only trade but also the efficient transportation of military provisions. Dispatched from Istanbul, vital military supplies were first landed at the port of Payas before being distributed to the Iranian frontiers via caravans.⁴⁸⁵

Designed by Sinan and typical of the architect's other roadside complexes, Sokollu's Payas complex featured a mosque, convent, caravanserai, hospice-cum-guest house, public bath, prayer dome, elementary school, and a covered shopping arcade, arranged in a cross-axial layout.⁴⁸⁶ The site was situated on a flat terrain next to the Payas Stream, at the foot of what was once a Crusader castle and subsequently repurposed as an Ottoman fortress.⁴⁸⁷ (see Fig. 3.8) Its slightly inland location, nearly one kilometer from the coast, would provide the complex and the surrounding settlement an advantage against maritime raids or pirate attacks, which posed significant threats to port towns during the period.⁴⁸⁸ The establishment of a new urban settlement behind the fortress would introduce an additional layer of defense, enhancing the security of the inhabitants and the merchant community alongside their valuable commodities. Another motivation that determined the location of the complex was that the central axis of the complex aligned with the Adana-Aleppo highway and could easily

⁴⁸³ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 356.

⁴⁸⁴ For the silk production centers in the Ottoman Empire, see Yavuz Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi: XVIII. yy'dan Tanzimat'a Mali Tarih* (Istanbul: 1986), 220-221. For a discussion regarding the increasing importance of Aleppo as a market city after the Ottoman conquest, see Linda T. Darling, "From Border Province to Imperial Hub: The Geopolitical Transition of Syria from Mamluk to Ottoman Rule," in *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilad al-Sham in the Sixteenth Century*, vol. 2, eds. Stephan Conermann, Gül Şen (Göttingen: Bonn University Press, V&R, 2022), 25-91. For the quote, see page 70.

⁴⁸⁵ Ahmet Yiğit, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Payas ve Birecik Limanları Üzerinden Bağdat'a Askerî Malzeme Nakline Dair Ayıntab Şer'iyye Sicillerinden Bazı Belgeler," 38. *ICANAS Uluslararası Asya ve Kuzey Afrika Çalışmaları Kongresi* (2007) (Ankara: 2012): 3397-3418.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁷ Müderrisoğlu, "Menzil Külliyesi," 596.

⁴⁸⁸ In 1569, the state took specific measures against enemy ships approaching the port of Payas. Ibid., 613.

attract overland travelers and caravans passing along this route.⁴⁸⁹ This spatial arrangement was repeated in other roadside complexes that Mimar Sinan designed for the grand vizier in Payas, Burgos, and Havsa.⁴⁹⁰

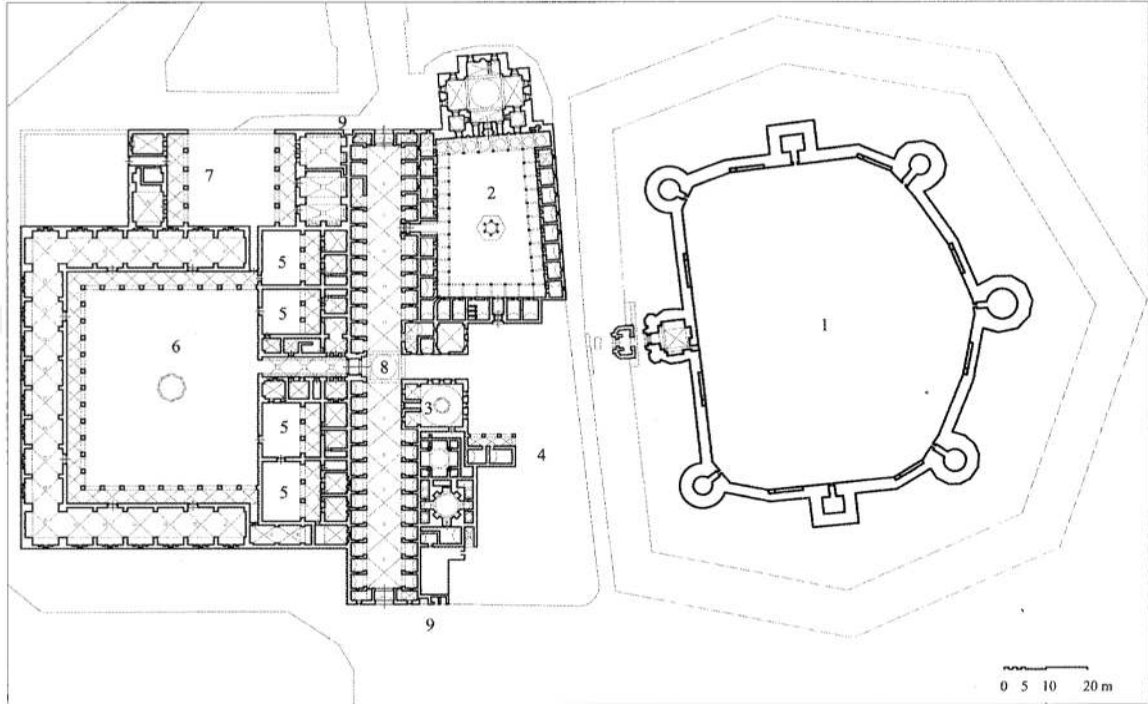


Figure 3. 8: Plan of the Sokollu's Payas Complex.⁴⁹¹

In this architectural configuration, the prayer domes, placed in the middle of the shopping arcades, held central importance as both a visual and a functional element.⁴⁹² (see

⁴⁸⁹ Müderrisoğlu, "Menzil Külliyesi," 597.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 545, 672-673, 697. Gülru Necipoğlu proposes that Mimar Sinan's roadside complexes designed for Sokollu Mehmed Pasha "could have been inspired by the archaeological remains of Roman towns, with their straight avenues, the intersecting axes of which were sometimes punctuated by a domed tetrapylon (as in Ottoman Thessaloniki), and bordered with shops." Gülru Necipoğlu, "Connectivity, Mobility, and Mediterranean 'Portable Archaeology': Pashas from the Dalmatian Hinterland as Cultural Mediators," in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, ed. Alina Payne (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014), 335.

⁴⁹¹ 1. Land Castle 2. Mosque and convent courtyard. 3. Bathhouse. 4. Elementary school (hypothetical reconstruction). 5. Guest rooms with private courts. 6. Caravansaray with stables. 7. Hospice. 8. Prayer dome. 9. Public fountains. From Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 357.

⁴⁹² Alev Eraslan, "Mimar Sinan Era Kulliyesi in the Ottoman Urban Landscape," *Belleten*, vol. 84, no. 299. (April, 2020), 91.

no 8 in Fig. 3.8). Firstly, these domed baldachins, visible from afar, served as landmarks offering a warm welcome and relief to the passengers arriving in the town after a long journey. Secondly, these prayer domes served as linchpins connecting the caravanserai-hospice section with the mosque block, offering uninterrupted circulation within the complex.⁴⁹³ This layout positioned a long shopping alley at the center of the complex in an innovative design, engendering a venue that promoted social interactions between locals and visitors engaged in commercial pursuits.⁴⁹⁴ In this scheme, prayer domes, beyond their function as a ceremonial entrance to the caravanserai and market, established a ritual space where local traders and artisans recited prayers before commencing their daily business.⁴⁹⁵

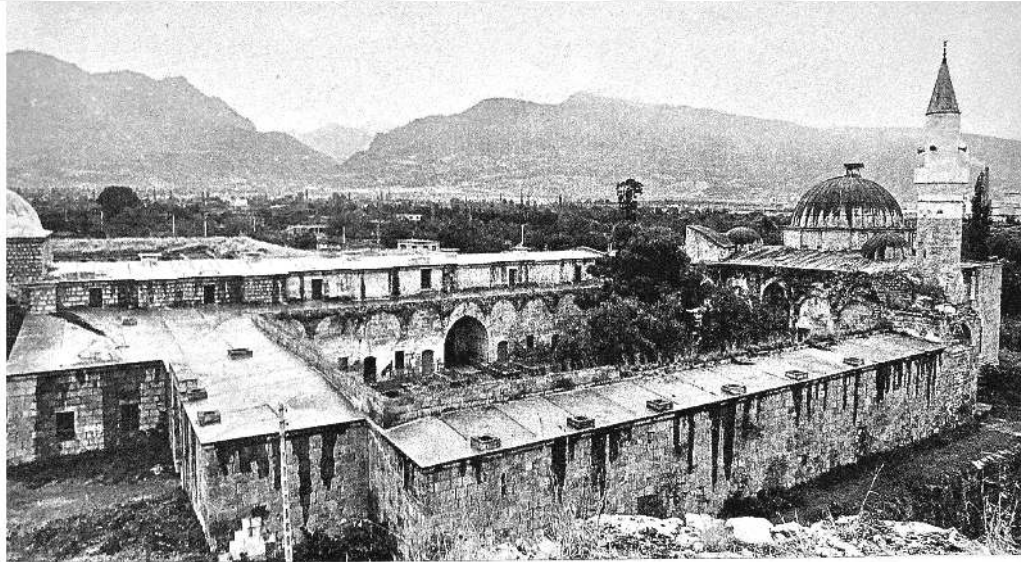


Figure 3. 9: Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's Payas Complex.⁴⁹⁶

In this respect, Nurbanu's building program was different. It did not incorporate a shopping arcade directly interfacing with the empire's highway. Instead, it was situated slightly off the thoroughfare, which started from the Great Pier of Üsküdar and extended along the shores of the Marmara Sea. (see Map 3.2) The location of the complex atop Toptaşı

⁴⁹³ Necipoğlu, "Connectivity, Mobility, and Mediterranean," 335.

⁴⁹⁴ Gönül Cantay, "Türkiye'de Osmanlı Devri Kervansaray Yapılarının Tipolojisi," in *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (September, 1981), vol. 3 (Ankara: TTK, 1986), 1383.

⁴⁹⁵ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 348.

⁴⁹⁶ Aptullah Kuran, *Sinan*, 152.

Hill likely reflects the patron's priority of placing her mosque on an elevated terrain to enhance its visibility and prominence within the surrounding landscape while still maintaining a certain proximity to the highway that served as a vital artery for travelers. The newly developed network of streets or pathways, linking the complex at the rural periphery of Üsküdar to the town center near the shore, ensured that Ma'mûre remained connected to the flow of travelers within the town, and the neighborhood was not isolated from Üsküdar's vibrant socio-economic life.⁴⁹⁷

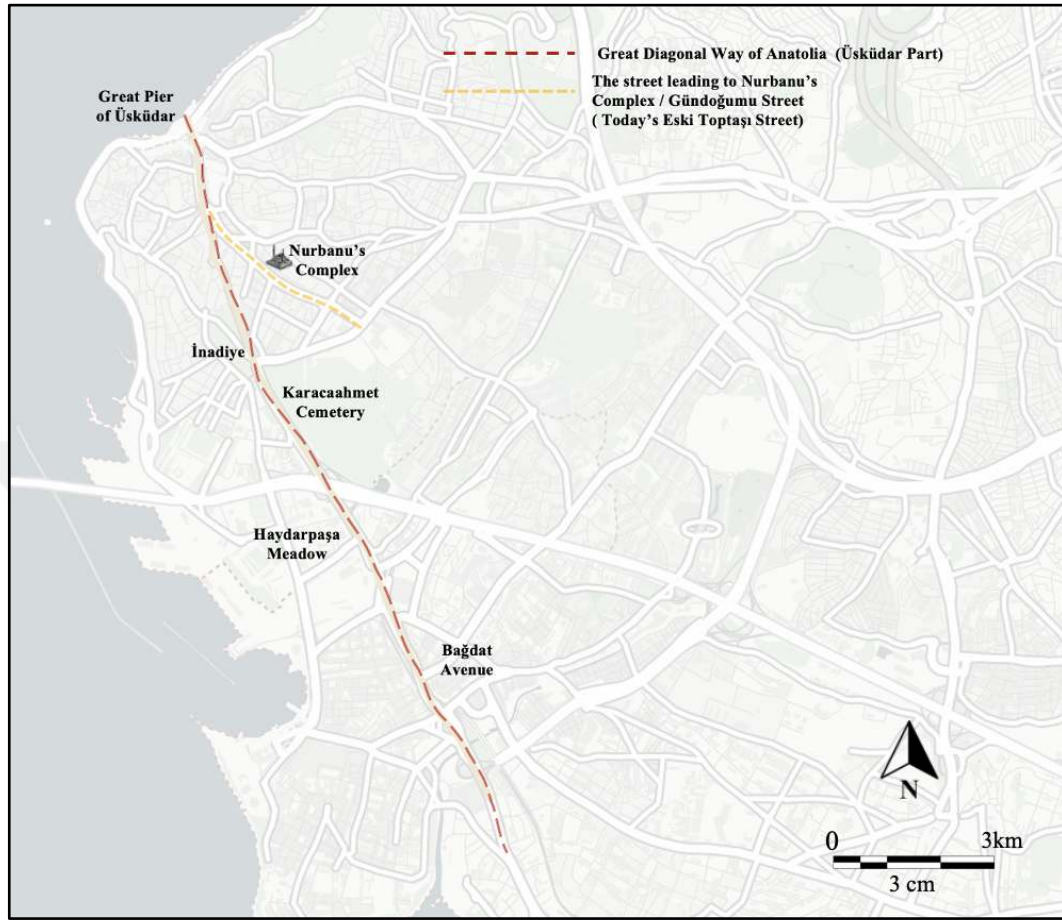
Briefly, while the imperial highway followed by passengers en route to Payas, Burgos, and Havsa led them directly to Sokollu's roadside complexes, those arriving in Üsküdar had to take secondary streets to reach Nurbanu's complex. The relocation of Üsküdar's horse market along the street leading to Nurbanu's caravanserai (today Eski Toptaşı Street) was, in fact, an attempt to overcome the complex's peripheral location.⁴⁹⁸ This strategic relocation likely attracted more visitors to the developing neighborhood, enhancing Ma'mûre's appeal as a central stopover destination for travelers. Only a 300-meter walk from the horse market, the ceremonial entrance of the caravanserai welcomed visitors. (see Fig. 2.10) A domed vestibule with five vaulted bays provided access to the two wings of the caravanserai. The entrance also guided visitors through a staircase passage opening to the central courtyard, which spanned between the kitchen and the guest house.

The absence of a shopping arcade in Nurbanu's complex likely stemmed from a decision to disperse commercial activities across a wider area rather than to centralize them within a single shopping hall. The revenue-generating shops and waqf-sponsored industrial operations were thus dispersed along Eski Toptaşı Street.⁴⁹⁹ While the absence of a central market in the layout of the complex may seem like a significant departure from the layout of Mimar Sinan's contemporary roadside complexes, I would argue that the establishment of an extensive market area designed to cater to the needs of travelers confirms the project's inherent aim of creating a functional way station.

⁴⁹⁷ See Section 2.2.

⁴⁹⁸ Given the Atik Valide Complex primarily served as a hub for the merchant community residing temporarily within the town, it is plausible to suggest that the principal artery leading to Ma'mûre, known as Toptaşı and later Eski Toptaşı Street, rapidly evolved into one of the most vibrant and bustling thoroughfares of Üsküdar.

⁴⁹⁹ See Section 2.4.1.



Map 3. 2: The main highway linking Üsküdar with Bağdat Avenue.
Produced by the author.

In this section, I have argued that Nurbanu's Üsküdar project complemented Sinan's roadside complexes built along the Great Diagonal Road, and this was in line with the imperial agenda of securing the hajj and trade route, especially during and after the reign of Süleyman I. The trend of creating new regional centers in the previously undeveloped areas along the imperial highway continued well into the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Notably, Nurbanu Sultan and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, both of whom held significant positions of power and influence in the Ottoman harem and imperial bureaucracy, respectively, played similar roles in sponsoring large-scale urban projects. Leveraging the advantages of extensive land grants and continuous support from the Ottoman sultans, they became influential waqf endowers and town-builders of the period. In the next section, I will shift the focus back to Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project. Specifically, I will explore the interconnections between the making of Üsküdar a *menzil* town on the one hand and, on the

other, the official designation of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre as a way station and a customs checkpoint for the trade caravans arriving from Anatolia.

3.2. At the Crossroads of Caravan Trade: Designating Ma'mûre as Üsküdar's Customs Checkpoint

Fishermen roam in search of their prey,
Deceiving customers along the way,
At customs, officers and newcomers clash,
From Üsküdar, our caravan comes.
Aşık Ömer (d.1701)⁵⁰⁰

A boat trip away from Istanbul, Üsküdar was a stopover destination for a wide range of travelers and, thus, an essential part of the extensive network of *menzil* towns that dotted the Great Diagonal Road. Each town was a link in a chain of way stations that facilitated the movement of goods and people across the vast expanses from the Balkans to the Hijaz. They offered a safe respite for travelers navigating the often perilous regions or rugged, mountainous terrain. Especially during the turbulent years of the Celali revolts, certain roads were often fraught with danger.⁵⁰¹ It was therefore important to establish these settlements at regular intervals so that they could be easily covered within a day's journey to minimize the risks of encounters with bandits, severe weather conditions, or health issues stemming from prolonged journeys without proper rest.

The importance of Ottoman Üsküdar as a transit zone and stopover destination did not begin with Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project, but with it, the town evolved into a more structured and organized *menzil* town. The strategic importance of Üsküdar at the intersection of land and sea routes linking the far reaches of Asia to the heart of Europe was first acknowledged by Mehmed II.⁵⁰² As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, even if his

⁵⁰⁰ *Balıkçılar şikârına dolaşur, müşteriye aldatmağa uğraşır, gümrükte de dîdebanlar savaşıur, Üsküdar'dan gelür kervanımız var.* Translation by the author. Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Aşık Ömer Hayatı ve Şiirleri* (Istanbul: Said Lütfi Matbaası, 1936), 22.

⁵⁰¹ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change: 1590-1699," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 2, eds. Halil İnalcık, Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 578.

⁵⁰² Üsküdar was the starting point of the road network, known as the Great Diagonal Way of Anatolia, and also was the embarkation point for maritime routes, particularly the Üsküdar-Faş and Üsküdar-Südde Strait (Gibraltar) sea lanes weaving through the Anatolian coastline, bridging it with the wider realms of the Mediterranean and Black Seas. For more information, see Yusuf Halaçoğlu, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda

contribution to the urbanization of Üsküdar was a modest one that included the construction of a maşjid, a public fountain, a bath, and a khan, he encouraged his grand vizier Rum Mehmed Pasha to lay the groundwork for the urban development of this sparsely populated Asian borough.⁵⁰³ In the early 1470s, Rum Mehmed Pasha commissioned the construction of a mosque complex as well as a covered market with fifty shops.⁵⁰⁴ Sultan Mehmed's khan and his vizier's complex formed together the commercial center of Üsküdar, close to the Great Pier where the boats carrying people and horses to the walled city were docked.

In 1530, one of the visitors to Sultan Mehmed's khan, Damascene scholar Bedreddin el-Gazzi, stayed a night in Üsküdar on his way to Istanbul and depicted the town in his travelog. Üsküdar had left such a profound impression on him that he opted to delay his journey to Istanbul in order to spend more time there. He wrote:

Üsküdar is a town with a robust and invigorating atmosphere, abundant with lush trees and vines. It exudes a luminous vibrancy, brimming with life and beauty. Surrounding the town are gardens abundant with all kinds of fruits and resembling a lush carpet interwoven with emerald-like greenery. The Great Constantinople Sea [Bosphorus] flows smoothly in front of the town. Üsküdar has beautiful mosques, spacious public kitchens, and grand markets and khans. The town serves as the gateway to Istanbul, where travelers cross over the sea by boat and skiff. My companions, laden with valuable treasures, proceeded directly to Istanbul without halting here. Instead, I decided to stay and visited Sultan Mehmed's *imaret* [hospice] located along the coast. The person in charge welcomed us warmly, provided us with a beautiful, spacious room, and extended the utmost hospitality.⁵⁰⁵

The hospice where Bedreddin el-Gazzi found free food and spent the night was likely Mehmed II's waterfront khan, which likely had an adjacent public kitchen and stables.

Menzil Teşkilatı Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar,” *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, vol.2, no. 2 (1981): 123-132. Cemal Çetin, “Anadolu İskeleleri ve Kara Yolu Bağlantıları (XVI. Yüzyıl Sonları),” *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, vol. 28 (Autumn II 2014): 349-367.

⁵⁰³ Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 44, 119.

⁵⁰⁴ Mehmed Raif, *Mir'ât-ı İstanbul*, vol. 1, eds. Günay Kut, Hatice Aynur, 136. İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı refers to this market as Üsküdar Bedesteni. Konyalı, *Üsküdar Tarihi*, vol. 2, 429-430. In the Pervititch Map showing the region, this marketplace was also referred to as a *bedesten* since it was covered with a gable roof. Pervititch Map Üsküdar, Plate 64 (1931), Salt Archives. Rum Mehmed Pasha had another covered market in Manisa, which was a single-story structure with a longitudinal rectangular plan with a size of 42x10 meters. The market was surrounded by twenty-nine shops and was accessible through entrances on all four sides. Similar to his Üsküdar market, this structure was covered with a gable roof. Göksu Özden Öner, “Fatih Sultan Mehmed Dönemi Banisi: Rum Mehmed Paşa'nın Yapıları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme,” *The Turkish Online Journal of Design Art and Communication*, vol. 12/4 (October 2022), 988.

⁵⁰⁵ Ekrem Kamil, “Hicrî Onuncu-Milâdî Onaltıncı Asırda Yurdumuzu Dolaşan Arap Seyyah-larından Gazzî ve Mekki Seyahatnamesi,” *Tarih Semineri Dergisi*, vol. ½ (1937), 48. The content within brackets has been provided by the author for additional clarification.

Commonly referred to as Old Khan (*Eski Han*), this fifteenth-century structure served as the central hub for travelers before the construction of the caravanserais commissioned by Mihrimah and Nurbanu Sultan.

A century after the visit of Bedreddin el-Gazzi, the fifth-generation member of this Damascene scholarly family, Necmeddin el-Gazzi, traced his grandfather's footsteps and embarked on a journey to Istanbul, during which he stayed in Üsküdar.⁵⁰⁶ In his travelog, he expressed his admiration for the architectural grandeur of the edifices commissioned by two royal women, Mihrimah and Nurbanu Sultan.⁵⁰⁷ He also recorded that he stayed in the "*Takiyyat al-Walida*," the hospice of the late *valide sultan*, Nurbanu Sultan.⁵⁰⁸ Together, these narratives from the two members of the Gazzi family provide a vivid portrayal of Üsküdar's developing urban fabric and its shifting focal points during the sixteenth century.

The initial architectural endeavors of Mehmed II and his grand vizier could be interpreted as foundational steps in reinvigorating the connection between the newly-conquered Byzantine capital and its Asian suburb. This move was crucial for revitalizing commerce and ensuring a steady supply chain for the throne city in the making.⁵⁰⁹ In this endeavor, Üsküdar would play the role of a critical logistical hub, facilitating the transfer of goods and people across the Bosphorus, thereby bolstering the socio-economic life of Istanbul. As the state's territorial reach extended to the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf in the sixteenth century, interregional trade and the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, now under Ottoman control, gained even more prominence. These developments significantly bolstered Üsküdar's regional significance as a customs zone, a staging ground for annual

⁵⁰⁶ Gürzat Kami, "A Damascene Shāfi'ī Professor-Mufti in Istanbul: Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī's Travelogue (1032/1623)," *İslam Tetkikleri Dergisi-Journal of Islamic Review*, vol. 13/1, (March, 2023): 190. Also see Gürzat Kami, "Damascene Scholars in the Mamluk-Ottoman Transition: History of Three Generations of the Ghazzī Family (1450–1650)" (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2023).

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁸ Necipoğlu states, the Ottoman complexes in Arab territories, which included public kitchens (imaret) and guesthouses (tabhane), were locally referred to as *Takiyya* (tekye, dervish convent). Such a designation stemmed from their emergence as novel institutions that were unfamiliar in Syria-Palestine during the Mamluk era. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 278.

⁵⁰⁹ As Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu states, their architectural endeavors were "the earliest indication of Üsküdar's being conceptualized as Constantinople's Asian suburb, an integral part of a tripartite topographical layout embracing a triad of suburbs." Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 120.

hajj processions, and a *menzil* town where travelers stopped to rest and pass the night. In this context, Mihrimah Sultan's Üsküdar complex, along with subsequent large-scale urban projects, should be seen not merely as acts of charity but also as responses to the evolving needs of Üsküdar, particularly its expanding population and the increasing volume of passing travelers.

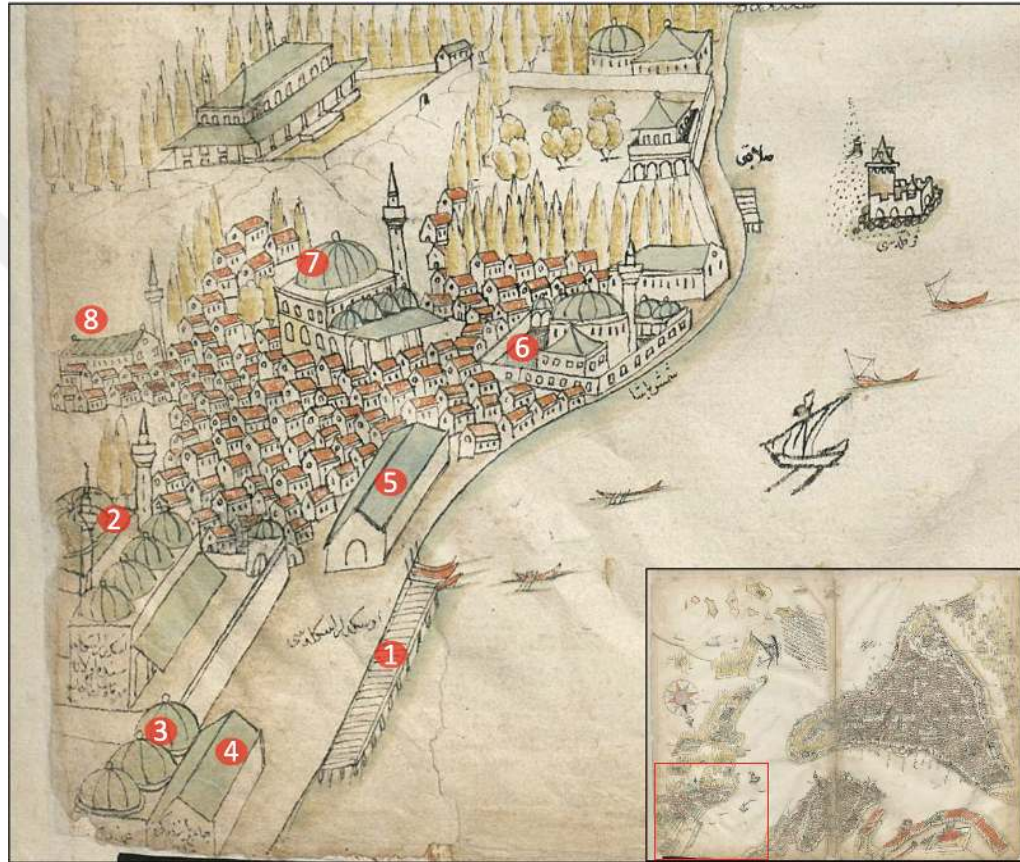


Figure 3. 10: Certain Landmarks of Seventeenth-century Üsküdar. ⁵¹⁰

Completed in 1547-48 with all its components, Mihrimah Sultan's Üsküdar complex emerged as a prominent landmark, marking the coastal town center with its double-minaret mosque. (see Fig. 3.10 no 2) The location of Mihrimah's waterfront mosque, just opposite the Great Pier of Üsküdar, so prominently visible from afar to those approaching the town

⁵¹⁰ 1. Great Pier of Üsküdar, 2. Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, 3. Mihrimah Sultan's Hospice, 4.& 5. Mihrimah Sultan's Double-caravansary, 6. Şemsi Pasha Mosque, 7. Rum Mehmed Pasha Mosque, 8. Gülfem or Selman Agha Mosque (both with hipped roofs) (?)

A detail from the city view, "Istanbul and Its Boroughs," in the late seventeenth-century copy of Piri Reis' *Kitab-ı Bahriye*. From Digital Collection of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Diez A. Foliant 57, fol. 28/a.

by the sea, stood in stark contrast to her Edirnekapı mosque constructed in the 1560s.⁵¹¹ While the former was located at the entrance to Üsküdar from the direction of the Bosphorus, the latter was situated at the entrance to Istanbul from the gate of Edirne (Edirnekapı) and thus marked the end of the Divanyolu, the city's main thoroughfare.⁵¹² In other words, while Mihrimah's Üsküdar mosque emphasized Istanbul's connection with Anatolia and the state's eastern provinces, her Edirnekapı mosque, facing the Rumelian lands, highlighted Istanbul's location on the roads leading to the Balkans and the European territories. What the two complexes had in common, however, was their location in bustling transit areas that had already been populated, which posed such challenges as land constraints and the need to integrate the new structures into the pre-existing urban fabric.⁵¹³ In terms of site choice, Mihrimah Sultan's complexes markedly differed from Nurbanu's Üsküdar complex, built on an uninhabited vacant land.

Not long after the completion of the Mihrimah Sultan's complex, it became evident that the construction of accommodation and service facilities, while essential, was not sufficient to adequately manage the logistics of trade and travel in Üsküdar. Although these facilities offered free shelter and food for travelers, there was still a significant gap in the proper oversight of the caravan trade and regulation of the flow of goods and individuals in and out of the town. Therefore, the existing physical infrastructure needed to be complemented by a set of regulations to effectively monitor the passages to Istanbul and Galata.

In 1551, Ali Bey, the chief administrator of the Galata customs, reported to the central government that the lack of a designated khan in Üsküdar for the stay of caravan traders was causing difficulties in regulating commercial activities in the region, thus

⁵¹¹ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 278.

⁵¹² For a detailed examination of the sixteenth-century Edirnekapı, see Özkoçak, "Edirnekapı and Yedikule," 26–43.

⁵¹³ Pınar Kayaalp mentions the challenge Mimar Sinan faced to adeptly locating Mihrimah Sultan's expansive complex within the restricted area bordered by the shoreline and the steep hills. Kayaalp, "The Role of Imperial Mosque Complexes," 651. In a similar manner, the construction site in Edirnekapı was in an already built-up area so had its spatial constraints. There is an unconfirmed narrative saying that Mihrimah Sultan chose the site of the Church of Saint George (Hagia Georgios) for her Edirnekapı mosque, given its elevated position in the district. The narrative posits that after acquiring the site for her construction, she permitted the local community to erect a new church directly opposite her mosque. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 314.

resulting in a loss of tax revenue.⁵¹⁴ According to his report, long-distance traders arriving from Anatolia sought shelter in the residences of the locals, who provided accommodation and helped them cross the Bosphorus with their merchandise without paying customs duties.⁵¹⁵ During the nighttime, they illicitly transported their cargoes, which were subject to duty, by boats to Galata, thereby resulting in a substantial loss of the state's tax revenues.⁵¹⁶

Ali Bey's warning provides critical insights into the imperative measures to be taken to curtail such unauthorized activities and to effectively monitor and supervise the caravan trade. In his correspondence, Ali Bey did not mention the insufficient capacity of lodging

⁵¹⁴ “..hâliyâ ber-vech-i iltizâm İstanbul'un Yalı gümrüğüne emin ve Galata gümrüğüne nâzır olan kıdvetü'l emâsil Ali Dergâh-ı Mu'allâma gelüb kasaba-yı Üsküdar'da Anadolu cânibinden gelen tüccara konacak bir mekân-ı mu'ayyen olmamağın ekseri kasaba-yı mezbûre ahâlisinin evlerine konub onlara gece ile metâların sandallarına koyup İstanbul'a götürüb ihtifa idüb bu tarikle esbâblarından bir akçe gümrüğün alınmayub zayı' olur mezbûr tüccar konacak bir mekân tayin olub gelen tüccar kasaba-yı mezbûr ahâlisinin evlerine konmayub ol yerde konsalar ve kimesne sandallarıyla tüccarın metâların geçürmek men olursa tüccar getirdükleri metâ'ı doğru gümrükhaneye götürüb bir akçe gümrük zâyî' olmayub ve bize dahî hayf olmazdı deyü bildirdi imdi merhum ceddim Sultân Mehmed Hân -tâbe-serahûnun- Üsküdar'da vaki' olan hanı ki Eski Han demekle ma'rûftur Anadolu'dan gelen tüccar ol hana konmak münâsib görüldüğü ecilden buyurdum ki hükm-i şerîfım vardukda kasaba-yı Üsküdar'da nidâ ve tenbîh ve yasâk ittirüb ve Anadolu cânibinden gelen tüccar kasaba-yı mezbûre ahâlisi evlerine konmak memnû' olub min-ba'd han-ı mezburede kona karar olunduğun i'lâm ve i'lân ettiresiz ki beher biri işbu yasağı ve emr-i şerîfi bilüb gelen tüccarı Üsküdar ahâlisinden kimesne evine kondurmayub ve tüccar dahi varub konmayub doğru gelüb han-ı mezburede konub âdet üzere metâ'larıyla boğazda işleyen at gemilerine veya Üsküdar'da bir koldan girüb doğru iskeleye çıkub getirdükleri metâ'ı gümrükhaneye elden kanun üzere gümrüklenip virile Üsküdar'dan kimesne sandallarıyla tüccarı geçirtmeyesin./Ali, the principal tax collector of the Yalı customs and the chief administrator of the Galata customs, reported that in the town of Üsküdar, there is no lodging facility designated for merchants arriving from the direction of Anatolia. As a result, most of these merchants stay in the residences of the locals. Additionally, under the cover of darkness, they clandestinely load their merchandise onto boats and sail to Istanbul to avoid customs duty. This illegal practice leads to a loss of customs revenue. Should a specific place for accommodations be established for these merchants, they would no longer need to occupy the residents' residences. Moreover, banning the transport of the merchants' goods by boat would compel them to deliver their merchandise directly to the customs, averting any loss in customs duty. My late grandfather, Sultan Mehmed Han - may his grave be sanctified - deemed it appropriate for the merchants coming from Anatolia to stay at the khan in Üsküdar, known as the Old Khan. Accordingly, I decree that upon receiving my order, an announcement shall be made in Üsküdar declaring that the merchants arriving from the Anatolian side are now forbidden from staying in the locals' residences. From now on, they must stay at the aforementioned khan. This decree is to be widely announced and proclaimed, ensuring everyone is well-informed of this prohibition and my imperial command. No resident of Üsküdar shall host these merchants in their homes, and the merchants, upon arrival, shall not stay in their residences but shall go directly to the Old Khan. Furthermore, they shall transport their goods on the horse ships operating on the strait. If they arrive at Üsküdar through a branch of the imperial highway, they shall proceed directly to the jetty, the customs office, where their goods would be taxed according to the law. No one in Üsküdar shall transport the merchants by boat.” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.15, p.140/ a1 (Recep 958/ July 1551).

⁵¹⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.15, p. 140/a1 (Recep 958/July 1551).

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

facilities in the town. Instead, he drew attention to the absence of a specific location designated for the accommodation of the caravans during their stay in Üsküdar. Thus, the reason why traders stayed in private residences was not due to a shortage of available khans, especially after the construction of Mihrimah Sultan's two spacious khans. (see Fig. 3.10 nos. 4, 5) Rather, it appears they sought to evade the surveillance of customs officials, innkeepers, and local police force and remain unregistered for a more lucrative trade. In order to address this challenge, the government would need to implement stricter regulatory measures, including the establishment of lodgings exclusively reserved for the accommodation of trade caravans that would ensure the proper levy of duties.

Following Ali Bey's warning, Sultan Süleyman's administration took certain precautions. In the same year (1551), an imperial decree addressed to the kadi of Üsküdar ordered that the town's merchant community be accommodated in no other place than *Eski Han*, the oldest khan of Üsküdar, commissioned by Mehmed II.⁵¹⁷ The merchants arriving at Üsküdar were required to go directly to the town's only customs office, located in the pier area.⁵¹⁸ Only then were they permitted to proceed with unpacking their goods for sale within the town.⁵¹⁹ His decree also prohibited residents from accommodating merchants in their residences.⁵²⁰ Also, only the designated horse ships (*at mavnaları*) were authorized to transport the merchants and their valuables to *intramuros* city, and local boatmen were barred from assisting merchants to cross the Bosphorus illicitly.⁵²¹

This imperial regulation aimed to enhance the state's control over the mobility of the merchant community and to improve the efficiency of collecting customs duties. However, those responsible for the unlawful activities did not only include the merchant community but also extended to the officials overseeing the customs operations. The need

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ The decree does not specify at which pier of Üsküdar the customs office was located. However, it was most likely situated at one of the adjacent piers of Balaban, Kavak, or Büyük İskele, which lied between the Şemsi Pasha and Mihrimah Sultan Mosques. Reşad Ekrem Koçu, "Balaban İskelesi," in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4 (İstanbul: 1960), 1949-1960.

⁵¹⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.15, p.140/ a1 (Recep 958/ July 1551).

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

⁵²¹ Ibid.

for a better control mechanism in the customs of Üsküdar resurfaced on the agenda of the central government in 1566 when a group of merchants accused the customs officers in Üsküdar of exploiting the lack of rigorous supervision and inspection to impose exorbitantly high taxes.⁵²² In order to effectively address the problem, a trusted steward from the Imperial Court (*müteferrika*), who was also a state merchant (*hassa taciri*), was appointed as the chief director of the customs in Üsküdar, Galata, and Istanbul.⁵²³

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, it became increasingly apparent that merely centralizing commercial activities around Eski Han and appointing a supervisor for Üsküdar's customs officers were no longer sufficient to deal with the growing traffic of caravans passing through the town. Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project initiated the next phase of addressing the requirements for a *menzil* town. In the absence of city walls and gates to serve as checkpoints and customs areas, Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood assumed the role of land gateway to Üsküdar.

The initial step in this endeavor involved the building of Nurbanu Sultan's complex, which offered services characteristic of Mimar Sinan's roadside complexes, distinguished by their spacious guest houses, caravanserais, public kitchens, and adjacent marketplace.⁵²⁴

⁵²² "Nişân-ı hümayûn oldur ki; mahrûse-i İstanbul'da ba'zı kapudan ve Galata'da ve Üsküdar maberinde alınan gümrüğün mültezimleri kânûndan ziyade resm alub tüccâra ve sâir mürûr ve ubûr idenlere te'addî olduğu i'lâm olunub zikr olunan gümrüklerde tüccâra tecâvüz itmemek için üzerlerine nâzır nasb olunmak lazım olmağın müteferrikalardan hâssa tâciri olan Mustafa ehl-i vukûf olub kemâl-i emânet ve diyânetine i'timâdım olmağın gümrük husûsun görüb gözetmek için nâzır ta'yîn idüb bu nişân-ı hümayûnu virdim / The imperial decree is as follows: It has been declared that in certain customs offices in Istanbul, as well as in Galata and Üsküdar, customs duties have exceeded the legal rates, imposing an unjust burden on merchants and others transients. It is hereby announced that officials will be appointed to supervise and ensure fairness in customs matters. Among those designated as official traders, Mustafa, recognized for his integrity and trustworthiness, has been chosen to oversee customs affairs." BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.5.p.546 /1496 (11 Şevval 973/ 1 May 1566). Also see: Kerim İlker Bulunur, *Osmanlı Gümrük Sistemi: 1426-1620* (Istanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2020): 25.

⁵²³ Halil İnalçık explains the function of the customs system as follows: "The customs system was designed to ensure collection of duties on all goods imported or taken from one customs region to another. However, smuggling was a general practice, perhaps excused by the perpetrator because duties on trade and the circulation of goods were considered injustices unapproved by Islamic Law. Since customs revenues were, as a rule, farmed out to private interests, there was a constant struggle between the tax-farmer and taxpayer. For his part, the tax-farmer believed that strict control and even overtaxing served the state's interests as well as his. Imperial regulations concerning customs were issued to prevent smuggling and cheating in most cases upon the complaints of a taxfarmer." İnalçık and Quataert, *An Economic and Social History*, vol. 1, 201.

⁵²⁴ Gülru Necipoğlu's description of Mimar Sinan's roadside complexes around which new urban centers developed perfectly fits within the scope of the services provided by the Atik Valide Complex, as well as the development trajectory of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. In Necipoğlu's words: "Sinan's roadside complexes formed the nuclei of towns that were also provided with various religious, educational, social, and economic facilities

Nurbanu Sultan's nine-room guest house, double-winged caravanserai, large public kitchen, and market area were designed to meet the particular needs of a *menzil* town. The second step in organizing Ma'mûre as a hub for travelers was to designate the neighborhood as the town's only horse-trading area. This was done upon the order of Murad III in 1580. Last but not least, the third step included building khans, rental rooms and dwellings, a variety of shops, bakeries, coffee shops, and workshops like tanneries and candle and oil manufacturers, and developing the region into an open-air marketplace.⁵²⁵

Upon arriving at the Valide Sûkû, travelers would find a comprehensive range of services at their disposal. They had the option to stay in one of the bustling khans in the marketplace, acquire a horse or mule for their journey, ensure that their mounts were properly saddled and equipped, and even hire muleteers to transport their cargo or serve as guides during their travels. Before embarking on their journey, they could visit the barbershop for a haircut, have their shoes repaired at the shoe tip maker (*na'lçacı*), enjoy a meal from the pastry maker (*börekçi*), the soup cook (*çorbacı*), and the maker of a type of hot pancake (*gözlemeci*), get a refreshing drink from the sherbet-maker, procure provisions from the grocer and butcher, and spend time in a coffee or *boza* house.⁵²⁶

and with running water, often brought to public fountains from a considerable distance. These complexes were accompanied by such income-producing structures as bath-houses and markets where travelers could buy goods. The distribution of tax-free lands nearby provided an incentive for new settlers to build houses." Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 72.

⁵²⁵ Even in the nineteenth century, most of the bachelor rooms were located around Üsküdar's central market area and in Ma'mûre. Shirine Hamadeh, "Invisible City: Istanbul's Migrants and the Politics of Space," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 50/ 2 (Winter 2017), 173-193.

⁵²⁶ The *boza* shops in the market were predominantly owned by members of the military class, such as janissaries and *sipahis*. Some of them also sold wine and *tatar boza*, known for its notably high alcohol content, which ultimately resulted in their closure. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.106. p. 10/a1.(Rebî'ülevvel 1011/ September 1602) For the pastry house in the market, see BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.108.p.24/ a1 (Rebî'ülevvel 1012/ August 1603). For a court register regarding the community of Ma'mûre's marketplace, see BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.67.p.20/a1 (Ramazan 994/September 1586). For the barber shop in the market, see BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.86.p.29/b3 (Ramazan 1001/June 1593). For the butcher shop in the market, see BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.498.p.48/b2 (Zilhicce 1187/February 1774). For the *gözleme* shop in the market, see BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.510.p.61/b6 (Rebî'ülâhîr 1197/March 1783). For the coffee shop in the market, see BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.510.p.62/a2 (Rebî'ülâhîr 1197/March 1783). For the soup cook in the market, see BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.510.p.64/a3 (Rebî'ülevvel 1197/February 1783). In the late eighteenth century, one of the grocery shops in the market was near Mehmed Agha's fountain. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.498.p.17/b5 (Cemâziyelevvel 1187/ July 1773) One of Mehmed Agha's waqf shops was leased to a shoe tip maker. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.498.p.37/a1 (Ramazan 1187/November 1773).

The fourth and perhaps the most pivotal stage in the official recognition of Ma'mûre as a *menzil* for trade caravans was the designation of Nurbanu Sultan's khan as Üsküdar's customs checkpoint. As noted earlier, Nurbanu Sultan commissioned a large khan, known as Han-ı Cedid, which, along with Mehmed Agha's Sulu Han, remained one of the town's most spacious accommodations well into the eighteenth century.⁵²⁷ In 1582, Murad III decreed the establishment of a customs office in Han-ı Cedid.⁵²⁸ The appointment of the necessary number of officers immediately followed, including a scribe for record-keeping and an administrator charged with ensuring the smooth operation of the customs office. This move mirrored the establishment of Sokollu's Khan al-Gumruk, which he built in Aleppo in 1574 and served as the city's customs house.⁵²⁹ Similarly, Nurbanu Sultan's Han-ı Cedid would take on a central role in the commercial life of Üsküdar, providing merchants with convenient lodging and access to certain administrative services.

⁵²⁷ Genç, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Üsküdar Hanları," 135, 136.

⁵²⁸ "Üsküdar Kadısı'na hüküm ki, Validem Sultan -dâmet ismetühâ ve zâdet iffetühâ- evkâfı mütevellisi Pir Ali -zîde mecduhü- mektub gönderüp Anadolu etraf vilayetlerde kara (amid) canibinden gelen tüccar taifesi getirdükleri metaları hala Üsküdar'da Mahalle-i Cedidi'l-Ma'mûre'de bina olunan hanlardan gayrı yerlerde bezirgan taifesinin yükleri konulmayub ve Edirnekapısı kurbünde Karagümrüğü'nde olduğu üslûb üzere gümrük eminleri canibinden bir emin ve bir kâtib ve bir kaç dîdebân ta'yîn olunub zikr olunan yerlerden gelen bâzergân esbâblarının gümrüğe nakilleri için Han-ı Cedid'de zabt u kabz olunub gayrı yerlerde tüccar tâifesi konulmayub ve yüklerin açtırmayub takrir mucibince mezbureye gelür ise mal-ı mîrîye külli nef' hasıl olub hanların ve dükkanların icareleri yevmen-fe-yevmen ziyade virüb ve mahallenin kesretine bais olur minbad vech-i meşruh üzre aher yerde Anadolu canibinden gelen Karagümrüğe alınmayub Mahalle-i Ma'mûre'de alınmak ricasına arz eylediğün ecilden buyurdum ki hükm-i şerifim vusûl buldukda bu babda mukayyed olub Anadolu Vilayeti'nden ve etrafından gelen bâzergân taifesini minbad aher yerlere kondurmayub arz olunduğu üzere müşarünileyha tarafından müceddeden bina olunan hanlarda kondurup lazım olan gümrüklerce miri canibinden zabt olunub muhalif kimesnelere iş etdirmeyesin/ The order to the kadi of Üsküdar: Pir Ali Agha, the administrator of my mother's waqf—may her dignity be preserved and her honor be exalted - has sent a letter stating that merchants coming from the Anatolian provinces and the surrounding regions, and from Diyarbakır, are to store their goods nowhere but in the newly built khans in the Mahalle-i Cedidi'l-Ma'mûre of Üsküdar. This is my order: establish a customs office in Han-ı Cedid, and make sure that a trustworthy administrator, a scribe, and several customs officers are appointed to oversee the merchants' goods transferred to the customs for tax collection as if it is organized in Karagümrük near Edirnekapısı. Do not allow merchants to stay or open their loads in other places than Ma'mûre. If they comply with these regulations, it will greatly benefit the state treasury, The rent from the khans and shops will increase day by day, and the increasing rent collected from the khans and shops in Ma'mûre will lead to the prosperity and growth of the neighborhood. Pir Ali Agha requested the customs duties collected from merchants arriving from the Province of Anatolia or its surrounding areas are not to be processed in Karagümrük but instead in Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. I hereby order that merchants from the Province of Anatolia and its surrounding areas shall only be allowed to settle in the newly constructed khans in Ma'mûre where the necessary customs duties be meticulously recorded and collected on behalf of the state. Ensure that compliance with this order is strictly maintained." BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.47, p.137 /638. (8 Recep 990/ 29 July 1582).

⁵²⁹ Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City*, 102-111.

Sultan Murad's decree further stipulated that the caravan community entering the town via land routes be exclusively lodged within the khans located in Ma'mûre.⁵³⁰ The kadi of Üsküdar would follow the customs procedures in effect at the customs in Karagümrük and take the necessary measures to ensure that the merchants in the town would unpack their cargoes after settling their duties at Han-ı Cedid.⁵³¹ The decree does not clarify whether it overrode the earlier sultanic order requiring trade caravans to stay in Eski Han and pay their customs dues to the customs officers stationed at the pier. It also omits any reference to the merchant community arriving in Üsküdar from the sea, possibly because most of these merchants would have already paid their duties before entering the town. Nor does it mention the abolition of the customs office at the Üsküdar pier, implying that it was still operational. Thus, it can be argued that after 1582, a bifocal spatial organization was introduced for customs operations at Üsküdar.⁵³²

Although not explicitly stated in the decree, the establishment of a customs checkpoint at Ma'mûre was likely a precautionary measure against attempts by certain merchants to evade their tax obligations. The unauthorized crossing of the Bosphorus without declaring merchandise at the designated customs points could have been a persistent issue despite earlier regulatory efforts. Another common practice to avoid customs duties involved merchants selling their goods in towns near major cities with customs offices. For example, in the late seventeenth century, there were notable grievances regarding the practices of Persian merchants who were actively engaging in trade between Aleppo, Damascus, and various Aegean towns but deliberately avoiding İzmir, a customs checkpoint.⁵³³ Instead of conducting their business in İzmir, these merchants opted to trade in nearby towns like Uşak, Kula, Karahisar, Manisa, and Tire, thus avoiding the payment of

⁵³⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.15, p. 140/a1 (Recep 958/July 1551).

⁵³¹ Ibid.

⁵³² According to Ahmed I's imperial order issued in 1615, Sultan Murad's prohibition on accommodating merchants arriving in Üsküdar in private dwellings remained in effect because such practices continued to enable evasion of customs duties. In the 1615 decree, all merchants were to be accommodated in the khans of Ma'mûre. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.125. p.76/b2 (1024/1614-1615).

⁵³³ BOA.MAD.d.21880.p.1/b1 (Şaban 1103/ May 1692).

duties. These towns were close enough to İzmir to attract potential customers yet lay outside the jurisdiction of İzmir's customs officials.

It is thus plausible to suggest that merchants arriving in Üsküdar might have employed a similar strategy. They likely conducted their commercial activities within the town without crossing the Bosphorus, thereby avoiding the customs at the piers of Üsküdar. As a solution, setting up customs checkpoints at both sea and land entry points would establish a dual control system. In this arrangement, the customs officers at the piers would have dealt with those who entered Üsküdar from the sea and unloaded their cargo at the docks. Meanwhile, the trade caravans arriving by land routes would have to stop by Ma'mûre to fulfill their tax obligations and find lodging. Aside from reducing the potential for tax evasion and smuggling, this arrangement enhanced Ma'mûre's significance as a way station in the caravan trade.

The emergence of Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood as Üsküdar's new center for logistics of trade and travel diminished the prominence of Eski Han, which had previously been a primary destination for travelers seeking a place to stay. Only thirteen years after Sultan Murad's decree, which designated the khans in Ma'mûre as the exclusive accommodation for trade caravans, Eski Han had deteriorated so severely that it could no longer host guests. This inability to host guests ultimately resulted in its eventual abandonment.⁵³⁴ Consequently, Eski Han turned into a gathering place for individuals of questionable repute, which eventually led to a grim incident in May 1595 when a murder victim's head was found there.⁵³⁵

By contrast, after 1580, Ma'mûre began to attract an increasing number of transient populations, hosted trade and hajj caravans, offered lodging to travelers, and supplied the goods and services essential for onward journeys. The horse market served as a meeting place for travelers and muleteers, where they engaged in such business dealings as the rental and purchase of various kinds of mounts—including horses, mules, and camels—as well as carriages such as wagons and palanquins. Moreover, there were various services offered in the market, such as the rental of carriage drivers for transporting goods and providing

⁵³⁴ BOA. A.DVNSMHM.d.73.p.128/302 (Şaban 1003/May 1595)

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

professional guidance for long-distance travel. For instance, in May 1585, three muleteers, Mustafa, Osman, and the other Mustafa, were trading in Ma'mûre when they made an agreement with İlga, likely a member of the Armenian merchant community, who had come from Van to transport his cargo to Tokat on forty-four mules and to return with another set of cargo back to Üsküdar in exchange for 14,520 *akçes*.⁵³⁶ The court scribe documenting the agreement between the muleteers and İlga also noted that the muleteers were to deliver the merchant's cargo to no other place than Ma'mûre.⁵³⁷ The muleteers in Ma'mûre also provided service to foreign merchants, especially those from the Iranian lands. In 1590, Şahi ibn Hoca headed to the horse market in Ma'mûre and purchased mules before leaving the town for Damascus on behalf of Mehdikulu Sultan, a Safavid merchant who had been held captive in Yenihisar (also known as Rumelihisarı) and had entrusted Şahi with the management of his commercial affairs.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁶ “Oldur ki Beypazarı’ndan Mustafa ibn el-hac Muhammed ve Osman ibn el-hac Sofi ve diğer Mustafa ibn Orhan nam katırcılar meclis-i şer’de hazır olub Vilayet-i Van’dan İlga (or İlge)... Girmcer mahzarında ikrâr ve takrîr-i kelâm idüb kırk res’ katır Üsküdar’dan Tokat’a varınca her bir katırı 330 akçeye kirâya virüb kırk katır yük götürüb ve dört katır yedek gidüb minbad yükleri yabanda komayub Mahalle-i Ma’mûre varınca dediklerinde .../ The muleeters Mustafa, the son of el-hac Muhammed, and Osman, the son of el-hac Sofi, both from Beypazarı, along with the other muleeter Mustafa, the son of Orhan declares in the sharia court and in the presence of İlga Girmcer, from the Province of Van, that they leased forty mules and four backup mules for transporting his cargoes from Üsküdar to Tokat for a cost of 330 *akçe* per mule. Upon their arrival to Üsküdar, they agreed not to unload his cargoes in the wilderness but instead to deliver them directly to Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62, p.31/b1 (Cemâziyelâhir 993/ June 1585).

Tokat was on the middle branch of the Anatolian diagonal way that led through Üsküdar- Gebze- İzniç- Sapanca- Geyve- Hendek- Ayaş- Düzce- Bolu- Tosya- Hacı Hamza-Osmancık- Merzifon- Amasya- Turhal- Tokat. Ali Açikel, “Osmanlı Ulak Menzilhane Sistemi Çerçevesinde Tokat Menzilhane (1690-1849), *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 12, no. 4 (December 2004): 4. The middle branch had a common track with the left branch of the Anatolian diagonal way up to the region of Tokat. The left branch extending from Üsküdar to Tabriz was a medieval trade caravan route mainly used for the silk trade. Wimmel, “Edirne as a Stopover Destination,” 155-156.

⁵³⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62, p.31/a1 (Cemâziyelâhir 993/June 1585).

⁵³⁸ “Dergâh-ı âlî çavuşlarından fahrü’l-akrân Hüseyin Çavuş ibn Abdulmennân mübâşeretüyle Şâhî ibn Hoca nâm kimesne Abdülkerîm ibn Mehmedi ihzâr ve üzerine takrîr-i da’vâ kılıp bundan akdem Yenihisar’da haps olunan Mehdi Kulu Sultan beni vekîl edip ticarete gönderdiğinde Üsküdar’a gelip mezbûr Abdülkerîm’den dört bin beş yüz akçeye bir katır iştirâ edip dört katır dahî gayriden iştirâ edip Şâm-ı Şerîfe vardığımızda ben beş katırımı Veli Hacı nâm kimesneye on dokuz bin akçeye satıp üç bin akçe ba’dehû alıp kalan on altı bin akçeye mezbûr Abdülkerîm kefil olmuşidi hâlâ şer’le taleb ederim su’âl olunsun diyecek/ Hüseyin Çavuş, a member of the imperial guards filed a lawsuit on behalf of Şâhî, the son of Hoca against the muleteer Abdülkerîm, the son of Mehmed, in the Sharia court. He stated that he had been sent to Üsküdar to take the necessary stuff to maintain the caravan trade of Mehdi Kulu Sultan, who is currently detained in Yenihisar. While in Üsküdar, he purchased a mule from the aforementioned Abdülkerîm for 4,500 *akçe*, and in addition, he acquired four more mules from other markets. Subsequently, Abdülkerin accompanied Şahi’s caravan during the journey to Damascus ” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.75, p.13/1a (Cemâziyelevvel 998 / March 1590).

Muleteers constituted a dynamic segment of the vibrant atmosphere of the horse market, as they were constantly on the move, going back and forth between the market towns that dotted the Great Diagonal Road, traversing Ottoman territories from Belgrade to the Arabian Peninsula.⁵³⁹ An eighteenth-century court record reveals the substantial presence of horse traders in Üsküdar, documenting eighty muleteers (*bargirci/beygirci*) versus only eighteen in Kadıköy.⁵⁴⁰ A few of these muleteers resided in Üsküdar or nearby areas such as Çengelköy, Bulgurlu, and Maltepe, but the majority hailed from distant cities, including Kırşehir, Kastamonu, Niğde, Alanya, Karaman, Beypazarı, Göynük, Edirne, and Tokat.⁵⁴¹ Therefore, most were not permanent residents of the town and stayed in the khans around the horse market. In 1739, for instance, the muleteers of Üsküdar were recorded as guests in Kadı Khan and Karabaş Khan, both located near the horse market.⁵⁴²

3.3. Conclusion

I began this chapter by providing a comparative view of the roadside complexes designed by Sinan during the latter half of the sixteenth century for each of Şehzade Selim, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, and Nurbanu Sultan, all strategically placed along the state's main hajj and trade routes. My aim was to shed light on the concerted efforts to create a corridor of *menzil* towns along the Great Diagonal Road. This focus allowed for a deeper exploration of Nurbanu's Üsküdar project within the broader context of imperial policies aimed at enhancing state control on monitoring and taxing commercial activities, ensuring safe

⁵³⁹ "The Great Diagonal Road was 2,600 km long. Travelers of the 17th century needed 26 to 30 days to cover the one thousand kilometers from Belgrade to Istanbul and 37 to 39 days for the distance of sixteen hundred kilometers from Istanbul/Üsküdar to Damascus." For more information, see Wimmel, "Edirne as a Stopover Destination," 154-157.

⁵⁴⁰ They were the muleteers, who were tasked with supplying the state with sixty mules required for the military campaign, BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.465.p.89/b1 (Zilka'de1178/April 1765). Also see, Işık Tamdoğan, "Atı Alan Üsküdarı Geçti ya da 18. Yüzyılda Üsküdar'da Şiddet ve Hareketlilik İlişkisi," in *Osmanlı'da Asayiş, Suç ve Ceza, 18.-20. Yüzyıllar*, ed. Noémi Lévy and Alexandre Toumarkine (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007), 92.

⁵⁴¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.465.p.89/b1 (Zilka'de1178/April 1765).

⁵⁴² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.398.p.71/a1 (Safer 1152/June 1739). Genç, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Üsküdar Hanları," 143 (footnote 49).

passage for hajj and trade caravans, and improving regional logistical capabilities crucial for military campaigns.

It is important to note that I did not discuss all the architectural initiatives that contributed to the establishment of *menzil* towns during this time period. Instead, I selectively examined Şehzade Selim's Karapınar, Nurbanu's Üsküdar, and Sokollu's Burgos and Payas complexes because they were all constructed in the 1560s-1570s by members of the extended royal household and exhibited significant overlaps in terms of urban strategies used to develop previously underdeveloped areas.

The chapter argued that specific strategies were followed in the development of Karapınar, Burgos, Payas, and Ma'mûre. These strategies were not arbitrarily implemented but were carefully devised to align with the existing urban infrastructure, topographical features, demographic composition, and building stock of the construction site and its surroundings. The fundamental steps that were followed to develop vacant or quasi-vacant areas for settlement and turn them into *menzil* towns included the building of a roadside complex, investment in a comprehensive water distribution system, the establishment of commercial and industrial zones, and encouraging settlement through tax exemptions, land grants and if necessary, forced resettlement.

These *menzil* towns served as regional nodes and were planned to foster a self-sustaining population while also implementing an economic framework that allowed a notable portion of the region's revenues to be allocated towards waqf operations. However, when a significant portion of the inhabitants were newly settled semi-nomadic tribes that had previously lived in nearby pastures, keeping the towns populated was a challenge. This required the state to take additional precautions like stimulating economic activity or granting fiscal incentives to maintain a stable and sustainable population. In cases where voluntary settlement was insufficient to maintain the town's population, the state could resort to forced relocation.⁵⁴³

Throughout the chapter, I also discussed the potential reasons why Nurbanu's complex was designated as a way station. I argued that when Üsküdar's role as a *menzil*

⁵⁴³ For more information, see Meltem Toksöz, *Nomads, Migrants and Cotton in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Making of the Adana-Mersin Region 1850-1908* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 72, 73.

town intensified, further infrastructure was required to cater to the needs of the visitors while also enabling state control over economic activities and the movement of goods and people across the Bosphorus. Both the service-oriented building program of Nurbanu's complex and the waqf-owned shops centered around the horse market adeptly catered to the requisites of travelers. Moreover, the designation of Nurbanu Sultan's khan as the customs checkpoint for the caravan traders entrenched the role of Ma'mûre as a full-fledged way station.

In conclusion, the horse market and its environs soon emerged as a vibrant hub of commercial and socio-cultural exchange. People coming from different regions generated a continual flow of people and goods as they traveled along their respective itineraries. For travelers who decided to stay in Üsküdar after crossing the Bosphorus, Ma'mûre served as a way station, providing them with a place to rest and complete their preparations before setting off into the heart of Anatolia. On the other hand, for trade caravans arriving from the Anatolian side, Ma'mûre served as a customs checkpoint, where they settled dues before entering Istanbul.

Chapter 4

**MA'MÛRE INHABITED: SOCIO-SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF
MA'MÛRE'S URBAN GROWTH**

Constructing socio-religious complexes on urban peripheries to encourage expansion into surrounding rural areas was a fundamental characteristic of Ottoman urbanism. This strategy played a particularly significant role the Ottomanization of conquered cities through expanding their boundaries, reorganizing their urban landscape, and establishing new residential and socio-economic centers throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As discussed in Chapter 3, from the latter half of the sixteenth century onward, this urban planning strategy was also applied to the development of *menzil* towns, which served as way stations along the empire's major routes. Therefore, Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project was not only an integral part of the broader efforts to develop prosperous urban hubs along the imperial highway but it was also informed by the earlier imperial projects that aimed to create new socio-economic centers, directing the expansion of cities into the surrounding rural landscape.

The urban transition of the citadel town Prousa (modern-day Bursa) into the Ottomans' administrative center exemplifies how imperial complexes acted as catalysts for urban expansion and played a pivotal role in restructuring the socio-economic fabric of conquered cities.⁵⁴⁴ After Orhan Bey captured the city from the Byzantines in 1326, he preserved and repurposed existing public buildings to accommodate the needs of the Muslim inhabitants, while also extending their urban investments beyond the city walls.⁵⁴⁵ (see Map. 4.1, no. 1) Through successive building projects initiated by Orhan Bey and his successors Bursa's socio-economic center gradually shifted from its Byzantine core within the citadel

⁵⁴⁴ For further information on Bursa's urban growth, see Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa: Yerleşimi, Yönetimi, Ekonomik ve Sosyal Durumu Üzerine bir Araştırma* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006).

⁵⁴⁵ Initially, the Ottomans settled within the citadel, they built a palace (*Bey Sarayı*) near the citadel and converted one of the churches, adapting the existing built environment to meet their administrative and military needs. Oya Pancaroğlu, "Landscape and Patronage in Bursa: The Making of an Ottoman Capital City," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, vol.19, no. 2 (1995), 43.

toward newly developed neighborhoods beyond the walls and suburban settlements that grew around sultanic mosques.⁵⁴⁶

The first large-scale project exemplifying the vision and guiding principle for Bursa's urbanization was initiated by Orhan Bey. Rather than concentrating development within *intramuros* city, Orhan Bey commissioned a complex approximately 600 meters east of the citadel that pushed the city's boundaries outward after its completion in 1339-40.⁵⁴⁷ His complex, which included a T-type convent-mosque⁵⁴⁸, a madrasa, a khan, an elementary school, a public kitchen, and a bath, formed the nucleus of a settlement for the city's new inhabitants.⁵⁴⁹ (see Map. 4.1, no. 2) At the turn of the fifteenth century, Bayezid I (1389-1402) built a congregational mosque, the *Ulu Cami* (Grand Mosque), and a *bedesten* near his grandfather's complex, further developing this once suburban neighborhood into the city's new socio-economic center, known as *Aşağı Şehir*, or the lower city.⁵⁵⁰

Murad I (r. 1362–1389) supported the development of Bursa's environs by commissioning a convent-mosque, a madrasa, a tomb and a thermal bath on the lower slopes of Uludağ,⁵⁵¹ Evliya Çelebi reported that his complex, completed in 1385, was in one of Bursa's suburban towns (*kasaba*), Çekirge, renowned for its thermal baths (*kaplıca*) and

⁵⁴⁶ Suna Çağaptay states: "As the city underwent the transition from Prousa to Bursa, the old city's urban legacy was preserved and revitalized, and new residential and commercial areas were developed around it. Three boroughs were founded: one just outside the walls from the time of Orhan, the second to the west and named after Murad I, and the third to the east and named after Bayezid I." Suna Çağaptay, *The First Capital of the Ottoman Empire: The Religious, Architectural and Social History of Bursa* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2020), 15.

⁵⁴⁷ Kuran, "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals," 115, 116. Howard Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy," in *The Ottoman City and its Parts*. Eds. Irene Bierman, Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj and Donald Preziosi (New Roschelle : A.D. Caratzas, 1991), 174.

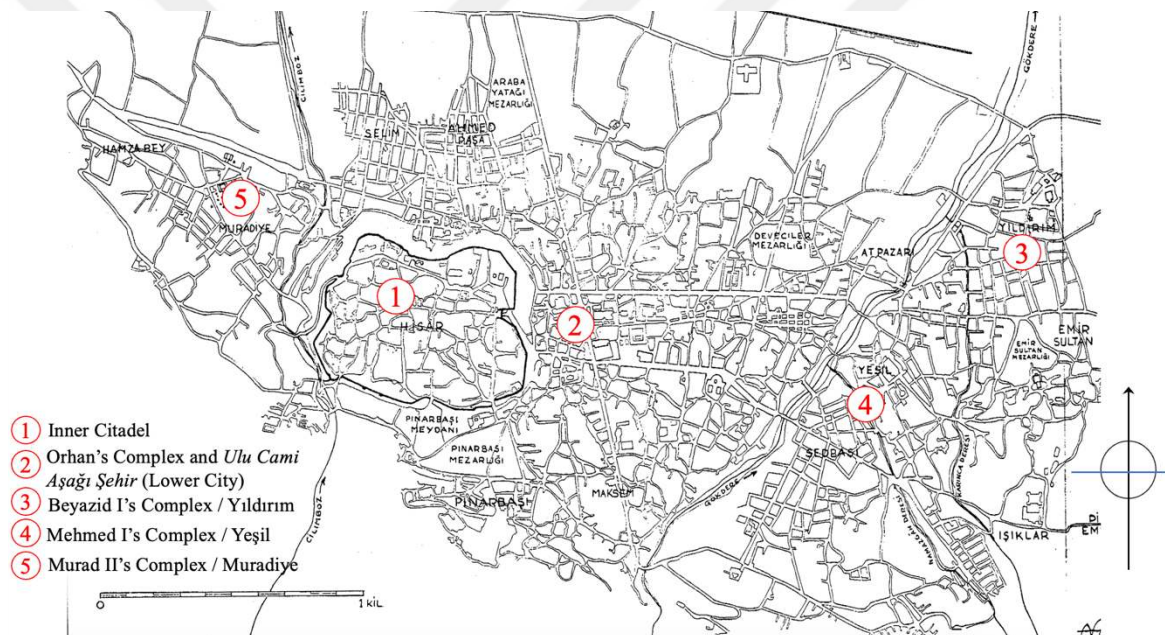
⁵⁴⁸ Çiğdem Kafescioğlu "Lives and Afterlives of an Urban Institution and Its Spaces: The Early Ottoman 'İmâret as Mosque," in *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450-c. 1750*, eds. Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2020): 255-360. Semavi Eyice "İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dini ve İçtimai bir Müessesesi: Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli Camiler," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23, no. 1–2 (1963): 1–80.

⁵⁴⁹ Oya Pancaroğlu interprets his decision to build his edifice beyond the citadel and establish a suburban neighborhood as "his ambition to expand drastically the urban territory into the outlying lands." Pancaroğlu, "Landscape and Patronage in Bursa," 42, 43.

⁵⁵⁰ Çağaptay, *The First Capital of the Ottoman Empire*, 90.

⁵⁵¹ Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques," 175.

situated approximately three kilometers west of the city center.⁵⁵² Like his father, Bayezid I selected a suburban site two to three kilometers from the city center to initiate an ambitious building program that surpassed the scale and diversity of all previous royal complexes built in the city.⁵⁵³ (see Map. 4.1, no. 3) His convent-mosque was accompanied by a tomb, a public kitchen, a madrasa, a bath, a garden palace, a public fountain, and a hospital, which was constructed some distance from the complex's main cluster.⁵⁵⁴ The settlement that emerged around Bayezid's complex, which came to be known by the epithet of its founder, Yıldırım (Thunderbolt), guided the eastward expansion of Bursa and marked the city's eastern boundaries, which remained well into the nineteenth century.⁵⁵⁵



Map 4. 1: City plan of the Ottoman Bursa.

Map by Albert Gabriel. Labels by the author.⁵⁵⁶

The map does not extend westward to include Murad I's complex in Çekirge. It is just beyond the northeasternmost edge of the city."

⁵⁵² "Bursa şehrinin cânib-i garbında nısf sâ'at ba'id başka kasabadadır kim Eski Kaplıca derler ma'mûr mahalle-i iremde vâkı' olmuş ibret-nümâ bir câmi'-i zibâdır." *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 2, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 13.

⁵⁵³ Kuran, "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals," 115, 117. Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques," 175.

⁵⁵⁴ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 50.

⁵⁵⁵ Pancaroğlu, "Landscape and Patronage in Bursa," 44.

⁵⁵⁶ Albert Gabriel, *Une capitale turque, Brousse-Bursa*, vols.1-2 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1958), fig.3.

The complexes built by Murad I and Bayezid I, located in opposite directions from the citadel, guided the Bursa's urban growth by encouraging the subsequent rulers to extend the city outward to connect it with the suburbs of Çekirge and Yıldırım.⁵⁵⁷ For instance, Mehmed I (1413-1421) developed the area between the lower city and Yıldırım by commissioning a convent-masjid, a madrasa, a bathhouse, and a tomb, posthumously completed in 1424.⁵⁵⁸ (see Map. 4.1, no. 4) His complex formed one of Bursa's eastern urban districts, known as Yeşil (Green), named for the extensive turquoise tiles adorning the waqf buildings.⁵⁵⁹ Similarly, the last of Bursa's imperial complex built by Sultan Murad II (1421-1451) spurred the development of the area between Çekirge and *intramuros* city.⁵⁶⁰ Completed in 1425-26, it formed the focal point for another urban district, Muradiye, which Evliya defined as a "suburban town adorned with caravanserais, mosques, public kitchens, masjids, dervish lodges, and madrasas, as well as lush gardens and orchards."⁵⁶¹ (see Map. 4.1, no. 5)

The urban development of Ottoman Bursa provides valuable insights into how the early Ottoman rulers reorganized the urban fabric of the conquered cities through establishing new socio-economic centers by building multifunctional complexes beyond the city walls.⁵⁶² The same pattern of urbanization was also evident in many other Ottoman

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., 45.

⁵⁵⁸ "*Bu câmi ' Yeşil İmâret nâmiyle meşhûr bir câmi '-i pür-nûrdur / This mosque known as the Green Complex, is celebrated for its luminous beauty. Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 2, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 13. For the neighborhoods of the sixteenth-century Bursa, see Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*, 325-328.

⁵⁵⁹ Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques," 177. For a dissertation on Yeşil Mosque, see Veronika Poier, "The Green Complex of Sultan Mehmed I and Its Context," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2021).

⁵⁶⁰ Kuran, "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals," 118. Pancaroğlu, "Landscape and Patronage in Bursa," 45.

⁵⁶¹ "*Bursa'nın cânib-i garbında şehirden taşra başka bir kasabadır kim hân ve câmi ' ve imâret ve mesâcid ve teke ve medârisleriyle ma'mûr ve müzeyyen bâğ u bâğçeli rabta-i âbâdândır. / On the western side of Bursa, there is a suburban town adorned with caravanserais, mosques, soup kitchens, masjids, dervish lodges, and madrasas, as well as lush gardens and orchards.*" *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 2, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 13-14.

⁵⁶² In his article examining the convent mosques of Edirne, Grigor Boykov suggests a direct link between the methods of the late thirteenth century Anatolian emirs to develop Seljuk cities the early Ottoman rulers in developing newly conquered cities. This continuity was market both rulers to transform the existing spatial hierarchy by creating new urban cores at a distance from the urbans center. Grigor Boykov, "The T-shaped Zaviye/İmarets of Edirne: A Key Mechanism for Ottoman Urban Morphological Transformation," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* , vol. 3, no. 1 (May 2016): 29-48.

cities like Edirne, the second throne-city, and Manisa, the training seat for Ottoman *şehzades*.⁵⁶³ Although not every Ottoman city adhered to a uniform model of urbanization—a topic warranting more extensive discussion beyond the scope of this study—the development of self-contained suburban settlements remained a central principle in Ottoman urban planning. Additionally, the waqf institution played a fundamental role in financing large-scale projects and ensuring their long-term sustainability.

The strategy of developing new settlements on urban peripheries was not exclusively used for reorganizing the urban landscape of conquered cities; it was also employed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to facilitate controlled urban expansion, relocate industrial activities away from city centers, and establish new socio-economic centers. Moreover, as discussed in the previous chapter, Nurbanu Sultan's building initiative supported the development of Üsküdar as a full-fledged *menzil* town. After the designation of Ma'mûre as a way station and customs checkpoint, Üsküdar gained a more efficient control over the collection of customs duties. Furthermore, the development of a large tract of land (Nurbanu's land) on the town's outskirts propelled Üsküdar's urban growth to another level. From the 1570s onward, its population not only grew significantly but also became more diverse with the influx of new residents from various ethnic and religious backgrounds.

It should be noted that Nurbanu's Üsküdar project was not unprecedented in terms of a royal woman's architectural patronage, involving the construction of a large-scale complex and the development of an adjacent neighborhood that expanded the city's urban fabric. Hafsa Sultan (d. 1534), the mother of Süleyman I, had a significant role in the urban growth of Manisa, a city that, like Bursa, was situated along the sloping foothills of a mountain (Mount Sipylus) and developed toward the surrounding plains in a linear pattern from east to west.⁵⁶⁴ Her mosque complex stood out among the architectural projects of her

⁵⁶³ Panagiotis Kontolaimos, "The Transformation of Late Byzantine Adrianople to Early Ottoman Edirne," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, vol. 3, no. 1 (May 2016): 7-27. Kuran, "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals," 118-122. Kastritsis, "Ottoman Urbanism and Capital Cities Before the Conquest of Constantinople (1453)," 290-303. Feridun Emecen, *XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazası* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1989).

⁵⁶⁴ Joseph de Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Stefanos Yerasimos (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005), 245.

predecessors with the comprehensive scope of its building program, composed of a mosque, a madrasa, a convent, an elementary school, a Qur'an recitation school, a public kitchen, and a fountain. Hafsa Sultan's mosque (also known as *Sultaniye Camii*) was covered by a central dome with a diameter of 12.30 meters, accompanied by four small domes and fronted by a five-bay portico with a minaret adorning each end.⁵⁶⁵ Despite it was modest in scale, the mosque's double minarets and its designation as "*Sultaniye*" (literally meaning "the imperial") served as reminders of Hafsa Sultan's influential role as a powerful royal woman and proclaimed the expanding prestige and power of the Ottoman *valide sultans*.⁵⁶⁶

Hafsa Sultan financed her project with generous grants from Selim I and Süleyman II, which included the revenues of several villages, the rental income from waqf-owned shops, and various *mukâta'as* in the provinces of Saruhan, Aydın, and Hüdavendigar.⁵⁶⁷ The site selected for the project was a large garden belonging to Timurtaşoğlu Ali Bey, the governor of the sanjak of Saruhan.⁵⁶⁸ At a distance from the Manisa Palace, the seat of the Ottoman *şehzades*, Ali Bey's garden was an uninhabited, vacant area on the southwestern outskirts of the city where a neighborhood would eventually develop and push the boundaries of Manisa outward and towards the outlying plains.⁵⁶⁹ The acquisition of the garden was realized through the process of land exchange by which Hafsa Sultan's freehold lands, the village of Erderli, were given to Timurtaşoğlu Ali Bey in exchange for his garden.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁵ Doğan Yavaş "Hafsa Sultan Külliyesi," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol.15 (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997), 123.

⁵⁶⁶ In her analysis of the mosque complexes of Nurbanu and Hafsa Sultan, Gülru Necipoğlu asserts that both of these complexes were designed to convey a sense of sultanic grandeur. She says: "The final form of Nurbanu's mosque, approximating the plan of the Üç Şerefeli, aspires to a sultanic aura. The previous mosque commissioned by a queen mother, that of Hafsa Sultan in Manisa (1520s), had also paraphrased the layout of Üç Şerefeli (a plan type widely recycled in that city) but had humbly omitted its sultanic courtyard. Honored with two single-galleried minarets and boasting an unusually large number of dependencies (hospice, dervish convent, madrasa, elementary school, and hospital), Hafsa Sultan's mosque signaled the rising status of queen mothers during Süleyman's reign." Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 291-2.

⁵⁶⁷ İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, "Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Annesi Hafsa Sultan'ın Vakfiyesi ve Manisa'daki Hayır Eserleri," in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol.8 (1969): 47-56.

⁵⁶⁸ Emecen, *XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazası*, 95.

⁵⁶⁹ Yavaş "Hafsa Sultan Külliyesi," 123.

⁵⁷⁰ Emecen, *XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazası*, 95.



Figure 4. 1: Hospitals of Hafsa and Nurbanu Sultan.

On the right: Hafsa Sultan's Hospital in Manisa, circa 1950. Drawing by İbrahim Gökçen, a painter and a dedicated researcher on the urban history of Manisa.⁵⁷¹ On the left: Nurbanu Sultan's Hospital in Üsküdar. Drawing by Louis-François Cassas, circa 1786.⁵⁷²

The construction activities began in 1513, while Hafsa Sultan accompanied her son *Şehzade* Süleyman at the court of Manisa.⁵⁷³ The original plan was completed in 1523, three years after Süleyman ascended to the throne and Hafsa Sultan raised the position of the *valide sultan*.⁵⁷⁴ After her death in 1534, Süleyman I added a hospital, a tomb, and a public bath to the complex in honor of his mother. (see Fig. 4.1)⁵⁷⁵ The construction of these additions was completed in 1539.⁵⁷⁶ Additionally, he assigned waqf plots on the western side of the complex to twenty households, granting them exemption from extraordinary taxes—a privilege that would be renewed during the reign of Selim II.⁵⁷⁷ These twenty households

⁵⁷¹ İbrahim Gökçen, *Manisa Tarihinde Vakıflar ve Hayırlar (H.1060, M.1650'den sonra)*, vol.2 (Manisa: Manisa Halkevi Yayınları, 1950), 143-144.

⁵⁷² Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Je. 97 (recto/verso).

⁵⁷³ Yavaş "Hafsa Sultan Külliyesi," 123.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid. For Hafsa Sultan's waqf deed (dated 1523) and its translation see, Ercan Oğuz, *Ayşe Hafsa Valide Sultan ve Manisa Vakfı* (Istanbul: Yalın Yayıncılık, 2020). Also see, Hasan Demirtaş, *Manisa Hafsa Sultan Vakfı: Akar, Hayrat, İstihdam* (PhD diss., Yıldırım Beyazıt University, 2023).

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ For further information regarding Hafsa Sultan's *dârüşşifâ* see: Mustafa Alkan, "Manisa'da Hafsa Sultan Dârüşşifası (Bîmarhanesi)," *International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, vol.9/10 (Fall 2014): 19-31. Nina Ergin, "Healing by Design? An Experiential Approach to Early Modern Ottoman Hospital Architecture," in *Turkish Historical Review*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2015): 1-37.

⁵⁷⁷ Emecen, *XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazası*, 51.

constituted Hafsa Sultan's neighborhood, named as Sultaniye (the Imperial) Mahallesi and also referred to as Cami-i Cedid (the New Mosque) Mahallesi.⁵⁷⁸ In the tax registers from 1575 for the Province of Saruhan, Sultaniye Mahallesi was inhabited by nine households, three single adult male (*mücerred*) and twenty-two tax-exempt households.⁵⁷⁹ Furthermore, it stood out among Manisa's forty-two neighborhoods by having the largest population of tax-exempt residents.

Hafsa Sultan's project, which initiated Manisa's urban growth toward its southwestern edges, was further advanced by Şehzade Murad, who in the early 1570s, constructed a mosque in Sultaniye Mahallesi.⁵⁸⁰ After his enthronement in 1574, Murad III's princely mosque, located directly across from Hafsa Sultan's complex, underwent several modifications before achieving its final form. In 1577, his *mütevelli* sought imperial permission to enlarge Sultan Murad's mosque as it had attracted a substantial congregation for Friday prayers.⁵⁸¹ This petition may indicate a population surge in the neighborhood and also reflect a standard procedure for justifying such a renovation. The enlargement project, which had been delayed for years due to financial and technical challenges, finally commenced in 1583—the same year as the enlargement of his mother Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar mosque.⁵⁸² Redesigned by the chief architect, Mimar Sinan, Murad III's sultanic mosque and its associated buildings, including a madrasa, a public kitchen, and a guest house, were all completed in 1590.⁵⁸³ (see Fig. 4.2)

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid, 48.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid. Also see Önder Bayır, "XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Manisa'nın Sosyal ve İktisadi Durumu," (PhD diss., İstanbul University, 2001).

⁵⁸⁰ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 257-265.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 259.

⁵⁸² See Chapter 2.2.

⁵⁸³ Given the notable increase in population in the area where these two complexes were erected, there arose a demand for the expansion of the Friday mosque of Murad III. In 1578, the waqf trustee sought imperial permission to enlarge Sultan Murad's mosque since it had a substantial congregation for Friday prayers. BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.34.pg.29/a1 (Ramazan 986/ November 1578).

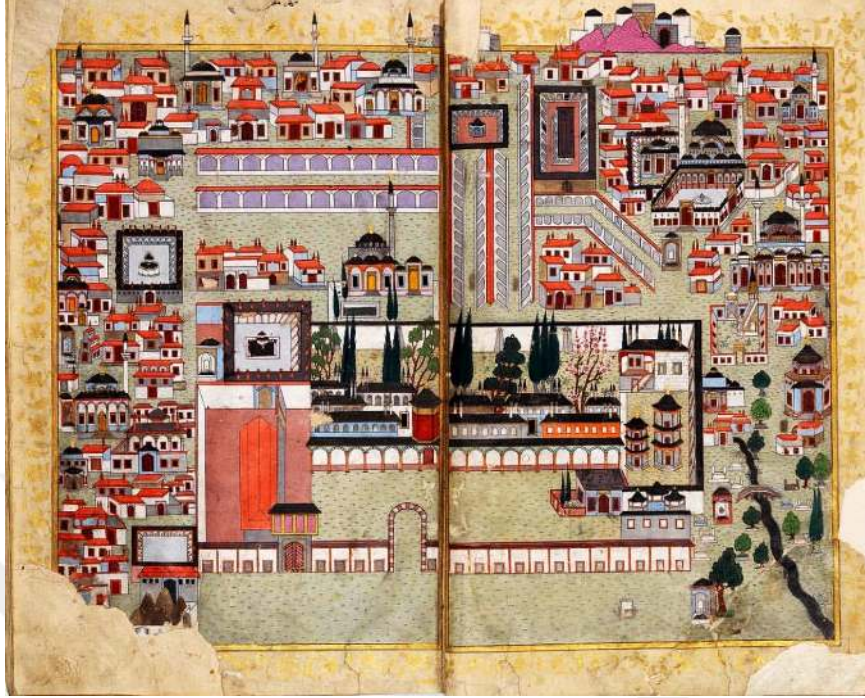


Figure 4. 2: The view of Manisa in the late sixteenth century.

From Talikzâde's *Şemâilnâme-i Âl-i-Osmân*, circa 1590, TSM.A.3592,fs.10⁵⁸⁴

In the center is the seat of the Ottoman princes. In the upper-right corner is the Muradiye Complex, distinguishable by its single dome, twin minarets, and the porticoed courtyard. Positioned slightly below the Murad III's Mosque is the Hafsa Sultan's Mosque, also flanked by two minarets.

Gülru Necipoğlu posits that Nurbanu Sultan might have significantly influenced the final design of her son's complex, encouraging him to build a more impressive monument than he had initially planned.⁵⁸⁵ If this was indeed the case, Nurbanu's motivation was likely to enhance the visibility of the architectural expressions of her son's reign in Manisa, where she had given birth to him.⁵⁸⁶ Additionally, she might have aspired to imprint her own legacy within the city, following the example set by Hafsa Sultan. For the main concern of this study, the connection between Hafsa and Nurbanu Sultan's building projects is more striking. Their Manisa and Üsküdar complexes shared many elements in common, including their comprehensive building programs, their imperial grandeur that was accentuated by the

⁵⁸⁴ Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, Zeren Tanındı, eds., *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2012), 178 (illustration 146).

⁵⁸⁵ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 265.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid.

dual minarets of their mosques, and their substantial revenues granted by the reigning sultans. Moreover, each complex was built on a suburban site and stimulated the transformation of rural, vacant lands into thriving neighborhoods.

In this introduction to Chapter 4, I have argued that Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project adhered to an established Ottoman urban planning strategy of building multifunctional complexes on the urban peripheries to expand cities and reorganize their urban fabric. This continuity prompts a related question: whether the establishment of "waqf neighborhoods" around imperial complexes, as seen in the formation of Ma'mûre around Nurbanu Sultan's complex, was also a standard practice in Ottoman urbanism. The existing literature on Ottoman urban history lacks examples comparable to the case of Ma'mûre, thus precluding a definitive conclusion on whether Nurbanu's waqf neighborhood represents a typical Ottoman urban practice or was an exceptional case. The absence of examples comparable to Ma'mûre does not definitively prove their absence but rather underscores the need for a reevaluation of the settlements formed around large-scale complexes through a more nuanced approach and with targeted questions. For instance, Hafsa Sultan's neighborhood in Manisa or the neighborhood formed around Mehmed I's Yeşil complex could also been waqf neighborhoods, sharing many characteristics with Ma'mûre. This possibility invites further case studies to uncover and understand such parallels, thereby enriching our comprehension of Ottoman urban planning strategies.

Chapter 4 delves into the urban growth of Nurbanu's land throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, mapping its transformation from a vacant rural expanse on the outskirts of Üsküdar to a thriving neighborhood, Mahalle-i Ma'mûre and, eventually, into a *semt* comprising several neighborhoods. This analysis also covers the demographic expansion of Ma'mûre, that was both the cause and the result of the development of new neighborhoods within the limits of Nurbanu's land, populated by an ethnically and religiously heterogeneous population. The chapter further delves into the motivations that attracted residents to Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood and the administrative mechanisms by which they were registered as tax-paying "waqf subjects." Ultimately, this chapter aims to define what constituted a "waqf neighborhood" and who qualified as a "waqf subject," in the context of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. In the absence of comparable case studies, this analysis

represents an initial step, setting the stage for subsequent research into other “waqf neighborhoods,” within the Ottoman realm.

Initially, Section 4.1 focuses on the early phase of Ma'mûre's development, exploring the primary strategies employed to encourage settlement around the mosque complex. In this section, I argue that the extensive number of land allocations supervised by the waqf administration was instrumental in fostering the growth of Nurbanu's neighborhood and in cultivating a neighborhood community distinguished by its ethnically and religiously diverse composition. In Section 4.2 I examine the demographic composition of Ma'mûre. The primary sources used in this analysis including jizya registers and Üsküdar's court records provide relatively scant information about the Muslim residents compared to Nurbanu Sultan's Greek, Armenian and *Kıbtî* waqf subjects living in Ma'mûre. Thus, this section focuses exclusively on the settlement patterns and socio-economic conditions of Ma'mûre's non-Muslim and *Kıbtî* residents, with no separate sub-section on Ma'mûre's Muslim residents—a choice dictated by necessity rather than preference. Lastly, Section 4.3 sheds light on the changing settlement patterns of diverse ethno-religious groups across the expanse of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Employing the theoretical framework of liminality, this section portrays Ma'mûre as a transition zone bridging Üsküdar's urban core with its rural peripheries, as well as providing a gradual passage from the town's predominantly Muslim to Armenian and Greek neighborhoods.

4.1. Populating Nurbanu Sultan's Waqf Land: The Initial Efforts

The Ottoman geographer and traveler Aşık Mehmed, who compiled his world geography *Menâzırü'l Avâlim* in the 1590s based on his observations and previously written geography treatises, described Nurbanu Sultan's mosque complex and the urban growth of its surroundings as follows:

In 985 (1577–78), the venerable mother of Sultan Murad III built an ornate mosque featuring two embellished minarets and a large dome on a hill at the southern end of Üsküdar. She commissioned a high madrasa on the northern side of her mosque dedicated to the study of natural and religious sciences. In addition, she endowed a public kitchen, a refectory for guests, and a sizable two-part caravanserai on the western side of the mosque. Prior to the establishment of this endowment, the construction site and its environs were uninhabited and undeveloped. Afterward, the population of

Üsküdar expanded by more than one-third as many people settled in the area and constructed dwellings.⁵⁸⁷

Aşık Mehmed's observations elucidate the transformation of a previously uninhabited rural area on the outskirts of Üsküdar into a bustling settlement in just over a decade.⁵⁸⁸ Although he does not specifically name the area around Nurbanu Sultan's mosque complex as "Mahalle-i Ma'mûre," his emphasis on the significant urban development in its vicinity (*bu ebniye-i hayrâtınun mevâzî 'ı ve bu mevâzî 'un havâlîsi*) implies the formation of a new residential zone.⁵⁸⁹ Acting on behalf of Nurbanu Sultan, her *mütevelli*s took proactive measures to foster urban development around the complex rather than allowing the region to develop spontaneously without any intervention or planning. The main strategies used to populate the region included the allocation of waqf-owned parcels and the provision of tax incentives to those willing to construct residences on the urban fringes of Üsküdar.

As early as 1571, Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevelli*, Ali Agha ibn Cihan, began allocating vacant waqf plots of various sizes and shapes to ensure the formation of a sizable Muslim congregation for Nurbanu Sultan's mosque, which was then under construction.⁵⁹⁰ For instance, in September 1571, a waqf plot, bordered on three sides by public thoroughfares and on one side by the property of Mihriban Khatun, was granted to Cafer ibn Abdullah, on

⁵⁸⁷ "Üsküdar'un nihâyet-i cânib-i cenûbîsinde bir makam-ı mürtefi 'üzre vâlide-i Sultân Murâd Hân-ı Sâlis-tâbe serâhu- sene hams ve semânîn ve tis'a- mi'e'de iki minâre-i musanna'a ve bir kubbe-i matbû'a ile bir câmi '-i müzeyyen ve dil-gûşâ ve ma'bed-i müretteb ve safâ-efzâ ve bu câmi 'un cânib-i şimâlîsinde müdârese-i ulûm ve müzâkere-i fûnûn için bir medrese-i 'ulyâ ve bu câmi 'un cânib-i garbîsinde bir matbah-ı ta'âm ve müsafîrîn için bir dârü'z-zıyâfe ve iki ribât-ı âli bina imişdür ve mûma-ileyhânun bu ebniye-i hayrâtınun mevâzî 'ı ve bu mevâzî 'un havâlîsi kable'l-binâ arz-ı hâliye olup bu ebniye -i hayrât takrîbi ile havâlîsinde halk-ı kesîr dûr ve menâzil ittihâz itmeğîn medîne-i Üsküdâr'un sevâdî mikdârda za'if olmadı ise ziyâde-i sülûs ile mütefâvit olmuştur." Âşık Mehmed, *Menâzîrü'l-avâlim*, vol. 3, ed. Mahmut Ak, 1095. Mahmut Ak transliterate the copy of *Menazil* in Süleymaniye-Halet Efendi Library, no. 616. For the translation of the *Menazil*'s another copy in TSK, E.H. 1446, fols 3941 r-v. see: Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 292. Different from the copy used by Mahmut Ak, there is an additional line representing the Nurbanu Sultan's convent: "... and she built at the east side of this mosque an elegant dervish convent (savma'a) encompassing many rooms for pious Muslims..."

⁵⁸⁸ The completion of Nurbanu Sultan's mosque was reported in a *ma'rûz* letter sent by the Üsküdar kadi to the imperial council, in which he emphasized the crucial importance of promoting settlement in the immediate vicinity of the mosque to foster a congregation that would actively participate in the daily prayers held at the imperial mosque. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.169/a1 (Safer 985/May 1577). Additionally, Evliya Çelebi records that the Nurbanu Sultan's mosque was completed in 1577. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 233.

⁵⁸⁹ Âşık Mehmed, *Menâzîrü'l-avâlim*, vol. 3, ed. Mahmut Ak, 1095.

⁵⁹⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.37.p.6/a1 (Cemâziyelevvel 979/September 1571).

a freehold basis (*mülkiyet üzere*).⁵⁹¹ In 1572, Yakub and his brother Ahmed, who had each built dwellings near the construction site, were registered in the court records as the residents of Haseki Sultan Mahallesi.⁵⁹² The following year, Mütevelli Ali Agha issued a title deed (*tezkire*) to Abdi Bey, which served as an official confirmation of his right to use a certain waqf plot in Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood.⁵⁹³ On the same day, Cafer Halife, the chief cook in the imperial kitchen, received his sealed title deed at the Üsküdar court, certifying his ownership of a vacant plot bordered on three sides by the properties of Piri Ali Çavuş and the barber Kabil, and on the fourth by a public thoroughfare.⁵⁹⁴

The distribution of land grants was conducted on the basis of demand (*talip olanlara tevzi olunup*), indicating the absence of forced relocation measures, in contrast to the practices observed in the development of the *menzil* towns like Karapınar and Payas.⁵⁹⁵ Applicants who committed to relocating to Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood were required

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

⁵⁹² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.36.p.88/ a1 (Şevval 979/February 1572).

⁵⁹³ "...Sultan Murad Han Hazretleri -tâbe bekâhu- vâlidelerinin vekil-i şer'isi olan Ali Ağa bin Cihan tarafından tezkire-i şerif ibraz idüb mefhumunda bir cânibi dülger Mehmed yeri ile ve bir cânibi tarîk-i âm ile ve bir cânibi Kasım yeri ile ve bir cânibi Mustafa yeri ile mahdud olan hane yeri Abdi Bey'e altı aya dek (ev) yapmak şartıyla mülkiyet üzere virülüb hüccet-i şer'iyye ibrâz eylemek için yedine temessük verildi/ The legal representative of his highness Sultan Murad's mother, Ali Agha bin Cihan, issued a title deed certifying that a plot of land bordered by the carpenter Mehmed's property on one side, a public thoroughfare on another, Kasım's property on another, and Mustafa's property on the last side, was granted to Abdi Bey. The condition set for this grant stipulated that a dwelling be constructed on the plot within six months. The property certificate, serving as legal proof of ownership, was then given to Abdi Bey." BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.37.p.146/b2 (Cemâziyelevvel 981/September 1573).

⁵⁹⁴ "...Sultan Murad Han Hazretleri -tâbe bekâhu- vâlidelerinin vekil-i şer'isi olan Ali Ağa bin Cihan tarafından tezkire-i şerif ibraz idüb mefhumunda bir cânibi tarîk-i âm ile ve bir cânibi Piri Ali Çavuş yeri ile ve iki cânibi berber Kabil yerleri ile mahdud olan bir kıt'a hâne yeri Matbah-i Âmire hâcesi Cafer Halifeye temlik virüb mülkiyet üzere hüccet-i şer'iyye ibrâz eylemek için tezkire verildi altı aya dek (ev) yapmak şartıyla/ The legal representative of his highness Sultan Murad's mother, Ali Agha bin Cihan issued a title deed certifying that a plot of land, bordered by the public thoroughfare on one side, by the property of Piri Ali Çavuş on another side, and by the properties of the barber Kabi on two sides. The title deed was granted to Cafer Halife, cook of the imperial kitchen, with the condition that a dwelling be constructed on the plot within six months." BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.37. 146 /b1 (Cemâziyelevvel 981/September 1573).

⁵⁹⁵ "validem sultan damet ismetühanın hayrat-ı mezburelerinden kasaba-i Üsküdar'da bina olunan cami-i şeriflerine cemaati kesire olmağışın etrafında olan hâli yerleri talip olanlara tevzi olunup/ the vacant plots around the queen mother's mosque in Üsküdar have been assigned to those who were eager to establish presence here, with the aim of developing a sizable community" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.169/a1 (Safer 985/May 1577).

to construct dwellings on the allotted plots and establish residency within six months.⁵⁹⁶ Should a grantee fail to fulfill these stipulations, the plot would be reallocated to another applicant. For example, in 1579, Mahmud ibn Mehmed failed to construct a dwelling on his allotted plot, which led to its reassignment to Hüma bint-i Süleyman from Istanbul.⁵⁹⁷

During the formative years of the neighborhood, the waqf administration encountered obstacles that hindered the area's development. A predominant issue was the financial constraints that many of the grantees faced, which prevented them from building their dwellings on their allocated lands. In response to this problem, Murad III granted tax exemptions and relief from compulsory services to those who inhabit his mother's neighborhood.⁵⁹⁸ As stated in his decree, issued in 1577, the residents of Ma'mûre were henceforth exempt from being assigned to auxiliary services as oarsmen, oil makers, butchers, and sheep-drovers and from providing mules for the state's postal service, as well as from all kinds of extraordinary imperial levies.⁵⁹⁹ These exemptions aimed to alleviate the financial burdens on the inhabitants, thereby facilitating their efforts to establish and sustain their lives in Ma'mûre.

Recognizing the importance of a robust commercial base for the growth and sustainability of Ma'mûre, the waqf administration supported those willing to set up businesses that would meet the daily needs of the residents and contribute to a vibrant marketplace. Rather than relying on systematic funding, the waqf administration occasionally provided financial support to those who sought to start a business in the neighborhood. For instance, Mütevellî Pir Ali Agha extended a loan of 300 *akçe* to Yâni veled-i Nikola to support him in establishing a bread oven in Ma'mûre.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.49.p.84/a4 (Şaban 987/October 1579).

⁵⁹⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.169/a1 (Safer 985/May 1577).

⁵⁹⁹ “arz olunduğu üzere kürekçiden ve yağcıdan ve menzil bargiri alınmaktan ve ulak atların almaktan ve kasab ve celeb yazılmaktan ve bi'l-cümle avâriz-ı divâniye ve tekâlif-i örfiyyeden min-küllî'l-vücûh mezkûr ve gayr-i mezkurdan muâf ve müsellemler olup” BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.58.p.2/2 (Rebî'ülâhîr 993/April 1585).

⁶⁰⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.116.b2 (Zilka'de 984/February 1577).

In another case, Sefer Reis ibn Kemal obtained a loan from Nurbanu Sultan's waqf; however, he was unable to return it on time. Consequently, his property was seized by his guarantors, who settled the debt on his behalf. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62 p.48/b3 (Zilka'de 984/November 1585).

In the year following the issuance of tax exemptions, Murad III promulgated another decree ordering the Jews, Christians, and *Kıbtîs*, residing around Nurbanu Sultan's mosque, to remit their taxes to the waqf officials.⁶⁰¹ This decree further required that the migrants (*yave*), who had left their hometowns and established residences in Ma'mûre, be registered as the waqf's tax-paying subjects. Sultan's decree proves that the early residents of Ma'mûre came from a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds, and they were inhabited around the construction site. This means the land grants were not intended to favor any particular religious community but were rather structured to ensure that the grantees would develop the allocated plots by constructing dwellings.

The sixty-third volume of Üsküdar's court records offers valuable insights into the land distribution process during the period between the years 1575 and 1587.⁶⁰² This volume includes a list of those who received title deeds upon fulfilling the prerequisite of constructing a residence on their assigned plots within six months. During this thirteen-year period, 151 plots were allocated to 125 Muslim—including converts—and 26 non-Muslim applicants. Assuming each of the 151 plots housed a residence with four to five members, Ma'mûre's population would have ranged from 604 to 755.⁶⁰³ However, given that land grants were also issued before 1575 and after 1587, it is likely that Ma'mûre's population exceeded these figures in the late sixteenth century.⁶⁰⁴ Considering that Üsküdar's population was approximately 2275 in the 1560s, it becomes evident that Ma'mûre constituted a substantial segment of Üsküdar's population. This was confirmed by Aşık

⁶⁰¹ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.35.p.251/634 (Recep 986/October 1578).

⁶⁰² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.63 (983-995/1575-1587).

⁶⁰³ Due to the absence of detailed tax registers, including Nurbanu Sultan's waqf settlement in Üsküdar, accurately determining the population of Ma'mûre remains challenging. The waqf's accounts registers generally categorize waqf subjects living in Istanbul, Üsküdar, Galata, and Eyüp—but do not provide specific demographic data for Ma'mûre itself.

Regarding an assessment of the population estimations from jizya registers, see, Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire: 1560-1600* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 100-108.

⁶⁰⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.75.p.10/b2 (Cemâziyelevvel 998/March 1590), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.91.p.10/b4 (Cemâziyelevvel 1003/January 1595).

Mehmed, who wrote in the 1590s, “the population of Üsküdar expanded by more than one-third, as many people settled in the area and constructed dwellings.”⁶⁰⁵

The title deeds from the last quarter of the sixteenth century show that the sizes of the allocated waqf plots varied considerably, ranging from approximately 150 to 2600 square meters. Although the criteria used to determine plot sizes were not explicitly stated in these deeds, it is likely that the authorities considered factors such as household size and the social status of the potential residents.⁶⁰⁶ For instance, Hüsrev Agha, a prominent official in the high court (*dergâh-ı âlî çavuşu*), received a large plot measuring 2580 square meters.⁶⁰⁷ In contrast, a certain İbrahim and his brother received a considerably smaller plot of 175 square meters.⁶⁰⁸ Similarly, Rukiye bint-i Ali was granted a plot of 215 square meters.⁶⁰⁹ The most frequently allocated plot size was recorded as forty by thirty-five *zirâ*, corresponding to approximately 750 square meters.⁶¹⁰

The expansion of residential zones into Üsküdar's rural outskirts presented shady opportunities for inhabitants to engage in illegal land occupation and the construction of unauthorized structures. Certain individuals erected rooms and stables on vacant plots without the consent of the waqf administration to derive financial benefits by providing lodging for travelers and their mounts.⁶¹¹ These unauthorized structures were eventually demolished through the intervention of the waqf authorities. Additionally, dissatisfaction with assigned plots led some residents to engage in other forms of irregularity.⁶¹² They

⁶⁰⁵ Âşık Mehmed, *Menâzırü'l-avâlim*, 1095. For a detailed analysis of Üsküdar's population in the 1560s. Also see Arslan, *Üsküdar'ın Kentsel Gelişimi*.

⁶⁰⁶ “...müşarünileyhanın evkâfı mütevellisi marifetiyle herkesin hallerine göre yerler tevzi eyleyüp / the waqf administrator allocated spaces according to each individual's status...” BOA.A.DVNSMHH.d.58.p.2/2 (Rebî'ülâhîr 993/April 1585).

⁶⁰⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.63.p.1/10a (Muharrem 983/April 1575).

⁶⁰⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.63.p.13/a1 (Cemâziyelâhîr 993/June 1585).

⁶⁰⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.63.p.1/a13 (Muharrem 983/April 1575).

⁶¹⁰ One *zirâ* (Bina arşını or *zirâ-ı mi'mârî*) is measured at 0.733 meters. Mehmet Erkal, “Arşın,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 3 (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1991): 412.

⁶¹¹ BOA.A.DVNSMHH.d.53.p.95/259 (Recep 992/July 1584).

⁶¹² BOA.A.DVNSMHH.d.55.p.90/158 (Zilhicce 992/December 1584).

sought to expand the boundaries of their holdings by encroaching on adjacent public or private properties, including roads, vineyards, and orchards. Such encroachments caused significant damage to the local infrastructure, especially to waterways. In response to these violations, the waqf administration implemented corrective measures that involved demolishing unauthorized structures and repairing damaged roads and waterways.

Although most grantees established residences in the neighborhood, a few opted to lease or sell their properties, highlighting the flexibility afforded in managing their allotted plots.⁶¹³ Such transfer of rights, however, was contingent upon the approval of the waqf administration and required official recording at a sharia court.⁶¹⁴ The rigorous enforcement of this procedure was crucial in ensuring that new owners or tenants would receive title deeds (*hüccets*) sealed by the kadi and the *mütevelli*. These deeds served not only as legal proofs of ownership or tenancy rights but also enabled the waqf administration to systematically monitor of property ownership in the neighborhood.

Property transactions predominantly took place in the local marketplace, Valide Sûku, centered around the horse market.⁶¹⁵ In 1574, Mehmed ibn Cafer sold his residence to Fatma Khatun for 3000 *akçe*.⁶¹⁶ In another instance, Mustafa, the board sawyer (*tahtacı*), leased his residence to a certain Ramazan, who planned to live there together with three sweet (*helva*) sellers.⁶¹⁷ However, once they moved in, this arrangement caused disturbances within the community, who accused them of engaging in immoral behaviors and

⁶¹³ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.58.p.2/2 (Rebî'ülâhir 993/April 1585) Nurbanu Sultan's beneficiaries, who received land grants, had only usufruct or possession rights, which means that although they did not own the land outright, they had the right to use it and to benefit from any profits derived from its produce, such as crops or rental income. However, they could only sell, rent out, or transfer the land with approval from the waqf administration. For more information, see Sabrina Joseph, *Islamic Law on Peasant Usufruct in Ottoman Syria: 17th to Early 19th Century* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), 43, 51.

⁶¹⁴ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.58.p.2/2 (Rebî'ülâhir 993/April 1585).

⁶¹⁵ For instance, in 1579, Cağfer ibn Abdullah sold his one-story house in the Valide Sûku. Additionally, when the waqf administration took possession of houses from residents who had died without any heirs, these properties were also auctioned off in this market. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.49.p.36/b1 (Cemâziyelâhir 987/July 1579).

⁶¹⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.39.p.53/a1 (Rebî'ülevvel 982/July 1574).

⁶¹⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.37.p.129/b1 (Rebî'ülâhir 981/August 1573).

inappropriate interactions with various women in their residence.⁶¹⁸ These accusations eventually led to their eviction from both the residence and the neighborhood.

In conclusion, the primary strategy to encourage settlement in Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood was by means of generous land allocations. These grants were inclusive, as the waqf plots were distributed regardless of the recipients' ethnic or religious backgrounds, thus significantly contributing to the ethno-religious diversity of the neighborhood community. The land allocations entrusted the grantees with the responsibility of constructing their residences. The provision of tax exemptions alleviated their financial burdens, thereby facilitating their ability to establish a new life in Ma'mûre. Additionally, financial incentives offered by the waqf administration to those establishing businesses in the neighborhood enhanced Ma'mûre's appeal as a desirable location to live and work. In addition to the financial incentives, substantial investments in the urban infrastructure funded by Nurbanu Sultan's endowment were pivotal in attracting population. The provision of potable water to the neighborhood and the strategic relocation of the horse market close to the mosque complex contributed significantly to Ma'mûre's urban growth. No less important were the job opportunities offered by the mosque complex and various waqf establishments that effectively enhanced the neighborhood's appeal and facilitated its transformation into a thriving urban center.

4.2. Urban Ethnic Encounters: Making the Community of Ma'mûre

Mahalle-i Ma'mûre was home to a diverse population, including Muslim, Armenian, Greek, Jewish, and *Kıbtî* residents. In the analyzed archival documents, the non-Muslim residents were typically referred to by their ethno-religious origin and appeared in the archival documents, for example, as the Armenian and Jewish congregations (*tâife*). The Orthodox Christians (*Rum*) were simply referred to as "zimmi" and less frequently as "Nazarene (*Nasrânî* or *Nasrânîye*).” For the Roma people, who comprised both Muslim and Christian members, the standard designation was *Çingane* (gypsy) or *Kıbtî* (if female, *Kıbtîyye*), which distinguished them from other communities.⁶¹⁹ Moreover, court scribes

⁶¹⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.37.p.129/a3 (Rebî'ülâhir 981/August 1573).

⁶¹⁹ They will be referred to as "*Kıbtîs*" throughout the dissertation.

occasionally employed the terms "*kefere*" or "*gebran*" (infidels) as alternative or supplementary identifiers for non-Muslim residents.

Muslim residents were an integral element of Ma'mûre's social fabric. However, their representation within this analysis is limited due to the limited scope of information available in the consulted archival documents, including Üsküdar's court records, title deeds (*tezkiye*), and *jizya* registers. Ottoman court records provide only basic details about plaintiffs and defendants, which vary depending on the reason for their appearance before the *kadi*. These details typically include their names and occasionally, certain details regarding their places of residence, marital status, and family ties. This kind of information, while useful for gaining a general understanding about Ma'mûre's Muslim residents, is too sporadic to support the systematic analysis required to construct a narrative on their previous residences or the motivations behind their relocation to Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood. Similarly, the title deeds, certifying who were allocated *waqf* plots, were generally written briefly, providing only the grantee's name and the plot's dimensions, with no further details, and thus offer little assistance for such an analysis. On the other hand, the *jizya* registers documenting Nurbanu Sultan's tax-paying non-Muslim and *Kıbtî* "waqf subjects" offer a more extensive source of demographic and socio-economic data. These registers help to fill the gaps left by court records, enabling an examination of Ma'mûre's Jewish, *Kıbtî*, Armenian and Greek residents in separate sub-sections. Before addressing each of these communities, I will provide an overview of the early residents of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre.

The initial settlement of Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood was largely driven by the employment opportunities generated through the construction works and, later, the operations of the *waqf* buildings. The long-term and large-scale construction projects required the mobilization and accommodation of a significant workforce that was drawn from various regions of the empire. Nurbanu Sultan's project was no exception, as it brought together many craftsmen, construction workers, and unskilled laborers who were typically novice janissaries (*acemioğlanı*). Due to the absence of detailed construction accounts (*inşaat defterleri*), we lack precise details regarding their number and origins. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to surmise that some craftsmen and workers established permanent or extended residences in Ma'mûre, whereas others stayed only temporarily for the duration of their assignments.

The fifteen zimmi lime burners (*kireççi*) in charge of providing lime for Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project were likely part of the transient population of Ma'mûre.⁶²⁰ They were probably the Greek lime burners residing close to Hereke in İzmit, the center of lime quarries.⁶²¹ They had long been employed by the state (*kadîmden beri*) for various construction projects.⁶²² In the 1570s, they were organized under the leadership of Dimitri, the head lime burner (*kireççibaşı*), and traveled to various locations where their services were required.⁶²³

Unlike the lime burners, whose responsibilities did not necessitate permanent residence in Ma'mûre, Ali ibn Abdullah, a novice janissary from the province of Karahisar-ı Şarki, resided in Ma'mûre while working as an unskilled laborer on the construction site.⁶²⁴ Similarly, seven Armenian waterway builders (*su yolcu*), two of whom had converted to Islam, took up residence in Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood.⁶²⁵ A group of Armenian quarrymen (*taşçı*) specialized in digging suitable fields for the purpose of extracting stones and shaping them to the required sizes was among the earliest inhabitants of the neighborhood.⁶²⁶ The neighborhood community also included several zimmi master

⁶²⁰ In the last months of 1575, they informed the construction supervisor Ali Agha that one of their co-workers, Anderya, was dead and claimed their wages, including the share of Anderya. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.42, p.45/b3 (Şaban 983 / November 1575).

⁶²¹ Hans Dernschwam mentions the lime quarries of Hereke and says : "*Sol Hareke genant gewesen. .. Weiter am gestat des mers nocheinander kalch ofen , alda man die scheff per Constantinopol geladen. Alda furt man auch das pren holch zusammen vnd auff die schiff per Constantinopoll, darbey ein holczweg* / The name of this place is Hereke...One can see the lime quarries aligned along the shore. Here, ships are getting loaded to be sent to Istanbul. The wood for winter is also stored here and loaded onto the ships." Dernschwam, *Hans Dernschwam's orientalische Reise*, 31.

⁶²² BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.23.p.333/741 (Zilka'de 981/March 1574), BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.26.p.15/42 (Safer 982 / June 1574).

⁶²³ Ibid.

⁶²⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43, p.8/b6 (Rebî'ülâhir 984/July 1576).

⁶²⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.85, p.3/b1 (Rebî'ülâhir 1000/February 1592).

⁶²⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56, p.27/a3 (Rebî'ülâhir 991/February 1583) Quarrymen combine the miner's muscle power and skill in extracting raw stone with the stonemason's ability to precisely carve it into final forms. Raphael Samuel, ed. *Miners, Quarrymen, and Saltworkers* (New York: Routledge, 1977), xii.

craftsmen (*ustager*), including Yani, Nikola, and İstadura, who were likely experts in construction works.⁶²⁷

It is likely that the majority of construction workers were either unmarried men or those who had left their families in their hometowns, as they resided together in waqf rooms or rental buildings. Their lifestyle could have led to social tensions or conflicts among the local population. For instance, in 1582, the community of Ma'mûre filed a collective petition expressing their concerns about Armenian quarrymen residing in Ma'mûre.⁶²⁸ The petitioners reported that they organized musical and vocal (*sazlı sözlü*) entertainments as well as drinking gatherings during the night, which were not well-received by their neighbors. They argued that such conduct could potentially escalate into more severe misbehavior in the future and, therefore, requested their expulsion from the neighborhood.

The staff employed in the mosque complex were also among the early inhabitants of Ma'mûre. According to the *vakfiye*, compiled in 1582, the number of waqf personnel, including administrative staff, service personnel, maintenance staff, and students attending Nurbanu Sultan's madrasa, *darülkurra*, and *darülhadis*, totaled 387 individuals.⁶²⁹ However, it is important to note that it cannot be definitively confirmed whether all individuals listed in the *vakfiye* actually resided in Ma'mûre.

The majority of the administrative staff and tax collectors, consisting of fifteen individuals, were responsible for overseeing the financial management of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf assets situated beyond the confines of Üsküdar and thus did not need to stay in

⁶²⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.42.p.1/a1 (Rebî'ülevvel 983/June 1575).

⁶²⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53, p.37/b1 (Zilhicce 989/January 1582).

⁶²⁹ This figure is calculated through the comparative reading of the original waqf deed and its two copies, all of which are preserved in the Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations in Ankara. It's important to note that 387 represents the number of personnel outlined in the waqf deed and may not accurately reflect the actual number of individuals actively serving as waqf personnel. The precise numbers can be traced to the waqf's detailed accounts registers. In his study of Atik Valide's mosque complex (1676–1726), Ramazan Pantık, based on his analysis of the waqf's detailed accounts registers, suggests that certain personnel assigned to Nurbanu Sultan's mosque, including cüzhan (those who recited the Qur'an for the souls of the waqf founder and the Prophet) and tesbihans (those who pray with tesbih), may have been the same individuals. He also notes that there were no significant fluctuations in the number of personnel stipulated in the deed or in the number of personnel who worked for Nurbanu Sultan's complex. However, the appointments to mosques in Mecca, Jerusalem, and Damascus, a growing enrollment of students in Nurbanu's colleges, and certain mosque and convent personnel receiving salaries from Nurbanu Sultan's waqf contributed to the increased figures of waqf personnel documented in the accounts registers. Pantık, "Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi," 107–110.

Ma'mûre.⁶³⁰ Additionally, the maintenance staff, comprising eighteen individuals, was employed on an as-needed basis rather than as a permanent workforce. The sporadic nature of their employment provided them with the flexibility to not reside near the mosque complex.⁶³¹ The remaining waqf personnel likely resided in Ma'mûre for the sake of proximity to their workplace.⁶³² For instance, the *muezzin* of Nurbanu's mosque, Ali Halife⁶³³; the sheikh of the public kitchen, Recep Efendi⁶³⁴; the cook of the public kitchen, İbadi ibn Mahmud⁶³⁵; and the attendant of the hospital's bath, Rıdvan ibn İbrahim⁶³⁶, all resided in Mahalle-i Ma'mûre in 1585.⁶³⁷

In addition, a small yet diverse community resided within the precincts of the mosque complex. This community included waqf personnel, students, and transient sojourners, each of whom was assigned a designated quarter within the waqf buildings. They included doorkeepers responsible for ensuring the security of each waqf building day and night; caregivers who attended to the needs of patients at different stages of recovery during their hospital stays; and waqf staff who catered to travelers and their mules staying in the guest house and caravanserai.⁶³⁸ Nurbanu Sultan's convent also provided residence to thirty-two

⁶³⁰ VGM.d.1766, p.149.

⁶³¹ They were responsible for the maintenance of Nurbanu Sultan's waterways in Üsküdar and Sarıkadı (now known as Sarıgazi), the upkeep of the roofs of the waqf buildings, and ensuring the overall maintenance of the complex and the waqf's public baths in Istanbul (Dikilitaş and Ayakapu). VGM.d.1766, p. 161.

⁶³² The waqf deed is silent regarding the provision of housing for its personnel; however, Jean Palerne's travelogue, penned by the French pilgrim during his visit to Üsküdar in the early 1580s, provides relevant insights. His observations of the Nurbanu Sultan's mosque complex include references to specifically designated quarters for the priests (*pour loger les prêtres*), who were probably the *imams* (prayer leaders) and *muezzins* (reciters of the call to prayer) serving the mosque. Palerne, *Peregrinations*, 431.

⁶³³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.86.p.18/1a.(Şaban 1001/ May 1593). There were waqf buildings reserved for the residence of mosque personnel. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.348.p.36/b3 (Safer 1125/March 1725).

⁶³⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.47/a1. (Zilka'de 993 / November 1585).

⁶³⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.46/b1. (Zilka'de 993 / November 1585).

⁶³⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.37/b2. (Şevval 993 / October 1585).

⁶³⁷ Adjacent to the Atik Valide Convent, there were residences endowed for the accommodation of the convent's sheikh. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.348.p.35/b2 (Cemâziyelevvel 1128/May 1716).

⁶³⁸ VGM.d.1766, p. 136, 153, 160, 162.

dervishes.⁶³⁹ Furthermore, the complex served as a home for boarding students enrolled in the complex's educational facilities, contributing vibrancy and diversity to the day-and-night population of the complex.⁶⁴⁰

In conclusion, the early development of Ma'mûre was primarily driven by occupational opportunities and the benefits provided by the mosque complex. Initially, the area's development was catalyzed by a substantial influx of construction workers necessary for large-scale building projects. Subsequently, urban growth was sustained by the employment opportunities within various facilities of the complex and the availability of educational pursuits. However, these factors alone do not fully account for the transformation of Ma'mûre into a densely populated *semt* with multiple neighborhoods. While economic and educational opportunities were of critical importance, there were other factors at play that contributed to the area's rapid urban growth. The following sections will first explore the diverse ethno-religious communities that settled on Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land and then endeavor to uncover their motivations for relocating to Ma'mûre.

4.2.1. The Jewish Community of Ma'mûre

One of the components of the ethno-religiously diverse community of Ma'mûre was a small Jewish population that was granted waqf plots to construct their residences in Ma'mûre. Among the Jewish grantees, Salomon veled-i Yakob built a dwelling in the neighborhood and resided there until 1582, when he leased his property to two brothers, David and Salomon, also from the Jewish community.⁶⁴¹ In 1596, Musa veled-i Yasef received a grant for a 470-square-meter plot near the property of Yani veled-i Niko, a Greek resident of the neighborhood.⁶⁴² Another Jewish inhabitant of Ma'mûre, Rafael veled-i Samuel, owned a dwelling surrounded by the properties of Hacı Mehmed, Emine Khatun,

⁶³⁹ Ibid., 164.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., 136, 153, 154.

⁶⁴¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.41/b1 (Safer 990/March 1582).

⁶⁴² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.93.p.47/b1(Zilka'de 1004/July 1596).

and Hekimoğlu, all Muslim residents of the neighborhood.⁶⁴³ In 1590, he sold his house to Hüseyin ibn Mustafa for 11.500 *akçe*.

The earliest extant detailed survey of the Jews paying their taxes for Nurbanu Sultan's waqf dates back to 1664.⁶⁴⁴ This census was conducted to address ongoing disputes between Jews affiliated with Mehmed II's and Nurbanu Sultan's waqfs.⁶⁴⁵ The underlying cause of the conflict appears to have arisen when some of Nurbanu Sultan's Jews moved from Üsküdar to Istanbul, wherein the majority of Jews paid their taxes to Mehmet II's waqf.⁶⁴⁶ Such relocations likely precipitated controversies regarding the authority of each waqf administration over the Jewish residents residing in Istanbul and their respective obligations, eventually necessitating the need for intervention by waqf authorities.⁶⁴⁷ In order to address the issue, the waqf superintendent, Musli Agha, organized a detailed survey of the Jewish congregation belonging to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf. The new survey aimed to prevent further administrative confusion and ensure accurate tax collection by recording the waqf subjects' names along with their epithets and salient physical traits.

According to the survey, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, there were sixty-three Jewish individuals (*adult males/neferan*) paying their taxes to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf and residing either in Istanbul or its three boroughs.⁶⁴⁸ Upon the demise of any of these

⁶⁴³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.75.p.6/a1 (Cemâziyelevvel 998/March 1590).

⁶⁴⁴ They were referred to as *Üsküdar'da vâkî merhûme ve mağfûrîn-lehâ Atik Valide Sultan -tâbe serâhâ-hazretlerinin câmi '-i şerîf ve imâret-i âmiresinin defterlü Yahûdi re 'âyâları*. EV.HMH.d.161 (Cemâziyelâhir 1100/April 1689, attached register dated Şevval 1074/May 1664).

⁶⁴⁵ For the register of the Jewish waqf subjects of Sultan Mehmed II, see BOA.MAD.d.286 (Şevval 1032/August 1623).

⁶⁴⁶ Mehmed II's waqf subjects were mostly the Romaniote Jews of Istanbul, who had lived under Roman and Byzantine rule. As part of Mehmed II's policy of resettling Istanbul, these Greek-speaking Jews had been exiled to the new capital city in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Yaron Ben-Nach, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans: Ottoman Jewish Society in the Seventeenth Century* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 1.

⁶⁴⁷ Minna Rozen, *A History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul: The Formative Years, 1453–1566* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 46–52.

⁶⁴⁸ EV.HMH.d.161 (Cemâziyelâhir 1100/April 1689, attached register dated Şevval 1074/May 1664). For the changing numbers of Sultan Mehmed's Jewish waqf subjects according to the surveys compiled in 1525, 1540, 1595–1597, 1603, 1608, and 1623, see Stéphane Yerasimos, "La communauté juive à Istanbul à la fin du XVIe siècle," in *Turcica*, vol. 27 (1995). For Sultan Mehmed's Jewish waqf subjects in 1688–89, see BOA.MAD.d.4036.

taxpayers, the waqf administration registered their sons or other male heirs as the new waqf subjects, a crucial step for maintaining the continuity of the tax base and thereby sustaining the associated revenue stream.⁶⁴⁹ A subsequent survey dated 1688–89 recorded an increase in the Jewish population to a total of 104 individuals (*adult males/neferan*).⁶⁵⁰ This increase in their number was probably due to the new entries into the registry and the inclusion of existing waqf subjects' sons, as they became part of the tax liability upon reaching puberty and became capable of earning a livelihood.

While neither survey gives the precise number of Jews residing in Ma'mûre, the recorded total of Jewish waqf subjects ranged between 63 and 104 *neferan*, indicating their relatively modest presence in the region. This is particularly evident when compared to the significant Jewish population—over five thousand tax-paying Jewish residents—living in Istanbul and its three boroughs in the last decade of the seventeenth century.⁶⁵¹ Furthermore, the jizya registers remain silent regarding the status of Nurbanu Sultan's Jewish subjects, that is, whether they were part of the exiled (*sürgün*) group,⁶⁵² who were forcibly relocated to Istanbul following the conquest, or if they were voluntary migrants (*kendi gelen*) who came of their own will following their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula or other foreign territories.⁶⁵³

⁶⁴⁹ EV.HMH.d.161 (Cemâziyelâhir 1100/April 1689, attached register dated Şevval 1074/May 1664).

⁶⁵⁰ BOA.MAD.d.4036 (Muharrem 1100/November 1688), 51–52.

⁶⁵¹ Uriel Heyd, "The Jewish Communities of Istanbul in the Seventeenth Century," in *Oriens*, vol. 6, no. 2 (1953), 310. According to a jizya register compiled in 1638–1640, there were 125 Jewish *nefer* collectively staying in Ayşe Sultan's waqf rooms in Üsküdar. Ayşe Sultan's waqf rooms were probably the *yahudhanes* (family compounds intended for Jews) near the pier of Balaban. BOA.MAD.d.4646 (1638–1640) After fifty years, this number dropped to 101, categorized into two tax categories: 19 in the middle (*evsât*) and 82 in the lower (*ednâ*) categories. BOA.MAD.d.3661(1103/1691–92).

⁶⁵² For a detailed examination of the *sürgün* system, see Joseph Hacker, "The Surgun System and Jewish Society in the Ottoman Empire during the 15th to 17th Centuries," in *Ottoman and Turkish Jewry: Community and Leadership*, ed. Aron Rodrigue (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1992):1–65.

⁶⁵³ "As its name indicates, the first group, *sürgün*, included all those congregations formed by Jews who, at least in the beginning, had been compelled to move to Istanbul mainly from the same regions from which non-Jews too were transported... The *kendi gelen* group is composed of congregations established by Jews who had come from countries beyond the Ottoman frontiers, mainly as the result of their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula (Gerush, Catalan, Aragon, Cordova, Hamon, Maior, Seniors, Portugal), southern Italy (Calabria, Great and Little Sicily, Messina), Germany (Alaman), and Hungary (Budun)." Heyd, "The Jewish Communities of Istanbul," 306. Also see Yoron Ban Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans: Ottoman Jewish Society in the Seventeenth Century* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 84–85.

It is difficult to draw precise conclusions about the waqf's Jewish congregation since there is scant information in the jizya registers regarding where they hail from. Their infrequent appearances in the Üsküdar court records do not help either.⁶⁵⁴ Based on the limited data available from the analyzed court records, I would argue that the Jewish community of Ma'mûre included Jewish groups displaced from their native locales during the Celali upheavals as well as Sephardic Jews, originating from the Spanish-Portuguese diaspora.⁶⁵⁵

The primary motivation for the Jews to settle in Ma'mûre was likely the array of incentives extended to inhabitants, such as land allotments and exemptions from extraordinary taxes. Additionally, their administrative status would change from migrant groups (*perâkende*) to registered (*defterli*) subjects affiliated with an imperial waqf. As for the Sephardic Jews, particularly those engaged in trade, their attraction to Ma'mûre could be related to the neighborhood's burgeoning center for tanneries and khans.

For centuries, Jews have been actively engaged in a range of textile-related professions, including tanning, the manufacturing of leather goods, cloth dyeing, silk working, and the trade of luxury textiles.⁶⁵⁶ Ottoman Jews, in particular, were active agents in the lucrative trade of leather, silk, and *sof*, a type of wool made of goat's hair, predominantly produced in Ankara and known in European markets as angora wool or mohair.⁶⁵⁷ The Jewish community in Ankara played a critical role in the procurement of *sof*, which was then transported to Istanbul and subsequently distributed to European markets

⁶⁵⁴ For a case study examining the settlement patterns of the Jewish community in Edirne and exploring how their urban and communal identities were expressed in court records, see Gürer Karagedikli, "Overlapping Boundaries in the City: Mahalle and Kahal in the Early Modern Ottoman Urban Context," in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 61 (2018): 650-692.

⁶⁵⁵ Ben-Naeh, *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans*, 351.

⁶⁵⁶ Avigdor Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1992), 35. Aryeh Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the Late Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries: Administrative, Economic, Legal and Social Relations as Reflected in the Responsa* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 139. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, nearly all of Rome's tanneries were situated in the Regola district, which was near the Jewish Ghetto across from Tiber Island. Ketí Lelo and Giuseppe Stemperini, "The economic space of cities: an analysis of leather tanners in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Rome," in *Urban History*, vol. 50 (2023), 686.

⁶⁵⁷ Rozen, *A History of the Jewish Community*, 233. Also see Faruk Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean 1550-1870: A Geohistorical* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 134-140.

through the networks of Jewish merchants.⁶⁵⁸ The Sephardic Jews of Ma'mûre likely served as language intermediaries, by virtue of their knowledge of the main European languages.⁶⁵⁹ Their language skills and experience in trade must have strengthened Ma'mûre's position as the hub of Üsküdar for commercial transactions, particularly for specific goods, such as various textiles, transported by trade caravans.

Because of the strategic importance of Ma'mûre, enhanced by Nurbanu Sultan's caravanserai and the khans around the horse market, which provided venues for merchants to engage in their commerce, some Jewish cloth traders settled in the neighborhood. Salomon veled-i Efrahim, a Jewish cloth trader living in Ma'mûre, was a member of the Portuguese congregation that had migrated following the expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula.⁶⁶⁰ He engaged in a business agreement with Nurbanu Sultan's waqf administration, whereby he supplied wool harvested from waqf-owned sheep for sale in lucrative markets. Additionally, he formed strategic partnerships with other Jewish merchants, including Salomon veled-i İsak, with whom he engaged in the trade of mohair (*muhayyer*), a luxury cloth woven from the finest angora wool.⁶⁶¹ These Sephardic merchants likely served as intermediaries, procuring high-quality textiles from trade caravans arriving in Üsküdar from the renowned *sof*-producing cities of Kastamonu and

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁹ "The Jews, who had been expelled from Spain and Portugal, enhanced their Judaism in Turkey, by translating different sorts of books into Hebrew language. They also print in Spanish, Italian, Latin, Greek and German, but they do not print in Turkish or Arabic because it is not allowed. The Jews, living in Turkey, can speak four or five languages. There are also some who can speak ten or twelve languages...They are great traders who can speak many languages. (Translated from the original text in French) Pierre Belon du Mans, *Voyage au Levant (1553): Les Observations de Pierre Belon du Mans de plusieurs singularités & choses mémorables, trouvées en Grèce, Turquie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie & autres pays étranges (1553)* (Paris: Editions Chandeigne, 2001): 465–66.

⁶⁶⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.48.p.56/a2(Muharrem 987/March 1579)

"These were the Sephardic Jews, who emigrated from Spain, Portugal, and south Italy after they had been expelled from these countries in 1492 and 1497-8. They soon became the predominant community among the Jews in the Ottoman Empire because of their refined cultural tradition and because of their larger numbers." Aryeh Shmulevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire In the Late Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries: Administrative, Economic, Legal and Social Relations as Reflected in the Responso* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 12.

⁶⁶¹ Ankara and Tosya were the centers of the manufacturers of mohair cloth, which was quite an important part of Ottoman exports to Europe. İnalcık and Quataert, *Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, 50.

Ankara and subsequently facilitating their distribution to various markets.⁶⁶²

There is evidence that the involvement of the Jews of Üsküdar in the textile and related industries often influenced their settlement patterns. For instance, those working in the tanning industry or those involved in the trade of processed animal hides typically settled near tanneries. The Jewish community residing in the coastal center of Üsküdar was clustered near the Şemsi Pasha Mosque, adjacent to the Balaban Pier, where the tanneries were located.⁶⁶³ Similarly, some Jewish residents of Ma'mûre leased storage spaces close to the tanneries to minimize logistical challenges related to handling and storing the leather. Those engaged in trade rented waqf rooms around the horse market and acquired houses near the Valide Sûku, both strategic locations for commercial exchange that would enhance their business transactions.⁶⁶⁴

Salomon veled-i Musa, also known by the moniker *sofçuoğlu* (the son of a wool textile dealer), was a Jewish merchant who mainly dealt with the procurement of wool from local suppliers in order to distribute it to lucrative markets. In 1576, *sofçuoğlu* hired Salomon veled-i Yako, a resident of Ma'mûre, to procure wool and processed leather from the waqf's tanneries and slaughterhouses on his behalf.⁶⁶⁵ In order to ensure a reliable and faster supply chain, Salomon rented a cellar near the waqf's tanners to serve as a depot for large quantities of raw wool and tanned leather prior to their sale or distribution to textile manufacturers.⁶⁶⁶ Yasef was another Jewish merchant living in Ma'mûre who engaged in the trade of leather.

⁶⁶² They probably used their language skills and networks across the Balkans and the Mediterranean to engage in international trade and to sell mohair, which was an expensive luxury textile in great demand in Italy. Ibid., 240. In 1579, they purchased *sof*, valued at 18,500 *akçe*, from Halil b. İbrahim, who came from Kastamonu. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.51.p.6/a4(Şevval 987/December 1579).

⁶⁶³ The Ottoman Armenian city chronicler Eremya Çelebi Kömürçüyan (d. 1695), while telling about his trip to Üsküdar, states that “now we pass by Jewish houses along the coast, the neighborhood near the Şemsi Pasha Mosque where tanners work.” Kömürçüyan, *Istanbul Tarihi*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan, 48.

⁶⁶⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.84.p.51/b1 (Şevval 1000/ July 1592), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.327.p.56/b3 (Rebi'ülevvel 1113/ July 1700).

⁶⁶⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.83/a2 (Ramazan 984/December 1576).

⁶⁶⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.143/a7 (Muharrem 985/April 1577) The trade of woolen cloth was a prevalent occupation among the Jewish community. In the seventeenth century, at the center of *sof* production in Ankara, Jewish merchants purchased *sof* to sell in İzmir. Canan Çetinkaya, “Ankara’da Gayrimüslim Tüccarlar ve Sof Ticareti (XVII. yüzyıl) in *Ankarad (Ankara Anadolu ve Rumeli Araştırmaları Dergisi)*, vol.1/1(2020), 113-114.

In 1584, he bought various types of leather, including rough leather (*gön*), water buffalo leather, twelve pieces of sheep leather (*meşin*), polished goat leather (*sahtiyân*), and angora wool from Salomon veled-i Yakob.⁶⁶⁷

Some merchants, having accumulated significant capital, seem to have ventured into the realm of tax farming. Sason veled-i Salomon, a resident of Ma'mûre, was a tax farmer (*mültezim*) who held the tax farming rights for Vidin and Silistre.⁶⁶⁸ The court records also document the presence of Jewish physicians employed in Nurbanu Sultan's hospital. Hekim Artin İshak and Hekim Abraham veled-i Portugal were among the earliest residents of the neighborhood and pioneered the establishment of Jewish medical practitioners in the neighborhood as early as the 1570s.⁶⁶⁹

In conclusion, the Jewish residents of Ma'mûre tended to live near the neighborhood's socio-economic center, as some of their occupations required them to be near the mosque complex, the waqf tanneries, and the khans. I have not encountered any trace of a synagogue within the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land, nor were there any family compounds intended for Jews (*yahudhane*). While some Jewish residents stayed in the waqf rooms, others were assigned plots to build their own houses on the assigned parcels. In other words, Ma'mûre's Jewish community did not appear to live together in a particular location. Rather, their settlement pattern was determined either by their occupations, which required them to be near certain locations, or by the waqf plots they were assigned.

This section provided an introduction to Nurbanu Sultan's Jewish waqf subjects and attempted to elucidate the reasons behind their settlement in the late sixteenth century. It also highlighted the need for further research on the settlement patterns of Üsküdar's Jewish

⁶⁶⁷ The related court record regarding their business agreement provides no further details about Salomon except to note that he accepted payment from Yasef in the form of four barrels of muscatel wine (*misket hamr*) and one barrel of lemon juice that had been imported from Crete via the ship by a Cretan captain named Gora from Galata. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.57.p.17/a2 (Safer 992/February 1584).

⁶⁶⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.74.p.44/a5 (Şevval 988/August 1589).

⁶⁶⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.48.p.46/a2 (Muharrem 987/February 1579).

Hekim Abraham stood surety for her fellow Jew Salomon, the son of Yako from Mahalle-i Ma'mûre, as his guarantor for his debt owed to İbrahim ibn İskender. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56, p.51/a1 (Şaban 991/August 1583), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.74.p.44/a5 (Şevval 988/August 1589).

community throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in order to understand the dynamics that led to the emergence, in the seventeenth century, of a more substantial Jewish settlement beyond the northern boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land, in the Bülbüldere Valley and Selamsız.

4.2.2. The *Kıbtî* Community of Ma'mûre

In October 1578, Hüsn, a *Kıbtî* resident of Ma'mûre, came before the judge of Üsküdar together with her son Kurd and accused Nikola, a candle maker employed at Nurbanu Sultan's candle manufactory, of murdering her daughter Şem'î.⁶⁷⁰ According to Hüsn's testimony, Nikola was carrying candle wax to his shop with his cart when some wax spilled onto the ground. Şem'î, who was in the vicinity, picked up the fallen wax. Nikola, misinterpreting her actions as theft, struck her in the neck with his firearm. Şem'î was seriously injured and remained bedridden with her wounds for five days before succumbing to death. During the trial, Nikola maintained his innocence and made a counter-accusation against the *Kıbtî* family, claiming that Şem'î had already been afflicted with the plague and had died because of her serious illness (*mezbure Şem'î mat'ûnedir elân vefâtı tâ'ûndan olmuştur*).⁶⁷¹ Seeking to verify these conflicting claims, the judge appointed Cerrah Üstad, a zimmi surgeon, to investigate the case. Accompanied by several witnesses, the surgeon examined Şem'î's body at her residence and noted distinctive lesions on her neck and left arm. These lesions were consistent with symptoms of the plague, thus proving that her death could not be directly attributed to Nikola's assault.

This court proceeding can be evaluated in the context of the plague outbreaks that severely affected the Mediterranean world many times throughout the sixteenth century.⁶⁷² The residents of Ma'mûre, who frequently came into contact with transient populations — potential carriers of the plague — were likely exposed to significant health risks.⁶⁷³ In

⁶⁷⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d. 46.p.156/b1 (12 Şaban 986/14 October 1578).

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

⁶⁷² Selaniki notes that the epidemic gradually disappeared in the last months of 1590. *Tarih-i Selaniki*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, vol.2, 229.

⁶⁷³ Nühket Varlık emphasizes the significant role of caravan trade in carrying the disease along the main highway of the state. She says, "In the very same year (1577), plague also spread east from Istanbul,

particular, the *Kıbtîs*, who lived and worked near the bustling horse market, were among the most vulnerable members of the neighborhood community due to their frequent interactions with transient traders and travelers.⁶⁷⁴ Furthermore, this case reflects potential conflicts or mistrust among different ethno-religious groups, particularly evident in the deep-seated prejudice directed towards the *Kıbtîs*.⁶⁷⁵ Although this study does not delve into these conflicts in depth, it is worth noting that the community of Ma'mûre was not immune to the inter-communal conflicts and tensions commonly experienced by diverse populations residing in close proximity or sharing market spaces.

The *Kıbtî* community of Ma'mûre was mainly composed of *Kıbtîs*, who likely led a nomadic lifestyle in Rumelia prior to their settlement in the neighborhood. During the initial land distributions in Ma'mûre, the waqf administration assigned them some plots located between the Çavuşdere Orchards and the horse market. (see Map 4.2) The area where they cohabited was occasionally referred to in the Üsküdar's court records as Çingene Mahallesi or Ali Agha Mahallesi, named for its proximity to the Ali Agha's garden, one of the boundary markers delineating the northern limits of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land.⁶⁷⁶

underscoring the role of the Anatolian network. In December, plague was in Erzurum, a main hub on the overland caravan route between Istanbul and Tabriz. Although it is not clear through which route the infection was introduced, it was most likely via the overland caravan route." Nükhet Varlık, *Plague and Empire in the Mediterranean World: The Ottoman Experience, 1347-1600* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 197.

⁶⁷⁴ VGM, d. 1766, pg.143. The passage within Nurbanu Sultan's waqf deed concerning the horse market's relocation indicates that the market was situated directly opposite the dwellings and shops of the local *Kıbtî* population. It does not specify whether Muslim and Christian *Kıbtî* groups lived in separate areas, thus leaving both possibilities unconfirmed.

⁶⁷⁵ See Faika Çelik, "Exploring Marginality in the Ottoman Empire: Gypsies or People of Malice (Ehl-i Fesad) as Viewed by the Ottomans," *EUI Working Papers, RSC*, vol. 39 (2004): 1-21. Faika Çelik, "Probing the Margins: Gypsies (Roma) in Ottoman society, c.1450–1600," in *Subalterns and Social Protest: History from Below in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Stephanie Cronin (New York: Routledge, 2008): 173-199. İsmail Altınöz, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Çingeneler*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2013), Faika Çelik, "The Many Faces of the "Gypsy" in Early Modern Ottoman Discourse," in *Disliking Others Loathing, Hostility, and Distrust in Premodern Ottoman Lands*, eds. Hakan T. Karateke, H. Erdem Çıpa and Helga Anetshofer (Academic Studies Press: 2018): 215-243.

⁶⁷⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.9/a6 (Rebî'ülâhir 993/April 1585), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.24/b1 (Rebî'ülâhir 991/April 1583).

The earliest extant tax survey documenting the *Kıbtî* congregations belonging to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf dates back to 1585.⁶⁷⁷ The register mentions two *Kıbtî* congregations, identified after their leaders (*çeribaşı*), as Cemaat-i Evrenos veled-i Ali and Cemaat-i Hamza veled-i İbrahim, residing in the District of Üsküdar. Their jizya was imposed on each congregation as a collective fixed lump sum (*ber vech-i maktu*). The responsibility for distributing the total tax burden among the community members was managed by their respective *çeribaşı*.⁶⁷⁸ According to the register, these two *Kıbtî* congregations consisted of 250 tax-paying male population (*neferan*), of whom 100 were Muslims, and 150 were Christians, each paying 65 *akçes* to the waqf.⁶⁷⁹ Nothing in this register indicates the reason why these communities had settled in Ma'mûre. However, some suggestions could be made based on additional information in the next tax survey, which was conducted in 1598-1600.

This survey reveals that, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, there were a total of 371 *Kıbtî* individuals (*neferan*) paying their taxes to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf. Of the total, 94 were from the congregation of "Evrenos veled-i Ali" residing in Üsküdar, while the remaining 277 were dispersed across the lands in Rumelia and Anatolia.⁶⁸⁰ In other terms, those "dispersed across the lands of Rumelia and Anatolia were "waqf subjects" already. This could indicate that the two *kıbtî* congregations were initially forced to settle in Ma'mûre but subsequently returned to their former locations or that some *Kıbtîs* willingly settled in the neighborhood after being assigned as Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subjects, possibly motivated by the desire to benefit from land grants and the transition towards a more established, sedentary lifestyle. Briefly, given the prerequisite for living within the borders of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf lands, which were scattered across the empire, at some point in

⁶⁷⁷ BOA.MAD.d.14770 (Rebî'ülevvel 993/March 1585).

⁶⁷⁸ Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire: 1560-1600* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 104.

⁶⁷⁹ BOA.MAD.d.14770 (Rebî'ülevvel 993/March 1585).

⁶⁸⁰ BOA.TK.GM.d.2200 (Muharrem 1053/April 1643), the attached file (Recep 1008/February 1600). BOA.EV.HMH.d.00040 (Recep 1101/April 1690), the attached file (Rebî'ülâhîr 1007/November 1598 and Şevval 1057/November 1647) Each *nefer* was required to pay a total of sixty-five *akçes*, which included sixty-two *akçes* jizya and an additional two *akçes* charged as a "collection fee" named *resm-i hane*. To enforce tax compliance, fines were imposed on those who attempted to evade these obligations by relocating from their registered provinces during the tax collection periods. BOA.MAD.d.14770 (Rebî'ülevvel 993/March 1585).

their lives for registration as a waqf subject, it appears that the two *Kıbtî* communities willingly settled or had been subjected to enforced settlement in Ma'mûre.

The subsequent survey was conducted after the jizya reform in 1691, when the traditional method of collecting jizya based on a lump sum was replaced with a new system that levied the tax per individual.⁶⁸¹ Accordingly, the jizya register compiled in 1694, the number of *kıbtîs* had risen significantly to 728 *neferan*.⁶⁸² The substantial increase by the end of the seventeenth century can be attributed to the registration of new individuals as Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subjects, including not only the offspring of already registered waqf subjects but also their close relatives, including brothers and uncles. Additionally, the registration of the *perâkende Kıbtîs* who had recently settled in Ma'mûre in the waqf registers as the new taxpayers also contributed to the expansion in the number of waqf's *Kıbtî* residents.⁶⁸³ From these 728 *Kıbtî* waqf subjects living in different parts of the empire, only 94 were living in Üsküdar, while the remainder were scattered across various locations, including Dimetoka, Edirne, Cısr-ı Mustafa Pasha, Eyüp, İznikmid (İzmit), Kandıra, Şile, and Gebze.

Like Jewish residents, the *Kıbtî* population of Ma'mûre settled close to the horse market, which likely enhanced their socio-economic interactions.⁶⁸⁴ According to a business transaction recorded in the sharia court, Bali and Devran, two members of the *Kıbtî*

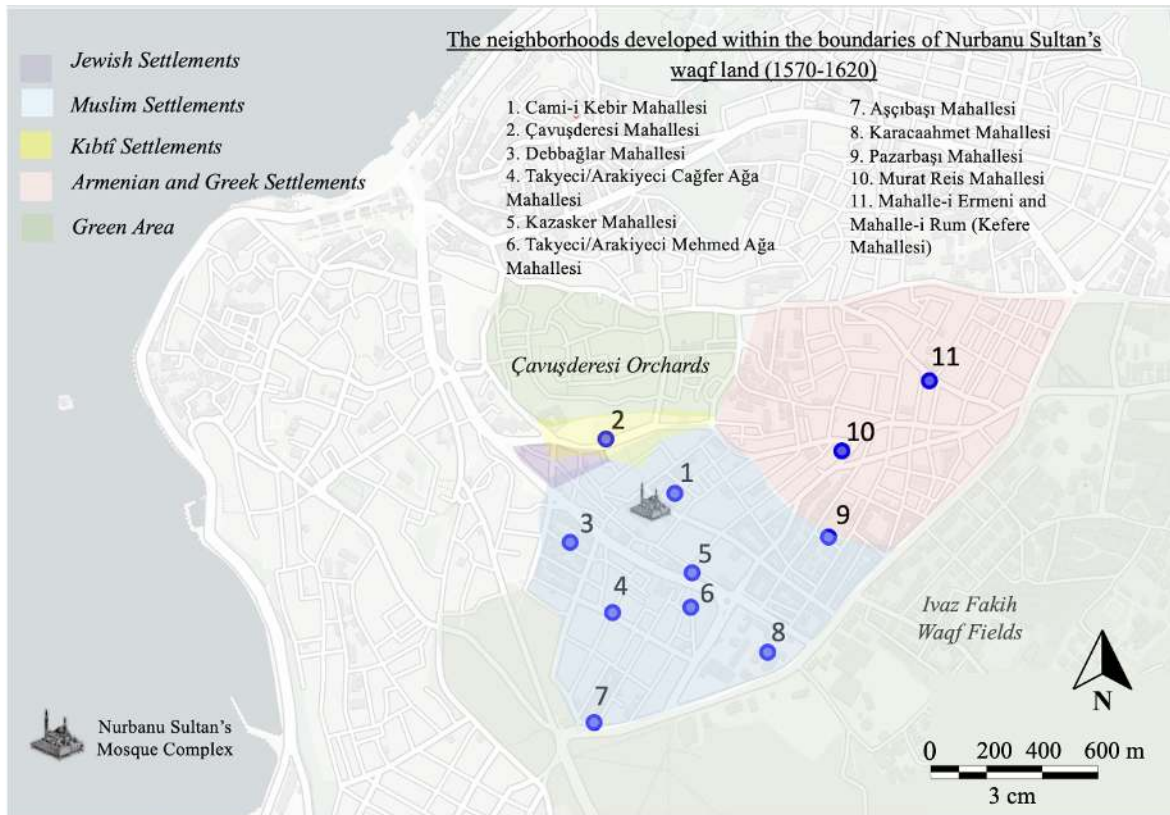
⁶⁸¹ For more information regarding the tax reform, see Marinos Sariyannis, "Notes on the Ottoman Poll-Tax Reforms of the Late Seventeenth Century: The Case of Crete," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 54 (2011) 39-61. Oktay Özel, "Osmanlı Demografi Tarihi Açısından Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri," in Halil İnalcık & Şevket Pamuk, eds., *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bilgi ve İstatistik* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2001): 33-51.

⁶⁸² BOA.EV.HMH.d.00767 (Zilka'de 1105/July 1694). Oktay Özel argues that from the early seventeenth century onwards, both terms "*hane*" and "*nefer*" were used in many documents, often as synonyms. He questions whether, if the jizya was assessed and collected per '*nefer*' and not per household throughout the century, then what significant changes were introduced by the "jizya reform" of 1691. I pose the same question, as before 1691, the number of *Kıbtîs* was also registered as "*nefer*." Özel, "Osmanlı Demografi Tarihi Açısından Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri," 42.

⁶⁸³ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁴ That was a settlement pattern reminiscent of the one observed in Selamsız, which by the seventeenth century had emerged as a significant residential center for the Jewish, Armenian, and *Kıbtî* communities of Üsküdar. For more information, see Hacer Tuba Kanra, "The Armenian Üsküdar amid a Conditional Plurality" (master's thesis, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, 2020), 26.

community, acquired the necessary iron from two Jews, Yakob and Risi.⁶⁸⁵ Although the court record remains silent on their occupations, it is plausible to surmise that the *Kıbtîs* were iron forgers, while Yakob and Risi were likely engaged in occupations related to metallurgy or the commerce of precious metals. Additionally, there were legal cases in which the *Kıbtîs* of Ma'mûre presented their Jewish neighbors to the sharia court as their guarantors and witnesses, which suggests some social connections between the two communities as well.⁶⁸⁶



Map 4. 2: Different ethno-religious groups living in Ma'mûre.⁶⁸⁷
Produced by the author.

The analyzed court records offer few details concerning the occupations of Ma'mûre's *Kıbtî* population. The limited information indicates that some operated shops located around the horse market, where they engaged in diverse crafts and trades such as

⁶⁸⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.33/a1 (Cemâziyelâhir 991/June 1583), p.64/b1 (Şevval 991/October 1583).

⁶⁸⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.28/b3 (Ramazan 989/October 1581).

⁶⁸⁷ The coloring does not imply that the area was exclusively occupied by a distinct religious or ethnic group; rather, it indicates the predominant ethnic or religious community in each area.

shoe-tip maker (*nalçacı*), iron forger (*demirci*), and olive seller.⁶⁸⁸ Additionally, several *Kıbtîs* entered into fixed-term labor agreements, serving as field laborers, household servants, or unskilled workers.⁶⁸⁹ For example, a Christian *Kıbtî* named İstad veled-i Yani worked for three months for another *Kıbtî*, Şuca ibn Sarı, for 300 *akçe*.⁶⁹⁰ In another employment contract, Kurd ibn Yunus had his commitment formally registered in court to serve Yunus ibn Bâki for three years for free. Instead of receiving a salary, the terms of the contract stipulated that the bride price for Yunus' seven-year-old daughter would be waived, and Kurd would marry her once she reached the age of ten.⁶⁹¹ In a similar arrangement, Musalli veled-i Küçük Hamza accepted to work for the *Kıbtî* couple Bazarlı and Altune, serving them for four years, after which he would marry their daughter Fatma.⁶⁹² Such agreements, merging employment and marital arrangements, were apparently common within the *Kıbtî* community, and they provide some insights into their socio-cultural practices, especially regarding how economic obligations and familial ties were negotiated and formalized.

Some Christian *Kıbtîs* residing in Ma'mûre engaged in medical practices. A notable example is a family of surgeons whose expertise in hernia treatment was renowned beyond the confines of Üsküdar in the first half of the seventeenth century. This family, consisting of Üstad Deniz ibn Gazi, his wife Saliha bint-i Küpeli, and their son Mehmed Çelebi, exemplified the mentor-apprentice system that prevailed in medical training during the era.⁶⁹³ As documented in the court records, Saliha bint-i Küpeli performed 21 surgeries

⁶⁸⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.42.p.77/b2 (Zilka'de 993/November 1585), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.46.p.165/b6 (Ramazan 986/November 1578), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.75.p.16/a2 (Cemâziyelâhir 998/April 1590), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.9/a6 (Rebî'ülâhir 993/April 1585).

⁶⁸⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.75.p.25/a2 (Cemâziyelâhir 998/April 1590), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.1/b4 (Safer 993/March 1585).

⁶⁹⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.36/a3 (Cemâziyelevvel 991/June 1583). For a study on such employment contracts referred to as "hire oneself out/*nefsini icâre etmek*," see Nilüfer Alkan Günay, "Nefsini İcâre Etmek: 16. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İşçi ve İşveren Arasında Hizmet Sözleşmeleri," in *Sultan II. Selim Dönemi ve Bursa*, ed. Fırat Yaşa (Osmangazi Belediyesi Yayınları, 2020), 547–558.

⁶⁹¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.73/a1 (Zilka'de 991/November 1583).

⁶⁹² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.28/b3 (Cemâziyelâhir 993/May 1585).

⁶⁹³ Mahmut Said Değerli, "Surgeons, Hernia Surgery and Informed Consent in the Seventeenth Century Ottoman Istanbul," in *World Journal of Surgery*, vol. 46 (2022): 1686–1690.

between 1622 and 1624, earning between 400 and 3000 *akçe* per procedure. Her fees varied depending on the risk and complexity of each surgery.⁶⁹⁴ Her patients, both men and women, came from diverse locations, including Istanbul and its boroughs, as well as cities such as Bursa, Erzurum, Trabzon, and various villages in Rumelia and Anatolia.⁶⁹⁵

Patients seeking hernia treatment had to undergo a five-step procedure that included splitting, cutting, suturing, applying medicine, and receiving post-operative care.⁶⁹⁶ These operations, however, did not guarantee a full recovery and carried a risk of death for the patients. The surgeons, therefore, took preventive measures by requiring patients to sign consent forms in court before surgery, acknowledging the possibility of post-operative mortality and thus legally protecting the surgeons by stipulating that the patient's heirs could not claim compensation or blood money in the event of such an outcome.⁶⁹⁷ The effectiveness of these treatments appears to have attracted a significant number of patients to the neighborhood. Together with its hospital, which employed two full-time surgeons, they turned Ma'mûre into a significant medical hub.

In conclusion, while the settlement pattern of Ma'mûre's *Kıbtî* community could be perceived as a form of spatial segregation, their active engagement with their neighbors, particularly members of the Jewish community, and with traders around the horse market suggest that it did not imply any kind of social segregation. Given that some *Kıbtîs* transitioned from a nomadic to a settled lifestyle, their participation in commercial activities, crafts, and trades underscores a significant degree of integration into urban life, suggesting that their presence enriched the communal fabric rather than segmenting it.

⁶⁹⁴ Halil Sahillioğlu, "Üsküdar"ın Ma'mûre (Cedide) Mahallesi Fıtık Cerrahları," in *Yeni Tıp Tarihi Araştırmaları*, vol.4 (1998), 64. Also see Osman Çetin, "Üsküdar"da Bir Kadın Cerrah Küpeli Kızı Saliha Hatun," in *IV. Üsküdar Sempozyumu Bildiriler*, vol. 2 (2007), 527.

⁶⁹⁵ Mustafa Akkaya, "Üsküdar'da Bir Cerrah Ailesi: Üstad Cerrah Deniz, Eşi Cerrah Küpeli Kızı Saliha ve Oğlu Cerrah Mehmed Çelebi," in *Journal of History Studies*, vol. 6, no. 5 (2014), 1-11.

⁶⁹⁶ Fethi Gedikli, "Osmanlı Hukukunda Hekim Sorumluluğu ve XVII. Yüzyılda Ünlü Bir Fıtık Cerrahı," in *Türk Hukuk Tarihi Araştırmaları*, vol. 4, 2007, 18. Also see Fatih Doğan, Fatma Nilay Tutak, "Illustrations of Hernia Surgery in the Early Period of the Ottoman Empire by Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu," in *World Journal of Surgery* (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00268-021-06058-8>.

⁶⁹⁷ Değerli, "Surgeons, Hernia Surgery and Informed Consent," 1689.

4.2.3. The Armenian and Greek Communities of Ma'mûre

In his recent work, Henri Shapiro explores how, following the Celali upheavals, a mass migration of Armenians from Eastern Anatolia to Istanbul, Western Anatolia, Thrace, and even beyond led to the formation of new Armenian settlements during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶⁹⁸ This mass migration, which Shapiro refers to as the “Great Armenian Flight,” not only changed the demographic landscape of the empire but also played an instrumental role in the creation of new epicenters for Armenian socio-cultural and intellectual life, particularly in Istanbul, İzmit, Kefe, and Rodosto (modern-day Tekirdağ).⁶⁹⁹ The urban growth of Ma'mûre not only corroborates Shapiro's findings but also enriches the narrative by shedding light on the experiences of these displaced Armenian communities who sought refuge in Üsküdar.

The formation of the new waqf settlement of Ma'mûre was underway during the late sixteenth century, when Anatolia was engulfed in chaos. This period of turmoil, characterized by intermittent rebellions and widespread banditry, coincided with wars against Safavid Iran, climate change, and severe droughts, which exacerbated famine and accelerated the spread of disease across the region.⁷⁰⁰ The confluence of adversities led to the abandonment of many villages and to numerous lands remaining uncultivated for prolonged periods.⁷⁰¹ As these disturbances reached their peak, the waqf of Nurbanu was already offering free lands and tax exemptions to its inhabitants. This urban endeavor

⁶⁹⁸ Shapiro, *The Rise of the Western Armenian Diaspora*. Also see, Sebouh David Aslanian, *Early Modernity and Mobility Port Cities and Printers Across the Armenian Diaspora, 1512–1800* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2023).

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid., 4, 8. Henry Shapiro adopts Mustafa Akdağ's term "Büyük Kaçgun," or "Great Flight," originally used to describe the mass migrations triggered by the Celali Revolts, to characterize the Armenian segment of these migrations during this tumultuous period. Mustafa Akdağ. See Mustafa Akdağ, *Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası: Celâlî İsyanları* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2009).

Shapiro argues that the influx of Armenian refugees stimulated a vibrant revival of intellectual and cultural activities, resulting in the formation of a dynamic 'Armenian Diaspora' across Istanbul and the cities and countryside of Western Anatolia. This diaspora, centered demographically and culturally in Istanbul, fueled a renaissance of intellectual and cultural productivity.

⁷⁰⁰ For more information, see Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁷⁰¹ Oktay Özel, *The Collapse of Rural Order in Ottoman Anatolia: Amasya 1576–1643* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016), 141.

emerged as a vital opportunity for those displaced from their lands, offering them the means to rebuild their lives amidst the widespread instability.

Grigor Daranałc'i (d.1643), a learned Armenian preacher from Kemah who witnessed the Celali upheavals firsthand, reported that the migrants reached as far as Belgrade but primarily settled in İzmit, Edirne, Istanbul, Rodosto, and Üsküdar.⁷⁰² Similarly, Simeon of Poland, a Polish-Armenian merchant and pilgrim who resided in Istanbul from 1608 to 1609, stated that the surge in the Armenian population across Istanbul and its boroughs had been largely driven by the Celali terror.⁷⁰³ He also noted that the number of Armenian households that had come and settled in Istanbul, Galata, and Üsküdar exceeded forty thousand.⁷⁰⁴ Although the precise number provided by Simeon is difficult to verify, the urban growth of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land generally supports his observations.

The Armenian town of Eğin (modern-day Kemaliye), in the Province of Arapgir, which was one of the most affected regions by the famines and extensive looting, emerged as a primary source of migrant populations in Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood, along with those from Erzincan, Kemah, and Divriği, all of whom seeking refuge in more stable areas, one of which was Ma'mûre.⁷⁰⁵ For instance, an Armenian resident of Ma'mûre named Altun

⁷⁰² Arsen Yarman, "Eğin (agn) Ermenileri-II," in Kebikeç, vol. 38 (2014), 37. Henry Shapiro, "Grigor Daranałc'i: An Armenian Chronicler of Early Modern Mass Mobility," in *Entangled Confessionalizations?: Dialogic Perspectives on the Politics of Piety and Community Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th–18th Centuries*, eds. Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu (Gorgias Press, 2022) For the original book, see G. Daranałc'i, *Chronicle of Grigor Vardapet of Kemah or Daranali* [Žamanakagrut'iwn Grigor Vardapeti Kamaxec'woy kam Daranałc'woy], M. Nšanecan ed. (Jerusalem, 1915).

⁷⁰³ Polonyalı Simeon, *Polonyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi (1608-1619)*, ed. Hrand Der Andreasyan (Istanbul: Everest Yayınları, 2013), 5. For the original source, see: Simeon of Poland, *Simēon dpri Lehats'woy ułegrut'iwn*, ed. Nersēs Akinean (Vienna: Mechitharisten, 1936).

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁵ In his seminal work on the life conditions of the Armenians during the Celalî revolts, *Şarjumu Celalineri* (Celali Movements), Manvel Zulalyan (d.2012) provides a detailed account of the insecure environment in Eğin, which was characterized by rampant famines and extensive looting. He argues that Celali terror served as a catalyst for mass migrations, affecting not only Eğin but also nearby cities such as Erzincan, Kemah, and Divriği during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Arsen Yarman, "Eğin (agn) Ermenileri-II," 266. For Zulalyan's book on the Celali movement and the condition of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire during the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries, see Manvel K. Zulalyan, *Jalalineri sharzhumê ev hay zhoghovrdi vichakê Osmanyan kaysrut'yan mej* (Jelalis' Movement and Life Conditions of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire) (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1966). In his biographical account, Hagop Mintzuri, a nineteenth-century Armenian-Ottoman writer who moved to Istanbul from eastern Anatolia and settled in Üsküdar, notes that there were many Armenians from Armudan, Tığut, and Zımara (all Armenian villages in Erzincan) living in Üsküdar. Mintzuri, *Istanbul Anıları*, trans. Silva Kuyumcuyan, 1998.

had migrated from a village within the province of Arapgir.⁷⁰⁶ Following his relocation to Üsküdar, he sold his properties in his village. Similarly, two brothers from Eğin, Mihail, and Haço, established a new life in Ma'mûre.⁷⁰⁷ Their migration led to the gradual abandonment of the fields in Eğin that they had inherited from their father, eventually resulting in their loss of the property's title deed.⁷⁰⁸ A group of Armenian quarrymen residing in the neighborhood were also from Arapgir.⁷⁰⁹ They had probably worked on the construction of Nurbanu's mosque complex before deciding to settle in the neighborhood. There were also Armenians from Eğin who converted to Islam, like Nasuh ibn Abdullah, a silk thread spinner (*dolapçı*).⁷¹⁰ After settling in Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood, he assigned his brother Ladik veled-i Savan the sales of his orchard in Eğin. Another convert, Ali ibn Abdullah, from another village in Arapgir, appointed his brother Zirek as his deputy to initiate a divorce from his wife Mariam, who had stayed in the village, stipulating that should she remain unmarried until his return, he would remarry her.⁷¹¹

In addition to the Armenian migrants from Eastern Anatolia, Ma'mûre also became the new domicile for Greeks from Cyprus and Balkan cities like Ergirikasrı in southern Albania and Balyabadra in Morea, and for Turkish-speaking Armenians (*Karamanlu*) and Orthodox Christians from various parts of Anatolia (referred to as Anatolian *Rums*).⁷¹² The

⁷⁰⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p. 19/b3 (Cemâziyelâhir 993/June 1585).

⁷⁰⁷ Cem Behar reveals that there was a migratory movement from Arapgir to Kasap İlyas Mahalle at the end of the eighteenth century. For more information, see Behar, *Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 103-106.

⁷⁰⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.58/b2 (Ramazan 991/September 1583).

⁷⁰⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53. p.23/b2 (Şaban 989/September 1581).

⁷¹⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.56/b3 (Ramazan 991/September 1583).

⁷¹¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.4/a2 (Rebî'ülâhir 993/April 1585).

⁷¹² "Karamanlidhes were the Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians who wrote Turkish using the Greek alphabet. They were inhabitants of greater Cappadocia, a region with unstable borders that differed from period to period. Its boundaries for present purposes are: to the north as far as Ankara, Yozgat, and Hudavendigâr; to the south as far as Antalya and Adana; to the east as far as Kayseri and Sivas; and to the west as far as the borders of Aydın Province. Within this geographical area with its solid Muslim population, Turkish-speaking Orthodox communities coexisted with Turkish-speaking Armenians and Turkish-speaking Protestants, as well as dispersed enclaves of Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians, until the Exchange of Populations in 1924." Evangelica Balta, *Beyond the Language Frontier: Studies on the Karamanlis and the Karamanlidika Printing* (Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 2011), 49.

Also see: BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.1/a4 (Cemâziyelâhir 988/August 1580), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.3/a1 (Cemâziyelevvel 988/June 1580), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.9/a1 (Muharrem 991/January 1583),

latter two were easily distinguished among others by their Turkish names like Sefer, Altun, Arslan, Tanrıverdi, Ferhad, Babacan, Hüdaverdi, Sultan, Karaca, Karakaş, Karagöz, and Murad.⁷¹³

The earliest waqf register documenting Nurbanu Sultan's Christian taxpayers, compiled upon the order of Murad III in the late 1570s, was burned in a fire.⁷¹⁴ Therefore, the earliest jizya register providing information regarding the Armenians and Greeks bound to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf dates back only to 1600. It indicates that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there were 386 Christian waqf subjects, each paying 140 *akçes* to the waqf's tax collectors. These 386 *neferan* included residents of Ma'mûre, migrants from Ma'mûre to Istanbul, Galata, and Eyüp, who still maintained their affiliation with the waqf, and the inhabitants of Nurbanu's waqf farm in Orhanlı, a village in Gebze.⁷¹⁵

The register does not elucidate the factors precipitating the substantial migration of Ma'mûre's Christian residents to Istanbul and its boroughs in the three decades following the establishment of the waqf. It merely notes that their relocation was chiefly motivated by the pursuit of employment and the need for self-sustenance (*kâr u kisb için*), which seems like a reasonable purpose, though some may have followed their family or kin.⁷¹⁶ The central government consistently took the necessary measures to control and discourage migration not only from rural areas to urban centers but also between cities, reflecting a general state policy aimed at maintaining demographic and economic stability throughout the empire.

BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.12/a1 (Rebî'ülevvel 993/March 1585), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.70/b3 (Zilka'de 993/October 1585).

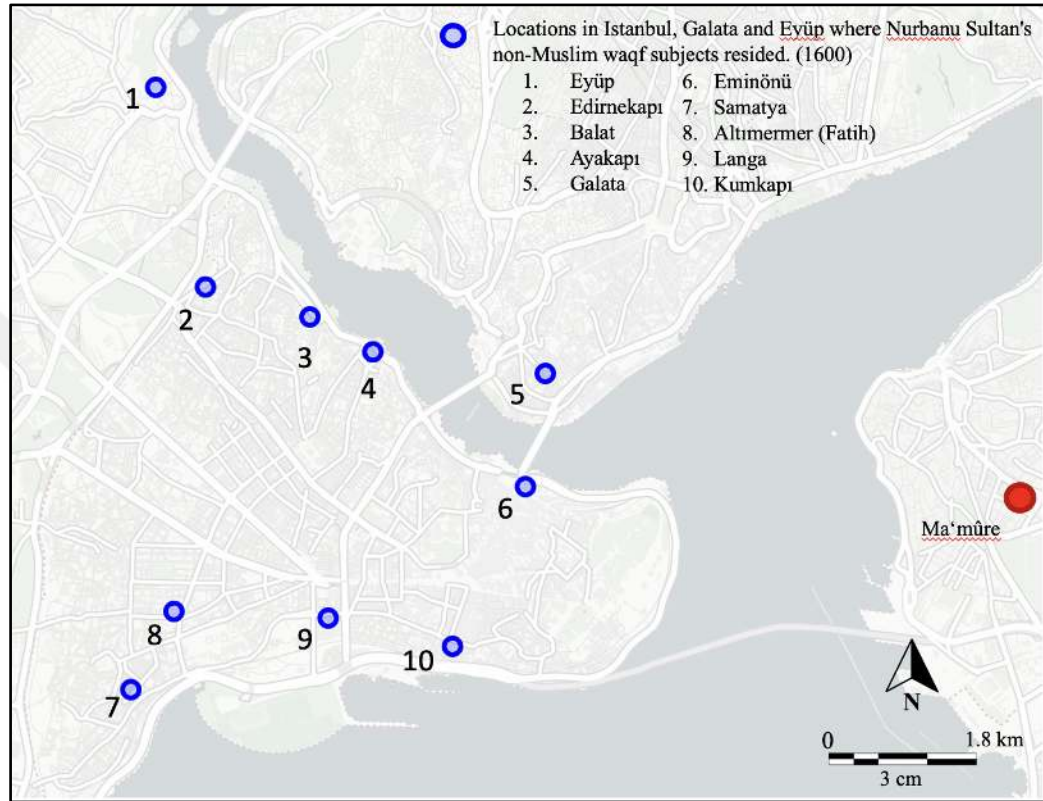
⁷¹³ For a list of the most commonly used names among Anatolian *Rums*, Anastasios Iordanoglou, "A Karamanlidic Funerary Inscription (1841) in Nicea (Iznik) Museum," in *Balkan Studies*, vol. 19 (1978), 185–191.

⁷¹⁴ In 1578, Murad III ordered the survey of the *Kıbtî* groups, Christians, and various *perâkende* subjects residing around Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar complex. BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.35.p.251/634 (Recep 986/October 1578). BOA.EV.MHM.d.00040.p.1 (Recep 1101/April 1690). Following the loss of the earliest records of Christian Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subjects, which perished in a fire at the residence of Muhammed, the scribe of the gatekeepers (*kapıcılar kethüdası*) the waqf superintendent, Osman Agha, and Mevlana Muhyiddin, the inspector of the endowments in the two holy cities (*Evkâfî'l-Haremeyn Müfettişi*), undertook the supervision of a comprehensive survey in 1600. BOA.EV.MHM.d.00040.p.1 (Recep 1101/April 1690; the attached document dates back to 1600).

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 4–5.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*

However, it showed a considerable degree of flexibility when faced with practical necessities. This adaptability was particularly evident in cases where relocations were driven by the pursuit of employment opportunities.⁷¹⁷



Map 4. 3: Nurbanu Sultan's Christian waqf subjects in Istanbul and its three boroughs.⁷¹⁸
Produced by the author.

Nurbanu Sultan's non-Muslim waqf subjects, who were granted permission to relocate their residences to various localities in Istanbul, Galata, and Eyüp, represented a diverse array of urban artisans, craftsmen, and traders, including carpenters (*neccar*), tavern keepers (*meyhaneci*), bottle-makers (*şişeci*), bakers (*habbaz*), bakers of ring-shaped bread

⁷¹⁷ For the petitions written for relocation because of their workplace, see, BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.403.p.35/a 4 (Zilka'de 1154/ January 1742). A resident of Hasan Ağa Mahallesi in Üsküdar obtained permission to relocate to Atik Ali Paşa Mahallesi in Istanbul due to the difficulties of commuting daily to the city for work. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.403.p.36/a3 (Zilhicce 1154/February 1742) A resident of Üsküdar obtained permission to relocate to the locality known as Kıztaşı in Istanbul since he was operating a bread oven there. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.403.p.43/a2 (Muharrem 1155/April 1742) A resident of Mehmed Ağa Mahallesi in Üsküdar obtained permission to relocate to Unkapanı in Istanbul due to the difficulties of commuting daily to the city for work.

⁷¹⁸ BOA.EV.HMH.d.00040 (Şevval 1057/November 1647).

(*simitçi*), seamsters (*hayyat*), builder (*dülger*), makers of gold/silver threads (*sırmakeş*), blacksmiths (*haddâd*), anglers (*oltacı*), sword makers (*kılıççı*), gardeners (*bostancı*), confectioners (*şekerci*), shipyard workers (*üstübüciyan, makaracıyan*)⁷¹⁹, furriers (*kürkçü*), silk weavers (*kemhacı*), porters (*hammal*), broadcloth-makers (*çuhacı*) and seal-engravers (*hakkâk*).⁷²⁰

The following jizya register, compiled in 1690, both complements and expands the one from 1600 by furnishing details pertaining to the demographic and socio-economic status of the Armenian and Greek residents of Ma'mûre.⁷²¹ According to the register, there were 66 Greek individuals (*neferan*) living in Ma'mûre, all classified according to fiscal divisions reflective of their economic standing: *âlâ* (superior), *evsât* (medium), and *ednâ* (ordinary or low).⁷²² Within this framework, 16 were designated under the *âlâ*, 30 in the *evsât*, and 14 in the *ednâ* categories. Additionally, the register notes that the six individuals had left Üsküdar during the tax collection period and had to pay an additional levy as a punitive measure to discourage such tax evasions.

The register also details the vocations of some of these 66 Greek residents, providing a glimpse into the occupational diversity within the community. Prominent among these were gardeners (*bağçevan*), shepherds (*çoban*), tailors (*terzi*), grocers (*bakkal*), cooks (*aşçı*), porters (*hamal*), cauldron makers (*kazgancı*), makers of coarse woolen cloth (*abacı*), and second-hand dealers (*eskici*). These 66 adult males included both married and single men. Assuming all were married to estimate the maximum population and using an average household size of three to four members, the Greek population of Ma'mûre would have ranged from 198 to 264 individuals.

The same register recorded 260 taxable Armenian residents living in Ma'mûre classified into three tax categories: 50 as *âlâ*, 155 as *evsât*, and 35 as *ednâ*. Additionally, the register notes that the 20 individuals had left Üsküdar during the tax collection period and

⁷¹⁹ For more information regarding *üstübüciyans* and *makaracıyans*, see Salih Özbaran, "Galata Tersanesinde Gemi Yapımcıları, 1529-1530," in *Güney Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol.8-9 (1979-1980): 97-102.

⁷²⁰ BOA.EV.MHM.d.00040.p.4-5 (Recep 1101/April 1690).

⁷²¹ BOA.MAD.d.03129 (1102/ 1690-91).

⁷²² For some remarks on the definition of the three tax see Sariyannis, "Notes on the Ottoman Poll-Tax Reforms," 46-52.

had to pay an additional levy as a punitive measure. Assuming all these 260 *neferan* were married to estimate the maximum population and using an average household size of three to four members, the Armenian population of Ma'mûre was four times larger than the Greek community, with an estimated population ranging from 780 to 1,040 individuals. Notable occupations within the Armenian community included priest (*papaz*), gardener (*bağçevan*), baker (*fırıncı*), bread maker (*etmekçi*) shoemaker (*pabuşçu*), packsaddle-maker (*semerci*), tailor (*terzi*), makers of coarse woolen cloth (*abacı*), boatman (*kayıkçı*), treasure hunter (*defîneçi*), master (*usta*), money changer (*sarraf*), muslin-sellers (*dülbendci*).⁷²³

In conclusion, in Section 4.2, I examined the demographic composition of Ma'mûre, with particular emphasis on the Christian, Jewish, and *Kıbtî* residents. Unfortunately, the primary sources available for this study did not provide sufficient data to construct a comprehensive narrative regarding the neighborhood's Muslim residents. A systematic and comprehensive analysis centered on this inquiry, supported by additional court records, could overcome the current limitations of this study. Such an approach would enable a more nuanced and balanced understanding of the neighborhood community, capturing a fuller socio-economic and demographic picture that includes Ma'mûre's Muslim residents.

This section revealed that the rapid urban growth of Ma'mûre was not an isolated phenomenon but was intricately linked with the broader trend marked by the depopulation of villages in central and eastern Anatolia and the subsequent growth of the empire's western cities during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. What comes out clearly in the *jizya* registers is that a significant portion of Ma'mûre's population consisted of migrants, referred to as the *perâkende* groups. This influx was the primary catalyst for Ma'mûre's evolution into a melting pot of diverse ethnic and religious communities. They coexisted within the same urban framework and were bound by the same collective rights and obligations as any other resident associated with Nurbanu Sultan's waqf. While the Jewish, *Kıbtî*, and Greek communities played essential roles in shaping Ma'mûre's demographic fabric, it was the

⁷²³ Especially notable was the high number of tailors in the neighborhood in the late seventeenth century. This occupational trend could be the same during the formative years of the neighborhood. For instance, the fact that the chief tailor of Zal Mahmud Pasha—who was not only Selim II's son-in-law but also served as a vizier to Murad III—owned a house in Ma'mûre might indicate tailors held a significant role in shaping the neighborhood's professional landscape from its formative phases. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.46.p.90/b1 (Rebî'ülâhîr 986/June 1578).

Armenian community that proved to be especially significant, eventually steering the region toward becoming a demographic and cultural hub for Ottoman Armenians in subsequent centuries.

4.3. Liminality as a Framework for Ma'mûre's Urban Growth

Having examined the demographic composition of Ma'mûre, I now explore its physical expansion from a neighborhood that originated near the mosque of Nurbanu Sultan to a *semt* that extended into the rural peripheries of Üsküdar during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

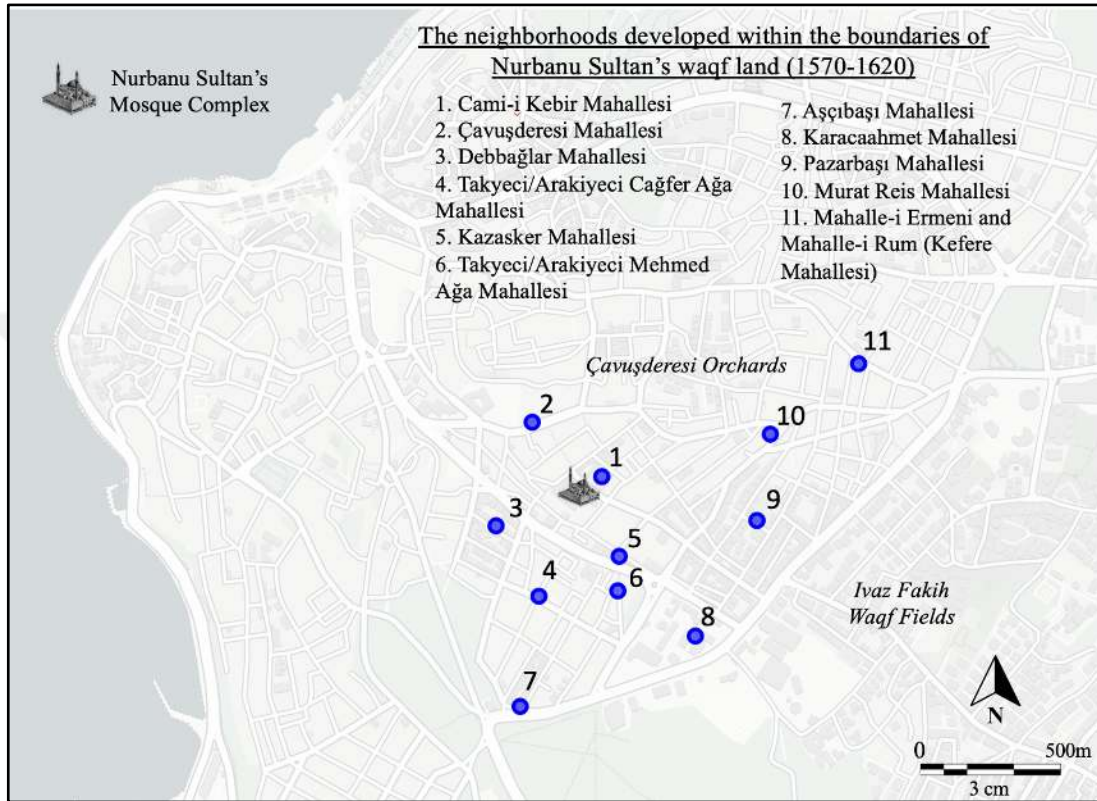
In September 1578, Sultan Murad III issued a decree, addressed to the kadi of Üsküdar, stipulating that the Christians, *Kıbtîs* and Jews residing in the vicinity of the Nurbanu's mosque (*validem -dâmet ismetuhâ- vakfı olan cami '-i şerîfin etrafında sakin olan kefere ve çingane ve yahudinin*) to pay their jizya to the waqf administration.⁷²⁴ This decree, issued in the early years of Ma'mûre's development, suggests that the spatial distribution of inhabited areas on Nurbanu's land was confined to the immediate surroundings of the complex. Consequently, residents from different ethnic and religious backgrounds were clustered near the mosque, engendering a short period of coexistence.

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the gradual shift of non-Muslim settlements towards the northeastern expanses of Nurbanu Sultan's land meant that the immediate environs of the mosque complex became predominantly inhabited by a Muslim population. In the 1610s, this neighborhood was known as Cami-i Kebir Mahallesi or the Great Mosque Neighborhood, a designation it held until being renamed Atik Valide Mahallesi later in the century.⁷²⁵ After the formation of Armenian and Greek neighborhoods in the 1590s, which were collectively known as Yeni Mahalle (the New Neighborhood) or Kefere Mahallesi (the non-Muslim Neighborhood), Ma'mûre evolved into a more clearly segregated *semt* where each community maintained its distinct socio-cultural and religious

⁷²⁴ BOA.A.DVNSMHHM.d.35.p.251/634 (Recep 986/October 1578).

⁷²⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.125.p.38/a1 (Recep 1023/August 1614), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.261.p.9/b2 (Cemâziyelevvel 1082/September 1671), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.261.p.12/b2 (Cemâziyelahir 1082/October 1671).

practices within its urban enclave. This segregation between Muslim and Christian spheres intensified with the increasing presence of taverns in Yeni Mahalle, serving both as a physical and metaphorical demarcation between distinct socio-cultural realms.



Map 4. 4: The neighborhoods developed within the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's land. (1570-1620)

Prepared by the author.

In the early seventeenth century, there were eleven neighborhoods within the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's land, each organized around masjids, mosques, or churches. Not all neighborhoods were homogeneously inhabited by certain religious communities. For instance, Pazarbaşı and Murat Reis Mahallesi had both developed around masjids and were populated by Muslim, Greek, and Armenian residents from the start. These two neighborhoods continued to exhibit their ethno-religious diversity well into the eighteenth century.⁷²⁶ Further east of these two neighborhoods began the Armenian and Greek settlements, whose limits extended until Bağlarbaşı cemetery and İvaz Fakih's waqf fields.

⁷²⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.261.p.30/b3(Recep 1082/November 1671), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.348.p.5/a2 (Şevval 1124/November 1712), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.346.p.6/b1 (Cemâziyelâhîr 1124/August 1712), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.403.p.46/a1(Safer 1155/April 1742).

Consequently, while the immediate environs of Nurbanu's complex, or Cami-i Kebir Mahallesi, assumed a more central position in the town's layout, Yeni Mahalle emerged as the new urban periphery.

In my discussion, I benefit from the conceptual framework of liminality, a notion initially formulated by cultural anthropologist Victor Turner and subsequently embraced by various disciplines, including urban studies.⁷²⁷ While Turner defined this concept as a state of being "betwixt and between," typically experienced during rites of passage, I propose using the spatial aspect of liminality to view Ma'mûre as a transition zone bridging Üsküdar's urban center with its rural peripheries. In this regard, this section argues that as Ma'mûre developed on the urban fringes of Üsküdar, it instilled in its residents a profound sense of "in-betweenness" as they dwelled in an urban setting surrounded by an expansive rural landscape. This surrounding green belt was not limited to just agricultural fields; it also included orchards, vineyards, meadows, and two of the town's largest cemeteries. In this context, Ma'mûre enabled seamless transitions between these varied landscapes, which profoundly influenced the social interactions and economic pursuits of its residents.

In this section, I start by exploring how the Greek and Armenian residents moved further east from the mosque complex as a result of their concerted efforts to establish distinct religious and administrative centers around their respective churches. Subsequently, I will zoom in on the taverns of Yeni Mahalle as social venues that further defined the non-Muslim urban sphere at the edges of Üsküdar. I then turn to the question of Yeni Mahalle as a liminal zone. This liminal characteristic of the area was manifested in socio-economic terms, involving the merging of urban commercial activities with rural agricultural practices. Lastly, I explore the development of Bağlarbaşı cemetery at the edge of Yeni Mahalle, which further intensified the spatial liminality of the neighborhood. The cemetery, the final resting place of Üsküdar's Armenian, Greek, and Jewish residents, not only delineated the physical boundary of Yeni Mahalle but also embodied a symbolic threshold between the living community and their ancestral heritage.

⁷²⁷ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 95. See Section 1.4.

4.3.1. Ma'mûre's Peripheries: Yeni Mahalle or Kefere Mahallesi

The initial signs of spatial segregation between Muslim and Christian residents of Ma'mûre emerged in the 1580s when the Greek community of Ma'mûre petitioned the sharia court for permission to build a dwelling that would be used for their prayers and reading of the Bible. The court granted approval on the condition that their place of worship be located at a sufficient distance from Muslim dwellings to ensure that their prayers would not be heard by Muslims.⁷²⁸ Following the court's approval, the community raised 17,000 *akçe* to construct their first church.⁷²⁹ The land allocations continued throughout the sixteenth century must have contributed to the eventual consolidation of Christian residents in particular locations and the development of Greek and Armenian neighborhoods.⁷³⁰ For example, a 195-square-meter waqf plot allocated to a Greek priest in 1590 was likely situated near the community's first church.⁷³¹

In the late sixteenth century, the Armenian residents sought permission to build their places of worship. According to Armenian-Ottoman historian Sarkis Sarraf Hovhannesian (d. 1805), they built a small, wooden chapel in Ma'mûre, which was later replaced by an Armenian church named Surp Garabed.⁷³² (see Fig. 4.1) Although Hovhannesian does not provide a specific date for the church's construction, Kevork Pamukçiyân posits that it likely occurred in the 1590s, though he does not reference any sources to substantiate his claim.⁷³³

⁷²⁸ The related court record is dated 1592; however, since the construction of the church was completed some time prior to this record, it is likely that it was built in the late 1580s. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.84.p.49/a3. (Ramazan 1000/June 1592).

⁷²⁹ Ibid.

⁷³⁰ "The principle of non-intervention in the affairs of the communities thanks to the self-regulating mechanism of communal autonomy was often abandoned when it came to the definition of Muslim privileges, as in the case of the settlement of houses in the immediate vicinity of a mosque..." Edhem Eldem "Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital," in *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffmann, and Bruce Masters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 155.

⁷³¹ The land, flanked by two vacant plots and a public thoroughfare, was likely not situated in the most populated part of the neighborhood, which supports this possibility. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.75.p.10/b2 (Cemâziyelevvel 998/March 1590).

⁷³² Sarkis Sarraf Hovhannesian, *Payitaht İstanbul'un Tarihçesi*, trans. Elmon Hançer (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 66.

⁷³³ Kevork Pamukciyan, *Istanbul Yazıları* (Istanbul, Aras Yayıncılık, 2022), 5.

The proposed date appears plausible, given the concurrent development of an Armenian neighborhood in the vicinity of the church.⁷³⁴ In 1617, the small chapel was expanded into a fully-fledged church following the acquisition of imperial authorization by the Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul, Vardapet Zakaria of Van, who was appointed in 1627.⁷³⁵ As evidenced by the inscription engraved on a silver cross adorning the exterior gate of Surp Garabed, the project was funded through voluntary financial contributions from the local Armenian community.⁷³⁶

The development of the area as a religious center for the Ottoman Armenians was further cemented with the construction of a monastery situated across from Surp Garabed church in 1659–60.⁷³⁷ Sponsored by the Surp Hagop Monastery in Jerusalem, this initiative aimed to provide accommodation for Armenian clergy and scholars visiting Üsküdar. The project was enabled by a donation from an Armenian resident who endowed his extensive vineyard, extending from Surp Garabed church to the Bağlarbaşı cemetery.⁷³⁸ This generous donation not only secured the necessary space for the construction of a monastery but also led to the vineyard becoming known as *Vank'in Bağı* (monastery's vineyard).⁷³⁹

Surp Garabed functioned as both a socio-religious and administrative center where its congregation would gather to pray, participate in weekly rituals, commemorate important events, and contribute to collective decision-making processes. Feasts and festivals like Easter and Vardavar united the congregation, fostering a sense of unity and strengthening communal bonds. For instance, on the day of Vardavar, which celebrates the goddess of

⁷³⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.86.p.33/a1 (Ramazan 1001/ June 1593), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.108.p.22/a1 (Rebi'ülevvel 1012/ August 1603), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.108.p.57/a1 (Şaban 1012/ January 1604).

⁷³⁵ I have not seen the original manuscript but have relied on Hrand D. Andreasyan's annotated translation of Eremya Çelebi's account of seventeenth-century Istanbul. In his annotations, Andreasyan references parts of Tıbir's *Istanbul Topography*, which provides information about Surp Garabed church. Kömürçüyan, *Istanbul Tarihi*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan, 218, note 31. For more information regarding Tıbir Sarkis Sarraf Hovhannesyan, see Kevork Pamukçyan, *Biyografileriyle Ermeniler* (Istanbul: Aras Yayınları, 2003), 346-347.

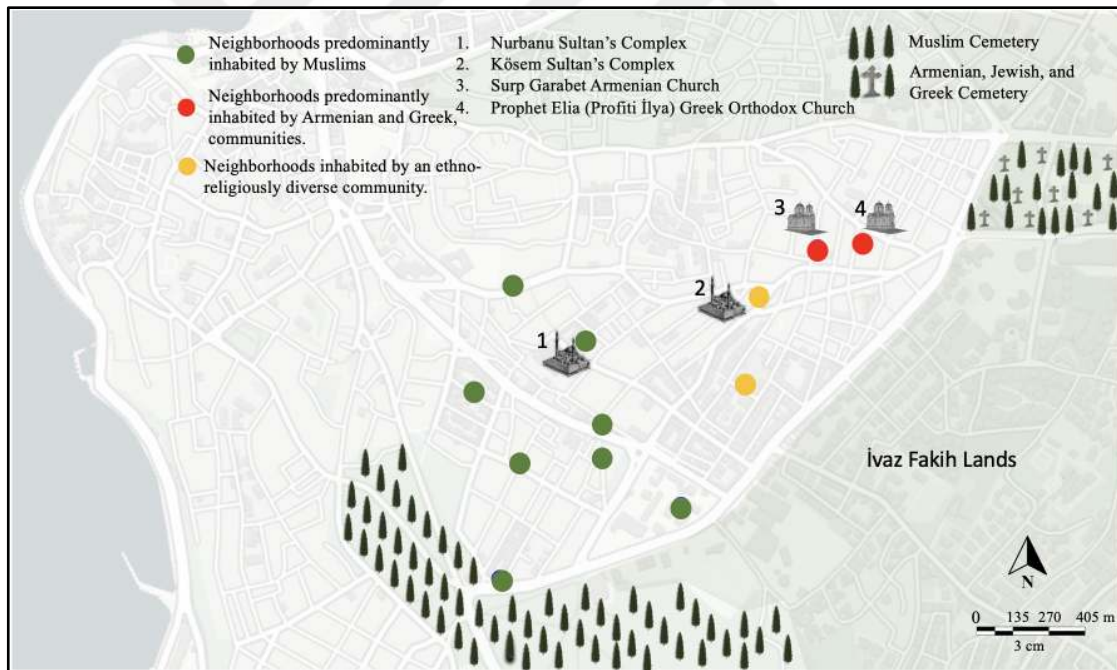
⁷³⁶ The inscription reads as follows: "This Holy Cross at the gate of Surp Garabed church commemorates the contributions of Vartabet Zakaria and the Armenian community of Üsküdar, dated 1617." Hovhannesyan, *Payitaht İstanbul'un Tarihçesi*, 66.

⁷³⁷ Elmon Hançer, "Üsküdar Ermeni Cemaati Tarihinde Bir Gezinti," in *Üsküdar Sempozyumu Bildiriler: 23-25 May 2003*, vol. 1, ed. Zekeriye Kurşun, et al. (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2004), 143.

⁷³⁸ Ibid.

⁷³⁹ Ibid.

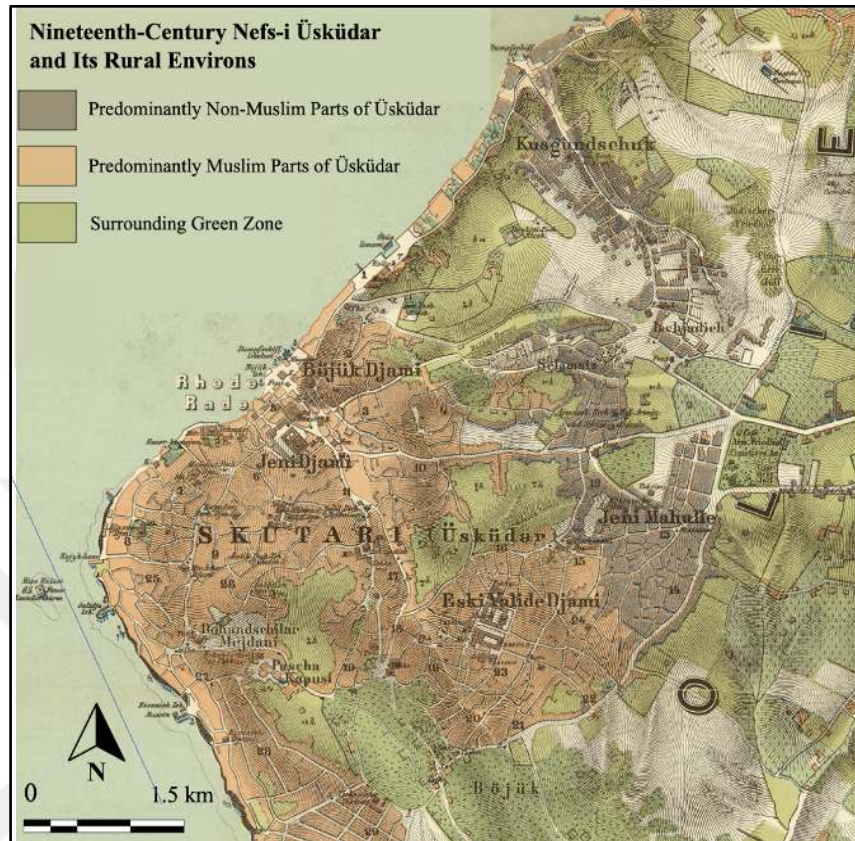
water and fertility, Astghik, celebrated 14 weeks after Easter, typically during the hottest part of the summer, the community would gather around the church to participate in the traditional release of doves. This practice was so emblematic of the celebration that it has led to the festival being colloquially known as dove festival (*güvercin panayırı*).⁷⁴⁰ During these celebrations in the summer of 1726, the elderly women of the Armenian community painted the church walls to celebrate the occasion. Their gesture, however, was misinterpreted by the local authorities, who accused the church administration of undertaking unauthorized renovations.⁷⁴¹ Subsequently, the kadi of Üsküdar initiated legal proceedings and summoned the priests of Surp Garabet. The five priests, accompanied by the head of the local Armenian community (*cemâatbaşı*), presented their defense, stating that the act of whitewashing of the church walls had been a ceremonial act meant to commemorate the day and affirmed that no professional repairs or alterations had been made.



Map 4. 5: Settlement patterns of Muslim, Armenian, and Greek residents of Ma'mûre. Produced by the author.

⁷⁴⁰ BOA.Y..PRK.ASK.48/67 (Zilka'de 1305/August 1888), BOA.Y..PRK.ZB..23/36 (Rebî'ülevvel 1317/August 1899), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.375.p.79/b2 and b3 (Zilhicce 1138/August 1726). Also see Nevzat Erkan, *Osmanlı Üsküdar'ında Toplumsal Hayat: 18. Asır Üsküdar'da Müslim-Gayrimüslim İlişkileri* (Üsküdar: Üsküdar Belediyesi Yayınları, 2015), 161.

⁷⁴¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.375.p.79/b2 (Zilhicce 1138/August 1726).



Map 4. 6: The Muslim and non-Muslim settlements in the 19th century Üsküdar. ⁷⁴²
Photos by the author, 2019.

As demonstrated in this case, securing imperial permission was essential for any restoration efforts undertaken in non-Muslim places of worship. Furthermore, the state assigned relevant officials to inspect the structures both before and after the repair work to ensure that no unauthorized changes, such as modifications, additions, or extensions, were implemented.⁷⁴³ For instance, in 1692, the representatives of Ma'mûre's Armenian community petitioned the sharia court to get permission for essential repairs to their church of Surp Garabed.⁷⁴⁴ The kadi of Üsküdar forwarded their petition to the imperial council,

⁷⁴² Plan von Constantinopel by C. Stolpe (1882). David Rumsey Map Collection.

⁷⁴³ For more information, see Rossitsa Gradeva, “From the Bottom Up and Back Again Until Who Knows When: Church Restoration Procedures in the Ottoman Empire, Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries (Preliminary Notes),” in *Political Initiatives "From the Bottom Up" in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete VII. A Symposium Held in Rethymno, 9-11 January 2009*, ed. Anastasopoulos Antonis (Crete: Crete University Press, 2016): 135–163. Rossitsa Gradeva, “Ottoman Policy Towards Christian Church Buildings,” in *Etudes Balkaniques*, vol. 4 (1994): 14–36.

⁷⁴⁴ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.102.p.145 /583 (Cemâziyelevvel 1103/February 1692).

stating that the Armenian community of Kefere Mahallesi in Ma'mûre had requested authorization to mend the roof tiles and repair the walls of Surp Garabed, a church that "had been retained in their possession since the time of the conquest." The phrase, indicating that the church had been established well before the conquest, was a standard legal formulation utilized to get around the prohibition of repairing and renovating new churches. Consequently, they obtained imperial permission for the repairs, with the stipulation that no alterations be made to the structure. Despite such repairs, the structural integrity of Surp Garabed continued to decline, necessitating a complete reconstruction in 1727.⁷⁴⁵



Figure 4. 3: Surp Garabed Armenian Apostolic Church.

Figure 4. 4: Prophet Elias (Profiti İlyas) Greek Orthodox Church

Figure 4. 5: Surp Haç Armenian Church

Located just one street behind the Armenian neighborhood, the Greek community's neighborhood developed with a comparable urban layout. The initial step in this

⁷⁴⁵ This project was funded by Hovhannes Golod (d.1741), the Armenian patriarch of Istanbul and was carried out under the supervision of Sarkis Kalfa of Kayseri (d.1796). Golod also played a leading role in the construction of an Armenian seminary in Yeni Mahalle, dedicated to the training of clergy, which was subsequently relocated to Kumkapı in 1741 by his successor, Nalyan Hagop, a graduate of this seminary. Moreover, in 1838, Kazaz Artin Bezciyan, an Armenian banker and the court's chief financial advisor, together with two imperial architects, Ohannes Servedyan and Karapet Balyan, founded Cemeran school, the first Armenian higher education institution of Greater Istanbul. The school, located across from the Surp Garabed church, was instrumental in fostering a vibrant cultural and intellectual Armenian community that produced the next generation of artists, entrepreneurs, and intellectuals. Among its distinguished alumni were the famous Armenian poet Zabel Sibil Asadur, prominent physicians of the nineteenth century, İsteyan Aslanyan (Pasha) and Hovsep Beyran, the painter Hovhannes Umed Beyzad, publisher Bedros Cezveciyan, and journalist Püzant Boyacıyan. Hovhannesyan, *Payitaht İstanbul'un Tarihçesi*, 67. Pamukciyan, *İstanbul Yazıları*, 6,25. Pamukciyan, *Biyografileriyle Ermeniler*, 42, 44, 126, 127, 128, 139, 147, 317. Vartan Artinian, *The Armenian Constitutional System in the Ottoman Empire 1839–1863: A Study of Its Historical Development* (Istanbul, Isis Press, 1988), 54–58. Pars, Tuğlacı, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Batılılaşma Dönemi ve Balyan Ailesi* (Istanbul: İnkilap ve Akâ, 1981), 57. Alyson Wharton, *The Architects of Ottoman Constantinople: The Balyan Family and the History of Ottoman Architecture* (London & New York, I.B. Tauris, 2015), 59.

development involved the construction of a church dedicated to the Prophet Elias.⁷⁴⁶ There are Greek sources that document the presence of a tenth-century monastery dedicated to Prophet Elias in Byzantine Üsküdar, yet they do not specify its exact location.⁷⁴⁷ It requires further investigation to ascertain whether the Prophet Elias church occupies the grounds of the erstwhile monastery, or its nomenclature serves to commemorate the memory of this ecclesiastical establishment, or if the naming is merely coincidental. In light of the development of the Surp Garabed church, which started as a small wooden chapel, one can infer a parallel trajectory for the Greek community's place of worship. Thus, it may be surmised that the church was built upon the initial gathering space of Ma'mûre's Greek community for their prayers, mentioned earlier, which had been built in the 1580s.⁷⁴⁸



Figure 4. 6: The social and administrative center of Yeni Mahalle ⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴⁶ For more information, see Sami Patacı, Ergün Laflı, "Üsküdar Kiliseleri," in *Arkeoloji ve Sanat*, vol. 157 (2018), 156–157.

⁷⁴⁷ Alexandros Kariotoglou, *Constantinople: The Patriarchal Cathedrals [WITH] Chalcedon: The Historic Bishopric of Bithynia* (Alimos, Greece, 1996), 34.

⁷⁴⁸ Furthermore, like their Armenian neighbors, the Greek community established a school across from their church in 1901. Facing the garden of the Armenian school, this building is distinguished by its doric columns and a pediment above the entrance, and it is currently utilized by a private association. Hülya Yavuz Öden, "Üsküdar Bağlarbaşı Bölgesi ve Tarihi Eğitim Yapıları," in *Akademik Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, vol. 10, no.: 67(2023), 257.

⁷⁴⁹ 1. Surp Garabed Church 2. Armenian School 3. Greek School 4. Prophet Elias Church Pervititch Map Üsküdar, Plate 74 (1932), Salt Archives.

By the end of the century, the church had fallen into serious disrepair and required comprehensive restoration.⁷⁵⁰ In the summer of 1699, the Greek inhabitants of Yeni Mahalle submitted a petition to the court in which they described the deterioration of their church and sought imperial authorization for an official on-site investigation to thoroughly evaluate the extent of the damage.⁷⁵¹

To sum up, the delineation of Ma'mûre's urban zones along communal lines was fundamentally driven by the distinct requirements of Muslim and non-Muslim communities, particularly with regard to religious practices. However, this should not be construed as a deliberate effort to keep Muslim and non-Muslim communities apart. Not all neighborhoods in Ma'mûre were homogeneously populated by a single religious community. Rather, Ma'mûre featured mixed neighborhoods, such as Pazarbaşı and Murad Reis Mahallesi, where a longstanding coexistence of Muslim and Christian residents was established. Hence, while communal affiliations played a significant role in settlement patterns, they did not strictly determine the residential options available to individuals from different ethno-religious backgrounds. Moreover, despite the increasing physical distance between the different ethno-religious communities of Ma'mûre, their administrative status as Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subjects always served as a framework binding its members across cultural and religious divides. This unifying framework was more than an administrative designation; it formed the roots of a collective identity embraced by the local community, profoundly shaping their daily lives, and serving as a crucial anchor that inspired a united effort to maintain and defend their rights.

4.3.2. Viticulture and the Taverns of Yeni Mahalle

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Greek and Armenian communities became increasingly visible along Üsküdar's urban margins. In particular, the Armenian presence in Üsküdar extended beyond the borders of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land, marking a significant extension of their territorial and cultural footprint. This expansion was notably

⁷⁵⁰ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.111.p.600/201 (Muharrem 1111/July 1699).

⁷⁵¹ Ibid.

marked by the establishment of the Surp Haç church in Selamsız in 1676 by the priest Abraham of Balat, around which a new Armenian neighborhood began to take shape.⁷⁵² Yeni Mahalle, along with Selamsız, evolved into a vibrant Armenian socio-cultural epicenter, attracting, and nurturing a distinguished group of Ottoman-Armenian poets, authors, painters, historians, intellectuals, and *amiras*—the elite class of Ottoman Armenians.⁷⁵³

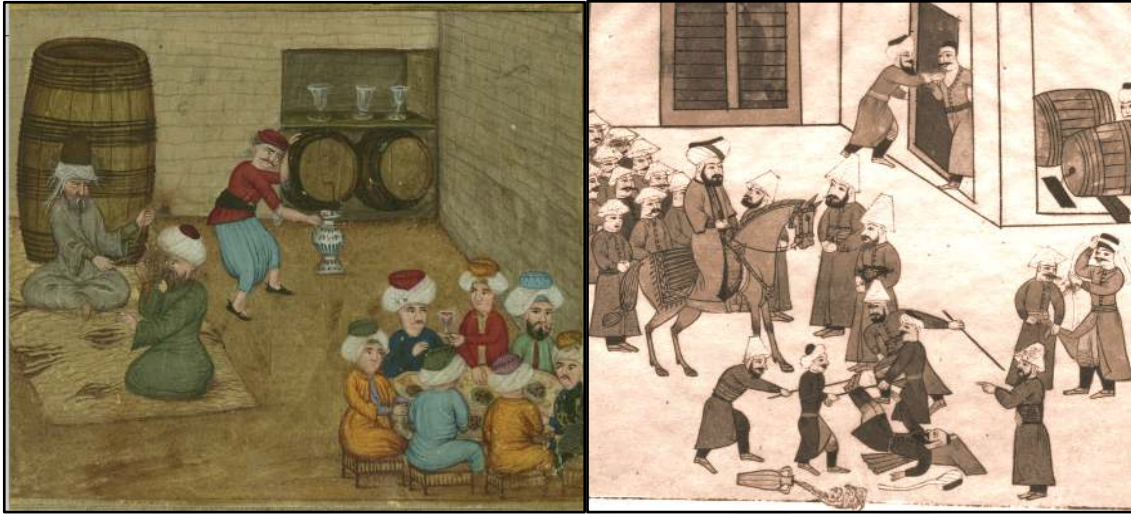


Figure 4. 7: The poet Atâî talking to a learned man in a tavern.⁷⁵⁴

Figure 4. 8: A scene illustrating the destruction of a tavern.⁷⁵⁵

In his memoirs of Istanbul, Hagop Baronyan (d. 1891), a renowned comedy writer who served as a professor at the Cemaran school in Yeni Mahalle during the 1870s, delineates a clear division between the neighborhoods of Selamsız and Yeni Mahalle.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵² Pamukçıyan, *Biyografileriyle Ermeniler*, 27. According to Ottoman-Armenian writer Hagop Baronyan, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Selamsız was inhabited by approximately 525 Armenian households, collectively comprising nearly 2000 individuals. Baronyan, *Istanbul Mahallelerinde Bir Gezinti*, trans. Paris Hilda Teller Babek, 56.

⁷⁵³ For a valuable study on the biographies of Ottoman Armenians, see Pamukçıyan, *Biyografileriyle Ermeniler*. For a detailed study on the Amira class, see Hagop L. Barsoumian, *Istanbul'un Ermeni Amiralar Sınıfı* (Istanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2013), Hagop Barsoumian, "The Dual Role of the Armenian Amira Class Within the Ottoman Government and the Armenian Millet (1750–1850)," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Benjamin Braude (London: Lynce Rienner Publishers, 2018):133-146.

⁷⁵⁴ From the illustrated copy of Nev'îzâde Atâî's *Hamse* (Five Poems/Quintet) dated 1133/172. The Walters Art Museum Online Collection. W.666.44A.

⁷⁵⁵ From the Taeschner album, including seventeenth century miniatures prepared by a Venetian patron. First published by Franz Taeschner. *Alt-stambuler hof-und volksleben ein türkisches miniaturenalbum aus dem 17. Jahrhundert* (Orient-buchhandlung heinz lafaire, Hannover, 1925). Salt Archives.

⁷⁵⁶ Pamukciyan, *Biyografileriyle Ermeniler*, 102.

According to Baronyan's first-hand observations, while Selamsız and the upper reaches of Yeni Mahalle were predominantly inhabited by the affluent members of the Armenian community, the lower reaches of Yeni Mahalle, extending from Bağlarbaşı to Pazarbaşı, were inhabited by those of more modest means, along with the impoverished and those in the habit of frequenting the local taverns.⁷⁵⁷

Indeed, as early as the late sixteenth century, Yeni Mahalle was well known for its *bozahouses* and taverns, which were predominantly managed by its Greek inhabitants. The government permitted the operation of these taverns not solely because the area was largely inhabited by non-Muslims but also due to the proximity of vineyards that supplied grapes essential for the production of wine.⁷⁵⁸ Although these establishments had official permission to sell alcoholic beverages, they were subject to close oversight to ensure compliance with specific regulations. These regulations required that tavern keepers be non-Muslims and that they not sell alcohol to Muslims, pay their wine taxes on time, and avoid serving clients with a dubious reputation.⁷⁵⁹

The taverns in Yeni Mahalle were, therefore, subjected to periodic crackdowns, illustrating their precarious standing and marginal status within the community. For instance, Nikola, Anderya, and Toroz, the Greek residents of Yeni Mahalle who had converted their homes into taverns, faced a suspension of their alcohol sales after being caught selling wine to Muslims. As a warning, the authorities shut down their tavern. Only after their court appearance and a formal commitment to refrain from selling wine to Muslims were they permitted to resume operations.⁷⁶⁰ In the first years of the seventeenth century, a *bozahouse* in Yeni Mahalle became known for selling wine and was therefore shut down.⁷⁶¹ This closure

⁷⁵⁷ Baronyan, *Istanbul Mahallelerinde Bir Gezinti*, 74–76. For more information, see Kanra, “The Armenian Üsküdar amid a Conditional Plurality,” 19–27.

⁷⁵⁸ The taverns of Üsküdar were primarily located in Yeni Mahalle, while the *bozahouses*, predominantly operated by janissaries, were located in the horse market and in the Ali Agha garden, where the waqf's *Kıbtî* population was settled. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.106.p.10/a1 (Rebî'ülevvel 1011 / September 1602).

⁷⁵⁹ Fariba Zarinebaf, “Nightlife in Istanbul: Sex Crimes and Social Control,” in “*Buyurdum ki....*” – *The Whole World of Ottomanica and Beyond*, eds. Hülya Çelik, Yavuz Köse, et. al. (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2023): 742–743. Also see François Georgeon, “Ottoman and Drinkers: The Consumption of Alcohol in Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Outside In: On the Margins of the Middle East*, ed. Eugene Rogan (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002), 7–30.

⁷⁶⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.86.p.7/b1 (Şaban 1001/May 1593).

⁷⁶¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.106.p.1/a2 (Zilhicce 1010/June 1602).

was not part of a broader prohibition on all alcohol-selling venues but rather a targeted action against this particular establishment, probably due to its negative reputation as a gathering place for people of ill repute.

During the reign of Sultan Mehmed IV (1648–1693), heightened vigilance toward alcohol consumption markedly affected the tavern-keepers of Yeni Mahalle. The imperial decree issued in 1652, addressing the *subaşı* of Istanbul, commanded the immediate closure of all taverns in Yeni Mahalle and the dispersal of their wine barrels. The order underscored the severe consequences of non-compliance, explicitly stating that any subsequent infractions related to the sale of wine would result in the execution of the offenders by hanging. The order reads as follows:

Order to the *subaşı* of Istanbul: Cross over to Üsküdar and proceed to Yeni Mahalle. Eradicate all the taverns and scatter all the wine barrels. Then issue a firm warning that no tavern shall exist, nor shall wine be sold. Be it known that, henceforth, any instance of wine being sold will result in the execution by hanging of the seller.⁷⁶²

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the prohibition on the sale of alcohol was further intensified through the efforts of Vani Efendi, a prominent figure within the *Kadızadelis* movement.⁷⁶³ The main characteristics of this fundamentalist ideology were opposition to what they saw as innovation in religion (*bid'at*), which refers to practices or beliefs introduced after the time of the Prophet Muhammad that are seen as deviations from the original teachings of Islam.⁷⁶⁴ Central to their ideology was the repudiation of certain

⁷⁶² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.209.d.97.p.7/b4, b5 (Rebî'ülevvel 1062/March 1652).

⁷⁶³ The term "Kadızadelis" refers to a group of preachers who shared a specific view of Islamic teachings, which influenced Istanbul's social and religious life during the seventeenth century in three waves, led by three influential figures: Kadızade Mehmed, Üstüvani Mehmed from Damascus, and Mehmed b. Bistam from Van, also known as Vani Mehmed Efendi. Yasir Yılmaz, "Confessionalization or a Quest for Order? A Comparative Look at Religion and State in the Seventeenth-century Ottoman, Russian and Habsburg Empires," in *Ottoman Sunnism: New Perspectives*, ed. Vefa Erginbaş (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 92.

⁷⁶⁴ For more information on Kadızadeli movement, see Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age 1600-1800* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988); Madeline C. Zilfi, 'The Kadızadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul,' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 45, no. 4 (1986), 251-269; Marinos Sariyannis, "The Kadızadeli movement as a social and political phenomenon: the rise of a 'mercantile ethic'?" in *Political Initiatives from the Bottom-Up in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. A. Anastasopoulos (Rethymno, 2012): 263–289; Derin Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion," *Turcica* 44 (2013): 301–338. Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu, eds., *Entangled Confessionalizations? Dialogic Perspectives on the Politics of Piety and Community Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th–18th Centuries* [The Modern Muslim World 15] (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2022).

Sufi practices, particularly those adopted by the dervish brotherhoods like the *Halvetis*, which included rituals like singing, dancing, and whirling they deemed un-Islamic.⁷⁶⁵ They denounced all innovations as inherently sinful and specifically targeted substances like coffee, tobacco, alcohol, and opium.⁷⁶⁶ In 1670, Mehmed IV ordered the demolition of all taverns in Istanbul and its three boroughs.⁷⁶⁷

The state also implemented regulations aimed at controlling alcohol production in Yeni Mahalle, where many residents were engaged in viticulture. Motivated by higher profits, vineyard owners opted to sell their grapes to producers of wine and *arak/rakı* (a traditional Turkish alcoholic beverage) rather than to the general market. This practice led to a marked scarcity of grapes available for general consumption in Üsküdar. To address this problem, an imperial decree was issued in 1706, prohibiting vineyard owners, irrespective of their religious affiliation, from selling their grapes to Franks and non-Muslims.⁷⁶⁸ The decree stipulated that those who sold grapes for the production of alcohol would face severe consequences, including arrest and confiscation of their vineyards by the state.

Nevertheless, despite recurrent prohibitions and stringent measures against the production and sale of wine, the taverns in Yeni Mahalle continued to serve their customers into the nineteenth century. This enduring presence can be attributed to the consistent local demand, the ready supply of grapes from Üsküdar's vineyards, and the substantial tax revenue that alcohol sales generated for the state. This crucial revenue stream might have moderated the strictness of enforcement, as the state was reluctant to forfeit this lucrative

⁷⁶⁵ Sariyannis, "The Kadızadeli Movement," 263.

⁷⁶⁶ Zilfi, "The Kadizadelis," 254.

⁷⁶⁷ "At the present time an imperial edict has been issued stating that the taverns located in the city of Istanbul and Eyüp and Galata and Üsküdar and in all those districts attached to them are to be demolished and eradicated. Lawful landed properties are to be constructed in their place. After that no person is to bring wine from within or without the city and is not to buy and sell and drink wine. Those who do so are to be given severe punishment. . . . It is to be proclaimed throughout the city that the taverns in Istanbul and the districts attached to it be demolished and eradicated and that wine not be bought, sold, or consumed and that severe punishment is to be given to those engaging in these activities." cited from Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 117. For the original source, see: BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.23.d.78.p.134/b2, (September, 1670).

⁷⁶⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.334.p.153/b1 (Cemâziyelâhir 1118/September 1706) For further information, see Erkan, *Osmanlı Üsküdar'ında Toplumsal Hayat*, 155–157.

source of income for the state treasury.⁷⁶⁹ By the second half of the eighteenth century, Yeni Mahalle still hosted fifteen taverns, demonstrating the ongoing, and perhaps increasing, alcohol consumption in the region.⁷⁷⁰

In conclusion, the production and sale of alcohol in Yeni Mahalle represented a crucial liminal space in Üsküdar. For many of its residents, vineyards and taverns served not only as means of livelihood but also as zones where the limits of state tolerance and communal autonomy were explored and tested. This sector was marked by a continuous negotiation to balance the state's financial interests, communal needs, and the religious-moral stipulations dictated by Islamic laws against alcohol consumption. The state's role in this liminal space was manifested through periodic bans on alcohol sales and production, highlighting the liminal nature of these economic activities, suspended between legality and prohibition.

4.3.3. *Ma'mûre Between the Urban and the Rural*

Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land, granted to her in 1570, was characterized by an expansive green landscape filled with vegetable gardens, vineyards, orchards, meadows, and arable fields that the residents of Üsküdar used for agricultural pursuits. With the commencement of construction activities and subsequent land allocations, some of these fields underwent state expropriation to accommodate residential expansions. Furthermore, stone quarried from these fields was repurposed as building materials to be used in the construction of the mosque complex. In 1577, the waqf superintendent Mehmed Agha supervised the expropriation of the vacant grounds, as well as gardens, orchards, and meadows near the construction site,

⁷⁶⁹ Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 197.

⁷⁷⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.489.p.39/a2 (Şeval 1187/December 1773) According to a *zecriye* register tax taken from the sale of alcoholic beverages, compiled in 1794, there were 12 taverns in Yeni Mahalle and 4 in Selamsız. BOA.D.BŞM.ZCR.20289, 1209/1794. In 1826, the number of wine cellars in the neighborhood was 19. BOA D.BŞM.ZCR.20446, 1242/1826. Işıl Çokuğraş, *Bekâr Odaları ve Meyhaneler Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Marjinalite ve Mekân: 1789–1839* (Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2016).

both to procure stone and for the enlargement of Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood (*Mahalle-i Ma'mûriyye tevsî'i için*).⁷⁷¹

There were many among the residents of Ma'mûre who owned fields, especially in the orchards of Karye-i İstavros (presently known as Beylerbeyi), İvaz Fakih's waqf fields, that began where Nurbanu Sultan's land ended, and the Çavuşbaşı orchards located on the northern part of Ma'mûre.⁷⁷² For instance, Mehmed Beşe, a butcher from Pazarbaşı Mahallesi, owned 16 acres of orchard in İvaz Fakih's waqf.⁷⁷³ In 1713, he sold his orchard to Evadik, likely a member of Ma'mûre's Armenian community.⁷⁷⁴ Similarly, Hüseyin Bey from Kazasker Mahallesi⁷⁷⁵, Gevher bint-i Kestostor from Kefere Mahallesi,⁷⁷⁶ Mustafa ibn Yakub from Cami-i Kebir Mahallesi⁷⁷⁷, Agob veled-i Sefer,⁷⁷⁸ and Kirkor veled-i Arkel⁷⁷⁹ from Pazarbaşı Mahallesi and many others living in Ma'mûre held fields in the fertile expanses of İvaz Fakih's fields, which spanned from Çamlıca to the meadow of İbrahim Agha.⁷⁸⁰ Moreover, among the neighborhood's Jewish merchant community, Salomon veled-i Musa, also known by the moniker *sofçuoğlu*, had a sizable field just outside Üsküdar.⁷⁸¹ His holding was next to the field of Deroso veled-i İstemad, a Greek resident of

⁷⁷¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.188/b3 (Rebî'ülâhir 984/July 1576), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.116/b3 (Zilka'de 984/February 1577).

⁷⁷² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.348.p.21/b1 (Zilhicce 1124/January 1713), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.348.p.31/b2 (Muharrem 1125/February 1713), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.348.p.42/b3 (Zilhicce 1124/January 1713), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.358.p.47/b2 (Recep 1128/June 1716).

⁷⁷³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.348.p.31/b2 (Muharrem 1125/February 1713).

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.348.p.26/a1 (Muharrem 1125/January 1713).

⁷⁷⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.348.p.33/b2 (Muharrem 1125/February 1713).

⁷⁷⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.348.p.53/b3 (Rebî'ülevvel 1125/April 1713).

⁷⁷⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.348.p.58/a1 (Rebî'ülâhir 1125/May 1713).

⁷⁷⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.348.p.48/b1 (Safer 1125/March 1713).

⁷⁸⁰ Yurdakul, "İvaz Fakih'in Laçın Timarı," 579.

⁷⁸¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.120.p.10/b1 (Recep 11019/September 1610), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.p.83/a2 (Ramazan 984/December 1576).

Kefere Mahallesi.⁷⁸² On the other hand, the field of Yuvan veled-i Vartaz, an Armenian resident of Ma'mûre, with a size of 2 *dönüm*, or 1,48 acres, was located within the waqf boundaries.⁷⁸³



Map 4. 7: Early nineteenth-century Üsküdar and its rural outskirts.⁷⁸⁴

As illustrated by Map 4.7, Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land fused into the green belt of Üsküdar, offering its residents, particularly those living at its fringes, an environment that blended urban and rural elements. This confluence of different landscapes provided a setting that offered the residents the benefits of different economic pursuits. On the one hand, the proximity to the urban center facilitated access to markets, thereby bolstering economic activities and expanding employment opportunities. On the other hand, the proximity to rural

⁷⁸² Ibid.

⁷⁸³ Yuvan sold his field to Serkiz veled-i Pedros for 2300 *akçe*. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.75. p.39/a1 (Şevval 997/August 1589).

⁷⁸⁴ Plan du Constantinople, Paris, Bellizard, Barthès, Dufour & Lowell, 1835–43. Cornell University Library, Digital Collections, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections.

zones provided direct access to agricultural products and pastoral spaces, contributing to a diversified economy and lifestyle.

The inhabitants of Üsküdar engaged in viticulture, agriculture, horticulture, and animal husbandry, all significant economic pursuits enabled by the expansive grasslands stretching from Üsküdar's outskirts to Haydarpaşa.⁷⁸⁵ Court records referred to a shepherd community (*çoban taifesi*) living in Ma'mûre, indicating a notable presence of settled pastoralists in the region. Among this shepherd community were Petro, son of Niko from Yeni Mahalle, and Ali, another resident of Ma'mûre, whose flocks grazed in the meadow belonging to the waqf of İbrahim Agha, lying between the cemetery of Karacaahmet and Haydarpaşa.⁷⁸⁶ The shepherd community of Ma'mûre predominantly lived in Yeni Mahalle and worked for those engaged in the livestock trade, like Müstecab ibn Musa, Yorgi, and Hamza ibn Abdullah, all residents of Ma'mûre, who hired them to graze their sheep.⁷⁸⁷ Also, these shepherds frequently served as crucial intermediaries between livestock breeders and traders. Their interactions with janissaries were particularly visible in the court records, as these soldiers heavily relied on them for sheep supplies. For instance, Dimo veled-i Yorgi, from the Greek community of Ma'mûre, was providing sheep for the janissary İsmail Beşe, who was also residing in Ma'mûre.⁷⁸⁸ So was another Greek from Ma'mûre for the janissary (*er-racil*) Hasan Bâşe.⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁵ For a detailed account of livestock owners and dealers in Üsküdar in the early sixteenth century, see Yvonne Seng, "The Üsküdar Estates (Tereke) as Records of Everyday Life in an Ottoman Town, 1521–1524" (PhD diss., Chicago University, 1991), 211–218.

⁷⁸⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.79. p.36/b3 (Şaban 999 / June 1591), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.348.p.47/a1 (Rebî'ülevvel 1125/ March 1715).

⁷⁸⁷ For a court register regarding those who graze their sheep in the grasslands around Üsküdar. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.37.p.167/ b2 (Cemâziyelâhir 981/October 1573), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.139.p.28/a1 (Rebî'ülevvel 1021/ May 1612).BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.51.p.71/b2 (Rebî'ülevvel 988/April 1580). BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.86.p.8/a1 (Şaban 1001/ May 1593).

⁷⁸⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.120.p.18/a3 (Ramazan 1019/ December 1610).

⁷⁸⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.125.p.48/a3 (Ramazan 1023/ November 1614).



Figure 4. 9: Haydarpaşa Meadow from a postcard dated 1923.⁷⁹⁰



Figure 4. 10: View of the Bosphorus from the environs of Nurbanu'a complex. By François Léon Prieur-Bardin, 1898.⁷⁹¹

⁷⁹⁰ A recolored version of a postcard by Moritz & Jacques Adler Freres (M.J.A.F.) dated 1923.

⁷⁹¹ *Kent Antiques Islamic and Indian Art: Works of Art from the Islamic World and Orientalist Paintings*, ed. Mehmet Keskiner (London: Kent Antiques, 2015)

Moreover, although further research is required to precisely identify the markets to which these livestock traders provided animals, it can be assumed that at least a portion of the local livestock trade was geared toward the local market. The waqf-operated establishments, including the public kitchen, tanneries, slaughterhouses, an offal shop, and a candle manufactory, relied on livestock that grazed in the waqf-owned pastures, and the required animal parts were procured from predesignated butchers.⁷⁹² In other words, the livestock required for the waqf establishment was already secured and did not depend on the local market.

Especially after the late sixteenth century, the expanding population of Üsküdar must have generated a significant local demand for meat and animal by-products. This, together with potentially greater demand from Istanbul, rendered the urban fringes of Üsküdar an attractive hub for livestock trade that drew nomadic pastoralists from various parts of Anatolia. For instance, Sefer, from a Turkmen community of Kayseri, partnered with El-Hac Ahmet from Ma'mûre, with whom he bred and sold livestock.⁷⁹³ According to another business agreement from 1614, Haçek and Toros, from the Armenian community of Ma'mûre, were actively engaged in livestock trade together with the janissary Hüseyn and Hacı Kalander from the Turkman community.⁷⁹⁴

4.3.4. Bağlarbaşı Armenian, Greek, and Jewish Cemetery

Another significant component of the green expanse surrounding Ma'mûre were the cemeteries: the Muslim cemetery of Karacaahmet and the Bağlarbaşı cemetery, designated as the burial sites for Üsküdar's Armenian, Greek, and Jewish communities. Dating back to the late fourteenth century, Karacaahmet stands as the oldest and largest Muslim cemetery in Greater Istanbul.⁷⁹⁵ On the other hand, Bağlarbaşı cemetery developed in the last quarter

⁷⁹² VGM.d.1766, p.144–145.

⁷⁹³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.108.p.40/a3 (Cemâziyelâhir 1012/November 1603)

⁷⁹⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.125/b3 (Cemâziyelâhir 1023/ July 1614)

⁷⁹⁵ Necdet İçli, "Karacaahmet Mezarlığı," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 24 (Istanbul: İsam Yayınları, 2001): 375–377.

of the sixteenth century, following the development of Ma'mûre's multi-religious community.⁷⁹⁶ However, Bağlarbaşı cemetery was not only a place of interment, mourning, and remembrance. It was also an arena of communal tensions and negotiations, generally sparked by disputes over the overlapping territorial claims made by different non-Muslim communities. As we will see, it can be viewed as a microcosm that mirrored the broader social dynamics among the diverse confessional communities of Ma'mûre, serving as a lens through how the various religious groups interacted, conflicted, and negotiated while living together in Ma'mûre.

The emergence of the Bağlarbaşı Armenian cemetery was enabled by the collective efforts of Üsküdar's Armenian community, which were also evident in the construction of the Surp Garabed Church. Financial contributions from the congregation enabled the acquisition of land that belonged to İvaz Fakih's waqf for use as a burial site.⁷⁹⁷ Following the development of a second Armenian neighborhood around the Surp Haç Church in Selamsız, the existing cemetery proved no longer adequate, necessitating an expansion to accommodate the needs of the expanding community and an additional field was acquired by the Surp Haç Church at the northern end of the existing burial ground.⁷⁹⁸ Consequently, in the late seventeenth century, the Armenian cemetery eventually expanded to cover approximately 14,000 square meters, divided into northern and southern sections. (see Fig. 4.8).

⁷⁹⁶ The inscription on the marble stone above the southern gate of the Bağlarbaşı Cemetery dates its establishment to 1555. However, this inscription is not contemporaneous with the establishment of the cemetery, thus rendering it less reliable as a historical source. Pamukçıyan, *Istanbul Yazıları*, 159.

⁷⁹⁷ Kevork Pamukçıyan, the Armenian researcher who was born in Üsküdar/İcadiye in 1923, provides information on the Bağlarbaşı cemetery based on the various Armenian sources from the archive of the patriarchate with which he became acquainted during his tenure as the general secretariat in the Istanbul patriarchate. According to Pamukçıyan, a part of the Armenian cemetery in Bağlarbaşı was endowed to the community by an Armenian mule trader named Atam, hailing from Diyarbakır. The inscription on his tombstone, which indicates that he died in 1718, suggests that he was a wealthy benefactor instrumental in acquiring the northern part of the cemetery for the congregation of Surp Haç church. The oldest surviving gravestone belonged to Şamam, the wife of Koca Bedros, dated 1637. Pamukciyan, *Istanbul Yazıları*, 159, 162.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

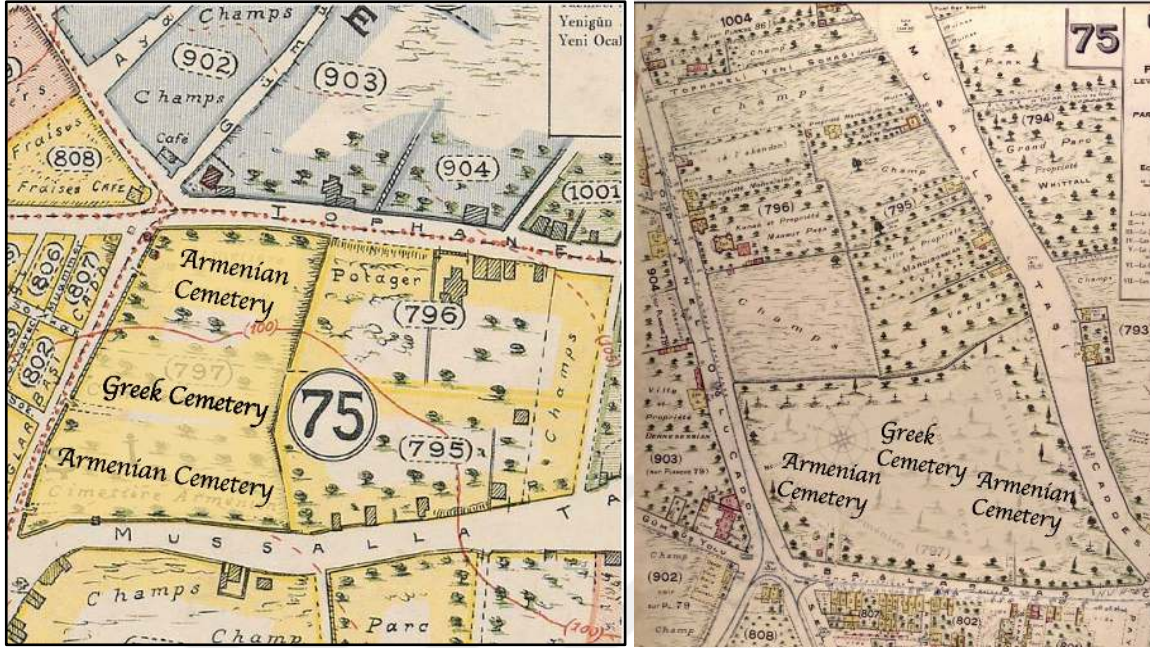


Figure 4. 11: Armenian and Greek Cemetery in Bağlarbaşı.⁷⁹⁹



Figure 4. 12: The Jewish cemetery behind Bağlarbaşı Armenian and Greek cemeteries.

Figure 4. 13: A tombstone in Bağlarbaşı Greek Cemetery.

Photos by the author, 2019.

⁷⁹⁹ The Jewish Cemetery is not shown on the map. Source: Pervititch Map, Üsküdar, Plate 5,75, 1930. Salt Archives. Labels by the author.

As we learn from a nineteenth-century waqf register on the conflict between Armenians and Greeks on their respective burial grounds in Bağlarbaşı, a relatively small field lying between the northern and southern sections of the Armenian cemetery was designated as a burial ground for Üsküdar's Greek community.⁸⁰⁰ The community acquired the related plots from İvaz Fakih's waqf through a leasing agreement, which obligated them to pay an annual fee in exchange for the right to use this land as their cemetery.⁸⁰¹ Although no date is given for this development, the location of the Greek cemetery suggests that the community had acquired the land prior to the northward expansion of the Armenian cemetery at the then edge of the initial Armenian cemetery.⁸⁰² Thus, its establishment can be dated roughly to the late sixteenth or the early seventeenth centuries.

Yet another component of the Bağlarbaşı cemetery was Ma'mûre's Jewish community. Initially, the Jewish residents of Ma'mûre had been burying their dead in the field of a certain Mustafa Bey.⁸⁰³ This field, located just beyond the boundaries of Ma'mûre, became a site of contention due to ongoing disputes with the landowner. Although both parties agreed on terms that required the Jewish community to pay 700 *akçe* to Mustafa Bey to use his field as a burial ground in 1602, they recognized the need for a more stable solution and relocated their cemetery to a site adjacent to the Armenian and Greek cemeteries. Notably, their new cemetery spanned across lands governed by two different waqfs. In 1635, the administration of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf allocated them land to use as a burial site. The land, which was adjacent to the Armenian cemetery, spanned 80 *zira* both in length and width (approximately 3440 square meters).⁸⁰⁴ The Jewish community decided to also acquire

⁸⁰⁰ A waqf register from 1840 reveals that the Greek community of Yeni Mahalle took legal action against their Armenian neighbors, accusing them of burying their deceased in the Greek cemetery. In court, the representatives of the Greek community demonstrated their claims by presenting title deeds certifying that they had leased a field from the İvaz Fakih waqf, bordered on one side by the Jewish cemetery, another side by the Armenian cemetery, and on the remaining sides by a stone threshing floor (*taş harmanı*) and public thoroughfare. BOA.C.EV.397/20132 (Zilhicce 1255/March 1840).

⁸⁰¹ Ibid.

⁸⁰² Ibid.

⁸⁰³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.106.p.21/a2 (Cemâziyelâhir 1011/December 1602).

⁸⁰⁴ The Müttevelli Pir Ali Agha, and the waqf superintendent, Mehmed Agha, formalized the process in court, where they distributed the sealed title deeds to the representatives of the Jewish community BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.342.p.26/b1 (Zilka'de 1122/December 1710). Also see Nevzat Erkan, "Üsküdar'da Gayrimüslim Mezarlıkları ve Mezarlık Tartışmaları," in *History Studies*, vol. 5, no. 3 (June 2013): 49-57.

the adjacent field, which measured approximately 7735 square meters and was located in İvaz Fakih's waqf.⁸⁰⁵ Overall, the Bağlarbaşı Jewish cemetery covered an area of 11,175 square meters (1.48 acres, or 6.9 *dönüm*).⁸⁰⁶ (see Fig. 4.9)

In sum, the development of the Bağlarbaşı cemetery at the edges of Yeni Mahalle vividly represents the evolution of Üsküdar's rural fringes to accord with the demands of Ma'mûre's non-Muslim inhabitants, whose ethno-religious diversity altered the ethno-religious makeup of Üsküdar. Despite the changes in its boundaries over time, the cemetery survives to this day, retaining the historical memory of the earliest Armenian, Greek, and Jewish inhabitants of Ottoman Üsküdar.

4.4 Conclusion

Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project exemplifies the Ottoman urban planning strategy of building socio-religious complexes on the urban outskirts for driving cities to expand beyond their walls or towards their suburbs. In the absence of city walls, Üsküdar's urban limits were defined by surrounding arable fields, expansive grasslands, and cemeteries. In the late sixteenth century, Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project accelerated urban expansion that encroached upon this verdant green belt, effectively shifting the urban-rural boundary further eastwards.

In Chapter 4, I explored the spatial expansion and demographic growth of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre from the late sixteenth through the seventeenth centuries. I argued that the settlement of previously undeveloped land on the periphery of Üsküdar, earmarked for Nurbanu Sultan's waqf, was central to the project's objectives. Therefore, the physical and demographic development of the area advanced in parallel under the supervision of the waqf's *mütevellîs*. Early in the construction process, the waqf land was parceled out and

⁸⁰⁵ They acquired the land from İvaz Fakih's waqf with an annual *mukâta'a* fee of 400 *akçe*. This additional parcel held "*mukâta'ali*" waqf status, indicating a long-term lease on waqf lands. For more information regarding the *mukâta'ali* waqf status, see Nazif Öztürk, "Mukâtaalı Vakf," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 31 (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2020): 132-134. Also see Muhammed Emin Durmuş, "Osmanlı Vakıf Hukukunda Mukataa" (PhD diss., Sakarya University, 2020).

⁸⁰⁶ For the archival registers related to the cemetery of the Jewish community, also see BOA.A.MKT.NZD.238/76 (Safer 1274/October 1857), BOA.MV.L. 318/76 (Rebî'ülâhir 1274/December 1857), and BOA. HR, MKT. 207/30 (Safer 1274/October 1857).

allocated to those who committed to building their residences on the granted plots. Economic incentives, particularly in the form of exemptions from specific taxes and relief from mandatory services, represented another strategy for promoting urbanization. These incentives, offered to both existing and new residents, were designed to reduce their financial and make relocation to Ma'mûre more attractive and accessible.

The allocated plots were not confined to the immediate surroundings of the mosque complex but encompassed the entirety of Nurbanu's land, indicating the comprehensive scale of the land distributions. This process continued until the 1590s by which point Ma'mûre had evolved from a single neighborhood into a *semt* comprising eleven neighborhoods. Religious or ethnic affiliations did not determine eligibility for land grants, which resulted in the formation of a diverse community that inhabited Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood. In the 1570s, Ma'mûre—at that time limited to the vicinity of the mosque complex—was inhabited by Muslim, Greek, Armenian, Jewish, and *Kıbtî* residents. Unfortunately, the evidence in the consulted sources is insufficient to determine whether the land distributions were organized along ethno-religious lines to create or reinforce a structured spatial arrangement in the neighborhood.

The *mütevelli*s overseeing the allocation process might have clustered households of the same ethnic or religious backgrounds along specific streets. For instance, the plots assigned to *Kıbtî*s were located just behind the horse market where they formed an urban enclave. However, due to the lack of definitive evidence in the available sources, it remains unclear whether other ethnic and religious groups were similarly assigned specific locations during the early development of Ma'mûre. What is evident, though, is that subsequent shifts in property ownership—facilitated through sales and leases—changed the settlement patterns over time.

In the 1580s, when the Christian residents of Ma'mûre built churches, approximately one kilometer northeast of Nurbanu's mosque complex, sufficiently distanced their worship would not be audible to their Muslim neighbors. The movement of the existing Christian community from environs of the complex toward near churches, sufficiently distanced their worship would not be audible to Ma'mûre's muslim community likely assisted and maybe encouragement of the waqf administration through property transactions and with the settlement of new residents around the churches. marked the formation of Ermeni and Rum

Mahallesi, thereby extending the urban boundaries of Üsküdar from the vicinity of Nurbanu's mosque to these newly established neighborhoods. By the early seventeenth century, eleven neighborhoods had developed within the boundaries of Nurbanu's land and due to their waqf status they were all classified as part of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre and fell under the jurisdiction of the waqf administration.

By the seventeenth century, the neighborhoods within Ma'mûre exhibited varying patterns of religious composition. While some were predominantly inhabited by either Muslim or Christian residents, others, such as Pazarbaşı and Murad Reis Mahallesi, accommodated a mixed population, with adherents of differing faiths living side by side. Due to their limited presence in the neighborhood and minimal representation in the court records analyzed, detailed information on the settlement patterns of Jews remains elusive. However, evidence suggests that, like the local *Kıbtî* population, they were generally resided close to Ma'mûre's marketplace. As the area extending from the vicinity of the Greek and Armenian churches to the Bağlarbaşı Cemetery became inhabited by predominantly Christian residents, the environs of Nurbanu Sultan's complex emerged as a distinctly Muslim enclave. I argued that this demographic shift was driven by the residents' inclination to cluster around their respective places of worship, which led to the emergence of a distinct socio-cultural zone at the eastern edges of Nurbanu's land that came to be known as "Kefere Mahallesi" or "Yeni Mahalle." In contrast to the increasing spatial segregation between Ma'mûre's Muslim and Christian population, Valide Sûku retained its multi-ethnic and multi-religious character, serving as a shared space for economic exchange and social interaction among diverse communities.

The community of Ma'mûre was not merely characterized by the ethnic and religious diversity of its residents, but also by the rich array of their vocations and the varied locales from which they originated. As detailed in this chapter, migrants from the disparate regions of Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and Anatolia, including the eastern provinces, who fled their native lands either in search of employment or to elude the tumult of the Celali rebellions, sought sanctuary in Nurbanu's neighbourhood.

Throughout the chapter, I did not address the practices of coexistence within the context of Ma'mûre, as the primary objective was to explore its spatial and demographic evolution. However, it is worth noting that this coexistence, which was more apparent during

the formation of Ma'mûre and became less pronounced with the development of new neighborhoods, was shaped by both socio-cultural and economic exchanges as well as occasional conflicts. It is important to emphasize that both interactions and conflicts were typical and not out of the ordinary in the course of everyday life. Thus, highlighting the relationships between different ethno-religious communities could unintentionally introduce a bias or presupposition and might implicitly suggest that such relationships were unusual or worthy of special attention. As briefly mentioned, these conflicts may have originated from various sources of tension: the prejudice towards the local *Kıbtî* population, disputes between Jewish and Muslim landowners concerning rental agreements, and disagreements between Greek and Armenian residents over their respective burial grounds,

Instead of focusing on conflicts and tensions, I addressed the daily life practices from the perspective of "liminality" since Ma'mûre embody the concept of 'in-betweenness' perfectly as its function as role a way station underscores its status as an intermediary space, serving as a transit point for travelers and as a junction between. Additionally, the location of Nurbanu's land on the fringes of Üsküdar positioned her neighborhood at the intersection of urban and rural dynamics, embodying the characteristics of a liminal space. In Section 4.3, I especially focused on Ma'mûre's location in between the urban and the rural and try to explore how its the residents were experiencing life on the fringes of Üsküdar, which shaped their experiences.

As agricultural fields were appropriated for residential development, the emerging neighborhoods expanded at the expense of the rural landscape. The expansion of the urban realm did not obliterate the rural economy; instead, it integrated it, allowing residents to engage in both agricultural and pastoral pursuits alongside their urban lifestyles. The green expanse surrounding Üsküdar provided fertile ground for the residents to pursue agricultural and pastoral activities while also serving as the final resting place for their deceased. This liminal status emphasizing being at the edges of urbanity while being close to the rural surroundings continued long since the established boundries through Nurbanu's land did not change so much even well into the nineteenth century.

Chapter 5

THE ROLE OF WAQF ADMINISTRATION IN URBAN GOVERNANCE AND THE FORMATION OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES

Thus far, I have analyzed the urban layout and commercial infrastructure of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre and its strategic function within Üsküdar as both a way station and customs checkpoint. Also, I have explored the development of eleven neighborhoods within the expanse of Nurbanu's land, which collectively constituted Ma'mûre's ethnically and religiously diverse community. Building on this, Chapter 5 introduces a significant layer to the analysis by delving into the local governance of Ma'mûre, identifying key figures who wielded power in the neighborhood and the administrative-legal status of its residents. This chapter is essential not only for providing a comprehensive history of Ma'mûre but also for elaborating on the terms: Nurbanu Sultan's "waqf land / *vakıf toprağı*," "waqf neighborhood / *vakıf mahallesi*," "waqf subject / *vakıf re'âyâsı*," and "waqf administration / *vakıf yönetimi*," which I have frequently used but not yet discussed in detail.

As mentioned in the preceding chapters, Nurbanu Sultan's "waqf lands" refer to the various tracts of land, the revenues from which were allocated to her endowment.⁸⁰⁷ While this term can be applied to any of the waqf's landed estates across the empire, this study specifically focuses on the land located on the outskirts of Üsküdar, which also served as the waqf's administrative center. The neighborhoods developed within its boundaries were collectively known as Mahalle-i Ma'mûre, or Nurbanu Sultan's "waqf neighborhood," a designation that underlines its distinctive status as an urban settlement established by a waqf. Although the term "neighborhood/*mahalle*" might seem inadequate to describe Ma'mûre especially after it began to exhibit the characteristics of a *semt*, seventeenth-century court records of Üsküdar consistently referred to area as "Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. I have adhered to the historical terminology by consistently using the designation *mahalle* for Ma'mûre, as

⁸⁰⁷ See Map 5.1. For more information about waqf lands, see Richard Van Leeuwen, *Notables and Clergy in Mount Lebanon: The Khazin Sheikhs and the Maronite Church, 1736-1840* (Leiden: Brill, 1994): 22-30. and Richard Van Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures: The Case of Ottoman Damascus* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 42.

recorded in the archival documents to ensure consistency with the official nomenclature of the period.

Nurbanu Sultan's "*vakıf re'âyâsı*" refers to the Ottoman subjects whose obligations to the state—such as paying taxes, dues, and occasionally, providing certain goods or services—were redirected to finance and support the operations of the waqf. This reallocation occurred when the status of a *mîrî* land was converted into a waqf estate.⁸⁰⁸ Following such a transformation in the land's administrative and fiscal status, its residents were no longer accountable to state-appointed tax collectors; instead, they became responsible to the waqf's *mütevelli*s or their officials. This arrangement could be likened to a *quid pro quo*, where, in exchange for their financial contributions, the residents, now designated as waqf subjects, received certain benefits. These benefits typically included exemptions from extraordinary taxes, land grants, and protection from the waqf administration against unlawful confiscation of their properties and arbitrary taxation.

The three terms "waqf land,"⁸⁰⁹ "waqf neighborhood,"⁸¹⁰ and "waqf subjects"⁸¹¹ were recognized and used by state officials and thus was the part of the lexicon of the Ottoman bureaucracy. Conversely, my use of the term "waqf administration" to refer to the waqf's administrative staff does not reflect established usage but rather represents my own terminological preference. This term basically refers to the waqf officials worked under the oversight of the waqf superintendent (*evkâf nâzırı*) and the waqf administrator (*mütevelli*). The waqf superintendent, a position occupied by the chief black eunuch, acted as the inspector over Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevelli* and actively intervened when he faced issues that necessitated involvement from the central government or required

⁸⁰⁸ For a discussion on the legal status of *mîrî* lands converted into waqf estates and the type of waqfs recognized under Ottoman law, see Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 45, 46.

⁸⁰⁹ "*valide sultan evkâfı toprağı* / the queen mother's waqf land" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.86.p.30/a1 (Ramazan 1001/June 1593).

⁸¹⁰ "*merhûme ve mağfürün-lehâ Atik Valide Sultan -tâbe serâhâ-hazretlerinin vakfı mahallesi*, the neighborhood of the late queen mother's waqf" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.11/a1 (Rebî'ülâhîr 993/April 1585).

⁸¹¹ "... *evkâf-ı mezbure re'âyâsı olup zikr olunaa kadılıklarda sakin olan zimmiler* / the subjects of the aforementioned waqf, who are zimmi residing in the mentioned judicial districts" BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.73. p.240/559 (18 Ramazan 1003/27 May 1595)

correspondence with the Sultan. On the other hand, the *mütevellîs*, along with their staff, including scribes and tax collectors were responsible for the financial management of Nurbanu's waqf assets. Beyond fiscal duties, they also served as the local governors of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre, which form the primary focus of this chapter.

This chapter has two main arguments. First, I argue and demonstrate that Ma'mûre was a distinct administrative unit within Üsküdar proper. The chief tax farmer of Üsküdar, namely "*Üsküdar Emini*," was strictly prohibited from interfering in the neighborhood's financial management and public security. These responsibilities, instead, fell under the purview of the waqf administration. Within this framework, Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs* governed Ma'mûre in collaboration with his cadre of administrative and military officials. Second, I argue that residing in one of Üsküdar's neighborhoods, with its own distinct urban governance body, strengthened the residents' sense of belonging to a waqf community. Their responsibilities toward the waqf administration compelled them to develop strategies to navigate and manage their daily affairs. This dynamic, in turn, fostered a shared collective identity that transcended their ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural affiliations.

I will begin the chapter by discussing how the Ottoman state benefited from the services of certain occupational groups and the inhabitants of strategic locations like *menzils* by exempting them from certain financial obligations and military or public services. My analysis centers on the residents of Üsküdar's two *menzils*: Nurbanu's waqf subjects residing in Ma'mûre and the residents of Kartal, who were designated as *menzilkeş re'âyâ*, assigned the duty of hosting travelers stopped over in the region and ensuring their safety. This inquiry sheds light on how each group demonstrated solidarity when negotiating their rights through acting as a uniform body within the legal sphere. Based on the collective petitions submitted by each group to safeguard their granted rights, I posit that such reciprocal arrangements contributed to the formation of communal identity. This discussion also calls into question the principles of the reciprocal arrangement between the state and the residents of Ma'mûre that were defined by the provisions of the *vakfiye* and the imperial decrees, all of which were overseen by the waqf administration.

The subsequent sections offer a detailed account of the political landscape of Üsküdar with a particular focus on the formation of the urban governance cadre of Ma'mûre during the first decade of its development as a waqf neighborhood. In this section, I offer a

comparative perspective between the political actors governing Üsküdar's administratively separate units: Ma'mûre and the rest of the town, each operating under its own distinct local governance. This discussion proves the critical role of the waqf administration on the urban governance of Ma'mûre and suggests broadening our understanding of the waqf institution beyond its socio-economic and philanthropic roles, highlighting its oft-overlooked function as a governing body in waqf settlements and over waqf communities. Finally, I will go back full circle to the beginning of this chapter to examine how Ma'mûre's administrative framework and urban governance cadres impacted the daily lives of the local population and the formation of a sense of communal identity among the residents of Ma'mûre.

5.1. Formation of Collective Identities through State-granted Privileges

5.1.1. Tax-exempt residents of Üsküdar's two way stations: *Karye-i Kartal* and *Mahalle-i Ma'mûre*

In May 1578, the notables of Kartal, a village (*karye*) of the District of Üsküdar submitted a petition to the district kadi on behalf of their community, beseeching reinstatement of an earlier decree, which had exempted them from paying extraordinary taxes as well as certain military duties—specifically, from being levied as novice janissary (*acemioğlanı*).⁸¹² These

⁸¹² “Mektûb gönderip kazâ-i mezbûra tâbi Kartal nâm karye halkı meclis-i şer‘e gelüp karye-i mezbûre ahâlisi Kadıköy nâm karye halkı ile Istabl-ı Âmire mühimmatı için Üsküdar çayırklarını biçip ve bakup ve sana teveccüh olundukça at yedüb ve Bursa‘dan ve gayri yerden gelen mirî atları getirince bekleyip ve yedüb ve taşradan gelen hazîneyi hıfz ü hırâset idüp münâvebe ile bekleyüp ve lâzım oldukça kulağuz olduğumuzdan mâ‘adâ karyemiz azîm yol üzerinde vâki olup memerr-i nâs Kadıköyü‘nden acemi oğlanı alınmadığı gibi bizden dahi alınmayıp dokuz yüz kırk beş senesinden seksen bir senesine gelince muâf olmuşuk seksen bir senesinden bir oğlanımız alınıp maa-hâzâ bizim hizmetimiz yol üzeri olmağla Kadıköy halkından gayridir. andan alınmadığı gibi hizmetleri mukâbelesinde kendülerden dahi alınmamak için muâf olmağı ricâ ettiklerin ve fi‘l-hakîka memerr olmağla hizmetlerini Kadıköy halkından zîyâde idüğü muhakkaktır deyu arz ettiğün ecilden buyurdum ki; Vardıkda karye-i Kartal halkından hizmetleri mukabelesinde şimdiye değin acemi oğlanı olunugel(me)miş ise girü alınmayup me‘mûr oldukları hizmetlerin edâ etdiresin./ The inhabitants of Kartal, a village in Üsküdar, submitted a petition to the imperial court, reporting that together with the residents of Kadıköy, they had been mowing and stacking the grasses of the Üsküdar meadows for the imperial stables. In addition to this, they took care of the imperial horses arriving from Bursa, and other locations, and secured and maintained the treasury coming from different provinces. Furthermore, they have served as guides when necessary. Given their village is a way station on a major route, no novice janissaries have been taken from them—similarly to Kadıköy—during the years 945 to 981. However, in 981, one of their boys was enlisted as novice janissary, although their role as *menzilkeş* remains unchanged, which is different from the services provided by the residents of Kadıköy. Therefore, the residents of Kartal requested to continue being exempt from providing novice janissaries in return for their services since they perform more services than those from Kadıköy. Therefore, I have decreed: if it is determined that the people of the village of Kartal have, in recognition of their services, been exempt from providing *acemi oğlanı* up to this point, they are henceforth

exemptions were granted as compensations for their various services including cutting the grass in the meadows of Üsküdar to feed the horses of the imperial stables (*Istabl-ı Âmire*), a duty they performed in collaboration with the residents of Kadıköy.⁸¹³ Moreover, the inhabitants of Kartal were designated as “*menzilkeş re ‘âyâ*,” since the village held a crucial position in the empire’s road network as the second way station along the Great Diagonal Road of Anatolia, situated three to four hours away from Üsküdar.⁸¹⁴ Since the village hosted a diverse array of travelers, including pilgrims, merchants, soldiers, and various state officials traversing the region, its residents had to ensure the safety of transients and their mounts, store their valuable goods, provide passengers with guidance, as well as safeguard the imperial treasure delivered to their village and maintain its security.⁸¹⁵

Their collective petition sheds light on how their exemption, which Süleyman I had granted in 945 (1538–39), were encroached in 981 (1573–74) when state officials enlisted a boy from Kartal as a novice janissary.⁸¹⁶ Thus, what they sought through their petition was the reinstatement of the exemptions granted to them in consideration of their beneficial labor for the state. In response to their request, Murad III ordered the relevant authorities to refrain

not to be conscripted. They shall instead continue to carry out the duties to which they have been assigned.” BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.34.p.267/ 563 (Rebî‘ülevvel 986/May 1578).

⁸¹³ Ibid.

⁸¹⁴ “*Sa’at 4: Kartal, ab-u-havası İatıf sahil-i bahrdir. Cami’ önünde vaki’ kuyusu vardır. Suyu hafiftir.* / Located at a distance of four hours from Üsküdar, Kartal is situated by the sea and boasts an environment in which the air and water are renowned for their quality. Notably, a mosque graces the locale, and in its foreground lies a well with mild water.” Quoted from an eighteenth-century *menâzil-i hac* (pilgrimage narration), *Menazilü’l-Hacc ve Mesafetü’l-Fecc li’l-Acc ve’s-Secc min Gayri Lecc*, which introduces the *menzil* locations along the pilgrimage route between Üsküdar-Damasuc-Hijaz. For the transcription of the treatise, see A. Latif Armağan, “18. Yüzyılda Hac Yolu Güzergâhı ve Menziller (Menâzilü’l Hacc),” *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, no. 20 (Istanbul, 2000): 100.

⁸¹⁵ The sustenance of the *menzil* stations, or the *menzil* complexes, during the Ottoman period was ensured through the appointment of neighboring villages and towns’ communities as *menzilkeş* groups, who were entrusted with the responsibility of providing for the various needs and expenses of these service facilities, in exchange for exemptions from extraordinary taxes. This practice did not only facilitate the upkeep of the way stations and lodging facilities but also fostered a sense of communal responsibility among *menzilkeş* communities, thereby enabling the Ottoman administration to maintain a reliable *menzil* system that effectively catered to the needs of travelers and merchants across the empire. For detailed information regarding the *menzilkeş* communities, see Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Derbend Teşkilatı* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1990), 43. Sema Altunan, “XVII.Yüzyıl Sonlarında İstanbul-Edirne Arasındaki Menziller ve Bazı Menzilkeş Köyler,” *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 25/39 (2005): 78-79. For detailed information on *menzilkeş* groups, see: Halaçoğlu, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Menzil Teşkilatı,” 123-132.

⁸¹⁶ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d. 34.563 (Rebî‘ülevvel 986 / June 1578).

from recruiting novice janissaries from the community of Kartal. Additionally, he ordered the kadi of Üsküdar to ensure that they fulfilled their duties without any interference.⁸¹⁷ Their collaborative petition provide significant evidence of strong communal solidarity, which was not rooted in shared tribal, religious, linguistic, or socio-cultural affiliations but in their shared responsibilities towards the state. It empowered the Kartal community to stand together and take collective action in response to potential violations of their rights.

A similar case was the petition of the grocers working and residing in Ma'mûre to assert their rights in the legal sphere.⁸¹⁸ These grocers, whose commercial activities were centered in the waqf-owned shops, submitted a joint petition to the Imperial Council in response to the call issued by the head of Istanbul's market guild (*Istanbul Bazarbaşı*).⁸¹⁹ In his call dated 1605, *Istanbul Bazarbaşı* requested all grocers across Istanbul, Üsküdar, Galata, and Eyüp to contribute to the Ottoman army's provisioning.⁸²⁰ Upon his request, the grocers rightfully asserted that the residents of Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood had long been exempted from paying extraordinary taxes and providing compulsory services, as was explicitly stipulated in the imperial decree issued by Murad III.⁸²¹

⁸¹⁷ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.34.563 (Rebî'ülevvel 986 / June 1578).

⁸¹⁸ Even if the decree referred to Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood as "Yeni Mahalle," this designation did not refer to Kefere Mahallesi but rather to the whole expanse of the waqf land; thus, I used "Ma'mûre."

⁸¹⁹ For an article on the petitions submitted to the Imperial Council and the corresponding decision-making process, see Fatma Acun and Ramazan Acun, "Demand for Justice and Response of the Sultan: Decision Making in the Ottoman Empire in the Early 16th Century," in *Etudes Balkaniques*, vol. 2 (2007):125-148.

⁸²⁰ For a detailed case study addressing the long-lasting conflict between the certain guilds of Üsküdar and Istanbul on the issue of the army taxes assessed by the governments after 1585, see: Şenol Çelik, "Üsküdar Esnafının Orducu Muafiyeti ve Tartışmaları," in *Üsküdar Sempozyumu X (19-21 October 2018): Bildiriler*, vol. 2, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz. (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2019): 43-56.

⁸²¹ "Bâ-hatt-ı Osman Çelebi Üsküdar kâdısına hükmü ki: Taht-ı kazânda vâki' merhûme ve mağfûrleha Valide Sultân tâbe serâhanın Yeni Mahalle'de vâkıf dükkânlarında sâkin olan bakkallar tarafından dergâh-ı mu'allâma arz-ı hâl sunulub müşârûn-ileyhanın evkâfında sâkin olanlar avârız-ı dîvâniyye ve tekâlîf-i örfiyyeden ve kürekçiden ve yağcıdan ve ulakdan ve bi'l-cümle sayir tekâlîfden muâf ve müsellemler olalar deyû mukaddemâ divân-ı hümayûn ve mâliye tarafından evamir-i şerif verilüb tecdid olunub bu ana gelince dahl olunugelmış değil iken hâliyâ İstanbul bazar başısı ve bakkalları Hazret'i Ebû Eyüb Ensari ve Galata kazâsından ihrâcî fermân olunan ordu-yı hümayûn için ellerinde olan muâfnâmelere ve oligelene muhâlif bunlar dâhi hisse verimiz deyû ordu teklif olunub ta'addi olunduğun bildirüb inâyet ricâ eyledikleri ecilden buyurdum ki: Vusûl bulduk da göresin mahalle-i mezbûre hâlkı tekâlîf-i örfiyyeden muâf olmaları için divân-ı hümayûn ve mâliye tarafından ellerine muâfnâmeler verilmişken hâlâ ol muâfnâmelere ve oligelene muhâlif ordu teklif olunduğu vâki' ise men' ve def' idüb ellerinde olan muâf nâmelere ve oligelene muhâlif nesne teklif ettirmeyesin / Order to the kadi of Üsküdar: The grocers of Yeni Mahalle, who reside in the waqf shops of the late queen mother, have submitted a petition to my noble attention. They declare that have been exempt from extraordinary levies and compulsory services, such as serving as couriers, oarsmen and oil-makers. They have

They strengthened their plea by submitting the tax exemption certificates (*muafnâmes*) that had been provided to them by the Imperial Council and the treasury upon Murad III's relevant decree.⁸²² Based on the *muafnâmes* in their possession, they were exempt from paying the war tax collected irregularly (*avâriz-ı divâniyye*), the customary taxes (*tekâlif-i örfiyye*), as well as providing compulsory services such as serving as couriers (*ulak*), oarsmen (*kürekçi*) in the imperial fleet, or as oil-makers (*yağcı*) providing oil and butter for the imperial army.⁸²³ The case resulted in a favorable resolution for the grocers, reaffirming their exemption from additional taxes as outlined in the imperial decree.

The resolution of these two legal cases in favor of the petitioners proves that the Ottoman government maintained their tax-exempt status, even during times of economic distress and financial shortages caused by the costly wars of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁸²⁴ This policy enabled the state to effectively organize and manage its human resources while maximizing their potential benefits.⁸²⁵ For instance, certain artisans

exemption certificates issued by the imperial council and the finance department. Although their exempt status has been acknowledged and upheld without alteration to this day, the head of Istanbul's market guild has improperly requested them to contribute funds to the army. The head of Istanbul's market guild disregarded their exemption documents and contradicted established customary practices. I hereby command that such unlawful demands be immediately prevented and eliminated, ensuring that no further requests contrary to the protections granted by their exemption documents are imposed upon them." BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.75.p. 201/406 (Zilka'de 1013/March 1605).

⁸²² Ibid.

⁸²³ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.75.p. 201/406 (Zilka'de 1013/March 1605).

⁸²⁴ For detailed information regarding the long period of war between the Ottomans and Habsburgs (1591–1606), see Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, eds., *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

⁸²⁵ The exemptions from *avarız* levies were granted as early as the 1500s. For one of the earliest registers on these exemptions, see the *ahkam defteri*, dated 1501, which documented the exemptions in return for *derbendi* duties: "Samakov kadısına hüküm yazıla ki; şimdiki hâlde kapulu derbend kâfirlerinden dârende-i fermân-i hümayûn Istoya ve Milo nâm zimmîler Dergâh-i mu'allâma gelüp şöyle arz itdiler ki, bunlara teklîf-i av'arız olunup dahl ü ta'arruz olunur imiş. Eyle olsa bundan evvel bunlara hükm-i şerif virilmişdir ki; "Ol derbendi görüp ve gözedüp mâdâm ki hizmetlerinde kusûrları olmaya, avâriz-i divaniyyeden emin, mu'âf ve müsellemler olalar" diyü emr imişdüm. İmdi gerekdür ki, sen dahı bunları avâriza katmayasız ve katturmayasız, eğer nesnelerin almışlar ise, hükm idüp girü alıveresiz, böyle bilesiz. Fî evâhir-i Zilka'de sene sitte ve tis'a-mie./ Order to the kadi of Samakov: The gatekeepers from Kapulu-derbend, named Istoya and Milo, have approached the Imperial Court, complaining that they are being forced to pay extraordinary levies and are facing assaults. It should be noted that a prior imperial decree had provided them with assurances, stating: 'As long as you faithfully guard the pass and maintain your duties without fault, you will remain secure from extraordinary levies. Therefore, you must neither subject them to these levies nor allow others to do so. Should they have unlawfully acquired any possessions, adjudicate the matter and ensure their return.' (Translated by the author.) *Osmanlılarda Divân-Bürokrasi-Ahkâm:II. Beyezid Dönemi'ne Ait 906/1501 Tarihli Ahkâm Defteri*, ed. İlhan

and trade groups in Üsküdar, including bakers, shoe-tip makers, cooks, barley dealers, and grocers, had already been exempted from serving as military artisans (*orducu esnafı*) or from paying additional taxes levied by the government during times of war. Their privileged status had been granted by Mehmed II in return for their obligation to provision the troops, as well as an annual payment of over 30,000 *akçe* to subsidize the expenses of their horses.⁸²⁶ In addition, they were responsible for hosting envoys while also safeguarding the money and other valuables belonging to the imperial treasury.⁸²⁷

Despite the inherent advantages of this policy, ensuring the fair allocation of financial responsibilities and military or public services, as well as maintaining social equilibrium within the segments of Ottoman society that had partial tax exemptions, posed a significant challenge.⁸²⁸ In this context, I define "fair allocation" not as the equal distribution of the fiscal burdens and physical labor imposed on the subjects during wartime. Instead, it pertains to the proportional allocation of these obligations among the population. This allocation was subjective and not based on strict numerical quantification. In other words, the actual value

Şahin, Feridun Emecen (Istanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1994), 30, entry 105, quoted from Demirci, *The Functioning of Ottoman Avârız Taxation*, 22.

⁸²⁶ Üsküdar Kâdısına hüküm ki: "Kazâ-i mezbûrda vâkı' bakkâllar ve arpacılar ve na'lbandler ve sâir ehl-i hıref tâifesi ulak bârgîrleri için yılda otuz bin akçe ve sakat olan bârgîrlere tebdiline dahi nice bin akçeleri gidip ve sefer-i hümayûn vâkı' olup serdârlar ile asâkir-i İslâm geçdikde üç dört konak yere değin lâzım olan zahirelerin tedârük edip ve elçiler geldikde dahi nice hizmet eylediklerinden gayri hazîne geldikçe hıfz u hırâset üzere oldukları ecilden hizmetleri mukâbelesinde bakkâllar ve sâir ehl-i hıref tâifesi ve bi'l-cümle Üsküdar'da mukaddem ve muahhar gelip sâkin ü mütemekkin olanlar avârız-ı divâniyye ve tekâlîf-i örfiyyeden min-küllü'l-vücûh muâfu müsellemler olup emir ile nefir-i âm dahi olur ise rencide olunmayalar." deyü ceddîm merhûm Sultân Mehmed Hân-ı Gâzî zamânında müteaddid evâmîr-i şerîfe verilip ba'dehû ecdâd-ı ızâmım – enâra'llâhü Teâlâ berâhînehüm – zamânlarında dahi tecdîd olup bundan akdem vâkı' olan Şark ve Garb seferlerinin birine ordu teklîf olunmayıp... / Order to the kadi of Üsküdar: It has been decreed that the grocers, grain dealers, blacksmiths, and other craftsmen in the District of Üsküdar annually provide thirty thousand *akçes* for the couriers and an additional amount for the replacement of any disabled mounts. Additionally, during imperial campaigns, when the armies of Islam pass through their region, they prepare provisions needed to support their journey across three or four way stations and perform numerous services whenever envoys arrive. Beyond this, their responsibilities include protecting and preserving the state treasury brought to their towns. In recognition of their services, the grocers, other craftsmen, and all those who have previously and recently come to reside in Üsküdar are exempt from all customary taxes and duties. Even in the event of a general mobilization, it is ordered that they shall not be disturbed. BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.81.435 (22 Muharrem 1017 / 8 May 1608).

⁸²⁷ Ibid.

⁸²⁸ For an article on the state's tax-exemption policy, see Fatma Acun, "The Other Side of the Coin: Tax Exemptions within the Context of Ottoman Taxation History," in *Bulgarian Historical Review*, vol.1-2(2002): 125-139.

of the tax exemption granted in exchange for the workload imposed on Ottoman subjects could only be partially quantified. This difficulty arose because the perceived value of their labor—its intensity and scope—could not be objectively measured or calculated. In simpler terms, the effort that they put in did not always have a clear, direct financial equivalent, making the fairness of the tax exemptions hard to assess.

For example, the residents of Kartal argued that they deserved tax exemptions more than their peers residing in Kadıköy. They justified this claim by emphasizing that, in addition to their responsibility of mowing the Üsküdar meadows they also “cater to those who travel along the main road (*bizim hizmetimiz yol üzeri olmağla Kadıköy halkından gayridir*).”⁸²⁹ Therefore, it could be argued that their reasoning regarding the “fair allocation” of their obligations in exchange for certain benefits held crucial significance, as these subjective determinations played a critical role in shaping their legal arguments.

In conclusion, the state and its partially tax-exempt subjects were bound by a reciprocal relationship, which was defined and secured by imperial decrees and *muafnâmes* that outlined their respective responsibilities. During negotiations, the claimant parties endeavored to present their requests in the most strategic and appropriate manner possible. They achieved this by submitting relevant official documents to substantiate their claims, citing established regulations and legal provisions, referring to customary and traditional practices, and drawing comparisons with other tax-exempt groups. In doing so, they implicitly conveyed their expectation for the sultan to fulfill his obligation of maintaining justice. The plea put forth by Kartal’s *menzilkeş* community rested on three fundamental pillars. Firstly, they cited the tax exemptions granted by Sultan Süleyman for their various services. Secondly, they pointed to their long-standing exemption from military conscription into the janissaries, which had been in effect for thirty-six years and solidified into an established tradition. Lastly, they demanded fair treatment through a comparative assessment of their workload compared to the partially tax-exempt groups living in Kadıköy.

Notably, the grocers of Ma‘mûre in their refusal to pay the army tax, chose not to refer to Mehmed II’s imperial decree, which had bestowed upon the various tradesmen and artisans of Üsküdar certain privileges in return for provisioning the Ottoman army and their

⁸²⁹ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.34.563 (Rebî‘ülevvel 986 / June 1578).

mounts. Instead, in formulating their defense, they presented themselves as the grocers residing in Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood, which granted them immunity from additional taxation.⁸³⁰ By emphasizing their residency in Nurbanu's waqf neighborhood rather than identifying themselves as beneficiaries of Mehmed II's earlier grants (renewed during the reign of Ahmed I), they aligned themselves more closely with the protection of the waqf administration. In other words, their collective identity and communal solidarity were not solely derived from their affiliation with the grocers' guild but from their administrative status as Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subjects, which will be discussed in detail in the following section.

5.1.2. Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subjects

In the Ottoman context, the designation "waqf subject," or "*vakıf re'âyâsı*," referred to a specific administrative and legal status conferred upon individuals affiliated with a waqf as a revenue source. This status was not merely nominal; rather, it established a reciprocal relationship between the imperial waqfs and their subjects, governed by *vakfiyes*, relevant imperial orders, and Ottoman waqf law. Under this regulatory framework, waqf subjects were required to fulfill certain obligations, such as remitting taxes to the designated tax collectors and adhering to the regulations concerning the use and transaction of waqf properties.⁸³¹ In return, they often received benefits, including land grants and exemptions from certain taxes. Additionally, *mütevelli*s were responsible for defending waqf subjects against external threats, particularly from state officials who infringed upon their tax exemptions. If waqf officials themselves mistreated waqf subjects, they could appeal to judicial authorities for legal redress.⁸³²

⁸³⁰ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.75.p. 201/406 (Zilka'de 1013/March 1605).

⁸³¹ For instance, since the bare ownership (*rakabe*) and usufruct rights of waqf lands were separate - like *mîrî* lands- the residents of Ma'mûre did not possess the right of alienation on the lands allocated them. They could build houses, reside, and cultivate their assigned lands for subsistence, yet held no right of exchange it by sale or other means, except by authorization of the *mütevelli*. Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures*, 127. Nada Mountaz, *God's Property: Islam, Charity and the Modern State* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2021), 179. Leeuwen, *Notables and Clergy in Mount Lebanon*, 118.

⁸³² For a detailed study on the waqfs and the Ottoman legal system, see Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures*, 95-118.

Here, it is worth underlining the nuanced distinction between the terms “waqf beneficiaries” and “waqf subjects,” as each delineates a distinct type of engagement with the waqf institution. “Waqf beneficiaries” was used as a broad category encompassing all individuals who derived some form of benefit from the resources of a waqf, regardless of whether or not they had financial obligations to the institution. The composition of this group varied depending on the waqf’s intended purpose and the stipulations set by its founder and primarily included founders themselves, their family members, and waqf employees. Moreover, the beneficiaries extended to include those who directly benefited from the services provided by the waqf, such as students attending waqf-funded colleges, dervishes staying in convents, and those receiving daily meals from public kitchens. This group also included the retired officials who received pensions from waqf funds and the poor in holy cities such as Mecca or Medina receiving alms or charitable donations from imperial waqfs. On the other hand, “waqf subjects” referred to those who had certain financial and legal responsibilities toward an imperial waqf, who, in return, received benefits in the form of certain privileges such as exemptions from certain taxes.

Residency in a waqf settlement for a period stipulated in *vakfiyes* or specified through imperial orders constituted the principal criterion for registration as a “waqf subject.” Additionally, when revenues collected from a group of taxpayers were organized into a revenue unit (*mukâta‘a*) and assigned to support a waqf, these taxpayers also attained the status of “waqf subjects.” For instance, Mehmed II allocated the jizya taxes collected from Istanbul’s Jewish community to his mosque complex built in the city, thereby integrating these taxpayers into his waqf’s administrative framework. Even when some members of this community left Istanbul, their administrative status as “Sultan Mehmed’s waqf subjects” along with their fiscal obligations to his endowment remained unchanged.⁸³³ Similarly, Ahmed I allocated the revenues derived from Christians residing in Galata’s various subdistricts for the upkeep and operations of his mosque complex, which was built in Istanbul during the first quarter of the seventeenth century.⁸³⁴ In 1617, the waqf officials

⁸³³ Ibid.

⁸³⁴ For the register, see BOA.TS.MA.d.1321 (Zilhicce 1025/ January 1617). These subdistricts and neighborhoods of Galata included Kasımpaşa, Tatavla, Tophane, Beyoğlu, Dört Yol Ağzı, Fındıklı, Beşiktaş, Kuruçeşme, Arnavutköy, İstinye, Boğazkesen, and Sarıyer.

conducted a detailed survey to document the Armenian and Greek residents of the District of Galata and registered them as “Sultan Ahmed’s waqf subjects.”⁸³⁵

The Ottomans also incorporated nomadic populations into the financial framework of imperial waqfs.⁸³⁶ For instance, in the late sixteenth century, 4,136 households, predominantly composed of Yürüks (pastoral Turkoman tribes), were designated as part of the revenue base for Sultan Murad II’s mosque complex in Bursa.⁸³⁷ While certain Yürük groups preserved their traditional practices of animal husbandry and maintained a semi-nomadic lifestyle in the Kazdağı region (Mount Ida), others transitioned to a sedentary way of life by establishing villages in Edremit, where they engaged in agriculture.⁸³⁸

The strategy of integrating the substantial economic potential of nomadic and pastoral groups was similarly employed in structuring the financial resources of Nurbanu Sultan’s endowment. As mentioned in Section 4.2.2, Murad III assigned the *jizya* taxes collected from both the settled and nomadic *Kıbtî* congregations living across various regions of Rumelia and Anatolia to his mother’s mosque complex. In 1578, he further broadened the waqf’s fiscal base by allocating the revenues from the District of Yeni-il to Nurbanu Sultan waqf. The district, situated in the Province of Anatolia, encompassed a vast rural landscape that included summer pastures (*yaylak*), several agricultural lands (*mezra’a*), and villages.⁸³⁹ Following the designation of Yeni-il as waqf land, the Turkoman tribes living therein were registered as Nurbanu Sultan’s waqf subjects. In archival documents, they were collectively referred to as the “Turcomans of Yeni-il” reflecting their geographic origins, and as the “Turcomans of Üsküdar,” indicating their administrative ties to the *valide sultan*’s mosque complex.⁸⁴⁰

⁸³⁵ Ibid.

⁸³⁶ For such an example, see Murad II’s waqf villages in Edremit and Bursa Districts. Ahmet Köç, “Sultan II. Murad Vakfı’nın Edremit Mukataaları,” OTAM Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi 30, no. 30 (2011), 59-61. Niyazi Topçu, “Murat Hüdavendigar’ın Bursa Vakfıyesi ve Vakıf Köyleri,” *Bursa Araştırmaları*, vol. 10 (2005): 46–52.

⁸³⁷ Ibid., 52,58.

⁸³⁸ Ibid.

⁸³⁹ See section 2.3. Şahin, “Üsküdar ve Türkmenler,” 283.

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid., 284-285.

Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subjects constituted a large community notable for its socio-economic and ethno-religious diversity. Since Ma'mûre was the only urban settlement among Nurbanu's waqf lands, the majority of the waqf subjects resided in rural settlements.⁸⁴¹ Among them, the District of Yeni-il housed a significant segment of the waqf community. By 1583, its population had reached approximately 85,000, comprising 60,000 pastoral nomads and 25,000 settled farmers.⁸⁴² The data indicates that while some Turcoman tribes settled in villages, the majority maintained a hybrid lifestyle, living in felt-covered tents (*yurt*) that they erected in the summer and winter pastures assigned to their respective tribes.⁸⁴³ They paid various taxes and dues commensurate with their economic pursuits. These included a tithe on grain, the sheep tax (*adet-i ağnam*), dues for the use of pastures (*mera resmi*), land taxes (such as *çift* and *bennak*), the *jizya* taxes levied on non-Muslims as well as occasional taxes including marriage fees, fines on crimes, and unclaimed inheritances.⁸⁴⁴ They were exempt from specific taxes and services, as a form of reward or incentive by the state. According to an imperial decree addressed to the kadis of Yeni-il in

⁸⁴¹ Yeni-il was not only the largest but also the most profitable of the waqf's *hass* lands. The term *Has* refers to the lands or certain incomes belonging to the sultan, members of the dynasty, and high state officials. Dror Ze'evi defines the ranking of the *has* lands within the *timar* system as follows: "A regular *timar* was a small fief, comprising one or several smaller villages, and yielding up to 20,000 *akçe* per year. Larger fiefs called *zeâmet* (or *za'ama* in Arabic) yielding between 20,000 and 100,000 *akçe* a year, were given to higher ranking officers or officials. An even bigger estate, called *has* (*khas* in Arabic) yielding more than 100,000 *akçe*, was earmarked for district and province governors, or for senior officials in the provincial administration." Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996), 117.

⁸⁴² During the reign of Süleyman I, there were 75 villages, 125 *mezra'as* (agrarian land that was inhabited periodically), 75 *yaylak and yurt* (pastures and felt-covered tents), and 90 *cemaat* (tribes) in the District of Yeni-il. İnalcık, with Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol 1, 159. The Aleppo and the Dulkadirid Turcomans were the two major tribes who used Yeni-il as their summer pastures for grazing their livestock. The Aleppo Turkomans and were often referred to in records as summer pasture dwellers (*Yaylakçıyan*) or outsiders (*Yabaneri*) reflecting their migration from Aleppo where their winter pastures were.⁸⁴³ The Dulkadirid Turkmens were affiliated with the Bozok branch of the Oğuz Turks, were named after their historical ties to the Dulkadir principality (*beylik*). Their ancestral lands in Maraş and Elbistan were near Yeni-il, and due to their semi-nomadic lifestyle, they were sometimes recorded as agriculturists (*Ziraatçıyan*) in archival records. İlhan Şahin, "Üsküdar ve Türkmenler." 283-284.

⁸⁴³ İlhan Şahin, "Yeni-İl Kazâsı ve Yeni-İl Türkmenleri: 1548-1653," (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 1990), 294. İnalcık, with Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, p. 159. Ibid., 281. Also see, Tufan Gündüz, "Konar Göçer," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol.26 (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2002): 162.

⁸⁴⁴ Enver Çakar, "Les Turkmènes d'Alep à L'époque Ottomane (1516–1700)," trans. Sylvain Cornac and Zehra Şahin, in *Aleppo and Its Hinterland in the Ottoman Period / Alep et sa province à l'époque ottomane*, eds. Stefan Winter and Mafalda Ade (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019), 1-27.

1579, Nurbanu Sultan's Muslim waqf subjects were exempt from paying extraordinary taxes, while non-Muslims were also relieved of the obligation to serve as novice janissaries.⁸⁴⁵

In the Ottoman Empire, waqf lands were designated as administratively autonomous (*serbest*) territories and referred to as “*mefrûzü 'l-kalem ve maktû 'l-kâdem*,” which translates to “exempt from the pen and cut off from the foot.”⁸⁴⁶ This designation signified that waqf lands were exempt from the state's tax surveys and free from interference by state officials in their administration. Instead, their financial management was entrusted to the waqf administrations, which granted them extensive autonomy in the governance of waqf settlements.⁸⁴⁷ For instance, the financial management of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf villages in the Districts of Üsküdar, Yeni-il, Rodosçuk, Yanbolu, and Yoros was assigned to the waqf's scribes and tax collectors appointed for each district.⁸⁴⁸ (see Table 5.5) Due to its status as the largest and most lucrative waqf land, Yeni-il was placed under the supervision of a second *mütevelli*, referred to by various titles including “*Yeni-il voyvodası*, *emini*, and *zâbiti*.”⁸⁴⁹ He held critical responsibilities, such as supervising tax collection and ensuring the timely and secure transfer of local revenues to Üsküdar. Together with his scribe, he maintained the accounts registers (*muhasebe defteri*) and the registers of tax-payers (*re'âyâ defteri*). They also regularly updated the *re'âyâ defters*, removing the names of the deceased and adding their heirs once they reached the age of tax liability.

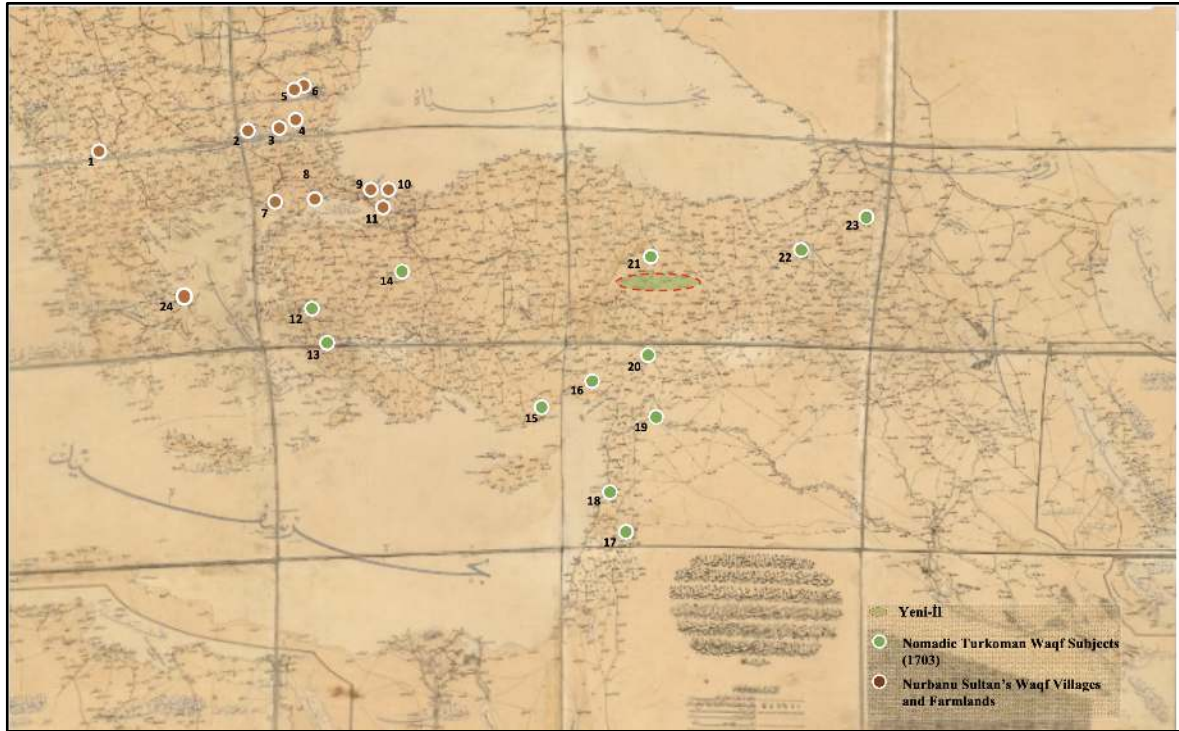
⁸⁴⁵ BOA.A.DVNSMHHM.d.39.pg.75/182 and 183 (Şevval 987/ December 1579).

⁸⁴⁶ Peri, “The Case of Khasseki Sultan Waqf,” 54.

⁸⁴⁷ For more information see, Keiko Iwamoto, “Waqf versus Miri Nomads: Taxation, Endowment and Settlement Practices in Northern Syria in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Syrian-Kurdish Interactions in the Ottoman Period*, eds. Stefan Winter, Zainab Hajhasan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2024): 161-179.

⁸⁴⁸ VGMA.1766.149.

⁸⁴⁹ BOA.A.DVNSMHHM.d.53.pg.64/173 (Cemâziyelâhir 992/ June 1584), BOA.A.DVNSMHHM.d.52.pg.197/510 (Zilhicce 991/ January 1584). BOA.TS.MA.d.9104 (Zilhicce 1018/ March 1610).



Map 5. 1: Nurbanu Sultan's waqf lands and some of the regions inhabited by Nurbanu Sultan's Turkoman waqf subjects in the early eighteenth century.

1: Üsküp, 2: Eski Zağra, 3: Yanbolu, 4: Karinabad, 5: Şumnu, 6: Yeni Pazar, 7: İpsala, 8: Rodosçuk, 9: Yoros, 10: Şile, 11: Gebze, 12: Saruhan, 13: Aydın, 14: Kütahya, 15: Silifke, 16: Adana, 17: Şam (Damascus), 18: Trablusşam (Tripoli), 19: Halep (Aleppo), 20: Maraş, 21: Sivas (Yeni-il is located in the southern part of Sivas), 22: Erzurum, 23: Kars, 24: Eğriboz/Ağrıboz (later addition)⁸⁵⁰

The governance of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf, with its revenue sources dispersed across the empire, relied on a communication network that connected key officials, including the waqf superintendent in Istanbul, the *mütevelli* in Üsküdar and Yeni-il, and a group of scribes and tax farmers appointed to different districts. Each agent within this network played a critical role in ensuring the proper management of waqf assets, safeguarding the welfare of waqf subjects, and addressing their grievances. The most recurrent complaints, brought forward by the waqf subjects to the local kadi or waqf officials, involved disputes with the local gentry, who imposed unauthorized levies on them. For instance, in 1584, when a group

⁸⁵⁰ BOA.TK.GM.d.2200 (Muharrem 1053/ April 1643). The map of the Ottoman Empire, produced by the General Staff (Fourth Division) of the Ottoman Army and published in Istanbul in 1893. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection
AE.SMST.II.64/6676 (Rebî'ülâhir 1115/ August 1703), VGM.d.1426.

of *sipahis* in Yeni-il demanded taxes from their former taxpayers—who had recently been designated as waqf subjects—Kasım Agha, the *mütevelli* of Yeni-il, brought this issue to the attention of Habeşi Mehmed Agha, the waqf superintendent. He forwarded the *mütevelli*'s petition to the imperial council, requesting the issuance of a formal warning to ensure that they would be protected from harassment and coercion to pay dues beyond their financial obligations to the waqf.⁸⁵¹ In another petition from the same year, Kasım Agha informed Mehmed Agha about the state officials disregarding the waqf subjects' tax exemptions and coercing them into paying the military tax (*sürsat*).⁸⁵² This petition resulted in an imperial directive that reaffirmed their tax exemptions and prohibited further coercion by state officials.

There is a lot of such imperial directives addressed to the district kadis, instructing them to safeguard waqf subjects within their jurisdiction from the imposition of unauthorized taxes and other forms of exploitation. In 1578, an imperial decree addressed to the kadi of the District of Baba (or Babadağ) in present-day Bulgaria instructed him to protect the residents of Nurbanu's Tatar villages along the Tuna River from illegal taxation. The decree also emphasized that they were exempt from being registered as livestock dealers (*celep*), which would obligate them to provide livestock or their monetary equivalent.⁸⁵³ In the same year, a decree dispatched to the kadi of Yanbolu informed him that the waqf subjects living in the villages of Çoğoba and Yeniköy exempt from paying extraordinary taxes (*'avâriz-i divaniye and tekâlif-i 'örfiye*) and asked him to identify and report the names of those who disregarded these exemptions by demanding taxes from them.⁸⁵⁴ Furthermore, in 1664, the *Kibtî* subjects employed in the waqf-owned groves (*koru*) of Şile, Taşköprü, and Gebze informed Mütevelli Yusuf Bey, about the unlawful taxes levied on them by the local

⁸⁵¹ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.53.pg.64/173 (Cemâziyelâhir 992/ June 1584).

⁸⁵² BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.52.pg.197/510 (Zilhicce 991/ January 1584).

⁸⁵³ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.34.pg.31/60,61 (Muharrem 986/ March 1578). For the service of meat provisioning see, Antony Greenwood, "Istanbul's Meat Provisioning: A Study of the Celepkeşan System," (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1988), Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520–1650* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984): 221–228.

⁸⁵⁴ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.34.pg.184/384 (Safer 986/ May 1578).

gentry.⁸⁵⁵ In response, Yusuf Bey submitted a petition to the imperial council, reporting the grievances of the waqf subjects. Consequently, an imperial order was dispatched to the judge of Üsküdar, instructing him to take the necessary measures to prevent them from any mistreatment and abuses by tax collectors.

Therefore, it was imperative for district kadis to ascertain whether any waqf subject resided within the region under their jurisdiction and to accurately identify them, often relying on relevant certificates. In cases where such documentation was unavailable or insufficient to verify their affiliation with a waqf, the testimonies provided by the *mütevelli*s became essential. For instance, when Sinan veled-i Murad, a zimmi waqf subject from Yeni-il relocated to Ma'mûre in 1613, the local court asked him to verify his status as Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subject to assert the associated rights and exemptions. Lacking any documentary evidence, he sought the testimony of Mütevelli Ferruh Çavuş, who was responsible for the governance of Yeni-il. In the court, Ferruh Çavuş testified that his father Murad had faithfully fulfilled his tax obligations to the waqf until his death, which secured Sinan's right to inherit his father's rights and responsibilities, as the son of a waqf subject (*ra'yyeti oğlu ra'yyetlerinden*).⁸⁵⁶ After his testimony was corroborated by three witnesses, who were three zimmi from Yeni-il, the court registered Sinan as a waqf subject residing in Ma'mûre.

This case proves that Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subjects passed their administrative status to their heirs, a practice that ensured the uninterrupted fulfillment of obligations across generations and the maintenance of stable revenue streams essential for the waqf's long-term financial integrity. While being a waqf subject entailed a lifelong commitment, this status could be revoked under specific circumstances, such as reassignment to a different waqf or fief-holder or upon enlistment in military service. This is why the local court sought to ascertain whether Sinan's father had indeed died while still a waqf subject, as this would determine the legal status of his son.

The growing number and geographical dispersion of the waqf's tax-paying community, primarily due to the incorporation of the waqf subjects' sons into the system,

⁸⁵⁵ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.95.pg.3/17 (Muharrem 1075/ August 1664) .

⁸⁵⁶ ÜŞS.vol.108. pg.28/b2 (Rebî'ülâhir 1012/ October 1613).

necessitated additional measures to ensure efficient revenue collection. Among these measures was the employment of additional tax farmers to collect levies from scattered (*perâkende*) waqf subjects.⁸⁵⁷ For instance, during the period from 1620 to 1622, the *mütevelli* farmed out the *jizya* revenues collected from the waqf subjects who had left Yeni-il and settled in Istanbul, Üsküdar, and their environs to initially Hüseyin and later Mahmud Bey, both serving as provincial cavalry troops (*sipahi*).⁸⁵⁸ These tax-farming contracts were awarded in exchange for advance payments of 25,000 and 30,000 *akçes*, respectively.

As explored in Section 4.2.3, Mahalle-i Ma'mûre witnessed a significant influx of population during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Meanwhile, many of its Christian residents relocated to Istanbul, Eyüp, and Galata for occupational reasons. Even after leaving Ma'mûre, they retained ties to their former neighborhood due to their financial obligations towards the waqf administration; however, some took advantage of their relocation to evade tax payments. A case in point was the conflict involving Martelyo, a zimmi waqf subject living in Yeniköy, and İbrahim Subaşı, a tax farmer employed by the waqf.⁸⁵⁹ In the autumn of 1603, İbrahim Subaşı filed a complaint in the sharia court of Ma'mûre and accused Martelyo of leaving Yeniköy during each of his visits to collect *jizya* payments, thereby causing financial loss to the waqf.⁸⁶⁰ He also alleged that, after he forcibly entered Martelyo's residence to confiscate clothes as compensation for his tax arrears, he was subjected to a physical assault. Witness testimonies supported his claims, stating that Martelyo had called upon several men from a nearby tavern to join him in assaulting the *subaşı*. The court record does not inform us about the kadi's verdict, however, it is likely that Martelyo was obliged to settle his unpaid taxes and pay a punitive fine.

A significant aspect of the waqf's authority over its subjects was the *mütevelli*'s right to confiscate their assets upon their death if no rightful heirs came forward to claim the inheritance. Regardless of their place of death, their inheritance was to be seized by the

⁸⁵⁷ For the detailed register of Nurbanu Sultan's Yeni-il waqf subjects see, BOA.MAD.d.43 (Şaban 1015/ December 1606)

⁸⁵⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.139.pg.14/b2 (Ramazan 1031/ July 1622).

⁸⁵⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.108. pg.31/a2 (Rebî'ülevvel 1012 / October 1603).

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid.

relevant waqf official to be sold in the market unless their heirs formally submitted a claim for their rightful share. For instance, in the winter of 1595, when a Greek resident of Ma'mûre drowned in the sea, Müteveli İbrahim Çavuş seized his possessions in accordance with the waqf's legal prerogatives.⁸⁶¹ Nike veled-i Yani, originally from Ergirikasrı in southern Albania, had migrated to Üsküdar and taken up a livelihood as a baker in Ma'mûre, where he lived together with his mother, two daughters, and a son, while his three other sons remained in Ergirikasrı.⁸⁶² Following his death, the court appointed his mother as the guardian of his three minor children.⁸⁶³ Meanwhile, one of his sons from Ergirikasrı came to Üsküdar to claim their share of the inheritance from the waqf administration.⁸⁶⁴ Another notable case involved Kalot, a zimmi inhabitant of Ma'mûre, who had been expelled from the neighborhood and later died in Galata in 1581. The court register does not provide detailed information regarding the circumstances of his expulsion, but it notes that he had lived with his mother in Ma'mûre until his removal from the neighborhood due to what was described as perverse and refractory behavior. Following his death, Muhammed Bey ibn Bali, the *beytü'l-mâl emini* of Ma'mûre, immediately seized the possessions he had left behind. Muhammed Bey's swift confiscation of his possessions, in the name of the waqf, prompted Kalot's mother to appeal to the court of Ma'mûre, where she sued the waqf administration and requested the return of her son's belongings.

These cases demonstrate how to be governed under a waqf-centered administration enhanced the awareness among the residents of Ma'mûre of their rights and responsibilities. Through their regular interactions with waqf officials, who managed the everyday affairs of the neighborhood community, the residents not only became more aware of their legal

⁸⁶¹ ÜŞS.vol.93.pg.17 /a1 and b3 (Cemâziyelâhir 1004 / February 1596)

⁸⁶² The registers do not explicitly clarify whether his four sons and two daughters resided in Üsküdar or were in Ergiri Kasrı. However, based on available evidence, it can be speculated that his three sons were in Ergiri Kasrı. ÜŞS.vol.93.pg.17 /a1 and b3 (Cemâziyelâhir 1004 / February 1596)

⁸⁶³ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁴ Before embarking on the journey, they applied to the Ergri Kasrı court and obtained a letter, sealed by the judge, Numan Efendi, certifying that Nike, Manişo, and Duka were Yani's biological (sulbi) sons. Nike was assigned as the representative of his brothers to deliver Numan Efendi's letter to the relevant authorities. ÜŞS.vol.93.pg.17 / b3 (Cemâziyelâhir 1004 / February 1596).

obligations but also fostered a collective identity grounded in their shared status as members of the waqf community. As detailed in Chapter 4, the community of Ma'mûre underwent significant expansion during the late sixteenth century with the formation of several new neighborhoods, some of which were developed along religious lines. Despite this growing diversity in Ma'mûre's population, their shared identity as Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subjects fostered a sense of unity that transcended ethnic and religious divisions, particularly when their collective rights were under threat. For instance, in 1738, they collectively opposed the waqf administration's decision to appoint a new *subaşı* in place of Halil Agha, who had diligently served as the *subaşı* of Ma'mûre for 25 years.⁸⁶⁵ Halil Agha was distinguished by his unwavering commitment to protecting the impoverished and vulnerable members of the neighborhood community and by his refusal to succumb to the lures of personal gain; qualities that cemented his position as a trustworthy local governor. The catalyst for the community's mobilization was the introduction of a new bidder. Through the financial mechanisms of tax-farming (*iltizam*), the new bidder presented a higher bid than Halil Agha, who had previously paid an annual sum of 750 *guruş*, to secure the position of *Mahalle-i Ma'mûre Subaşılığı*. This development provoked significant concern among the residents, who feared that a potential shift in local governance might prioritize financial interests over communal welfare.

A large assembly of residents from diverse ethno-religious backgrounds and various walks of life convened in the sharia court of Üsküdar to collectively voice the concerns and dissent of the local community. This assembly, reflective of the broad demographic and occupational diversity of Ma'mûre, included religious leaders, artisans, craftsmen, and tradesmen, all representing the intricate mosaic of the local waqf community. Prominent among these figures were Imam Ali Efendi, Muezzin Mehmed Efendi, Papa Agob, Papa Eremya, Papa Haçador, the bath keeper Mehmed Agha, the chief gardener Mehmed Agha, the head of the bread makers Abdullah and Ömer Efendi, quarrymen Nikola, tailor Abraham, khan keeper Artin, grocer Hristo, bread-maker Malkon, flour seller Yani, physician Ligor, cotton-fluffer (*hallaç*) Panayot, wood-seller (*keresteci*) Kosta, and others. At court, they

⁸⁶⁵ Mustafa İtri Küçüköğlü, "Üsküdar Mahkemesi 510 Numaralı Şer'iyye Sicilinin Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi: 1782-1783 (H. 1196-1197)," (master's thesis, Harran University, 2015), 361-362. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.510.p.57/b1 (Rebî'ülevvel 1197/February 1783).

advocated for the extension of Halil Agha's tenure for another year while opposing the appointment of a new *subaşı*, an outsider whose governance style was perceived as potentially disruptive to the well-established social order. This collective petition exemplifies how the waqf system, by establishing a common ground through shared rights and responsibilities, played a crucial role in creating a collective identity that transcended both ethnic and religious divisions. In this regard, Ma'mûre serves as a compelling case study that illustrates the waqf system's efficiency in managing diversity in an urban setting.

In conclusion, Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subjects constituted a large community dispersed across various provinces of the empire, reflecting the grandeur of the revenue sources supporting her endowment. Even those residing far from Üsküdar maintained enduring ties to the waqf through their financial commitments, as evidenced by the recognition of the community of Yeni-il as the Turkomans of Üsküdar. This designation, whether externally imposed or internally embraced, likely had a significant impact on how they perceived their administrative-legal status as waqf subjects and influenced their decisions, as exemplified by Sinan veled-i Murad's migration from Yeni-il to Ma'mûre, where he sought to start a new life. This sense of belonging to the waqf, which I argue, was likely stronger for the residents of Ma'mûre as they were directly subjected to its administrative control and oversight, which will be explored in greater detail in the following sections.

5.2. The Tax Farmers of Üsküdar: Agents of Power and Profit in Local Governance

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the District of Üsküdar (*Üsküdar Kazası*) covered an extended area bordered by Kandıra, İzmit, Yoros, and Adalar, looked like a patchwork quilt in terms of the spatial distribution of state (*mîrî*), private (*mülk*) and waqf lands along the region.⁸⁶⁶ For example, Kadıköy, Kızıl Adalar, Maltepe, Pendik, Kartal, Darıca, Tuzla, Çengelköy, Kısıklı, İstavros, and Kuzguncuk were all waqf villages endowed to sultanically or

⁸⁶⁶ İlhami Yurdakul, "Gebze Nahiyesi'ne Bağlı Vakıf Karyeler," *Uluslararası Kara Mürsel Alp ve Kocaeli Tarihi Sempozyumu II*, no. 2, eds. Haluk Selvi, M. Bilal Çelik, Ali Yeşildal (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2016): 1225-1255.

other charity waqfs.⁸⁶⁷ The *mütevellîs* responsible for these waqf villages and towns either directly collected taxes through waqf officials responsible for tax collection (*cabi*) or outsourced the responsibility to entrepreneurial tax farmers (*mültezim*) in accordance with the stipulations specified in each *vakfiye* and accompanying imperial decrees.⁸⁶⁸

The District of Üsküdar was also characterized by its abundance of private farms and orchards, which Ottoman sultans had granted as freehold lands to individuals who had earned their favor.⁸⁶⁹ Over time, some of these freehold lands were transformed into waqf holdings, enabling their owners to preserve their properties from confiscation while also granting them the prerogative to pass on the land revenues to their descendants.⁸⁷⁰ For example, İbrahim Agha's farm, which lay along the meadows between Üsküdar and the village of Kadıköy, was a tax-exempt land granted to İbrahim Agha by Bayezid II.⁸⁷¹ According to the waqf registers compiled during the reign of Sultan Süleyman, İbrahim Agha built a convent and open-air prayer place (*namazgâh*) in his land that was frequented by passengers.⁸⁷²

⁸⁶⁷ It was during the reign of Sultan Selim I that the meadows and orchards of Kadıköy, once with the status of state land, became the revenue-generating asset of Sultan Selim's mosque in Istanbul. The code of laws (*Düstur*), compiled between 1887-1890, defines the limits of Sultan Selim's waqf land in Kadıköy as follows: The Sultan's waqf land comprises Yeldeğirmeni, Erenköy, and Nerdübanlı villages, extends along Göztepe and Kızıltoprak and ends at Haydarpasha Train Station. *Düstur: Birinci Tertip*, vol. 6 (1304-1312/1887-1895) (Ankara: Devlet Matbaası, 1939), 394. According to the waqf register, dated 1522, the village of Kartal was a waqf village since Sultan Orhan commissioned a mosque in Gebze and the tax revenue of Kartal for his charity.

⁸⁶⁸ For further information regarding tax farming and *mültezims*, see: Baki Çakır, "Tax Farming," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Gábor Ágoston, Bruce Alan Masters, (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 555-557.

⁸⁶⁹ In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, there were seven *mülk* villages in İznikmid and one *mülk* village in Gebze. Güneş, "Kocaeli Sancağı," 58.

⁸⁷⁰ "The greater part of freehold lands transformed into vakf often served personal and family interests. Vakf lands, though always under state supervision, were held independently and administered under a charter by a trustee who was in most cases a progeny of the founder." İnalçık and Quataert, *An Economic and Social History*, vol. 1, 140.

⁸⁷¹ Halil İnalçık, "XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Toprak İşçiliğinin Organizasyon Şekilleri: Kulluklar ve Ortakçı Kullar," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, nöl.1/1 (1939), 67. For the related imperial decree, see: BOA.TS.MA.d.7129 (29 Ramazan 898 / 14 July 1493)

⁸⁷² In 1530, Üsküdar was composed of eight neighborhoods. There were two convents located in Üsküdar's immediate hinterland: Hacı Kasım Convent and İbrahim Agha Convent BOA.TT.d.438.p.792. Tahsin Özcan says that during the reign of Sultan Süleyman, only the doors of İbrahim Agha and Selman Agha convents were open to transients. Most probably, the land on which Hacı Kasım Zaviyesi had been built was converted to *miri* lands. Tahsin Özcan, *Osmanlı Para Vakıfları: Kanuni Dönemi Üsküdar Örneği* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2003), 154.

In addition to privately owned lands and waqf holdings, a substantial part of the District of Üsküdar comprised *mîrî* lands divided into *hâss*, *ziamet*, and *timar* units.⁸⁷³ The revenues generated from these lands were either directly channeled into the imperial treasury or allocated to financing provincial cavalymen (*sipahi*) and associated military personnel. In the sixteenth-century tax registers, Üsküdar was registered as the sultan's privy purse (*padişah hâssı* also known as *havâss-ı hûmayun* and *hâss-ı şahî*), indicating that the town's revenues were reserved for the sultans' private treasury.⁸⁷⁴ In the traditional Ottoman tax farming system, the financial management of state lands was either conducted through the trusteeship system (*emanet*) or farmed out through the method of tax farming (*iltizam*).⁸⁷⁵ The *emanet* system involved the appointment of salaried personnel by the government or provincial governors to oversee the management of *hâss* lands.⁸⁷⁶ On the other hand, the *iltizam* system sought to minimize risk and maximize profit by entrusting a region's tax management to the highest bidder in exchange for a cash down payment and regular installments.⁸⁷⁷ The method used for collecting taxes could be switched from *emanet* to

⁸⁷³ "A *zeâmet* was formally the fief of a *subaşı*, with an annual value of between twenty and one hundred thousand *akçes*. A fief with an annual value of more than one hundred thousand *akçes* was called *hâs*. ... *Timar* is a fief with an annual value of less than twenty thousand *akçes* whose revenues were held in return for military service." Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600* (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1973), 108, 226.

⁸⁷⁴ BOA.TT.d.438 (dated 1530) , BOA.TT.D.436 (dated 1560.)

⁸⁷⁵ "In the *iltizam* system, the sources of state revenue were farmed out to applicants by means of a public auction. An *iltizam* might consist of different sources of revenue, including various state revenue sources (*mukâta'as*), the poll tax (*cizye*), and extraordinary levies (*avarız*). The holders of *iltizam* were called *mültezim*. The *mültezim* who undertook the collection of taxes from a group of revenue sources would have the revenues dealt with either through his own agents or would further farm out the enterprise to a third person. In the latter case, the subfarming would be approved and registered by the state. Another practice closely associated with *iltizam* was that of the *emanet* system (*emanet ber-vech-i iltizam*), which entailed the transfer of revenue administration to tax farmers with the status of *emins* (the state agents) in return for a profit limit of 10 percent of the yearly total. Those who were assigned as *emins* were not liable for the accumulation of a specified yearly total." *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, 555-556.

⁸⁷⁶ As stated by Stanford Shaw, *emins* received a predetermined salary from the treasury without any direct involvement in the financial profits arising from their position as military-administrative governors. Only a limited extent of the revenue generated by the *hass* lands was temporarily assigned to *emins* to support them in fulfilling their duties. The remaining revenue, however, remained untouched, flowing entirely into the revenues of the Imperial Treasury. Stanford Jay Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt: 1517-1798* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962), 26.

⁸⁷⁷ İnalcık and Quataert, *An Economic and Social History*, vol.1, 65.

iltizam, or vice versa, enabling Ottoman authorities to adapt to changing economic conditions and financial exigencies.⁸⁷⁸

In accordance with established practice, the responsibility for tax collection in Üsküdar was delegated to either *emins* or to *mültezims* who had secured an *iltizam* contract, authorizing them to collect the town's revenues in return for a predetermined payment.⁸⁷⁹ Additionally, the hybrid system of *emanet-i ber vech-i iltizam*, which combines the favorable aspects of the *iltizam* and *emanet* methods was a preferred way for Üsküdar's revenue administration.⁸⁸⁰ In this method, the state-appointed *emins* also held the position of *mültezims*. They deducted the salary assigned to them from the fee they were obligated to pay to the state for securing their office for extended terms.⁸⁸¹ In other words, this system enabled the state-appointed *emins* to offer a predetermined sum of money for the extension of their tenure, which typically ranged from six months to two years. For example, Mustafa

⁸⁷⁸ Fodor, *The Business of State Ottoman Finance Administration*, 110. For an analysis of the *iltizam* system, see Murat Çizakça (1993). "Tax Farming and Financial Decentralization in the Ottoman Economy, 1520-1697." *The Journal of European Economic History*, no. 22/2: 219-50.

⁸⁷⁹ In 1513, Ayas Bey, a *sipahi* (cavalryman), was appointed as Üsküdar *Emini*, replacing the previous *Emin* Sinan Bey. "*Sebeb-i tahrîr-i kitâb budur ki Sâbıkâ Üsküdar'a emîn olan Sinan Bey'in yerine Ayas Bey nâm sipâhi emîn nasb olunup mezkûr Sinan Bey Üsküdar hâsılından mezbûr-ı lâhik Emîn Ayas Bey bin yetmiş akçe teslîm eylediği sebebdan merkûm Sinan Bey'in talebiyle deftere ketb olundu.*" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.1,p.5 /b3. Another register proving that Ayas Bey was assigned by the central government: "*dergah-ı mu'allâdan emîn nasb olan Ayas Bey*" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.1,p.6 /a1.

On the other hand, in 1525, a *Gulam-ı Şahi* (*Kapıkulu* or the slave servants of the Porte), named Ahmed Bey, petitioned the kadi of Gebze with his bid of 60000 *akçe* for the dock *mukâta'a* of Üsküdar and the collection of the towns' *miri* taxes over the course of the next three years. This bid exceeded the amount offered by the current tax-farmer of Üsküdar, Timurhan Bey, by a margin of 5,000 *akçe*, leading to the appointment of Ahmed Bey as the new *emin* of Üsküdar.

However, court records reveal that Timurhan Bey regained his position after three months. "*İftihârü'l-kudât ve'l-hukkâm, ma'denü'l-fazli ve'l-keâm Mevlâna Gekvize kadısı -zîde-fazluhû- tezkire varıcak ma'lûm ola ki, bundan akdem Üsküdar'ın iskelesin ve sâir mîrîye müteveccih olan mahsûlâtın bi'l-fi'l emîni olan Timurhan üç yılda ellibeş bin akçe hâsıl göstermeyi iltizâm etmişdi. Hâliyâ gulâm-ı şâhî Ahmed gelip zikr olan emânet bana sadaka olunursa ibtidâ-i tahvîlden beş bin akçe ziyâde edip üç yılda altmış bin akçe hâsıl göstermeyi mültezim oldu.*" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.5.p.21/aa1 (27 Cemâziyelevvel 931 / 22 March 1525).

For an in-depth analysis on the assignment pattern of Üsküdar tax-farmers through the sixteenth century and the intriguing career path of the Üsküdar *Emini* Timurhan Bey, see: Hülya Taş, "İş Erliği'nden "Subaşılık'a: Kariyer Basamaklarını Tırmanan Üsküdar *Emini* Timurhan Bey," *Journal of Turkish Studies (In Honor of Özer Ergenç, Part II)*, no. 52 (December, 2019): 291-323.

⁸⁸⁰ *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, 556.

⁸⁸¹ Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 35.

Bey ibn Abdullah was appointed as the *Üsküdar Emini* in 1532 and committed to paying fifty thousand *akçes* for collecting the revenues of Üsküdar for three years.⁸⁸²

It is important to note that not every *emin-mültezim* enjoyed the privilege of maintaining their office for an extended duration. The length of their tenure depended on several factors, such as their ability to establish a strong socio-political network in the region, their reputation and standing among the local population, and their financial capacities to secure the *iltizam* contract for multiple years. Despite the potential for extended tenure, the competitive nature of the tax farming system, which favored the highest bidder, generally restricted most *emin-mültezims* to short terms, often not exceeding a year. This was mainly because rival competitors consistently offered larger sums to the state, outbidding their offers. (see Table 5.1)

Table 5.1: List of *Emins* of Üsküdar and their terms of office (1520-1570).⁸⁸³

<i>Üsküdar Emini</i> (Chief Tax Farmer of Üsküdar)	Term of Office (Period)	Term of Office (Approx. Months)	Source Üsküdar Court Records
Ayas Bey	Dec.1513-Dec. 1514	12	vol. 1
Sinan Bey ibn Abdullah	Dec.1514-Jun. 1515	6	vol. 1
Mehmed ibn Süleyman	Jun. 1515-Jun.1516	12	vol. 1
Aydın Bey	Jun. 1516-Feb.1517	8	vol. 1
Mehmed ibn Bekir	Feb. 1517–May 1517	3	vol. 1
Resul ibn Mustafa	May. 151–Jun. 1518	13	vol. 1
Mehmed ibn Süleyman & İskender ibn Abdullah	Jun. 1518–Jun. 1519	12	vol. 1
Şemsettin ibn Ömer Fakih	Jun. 1519–Oct. 1520	16	vol. 1, 2
Ahmet ibn Hacı	Oct. 1520–Dec. 1520	2	vol. 2
Timurhan ibn İsmail (1520-1530) & Hüsam Bey ibn Abdullah (1527- 1530)	Dec. 1520–Sept. 1530	118	vol.1, 2,3,5,6,7
Hüsam Bey ibn Abdullah	Sep. 1530-Oct. 1532	25 (+36) = 61	vol.4,5,6,7,8

⁸⁸² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.10.p.4/b1 (Cemâziyelevvel 942/ November 1535).

⁸⁸³ The table is prepared by the author based on the Üsküdar's court records, vol. 1-35.

<i>Üsküdar Emîni</i> (Chief Tax Farmer of Üsküdar)	<u>Term of Office</u> (Period)	<u>Term of Office</u> (Approx. Months)	<u>Source</u> <i>Üsküdar Court Records</i>
Mustafa ibn Abdullah	Oct. 1532-Oct. 1535	36	vol.8,9
Mustafa ibn Mahmud, the butcher	Dec. 1535-Oct. 1540	58	vol.10,11
Hızır Bey	Oct. 1540-Oct. 1541	12	vol.10
Mahmud ibn Mustafa	Oct. 1541-Oct. 1542	12	vol.10
Mehmed Bey	Oct.1542-Feb. 1543	4	vol.10
İsmail ibn Piri	Feb. 1543- Dec. 1543	10	vol.12
Mehmed ibn Nasuh	Dec. 1543-Dec.1544	12	vol.12,13
Hasan Bey ibn Abdullah	Mar.1546-Jan 1548	26	vol.14
Mustafa Bey ibn Abdullah	Jan.1548-Oct. 1549	21	vol.15,17
Mehmed Çelebi ibn Nasuh	Oct.1549-Oct. 1550	12	vol.15
Mehmed ibn Yahya	Oct.1550-Oct. 1551	12	vol.15,16
Hacı Hüseyin Bey	Oct. 1551-...	-	vol.16
Yakub Bey ibn Abdullah	Nov. 1555- Apr.1556	5	vol.18
Alagöz Bey ibn Abdullah	Apr. 1556- Apr. 1558	24	vol.18,19
Ahmed Bey ibn Abdullah	Apr. 1558- Nov. 1558	7	vol.20
Mustafa Bey ibn Abdullah	Nov. 1558-Apr.1559	7	vol.20
Kasım Bey	Apr. 1559-Nov. 1559	7	vol.20
Sinan Bey	Nov. 1559-Nov. 1560	12	vol.20
Yakub Bey	Nov. 1560-Jan.1562	12	vol.22
Hayreddin Bey	Jan.1562- Jul. 1562	6	vol.23
İbrahim ibn Hızır	Jul. 1562-Mar.1563	0.7	vol.23
Alagöz Bey	Mar. 1563-Mar. 1565	24	vol.25,26,27
Ahmed Bey ibn Abdullah	Mar. 1565-Dec.1566	1.75	vol.29
Mehmed Çelebi ibn Hayreddin	Dec.1566-Sep. 1568	0.75	vol.30,31,32,33
Şah Mehmed	Sep. 1568-Sep. 1569	12	vol.30,32
Ali Bey	Sep. 1569- Apr. 1571	1.6	vol.35

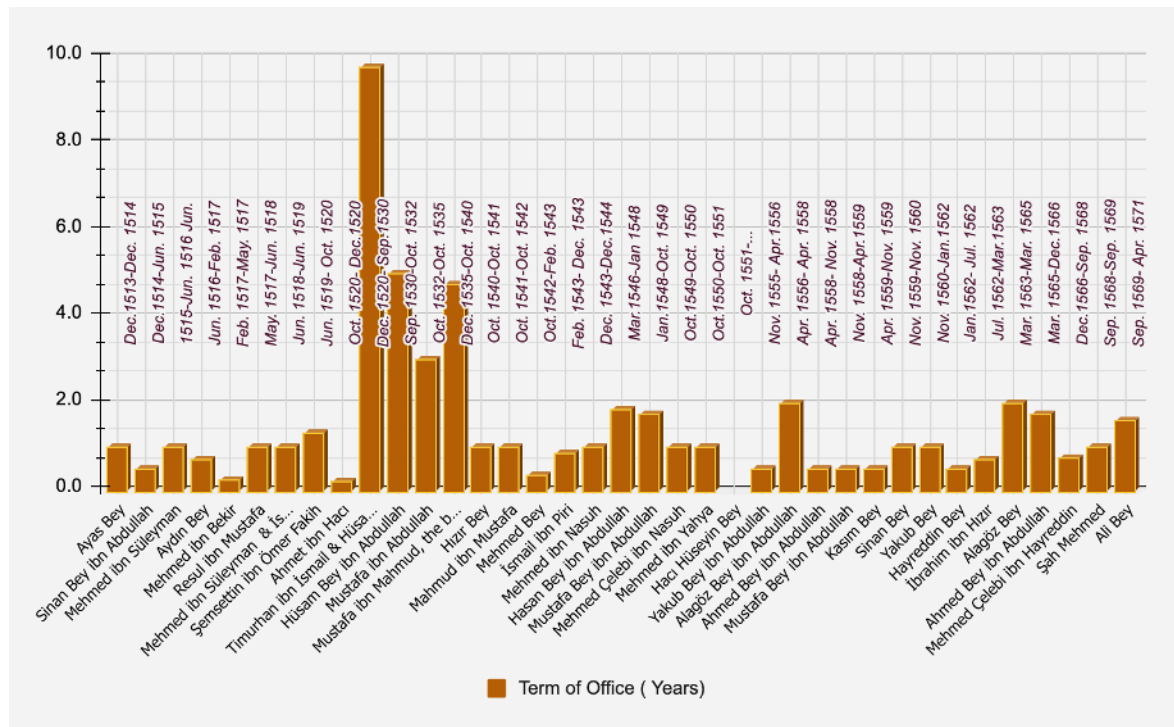


Figure 5. 1: Respective tenures of *Üsküdar Emîns* 1520-1570).⁸⁸⁴

As shown by the list and graph above, during the period between 1521–1540, Timurhan ibn İsmail, Hüsam Bey ibn Abdullah, Mustafa Bey ibn Abdullah, and Mustafa Bey ibn Mahmud maintained their position as *Üsküdar*'s chief tax farmers for a considerably longer time compared to their successors. The primary factor that facilitated their prolonged control over the revenues of *Üsküdar* was their financial power.⁸⁸⁵ However, it appears that having financial resources alone was insufficient to maintain the position. For instance, after 1540, Mahmud ibn Mustafa, Ismail ibn Piri, and Mehmed ibn Nasuh, who acquired the revenue unit (*mukâta'a*) of *Üsküdar* through the *emanet-i ber vech-i iltizam* system, were unable to hold onto the office for more than a year.

As important as their financial power was their ability to establish close ties and alliances with local power holders, especially with influential tax farmers and their cadres.

⁸⁸⁴ Prepared by the author based on the information presented in Table 5.1.

⁸⁸⁵ Timurhan ibn İsmail and Mustafa ibn Kasap Mahmud were *mültezims* who received the office through the *iltizam* system, whereas Hüsam Bey and Mustafa Bey were state-appointed *emîns* who guaranteed a certain amount of money to keep their office even after their tenure had expired. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.8.p.34/b3(Safer 9939/ September 1532), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.10.p.4/b1(Cemâziyelevvel 942/November 1535), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.11.p.2/a2 (Şevval 945 / March 1539).

Support and endorsement from local power holders, who wielded considerable power within the local community and political landscape of the District of Üsküdar, facilitated their ascent to the position of *emin*. Another important factor that bolstered their ability to hold the position was their extensive experience in the field of tax administration, coupled with their reputation for fair and equitable governance. This earned them the respect and trust of the local population, which, in turn, contributed significantly to the longevity of their tenures.

It is noteworthy that during the period from 1540 to the 1570s, there were no *Üsküdar Emmini* who were able to retain their positions for more than two years. This observation suggests the presence of a governmental strategy that imposed limitations on the tenure of the office. This strategy may have been implemented to prevent tax collectors from amassing excessive influence in the region. It is reasonable to consider the existence of such a strategy in light of the crucial role of the *emins* in supervising the collection of a diverse array of taxes and revenues generated in the town, as well as their responsibility for ensuring the region's security with the assistance of the military staff employed in the region. Due to the broad scope of responsibilities handled by Üsküdar's chief tax farmers, they were known by various titles, including *Üsküdar Emmini*, *Üsküdar Subaşı*, and *Üsküdar Zaîmi*. Given the extensive nature of their duties, a lengthy tenure could conceivably bestow them with considerable regional influence as their authority and staff expanded.⁸⁸⁶

In Ottoman administrative terminology, the terms *ziamet* (*zeâmet*) and *zaîm/subaşı* held nuanced meanings depending on whether they were used in a provincial or urban setting.⁸⁸⁷ In the provincial context, the term *ziamet* denoted the sizable fiefs (*dirlik*) with an annual value ranging from 20,000 to 100,000 *akçes* bestowed upon high-ranking officials who were then granted the honorific title of “*zaîm*” or “*subaşı*.” They were local commanders operating under the command of the provincial governor (*sancak beyi*) within

⁸⁸⁶ The term “*emin*” referred primarily to the state-appointed officials responsible for administering a particular tax unit, *mukâta’a*. In practice, however, both the state officials appointed as tax farmers and the *mültezims* who acquired the *mukâta’a* of Üsküdar were acknowledged and recognized as *Üsküdar Emmini*, as well as *Üsküdar Subaşı* and *Üsküdar Zaîmi*. For further information regarding “*emins*” in the early modern Ottoman context, see: Halil Sahillioğlu, “Emin,” *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, no.11 (Istanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1995): 111-112.

⁸⁸⁷ Mustafa Akdağ distinguishes between two types of *subaşı*s, namely *il subaşı*s (provincial military governor who carries out security and law enforcement duties) and *şehir subaşı*s (city prefect or city superintendent). Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İctimai Tarihi II*, 42.

the provincial administrative-military hierarchy.⁸⁸⁸ Among their duties were ensuring the safety of the inhabitants living under their jurisdiction, collecting taxes, and enforcing legal provisions.⁸⁸⁹ Furthermore, during military campaigns, they were responsible for organizing the cavalymen under their command and deploying them under the banner of the provincial governor.⁸⁹⁰ In the urban context, however, *ziamet* represented the tax revenues generated from cities, towns, and associated rural districts (*nâhiyes*), and those tax farmers responsible for this task were referred to as *zaîm* or *subaşı* of the town.⁸⁹¹ Their responsibilities encompassed the collection of occasional revenues and the enforcement of legal provisions to uphold social order in collaboration with military officials and judicial authorities.

In other words, whereas the provincial *subaşı* was a subordinate of the provincial governor, the city *subaşı* operated as an independent office-holder, either appointed directly by the government or secured the position through a bidding process. Therefore, whether they were state-appointed officers or entrepreneurial tax farmers, those who acquired the *mukâta'a* of Üsküdar were designated by a threefold nomenclature: *emin*, *zaîm* (or *zaîm 'ül vakt*), and *subaşı*.⁸⁹² If they secured this position under a tax-farming contract, they engaged more actively in the region's socio-economic life, leaving no stone unturned to tap every potential source of revenue to fulfill their financial obligations to the state and boost their own profits.

As the agent of state revenues generated in Üsküdar, the *Üsküdar Emîni* was also charged with the confiscation of unclaimed inheritances that belonged to the state treasury (*beytü'l-mâl*), the seizure of stray animals and lost properties for sale, and the collection of *yave* fees from those who had migrated from their hometowns and settled in Üsküdar. If these tax units were not assigned to other tax farmers, the *Üsküdar Emîni* either assumed the

⁸⁸⁸ İnalçık and Quataert, *An Economic and Social History*, vol.1, 172. Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İctimai Tarihi II: 1453-1599* (Ankara, Tekin Yayınevi, 1979), 42, 115 (footnote 2).

⁸⁸⁹ İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, 113.

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁹¹ Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İctimai Tarihi II*, 90.

⁸⁹² Ibid., 91-92. The *emins* had the option of entrusting their entitlements to sub-contractors or employing *amils*, tax-farmers, who assisted them in collecting various types of taxes.

duties personally or outsourced these tax units to subcontractors who served as Üsküdar's *beytü'l-mâl emini*⁸⁹³ and *yava zabiti*.⁸⁹⁴ That means that the maintenance of social order and policing of illicit activities were not only significant components of urban administration but also lucrative businesses generating income that filled the coffers of the entrepreneurial tax farmers.⁸⁹⁵

Since the *Üsküdar Emini* took on the roles of both chief tax collector and head of the local military forces, they cemented their status as local power holders for as long as they retained their office.⁸⁹⁶ Their success largely depended on their ability to foster a cohesive and collaborative dynamic with other local officials, including market inspectors (*muhtesib*), night polices (*ases*), law-enforcement officers (*yasakçı*), and tax collectors (*amil*). Also, they had to fulfill their administrative and military responsibilities with competence and fairness

⁸⁹³ In cases where someone died without any legally recognized heirs, *beytü'l-mâl emins*, the agents of the state treasury were tasked with visiting the deceased's house to evaluate whether the state held any entitlement to their estate. The *mukâta'a* titled "Beytü'l-mâl-ı Âmmе and Hassa" was established to seize the estates of those who died without heirs and transfer their belongings to the state treasury or any other area of expenditure designated by the central government. For further information, see Arif Bilgin, Fatih Bozkurt, "Bir Malî Gelir Kaynağı Olarak Vârissiz Ölenlerin Terekeleri ve Beytü'l-mâl Mukata'aları," *Kocaeli Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no.20 (2010/2) 2010 : 1 - 31.

⁸⁹⁴ The *yava* or *yave* tax was composed of two significant tax revenue sources. First, the *yave* tax was levied upon unregistered inhabitants of a particular locality who had migrated from their hometown to a different region. Secondly, animals found wandering in a certain area were commonly referred to as *yave*. If the rightful owner failed to appear after the animal had been held for a month, it became the property of the finder, who was required to pay a fee known as *resm-i kaçgun*. If the owner turned up within the designated time frame, they would be subject to a tax called *resm-i yave*. For detailed information, see Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy*, "83. Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol.1 (Istanbul: Fey Vakfı Yayınları, 1990), 182-183.

⁸⁹⁵ In their article addressing the Ottoman administration of criminal justice, Coşgel, Ergene, Etkes, and Miceli put that "In principle, judges could try suspects and determine guilt but not carry out their sentences. Only local military or executive officials (such as governors or sub-governors, sipahi, or subaşı) were empowered to apprehend and punish criminals. Moreover, only the executives had the right to collect fines as part of their income." Metin M. Coşgel, Boğaç Ergene, Haggay Etkes, and Thomas J. Miceli, "Crime and Punishment in Ottoman Times: Corruption and Fines," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, no.43 (Winter, 2013), 364.

⁸⁹⁶ Underlying the high degree of executive authority enjoyed by town *subaşı*s, Fariba Zarinebaf says: "He maintained law and order in the provinces, villages, and urban centers. The *subaşı* and *asesbaşı* (chief of night police) performed similar policing functions during the day and night. The *subaşı* also functioned as a public prosecutor. He summoned suspects to the court, participated in their trials, and pursued with little mercy convicted criminals and those involved in the vice trade and prostitution. In the seventeenth century, the *subaşı* had his own register, in which he listed the names of male prostitutes and pimps and collected fines from them. The *subaşı* also functioned as a morality police officer and often carried out the arrests of tavern operators and prostitutes... The *subaşı* also arrested thieves and sometimes punished them without a trial." Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700-1800* (California: University of California press, 2011), 137.

and in accordance with the established laws and regulations.⁸⁹⁷ Given the positive correlation between the number of offenders they brought before the kadi and the amount of fines they collected, their commitment to administering justice was of utmost importance. Of course, this correlation could have tempted *emins* and their functionaries to abuse their authority, fabricate accusations, and misuse their power to maximize their financial gain.⁸⁹⁸ Thus, those tax farmers who achieved a delicate balance between public welfare and personal interests and prevented their subordinates from exploiting their authority by imposing fines on innocent individuals were highly esteemed by the government and locals, giving them an advantage over their rivals in retaining their position.⁸⁹⁹

⁸⁹⁷ The primary revenues for *emins* were *bâd-i heva* (occasional fines) taxes, including *cürm ü cinayet* (fines on crimes and transgressions) and *resm-i arusane* (marriage fees). Özer Ergenç, *Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Kent Tarihçiliğine Katkı: 16. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya* (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı Yayınları, 1995), 187. They also collected *mal-ı ga'ib* and *mal-ı mefkud* (the properties whose owners were unknown), the fines for the apprehended fugitive slaves, seized stray animals, or missing properties. For the exemplary court proceedings regarding the taxes collected in the name of the *Üsküdar Emini* through the intermediary of *amils* (tax-collectors) or other administrative-military officers working under the authority of *Üsküdar Emini*, see: BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.1.p.102/a8 (Ramazan 925/September 1519): This court record is about Nikola and Yorgi, who were not the residents of İstavros (presently known as Beylerbeyi), and thus were required to pay their taxes to *Üsküdar Emini*, rather than to the *cabi* (tax collector) of İstavros. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.1.p.114/ b1 (Zilhicce 925/October 1519): This court record documents that İsmail ibn Abdullah confessed that he consumed alcoholic beverages and paid a fine to *Üsküdar Emini*. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.1.p.93/b1 (Şevval 924/October 1518): This court record registers that Manol, Nikola and Yorgi paid a fine of 240 *akçe* to *Üsküdar Amili* for fighting each other. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.1.p.113/a1 (Şevval 925/October 1519): This court record registers that Kasım ibn Abdullah paid a fine to *Üsküdar Amili* for uttering blasphemous words against Shari'a.

⁸⁹⁸ Başak Tuğ points out that *ehl-i örf taifesi* (executive officers), who had the executive power to enforce their decisions and punish people without court trials, consolidated their local power and prestige in a certain locality. She says: "The administrative authorities, and the judges tried to maximize their material interests by collecting extra fees for judicial transactions...*ehl-i örf* was composed of local gentry and the administrative class who, from the seventeenth century onwards, were better established locally as a result of lifelong tax-farming policies and the selling of offices by contract." Başak Tuğ, *Politics of Honor in Ottoman Anatolia : Sexual Violence and Socio-Legal Surveillance in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 124-125.

⁸⁹⁹ Many instances were documented in which local governors and their officials were dismissed from their official duties due to their improper conduct. For instance, in 1583, the inhabitants of Damascus submitted a petition to the Supreme Court, alleging that one of the *subaşı*'s officials, Mansur, the translator, was unfairly extorting money from them, thereby causing suffering to the people. As a result, they urgently called for Mansur's removal from the *subaşı*'s service. BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.51.p.81/249 (Şaban 991/ August 991) Similarly, in 1767, a serious allegation was raised against the *subaşı* of the Adalar and his subordinates for their alleged ill-treatment of the residents under their purview. The severity of the accusation prompted the authorities to take swift action, and the *subaşı* was summoned to Istanbul for interrogation. *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri: Adalar Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil H. 1178-1184 / M. 1764-1771*, ed.Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İsam Yayınları, 2010), 100, (entry 23b-1).

In their endeavor to advance their careers, entrepreneurial tax farmers were obligated to acquire the skill of not only managing their cadre of tax collectors and police force but also cultivating connections and fostering cooperation with a range of local actors, such as judicial authorities, local notables, guild members, and residents. For instance, the administration of criminal justice was a multifaceted responsibility shared by executive (*örfi*) and judicial (*şer'i*) authorities.⁹⁰⁰ Therefore, the *Üsküdar Emini* and his officials had to work in harmony with local judicial authorities to negotiate and maintain their authority in the town's socio-political milieu.⁹⁰¹ Timurhan ibn İsmail, who served as the *Üsküdar Emini* for about ten years (1520-30) – either alone or, as we will see, with his “business partners” – is a great example of an entrepreneurial tax farmer who effectively formed and managed his cadre of tax collectors and security personnel while also building and maintaining critical alliances with key local figures.⁹⁰²

As we learn from the *Üsküdar*'s court records, Timurhan was a resident of Selman Ağa Mahallesi, one of the neighborhoods of *Üsküdar*.⁹⁰³ Lacking the privilege of being born

⁹⁰⁰ Başak Tuğ says: “Although there was no clear-cut separation of powers between the executive, the judiciary, and the legislative authorities in the early-modern Ottoman legal structure, the Ottomans created a division of labor between the legal religious authorities (*ehl-i şer*) in charge of adjudication and the administrative authorities (*ehl-i örf*) in charge of execution or law enforcement; nonetheless, these divisions often overlapped. Since military-administrative officials (i.e., fief holders) under the command of the district governor (*sancak beyi*) were responsible for bringing suspects to the court and executing punishments, and were also authorized to collect fines on crimes and transgressions (*cürm ü cinayet*), they had a direct interest in the administration of public order and in the revenues that issued from this.” Tuğ, *Politics of Honor in Ottoman Anatolia*, 193. Başak Tuğ's explanations on the power allocation between judicial-religious and administrative-military officers governing the Ottoman provinces hold implications for the management practices of early modern Ottoman towns. The convergence of the jurisdictions of *Üsküdar* kadis and *emins* in numerous realms of town governance serves as a prominent illustration of the complex interplay among diverse branches of power in the urban milieu.

⁹⁰¹ As will be elaborated in the subsequent section, it was not uncommon for *Üsküdar emins* and their staff to be dismissed and replaced by new personnel upon the appointment of a new kadi to the region. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.108, p.1/ a1, a2, a3 (Cemâziyelevvel 1012/October 1603)

⁹⁰² For further information regarding partnerships in the *iltizam* system, see, Murat Çizakça, *A Comparative Evolution of Business Partnerships: The Islamic World and Europe, with Specific Reference to the Ottoman Archives* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 146-154.

⁹⁰³ “*Üsküdar*'da mahalle-i mezkurda (Selman Ağa Mahallesi) mutavattın olan Timurhan ibn İsmail” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.1.p.51/b3 (Şaban 921/ June 1515) “Selman Ağa Mahallesi'nden Timurhan ibn İsmail” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.1.p.2/b2 (Cemâziyelâhîr 924/ June 1518). In her article, Hülya Taş argues that Timurhan must have been a tax-paying *re'aya* who exhibited remarkable social mobility through his entry into the ranks of the military class and the governmental elite because he did not bear the esteemed titles of Agha or Bey, until he got the office of *Üsküdar Eminliği*. Taş, “İş Erliği'nden “Subaşılık'a,” 302.

into a family in the state service, he ascended to prominence through his diligent efforts in the field of tax administration. Prior to his appointment as the *Üsküdar Emini* in 1520, Timurhan had served as the functionary of various tax farmers in the District of Üsküdar.⁹⁰⁴ It was during this period that he skillfully developed strategic relationships with the local gentry, facilitating a network that would later support his career and enhance his influence in regional governance. In addition, he had worked as a court summoner (a *muhzır*) together with Kılağuz ibn Aslıhan, who was also an active entrepreneurial tax farmer in Üsküdar's tax administration.⁹⁰⁵ The two forged a partnership to secure Üsküdar's revenue unit for fees paid to court officials (*ihzariye mukâta'ası*) and served as summoning officers in the Üsküdar court.⁹⁰⁶ Timurhan's involvement in this enterprise likely provided him with invaluable insights into legal procedures and the dynamics of working closely with judicial authorities.

During his tenure as tax collector and court summoner, Timurhan ibn İsmail cultivated close ties with the *Üsküdar Emini* Mehmed ibn Süleyman and İskender ibn Abdullah. As business partners, Mehmed and İskender Bey jointly offered a sum of 60.000 *akçe* to secure the right to collect the revenues of Üsküdar.⁹⁰⁷ When, in 1518, they submitted their bids and successfully acquired the right to collect the town's revenues for a term of three years, Timurhan and Kılağuz stood as their guarantors in the court of Üsküdar for their business venture.⁹⁰⁸ Timurhan's supportive role in this agreement highlights the benefits of

⁹⁰⁴ In 1515, Timurhan ibn İsmail was one of the functionaries of Mehmed ibn Bekir, the *yava zabiti* of Üsküdar. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.1.p.40/a3 (Rebî'ülevvel 921/April 1515).

In 1518, he served as the *amil* of Mustafa ibn Abdullah, the *yava zabiti* of the Province of Anatolia, who had the responsibility of imposing fines on the non-Muslims who left their places and migrated to the region. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.1.p.119/b3 (Rebî'ülâhir 924 / April 1518).

⁹⁰⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.1p.4/b3 (Zilka'de 919/ January 1514).

⁹⁰⁶ Stanford Shaw says that " In the 10/16th century, a single *Muqâta'a* very seldom had more than one holder. Thereafter these holdings were fractionalized more and more until, by the end of the 12/18th century, each *Muqâta'a* was usually held by between five and ten *mültezims*, and each *mültezim* usually possessed parts of several *Muqâta'ât*. Partners were mutually responsible for each other's obligations only in respect to those arising from the *Muqâta'ât* in which they were in partnership. *Mültezims* became partners irrespective of differences in rank, age, military corps, and residence, and their rights and obligations did not depend on or vary according to these factors." Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt: 1517-1798*, 52.

⁹⁰⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.1.p.2/b2 (Cemâziyelâhir 924/ June 1518).

⁹⁰⁸ Ibid.

strategic collaborations among tax farmers, which proved lucrative for all parties in achieving common goals within the realm of state business. Thus, it is plausible to surmise that Mehmed and İskender Bey played an instrumental role in guiding and shaping their guarantor's career trajectory. Ultimately, this led to Timurhan's appointment as the next Üsküdar *Emini*.⁹⁰⁹

Expanding the scope of analysis to include the network of tax farmers operating within Üsküdar uncovers the underlying connections that linked the Üsküdar *Emini* Iskender and Mehmed Bey and Üsküdar Muhzırı Kılağuz Bey and Timurhan Bey. Examining the initial five volumes of Üsküdar's court records reveals that they all hailed from the personal entourage of Hayreddin Çavuş, a prominent member of the local military elite who oversaw extensive timars in the Districts of Gebze, Üsküdar, and Yoros.⁹¹⁰ This finding suggests that the individuals in question had previously worked under the supervision of Hayreddin Çavuş as tax collectors until they gained the necessary experience and financial resources to establish their own business in the field of tax administration.⁹¹¹ Due to his long years of service, Timurhan ibn Ismail had the opportunity to build a personal entourage similar to that of Hayreddin Çavuş. He collaborated with a group of *ases* and *amils* who assisted him in administering the town's financial and security affairs.⁹¹² (see Table 5.2). It is likely he formed his cadre through his earlier alliances and professional connections forged

⁹⁰⁹ The earliest court register documenting his appointment to the post of Üsküdar *Eminliği* dates back to the end of 1520. "Üsküdar'a âmil ve emîn olan Timurhan b. İsmail" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.2.p.86/a1 (Zilhicce 926 / December 1520).

⁹¹⁰ As a fief holder, Hayreddin Çavuş played an active and essential role in the local administration of various regions while serving as the *yava zabiti* and *beytü'l-mâl emini* of *Kaza-i Gebze*, *Kaza-i Yoros* *Kaza-i Üsküdar* and *Kaza-i Bursa*. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.5.p.86/a2 (Rebî'ülevvel 935/November 1528), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.5.p.66/a2 (Muharrem 935/ September 1528), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.4.p.23/b1 (Rebî'ülevvel 932/December 1525), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.5.p.46/b3 (Recep 930/ May 1524), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.9.p.22/b2 (Safer 941/ August 1534), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.9.p.51/b4 (Ramazan 941/March 1535), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.9.p.51/b4 (Ramazan 941/March 1535).

⁹¹¹ "Kılağuz ibn Aslıhan and Mehmed ibn Süleyman, the deputies of Hayreddin Çavuş," see, BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.3.p.103/ a2 (Rebî'ülevvel 930/ February 1524), "Hayreddin Çavuş's deputy İskender Bey," see, BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.3.p.62/a1 (Ramazan 928/ August 1522), "İskender ibn Abdullah, the functionary of Hayreddin Çavuş," BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.5.p.14/ b5 (Safer 931/ December 1524).

⁹¹² It should be noted that Üsküdar tax-farmers did not necessarily fulfill their commitments to the state by themselves but sometimes outsourced the duty of tax-collection and appointed their deputies, who took the job of *emin*. For exemplary cases, see: Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy*, 147-148.

throughout his tenure as a tax collector and court summoner. During the initial years of his appointment, Timurhan Bey took on a significant portion of the responsibility himself, but in the latter years of his tenure, he delegated his authority to his business partners and functionaries.⁹¹³

Table 5.2: The Cadre of Timurhan ibn İsmail (1520-30).⁹¹⁴

Name	Job Title
Ases Mustafa	Night police. ⁹¹⁵
Acemioğlu (Novice Janissary) Mehmed	Timurhan Bey's functionary (<i>İş eri</i>). ⁹¹⁶
Ali ibn Musa	The business partner of Timurhan Bey. ⁹¹⁷
Musa ibn Şaban	Timurhan Bey's functionary (<i>İş eri</i>). ⁹¹⁸
Bali Bey	The business partner of Timurhan Bey. ⁹¹⁹
Aslıhan ibn Kılağuz	The business partner of Timurhan Bey. He was also one of the officers of Hayreddin Çavuş. ⁹²⁰
Ases Ali	Night police. ⁹²¹
Hüsam Bey ibn Abdullah	The deputy of Timurhan Bey. ⁹²²

⁹¹³ The last register in which Timurhan ibn İsmail is addressed as the Üsküdar *emini* dates to September, 1530. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.7.p.21/b3 (Muharrem 937/September 1530) After this date, his deputy, Hüsam Bey ibn Abdullah handed over his office and status. It is likely that Timurhan Bey, in his advanced age, had retired from his position and supported his deputy in becoming the new *Üsküdar Emini*. “*Hüsam Bey bin Abdullah, sâbikan emin olan Timurhan bin İsmail ile meclis-i şer‘de hâzırân geldiklerinde*” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.7.p.25/b4 (Safer 937/September 1530)

⁹¹⁴ Üsküdar's court records (vol.1-7)

⁹¹⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.3.p.126/a1 (Ramazan 929/ July 1523)

⁹¹⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.3.p.122/b5 (Safer 930/ December 1523)

⁹¹⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.5.p.42/a2 (Ramazan 931/ June 1525)

⁹¹⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.4.p.88/a4 (Şaban 933 / May 1527)

⁹¹⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.5.p.67/b3 (Ramazan 931 / July 1525).

⁹²⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.1p.4/b3 (Zilka‘de 919 / January 1514).

⁹²¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.5.p.77/b1 (Zilhicce 933 / September 1527).

⁹²² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.5.p.80/a3 (Recep 934 / April 1528).

Name	Job Title
	He took over the office of <i>Üsküdar Eminliği</i> after Timurhan Bey's tenure ended.
Kara Memi ibn Timurhan	The tax collector of Kadıköy. ⁹²³ He was in close contact with Timurhan's cadre, especially in arresting fugitive slaves and capturing stray animals. ⁹²⁴
Ases Mahmud	Night police. ⁹²⁵
Ases Hüseyin ibn Hasan	Night police. ⁹²⁶

To sum up, the urban governance of Üsküdar was headed by the *Üsküdar Emins*. They were either appointed by the state as salaried personnel or were entrepreneurial tax farmers who, through their social connections and financial power, secured the position. Regardless of the path that led to their acquisition of power, they were in charge of both the financial and security administration of the town and held the titles of *zaîms*, *emins*, and *subaşı*s.

In the next section, I will return to Mahalle-i Ma'mûre and explore its distinctive status among the neighborhoods of Üsküdar as a waqf neighborhood, as well as the intricacies of its administration. Here, I will draw parallels between Timurhan Bey, who maintained his position as the *Üsküdar Emini* for almost a decade, and the *mütevelli* of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf, Pir Ali Agha, who governed the mosque complex and the surrounding neighborhood for almost eighteen years. I will argue that Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellis* assumed a role similar to Üsküdar's tax farmers in overseeing the financial administration of Ma'mûre and ensuring its social order. Accordingly, Section 5.3 will focus on the career trajectory of Pir Ali Agha and examine how the administrative status of Ma'mûre fostered a distinct communal identity among its inhabitants.

⁹²³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.7.p.15/2a (Zilhicce 936 / August 1530).

⁹²⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.5.p.77/a1 (Muharrem 934 / October 1527).

⁹²⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.7.p.78/a1 (Zilkade 936 / July 1530).

⁹²⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.5.p.80/b1 (Cemazeyilahir 934 / March 1528).

5.3. The Formation of Ma'mûre's Urban Governance Cadre (1570-1580)

Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land in Üsküdar was defined administratively as an *evkâf subaşılığı* that referred to a waqf domain under the governance of a *subaşı*. The establishment of Ma'mûre as an *evkâf subaşılığı* and the formation of its urban governance structure were largely completed within a decade of its formation and entailed three pivotal moments: first, the appointment of an imam to the neighborhood; second, the commencement of the tenure of Mütevellî Pir Ali Agha, who left an indelible mark on the urban growth and spatial organization of Ma'mûre, and third, the establishment of a local court with a *nâ'ib* in the neighborhood. Considering that the urbanization of the area began with Sultan Selim's land grant to Nurbanu Sultan and the earliest land allotments in 1570, these milestones mark three distinct phases in the history of the neighborhood's initial decade into three distinct phases.⁹²⁷ (see Fig. 5.2)



Figure 5. 2: Three milestones in the early history of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. (1570-1580).

⁹²⁷ Gülru Necipoğlu analyzes the construction of Nurbanu's mosque in three stages with reference to the association between the mosque's plan and her changing status in the ranks of Harem hierarchy. According to Necipoğlu, the first stage (1571-1574) of the mosque celebrates her newly earned status as Selim II's legal wife with the execution of the first plan of her mosque drafted by Sinan, the second stage (1574-78/79) starts with the Nurbanu's augmented status as the queen mother and continues with the redesigning of her mosque with additional side domes and the addition of a second minarets, the final stage (1584-86) starts after Nurbanu Sultan's death and the execution of the revised plan with the order of her son Sultan Murad under the supervision of Davud Agha the apprenticeship of Mimar Sinan. Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 286. Necipoğlu's periodization gave us a perspective on the formation of the complex in tune with her personal politics. Her scheme does not interfere with the three stages of the neighborhood administration mentioned in this section but, on the contrary, complements the narrative by adding different layers to the formation process. The design, construction, and formation of an institutional body for the management of waqf were interrelated processes.

5.3.1. Appointment of an Imam to Haseki Sultan's Neighborhood.

During the early stages of construction activities in Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land, an urban settlement began to emerge under the supervision of the Haseki's first *mütevellîs*: Ali Agha ibn Cihan, Mustafa Çelebi and Ali Bey ibn Abdülmennan, who held the office in succession.⁹²⁸ In this formative period, they not only supervised the land allotments to the new inhabitants but also served as construction supervisors (*bina emini*), overseeing the construction stages under the supervision of Mehmed Agha, the superintendent of the imperial waqfs (*evkâf nâzırı*). The *mütevellîs* were the principal local authorities responsible for the security of the neighborhood and the management of waqf-related affairs of its early inhabitants. Soon enough, however, and notwithstanding the broad array of responsibilities handled by the waqf administration, the rapidly growing Muslim population of the neighborhood—soon to be named Ma'mûre—necessitated the appointment of an imam to serve as their prayer leader.

There is no precise information on when the first imam was appointed to Haseki Sultan's neighborhood; however, the earliest documented reference to an imam serving the

⁹²⁸ "Sultan Murad Han -tâbe bekâhu- hazretlerinin valideleri Haseki Sultan hazretlerinin vekil-i şer'iyyesi olan kıdvetü'l-emâcîd ve'l-ekârim Ali Ağa ibn Cihan hazretleri" (Cemâziyelevvel 979 / September 1570), "Seyyidetü'l-muhadderât damet ismetuha canibinden Üsküdar'da bina olunan cami mühimmi için kazdırılıp ihraç eylemek için mütevellîsi olan sipahi oğlanlarım zümresinden Mustafa Çelebi ibn Durmuş zîde kadruhu" BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.14/1326 (21 Ramazan 978 / 16 February 1571) "Oldur ki Üsküdar'da Haseki Sultan hazretlerinin bina emini olan Mustafa Çelebi ibn Durmuş..." BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.38.p.82/a2 (Cemâziyelevvel 980 / October 1572) "Oldur ki Haseki Sultan hazretlerinin mülkleri emini olan Mustafa Çelebi ibn Durmuş nam kimesne..." BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.38.p.123/b1 (Cemâziyelâhîr 980 / October 1572) "Üsküdar'da Yeni Mahallede bina olunan caminin emini olan kıdvetü'l-emâsîl ve'l-ayan sipahi oğullarım cemaatinden Mustafa zîde kadruhû..." BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.21.p.167/775 (Muharrem 981 / May 1573) "Haseki Sultan hazretlerinin Kasaba-i Üsküdar'da vaki emlâkı ve evkâfı emini ve mütevellîsi olan Ali Bey ibn Abdülmennan" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.39.p.8/b2 (Muharram 982 / April 1574) " Oldur ki Kasaba-i Üsküdar'da Haseki Sultan Hazretleri Mahalle-i Ma'mûreleri Emini olan Ali Bey" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.39.p.42/b2 (Rebî'ülevvel 982/ June 1574) " Haseki Sultan hazretlerinin mütevellîsi Ali Bey" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.39.p.48/b1 (Rebî'ülevvel 982/ June 1574) "Üsküdar'da bina olunan câmi'-i şerîfde hala bina emini olan Ali Bey" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.42, p.45/a3 (Şaban 983 / November 1575) " Üsküdar'da hala bina olunan câmi'-i şerîfde bina emini olan Pir Ali Bey..." BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.42, p.137/b1 (Safer 984 / May 1576) "Saadetlî sultan -dâmet ismetuhâ-hazretlerinin Üsküdar'da vaki bina-yı şerîfleri üzerine emin olan Pir Ali Ağa hazretleri..." BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43..p.85/b1 (29 Ramazan 984/ 20 December 1576). "...validem sultan damet ismetuha zîdet iffetühânın evkâf-ı aliyyeleri mütevellîsi olan kıdvetü'l emacîd Pir Ali -dâme mecduhû-" BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.42 /293 (Cemazeyilevvel 989 / June 1581).

community is found in the Üsküdar's court records and is dated 1573.⁹²⁹ According to this record, İmam Abdullatif Çelebi was already employed in Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood prior to the mosque's completion in 1577.⁹³⁰ It is likely that he served as the prayer leader of a nearby masjīd, which addressed the religious needs of the construction workers and the early residents of the neighborhood.⁹³¹ However, there is no concrete evidence confirming the presence of a masjīd built before 1573 in the vicinity. The absence of archival or physical evidence to verify this possibility does not completely negate its plausibility; nevertheless, it prompts us to consider alternative explanations.

For instance, Abdüllatif Çelebi might have been assigned as one of the imams of Nurbanu Sultan's mosque four years before its completion to fulfill the need for a community leader who could facilitate communication and mediate between the residents and public authorities, exactly as a *mahalle imami* in all predominantly Muslim neighborhoods of Greater Istanbul.⁹³² In this capacity, he would have been a crucial actor in facilitating dialogue and collaboration within the neighborhood community itself and between the community and the governing bodies. This would have been a strategic use of a religious authority to lead, guide, and represent the neighborhood community during its formative years.

⁹²⁹ The earliest register regarding Abdüllatif Çelebi ibn Mustafa, the first imam of Haseki Sultan's neighborhood, was dated May 1573. It records the accusation of Mustafa ibn Abdullah's against Haseki Sultan neighborhood's imam for beating her pregnant wife Emine, the daughter of Abdullah. Abdüllatif Çelebi denies the claims of the plaintiff and made a counter-accusations by claiming that Emine tore his bear and beat him. "BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.37.p.75/ b2,b3 and b4 (Muharrem 981 / May 1573).

In 1580, Abdüllatif Çelebi ibn Mustafa, was the imam of Hacı Khatun neighborhood in Üsküdar's Sultantepe quarter. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.51.pg 231/b3. The court records are silent about the leaders (priests and rabbis) of Ma'mûre's non-Muslim communities, at least for the period under discussion.

⁹³⁰ The completion of Nurbanu Sultan's mosque was reported in a *ma'rûz* letter sent by the Üsküdar kadi to the imperial council in which he emphasized the crucial importance of promoting settlement in the immediate vicinity of the mosque to foster a congregation that would actively participate in the daily prayers held at the imperial mosque. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.169/a1 (Safer 985/ May 1577)

⁹³¹ Cem Behar states that there was no standard method for appointing *mahalle* imams. Mostly, they were chosen with the consensus of the neighborhood community from among the elders who were trustable and religiously competent and received the approval of the highest religious authorities. Behar, *Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 65.

⁹³² After Abdüllatif Çelebi, Bali Halife ibn Hüseyin appointed as the imam of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.42.p.113/a3 (Muharrem 984 / April 1576).

Nurbanu' Sultan's *vakfiye* stipulated that two imams and eight muezzins were to be assigned to her lofty mosque in Üsküdar, where they shall perform their duties of leading the congregation in daily prayers and announcing the prayer times.⁹³³ In addition to their religious services, they undertook a variety of social and administrative responsibilities.⁹³⁴ Primarily, they mediated local disputes, which positioned them as key arbiters in resolving conflicts and promoting communal harmony. Additionally, they occupied a central role in managing the processes of marriages and divorces according to Islamic law and in conducting funerals in accordance with Islamic precepts.⁹³⁵ Due to their esteemed social status and their familiarity with the neighborhood community, they were frequently called upon to participate in legal proceedings as witnesses in court (*şuhûd al-hâl*).⁹³⁶ Furthermore, they assisted the local police force in maintaining public order by ensuring that those seeking residency in the area had reliable guarantors to vouch for their trustworthiness.⁹³⁷

The imams of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre predominantly addressed the needs and concerns of the neighborhood's Muslim community, while the Greek, Armenian, Jewish, and *Kıbtî* residents fell under the jurisdiction of their own community leaders, who governed them in accordance with their respective legal frameworks and traditions. Nonetheless, these imams actively participated in court proceedings as witnesses in property transactions and the resolution of conflicts involving residents of various religious communities.⁹³⁸ Their active

⁹³³ VGMA.1766, p.150.

⁹³⁴ For a detailed account of mahalle imams' standard duties see Kemal Beydilli, *Osmanlı'da İmamlar ve Bir İmamın Günlüğü* (Istanbul: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2013).

⁹³⁵ Behar, *Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 66.

⁹³⁶ Mehmed Çelebi, the imam of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre, attended the court hearing as a witness when Kamer Khatun came to the court to register her *hul'* divorce. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.2 /a4 (Recep 988 / August 1580) In the same year, Ali Şaban, the son of Abdullah, was summoned before the Üsküdar kadi on charges of alcohol consumption. Once again, Imam Mehmed Çelebi played a pivotal role as a witness during the court proceedings. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.3 /b1 (Cemâziyelevvel 988 / July 1580).

⁹³⁷ Ahmed Çelebi ibn Şah Bey, the imam of Nurbanu's mosque, brought Mehmed before the Ma'mûre's *nâ'ib* and got his guarantors officially registered in the court records. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.16/a5 (Rebî'ülâhir 993/ April 1585).

⁹³⁸ Mehmed Çelebi el-imam was among the witnesses during the court hearing of the two zimmî residents of Ma'mûre, Yorgi and Macar, over a debt payment dispute. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.8 / a2 (Şaban 988 /October 1580).

involvement in court proceedings played a significant role in facilitating the amicable resolution of disputes and fostering harmony among residents from diverse ethno-religious groups.⁹³⁹

The essential responsibilities and functions of Nurbanu Sultan's imams, as discussed thus far, align with those of their counterparts in the rest of Üsküdar. There were, however, differences. For instance, in the context of sixteenth-century Üsküdar, a significant number of imams- and sometimes muezzins- were assigned as *mütevellîs* of the masjids or small-scale personal waqfs.⁹⁴⁰ In addition to their primary duties as prayer leaders, most imams were entrusted with the responsibility of managing the financial aspects of charitable endowments.⁹⁴¹ For instance, if an imam was assigned as the *mütevellî* of a masjid, they had to deal with its financial assets, including immovable properties and cash assets.⁹⁴² They oversaw and kept track of all economic activities requiring their approval, such as the rental, renovation, or substitution (*istibdal*) of the waqf assets under their jurisdiction.⁹⁴³ Because of these additional responsibilities, they were granted the title of imam-*mütevellîs*, signifying their status as prayer leaders and *mütevellîs*.

⁹³⁹ Mehmed Çelebi el-imam was present at the Üsküdar court as a witness when Refail, the son of Şemail, a Jewish resident of the neighborhood, came to the court to officially register that he had sold his dwelling in Yeni Mahalle to Hüseyin, the son of Mustafa. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.75.p.6/ b1 (Rebî'ülâhir 998/ March 1590).

⁹⁴⁰ The *mahalle imams* who were assigned as the *mütevellîs* of local waqfs, sometimes appeared in the court registers with the title of imam-*mütevellî*.

For the court cases on the Üsküdar's imam-*mütevellîs* see:

BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.51.p. 78/ b1 (Rebî'ülâhir 998/ May 1580). *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri: Üsküdar Mahkemesi*

51 Numaralı Sicil, 317. (About a property transaction of İmâm-*mütevellî* Murad Halife b. Abdullah),

BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d. 5.p.8/a3 (Ferahnaz bt. Abdullah endows her dwelling in the form of family waqf and appoints the imam of Geredelü Mahallesi as her waqf's *mütevellî*),

BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.15. p.94/ b4 (Mevlana Cafer was the *mütevellî*-imam of Hamza Fakih Mescidi),

BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.51.p.31/b6 (İmam Eymir ibn Hasan, the *mütevellî* of Hızırcık waqfs),

BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.84.p.9/a1 (İmam Halil Hoca ibn Şuayb, the *mütevellî* of Tenzile Khatun's waqf in Hacı Khatun Mahallesi) .

⁹⁴¹ In fact, this was not a phenomenon specific to Üsküdar but rather a prevalent phenomenon observed across the Ottoman realms.

⁹⁴² In his seminal work on Kasap İlyas Mahallesi, Cem Behar held that *mahalle imams* were also the *mütevellîs* of the local waqfs governing the quantity of real estate properties, and thus enjoyed a considerable economic power, he says : "... in a (population-wise) relatively small neighborhood like Kasap İlyas, where, nevertheless, local vakıfs were relatively numerous, the imam came to wield considerable local power and authority." Behar, *Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 69.

⁹⁴³ For detailed information see, Özcan, *Osmanlı Para Vakıfları*.

While the imam-*mütevellîs* of Üsküdar wielded enhanced local power and prestige through their control over certain economic resources, Nurbanu Sultan's imams had no control over the management of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf assets.⁹⁴⁴ In the administrative framework of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre, imams enjoyed prestigious status as the prayer leaders of Üsküdar's largest mosque complex. Beyond their conventional duties as prayer leaders, they functioned as local partners in the waqf administration, governing the neighborhood community.

Thus, the brief period from 1571 to 1573 was marked by the beginning of the construction works, the settlement of the area's first inhabitants, and the appointment of an imam to Nurbanu Sultan's burgeoning neighborhood. Also, the urban and commercial infrastructure of the area began to take shape with the beginning of the waterway project and the completion of some of the revenue-generating waqf assets.⁹⁴⁵ As documented in certain court records and imperial edicts, the inhabited section of the waqf land attained official recognition as one of the neighborhoods of Üsküdar in 1573.⁹⁴⁶ Until that year, the region was referred to using imprecise and vague phrases, such as "*nefs-i Üsküdar kurbunda* / in the vicinity of Üsküdar proper."⁹⁴⁷ From 1573 onward, the area began to be known by more specific and definitive designations, including Mahalle-i Ma'mûre, Haseki Sultan Mahallesi, and Yeni Mahalle.⁹⁴⁸

⁹⁴⁴ Further investigation is necessary to address the question of whether Nurbanu Sultan's imams were designated as *mütevellîs* for the small-scale local waqfs established by the inhabitants of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. For instance, in 1713, it was not the imam but the chief muezzin of Nurbanu Sultan's Mosque who served as the *mütevellî* for the funds allocated to support the mosque's muezzins. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.348.p.36/b3, p.37/b1 (Safer 1125, March 1713).

⁹⁴⁵ See Section 2.4.1.

⁹⁴⁶ "Kasaba-i Üsküdar'da Haseki Sultan Mahallesi'nde sakin...", BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.36.p.88/a1 (Şevval 979/ February 1572).

⁹⁴⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.35.p.175/a3 (Rebî'ülâhîr 979/ August 1571).

⁹⁴⁸ In 1573, the standard phrase used in the imperial decrees for referring to the location of the construction site designated for Nurbanu Sultan's endowment, which was Mahmiyye-i Üsküdar'da binâ olunan (that is being built in Üsküdar, the protected realm), evolved into the phrase Üsküdar'da Yeni Mahalle'de binâ olunan (that is being built in the New Neighborhood in Üsküdar). BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.14/1326 (Ramazan 978 / February 1571) "*Sapanca ve İznikmid kadılarına hüküm ki: Hâliyâ taht-ı kazanuzda bazı ebniye-i atıkada ve arazi-i haliyede mermer bulunup ferzend-i ercümend oğlum Murad -tâbe bekâhu- vâlideşi seyyiddetü'l-muhadderât ila ahire dâmet ismetuhâ canibinden Üsküdar'da bina olunan cami mühimmi için ...*"

5.3.2. Nurbanu Sultan's Mütevellis: The Custodians of Nurbanu's Endowment and the Governors of Ma'mûre

During the early phases of construction, the primary responsibility of the *mütevellis* was overseeing the execution of the project under the supervision of Chief Eunuch Mehmed Agha, the superintendent of the imperial waqfs. In other words, appointed as *mütevellis*, Ali Agha, Mustafa Çelebi, Ali Bey, and Pir Ali Agha, in order of succession, primarily served as the construction supervisors (*bina emini*), engaging in the allocation of resources and the coordination of labor.⁹⁴⁹ They closely monitored the construction stages, tracked the project's financial and physical progress, and provided regular updates on the project to the waqf endower and relevant authorities. (see Table 5.3) As the construction progressed, they assumed additional responsibilities like operational oversight and the financial governance

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.10/ 535 (Muharrem 979 / May 1571): “İznikmid kadısına hüküm ki; hâlâ ferzend-i [ercümen] ile ahire oğlum Sultân Murâd validesi tarafından mahmiyye-i Üsküdar'da binâ olunan cami mühimmi için”

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.21/ 775 (Muharrem 981 / May 1573) “Hâliyâ ferzend-i ercümend oğlum Murad tavvelallahu te'âlâ ömrehunun vâlidesi seyyidettü'l-muhadderât ikiletü'l-muhassenât tâcü'l-ülâ ve's-sa'âdet dâmet ismetuhâ Üsküdar'da Yeni Mahalle' (de) binâ olunan câmi...”

⁹⁴⁹ “Sultan Murad Han -tâbe bekâhu- hazretlerinin valideleri Haseki Sultan hazretlerinin vekil-i şer'iyyesi olan kıdvetü'l-emâcid ve'l-ekârim Ali Ağâ ibn Cihan hazretleri” (Cemâziyelevvel 979 / September 1570), “Seyyidettü'l-muhadderât damet ismetuha canibinden Üsküdar'da bina olunan cami mühimmi için kazdırılıp ihraç eylemek için mütevellisi olan sipahi oğlanlarım zümresinden Mustafa Çelebi ibn Durmuş zîde kadruhu” BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.14/1326 (21 Ramazan 978 / 16 February 1571) “Oldur ki Üsküdar'da Haseki Sultan hazretlerinin bina emini olan Mustafa Çelebi ibn Durmuş...” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.38.p.82/a2 (Cemâziyelevvel 980 / October 1572) “Oldur ki Haseki Sultan hazretlerinin mülkleri emini olan Mustafa Çelebi ibn Durmuş nam kimesne...” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.38.p.123/b1 (Cemâziyelâhir 980 / October 1572). “Üsküdar'da Yeni Mahallede bina olunan caminin emini olan kıdvetü'l-emâsil ve'l-ayan sipahi oğullarım cemaatinden Mustafa zîde kadruhü...” BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.21.p.167/775 (Muharrem 981 / May 1573) “Haseki Sultan hazretlerinin Kasaba-i Üsküdar'da vaki emlakı ve evkâfi emini ve mütevellisi olan Ali Bey ibn Abdülmennan” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.39.p.8/b2 (Muharrem 982 / April 1574). “Oldur ki Kasaba-i Üsküdar'da Haseki Sultan Hazretleri Mahalle-i Ma'mûreleri Emini olan Ali Bey” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.39.p.42/b2 (Rebî'ülevvel 982/ June 1574). “Haseki Sultan hazretlerinin mütevellisi Ali Bey” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.39.p.48/b1 (Rebî'ülevvel 982/ June 1574). “Üsküdar'da bina olunan câmi-i şerîfde hala bina emini olan Ali Bey” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.42, p.45/a3 (Şaban 983/November 1575). “Üsküdar'da hala bina olunan câmi-i şerîfde bina emini olan Pir Ali Bey” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.42, p.137/b1 (Safer 984 / May 1576). “Saadetlû sultan -dâmet ismetuhâ-hazretlerinin Üsküdar'da vaki bina-yı şerifleri üzerine emin olan Pir Ali Ağâ hazretleri...” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43..p.85/b1 (29 Ramazan 984/ 20 December 1576). “...validem sultan damet ismetuha zîdet iffetühânın evkâf-ı aliyyeleri mütevellisi olan kıdvetü'l emacid pir ali -dâme mecduhû-” BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.42 /293 (Cemâziyelevvel 989 / June 1581).

of waqf assets. They also supervised the allocation of vacant plots surrounding the construction site to newcomers and ensured that they built their homes and established a permanent presence in the neighborhood.⁹⁵⁰

As the construction approached its final stages and a settlement began to form around the mosque complex, the scope of the *mütevellîs*' duties expanded to include dealing with certain administrative affairs of the neighborhood community and maintaining security within the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land. They collaborated with local police force, including a group of *ases* and *yasakçıs*, to maintain public order and to collect taxes and dues generated within the waqf boundaries. In other words, Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs* functioned as the chief tax farmers of Ma'mûre, so held the titles of *Mahalle-i Ma'mûre Emini*, *Subaşı*, *Zâbiti* and *Beytü'l-mâl emini*.⁹⁵¹

Table 5.3: Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs* and their primary responsibilities (1570-93).

Period of Tenure	Name	Official Status/Job Definition
1570-1571	Ali Agha ibn Cihan	The construction supervisor and the <i>mütevellî</i> . Supervising the land donations in the name of Nurbanu Sultan. ⁹⁵²
1571-1573	Mustafa Çelebi ibn Durmuş ⁹⁵³	The construction supervisor and the <i>mütevellî</i> . ⁹⁵⁴ He was also responsible for maintaining public order in Nurbanu Sultan's

⁹⁵⁰ For detailed information regarding the administrative status of waqf lands, see: Barnes, *Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire*, 21-50.

⁹⁵¹ "Oldur ki Kasaba-i Üsküdar'da Haseki Sultan Hazretleri Mahalle-i Ma'mûre'leri emini olan Ali Bey (ibn Abdülmennan)..." BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.38.p.42 / b2 (Rebî'ülevvel 982 / June 1574) "Haseki Sultan hazretlerinin Mahalle-i Ma'mûreleri emini olan Ali Bey" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.39.p.42/a2 (Rebî'ülevvel 982/ June 1574), "Haseki Sultan Hazretleri'nin mülkleri emini Mustafa Çelebi" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.38.p.82/a2 (Cemâziyelevvel 980 / October 1572), "Mahalle-i Ma'mûre emini Pir Ali Ağa..." BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.22/b1 (Şaban 989 / September 1581), "Mahalle-i Ma'mûre zabiti olan Pir Ali Ağa..." BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.49.p.72/a1 (Recep 987/ September 1579).

⁹⁵² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.37. p.146/a2 (Safer 978 / July 1570).

⁹⁵³ He was a member of *Sipahi Zümresi* (royal cavalry troops).

⁹⁵⁴ In 1571, Mustafa Çelebi ibn Durmuş informed the central government that he had sent workers to İznikmid for purchasing 500 zirâ flagstone required for building Nurbanu Sultan's mosque. They would bring the stones via horse ships to Üsküdar. Mustafa Çelebi requested the central government to inform the kadi of İznikmid about the situation to guarantee his collaboration for getting the job done quickly and without interruption. Upon Mustafa Çelebi ibn Durmuş's request, an imperial order, addressing the kadi of İznikmid was issued and warned the kadi not to show negligence or cause delay for the procurement of the flagstones and submit a detailed report regarding the cost of the materials. BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.10/535 (4 Muharrem 979 / 29 May 1571)

Period of Tenure	Name	Official Status/Job Definition
		neighborhood. ⁹⁵⁵ The financial director of the waqf-owned candle manufactory and slaughterhouses, built during his tenure. ⁹⁵⁶
1573-1576	Ali Bey ibn Abdülmennan / Abdullah ⁹⁵⁷	The construction supervisor and the <i>mütevelli</i> . ⁹⁵⁸ He was responsible for the maintenance of public order and security in Nurbanu Sultan's Neighborhood. ⁹⁵⁹ He was also the <i>beytü'l-mâl emini</i> of the neighborhood. ⁹⁶⁰
1576-1593	Pir Ali Agh ibn Mustafa	The <i>mütevelli</i> of Nurbanu Sultan's pious endowment, whose name was registered in the <i>vakfiye</i> drafted in 1582. ⁹⁶¹ The head of the waqf administration. ⁹⁶²

⁹⁵⁵ Mustafa Çelebi ibn Durmuş, the *bina emini* of Nurbanu Sultan, accused Şaban ibn Ramazan of drinking alcohol with *namahrem* (unrelated) women. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.38.p.88/b3 (Cemâziyelevvel 980 / October 1572).

⁹⁵⁶ Mustafa Çelebi ibn Durmuş, the *bina emini* of Nurbanu Sultan, rented out Nurbanu's slaughterhouse and candle manufactory to Pervane ibn Abdullah for daily 4 *akçes*. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.3.p.40/a1 (Rebî'ülevvel 980 / July 1572).

⁹⁵⁷ He was from the ranks of *yayabaşı* (the commander of the foot soldiers). It is most likely that Ali Bey was a member of the military governing class with a Christian *devşirme* origin. After *devşirme* recruits became Muslim, they were given Muslim names. In addition, they adopted certain patronyms like Abdullah (the servant of God) and Abdülmennan (the servant of the merciful one), changing according to the circumstances. In formal situations, the court scribe registered Ali Bey's full name according to the traditional formula either using Abdullah or Abdülmennan as his father's name. As Cornell Fleischer puts it, "In usage such honorific patronymics were interchangeable with equivalent expressions, particularly when the wording of a document or inscription might dictate a change for purposes of rhyme or euphony; Abdulmevla and Abdülmennan, neither of them was common as actual names, were variants." Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 15. (footnote 10)

⁹⁵⁸ Ali Bey ibn Abdullah, the *mütevelli* of Nurbanu Sultan, rented out the Nurbanu's public bath in Üsküdar for one year to Hacı İbrahim ibn Hacı Ömer, from Mahmud Pasha Neighborhood in Istanbul. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.37.p.128/b3 (Rebî'ülâhîr 981/August 1573).

⁹⁵⁹ Ali Bey ibn Abdullah, the *mütevelli* of Nurbanu Sultan, brought three women to the Üsküdar court after he caught them with three *helva* (a type of dessert) - makers in the dwelling of Tahtacı Mehmed, a resident of Haseki Sultan's neighborhood. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.37.p.128/b3 (Rebî'ülâhîr 981/ August 1573).

⁹⁶⁰ Ali Bey ibn Abdullah, the *mütevelli* of Nurbanu Sultan, had confiscated the inheritance of Mustafa ibn Veli, a resident of Ma'mûre after he died alone while his brother İbrahim was at the campaign. As İbrahim returned back home, he applied to the court for taking back Mustafa's properties from the waqf administration. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.39.p.8 / b2 (Muharrem 982/ June 1574).

⁹⁶¹ VGMA.1766,p.170.

⁹⁶² Pir Ali Agha wrote to the central government and requested the renewal of the imperial edict, which officially allocated the internal fat and skins of the sheep slaughtered in the Kasap (butcher) Kara Süleyman's slaughterhouses in Karaköy and Kasımpaşa to Nurbanu Sultan's candle manufactory and the tanneries that were located in Üsküdar because Kara Süleyman was dismissed from being a butcher in the service of the

Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs* exhibited a significant overlap in responsibilities with the *emins* of Üsküdar since they were similarly entrusted with the management of local tax collection and maintenance of public order in their respective realms. Moreover, both Üsküdar's *emins* and Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs* had their own cadres to assist them in the governance of the region under their jurisdiction. Still, there were fundamental differences between these two positions. As elucidated earlier, the *Üsküdar Eminî* was the tax farmer authorized to collect the revenues of Üsküdar in exchange for his services as the leading local authority, who supervised the operations of the local police force.⁹⁶³ His position was obtained either through direct appointment or through state-organized auctions, where the highest bidder secured the right to collect certain taxes and dues in the town for a designated period.⁹⁶⁴ This implies that the office of *Üsküdar Eminliği* was not necessarily reserved for a specific segment of society. Instead, individuals from diverse social backgrounds could potentially attain the position if they possessed the necessary financial resources and strategically positioned themselves within local political circles.

Unlike the *Üsküdar Eminî*, whose primary responsibility centered on tax collection and local governance, the most essential duty of Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellî* was the efficient management of the waqf's financial resources.⁹⁶⁵ Given the significant responsibilities and broad authority he held over the substantial revenues of imperial waqfs, this position was of a sensitive nature and importance and thus was confined to a privileged group that belonged to exclusive social circles.⁹⁶⁶ In this regard, Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs* were selected from

state and was replaced by the new butchers who did not have the mentioned imperial edict in their hands. BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.42/ 293 (Cemâziyelâhir 989/July 1581).

⁹⁶³ I explained in Section 3.2 that "In the urban context, *ziamet* represented the tax revenues generated from cities, towns, and associated *nâhiyes* (rural districts, villages, and hamlets), and those state agents or *mültezims* responsible for this task were referred to as *zâim/subaşı* of the town."

⁹⁶⁴ These taxes mainly included the land taxes, municipal taxes, the fees collected in exchange for policing services, the revenues and fees for the production of certain goods, customs taxes, *beytü'l-mâl* revenues and a group of fees and fines (*bâd-ı hevâ*) collected on special occasions.

⁹⁶⁵ See Section 2.3.

⁹⁶⁶ Cornell Fleischer argues that the *defterdars* (the provincial treasurers) were primarily selected based on their family status and educational background. They were either individuals born into families with a military background or palace-trained personnel with experience as *mütevellîs* responsible for overseeing sultanic foundations. Fleischer's comments highlight the significance of familial connections and expertise in the administration of royal endowments, facilitating the attainment of the empire's most prestigious financial positions. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 221, footnote 14.

among the high-ranking state officials, most of whom were likely to have previously served in the imperial palace.

Their palace origins were also indicated by their honorific titles. For instance, Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs*, Mustafa Çelebi and Pir Ali Agha were the members of the Sultan's elite troops (*sipahiler*).⁹⁶⁷ Furthermore, Malkoç Bey, the legal deputy of Pir Ali Agha and also the waqf scribe, was referred to in the court records as *bevvâb-i sultânî*, the gatekeeper of the imperial palace.⁹⁶⁸ İbrahim Çavuş, the son of Pir Ali Agha, who, after the death of his father, was appointed as the new *mütevellî*, was an official of the high court (*dergâh-ı âlî çavuşu*).⁹⁶⁹ Another Ali Agha, who served as Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellî* between the years of 1616-1619, was also an official in the imperial court.⁹⁷⁰

Both Gülru Necipoğlu and Patricia Blessing state that during the tenure of Mimar Sinan as chief court architect, the construction supervisors overseeing imperial projects were chosen from among high-ranking officials with expertise both in financial management and construction practices. Given that financial expertise was a *sine qua non* for those appointed as construction supervisors, it stands to reason that they had an important and relevant qualification to serve as *mütevellîs*. This explains how the construction supervisors involved in Nurbanu's Üsküdar complex also assumed the roles of *mütevellîs*.

Nonetheless, possessing financial expertise alone was not sufficient to qualify for the role of administrator of an imperial waqf. Additional qualifications and attributes were necessary for a candidate to be considered suitable for this prestigious position. In his seminal work on Mehmed II's mosque complex, *Fatih Külliyesi*, Fahri Unan argues that the individuals who actively sought appointment as the *mütevellîs* of royal waqfs encountered

⁹⁶⁷ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.21.p.167/775 (Muharrem 981 / May 1573)

⁹⁶⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.46/a3 (Zilka'de 993/ November 1585)

⁹⁶⁹ In some, though not all, of the court records, İbrahim Çavuş's name appears alongside the title "*dergâh-ı âlî çavuşu*" (the servant of the high court). BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.79.p.15/a3, BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.86.p.34/b3 (Ramazan 1001/ June 1593).

For further information on the Ottoman institution of *çavuşluk* see Ümit Koç, "XVI Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti'nde Çavuşluk Teşkilatı," *Fırat University Journal of Social Science*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2002), 395-420. Çavuş refers to a rank or title within the Ottoman military hierarchy, while *Dergâh-ı Âlî Çavuşu* designates a specific group of palace officials who held diverse roles and responsibilities based on their specific positions and units.

⁹⁷⁰ BOA.MAD.d.5849/2-3 (29 Safer 1028/15 February 1619).

meticulous scrutiny.⁹⁷¹ As outlined in the Nurbanu Sultan's *vakfiye*, there were ten fundamental traits that the *mütevelli* ought to possess, namely intelligence, competence, prudence, meticulousness, diligence, reliability, accountability, adherence to Sharia, responsibility, and piety.⁹⁷² Although not explicitly defined in the *vakfiye*, the criteria for "competence" likely involved the ability to make sound decisions and implement appropriate measures to protect the waqf's financial stability. Moreover, the position demanded proficiency in analytical skills in assessing financial data to make informed decisions, an understanding of relevant regulatory frameworks to ensure legal compliance and leadership acumen to efficiently supervise and collaborate with a sizable cadre operating under their supervision. The fulfillment of these prerequisites necessitated the careful selection of Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellis* from the exclusive ranks of the Sultan's servants, who had received their education in the imperial court and demonstrated competence and integrity in comparable positions.⁹⁷³

⁹⁷¹ This scrutiny was a direct result of the inherent connection between administering the institutions that possessed substantial wealth and managing significant financial resources. Dealing with such rich resources created the potential for their mismanagement or unauthorized use. Fahri Unan, *Kuruluşundan Günümüze Fatih Külliyesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2003), 167.

⁹⁷² “.....akıllı, güvenilir, kamil, sağlam görüşlü, emin ve koruyucu olarak tanınan, dindar ve yeterli olarak meşhur, hizmetini eksiksiz ve gevşemeden yerine getirmede kararlı, uhdesinde olan görevle ilgili olarak zimmetini her daim ibraya açan, vakfın değerlendirilecek olan her bir taşınmazını şeri ve helal bir şekilde herhangi bir iş ve olayda hiç bir ihtimalde bulunmaksızın helal değerlendirme yöntemlerinden en uygun olanı ile değerlendirilen bir yöneticinin günlük 100 dirhem ücret ile mütevelli olarak atanması / It is appropriate to appoint a *mütevelli*, who is recognized as intelligent, reliable, competent, prudent, trustworthy and pious. This person should be reputable for his eligibility for this position. He should exhibit unwavering determination in fulfilling his responsibilities, devoid of any negligence, while maintaining constant accountability for the tasks entrusted to him. Furthermore, he should consistently assess each waqf asset in accordance with the lawful and permissible methods, adhering strictly to the Shari'a without the slightest inclination to indulge in any forbidden acts ..” VGMA.1766.p.49.

⁹⁷³ Cornell Fleischer argues that within the Ottoman military class in the Ottoman Empire, levels of education played a significant role in distinguishing the true ruling elite from the regular military personnel. He says “the levels of education served to distinguish the true ruling elite from the military rank and file. The well-schooled, whatever their actual function, were the true Ottomans, those versed in Ottoman high culture, whose ability and loyalty to the interests of state and sultan were tried and proven. There were several modes of entry into the restricted ranks of the governing elite. The first was birth into a high-level *askeri* family with a tradition of service to the dynasty. The children of prominent *kuls*, the sultan's slaves and servitors, and those of princely families dispossessed and co-opted by the Ottomans were privileged by birth, and they absorbed education and high culture values in the home. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 6. In a similar manner, Fahri Unan states that the *mütevellis* for significant foundations were chosen either from the distinguished members of the *ulema* circles and the palace elites, who had proven themselves to be reliable, competent, and honest. Unan, *Fatih Külliyesi*, 167.

Particularly, those state officials who maintained close ties with the chief black eunuchs, who enjoyed privileged proximity to the reigning sultan and his harem, were likely to have the upper hand in acquiring such positions of critical importance.⁹⁷⁴ As mentioned in Chapter 2, by the reign of Murad III, the chief black eunuchs were entrusted with overseeing the administration of the royal endowments, a responsibility that had previously been reserved for the grand viziers, the chief muftis, and the chief white eunuchs.⁹⁷⁵ As the chief black eunuchs became directly involved in managing the pious foundations commissioned by the royal family, they gained control over a substantial amount of wealth and acquired the authority to influence important appointments.⁹⁷⁶ Consequently, their esteemed position not only allowed them to accumulate significant personal income but also conferred upon them unparalleled influence among palace elites.⁹⁷⁷

⁹⁷⁴ The office of Grand Vizier was in charge of overseeing the management of royal endowments until 1574, when the chief eunuchs were designated as waqf superintendents. For example, the administration of the Fatih complex was the responsibility of the grand viziers. As a result, individuals with strong connections to the inner circle of palace elites, especially those close to the sultan, such as the grand viziers, had a greater chance of being appointed as administrators of royal endowments. Unan, *Fatih Külliyesi*, 30, footnote 101, and p.168. Throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the *mütevellîs* of the Haremeyn waqfs were typically selected from among the officials serving in the Imperial Palace under the supervision of *dariüssaade* agha. This practice highlighted their significant influence in such important decisions. For example, in 1695, the recommendation of the *dariüssaade* agha was instrumental in the appointment of Hüseyin Agha as the *mütevelli* of the Haremeyn waqfs in Cyprus. Ramazan Hüseyin Biçer, “Haremeyn Evkaf Müfettişliği Sicilleri Ekseninde Vakıf Problemleri Ve Çözüm Yolları (1587-1615),” (PhD diss., Afyon Kocatepe University, 2023): 60, 68-71.

⁹⁷⁵ This does not mean that after the designation of the chief black eunuchs as the waqf superintendents, grand viziers, chief *muftis*, and *babüssaâde* agha totally keep their hands off overseeing the pious foundations. Michael Nizri informs us about an archival source documenting donations made by the waqf superintendents to support the third military campaign against the Habsburgs in 1697. According to the document, “the number of religious endowments under the supervision of *şeyhülislam* reached a peak during *şeyhülislam* Feyzullah’s term of office. Feyzullah served as “guardian supervisor” over 101 endowments in Istanbul, more than anyone else, necessarily testifying to his enormous political power. The endowments under his supervision raised 906,000 *akçe* for the war effort. The chief black eunuch supervised 77 endowments and contributed 2,136,457 *akçe*, the chief white eunuch supervised 34 endowments and allocated 427,438 *akçe*, while the grand vizier supervised 26 endowments and contributed 3,582,200 *akçe*” Michael Nizri, *Ottoman High Politics and the Ulema Household* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 178.

⁹⁷⁶ Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt: 1517-1798*, 45. For example, it was the chief eunuch Mehmed Agha, the superintendent of the waqf, who arranged the appointment of Mehmed Çavuş as the *mütevelli* of Nurbanu Sultan’s waqf lands in the Yeni-il region. Appointed together with his scribe Mehmed Bey, Mehmed Çavuş would oversee the financial affairs of the Yeni-il region under the guidance of Nurbanu Sultan’s *mütevelli*, Kasım Agha. BOA.İE.EV.2/167 (10 Zilka’de 1017/ 15 February 1609).

⁹⁷⁷ George Junne, *The Black Eunuchs of the Ottoman Empire: Networks of Power in the Court of the Sultan* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 219. Hathaway, *The Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Harem*, 57. See also, Jane Hathaway, “The Role of the Kızlar Ağası in 17th-18th Century Ottoman Egypt.” *Studia Islamica*, no. 75 (1992), 141-142.

The formation of the administrative cadre of the royal waqfs, composed of officials from the sultan's extended household of servants (*kuls*), can be seen as a strategic effort aimed at establishing direct and centralized control over the waqfs' management.⁹⁷⁸ This arrangement would not only ensure their financial and operational sustainability but also protect the prestige of the royal family, as these charitable institutions represented the state's power and wealth, as well as the affluence, piety, and benevolence of the waqf endowers.⁹⁷⁹ In other words, this administrative framework would enable immediate state intervention in case of any fraudulent activities or mismanagement that threatened the sustainability of the waqfs and the prestige of the ruler.⁹⁸⁰

In light of the discussions thus far, it can be concluded that Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs* were appointed from among the Sultan's servants who had been trained through the school system of the imperial palace that prepared some for the inner (*enderûn*) and then the outer (*bîrûn*) services of the Topkapı Palace and others to graduate (*çıkma*) from palace service to assume various administrative-military positions.⁹⁸¹ In return for their services within the palace or elsewhere in the empire, they received remuneration in the form of *ulûfe* payments or revenues from land grants.⁹⁸² Moreover, in case of their appointment as

⁹⁷⁸ For a detailed explanation of the various tiers of palace officials and their distinct services and professional trajectories, see: İ. Metin Kunt, "Turks in the Imperial Palace," in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires*, ed. Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artan, Metin Kunt (Leiden: Brill, 2011) 292-297.

⁹⁷⁹ In the late seventeenth century, the imperial waqfs played a pivotal role as economic instruments for financing costly military campaigns. As explained by Kayhan Orbay, the central government effectively used a significant portion of waqf resources to provide financial support to the Ottoman army. In essence, this highlights the enduring importance of royal waqfs as vital economic reservoirs that the state has consistently tapped into for diverse purposes across different historical periods. In this regard, it is evident that the management of the royal waqfs was consistently subjected to stringent control and oversight by the central government. Kayhan Orbay, "Ottoman Central Administration and War Finance, Late Seventeenth Century" (paper presented at the XIV International Economic History Congress, Helsinki, 2006).

⁹⁸⁰ For the sixteenth-century palace historian Selaniki's concerns regarding the dangerous consequences of selecting unsuitable *mütevellîs* for the management of royal waqfs see: Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, vol. 2, 851-852. Also see: Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 149-151.

⁹⁸¹ For more information see, Metin Kunt, "Royal and Other Households," in Christine Woodhead, ed., *The Ottoman World* (London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2012), 107-108, 109-110.

⁹⁸² In this study, the term "palace elite" refers not only to the *devşirme* recruits who received their education in but also to the freeborn Muslims, employed in the various palace services.

mütevellîs, they were entitled to a pre-designated salary from the waqf's budget, as specified in the relevant provisions of the *vakfiye*. (see Table 5.5)

As can be traced from the Üsküdar's court records, Mütevelli Pir Ali Agha, collected the revenues of the Nif District of the Saruhan Province, which yielded an annual income of up to 19,000 *akçe*; additionally, the revenues of Pilmar/Polima, a village in Midilli District of Lesbos island and Petre, a village in Molova District of the same island, which generated an annual income of up to 37,000 *akçe*.⁹⁸³ His yearly revenue amounted to at least 56,000 *akçe*, indicating his status as a *ziamet* holder and a senior military governor.⁹⁸⁴ Even after he began receiving a daily payment of 100 *akçe* for his services as *mütevelli*, he continued to collect the revenues from his holdings. Although this data alone does not provide conclusive evidence of his continued involvement in previous duties, it substantiates the retention of the privileges conferred upon him.⁹⁸⁵

Table 5.4 below lists Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs*, who served from 1570 to 1620. It is evident from the list that these *mütevellîs* did not occupy the position for a fixed period. Instead, their tenures ranged from a minimum of two years to a maximum of eighteen years, reflecting the dynamic and potentially unpredictable nature of their positions. This study does not explore the factors that influenced the duration of their tenures, but it is plausible that such factors might include changes in the patronage networks within the inner circles of the reigning Sultans or the individual performance of the administrators, which could, if low precipitate their removal from office.⁹⁸⁶ Additionally, the list draws attention to the long tenure of Pir Ali Agha, who maintained his position until his death and handed over his

⁹⁸³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.85/b1, b2, b3 (Ramazan 984/ December 1576), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.26/a2 (Cemâziyelevvel 993/ May 1585).

⁹⁸⁴ For a register proving his status as a *ziamet* holder see, BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.45/4201 (Zilka'de 989/ December 1581).

⁹⁸⁵ Carter Findley asserts that, in principle, the members of the Ottoman ruling elite were granted benefices in land (such as *timar*, *ziamet* and *has*) for their services in the various official positions they held. Nonetheless, once they ceased to hold these offices, their entitlement to the benefices was revoked. Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* (New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1980), 366 footnote 11.

⁹⁸⁶ Halil İnalçık states that the *nâzırs* (superintendents of large waqfs) and the principal officers of the waqf administration had the authority to ask for the dismissal of the *mütevellîs*. Halil İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, 142.

office to his son, İbrahim Çavuş, with the approval of the central government. That means the same family exerted control over Mahalle-i Ma‘mûre for twenty-one years, from 1576 to 1597, and wielded considerable power in the neighborhood.

Table 5. 4: Nurbanu Sultan’s *mütevellîs* (1570-1620).

<u>Name</u>	<u>Term of Office (Period)</u>
Ali Agha	1570-1571
Mustafa Çelebi	1571-1573
Ali Bey	1573-1576
Pir Ali Agha	1576-1583
Bali Bey (Pir Ali Agha’s deputy)	1583-1584
Pir Ali Agha	1584-1593
İbrahim Çavuş (Pir Ali Agha’s deputy)	1588-1593
İbrahim Çavuş	1593-1597
Hasan Çavuş	1597-1601
Osman Agha	1601-1603
İshak Bey	1603-1604
Rıdvan Agha	1604-1605
Kasım Agha	1605-1611
Selim Agha	1611-1612
Hüseyin Agha	1612-1616
Ali Agha	1616-1620

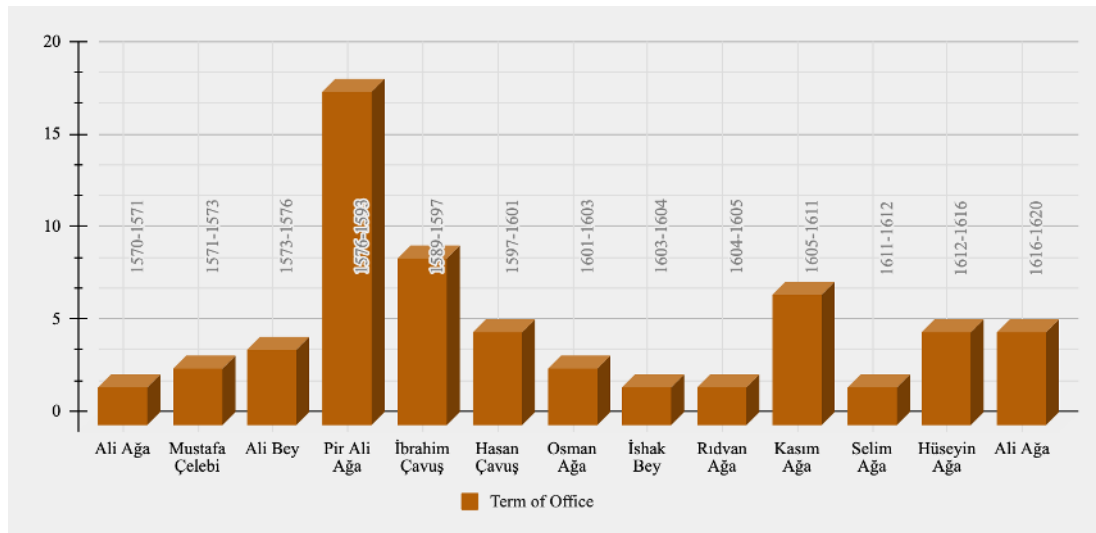


Figure 5. 3: Respective tenures of Nurbanu Sultan’s *mütevellîs* (1570-1620).⁹⁸⁷

⁹⁸⁷ Prepared by the author based on the information presented in Table 5.4.

To sum up, this section argued that despite differences in their primary obligations, their ranks within the bureaucratic hierarchy, and sometimes the methods by which they acquired their offices, both Üsküdar's *emins* and Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs* were the leading public authorities who represented the military-administrative branch of the local government in their respective realms.⁹⁸⁸ The office of Üsküdar *Eminliği* provided an opportunity for ambitious entrepreneurs who wished to forge a career within the sector of tax farming, whereas Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs* were selected from exclusive social circles.⁹⁸⁹ For both groups, however, the crucial factor in securing their appointments was the support of influential patronage networks—namely, the local gentry for the former and the palace elites for the latter.

Despite the differences in their social backgrounds and the paths they pursued to acquire power, both Mütevelli Pir Ali Agha and the Üsküdar Emini Timurhan Bey stood out as notable figures in the urban governance of sixteenth-century Üsküdar. It was due to their remarkable ability to maintain their positions for considerably longer than their counterparts, and this allowed them to solidify their influence over the areas they governed. This leads us to an intriguing question: how did a *mütevelli*, whose main task was managing waqf-related affairs, turn into a local military governor in the context of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre? ⁹⁹⁰

⁹⁸⁸ In this study, the term "local urban government" serves as a conceptual framework to delineate the intricate web of military, administrative, and judicial authorities that collaboratively operate within a particular region. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that this definition is not static and has the potential for further expansion to include additional local authorities. Therefore, the exact scope of the term depends on the socio-political characteristics specific to the urban unit under analysis.

⁹⁸⁹ In the sixteenth century, Üsküdar was administratively within the Kocaeli Province, which makes the Üsküdar *emini* a provincial official.

⁹⁹⁰ Halil İnalçık describes the main duties of a *mütevelli* and a waqf superintendent as follows: "A *vakf* was a financially and administratively autonomous foundation. The endower appointed a *mütevelli* and, in large *vakfs*, usually also a *nâzır*—superintendent. The *mütevelli* was responsible for all matters concerning the *vakf*, taking measures for the collection and growth of its income and using these funds to fulfill the conditions of the endowment, to pay the foundation's employees, and for maintenance and repair. The *nâzır* was an inspector, determining whether or not the conditions of endowment were being fulfilled, and, once a year, the principal officers and employees of the *vakf* would meet to discuss whether they had accomplished their duties as the *vakfiye* stipulated. This group could request the *mütevelli*'s dismissal. The state, through the local *kâdî* or a specially appointed inspector, audited the accounts of each *vakîf*. The aim of all these precautions was to ensure that the institution continued to fulfill its proper function." Halil İnalçık, *The Classical Age*, 142.

The answer lies in the distinctive nature and vast scope of Nurbanu Sultan's Üsküdar project, which extended beyond constructing a mosque complex but also entailed the development of a sizable vacant area into a heavily populated neighborhood as well as a way station. The main outcomes of such an ambitious urban initiative were the erection of a socio-religious complex, the establishment of a waqf neighborhood, and the formation of a waqf community, all of which required coordinated governance. In the given context, the role of Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevelli*s paralleled that of *emins/subaşı*s as both involved the administration of an urban unit's finances and security. Therefore, it would not be inaccurate to refer to them as *mütevelli-emins*, a designation that aptly emphasizes their dual roles: first as *mütevelli*s (or the construction supervisors during the construction process) and second as *emins* or *subaşı*s, collecting regional taxes and ensuring the maintenance of law and order within Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land. To better understand the intricacies of this dual role, the forthcoming section will focus on Mütevelli Pir Ali Agha and the administrative-military staff under his supervision.

5.3.3. Governing Ma'mûre: Mütevelli Pir Ali Agha and His Entourage

Timur Kuran argues that the Islamic waqf, "established under pre-modern Islamic law," diverges markedly from European-type trusts or corporations as well as from modern Islamic charities of the twenty-first century.⁹⁹¹ In his view, this differentiation primarily stemmed from the rigid managerial rules under which the waqf administration operated, particularly its obligation to meticulously abide by the provisions set out in the *vakfiye*.⁹⁹² This restrictive environment consequently impinged on these waqfs' organizational autonomy, political participation, and ability to foster a vibrant civil society. Additionally, it considerably limited the waqf's managerial flexibility, even if *mütevelli*s enjoyed a degree of discretion thanks to

⁹⁹¹ Timur Kuran, "Legal Roots of Authoritarian Rule in the Middle East," *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, vol. 64, no. 2 (Summer 2016): 419-454. Also see Timur Kuran, *The Long Divergence: How Islamic Law Held Back the Middle East* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011): 110-116.

⁹⁹² Ibid.

the nature of the *vakfiyes*, which provided only a framework regarding the financial management of the waqf assets and the provision of social services.⁹⁹³

As Kuran argues, one cannot mention the absolute authority of a *mütevelli* in governing a royal waqf, as he was both *de jure* and *de facto* representative of the waqf endower and, after the founder's death, of the reigning sultan. Thus, the primary duty of a *mütevelli* was to administer the waqf and its assets in accordance with the deed unless otherwise specified.

However, this approach has the potential to provide an incomplete understanding of the complex dynamics inherent in the management of a waqf land, especially if it overlooks the critical contributions of *mütevellis* to the decision-making processes in diverse waqf-related issues. Based on my findings regarding the management of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood, I would argue that, while the *mütevellis* were bound by the provisions stipulated in the deed, they nonetheless wielded considerable sway over the decisions of the waqf endower or reigning sultan. Their firsthand experiences and knowledge concerning the daily operations and specific needs of the mosque complex and other waqf-owned buildings enabled them to provide expert advice and recommendations to take proactive measures. Moreover, their physical presence in Ma'mûre as the leading administrative-military authorities provided them with valuable insights into the needs and concerns of the neighborhood community. This positioned them as one of the key intermediaries between the residents and the central government. In collaboration with the kadi of Üsküdar, they translated community needs into formal petitions to address to the waqf superintendent or the imperial council. In other words, along with other public authorities, they functioned like a local advisory council, providing valuable insights and recommendations to guide higher authorities in reaching well-informed and prudent decisions regarding various matters related to the mosque complex, the waqf neighborhood, and its community.

For instance, as we saw in Chapter 4, the role of the waqf administration was to manage the land allocation process on behalf of Nurbanu Sultan and under the supervision of the kadi of Üsküdar. Additionally, the *mütevellis* had to ensure that all procedures related

⁹⁹³ Ibid., 432. For example, Nurbanu Sultan's waqf deed provides a general framework regarding the waqf's revenue sources, the distribution of waqf income, the boundaries of waqf villages, the administrative organization of the waqf, the services provided by each facility, and the number and wages of the waqf employees.

to the use and transfer of the allocated lands conformed to the legal framework concerning the waqf management.⁹⁹⁴ This responsibility provided them a degree of authority over the distribution of the waqf plots, thereby empowering them to control and influence the formation of the neighborhood community. Indeed, their involvement transcended the mere demographic formation of the neighborhood, as they played a significant role in shaping its physical layout in a way that served the project's financial goals, as well as the broader objective of the urban development of Üsküdar.

As we saw in Chapter 2, it was Mütevellî Pir Ali Agha who arranged the relocation of Üsküdar's only horse market to Ma'mûre, on the street leading to Nurbanu Sultan's caravanserai.⁹⁹⁵ Moreover, he proposed the establishment of Üsküdar's land customs in this burgeoning commercial center to encourage merchants visiting Üsküdar to stay in the waqf-owned khans and rooms, thereby boosting the waqf's revenues.⁹⁹⁶ For the same purpose, he also sought imperial approval for the demolition of some privately owned stables and lodgings in Ma'mûre.⁹⁹⁷ These establishments were problematic as they not only harbored individuals engaging in immoral behaviors, which caused discomfort among the inhabitants but also adversely affected the occupancy rates and profitability of the waqf-owned khans.

As the principal military-administrative authority responsible for the security and public order within the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood, the *mütevellîs* undertook actions with their officials and collaborated with judicial authorities to address and resolve various local disputes and crimes. Therefore, they instituted preventive measures to ensure effective surveillance, which significantly dissuaded potential offenders and contributed to a relatively stable urban environment conducive to both commerce and daily life. For instance, in the early years of the seventeenth century, Mütevellî Kasım Agha informed the central government of the need for a prison to incarcerate an increasing number of public offenders in Ma'mûre. As will be discussed in Chapter 7, he actively participated in identifying the most suitable location for the prison and supervised its establishment. In

⁹⁹⁴ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.58.p.2/2 (Rebî'ülâhîr 993/April 1585).

⁹⁹⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.62/a2 (Cemâziyelevvel 988/June 1580).

⁹⁹⁶ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.47, p.137 /638. (Recep 990/July 1582).

⁹⁹⁷ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.53, p. 95/269 (Cemâziyelevvel 992/May 1584).

brief, at least in the case of Ma‘mûre, the authority of Nurbanu Sultan’s *mütevelli*s extended way beyond the confines of the *vakfiye*, enabling them to make significant decisions that ultimately contributed to the effective governance of the waqf neighborhood and its community.

Although this study carefully refrains from making broad generalizations, it speculates whether and how typical the case of Ma‘mûre in terms of its administrative-legal status and local authorities that will hopefully prompt future scholars to ask whether this case could provide a model or framework applicable elsewhere. As discussed in Chapter 2, Selim II granted an extensive tract of land on the outskirts of Üsküdar to Nurbanu Sultan as a freehold property, thereby granting her private ownership rights to sell, donate, pawn, or establish the land and its revenues as a waqf.⁹⁹⁸ This land grant was formalized under the terms of “*serbestiyet üzere*” or “*ber vech-i serbestiyet*,” which translates to a grant of “autonomy and immunity” that provides the landowner the right to collect the revenues of the holding—a privilege typically reserved for the state.⁹⁹⁹ Moreover, no state officer other than judicial authorities and waqf personnel were allowed to interfere with this autonomous enclave, which made the landowner or her legal deputy in the administration of her waqf, that is, the *mütevelli*, a supreme local authority. He reported directly to the waqf superintendent and the central government, which rendered him immune to interference from any other state official.¹⁰⁰⁰

⁹⁹⁸ Halil İnalçık, “Autonomous Enclaves in Islamic States: Temliks, Soyurghals, Yurdluk- Ocaqlık, Mâlikâne-Mukâta‘as and Awqâf,” in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, eds. John E. Woods, Ernest Tucker (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Vagen, 2006), 113. Also see, Halil İnalçık, “Adâletnâmeler,” *Belgeler: Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, vol. 2, no. 3-4 (1965), 82.

⁹⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁰ “As with many early modern polities, the fiscal and administrative organization of the Ottoman landscape resembled a conglomerate patchwork. In addition to the hierarchical and interwoven divisions of provinces (*eyâlet*), subprovinces (*sancağ/livâ*), and districts (*każâ*), there were hundreds of large and small enclaves with immunities (*serbestiyet*) from administrative and fiscal intervention by officeholders and different fiscal and administrative regimes, separated from the jurisdiction of the larger provincial divisions in which they were physically located. The statuses of the immune enclaves varied. Some had *mâlikâne* status. These were semi-private estates leased out or granted with life-term contracts to semi-private entrepreneurs, who were generally members of the imperial elite or provincial notables. Other enclaves remained under the administration of the imperial waqfs, which were supervised by trustees centered in Istanbul.” Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (California: Stanford University Press, 2016), 143.

Referring to the waqf settlements that were designated as distinct administrative-military units, Evliya Çelebi suggests that there were forty “*serbest evkâf subaşılığı*” in Istanbul and *Bilâd-ı Selâse*.¹⁰⁰¹ Exploring the accuracy of this figure is beyond the scope of this study; however, it can be argued that Ma‘mûre was one of these *subaşılıks*. This elucidates why Ma‘mûre was at times recorded in the court documents as “*Üsküdar muzafatından*,” which meant an annex of the town.¹⁰⁰² This terminology implied that Ma‘mûre was considered a part of Üsküdar but with a notable degree of autonomy in its fiscal and military administration. Indeed, the *mütevelli* commanded a local military unit led by a *subaşı* and oversaw revenue collection, roles typical of provincial governors, though here within the specific context of waqf administration.

In his study of Hürrem Sultan’s waqf in Jerusalem, Oded Peri argues that delegating the authority to manage waqf revenues to military commanders offered substantial benefits, particularly in terms of providing enhanced protection for both waqf assets and waqf communities against various forms of aggression.¹⁰⁰³ Owing to the military forces at their command, these officers facilitated a more efficient collection of waqf revenues.¹⁰⁰⁴ Peri’s research indicates that the governors of Gaza and Ramle served as the tax farmers and legal deputies of Hürrem Sultan’s *mütevelli* in collecting the revenues of waqf assets located within their jurisdiction. Peri adds that it was not unusual for an Ottoman governor to also assume the role of *mütevelli* for an imperial waqf, a practice deemed theoretically advantageous to the waqf’s interests.¹⁰⁰⁵ In the case of Ma‘mûre, Pir Ali Agha, who administered Nurbanu Sultan’s mosque complex for nearly eighteen years, exemplified how high-ranking military officers were often entrusted with key administrative roles in managing imperial waqfs.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 54.

¹⁰⁰² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.85.pg /1a (Muharrem 1000/October 1591).

¹⁰⁰³ Peri, “The Case of Khasseki Sultan Waqf,” 53-55.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

In the lexicon of Ottoman bureaucracy, honorific titles signified ranks or professions within the empire's structured bureaucratic hierarchy.¹⁰⁰⁶ The analyzed archival documents reveal that Mütevellî Pir Ali Agha was addressed with the titles of “*kıdvetü'l emâsil ve'l-akrân*” and “*iftihârü'l emâcid ve'l-ekârim*,” indicating involvement in certain positions such as officers of the imperial palace (*dergâh-ı âlî çavuşları*), cavalry troops (*sipahiler*), heads of the janissary corps (*ocak ağaları*) and heads of falconers (*şahincibaşı* and *çakırcıbaşı*).¹⁰⁰⁷ Further evidence of Pir Ali's elevated rank is evident in his epithet “Agha” and the way his name was followed by the honorific expression “your highness” (*hazretleri*) in the court records.¹⁰⁰⁸ The manner in which Pir Ali was addressed in formal settings accentuates his elevated social standing and strongly indicates his probable position as the commander of a particular Janissary regiment (*ocak ağası*) or the head of the six cavalry regiments (*altı bölük sipahileri*) stationed in Istanbul.¹⁰⁰⁹ Furthermore, he was elevated to the position of *dergâh-ı âlî müteferrikası*, a designation signifying an elite cadre associated with the imperial court.¹⁰¹⁰

¹⁰⁰⁶ For an in-depth examination of the Ottoman practice of utilizing honorifics, titles, and descriptive epithets, see: Rhoads Murphy, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty: Tradition, Image and Practice in the Ottoman Imperial Household, 1400–1800* (London: Continuum, 2008), 88-98.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili: Diplomatik* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013), 104. Rhoads Murphey states that the positions of *Şahincibaşı* and *Çakırcıbaşı*s were significant milestones, paving the way to the highest echelons of government, including the office of grand vizierate. Murphy, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, 88-98.

¹⁰⁰⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.85/a1 (Ramazan 984/December 1576), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.63.p.18/b3 (Cemâziyelevvel 993/May 1585).

¹⁰⁰⁹ The fact that Pir Ali Agha's father was named Mustafa suggests that he was not of slave origin. This detail could potentially serve as a significant indication of the integration of freeborn Muslims into the imperial cavalry regiments during the sixteenth century. For studies on the multifaceted transformation of the Ottoman military, which was closely linked to the socio-economic changes that characterized the empire throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see, for example, Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1984); Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Cemal Kafadar, “On the Purity and Corruption of the Janissaries.” *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, vol. 15 (1991): 273-80. Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*.

¹⁰¹⁰ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.45/4201 (Zilka'de 989/December 1581), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.85.p.21/b2 (Şevval 1000/July 1592) Cornell Fleischer describes the status of *müteferrika* as follows: “a designation bestowed upon individuals of distinguished lineage and upon ulema associated with the court. Such designation could be honorific or could carry a salary. There was also an elite cavalry corps of the Porte, staffed by the children of distinguished Ottomans, known by this name.” Fleischer, *Bureaucrat, and Intellectual*, 326.

The assignment of Pir Ali Agha as Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevelli* in 1576 initiated an important period in the development of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre's governance. Unlike his predecessors, who mainly functioned as construction supervisors and held their positions for brief durations, Pir Ali Agha administered Nurbanu Sultan's pious foundation for an extensive period of eighteen years. (see Table 5.4) His proactive involvement in local governance was evident in his regular visits to the sharia court, where he registered fugitive slaves apprehended by his staff, initiated public trials for offenses that disrupted public order, sought legal consent to lead raids against residents suspected of engaging in immoral acts, and even served as a witness or defendant in various court proceedings. Another distinguishing factor that set Pir Ali Agha apart from his predecessors was that his tenure coincided with the completion of the mosque and some of the revenue-generating waqf assets. Additionally, throughout the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Ma'mûre underwent a remarkable transformation, evolving from a modest neighborhood into a vibrant urban district comprising multiple neighborhoods.¹⁰¹¹ As a result, Pir Ali Agha's responsibility extended beyond overseeing a single neighborhood to a whole array of duties beyond those of his predecessors.

After his appointment as Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevelli*, Pir Ali Agha became responsible for the waqf employees tasked with the administration of the waqf assets and the military personnel responsible for maintaining security and enforcing order in Ma'mûre.¹⁰¹² (see Table 5.5 and 5.6) The waqf's administrative staff consisted of *mütevellis*, their scribes,

¹⁰¹¹ As we learn from the 63rd volume of the Üsküdar's court records, dedicated to Nurbanu Sultan's land grants, a significant number of vacant plots were distributed to individuals who intended to settle in the region, particularly between the years 1575-1576 and 1583-1586. Assuming that all these landowners fulfilled their obligations by constructing houses and establishing residences in the region, it can be inferred that the waqf land experienced a rapid population growth during this period, coinciding with Pir Ali Agha's tenure. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.63 (975 and 982-995, 1567-1568 and 1574-1587)

¹⁰¹² I intentionally omitted the service personnel employed in Nurbanu Sultan's mosque complex as the third cadre headed by the *mütevelli*. Because the service personnel, comprising various skilled professionals, such as cooks, Quran reciters, librarians, doctors, surgeons, instructors, sweepers, gatekeepers, laundry workers, and so on, did not operate under the direct management of the *mütevelli*. Instead, each social facility had its own administrative cadre within which the service personnel operated. The mosque, for instance, relied upon the expertise of the imam and muezzin, who were responsible for managing internal affairs. Additionally, the sheikh of imaret assumed the crucial role of supervising the entire staff of the public kitchen, while the sheikh of the convent served as the principal administrator of the dervish lodge. Moreover, the head instructors of *darülkurra*, *darülhadis*, madrasa, and the elementary school dutifully supervised the students. Lastly, the *darüşşifa* efficiently managed its financial affairs through the employment of a steward and a scribe.

and revenue officers, who oversaw the fiscal management of the waqf assets in Üsküdar, Yeni-il, Yanbolu, and Rodosçuk. They worked under the supervision of the chief *mütevelli* based in Üsküdar. As stipulated in the *vakfiye*, the administrative staff was responsible for ensuring all waqf revenues were accurately collected and documented in special registers.

Table 5. 5: Administrative staff of the waqf and their daily income. ¹⁰¹³

Office	Daily Income (dirhem)
Waqf Superintendent / <i>Evkâf Nâzırı</i>	40 dirhem ¹⁰¹⁴
Waqf Administrator / <i>Mütevelli</i>	100 dirhem
<i>Mütevelli</i> 's Scribe	20 dirhem
Scribe and <i>Cabi</i> (revenue officer) Responsible for collecting and registering the revenues of Üsküdar	5 dirhem each
Two Scribes and Two <i>Cabis</i> Responsible for collecting and registering the revenues of Yanbolu District	5 dirhem each
Scribe and <i>Cabi</i> Responsible for collecting the revenues of Rodosçuk	5 dirhem each
Scribe and <i>Cabi</i> Responsible for collecting and registering the revenues of Üsküdar and Yoros	5 dirhem each
<i>Mütevelli</i> of Yeni-il	30 dirhem
<i>Mütevelli</i> 's scribe	15 dirhem
Two Scribes Responsible for registering the revenues of Yeni-il	5 dirhem each

While the *vakfiye* provides details regarding the number, attributes, salaries, and responsibilities of each member of the team, it does not include provisions for the civil administration of the waqf settlements. Thus, one cannot find in the deed, for example, provisions for the employment of military personnel, who would be stationed in Ma'mûre to perform policing functions and collect fines from those who violate public order. Indeed, this exclusion should not be considered an oversight, as the deed does not concern itself with

¹⁰¹³ VGMA.1766 (Rebî'ülâhîr 990 / April 1582).

¹⁰¹⁴ The *dirhem* was equivalent to 3.027 gr silver. Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi*, 115.

personnel not funded directly by the waqf's resources.¹⁰¹⁵ For instance, the remuneration of the *Mahalle-i Ma'mûre Subaşı* and the officials under his command was not covered by the waqf's expenses; rather, their compensation was managed through other methods.

The first was that the central government assigned the position of the *Mahalle-i Ma'mûre Subaşı* to the military officials selected from janissary or cavalry regiments, who received quarterly installments (*ulufe*) in exchange for their services. In 1606, for instance, a *sipahi* who had shown great merit on the battlefield during the Hungarian campaigns and who had subsequently encountered financial difficulties, was awarded the *subaşı* position in Ma'mûre.¹⁰¹⁶ In 1621, the central government assigned Mehmed Bey, the tax farmer (*cabi*) of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf, to succeed Ali Bey from the six cavalry regiments (*ebna-i sipahiyan*) as the *Subaşı* of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre.¹⁰¹⁷

The second method involved the waqf administration outsourcing civil administration offices through tax farming. These offices included the *Mahalle-i Ma'mûre Subaşı* (Head of Military Corps in Ma'mûre), *Çingene Subaşı* (Tax Collector and Security Officer for Ma'mûre's *Kıbtî* Community), *İhtisabı* (Market Inspector), *İhzariyesi* (Court Summoner), *Yava Zabitliği* (Overseer of Unclaimed Properties and Fugitive Slaves), and *Beytü'l-mâl Eminliği* (Custodian of Unclaimed Inheritances). By allocating these offices through competitive tenders, the administration sought to enhance both the effectiveness of urban governance and the profitability of revenue management.¹⁰¹⁸

The *mütevellîs* had a central role in overseeing the appointments and supervision of the waqf's tax farmers. For instance, according to a court record from 1580, the two tax farmers who dealt with the affairs related to fugitive slaves and the *Kıbtî* community of Ma'mûre were among the staff of Pir Ali Agha.¹⁰¹⁹ Four years later, Ali ibn Abdullah and Mehmed ibn Abdullah, residents of Ma'mûre, remitted 12000 *akçe* to the waqf

¹⁰¹⁵ Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, 57.

¹⁰¹⁶ BOA.AE.SAMD.I.1/53 (Zilka'de 1014/March 1606).

¹⁰¹⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.139.p.60/b1 (Zilhicce 1030/October 1621).

¹⁰¹⁸ In his study on accounts registers of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf, Ramazan Pantık evaluates the profitability of administering waqf revenues through tax farming versus trusteeship; see Pantık, "Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi," 85.

¹⁰¹⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.2/b4 and p.3/a4 (Cemâziyelevvel 988/June 1580).

administration to secure positions as *muhtesib* and *muhzır* in Ma‘mûre and tax collector at the Üsküdar’s horse market for one-year term.¹⁰²⁰ Towards the end of Pir Ali Agha’s tenure, his son İbrahim Çavuş, acting in the capacity of his father’s deputy (*kaimakam*), assigned the collection of occasional taxes from the waqf’s *Kıbtî* community for one year to Ahmed ibn Abdullah, for 1500 *akçe*.¹⁰²¹ Similarly, in 1614, *mütevelli* Hüseyin Agha appointed Mustafa Bey, the imperial gatekeeper and his official deputy, to the position of *beytü’l-mâl eminliği* in Ma‘mûre.¹⁰²²

As evidenced and exemplified by the relevant court records, Nurbanu Sultan’s *mütevellis* held the responsibility of supervising the tax farming process, which involved a meticulous evaluation of the bidders’ qualifications and expertise to identify the most suitable candidate capable of effectively carrying out the required services.¹⁰²³ Not only did they select the tax farmers of Ma‘mûre, but they also chose their staff and entourage and were therefore responsible for the competence and integrity of everyone under their command. The successful governance of the mosque complex and the waqf neighborhood depended, to a large extent, on the harmonious functioning of the *mütevelli* and his entourage. Among them, the *subaşı* and the waqf’s chief scribe were the *mütevelli*’s primary assistants. In other words, despite the presence of distinct roles among the administrative and military personnel employed in Nurbanu Sultan’s neighborhood, there was a significant overlap in their contributions to neighborhood management. (see Table 5.6) For instance, Malkoç Bey, the chief scribe of the waqf, conducted public raids against the houses of those suspected of engaging in immoral behavior.¹⁰²⁴ His proactive role in detecting and exposing illegal activities can be attributed to his responsibility for ensuring accurate documentation of public offenses, which fell under the purview of the waqf administration. By upholding

¹⁰²⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.13/b1 (Rebî‘ülâhır/April 1584).

¹⁰²¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.75.p.28/a1 (Şevval 997/August 1589).

¹⁰²² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.125.p.25/b2 (Cemâziyelevvel 1614/June 1614).

¹⁰²³ A report regarding the *iltizam* fees for the year 1240/ 1824-25 shows that Nurbanu Sultan’s *mütevelli* was responsible for overseeing the process of granting the office of “Mahalle-i *subaşı*” position through the tax farming system. BOA.TS.MA.e.148/27 (Zilhicce 1239/August 1824).

¹⁰²⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.46.p.76/a2 (Rebî‘ülevvel 986/June 1578), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.46.p.104/b1 (Şaban 986/October 1578), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.46/a3 (Zilka‘de 993/November 1585)

the accountability of the executive authorities in the legal sphere and serving as a witness in court proceedings, he provided valuable support to the *mütevelli* and *subaşı* in their efforts to deal with criminal activities within the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land. Similarly, the waqf's revenue officers, whose primary duty was collecting the rents from the waqf buildings in Üsküdar, were also responsible for reporting any illegal acts they witnessed to the *subaşı* of Ma'mûre.¹⁰²⁵

Table 5. 6: Responsibilities of Pir Ali Agha and his staff in the governance of Ma'mûre.¹⁰²⁶

Pir Ali Agha's Staff	Job Definition (only the responsibilities related to Ma'mûre's governance.)
Pir Ali Agha (1576-1593)	Mahalle-i Ma'mûre <i>Emini</i> . The chief tax farmer of Ma'mûre.
Bali Bey (1583)	The deputy (<i>vekil</i>) of Pir Ali Agha. He was appointed as Nurbanu Sultan's <i>mütevelli</i> in 1583 for one year, probably because Pir Ali Agha was unable to perform his duties at that time. ¹⁰²⁷
İbrahim Çavuş (1588-1593)	The son and also the deputy of Pir Ali Agha. ¹⁰²⁸ He had the authority to put his seal on the official documents delivered in the name of Pir Ali Agha. ¹⁰²⁹ He took over the office after his father's death and served as <i>mütevelli</i> from 1593 to 1597.
Beytû'l-mâl emini and Subaşı Bevvâbü's-sultânî Pervane Bey ibn Abdurrahman (1576)	Pir Ali Agha's deputy in the collection of certain taxes and revenues. He attended the court hearings on behalf of Pir Ali Agha. ¹⁰³⁰

¹⁰²⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.189 (Safer 985 / April 1577).

¹⁰²⁶ Üsküdar's court records, vol. 42-86.

¹⁰²⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.6/b2 (Muharrem 991/February 1583).

¹⁰²⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.74.p. 21/a1 (Recep 997/June 1589), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.75.p.19/a1 (Cemâziyelevvel 998/March 1590).

¹⁰²⁹ Papas veled-i Yani, a Greek resident of Ma'mûre, applied to the court and requested a *temessük* (property certificate) after submitting the *tezkiye* (official document) bearing the seal of İbrahim Çavuş, registering that a plot of land measuring approximately 190 m2 was donated to Papas in the name of Pir Ali Agha. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.75.p.10/a2 (Cemâziyelevvel 988/March 1590).

¹⁰³⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.63/b1 (Şaban 984 / November 1576), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.77/b5 (Ramazan 984 / December 1576).

Pir Ali Agha's Staff	Job Definition (only the responsibilities related to Ma'mûre's governance.)
Pir Ali Agha (1576-1593)	Mahalle-i Ma'mûre <i>Emini</i> . The chief tax farmer of Ma'mûre.
Cabi Mehmed (1577)	The waqf's revenue officer. He was responsible for collecting rent revenues for Nurbanu Sultan's waqf rooms in Üsküdar. ¹⁰³¹ Additionally, he was responsible for reporting any unlawful activities within these properties to the relevant authorities.
Hüseyin Bölükbaşı (1577)	One of the janissaries garrisoned in Ma'mûre. ¹⁰³² He was responsible for local security.
Bevvâbü's-sultânî Kâtip Malkoç Bey ibn Kanber (1578-1593)	The scribe of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf. Pir Ali Agha's personal assistant. He represented the <i>mütevelli</i> in court hearings. Also, he accompanied the <i>mütevelli</i> during the execution of his duties, for instance, during house raids as a witness and reporter. ¹⁰³³
Bevvâbü's-sultânî Mustafa Bey ibn Abdullah (1578-1579)	Pir Ali Agha appointed him as the <i>mübaşir</i> (agent) to conduct an investigation into a murder case and an illegal trade case. Therefore, he can be considered an ad hoc member of Pir Ali Agha's staff. ¹⁰³⁴
Ali Bölükbaşı (1578)	One of the janissaries garrisoned in Ma'mûre worked under the supervision of Pir Ali Agha. ¹⁰³⁵
Bevvâbü's-sultânî Malkoç Mustafa ibn Abdullah. (1579)	The scribe of the waqf. Pir Ali Agha's personal assistant and his official deputy. ¹⁰³⁶
Mehmed ibn Abdullah (1579-1580)	One of the janissaries garrisoned in Ma'mûre and worked under the supervision of Pir Ali Agha. ¹⁰³⁷

¹⁰³¹ Cabi Mehmed applied to the Üsküdar court for initiating an investigation upon residents' complaints on the wine-drinking gatherings that took place in the Nurbanu Sultan's bachelor rooms. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.189 (Safer 985 / April 1577).

¹⁰³² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.45.p.10/b1 (Cemazeyilevvel 985/July 1577).

¹⁰³³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.46.p.154/b1 (Şaban 986/October 1578), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.46.p.76/a2 (Rebî'ülevvel 986/June 1578), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.85.p.28/a2 (Zilhicce 1000/ October 1592), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.85.p.56/a4 (Rebî'ülâhir 1001/January 1593).

¹⁰³⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.46.p.155/a2 (Şaban 986/October 1578) For some remarks on the office of "mübaşirlik" see Haim Gerber, *Oppression and Salvation: Annotated Legal Documents from the Ottoman Book of Complaints of 1675* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 69.

¹⁰³⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.48.p.6/b2 (Şevval 986/December 1578).

¹⁰³⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.48.p.51/a1 (Muharrem 987/March 1597).

¹⁰³⁷ "Yeni Mahalle'de zabıt (olan) Pir Ali Ağa'nın ademisi Mehmed ibn Abdullah" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.49.p.4 /a2 (Rebî'ülâhir 987/June 1579), "Mahalle-i Ma'mûre zabiti olan Pir Ali Ağa'nın ademisi Mehmed ibn Abdullah" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.49.p.72 /a1 (Recep 987/September 1579).

Pir Ali Agha's Staff	Job Definition (only the responsibilities related to Ma'mûre's governance.)
Pir Ali Agha (1576-1593)	Mahalle-i Ma'mûre <i>Emini</i> . The chief tax farmer of Ma'mûre.
Mahalle-i Ma'mûre Zâbiti Hasan er-racil (1580)	One of the janissaries garrisoned in Ma'mûre and worked under the supervision of Pir Ali Agha. ¹⁰³⁸
Ma'mûre Yava (or Yave) Zâbiti Mustafa (1580)	The official responsible from lost belongings, runaway animals, and fugitive slaves. ¹⁰³⁹
Beytü'l-mâl emini and Subaşı Muhammed Bey ibn Bali (1581)	Pir Ali Agha's deputy in the collection of certain taxes and revenues belonging to the waqf. He was responsible for confiscating unclaimed inheritances of those who died within the boundaries of Ma'mûre. ¹⁰⁴⁰
Subaşı Mehmed ibn Abdullah (1581)	The chief of day police (jannisaries) garrisoned in Ma'mûre. ¹⁰⁴¹
Subaşı Ahmed ibn Mustafa (1581-1586)	The chief of day police (jannisaries) garrisoned in Ma'mûre. ¹⁰⁴²
Kâtip Lutfi Bey (1583)	The scribe of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf. He attended the court hearings concerning waqf-related matters of Ma'mûre. ¹⁰⁴³
Subaşı Muhammed ibn Mustafa (1584)	The chief of day police (jannisaries) garrisoned in Ma'mûre. ¹⁰⁴⁴
Subaşı Müslihiddin (1583-1584)	The chief of day police (jannisaries) garrisoned in Ma'mûre. ¹⁰⁴⁵

¹⁰³⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.11/a1 (Şevval 988/November 1580).

¹⁰³⁹ Mustafa was appointed as *yava zabiti* (the officer who captured the runaway slaves) in Mahalle-i Ma'mûre by Pir Ali Agha. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.2 / b4 (Cemâziyelevvel 988/June 1580).

¹⁰⁴⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.22/b1 (Şaban 989 /September 1581), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.33/a1 (Şevval 989/ November 1581).

¹⁰⁴¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.22/a1 (Şaban 989/September 1581).

¹⁰⁴² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.47/b1 (Rebî'ülevvel 990 / April 1582). BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.72/b3 (Zilka'de 991/ November-December 1583) BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.57.p.75/b3 (Ramazan 992/September 1584), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.48/a1 Zilka'de 993/November 1585), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.67.p.23/a1 (Şevval 994/September 1586).

¹⁰⁴³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.72/b3 Zilka'de 991/November-December 1583).

¹⁰⁴⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.57.p.11/a3 (Muharrem 992/January 1584).

¹⁰⁴⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.45/ a3 (Recep 991/ July 1583). BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.57.p.16/ a3 (Muharrem 992/January 1584).

Pir Ali Agha's Staff	Job Definition (only the responsibilities related to Ma'mûre's governance.)
Pir Ali Agha (1576-1593)	Mahalle-i Ma'mûre <i>Emini</i> . The chief tax farmer of Ma'mûre.
Hüseyin ibn Abdullah (1584)	The officer of Pir Ali Agha. ¹⁰⁴⁶
Yasakçı Hasan ibn Abdullah (1584)	The law enforcement officer in Ma'mûre. ¹⁰⁴⁷
Kâtip Malkoç ibn Abdülmennan (1585-1586)	The scribe of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf. Pir Ali Agha's personal assistant and his official deputy. ¹⁰⁴⁸
Hüseyin Bey (1586)	Pir Ali Agha's personal assistant and his official deputy. ¹⁰⁴⁹
Bevvâbü's-sultânî Cabi Mustafa Bey (1586-1591)	The waqf's revenue officer. ¹⁰⁵⁰
Subaşı Mehmed Bey ibn İşkender (1589-1593)	The chief of day police (jannisaries) garrisoned in Ma'mûre. ¹⁰⁵¹
Ases Sefer (1590)	The night police in Ma'mûre. ¹⁰⁵²
Yasakçı Hasan and Rıdvan (1591)	The law enforcement officer in Ma'mûre. ¹⁰⁵³
Subaşı Mustafa ibn Piri (1592)	The chief of day police (jannisaries) garrisoned in Ma'mûre. ¹⁰⁵⁴

¹⁰⁴⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.57.p.19/a1 (Safer 992/February 1584).

¹⁰⁴⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.57.p.77/b3 (Ramazan 992/September 1584).

¹⁰⁴⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.46/a3 (Zilka'de 993/ November 1585), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.67.p.10/a3 (Şaban 984/ July 1586).

¹⁰⁴⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.67.p.45/b1 (Muharrem 995/December 1586).

¹⁰⁵⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.67.p.38/a3 (Zilhicce 984/December 1586), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.79.p.41/b2 (Ramazan 999/July 1591).

¹⁰⁵¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.74.p.22/a2 (Recep 997/June 1589), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.75.p.15/b1 (Cemâziyelâhir 998/April 1590), ÜŞ.S vol.79.p.8/b3 (Rebî'ülâhir 999/February 1591). BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.85.p.5/b4 (Rebî'ülâhir 1000/February 1592), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.85.p.55/b4 (Rebî'ülâhir 1001/January 1593).

¹⁰⁵² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.75.p.28/b5 (Recep 998/May 1590).

¹⁰⁵³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.79.p.43/b1 (Şevval 999/August 1591).

¹⁰⁵⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.85.p.21/b1 (Şevval 1000/ July 1592).

Pir Ali Agha's Staff	Job Definition (only the responsibilities related to Ma'mûre's governance.)
Pir Ali Agha (1576-1593)	Mahalle-i Ma'mûre <i>Emini</i> . The chief tax farmer of Ma'mûre.
Dergâh-ı Ali Yeniçerisi (Imperial Janissary) Yasakçı Fazlı Çelebi (1592)	The law enforcement officer in Ma'mûre. ¹⁰⁵⁵
Bevvâbü's-sultânî Cabi Ahmed ibn Abdullah (1592)	The waqf's revenue officer. ¹⁰⁵⁶
Kıbtîler Subaşısı Hamza ibn Mustafa (1593)	He was responsible for collecting taxes from Ma'mûre's <i>Kıbtî</i> community. ¹⁰⁵⁷

In conclusion, Mahalle-i Ma'mûre, like many other waqf settlements across the Ottoman Empire, was designated as an autonomous enclave endowed with self-governance, particularly in financial and administrative matters. In this administrative framework, Nurbanu Sultan's waqf administration was responsible for the oversight of the revenues from waqf assets, the collection of Islamic and customary taxes, fees, and fines, as well as the levies associated with trade and production that occurred in Ma'mûre. Furthermore, the administration handled the management of uninherited and unclaimed properties, stray animals, and escaped slaves found or apprehended in Ma'mûre. The income derived from their sale was allocated as revenue for the waqf.

The task of collecting the revenues of Ma'mûre could not be satisfactorily fulfilled by the waqf's single revenue officer employed in Üsküdar, whose role was limited to collecting rents from the waqf assets in the town.¹⁰⁵⁸ Thus, it was imperative to appoint a group of tax farmers and officials who would be responsible for collecting the revenues associated with certain urban services, including market inspection, neighborhood patrolling, nighttime surveillance, and escorting people to court. Nurbanu Sultan's

¹⁰⁵⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.85.p.23/a3 (Zilka'de 1000/July 1592).

¹⁰⁵⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.85.p.28/a2 (Zilhicce 1000/October 1592), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.85.p.44/b2 (Safer 1001/November 1592).

¹⁰⁵⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.86.p.3/a1 (Recep 1001/April 1593).

¹⁰⁵⁸ "An honest and reliable tax collector and a pious and faultless scribe shall be appointed, with a monthly salary of five dirhams, for the purpose of collecting the monthly revenues of the immovables in Üsküdar." VGMA.1766.p.149.

mütevellîs, selected from the ranks of elite military corps, supervised not only the waqf officials but also the tax farmers and the military corps stationed in Ma'mûre. While the duties and salaries of waqf personnel were explicitly outlined in the deed, the appointment of military personnel was under the jurisdiction of the central government and the *mütevellîs*.

The development of a cadre in charge of urban governance in Ma'mûre was not fully completed until the last months of 1580, when a sharia court (*Mahkemeti'l-Mahalleti'l-Ma'mûreti'l Cedîde*) was established in the neighborhood, and Mustafa ibn Şeyh Sinan was appointed as Ma'mûre's first *nâ'ib*, deputy kadi. The following section will delve into the multifaceted factors that culminated in the designation of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land as a judicial center. It will also explore how the establishment of a deputy court in Ma'mûre influenced the power dynamics among leading public authorities of the neighborhood and daily politics.

5.3.4. Towards Efficient Local Governance: The Establishment of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre Court in 1580

In the Ottoman judicial hierarchy, high-ranking kadîs had the prerogative to appoint *nâ'ibs*—after obtaining approval from the central administration—to whom they could delegate some of their judicial responsibilities.¹⁰⁵⁹ These *nâ'ibs* were typically chosen from among madrasa graduates within the local community as they were knowledgeable in religious and legal matters.¹⁰⁶⁰ They did not constitute a uniform class; rather, there were various types of *nâ'ibs*, distinguished by the specific responsibilities they assumed and the roles they fulfilled within the state's judicial framework.¹⁰⁶¹

¹⁰⁵⁹ High-ranking kadîs including *kaza kadîs* and *mevlevîyet kadîs* (dignitary judges) were vested with the authority to appoint *nâ'ibs*. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 117.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Abdurrahman Atçıl, "Procedures in the Ottoman Court and the Duties of *Kadîs*," (master's thesis, Bilkent University, 2002), 28, 31.

For instance, in 1775, the kadi of Amid appointed the *nâ'ib* of Mardin, from among the residents of Mardin. However, in cases where no suitable local candidate could be identified, the kadi could temporarily delegate one of the scribes from the Amid court to serve as a *nâ'ib* in Mardin. Yavuz Aykan, *Rendre la justice à Amid Procédures, acteurs et doctrines dans le contexte ottoman du XVIIIème siècle* (Leiden : Brill, 2016), 50-51.

¹⁰⁶¹ In his seminal work, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı examined *nâ'ibs* in six categories. "*Nâibler vazifelerinin mahiyyetlerine göre kaza nâibleri, kadî nâibleri, mevalî nâibleri, bâb nâibleri, ayak nâibleri, arpalık nâibleri olarak başlıca altı kısımdır.*" Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 117.

For instance, the “*kaza nâ’ibi*,” as labeled by İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, was appointed by a district kadi to oversee the judicial affairs of the subdistricts (*nâhiyes*) within his jurisdiction.¹⁰⁶² As will be further discussed in Chapter 6, they presided over deputy courts (*niyâbet mahkemeleri*) in the *nâhiye* centers and exercised the kadis’ judicial and administrative authority on their behalf. This arrangement was instrumental in extending the reach of the state’s judicial service beyond central urban areas and into rural or remote locations within the districts. The “*bab nâ’ibi*,” or kadi’s assistant, played a crucial role in the functioning of sharia courts. While they primarily performed their duties within the *kadi* courts where they represented the *kadi* in his absence, they would occasionally travel beyond the town to oversee legal proceedings.¹⁰⁶³ The “*ayak nâ’ibi*,” or market inspector, fulfilled a regulatory and supervisory function. They inspected marketplaces to report those who sold above the decreed prices (*narh*), or those who used false weights and measures.¹⁰⁶⁴

By the seventeenth century, the widespread practice of granting nominal judgeships, —known as *arpalık* (literally “fodder money”) — to retired members of the ulema or dignitary judges on rotation, as a means of providing their subsistence, significantly increased the number of *nâ’ib* appointments.¹⁰⁶⁵ The recipients of *arpalık* did not stay in the town where they were given the right to hold court. Instead, they delegated their judicial authority but also the right to collect associated fees to a deputy, “*arpalık nâ’ibi*.” In return, *nâ’ibs* were obligated to remit a significant part of their incomes to the office holders.

¹⁰⁶² Ibid. Also see: Mehmet İpşirli, “İstanbul Kadılığı,” in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 23 (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2001), 306. Cavid Baysun, “Naip,” in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1964), vol.9: 50–52. Giles Veinstein, “Sur les Nâ’ib Ottomans (XV^{eme}-XVI^{eme} siècles),” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, vol. 25 (2001): 247-267.

¹⁰⁶³ If *nâ’ibs* worked under the supervision of a dignitary kadi who held the title of *molla* (pl. *mevâli*), their main responsibilities were similar to those of “*bab nâ’ibs*” but Uzunçarşılı classified them under a separate category as “*mevâli nâ’ibs*”. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 117.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Evliya Çelebi reports that *ayak nâ’ibi* was the seventh public authority of Istanbul, endowed with the authority to punish offenders. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 53.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Jun Akiba, “Farming out judicial offices in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1750–1839,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (2024), vol. 87, 33, 38. For more information about *arpalık* kadiships, see Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600–1800)* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988).

The *nâ'ib* of Ma'mûre fell into the category of *kaza nâ'ibi*, as they were appointed by the kadi of Üsküdar to hold court in Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood.¹⁰⁶⁶ In this sense, Ma'mûre could also be considered as one of the subdistricts (*nâhiye*) of Üsküdar *Kazası*. The first *nâ'ibs* of Ma'mûre were Mustafa ibn Şeyh Sinan and Ali ibn Süleyman.¹⁰⁶⁷ (see Fig. 5.4) They were appointed to this position multiple times and served brief tenures that did not exceed one year.¹⁰⁶⁸



Figure 5. 4: The *mürâsele* registers regarding the appointment of Ma'mûre's *nâ'ibs*. (1580-1581)¹⁰⁶⁹

¹⁰⁶⁶ Throughout the study they will be simply referred as *nâ'ib* or *nâ'ib of Ma'mûre*.

¹⁰⁶⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.11/a2 (Şevval 988 / December 1580): Mustafa ibn Sheikh Sinan's appointment. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.21/b2 (Şaban 989 / September 1581): Ali ibn Süleyman's appointment. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.37/a4 (Muharrem 990 / February 1582): Ali ibn Süleyman's appointment. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.2/a1 (22 Zilkade 990/18 December 1582): Mustafa ibn Sheikh Sinan's appointment.

¹⁰⁶⁸ The consistency in their assignments aligns with the broader Ottoman practice of choosing *nâ'ibs* from among the local community. This continuity allowed both the *nâ'ibs* and the scribes of the deputy courts to maintain their positions for extended durations. Başak Tuğ puts that "deputy judges were mostly selected from the local *ulema* and therefore had potentially more power and local connections than the judges appointed from the center." Tuğ, *Politics of Honor*, 124. Also, Boğaç Ergene states that "not only were the *nâ'ibs* and the *katibs* usually members of the local community, but many of them were also able to retain their posts for long periods under successive kadis." Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice*, 26.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Image 1: "*kad vasale hâzihi'd-defteru fi evahiri şevvali'l-mübareki sene semâne ve semânîn ve tis'i-mie Harrarahu'l-fakîr Mustafa bin Şeyh Sinân el-müvella bi-mahkemeti'l-mahalleti'l-Ma'mûreti hilâfeten, afâ anhüme'l-Bâkî* / This register, which is written by Mustafa ibn Sheikh Sinan, is arrived at the first days of Şevval 988. He is the judge of the court of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. May Allah save him." BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.11/a2 (Şevval 988 / December 1580).

Image 2: "*kad vasale hâzihi'd-defteru fi evail-i şaban'il muazzam sene tisa ve semânîn ve tis'i-mie Harrarahu'l-fakîr Ali ibn Süleyman el-müvella bi-mahkemeti'l-mahalleti'l-Ma'mûreti hilâfeten, afâ anhüme'l-Bâkî* / This register, which is written by Mustafa ibn Sheikh Sinan, is arrived at the first days of Şevval 988. He is the judge

After 1580, the residents of Ma‘mûre no longer needed to go to the town center, a distance requiring a 20 to 25-minute walk, to complete legal procedures such as registering property transactions, formalizing business agreements, or presenting disputes before a kadi. Instead, they could conveniently access judicial services in their own neighborhood. After this date, court appearances appear to have become more frequent, which suggests that the close proximity of a sharia court was a significant factor in encouraging locals to seek legal assistance from the judicial authorities.¹⁰⁷⁰ The expanding population of the neighborhood likely represented another significant factor contributing to the observed increase in the number of court records, as shown in Table 5.7 below.

Table 5. 7: Number of court records associated with residents of Ma‘mûre.¹⁰⁷¹

Üsküdar’s Court Records (volume)	Time Period	Approx. Number of Registers Associated with Ma‘mûre
36	978-980/ 1571-1572 This is the first <i>defter</i> including the earliest court record about Haseki Sultan’s Neighborhood	1
37	979-981/ 1571-1573	12
38	980-981/ 1573-1574	13
39	981-982/ 1574-1575	9
42	983-984 / 1575-1576	20-30

of the court of Mahalle-i Ma‘mûre. May Allah save him.” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.21/b2 (Şaban 989 / September 1581).

For an in-depth discussion on why, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, deputy kadis rarely referred to themselves as “*nâ’ib*” in official documents and preferred the signature formula “*müvella hilâfeten bi-*” (meaning “in charge by delegation of...” or “the deputy kadi at...”), see: Nicolas Vatin, “Les *nâ’ib* du *każâ* de Cos au XVIe-XVIIe siècle à la lumière du fonds ottoman des archives du monastère de Saint-Jean à Patmos,” *Turcica*, vol.51 (2020): 319-348. Elias Kolovos, “*Müvellas and Naibs* on the Islands of Andros and Syros, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,” *Turcica*, vol.51 (2020): 349-364. Michael Ursinus, “A *Naib* in Action in the *Kaza* of Cos in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century,” *Turcica*, vol.51 (2020): 365-383.

¹⁰⁷⁰ In his study on the legal practices in Ottoman Anatolia during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Boğaç Ergene also observed that there was a positive correlation between the residents’ proximity to the local courts and their frequency of court attendance. Boğaç Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu, 1652-1744* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 70.

¹⁰⁷¹ This table does not enlist all the volumes of Üsküdar’s court records but includes a sufficiently large selection to give an idea about the increasing appearance of the residents in the court registers.

.43&45	984-985 / 1576-1577	30-40
46	985-986 / 1577-1578	15-20
48&49	986-987 / 1578-1579	40-50
51	987-988 / 1579-1580	50-60
53	988-990 / 1580-1582 This is the first defter compiled by the first <i>nâ'ib</i> of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre	450-500

Following the appointment of a *nâ'ib* to oversee the judicial affairs of Ma'mûre, the registers that belonged to his deputy court (*niyâbet mahkemesi*) began to be compiled separately.¹⁰⁷² An examination of the records kept by the court of Ma'mûre reveals the proactive involvement of the *mütevellîs* and *subaşıs* in managing various aspects of the neighborhood's daily life. As shown in Table 5.8 below, Pir Ali Agha and his staff were involved in a variety of legal matters, assuming different roles depending on the nature of the case, including as applicants, plaintiffs, defendants, witnesses, or guarantors.

Table 5. 8: Court proceedings involving Pir Ali Agha and his staff as Ma'mûre's authorities.

Local Authorities of Ma'mûre	The Court Proceedings They Attended	Their Involvement and Role In the Proceedings
Pir Ali Agha	Sale of a waqf plot. ¹⁰⁷³	Applicant/Party to the transaction
Pir Ali Agha	A business transaction between a Jewish merchant and the tanners of Ma'mûre. ¹⁰⁷⁴	Witness
Pir Ali Agha	Grievances regarding the illegal confiscation of inheritances by the waqf administration. ¹⁰⁷⁵	Defendant
Pir Ali Agha	The sale of Ma'mûre's <i>ihtisab</i> , <i>ihzariye</i> the horse	Applicant / Party to the

¹⁰⁷² Üsküdar's court records were categorized and compiled based on the courts they belong to, which include Üsküdar, Adalar, Şile, Yoros, Çengelköy, Gebze, and, Ma'mûre courts. For further discussion regarding the location of Ma'mûre, court, and other *niyâbet* courts of *Üsküdar Kazası*, see Section 4.2.1.

¹⁰⁷³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.42.p.131/b1 (Cemazeyilahir 984 / September 1576).

¹⁰⁷⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.83/b3 (Ramazan 984 / December 1576).

¹⁰⁷⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.29/a1 (Cemazeyilahir 993/June 1585).

Local Authorities of Ma'mûre	The Court Proceedings They Attended	Their Involvement and Role In the Proceedings
	<i>market revenues.</i> ¹⁰⁷⁶	transaction
Pir Ali Agha	Official registration of the lease agreement for Nurbanu Sultan's public bath. ¹⁰⁷⁷	Applicant/Party to the transaction
Pir Ali Agha	Official registration of the lease agreement for Nurbanu Sultan's public bath tannery. ¹⁰⁷⁸	Applicant/Party to the transaction
Pir Ali Agha	Grievances of the muezzins employed in Nurbanu Sultan's mosque regarding the unfair judgments and mistreatment of Pir Ali Agha. ¹⁰⁷⁹	Defendant
Pir Ali Agha	Registration of a Jewish merchant's debt to another Jewish merchant for the purchase of the waqf's sheeps' wool. ¹⁰⁸⁰	Witness
Pir Ali Agha	Distributing property certificates to those who built a dwelling on their granted waqf plots. ¹⁰⁸¹	Applicant / Party to the transaction
Pir Ali Agha	The registration of the belongings of a <i>Kıbtî</i> resident, Kara Ali, who died in Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. ¹⁰⁸²	Applicant
Subaşı Pervane Bey ibn Abdurrahman	The registration of a deceased resident's rightful heirs. ¹⁰⁸³	Applicant / Party to the transaction
Subaşı Hüseyin Bölükbaşı	Accusing a woman of engaging in prostitution. ¹⁰⁸⁴	Plaintiff/Public Prosecutor

¹⁰⁷⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.13/b1 (Rebî'ülâhîr 993/April 1985).

¹⁰⁷⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.45.p.20/b1 (Cemazeyilevvel 985/August 1577).

¹⁰⁷⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.46.p.24/a1 (Muharrem 986/March 1578).

¹⁰⁷⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.57.p.80/a1 (Şaban 992/August 1584).

¹⁰⁸⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.83/a3 (Ramazan 984/December 1576).

¹⁰⁸¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.51.p.35/b4 (Muharrem 988/February 1580), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.52.p.23/a2 (Recep 988/August 1580), BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.54.p.12/b1 (Rebî'ülâhîr 990/May 1582).

¹⁰⁸² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.85.p.60/b1 (Muharrem 1001/October 1592).

¹⁰⁸³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.63/b1 (Şaban 984/November 1576).

¹⁰⁸⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.45.p.10/b1 (Rebî'ülevvel 985/ May 1577).

Local Authorities of Ma'mûre	The Court Proceedings They Attended	Their Involvement and Role In the Proceedings
Cabi Mehmed	Alcohol consumption in the waqf rooms. ¹⁰⁸⁵	Plaintiff /Prosecutor
Subaşı Mustafa Bey ibn Abdullah	An investigation regarding a death crime. ¹⁰⁸⁶	Plaintiff /Prosecutor
Subaşı Mustafa Bey ibn Abdullah	The accusation against certain <i>Kıbtî</i> residents for stealing clothes and selling them to <i>forsa kafirleri</i> (slave rowers). ¹⁰⁸⁷	Plaintiff/Public Prosecutor
Subaşı Mehmed ibn Abdullah	Initiating an investigation into the return of a woman who had been expelled from Ma'mûre back to the neighborhood. ¹⁰⁸⁸	Plaintiff/Public Prosecutor
Subaşı Muhammed Bey ibn Bali	Initiating an investigation against a <i>Kıbtî</i> resident about the stolen properties of Hacı Ahmed Pasha. ¹⁰⁸⁹	Plaintiff/Public Prosecutor
Subaşı Ahmed ibn Mustafa	Requesting a guarantor from a resident of İstavros who was under the custody of <i>subaşı</i> . ¹⁰⁹⁰	Applicant / Registration of a runaway slave
Katip Malkoç Bey	Arrest of a woman with a smell of wine in her breath. ¹⁰⁹¹	Plaintiff/Public Prosecutor
Katip Malkoç Bey	An investigation regarding a potential adultery case. ¹⁰⁹²	Plaintiff/Public Prosecutor
Katip Malkoç Bey	Standing surety for the business relationship between a resident of Ma'mûre and his servant. ¹⁰⁹³	Guarantor
Katip Malkoç Bey	Two <i>Kıbtî</i> residents of Ma'mûre handed over an unclaimed purse that they had found at Balat Market to the waqf administration. ¹⁰⁹⁴	Applicant/ Representative of the <i>mütevelli</i>

¹⁰⁸⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.43.p.189 (Safer 985/April 1577).

¹⁰⁸⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.46.pg 156/b1 (Şaban 986/October 1578).

¹⁰⁸⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.48.p.29/a2 (Zilhicce 986/February 1579).

¹⁰⁸⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.3/b3 (Cemazeyilevvel 988/June 1580).

¹⁰⁸⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.22/b1 (Şaban 989/September 1581).

¹⁰⁹⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.28/a2 (Şaban 989/September 1581).

¹⁰⁹¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.51.p.5/b1 (Şevval 987/December 1579).

¹⁰⁹² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.46.pg 76/a2 (Rebî'ülevvel 986/May 1578).

¹⁰⁹³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.46.p.172/b3 (Rebî'ülevvel 986/May 1578).

¹⁰⁹⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.48.p.7/a6 (Şevval 986/December 1578).

Local Authorities of Ma'mûre	The Court Proceedings They Attended	Their Involvement and Role In the Proceedings
Katip Malkoç Bey	Investigating the allegations about a <i>Kıbtî</i> woman's <i>irtidad</i> (abandonment of Islam). ¹⁰⁹⁵	Witness

The establishment of a deputy court and the appointment of a *nâ'ib* to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood must have significantly encouraged the cooperation between judicial and executive authorities (*mütevelli*, *subaşı* and his military officers) employed in Ma'mûre, improving their ability to work together and facilitate more effective community surveillance.¹⁰⁹⁶ Operating under the supervision of the *mütevelli*, the *subaşı* of Ma'mûre served as the leading law enforcement officer in the neighborhood and held significant sway within the local community. In most cases, *subaşı*s and their functionaries collaborated with residents during their daily patrols to identify and apprehend fugitive slaves, petty criminals, and those engaged in acts of debauchery and drunkenness.¹⁰⁹⁷ In the summer of 1583, for example, two strangers who were sitting outside a dwelling in Ma'mûre and counting money caught the attention of the locals. Disturbed by their unusual behavior and suspicious appearance, Sinan ibn Abdullah, a resident of Hasan Ağa Mahallesi (a neighborhood adjacent to Ma'mûre), took them to Ahmed Subaşı, and they all ended up in the presence of the *nâ'ib* of Ma'mûre.¹⁰⁹⁸

Another incident that exemplified the efficient cooperation between the *subaşı*, the local residents, and the *nâ'ib* of Ma'mûre was an adultery case. In the last months of 1585, Ahmed Subaşı petitioned the deputy court to commence an investigation into alleged immoral activities involving several men and women who were reportedly engaged in illicit

¹⁰⁹⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.51.p.37/b1 (Muharrem 988/June 1580).

¹⁰⁹⁶ According to Başak Tuğ, "deputy judges were mostly selected from the local ulema and therefore had potentially more power and local connections than the judges appointed from the center." Tuğ, *Politics of Honor*, 124.

¹⁰⁹⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.50/b2 (Şaban 991/August 1583).

¹⁰⁹⁸ A part of Hasan Ağa Mahallesi was within Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land. Nurbanu Sultan's realm. Thus, certain sections of these three neighborhoods have become waqf zones administered by Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellis* and their cadres. proofread my writing above.

sexual behavior at Ahi Çelebi's Stable.¹⁰⁹⁹ Upon his request, Ahmed Subaşı obtained judicial consent to enter private property to gather evidence and confirm the accusations and thus document a public transgression. According to the Sharia, the eyewitness testimony of at least four adult males was necessary to prosecute a person for sexual misconduct. Thus, Ahmed Subaşı requested the participation of various community members and waqf officers, including Malkoç Bey, the chief scribe of the waqf, to conduct an on-site inspection to strengthen the *subaşı*'s legal claim.¹¹⁰⁰

The *nâ'ibs* of Ma'mûre represented the highest judicial authority in Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood, acting as neutral arbiters within the judicial framework established by the Sharia and sultan law (*kanun*). They had the delicate responsibility of balancing the sometimes-conflicting interests of the waqf administration, *subaşı*, the community of Ma'mûre, and other petitioners who applied to the court. The illegal appropriation of the inheritances of deceased residents or the detention of fugitive slaves apprehended in Ma'mûre in the name of the waqf administration were among the most frequent legal cases that required judicial intervention and resulted in the *subaşı* or waqf officials being summoned before the *nâ'ib* as defendants. For example, in 1582, Musa Efendi, the kadi of Erzurum, visited Üsküdar in search of his servant of Nubian origin (*Nûbiyyü'l-asl*).¹¹⁰¹ Upon discovering that the *subaşı* of Ma'mûre had imprisoned his fugitive servant in the name and for the benefit of the waqf, Musa Efendi filed a lawsuit against Ahmed Subaşı.¹¹⁰² In another

¹⁰⁹⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.46/b3 (Zilkade 993/November 1585).

¹¹⁰⁰ Upon their arrival at Ahi Çelebi stable, they found a group of men with Fati ibinti Fatma, a woman from Karye-i İstavros, and escorted them to the court, where their testimonies were to be recorded. In the presence of the *nâ'ib*, they all blamed Hüseyin, the saddler, and confessed that it was Hüseyin who introduced Fatma to their gatherings where they ate, drank, and enjoyed the day together. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.46/b3 (Zilkade 993/November 1585).

¹¹⁰¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.40/b1 (Safer 990/March 1582).

For an article regarding the black slaves in the Ottoman Empire, see Ronald C. Jennings, "Free Slaves and Free Blacks in Ottoman Cyprus," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 30, no. 3 (1987): 286–302.

¹¹⁰² At the plaintiff's request, the *nâ'ib* summoned Ali Subaşı and his detainee to the court for a physical confrontation that could resolve the case. However, the slave denied Musa Efendi's claims. Following his denial, the court asked the plaintiff to present his witnesses, who could testify under oath to the legitimacy of their master-servant relationship. As the court scribe recorded, Nureddin Bey and Siyami Efendi were present at the court. They swore an oath to support Musa Efendi's claims and ensured the release of his servant. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.40/a1 (Safer 990/March 1582).

case dated 1585, Hüseyin ibn Hayreddin appealed to the court of Ma'mûre and submitted his complaint against the waqf administration for appropriating his deceased brother Mehmet's properties without his knowledge and consent.¹¹⁰³ Hüseyin asserted his status as one of Mehmet's rightful heirs, noting that his brother had died alone at home while he was in the city of Bafra and asked for his share of the inheritance. Upon Hüseyin's request, the kadi asked him to present witnesses to substantiate his claim. During the subsequent court hearing, his three witnesses swore that Hüseyin and Mehmet were brothers from the same father and mother (*li-ebb ve ümm karındaş*) and ensured the redivision of the inherited property between the waqf administration and the plaintiff.

Table 5. 9: The key responsibilities shared by the Ma'mûre's local authorities.

Branches of Local Management	Primary Responsibilities (in general terms)	Responsible Parties (only local authorities)
Administrative Management	Submitting regular reports to the waqf superintendent and compiling the waqf's account registers.	<i>Mütevelli</i> , waqf scribes
Administrative Management	Supervising appointments and removals of certain administrative and military positions in waqf-owned settlements.	<i>Mütevelli</i> , the kadi of Üsküdar (or his <i>nâ'ib</i> employed in Ma'mûre)
Financial Management	Managing the waqf's financial assets and implementing measures to enhance the efficiency and profitability of these properties for the maximum benefit of the endowment.	<i>Mütevelli</i>
Financial Management	Managing the financial affairs of the waqf community and collecting the relevant taxes and dues.	<i>Mütevelli</i> , <i>subaşı</i> , and tax farmers.
Urban Management	Implementing the imperial orders related to the demographic and spatial organization of Ma'mûre and contributing to the decision-making process.	<i>Mütevelli</i> , the kadi of Üsküdar (or his <i>nâ'ib</i> employed in Ma'mûre)
Urban Management	Ensuring the maintenance and upkeep of urban infrastructure and taking the necessary precautions to protect it from potential threats such as unauthorized encroachments. ¹¹⁰⁴	<i>Mütevelli</i> , <i>Subaşı</i> , the kadi of Üsküdar (or his <i>nâ'ib</i> employed in Ma'mûre)
Urban Management	Acquiring private property or assets to support the waqf's charitable initiatives when deemed necessary. Overseeing	<i>Mütevelli</i> , the kadi of Üsküdar (or his <i>nâ'ib</i>)

¹¹⁰³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.48/b5 (Zilkade 993 / November 1585).

¹¹⁰⁴ In 1587, Pir Ali Agha informed the central government concerning the waterway leading to Ma'mûre's public bath. His letter revealed that residents had deliberately broken the earthenware pipes (*künk*) to divert water for their personal gains. Upon Pir Ali Agha's letter, III. Murad appointed a certain Yusuf, as *su yolu korucusu*, the guardian of the waterway, in exchange for his exemption from extraordinary taxes. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.69.p.34/b1 (Şevval 995/ September 1587).

Branches of Local Management	Primary Responsibilities (in general terms)	Responsible Parties (only local authorities)
	the expropriation process. ¹¹⁰⁵	employed in Ma'mûre)
Management of Public Order	Ensuring public order and security in the waqf land. Settling daily conflicts. Executing judicial verdicts.	<i>Subaşı</i> and his functionaries.
Management of Public Order	Providing judicial and notarial services for the local population and the waqf administration.	<i>Nâ'ib</i> , court staff.
Service Management	Overseeing and coordinating the delivery of public services.	Waqf administration, waqf's service personnel

As we will see in more detail in Chapter 6, the kadıs of Üsküdar, Galata, and Eyüp appointed their *nâ'ibs* to the legal-administrative subdivisions (*nâhiye*) of the districts under their jurisdiction.¹¹⁰⁶ Typically, these *nâ'ibs* held courts in the principal towns or villages of the respective *nâhiyes* to which they were assigned.¹¹⁰⁷ One could then argue that the appointment of a *nâ'ib* to Mahalle-i Ma'mûre reflected a deliberate effort to establish a regional government body similar to that of the *nâhiyes*, where a *nâ'ib* and a *subaşı* jointly shared the responsibility of dealing with the maintenance of order.¹¹⁰⁸ The designation of Ma'mûre as a *niyâbet* would augment its self-governance capabilities as an administrative unit and also equip its administrative body with a judicial authority.

The active cooperation among Ma'mûre's administrative and judicial authorities facilitated the coordinated management of the neighborhood community and the local resources that belonged to Nurbanu Sultan's endowment. Equally important was a well-organized hierarchy among the different branches of its administration. In this regard, the authority of the *nâ'ib* was essential in achieving a balanced distribution of power among the

¹¹⁰⁵ In 1576, the names of the owners of certain gardens, orchards and meadows, which was used for the construction material that would be used for Nurbanu Sultan's mosque's.

¹¹⁰⁶ Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İctimai Tarihi II*, 456.

¹¹⁰⁷ İlhan Şahin, "Nahiye," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 32 (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2006): 307.

¹¹⁰⁸ Quoting from Evliya Çelebi, Osman Nuri Ergin puts that "*Subaşılar, kadılar ve nâiblerin emri altında bulunan askeri görevlilerdir ve belediye işlerinin yanı sıra zabıta işleriyle de ilgilenirlerdi. Kadılar ve nâ'ibler bulunduğu her yerde bir subaşı da görevlendirilirdi. Subaşı, the military personnel, operated under the authority of kadıs and their deputies and were involved in both municipal and policing affairs. In every locality where a kadi or a nâ'ib was employed, the presence of a subaşı was likewise assured.*" Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, 1995), 860.

Ma'mûre's administrative authorities. Another factor that enhanced efficient local governance was the physical proximity and accessibility of these authorities, which allowed for a more direct oversight of local affairs. Considering the confluence of these factors, it can be argued that the local government of Ma'mûre was built on three principles that ensured efficient control over the residents and the waqf assets: the accessibility of the local ruling elite, the cooperation among the local authorities, and a well-organized system of checks and balances that prevented any single party from accumulating too much power. (see Fig. 5.5)



Figure 5. 5: The Three Pillars of Effective Governance in Ma'mûre.

Firstly, the designation of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land as an administrative urban unit, which was followed by the formation of its governance cadre, enhanced the accessibility of administrative authorities to the local population. The establishment of a sharia court, for instance, markedly increased court attendance, and residents of Ma'mûre could interact with waqf officials to negotiate their individual or group interests. The second pillar of effective management of Ma'mûre was the cooperation among its administrative authorities for the economic stability of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf and the social harmony of the neighborhood community. And third, a system of checks and balances was established to prevent the concentration of power within any single branch of the local government. The administrative staff of the waqf and the tax farmers of Ma'mûre operated under the

supervision of Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs*, who were accountable to the judicial authorities, the waqf superintendent, and the sultan. The *subaşı* and his officers had their actions overseen by the *mütevellî*. In turn, the *mütevellî* and *subaşı* were bound to the Sharia, and any infringement they committed on a property right was promptly adjudicated once the case was brought to the court. This system of dual checks and balances played a vital role in ensuring effective and lawful management of the waqf neighborhood and its revenues while safeguarding the local community from unfair treatment.

5.4. Conclusion: Cultivating Collective Identity through Waqf Administration

In one of his influential works on Ottoman economic history, Mehmet Genç argued that although the imperial waqfs were granted a degree of autonomy, they were not wholly independent from state oversight. The central government ensured that waqfs adhered to the stipulations outlined in *vakfiyes* by maintaining rigorous supervision through waqf superintendents and judicial authorities.¹¹⁰⁹ Genç further added that any *mütevellî* who mistreated the public while collecting revenues would swiftly become the subject of public complaints and face legal consequences for their actions.¹¹¹⁰ According to him, since there were lots of such complaints against waqf administrations, the central government did not view autonomy as a license for arbitrary governance.¹¹¹¹

The state's control mechanisms, which ensured that waqf administrations were systematically monitored and regulated by judicial authorities, were exemplified in the organization of the local governance cadre of Ma'mûre. As early as 1580, the kadi of Üsküdar appointed a *nâ'ib* to preside over a local court in the neighborhood. Following Genç's argument, it can be suggested that one of the reasons for this appointment was to curtail the accumulation of power by Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs* while also upholding the state's commitment to protect the rights of the Ottoman subjects against any form of unjust treatment.

¹¹⁰⁹ Mehmet Genç, "Klâsik Osmanlı Sosyal-İktisadî Sistemi ve Vakıflar," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. 42 (December 2014), 16.

¹¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹¹ Ibid.

Ma'mûre was designated as an *evkâf subaşılığı*, governed by a military-administrative cadre, supervised by the *mütevelli*, whose authority was circumscribed by the waqf's official boundaries. In 1580, Ma'mûre's waqf status coalesced with a new judicial status, with the introduction of a deputy court within the neighborhood. These governing bodies worked collectively to advance the waqf's interests and also acted as a uniform body, managing the daily issues of the local community. Thus, the day-to-day relationship between the residents and the local authorities was primarily shaped by an array of regulations informed mainly by certain rights and obligations shared by the two parties and stipulated in the *vakfiye* and frequent imperial orders.

Table 5.10: Rights and responsibilities of Nurbanu's waqf subjects and the waqf administration.

Residents of Ma'mûre		Local Governors of Ma'mûre (Waqf Administration, Subaşı, and their staff)	
Rights / Benefits	Obligations / Liabilities	Rights / Duties	Obligations/ Liabilities
Exemption from extraordinary taxes, dues, and services.	Fulfilling tax obligations to the waqf administration.	Collecting taxes, dues, and fees on behalf of the waqf administration.	Conducting neighborhood surveillance, market inspections, and preventing criminal activities.
Nurbanu Sultan's land grants to those who settled around her mosque complex.	Construct dwellings on the allocated plots.	Confiscating the properties of deceased residents who passed away without heirs, or whose heirs fail to appear and claim their inheritance.	Executing the verdicts of the judicial authorities. Dealing with the administration of the prisons under their jurisdiction.
Receiving basic socio-religious and educational services.	Notifying the waqf administration of their relocation and providing details of their new place of residence.	Collecting levies from Nurbanu Sultan's Christian and Jewish waqf subjects to finance the repair and renovation of Nurbanu Sultan's waterway.	Ensuring the smooth operation of the mosque complex and maintaining the provision of socio-religious services in accordance with the standards outlined in the waqf deed.
Being under the protection of the waqf administration against illegal taxation.	Informing the waqf authorities in cases involving the transaction of waqf properties.	Acquiring the granted waqf plots through requisition if deemed necessary for the public interest, provided that fair	Overseeing the operation of public utilities, including regular control of the water pipe system and the repair of

Residents of Ma'mûre		Local Governors of Ma'mûre (Waqf Administration, Subaşı, and their staff)	
Rights / Benefits	Obligations / Liabilities	Rights / Duties	Obligations/ Liabilities
		compensation is given in return.	pavements and waqf buildings.

An important question to raise here is whether the administrative status of Ma'mûre, at once "*evkâf subaşılığı*" and "*niyâbet*," had any meaningful impact on the daily lives of its residents. I argue that the socio-legal framework used to govern Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood delineated the rights and obligations specific to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subjects and was thus instrumental in cultivating a collective identity among the inhabitants of Ma'mûre.

For instance, when a tax-paying Ottoman subject — whether household head or bachelor — resided in Ma'mûre for at least six months, he, or she (if a *bive*/widow headed households) was registered as Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subject. This status granted them hereditary rights and privileges, including exemptions from extraordinary taxes and compulsory services. Some of them built their homes in the neighborhood while others stayed in waqf-owned dwellings. Those who received waqf plots were also entitled to these lands on which they built their homes. In exchange for these benefits, they were required to fulfill their fiscal responsibilities to the waqf administration. Besides paying their taxes to the waqf officials, Nurbanu Sultan's Christian and Jewish waqf subjects had to finance the repair and renovation of Nurbanu Sultan's waterway providing water to her mosque, public kitchen and bath.¹¹¹² For instance, in 1691, the annual contribution of Jewish waqf subjects for the maintenance of Nurbanu Sultan's waterway was 30,000 *akçes*.¹¹¹³ Failure to fulfill these duties could have resulted in the forfeiture of their exemptions from paying extraordinary levies and dues.¹¹¹⁴

¹¹¹² BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.73. p.240/559 (Ramazan 1003/ May 1595), BOA. EV.HMH.d.161.p.6a (Cemâziyelâhir 1100/April 1689, attached register dated Şevval 1074/May 1664).

¹¹¹³ BOA.CV.ML. 612 – 25232.pg.1/a3 (Zilhicce 1102/ September 1691).

¹¹¹⁴ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.73. p.240/559 (18 Ramazan 1003/27 May 1595).

The residents were also required to notify the waqf officials or the *nâ'ib* of Ma'mûre of any circumstances that might concern the waqf administration, such as transactions involving waqf assets or changes in their residence. Such information was essential for verifying their current domicile, as waqf officials closely monitored the mobility of waqf subjects to collect taxes in a timely manner and to confiscate properties of those waqf subjects who died without legal heirs.¹¹¹⁵ Any waqf subjects who relocated from Ma'mûre were required to carry the official documentation certifying their affiliation with Nurbanu Sultan's waqf to avoid double taxation by both the local gentry and tax farmers assigned by the waqf administration.¹¹¹⁶

On the other hand, the waqf administration held responsibilities not only to the waqf endower and the central government but also to the waqf community. Their primary duty in the realm of urban administration was to ensure the efficient operation of waqf facilities and to oversee the repair of those in disrepair. Additionally, the *mütevelli* had to vigilantly supervise the *subaşı* of Ma'mûre, along with the military officers and tax farmers employed in the neighborhood, responsible for maintaining public security, conducting regular neighborhood surveillance, conducting market inspections, and preventing criminal activities in Ma'mûre.

¹¹¹⁵ ÜŞS.vol.53.p.23/b1 (Şaban 989/September 1581).

¹¹¹⁶ The Ottoman subjects who were registered as waqf *reaya* were given the documents of *serbestname* and *muafname*, which were the exemption certificates that proved their affiliation with a particular foundation and provided legal evidence protecting them from any unauthorized taxation. The exclusive authority for collecting taxes from them rested with the relevant waqf officials, and the waqf folks who were exempt from paying extraordinary taxes could not be held responsible for extra payments. Several imperial decrees instruct provincial kadis to protect the granted tax privileges of the waqf subject against any infringement and not permit any maltreatment or oppression toward them.

For some of these decrees, see: BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.p.147/341: In 1595, the waqf subjects of *Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn* (the endowments dedicated to the two Muslim holy cities; Mecca and Medina), living in Ereğli, abandoned their lands because of the illegal tax burden imposed by the corrupt governors. In response to the appeals made by the suffering waqf subjects of Ereğli, who had *serbestnames* in their hands, an imperial decree was issued addressing the kadi of Ereğli. The decree ordered the kadi to rectify the illegal taxation practices and ensure that only the authorized waqf officials collect taxes. Additionally, the decree empowered the punishment of any officials found to have contravened the edict, with the assistance of the waqf officials. BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.82.p.19/75: In 1617, the waqf folks of Sultan Bayezid, living in Eskişehir, suffered from the illegal taxations conducted by provincial officers, even if they had exemption certificates in their hands. Upon the petition of the waqf *reaya*, Sultan Ahmed I issued an imperial decree ordering the kadi of Eskişehir to warn the local power holders not to offend the Sultan Bayezid's waqf folk and act in a manner that would not violate their privileges guaranteed by *muafnames*.

The collective identity shared by the community of Ma'mûre, I argue, was mainly framed by the reciprocal relationship that obtained between the waqf administration and the waqf community, and that was based on established rights and responsibilities regarding both parties, as detailed in Table 5.10. This became particularly evident when the community's rights were under threat. As we saw in Section 5.1.1, the grocers of Ma'mûre, appealed to the court to dispute the financial demands of the *İstanbul Bazarbaşı*, presenting themselves as "the tax-exempt subjects of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf" rather than "the grocers of Üsküdar," even though the latter were also exempt of extraordinary taxes; they simply saw that this self-identification would reaffirm the rights they were granted by that very waqf. Moreover, as discussed in Section 5.1.2, the residents of Ma'mûre exhibited a collective resistance to the appointment of a new *subaşı*, a role pivotal to the local governance and tax collection in Ma'mûre.

I also argued that what also fostered a sense of unity among the neighborhood community was its governance by a waqf-centered administration. An in-depth examination and interpretation of the related court records reveal that the residents were adept at navigating the political landscape of Ma'mûre and well aware of the dual role of Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs* as both waqf administrators and local governors. Moreover, they were well-versed in the power dynamics among the prominent local authorities, including the *mütevelli*, *subaşı*, and *nâ'ib*. Consequently, in case of conflict, they could successfully gauge the balance of power and approach those who best suited their needs and interests. An example related to the *Kıbtî* community in particular may be of interest here. In 1593, Mehmed Subaşı, the then *subaşı* of Ma'mûre, received an anonymous letter claiming that Hüma and Hani, members of Ma'mûre's *Kıbtî* community, engaged in prostitution, thereby posing a threat to public morality.¹¹¹⁷ He brought the case to the attention of the *nâ'ib*, who initiated an inquiry into the reputation of the accused women within their own community. A consensus among several *Kıbtî* residents established that Hüma and Hani did not have a disgraceful reputation and that they had neither witnessed their immoral behaviors nor heard them utter bad words. Furthermore, the witnesses noted that Hani's attractiveness made her

¹¹¹⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.86.p.9/b2 (Şaban 1001/ May 1593).

particularly vulnerable to baseless rumors and unfounded allegations. Consequently, the court acquitted Hüma and Hani, grounding its decision on the witness testimonies.

Two years later, a similar incident occurred. A group of *Kıbtîs* sent an anonymous letter to Mütevelli Pir Ali Agha, accusing their fellow neighbor, Bazarlı, son of Bozacı, of being a thief.¹¹¹⁸ The letter claimed that he had recently stolen a raincoat. The anonymous author(s) of the letter requested the intervention of the *mütevelli* and asked him to hear the testimony of three witnesses to the alleged theft. In the following days, Pir Ali Agha assigned his deputy Ahmed Subaşı to investigate the allegations in the presence of the judicial authorities. Ahmed Subaşı brought the three witnesses and a group of *Kıbtî* residents to the court for questioning. They testified that they had neither seen Bazarlı steal a raincoat nor witnessed any inappropriate behavior on his part. The witnesses also noted that he had been in a longstanding conflict with his wife. Although the identity of the letter's author remains unknown, it was speculated that the anonymous author(s) may have been Bazarlı's wife.

It seems that the anonymous claimants of the last two cases intended to tarnish the reputation of those with whom they had conflicts. For doing this, they reached the military-administrative governors of the neighborhood via anonymous letters, feeding them baseless accusations but lacking substantial evidence or credible witnesses to support their accusations, which would have been necessary for a formal court case. They were adept at navigating the dual roles that Pir Ali Agha held as waqf administrator and local governor, which were indeed intertwined responsibilities, and they strategically circumvented the sharia court to address disputes directly with them. Nevertheless, in the end, it was the cooperative efforts of the local executive and judicial authorities that resolved the conflicts.

In her article discussing the legal identity of neighborhoods in the Ottoman Empire, Hülya Canbakal asked whether neighborhoods had a collective identity in the legal sphere and argued that the imposition of penal and fiscal responsibilities upon neighborhood communities cultivated a sense of communal obligation among residents, leading them to act as collective agents in both social and legal contexts.¹¹¹⁹ Canbakal grounded her

¹¹¹⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.86.p.30/a3 (Ramazan 1001/June 1595).

¹¹¹⁹ Hülya Canbakal, "Some Questions on the Legal Identity of Neighborhoods in the Ottoman Empire," *Anatolia Moderna*, vol. 10 (2004), 131–38.

argument in two prominent fiscal and legal practices: First, the shared responsibility for crimes committed by neighbors, which entailed the payment of blood money (*kan parası*) to the victim's family, a practice that not only strengthened communal solidarity but also facilitated conflict resolution through financial means. Second, the establishment of communal funds (*avarız waqfs*) in some neighborhoods helped divide and mitigate the burden of individual households in dealing with extraordinary taxes.¹¹²⁰

While the first practice was governed by the Islamic law of compensation, which served to restore justice and maintain social harmony, the second was firmly rooted in the empire's administrative policies and procedures, tailored to address the challenges posed by the empire's taxation system. Given that the implementation of these practices depended on spatial proximity, such as residing within the same neighborhood or village, members of a given community were bound to one another through their collective responsibility.¹¹²¹ In the case of waqf settlements, that imbued their inhabitants with waqf-specific rights and responsibilities, the collective identity of the neighborhood (or other kinds of settlements) community became predominantly oriented around the fulfillment of the requirements and duties established by the waqf, rather than focusing solely on the obligations towards the neighborhood community.

It could be argued that there was a traditional form of "agreement" between the waqf endower and the waqf subjects that was governed within the framework of waqf law and defined by the provisions of the *vakfiye* and subsequent imperial decrees. This, of course, was not an agreement in the contemporary sense, where the parties signed a document outlining specific conditions and obligations. Rather, it was an unwritten yet widely recognized social contract. This regulatory framework, under which the waqf administration operated, retained a degree of flexibility, allowing for the redefinition of certain provisions, such as tax exemptions or the use of waqf land, which was usually enforced by sultanic orders. This flexibility enabled a more dynamic governance of the waqf settlement and an

¹¹²⁰ Instead of each household bearing the financial burden alone, communal funds enabled residents to collectively manage and mitigate the impact of taxes. Ibid.

¹¹²¹ Işık Tamdoğan, "The Ottoman political community in the process of justice making in the 18th-century Adana," In *Forms and Institutions of Justice: Legal Actions in Ottoman Contexts*, ed. Yavuz Aykan and Işık Tamdoğan (Istanbul: Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes, 2018).
<https://doi.org/10.4000/books.ifeagd.2316>.

adaptive response to changing socio-economic conditions, local needs, or policy shifts, thereby ensuring the waqf's continued fulfillment of its objectives.



Chapter 6

LOCATING MA‘MÛRE WITHIN THE JUDICIAL TOPOGRAPHY OF GREATER ISTANBUL: A SPATIAL INQUIRY

In the previous chapter, I examined Ma‘mûre as a waqf neighborhood and an *evkâf subaşılığı* with administrative and fiscal immunities granted by the tax farmers of Üsküdar. This immunity endowed the waqf administration with the authority to govern the region without contradicting Nurbanu Sultan’s will, which was put in writing in the *vakfiye*. As the highest authority of the waqf administration at the local level, Nurbanu Sultan’s *mütevelli*s wielded significant discretionary power over the governance of Ma‘mûre, which enabled them to position themselves as local governors. In 1580, a deputy court was established in Ma‘mûre, enhancing the accessibility of judicial authorities to its residents. Chapter 6 delves further into Ma‘mûre’s designation as a judicial center, discussing the motivations underlying this decision. It examines the spatial dimension of its courthouse to understand whether the neighborhood was endowed with a permanent venue for legal proceedings. In doing so, it explores the neighborhood’s socio-political landscape, as it is reflected in its judicial-administrative establishments (the courthouse, the *mütevelli*’s seat, and the *subaşı*’s base).

One of the goals of Chapter 6 is to view Ma‘mûre as a judicial-administrative unit headed by the kadiship of Greater Istanbul. The first section, therefore, presents an overview of Greater Istanbul’s judicial administration to provide a deeper understanding of Ma‘mûre’s status within this framework. In the following section, I provide a general overview of the kadi courts of Istanbul (*intramuros*), Eyüp, Galata, and Üsküdar. The current scholarship lacks dedicated research on the spatial organization of Greater Istanbul’s Kadi courts and deputy courts (or *niyâbet mahkemesi*). Nor is there a systematic inquiry into the venues used by kadis and their deputies to conduct legal hearings prior to the modernization of the Ottoman court system in the nineteenth century, leaving a significant gap in our comprehension of the spatial aspects of judicial administration in Greater Istanbul.

In this regard, the second section attempts to fill this gap. It provides a brief introduction to the *kadi* court and *niyâbet* courts of *intramuros* Istanbul, focusing on the underlying motives that guided the selection of their locations and the venues designated for

court proceedings. It reveals that the *niyâbet* courts, which operated under the supervision of the Istanbul kadi, were usually located around bustling commercial hubs, customs areas, and ports, facilitating the swift resolution of legal matters arising from trade and business activities. The next section shifts the focus from the central districts of each district to the *niyâbet* courts, discussing the principal reasons and criteria for selecting the locations where kadis appointed their deputies. This analysis aims to deepen our understanding of the motivations for appointing *nâ'ibs* to Ma'mûre. Additionally, it attempts to determine the extent to which judicial centers in Greater Istanbul shared a similar spatial organization to reveal whether there was a common urban planning strategy or architectural principles guiding their placement across the city.

Finally, the third section provides a brief overview of the *kadi* court and *niyâbet* courts of Eyüp, Galata, and Üsküdar Districts. Also, it examines the spatial configuration of various judicial centers of the *Bilâd-ı Selâse* kadiships to inquire into the possible locations where the *nâ'ib* of Ma'mûre might have conducted court proceedings. In sum, Chapter 6 offers a tripartite framework that organizes the spatial layout of the administrative-judicial centers. This framework defines the political space by examining the strategic placement of key judicial and administrative entities—the kadi's court, the headquarters of *subaşı*, and the local prison—and their impact on effective urban management.

6.1. A Glimpse on the Judicial Landscape of Istanbul and Bilâd-ı Selâse

In the sixteenth century, Greater Istanbul was organized into the four distinct kadiships of *intramuros* Istanbul and the boroughs of Galata, Eyüp, and Üsküdar, collectively referred to as *Bilâd-ı Selâse*.¹¹²² Each of these boroughs fell under the jurisdiction of a dignitary kadi (*mevleviyet kadısı* or *mevâlî*), also known as “500-akçe kadi”, a title referring to the daily remunerations designated for their services.¹¹²³ Although all four kadis shared the

¹¹²² Yunus Uğur, Büyük İstanbul'un Oluşumu: Osmanlı İstanbulu'nun Sosyal-Mekânsal Gelişimi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme,” in *Türk Tarihinin Kadim Şehirleri*, eds. Okan Yeşilot, et al. (Istanbul, Selenge Yayınları, 2022): 579-600.

¹¹²³ “Kadiships in the Ottoman Empire were divided into *mevleviyet* kadiships, or judgeships of major cities, and town kadiships (*kasabat kadılıkları*). The divide between these two categories was determined by their respective estimated daily revenues: the former had a daily revenue of 500 *akçe*, and the latter, a daily revenue of less than 500 *akçe*. These sums should not be confused with salaries. Kadis generally did not receive a

prestigious status of *mevleviyet kadısı*, positioning them on par with the kadıs of the empire’s major provincial capitals, the kadi of Istanbul held a notably superior position.¹¹²⁴ His elevated status was due to his jurisdiction over the courts of the empire’s administrative center in Istanbul, as opposed to the other three kadıs, who administered the courts that lay beyond the city walls and in the villages situated along the Bosphorus.¹¹²⁵ Unlike the Istanbul kadiship (*Istanbul Kadılığı*), whose jurisdiction was confined to the walled city, the Galata, Eyüp, and Üsküdar kadiships were responsible for larger territories that consisted of several subdistricts (*nâhiyes*).¹¹²⁶ Consequently, while the kadi of Istanbul exercised authority over sharia courts all located within the intramural city, the kadıs of Üsküdar, Galata, and Eyüp supervised a more extensive network of deputy courts dispersed across various towns and subdistricts.¹¹²⁷ (see Map 6.5, 6.6 and 6.7)

salary; instead, their income was based on fees that they collected in return for their judicial, notarial and administrative services” Akiba, “Farming out judicial offices,” 31.

Also see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı* (Ankara: TTK, 1988), 133.

¹¹²⁴ According to the law code (*kanunnâme*) of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, *mevleviyet* kadıs with a salary of 500 akçe were considered one degree below the rank of provincial governors (*beylerbeyi*). Consequently, they were required to sit below the treasurers (*defterdars*) in formal assemblies. However, an exception was made for the kadi of Istanbul, who was permitted to sit above the treasurers due to his elevated status. The rank of the Istanbul kadi was considered equal in rank to that of provincial governors. Uzunçarşılı, *İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 135-136. For further information on the *mevleviyet* kadiships, see Bilgin Aydın and Rıfat Günalan, “XVI. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti’nde Mevleviyet Kadıları,” in Prof. Dr. , *Sevket Nezih Aykut Armağanı*, ed. Gülden Sarıyıldız et al. (Istanbul: Etkin Kitaplar, 2011): 19–34. Abdurrahman Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 72, 197, 198.

¹¹²⁵ Ergin, *Mecelle*, vol. 1, 133-135.

¹¹²⁶ For more information regarding the Istanbul kadiship, see Bilgin Aydın, “Istanbul Kadılığı Tarihçesi ve İstanbul Kadı Sicillerine Dair Tetkikler,” *Istanbul Araştırmaları*, vol. 6 (1998), 71-87.

¹¹²⁷ At this point, I should note that my analysis solely focuses on the central courts of Greater Istanbul and the deputy courts that were established to deal with the judicial affairs of a particular locality. Thus, my inquiry deliberately excludes specialized courts such as the Court for the Financial Management of Waqfs (*Evkaf Muhasebe Mahkemesi*), the Court for the Inspection of Imperial Waqfs (*Evkaf-ı Hümayun Müfettişliği Mahkemesi*), and the Court of Inheritance Distribution for Military Personnel (*Kısmet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi*). The reason I exclude these specialized courts is that they were not directly related to judicial governance and do not provide relevant data toward my questions regarding the motivations of kadıs to appoint their deputies in particular areas.



Map 6. 1: The sharia courts of Istanbul kadiship (Istanbul Kadılığı)

The map shows only the sharia courts in the vicinity of *intramuros* Istanbul and its three boroughs.¹¹²⁸

Produced by the author.

In the Galata District, for example, I have identified seven judicial centers. (see Map 6.6) The kadi's court was located in Galata proper, and each of the six *niyâbet* courts in the subdistricts of Kasımpaşa, Tophane, Beşiktaş, İstinye, Marmara, and Kapıdağ. Although the kadi's court was located in the town proper, his jurisdiction extended from Kasımpaşa to Rumeli Kavağı, covering an extensive area that included a substantial part of the Golden

¹¹²⁸ To analyze the spatial distribution of kadi courts and *niyâbet* courts in *intramuros* Istanbul and Bilâd-ı Selâse, I used sixteenth- and seventeenth-century court records of Istanbul, Üsküdar, Galata, and Eyüp, published by ISAM (İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, or the Center for Islamic Studies). Rather than mapping these courts at a fixed point in time, this map provides an overview of the sharia courts that were operational over the course of these two centuries. This representation is provisional and may be refined or expanded through more detailed and extensive research in the future. Also, this map does not include the *niyâbet* courts located away from the *kaza* centers to focus on the primary *niyâbet*s of Greater Istanbul. For the published volumes, see: <https://www.kadiscilleri.org/>

Horn's northern bank and the European side of the Bosphorus, as well as the Island of Marmara and the Peninsula of Kapıdağ, which extended into the Sea of Marmara.¹¹²⁹

As for the District of Eyüp, which was also known as *Haslar* or *Havâss-ı Refî'a Kazası*, it spanned a vast territory extending from Hasköy to Kırklareli (see Map 6.5). There I identified ten judicial centers. The kadi's court in the town of Eyüp, and a *niyâbet* court in each of the nine subdistricts of Hasköy, Cühûd Burgas (also referred to as Çıfıtburgaz, presently known as Bağcılar), Küçükçekmece, Büyükçekmece, Çatalca, Silivri, Ereğli (or Marmara Ereğlisi), Terkos and Midye (or Kırıkköy).¹¹³⁰

Despite significant differences from Ma'mûre in scale and administrative organization, the towns of Eyüp and Galata exhibited notable parallels with Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood, particularly in the allocation of local revenues for imperial endowments. In Galata, for instance, the local revenues derived from customs dues, *ihtisab* revenues, and *jizya* taxes were allocated to Sultan Ahmed I's mosque complex.¹¹³¹ The financial administration of these waqf funds was managed collaboratively by the *mütevellîs* of Sultan Ahmed's waqf and the *voyvodas* of Galata, the towns's local governor.¹¹³² Among their shared responsibilities was the formal registration of Galata's non-Muslim residents as Sultan Ahmed's waqf subjects once they had completed their one-year residency in the town and ensuring that *jizya* taxes collected from these residents were channeled directly to the waqf.¹¹³³ This arrangement, similar to that in Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood, not only ensured a consistent flow of funds for Sultan Ahmed's mosque complex but also forged both an administrative-legal and symbolic connection between the waqf and the waqf community.

¹¹²⁹ According to Evliya Çelebi, there were a total of forty-four *nâ'ibs* presiding over judicial proceedings in the Galata District. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 212.

¹¹³⁰ Evliya Çelebi reported that the twenty-six *nâ'ibs* presided over judicial proceedings in the Eyüp District. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 195.

¹¹³¹ Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Onikinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1100-1200)*, (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988), 226. *Mahkeme Kayıtları Işığında 17. İstanbul'unda Sosyo-Ekonomik Yaşam / Social and Economic Life in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul, Glimpses from court records*, vol 1. ed. Timur Kuran (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010), 308-309 (entry 153).

¹¹³² *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 212.

¹¹³³ Kuran, *Glimpses from Court Records*, 308-309.

The registration of these residents according to their new administrative status made them easier to locate and thus often left them vulnerable to the harassment of tax collectors from their villages and towns of origin. One such case was recorded in 1663, involving three residents of Galata, Duka, and Konstantin from Sidrekapısı, and Yorgi from a village in the District of Delvine.¹¹³⁴ They were summoned to the Galata court upon petitions filed by the tax collectors from their respective towns, who accused them of evading their customary taxes. At court, Duka, Konstantin, and Yorgi claimed that they had been residing in Galata for over a decade with the status of Sultan Ahmed's waqf subjects and were fulfilling their tax obligations to the waqf. To support their claims, they presented the fatwa they had obtained from the chief jurisconsult, *Şeyhülislam* Yahya Efendi, confirming that they had severed all ties with their previous residences and were no longer financially obligated to the tax collectors from their former residences. Additionally, the *voyvoda* of Galata submitted to the court both old and new versions of the imperial order regarding the rights of Sultan Ahmed's waqf subjects. Ultimately, the kadi instructed the plaintiffs to withdraw their charges, thereby preventing the defendants from being subjected to double taxation.¹¹³⁵

Currently, there is no study that specifically addresses Galata with a particular focus on its connection with Sultan Ahmed's waqf, and such an inquiry lies beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, rather than attempting a detailed comparative analysis between the urban administrations of Ma'mûre and Galata, this study presents several preliminary observations that underscore intriguing parallels between Galata and Ma'mûre deserving of further exploration. For instance, Evliya Çelebi's account of Galata provides significant insights into its local governance. He writes:

First of all, Galata is a dignitary kadiship [*mevleviyet kadılığı*], and the kadi of Galata is a dignitary kadi [*mevleviyet kadısı or mevâlî*] with a 500 *akçe* salary. Residing in close proximity to the Arab mosque, the kadi of Galata wields authority over forty-four judicial subdistricts, encompassing 300 villages. The deputy kadis, with a 150 *akçe* salary, preside over these deputy courts. Consequently, the Galata kadiship generates an annual revenue of 70 *kese* (equivalent to 35.000 *guruş*). The city is designated as a waqf territory, with revenue amounting to 200 *kese* (equal to 100.000 *guruş*), endowed

¹¹³⁴ *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri*, vol. 57, *Galata Mahkemesi 90 Numaralı Sicil* ((H. 1073-1074 / M. 1663), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: – Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi (İSAM), 2012., 2012), entry 33,39,287, p. 69,70,73, 240, 241.

¹¹³⁵ For more similar court cases see, Kuran, ed. *Mahkeme Kayıtları Işığında 17. İstanbul'unda Sosyo-Ekonomik Yaşam*, vol.1, 525, 526, 676, 677, 699(entries 274, 355, 369)

to Sultan Ahmed's mosque complex. The prominent governors of Galata are the Chief Harem Eunuch, who is the waqf superintendent, the *mütevelli*, and the *voyvoda* of Galata.¹¹³⁶

According to Evliya, therefore, the governing body of Galata consisted of the waqf superintendent, the *mütevelli*, and the *voyvoda*. Despite certain differences in the scope of their responsibilities, the *voyvoda* of Galata and the *subaşı* of Ma'mûre assumed similar duties, like collaborating with the waqf administration in tax collection and ensuring public security.

The town of Eyüp, too, bore many resemblances to Ma'mûre in terms of its waqf status. Both were waqf settlements located around the pious foundations to which they belonged. A sizable area extending from Eğrikapı and Topçular up until Alibeyköy was endowed to the mosque complex built by Mehmed II to commemorate *Hazret-i Ebû Eyyüb el-Ensârî*, believed to be one of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad.¹¹³⁷ Similar to Ma'mûre, the town of Eyüp was under the coordinated governance of the waqf administration and the *subaşı*. Evliya Çelebi notes:

Based on the legal codes of Mehmed, the Conqueror, Eyüp, was designated as a dignitary kadiship [*mevleviyet kadılığı*] with twenty-six judicial subdistricts encompassing 700 villages. The Eyüp kadiship generates an annual revenue of 10,000 *guruş*. The prominent urban governors of Eyüp include the *subaşı* and the *mütevelli*.¹¹³⁸

¹¹³⁶ “Evvelâ taraf-ı şer’-i Resûl’den Galata beş yüz akçe pâyesiyile şerîf mevleviyyetdir. Monlâsı Arab câmi’i kurbünde sâkin olup üç yüz pâre kurâya hâkim olup kırk dörd yerde nâhiye nâibleri var kim her nevâhî yüz ellişer akçe pâyesiyile şerîf kazâlardır. Senevî yetmiş kîse hâsıl olur. Ve bu şehir Sultân{Ahmed} câmi’i evkâfi olmağıle kızlar ağası nâzır olup iki yüz kîse hâsıl olur, mütevellisi hâkimdir. Üçüncü hâkim, Galata voyvodasıdır.” Evliyâ Çelebi *Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 212.

¹¹³⁷ The boundaries of the region designated as Hazret-i Ebû Eyyüb el-Ensârî mosque complex's waqf land were outlined in detail in Mehmed II's waqf deed “Eyüp kasabası arazisinin hepsi; yani, İstanbul Kale Kapılarından Eğri Kapı'dan başlayıp, batıya doğru giden yol yanındaki Morali Kafir Nasrani kuyusudan Otakcibaşı Mescidi yanındaki Ali Paşa Çeşmesine, oradan devamla Ahmet Paşa Mer'ası yanında Subaşı Süleyman Mescidi önündeki çeşmeye, oradan Suterazisi denilen mahalle, oradan Ahmed Paşa Sarayı'na, oradan Topcubaşı ahırı önünden geçerek mezkur Topcubaşı Mescidi'ne, oradan mezkur cihete doğrularak, Kanlıkavak denilen mahalle, oradan güneye meylederek Hayreddin Paşa Çiftliğine giden yol yanındaki su terazisine, Kadı Bahaüddin'in oğlunun Hz. Eba Eyyüb-i Ensari Camii vakfı için hükmeylediği mezralar yanındaki Okçuzâde Defterdar Efendi mer'asına, oradan MüderrisKöyü'ne giden yola, Hayreddin Paşa Çiftliği namıyla maaruf mezra önündeki havuz yanından bağlar tarafındaki Kemer Köprüsü'nün başına, oradan batı istikametinden kuzeye meylederek Yerlikaya'ya, oradan Ordu yoluna, Çukurçeşme denilen mevziye, Pir Çelebi mezarından Kemer Köprü'ye, oradan Sekban Kara Ali Değirmeni'ne, oradan Alibey Köyü'nün üstünden geçen Taşlıburun denilen yola, oradan meşhur Despite Köprüsü'ne oradan deniz kenarını takiben merhum Ali Paşa Kethüdâsı Ferruh'un kiremithanesi yanından geçerek hududun evveli olan Eğri Kapı'ya birleşir.” Sadi Bayram, “Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Eyüp Sultan Külliyesi Vakfiyesi,” in *Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu Tebliğler*, vol.1 (1997), 36.

¹¹³⁸ “İbtidâ kânûn-ı Ebû'l-feth üzre beş yüz akçe mevleviyyetdir ve yedi yüz pâre kurâya hükmü nâfizdir ve yirmi altı nevâhî nâibi vardır. Ber-vech-i adâlet senevî on bin guruş hâsıl olur. Başka subaşısı ve mütevellisi hükûmet {eder} “Evliyâ Çelebi *Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 195.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the administrative-judicial status of Üsküdar changed several times throughout the sixteenth century. In the first half of the century, when Üsküdar had not yet attained the rank of *Kaza*, judicial district, it was one of the *nâhiyes* of the Gebze District, which placed its judicial administration under the purview of the *nâ'ib* appointed by the kadi of Gebze. Accordingly, the jurisdiction of the Üsküdar *nâ'ib* included Üsküdar and its surrounding villages. This continued until the 1550s, when Üsküdar was promoted to one of the districts of the province of Anatolia, which extended from the shores of the Black Sea, including the towns of Şile and Kandıra all the way down to Gebze.¹¹³⁹

Another important milestone in the legal administration of Üsküdar was its designation as a dignitary kadiship (*mevleviyet kadılığı*). According to a seventeenth-century manuscript named *Tarih-i Silsile-i Ulema*, which provides an extensive summary of the appointment, promotion, and dismissal of the Ottoman kadis, Üsküdar was upgraded to the dignitary kadiship in the last days of 1582, and Arabzade was appointed as the first Üsküdar kadi to hold the esteemed title of *mevleviyet kadısı*.¹¹⁴⁰ He collaborated with an increasing number of *nâ'ibs*, who assisted him in fulfilling their increasing responsibilities either by his sides in the central court of the Üsküdar kadiship, located in Üsküdar, or in the deputy courts scattered across the District of Üsküdar. As we will see in the following section, there were two sharia courts in Üsküdar: the kadi court, presided over by a dignitary kadi, and the deputy court, or "*niyâbet mahkemesi*," located in Ma'mûre and supervised by the *nâ'ibs* who resided in Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood.¹¹⁴¹

¹¹³⁹ Abdülbaki Efendi was the first kadi of Üsküdar after Üsküdar became a *Kaza* center. *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri: Üsküdar Mahkemesi I Numaralı Sicil*, (Hicri 919-927 / M. 1513-21), vol. 1, ed. Bilgin Aydın, Ekrem Tak (Istanbul: İsam Yayınları, 2008), 18.

¹¹⁴⁰ For an extensive summary of the appointments to these kadiships in the sixteenth century, see *Silsile Defteri (Tarih-i Silsile-i Ulema)* (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi, no. 2142), 206a–209b. For detailed information regarding *Tarih-i Silsile-i Ulema* see, Mehdi Çiftçi, "XVI-XVII. Yüzyıl Osmanlı İlmiye Teşkilatı İçin Bir Kaynak: Târih-i Silsile-i Ulemâ," *İstem*, vol.10, no.20 (2012):113-129.

"A *mevleviyet kadı* was called *molla* (*mevlâ*). The word's plural form, *mevâlî*, was more frequently used to signify his status, which was guaranteed even when he no longer held the office, as he remained a rank (*paye*) holder." Akiba, "Farming out judicial offices," 32.

¹¹⁴¹ In the following centuries, the number of courts located in Üsküdar increased with the establishment of Üsküdar Bab Mahkemesi and Üsküdar Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi. It requires extensive research to find out whether Üsküdar Mahkemesi, Üsküdar Bab Mahkemesi, and Üsküdar Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi worked under the same roof. This issue is beyond the scope of this study.

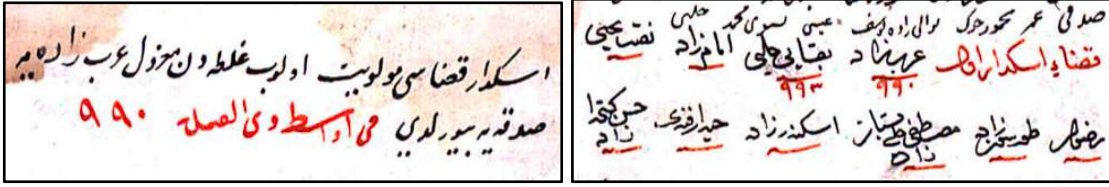


Figure 6. 1: The kadis of Üsküdar after 1582, when *Üsküdar Kazası* was upgraded to the rank of *mevleviyet*. An excerpt from *Tarih-i Silsile-i Ulema*.¹¹⁴²

In light of this overview of the kadiships of Greater Istanbul, the following section will center around three main questions: First, what were the circumstances that prompted the four *mevleviyet* kadis to appoint *nâ'ibs* to specific regions, and what were the leading factors that determined where a *nâ'ib* would be appointed? The second question is whether a spatial analysis of the *sharia* courts of Greater Istanbul can contribute to a better understanding of the judicial governance of Üsküdar and Ma'mûre. Third, was there a specific spatial arrangement informing the locations of courthouses, prisons, and the seats of local governors in the judicial centers of Istanbul and its boroughs? Addressing these three questions will hopefully provide a more comprehensive understanding of the case of Ma'mûre as a judicial center within the broader context of the legal administration of Greater Istanbul.

6.2. Seeking Justice in Greater Istanbul: The Courts of Galata, Eyüp and Üsküdar

Jane Hathaway argues that an “Ottoman innovation in the Arab lands was the designation of specific buildings as courthouses, at least for the chief provincial kadis.”¹¹⁴³ For example, in Cairo, a fifteenth-century Mamluk palace was converted into the seat of the chief kadi and received the name *Bab al-Ali* (like the grand vizier's seat in Istanbul).¹¹⁴⁴ The building, located in the heart of the city, functioned both as a residence and a tribunal for the city's

¹¹⁴² *Üsküdar Kazası mevleviyet olub Galata'dan ma'zûl Arabzade'ye sadakaya verildi. Fi evâsıt-ı Zilka'de 990* (December 1582) From *Tarih-i Silsile-i Ulema*. Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi, no. 2142: 12a, 208a.

¹¹⁴³ Jane Hathaway, *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule: 1516-1800* (London & New York: Routledge, 2008), 119.

¹¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

kadi.¹¹⁴⁵ In a similar manner, the chief kadi of Damascus resided in and heard the cases at a multifunctional courthouse in the center of the old city.¹¹⁴⁶ Hathaway also notes that the deputy kadis presiding over the *nâhiye* courts of Cairo did not enjoy the privilege of residing in such versatile mansions during their tenure. Rather, these *nâ'ibs* adhered to the traditional practice of holding trials in the central mosque of the respective *nâhiye* centers.¹¹⁴⁷

In line with Hathaway's discussion, Wael B. Hallaq highlights the sixteenth-century trend of conducting legal proceedings in buildings designated as courthouses.¹¹⁴⁸ He writes;

The Ottomans were the first in Islamic history to commit the court to a particular residence, a courthouse, so to speak. Kadis could no longer hold their majlis in the yards of mosques, in madrasas, or in their residences. Existing "public" buildings were modified for this purpose, and the number of courts was increased significantly when compared to the pre-Ottoman period.¹¹⁴⁹

There is a lack of research on the architectural characteristics and the geographical distribution of pre-modern courthouses in Istanbul and its three boroughs. This lack of scholarly attention may be due to the scarcity of physical evidence, such as remnants of the buildings that once served as courthouses, and perhaps misleading information by late Ottoman historians. Based on the account of the nineteenth-century Ottoman historian Vakanüvis Lütfi Efendi, for example, Osman Nuri Ergin argues that no specific building was designated as the court of Istanbul (*Istanbul Mahkemesi*). Instead, the court often doubled as the residence of the kadi of Istanbul. Therefore, each time the Istanbul kadi

¹¹⁴⁵ The historian of Ottoman Cairo, James E. Baldwin says that "The position of chief qādī of Cairo was one of the highest-ranking judgeships in the empire: at the beginning of our period it was, along with Mecca, Edirne, and Bursa, one of the Bilād-i Erbā'a judgeships, which ranked below only Istanbul and the chief qādīs (kāz'asker) of Rumelia and Anatolia. The chief qādī of Cairo was always a senior Ottoman qādī from the imperial ilmiye hierarchy, who served a short term, usually one to two years, after which he would be reassigned" For more information see James E. Baldwin, *Islamic Law and Empire in Ottoman Cairo* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 35.

¹¹⁴⁶ Hathaway, *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule*, 119.

¹¹⁴⁷ "Roughly fifteen more subdistricts, or *nahiya*, courts, run by *nâibs*, met in mosques spread throughout the city. For example, a key *Hanafi* court, which during the seventeenth century was frequented by many of the city's notables, met in a mosque situated outside Bab Zuwayla, the southern gate of the original Fatimid city of Cairo; this was a mosque in which prayers were conducted according to the Hanafi rite." Hathaway, *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule*, 119.

¹¹⁴⁸ Wael B. Hallaq, *Shari'a: Theory, Practice, Transformations* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), 219.

¹¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

moved to a new mansion, the *Istanbul Mahkemesi* was re-established in a new location.¹¹⁵⁰ However, the absence of clear material or textual evidence is probably not the only reason for the academic indifference to the issue. Another critical factor is the widely embraced approach of perceiving courthouses as quintessentially modern. As a result, the dominant scholarly perspective portrays pre-modern courts exclusively through the court activities and suggests that a sharia court was basically where kadis or their *nâ'ibs* heard cases and adjudicated legal disputes.

According to İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, the Galata Court occupied a fixed location near the Arab Mosque, originally a Latin cathedral converted into a mosque circa 1475 and also known as the Great Mosque (*Cami'i Kebir*).¹¹⁵¹ I have yet to find conclusive evidence to identify the exact location of the building. It also remains uncertain whether this courthouse also doubled as the residence of the Galata kadis. One could also speculate that as centrally located mosques often functioned as the principal venues for court proceedings, the Arab Mosque might have served as a court venue for kadis in earlier times until a courthouse was firmly established.

However, specific accounts from other historians point in a different direction. According to Cabi Ömer Efendi, the Ottoman chronicler who authored three volumes on Ottoman dynastic history covering the period (1789-1814), the sharia court of Galata was moved to a madrasa after a devastating fire burned down the courthouse.¹¹⁵² The mentioned fire was most likely the 1807 Galata fire, which also damaged the Arab Mosque.¹¹⁵³

¹¹⁵⁰ "...1253 senesine kadar Bâb-ı Meşihat'ta yalnız Şeyhülislâm ile Fetvâ Emâneti memurları bulunurlar ve Rumeli ve Anadolu kazaskerleri ile İstanbul kadıları müddet-i örfiyyelerini sâkin oldukları konaklarında imrâr ederlerdi. Bu konakların mahalleri tabii her kadiya göre değişirdi. Yâni kadı olan zâtın konağı nerede ise o sene İstanbul Mahkemesi de oraya nakledilirdi. Meselâ 1252 tarihinde Edirnekapı civarında bulunan İstanbul Kadılığı Mahkemesi ertesi sene Ayasofya'ya nakledilmişti. / Until 1253, Bâb-ı Meşihat was the office of Grand Mufti and fatwa officials, while Rumelian and Anatolian kazaskers and Istanbul kadis held court in their mansions. As a result, every time a new kadi moved into a new residence, the seat of *Istanbul Kadısı* was relocated. For example, in 1252, the Istanbul court was in Edirnekapı, but the following year it was moved to Ayasofya." See Ergin, *Mecelle*, vol. 1, 264.

¹¹⁵¹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 133.

¹¹⁵² *Câbi Tarihi, Târih-i Sultan Selâm-i Sâlis ve Mahmûd-ı Sâni*, vol.1, ed. Mehmet Ali Beyhan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2003), 619

¹¹⁵³ Semavi Eyice, "Arap Cami," in in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol.3 (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1991): 326.

Although Cabi Ömer Efendi does not specify which madrasa was repurposed as the courthouse, it might be the nearby eighteenth-century Bereketzade Madrasa built by Mehmet Efendi, the steward of Gülşah Emetullah Valide Sultan.¹¹⁵⁴ In the wake of the disaster, the kadi of Galata and his staff, including his deputies, the court summoner, and the court scribe, occupied five of the madrasa's nine rooms until the mosque and the courthouse were rebuilt in their original positions.¹¹⁵⁵

The following three sections revisit the assumption of sharia courts' "extra-spatiality" by fleshing out Hallaq's argument in the context of Greater Istanbul. In the first place, I will identify and locate buildings used as courthouses across Greater Istanbul (lodges in a mosque courtyard, madrasa cells, khans, rental rooms, and self-standing waqf buildings) and map their locations. This examination will shed light on the placement of Greater Istanbul's courthouses and enable us to assess whether their spatial arrangement followed a spatial pattern, and if such a pattern existed, to determine if it was also applied in Ma'mûre.

The Muslim authorities of Galata carried out their governmental functions in the western half of the town, specifically in and around Arab Câmi'i Mahallesi, which was inhabited predominantly by Muslim households.¹¹⁵⁶ (see Fig. 6.2) This neighborhood was close to the principal landmarks of Galata's commercial zone, including the *Arab Çarşısı*, a marketplace established around the Arab Mosque, the *Galata Bedesteni*, a covered market, and the harbor area, which served as a vital nexus of transportation and trade for the city.

¹¹⁵⁴ Ali Cengiz Üstüner, "İstanbul Medreseleri" In *Türk Dünya Araştırmaları*, no.142 (February, 2003), 31,32.

¹¹⁵⁵ "Zira Galata Mahkemesi ihrak olup şimdi mahkememiz beş odalı bir medresedir. Bir odasında Molla efendi kulunuz ve birinde katibler ve birinde Naib efendi ve birinde etba' ve birinde muhızır bendeleriniz olup akşama karib, Muhızırbaşı kulunuz mahkemenin mihtahını kilidleyüp Başçukadar'a verir." *Câbi Tarihi*, vol.1, ed. Mehmet Ali Beyhan, 619. Ayvansarayî, *Hadikatü'l Cevâmi*, 427.

¹¹⁵⁶ Fatma Müge Göçek and Marc David Baer, "Social Boundaries of Ottoman Women's Experience in Eighteenth Century Court Records," in *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Madeline C. Zilfi (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 57. My brief inquiry on Galata concentrates solely on the Muslim components of the urban governance while deliberately excluding the other political actors such as the officials of the Venetian Embassy, the Venetian Consular Court, and the *Magnifica Comunità di Pera*, a council representing the interests of Latin Catholic communities in Istanbul. *Magnifica Comunità di Pera* operated under the supervision of the kadi and *voyvoda* of Galata, so its members did not enjoy administrative, legal, or political autonomy. For detailed information on the Roman Catholic community of Pera, see Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006), 141-150.

Based on a court record dated 1807, the mansion of the Galata *voyvoda* was located in the area known as *Perşembe Pazarı* (Thursday Market).¹¹⁵⁷

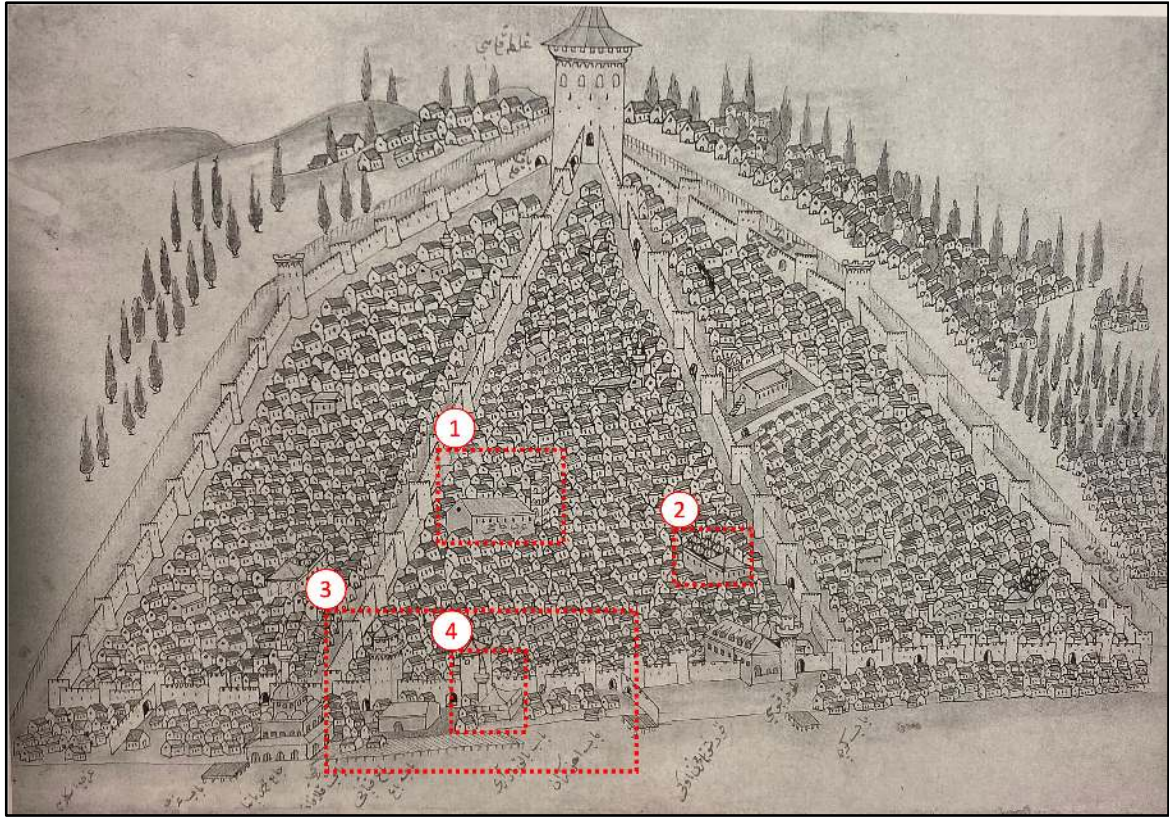


Figure 6. 2: Galata in the late versions of the Piri Reis map. (approx. 1669-1719).¹¹⁵⁸

The location of the *voyvoda*'s mansion at the intersection of Mahkeme and Voyvoda Streets indicates a strategic arrangement that placed the kadi court and the *voyvoda* of Galata in close proximity to each other to facilitate their collaboration in the town's governance. Furthermore, the Galata prison, located near the gate of the oil scale (Yağ Kapanı) in the harbor area, was conveniently accessible to the court staff, the *voyvoda*, and their

¹¹⁵⁷ *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri, İstanbul Mahkemesi 94 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1222-1223 / M. 1807-1809)*, ed. Coşkun yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür A.Ş., 2019), entry 17 (2a-5), 78.

¹¹⁵⁸ 1. Arab Mosque, 2. Galata *Bedesten* 3. The commercial area between Balık Pazarı and Yağ Kapanı Gates, including the Galata Prison near Yağ Kapanı (Oil Scale), 4: Yağ Kapanı Mosque. From Svat Soucek, *Piri Reis, and Turkish Mapmaking After Columbus: the Khalili Portolan Atlas* (London: The Nour Foundation, 1996), Plate 20 (1690-1710). This map is from the manuscript, including the later copies of Piri Reis maps. The original document is preserved in Naser D. Khalili's "Islamic Art Collection" in London. Svat Soucek published the maps as the appendix of his study *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking After Columbus*. Based on his examinations of the manuscript, Cevat Ülkekel concludes that the maps were likely created between 1669 and 1719. Cevat Ülkekel, *Piri Reis ve Türk Kartograflarının Çizgileriyle XVI., XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda İstanbul* (İstanbul: Boyut Yayınları, 2013), 78.

functionaries, thus enhancing the efficiency of judicial and policing operations.¹¹⁵⁹ This spatial dialogue among the courthouse, the governor's seat, and the local prison is consistently observed across the administrative-judicial centers of Greater Istanbul.¹¹⁶⁰

Locating Eyüp's central court during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries presented significant challenges due to the lack of related information in the analyzed court records of Eyüp.¹¹⁶¹ Thus, one could speculate that the court proceedings were held either in the Eyüp Mosque or at the residence of the presiding kadi, but a waqf accounts register compiled in 1700 offers clues indicating that from the late seventeenth century onward, the court of Eyüp was established in a separate building. The register, which inventories the waqf buildings belonging to the endowment of the vizier Mustafa Pasha, reveals that the court of Eyüp was quite close to the Eyüp pier.¹¹⁶² As indicated by the document, one of the waqf assets stood adjacent to the walls of the courthouse (*mahkeme*), the private thoroughfare (*tarik-i hass*), the boathouse (*kayıkthane*), and the rooms for bachelors (*bekâr odaları*).¹¹⁶³ The location of the court near the Eyüp Pier is not surprising, as it was the busiest part of the town. The pier served not only as a transportation hub for passengers but also for the shipment of the town's renowned products like clotted cream and yogurt, in addition to a diverse array of goods produced in the nearby candle workshops, slaughterhouses, and tanneries.¹¹⁶⁴ This was the town's epicenter of trade, and on account of

¹¹⁵⁹ "Üçüncü kapıya Eski Yağkapanı Kapısı denir. Burada, surun yanında kasabanın hapishanesi olan Galata Zindanı vardır. Buradaki mahpuslar yukarıdan bağırıp çağırarak, gelip geçenlerden sadaka isterler./ They call the third gate the Old Oil Scale Gate. Galata Dungeon, the town's prison, is located here, adjacent to the wall. Prisoners cry and holler from above, pleading with passersby for donations." Hovhannesyan, *Payitaht İstanbul'un Tarihçesi*, 39.

¹¹⁶⁰ A systematic exploration of the spatial organization of the other agents contributing to Galata's local administration is not within the scope of this study but might have the potential to offer a more elucidating perspective on this issue.

¹¹⁶¹ I examined the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century court records of Eyüp published by ISAM (İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, or the Center for Islamic Studies). Eyüp Court Records, vol. 3, 19, 37, 49, 61, 74, 82, 90.

¹¹⁶² BOA.EV.HMH.d.385,p.87/1112. Selma Kuşu, "XVIII.Yüzyılın İlk Çeyreğinde Eyüp'te Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayat," (PhD diss., Trakya University, 2019), 76.

¹¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁴ Ibid.63.

this, the police force (*kolluk*), led by the *subaşı* of Eyüp, was also stationed by the pier near the tomb of Abdurrahman Pasha, the former governor of Cairo.¹¹⁶⁵

In Ayvansarayî's *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi*, there is a noteworthy reference to the location of the Eyüp court during the late eighteenth century. Without specifying an exact location, the author states that the building housing the court was among the revenue-producing properties of Mihrişah Sultan's endowment.¹¹⁶⁶ He also informs us that the mansion of Feyzullah Efendizade Hamid Molla, located near the Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque, was leased to the kadis of Eyüp for a period of three to four years.¹¹⁶⁷ It is unclear whether the Molla's mansion also functioned as a courthouse or whether, in the eighteenth century, the kadi's residence was separated from his workplace. Nevertheless, I would argue that the Eyüp court exemplifies a broader trend wherein kadis leased waqf buildings or mansions owned by local elites, repurposing these structures as courthouses. This practice was not unique to Eyüp but was also observed in Üsküdar. As will be further elaborated in this section, this practice was also observed in Üsküdar.

The *mütevelli* of Sultan Mehmed II's foundation, who administered the mosque-tomb complex of *Ebû Eyyüb el-Ensârî*, was also the principal authority responsible for the financial management of the town's revenues. He managed the tax farming process in collaboration with the *subaşı* of Eyüp.¹¹⁶⁸ The daily interactions between the waqf administration and the local police force under the *subaşı*'s command were likely intensive as they collaborated not only in collecting waqf revenues but also in maintaining public order. While we know that the police force of Eyüp was stationed close to the Eyüp pier, near the tomb of Abdurrahman Pasha, it is more difficult to ascertain the exact location of the *mütevelli*'s office or residence.¹¹⁶⁹ However, it would be safe to assume that they were close to the mosque-tomb complex to facilitate efficient coordination and communication with the police force when necessary.

¹¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 83,84.

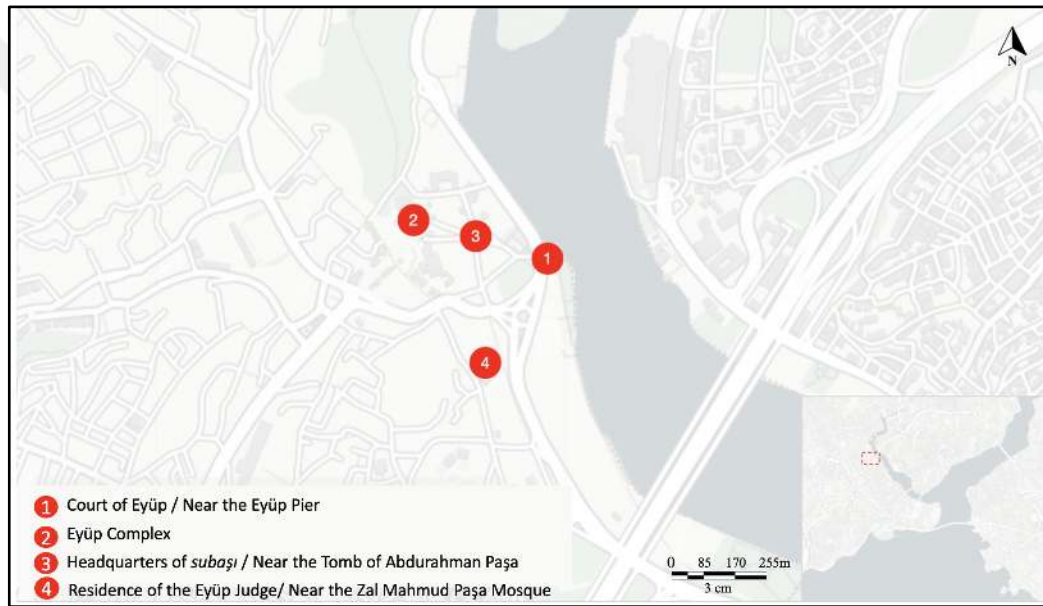
¹¹⁶⁶ Ayvansarayî, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi*, 337

¹¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 341.

¹¹⁶⁸ Kuşu, "XVIII.Yüzyılın İlk Çeyreğinde Eyüp", 80.

¹¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 83-84.

The mansion of Feyzullah Efendizade was also in this vicinity, close to the town's central market, which spread from the Eyüp Mosque to the Zal Mahmud Pasha Mosque.¹¹⁷⁰ Over time, different buildings might have served as the courthouse, each likely situated near the pier or the prominent mosques in the town center. Further research is necessary to reveal the exact location of the local prison but based on the spatial arrangement of the town's administrative center, one would speculate that the prison might have been situated close to the Eyüp pier or the local market that developed around the Eyüp Mosque, where the *subaşı* and his officers routinely conducted daily patrols.



Map 6. 2: The administrative center of Eyüp. (16th - 17th centuries)
Produced by the author.

Let us now turn back to Üsküdar. In his two-volume work on the architectural landmarks of Üsküdar, İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı (1896–1984), a prolific historian and the author of several city monographs, notes that during the reign of Mehmed II, when Üsküdar was still a subdistrict of the Gebze district, the kadi of Üsküdar held court close to the town's burgeoning economic center, marked by the covered market.¹¹⁷¹ He adds that the kadi court was strategically situated near the headquarters of the local police force and the *subaşı*'s prison. While Konyalı's claims are hard to corroborate due to a lack of sources, his

¹¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 58.

¹¹⁷¹ Konyalı, *Abideleriyle ve Kitabeleriyle Üsküdar Tarihi*, vol.2, 443.

arguments align with the tripartite layout observed in Galata and Eyüp, ensuring the proximity of the kadi's seat, the headquarters of executive officers, and the local prison.

A court document dated 1569 indicates that Mehmed Çelebi, the kadi of Üsküdar, resided and presided over legal proceedings in his leased residence in Selman Ağa Mahallesi, one of the town's central neighborhoods, along the shore and facing the great pier of Üsküdar.¹¹⁷² This dwelling was rented from Kasım Halife, the *mütevelli* of the Tavaşi Hasan Ağa's waqf, for a year, which aligns with the standard tenure of a kadi.¹¹⁷³ Unfortunately, the limited information provided by the court record does not furnish insights into the building's architectural features. The only conclusion that can be drawn from the available information is that the Üsküdar court did not have a permanent location, at least in the sixteenth century. It is hard to find out if Kasım Halife's house continued to serve as a courthouse during the tenure of the subsequent Üsküdar kadis. However, my research suggests that in the seventeenth century, the Üsküdar court had acquired a fixed location, where the kadi, his deputies, court summoners, scribes, and experts handling inheritance division (*kassams*) conducted their daily duties and kept the court archives safe.

İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı states that the three-story masonry building (comprising a basement and two upper floors), which is reached from the Eski Mahkeme Sokağı (Old Court Lane), running between Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi and Gülfem Khatun Mosques, might have functioned as the Üsküdar court. (see Fig. 6.5)¹¹⁷⁴ In 1941 he paid a visit to the building in the Gülfem Khatun neighborhood and penned a report based on his insightful observations. In his report, he defines the building as follows:

This is a stone masonry building with a marble-framed iron door. An exterior staircase of twenty-five stone steps leads to the second floor. Once we ascend the stairs, we enter a chamber through a narrow doorway. This chamber, situated beneath a vaulted dome supported by two elegant columns and three rectangular vaults, provides access to the main room. The main room features six marble-framed windows, two cupboards, and a fireplace. There is an air of grandeur about the structure that is peculiar to majestic buildings. There are vaulted cells on the left and right of the stairs, which are believed to have once served as prison cells.¹¹⁷⁵

¹¹⁷² "BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.32.p.275/b2 (Şevval 976/ March 1569) Also see, Kaynak, "Üsküdar'da Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayat,"89.

¹¹⁷³ Considering the honorific title *halife*, generally obtained by the imams, muezzins or those holding other religious or judicial positions, Kasım Halife was likely an imam-*mütevelli* employed in the town, and probably he rented his house to the kadi due to his appointment to another masjid or mosque.

¹¹⁷⁴ Konyalı, *Abideleriyle ve Kitabeleriyle Üsküdar Tarihi*, vol. 2, 523, 524.

¹¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

In the absence of an inscription specifying the builder, construction date, and function, Konyalı's conclusions regarding the building's intended use were largely drawn from the structure's architectural characteristics, opulent appearance, and central location, as well as the tragic tale about the fifteenth-century architect Atik Sinan, circulated by Evliya Çelebi, which attributed a central role to the building as a courthouse.



Figure 6. 3: *Üsküdar Mahkemesi*, before and after its restoration in 2006-2007.¹¹⁷⁶

In his *Seyahatname*, Çelebi recounted a dramatic episode involving Mehmed II and his chief architect, Atik Sinan. Mehmed II became deeply disappointed with Atik Sinan for cutting the invaluable porphyry columns of his mosque shorter than required, suspecting that he had intentionally shortened their length to prevent the mosque from achieving a height comparable to that of Hagia Sophia.¹¹⁷⁷ Atik Sinan defended his decision by arguing that the

¹¹⁷⁶ Source: The photograph archive of Vakıf İnşaat, the contractor for the restoration project.
[www.http://www.vakifinsaat.com.tr/](http://www.vakifinsaat.com.tr/)

¹¹⁷⁷ “Benim câmi'im niçün Ayasofya kadar âlî etmeyüp benim birer Rûm harâcî değer sütunlarımı kesüp câmi'im alçak etdin?” Evliyâ Çelebi *Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 65. Evliya Çelebi does not mention the name of Atik Sinan in this particular anecdote, but he later clarifies in his account that Atik Sinan held the position of chief architect during this period.

modification was necessary for the building's structural stability, especially considering Istanbul's frequent earthquakes.¹¹⁷⁸ Feeling his order had been disregarded, Mehmed II responded swiftly and severely by ordering the amputation of Atik Sinan's hands. Believing this punishment unjust, Atik Sinan sought justice in the sharia court. According to Evliya, the kadi of Istanbul (*İstanbul mollası*) initiated proceedings against Sultan Mehmed, formally summoning him to the court. The trial concluded with a remarkable verdict: the kadi found the sultan guilty and sentenced him to an equivalent punishment—the amputation of his hands. Upon hearing the kadi's decision, Atik Sinan withdrew his claim. As a settlement, Sultan Mehmed paid the architect 20 gold coins, twice the amount of his blood price.



Figure 6. 4: Interior and exterior views of *Üsküdar Mahkemesi*.¹¹⁷⁹
Photos by the author, 2022.

Although Evliya Çelebi did not specify where the court proceeding took place, oral tradition holds that the kadi of Istanbul heard the case in a historic brick-and-stone building located in Üsküdar's Gülfem Hatun Mahallesi. In his article on how the authentic identity of

¹¹⁷⁸ “Pâdişâhım İslâmbol’da zelzele çok olup metânet üzere inkırâzu’ddevrân mü’ebbed ola deyü iki amûdu üçer zirâ’ kestüp câmi’-i Ayasofya’dan sehel alçak etdim” deyü özür buldu.” Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁹ 1. The court of Üsküdar after restoration. 2. The narrow corridor and the iron door opened to the probable “prison” section. 3. The entrance to the kadi’s chamber. 4. The brick vaulted ceiling of the kadi’s chamber is supported by two marble columns. 5. The stairs lead to the second floor, housing the kadi’s chamber. 6. The detail of the two rows of saw-tooth brick fringes surrounding the roof. 7. The two muqarnas-headed marble columns in the kadi’s chamber. 8. A view from the kadi’s chamber.

Atik Sinan has been replaced by his fictional representations embedded within myths and legends that distort historical truths, even in scholarly works, Mustafa Çağhan Keskin argues that the association between the historic building in Üsküdar and Evliya’s anecdote can be traced back to 1953. This was the year when Sırrı Uzunhasanoğlu, a lawyer and author, wrote a play titled “*Fatih Devrinde Adalet* (Justice in the Era of Fatih), which dramatized the alleged trial of Mehmed II, as depicted in Evliya’s *Seyahatname*.¹¹⁸⁰ Keskin argues that Uzunhasanoğlu’s play, imparted a lasting visual setting to the anecdote, as evidenced by the continued recognition of the building as “*Fatih Mahkemesi* (The court of [Mehmed] the Conquerer).” However, he does not address why Uzunhasanoğlu chose this building, nor does he discuss the origins of its identification as a courthouse. My analysis of Üsküdar’s court records confirms that this building did indeed serve as the court of Üsküdar, although not during the reign of Mehmed II, as oral tradition suggests, but rather from the seventeenth century onward.

On the first page of the 197th volume of Üsküdar’s court records (1643-1644), there is a note stating that the waqf land on which the Üsküdar courthouse stood was secured through a double-rent lease (*icareteyn*) contract.¹¹⁸¹ Under this arrangement, the court remitted a monthly payment of 150 *akçe* to the *mütevelli* for the use of this land.¹¹⁸² While the record does not specify which waqf owned the land, it does imply that the building serving as the Üsküdar court was held under a long-term lease. If an individual entered into a lease agreement for a waqf asset under a double rent lease, this arrangement required the

¹¹⁸⁰ Mehmet Çağhan Keskin, Atik Sinan: Mitler ve Gerçekler Arasında Bir Osmanlı Mimarı,” *Metu Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, vol.39, no.2 (2022), 85.

¹¹⁸¹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.197.p.1/ a1, a3, b1. 8 (1643-1644)

“*İcareteyn* simply means double rent, and the term applies to the form of rent given to *vakıf* immovable property destroyed by fire or some other natural disaster. A base rent in the form of down payment was paid to the *vakıf* which was an amount equivalent to the lands or buildings which had been destroyed. This initial payment was known as the *icâre-i muaccele*. An additional rent amounting to a considerably lesser sum was paid to the *vakıf* at the end of every year, and this second rent was called the *icâre-i müeccele*.” Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations*, 52.

Also see Murat Çizakça, “İktisat Tarihi Açısından Vakıflar,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, special issue (2019), Klaus Kreiser, “İcareteyn: Zur ‘Doppelten Miete’ im osmanischen Stiftungswesen,” *Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları/Journal of Turkish Studies* vol. 10 (1986), 224 and Kenan Yıldız, “Osmanlıda İcareteynin Başlangıç Tarihi Meselesi: İlk Uygulamalara Dair Tespitler,” *Cihannüma: Tarih ve Coğrafya Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 2 (2019): 25–46.

¹¹⁸² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.197.p.1/b1 (1643-1644).

tenant to make an initial down payment nearly equivalent to the value of the waqf asset, followed by monthly installments. Due to the financial commitments of this leasing method, it was not suitable for short-term tenants, like kadis, whose tenure was generally limited to only a year. It is more likely that the mentioned building was designated as a permanent courthouse. This suggests that whenever a new kadi was assigned to the town, he conducted court proceedings in this waqf building and, in return, made monthly payments to the current *mütevelli*.¹¹⁸³

Another court record, which was a petition written by the kadi of Üsküdar, dated 1652, provides further details regarding the Üsküdar courthouse.¹¹⁸⁴ In his petition, the kadi informed the central government of problems caused by a newly constructed building adjacent to the courthouse, which belonged to the waqf of the late Gazanfer Agha (d. 1603), former chief white eunuch. According to the petition, the eaves of this new building were draining water away from the building's roof straight into the courthouse's yard, causing considerable damage and inconvenience to the court staff and visitors. Although the chief architect had already assessed the situation and proposed a solution, the building owner remained defiant and ignored the recommendations. Consequently, the Üsküdar kadi sought an imperial decree to compel the building owner to comply with the chief architect's expert opinions, hoping to put an end to the ongoing dispute.

The petition reveals that, in 1652, the Üsküdar court was established in one of the

¹¹⁸³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.197.p.1/a3. (1643-1644).

¹¹⁸⁴ “İzzetlü ve saadetlü bu kullarına merhametlü sultanım hazretleri sağ olsun arzuhâl-i bendeleri budur ki. Benim merhametlü sultanım, Üsküdar’da olan mahkeme sâbikan Bâbü’s-sa’âde ağası olan merhum Gazanfer Ağa’nın vakfı olmağla bir adem ihdâs-ı binâ idüb mezbur vakfın avlusuna saçak uzadub damlalığını avluya düşürdü, vakfa zararı olmağla Üsküdar kadısı tembih idüb amel etmedi, mimarbaşı tarafından mimar alub üzerine varıldı, mimar fasleylediği üzere dahi razı olmayub saadetlü sultanım hazretlerinden temennamız budur ki; mimar fasleylediği üzere buyuruldu-i şerîf rica olunur bâkî ferman sultanım hazretlerindir / May our benevolent and noble Sultan, blessed with happiness, enjoy a long life. This is the humble request of your servant: The court of Üsküdar is the waqf of the late Gazanfer Agha, who was the Chief of the Gate of Felicity. A new building has been erected on the property belonging to Gazanfer Agha’s waqf. The eaves of this building extend outward, causing rainwater to flow directly into the courtyard of the aforementioned waqf, thereby causing damage. Although the kadi of Üsküdar warned him, no actions were undertaken. After assessing the situation, the Chief Architect proposed a remedy. However, the building owner rejected the proposed solution. Therefore, we humbly request that our merciful Sultan issue a decree supporting the architect’s solution. The ultimate authority lies with our Sultan.” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.209, p.90/b4 (Cemâziyelevvel 1062 / April 1652), Also see Tak, “Diplomatik Bilimi Bakımından XVI.-XVII. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri,” 37.

waqf assets of Gazanfer Agha (d. 1603), the chief white eunuch.¹¹⁸⁵ He had commissioned the construction of several buildings in Üsküdar to endow for his charitable foundation in Istanbul's Saraçhane neighborhood, including his own mausoleum, a madrasa, and a fountain, all of which were completed in 1596.¹¹⁸⁶ The waqf's revenue-generating assets comprised various commercial and residential units: eight shops, three lower (*tahtani*) rooms, and five upper (*fevkani*) rooms that were located in the Gülfem neighborhood.¹¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, an eighteenth-century accounts register of the waqf indicates an annual payment of 1800 *akçe* by Gazanfer Agha's waqf administration to lease a plot in Üsküdar, which was owned by the waqf of Hasan Agha.¹¹⁸⁸ The register indicates that he entered into a double-rent lease contract, paying a large down payment, followed by monthly installments of 150 *akçe*, to secure a long-term lease and the permission to build on the plot.¹¹⁸⁹ In other words, this plot held *mukâta'alı* waqf status, which permitted the lessee, in this case, Gazanfer Agha, to construct buildings and plant trees as if it were his private property.¹¹⁹⁰

Archival evidence provides important clues indicating that this plot was used to construct a *fevkani* building, which subsequently served as the courthouse for Üsküdar. Determining the original function of this *fevkani* building—whether it initially served as a private residence, a revenue-generating asset, or another purpose—proves challenging. However, I argue that this structure was earmarked as a courthouse, either immediately after

¹¹⁸⁵ The chief eunuch Gazanfer Agha, played a crucial role in the court politics until his execution in 1602-03, owned several buildings and shops in Gülfem Khatun neighborhood. Bilal Erbil, "Gazanfer Ağa, Hayatı ve Yaptırdığı Eserler," (master's thesis, Istanbul University, 2019), 73. According to Ezgi Dikici Gazanfer Agha built "A total of twenty-three shops, eight rooms for married couples, eighteen other rooms, two bakeries with horse mills, a house, a boathouse with three rooms, a linseed oil press, and a sesame oil press in Üsküdar for his waqf, see: Dikici, "Eunuchs and the City, 21.

¹¹⁸⁶ Hathaway, *The Chief Eunuch*, 69. For further information on Gazanfer Agha's foundation see: Semavi Eyice, "Gazanfer Ağa Külliyesi," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol.13 (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1996): 432.

¹¹⁸⁷ Erbil, "Gazanfer Ağa, Hayatı ve Yaptırdığı Eserler", 73. For the original document see, BOA.EV.HMH.d. 2909.

¹¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 166. He was likely Tavaşi Hasan Agha, who owned a masjîd in Üsküdar around which the Tavaşi Hasan Ağa Mahallesi emerged.

¹¹⁸⁹ BOA.EV.HMH.d. 2909.

¹¹⁹⁰ For further information on *mukâta'alı* waqf, see Nazif Öztürk, "Gazanfer Ağa Külliyesi," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 31 (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2020): 132-134.

its construction or at some point during the seventeenth century. A financial arrangement noted in the eighteenth-century waqf accounts shows that the related expense was described as the “Üsküdar court *mukâta'a* to be paid to the Hasan Agha waqf” and revenue as the “rent payment received from the Üsküdar court.” These records also confirm the monthly payments of 150 *akçe* the Üsküdar court disbursed in 1642 were indeed for the courthouse plot (*mahkeme arsası*). In short, once the building was repurposed as a courthouse, the financial responsibility for the lease payments shifted from Gazanfer Agha to the Üsküdar court.

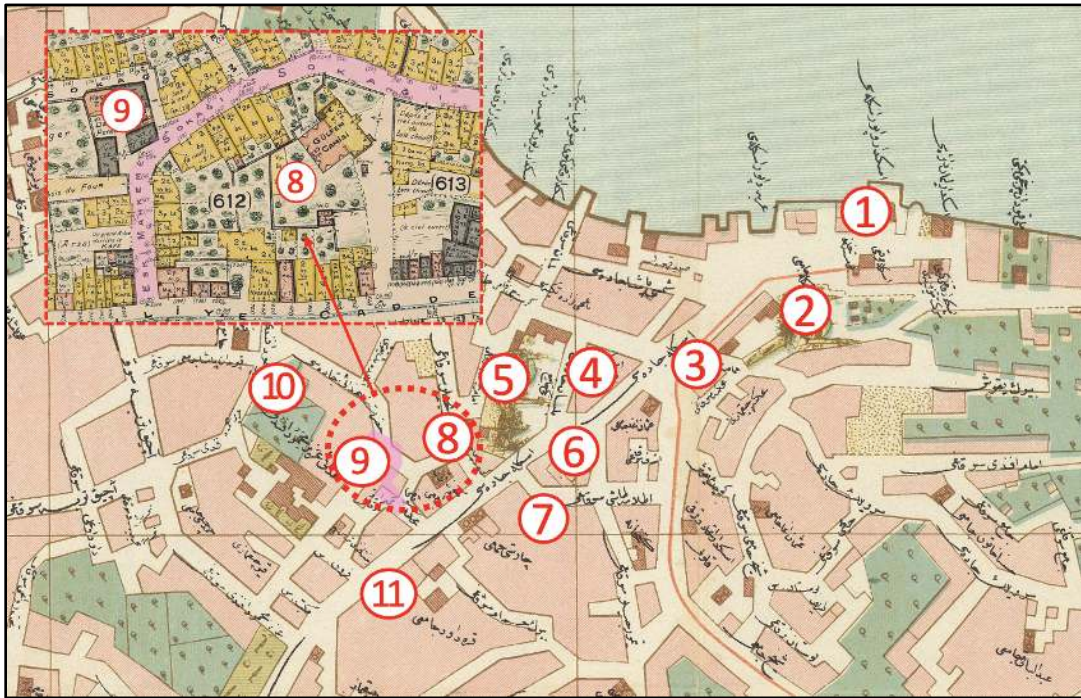


Figure 6. 5: The administrative center of Üsküdar.¹¹⁹¹ (16th - 17th centuries)

While it remains unanswered whether this structure was initially intended to serve as a courthouse or if it was repurposed as such at a later time, one thing is clear. Once the building started functioning as the courthouse of Üsküdar, it maintained this role consistently

¹¹⁹¹ 1. Great Pier of Üsküdar. 2. Mihrimah Sultan Mosque (1547) 3. Selman Ağa Mosque. 4. Bat market, also known as Üsküdar *Bedesteni*, the covered market (dated to the reign of Mehmed II) 5. Valide-i Cedid Mosque (1710) 6. The approximate location of the police force. 7. Double public bath commissioned by Nurbanu Sultan (1583) 8. Gülfem Khatun Mosque (1542) 9. Üsküdar's courthouse. 10. Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi Mosque (late sixteenth century) 11. Kara Davud Pasha Mosque (early sixteenth century)
Large Map: Necip Bey Istanbul Map (1918). Plate 3.2, From David Rumsey Historical Map Collection,
Small Map: Pervititch Map, Üsküdar, Plate 62, 1933.

over a considerable period.¹¹⁹² For instance, a court record dated 1791 confirms that the Üsküdar courthouse was still located near the Gülfem Khatun Mosque.¹¹⁹³ This continuity likely cemented the local community's perception of the masonry building as a judicial establishment. Especially when complemented with Evliya Çelebi's narrative, this structure was viewed in the collective memory as one of the earliest courthouses, dating back to the early days of Üsküdar's establishment as an Ottoman town during Mehmed II's reign.

To recapitulate, prior to the establishment of a permanent location for the courthouse, the kadis of Üsküdar conducted legal proceedings at their residences, which were leased for one year and were generally situated in the town center. This practice changed with the designation of Gazanfer Agha's waqf building as the central court of Üsküdar kadiship in the first half of the seventeenth century. The building, located merely a five minute walk away from the Great Pier, was surrounded by the sixteenth-century mosque complexes of Kara Davud Pasha (early 16th century), Gülfem Khatun (1539-40), and Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi (1598-99). Moreover, as shown in Fig. 6.5, the judicial center was in the middle of the town's two primary commercial hubs: the Bat and Gülfem Khatun markets.¹¹⁹⁴ Considering that the headquarters of the local police force was also located in the town's marketplace, one could argue that the spatial proximity of Üsküdar's executive and judicial authorities was the same as in both Galata and Eyüp.¹¹⁹⁵

¹¹⁹² The designation of a masonry structure for the Üsküdar courthouse, which enhanced fire prevention, has evidently contributed to the preservation of the court archives to the present day. The Üsküdar sharia court records, comprising registers from 1513 to 1924, are among the most impeccably preserved court archives within the Ottoman territories. In contrast, the archives of the Ahi Çelebi and Davud Pasha courts were largely lost, having turned to dust during the fires that severely hit the city. The building designated as Üsküdar's central sharia court has survived to the present day, offering valuable insights into the architectural layout of an early-modern Ottoman courthouse.

¹¹⁹³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.531.p.49/b4 (Cemâziyelevvel 1205 / February 1791): "*medîne-i mezbûre mahkemesi kurbünde vâki ' Gülfam Hatun Câmi '-i şerîfi avlusu*" quoted from *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri: Üsküdar Mahkemesi 531 Numaralı Sicil*, (Hicri 1204-1207 / M. 1790-1793), vol.81, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş., 2019), 414. Mehmet İpşirli's findings strengthen this argument. Based on the two Ottoman dynastic histories including *Cabi Tarihi* and *Mür'i t-tevârih* (*Şemdanizade Fındıklı Süleyman Efendi Tarihi*), he argues that in the late eighteenth century, the building known as *Fatih Mahkemesi* was the seat of *Üsküdar Kadısı*. Mehmet İpşirli, "Fatih'in Mahkeme Binasının Tarihçesi," in *Üsküdar Belediyesi Arşiv Belgeleri Kataloğu: Üsküdar Arşivi*, ed. Bilgin Aydın, Rifat Günelan (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi Yayınları, 2008): 17-27.

¹¹⁹⁴ Güler, "16. Yüzyılda Gülfem Hatun Mahallesi," 139.

¹¹⁹⁵ According to Evliya Çelebi, the subaşı of Üsküdar was stationed in the town's marketplace. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol.1-2 (Istanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1986), 363. Also see: Erkan, *Osmanlı Üsküdar'ında Toplumsal Hayat*, 13.

One more significant point may be added here. Konyalı suggests that part of the basement of the courthouse functioned as a prison.¹¹⁹⁶ I have yet to find evidence to support his claim, but indeed, if this were the case, it would further underscore the possibility of strategic planning that brought the courthouse, headquarters of the *subaşı*, and prison in close proximity, as was the case in Galata and, possibly, in Eyüp as well.

6.3. The Niyâbet Courts in Intramuros Istanbul

In 1586, an imperial decree addressed to the kadi of Istanbul ordered the establishment of additional deputy (*niyâbet*) courts within the walled city.¹¹⁹⁷ As detailed in the decree, the kadi had earlier informed the central government that the courts operating in the city's five distinct locations were inadequate for meeting the legal needs of the residents. Especially during the cold days of winter, the residents of Istanbul, who had to travel long distances to reach the courts, had long been suffering from the insufficient number of courts. In order to ensure that the judicial service was accessible to all, the kadi of Istanbul sought imperial permission to appoint his deputies with the authority to oversee legal proceedings in additional locations within the walled city.¹¹⁹⁸

In approving the kadi's request, the central government refrained from specifying a particular location for the establishment of new courts, leaving this decision to the kadi's discretion. The decree also made no reference to the locations of the courts operational in

¹¹⁹⁶ Konyalı, *Abideleriyle ve Kitabeleriyle Üsküdar Tarihi*, vol. 2, 523-524.

¹¹⁹⁷ “*Istanbul kadısına hüküm ki südde-i saadetime mektub gönderüb mahruse-i mezburede beş yerde mahkeme olmağile müslümanlara ta‘ab gelüb hususa eyyam-ı şitada bu mesafeden gelmekde zahmet ve meşakkat çekerler deyu bir iki yerde dahi mahkeme ihdas olunmak recasına arz eyledüğün ecilden göresin filvaki mahkeme ihdası gayet lâzım ise tedarik olunmak emir idüb büyüydüm ki vusul buldukda göresin filvaki mahkeme ihdası gayet lâzım ise münasib olan mahalde mahkeme ihdas eyleyüb icra-yı ahkâm-ı şer‘iyye eyliyesin/ To the kadi of Istanbul: you have sent a letter to my noble presence stating that, the presence of sharia courts in only five locations is causing hardship for Muslims, particularly during the winter months when traveling these distances is especially difficult. You have requested my permission for additional courts to be established in one or two more locations. If the establishment of additional courts is deemed necessary, take the necessary steps. Accordingly, I order you to select appropriate locations for the establishment of these courts and ensure the proper implementation of Sharia law.*” BOA.A.DVNSMHH.d.vol.60.p.188 (Safer 994/January 1586).

¹¹⁹⁸ Halil İnalçık, *İstanbul Tarihi Araştırmaları / Seçme Eserleri XIII* (Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2019): 143-147.

1586. Nonetheless, excluding the location of the Istanbul court, which likely did not have a fixed location, an examination of the Istanbul court records allows for a reasonable assumption regarding the possible locations of Istanbul's deputy courts, which were Ahi Çelebi, Mahmudpaşa, Davudpaşa, and Balat courts. (see Map 6.3) ¹¹⁹⁹

Throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the four *nâ'ibs* appointed by the kadi of Istanbul typically held court in the courtyards of mosques or in waqf buildings close to a central mosque, a central market, or a port.¹²⁰⁰ For instance, in his account of eighteenth-century Istanbul, the city chronicler Ğugas Inciciyan reported that the sharia court in Mahmudpaşa was held in the courtyard of the grand vizier Mahmud Pasha's Mosque, constructed in 1474.¹²⁰¹ Inciciyan also reported that the Mahmudpaşa court was the oldest and the most prominent among Istanbul's *niyâbet* courts.¹²⁰² The primary reason for its prominence was likely its historical significance and its strategic proximity to the city's hub of commerce and wealth, represented by the *Bedesten*, the city's covered market.¹²⁰³

¹¹⁹⁹ There were also specialized courts including *Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi* and *Evkâf-ı Hümayun Müfettişliği Mahkemesi* dealing with the division of inheritance of military officials' inheritance and waqf-related issues.

¹²⁰⁰ "In addition to the deputies in court, the judge of Istanbul appointed a number of other deputies to be in charge of certain areas or particular goods in the marketplaces. Among these were the ayak nâ'ibi, who walked through the bazaars and handled conflicts among artisans, and the keşif nâ'ibi, who personally went to hear complaints involving property rights, building permits, and the like. The court records suggest that in some cases the judge sent a deputy to hear complaints in a particular neighborhood." Betül Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century : Between Crisis and Order* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 178 (footnote 43)

¹²⁰¹ P.Ğ.İnciciyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan (Istanbul: İstanbul Fethi Derneği Yayınları, 1956), 25. Supporting Inciciyan's words, İsmail Uzunçarşılı puts that Mahmud Pasha was the primary local court in Istanbul. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı*, 142.

¹²⁰² Ibid.

¹²⁰³ Today, a notable part of the Mahmud Pasha court records remain inaccessible, likely due to their destruction in a fire, which makes it harder to ascertain when the Mahmud Pasha court was first established. However, it is worth noting that the courthouse was located within one of the earliest mosque complexes built to establish an urban center during the construction of Mehmed II's Istanbul. The establishment date of the court, thus, can be traced back to the latter half of the fifteenth century. Until the completion of the mosque of Mahmud Pasha in 867/1462–63, Hagia Sophia was the only congregational mosque in the city proper." Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/ Istanbul*, 21.



Map 6. 3: The four *niyâbet* courts of the walled city in the seventeenth century.
1. Mahmud Pasha Court, 2. Ahi Çelebi Court, 3. Davud Pasha Court, 4. Balat Court.¹²⁰⁴

According to a court register from 1808, at some point, the Mahmudpaşa court began to operate from the upper story of a khan belonging to the Hacı Dursun waqf, remaining, however, in close proximity to the Mahmud Pasha mosque.¹²⁰⁵ It is hard to find out the exact date of the courthouse's relocation; however, the establishment of the Mahmudpaşa court in a waqf khan suggests a parallel with the relocation of the central courts of Galata, Üsküdar and Eyüp to leased waqf buildings close to their former locations.

¹²⁰⁴ Necip Bey Istanbul Map (1918), Plate 1.1 & 1.2, David Rumsey Historical Map Collection. The central court of Istanbul and *Bab Mahkemesi* are not marked on the map, as both were situated in the Istanbul kadi's mansion and lacked a fixed location.

¹²⁰⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.01.d.94.p.43/b2 (Rebî'ülâhir 1223/June 1808)

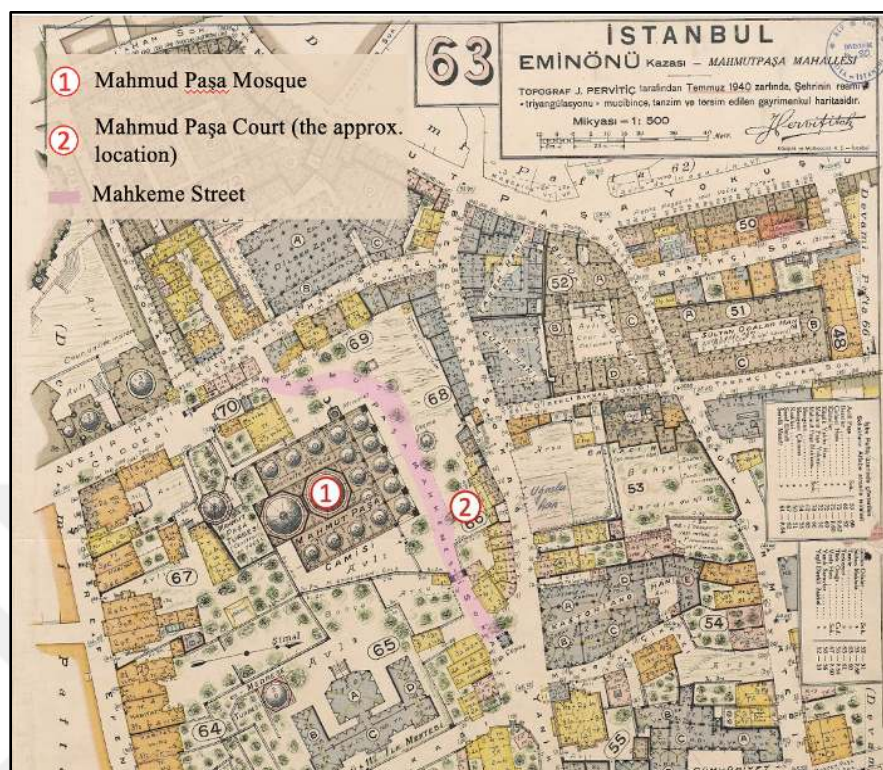


Figure 6. 6: The location of the Mahmudpaşa court.¹²⁰⁶

The sharia court of Balat operated at the mosque of Ferruh Kethüda, the steward of grand-vizier Semiz Ali Pasha, which was built by Sinan in 1562-63 close to the Balat wharf, where ships filled with wine, wood, coal, onions, and other goods were docked to unload the provisions that supplied the city.¹²⁰⁷ The earliest register kept by the *nâ'ib* of Balat, which dates to 1556 and predates the completion of the Kethüda mosque, suggests that the Ferruh Kethüda mosque was not the initial location where the first *nâ'ib* of Balat began hearing cases.¹²⁰⁸ One can only speculate that initially, *nâ'ibs* heard cases likely at their residences,

¹²⁰⁶ 1. Mahmud Pasha Mosque, 2. The approximate location of the court is at the northern corner of the courtyard. The street that ran between the Mosque and the Mahmud Pasha courthouse was named Mahkeme Street. From Pervititch Map, plate 63, 1940.

¹²⁰⁷ Baha Tanman, "Balat Camii ve Tekkesi," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5 (Istanbul: İsam Yayınları, 1992): 5-6. For more information on Ferruh Kethüda Mosque, see Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 487,488.

¹²⁰⁸ For the first volume of the Balat court records, see *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri 41: Balat Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil* (Hicri 964-965 / M. 1557-1558), vol. 1, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş., 2009). Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 487.

known as Mahkeme Altı (literally “the street below the courthouse”), referring to the sharia court that operated there for approximately three centuries.

The Davudpaşa court was another *niyâbet* court with a spatial connection to one of Istanbul’s wharves, exhibiting the economic vitality and prosperity of the city. According to Evliya Çelebi, the court was located in a corner of the courtyard of Grand Vizier Davud Pasha’s mosque, which was built in the late fifteenth century.¹²¹³ Cem Behar states that after the 1782 fire, the courthouse was rebuilt adjacent to the mosque’s courtyard walls. He says:

The court operated at first within the Davudpaşa mosque itself but was moved in the eighteenth century to a two-story wooden building just adjacent to it. The devastating fire that ravaged a large part of Istanbul in 1782 destroyed both the Davudpaşa Court Building and its three centuries of accumulated archives.¹²¹⁴

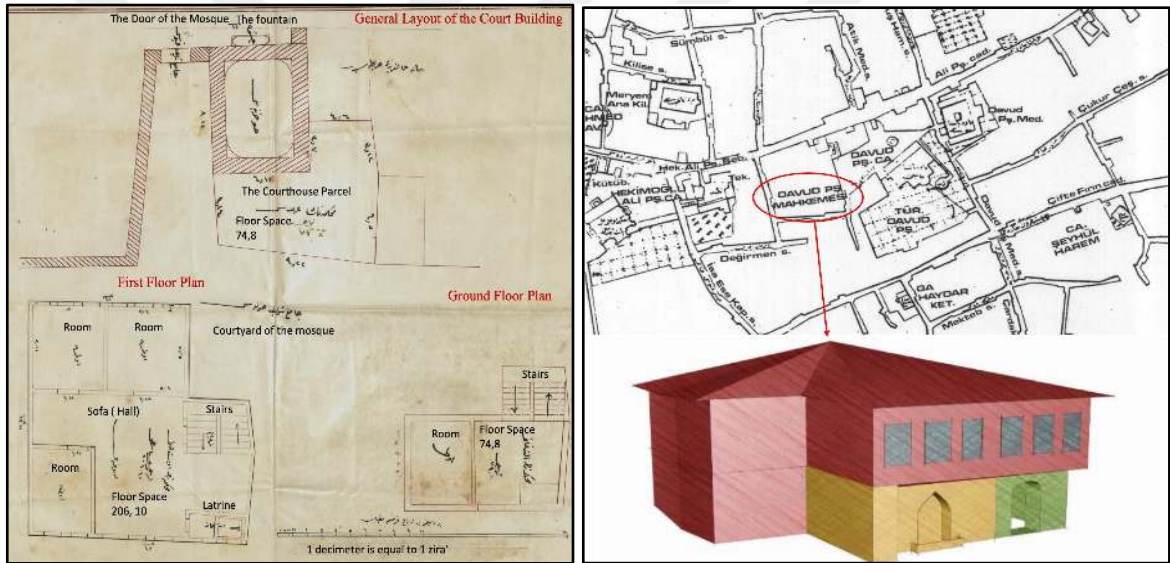


Figure 6. 8: The ground and the first-floor plans of the Davudpaşa court.¹²¹⁵

Figure 6. 9: The 3D sketch of the Davudpaşa court. prepared by Zeynep Ceran Keçeci.¹²¹⁶

A detail from the nineteenth-century Istanbul map published by Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, showing the Davudpaşa court (drafted approx. 1875-1882).¹²¹⁷

¹²¹³ “Ma‘bed-i kadîmdir. Sultân Bâyezîd-i Velî vüzerâlarındandır. Bir vâsi‘ haremi ve bir tarafında mahkeme-i şer‘-i resûl-i mübîn vardır” Evliyâ Çelebi *Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 146.

¹²¹⁴ Behar, *Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, 22.

¹²¹⁵ From BOA.Y.PRK.MŞ.2/74 (8 Recep 1307 / 28 February 1890)

¹²¹⁶ Zeynep Ceran Keçeci, “Arşiv Belgeleri Üzerinden Davudpaşa Mahkemesi’nin Mimari Bir İncelemesi” *History Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2 (April 2020): 515-529.

¹²¹⁷ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *19. Asırda İstanbul Haritası* (Istanbul: Şehir Matbaası, 1958), Plate D3

Natural disasters were the primary catalysts for the reconstruction or relocation of courthouses. When these disasters destroyed the structures housing sharia courts, the prevailing practice was either to reconstruct them at their original site or to transfer them to a nearby waqf building. According to Ğugas İnciciyan's account, a severe flood in 1789 swept the Kasımpaşa court into the sea, leading to its subsequent reconstruction.¹²²⁰ Similarly, the court of Ahi Çelebi was rebuilt in the same location, near the Ahi Çelebi Mosque, but each time, it succumbed to a fire and burned down to the ground.

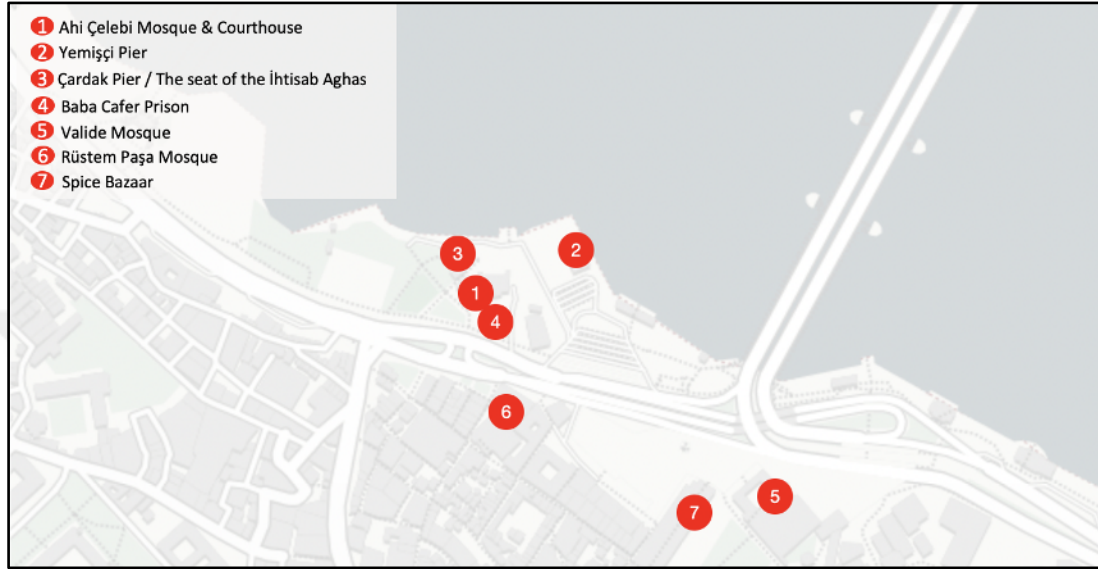
An imperial decree from 1585 reveals that a group of residents and tradesmen residing and working in Eminönü petitioned the court of Istanbul to express their dissatisfaction at the absence of a nearby court since the one situated near the Ahi Çelebi mosque had burned down in a conflagration.¹²²¹ The petitioners stated that it had been the only court in the vicinity where residents, local tradesmen, and merchants could submit grievances to seek resolution for their legal conflicts or officially register their business arrangements and property transactions. As the Ahi Çelebi court was not rebuilt after the fire, everyone had to go to deputy courts farther away from their homes and workplaces. This led to significant delays in their legal affairs and hindered the prompt resolution of local conflicts. Their petition evidently persuaded the central government, as Mehmed III issued

Mosque. From Charles Edward Goard, *Plan d'assurance de Constantinople*. Vol. I - Stamboul. Plate 4. From Salt Research Archives.

¹²²⁰ P.Ğ.İnciciyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, 80.

¹²²¹ “İstanbul kadısına hüküm ki: südde-i saadetime mektub gönderüb İstanbul’da Yemiş İskelesi etrafında olan dükkan sahipleri ve sair Müslümanlar birden gelüb cem-i gafir meclis-i şere gelüb mevzi-i mezburda Ahi Çelebi canibinde mukaddema mahkeme olup düşen mesalihimiz görölüp kimesne müzâyaka çekmezdi ba ‘dehû harik vâki’ olub mezbûr câmi ‘-i şerîf dahi yanmağla bir niçe zaman mahkeme ref’ olunub âhar mahkemeler baid olmağla mesalihimiz ta ‘vîk olunub külli müzâyaka çekilür hâlâ câmi ‘-i mezbûr yine binâ olunmuşdur mahkeme dahi kemakan ikâmet olunmasın rica ederiz deyü bildirdikleri arz eylediğin ecilden zikr olunan camide üslub-ı sâbık üzere mahkeme olub mesâlih-i müslimîn görölmesin emr idüb buyurdum ki, vusûl buldukda emrim üzere zikr olunan camide üslub-ı sâbık üzere mahkeme ettirip şer ‘-i şerîfle mesâlih-i müslimini gördüresin / The order to the kadi of Istanbul: A letter has been sent to my noble presence by the shop owners operating around Yemiş İskelesi together with a group of Muslims. They stated that there used to be a sharia court near the Ahi Çelebi Mosque, where their legal issues were addressed before a fire destroyed the mosque. This destruction led to the dissolution of the court for quite some time. Due to the remoteness of the other courts, their interests have been impeded, and they have faced considerable difficulties. Now that the aforementioned mosque has been rebuilt. Therefore, they request the re-establishment of the court in the same location. I order that a court be re-established in the aforementioned mosque in the same manner, and the interests of the Muslims be diligently attended to in accordance with the holy law.” BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.58.p.53/b2 (Cemâziyelevvel 993 / May 1585).

a decree addressed to the kadi of Istanbul instructing him to supervise the re-building of the Ahi Çelebi courthouse in the exact way it was and at its previous location, near the Ahi Çelebi Mosque and close to the Fruit Pier (*Yemiş İskelesi*).¹²²²



Map 6. 4: One of the administrative-judicial centers of Istanbul in Eminönü. Produced by the author. (16th - 17th centuries).



Figure 6. 11: Ahi Çelebi Mosque and its surroundings.¹²²³

Figure 6. 12: Eminönü Fruit and Vegetable Market.¹²²⁴

¹²²² BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.58.p.53/b2 (Cemâziyelevvel 993 / May 1585).

¹²²³ Ali Saim Ülgen Archives / Salt Research

¹²²⁴ The foodstuffs controlled at the customs offices were sold at the fruit and vegetable markets established at Yemişçi Pier. Keystone Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside.

Istanbul fell victim to fires repeatedly throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As reported by Osman Nuri Ergin, the fire of 1653 led to the destruction of the Ahi Çelebi Mosque, its courthouse, Çardak Pier (*Çardak İskelesi*), which served as the headquarters for the head of market inspectors (*İhtisab Ağası*), Fruit Pier (Yemiş İskelesi), Hasırcılar Pier (*Hasırcılar İskelesi*) and the surrounding warehouses and shops.¹²²⁵ (see Fig. 6.11 and 6.12)

Thirty-five years later, in 1686, another fire struck the region, engulfing the dock area in flames. Eremya Çelebi reports that the fire destroyed the mosque, the courthouse, and several shops in the marketplace.¹²²⁶ Each fire that ravaged the Ahi Çelebi neighborhood had far-reaching consequences on the city's food supply and the regulation of economic activities in one of the prominent market districts along the Golden Horn.¹²²⁷ The fire that was mentioned in the 1585 petition was most likely either the 1539 or 1569 fire, both of which broke out at the port of Eminönü and destroyed numerous houses, shops, the Ahi Çelebi mosque, its court, and the nearby prison, known as the Baba Cafer tower.¹²²⁸ (see Map 6.4)

¹²²⁵ Ergin, *Mecelle*, vol. 3, 1188.

¹²²⁶ Eremya Çelebi, *Eremya Çelebi'nin Yangınlar Tarihi*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan, *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 27 (1973), 83.

¹²²⁷ Priscilla Mary Işın underlines the importance of Ahi Çelebi neighborhood in terms of the supply of fresh fruit by quoting from the infamous traveler Evliya Çelebi; she writes, "Ships carrying fresh and dried fruit unloaded at Yemiş İskelesi (Fruit Dock), and the nearby Ahi Çelebi Mosque was therefore popularly known as Yemişçi Mosque (Mosque of the Fruit Sellers). On the same street were the fifteen workshops of the değirmenciyan-ı üzüm ('grape millers'), who crushed the grapes with perpendicular millstones (the same technique used to produce olive oil) and produced the huge quantities of sweet grape syrup that was widely used instead of the more expensive sugar syrup for making sweetmeats and puddings. Also in the neighborhood was a wholesale fruit market called the Yemiş Kapanı." Priscilla Mary Işın, "Ottoman Fruit Cultivation as Reflected in Evliya Çelebi's Book of Travels," in *Travellers in Ottoman Lands: The Botanical Legacy*, eds. Ines Aščerić-Todd, Sabina Knees, Janet Starkey, and Paul Starkey (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2018), 52.

¹²²⁸ Nükhet Varlık, "Death in Istanbul: Plagues, Fires, and Other Catastrophes," In *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, ed. Shirine Hamadeh, Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2022), 431. About the 1539 and 1569 fires, Gülru Necipoğlu writes that "this blaze (1539 fire) erupted in some tar shops near the Baba Cafer prison (a tower of the Byzantine wall along the Golden Horn port). The grand vizier, chief gardener, and agha of janissaries, along with the janissaries, struggled all night long without being able to extinguish it. The conflagration killed numerous locked-up prisoners and burned neighborhoods, endowed public monuments (including the bathhouse of Süleyman's wife, Hürrem Sultan, in the Jewish quarter), marketplaces, and warehouses outside the sea wall...a devastating fire broke out on 28 September 1569, extending from the outer wall of the Topkapı Palace to the Rüstem Pasha mosque underneath the Süleymaniye, namely the commercial core of the port along the Golden Horn, called Tahtakale (Taht al-ka'l'a). It was in the same region that the above-mentioned 1539 fire began (close to the Baba Cafer prison), as did the 1633 fire."

Emir Mustafa, an eighteenth-century janissary, and poet renowned for his simple and short poems that vividly depict urban life in Istanbul, refers to the location of Baba Cafer prison in one of his poems, as follows:

Geçince Balıkpazarı / ketencilerle aktarı / Zindankapısı aşîkar / balmumcular eder kârı (As you pass the Fish Market, see the linen-weavers and the herb sellers / the Dungeon Gate looms, clear in view/where the beeswax-sellers make their profit.) ¹²²⁹

Valide Cami hâlâ/ bir yanında leb-i deryâ/ bir tarafı ketenciler/ mahbestir bir yanı amma (here stands the Valide Mosque / lying along the lips of the sea / on one side, linen-weavers ply / while on the other, a prison lies) ¹²³⁰

As referenced by Emir Mustafa, on the inner side of the nearby city gate, Zindankapı, near Yemiş İskelesi, there were the remnants of a Byzantine fortress, known as the Baba Cafer Tower, which served as a state prison.¹²³¹ This ancient tower was under the control of the *subaşı*, and it was close to where the 56th regiment (*orta*) of the janissaries was stationed.¹²³² Consequently, the Baba Cafer prison, the court of Ahi Çelebi, and the headquarters of the local police force were all located at the heart of one of the city's most important trade and business centers, near the bustling commercial port and the customs office, through which the state oversaw the fiscal administration of the city¹²³³

This section has provided an overview of the locations of Istanbul's *niyâbet* courts, which were established to deal with local cases. I argued that the kadis of Istanbul had three

Gülru Necipoğlu, "Volatile Urban Landscapes between Mythical Space and Time" in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul* (Leiden: Brill, 2021): 216-218.

¹²²⁹ Emir Mustafa, *Her Yanı ve Her Şeyiyle 18. Yüzyıl İstanbul'u: İnsan ve Toplum Hayatı, Varlıklar ve Nesneler*, ed. Mertol Tulum (Istanbul: Ketebe, 2018), 50.

¹²³⁰ Ibid., 59.

¹²³¹ Kömürciyan, *Istanbul Tarihi*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan, 15-16.

¹²³² Hovhanesyan, *Payitaht İstanbul*, 16. Godfrey Goodwin, *The Janissaries* (London: Saqi Books, 2016), 86. According to H.A.R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, Baba Cafer prison was under the joint control of Subaşı and Asesbaşı. As the executive officers of the neighborhood, they were responsible for imprisoning public criminals. Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950). Also see: Abdulkadir Özcan, "Baba Câfer Zindanı," In Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi, vol. 4 (Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı, 1991), 366-67. The renowned Çardak coffee shop, also known as *Ellialtı Kahvesi*, was situated right next to the base of this regiment. Ali Çaksu, "Janissary Coffee Houses in Late Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Dana Sajdi (London, New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 127.

¹²³³ Çaksu, "Janissary Coffee Houses," 127.

main motivations for assigning *nâ'ibs* to preside over sharia courts in particular urban districts. First, to meet the demand for easier access to judicial service and to make sharia courts more accessible to the general public. Second, the supervision and monitoring of the city's commercial life. Istanbul's *niyâbet* courts provided traders and merchants with a legal venue where they could officially register their businesses, arbitrate disputes, and resolve their conflicts. Moreover, locating the courts near the city's quays and the bustling marketplaces facilitated effective state control in providing the city with ample, fresh, and fairly- priced foodstuffs. And third, given the central role of judicial authorities in urban administration, establishing a *niyâbet* court would not only reduce the burden on the city's central court, *Istanbul Mahkemesi*, but also increase the administrative efficiency within that urban district. The spatial dialogue observed between the courthouses, headquarters of the *subaşı*, and the prisons supports this argument and points to a state policy that encourages collaboration and, when necessary, negotiation to maintain a power equilibrium among local public authorities.

The economic aspect of appointing *nâ'ibs* could be a fourth motivation, particularly if the kadis of Istanbul received a portion of the *nâ'ibs*' revenues, which were likely substantial given that they operated in the busiest parts of the walled city. Especially from the sixteenth century onwards, such appointments often took place through tax farming, whereby the kadi would grant the *nâ'ib* the authority to preside over a *niyâbet* court and collect the associated fees in exchange for an upfront payment.¹²³⁴ In other words, kadis could generate significant profits by selling the judicial offices (*niyâbet*) if they could persuade the central government of the necessity of establishing a new court and secure their approval.

The location of Istanbul's *niyâbet* courts in the vicinity of the mosques, situated at the heart of the socio-economic hubs, was not coincidental. Rather, it was a strategic arrangement aimed at assigning the *nâ'ibs* to hold court in central locations, easily accessible to the city's residents and the transient population, mostly merchants and travelers. I will examine more closely the spatial distribution of the *niyâbet* courts of Üsküdar, Galata, and

¹²³⁴ İnalçık, "Adâletnâmeler," 76. Also see Jun Akiba, "From Kadi to Naib: Reorganization of the Ottoman Sharia Judiciary in the Tanzimat Period," in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies*, vol.1, ed. Colin Imber and Keiko Kiyotaki (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 44.

Eyüp in the following section to try to better understand the driving factors that led kadis to appoint *nâ'ibs*. I will also explore the common features that characterized the areas designated as judicial centers in these three kadiships. Lastly, I will return to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf to consider the reasons behind the appointment of a *nâ'ib* in Ma'mûre.

6.4. The Niyâbet Courts in Bilâd-i Selâse

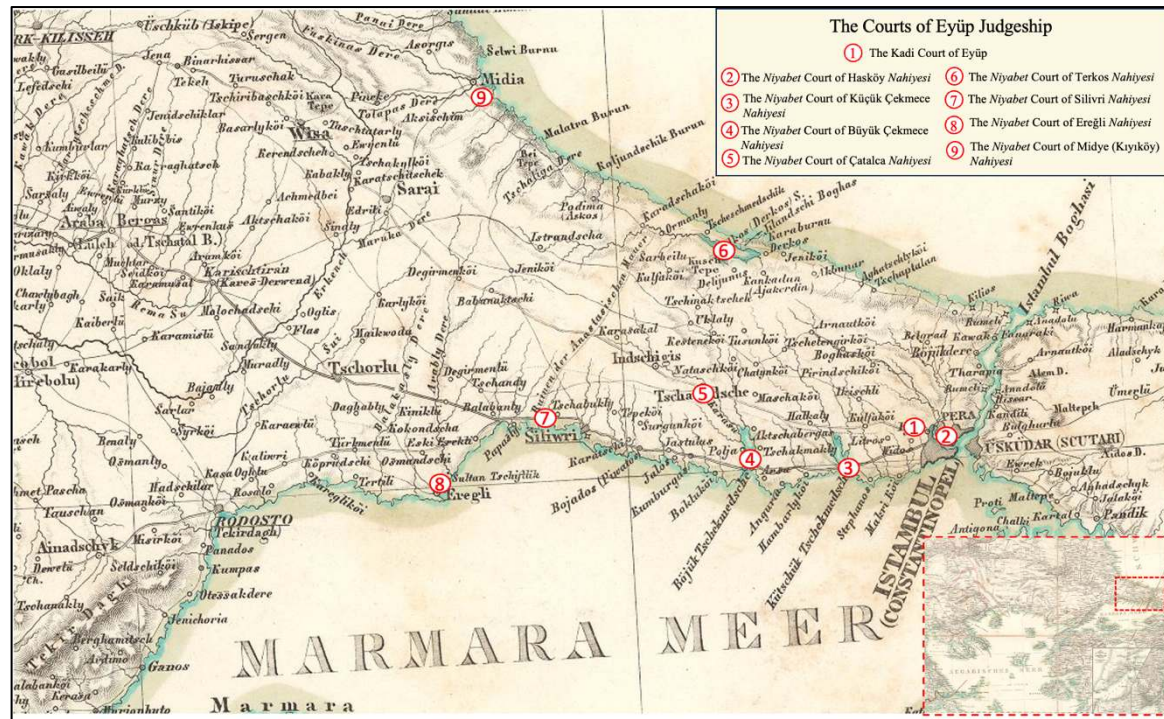
Unlike the kadis of Istanbul, who appointed *nâ'ibs* to the walled city's various neighborhoods, the kadis of Üsküdar, Eyüp, and Galata dispatched *nâ'ibs* to a variety of places with different administrative statuses: waqf settlements, densely populated towns, such as Kasımpaşa, Tophane, or Hasköy; the subdistricts, or far away *nâhiyes*, such as Adalar, Beşiktaş, İstinye, and Anadolu Kavağı, each consisting of a center and number of villages.¹²³⁵ Maps 6.5, 6.6, and 6.7 attempt to visual distribution of the deputy courts within the Üsküdar, Galata, and Eyüp kadiships during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These maps are prepared based on the published court records of Galata, Eyüp, and Üsküdar, so they do not represent a comprehensive analysis. Thus, they should be considered preliminary analyses that provide a general idea of the number and location of the sharia courts and the territorial extent of the subdistricts (*nâhiyes*). It is also important to recognize that the number of courts and of *nâhiyes*, as well as the official boundaries of each *kaza* or *nâhiye*, were not necessarily fixed but could have changed across the period in question. Hence, these maps may not represent all the judicial centers that were established in this period.

I have identified five courts in Galata, nine in Eyüp, and six in Üsküdar.¹²³⁶ The three *mevleviyet* kadis (one in each borough) sent their deputies primarily to the largest towns, which were notable for their relatively high population density and significant commercial

¹²³⁵ "The administrative-judicial organization of the Istanbul District consisted of four autonomous judgeships, with the Istanbul judges having exclusive responsibility for supervising affairs within the confines of the walled city." İpşirli, "İstanbul Kadılığı," 305.

¹²³⁶ I did not include certain annexed *nâhiyes*, such as Kapıdağ and Marmara *Nâhiyesi* that were annexed to the Galata district, since they were situated far from the *kaza* center and did not have a direct spatial relationship with the district itself.

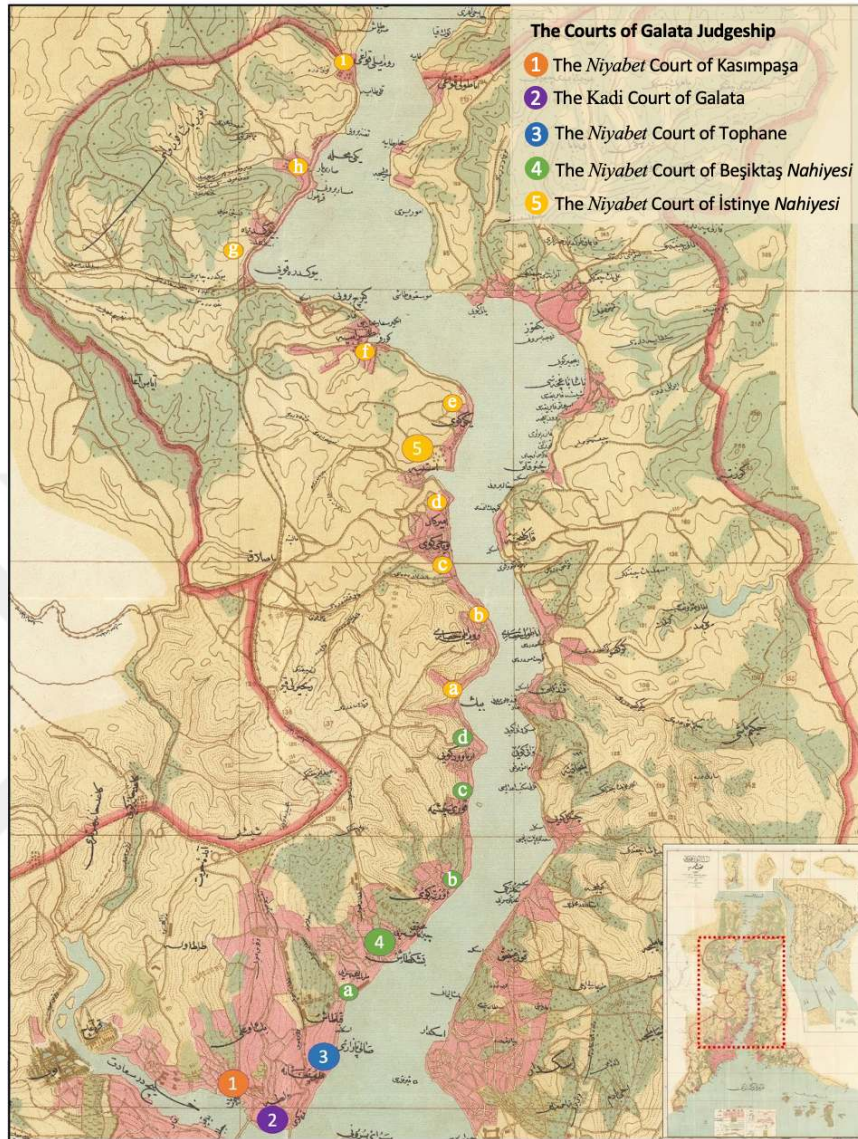
activity that fueled their urban growth, while the majority of their *nâ'ibs* held courts in the *nâhiyes*.



Map 6. 5: The courts of Eyüp Kadiship.¹²³⁷

¹²³⁷ 1. The kadi court of Eyüp. 2. The *niyâbet* court of Hasköy Nahiyesi. 3. The *niyâbet* court of Küçük Çekmece Nahiyesi. 4. The *niyâbet* court of Büyük Çekmece Nahiyesi. 5. The *niyâbet* court of Çatalca Nahiyesi. 6. The *niyâbet* court of Terkos Nahiyesi. 7. The *niyâbet* court of Silivri Nahiyesi. 8. The *niyâbet* court of Ereğli Nahiyesi. 9. The *niyâbet* court of Midye (Kıyıköy) Nahiyesi.

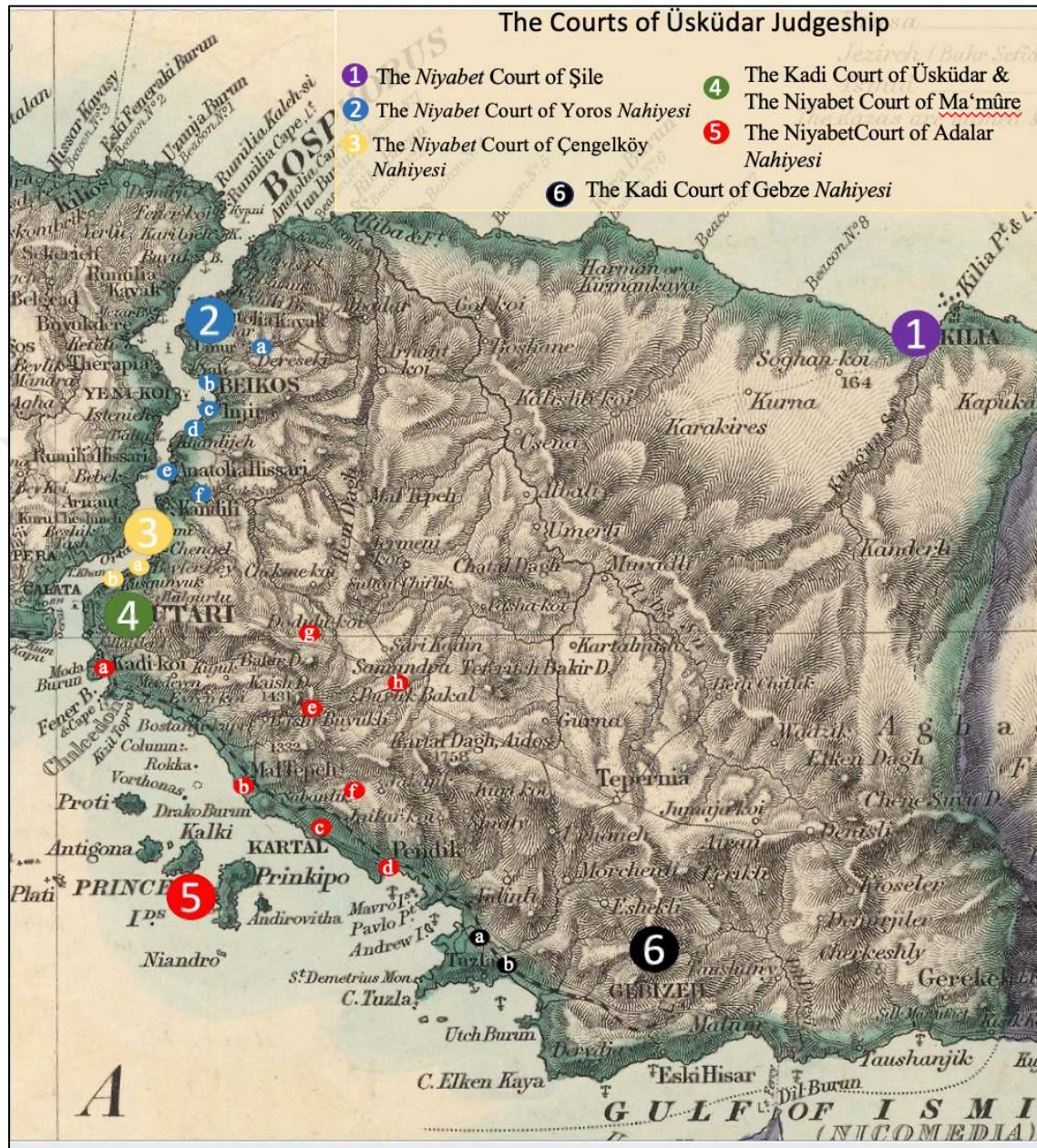
The georeferenced map is Heinrich Kiepert's "General-Karte von der europäischen Türkei." Berlin, 1853 From the University of Chicago Map Collection. This map is prepared based on the Eyüp's sixteenth and seventeenth-century court records published by ISAM (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi).



Map 6. 6: The courts of Galata Kadiship. ¹²³⁸

¹²³⁸ Marmara and Kapıdağ Nâhiyesi were deliberately omitted. 1. The *niyâbet* court of Kasımpaşa 2. The kadi court of Galata, 3. The *niyâbet* court of Tophane, 4. The *niyâbet* court of Beşiktaş Nâhiyesi: a) Dolmabahçe, b) Ortaköy, c) Kuruçeşme, d) Arnavutköy. 5. The *niyâbet* court of İstinye Nâhiyesi: a) Bebek, b) Rumeli Hisarı, c) Boyacıköy, d) Baltalıman, e) Yeniköy, f) Tarabya, g) Büyükdere, h) Sarıyer, i) Rumeli Kavağı. The georeferenced map is from Necip Bey İstanbul and the Bosphorus (1918), Plate: 8, David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

This map is prepared based on the Galata's sixteenth and seventeenth-century court records published by ISAM (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi). The map does not include all Galata's *niyâbet* courts, for example, excludes the Marmara Islands under the jurisdiction of the kadi of Galata. It also had to be noted that, during the course of the seventeenth century, the jurisdiction over Hasköy transferred between the Galata and Eyüp kadiships. In acknowledgment of its longstanding inclusion within the Eyüp kadiship, surpassing that of Galata, I have designated Hasköy as a judicial district under the purview of the kadi of Eyüp. The islands of Marmara Sea were distributed between Galata and Üsküdar kadiships: while Marmara Adası, Mir Ali Adası, Tavşan Adası, Kapıdağ peninsula, and Erdek were annexed to Galata, Kızıl Adalar fell under the domains of the kadi of Üsküdar.

Map 6. 7: The courts of Üsküdar kadiship.¹²³⁹

¹²³⁹ 1. The *niyâbet* court of Şile (after 1583) 2. The *niyâbet* court of Yoros/Anadolu Kavağı Nâhiyesi: a) Dereşeki, b) Beykoz, c) İncirli, d) Kanlıca, e) Anadolu Hisarı, f) Göksu) 3. The *niyâbet* court of Çengelköy Nâhiyesi: a) İstavros/Beylerbeyi, b) Kuzguncuk) 4. The kadi court of Üsküdar and the *niyâbet* court of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre, 5. The *niyâbet* court of Adalar Nâhiyesi: a) Kadıköy, b) Maltepe, c) Kartal, d) Pendik, e) Başibüyük, f) Soğanlık, g) Dudullu, h) Samandıra) 6. The *niyâbet* court of Gebze Nâhiyesi: a) Tuzla, b) Darıca).

A detail from the map of "The Sea of Marmara" by John Arrowsmith and Edward Stanford in *Stanford's London Atlas Of Universal Geography* (London: Edward Stanford, 1879) David Rumsey Map Collection. This map is prepared based on the Üsküdar's sixteenth and seventeenth-century court records published by ISAM (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi)

Some definitions are in order at this point. The term “*nâhiye*” refers to a judicial and administrative unit that encompassed urban centers (*nefs* or *kasaba*), villages (*karye*), islands (*ada*), small agricultural lands (*mezra'a*) and farms (*çiftlik*). For instance, *Adalar Nâhiyesi* covered a large area that included the islands of the Kızıl Archipelago (comprising Büyük, Heybeli, Burgaz and Kınalı islands) as well as various villages and towns, including Maltepe, Kartal, Pendik, Başbüyük, Samandıra, Soğanlık, and Dudullu.¹²⁴⁰

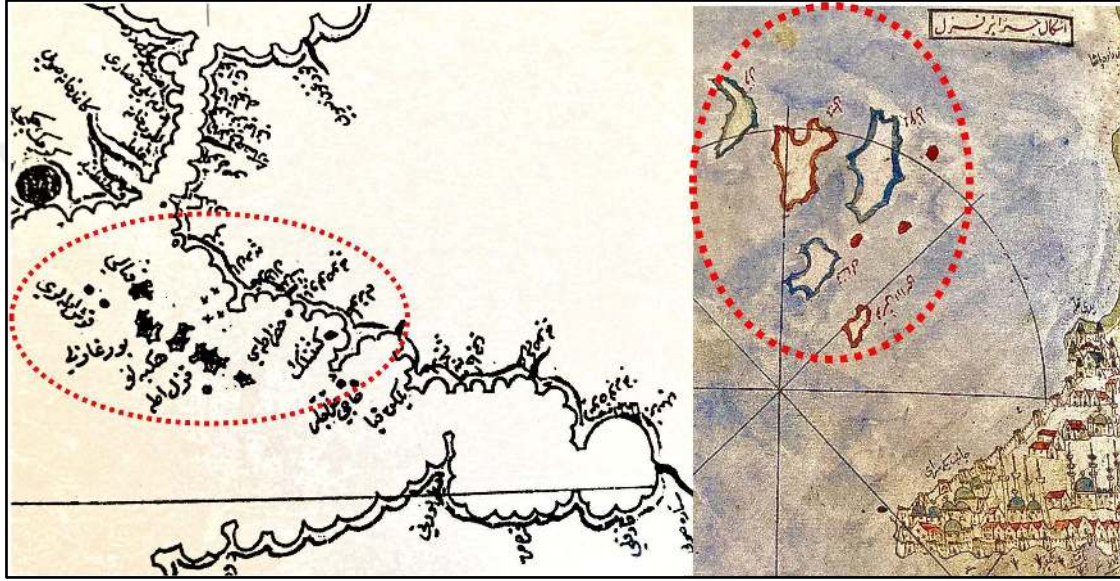


Figure 6. 13: The approximate boundaries of Adalar Nâhiyesi.

a) Adalar Nâhiyesi as shown in one of the late copies of Piri Reis' Kitab-ı Bahriye in the last quarter of the sixteenth century¹²⁴¹ b) The islands of Kızıl Archipelago from a seventeenth-century copy of Piri Reis Map.¹²⁴²

¹²⁴⁰ Among the towns constituting the Adalar Nâhiyesi, Kartal must have undergone significant urban growth during the early eighteenth century, leading to its designation as a separate *nâhiye*. By 1708, Adalar Nâhiyesi was divided into two and reassigned as Kartal and Adalar Nâhiyesi. Subsequent to this division, the registers of the Kartal court began to be kept independently in distinct volumes of the Üsküdar's court records. “Mefharu'l-ekzâti'l-müşerri'în Mevlânâ İsmail Efendi el-mükerrem ba'de'd-du'â inhâ olunur ki, işbu bin yüz otuz bir senesi Muharremi'l-harâmı guresinden Üsküdar muzâfâtından Kartal Nâhiyesi *niyâbeti* tarafımızdan sizlere tefvîz olunmuşdur. Gerekdir ki, gurre-i mezbûreden varıp zabt edip beyne'l-ahâlî icrâ-yı şer'-i Ahmedî edesin ve's-selâm. Hurrire fi't-târihi'l-mezbûr. El-Fakîr Mustafa el-Kādî bi-medîneti Üsküdar.” KŞS, vol.1, p.1 /b2 (1 Muharrem 1131 / 24 November 1718) *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri* 62: *Kartal Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1128-1133 / M. 1716-1721), ed. Mehmet Akif Aydın, Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş. 2019), 53.

¹²⁴¹ Piri Reis Map, Bologna University, no. 3612. Taken from Cevat Ülkekel, *Piri Reis ve Türk Kartograflarının Çizgileriyle XVI., XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda İstanbul* İstanbul: Boyut Yayınları, 2013), 45.

¹²⁴² Piri Reis Map showing Kızıl Archipelago Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, no. 2990/159b (1055/1645). From Ülkekel, *XVI., XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda İstanbul*, 56.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, Üsküdar was a *nâhiye* of the *Gebze Kazası*. In this administrative framework, the kadi of Gebze appointed *nâ'ibs* to *Üsküdar Nâhiyesi*, who presided over legal proceedings in the *nâhiye* center, which was Üsküdar. The jurisdiction of *Üsküdar Nâhiyesi* then extended to eighteen villages it encompassed.¹²⁴³ As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, Üsküdar was upgraded to the status of the judicial district (*Üsküdar Kazası*), whose jurisdiction now extended to Gebze, Şile, Kandıra, and the Marmara Sea islands, and with its center in *nefs-i Üsküdar*. Since then, the kadis of Üsküdar ruled over a large territory divided into *nâhiyes*, in each of which an appointed *nâ'ib* held court.

Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land was not part of a *nâhiye* but rather functioned as an autonomous enclave within an urban center. As a result, this deputy court primarily served the residents of Ma'mûre, with occasional use by residents from the adjacent neighborhoods. The appointment of a *nâ'ib* in Ma'mûre reflects similar motivations to those of the kadis of Istanbul, who assigned *nâ'ibs* to hold court near the city's commercial hubs, major docks, and customs checkpoints. I would argue that the designation of Ma'mûre as a *niyâbet* was primarily driven by economic motivations and the need to address large numbers of legal cases related to merchants and artisans working in its commercial centers, to its significant transient population that resulted from its role as a way station for the trade caravans. With its customs office, its unique horse market in Üsküdar, and its plethora of commercial and accommodation facilities, Ma'mûre was a hub of socio-economic activity, making it an ideal location for the establishment of a *niyâbet* court. In other words, farming the *niyâbet* of Mahalle-i Ma'mûre and reaping its legal fees was economically advantageous for the Üsküdar kadis, as it guaranteed a steady stream of revenues.

In addition, Ma'mûre's designation as a judicial center was likely linked to its administrative status as a waqf land under the governance of the waqf administration. As will be detailed in Chapter 7, the *nâ'ibs* of Ma'mûre frequently handled waqf-related matters and regularly collaborated with Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs* in the management of her

¹²⁴³ "Samandıra, İstavros, Soğanlık, Herekedone, Viranköy, Kuzguncuk, Yakacık köy, Kartal, Başibüyüklü, Karamanlı, Nerdübanlı, Küçük Dudullu, Reisli, Def'a Reisli, Yeniceköy, Bulgurlu, Kısıklı, Çengelköy" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.1.p.3/a3 quoted from *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil* ed. Bilgin Aydın, Ekrem Tak, 110.

endowment and its financial resources. Besides, the *nâ'ibs* of Ma'mûre played a critical role in maintaining equilibrium within the power dynamics of the local governance structure. At times, they even challenged the authority of Ma'mûre's military governors: the *mütevellîs*, the *subaşı*s, and their functionaries. Briefly, the deputy court in Ma'mûre served four main functions: monitoring and supervising the economic life in the region, implementing an on-site oversight mechanism for the waqf administration, addressing the legal needs of the residents, and, finally, establishing an alternate locus of power vis-à-vis local military forces.

Throughout the early modern period, the buildings that functioned as legal venues or places of detention in Istanbul and its three boroughs did not share a consistent and uniform visual language that unequivocally marked their purpose. Instead, a variety of existing structures were repurposed to serve as a courthouse or a prison either temporarily or on a more permanent basis. However, the absence of courthouses or prisons in the modern sense should not lead us to think of "sharia court" exclusively in terms of the physical presence of a kadi. I have argued that to understand the administration of justice in the context of urban governance requires a broader perspective that considers the adaptive use of space and spatial relationships between all those involved in the process.

The final inquiry of this chapter is on the location of deputy courts in Istanbul's boroughs. Its aim is to understand whether the spatial organization of *niyâbets* followed a pattern similar to those of Istanbul and were likewise located in commercial hubs, around the piers, and close to the headquarters of *subaşı* and prisons. Rather than conducting a detailed analysis of each deputy court in the Districts of Galata, Üsküdar, and Eyüp, which would be beyond the scope of this study, I will focus on two sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *niyâbets* in Galata, the first, in Beşiktaş and the second, in Kasımpaşa, and will conclude with the case of Ma'mûre.

Evliya Çelebi's first-hand observations on these two deputy courts are particularly helpful. He reports that, for example, the Beşiktaş court was established in the courtyard of the Koca Sinan Pasha Mosque, which was located near the Beşiktaş Pier (Beşiktaş İskelesi).¹²⁴⁴ Based on his notes, one can assume the courtroom was a free-standing structure

¹²⁴⁴ "Ve dahi taşra haremi çinâr-ı müntehâlar ile müzeyyendir. Haremin bir köşesinde mahkeme-i şer'î-i Resûl-i mübîn vardır. / The mosque's outer yard is embellished with plane trees. At one of the corners of the courtyard, there is a Sharia court." *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 221.

placed in the courtyard or perhaps a room in the U-shaped madrasa building, which shared the courtyard with the mosque.¹²⁴⁵ The early twentieth-century “Necip Bey map” shows a cul-de-sac labeled “the court’s dead-end” (*Mahkeme Çıkmazı*) leading to Odun Pier (*Odun İskelesi*) directly across from the Sinan Pasha Mosque, suggesting that the Beşiktaş court might have been relocated sometime after Evliya’s time. (see Fig. 6.14). The only thing we can ascertain here is that the *nâ’ibs* of Beşiktaş maintained a presence near the Odun pier.



Figure 6. 14: The judicial center of Beşiktaş Nâhiyesi. ¹²⁴⁶

¹²⁴⁵ In his study on how Beşiktaş developed into a town in the 1550s, Fikret Yılmaz argues that following the completion of the Sinan Pasha mosque, Beşiktaş now, equipped with a Friday mosque, a bazaar, and two madrasas, along with the formation of neighborhoods, met the criteria for attaining city status. In 1557-58, Beşiktaş was designated as a *niyâbet* with a *nâ’ib* appointed to oversee the Beşiktaş court. Notably, this *niyâbet* court operated in one of the rooms of the Sinan Pasha complex. Fikret Yılmaz, “Osmanlı Hanedanı, Kullar ve Korsanlar: Beşiktaş’ın Doğuşu ve İktidar Rekabeti (1534-1557),” *Journal of Turkish Studies: Festschrift In Honor Of Özer Ergenç Part II*, vol. 52 (December 2019), eds. Cemal Kafadar, Gönül A. Tekin, Nil Tekgöl (Harvard University, 2019): 397-427.

¹²⁴⁶ 1. Beşiktaş Ferry Pier 2. Wood Pier 3. Court-Dead-End (cul-de-sac) 4. Sinan Pasha Mosque. The map on the right: Necip Bey Istanbul Map (1918), Plates 2.1 & 2.2, David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, and Salt Archives. The map on the left: Pervititch Map, Plate 1&4, 1922.

In a similar manner, the *niyâbet* court of Kasımpaşa was established in the courtyard of a Friday mosque built by Güzelce Kasım Pasha in the 1530s.¹²⁴⁷ This mosque was a central element of a broader urban initiative led by Kasım Pasha for the development of the area surrounding the imperial naval arsenal (*Tersane-i Amire*).¹²⁴⁸ Evliya Çelebi reports that the *nâ'ib* of Kasımpaşa administered judicial proceedings in the courtyard of the Kasımpaşa Mosque, which was located in one of the busiest parts of the town. He says: “The mosque has a large congregation, as it is in the city’s most congested area. Its courtyard is accessible through two entrances, one on the right and one on the left. The sharia court is located within this courtyard.”¹²⁴⁹ However, Çelebi does not provide details on the specific spatial-architectural adaptations made to accommodate the court within the courtyard—whether through additional constructions or modifications to the existing structures, such as closing off the arcade. Since the arrangement of *niyâbet* courts in mosque courtyards was a common practice across the city, he might have regarded it as a standard architectural solution not requiring special mention.

¹²⁴⁷ The earliest records of the Kasımpaşa court have not survived to the present day, making it unclear when it was first established. However, as can be traced from the Galata court records, there was a *nâ'ib* who would hold court in Kasımpaşa in the 1590. Given that the urbanization of Kasımpaşa began in the 1530s it is likely that the appointment of a *nâ'ib* followed soon after, reflecting the growing need for judicial services as the area developed. *İstanbul kadı Sicilleri: Galata Mahkemesi 15 Numaralı Sicil (H. 981 - 1000 / M. 1573 - 1591)*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İSAM, 2012), 133, entry 40a-1. Zilka'de 998/ September 1590).

¹²⁴⁸ “Süleymân Hân velvele-ârâ pâdişâh-ı azîmü’ş-şân olup devletinde benî âdem ile şehir-i İslâmbol âdem deryâsı olup omuz omuzu sökmez olup vüzerâlarından {fâtih-i Anabolı} Kâsım Paşa’ya ve fâtih-i Sakız Piyâle Paşa’ya ve fâtih-i Ahıçka Ferhâd Paşa’ya ve fâtih-i Alâüddeve Ayas Paşa kullarına fermânları sâdır olup Kasımpaşa şehrini ma’mûr etmeğe bezl-i himmet etdiklerinden niçe bin a’yân-ı devlet, var makdûrların sarf edüp niçe bin hânedân ve hayrât [ü] hasenâtlar edüp ma’mûr [u] âbâdân oldu / The city of Istanbul was so densely populated that it resembled a sea of people, leaving hardly any room to move. Sultan Suleyman issued orders to his viziers - Kasım Pasha, the conqueror of Anadolu; Piyale Pasha, the conqueror of Chios; Ferhad Pasha, the conqueror of Ahiska; and Ayas Pasha, the conqueror of Alâüddeve - to develop and populate the town of Kasımpaşa. They invested significant resources and efforts into the town, founding charitable institutions and thousands of households. As a result, the town became populated and thrived.” *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 204. Also see Ayvansarayî, *Hadikatü'l Cevâmî*, 397.

¹²⁴⁹ “Ve harem içre mahkeme-i şer’-i mübin vardır. Ve hareminin yemin [ü] yesârında iki kapusu var. Ve bu câmi ‘şehrini iz[di]hâm yerinde olmağile gâyet cemâ’at-i kesîreye mâlikdir.” *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 204.



Figure 6. 15: The administrative center of Kasımpaşa.

1. Kasım Pasha Mosque 2. The administrative base of the imperial arsenal, including the grand admiral's mansion and *divanhane*.¹²⁵⁰

Kasım Pasha's mosque was in the vicinity of the imperial arsenal and the headquarters of the local governors, including the grand admiral (*Kaptan Paşa*), the warden

¹²⁵⁰ Pervititch Map, plate 20. 1926.

Top photo: A 19th-century view of the Kasım Pasha Mosque. (Ülgen Family Archive/Salt Research Archives), Bottom photo: A nineteenth-century view of the imperial arsenal from Haliç Shipyard. is taken by Basile Kargopoulo. From Salt Research Archives.

of the arsenal (*Tersane Kethüdası*) and the *subaşı* of Kasımpaşa.¹²⁵¹ At the north-eastern end of the arsenal complex were the grand admiral's mansion and the tribunal (*divanhane*), the latter a large, multi-story wooden building where the grand admiral adjudicated matters involving his functionaries.¹²⁵² (see Fig. 6.15) John Tournefort, the seventeenth-century French traveler, states in his travel book that the grand admiral acted as if he was the only sovereign of his territory, receiving commands only from the sultan.¹²⁵³ Tournefort also notes that the grand admiral was responsible for appointing the director of the *Bagnio del gran Turco*, the arsenal prison, and for supervising its officials. The prison was one of the largest in the Empire, and it was dedicated to the mass incarceration of war captives and criminals condemned to serve as rowers in the naval fleets. Complementing Tournefort's observations, the eighteenth-century Ottoman-Armenian historian Sarkis Sarraf Hovhannesyan mentions a prison complex just behind the court of Kasımpaşa for state captives and convicted criminals.¹²⁵⁴ All this suggests that the court, prison, the headquarters of the navy commander, and the *subaşı* were strategically positioned in close proximity to each other.

Going back to Ma'mûre, it would be difficult to confirm the existence of a structure that served as the *niyâbet* court, let alone its location. No material evidence has survived to the present day, nor are there any relevant historical records. However, in light of the pattern observed above, one could conjecture that the common practice of establishing deputy courts within mosque courtyards also applied to Ma'mûre. That the *nâ'ibs* of Ma'mûre held court sessions somewhere in Nurbanu Sultan's mosque or *küllîye* is very likely.¹²⁵⁵ For certain,

¹²⁵¹ The chief admiral of the Ottoman fleet was the head of the imperial arsenal, while Kasımpaşa Subaşı was charged with the public security of the region. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, eds. Dankoff, Kahraman, Dağlı, 205

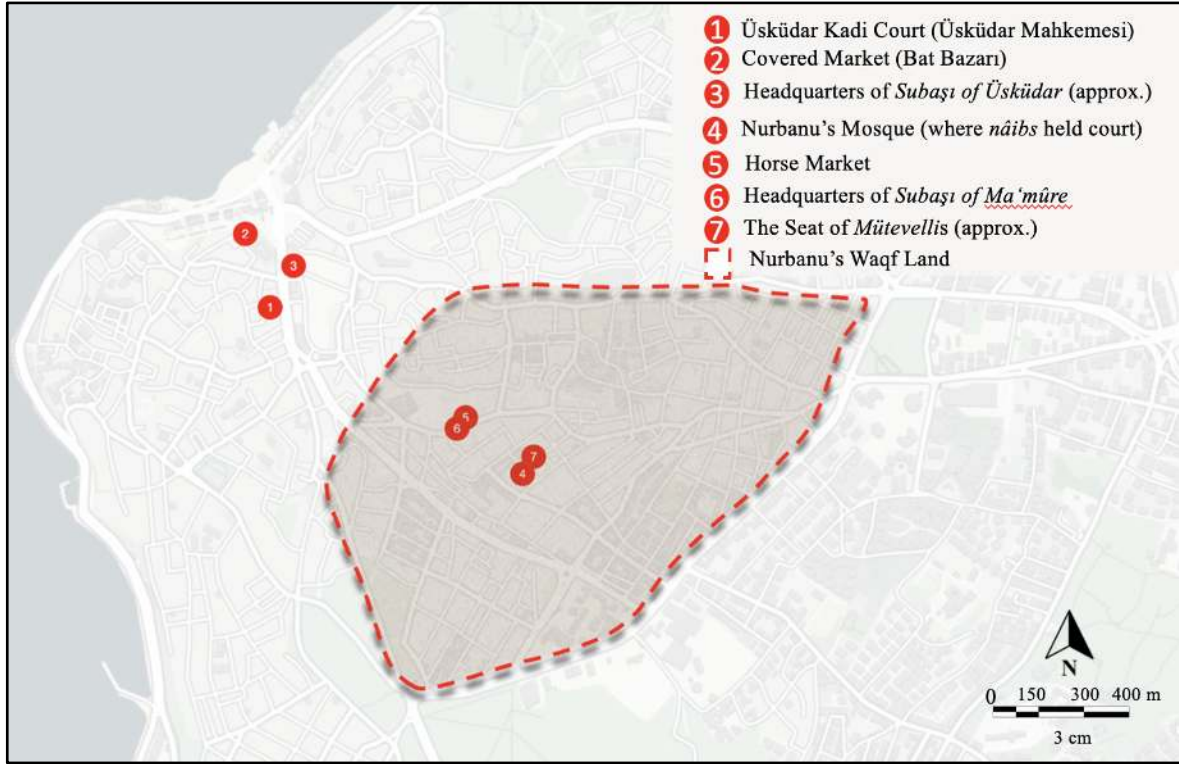
¹²⁵² Sarkis Sarraf Hovhannesyan, *Payitaht İstanbul'un Tarihçesi*, trans. Elmon Hançer (İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 37.

¹²⁵³ Tournefort, *Tournefort Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Stefanos Yerasimos, 35.

¹²⁵⁴ Hovhannesyan, *Payitaht İstanbul'un Tarihçesi*, 37.

¹²⁵⁵ The mosques commissioned by Nurbanu and Kösem Sultan in Üsküdar were used as venues for legal proceedings. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that prior to the construction of the Kösem Sultan's Mosque (also known as Çinili Mosque) in 1640, legal proceedings were likely conducted in the Nurbanu Sultan's mosque complex, given its central status in the region. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, 70: Üsküdar Mahkemesi 403 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1154-1155 / M. 1740-1742), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür A.Ş., 2019), p.112, entry. 141 (23b-3).

this was the case at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as confirmed by a court record dated 1708, revealing that the *niyâbet* of Ma'mûre as located in Nurbanu Sultan's mosque and convent.¹²⁵⁶



Map 6. 8: The administrative-judicial centers of Üsküdar.
Produced by the author.

Examining the spatial organization of Ma'mûre's administrative center is crucial to determine if the case of Ma'mûre supports the argument presented in this chapter, which posits that the strategic arrangement of the sharia court, the prison, and the headquarters of

¹²⁵⁶ “Mevlânâ Mehmed Emin Efendi irsâl olunup ol dahi zeyl-i vesikada muharrerü'l-esâmi-i cemâ'at-i müslimin ile medine-i Üsküdar'da vâki merhûm Atik Vâlide Sultan hazretlerinin binâ eylediği tekkeye varup akd-i meclis-i şef'-i münîf etdik/Mevlânâ Mehmed Emin Efendi convened a council at the convent established by the late queen mother in Üsküdar, attended by Muslims whose names were recorded in the official registry.” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.355.p.20/a1 (Rebî'ülâhîr 1119/July 1707)

“Vâlide-i Atik Cami imaretine varup huzur-ı müsliminde akd eylediği meclis-i şerîf / He went to the mosque complex of the late queen mother and held court in the presence of the muslims” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.466.p.25/b3 (Ramazan 1178/September 1716)

“Üsküdar'da Atik Vâlide Câmi'-i şerîfi'ne varup akd-i meclis-i şer'-i şerîf ettikde...ba'dehû ihtimâmen Reis mahallesinde vâki' Çinili Câmi'-i şerîfi'nde akd-i meclis olunup / first we arrived at the Atik Valide Mosque to hold court... then, we gathered in Çinili Mosque in the Reis Neighborhood for the continuation of the legal proceeding” *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri*, 70: Üsküdar Mahkemesi 403 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1154-1155 / M. 1740-1742), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş, 2019), p.112, entry. 141 (23b-3).

subaşı played a pivotal role in effective urban governance. Although we have no clear evidence of the exact location of the headquarters of *subaşı*, considering the typical practice of the urban police to establish itself near marketplaces and commercial piers, it was likely close to the horse market. It is also difficult to pinpoint the exact location of the *mütevelli*'s office. The *vakfiye* offers no information about the workplace of the waqf administrator or his family's and officials' residence. Still, as Ma‘mûre's principal governing authorities, it is reasonable to suggest that *mütevellis* and their scribes resided in the vicinity of the mosque complex.

In conclusion, Nurbanu Sultan's mosque complex and its immediate surroundings, including the horse market, did not only form a socio-economic nucleus but also the administrative center of the Nurbanu waqf land. If the principles of spatial organization observed in Istanbul and the *nâhiyes* of its three boroughs also applied in Ma‘mûre, the local prison would likely have been positioned in proximity to the mosque complex or the marketplace. This will be the focus of Chapter 7.

Chapter 7

THE SPATIAL POLITICS AND THE MAKING OF URBAN ORDER: PLACES OF DETENTION IN MA‘MÛRE

Current scholarship on Ottoman penal institutions focuses largely on the modernization of these institutions and the establishment of a centralized prison system during the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹²⁵⁷ There has yet to be a systematic study dedicated to the various types of structures that served as “places of detention” prior to the nineteenth century.¹²⁵⁸ The lack of research on this topic is mostly due to the fact that incarceration was not a widely

¹²⁵⁷ For the prominent studies on the Late Ottoman Prisons, see Kent F. Schull, *Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire: Microcosms of Modernity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), Kent Schull, “Criminal Codes, Crimes, and the Transformation of Punishment in the Late Ottoman Empire,” In *Law and Legality in the Ottoman Empire and Republic of Turkey*, ed. Kent F. Schull, et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 156–78; Ufuk Adak, “Central Prisons (Hapishane-i Umumi) in Istanbul and Izmir in the Late Ottoman Empire: In-Between Ideal and Reality,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, no 1 (May, 2007): 73-94, Anthony Gorman, “Regulation, Reform and Resistance in the Middle Eastern Prison” in *Cultures of Confinement: A History of the Prison in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, ed. Frank Dikötter and Ian Brown (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007): 95–146, Gültekin Yıldız, *Mapusâne: Osmanlı Hapishanelerinin Kuruluş Serüveni (1839-1908)* (Istanbul: Kitabevi Yayınevi, 1012), *Osmanlı'da Asayiş, Suç ve Ceza, 18.–20. Yüzyıllar*, ed. Noémi Lévy and Alexandre Toumarkine (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007), Ahmet Ali Gazel, “Tanin Muhabiri Ahmet Şerif Bey’in Notlarında Osmanlı Hapishaneleri” in *Hapishane Kitabı*, ed. Emine Gürsoy Naskalı, Hilal Oytun Altun (Istanbul, Kitabevi Yayınları, 2010): 144-151. Ali Karaca, “19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti’nde Fahişe Hatunlara Uygulanan Cezalar: Hapis ve Sürgün” in *Hapishane Kitabı*: 152-162. Halim Demiryürek, *Osmanlı Hapishaneleri: 1913-1914* (Istanbul: Babıali Kültür Yayıncılığı, 2019), Zeynep Kezer, “If Walls Could Talk: Exploring the Dimensions of Heterotopia at the Four Seasons Istanbul Hotel” in *Architecture as Experience : Radical Change in Spatial Practice* (London: Routledge, 2004): 210-232.

¹²⁵⁸ Still, we can learn about early modern prisons thanks to a large corpus of literature on the Ottoman legal system, Sharia courts, crimes, and punishments. For the studies that propose valuable ideas on what it meant to be imprisoned in the early modern Ottoman world and what the prisons looked like, see: Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), Rudolph Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law: Theory and Practice from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-first Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu, 1652-1744* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700-1800* (California: University of California press, 2011), Betül Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century : Between Crisis and Order* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), Eyal Ginio, *The Administration of Criminal Justice in Ottoman Selânik (Salonica) During the Eighteenth Century*, In *Turcica* (1998), vol. 30, 185-209, Shirine Hamadeh, “Mean Streets: Space and Moral Order in Early Modern Istanbul,” *Turcica*, vol. 44 (2012-2013): 249-277. Necdet Öztürk, “Osmanlılarda Hapis Olayları (1300-1512)” in *Hapishane Kitabı*, ed. Emine Gürsoy Naskalı, Hilal Oytun Altun (Istanbul, Kitabevi Yayınları, 2010): 101-130.

used form of punishment until the codification of the imperial penal laws into criminal codes, which paved the way for the formation of a modern prison system.¹²⁵⁹ Middle Eastern historian Anthony Gorman argues that; “the absence of imprisonment as a prescribed penalty in Islamic law (sharia) meant that its application, as a punishment and a disciplinary practice, was associated with offenses against political authority to punish those who broke man-made law (qanun)”.¹²⁶⁰

As Garmont states, although imposing long-term incarceration (*habs-i medid*) was not a normative practice in the early modern Ottoman world, it was applied by executive authorities for convicts who had committed capital offenses (*cürm-i galiz*), including empire’s safety and sovereignty.¹²⁶¹ Once the allegations against the convicts were legally verified, they were detained in a prison, where they awaited the execution of their sentences, which ranged from life imprisonment to corporal punishment and execution.¹²⁶²

In early modern Istanbul, convicted state officials, war captives, spies, rebellious janissaries, smugglers, thieves, prostitutes, and traders who violated market regulations served their sentences in various places designated as prisons. Incarceration as a punitive measure primarily served to compel debtors and their guarantors to settle their financial commitments, protect the community from habitual criminals, and keep suspects under arrest until the completion of their investigations.¹²⁶³

¹²⁵⁹ Engin Deniz Akarlı defines the evolution of Ottoman penal codes as follows; “From 1480 (if not earlier) to 1700, the Ottomans set down code-like compilations of regulations and statutes regarding criminal offenses left uncovered or only broadly covered in Islamic-hanafi criminal law literature. Each compilation (and various supplementary decrees on specific penal issues) improved on previous provisions technically while adapting concepts conforming more closely to Islamic legal terminology. a distinctly Ottoman but also hanafi penal law gradually formed and was absorbed into Ottoman-hanafi legal texts and court practice.” Engin Deniz Akarlı, “The Ruler and Law Making in the Ottoman Empire,” *Law and Empire*, vol.3 (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2013), 99.

¹²⁶⁰ Gorman, “Regulation, Reform and Resistance in the Middle Eastern Prison,” 96.

¹²⁶¹ Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 259.

¹²⁶² Uriel Heyd says : “Imprisonment as a penalty is inflicted, often in addition to chastisement (ta'zir) and a fine, for a few sexual offenses and for a man’s beating his father or mother. According to the ihtisâb kânunu (market regulations), butchers who fail to provide meat are also to be put in prison until it is supplied. A firman imposed life imprisonment on a müderris who had killed one subordinate of the governor and wounded others.” Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 302.

¹²⁶³ According to Rudolph Peters, “imprisonment lied outside the domain of penal law” because it was rarely imposed as a severe chastisement -for example, -for punishing bandits or habitual thefts. Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law*, 34.

The main prisons of Greater Istanbul included the fortresses, like Yedikule and Boğazkesen (also known as Yenihisar), the tower of Galata, Baba Cafer Prison, Ağa Kapısı Prison (the prison of janissary aghas), Bostancıbaşı Prison (the prison of the head of imperial guards), İhtisab Prison (the market prison), and Tersane Prison (the imperial arsenal's prison) were the primary detention facilities. In addition, buildings of various shapes and sizes were used as local prisons, where most everyone arrested by the *subaşı*s would land.¹²⁶⁴ Throughout the chapter, I will refer to all these places as “places of detention.” I use it as an umbrella term to denote all sorts of different places that accommodated individuals serving sentences, be they long or short-term.

Since imprisonment was typically leveraged as a deterrent strategy aimed at disciplining chronic offenders and pushing them to fulfill their obligations, each administrative-judicial center had its own prison, established in the available and appropriate spaces. They were primarily managed at a local level by the *subaşı*s and the relevant court personnel.¹²⁶⁵ Chapter 7 provides an in-depth analysis of the spatial distribution of “places of detention” in Ma‘mûre and explores various instances of imprisonment conducted by local authorities, including *mütevellî*s and *subaşı*s. This investigation into the probable locations of the local places of detention tests the arguments presented in Chapter 6 within the context of Ma‘mûre to determine whether they were conceived as part of a governance nucleus

¹²⁶⁴ Ufuk Adak states that before the Tanzimat Period “khans such as Cezayir Hanı in Izmir, local notables’ (ayan) dungeons in their palaces, even barns and various renovated buildings were used as prisons in the Ottoman Empire” Ufuk Adak, “On the Margins of the City: Izmir Prison in the late Ottoman Empire” in *Understanding the City through its Margins: Pluridisciplinary Perspectives from Case Studies in Africa, Asia and the Middle East*, ed. André Chapatte, Ulrike Freitag and Nora Lafi (New York, Routledge, 2018), 79. In his case study on criminal justice in the eighteenth century Ottoman Selanik (Salonica), Eyal Ginio informs us that “The only prison under the supervision and the authority of the kadi was the local *sicn-i sultanî*, where debtors and apostate women were held. Most other prisoners in Salonica were imprisoned in the local citadels (kale) under the supervision of the warden of the citadel (dizdar).” Ginio, *The Administration of Criminal Justice*, 195.

¹²⁶⁵ There is no extensive research on the architectural features of the buildings used as detention houses before the construction of modern prisons. For the limited number of sources regarding early modern prisons, see: Abdülkadir Özcan, “Baba Cafer Zindanı,” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 4 (1991): 366-367, Zübeyde Yağcı and Esra Nalbant, “İstanbul Tersane Zindanı” in *Osmanlı İstanbulu IV*, ed. Feridun Emecen, et al. (Istanbul: 29 Mayıs Yayınları, 2016), Murat Yıldız, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Bir Saray Hapishanesi: 18.-19. Yüzyıllarda Bir Osmanlı Mahbesi,” in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, vol. 22 (Spring) (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012). For a memoir of a prisoner in Tersane Zindanı, who is Habsurga ambassador’s apothecary, see: Friedrich Siedel, *Sultanın Zindanında: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’na Gönderilen Bir Elçilik Heyetinin İbret Verici Öyküsü (1591-1596)* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2017).

together with the *niyâbet* court and the headquarters of *subaşı*, as the administrative center of Ma'mûre. I will first focus on the role of incarceration within the framework of Ma'mûre's governance, emphasizing its critical function in maintaining public order and resolving local disputes. In this context, I will analyze the spatial distribution of places of detention to reveal the multiple roles these facilities played, not only to confine offenders but to facilitate the resolution of financial and social conflicts within the community. In the second section, I will focus on an imperial decree issued in 1608, which ordered the establishment of a prison in Ma'mûre upon the request of the local authorities. Based on this decree, I attempt to locate this structure. Finally, the last section will examine the places of detention in Ma'mûre as an intersection zone between the neighborhood's executive officers (*subaşı*, *mütevelli*) and judicial authorities (*nâ'ib*). It will show how the balance of power between these three offices was not static but subject to shifts related to the changing administrative status of Ma'mûre, historical circumstances, and the individuals occupying these positions of power.

7.1. Incarceration as a Means of Urban Governance: Places of Detention in Mahalle-i Ma'mûre

Here were offenders both great and small, from the lad who had lifted a bunch of grapes or a fig from a counter to swindlers and burglars; the innocent were here, and the falsely accused, the weak-witted and the betrayed, or people brought here by mistake from Istanbul and from all over the Empire. ¹²⁶⁶ Ivo Andrić / Devil's Yard

In October 1585, the *subaşı* of Ma'mûre appealed to the deputy court in the neighborhood, requesting an urgent investigation into the suspicious death of Süleyman ibn Abdullah, which had occurred within the confines of a prison, which was overseen by the *subaşı*, under rather dubious circumstances. According to testimony from Ahmed Subaşı, Süleyman hanged himself in his cell, which he shared with Rıdvan and Yunus, all imprisoned for

¹²⁶⁶ This quotation is from Nobel-awarded writer Ivo Andrić's novel *Prokleta avilija* (Devil's Yard), in which he tells the story of a Bosnian monk who was wrongly convicted of conspiring against Ottoman rule and imprisoned in seventeenth-century Istanbul. Ivo Andrić, *Devil's Yard*, trans. Kenneth Johnstone (New York: Grove Press, 1962), 12.

consuming wine.¹²⁶⁷ The *subaşı* was curious about how his detainee hung himself without drawing the attention of other inmates, prompting him to conduct an official investigation with the consent of the sharia court (*kıbel-i şer'den üzerine varılıp görülmek taleb ederim*).¹²⁶⁸

At the request of Ahmed Subaşı, the *nâ'ib* of Ma'mûre sent him and the Müttevelli Pir Ali Agha, along with a group of residents, to inspect the crime scene and interrogate the witnesses. As they arrived at the prison, they found Süleyman hanging in the air with a piece of cloth around his neck. Ahmed Subaşı initially questioned Süleyman's fellow inmates, Yusuf and Rıdvan. Both denied any involvement in Süleyman's death, claiming that they were deeply asleep (*lâyâkıl yatardık*) and were unaware of the events leading up to the suicide. Dissatisfied with their testimony, Ahmed Subaşı then summoned Süleyman's wife to the court to seek her opinion. In the presence of the *nâ'ib*, Servinaz bt. Abdullah confessed that her husband always came home inebriated and expressed his wish to stop drinking alcohol by lamenting, "I cannot free myself from this affliction unless I hang myself, so I will hang myself" (*ben beni asmayınca ben bu dertten kurtulamam, ben beni asarım*). By conveying her husband's proclivity for suicide, she affirmed that his death was likely self-inflicted and that no one else was responsible.

The prisoners under the constant surveillance of the Ma'mûre's *subaşı* were not all habitual offenders like Süleyman, who was known for his alcohol consumption. Mainly, the *subaşı* of Ma'mûre had to deal with fugitive slaves apprehended within the waqf land. This was crucial not only to protect the legal rights of the slave owners but also because the proceeds generated from the sale of the unclaimed slaves had been earmarked as income for Nurbanu Sultan's mosque complex. In other words, the *müttevellis* or the *subaşı*s had to ensure the secure detention of fugitives for a period of ninety-day (*müddet-i örfiyye*), during

¹²⁶⁷ "Mahalle-i Ma'mûre Subaşı olan Ahmed ibn Mustafa mahfil-i şerde takrir-i kelam kılıp bundan akdem şürb-i hamr edip ba'de's-subût habs olunan Süleyman ibn Abdullah habshânedan Yusuf bin Abdullah ve Rıdvan bin Abdullah nam serhoş[lar] ile habs olunmuş idi hâlâ mezbur Süleyman kendi kendini salb etmiştir. / Ahmed ibn Mustafa, the Subaşı of Ma'mûre, reported to the court that Süleyman ibn Abdullah, after being confirmed to have consumed alcohol, was incarcerated along with Yusuf bin Abdullah and Rıdvan bin Abdullah, both well-known individuals with a history of alcohol consumption. Unfortunately, Süleyman took his own life by hanging himself." BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62 (Şevval 993/ October 1585).

¹²⁶⁸ Ibid.

which the rightful owners could reclaim their runaway slaves.¹²⁶⁹ Should the owners not appear within this timeframe, the waqf administration had the authority to auction them off. If the apprehended fugitives were women, they were usually placed under the custody of trustworthy individuals who voluntarily assumed responsibility for their confinement for the same period.

In 1585, for instance, a fugitive *cariye* (female slave) named Piyoste was apprehended and brought before the *nâ'ib*. During the court proceeding, she admitted to being one of the *cariyes* of Kadı Ahmed Çelebi. According to Piyoste's testimony, her decision to flee stemmed from an ongoing conflict with Ahmed Çelebi's other *cariye* named Zamane.¹²⁷⁰ Following the trial, Piyoste was entrusted to one Hacı Sofu.¹²⁷¹ If Ahmed Çelebi or his agents did not petition the court for up to ninety days to reclaim her, she would be taken back by the *subaşı* from Hacı Sofu to be sold at the slave market to compensate the latter for Piyoste's expenses. The following year, Ahmed Subaşı apprehended yet another female slave.¹²⁷² The court appointed Mehmed Çallı, a bath attendant, as her temporary guardian for the duration of ninety days. He would receive a daily remuneration of two *akçes* for his services, which included the daily upkeep and provisioning of the incarcerated slave.¹²⁷³

¹²⁶⁹ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire: Employment and Mobility in the Early Modern Era* (London and New York: I.B.Tauris, 2014), 131.

¹²⁷⁰ “İşbu orta boylu ak benizli açık kaşlı arkasında gömlek çuka ve ayağında asumanı ediği ve karamani başmak giyer piyoste nam cela-yı abık cariyeyi meclis-i şerde ihzar edip mezbur abık olduğuna münker olub sonra yine Ahmed çelebi nam kadının yanında olurdum Zamane nam cariyesiyle çekişip firar etdim dedikde mezbur Piyosteye tarih-i kitabdan yevmi ikişer akçe nafaka takdir olunub Elhâc Sofu ibn Coşkun nam kimesneye emanet verildi / The name of this medium-height, fair-skinned, open-browed woman, wearing a shirt, a skirt, dark blue shoes, and Karaman-style shoes, is Piyoste. She denied her status as a slave when she was first brought to the court. However, then, she confirmed her slave status and said, "I am the *cariye* (female slave) of Kadı Ahmed Çelebi. I had an argument with a slave girl named Zamane and then ran away." Upon her confession, the court adjudicated her daily alimony of two *akçes* and entrusted her to Elhâc Sofu, son of Coşkun.” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p. 5/a5 (Rebî'ülevvel 993 / March 1585).

¹²⁷¹ Ibid.

¹²⁷² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.67.p.9 / b2 and b3 (Şaban 993 / July 1586)

¹²⁷³ For the studies on the fugitive slaves caught in the sixteenth century Üsküdar, see Suraiya Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire: Employment and Mobility in the Early Modern Era* (London and New York: I.B.Tauris, 2014), 129-143. Yvonne Seng, “Fugitives and Factotums: Slaves in Early Sixteenth-Century Istanbul,” In *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 39, no. 2 (1996): 136–69.

The practice of entrusting runaway *cariyes*, as well as lost properties and stray animals, to individuals with the means and time to shelter and oversee them was a widely applied method in the neighborhood.¹²⁷⁴ The prevalent use of this method, especially for female fugitives, can be attributed to the absence of prisons designated for women in Ma'mûre. It can also be inferred that the objective behind detaining these fugitives was not punitive but rather protective, aiming to watch over them for a particular duration and ensure they wouldn't attempt to escape again so that their detention would not necessitate their transfer to the *subaşı*'s prison.

The absence of specific details regarding the precise locations and the physical features of the places where fugitives were held, the conditions of their confinement, and the identities of those overseeing their temporary detention limit our ability to provide further insights. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that the practice of entrusting female fugitives to reliable persons with the official consent of a kadi and the supervision of a *subaşı* was not exclusive to Ma'mûre. For instance, in Hasköy, in 1670, a Russian *cariye* belonging to Manolaki, a Greek resident of Hasköy, was placed under the custody of Imam Mehmed Efendi after her conversion to Islam.¹²⁷⁵ The purpose of this arrangement was to secure her detention until she could be transferred to another master who was a Muslim. In another instance in Üsküdar, a certain Mustafa Bey imprisoned two runaway slaves who had been entrusted to his custody in his *mahbes*, a privately operated jail. However, they escaped before Mustafa Bey could formally register their status in the Üsküdar court.¹²⁷⁶

Although the cases mentioned above offer limited insight into the processes and procedures of detaining arrested fugitives, they do reveal that they were either held in the prisons operated by *subaşı*s or were placed under the custody of individuals who detained them in private properties used as places of detention. This claim is supported by the presence of enclosed areas within certain residential properties, referred to as *mahbes*. For

¹²⁷⁴ For a lost mule entrusted to Ahmed Subaşı, see BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.44/a2.

For a lost cripple mule entrusted with the care of the locals, see BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.75.p.39/a7.

For the unclaimed properties seized by the *mütevelli*, see: BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.42.p.126/b3.

¹²⁷⁵ *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri: Hasköy Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1023-1081 / M. 1615-1670)*, vol. 52, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul : Kültür AŞ, 2019), 160, entry 247, 111/b2, Rebi'ülâhir 1081/September 1670.

¹²⁷⁶ *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil* ed. Bilgin Aydın, Ekrem Tak, p. 365, entry 655, 101/a2, Ramazan 925/September 1519, eds. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2019).

instance, Durmuş Reis from Beşiktaş owned a property with both an inner and outer courtyard, the latter including a “jail for captives” (*mahbes-i esir*).¹²⁷⁷ In a similar manner, Ali Reis ibn Sinan, from Kasımpaşa, owned a property that he endowed to the *Haremeyn* waqfs, including a room that functioned as a *mahbes*.¹²⁷⁸

Consequently, we can mention three types of “places of detention,” each managed by three distinct groups. The first category comprised the prisons supervised by military governors and local executive authorities such as *subaşı*, *ihtisab ağası*, *yeniçeri ağası*, *bostancıbaşı*, grand admirals, etc. In the context of Ma‘mûre, these “places of detention” were overseen by the *subaşı* of Ma‘mûre and Nurbanu Sultan’s *mütevellîs*. For example, in the last months of 1581, Nikola from Karye-i İstavros came to Ma‘mûre to inquire about his son Dimitri and learned that he was incarcerated in the *subaşı*’s prison.¹²⁷⁹ Ahmed Subaşı had imprisoned Dimitri for an unregistered reason, along with Ramazan ibn Abdullah, who was likely his friend involved in the same offense. Nikola stood surety for both and secured their release from the prison.

The second category includes the privately owned enclosed spaces, or *mahbes*, used as places of detention by those who provided the service of “detention and care” for fugitives, particularly females, in exchange for a certain remuneration. These individuals were more likely to be reliable members of the local community who had earned the trust of the *subaşı*. They maintained custody of escaped slaves while also ensuring their well-being during detention. Imam Mehmed Efendi from Hasköy, Hacı Sofu, and Hamamcı Mehmet Çallı from Ma‘mûre were likely members of this group.

Finally, there were such prisons run generally by those bearing the moniker *reis*, a title associated with the Ottoman navy or other maritime pursuits, one of which was the slave trade.¹²⁸⁰ Durmuş Reis, from Beşiktaş, and Ali Reis, from Kasımpaşa, most likely engaged

¹²⁷⁷ *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri: Beşiktaş Mahkemesi 2 Numaralı Sicil (H. 966-968 / M. 1558-1561)*, vol. 42, eds. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2019), 306, entry 640, 86/a1 (Recep 968/ April 1561).

¹²⁷⁸ *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri: Evkaf-ı Hümayûn Müfettişliği 1 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1016-1035 / M. 1608-1626)*, vol. 45, eds. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2019), 231, entry 169, 57/b1, Recep 1030/May 1621.

¹²⁷⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.28/a1 and a2 (Şaban 989 / September 1581).

¹²⁸⁰ For more information, see Nur Sobers Khan, *Slaves Without Shackles Forced Labour and Manumission in the Galata Court Registers, 1560–1572* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2014), 160.

in the slave trade and operated prisons for detaining captured fugitive slaves in collaboration with *subaşı*s. These facilities, which in documents were referred to as *mahbes-i esir*, were strategically located in centers of maritime activities or along the routes that the fugitives used to escape. The aim of the Reis'es who oversaw these prisons was likely to engage in the slave trade by holding onto the apprehended runaways and, if their rightful owners did not show up, to reclaim them and channel them into the maritime labor market.¹²⁸¹

Ma'mûre was a favored destination for fugitive slaves primarily due to the strategic location of Üsküdar at the intersection of the roads connecting the capital city with the empire's eastern provinces and also serving as a node for movements in the opposite direction leading to the Rumelian lands and beyond. Additionally, Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood, sitting on the periphery of Üsküdar and at a distance from the bustling town center on the Bosphorus, might have made the area an attractive haven for slaves fleeing their masters. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that, in the early 1580s already, there was a prison run by Memi Reis, who collaborated with the *subaşı* of Ma'mûre to apprehend and imprison fugitives lurking in the vicinity.¹²⁸² In 1584, a certain Ayşe Khatun was apprehended by Memi Reis and his guards as her unfamiliar face passed in front of the prison at night, under the suspicion of being a fugitive due to her unfamiliar presence in the neighborhood. The following day, she was brought to court for questioning, where she explained that she was from Salacak and had come to Ma'mûre to see a friend.¹²⁸³ Had the court determined that she was a *cariye* who had absconded from her master, the legal consequence would likely have led to her detention in Memi Reis's prison.

As addressed above, privately operated jails (*mahbes*) predominantly accommodated fugitive slaves, whereas the local prison (*habshâne*) under the supervision of *subaşı* was occupied by those detained for a range of offenses, excluding severe crimes. These places of detention were more suited to short-term detention; those found guilty of severe crimes, such as homicide, sexual assault, or banditry, were typically sent to one of the city's prisons

¹²⁸¹ Ibid.

¹²⁸² BOA.İSTM.ŞŞC.06.d.57.p.12/b1 (Muharrem 992 / January 1584).

¹²⁸³ Ibid.

for long-term imprisonment or were transferred to the designated regions to complete their sentence either in exile or by doing punitive military service, most commonly in the Ottoman navy. In Ma'mûre, the *subaşı*'s prison was generally populated by fugitive slaves and habitual criminals involved in theft, violent assaults, consumption of alcohol, prohibited beverages, and engagement in illicit sexual relations.

Moreover, with the consent of judicial authorities, *subaşı*s had the authority to imprison those who failed to meet their financial commitments, as well as those awaiting trial and thus in pre-trial detention. For example, in a case heard at the court of Ma'mûre, Himmet ibn Piri accused a Greek carpenter named Moskov of attempting to break into his residence and steal his belongings after the night prayers.¹²⁸⁴ Although Moskov denied the charges, the *nâ'ib* ordered his imprisonment until the resolution of the case. It was only when his guarantors applied to the court to stand surety for Moskov's whereabouts (*kefil bi'n-nefs*) that he was released.

Unfortunately, the court records under analysis lack specific details regarding the precise location and the defining characteristics of the places used as "places of detention" during the formative years of Ma'mûre. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume that the authorities responsible for public security might have adapted existing structures, whether a waqf or private property, to serve as the prison of Ma'mûre. As discussed in Chapter 6, the "places of detention" in the administrative-judicial centers of Greater Istanbul were typically located near the headquarters of the *subaşı* and the courthouse, which were themselves near commercial centers or piers and customs offices. Thus, the prisons in Ma'mûre, especially those overseen by *subaşı*s, were likely situated near the local court established at Nurbanu Sultan's mosque or in the vicinity of the horse market, the commercial center of the neighborhood. This assumption is corroborated by Salomon Schweigger's first-hand observations during his visit to Ma'mûre in 1578. In his account, he notes that a building belonging to Sultan Murad's mother served for the detention of Christian captives.¹²⁸⁵ He says, "There is a building in Üsküdar where imprisoned Christians reside. This building

¹²⁸⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p. 54/b3 and 55/a5 (Şaban 991 / September 1583).

¹²⁸⁵ "Zu Scutari ist auch ein Behausung darinn die gefangnen Christen ihr Wohnung haben welche dess Sultans Mutter gehörig sein dieselbig Sultana hat auch in diesem Flecken ein schöne Behausung für sich und ein schönen Tempel bauen lassen." Schweigger, *Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, 136.

belongs to the Sultan's mother. There is also a beautiful residence and a great temple that the same Sultana built for herself in this small town."¹²⁸⁶

Schweigger's notes do not offer further details regarding the specifics of the building and its occupants. Nonetheless, the Christian captives he mentioned were probably the fugitives placed under the custody of the *subaşı*. Considering Schweigger's statements concerning the building's proximity to the mosque complex and its association with Nurbanu Sultan, it is plausible to suggest that the structure utilized for detention might have been one of the several waqf structures constructed around the mosque complex. According to the *vakfiye*, there were sixteen waqf shops in front of Nurbanu's double bath.¹²⁸⁷ In addition to the shops surrounding the mosque complex, there were khans and waqf rooms scattered throughout the neighborhood, particularly around the marketplace. In 1578, when Schweigger visited Ma'mûre, some of these waqf assets might have been unoccupied and awaiting tenants, making them suitable for serving as temporary prisons for accommodating arrested fugitives.

The thirty-seventh volume of the Imperial Pious Foundations Inspection Records (*Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Müfettişliği Mahkeme Kayıtları*) includes a register from 1614, which offers revealing insights into one of the prisons in Ma'mûre. This register, listing Nurbanu Sultan's waqf buildings that were in need of repair, indicates the presence of a waqf khan in Ma'mûre known as the *forsa zindanı*, which translates to "a prison for slave rowers."¹²⁸⁸ While the available information does not allow us to say whether this was the *subaşı*'s prison or one run by a neighborhood resident, the register confirms that some waqf buildings in the neighborhood were potentially used as places of detention. It is also plausible to speculate that either the entire khan or a specific section of it might have functioned as a prison. Whatever its current function, the khan might have been identified as the *forsa zindanı*, posing challenges in pinpointing its precise functions at the time the register was compiled.

¹²⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁷ In 1582, one of these shops was operated as an offal shop. VGMA.1766.137.

¹²⁸⁸ *Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Müfettişliği Mahkeme Kayıtları* (The court records of the Imperial Pious Foundations Inspectorate) İMUF.EHMM.vol.37.p.8/b3 (996-1059 / 1588-1649). I'd like to thank Ramazan Pantık for his invaluable assistance in locating this valuable source preserved within the Archive of the General Directorate of Foundations in Ankara.

Therefore, at least in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, private properties or leased waqf buildings were used to confine offenders and fugitive slaves. Some places proved unsuitable for proper detention and lacking the necessary security measures proved to be ineffective, especially when dealing with inmates who posed a high risk of escaping. For example, in 1584, Mehmed the muleteer, incarcerated in the *subaşı*'s prison due to his unpaid debts, shattered his locks and escaped to freedom.¹²⁸⁹ Likewise, during that same year, a *Kıbtî* detainee, known for his recurring acts of theft and assault successfully escaped from the custody of Mehmed Subaşı.¹²⁹⁰

In the first decade of the seventeenth century, the frequency of prison breaks in Ma'mûre increased to the point where it posed a serious threat to the safety of the neighborhood community. This alarming rise in the number of runaway inmates heightened concerns among the local authorities. Recognizing the urgent need for a solution, a petition was submitted to the imperial council in 1608, seeking imperial authorization to establish a *habshâne* in the region.¹²⁹¹ Upon receiving the petition, one of the sultan's viziers informed Ahmed I of the safety concerns in Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood. In response, the Sultan ordered Mütevelli Kasım Agha to identify a suitable location for the prison. Although the decree does not specify the authors of the petition, it is reasonable to assume that it was a collaborative effort involving the prominent figures in Ma'mûre's governing body, including Mütevelli Kasım Agha, the *subaşı*, and the *nâ'ib*—all of whom were deeply affected by the ongoing safety issues in the area.

This petition highlights three interrelated concerns that necessitated prompt action to establish a prison in Ma'mûre. The first was the escalating crime rate in the neighborhood, which created a pressing need for the effective management of public offenders and criminals. The second was the absence of a permanent place designated as a local prison. In the absence of such a detention facility, the *subaşı*s of Ma'mûre used temporary places for

¹²⁸⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.57.p.48,1/1 (Cemâziyelevvel 992 / May 1584).

¹²⁹⁰ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.57.p. 33/b3, BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.57.p. b1 (Rebî'ülevvel 992 / March 1584) Hasan, the carpenter, also took care of people's property for a charge while they were out of the town or at jail, which put him in close contact with Pir Ali Agha and Mehmed Subaşı. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.57.p.43/b4 For other cases of escape from the custody of *Subaşı*s, see BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.57.p.82/a6, BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.108 p.5/a3.

¹²⁹¹ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.76/115 (Muharrem 1017 / April 1608).

incarceration and relied on the paid services of residents, who kept apprehended fugitives in a part of their property, a practice that often resulted in escapes. The third reason was likely related to the public perception of the governors. The frequent prison breaks and a rise in crime rates might have eroded public trust in the local authorities responsible for maintaining law and order. All of these concerns highlighted the critical role of incarceration for efficient local governance and the need for its proper implementation.

So far, I have argued that incarceration was an integral component of urban governance, maintained through the collaboration of judicial authorities and executive officers. It fulfilled a pivotal function by isolating those disrupting public order from the broader society and compelling them to confront and renounce their misdemeanors. It also served as a means of punishing lawbreakers, a crucial element for upholding order and enforcing legal adherence. Furthermore, the practice of incarceration was crucial in expediting the resolution of financial conflicts by pressuring debtors and their creditors to negotiate and reach settlements. Lastly, it was essential to prevent slaves from escaping, as local authorities were responsible for apprehending fugitive slaves to uphold property rights and securing their detention until their masters could reclaim them.

The effectiveness of incarceration as a method for maintaining public order depended heavily on the availability and adequacy of the structures designated as places of detention. The lack of necessary material resources for the imprisonment of fugitive slaves and public offenders undermined the ability of the authorities to exercise control and maintain order in the region. In the early seventeenth century, the absence of a local prison in Ma'mûre not only compromised the operational capacity of Ma'mûre's *subaşı* but also impeded legal operations. The imperial order mandating the establishment of a prison in Ma'mûre at the request of the local authorities, highlights the fundamental importance of such institutions in urban governance. The following section will delve deeper into the establishment of this prison, with a specific emphasis on the criteria that guided the selection of an appropriate site for its establishment.

7.2. Locating The Prison of Ma'mûre: A Spatial Exploration

In April of 1608, in response to the collective petition to establish a prison in Mahalle-i Ma'mûre, an imperial order was issued, addressed to Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevelli*. The imperial order reflects Ma'mûre's authorities' concerns about the maintenance of public order and security:

Order to the waqf administrator of the late queen mother: The honorable counselor of the imperial court, my esteemed vizier, presented a letter in my revered presence, stating that in the neighborhood of Nurbanu Sultan, located in Üsküdar, there is no designated place to securely detain a significant number of fugitive slaves, thieves, and debtors. Moreover, it has come to my attention that these individuals always find a way to escape from the custody of their assigned guardians, thereby causing public disorder. Considering these circumstances, it is of great importance to establish a prison for the confinement of these offenders. Upon this urgent need, the Muslim community of the region informed us that there are two unoccupied vaulted chambers (*iki hâlî kemer*) in the lower level of Nurbanu Sultan's hospital deemed suitable for conversion into a prison. Hence, I hereby issue a decree directing that all necessary measures be promptly undertaken to facilitate the conversion of the two vaulted rooms into a prison.¹²⁹²

It is difficult to find out from this single decree the sequence of administrative steps through which the original petition progressed before reaching the attention of Sultan Ahmed I. Nonetheless, based on our knowledge of the administration of imperial waqfs, it is reasonable to assume that the waqf superintendent, the *mütevelli* the deputy kadi of Ma'mûre, the kadi of Üsküdar, and one of the Sultan's viziers (as indicated in the decree) must have been involved in or at least informed about the issue.

The establishment of a prison in Ma'mûre provides a valuable perspective on how Ottoman sultans were involved in the management of imperial waqfs. Upon ascending the throne, each sultan assumed the responsibility and authority to continue the will of the deceased waqf endowers from the royal family as articulated in their respective *vakfiyes*. Additionally, the reigning sultan's consent was crucial in adapting the operations of the imperial waqfs to changing circumstances, especially when such adaptations served the public good or ensured the waqf's long-term sustainability. In other words, one of their responsibilities was providing an opinion or granting consent for certain arrangements in

¹²⁹² “Üsküdar'da merhum valide sultan mütevellisi olana hüküm ki düstûr-ı mükerrem müşîr-i müfahham nizâmü'l-âlem vezirim südde-i saadetime mektub getirüb Üsküdar'da vaki merhum müşarünileyhanın camii mahallatında neçe kaçgun tutulub medyun ve hırsuzlar ahz olunub hıfz olunmak için muayyen yer olmamakla emanet konulan yerlerden birer tarikle fîrar edip fesada sebep olub bu makûlelere bir habshane tedarik olunmak gayet mühim olmağla merhum müşarünileyhanın üsküdar'da vaki bimarhanesinin altı iki hali kemerler olub hapishane olması münasibdir deyu müslümanlar haber vermekle ol babda emr-i şerîfîm virmek ricasıdır arz itmek buyurdum ki vusul buldukda zikrolunan iki hali kemeri habshane ettiresiz” BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.76/115 (Muharrem 1017 / April 1608).

waqf-related matters, particularly those not explicitly stipulated in the *vakfiye* but deemed beneficial for the waqf itself and the general public. It appears that although the *mütevelli* and the *subaşı* had some degree of discretion in repurposing a structure into a temporary prison for detaining public offenders, obtaining imperial approval was a prerequisite for establishing an official prison in Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood.

When the need to establish a prison was brought to the sultan's attention, he recognized the urgency of the issue and initiated a survey to identify the most suitable location for such a facility. According to the imperial decree, it was a group of Muslim men who informed the central government that two unoccupied, vaulted chambers at Nurbanu Sultan's hospital could be repurposed as a prison.¹²⁹³ The reference to a plural "Muslims" in the decree suggests that the decision to establish a prison in an unused section of the hospital was made collectively rather than being based solely on the opinion of a single individual. Although the decree does not specify who these "Muslims" were, they were likely those familiar with the daily operation of the mosque complex, like the *mütevelli* and the waqf employees, particularly those working in the hospital section. Additionally, the *nâ'ib* and the *subaşı*, who had the authority to issue verdicts and enforce incarceration, might also have played a role in the decision-making process.

The decree of Ahmed I leaves several crucial matters unaddressed, such as the exact location, layout, and architectural features of the vaulted rooms "under" the Nurbanu Sultan's hospital, which was planned to be converted into a prison. Moreover, the decree does not confirm whether these two rooms were secure enough to prevent potential escapes, nor does it address whether it would be feasible for the hospital staff and patients to share the building with detainees, especially with regard to safety and other operational concerns. Therefore, this section provides a detailed spatial analysis of Nurbanu Sultan's hospital to find out the exact location of the mentioned chambers, which could provide further details regarding the site used as the prison of Ma'mûre.

Nurbanu Sultan's hospital, also known as *Üsküdar Bimarhanesi*, stood out as the fourth most important medical center in Greater Istanbul and the only hospital in Üsküdar.

¹²⁹³ "*hapishane olması münasibdir deyu müslümanlar haber vermekle / the Muslims recommend utilizing two unoccupied vaulted rooms in the queen mother's hospital.*" BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.76/115 (Muharrem 1017 / April 1608).

It was in the southwestern block of Nurbanu Sultan's mosque complex.¹²⁹⁴ Nurbanu Sultan's hospital was a self-contained and independent building with its own entrance gate leading to an inner courtyard. This courtyard featured three rows of rooms, a masjid, and a bath dedicated to the hospital personnel and patients. The sloping terrain of the inner courtyard was composed of two platforms of different heights and widths, connected by a couple of steps. (see Fig. 7.3 and 7.4) The northeastern end of the courtyard was approximately 35 cm higher than its southwestern end.

The only gate of the hospital was positioned in the middle of the north-western wall of the complex, running parallel to Kartal Baba Lane. Upon passing through this gate, visitors would see the hospital's bath and masjid, which were aligned along the southeastern wall and adjacent to the outer walls of the guest house.¹²⁹⁵ In the south corner stood the masjid, accessible through a barrel-vaulted chamber.¹²⁹⁶ In the same row, the bath facilities, comprising a changing room, a heated room, and a cold room, were located in the northern corner of the courtyard. (see number 11 in Fig. 7.1) The other three walls enclosing the hospital block were arrayed with twelve square rooms, each covered by domes, and two barrel-vaulted rooms with a rectangular layout, each half the size of the other chambers.¹²⁹⁷ These rooms served specialized functions, including a prayer room, bath, latrine, surgery room, patients' quarters, pharmacy, administrative offices, and so on.¹²⁹⁸

¹²⁹⁴ For detailed information, see Ergin, "Healing by Design," 1-37.

¹²⁹⁵ Sibel Onat Hattap, "An Evaluation of the Restoration Techniques of the Atik Valide Sultan Dârüşşifâ," *Journal of Engineering Research and Application*, vol. 8, no. 2 (February 2018), 23.

¹²⁹⁶ İhsan Eriş, Uğur Yüzeroğlu, Nüket Demir, "Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi 2011-2013 Yılları Restorasyon ve Uygulamaları" *Restorasyon Yıllığı Dergisi*, vol. 6 (2013): 107. Yılmaz, "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Külliye Olgusu," 57.

¹²⁹⁷ Gülşen Dişli, "Anadolu Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Darüşşifalarında İşlevsel Sistemlerin ve Koruma Ölçütlerinin İrdelenmesi" (PhD diss., Gazi University, 2014), 176-180, 347 Baha Tanman, "Atik Valide Külliyesi," 17.

¹²⁹⁸ For the functional spaces in Nurbanu hospitals see: Gülşen Dişli, "Functional Spaces and Furnishing Designs in the Historical Anatolian Seljuk and Ottoman Hospitals" In *Islamic Heritage: Architecture and Art*, vol.2 , ed. G.Passerini (Boston: WIT Press, 2018): 209-221.

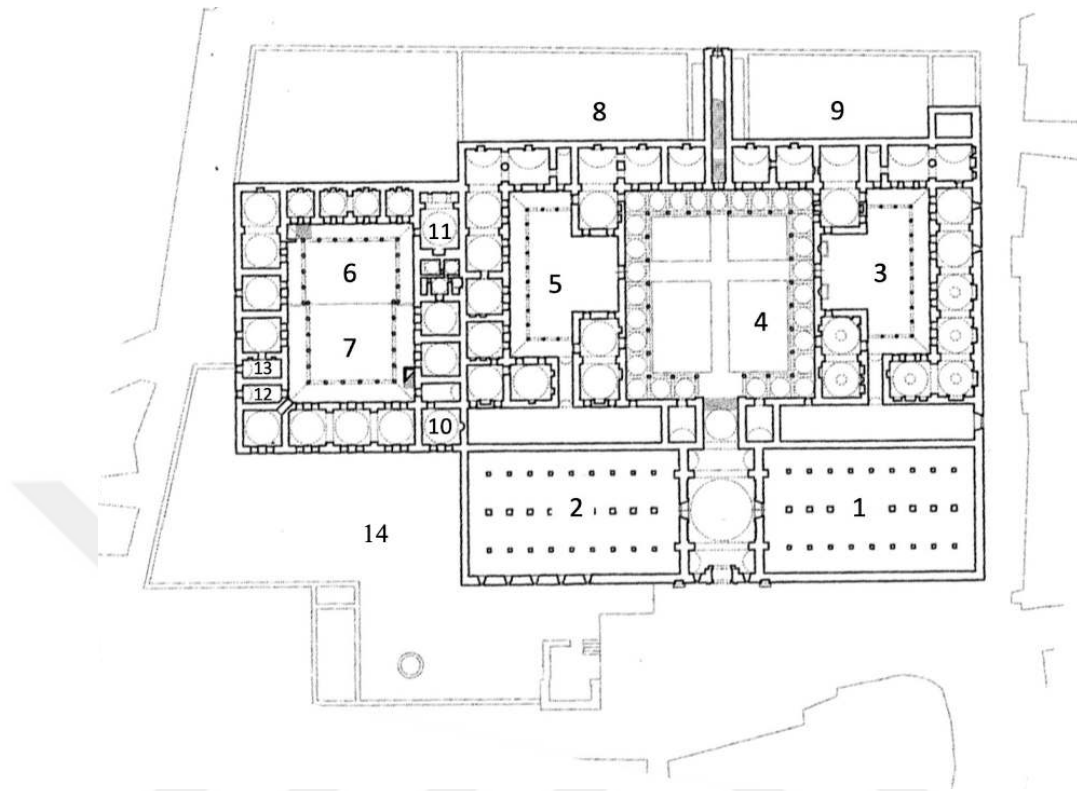


Figure 7. 1: Atik Valide Complex's plan with a hypothetical reconstruction of its hospice-caravanserai-hospital block.¹²⁹⁹

Numbering of the plan by the author.¹³⁰⁰

Over more than four centuries, the sections originally designated as kitchen, hospice, and hospital underwent substantial changes to accommodate a range of new functions, including serving as a military barrack, military warehouse, tobacco workshop, high school, prison, and finally, a university campus. With each transformation, accompanied by repairs and restorations, the hospital section has lost much of its authenticity, which has made it challenging to ascertain which rooms within the hospital might have been chosen for use as Ma'mûre's prison.¹³⁰¹ Drawing on an analysis of restitution plans prepared by Ali Saim

¹²⁹⁹ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 282.

¹³⁰⁰ 1, 2: Double caravanserais with stables. 3: Public kitchen and its courtyard. 4: The shared courtyard of guest house and public kitchen 5: Guest house and its courtyard, 6, 7: Hospital and its courtyard. 8, 9: Hadith and Quran recitation school. 10: Hospital masjid. 11: Hospital bath, 12.13: The tunnel-vaulted chambers (their function is unknown.) 14: Backyard of the hospital.

¹³⁰¹ After 1793, the *imaret-darüşşifa-tabhane* sections were allocated to Nizam-ı Cedid, the new army of Selim III, and Nurbanu Sultan's hospital was transformed into military barracks. Following the abolition of Nizam-ı Cedid units, the buildings began to be used by Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye Corps as a military barrack, hospital and warehouse until the second half of the nineteenth century, when the patients of Süleymaniye

Ülgen, Aptullah Kuran, Gülrü Necipoğlu, and Robin Wimmel, various maps, photographs, and my own on-site explorations, I have identified two possible locations where the prison cells could have been situated.¹³⁰²

Sultan Ahmed's decree stipulates that two unoccupied vaulted rooms be designated as a prison, specifying their location as "*bimarhanenin altında*" (literally beneath the hospital) without providing further detail. Based on this limited information, I speculate that the possible locations for the prison cells could be either on the lower level of the platform in the western part of the courtyard or at the ground level from the direction of Kartal Baba Lane, accessible from the side garden via stairs.¹³⁰³ The first option I have identified involves the two adjacent barrel-vaulted rooms on the lower level of the hospital courtyard, as indicated by numbers 12 and 13 in Fig. 7.1.

Bimarhanesi were transferred to the old hospital during the cholera epidemic. For more than fifty years, between 1873 and 1927, Nurbanu's darüşşifa served as a mental hospital and was named Toptaşı Asylum. In 1927, the mental hospital was assigned to Tekel as a tobacco warehouse until 1974, when the building was converted into Üsküdar İmam Hatip high school, while the *darülhadis-darülkurra* section served as a state prison. Between 2003-2008, the complex was occupied by Marmara University Fine Arts faculty. After the restoration took place between 2011 and 2015, the south-western block of the mosque complex was handed over to Fatih Sultan Mehmed Waqf University, and it has since been serving as Faculty of Arts. For a detailed study on the spatial interventions carried out in Toptaşı Asylum between 1873-1924, see Burçak Özlüdlü Altın, Psychiatry, "Space, and Time: Case of an Ottoman Asylum," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, vol. 5, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 67-89.

Also see: Fatih Artvinli, *Delilik, Siyaset ve Toplum: Toptaşı Bimarhanesi, 1873-1927* (Istanbul: Telemak, 2022). For a study discussing the possible functions of the hospital rooms, see Gülşen Dişli, "Anadolu Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Darüşşifalarında İşlevsel Sistemlerin ve Koruma Ölçütlerinin İrdelenmesi" (PhD diss., Gazi University, 2014).

¹³⁰² Kuran, "Üsküdar Atik Valide Külliyesinin Yerleşme Düzeni," 231-48. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*: 280-292. Robin, "The Caravansaray of the Atik Valide Complex," 735-744. I am also indebted to Gülşen Dişli and Fatih Artvinli, who shared their invaluable insights with me about the architectural details that helped me find out where the prison of Ma'mûre could have been established.

¹³⁰³ The current stairs could be a later addition. There is another staircase descending from Helvacı Ali Street to the courtyard bordered by Kartal Baba Street.

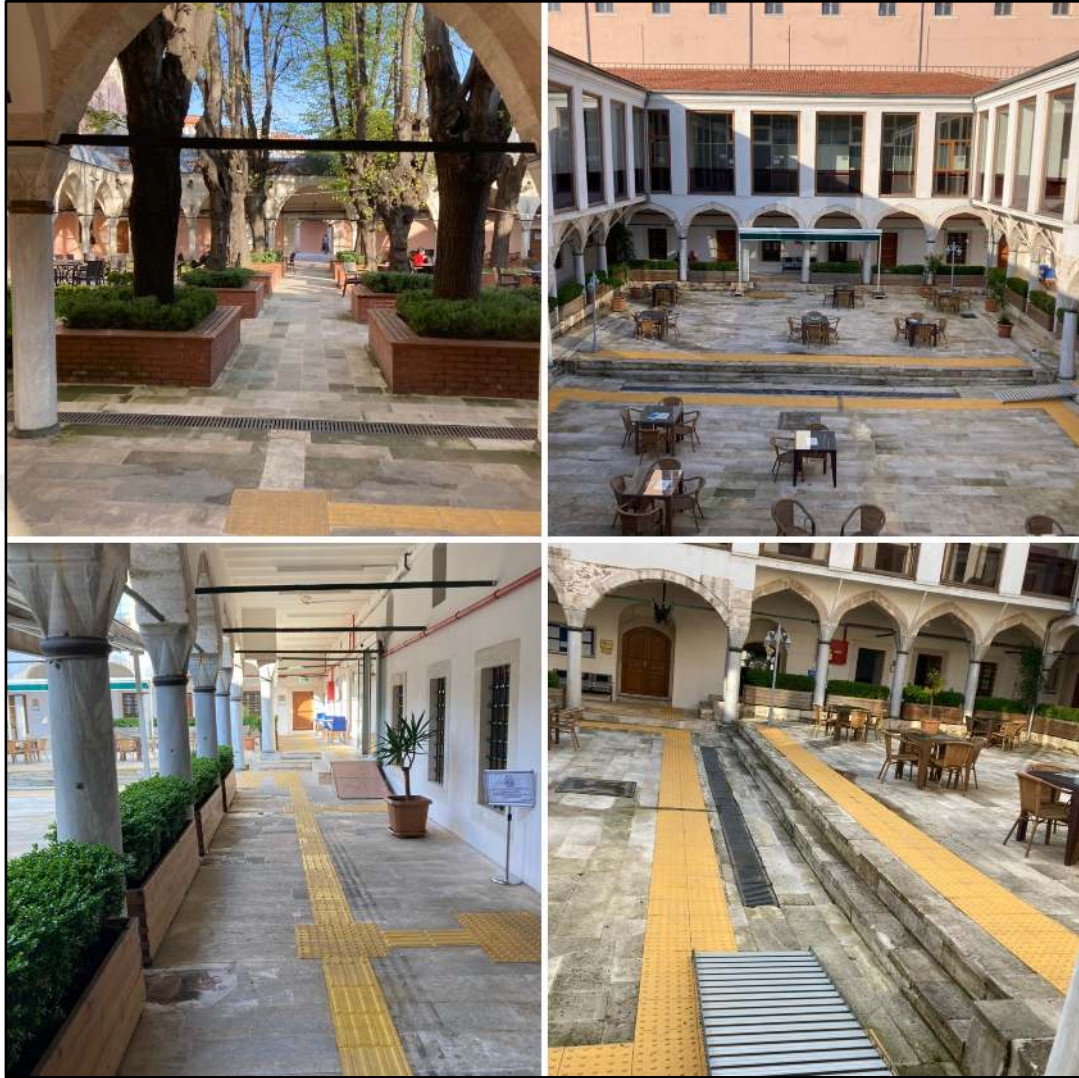


Figure 7. 2: Nurbanu Sultan's hospital.¹³⁰⁴
Photos by the author, 2022.

The north-western facades of the building reveal that the ground floor of the hospital was built on sloped terrain, consisting of two platforms at different heights, on which a bath facility, a masjid, twelve chambers covered by domes, and two tunnel-vaulted rooms were aligned. The two barrel-vaulted rooms, each approximately half the size of the patients'

¹³⁰⁴ From top left to right:

- a) The central courtyard shared by the *imaret* and *tabhane* sections. (see Fig. 7.1 no. 4)
- b) The second floor of the hospital, covered with hipped roofs, is a later extension. (see Fig. 7.1, nos. 6-7)
- c) The porticos fronting the hospital rooms looking onto the courtyard.
- d) The hospital courtyard. The elevation rises about 35 cm via a staircase.

rooms, were the only spaces that could be used as prison cells since they lacked windows overlooking the inner courtyard. Furthermore, room 13 had no direct access to the courtyard; it only connected to the adjacent room. (see number 13 in Fig. 7.1). Room 12 opened onto the western corner of the courtyard's lower platform. (see number 12 in Fig. 7.1). Unlike the hospital's domed chambers, which had windows facing the courtyard's timber-roofed portico, these two small rooms did not have any window openings toward the arcade. According to the plans prepared by Ali Saim Ülgen and Gülru Necipoğlu, these two vaulted rooms were illuminated and ventilated through two windows at the back, which provided a view of the surroundings.

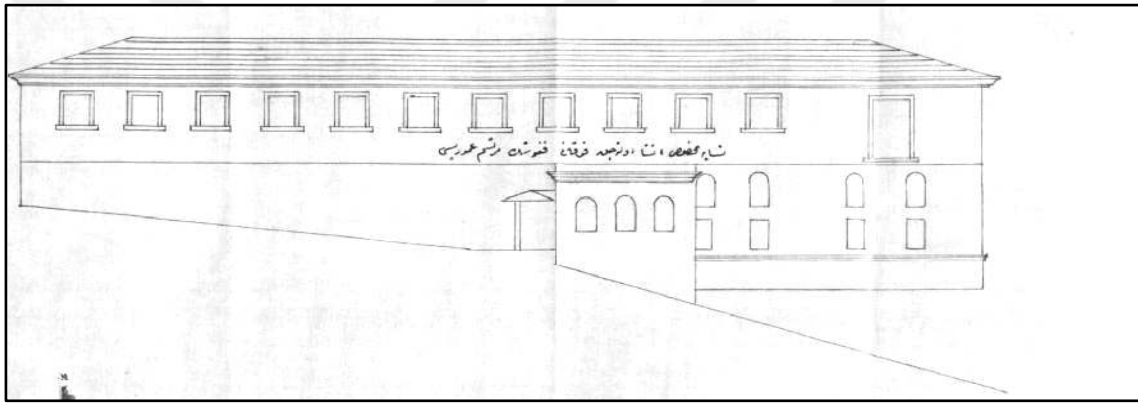


Figure 7. 3: The front view of the northwestern walls of Nurbanu's hospital in 1893.¹³⁰⁵



Figure 7. 4: The north-western walls of the hospital lying along Kartal Baba Street.¹³⁰⁶

¹³⁰⁵ *Toptaşı Bimarhanesinde nisaya mahsus inşa olunacak fevkani koğuşun mürtesim-i amidiyesi*. (The planned addition of an upper floor for female patients at Nûrbânû Valide Sultan Mental Institution in 1893) Source: BOA.DH.MKT.19.37 (Zilhicce 1310/June 1893). It shows the planned renovation and enlargement of the building. The first and second floors were designated as women's wards. Here, one can see how the hospital complex was placed on a sloped terrain.

¹³⁰⁶ The main entrance to the hospital complex was this lane. Source: Photographed by Caner Cangül in 2008 before its restoration. (By courtesy of Caner Cangül).

These two neighboring rooms were likely intended for specific uses, as they differed from the other rooms with their limited connection with the inner courtyard. Unlike the patient rooms, which featured windows providing views of the garden, they were intimate spaces with minimal contact with the courtyard.¹³⁰⁷ Therefore, it is plausible to speculate that rooms 12 and 13 might have functioned as utility spaces like a laundry, pantry, latrine, or pharmacy. Alternatively, they might have functioned as private quarters for patients with particular needs, such as those suffering from mental illnesses or infectious diseases and requiring isolation.¹³⁰⁸

Even though rooms 12 and 13 appear to be the most appropriate spots for isolating detainees from patients and staff, keeping them within the main courtyard would not have been the most effective way to keep them away from the hospital community. Moreover, repurposing two rooms that were originally designed for specific functions in prison may not have been a practical solution within the operational scheme of the hospital. A more suitable solution would be to use rooms that have no direct connection with patients and medical staff. The only possibility would then be two of the five barrel-vaulted rooms in the hospital's ground level facing Kartal Baba Lane.

A large extent of the scholarship on the Nurbanu Sultan's mosque complex, including the studies dedicated to its hospital section, describes the original sixteenth-century structure as a single-story building, often overlooking the ground level at its western section.¹³⁰⁹

¹³⁰⁷ One of the outstanding features of Ottoman hospital architecture was their healing gardens with colorful flowers, various types of plants, and sometimes a central pool or running fountain. Such an architectural setting aimed at lowering the patients' anxiety by putting them in contact with natural elements. Thus, the patient rooms were built with windows opening onto the gardens. For more information see: Shefer-Mossensohn, Miri, *Ottoman Medicine: Healing and Medical Institutions: 1500–1700* (Albany: Suny Press, 2009).

¹³⁰⁸ In her dissertation examining the functional spaces of the Ottoman hospital complexes, Gülşen Dişli argues that room number 12 must have been used as a latrine, and the other room, which was directly linked to the adjacent room, was probably used as the drug preparation room or a depot for medicines since they were the only rooms that had the least connection with the inner courtyard where the patients socialized, and they received sunlight only through the windows overlooking Helvacı Ali Street. Dişli, "Anadolu Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Darüşşifalarında İşlevsel Sistemlerin ve Koruma Ölçütlerinin İrdelenmesi," 178.

On the other hand, Goodfrey Goodwin says, "two tunnel-vaulted closets that are half the size of a normal cell and, possibly, were once latrines." Goodfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1971), 291.

¹³⁰⁹ All the studies listed below indicate that the original hospital building was a single-story, domed structure with no mention of the ground-level rooms from the direction of Kartal Baba Street. Eriş, Yüzeroğlu, and Demir, "Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi," 108, and Gönül Cantay, "Sinan Külliyyelerinde Darüşşifa Planlaması", *Mimar Sinan Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı ve Sanatı* (İstanbul: iş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1988). Kuran, *Mimar Sinan*, 183–184. Tanman, "Atik Valide Külliyesi," 16–17.

However, as evident in Fig. 7.5 and 7.6, there were five barrel-vaulted rooms opening onto the outer yard, located approximately five or six meters below the hospital's ground level, lying along Kartal Baba Lane.

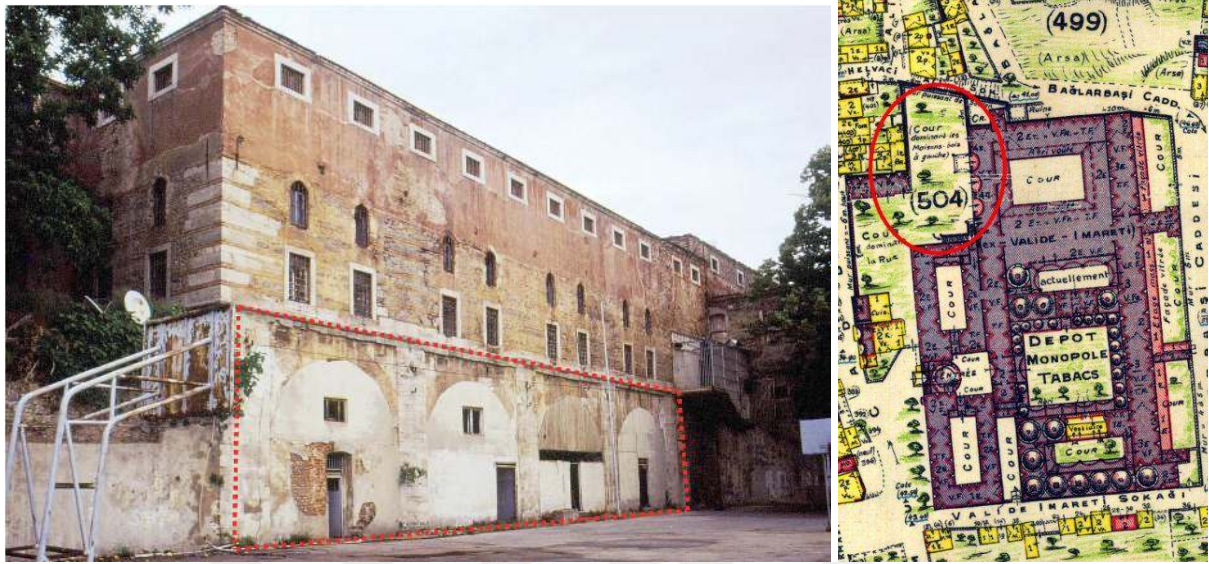


Figure 7. 5: The southwestern walls of the hospital. ¹³¹⁰

Figure 7. 6: The back yard of the hospital. (parcel 504). ¹³¹¹

These rooms were likely designed as semi-open loggias (iwans) covered by a barrel-vaulted ceiling. Their only open side, marked with large arched openings, gave onto a large, irregularly shaped courtyard, which likely accommodated service facilities operated by the hospital staff. (see Fig. 7.7) Considering the roles listed in the *vakfiye* of the service personnel assigned to the hospital, it is likely that these rooms were used as a pantry, laundry, or kitchen.¹³¹² Their functions during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century support the idea that the courtyard was a service courtyard. In his treatise *Nevsâl-i Afiyet*, Besim

¹³¹⁰ The ground level of the hospital from the direction of Kartal Baba Street opens onto the courtyard shared by the hospital and the left section of the caravanserai. Wimmel, "Architektur Osmanischer Karawanseraien Stationen," vol 2, 220.

¹³¹¹ Pervititch Map Üsküdar, Plate 56 (1931), Salt Archives.

¹³¹² The waqf deed of Nurbanu's Mosque Complex stipulates the appointment of the following hospital staff: medical personnel: 2 doctors, 2 ophthalmologists, 2 surgeons, assistant health personnel: 2 pharmacists, 2 *edviye-kûb* (who specialized in drug preparation), 4 *kayyum* (male nurses), 2 *abrizi* (who help patients unable to go to the toilet), administrative personnel: 1 *vekilharç* (steward) and his scribe, service personnel: 1 *kilerci* (pantryman), 1 *ferraş* (sweeper), 1 *külhancı* (furnace attendant), 1 *kasekeş* (carrier of bowls), 2 *cameşuys* (laundrymen), 2 cooks, 1 imam, and 1 muezzin. VGMA.1766.156.

Ömer Akalın (d.1940), a physician of his time and the author of several medical books, mentions a women's section in what became the "Toptaşı Asylum," that featured a large garden with toilets, a place for washing the dead (*gasilhane*), a large laundry room, a cage for drying the laundries in the days of winter and a disinfection building (*tebîrhane*).¹³¹³

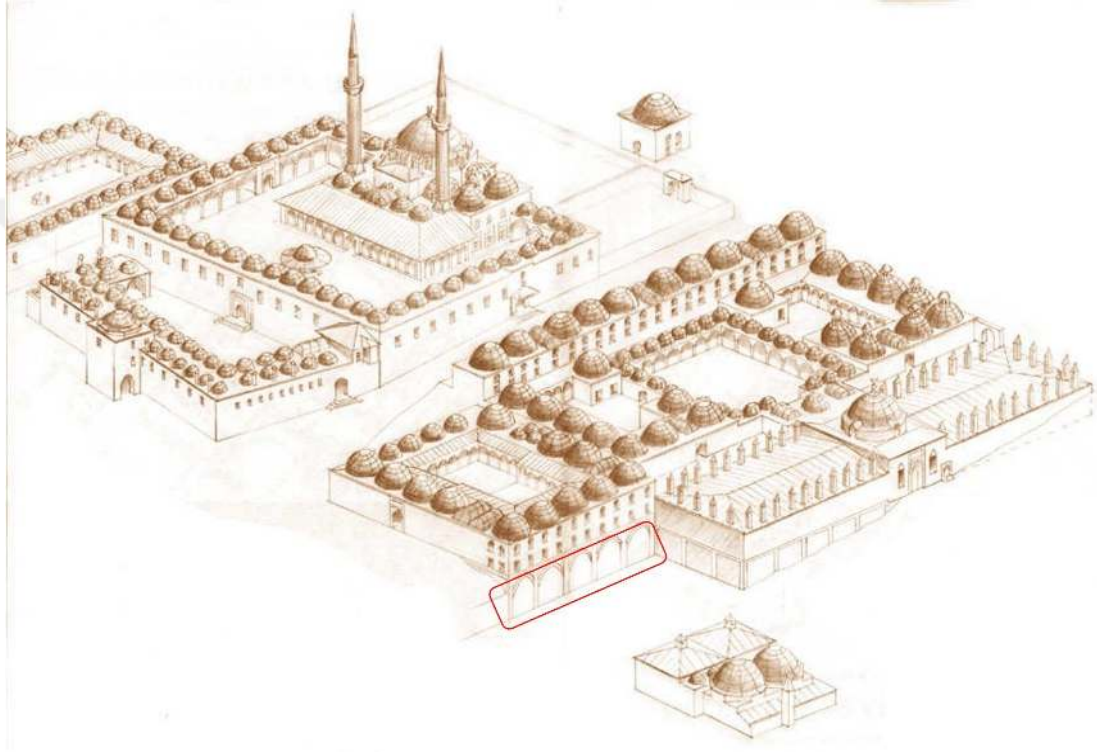


Figure 7. 7: Revised version of the Atik Valide Complex's axonometric plan from Arben N. Arapi and Gülru Necipoğlu, with additions by Wimmel Robin.¹³¹⁴

¹³¹³ "Kadınlara Mahsus Daire: İşbu dâire de iki katlı olup altı katı geniş bir meydân ile dört büyük koğuşdan ibâretidir. Mezkûr koğuşlardan biri yemekhâne ve ikisi teneffüşhâne ve diğer biri de ma'lûlinin tedâvisine mahsûs hastahânedir. Üst katı sonradan müceddeden inşâ edilmiş olan gezinti mahalleri ile berâber ma'lûlinin yatmasına mahsûs dâiren mâ-dâr dört büyük koğuşdan ibâretidir. Bîmârhânenin vâsi' bir bâğçesi de bulunup bunun münâsib mahallerinde tathîrât-ı fenniye icrâsına mahsûs bir tebhîrhâne ve mevsim-i şitâda çamaşır kurutmağa mahsûs geniş bir kafes ve mevtâ gasl olunmak için bir gasilhâne ve çamaşır yıkamak için büyük bir çamaşırhâne vardır. "The Women's Section: This section consists of two floors. The ground floor features a large open space and four large wards. Of these wards, one serves as a dining hall, two as recreation areas, and the other is designated for medical treatment. The upper floor, which was constructed later, includes areas for walking in addition to four large rooms for patients. The hospital also has a spacious garden, within which there are areas dedicated to scientific sterilization, a large cage for drying clothes in the winter season, a place for washing the dead, and a disinfection building," Besim Ömer, *Nevsâl-i Âfiyet*, ed. Ahmet Zeki İzgöer (Sağlık Bilimleri Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2020), 161.

¹³¹⁴ Robin adds the ground level of the caravanserai and the hospital section from the direction of Kartal Baba Street, highlighting the sloping terrain descending to the road level. Wimmel, "Architektur Osmanischer Karawanseraien Stationen," vol. 2, 220, 221. Wimmel, "Architektur Osmanischer Karawanseraien Stationen," vol. 2, 221.

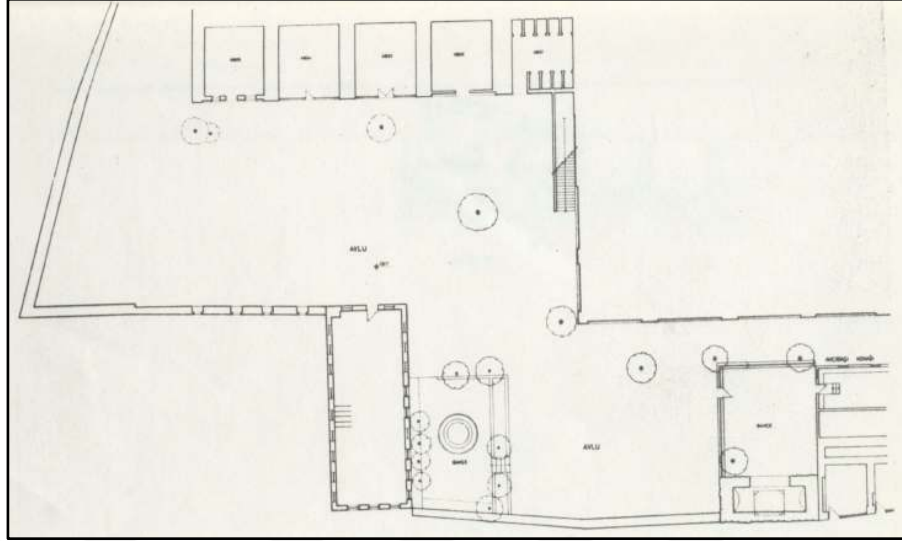


Figure 7. 8: The Basement Plan of Nurbanu Sultan's Hospital.
Prepared by Kezban Bayramoğlu.¹³¹⁵

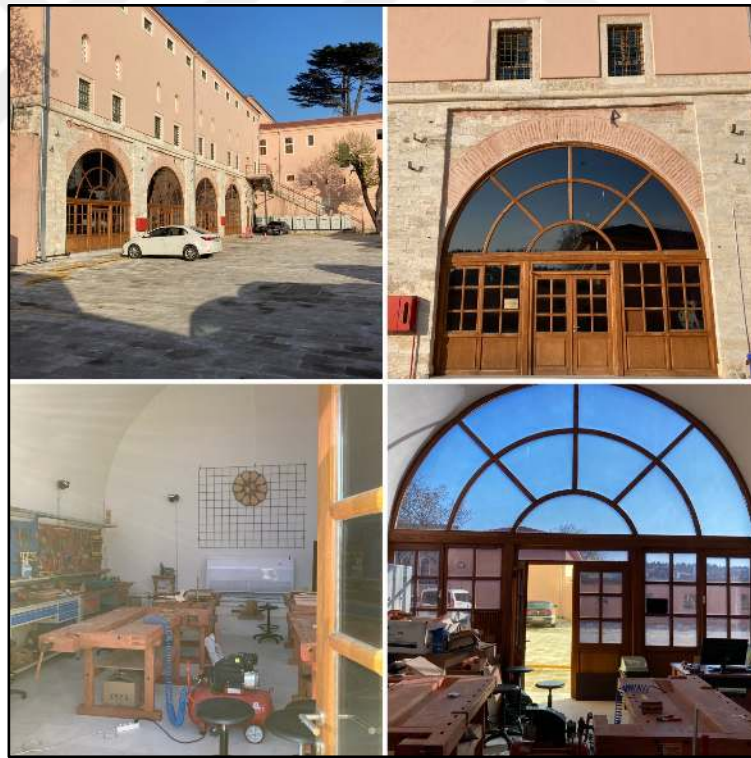


Figure 7. 9: The ground-level rooms of the hospital.¹³¹⁶ Photos by the author, 2022.

¹³¹⁵ Kezban Bayramoğlu, "Üsküdar Atik Valide Külliyesi'nin Tarihsel ve Mekansal Oluşumu" (master's thesis, Yıldız Technical University, 1986), 43.

¹³¹⁶ Currently, the rooms and the service courtyard serve as workshops and car park.

Examining drawings and documents produced for the restoration of the hospital carried out in the 2010s, it becomes clear that the vaulted rooms, which were originally built as semi-open loggias, were enclosed by brick walls at some point. During the restoration, they were returned to their original semi-open iwan design with doors added for access.¹³¹⁷ The architectural modifications that converted the iwans into enclosed rooms might have been part of an early renovation. Some early modern Ottoman hospitals featured special wards for isolating the mentally ill from other patients. For example, Süleymaniye hospital, a two-story medical complex, had rooms arranged around two rectangular courtyards, including a ward reserved for such special patients.¹³¹⁸ Gönül Cantay argues that the long and narrow room located beneath the arcades encircling the first courtyard gallery was designated for patients with incurable mental illnesses, who were permanently confined in the hospital.¹³¹⁹ Situated under a vaulted brick ceiling, the room received fresh air and light only through the loophole windows above the ceiling.¹³²⁰ Providing a certain degree of privacy and isolation, those wards enabled physicians to keep the exclusive patients under regular control and prevent them from harming themselves or other patients.¹³²¹ Thus, the

¹³¹⁷ The brick walls that transformed the *eyvans* into enclosed rooms might be the nineteenth-century additions when the Nurbanu's hospital developed into *Toptaşı Bimarhanesi*, the largest asylum of Greater Istanbul, after Luigi Mongeri, the chief physician of Süleymaniye Asylum, transferred his patients to Üsküdar in 1873. Artvinli, *Toptaşı Bimarhanesi*, 47-86.

¹³¹⁸ Gönül Cantay, "Darüşşifalar," in *Mimarbaşı Koca Sinan: Yaşadığı Çağ ve Eserleri*, vol. 2, ed. Sadi Bayram (İstanbul: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 1988), 358.

¹³¹⁹ Ibid. Gülşen Dişli observes that a special space arrangement for the mentally ill patients existed in Bayezid II, Hafsa Sultan and Fatih Hospitals. However, she does not include Atik Valide Darüşşifası as one of the medical institutions, including private wards designed for hospitalized lunatics or other patients who need special care. She says: "Space separation according to type of disease is another application encountered in hospitals. As an instance, rooms/wards for the insane were separated from the other patients' rooms in both centuries. While in Bayezid II Hospital in Edirne, rooms for the insane are located around a separate open courtyard, in Süleymaniye Hospital, the ward for the insane is located in the basement, beneath the courtyard. Similarly, patients with infectious diseases were isolated from the rest according to degree of their infectiousness, as in Hafsa Sultan Hospital" Gülşen Dişli, "Planning of Functional Spaces in Ottoman-Period Hospitals (Darüşşifa) of Anatolia," *Al-Masāq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* (2015), vol. 27, no. 3, 275.

¹³²⁰ Ergin, "Healing by Design," 20.

¹³²¹ Ergin convincingly argues that the first and second courtyards of Süleymaniye Darüşşifası spatially marked the passage from public to semi-public and private spaces, she says "Typical Ottoman hospitals offer such a transition: a communal area in the courtyard and under the porticos, where patients could socialize if they desired to do so, but also more private areas in the form of small patient rooms, where they could withdraw. These considerations may also explain Mimar Sinan's choice to divide the Süleymaniye Darüşşifası's space into two courtyards, separating the administration wing of this busy teaching hospital in the first courtyard

once open rooms of Nurbanu Sultan's hospital might have been converted into enclosed spaces for treating psychiatric patients before being repurposed as a prison.



Figure 7. 10: Süleymaniye Hospital, view from the ward for the insane.

Photo by Gülşen Dişli, 2011.¹³²²

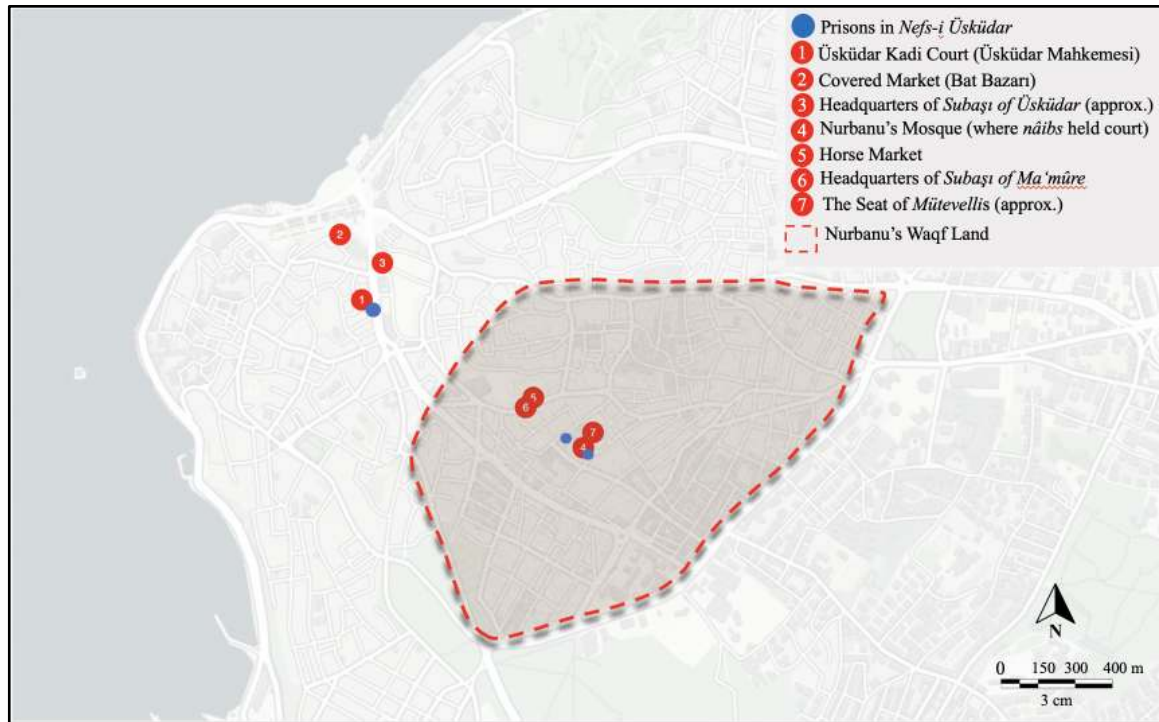
Figure 7. 11: One of the arched rooms is placed at the ground level of Nurbanu's hospital.

Photo by the author, 2022.

In light of the available archival documents and physical evidence, I argued that the two rooms at the ground level from the direction of Kartal Lane were repurposed as the prison of Ma'mûre. The decision to incarcerate individuals in a section of the hospital complex offered practical benefits, such as quick and convenient provisioning of the detainees, including easy access to food, bathing facilities, and medical care if they fell ill. Besides, it can be speculated that the hospital warden, the *mütevelli*, and the *subaşı* could be constantly monitoring them to ensure the safety of the detainees and the hospital population. Furthermore, the prison's proximity to the local court, which was held in the mosque, would ensure that legal issues involving the detainees could be promptly addressed and resolved.

from the actual patients' area in the second and transitioning from public to semi-public to a more controlled and intimate space. Moreover, the lower-level, barrel-vaulted room for the mentally ill separated the potentially disturbing and even dangerous from those who needed quiet and comfort to recover." Ergin, "Healing by Design," 32.

¹³²² Gülşen Dişli, "Planning of Functional Spaces in Ottoman-Period Hospitals (Darüşşifa) of Anatolia," In *Al-Masāq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* (2015), vol. 27, no. 3, 267.



Map 7. 1: The judicial centers of Üsküdar.
The map shows the spatial proximity of the court, prison, and the headquarters of the executive officers. Produced by the author.

Considering that Nurbanu Sultan's mosque complex marked the administrative center of the waqf land, the spatial arrangement of the courthouse/kadi's seat, prison, and the headquarters of *subaşı* aligns with the pattern observed in most of Greater Istanbul's administrative-judicial centers. To fully grasp the role and significance of incarceration in the administration of Ma'mûre, it is essential to conduct a nuanced examination of the local power dynamics, which is the main focus of the following section. In the next section, I will examine how local power was distributed, negotiated, and exercised within Ma'mûre's administration, with a focus on the system of checks and balances that regulated authority and decision-making processes.

7.3. In Whose Jurisdiction Lay Ma'mûre's Prison? The Spatial Politics of Neighborhood Governance

Sultan Ahmed's decree (1608) authorizing the establishment of a prison in Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood was directly addressed to Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevelli* rather than the kadi of

Üsküdar kadi or his *nâ'ib* in Mahalle-i Ma'mûre.¹³²³ There were several reasons why Mütevellî Kasım Agha was assigned to monitor the process. First, he was the sultan's representative in the administration of the mosque complex and the associated waqf neighborhood along with the *subaşı* of Ma'mûre. One of his chief responsibilities was to oversee any changes to the visual and functional aspects of the mosque complex, ensuring that each modification complied with the stipulations set forth in the *vakfiye*. Second, as the leading military governor of the neighborhood, the *mütevellî*, along with the *subaşı*, was responsible for maintaining public order, and this included the supervision of the local prisons. When there was a judicial decision to imprison a public offender or a fugitive slave, it was they who detained them in the prisons under their supervision, or they would collaborate with residents to keep them safely detained in a make-shift *mahbes*.

The *nâ'ib* of Ma'mûre worked closely with the *subaşı* of Ma'mûre, who was involved in the process of incarceration in accordance with the legal verdict.¹³²⁴ He was also responsible for overseeing the day-to-day operations of the local prisons, ensuring that the inmates were safe and preventing any attempts at escape. As mentioned at the opening of the chapter, when Süleyman ibn Abdullah hanged himself in prison, Pir Ali Agha, the current *mütevellî*, and Ali Subaşı were the first officials to arrive at the crime scene and investigated the case with the consent of the *nâ'ib*. Their extensive experience in managing places of detention and handling numerous prison breaks must have provided them with firsthand knowledge regarding the architectural requirements for a structure to be designated as a prison. Therefore, when in 1608, a decision was made to establish a permanent or temporary

¹³²³ BOA.A.DVNSMHM.d.76/115 (Muharrem 1017 / April 1608).

¹³²⁴ They were generally *subaşı*s, responsible for operating the local prisons along with certain court staff like *muhzırs* (court bailiff) For example, in 1584, an Armenian resident named Karagöz was arrested and imprisoned by the *muhzır* since he attempted to abduct a man from the custody of the *muhzır*, acted illegally and insulted the court personnel (*itâle-i lisân idüb şer-i şerife itaat etmemeğın*) BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.57.p.7, a/5 (Zilhicce 991/ January 1584).

The court personnel engaged in the imprisonment or the release of the detainees together with the *subaşı* was *muhzır*. His primary responsibility was to bring witnesses to the presence of the court. In his Encyclopedia of Islam (2st edition) entry on mahkama, Carter Findley states that muhızrs also acted as court police. Carter V. Findley, "Mahkama," In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 25 April 2022 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0625>, 9. For more information, see Yavuz Aykan, Boğaç Ergene, "Shari'a Courts in the Ottoman Empire Before the Tanzimat," *The Medieval History Journal*, vol. 22, no. 2 (2019): 223-228.

prison in Ma'mûre, Kasım Agha, and the current *subaşı* were likely the key decision-makers in selecting the most suitable location and structure.

Mütevelli Kasım Agha's possibly important role in the establishment of Ma'mûre's prison parallels Pir Ali Agha's efforts in the development of Ma'mûre as a way station in a *menzil* town. As explained in Chapter 2, he identified the most suitable location for the horse market and supervised the entire process. Both cases highlight the proactive involvement of the *mütevellis* in governing Nurbanu Sultan's waqf neighborhood in coordination with the central government. They received directives directly from the waqf superintendent, the grand vizier, or the sultan, all of whom granted them a considerable margin of influence and authority within their waqf domain.

The significant authority held by the *mütevellis* did not necessarily imply a hierarchical relationship between Ma'mûre's judicial and administrative-military authorities. Instead, they functioned as distinct yet complementary entities within a local governance system. The experience of the Ottomans in urban governance must have had a significant impact on defining the roles of relevant public authorities such as kadis (or their *nâ'ibs*), *mütevellis*, and *subaşıs*. These accumulated insights likely formed the basis of their professional relationships, setting the tone for their communications and interactions. However, this framework was not static; it evolved in response to the actors involved and the historical circumstances. Thus, it might be misleading to make broad generalizations about the nature of dialogue and cooperation between the public authorities of Ma'mûre. It would be more appropriate to base these analyses on key figures, examining their interactions during specific periods.

In 1584, conflicts erupted between muezzins of Nurbanu Sultan's mosque and Pir Ali Agha that clearly exhibited the almost unchallenged local power of the *mütevelli*. Three muezzins: Mahmut, Ramazan, and Kerim Halife, who had long been suffering from Pir Ali Agha's unfair judgments and mistreatment, formally submitted their grievances to the *nâ'ib* of Ma'mûre. They claimed that Pir Ali Agha had been unfairly withholding their rightful salaries and had been denying them daily meals from the public kitchen, claiming that they had not fulfilled their certain obligations.¹³²⁵ Over time, their grievances intensified, driving

¹³²⁵ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.57.p.80/a1 (Şaban 922/August 1584)

them to take action. Rather than remaining silent, the muezzins bravely confronted the *mütevelli* directly, expressing their concerns and demanding redress. However, their confrontation resulted in severe repercussions; Pir Ali Agha responded with harsh physical punishment, administering each of them between seventy and eighty strokes. Afraid of his wrath, the muezzins refrained from taking their complaints to the grand vizier's council and saw the local court as a last resort. However, even in taking this step, they held little hope for a favorable resolution. Their skepticism about receiving justice was evident in the question they posed to the *nâ'ib*: "Can you protect our rights against this oppressor, or should we leave the matter to God?(*bu zalimden hakkımız efendi hazretleri aliverir mi yok ise Allah'a mı kalır*)".¹³²⁶

Even though Pir Ali Agha's local power did not directly challenge or undermine the authority of the judicial authorities of the neighborhood, it can be argued that he was adept at expanding his sphere of authority at the expense of the *nâ'ib* of Ma'mûre. Various court records indicate that Pir Ali Agha held the discretionary authority to detain individuals he deemed disruptive to the public order, occasionally without legal consent, and he determined when or if they would be released.¹³²⁷ For instance, in 1581, he imprisoned Ahmed ibn Ali, a member of Ma'mûre's *Kıbtî* community, for a reason not specified in the court registers.¹³²⁸ The local court, initially unaware of this detention, learned about it when Hacı Ahmed Pasha petitioned the court of Ma'mûre to initiate an official investigation into the theft of his

¹³²⁶ Ibid.

¹³²⁷ According to the Law Code of Süleyman I, imprisonment of the offenders by the executive authorities without the consent of the kadi was an illegal practice, however, there were several incidents proving that the executive officers might have conducted arbitrary arrests and imprisoned people. For the related law article: "The executive officers (ehl-i 'örf) shall not imprison and hurt any person unless [he is convicted] by the kadi. And [the executive officers] shall collect a fine according to the guilt of every [offender] and shall not collect more [than is due]. And if they do, the kadi shall give judgment with respect to the excess of the fine and let [the offender] recover [it]." Heyd, *Ottoman Criminal Law*, 127.

Uriel Heyd explains the struggle between the kadis and the executive officers as follows: "In the field of criminal justice, the Men of the Sword always tended to overstep the bounds of their authority and to infringe that of the kadis. How far they succeeded depended on their local power, on the kadis' moral conviction and personal courage, and on the extent of the Central Government's willingness and ability to restrain its executive organs...The general trend seems to have been a gradual decline of the kadis' part in the administration of penal justice. The general rule of the *kânûn* that a criminal must not be punished by the executive officers unless he has been duly convicted by a kadi was largely disregarded." Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, 220.

¹³²⁸ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.22/b1 (Şaban 989 / September 1581).

belongings. The plaintiff had accused Ahmed ibn Ali of being the thief who had stolen his clothes while he was in İznikmid and requested the court to inquire about Ahmed's reputation in his community. Throughout the trial, Ahmed ibn Ali denied the charges, and the court asked him to present his guarantors to vouch for the veracity of his statements.¹³²⁹ In the presence of the kadi, fifteen guarantors, most of whom were fellow members of Ma'mûre's *Kıbtî* community, stood surety for the suspect. The guarantors, who swore to his innocence, presented evidence that Ahmed had not left the town in the past six months, having been detained by the *mütevelli* prior to the robbery.¹³³⁰ The register does not detail the reason for his detention, merely stating that Pir Ali Ağa had imprisoned him due to an unspecified matter (*Pir Ali Ağa bir husus için habs edip mahbusda idi*).¹³³¹ Though we do not know the motivations behind the detention of Ahmed, this case still demonstrates Pir Ali Ağa's right and authority to detain individuals when deemed necessary.

Moreover, if a person was imprisoned at the request of the *mütevelli*, or his representatives, their release could only be authorized with his consent. For instance, in 1586, Ahmed Subaşı brought to court two detainees—one from Ayntab and the other from a town in Kütahya—both detained at the request of the *mütevelli*.¹³³² They were brought to the court in Ma'mûre so that *subaşı* could formally register their guarantors, who would vouch for them and assume responsibility for their actions upon their release. Following their registration, the court approved their release, but only with the permission of Pir Ali Ağa (*ıtlakına emin Pir Ali Ağa'nın izniyle hükm olundu*).¹³³³ While the court played an important role in formalizing the release process by registering the guarantors' names or, in other cases, hearing witnesses, the ultimate decision to release the detainees, at least in this instance, required the consent of Pir Ali Ağa.

This said, the policing authorities of Ma'mûre did play a prominent role in resolving local disputes and sometimes resorted to incarceration to expedite an out-of-court

¹³²⁹ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.53.p.21/b2 (Şaban 989 / September 1581).

¹³³⁰ Ibid.

¹³³¹ Ibid.

¹³³² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.62.p.68/b3 (Safer 994/ January 1586).

¹³³³ Ibid.

reconciliation (*sulh*) process between parties. For instance, in 1583, Çerağcı Mehmed was imprisoned when he fell short of paying his debts to his creditors, Hüseyin ibn Abdullah and Ferahnaz Khatun.¹³³⁴ His imprisonment was likely intended to compel his relatives or friends to cover his debts and secure his release. Indeed, he remained detained until his ex-wife Ayşe Khatun, along with Çerağcı Ali and Hacı Mustafa, stood joint surety for paying off his arrears. Once the names of his guarantors were recorded, he was released.¹³³⁵ The same year, Ahmed Subaşı filed a petition against Süleyman ibn Abdullah, a slave who had permission to engage in commercial activities (*abd-i me'zûn*) and worked in the shop of his master, Topçu Mustafa.¹³³⁶ The accusation was that Kara Süleyman had assaulted Ali, a manumitted Arab slave (*mu'tak gulâm*), near the area known as Harmanlık, close to the Karacaahmet Cemetery. In court, witnesses testified that Süleyman had stabbed Ali with a knife in his left arm and then fled. Following the trial, Ahmed Subaşı executed the *nâ'ib*'s verdict and put Süleyman in prison. After spending a month in prison, Süleyman sought an amicable solution and offered to pay 400 *akçe* for Ali's medical expenses¹³³⁷ Ali accepted the financial compensation and withdrew his request to punish the perpetrator.¹³³⁸

In her study on the *sulh* agreements reflected in the eighteenth-century Üsküdar's and Adana's court records, Işık Tamdoğan argues that there were three types of *sulh* agreements, including; "(1) cases that started as a lawsuit and ended with a *sulh* agreement,

¹³³⁴ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p. 41/b2 (Cemazeyilahir 991 / July 1583) Çerağcı/Çırakcı is the person assigned with lighting and extinguishing candles in mosques, convents or other public spaces.

¹³³⁵ A fatwa of the chief mufti Ebu's-Su'ud Efendi in response to the question "Is there a predetermined time period for imprisoning debtors?" puts that there is not a prescribed time period, and the judge shall determine on a fitting punishment based on the offense's nature. "*Mes'ele: Habs-i medîd için bir hadd-i mu'ayyen var mıdır? ELCEVAP: Yoktur, re'y-i hâkime müfessvazdır. Ve mahhûsun sebeb-i habsine göre takdir olunur.*" Mehmet Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Yüzyıl Türk Hayatı* (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983), 141.

¹³³⁶ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.64, a/3, b/1, b/3 (Şevval 991/ October 1583).

¹³³⁷ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.70, b/2 (Zilkade 991/November 1583).

¹³³⁸ However, Ali's withdrawal was not sufficient for his release. As a standard procedure, the offender had to submit his guarantor to the court to be released on bond by the authorities. Thus, his incarceration did not end until his guarantor, Hacı Ahmed Bey, stood surety of his whereabouts. Only after his guarantor's name was registered at the *nâ'ib*'s court did Kara Süleyman get freed from prison. "*Mezkûr Süleyman hapisden ıtlâk olunup kethüdâ bölüğünde Sefer nâm Dergâh-ı âlî bevâbına teslim olundu.*" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.56.p.70, b/2 (Zilkade 991/November 1583). See also Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law*, 80.

(2) a *sulh* concluded out of court and brought to court for registration and (3) a *sulh* concluded out of court that failed to end the dispute, for which reason one of the parties filed a lawsuit against the other party.”¹³³⁹ Tandoğan’s categorization clarifies the role of the sharia courts in managing disputes. As she notes, most conflicts did not require judicial intervention; instead, disputing parties often resolved their problems through mediation by local authorities, religious or communal leaders, or neighborhood elders. Even in cases such as theft, insults, inheritance conflicts, or commercial disputes, the matter might not come before the *kadis* if the parties reached an agreement during informal assemblies. However, when the parties wanted to formally document their mutually agreed obligations, they would bring their case to the court.

If the *subaşı* had to deal with a simple dispute that only involved the parties concerned, he could certainly bypass a formal judicial hearing to reach an amicable settlement between the parties. However, if there was a criminal act threatening public order and safety, he could then serve as a plaintiff on behalf of the victims and bring the case to court. To put it briefly, formal investigations were often initiated either through personal and communal efforts or by those representing the interests of the local community. In some instances, the *subaşı* took his own precautions, mediating disputes to expedite a *sulh* process. Despite these proactive steps, there were instances when *subaşı*s had to bring certain cases to court to fulfill certain legal or procedural obligations, such as officially documenting the terms of a mutual settlement or the names of witnesses and guarantors involved in a legal case.

While Üsküdar’s court records offer valuable insights into the active role of the *mütevellîs* and *subaşı*s in the urban governance of Mahalle-i Ma‘mûre, they fail to capture the full extent of administrative discretion (*siyasa*) these officials exercised in the region.¹³⁴⁰ For instance, it remains unclear whether they kept their own records of residents’ complaints,

¹³³⁹ Işık Tandoğan, “Sulh” and the 18th Century Ottoman Courts of Üsküdar and Adana,” *Islamic Law and Society*, vol. 15, no. 1 (2008), 65.

¹³⁴⁰ “Classical doctrine recognises, apart from the head of state himself, three law enforcement agencies. The most prominent is the single judge, the qadi, adjudicating cases on the basis of the fiqh doctrine. However, officials in charge of public security, such as governors, military commanders, and police officers, also have jurisdiction, especially in criminal cases. But unlike the qadi, they usually deal with crime according to political expediency rather than on the basis of the legal doctrine. This jurisdiction is called *siyasa*. ” Peters, *Crime and Punishment in Islamic Law*, 8.

the settlements reached outside formal court processes, or the names of detained individuals.¹³⁴¹ Even if such records exist, they have yet to be discovered by researchers. Due to the absence of records kept by the *subaşı*s, researchers primarily rely on court records to understand the roles of the *subaşı*s in urban governance. This limited perspective often results in a distorted representation of *subaşı*s, which often reduces them to officials responsible for case investigations and executing the punishments. However, at least in the context of Ma'mûre, they were integral to a dynamic administrative network, assuming a range of proactive roles within the fabric of urban governance. The residents of Ma'mûre did not hesitate to petition the *subaşı* himself to request his support or mediation in the resolution of a dispute.

Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellî*s and the *subaşı*s of Ma'mûre were more than public authorities since they were also members of the neighborhood community actively involved in the daily socio-economic interactions with the local community. In other words, as residents of Ma'mûre, they were well-acquainted with the other residents and understood the community's needs and dynamics, which must have significantly enhanced their effectiveness in local governance. As mentioned in Chapter 5, both Pir Ali Agha and the *subaşı* of Ma'mûre received letters of complaint from the neighborhood's *Kıbtî* residents, who sought their mediation in resolving intercommunal conflicts. When handling such issues, they investigated the veracity of the litigants' allegations and, when necessary, detained offenders or debtors prior to court proceedings. Thus, the local prison served as the interface area where the authority of Ma'mûre's *nâ'ib* and *subaşı* intersected, underscoring their cooperation in working towards the common goal of maintaining public order and safety.

However, the local prison sometimes became an area of conflict, where the interests of these local authorities diverged or clashed. A letter (*ma'rûz*) submitted by the *nâ'ib* of Ma'mûre to the imperial council in 1586 offers insights into the changing dynamics between these authorities, ranging from cooperation to conflict.¹³⁴² This letter also sheds light on how

¹³⁴¹ For an exceptional example of the tribunal registers of a provincial governor, including the petitions submitted by the locals, see Michael Ursinus's study on the records compiled by an eighteenth-century governor of Rumelia; see Michael Ursinus, *Grievance Administration (Şikayet) in an Ottoman Province: The Kaymakam of Rumelia's "Record Book of Complaints" of 1781–1783* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004).

¹³⁴² BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.67.p.28, a/1 (Şevval 994/October 1586).

the prison could become an arena of power struggles. In his letter, the *nâ'ib* informed the grand vizier about the unlawful imprisonment of his two servants, Hızır and Hüseyin, by the *subaşı* of Ma'mûre (*subaşı bende-güzîn Hızır ve Hüseyin nam hizmetkarlarımızı tutub habs eylemiş*).¹³⁴³ Although the letter did not provide an explanation for Ali Subaşı's decision to detain these two servants, it did disclose that the *nâ'ib*'s prior attempts to secure their release had been unsuccessful. Consequently, in his petition, he sought the higher court's approval of his own guarantorship of his servants. He attested to the integrity of Hızır and Hüseyin, describing them as trustworthy individuals who faithfully observed their daily prayers as devout Muslims.¹³⁴⁴

By petitioning the imperial council for the release of his servants, the *nâ'ib* of Ma'mûre elevated a local matter into a broader issue that betrayed existing tensions between him and the *subaşı*.¹³⁴⁵ Details about Pir Ali Agha's opinion on this matter were not recorded. This case suggests that the *subaşı*s of Ma'mûre played a more intricate and direct role in local power dynamics. This can be attributed to the hierarchical relationship between the *mütevelli* and *subaşı*, as the ultimate administrative-military authorities in Ma'mûre, where the *subaşı*s worked closely with the waqf administration in overseeing urban governance and often acted as deputies to the *mütevellis*.¹³⁴⁶

Identifying the differences between the *subaşı*s of Ma'mûre and Üsküdar in the realm of administering criminal justice, particularly in terms of their authority to imprison individuals without legal consent, presents challenges. In order to gain a comprehensive

¹³⁴³ The letter begins with the introductory sentence: "To my felicitous sultan, the petition of your humble servant is the following (*saadetlû sultan efendimiz hazretlerinin huzur-ı şeriflerine ma'rûz -i muhlisâne budur ki*). Considering the honorific title of "my felicitous sultan," the kadi's letter was addressing the grand vizier or his subordinates. If the letter was addressed to the sultan (in this case Murad III), it would start with such honorific titles as *devletlû padişahım* or *saadetlû padişahım*. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili*, 315. Also see Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Elkâb," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 11 (Istanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1995): 51-54.

¹³⁴⁴ "mezkur hizmetkarlar yaramaz ademler değildir kendi hallerinde beş vakit namazların eda ederler" BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.67.p.28, a/1 (Şevval 994/October 1586).

¹³⁴⁵ As we learn from the note at the end of the *ma'rûz* register, Ali Subaşı brought Ali ibn Abbas, the saddler of a certain Mehmed Pasha, to the court and registered him as another guarantor of Hızır and Hüseyin. The saddler pledged the presence of two servants at the court whenever it was requested. BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.67.p.28, a/1 (Şevval 994/October 1586).

¹³⁴⁶ As the representatives of Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellis*, *subaşı*s of Ma'mûre were inevitably engaged in waqf-related affairs. This involvement significantly strengthened their position as a local ruler in the eyes of the residents of Ma'mûre.

understanding of the matter, it is necessary to conduct a thorough evaluation of the power dynamics between the *subaşı* and the kadi of Üsküdar at a given time period. In the absence of such an analysis, any conclusions about the issue would be speculative.

In conclusion, the administrative status of Ma'mûre as a waqf neighborhood had profound implications for the local political dynamics. The mosque complex and the waqf land surrounding it were managed as a unified entity by the waqf administration. As a result, the *mütevelli*s held significant power and authority, which empowered them to act as local governors. Another essential element of this local governance structure was the *nâ'ib* of Ma'mûre. Complementing each other in dealing with local matters, they collaborated within the limits of their authority. However, if the power balance shifted toward one of the parties, higher judicial authorities, most notably the imperial council, rehabilitated the balance. The "places of detention" in Ma'mûre were primarily the domain of the *subaşı*. He was responsible for the detention process, including ensuring the security of prisoners, preventing prison breaks, and handling administrative procedures such as registering the reasons for detention and the names of the prisoners' guarantors. His role as the deputy of the *mütevelli* in the governance of Ma'mûre granted him the authority to identify suitable waqf structures to repurpose as temporary prisons or identify residents willing to keep detainees in their own *mahbes*. He also effectively mobilized his personal networks within the local community, particularly when it came to identifying secure locations for the detention of apprehended female slaves.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

8.1. The Nineteenth Century Boundaries of Ma'mûre

The earliest visual representation of Nurbanu Sultan's mosque complex in an illustrated Ottoman manuscript is featured in the first volume of the *Şehinşahname* (Book of King of Kings), authored by the court historian Seyyid Lokman and illustrated by court painters led by Nakkaş Osman in 1581.¹³⁴⁷ This map, which depicts the great comet sighting of 1577, portrays Üsküdar at a scale comparable to that of *intramuros* Istanbul, and it accurately captures Üsküdar's expansion toward its rural peripheries since the 1570s.¹³⁴⁸ (see Fig. 8.1) The light green shading depicts the town of Üsküdar, drawn as a semi-circular expanse with its diameter tracing the coastline from Paşalimanı to Salacak, extending outward to the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land. A darker shade of green highlights the town's less developed outskirts and the surrounding rural landscape, thereby visually distinguishing Ma'mûre from the town's urban core. Briefly, from the perspective of the court painters, Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood had not yet been integrated into Üsküdar's urban fabric by the early 1580s. While the map delineates the approximate boundaries of Üsküdar proper (*nefs-i Üsküdar*) through color transitions, it does not depict the extent and limits of Nurbanu Sultan's land, as it eschews such specific administrative details in favor of illustrating a general view of the walled city along with its boroughs, Galata and Üsküdar. Instead, it emphasizes the strategic location of Nurbanu Sultan's complex at the point where Üsküdar's rural peripheries begin, highlighting it as a significant marker of the town's expansion toward Toptaşı Hill.

¹³⁴⁷ For detailed information regarding Seyyid Lokman and *Şehinşahname*, see Saniye Simla Özçelik, "XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Şehnâmecilerinden Seyyid Lokmân'ın Şehinşâhnâmesi," in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası - Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. 42, (2023): 339-360.

¹³⁴⁸ Unlike other sixteenth-century Istanbul maps, which often presented a limited or simplified view of Üsküdar, Nakkaş Osman's map offers a more accurate and detailed portrayal of Istanbul's Asian borough. See Nakkaş Osman's Map of Istanbul in Seyyid Lokman's *Hünernâme* (1584–85). See Appendix H



Figure 8. 1: Nakkaş Osman. Map of Istanbul in *Şehinşahname* (991/1581-82)¹³⁴⁹

¹³⁴⁹ Istanbul University Library, F.1404 fol.58a.

As explored in Chapter 4, by the 1610s, approximately thirty years after the creation of this map, Ma‘mûre had evolved into a *semt* comprising eleven neighborhoods, some of which were inhabited by ethnically or religiously homogenous communities, including Muslims, Greeks, Armenians, or *Kıbtîs*, while others reflected a more heterogeneous composition of these communities. Its administrative status as a waqf settlement, however, markedly distinguished it from the thirteen districts (or *nâhiye*) of *intramuros* Istanbul in terms of territorial delineation. In contrast to the often imprecisely defined boundaries of Istanbul's districts, which were defined by the neighborhoods within them, Ma‘mûre’s boundaries were delineated in the *mülknâme* issued by Sultan Selim II in 1570; put differently, it was not the neighborhoods it contained that defined Ma‘mûre’s limits. Thus, certain adjacent neighborhoods, like Solak Sinan Mahallesi and Tavaşi Hasan Ağa Mahallesi, partly fell into the waqf boundaries.¹³⁵⁰ (see Map 8.1)



Map 8. 1: The three neighborhoods at the confluence of the western limits of Nurbanu Sultan’s waqf land.¹³⁵¹

¹³⁵⁰ The eastern section of Hasan Ağa Mahallesi was within Nurbanu Sultan’s waqf land, resulting in the neighborhood falling under the jurisdiction of either the *Üsküdar Emni* or the waqf administration. Therefore, Hasan Ağa Mahallesi was sometimes referred to in court records as a neighborhood of Ma‘mûre, and at other times as a neighborhood of nefs-i Üsküdar. “Mahrûse-i Üsküdar’da Mahalle-i Cedide mahallatından Hasan Ağa Mahallesi” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.125.p.62/a2 (Zilka‘de 1023/December 1614), “Mahmiyye-i Üsküdar mahallatından Hasan Ağa Mahallesi” BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.125.p.61/b2 (Zilka‘de 1023/December 1614).

¹³⁵¹ Plan von Constantinopel by C.Stolpe (1882). David Rumsey Map Collection.

As discussed in Chapter 5, Nurbanu Sultan's land was an “autonomous” (*serbest*) urban enclave governed by the waqf administration. In this administrative framework, its boundaries functioned as a demarcation line delineating the jurisdictional domains of Üsküdar's two principal authorities: Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevelli* and the town's chief tax farmer, the *Üsküdar Emini*. Therefore, the official boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's land, as introduced in Chapter 2, not only marked where one jurisdiction ended and the other began but also played a crucial role in minimizing potential conflicts over the management of Üsküdar's revenues and solidified Ma'mûre's status as a distinct administrative unit. The conflicts between the *Üsküdar Emini* and Nurbanu's *mütevelli* generally stemmed from the latter's authority to confiscate the belongings of those who died in Ma'mûre without legal heirs to claim their shares of the inheritance.¹³⁵² In one such dispute in 1572, Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevelli*, Mustafa Çelebi, brought forth a legal complaint against Şah Bey, the *Üsküdar Emini*, alleging that he confiscated the inheritance of Bozacıoğlu Mustafa, who had died within the confines of Ma'mûre.¹³⁵³ Upon being summoned to the court of Üsküdar, Şah Bey confessed before the kadi to having illicitly appropriated the waqf's share. Pursuant to the kadi's verdict, he was compelled to return the sum of 7,020 *guruş*, representing Bozacıoğlu's inheritance, to *Mütevelli* Mustafa Çelebi. Until the nineteenth century, such conflicts were generally resolved in the local court and did not necessitate interventions of higher authorities. However, the death of a certain Fatma Hatun in 1809 at her residence in Solak Sinan Mahallesi—a neighborhood situated at the intersection of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf and the jurisdiction of the *Üsküdar Emini*—necessitated the redefinition of the waqf's boundaries with greater accuracy and nuance.

¹³⁵² As we learn from Nurbanu Sultan's waqf deed, the inheritances of those who died within Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land without legal heirs, which are considered as state revenues, would then be the property of his mother's pious foundation in Üsküdar. The related part of the waqf deed reads as follows: “*Şuna emr-i sultani ve hükm-i hakani sadır olmuştur ki mezbur mütevelli-i mezkur vakfın hududu dahilinde umumi ve hususi beytü'l-mâl ve gaib ve mefkud kimselerin mallarını ve sair aşar-ı şer'iyye ve rüsum-ı örfiyye ve cürm ü cinayet ve herhangi bir sebeple bâd-ı hevâ alınanları vakf için kabzedip vakf-ı mezbure sarf eder, buna hiç kimse müdahale edemez* / By this sultanic command and imperial decree, it is hereby ordered that the administrator of the aforementioned waqf has the authority to seize and appropriate for the waqf all assets belonging to the public treasury, including the properties of absent and missing persons, along with all taxes, customary dues, fines, and any goods confiscated for any reason within the waqf's established boundaries. No one shall interfere in this matter, for this is the will of the Sultan.” The quoted passage, which was originally written in Arabic, is taken from Sabırlı, *Afife Nurbanu Sultan Vakfiyesi* (990/1582), 67. English translation is by the author.

¹³⁵³ BOA.İSTM.ŞSC.06.d.38.p.82/a1 (Cemâziyelevvel 980 / October 1572).

After the death of Fatma Hatun, who left no legitimate heirs, *Mütevelli* Hüseyin Agha, along with Hüseyin ibn Ahmed, the *beytü'l-mâl emini* of Ma'mûre, claimed her inheritance on the grounds that she had resided within the confines of the waqf land belonging to the late queen mother, Atik Valide Sultan.¹³⁵⁴ However, Mehmed ibn Hasan, the *Üsküdar Emni*, contested their claims, arguing that Fatma Hatun's residence fell outside the waqf boundaries and, therefore, that he was entitled to seize her inheritance. Since the parties could not reach an agreement, *Mütevelli* Hüseyin Agha requested a reassessment of the waqf boundaries to precisely delineate the jurisdiction of each authority.¹³⁵⁵ Upon the *mütevelli*'s petition, Kasım Agha, the waqf superintendent, referred the case to the chief military kadi of Rumeli (*Rumeli Kazaskeri*) and the inspector of the endowments in the two holy cities (*Evkâfî'l-Haremeyn Müfettişi*) and appointed them as arbitrators to resolve the dispute. The involvement of the *Rumeli Kazaskeri* in this dispute was likely due to the high-ranking positions of the parties involved: the administrator of an imperial waqf and a member of the imperial palace guards (*haseki*), who had been appointed as the *Üsküdar Emni*.¹³⁵⁶ On the other hand, the participation of the *Evkâfî'l-Haremeyn Müfettişi* as the regulatory party in the dispute stemmed primarily from Nurbanu's endowment's status as *Evkâfî'l-Haremeyn* waqf, a portion of whose revenues were designated for the holy cities of Mecca and Medina.¹³⁵⁷

Upon receiving notification from the waqf superintendent regarding the need for a reassessment of the boundaries of *Atik Valide Sultan*'s waqf, both the *Rumeli Kazaskeri* and the *Evkâfî'l-Haremeyn Müfettişi* sent a scribe to Üsküdar. The appointed scribes, Mehmet and Yakub Bey, conducted a land survey¹³⁵⁸ together with the disputing parties and a group of witnesses and prepared a border deed that reads as follows:

¹³⁵⁴ BOA.MFB.1204 (Muharrem 1224/April-March 1809).

¹³⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁵⁶ BOA.MFB.1204 (Muharrem 1224/April-March 1809).

¹³⁵⁷ The earliest *icmâl muhasebe defter* (summary accounting register) of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf in Üsküdar, for the fiscal year 997-998 (1588-1589) compiled by Pir Ali Agha reveals that 922,930 *akçe* was allocated as the annual salary for *acz-i ihvan* (needy Muslims) and *mürtezika* (waqf beneficiaries) in Mecca, Medina, Damascus, and Jerusalem. BOA.TS.MA.d.3662 (997-998 /1588-1589).

¹³⁵⁸ In his study of sixteenth-century Ottoman border deeds (*hudutnâme* or *sınırnâme*), Michael Ursinus defines these documents as official records that delineate the boundaries of waqf lands by identifying boundary markers

The land designated as the Atik Valide Sultan's waqf territory begins at the road in front of the waqf dwellings belonging to Hayreddin Çavuş's waqf. The road extends to the gate of the horse market and then reaches Kürd Ali's coffee shop, which is located on the left side of Havuzlu Han. From Kürd Ali's coffee shop, the road leads to Çavuşderesi and continues along the three-way junction near Çınarlı Convent, flanked by dwellings and gardens on both sides. The road then goes to a second three-way junction at the top of the slope before arriving at the corner opposite Selami [Ali] Convent. From there, it follows the road on the right side of İvaz Fakih's fields at Acıbadem, leading to Bağlarbaşı. From there, it continues along the right side of the road to Nuhkuyusu, then to the road that begins at the corner of Karacaahmet Convent and leads to İnadiye. From there, it goes to Tanners Square through the road on the right side of the Muslim cemetery and ends at the dwellings belonging to Hayreddin Çavuş's waqf.¹³⁵⁹

Following the resolution of the dispute, Mahmud II issued a decree announcing the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's land and warning local authorities not to interfere with the waqf's interests. As explicitly stated in the decree, the primary reason for the renewal of the border deed was the changing names of the boundary markers over time (*mürûr-ı zamân ile hudûd-ı mezkûrenin isimleri tebeddül etmekle*), which made it difficult to accurately identify the waqf's limits.¹³⁶⁰ The revised border deed provided a more detailed definition of the waqf's limits than the original sixteenth-century version, which identified only eight landmarks.¹³⁶¹ During the survey, the scribes added nine border markers and replaced some

that typically consisted of topographical landmarks or structures that were widely recognized by the local community. During these surveys, kadıs would walk around the land together with legal witnesses known as "*şuhûdî'l-'udûl*," carefully noting each boundary marker. Ursinus uses the term "perambulation" to describe a border deed, referring to the practice of "perambulating," which in its technical meaning, involves walking around a land to register its boundaries. Michael Ursinus, "From Defter Entries to Landmarks on the Ground: Cooperative Research in Cleune (Gorica, Livno, Bosnia Herzegovina) on Ottoman Perambulations from the 16th Century/Defter Kayıtlarından Arazideki İşaretlere: Cleune'de (Gorica, Livno, Bosna Hersek) 16. Yüzyıl Keşfnameleri/Sınırnameler (Perambulation) Üzerine İşbirlikçi Araştırma" in *Osmanlı Üzerine Konuşmalar*, ed. Fuat Aydın (Istanbul, 2016): 83-122.

¹³⁵⁹ "*vakf-ı müşarîniyleha arazisi itlak olunan mahaller merhum Hayreddin Çavuş akfı olan menazil önünde tarik-i amm ile At Pazarı kapısı ve Havuzlu Han önünde canib-i yesarda olan Kürd Ali Kahvesi'ne varınca ancak canib-i yemini ve mezbur Kürd Ali Kahvesi'nden Çavuşderesi nam mahalde Çınarlı Tekke kurbünde vaki üç yol ağzına varınca yemin ve yesarda olan menazil ve bağçeler ve zikrolunan üç yolda canib-i yesarda olan yol ile yokuş başında olan diğer üç yol ağzına varınca kezalik yemin ve yesarı ve marîzzikr diğer üç yol ağzında Selami Tekkesi karşısında vaki köşeye ve andan Acıbadem nam mahal İvaz Fakih Tarlaları'nın canib-i yemininde olan yol ile Bağlarbaşına ve andan canib-i yemin ile tarik-i ammda vaki Nuhkuyusu önünde Karacaahmet Tekkesi köşesinden İnadiye'ye giden yolda mekabir-i müsliminin canib-i yemininde vaki tarik ile Debbağlar Meydanı'ndan zikrolunan Hayreddin Çavuş Vakfı'ndan olan menazil-i mezbure önünde olan tarik-i amm ile mahdud...*" BOA. MFB.1204 (Muharrem 1224 / April-March 1809). See Appendix B.

¹³⁶⁰ BOA. MFB.1204 (Muharrem 1224 / April-March 1809)

¹³⁶¹ These landmarks were: Çini Fırın, the waqf residences of Hayreddin Çavuş, the fountain in front of Ali Agha's Garden, the road leading to Koşuyolu, the waqf fields of İvaz Oğlu, the tomb of the late Kara Sheikh, Karacaahmet Convent, and the Muslim cemetery. (see Map 2.1) The landmarks and localities identified as the new boundary markers are: the gate of the horse market, Kürd Ali's coffee shop, Havuzlu Han, Çınarlı Convent, Selami [Ali] Convent, Bağlarbaşı, Nuhkuyusu, İnadiye, and Tanners Square. (see Map 8.1).

landmarks that had either disappeared or had fallen out of community recognition with new ones. The section of the border deed delineating the waqf's northwestern boundaries, which traversed Solak Sinan Mahallesi, was crucial in determining whose jurisdiction included the residence of Fatma Hatun. Ultimately, *Mütevelli* Hüseyin Ağa's claim was confirmed, thus entitling him to confiscate Fatma Hatun's inheritance as waqf income.



Map 8. 2: The territorial limits of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf territory as outlined in the border deed prepared at the behest of Sultan Mahmud II in 1809.¹³⁶²

In 1827, Mahmud II issued another decree addressing the kadis of Istanbul and *Bilâd-ı Selâse*, directing them to ensure that neighborhood imams fulfilled their responsibilities in

¹³⁶² 1: Hayreddin Çavuş dwellings (approx. location), 2: The gate of the horse market (approx. location), 3: Havuzlu Khan (approx. location), 4: The coffee shop of Kürd Ali (approx. location), 5: three-way junction, 6 Çınarlı Convent, 7: Selamiali Convent, 8: Bağlarbaşı, 9: İvaz Fakih Fields, 10: Karacaahmet Convent, 11: Muslim Cemetery, 12: Debbaglar Square, 13: Hasan Ağa Mahallesi, 14: Hayreddin Çavuş Mahallesi, 15: Keleş Dede Mahallesi, 16: Solak Sinan Mahallesi.

German Blue Maps, vol. 1 (1913–1914), prepared by the German company Deutsches Syndikat für Staedtebauliche Arbeiten.

informing the *beytü'l-mâl emins* about the residents who died without known heirs to prevent the state from losing such valuable revenues.¹³⁶³ He also revoked his previous order of 1809, in which he had affirmed the right of Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevelli* to claim the properties of individuals who died without heirs within the waqf boundaries, a practice that had been in place ever since the establishment of the imperial endowment. Furthermore, he stipulated that the inheritance income allocated to Nurbanu Sultan's waqf would now be redirected to the waqf of Aziz Mahmud Hüdayî, a seventeenth-century *Celvetî* sheikh whose reputation extended far beyond the confines of Üsküdar.¹³⁶⁴

Despite the reallocation of the inheritance revenues that had long been designated to Nurbanu Sultan's foundation, the size and extent of her waqf land remained unchanged throughout the nineteenth century. This is evidenced in the *Düstur*, the compendium of public laws, which includes laws and regulations drawn up by the Tanzimat Council after 1839.¹³⁶⁵ The sixth volume of the *Düstur* (1887 to 1895) contains a regulation issued in July 1889 regarding the inheritances of those who died within the waqf estates of the Ottoman royal family in Istanbul and its three boroughs. As documented in this regulation, the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's land in Üsküdar were outlined as they were in the nineteenth-century border deed compiled during the reign of Mahmud II.¹³⁶⁶

¹³⁶³ As the decree puts it, Aziz Mahmud's *mütevelli* would collect the inheritances in the name of the saint's waqf. "*Üsküdar'da vâki Hüdayî Aziz Mahmud Efendi -kuddise sirruhu'l-âli-hazretleri zaviyesine meşrûr Yeni Mahalle'de bilâ-vâris fevt olanların terekeleri müşârunileyhin vakf-ı şerîfi mütevellisi tarafından zabt ...olunup taraf-ı âhardan müddâhale olunmamak/* The inheritances of those who died in Yeni Mahalle without legal heirs are to be endowed to the convent of Azizi Mahmud Hüdayî Efendi located in Üsküdar. The *mütevellis* of Aziz Mahmud Efendi shall be responsible for the acquisition and management of these assets, and any interference in this process shall not be permitted." BOA.HAT.1572/37 (Zilhicce 1242/July 1827).

¹³⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁶⁵ Mehmed Akif Aydın, "Düstur," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 10 (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1994): 48-49.

¹³⁶⁶ "*Atik Valide Sultan Hazretleri'nin evkâfi hududu Üsküdar'da Hayreddin Çavuş Vakfı'ndan olan menazil önünden Atpazarı kapısına ve Havuzlu Han önünden Çavuş Deresi nam mahalde vaki Çınarlı Tekke'deki üç yol ağzına varıncaya kadar iki tarafı hane ve bahçeler ve zikrolunan üç yol ağzından sol tarafta olan tarik ile yol ağzındaki diğer üç yol ağzına varıncaya kadar olan mahallin yine iki tarafı ve diğer yol ağzından Selâmi Tekkesi karşısında vaki köşeden İslâm kabristanı karşısındaki Acıbadem nam mahal tarlaları ve sağ tarafında olan yol ile bağlar başına ve andan yine sağ cihetindeki tarik-i ammda vaki Nuhkuyusu önünde Karaca Ahmed Tekkesi karşısından İnadiye'ye giden yolun mekabir-i müslimin olan sağ tarafında vaki tarik-i amm ve Debağlar Meydanı'ndan yine zikrolunan Hayreddin Çavuş Vakfı'ndan olan menazil önündeki tarik-i amm ile mahdud olan mahallerden ibarettir.*" *Düstur: Birinci Tertip*, vol. 6 (1304-1312/ 1887-1895) (Ankara: Devlet Matbaası, 1939), 395-396.

To summarize, the official boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's land— as well as those of other waqf properties throughout the empire— primarily served to delineate the extent of properties administered by waqf authorities and to safeguard waqf's revenues from encroachment by other tax farmers. When the boundaries of the land granted to Nurbanu Sultan were first documented in 1570, the area was uninhabited and predominantly rural; thus, a few key landmarks sufficed to define its territorial limits. Over the centuries, Ma'mûre underwent significant socio-demographic transformations, which required the inclusion of additional landmarks and the updating of obsolete ones to ensure efficient revenue administration. Consequently, although the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's land in Üsküdar remained unchanged since their establishment in 1570, the delineation and documentation of the land's extent and limits had become increasingly detailed over time.

8.2. Founding a "Waqf Neighborhood," Forming a "Waqf Administration," Forging a "Waqf Community"

At the center of this dissertation is a large expanse of land situated on one of the elevated terrains just beyond the urban core of Üsküdar, which Selim II granted to Nurbanu Sultan as a freehold to be endowed for her waqf. As discussed in Chapter 2, the landed properties of the waqf included a variety of administrative and geographical units, some of which were several villages in Rodoscuk and Yanbolu, a farm in Orhanlı, and the District of Yeni-il, dotted with several pastures and villages inhabited by Turkoman tribes. At the time when they were designated as Nurbanu Sultan's waqf assets, all had been generating revenue collected either by the state or another waqfs. Unlike these settlements, the waqf land in Üsküdar was not inhabited but instead comprised a few gardens and fields; therefore, it did not yield significant revenue until it was developed into an urban settlement. Thus, the designation of such an unoccupied land as a waqf property was evidently not driven by immediate financial returns or solely by the need to secure a site for erecting a mosque complex. Rather, it was a calculated move to expand the urban sphere of Üsküdar towards its rural surroundings.

Sultan Selim's land grant in 1570 marked the beginning of a large-scale urban project, culminated in the construction of the town's largest mosque complex and the

formation of a waqf neighborhood, Mahalle-i Ma'mûre. I have provided an in-depth analysis of the socio-spatial development of this neighborhood over a fifty-year period spanning from 1570 to 1620, around four main themes: first, the scope and the objectives of Nurbanu Sultan's building program; second, Ma'mûre's contribution to the socio-economic landscape and the urban identity of Üsküdar; third, the demographic composition of the neighborhood; and finally, its local governance and local governors. I argued that the project's intended outcome was the creation of a self-sustaining urban settlement that would serve as a way station at the southeastern edge of the town. Consistent with this plan, the construction of the mosque complex was accompanied by the establishment of an array of structures, including residential units (khans, rooms), commercial and industrial facilities (shops, tanneries, slaughterhouses, mills), storage buildings (stables, warehouses), and essential public utilities (water supply system, streets), all designed to meet the diverse requirements of the neighborhood's residents and transient population.

Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevellîs*, who also served as construction supervisors, coordinated and oversaw the project's various stages, which ranged from land allocations to construction activities and infrastructural works to the establishment of a new commercial center, with each stage progressing concurrently. For instance, the land allocations began nearly same time with the construction activities and facilitated the formation of a street network, an essential element for a functional urban layout. Moreover, the efforts to supply water to the area had already begun prior to the arrival of the first residents. This careful planning reflects a deliberate strategy to optimize the efficient use of labor, materials, and financial resources. Additionally, the early provisioning of essential urban services was critical for the area's rapid development into a thriving neighborhood. By the time the mosque was completed in 1578, a neighborhood had already formed around it, which means that a Muslim community was already living in the vicinity, ready to use the mosque for their daily prayers.

Following the mosque's inauguration, several steps were taken to solidify Ma'mûre's function as a way station that would enhance Üsküdar's capacity to serve as a *menzil* town. The most prominent among these strategic initiatives were the relocation of Üsküdar's horse market to Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood, the construction of a marketplace and several khans, and the establishment of a customs office within one of these khans. Moreover, Murad

III ordered that the trade caravans halting in Üsküdar be accommodated exclusively in Ma'mûre —a policy aimed at regulating caravan trade more effectively. These arrangements increased socio-economic interactions, particularly at the marketplace known as Valide Sûku, establishing Ma'mûre as a local center for trade, logistics, and social interactions.

In Chapter 3, I offered viewing Ma'mûre within a broader context by comparing it to other large-scale building initiatives that triggered the development of *menzil* towns. In this endeavor, I provided a comparative analysis of the building projects commissioned by Şehzade Selim in Karapınar, by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Burgos, and Payas, and by Nurbanu Sultan in Üsküdar, all of which were designed by Mimar Sinan in the latter part of the sixteenth century to enhance the urban infrastructure along the Great Diagonal Road. This comparison revealed that Nurbanu's Üsküdar project was a part of a broader effort for establishing a network of *menzil* towns along the imperial highway to facilitate and support interregional trade, hajj journeys, military campaigns, and effective communication across the empire.

After discussing Ma'mûre's role as a way station, I shifted my focus to its defining characteristic as a waqf neighborhood. While this designation involved a combination of legal, administrative, and economic dimensions, it was fundamentally related to the waqf status of the land upon which the neighborhood was established. This premise leads to the conclusion that if Sultan Selim's grant to his *haseki* had been limited to a parcel sufficient only for accommodating her mosque complex, the neighborhood that formed around it would not have the characteristics of a waqf neighborhood. This explains why the neighborhoods that developed around urban complexes (*şehir içi külliyesi*) did not invariably conform to the administrative, legal, and economic framework that constituted a waqf neighborhood. For instance, because the land allocated for Mihrimah Sultan for her Üsküdar project was restricted to the footprint of her mosque complex and its immediate surroundings, Mahalle-i Cami-i Sultaniyye that emerged around the complex was not a waqf neighborhood. Therefore, to identify comparable cases to Ma'mûre, one must look into large-scale urban projects constructed in undeveloped areas within cities or on their peripheries, where large parcels could be dedicated to waqf founders. As delineated in Chapter 4, Hafsa Sultan's neighborhood, Sultaniye Mahallesi, which emerged around her mosque complex, built on a sizable garden in the then-undeveloped southwestern fringes of

Manisa, was likely a waqf neighborhood. This interpretation, however, requires a more comprehensive investigation to determine its compliance with the administrative and legal frameworks characteristic to a waqf neighborhood.

In the absence of comparable cases to Ma'mûre, it is difficult to formulate a general and all-encompassing definition of "waqf neighborhood / *vakıf mahallesi*. However, it can be broadly defined as an urban residential unit established on waqf land, or as a pre-existing residential area subsequently allocated to a waqf as a source of revenue. To clarify further, a pious foundation could have played a direct role in the formation of a neighborhood, as exemplified by Ma'mûre, or alternatively, the revenues generated from an urban unit might have been allocated to support a waqf. While specific examples of the latter scenario have not been identified in the current research, it remains a theoretical possibility. This basic definition, however, merely focuses on the financial relationship between waqfs and their landed properties, neglecting the broader functions of the waqf system in urban development, local administration, community formation, and the redistribution of state resources to support certain socio-economic policies, and also political agendas. Therefore, instead of offering a rigid and narrow definition of "waqf neighborhood," or viewing it simply as an administrative category, my research delved deeply into its wider implications by examining the local governance of Ma'mûre, the legal statuses of its residents, and the lived experience of those inhabiting a waqf neighborhood.

As explored in Chapter 5, Mahalle-i Ma'mûre was an autonomous (*serbest*) urban unit under the jurisdiction of the waqf administration based in Üsküdar and led by Nurbanu Sultan's *mütevelli*s, who were selected from among high-ranking officials with expertise in financial management and public administration. As the official representatives of the waqf founder and, after Nurbanu Sultan's passing, of the reigning sultan, they governed Ma'mûre along with a large cadre of officials, including the *subaşı* of Ma'mûre, tax collectors, scribes, and the janissaries stationed in the area. Each fulfilled distinct roles across the intersecting domains of local governance, ranging from the tax collection and the management of waqf properties to the maintenance of public security and the resolution of local disputes. When the extensive authority of the *mütevelli* in the local governance coupled with a long period of office, that could create powerful local governors like Pir Ali Agha.

The establishment of a *niyâbet* court in Ma'mûre further reinforced the neighborhood's self-governance by providing an easily accessible judicial authority for the adjudication of disputes that would otherwise have required parties to visit the court of Üsküdar. In Chapter 6, I explored the potential reasons for the appointment of a *nâ'ib* to Ma'mûre through a detailed analysis of Greater Istanbul's kadi and *niyâbet* courts. This analysis revealed that, just as the kadis of Istanbul, who assigned *nâ'ibs* to the city's primary commercial hubs, the kadi of Üsküdar appointed his *nâ'ib* to hold court in Ma'mûre following its designation as a way station and customs checkpoint. The primary purpose here was providing the traders and merchants with a legal venue where they could officially register their businesses, thereby enhancing the state's ability to supervise and regulate the commercial activities more effectively. Another important incentive for this decision was the neighborhood's waqf status. Given that each waqf-related transaction had to be officially recorded, the presence of a *nâ'ib* in Ma'mûre was crucial to streamline and expedite these documentation processes, substantially enhancing the administrative efficiency of the waqf administration. Moreover, the judicial authority wielded by the *nâ'ib* played a crucial role in maintaining checks and balances within the local administration, preventing any potential abuses of power by waqf officials. This was vital not only for protecting the interests of the waqf itself but also for safeguarding the rights of the residents.

Mahalle-i Ma'mûre was governed in a manner akin to a sub-district (*nâhiye*) where a *subaşı* was in charge of general security and a *nâ'ib* provided judicial services. Yet, it diverged from these administrative units in several respects. In the Ottoman provincial administration, a *nâhiye* was a geographical unit that typically consisted of a central urban settlement and its rural hinterland, organized into an administrative division for efficient governance and resource management. Ma'mûre's designation as an autonomous enclave was not based on such a principle but stemmed primarily from its waqf status. Likewise, it would not be entirely accurate to liken Ma'mûre's status to the thirteen districts of *intramuros* Istanbul —also referred to as *nâhiye*—despite some similarities, such as both being the administrative divisions of a city/town. Unlike the often vaguely defined boundaries of Istanbul's districts, Ma'mûre had precisely delineated boundaries determined by the land status. I have thus adopted the term “*evkâf subaşılığı*” to articulate Ma'mûre's distinct position in relation to Üsküdar and Istanbul's *nâhiyes*, a designation warranted closer

examination of the dynamics that shaped the relationship between the waqf-centered administration and the residents of Ma‘mûre.

Rather than portraying the governance of Ma‘mûre with a simplistic dichotomy of “rulers versus the ruled,” I argued for the existence of a governance model based on a regulatory framework informed by the waqf law, the *vakfiye*, and relevant imperial orders that delineated the respective rights, duties, and obligations of the residents and the waqf administration. In this framework, a set of laws and regulations, which was designed to protect the waqf’s interests served as the superior authority binding both parties to their respective responsibilities under judicial oversight. For example, those who volunteered to inhabit Ma‘mûre knew that the land distributions carried out in the name of Nurbanu Sultan were not solely a philanthropic gesture but also imposed certain legal obligations on the grantees, the failure to meet which would result in consequences. They were required to build dwellings on the assigned plots within six months, a prerequisite for petitioning the *mütevelli* for the issuance of a *mülknâme*, a document that would grant them the right to use the plots as they wished and to pass them on to their heirs. Additionally, the residents had to pay taxes to the waqf-employed tax farmers. For those liable for the *jizya* tax, this obligation remained binding even if they relocated elsewhere. The waqf officials registered their names in the relevant ledgers under the title “Nurbanu Sultan’s waqf subjects” to track their numbers, monitor their mobility, and maintain records of their financial obligations. In return, they were given tax exemption certificates (*muafnâmes*), which served as a *quid pro quo* by formally confirming their association with Nurbanu Sultan’s waqf and their tax exempt status.

These official documents provided the necessary means for the swift and fair resolution of disputes in legal venues. In instances where one party failed to uphold their obligations, the aggrieved party brought the issue before the *kadi* and defended their rights by either submitting the *mülknâme* or *muafnâme* in their hands or by referring to relevant imperial orders or waqf registers. If third parties infringed upon the rights of the waqf subjects—for instance, by illegally imposing tax—they could directly appeal to the *mütevelli*, who was obligated to defend their granted rights through legal action. In cases where third parties encroached on the rights of the waqf administration—for instance, by

illegally seizing waqf revenues—the matter first be brought before the local kadi and if the issue remained unresolved, it could then be escalated to the waqf superintendent.

The recurrent disputes between the waqf administration and the residents commonly arose from the former's claims on inheritances and the latter's efforts to evade financial obligations, which generally required judicial intervention and were settled in the local court. While such conflicts were common, instances of collective dissent directed against the local authorities were rare. A notable example of such collective action took place in 1738, when the community of Ma'mûre organized themselves as a unified body in response to what they saw as an infringement of their collective rights as Nurbanu Sultan's waqf subjects. The representatives of the neighborhood community, comprising sixty-three residents from various religious backgrounds and professions petitioned the sharia court. In the petition, they expressed their collective dissatisfaction over the removal of Subaşı Hasan Agha, who was well-regarded for his equitable service over the course of twenty years, with the appointment of a new subaşı who obtained the position with a higher financial bid.

This case illustrates how the community of Ma'mûre, comprising residents from different neighborhoods within the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land, mobilized and acted collectively when faced with the waqf administration's decision to prioritize financial profit at the risk of disrupting the established social order. This case is also a significant manifestation of communal unity across diverse ethno-religious groups living in Ma'mûre, which rooted in their shared experience of being governed by the waqf administration under a regulatory framework. This framework not only established mutual rights and obligations for both the residents and the waqf administration but also provided the institutional basis for fostering cooperation and mutual accountability.

Even though this study's main focus is the role of the waqf institution in building, populating, and governing Ma'mûre, I also addressed three broader questions that extended the discussion beyond Ma'mûre. The first inquiry explored how waqf settlements facilitated the resettlement and integration of displaced or migrant populations during periods of socio-political unrest. As discussed in Chapter 4, Nurbanu Sultan's neighborhood became home to a significant number of migrants who had fled their hometowns due to the unstable socio-economic conditions created by the Celali terror. Therefore, it can be argued that the opportunities afforded by residing in a waqf settlement—such as land allocations and

exemptions from extraordinary taxes—likely attracted these migrant groups to settle in Ma‘mûre. This arrangement provided mutual benefits: on the one hand, migrant groups integrated more easily into their new lives; on the other hand, they accelerated Ma‘mûre’s demographic growth. Briefly, Ma‘mûre played a crucial role in reintegrating migrant communities with diverse expertise—from agriculture and artisanal crafts to construction skills—into the economy. This reintegration not only ensured their economic stability but also helped restore the diminished tax base resulting from their displacement. Overall, Ma‘mûre serves as an exemplary case for future studies, illustrating how the waqf mechanism provided immediate relief and support to migrants while simultaneously benefiting from their contributions to the local economy and urban development.

In the second inquiry presented in Chapter 6, I identified the administrative-judicial centers of Istanbul and Bilâd-ı Selâse and examined their spatial layouts to determine whether they were arranged in a manner that reflected their specific functions within the broader urban fabric. To answer this question, I mapped the locations where kadis and *nâ’ibs* held court, the headquarters of *subaşı*s, and the buildings designated as prisons. This spatial analysis sought to situate Ma‘mûre within the administrative-judicial framework of Greater Istanbul and to identify possible locations where the *nâ’ibs* of Ma‘mûre might have presided over court proceedings. Based on my analysis, I concluded that the primary objectives of Ottoman urban administration were to facilitate easy access to judicial services, maintain efficient oversight of commercial and economic activities, and ensure public security, especially in densely populated localities. In waqf-administered urban settings, like Ma‘mûre, these objectives were complemented by an emphasis on the efficient management of waqf assets and close inspection of waqf administrations. Furthermore, my inquiry revealed a tripartite framework as the standard spatial layout of administrative-judicial centers, emphasizing the strategic proximity of the kadi’s seat (or courthouse), the headquarters of the *subaşı* (or other administrative-military governors), and the local prison (or places of detention). This layout, I argued, enabled the coordinated operation of public authorities, thereby improved the effectiveness of urban management.

The third and last auxiliary inquiry of this study examined how incarceration functioned as a tool of urban governance, employed to punish and discipline public offenders, fugitive slaves, debtors, and habitual criminals. In Chapter 7, I provided a detailed

analysis of the spatial dimensions of incarceration through exploring “places of detention” in Mahalle-i Ma‘mûre. This analysis particularly focused on the establishment of a prison in Ma‘mûre with imperial permission and its placement within the precincts of Nurbanu Sultan’s hospital. In addition to discussing the establishment process and mapping out likely locations for prison cells, I analyzed how this prison and other places of detention mirrored the power dynamics among public authorities and sometimes served as a sphere of political tension. The *subaşı* of Ma‘mûre was the leading authority administering detentions according to the *nâ‘ib*’s verdicts and ensuring the security of those held in custody. Besides the local prison under the supervision of the *subaşı*, there were several jails, known as *mahbes*, operated by the residents who offered the service of “detention and care” for fugitive slaves. Moreover, the residents, who were actively involved in the slave trade managed private prisons, cooperating with the *subaşı* and the janissaries under his command to apprehend fugitive slaves within the boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan’s waqf land. This analysis also revealed that, in the context of Ma‘mûre, the *subaşı* served as deputies to Nurbanu Sultan’s *mütevelli* in the neighborhood’s governance, and they operated under the supervision of the *mütevelli*, who oversaw their appointments, and removal from office. Notably, during the prolonged tenure of Pir Ali Agha, who wielded considerable influence in the region, the *subaşı*s exercised significant authority as partners in governance. This influence was particularly evident in several instances where the *subaşı* of Ma‘mûre imposed detentions without consulting the *nâ‘ib*’s verdict. Although these instances were rare and should not be generalized, it is worth reconsidering the role and authority of *subaşı*s in urban administration, particularly in the governance of waqf settlements.

In conclusion, this dissertation provides a comprehensive analysis of how Nurbanu Sultan’s waqf constructed, populated, and governed a waqf neighborhood in Üsküdar. The primary contribution of this study is the methodological framework it offered for studying waqf settlements in the Ottoman empire. This framework emphasizes the systematic examination of an extensive array of primary sources to reach the necessary data for conducting a socio-spatial analysis and utilizing relevant digital tools for the visualization of spatial data. The effectiveness of this approach is particularly evident in the mapping of the boundaries and socio-spatial development of Nurbanu Sultan’s waqf land over a fifty-

year period. Through this analysis, the study revealed critical insights into the urbanization of Üsküdar after the 1570s, addressing a significant gap in the existing scholarship.

Additionally, this case study contributes to waqf studies through its research questions and findings on how Ottoman sultans and their extended household integrated the Islamic principles of charity (*sadaka*) and common good (*maslahat*) with the pragmatic necessities of the state through their pious endowments. These endowments not only enhanced the waqf founders' prestige and consolidated their political influence but also assumed many of the state's fundamental responsibilities, such as the provision of basic public services, the development and maintenance of urban infrastructure, and the support of poor and vulnerable segments of society. Beyond these functions, major waqfs played a crucial role in the execution of state policies, especially for the creation of new urban settlements or the revitalization of existing ones. Due to the crucial functions fulfilled by these major waqfs and the extensive financial resources they controlled, the state had to ensure a comprehensive system of supervision to prevent mismanagement and abuse of power. This was achieved through a threefold strategy. First, the central government appointed *mütevellîs* from among the high-ranking state officials, most of whom had been trained and served in the imperial palace, equipping them with the required bureaucratic expertise for overseeing large-scale endowments. Second, the waqfs' landed estates were designated as autonomous (*serbest*) administrative units, granting *mütevellîs* considerable authority over their governance, with minimal interference from local authorities. Finally, the waqf administrations were under continuous oversight, both at the imperial and local levels. At the imperial level, oversight was entrusted to the waqf superintendents, who acted as intermediaries between the sultan and *mütevellîs*, while at the local level, kadîs and *nâ'ibs* functioned as arbiters, ensuring they governed Ma'mûre in compliance with the Ottoman waqf law and the provisions of the *vakfiye*.

Last but not least, this study offers a conceptual framework for examining waqf-administered urban spaces, facilitating a more nuanced understanding of their administrative, legal, and socio-economic dimensions. For instance, I introduced the concepts of "imam-*mütevellî*" and "*mütevellî-emin*" to capture the multifaceted roles and responsibilities of certain waqf administrators. Furthermore, in exploring the role of incarceration as a tool of urban governance, I employed the term "places of detention" to

refer to the prison of Ma'mûre, privately operated jails for detaining fugitive slaves, and even sections of private residences repurposed as prison cells. Rather than grouping all such spaces under the category of "prison," which might imply a standardized design or operational framework, "places of detention" provides a more neutral and inclusive framework to emphasize the diversity of spaces utilized for holding offenders in custody. Moreover, drawing on the case of Ma'mûre, I revisited several key concepts such as "way station" (*menzil*), "roadside complex" (*menzil külliyesi*), "way station town" (*menzil kasabası*), "urban district" (*semt*), and "sub-district" (*nâhiye* or *niyâbet*). Besides, I offered new definitions for the concepts which have not been thoroughly analyzed in the existing scholarship, like "waqf neighborhood" (*vakıf mahallesi*), "waqf subject" (*vakıf re'âyâsı*), and "waqf administration" (*vakıf idaresi*). Further research on waqf settlements across the empire could expand upon, refine, or challenge these explanations with new findings since this study is a pioneering attempt to propose a structured framework for understanding waqf neighborhoods.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

*Nurbanu Sultan's Waqf Deed**A.1.VGMA.1426 (the original version), first folio.*

A.2. VGMA.1426. The folios including the list of book endowed to Nurbanu Sultan's Darülkurra.



برجلد حاشیہ شیخ نزار القاسمی جلد ششم
 فاضل الجید مع الفرائد السبعین جلد
 احکام القرآن للزکری جلد شرح بحار للکرامانی
 ایک جلد تقریب النثر في الفرائد العشر جلد صحیح
 ایک جلد شرح صحیح المسلم للفتوٰی جلد جا
 الاصول دین جلد کتاب التہایغ المجدد
 ایک جلد شرح المشارق لابن مالک جلد شرح

ودرخان وفتح ورحمت وروئے واعد وایک
 ونباء جلد تفسیر یک ایک جلد کشف ایک جلد
 تفسیر التور در جلد تفسیر غارک در جلد
 تفسیر جلد معالم التزیل جلد تفسیر صحیح جلد
 تفسیر لیلایک جلد تفسیر فائز لوج جلد
 تفسیر لیلایک جلد حاشیہ تفسیر الطیبی ایک جلد
 کشف و جلد حاشیہ تفسیر مولانا یحییٰ

A.3.VGMA.1766. The folio including witnesses.

شهدوا الى
 ما حواه فحوى الكتاب • وما حكا مطوى الخطاب
 واقع بلاد شبيهة وارتباب • نعمة الفقير الى الله العزيز الوهاب
 سياف بن عبد الجي • الوزير العظم
 ما هو المسطور في هذا الكتاب • صريح عدي خالسا
 عزارتباب • كنية الفقير الى الله الملك العزيز مسج
 عبد المان الوزير
 الامر كذلك • وانا واقف بذلك • خزانة الفقير
 الى الله الملك الكبير • محمد بن عبد المعطي الوزير
 ما هو المسطور في هذه الوقفية الشريفة • صريح باوريب
 ربه الفقير الى الله الملك الصمد محمد بن احمد التوفيقي

Appendix B:

Sultan Mahmud II's edict announcing the revised boundaries of Nurbanu Sultan's waqf land in Üsküdar.

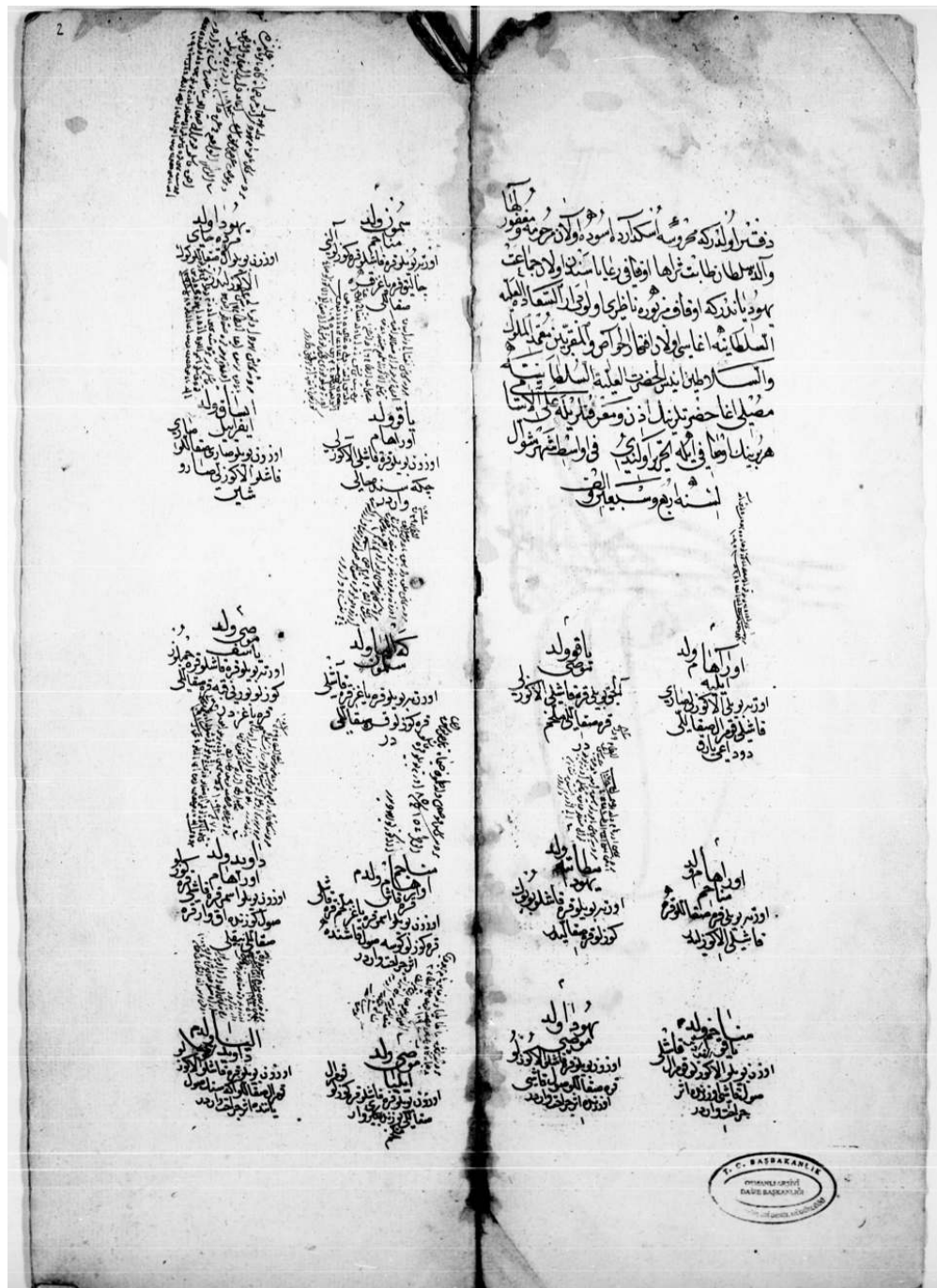
BOA. MFB.1204 (April—March 1809)



Appendix C

The Jizya Register of Nurbanu Sultan's Jewish Waqf Subjects (1689)

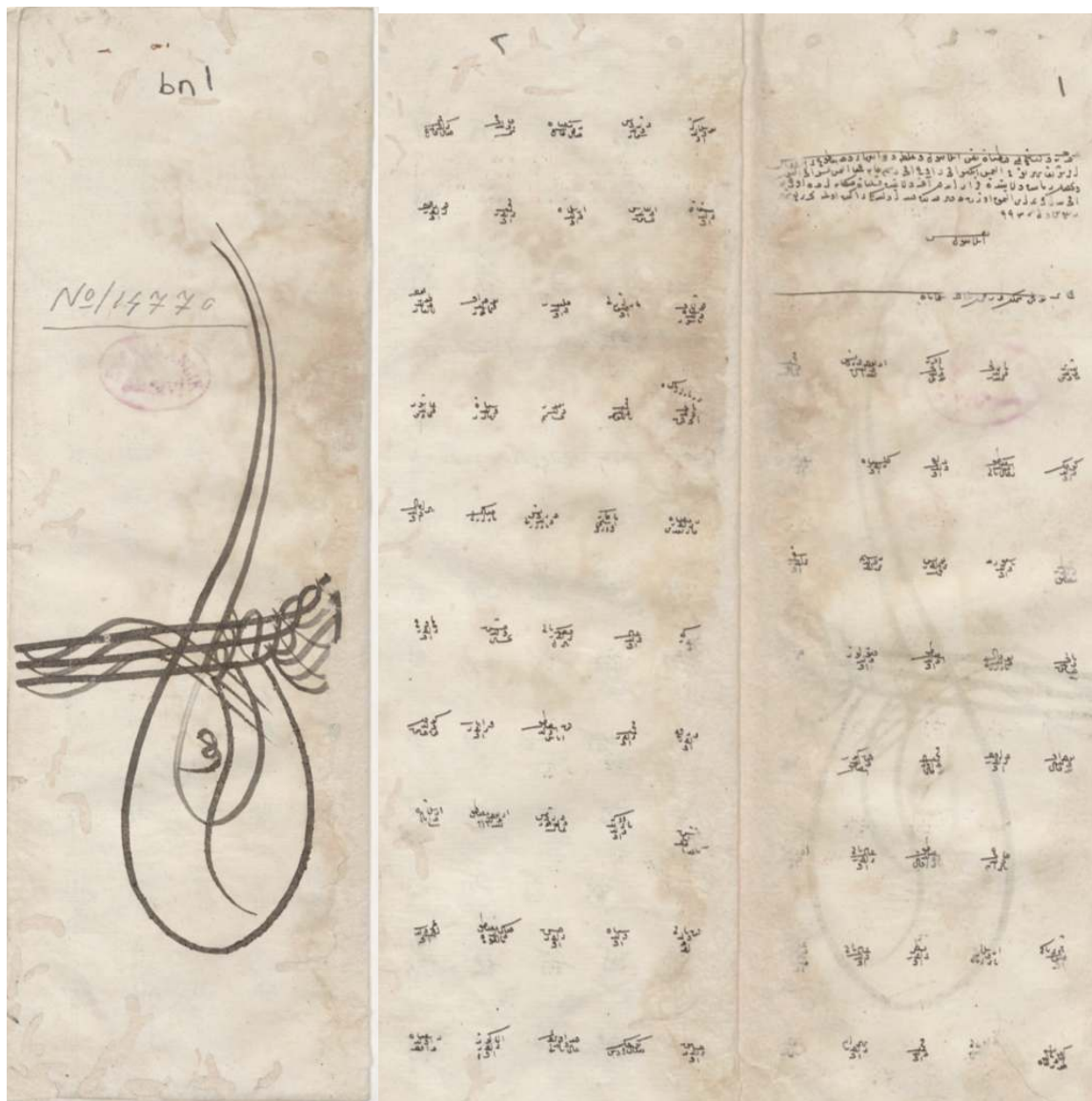
(EV.MHM.D.161)



Appendix D:

The Jizya Register of Nurbanu Sultan's Kibî Waqf Subjects (1585)

(BOA.MAD.D.14770)



Appendix E

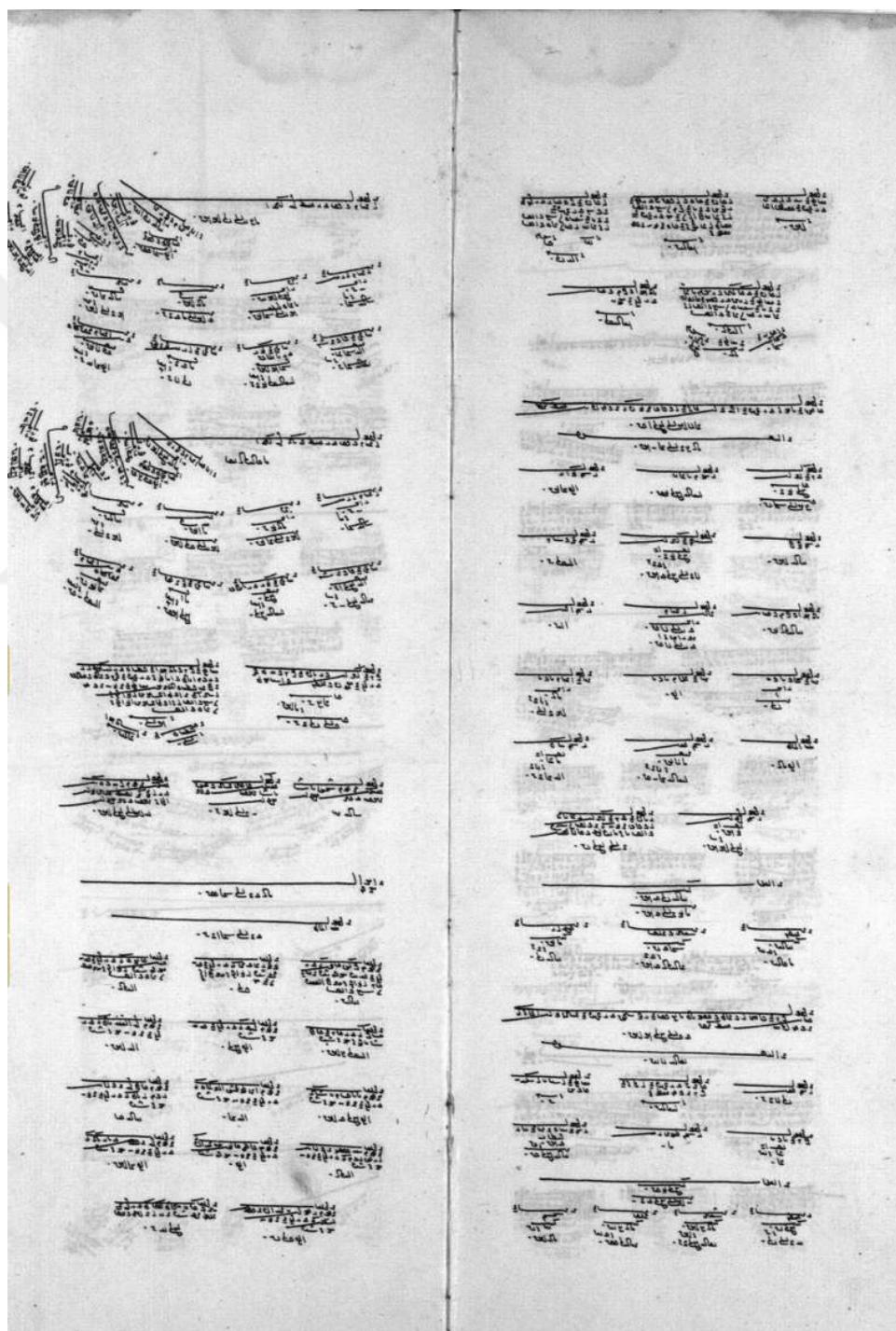
The Summary (İcmal) Accounts Register of Nurbanu Sultan's Waqf (1588-1590)
(TS.MA.d.3662)



Appendix F

The Detailed Accounts Register of Nurbanu Sultan's Waqf (1591-1600)

(TS.MA.d.1334)



Appendix G:

Edward Lear's City Landscapes (Houghton Library, Harvard University)

G.1. Karacaahmet Cemetery (1848)



G.2. Salacak and Leander Tower



G.3. Bosphorus from the Hills of Üsküdar

Appendix H

*Nakkaş Osman's Map of Istanbul in Seyyid Lokman's Hünernâme (1584-85)
Topkapı Palace Museum. H. 1523, fols. 158v-159r.*

