

FROM PAMMAKARISTOS MONASTERY TO FETHİYE MOSQUE:
LIFE OF A MULTI-LAYERED MONUMENT

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BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2024

FROM PAMMAKARISTOS MONASTERY TO FETHİYE MOSQUE:

LIFE OF A MULTI-LAYERED MONUMENT

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

by

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2024

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ABSTRACT

From Pammakaristos Monastery to Fethiye Mosque:

Life of A Multi-Layered Monument

This study deals with the Greek Orthodox and Islamic pasts of the present-day Fethiye Camii, previously the Pammakaristos Monastery, located in Balat in the present-day Istanbul. This monument, having mostly built in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, had served as a monastery in the Palaiologan Constantinople. Subsequent to the conquest of the city by Mehmed II, the reestablished Greek Orthodox Patriarchate was placed in this monastery after the abandonment of the exhausted and nearly thousand-year-old church of Holy Apostles, and thanks to Pammakaristos' well-preserved state and sufficient facilities for such a task. After fulfilling this task as the patriarchal seat for almost two centuries, the monastery was converted into a mosque by the order of sultan Murad III in the late sixteenth century.

In this study, the conversion of the patriarchal seat into a Friday mosque has been investigated with reference to its political, legal, institutional, architectural and urban associations, as well as the aftermath of this conversion until the end of the eighteenth century.

ÖZET

Pammakaristos Manastırı'ndan Fethiye Camii'ne:

Çok Katmanlı Bir Anıtın Öyküsü

Bu çalışma, günümüzde İstanbul'da Balat mahallesinde yer alan Fethiye Camii'nin Rum Ortodoks ve İslam mimarisi olarak sahip olduğu iki katmanlı mirasını incelemektedir. Büyük bir kısmı on üçüncü yüzyılda inşa edilmiş olan bu yapı, Palaiologos İstanbul'unda bir manastır işlevini üstlenmiştir. 1453'te, şehrin II. Mehmed tarafından fethinin ardından yeniden kurulan Rum Ortodoks patrikliği, bin yaşında ve yorgun bir yapı olması sebebiyle Havariler Kilisesi'nden, daha iyi durumda bulunan Pammakaristos Manastırına taşınmıştır. İki yüzyıla yakın bir süre Patrikhaneye ev sahipliği yapmış olan bu yapı, on altıncı yüzyılın sonuna doğru, sultan III. Murad'ın emriyle, bir zaferi anmak üzere "Fethiye" ismiyle camiye dönüştürülmüştür.

Bu çalışmada, patrikhane görevi yapmakta olan bu yapının bir Cuma camiine dönüşümü hususu farklı kavramlar çerçevesinde ele alınmıştır. Siyasi, hukuki, kurumsal, mimari ve kentsel uzantılarıyla beraber, bu dönüşümün hem arka planı, hem de dönüşüm sonrasında on sekizinci yüzyılın sonuna dek yapı ve çevresinde sürececek olan değişimlere dair birtakım sorulara yanıt aranmıştır.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I extend my heartfelt thanks to everyone who contributed to the completion of my master's thesis. First and foremost, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my advisor, Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, for her invaluable guidance, support, and encouragement throughout this journey. Her detailed reviews and constructive insights have been crucial to the development of this thesis. I would also like to thank the jury members, Oya Pancaroğlu and Aygöl Ağır, for their invaluable feedback and detailed reviews. Their insights have greatly enriched this work. Additionally, I would like to thank Ahmet Ersoy for his insightful mentorship and encouragement throughout my master's education at Boğaziçi University.

A heartfelt thanks to Yunus Uğur, whose expertise in urban history and digital methods has been a constant source of inspiration and support since my undergraduate studies. His insights have greatly enriched this thesis and significantly contributed to my academic growth.

I owe a profound debt of gratitude to Nicole Kançal-Ferrari, who introduced me to the fascinating world of art and architectural history when I was just a first-year undergraduate student. Her unwavering belief in my abilities and steadfast support have always been pivotal in my academic journey. I am deeply thankful for her guidance, encouragement, and the inspiration she has consistently offered me.

To Hayri Fehmi Yılmaz, I extend my gratitude for his valuable insights into the Byzantine history of Fethiye Camii and his guidance during my field trips.

A special thanks to Damla Gürkan-Anar for her invaluable scientific guidance and moral support throughout my research. She has been more than a mentor; she has

been like a sister to me, always offering kindness and unwavering belief in my abilities.

Additionally, I would like to express my gratitude to the assistants at Marmara University's Center for Digital Humanities for their assistance in developing my maps.

I am also indebted to Erdal Baykan, the Dean of the Faculty of Theology at Mersin University, where I have been working as a research assistant during my master's studies, as well as to my colleagues and students at the faculty for their continuous support and inspiration.

I am grateful to TÜBİTAK for providing the 2210-A scholarship that supported my thesis research.

To all my dearest friends, thank you for your unwavering support and encouragement. A special thanks to Fatıma Zehra Kınık-Demir and Süreyya Güder. Zehra, you spent countless days and nights listening to my ideas and giving me strength. Süreyya, you have been an unwavering companion from the very beginning to the defense day. Your support has been invaluable.

Last but certainly not least, I must express my deepest gratitude to my family. They have been my rock, providing unwavering support, encouragement, and love throughout every step of this journey. They have nurtured my curiosity, celebrated my achievements, and stood by me during challenges. My elder brother, Mustafa Raşit Boyraz, has been an exceptional role model with his professional successes and a perfect sibling, always there for me whenever I needed him. My family's belief in me has been a constant source of strength, pushing me to pursue my passions and never settle for less. Their presence in my life is the foundation upon which all my successes are built, and for that, I am forever thankful.



Dedicated with love to my dearest parents Hatice and Tahsin Boyraz

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Fethiye Mosque, formerly Pammakaristos Monastery, in Istanbul has a multi-imperial and multi-confessional history. Starting from its construction in the thirteenth century and having served under three empires of Byzantines, Latins, and Ottomans; the monument underwent striking changes throughout its lifetime.

Pammakaristos/Fethiye, according to the poetical epigraphy placed on its façade written by poet Manuel Philes, has been built in the thirteenth century, most probably upon a highly damaged eleventh-century church shortly after the Byzantine takeover of Constantinople from Latin crusaders as a donation of Byzantine aristocrat Michael Glabas Tarchaniotes,¹ and an additional chapel with a *parekklesion* by his wife Maria Martha for burial and commemoration of him². In the early Palaiologan Byzantium, there was a shift to rebuilding the city after the destructive period of Latin rule via generous donations with rich artistic programs to revive and promote the Byzantine identity of Constantinople among the elite³. As a part of that program, Pammakaristos was rebuilt and ornamented with brilliant mosaics. Pammakaristos, being a monastery, was a multifunctional architectural monument with additional structures surrounding a worship space⁴. Its *parekklesion* contained some of the costliest and eyeful mosaics of Palaiologan Constantinople

¹ Semavi Eyice, “Fethiye Camii” in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, accessed on 03.04.2023 on <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/fethiye-camii--istanbul>.

² Aziz Oğan, “Fethiye Camii” in *Belleten* XII, no. 50 (April 1949): 279.

³ Alice-Mary Talbot, “The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993): 257.

⁴ A monastery, unlike a church, is not a space use exclusively for worshipping but “a place of residence for a community living under religious vows, esp. the residence of a community of monks” according to Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. “monastery (n.),” March 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/8116679206>.

along with Chora. In addition to that, the monastic complex had a hospital, which we barely can trace from sources.⁵

Pammakaristos served as a monastery in Byzantine Constantinople for two centuries. And when the city was taken by the Ottomans, it was left for Greek Orthodox nuns' use⁶. However, in less than one year, the nuns were to be moved to the vicinity of a nearby church (this might be the church of Saint John Prodromos en to Trullo which today is known as Hırāmī Ahmed Paşa mosque) for Pammakaristos to become the new seat of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate after the abandonment of the thousand-year-old church of Holy Apostles.⁷ By this way, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, which was perseveringly reestablished by Mehmed II, was honored by being granted a very well-preserved Byzantine monument in 1454. From then on, with all its physical facilities and aesthetical richness, Pammakaristos successfully managed its new role as the center for Greek Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman Empire in confessional, legal, ritual, social and many other aspects.

However, in its multi-layered lifespan, Pammakaristos was not going to remain as the patriarchal seat for so long: less than two centuries later, under the rule of Murad III, this honored building was to be taken back from the Patriarchate to be transformed into a mosque for commemoration of a military victory, which is going to be discussed in Chapter 3.

The aftermath of this transformation brings into life a new institutional landmark with new urban habits in its neighborhood. The monastery formerly used its various facilities for daily life, such as cisterns and wells, accommodative spaces,

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Janin, R. 1975. *Les Eglises et les monasteres des grand centres byzantins*. Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines. P. 18.

⁷ George Sphrantzes, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire. A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes 1401-1477*, trans. by M. Philippides (1980), 135.

food supply, only for the clergy and the resident staff of the monastery. With the transformation, these facilities became open for public utilization. Moreover, selling of the empty spaces in its vicinity to public for encouraging new settlements⁸ as dense as possible⁹ suggests a remarkable change in settlement profile of the neighborhood. The conversion of Pammakaristos into Fethiye started a new series of rituals, functions, new visitors, and to some extent a new design inside and outside of this monument.

A very significant event such as the conversion of the central building of Ottoman Greek Orthodoxy into an Islamic complex needs a greater scholarly attention that expands to its political, and institutional background. This study engages with the “Fethiye” layer of this monument and the changes it went through in the centuries following its conversion, hand-in-hand with the changes in the urban life in its vicinity. My thesis aims to approach the monument’s early modern transformations together with its connections to the outer world, considering it as an institutional structure with human connections rather than a merely material artifact.

In this thesis, I will firstly explore the Byzantine history of Pammakaristos, and its Ottoman past as a monastery. Following 1454 when it undertook the task of serving as the seat of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, I will examine the monument with regards to its institutional aspect. After that, I will review the changing Ottoman ideology concerning dhimmi monumentality, and the background that prepared Pammakaristos for a conversion. With reference to the existing traditions of converting churches into Friday mosques up to that date, I will question what makes

⁸ Murad III ordered the selling of the parcels around Fethiye according to BOA A.{DVNSMHM.d. / 73 - 831 – 0.

⁹ The people who bought a larger parcel to make a courtyard for their houses was to be subject to give these parcels back in order for more people to settle in the neighborhood according to A.{DVNSMHM.d.. 72-154

Fethiye's conversion noteworthy, and new architectural conversion habits of the early modern Ottomans with the possible political background behind it. Following that, I will go over the physical transformation of Pammakaristos while becoming "Fethiye." It will be followed by institutional transformation in which Fethiye appears as a part of an endowment by Murad III. Hereby I will examine the new Fethiye's institutionalization in connection with its engagement with social occasions and its openness to outer world. Lastly, I will investigate the transformation of its vicinity and the ethno-religious changes and residential patterns and monumentality of the town until the end of the eighteenth century.

1.1 Primary sources

Sources through which we can trace answers to these questions consist of both written and material evidence. Starting with the Byzantine history of Pammakaristos Monastery, one should firstly utilize the *typikon* of a Byzantine monastery, which is an endowment document, that was issued by the donor right after the donation and that regulates the uses, management and legal affairs of it. Unfortunately, unlike many other Byzantine monasteries, *typikon* of Pammakaristos did not survive. Therefore, we need to trace through the little references to Pammakaristos from other sources. Firstly, archaeological fieldwork which is being conducted by teams of Turkish Republic Directorate General of Pious Foundations reveals striking findings concerning the Byzantine past of the monument as social being. The epigraphical program of the structure from its Byzantine history also gives clues about its foundation. In order to trace the topography and where it stands in Byzantine Constantinople, there is an early Byzantine source such as the fifth-century urban register entitled *The Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. The source dates to far

earlier than the construction of Pammakaristos, however, it provides us with a general description and topography of early medieval Constantinople. In addition to that, there are narrative sources that makes small references to the name Pammakaristos. I consult Byzantine narratives such as the ones written by the thirteenth-century historian Pachymeres, fourteenth-century commander and emperor Kantakouzenos, and fifteenth-century historians who had witnessed the fall of Byzantium such as Kritovoulos, Doukas, and Sphrantzes, to see earlier references concerning the monastery's uses, its role and its reputation in late medieval Constantinople.

When dealing with the Ottoman past of the monument, I study it under two phases: the pre-conversion era (when it used to be Pammakaristos monastery) and the post-conversion era (when it became the Fethiye mosque). As a source for both phases, there are findings of the ongoing archaeological work under Turkish Republic Directorate General of Pious Foundations. Currently, the mosque part is open to visitors as well as one of the cisterns, while the *parekklesion*, the other cisterns and the southern side of the complex are under excavation. This fieldwork is done under supervision of an interdisciplinary group including a variety of scholars specializing on the Byzantine to Ottoman and republican eras of Istanbul's architectural and urban history, so the findings of the fieldwork provides sources for a long term in the monument's history. In addition to material evidence, there are various types of written sources. As Peter Schreiner argues, there is a rising interest of Greek elites in the antiquities of the then-Ottoman Constantinople in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁰ As a part of that trend, we have important recordings of Manuel Malaxos and John Malaxos, two Greek relatives who came to Istanbul from

¹⁰ Peter Schreiner, "John Malaxos' Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae" in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (Leiden, 2001), 203-214.

Venetian Nauplion and were connected with the Patriarchate. John Malaxos paid attention to the history of Istanbul through its Byzantine monuments and kept recordings of Pammakaristos along with its inscriptions and epigrams¹¹. Manuel Malaxos' two accounts can be found annexed to sixteenth century writer Martin Crusius's work, with the titles *Historia Patriarchica* and *Historia Politica*. Likewise, western travelers who were interested in the Ottoman empire and its Christian communities provide us with travelogues. Works by Salomon Schweigger (1551-1622), Stephan Gerlach (1546-1612), and Martin Crusius (1524-1607) contain descriptions and observations of Pammakaristos as the central building of Greek Orthodox subjects, and their rituals at many churches in Istanbul. Moreover, anonymous Greek accounts from post-1453 era entitled *Ekthesis Chronike* seems to be an important source. Although they do not give direct descriptions for the monument, they contain information about the Ottoman-ruled Greek Orthodox patriarchate, its politics, social affairs, and its management.

When it comes to the post-conversion era, Fethiye Mosque can be traced through a variety of Ottoman written sources to understand the multifunctional structure and its management. Firstly, the monument and its substructures with additional functions were "endowed" by Murad III through a waqfiyya in the name of the *fetih*. A waqfiyya is an endowment document that describes and regulates the endowed structure, similar with what a *typikon* does. The waqf of Murad III's tomb constitutes the financial sources of the Fethiye mosque. However, its waqfiyya preserved at Directorate General of Pious Foundations of Republic of Turkey does not mention the name of Fethiye. Therefore, the earliest document that mentions the

¹¹ Ibid.

conversion of Pammakaristos is a *mühimme defteri* from 1588.¹² This defter constitutes the base for the study of the Fethiye layer of the monument. There is also a firman that orders the conversion of another Byzantine church into a mosque in the same neighborhood.¹³ This is the Hiramî Ahmed Paşa masjîd which was converted from the Church of Hagios Ioannes Prodromos en to Trullo which stands around 200 meters away from Fethiye. Following the conversion of Pammakaristos into Fethiye, there are orders by Murad III ordering the selling of the nearby fields “*etrafındaki miri araziler*” argued to have been issued in order to revive the neighborhood with Muslim settlers.¹⁴ In addition to these, we have *tahrir* records, waqf registers of 1546 and 1600, and official recordings of salaries of the staff working in the complex of Fethiye mosque as well as the documents of a series of repairs that the monument went through in centuries. These recordings contain information concerning the functions and parts of the monuments at certain moments. I also utilize *Kadı Sicilleri* for they make references to the neighborhood of Fethiye in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Moreover, I utilize the seventeenth-century observations of Evliya Çelebi, in addition to *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, an eighteenth-century recording of Istanbul’s mosques and their neighborhoods for the information they provide on the Fethiye.

¹² BOA A. {DVNSMHHM.d. 62-403: “Kratova kadısına hüküm: İstanbul'da patrik kilisesi denilen kilisede fetih günü ezan okunduğuna müslümanlar şahadet etmekle cami olmasına şer'le hüküm olduğundan tahtı kazasından bin kantar kurşun tedarik edip göndermesi hakkında. (Birer sureti: Novabırda, Sidrekapsi kadılarına).”

¹³ BOA TS.MA.e 892-15: “İstanbul Beyceğiz mahallesinde kilise iken Darussaade Ağası Mehmed Ağâ tarafından mescide tahvil edilen binanın Cuma namazı kılınacak şekilde camiye tahvili ve hatip tayinine dair III. Murad'ın İstanbul kadısına hükmü.”

¹⁴ Mehmed Canatar, “1009/1600 Tarihli İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri'ne Göre Nefs-i İstanbul'da Bulunan Mahalleler ve Özelliklerine Dair Gözlemler” in *Osmanlı İstanbulu* I, eds. Feridun Emecen and Emrah Safa Gürkan (İstanbul: İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi Yayınları 2014), 287. See appendix B for the transcription of the aforementioned document.

1.2 Literature review

The literature on Fethiye Mosque/Pammakaristos Monastery relies mainly on its surveying, its artistic and architectural characteristics, repairs, and restorations. Moreover, most of them focus on the Byzantine layer of this multi-layered monument, while its Ottoman layer is in the second place of scholarly interest. This literature, while helpful for understanding the past of Pammakaristos/Fethiye as a physical, artistic, and architectural artifact, leaves its social connections to its surroundings almost untouched. Therefore, the Ottoman history of the monument lacks a narrative that links its physicality to its functions and connections to its surroundings through administrative and human connections.

As early as 1912, Alexander van Millingen spares a chapter for Pammakaristos in his book entitled “Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture” and examines its physicality through its plan, its building material and design elements. There is also an early twentieth-century itinerary by Ernest Mamboury which makes references to Fethiye Mosque, its vicinity and its history. Within the same decades, Maria Schneider, H. Hellensleben, Spyridon Lampros and Xenophon A. Siderides worked on the Byzantine history and epigraphical program of Pammakaristos. Later on, in mid-1970’s, a remarkably inclusive work was published by Hans Belting, together with Cyril Mango and Doula Mouriki concerning mosaics and frescoes of Byzantine Pammakaristos. The book, entitled “The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul,” provides us with a very informative reading on the visuality of the Byzantine layer of Fethiye.

In recent scholarship, Robert Oursterhout makes a great contribution to the study of Byzantine Pammakaristos in a number of his books. His work is very

helpful to understand while tracing the physical features and the changes in it from time to time via graphical reconstruction of Byzantine and Ottoman layers of the monument. Peter Schreiner has an article that reveals a historical description of Pammakaristos, and Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger has written on the conversion phase of the monastery into a mosque. Most recently, Turkish Republic Directorate General of Foundations is conducting an archaeological fieldwork in the site of the monument and there is a forthcoming publication concerning the newest findings from the field. There is also Mariette Verhoeven, Byzantine architectural historian who has been working on restoration and renovation process and preservation problems of Pammakaristos/Fethiye.

Pammakaristos' artistic visuality has also been studied in postgraduate projects. There is a PhD dissertation by Mine Esmer focusing on current preservation problems and suggestions for solutions for Pammakaristos/Fethiye along with two other mid-Byzantine era churches in Istanbul. A master's thesis by Aylin Aksoy and an undergraduate thesis by T. Sözer focus on the pictorial program and artistic design elements of the Byzantine layer of Pammakaristos/Fethiye. Another master's thesis by Zehra Günbeyi very inclusively studies each Byzantine church in Istanbul that has been transformed into mosques by Ottomans. She spared a part for Fethiye as well, and provided an exploration of physicality of Fethiye.

1.3 Outline of the thesis

The first part of the thesis following this introduction will be focusing on the pre-conversion history of Pammakaristos. Starting from thirteenth century when it was rebuilt, I will look up what Byzantine sources tell concerning the monastery. Starting from its history of foundation by Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes and his wife

Maria Martha I will continue with a physical description of the monastic past of the monument. I will continue with questioning the human connections of the monastery of Pammakaristos. The ceremonial experience and rituality that brings residents of the monastery together, as well as the ones that links them to outer social world will present the Byzantine tendencies that shaped the roots of Pammakaristos' institutional history. As the tenth-century imperial record entitled *the Book of Ceremonies* points out, ceremonies that took place between the Great Palace and Hagia Sophia would continue with the emperor's turn to Blachernae on horseback, and in some cases, the procession would follow the route to Blachernae.¹⁵ Given that Pammakaristos stood in the middle of the parade route between Hagia Sophia and Blachernae Palace, the location of Pammakaristos seems not to be isolated from Byzantine imperial ceremonies.

Following this discussion on Byzantine Pammakaristos, the rest of this chapter will shed light to the Ottoman history of Monastery of Pammakaristos. Starting its life under Ottoman rule as a nun's monastery, one year later it became the seat of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. Considering that it was the place where the historic meeting and conversation took place between Mehmed II and his first Greek Orthodox Patriarch Gennadios Scholarios,¹⁶ patriarchal history of the monastery has remarkable events when it comes to ceremonial experience. Moreover, contemporary travelers' testimonies will help understand interesting practices of Christian rituality at Pammakaristos in various forms that contributes to its sociality. The last point that this chapter deals with is the profile of the people who lived nearby during the pre-

¹⁵ Albrecht Berger, "Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 82.

¹⁶ Immanuel Bekker, ed., *Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopoleos: Epirotica, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1849), 83-84, as mentioned in Tom Papademetriou, *Render Unto The Sultan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 24.

conversion era of Ottoman Pammakaristos. According to the sixteenth-century anonymous Greek chronicle *Ekthesis Chronike*, Pammakaristos was chosen for the Patriarchate because of the density of non-Muslim communities in 1454,¹⁷ which is an indirect but important information concerning the ethno-religious profile of the quarter.

Third chapter of this thesis is designed to provide a discussion concerning the conversion practices of early modern Ottomans. I will delve into the sources of Ottoman legal tradition in order to find the basis for non-Muslim existence and their spaces of worship in the Ottoman Empire. By examining relevant fatwas, I will introduce the theoretical background for conversion practices. While considering the issuance of fatwas and different legal opinions, I will go over contemporary politics, namely the Safavid rivalry, crisis in Anatolia and building the Sunni identity in the face of it. The tumultuous atmosphere during the reign of Murad III might have affected the policies towards non-Muslim subjects as a means for expression of political superiority, in the face of the identity and legitimacy crisis triggered by the Safavid rivalry in the east. These will provide a background to understand the changing ideological trends and legal agendas of the Sublime Porte, and how it reflected on the dhimmi subjects. From there, I will move onto questioning the ways in which theoretical legal background found place in practices. At this point, archival documents recording different contemporary conversion cases that faced resistance by the dhimmi communities will be helpful for understanding the popular reactions conversion policies faced.

¹⁷ As mentioned in Nevra Necipoğlu, “Gennadios Scholarios and the Patriarchate: A Reluctant Patriarch on the “Unhappy Throne”” in *The Holy Apostles: a lost monument, a forgotten project, and the presentness of the past*, eds. by Margaret Mullett and Robert G. Ousterhout (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library And Collection, 2020), 240.

Apparently, particular attention was paid to the Islamization of Byzantine monuments during the reign of Bayezid II, and the trend continued throughout the reigns of Selim II, Suleyman, Selim III and finally Pammakaristos meets the same fate by the reign of Murad III. However, not every conversion could be practiced successfully, and some of them caused tension between the Christian communities who actively used the churches,¹⁸ and some even had to be re-converted to churches as some archival documents suggest.¹⁹ Interestingly, Istanbul and provinces differed when it comes to practicing the decisions made by the Sublime Porte, possibly due to their closeness, changing attitudes of Sublime Porte affected Istanbulite dhimmis earlier than anyone else. It is possible to assume that provinces had more exceptions when it comes to converting churches or prohibiting their constructions, however, surprisingly, Istanbul did not lack them too, so that there are still a number of Byzantine churches in Istanbul that have never been converted.

Mosques that are named “fethiye” in Ottoman history are mostly converted mosques from Byzantine churches, and were named “fethiye” to refer to a conquest of a territory.²⁰ In the case of Fethiye, this is assumed as the victory won against the Safavids in Georgia and Azerbaijan, and another possibility is going to be discussed in Chapter 3. Given Safavids’ potential influence over nomadic Muslims in Anatolia thanks to different sectarian tendencies and their unsteady relations with the

¹⁸ In Alexandria a church was ordered to be transformed into a mosque, however Christians in the town resisted, and bribed in order to prevent it from conversion and to keep it as a church: A.{DVNSMHHM.d. 39-398.

¹⁹ In Cyprus, a converted mosque was reported to be reconverted into a church and was used for Christian practices by the locals: A.{DVNSMHHM.d. 42-584. The same case was reported in Crete in the seventeenth century: A.{DVNSMHHM.d.. 108- 1232

²⁰ The following archival documents mention different Fethiye mosques from different parts of the empire i.e. in Athens (C..EV.36.1776), in Thessaloniki (AE.SMMD.IV.17.1925), in Trabzon (C..EV..88.4372) in the city of Štip in present day Macedonia (İE.EV.7.785), and for another example from Amasya is mentioned by Evliya Çelebi see *Günümüz Türkçesi ile Seyahatname 2.Cilt 1. Kitap: Bursa, Bolu, Trabzon, Erzurum, Azerbaycan, Kafkasya, Kırım, Girit*. Trans. By Yücel Dağlı and Seyit Ali Kahraman (İstanbul: YKY, 2008): 216.

Ottomans, this Ottoman victory against its greatest rival in the east was essentially remarkable. However, there might be a different reason lying behind converting especially the central building of Greek Orthodox subjects, possibly Murad III's personal engagement with the monumental value of the structure, as he possibly was not allowed to build his namesake complex in Istanbul technically because he never fought at the battlefield, like his father Selim II.²¹ Therefore, a renowned architectural monument with cross-religious connotations like Pammakaristos the seat of the Patriarchate might have been seen as a good idea to convert into a Friday mosque to commemorate the victory, and the name of Murad III. With the help of all these, I will try to find if there is a general changing attitude towards Greek Orthodox subjects and their monumental existence in Istanbul that is linked to a greater inter-imperial political agenda. Finally, the rest of this chapter deals with the very controversial conversion of Pammakaristos the patriarchal seat into a Friday mosque. The legal discussions among scholars throughout the reigns of four sultans, and the effort on the side of the patriarchate to convince the Ottoman authorities to remain there, eventually ended up in the conversion of Pammakaristos into Fethiye in 1588. This legal debate throughout decades, and how long it took for Fethiye to open up its doors ready to function as a mosque will be discussed in this chapter.

The fourth chapter of this study will deal with the making of "Fethiye Mosque" out of a former patriarchal seat. In this part, I will examine the Fethiye phase of Pammakaristos' lifespan with reference to various themes. I will start with the physical changes that were made to the monument immediately after its conversion. These are several steps that have been taken in order to physically enable the monastery for Muslim practices. Fethiye used to serve as a monastery, which is a

²¹ Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 66.

complex that accommodated permanent resident staff and was capable of supplying daily needs of its occupants thanks to its structural facilities in various forms. I will examine how the multifunctionality of Fethiye was transformed by the Ottomans to make the complex be fitting for a mosque complex in which the needy was taken care of. Following that, I will deal with the institutionalization of Fethiye with entirely new financial sources and a new staff with a new community. I will utilize archival material concerning repairs of Fethiye and salaries of the staff worked at different parts and sub-functions of the complex, in addition to my observations during my field visits to the mosque. The cisterns, newly added fountains that became open for public use as well as secluded parts for accommodating the needy seem to have attracted people. A madrasa was built in the courtyard shortly after the conversion by grand vizier Sinan Paşa. These facilities together suggest that people had a variety of reasons to visit and meet at the Fethiye mosque and the complex surrounding it.

Fethiye's engagement with people was not limited to the interior of the mosque. The urbanization aspect also deserves be taken into consideration. Hereby I spare the rest of my last chapter to trace how this conversion might have led the way to the changing residential interests and urbanization trends in its vicinity.

Simultaneous conversion of two close Byzantine churches, Pammakaristos and the Church of Hagios Ioannes Prodromos en to Trullo, along with erection of entirely new Islamic constructions suggests a rising interest on the Muslim's side in the neighboring parts of Pammakaristos/Fethiye. Murad III's order for selling of nearby estates to encourage settlements,²² and various Ottoman elites donating nearby, such

²² BOA A.{DVNSMHM.d/ 73 – 831: “İstanbul kadısına hüküm ki: Mahruse-i mezburede Fethiye Camii'nin etrafı miriden fûruht olunmak emrim olmuşdur buyurdum ki vardıkda ferman-ı celilü'l-kadrim üzere cami-i mezburun etrafını talib olanlara değer-i baha ile fûruht ettiresin”

as grand vizier Sinan Paşa's various charity investments around the mosque, seems to be the start of a new Muslim elite engagement with the town, that brought a new ethnic/confessional and residential profile. In the eighteenth century, we even see a case in which a residence in the vicinity of Fethiye Mosque was bestowed on Sadrazam İzzet Mehmed Paşa.²³ It is interesting how a district which once was known with dhimmi density and thus became the neighborhood of Patriarchate, transformed into an elite Muslim neighborhood following the conversion of Pammakaristos. In addition to residential tendencies, I will trace the Islamization of the quarter by mapping the newly emerging little masjids nearby century by century to visualize the nearest Muslim and Christian worship spaces. In this part, Islamic constructions recorded in the late-eighteenth-century list of Ayvansarayı, *Hadikatü'l-Cevami* will be remarkably helpful, since it covers many constructions that do not exist today. More interestingly, in contrast with all this Islamization narrative, there are a number of Byzantine churches in the vicinity of Fethiye, and along the way to the shores of the Golden Horn which never were converted, and continue to function as a Christian worship space even today. Additionally, some Greek Orthodox churches were abandoned even though they were never converted. Hereby, the last chapter will investigate the ethno-religious transformation in the monumental experience and its spatial limits until the end of the eighteenth century.

²³ BOA. MFB / 1083: "İsmail Paşa'nın müteveffa kızı Hatice Hanım'a ait olan Nişancı mahallesinde Fethiye Camii yakınlarındaki evin Sadrazam İzzet Mehmed Paşa'ya ihsan olunduğu. (III. Selim dönemine ait; tuğra altın yaldızlı mürekkeple çekilmiştir. Satırlar kırmızı ve altın yaldızlı mürekkeple yazılmış, üzerlerine altın serpmeler yapılmış ve araları altın yaldızlı büyük noktalarla süslenmiştir; 16 satır; 85x168 ebadında; berat)"

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF MONASTERY OF PAMMAKARISTOS

This chapter focuses on the monastic history of Pammakaristos by looking at its Byzantine and Ottoman pasts. I will firstly examine religious building activities starting from Palaiologans' reconquest of Constantinople in 1261 after Latin invasion, until the fall of the city to the Ottomans in 1453. Pammakaristos Monastery was rebuilt as a part of this rapid building trend in Palaiologan Constantinople. I will investigate contemporary sponsorship culture of the Byzantine elite in monastic building and rebuilding activities, in order to understand the re-making of Pammakaristos as a donation by Byzantine aristocrat Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes and his wife Maria Martha. This part will be followed by a physical description of Pammakaristos, and its siting in Byzantine Constantinople. After that, I will turn to the Ottoman history of Pammakaristos monastery until its transformation into Fethiye mosque in late sixteenth century. I will investigate how it served as the patriarchal seat under Ottoman rule, and the roles it undertook in terms of rituality and the occasions it hosted while bringing people together.

2.1 Constantinople reconquered: Palaiologan re-embellishment of the Queen of Cities

Palaiologans celebrated their return to Constantinople in 1261 after a destructive period of Latin invasion as a revival and a rebirth of the Byzantine empire. This return was honored as an imperial victory by using many means of symbolism, including architecture. Especially reigns of the first two Palaiologan emperors were very productive for the city's urban revival, so that emperor Michael VIII was even

called a “second Constantine.”²⁴ Elites of the Palaiologan Constantinople were encouraged to spend for the city’s rebuilding activities, and it reflected in both secular and religious architecture.

Building activities in Palaiologan Constantinople, starting remarkably during the reigns of Michael VIII and Andronikos II, covered an overall renovation of the city. Fourteenth-century historian Nikephoros Gregoras summarizes the tasks undertaken by Michael VIII when he first returned to the city as the emperor: “to clean [the city] and turn, inasmuch as possible, that great disorder into order, to repair [those] churches which had not completely collapsed, and to fill the empty houses with people.”²⁵ The agenda Nikephoros Gregoras states suggests a wide range of aspects to be worked on from demographical policies to reshaping the city through building activities. The entry of the victorious Palaiologoi to the city was followed by the renovations of the most symbolically-significant architectural structures in the city. Parts of the Great Palace, which served for ceremonial purposes in that time, as well as the residential palace Blachernae, and Hagia Sophia, which was the most significant religious monument to mark the city since its foundation, were restored right after the Byzantine return to the city. Many policies of Michael VIII reveal the importance given to the symbolism in order to secure his position as the new Byzantine ruler of Constantinople and the second founder of the city. Seals from his reign, as well as the textual sources in Latin and Greek mention him as the “new Constantine.”²⁶ His monument, which represented him down on his knees before the Archangel Michael, and presenting him his new capital, was erected between the

²⁴ Vassilios Kidonopoulos, “The Urban Physiognomy of Constantinople from the Latin Conquest through the Palaiologan Era,” in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557). Perspectives in Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. S. T. Brooks (New York-London, 2006), 105.

²⁵ Cited in Vassilios Kidonopoulos, “The Urban Physiognomy,” 106.

²⁶ Kidonopoulos, “The Urban Physiognomy,” 103.

church of All Saints and the church of the Holy Apostles.²⁷ Alice-Mary Talbot argues that there was surely an intention in imitating the model of Constantine presenting the newly built city of Constantinople to the Virgin Mary.²⁸

Moreover, Michael VIII organized a new coronation in Constantinople, in addition to his previous coronation in Nicaea to consolidate his authority as the emperor of the city. After his entry to the city, he first ordered the renovation of Hagia Sophia for practicing the traditional Byzantine coronation ceremony there²⁹. The utilization of porphyry at the west end of the church in the restoration of Hagia Sophia,³⁰ which had been reserved exclusively for imperial purposes throughout Roman history, also underscores Michael VIII's deliberate imperial associations.

Along with the first two Palaiologan emperors Michael VIII, Andronikos II and their families, high aristocracy like military officials such as Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes, intellectuals like Theodore Metochites and a remarkable number of female donors such as Theodora Raoulaina, Irene Choumnaina and Maria-Martha (the wife of Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes) also supported greatly the embellishment of their reconquered capital.³¹ The churches of Kyra Martha, and Panagiotissa, along with the monasteries of Chora, Aristeine, St. Kosmas and Damian, Christos Philanthropos were among the monumental religious architecture which was rebuilt in during the reigns of the first two Palaiologan emperors through this sponsorship.³² Finally, the monastery of Pammakaristos was built thanks to the donation of Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes and his wife in the late thirteenth

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Alice-Mary Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993): 260.

²⁹ Ibid, 251.

³⁰ Pachymeres, Bonn. Ed, II, 614-15, as mentioned in Talbot, "The Restoration," 251.

³¹ Alice-Mary Talbot, "The Restoration," 256.

³² Ibid, 257.

century. It is argued that in the site of Pammakaristos, there was an older church that dated back to twelfth century built by a certain John Komnenos based on an epitaph that did not survive today.³³ It is thus possible to assume that Pammakaristos was also a rebuilding project to obliterate another destruction in the very exhausted state of the post-Latin Constantinople.



³³ Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2008), 126.

shortly after the fall of the city. Later on, it served as a judiciary court of the Latins because the wide interior space it has enabled such gatherings, and monastery of Christ Pantepoptes (Eski Imaret) was granted by Latin governor Marino Zeno granted to monastery of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice³⁵. At this point, it is possible to assume that Pammakaristos was not left untouched.

First of all, the presence of a bell tower in the sixteenth century woodcuts of Pammakaristos is very intriguing, given that having belfries were a late medieval novelty in Byzantine churches.³⁶ There are multiple possibilities concerning the origins of Byzantine bell towers, but it is mostly argued that they are inherited from the Latin occupation of Constantinople.³⁷ Very interestingly, Hagia Sophia is also thought to have had a belfry placed on its west façade during the Latin occupation, until the bell was melted by Turks.³⁸ Similarly, Chora is assumed to have a bell tower rose on the extension on its southwestern corner³⁹ suggesting another Latin intervention. Therefore, the unnative rectangular belfry we see on Pammakaristos' sixteenth-century woodcuts most probably was a Latin intervention.

³⁵ David Jacoby, "The Venetian Government and Administration In Latin Constantinople, 1204-1261: A State Within A State" in *Quarta Crociata: Venezia - Bisanzio - Impero Latino*, eds. Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani, Peter Schreiner, Venezia: Istituto Veneto Di Scienze, Lettere Ed Arti, 2008), 37 and 43.

³⁶ Emerson H. Swift, "The Latins at Hagia Sophia," *American Journal of Archaeology*, Oct. - Dec., 1935, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1935), 462.

³⁷ Alex Rodriguez Suarez, "From tower to belfry: The other origins of the Byzantine bell tower," *Lecture Series:*

Material Culture in Byzantium and the Medieval West, (Leipzig: Universitaet Leipzig, 2016).

³⁸ Swift, "The Latins," 462.

³⁹ Semavi Eyice, "Kariye Camii", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kariye-camii> (18.03.2024).



Figure 2: Woodcut of Pammakaristos as the Patriarchal church by Salomon Schweigger, circa 1580.⁴⁰

A: Residence of the patriarch

B, C, D: Graves of unnamed monks

E, F: Residences of scribes, and spaces for accommodating visiting bishops

G: Barn (for donkeys)

H: Patriarchal church

There is a manuscript by John Malaxos, a sixteenth-century Greek scholar who came to Istanbul from Venetian Nauplion record inscriptions in many Byzantine monuments.⁴¹ The manuscript is preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge, (MS.

⁴⁰ Salomon Schweigger, *Sultanlar Kentine Yolculuk 1578-1581*, trans. Türkis Noyan, ed. Heidi Stein, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), 135.

⁴¹ Peter Schreiner, "John Malaxos' *Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae*" in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (Leiden, 2001), 203-214.

0.2.36), which is cited in the 1978 monograph of Pammakaristos' frescoes and mosaics, by Belting, Mango and Mouriki. They quote the following paragraph from the manuscript without indicating a location. However, it still is very remarkable in the way that it very straightforwardly expresses the ideological aspect of the post-Latin renovations in Constantinople.

.. whose luxuriant beauty withered and disappeared altogether *because of the evil conduct of the Italians* ... But now, with thy assistance, O Virgin, we are again making it new for thee with regard to beauty, size, and adornment. We beg thee to be granted forgiveness for our sins at that great and ultimate Judgment.⁴² [emphasis mine].

2.2 Introducing Pammakaristos



Figure 3: Southwest view of parekklesion. Photo by the author, 05/05/2023.

⁴² Cyril Mango, "The Monument and Its History" in *Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*, ed. Cyril Mango, (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1978), 41.

The earliest accounts on the foundation of the monument dates to the Komnenian period, based on an inscription that did not survive today and we get to know about by a manuscript, states that it was donated by “John Komnenos and his wife, Anna of the Doukas family.”⁴³ This probably refers to a chamberlain at the Byzantine palace who died in 1067,⁴⁴ therefore we can assume that the northern church was partially built in the eleventh century. However, the rest of the monument we see today was mainly rebuilt by Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotēs and his wife, who put a remarkable effort into the recovery of this monastery during the Palaiologan revival of Constantinople. The most remarkable parts of this renovation are the adding of parekklesion and the very costly redecoration of the interior with frescoes and mosaics. Contemporary poet Philes talks about the frescoes that have been added by Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotēs and his wife into the monument celebrating his military successes.⁴⁵

⁴³ Mine Esmer, “İstanbul’da Orta Bizans,” 403.

⁴⁴ Semavi Eyice, “Fethiye Camii”, TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/fethiye-camii--istanbul> (08.12.2023).

⁴⁵ Cited in Alice-Mary Talbot, “Michael Glabas Tarchaniotes” in *the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* ed. Alexander Kazhdan, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 852.



Figure 4: South façade of Fethiye, 1913 ⁴⁶

These frescoes and mosaics are still in a very good state, because they were preserved during the Ottoman period when the parekklesion was used as a mosque. An inclusive restoration done by Byzantine Institute of America between 1949 and 1963 greatly helped their preservation. Detailed work of the renovated mosaics and frescoes are published by Hans Belting, Cyril Mango and Doula Mouriki in 1978.⁴⁷ Moreover, as mentioned above, currently there is an ongoing archaeological work in the parekklesion and courtyard of the monument directed under the Directorate General for Foundations of Republic of Turkey.

The Palaiologan Pammakaristos was built with a combination of brick and stone, reflecting the characteristics of Constantinopolitan Byzantine religious architecture. Palaiologan Pammakaristos enjoyed both spolia bricks and stones, and newly produced material.⁴⁸ On façades of both northern and southern churches, the

⁴⁶ Jean Ebersolt and Adolphe Thiers, *Les Eglises de Constantinople*, (Paris: 1913) Plate LVI.

⁴⁷ Hans Belting, Cyril A. Mango, Doula Mouriki. *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, 1978.

⁴⁸ Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, 140.

mixed stone and brick technique *opus mixtum* in masonry is visible. On the frames of windows and on the small tympanums of the western façade, beautiful ornamentations in which bricks are diagonally placed with stones draw attention. The south façade of the parekklesion also carries a Greek inscription indicating its sponsor Tarchaneiotos (fig. 5).

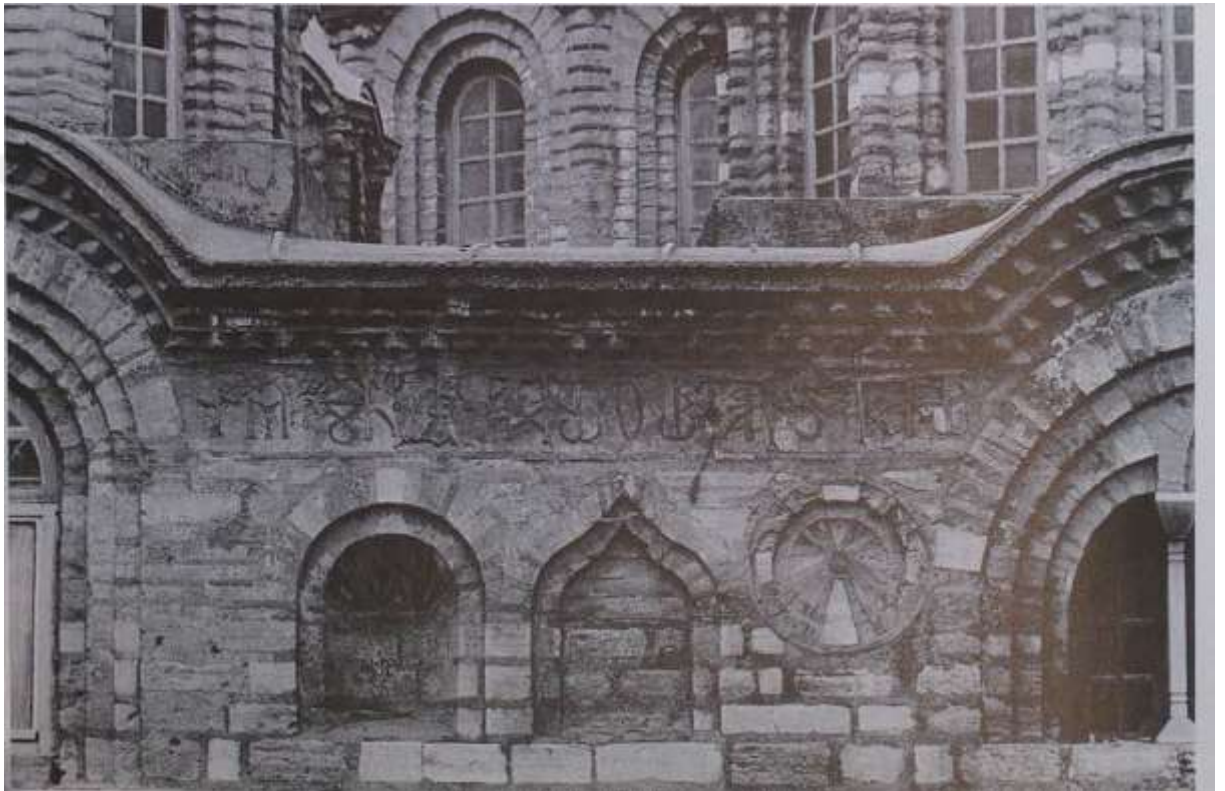


Figure 5: Monogrammatic inscription placed on the south façade of Parekklesion⁴⁹

⁴⁹ *Mosaics and Frescoes*, illustration 2 b.



Figure 6: Pentagonal apse of the parekklesion⁵⁰

No *typikon*, which is a kind of document that lists the provisions of endowments in Byzantine history, can be found for the Pammakaristos monastery. However, based on other contemporary *typika*, we understand that endowments that contain burial functions, and remain connected to the founder's sponsorship even after their death, usually practice commemorative rituals on specific days related to the life of the donor. Also, these monastic foundations served as accommodation for the last days of their founders' lives. An example to that is issued in the *typikon* of the Moastery of Babaeia Elpis for the female donor Theodora Synadene, stating that donors could have declared their plans to spend their old ages at their sponsored monasteries as monks and nuns.⁵¹ Apparently, the case of Pammakaristos was not different: the

⁵⁰ In *Mosaics and Frescoes*, illustration 3 a.

⁵¹ Alice-Mary Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II: The Role of Women Patrons in the Construction and Restoration of Monasteries," in *Byzantine Constantinople*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 337.

patron Maria-Martha was to spend her later years at the monastery after the death of her husband Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotos, who was buried in the chapel which she sponsored.⁵²

As for the plan and support system used in the making of Pammakaristos, while reflecting another characteristic of Byzantine architecture with its domed structure, the distinctive feature of Pammakaristos seems to be its ambulatory plan for funerary practices of its founders. The naos, which was in cross-in-square form, was surrounded by an aisle and served as a burial place for its first founder John Komnenos and his family.⁵³ The dome of the naos was carried by numerous columns which were removed during the Ottoman modifications in the later sixteenth century. The current support system which consists of stone piers were placed in their stead.

⁵² Elif Demirtiken, “Changing Profiles of Monastic Founders in Constantinople, From the Komnenoi to the Palaiologoi: The Case of the Theotokos Pammakaristos Monastery in Context”. In *Trends and Turning Points*, eds. Matthew Kinloch and Alex Macfarlane (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 282.

⁵³ Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 126.

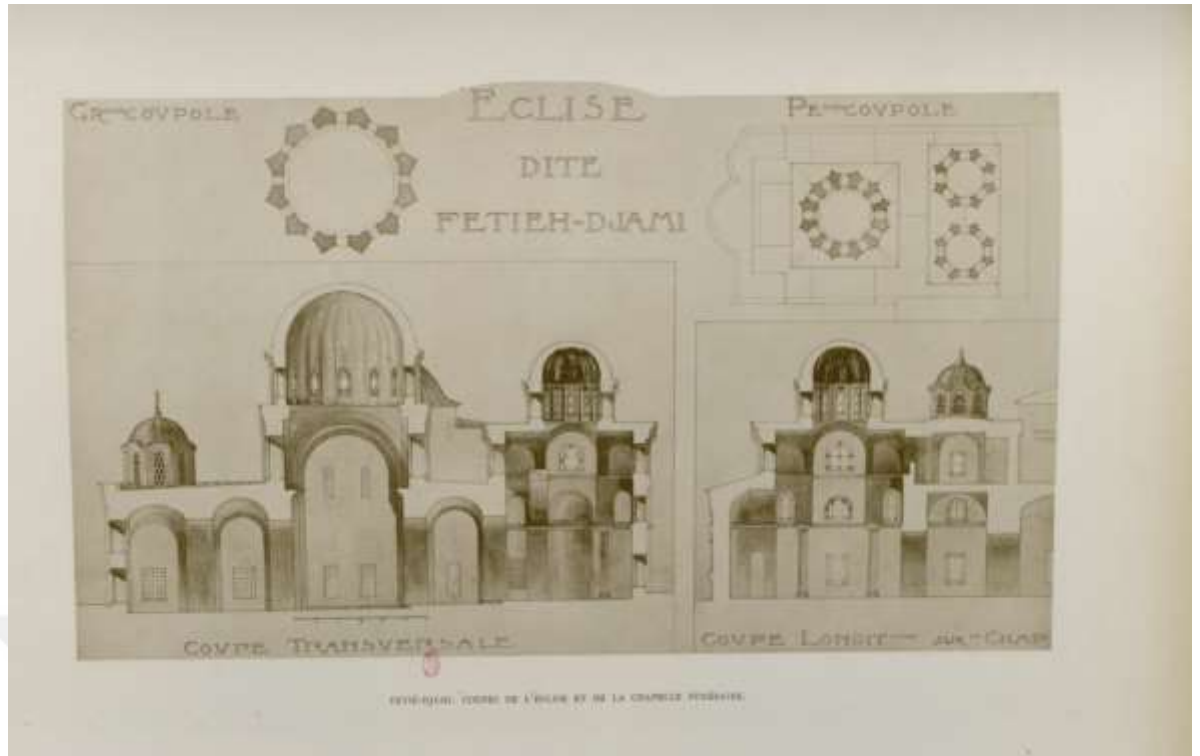


Figure 7: Lateral section of Fethiye by Ebersolt Thiers, 1913⁵⁴

Pammakaristos' naos was surrounded by an ambulatory on its southern, western and northern parts. In addition to this ambulatory of the northern church, there is a side chapel (parekklesion) adjacent the southern end of the main church (Figure 8). The naos is thought to be the earliest part of this multi-phased monument being dated to the eleventh century, while the parekklesion is a late thirteenth-century addition. The domed angular apse is an Ottoman intervention. Two other examples of the ambulatory plan are St Andreas Kriesei (Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii) and Lips Monastery (Fenari İsa Camii).⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Ebersolt and Thiers, *Les Eglises*, Plate LV.

⁵⁵ Semavi Eyice, *Son Devir Bizans Mimarisi*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1963), 74.

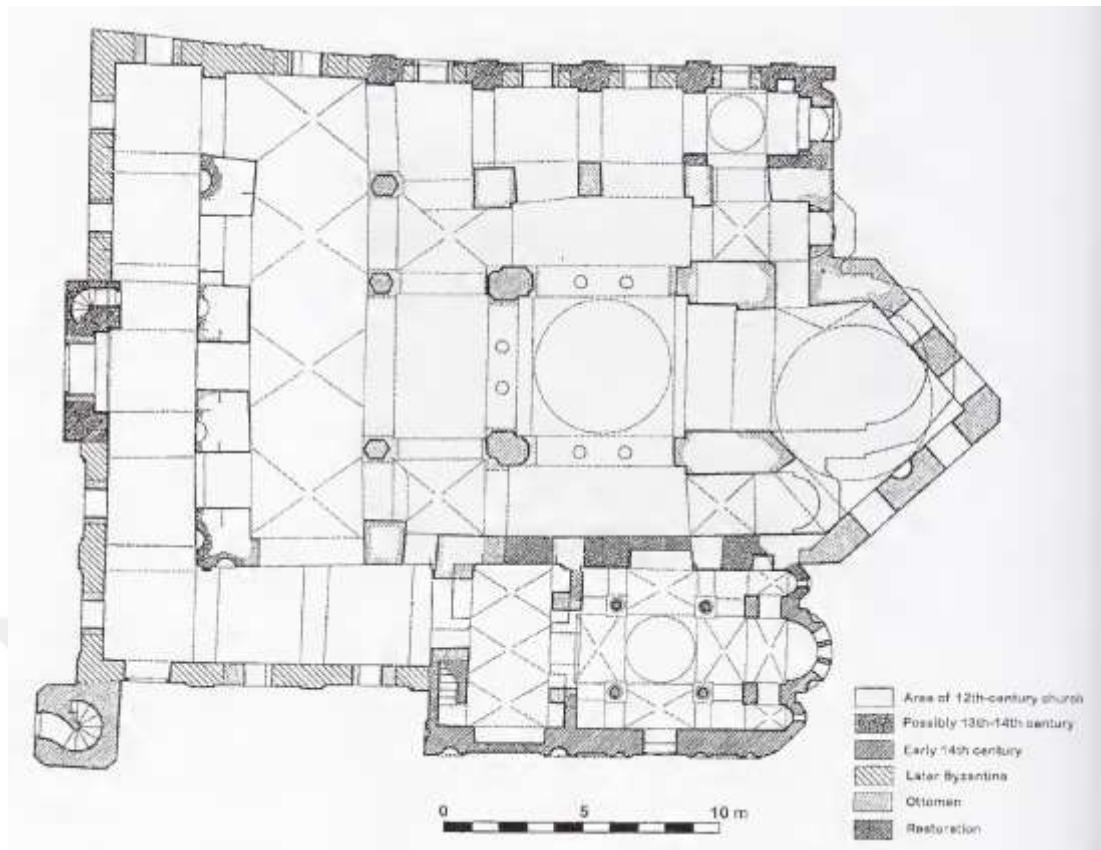


Figure 8: Plan of Pammakaristos by Robert Ousterhout in *Master Builders*, 110.

Parekklesion is another mutual feature of Pammakaristos with its contemporaries, such as another Palaiologan-renovated monastic church, Chora. That kind of subsidiary chapels, parekklesions, could serve various purposes in the late Byzantine architecture. In the case of Pammakaristos, it was added in the early fourteenth century. In the original plan, the parekklesion was a typical cross in square structure, having four columns in the middle to carry the central dome. The narthex gallery was used for the burials of family members of the founder. Thanks to its distinct design elements, the parekklesion is regarded as an independent church with its own naos and apse, instead of a side chapel for the northern church.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ *Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*, ed. Cyril Mango, (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1978), 3.



Figure 9: Interior of Fethiye Mosque, view from narthex. The Ottoman mihrab is not visible because the apsis does not face qibla. Photo by the author, 05/05/2023.



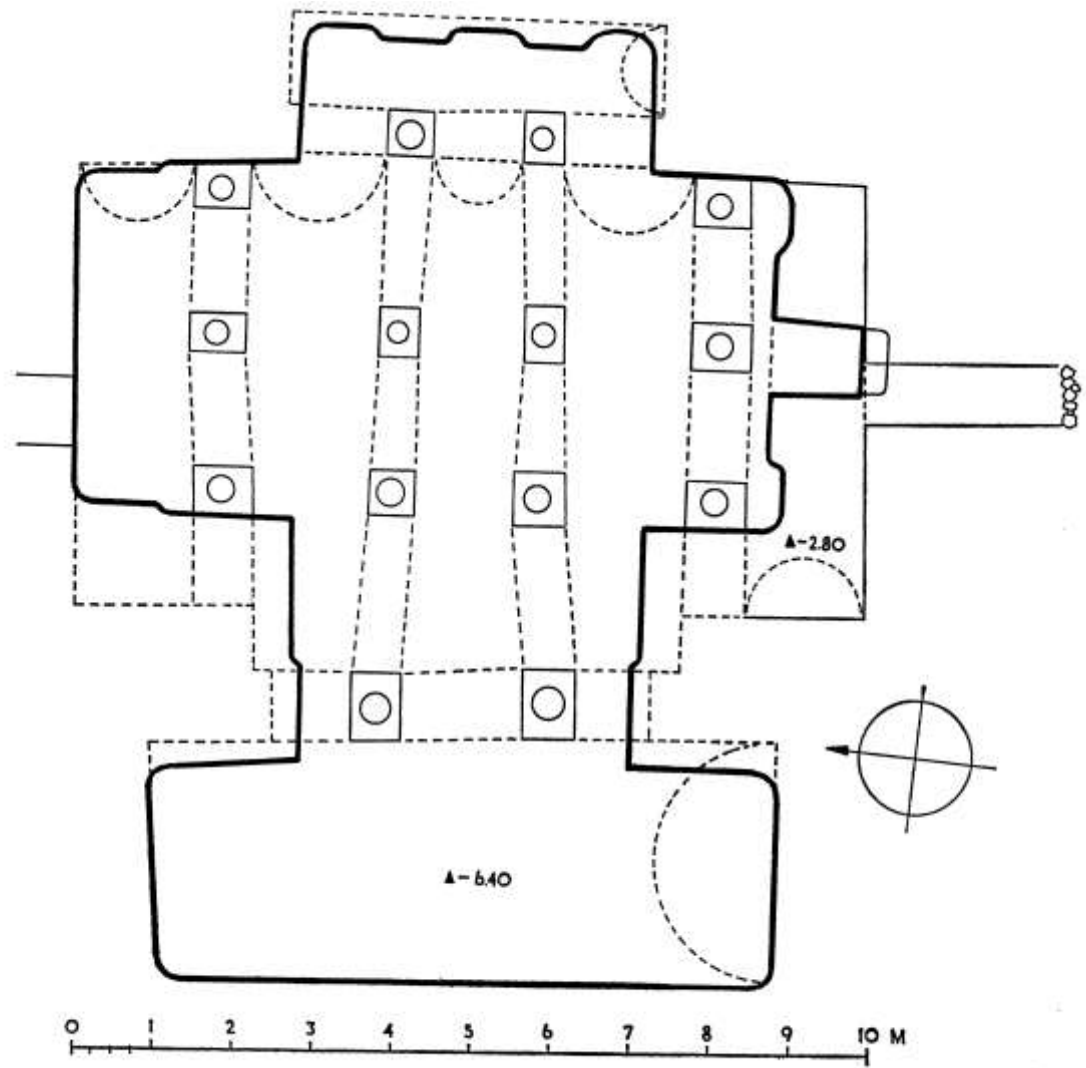
Figure 10: Eyeful mosaics covering the ceiling of parekklesion. Photo by the author, 05/05/2023



Figure 11: Eyeful mosaics covering the ceiling of parekklesion. Photo by the author, 05/05/2023

In addition to these, the monastery had three cisterns surrounding it in addition to one located under the central dome. While the three are dating to the fourteenth-century, the one directly under the naos of the northern church is from Komnenian period.⁵⁷ The richness of the site in terms of water storage opportunities suggests a significant advantage for the urban development of the site.

⁵⁷ Mine Esmer, "Evaluating repairs and interventions of the Fethiye Camii through the perspective of contemporary conservation ethics and principles," *Adalya* 22, 2019, 409.



B. Fethiye Camii. Plan of Cistern under Nave

Figure 12: Plan of the cistern under naos in Mango, Cyril, and Ernest JW Hawkins. "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962-1963." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (1964), 321.



Figure 13: Interior of the cistern located right under the central dome. Photo by the author, 05/05/2023

In addition to the cisterns, another additional function housed by the Pammakaristos monastery was the hospital, which was added by the great patron of renovation of Pammakaristos, Tarchaneiotes in the early fourteenth century. Very little is known about this hospital except for that it kept being sponsored after Tarchaneiotes' death.⁵⁸ It is not surprising at all to encounter a church being accompanied by that variety of subsidiary functional additions including a hospital. Health services in Byzantium could either be provided by private doctors for those who could afford it, or by monasteries free of charge, or by very little payment. Alice Mary Talbot states that the role of monastic complexes with health service facilities was so important

⁵⁸ Talbot, "Restorations," p. 257.

that a rivalry could take place between them and private doctors.⁵⁹ Pammakaristos thus must have provided a significant facility that contributes to the urban life.

In addition to a hospital, there are new constructions located in the courtyard of Fethiye currently being excavated by Directorate General of Republic of Turkey. A forthcoming publication will reveal what additional functions the complex had in order to meet the daily needs of patriarchal resident staff, and hopefully reveal various other aspects of the Byzantine period monastic complex. A bird's-eye-view from Google Earth 2023 gives clues about the outlines of the constructions that lie under the present-day courtyard of Fethiye (fig 14). It is possible to assume that patriarchal staff would have places to reside, to have their meals, and to conduct office work, as we know about all these activities were done at the Patriarchate during the sixteenth century thanks to contemporary travelogues.

⁵⁹ Alice-Mary Talbot, "Constantinople: City of Miraculous Healings," in *Life Is Short, Art Long: The Art of Healing in Byzantium*, ed. B. Pitarakis, (İstanbul: Pera Müzesi, 2015), 85.



Figure 14: Bird's eye view of Fethiye

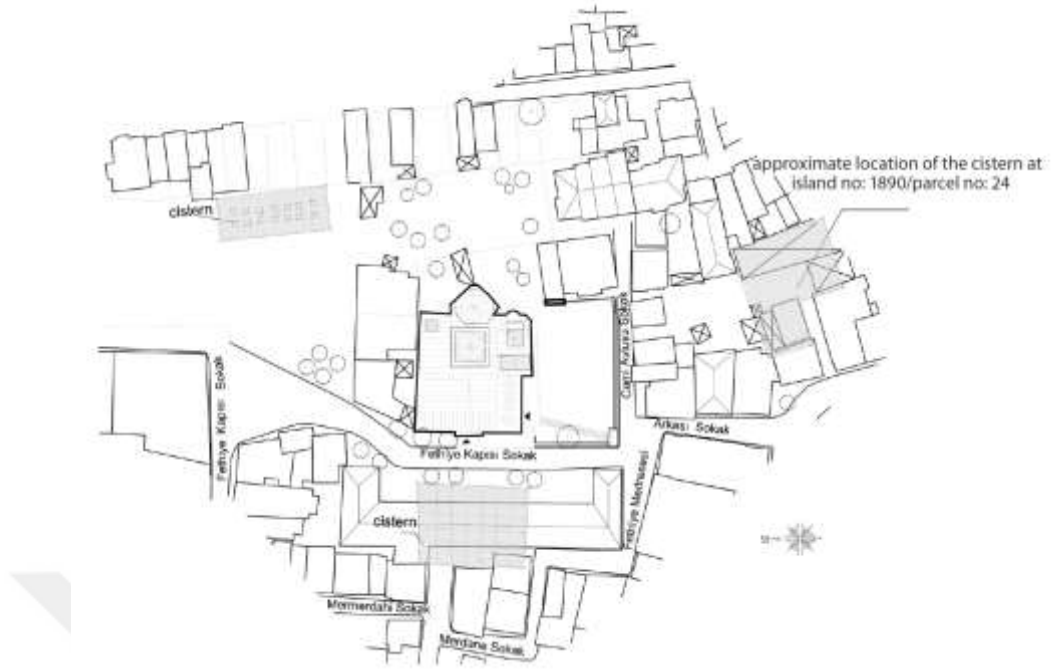


Figure 15: Plan of Pammakaristos and its environs by Mine Esmer, including nearby cisterns⁶⁰.

Pammakaristos Monastery was located in the middle of the distance between the Constantinian walls and the Theodosian walls, on the fifth hill of Constantinople with a good view of the Golden Horn. It distances around one and a half kilometer to the cisterns of Aspar and Aetius, and the gate of Phanarion to the Golden Horn in the XIVth Regio of Byzantine Constantinople.⁶¹ Being not among the most popular residential areas according to the very early documents of Constantinople such as the fifth-century register of *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*,⁶² this place seems to have gained importance in the following centuries, as the construction of the

⁶⁰ Mine Esmer, "İstanbul'da Orta Bizans Dönemi'ne ait Üç Anıt ile Çevrelerinin Bütünleşik Olarak Korunması İçin Öneriler." *Tasarım+Kuram Dergisi* 15 (2013), 46.

⁶¹ Semavi Eyice, "Fethiye Camii." in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*. Vol. 3, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 300.

⁶² John Matthews, "The Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," in *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, ed. L. Grig and G. Kelly (New York, 2012), pp. 81-115.

Blachernae Palace drew more interest in the northwest of the peninsula.⁶³ The social topography of the site of Pammakaristos reflects elite interests in the late Byzantine era. While enjoying the cistern facilities nearby, the monument stood not far from imperial and aristocratic palaces in and near the Blachernae. Moreover, religious monuments such as Chora and St. Mary of the Mongols which were revived by the Palaiologan elite are also in this area.

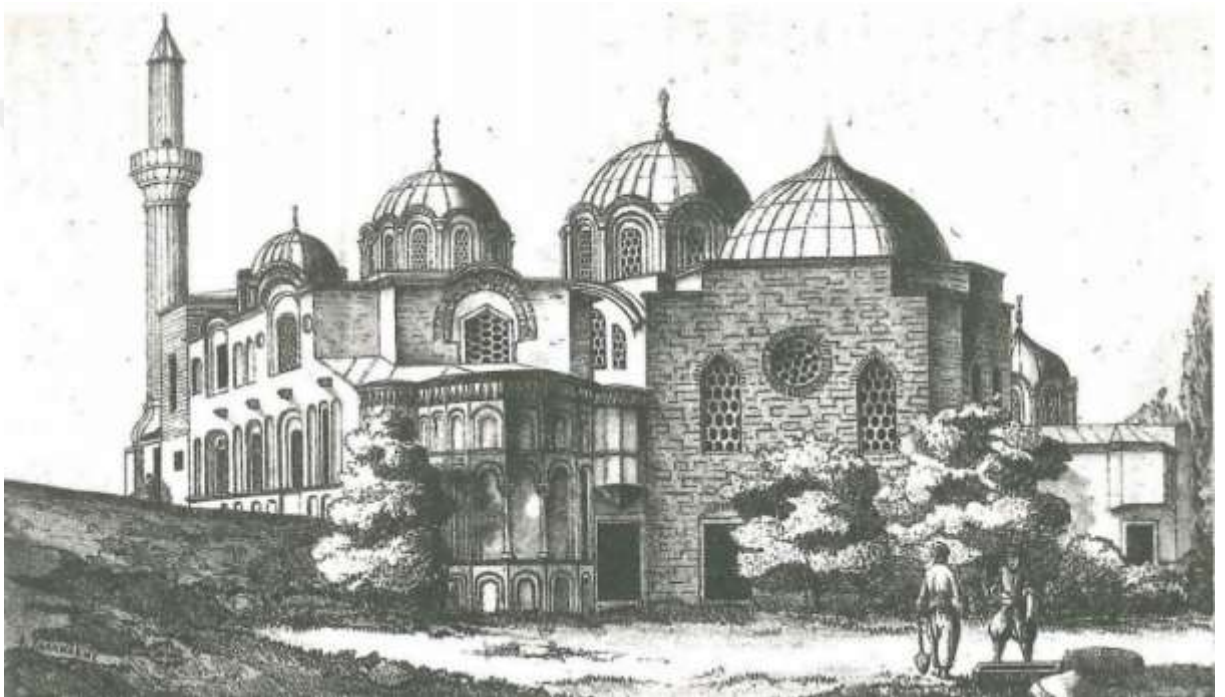


Figure 16: Woodcut depiction of Fethiye from east by Galanakis, 1877⁶⁴

Late fifteenth-century Byzantine historian Doukas mentions Pammakaristos as a residence for political hosts. Juneid (also known as İzmiroğlu Cüneyd Bey) was a prominent Turkish figure in the years of Ottoman interregnum following the Ankara

⁶³ Ruth Macrides, “The ‘Other’ Palace in Constantinople: The Blachernae,” in *The Emperor’s House: Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism*, ed. M. Featherstone, J.-M. Spieser, G. Tanman, U. Wulf-Rheidt (Berlin-Boston, 2015), 159.

⁶⁴ A. G. Paspate, *Topografikai kai Istorikai Meta Plaeiston Eikonon*, 1877.

Battle. He was the beg of Aydinids and had long been in battle frequently switching sides among the fighting sons of Bayezid I.⁶⁵ Back then when he was kept at Pammakaristos under Byzantine protection, he was together with Mustafa Çelebi as allies to Byzantines against Mehmed Çelebi. Therefore, as a key figure in Ottoman inner politics, he was provided with quarters at Pammakaristos suggesting that the monastery had facilities for such a task, and was a well-protected structure.⁶⁶

Similarly, fourteenth-century commander and short-term emperor John Kantakouzenos mentions Pammakaristos as a place of imprisoning. Ioannes Gabalas, a notable commander and diplomat of his time was imprisoned at Pammakaristos. He tried fleeing once, but he was caught and imprisoned again, and did not attempt again.⁶⁷

The fifteenth-century Byzantine historian George Sphrantzes mentions the church of St. John, which is almost adjacent to Pammakaristos, as a place where a synod was gathered in the eighth century, thus the site was seen as an important spot at least since then.⁶⁸

2.3 Ottoman Pammakaristos

The years following the Ottoman takeover of the city suffered a period of urban crisis in terms of both human resources and urban artifacts. Mehmed II was specifically concerned with the re-urbanization of Constantinople as the new capital

⁶⁵ Aşıkpaşazade, *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarihi: Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, eds. Kemal Yavuz, and Mehmet Ali Yekta Saraç, (İstanbul: Gökkuş, 2007), 135, 142, 191.

⁶⁶ Doukas, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, trans. Harry J. Magoulas, (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1975), 175.

⁶⁷ Brian Steven McLaughlin, *An Annotated Translation of John Kantakouzenos' Histories, Book III, Chapters 1-30*, (DPhil dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2017), 407.

⁶⁸ Nevra Necipoğlu, "Gennadios Scholarios and the Patriarchate: A Reluctant Patriarch on the 'Unhappy Throne'" in *The Holy Apostles: A Lost Monument, A Forgotten Project, and the Presentness of the Past*, eds. Margaret Mullett and Robert G. Ousterhout. (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2020), 240.

of his realm. He was determined to reinhabit the city not only with Muslims but also with non-Muslims by encouraging and forcing their migration into the city.

With this motivation, he re-established the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate and granted it with privileges to convince its first patriarch Gennadios. The sultan, shortly after the conquest of the city, was informed by the Greeks around him about Gennadios Scholarios as a potential patriarch, who was then being kept as a captive in Edirne. Prior to the fall of Byzantium, he was a prominent Byzantine scholar who was present at the Council of Florence between 1438-39 that aimed the Union of Catholic and Orthodox churches against the Turks, but changed his position and opposed the Union following the loss of the crusade of Varna fought against Ottomans in 1444. In 1454, he accepted the position of the patriarchal throne⁶⁹. Mehmed II, generously granted him the church of the Holy Apostles, which stood on the highest hill of Constantinople, as the seat of the Patriarchate.

Here is a passage from Kritovoulos of Imvros, a Byzantine historian who survived 1453 and continued to serve under Mehmed II:

In the end, he made him Patriarch and High Priest of the Christians, and gave him among many other rights and privileges the rule of the church and all its power and authority, no less than that enjoyed previously under the emperors. He also granted him the privilege of delivering before him fearlessly and freely many good disquisitions concerning the Christian faith and doctrine.⁷⁰

However, due to numerous reasons such as insufficient facilities and desolate state of the thousand-year-old church, the Patriarchate was to move into the then-better-preserved monastery of Pammakaristos. Following the sixth to tenth month of patriarchate's habitation at the Holy Apostles, a very interesting event took place and led to the transfer of the patriarchal seat from there to the monastery of

⁶⁹ Nevra Necipoğlu, "Gennadios Scholarios," 237,238.

⁷⁰ Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. Charles T Riggs (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), 94.

Pammakaristos: One day, when the Patriarch and his staff was at the church, the dead body of a murdered Christian man was found in the courtyard of the church of the Holy Apostles. This event, while horrifying the patriarch and his staff, made them consider a new and more secure place for the Patriarchate. That was when Pammakaristos appeared as a good alternative.⁷¹

We also have clues about the state and urban life in the vicinity of Pammakaristos in post-1453 era in a number of primary sources, summarizing how it seemed to be a more preferable place in many respects than the Church of the Holy Apostles for the patriarchate.

Sphrantzes, having witnessed the state of the church of Holy Apostles before and after 1453, mentions the transfer of the Greek Patriarchate to Pammakaristos under Mehmed II as follows:

The patriarch was not destined to remain in the Church of the Holy Apostles for so long. He saw that no unfortunate Christians had survived ... in this deserted spot. For these reasons, requested and received the convent of Pammakaristos. The nuns of Pammakaristos were reassigned to the Church of Saint John in Trullo, where the fifty-sixth synod has gathered in the time of emperor Justinian II Rhinotmetos whose illustrious palace stood on the northern side of this church.⁷²

Sphrantzes sounds pleased about this transfer to a better-preserved place. He mentions the importance of the site by making reference to an imperial residence, and the aforementioned synod gathered in the eighth-century at Hagios Ioannes en to Trullo in the same vicinity.

An anonymous chronicle from the early sixteenth century, *Ekthesis Chronike* narrates it similarly with Sphrantzes:

At that time the area around that church had no houses and there were no neighbors in the vicinity ... They left that region and asked for the monastery

⁷¹ Nevra Necipoğlu, "Gennadios Scholarios," 240.

⁷² George Sphrantzes, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire. A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes, 1401-1477*, trans. by M. Philippides. (Amhrest: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), 135.

of Pammakaristos to become the Patriarchate; he granted it in one word. They asked for this church because its neighborhood was inhabited by the Christians who had been brought as *sürgün* from all cities.⁷³

Both of these accounts suggest that Pammakaristos stood in a slightly more urbanized and safer area when compared to the vicinity of the church of the Holy Apostles. In the second one, the anonymous chronicle expresses the advantage of the site as being populated with the Christian deportee communities due to the significant effort by Mehmed II multi-religiously and multi-ethnically repopulate the city.⁷⁴ *Sürgün* communities were obliged to leave their homes outside of Istanbul to come to the city and live in the houses left by the former owners, Byzantines. The south-western shores of the Golden Horn were populated with non-Muslim communities throughout the Ottoman history of the city.

Nevra Necipoğlu argues that this transfer might have had additional reasons to mere safety concerns by the Patriarch's side. She suggests that Mehmed II, following his first year at his new city, might have realized how outstanding this church was, being the second most prominent church after Hagia Sophia and more visible than any other monument in the city by its location on the highest hill of the city. Therefore, he might have wished the patriarchate to leave that place, so that he could erect his own monument. Eventually, Necipoğlu suggests that the murdered-man event might have not taken place by an incident, contrarily, Mehmed II himself could be aware of the consequences of it on the patriarchal staff making them want to seek another place for themselves. Indeed, he ordered the demolishing of the Holy Apostles church and built a grandiose complex to be named after himself on that exact location after the patriarchate was moved into Pammakaristos. However, it is

⁷³ Nevra Necipoğlu, "Gennadios Scholarios," 240.

⁷⁴ Stephane Yerasimos, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unun Kuruluşu," in *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı: Uluslarüstü Bir Miras*, (İstanbul: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, 2000), 197.

important to note that the construction of Mehmed II's mosque on that hill started in 1463, seven years later than the abandonment of the church of the Holy Apostles. The remarkably long period in between, instead of an immediate start for the building brings questions concerning the causality between the murdered-man case and Mehmed's intentions for the place where Holy Apostles stood. The slight delay could be because of the tumultuous atmosphere between him and ghazis-dervishes in Edirne between 1453-59 which kept Mehmed busy. However, after that period Mehmed determinately started constructing the city, starting with the tomb of Ayyub al Ansari. Following the completion of the tomb, the constructions of Topkapı Palace and New Mosque started.⁷⁵ Still, it remains a question if the evacuation of the site of the Holy Apostles could actually be planned from the beginning of this long and exhausting period, and if it could be occupied earlier but Mehmed did not hurry on this. On the other hand, considering Mehmed's personality as an absolutist leader who would not hesitate to bother his circles and the elite when taking actions for building his new capital, would he really think that he needed to convince Gennadios to leave where he had granted to them? Was this very indirect way of trying to prompt them to leave the Holy Apostles really convenient for Mehmed II? Questions remain, due to the scarcity of sources dating to that period. Eventually, it would be beneficial to consider both possibilities for that transfer.

At the end, various factors made Pammakaristos a better place to host the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, and started a new phase in its lifespan as the central building for a huge group as the Greek Orthodox subjects in the entire demography of the Ottoman Empire.

⁷⁵ Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 46 and 51.

2.4 Pammakaristos as an institution: Its people, its ceremonies and its ties to the outer world

The new Greek Orthodox Patriarchate under Ottoman rule bear responsibilities as a center for Greek Orthodox subjects in many aspects ranging from confessional to administrative. By this means, Pammakaristos monastery, being the seat of the patriarchate was to become a space for people to come together, by serving for inclusive tasks such as hosting ceremonies on important days of Orthodox calendar.



Figure 17: Woodcut depiction of Istanbul by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, circa 1520⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Retrieved from https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/61/Giovanni_Andreas_Vavassore%2C_Byzantivm_sive_Costantineopolis.jpg on 06.03.2024.

The monastery could also be stage for highly symbolic political occasions: a very interesting one among them is the one that took place between Sultan Mehmed II and his appointed Greek Orthodox Patriarch Gennadios Scholarios. This was a dialog that happened when Mehmed II visited the patriarchal seat at Pammakaristos in person, in order to gain information about Christian belief directly from the patriarch. His visit is described in a mid-sixteenth-century anonymous chronicle known as *Historia Patriarchica*. The *Historia*, which assumedly was written by the members of the patriarchal associates Theodosios Zygomalas and Manuel Malaxos⁷⁷ describes the historic event of the Sultan's visit to Pammakaristos as follows:

Then this sultan went in person to the patriarchate, to the church of the Pammakaristos, and he went into the chapel (...) and he spoke and discussed with him, the patriarch, Lord Gennadios. And the patriarch demonstrated to him the entire truth of our faith, without a single fear, and wrote down for him according to his questions, twenty chapters which appear below, one at a time, what it says, and gave these to the same sultan.⁷⁸

This remarkable visit to Patriarchate in which the sultan values and meets the patriarch himself in his place, Pammakaristos, marks the history of the monument for a new beginning. From then on, the Patriarchate both enjoyed some privilege granted by Mehmed II, and was subject to several obligations as an administrative unit throughout the centuries under Ottoman rule.

⁷⁷ Konstantinos Moustakas, "Ottoman Greek Views of Ottoman Rule (15th–16th Centuries): The Perspective of the Patriarchate Associates." *Political Thought and Practice in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete 9: A Symposium Held in Rethymno*. (2015), 314.

⁷⁸ Immanuel Bekker, ed., *Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopoleos: Epirotica, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1849), 83 via Tom Papademetriou, *Render Unto the Sultan*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 24.



Figure 18: Painting depicting the daily costume of Patriarch by Lambert de Vos, sixteenth-century Flemish painter and traveler⁷⁹.

While examining the legal entity that the Patriarchate corresponded to, first of all, we need to note that the patriarch was a “tax farmer” “*mültezim*”⁸⁰ by nature in the Ottoman administration. In the case of the Patriarchate, *iltizam* functioned through tax collecting via its administratively subordinate ecclesiastical entities. These taxes collected via local bishops to be submitted to the Patriarchate and ultimately to the Imperial Treasury. Nevertheless, the tax should not be confused with the jizya tax that non-Muslims paid for a protected status under the Ottoman rule, which will be explained in the third chapter. The bishops were not jizya collectors, however, they collected taxes for the revenue that was produced by the clergy through church

⁷⁹ Lambert de Vos, *Kostümbuch: Codex Ms. Or. 9*, (Bremen: Staats und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen, 1574), 232.

⁸⁰ Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-raising and Legitimacy* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 123.

holdings. The patriarch would represent the revenues of the entire organization of the Orthodox Church which collected all provincial Greek Orthodox churches. While not being authorized for jizya collection from subjects limited their role as an ultimate administrative power over the dhimmi communities, they still had a control over all the cleric entities that are connected to them⁸¹.

Mühimme defterleri appear among remarkable sources concerning the fiscal affairs of the Patriarchate. In these records, church officials are mentioned in disputes regarding submitting the collected taxes to the Imperial Treasury. The frequent mentioning of patriarchal tax “*patriklik rüsumu*” and metropolitan tax “*metropolidlik rüsumu*” shows how well-institutionalized the Patriarchate was within the system of *iltizam*⁸². In a document from 1489 records the *mültezim* of a town named Vatopedi refers to the Patriarchate’s responsibility to submit 2,000 florins annually to the Imperial Treasury.⁸³

Stephan Gerlach, Tübingen theologian from mid-sixteenth century spent five years between 1573 and 1578 in Istanbul close to the patriarchate and to the patriarch Jeremias II Tranos himself. He witnessed many occasions of the sixteenth-century patriarchate in which the Pammakaristos Monastery connects socially to the outer world. Concerning its fiscal affairs, Gerlach states that the senior priests who worked at the patriarchate were influential in the appointment of metropolitan bishops to various places. However, he complains that these appointments were not done by merit but through bribery to these priests at the patriarchate as well as to Ottoman

⁸¹ Tom Papademetriou, *Render Unto the Sultan*, 140-142.

⁸² Halil Inalcik, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600–1700,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980): 327. Ibid, 145.

⁸³ Georgios Salakides, *Sultansurkunden des Athos-Klosters Vatopedi aus der Zeit Bayezid II. und Selim I* (Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1995), No. 7. Cited in Ibid, 146.

officials and influential Orthodox elites such as Michael Kantakouzenos.⁸⁴ This fee, which Gerlach calls a bribe was called “*pişkeş*,” “fee of investiture”⁸⁵ in Ottoman administration. This fee was for the first time paid in 1466 by a patriarch named Markos Xylokaraves as he paid 1,000 florins for his investiture, however, he was accused of simony because no other patriarch ever paid any amount of gifts to the sultan⁸⁶. A decade later this procedure seems to be institutionalized so that *Historia Politica* and *Historia Patriarchica* chronicles of the sixteenth century mention a case in which Patriarch Raphael the Serb (1475–76) paid 500 florins of *pişkeş* for his investiture and promised 2,000 florins of taxes annually.⁸⁷ This claim should also be born in mind as a suggestion among the social connections of the Patriarchate along with its financial ties to the outer world.

Financial sources that fed Pammakaristos varied. Most regularly, liturgical practices provided the patriarchate with small but continuous funds since they often ended with participants donating to the patriarchate by making vows for the forgiveness of their sins.⁸⁸ The regular public visits to Pammakaristos did not only strengthen its social ties to its community, but also materialistically supported it. As a substantial financial source, some people donated their legacies to the patriarchate. Village of Ayastefanos, present day Yeşilköy, was a rich financial source with grape vineyards donated by wealthy Greek Orthodox subjects.⁸⁹ Primary donors of the patriarchal churches were mainly prominent clergymen and the Greek Orthodox elite that constituted the closer circles of the patriarchate. Donations could either be in

⁸⁴ Gerlach, 370

⁸⁵ Macit Kenanoğlu, *Osmanlı Millet Sistemi: Mit ve Gerçek*, (İstanbul: Klasik, 2004), 187.

⁸⁶ Papademetriou, 112.

⁸⁷ *Historia Politike*, ed. Bekker, 43; *Historia Patriarchica*, ed. Bekker, 114. Cited in Papademetriou, 114.

⁸⁸ Gerlach, 232

⁸⁹ Ibid, 232

cash, or in kind, like icons, books, vestments, and furniture. Neophytos the metropolitan of Ephesus has been recorded with his donations to the library of the patriarchal church.⁹⁰

Apart from donations, patriarch collected sums from Greek Orthodox communities that were subject to them in different places of the empire such as Peloponnese and Crete. They could also be collected by the Patriarch himself in person by making routine visits to them and checking their status⁹¹. The Patriarchate also received donations in kind, such as islands of Lesbos, Chios and Candia helped them with candles and tallow oils to be used in the very busy ceremonial schedule of the patriarchate⁹². However, all of these could have been insufficient to cover the expenses for all the social life of the Patriarchate. The preacher of the Patriarchate was in charge of feeding six persons each day, and dress them in silk to befit patriarchate's dignity, but his budget he had from the patriarch was not enough for all these. Therefore, as Gerlach suggests, he had to deal with additional occupations such as writing and making connections to the wealthy for "asking them for alms."⁹³

⁹⁰ Nicholas Melvani, "Patronage in Constantinople after 1453." In *En Sofia mathitéfsantes: Essays in Byzantine Material Culture and Society in Honour of Sophia Kalopissi-Verti*, eds. by Charikleia Diamanti and Anastasia Vassiliou, (Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing, 2019), 419-420.

⁹¹ Ibid, 99, 466.

⁹² Ibid, 307

⁹³ Ibid, 372. The version that I am referring uses the word "dilenmek" which literally means asking for alms, or begging in English. This might be considered as a metaphor in Gerlach's special ironic style of expression.



Figure 19: The earliest visual of Pammakaristos, presented in Martin Crusius' *Turcogreacia*, drawn based on observations of Stephan Gerlach⁹⁴. A contemporary copy is examined in Appendix.

The central Greek Orthodox building had a very busy ceremonial schedule that could interest all the Greek Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman empire, as well as many foreigner Orthodox Christians. In most rituals, the monastery was open for commoner Christian communities, while some was practiced only with an exclusive group of participants. St. Nicholas' day was celebrated with a commonly participated rite where people visited the patriarchate and made donations before leaving.⁹⁵ However, the lent, which covers fourteen days prior to Easter was celebrated mainly within the patriarchate residents without popular attendance by commoners who are occupied by their daily tasks during that period.⁹⁶ Some ceremonies were specifically

⁹⁴ Martin Crusius, *Turco-Graeciae, Libri Octo* (Basileæ: Per Leonardum Ostenium. Sebastiani Henricpetri impensa, 1584), 190.

⁹⁵ Stephan Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1575 1. Cilt*, trans. Türkis Noyan, ed. Kemal Beydilli, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2007), 155.

⁹⁶ Ibid 308

participated by influential Greek Orthodox spiritual figures. As an example, a ceremony that Gerlach witnesses for appointment of a new metropolitan met a high level of participation by leading clerics from different parts of the empire.⁹⁷



Figure 20: A liturgic procession of Greek Orthodox Ottoman subjects. Painted by Lambert de Vos.⁹⁸

As for the residents and the inner social dynamics of Pammakaristos, Gerlach writes that there are twenty monks who served the patriarch and lived at the monastery.⁹⁹

Another contemporary German theologian, Salomon Schweigger writes that there is

⁹⁷ Ibid 257.

⁹⁸ Lambert de Vos, *Kostümbuch: Codex Ms. Or. 9*, (Bremen: Staats und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen), fol. 101.

⁹⁹ Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü*, 232

also a janissary appointed to protect them together with the patriarch.¹⁰⁰ In addition to the aforementioned permanent residents, Pammakaristos was a very important stop for traveler monks. There used to be twenty to thirty traveler monks who come and go in various times of the year. Metropolitans and bishops from different lands along with patriarch's special guests were temporary residents of the complex.¹⁰¹ Another anecdote suggests that Patriarch himself was responsible for funding around ten monks' living. He sometimes had eight to ten dining invited guests to accompany him at the table. The meal on the table was shared by the aforementioned ten monks after the patriarch and guests finish their meal. After the monks, staff at the kitchen and the garden of the patriarchate ate lastly from the same table. Some staff such as the preacher, *pronotarius*, and a number of staff who was in charge of daily tasks such as inscribing would come and go on a daily basis to the monastery without spending the night there.¹⁰² Based on those accounts, we can understand the basics of patriarchal staff as the patriarch, the preacher, permanent monks, kitchen staff, gardeners, and day-time staff. Moreover, the gardeners as being mentioned by Gerlach suggests small-scale agricultural production, due to the smallness of the garden as can be seen in Fig 12.

To sum up, Pammakaristos, by not being the most popular monastery of the Byzantine Constantinople, was still a place that hosted a small-scale socialization by standing on a popular urban spot. It gained its renown specifically in its Ottoman history. Its embellishment, its well-preserved state and the non-Muslim population that surrounded it made it the most convenient place for placement of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate functioned in that

¹⁰⁰ Salomon Schweigger, *Sultanlar Kentine Yolculuk 1578-1581*, trans. Türkis Noyan, ed. Heidi Stein, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), 135.

¹⁰¹ Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü*, 232-233.

¹⁰² Ibid, 369

monument for almost two centuries. As a legal entity, although it did not have an ultimate authority over Greek Orthodox subjects, still undertook a very remarkable role thanks to its fiscal capacity on clerical taxes. Additionally, the patriarchate's ceremonials also connected it to outer world, and attracted people to the monument from all around the empire, and beyond.



CHAPTER 3

OTTOMAN TRADITIONS OF CONVERTING CHURCHES INTO ISLAMIC WORSHIP SPACES

The Ottoman state, having emerged in the western end of territories ruled by Turkic polities and expanded towards Byzantine territories, always experienced a multi-ethnic and multi-religious environment. As a result of that, they undertook a cross-religious urban inheritance from Byzantines. While building a new urban culture, the Ottomans preferred a selective maintenance of the legacy that was left by Byzantines, rather than a wholistic embracement or rejection, and early Ottoman architectural culture reflected this attitude. During the formation of Ottoman cities in former Byzantine territories, existing Byzantine monuments could be absorbed into the Ottomans' urban experience in various forms. This chapter aims to deal with how the Ottomans approached Greek Orthodox subjects and their places of worship, and the ways in which they were reused by Ottomans.

Before getting into these practices, here is a brief summary of the legal basis of dhimmi or non-Muslim existence in the Ottoman Empire, and their places of worship.

Dhimmi, as a legal term, takes its basis from *zimmet akdi* which literally means “contract of liability”. This contract is a procedure for providing the *ehl-i kitab* (people of book), which refers to the Jews and Christians, a protected status under Muslim rule in case they submit to the Muslim rule and pay a specific tax named *jizya*. This procedure is introduced to Islamic law by the twenty-ninth verse of surah al-Tawbah in the Koran:

Fight those who do not believe in Allah and the Last Day, nor comply with what Allah and His Messenger have forbidden, nor embrace the religion of

truth from among those who were given the Scripture, until they pay the tax, willingly submitting, fully humbled.¹⁰³

This legal procedure was for the first time applied by caliph Umar following his conquest of Mesopotamian lands with Christian and Jewish populations. After the conquest of Jerusalem, the patriarch Sopronios of Jerusalem and caliph Umar agreed on the pact. The Pact outlines that in return for assurances of life, property, and religious freedom, dhimmis consented to numerous restrictions that underscored their subordinate status. These restrictions included prohibitions against harming Muslims, bearing arms or riding horses with standard saddles, selling alcohol to Muslims, engaging in proselytization or public religious events, constructing new places of worship or repairing existing ones, teaching the Quran for controversial purposes, discouraging family members from converting to Islam, adopting Arab-like attire or hairstyles, and taking on Arabic honorific names.¹⁰⁴

Concerning these jizya-payer subjects and their places of worship in the Ottoman Empire, different provisions apply in different circumstances according to *shar'ī* law, which is Islamic law. In addition to shari law, Ottoman legal provisions were regulated through *fatwas* (jurisprudential opinions) issued by a religious high authority such as the *şeyhülislam* based on primary Islamic sources such as the Koran and prophet Muhammad's teachings (sunnah). Often building upon these fatwas, there are firmans, which are imperial declarations of operations that are legitimized by fatwas.

Concerning the non-Muslim places of worship, the commonly accepted legal opinion was that territories that were taken through sieges against the resistance of

¹⁰³ *The Koran*, Surah Tawbah, verse 29. Retrieved on <https://quran.com/9/29> on 15.11.2023.

¹⁰⁴ "Dhimma" in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia* vol:1 ed. Josef W. Meri, (Routledge: 2005), 205.

inhabitants instead of voluntary submission were subject to booty. This was technically because in these cases, voluntary submission of non-Muslims which Tawbah verse 29 talks about does not happen. Therefore, the town, along with all its sources ranging from human resources to material gains and its architectural heritage was considered as a trophy. In cases of conversion of such churches into Islamic spaces, their reorganizations in their afterlives were done through endowment documents, which are again rooted in the *shar'î* law.

Early Ottomans seem to have practiced the conversion of the most prominent church of newly conquered lands. Behind that practice, there might be the motivation for making their victory and sovereignty more visible by marking the most prominent architectural monument of a town. Below are accounts from various early Ottoman chroniclers that narrate Ottoman approaches to Byzantine churches in their capitals prior to Constantinople.

For earliest Ottoman practices of converting Christian worship into Islamic ones, fourteenth-century poet and historian Ahmedî writes the following poem concerning Orhan Gazi's conquest of Bursa:

Bursa'yı aldı ediben hisâr (He took Bursa and its castle)
Yıkıban anda kilisâyile deyr (He demolished its churches and monasteries)
Mescid eyledi binâ vü dâr-ı hayr¹⁰⁵ (He constructed mescids and houses of goodness)

Ahmedî also mentions Orhan's elder son Süleyman's victories in Rumelia as “Çok kilise yıkdı, mescid yapıldı ol” (He demolished many churches, and constructed mescids) and “İsa dapulduğu yerde ol zaman/Şimdi anılan Muhammeddür hemân¹⁰⁶”

¹⁰⁵ Ahmedî, “Dastan ve Tevarihu Mülûki Al-i Osman,” in *Osmanlı Tarihleri I*, ed. N. Atsız Çiftçioğlu, (Istanbul:1947), 10. Translation mine.

¹⁰⁶ Ahmedî, “Dastan,” 12-13. Translation mine.

(In places where once Christ was worshipped, now Muhammad is being commemorated) while giving clues on a very vivid mentality of ghaza.¹⁰⁷

Similarly, fifteenth century chronicler Aşıkpaşazade states conversions of many unidentified churches into Islamic spaces, starting from the conquests of Osman the founder of the Ottoman dynasty until the end of Mehmed II's reign. His poem below which he wrote on Osman's victory at Battle of Domaniç, reflects the velour in his narrative of conversion of churches as a sign of a triumph:

Bozıldı çan, çanlıklar, kilise (Church bells, belfries and churches were destroyed)
Makam oldu dine Allahu ekber¹⁰⁸ (With sounds of Allahuekber all became seat for Islam)

He mentions similar conversions of churches following Osman's conquest of Karacahisar, Orhan's conquest of Nicaea (converted most probably the one known as Hagia Sophia of Nicaea), Murad I's conquest of Pegeae, Mehmed II's conquest of Aenus (İnez/Enez), of Amasra, of Lesbos island, of Euboea, of Caffa, of Alexandria; and of various castles in and around Cilicia during the reign of Bayezid II¹⁰⁹.

Fifteenth-century historian Neşrî and sixteenth-century historian Kemalpaşazade also mention the conversion of Nicaea's central church into a Friday mosque, and a monastery into a madrasa.¹¹⁰

Aşıkpaşazade mentions the same procedure being followed as a monastery within the citadel of Bursa was converted into a mosque following the conquest of the city by Orhan.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Levent Öztürk, "İlk Osmanlı Fetihlerinde Kiliselerle İlgili Uygulamalar", *Uluslararası İznik Sempozyumu* (5-7 Eylül 2005), Bursa: İznik Belediyesi, 216.

¹⁰⁸ Aşıkpaşazade, *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarihi: Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, eds. Kemal Yavuz, and Mehmet Ali Yekta Saraç, (İstanbul: Gökkuşbu, 2007), 328.

¹⁰⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevarih*, 254. Translation mine.

¹¹⁰ Levent Öztürk, "İlk Osmanlı Fetihleri," p. 217. For Neşrî p.159, 163. For Kemalpaşazade p.219.

¹¹¹ Halil İnalçık, "Bursa", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/bursa#1> (25.09.2023).

Focusing specifically Constantinople's church conversions, policies towards Byzantine architecture varied from time to time, more frequently than the rest of the imperial territories, as being the capital made it the first to subject the changes in legal regulations. Starting from the reign of Mehmed II, the city was firstly perceived as a Roman heritage which was to be preserved with its multireligious and multiethnic richness, as much as possible. The way that the sultan perceived himself as a new Roman emperor suggests that he wished to takeover Constantinople with its entire legacy as the eastern Roman empire, rather than demolishing it and rebuilding the city from scratch.

Due to that mindset, not many conversions of churches into mosques and masjids took place in Constantinople during his reign. There are also historical debates concerning that parts of Constantinople were not subject to booty since these places individually surrendered to Mehmed II. This claim, which was mentioned by the sixteenth-century scholar Cenabi¹¹² for the first time is discussed in the following parts of this chapter.

Mehmed II put a special effort in reestablishing the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, and granted it the most prominent church of Byzantine Constantinople, the Church of the Holy Apostles. Later on, the patriarchate was to be moved to Pammakaristos, which was another Byzantine church but in a remarkably better state than Holy Apostles.¹¹³

¹¹² Cenabi, *Cenabi Tarihi, Türkçe Muhtasar Tercüme* (Nuruosmaniye Library in Istanbul) Nr. 3097, fol. 80b.

¹¹³ Nevra Necipoğlu, "Gennadios Scholarios and the Patriarchate: A Reluctant Patriarch on the 'Unhappy Throne'" in *The Holy Apostles: a lost monument, a forgotten project, and the presentness of the past*, eds. by Margaret Mullett and Robert G. Ousterhout (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library And Collection, 2020), 240.

Although some chronicles of that time tended to argue that most of the churches were converted, to support their triumphantly narrative and declamatory language, studies on the material culture and architectural history seem to suggest a less vigorous series of conversion practices in the reign of Mehmed II¹¹⁴. The most significant conversion of his reign was that of Hagia Sophia. Apart from that, three monasteries inside the city walls were converted for direct or indirect Islamic practices: Monastery of Pantepoptes was converted into a mosque complex “*imaret*” named Eski İmaret, Monastery of Pantokrator was converted into Zeyrek mosque complex with a madrasa, Monastery of Theotokos Kyriotissa was granted to Kalenderî dervishes as a worship and living space. The conversions were multifunctional, therefore, a Byzantine church was not always converted into a mosque or masjid, but had served multiple purposes and were highly pragmatic/functional conversions in the early post-1453 era of Istanbul¹¹⁵. Some of the churches were even used for accommodation for new Muslim inhabitants of the newly conquered city. In Galata, the Roman catholic church of St. Paul was converted into Galata Camii but named Arap Camii afterwards as Bayezid II granted it to Arab Muslims fled from Iberia. Waqfiyya of Mehmed II also mentions the Silivri Camii converted from a church¹¹⁶, which barely survived today.

The radical programme of collective conversions of the churches in Istanbul into mosques and masjids especially began during the reign of Mehmed II’s son Bayezid II. Unlike most of the conversions that happened during his father’s reign,

¹¹⁴ Levent Öztürk, “İlk Osmanlı Fetihleri,” p. 211.

¹¹⁵ Stefanos Yerasimos, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unun Kuruluşu", *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7. Yüzyılı: Uluslararası Bir Miras*, ed. Nur Akin, Afife Batur ve Selçuk Batur, (Istanbul: 1999) 204.

¹¹⁶ Ebu'l-Feth Sultan Mehmed Han Vakfiyesi (Ayasofya Vakfiyesi), National Library of Turkey, https://mk.gov.tr/GalleryFiles/250/ayasofya_vakfiyesi_defter-35339641-a0db-42de-a761-8fa0a28d5c32.pdf, p. 7.

the character of church-to-mosque conversions that took place in his reign had more symbolic motivations than pragmatic. Semavi Eyice interprets some of these conversions as a part of a program he calls the “reviving the idle buildings.”¹¹⁷ However, his conversions also bothered some churches that was already surrounded by Christians, such as the Studios Monastery into İmrahor İlyas Bey Mescidi,¹¹⁸ suggesting it was not idle but in active use. Practices of this kind evoke the idea that Bayezid II had very political agendas too, in addition to pragmatic. When he succeeded to the throne instead of his father’s favorite Cem Sultan, he had to consolidate his authority and to deal with an exhausted Ottoman elite stemming from coercive policies of Mehmed II. Mehmed’s so-called “tolerance” towards the non-Muslim subjects of Constantinople was highly unwelcomed by the Ottoman elite¹¹⁹. It triggered the Muslim elite too much that Çatladı has written the poem to complain:

If you wish to stand in high honor on the sultan’s threshold,
You must be a Jew or a Persian or a Frank, You must choose the name Habil,
Kabil, Hamidi,
And behave like Zorzi: show no knowledge.¹²⁰

In order to deal with this unfamous image left by his father, Bayezid II acted conspicuously conservative.¹²¹ The series of conversions of Byzantine churches of Istanbul seem to be a part of this program. In his three decades of rule, he converted

¹¹⁷ Semavi Eyice, "Bodrum Camii", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/bodrum-camii> (27.10.2023).

¹¹⁸ Semavi Eyice, "İmrahor İlyas Bey Camii", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/imrahor-ilyas-bey-camii> (27.11.2023).

¹¹⁹ Stephane Yerasimos, “Osmanlı İstanbul’unun Kuruluşu,” in *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı: Uluslarüstü Bir Miras*, (İstanbul: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, 2000), 196.

¹²⁰ As cited in Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 213 from: Ünver, *İstanbul’un mutlu askerleri ve şehit olanlar*, 24, and translated in Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, 508. Neither author indicates a specific source.

¹²¹ Kafescioğlu, *ibid.*

around twenty churches, which is almost half of the churches that have ever been converted in Istanbul since 1453, which Semavi Eyice argues to be around forty.¹²²

An alternative point of view for these conversions is argued by Baha Tanman. He points out to a very compelling fact that almost all Byzantine churches/monasteries that have been converted in Ottoman Istanbul had two functions: mosque and tekke.¹²³ Given Bayezid II's keenness on sufism, it would not be surprising to see there were so many tekke-mosques that were converted from Byzantine churches at his time. Eventually, it is a very intriguing spectacle that suggests that the Ottomans more or less associated Islamic mysticism with that of Orthodox mysticism.¹²⁴ Moreover, Bayezid II encouraged prominent members of Halveti order to endow Byzantine churches to serve as their lodges. In this period, his sufi network from Amasya where he spent time as a sanjak chief began coming to Istanbul. Among these people, Çelebi Halife was the first Halveti sheikh in Istanbul.¹²⁵ Kapucıbaşı Hacı Mustafa Paşa, who later on was to be known as Koca Mustafa Paşa endowed the church of St Andreas Kriesei by converting it into Kocamustafapaşa mosque complex, and the complex contained the first Halveti convent of Istanbul. Also, a Halveti shaikh from Nureddinzade Mustafa Muslihuddin from Filibe was granted the convent of the Küçük Ayasofya mosque, which formerly was converted from the church of SS Sergius and Bacchus by Hüseyin Aga.¹²⁶ In any case, apart from functionality, Ottoman conversions of Byzantine churches can be

¹²² Semavi Eyice, "İstanbul'da Kiliseden Çevrilmiş Cami ve Mescidler ve Bunların Restorasyonu", *VII. Vakıf Haftası (5-7 Aralık 1989)*, (Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 1990), 279.

¹²³ M. Baha Tanman, "The Adjustment of Chora Monastery to Ottoman Use" in *Biography of a Landmark, The Chora Monastery and Kariye Camii in Constantinople/Istanbul from Late Antiquity to the 21st Century*, (Brill, 2023), 146.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 147.

¹²⁵ Hasan Karataş, *The City as a Historical Actor: The Urbanization and Ottomanization of the Halvetiye Sufi Order by the City of Amasya in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2011), 117.

¹²⁶ Zeynep Yürekli, "A Building Between The Public And Private Realms of the Ottoman Elite: The Sufi Convent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Istanbul" *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 163 and 171.

considered as a way of intentionally inheriting and maintaining a spatial culture with a range of motivations.

The rise of the Safavids as a strong Muslim rival starts a new phase in Ottoman identity-building and their many policies towards their Muslim and non-Muslim subjects along with their religious spaces.

3.1 Crisis in anatolia and the rising safavid threat

In order to understand what was about to take place in Ottoman attitudes towards non-Muslim subjects and their monumental visibility in Ottoman cities in the sixteenth century, we need to take a brief look at the greatest crisis that Ottomans were to deal with throughout the century: series of Anatolian revolts, and the rise of Safavid threat in the East.

Briefly, Turcoman tribes with unsuitable lifestyles for Ottoman efforts to centralization triggered the tension in the early sixteenth century. These Anatolian subjects with sectarian differences tended to sympathize the greatest Muslim rivals of the Ottomans, Safavids. Towards the late sixteenth century, economically motivated series of revolts outbroke, and in the times of high tension, all these unfavorite subjects came to be labeled as heretics. Subsequently, a specific group of scholars known as the Kadızadelis emerged to widen the limits of imposing various fanatic Sunni ideas to not only Muslims with sectarian differences but also to non-Muslim subjects.

Turcoman subjects of Ottoman Empire in Anatolia had deeply-rooted discrepancies with their rulers. Many Anatolian Turcoman tribes embraced an unsettled pastoral lifestyle, remaining the essence of Turkic tradition. However, this mobile lifestyle prevented the institutionalized empire from investigating their

demographics, human and material resources in a remarkable piece of land in Anatolia. Moreover, a huge number of subjects were left out of service in terms of agricultural production because mobile communities were not appointed lands to cultivate¹²⁷. Likewise, uncontrollable nomadic tribes in southern and southeastern Anatolia were frequently engaged in robbery and banditry, and were considered as a big problem by the Ottoman authority.¹²⁸

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, as an extension of the former perturbation with a great displeasure concerning land tenure, the Celali revolts outbreak. A seventeenth-century pamphlet, prepared by Koçi Bey to be submitted to sultans Murad IV and Ibrahim investigates the reasons and background and dynamics of the series of Anatolian revolts which the Ottoman Empire had been suffering for almost two centuries. Koçi Bey's exploration argues that the turmoil has strong connections with economic instability that stemmed from the corruption in the land system, along with the corruption in janissary organizations through awarding timars to bandits who happened to help in the wars.¹²⁹ Therefore, these lands that were consigned to inadequate people resulted in perturbation in Anatolia along with an economic crisis.

Returning to the origins of the other factor that caused the separation between the Anatolian Turcomans and Ottomans, rooted in religious identity issues, began to significantly strain their relations as early as the fifteenth century. Terzioğlu argues that the increasing level of Sunnitizing did not start exclusively by the rise of the Safavids as a rival to the Ottomans, but in the second half of the fifteenth century the

¹²⁷ Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600*. (London: Phoenix, 1994), 27.

¹²⁸ Oktay Özel, "The Reign of Violence: The Celalis c. 1550–1700." *The Ottoman World*, (Routledge, 2011), 187.

¹²⁹ Yılmaz Kurt, *Koçi Bey Risalesi*, (Ankara: Akçağ, 2011) pp. 66-67.

development of a self-confident imperial hierarchy.¹³⁰ While Ottomans embraced and institutionalized through Sunni Islam, large Turcoman communities in Anatolia followed Alevite branch of Islam, which regarded Ali as a third main component of Islam after Allah and Muhammad.¹³¹ These groups, labeled heterodox by the Ottomans, inherited their culture of resistance since their Turcoman leader Uzun Hasan was defeated by Mehmed II in 1472.¹³²

A few decades later, Ismail, a blood relative of Uzun Hasan emerged as a spiritual and political leader based on his blood ties to a family of sheikhs from Ardabil. He, calling himself a “shah,” founded the dynasty of Safavids, and gained a strong popular support from those Turcoman tribes in addition to large populations from Iran and Azerbaijan.¹³³ In a very short time Safavids became able to undercut the already-fragile authority of Ottomans in Anatolia. Affirming Turcoman tribes’ nomadic lifestyle and discrete religious tendencies that departed from Sunni Islam, Safavids became a potential, and popularly-sympathized power to rule over these communities. Because, Shiite Islam, which was embraced by Safavids seemed like a closer belief system to that of Turcoman tribes. Hereby, a ready-to-burst turmoil in Anatolia was going to be well benefitted by the Safavids.

Shah Ismail appears as a political figure highly interested in Ottoman lands, considering his frequent correspondence with his followers in Anatolia. A letter of

¹³⁰ Derin Terzioğlu, ‘How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion’, *Turcica* 44 (2012–13), 320-24. Cited in Tijana Krstić, “Can We Speak of ‘Confessionalization’ beyond the Reformation? Ottoman Communities, Politics of Piety, and Empire Building in an Early Modern Eurasian Perspective.” in *Entangled Confessionalizations? Dialogic Perspectives on the Politics of Piety and Community-Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th–18th Centuries* (2022), 72.

¹³¹ Sümeyra Yakar, *Alevilikte Hak, Muhammed, Ali İnancı*. (Dissertation at Marmara Üniversitesi (Turkey), 2011) 8.

¹³² Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, 28.

¹³³ Ibid.

Shah Ismail from 1512 asks his envoy Ahmed Aka Karamanlu to follow his instructions, and inform on everything that takes place in his town.¹³⁴

Moreover, he and Selim I also corresponded and challenged each other in their letters. Selim I sent a letter to the Shah entirely embroidered with strong Koranic references. In his letter from 1514 he repeatedly refers to verses from the Koran to accuse Safavids with blasphemy and to ground his onsetting towards him and his supporters:

It has been heard repeatedly that you have subjected the upright community of Muhammad (Prayers and salutations upon its founder!) to your devious will, that you have undermined the firm foundation of the Faith, that you have unfurled the banner of oppression in the cause of aggression, that you no longer uphold the commandments and prohibitions of the Divine Law, that you have incited your abominable Shi'i faction to unsanctified sexual union and to the shedding of innocent blood.¹³⁵

This passage from Selim's letter presents a very superior tone putting himself in a place to judge the Shah for his degradation in religion. Moreover, monumental architecture immediately becomes a factor in Selim's discourse concerning Shah Ismail's corruption. The following passage might illuminate Selim's mindset while radically setting against the dhimmi architectural visibility in his own territories as well:

He has laid waste to mosques, as it is said, constructing idol temples in their stead, that you have torn the noble fiber of Islam with the hand of tyranny, and that you have called the Glorious Quran the myths of the Ancients.¹³⁶

Monumental architecture was indeed a very significant factor within the process of confession-building in these two empires. While Selim was pointing out to this

¹³⁴ Cihat Aydoğmuşoğlu, "Safevî Çağına Ait Üç Türkçe Mektup ve Değerlendirilmesi." *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 53.2 (2013), 416.

¹³⁵ Sultan Selim I and Shah Ismail, *Letter Exchange on the Battle of Chaldiran* (Aug. 1514), trans Mohammed Ballan, Internet Medieval History Sourcebook, Fordham University. Retrieved from (<https://ballandalus.wordpress.com/2014/08/23/500th-anniversary-of-the-battle-of-chaldiran-aug-1514-letter-exchange-between-sultan-selim-i-d-1520-and-shah-ismail-d-1524/> on 20.11.2023.)

¹³⁶ Sultan Selim I and Shah Ismail, *Letter Exchange*.

matter as per above, in the Safavid realm, monumental Friday mosques were used as tools to eliminate the accusations and to construct strongly rooted Shiite community.¹³⁷

Shah Ismail, mostly writing in Turkish language, descending from a Turcoman family, and having sheikhs in his family has remarkable advantages in building a leader figure among Anatolians, and he benefitted them in the best way. He shows no hesitation in threatening Selim I in his response letter by saying “Most of the inhabitants of the land of Rum are followers of our forefathers (May God the All-Forgiving King have mercy upon them!)” to draw attention to Turcoman roots. He continues by humiliating the Ottomans referring to the fiasco back in early fifteenth century in the face of Timur: “We have always loved the ghazi-titled Ottoman house and we do not wish the outbreak of sedition and turmoil once again as in the time of Timur.”¹³⁸

This correspondence points out to the Şah Kulu revolts (also known as the Kızılbaş revolts) which were led by Ottoman subjects highly affiliated with Safavids politically and confessionally, and became one of the greatest challenges that the Ottomans went through. Kızılbaş, a name given to the rebels of Anatolia for pejorative purposes on the Ottoman side, meant “red head” referring to the crimson-colored headwear that the Safavids and their adherent Turcomans in Anatolia wore. However, this head-wear actually was designed by Şeyh Haydar, the father of Şah Ismail for them to be distinguished with their commitment to the twelve Shiite

¹³⁷ Damla Gürkan-Anar, “Masjed-e Jame‘-ye ‘Abbasi: A Twelver Shi‘ite Congregational Mosque in the Context of the Debate on the Friday Prayer in the Safavid World” in *Entangled Confessionalizations? Dialogic Perspectives on the Politics of Piety and Community-Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th–18th Centuries* (2022), 401.

¹³⁸ Sultan Selim I and Shah Ismail, *Letter Exchange*.

imams.¹³⁹ Selim I, by his victory over Safavids in Çaldıran in 1514, slowed down the process of pro-Safavid movements in Anatolia,¹⁴⁰ however, there were centuries to come dealing with growing challenges of this kind. Proving the Safavid popularity among Alevite Turcoman tribes during the years of crisis in Anatolia, here is a passage from Turkish poet Pir Sultan Abdal, pointing to the religious crisis they were having with the Ottomans, and that how he would rather side with the Shah of Iran to get rid of it:

Alınmış abdestim aldırırlarsa (If they force me to ablute when I already am pure)
Kılınmış namazım kıldırırlarsa (If they force me to pray when my prayer is already done)¹⁴¹
Sizde şah diyeni öldürürlerse (If they kill whoever says Shah in your land)
Ben de bu yayladan şaha giderim¹⁴² (I would rather go to the Shah from this highland)

Hereby Anatolia became a place of resistance against Ottoman rule and drove the Ottomans to seek legitimacy for their Sunni governance. Throughout the turmoil, a strict confessionalization took place and it escalated the fanaticism while forcing people to take clear sides. There is a contemporary fatwa by şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi, legalizing calling the Kızılbaş heretics. This fatwa, clearly calls it a “greatest ghaza” to fight against the Kızılbaş, commands their immediate murder, and calls the killed fighters “noblest martyrs”. These provisions, according to the fatwa, stems both from the Kızılbaş’ rebellious status, and their blasphemy.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Ayşe Baltacıoğlu-Brammer, “One word, many implications: The term “Kızılbaş” in the early modern Ottoman context,” in V. Erginbaş (ed.), *Ottoman Sunnism: New perspectives*, (Edinburgh: 2019), 47.

¹⁴⁰ Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600*. (London: Phoenix, 1994), p.28-29.

¹⁴¹ There is a belief in Alevite Islam that Ali himself has ablated and pray in behalf of all the Alevite people.

¹⁴² Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, Pertev Naili Boratav. *Pir Sultan Abdal*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1943), 29.

¹⁴³ Ertuğrul Düzdağ ed., *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı*, (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi: 1983) 135.

Moreover, another contemporary fatwa also calls the Shia heretics, even though they say “la ilaha illallah.”¹⁴⁴ Therefore, the rivalry against another Muslim empire such as the Safavids, and the bloodshed were legitimized.

The mid-sixteenth century was marked by an effort to construct communities with more clearly defined religious identities, not only in the case of Ottomans and Safavids, but also in Christian realms with the rising tension between Catholics and Lutherans in Europe. This culture prepared ground in the Ottoman Empire for the emergence of the Kadızadelis, a group of preachers who defined their role as “commanding right and forbidding wrong” while imposing their highly radical and polarizing Sunni ideas to Ottoman society that were going to leave marks in the Ottoman cities for decades to come.¹⁴⁵ Now anathemizing was easier than ever. Eventually, a firman from 1630s, most probably taking courage from such fatwas, was to consider equal this entire quarrel with the so-called Kızılbaş subjects with fighting for the sake of the religion, while enouncing the sunni fighters to have the “pure spirit”:

Siz eben ‘an ced sünniyyül-mezheb ve *pak meşreb* olub abii ve ecdad-ı aliniz zamanlarında vakı‘ olan Kızılbaş seferlerinde nice bin müsellah yarar ve namdar ekrad-ı zaferkirdar ile asakir-i mansuremin önüne düşüp ve icray-ı gayret-i çihar-ı yar-güzin için *uğur-ı din-i mübinde can ve baş döğüşüp* nice fütuhat-ı cemileye bais olmuşsunuz.” (emphasis mine)¹⁴⁶

People in Anatolia were compelled to take a stand and become Sunni, in order not to be considered a heretic to be fought against. Ottomans, by calling the Safavid and their supporters the Kızılbaş heretics, declared themselves the only proper religious

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 136

¹⁴⁵ Tijana Krstić, "Can We Speak of 'Confessionalization' beyond the Reformation? Ottoman Communities, Politics of Piety, and Empire Building in an Early Modern Eurasian Perspective." *Entangled Confessionalizations? Dialogic Perspectives on the Politics of Piety and Community-Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th–18th Centuries* (2022): 42, 43.

¹⁴⁶ *Kanunname-i Sultani Li Aziz Efendi* ed. Rhoads Murphey (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985): 133.

sovereign over a large territory. The effort in drawing strict lines was reflected in many Ottoman imperial policies.

A sixteenth-century folk poet Seyyid Nizam complains about this tumultuous atmosphere as follows:

Zulm ile doldu dünya yoktur huzura imkân (The world is full of oppression,
and there is no chance for peace)
Ma'mur olan yerleri zalimler etti viran¹⁴⁷ (Tyrants ruined where has been
once prosperous)

The fanaticism that suppressed the Muslim subjects to choose specific sectarian identities and caused a major bloodshed inevitably affected the dhimmi subjects too, and the architectural experience of non-Muslim subjects was a very prominent factor to be targeted by the Ottoman policies that imposed Sunni orthodoxy and Sunni practices upon non-Sunni populations.

3.2 Legal regulations for converting churches in the times of crisis

In these times of crisis, as the Safavids challenged the Ottomans humiliating their religious identity, a way of proving them wrong was to reconsider the policies towards non-Muslim subjects within the empire. Their visibility in monumental experience in Ottoman cities began to be reduced. This program covered mass conversion of churches into mosques, as well as removing many artistic elements with facial representations inside of the already-converted structures. They were so eager that churches that have been never considered to be converted were now being subject to conversion. There is an attempt to convert all the churches of Istanbul, which was thought to be between 1517 and 1539, and attributed to both Selim I and

¹⁴⁷ Mehmet Yardımcı, “Osmanlı Döneminde Çeşitli Düzensizlikler Karşısında Aşıkların Davranışları” in Çukurova Üniversitesi Türkoloji Araştırmaları Merkezi. Accessed on 03.01.2024 on <https://turkoloji.cu.edu.tr/HALKBILIM/17.php>.

Süleyman I,¹⁴⁸ based on the shar'î provision that churches of cities that were conquered through surrender were subject to conversion.¹⁴⁹ However this attempt contradicted the rights granted to non-Muslims of the city by Mehmed II, and the essentials of the city's demography. In order to prove the discomfort this decision would bring, sixteenth-century scholar Hüsam Çelebi wrote his *Risale* that suggested a different judicial opinion about the ownership of these churches.¹⁵⁰ According to this opinion, these churches belonged to the conqueror, and they could be used accordingly the wish of the conqueror, without being restricted to conversion.

Here are examples from contemporary Ebussuud fatwas to summarize the officially accepted legal opinion concerning churches in the sixteenth century: First of all, in order to build a church that formerly did not exist in a city conquered by sword, this could only happen by the permission of the sultan.¹⁵¹ These churches that have been built after Muslim rule are mentioned as "*hudus*." In Ebussuud's fatwas, protection and repairing of a *hudus* church is subject to different provisions than repairing an old (*kadim*) church that existed before the Muslim rule.¹⁵² However, in the law code of Selim I, building a *hudus* church in a place where there was no *kadim* church was prevented although it was possible and was practiced previously.¹⁵³

Fatwas of Ebussuud Efendi regulated the procedures of repair and protection of *hudus* churches. His fatwas prevent the repair of a *hudus* church in cases of fire or

¹⁴⁸ See Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 523, footnote number 61 for further readings.

¹⁴⁹ Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 56.

¹⁵⁰ Levent Öztürk, "Hüsam Çelebi'nin Risale Ma'mule li Beyani Ahvâlî'l-Kenaisi Şer'an Adlı Eseri", *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 5 (2001), pp. 135-156.

¹⁵¹ Abdullah Demir, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi'nin Kiliselerle İlgili Bazı Fetvaları", 6

¹⁵² Ebussuud Efendi, *Fetâvâ*, Süleymaniye Library, İsmihan Sultan, nr. 223, fol. 101a-103a in Abdullah Demir, Ramazan Günay, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi'nin Fetvaları Fetava-Yi Ebussuud*, (İstanbul: SD Yayınevi, 2020), 371-72.

¹⁵³ Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri Ve Hukukî Tahlilleri [Yavuz Sultan Selim Devri Kanunnâmeleri]*. (İstanbul: Cihân Matbaası, 1991, 377.)

"Ba'zı yerlerde kadim kâfir zamanından berü kilise olmayan yerlerde kilise ihdâs olunmuş, onun gibi cedit ihdâs olunmuş kiliseler yıkdırılıb ve içinde oturub b tecessü-i ahvâl edüb diyâr-ı küffâra haber eden keferenin ve papasların muhkem haklarından geline, ve siyâsetler oluna"

damage while the *kadim* (old) churches could be repaired. In cases of suspicion on identifying whether a church is *hudus* or *kadim* in order to decide on its rights for repairing, testimonies are considered. If there are equal testimonies on both sides, the church is accepted as *hudus* and prevented from repair. Similarly, while deciding whether a church is subject to provisions of conquest by sword or that of surrender, testimonies are considered and in cases of equivalent testimonies, the church is subjected to the provisions of conquest by sword¹⁵⁴ which meant that the church could be made use by Muslims, in the way the sultan permits. These judicial opinions of Ebussuud Efendi clearly applies a hierarchy in preferring pro-sunni practices over the earlier and slightly more liberal policies towards the dhimmi religious architecture.

Churches that have never been subject to conversion also became a topic in Ebussud's legal discussions. As legal basis for their conversions were reshaped, it became easier to limit the visibility of non-Muslim elements within Ottoman urban spaces. There is a specific fatwa on converting churches into masjids, or demolishing them. This fatwa also seems to interest the conversion discussions of Pammakaristos:

Mesele: Anvaten feth olunan şehirde Müslümanlar mahallesi ortasında bir kilise olsa Müslümanlar kilise-i mezbureyi yıktırıp yerine mescid bina ettirmeye kâdir olur mu?

(Issue: Are Muslim subjects in control of demolishing a church which is surrounded by Muslim neighborhoods in a city conquered by sword?)

El-Cevab: Anvaten feth olunduğu şer'la sabit olacak izn-i sultanî ile olur. Ebussuud.¹⁵⁵

(Response: In case the conquest by sword is proven, it is possible to demolish the church by the permission of the Sultan.)

¹⁵⁴ Ebussuûd Efendi, *Fetâvâ*, Süleymaniye Ktp., İsmihan Sultan, nr. 223, fol. 101 in Demir and Günay, *Fetava*, 372. Translation mine.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, fol. 101a. Translation mine.

This fatwa prepares ground for many conversions to be done only by sultan's initiative. Interestingly, there are repetitive fatwas determinedly prohibiting the reuse of converted churches by the dhimmi as churches again, suggesting that cases of this kind have happened more than once.¹⁵⁶ Sometimes Christians even fought with arms to get back their former spaces of worship.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, there are administrative records reporting similar cases in and outside of Istanbul: In Alexandria a church was ordered to be transformed into a mosque, however Christians in the town resisted, and bribed the authorities in order to prevent it from conversion and to keep it as a church.¹⁵⁸ In Cyprus, a converted mosque was reported to be reconverted into a church and was used for Christian practices by the locals.¹⁵⁹ The same case was reported in Crete in the seventeenth century.¹⁶⁰

In addition to this fatwa of Ebussuud, there is an imperial attempt to convert all the churches into mosques of Istanbul, by reportedly Selim I or Suleyman I.¹⁶¹ A sixteenth-century scholar from a family with Byzantine origin, Manuel Malaxos also narrates about that in his book *Historia Patriarchica*. According to him in 1539, after

¹⁵⁶ Ömer Nasuhi Bilmen, *Hukuk-ı İslamiye ve Istılahât-ı Fıkhiyye Kâmusu*, (İstanbul-1985), v. 3, 427.

¹⁵⁷ Rossitsa Gradeva, "Ottoman Policy Towards Christian Church Buildings", *Etudes Balkaniques*, XXX/4 (Sofya 1994), 3 56.

¹⁵⁸ The summary of the document at BOA with the code A.{DVNSMHM.d. 39-398: Dukakin Beyine, İskenderiye, Bar ve Ülgün kadılarına ve İskenderiye beyinin kaymakamına hüküm: Bar Kalesi'nin ortasında bir büyük kilise olup zabt olunduğu zaman cami olması kararlaştırıldığı halde Hristiyanlar rüşvet vererek camiye tahvil ettirmedikleri ve camiye dahi ihtiyaç olduğu cihetle camiye tahvil olunması ve Hristiyanlar varoşa çıkıp sakin olmaları bildirilmekle tahkik edip mesele arz olunduğu gibi ise kiliseyi cami edip ve kilise iken ne kadar evkafı varsa yine camiye vakf edilmesi.

¹⁵⁹ The summary of the document at BOA with the code A.{DVNSMHM.d. 42-584: Evvelce cami haline konup namaz kılınan bir kilisenin tekrar kilise haline kalbolunduğu bildirilmekle tahkikat icrası ve şer'in vereceği hükme göre hareket olunmasına dair Kıbrıs beylerbeyisi ve kadısı ile Magosa ve Lefkoşa kadılarına hüküm.

¹⁶⁰ The summary of the document at BOA with the code A.{DVNSMHM.d. 108- 1232: Kapudan Vezir el-Hac Hüseyin Paşa'ya: Girit'in fethinde camiye çevrilen kilisenin sonradan yine kilise olarak kullanıldığı haber alındığından doğru ise sebep olanların cezalandırılması.

¹⁶¹ For a series of evidence to date this attempt see: Christos Patrinelis, 'The Exact Time of the First Attempt of the Turks to Seize the Churches and Convert the Christian People of Constantinople to Islam', in *Actes du premier congres international des etudes balkaniques et sud-est europeennes*, 3, (Sofia:1969). pp. 567- 72,

a certain fatwa was submitted to the sultan by scholars. This fatwa stated that Constantinople was taken by sword, that the city's churches were prohibited from being used for prayer, and that they were to be destroyed. Following that fatwa, Süleyman I ordered this collective conversion.¹⁶²

This attempt, contradicting previous practices, led the way to the conversion of a number of Istanbul's churches that were not converted yet, such as Hagios Ioannis ho Prodromos en to Trullo's conversion into Hırami Ahmed Paşa mescidi. A very interesting record from 1581 CE reports a case in which a church in the neighborhood of Patrik (Patriarch) was converted into a mescid, on grounds that it had been a space of Muslim prayers once and was later abandoned. Following that, the local Christians occupied it "*kefere eline düşüb*" (for original text, see Appendix B) and used it as a church again. Therefore, a *hüküm* to the qadi of Istanbul orders the reconversion of this church into a mescid¹⁶³. This church, because of the very short distance to the Patriarchate, may well have been the Hagios Ioannes Prodromos. Alternatively, this can be one of the smaller churches that barely survived today in that vicinity, since there is another document that probably refers to the church of St. John. An edict dated 992 H/1584 CE on converting a church in the neighborhood of Beyceğiz into a mosque and Friday prayer to be practiced inside, in the name of a military victory¹⁶⁴. This church can also be the church of St. John since the church can also be located in the Beyceğiz neighborhood.

¹⁶² Martin Crusius, *Turco-Graeciae*, Libri Octo (Basileæ: Per Leonardum Ostenium. Sebastiani Henricpetri impensa, 1584), 156. Cited by Kordatos, p. 75.

¹⁶³ The summary of the document at BOA with the code A.{DVNSMHM.d... 52-44: İstanbul kadısına hüküm: İstanbul'da Patrik Mahallesi'nde bir kilise vaktile mescid edilüp içinde namaz kılındıktan sonra hali kalup yine Hristiyanların eline geçüp kilise olduğu bildirilmekle tekrar mescid eylemesi hakkında.

¹⁶⁴ The summary of the document at BOA with the code TS.MA.e 892-15: İstanbul Beyceğiz mahallesinde kilise iken Darussaade Ağası Mehmed Ağa tarafından mescide tahvil edilen binanın Cuma namazı kılınacak şekilde camiye tahvili ve hatip tayinine dair III. Murad'ın İstanbul kadısına hükmü.

3.3 Conversion of Pammakaristos Monastery into Fethiye Mosque

The conversion of Pammakaristos into a mosque could not very easily be decided on. Rather, it has a very long history in legal discussions among Ottoman scholars. The first petition for its conversion into a mosque is argued to be done as early as the reign of Bayezid II, due to its vicinity housing a growing Muslim population. However, this petition was not accepted by the Ottoman rule considering Pammakaristos' special case being the seat of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate.¹⁶⁵ However, the monastery had become a topic for discussion during the reign of Selim I again. Selim's reign that covered the stressful Safavid threat and identity crisis might have motivated him to reconsider the status of his non-Muslim subjects. The aforementioned firman, which has been dated to the reign of Selim I and Suleyman I that commands the conversion of all the churches into mosques in Istanbul exactly reflects this mindset. An anecdote that is published by Joseph von Hammer, without any primary source references, narrates an interesting case. One day Selim I asks his mufti Zenbilli Ali Paşa, which one would be more virtuous; to conquer the entire world, or to convert every people to Islam. Zenbilli Ali Efendi, avoiding any risk, says that the latter is more virtuous. And this is when Selim I orders the conversion of all his Christian subjects into Islam, or they would be subject to death.¹⁶⁶ However, this did not apply to Pammakaristos, since contemporary patriarch Theophanes I could manage to meet the sultan in Edirne to convince him that Pammakaristos should stay as a church. His argument was based on two things: he first brought forward Mehmed II's *berat* which grants the church for their use. This

¹⁶⁵ Feridun Emecen, "İstanbul nasıl Alındı", in *Osmanlı İstanbulu I : bildiriler: 29 Mayıs- 1 Haziran 2013*, (eds. Feridun M. Emecen, Emrah Safa Gürkan), 38.

¹⁶⁶ Feridun Emecen, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, (İstanbul: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2010) pp. 358-359. Referring to Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Werke Geschichte Des Osmanischen Reiches*, IV, 1963. 255-6.

idea was supported by a booklet prepared by Hüsam Çelebi, a contemporary scholar, based on the judicial opinion that, even a besieged city could host churches, because their way of use was decided the by the conqueror. Therefore, Pammakaristos legally could stay as a church, if the conqueror had decided so.¹⁶⁷ However, when the sultan asked to see the *berat*, Patriarch Theophanes I could not bring it, stating that the original *berat* was not found probably because it was burnt during a fire. Hereby, with the suggestion of contemporary grand vizier Piri Mehmed Paşa, the patriarch found and brought two old men who were present as janissaries at the siege of Constantinople in 1453. The two men affirmed the rights granted by Mehmed II along with the use of the monastery of Pammakaristos.¹⁶⁸

The *Vita* of St Pimen of Zographou in Mount Athos also states that the contemporary (late sixteenth or early seventeenth century) sultan allowed Christians to build their churches.¹⁶⁹ This argument, along with the narratives presented by Hammer brings questions of authenticity, by contradicting the law code of Selim I that clearly prohibits building new churches in Ottoman territories where there was no churches in the pre-conquest era, which is mentioned above. Also, a fatwa of Ebussuud prohibits the building of a church in a religiously mixed town that hosts a *mescid* for Friday prayer and a *mekteb* for Koranic studies. Building new churches upon the remains of an old monastery must have emerged as a solution to this legal obstacle such as Zographou monastery in Mount Athos in early nineteenth century, however, still triggered Muslim settlers in the villages nearby.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Levent Öztürk, "Hüsam Çelebi'nin Risale Ma'mule li Beyani Ahvâli'l-Kenaisi Şer'an Adlı Eseri", *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 5 (2001), pp. 135-156.

¹⁶⁸ Yannis Kordatos, *Bizans'ın Son Günleri*, (trans. M. Baca, İstanbul: 1999), 76-77.

¹⁶⁹ Rossitsa Gradeva, "Ottoman Policy," 355.

¹⁷⁰ Rossitsa Gradeva, "Ottoman Policy," 354

The discussion on conversion of churches (and perhaps the specific case of Pammakaristos) was repeated during the reign of Süleyman I, as it was asked to Ebussuud Efendi if Istanbul and the surrounding towns were conquered through sword or through surrender, and Ebussud Efendi responded as the following:

El-Cevab: Ma‘ruf olan ‘anveten fetihdir amma kenais-i kadime hâli üzere ibka olunmak sulhle fethe delalet ider. Sene hamse ve erba‘in ve tis‘a miete tarihinde bu husus teftiş olunmuşdur. Yüz on yedi yaşında bir kimesne ve yüz otuz yaşında bir kimesne bulunub “Yehûd ve Nasara el altından sultan Muhammed ile ittifak idüb onlar tekfura nusret itmeyecek olub Sultan Muhammed dahi onları seby itmeyüb halleri üzere mukarrer idecek oldu bu vecihle feth olundı” deyu müfettiş mahzarında şehadet idüb bu şehadet ile kenais-i kadime hali üzerine kalmışdır. Ebussuud.¹⁷¹

(It (the city of Constantinople) is known to be conquered by sword, however, the existence of churches left as churches suggests surrender. It was inspected in the year 945 H. (1539 CE.) through the testimonies of two men in the ages of 117 and 130 stating that Jews and Christians made a secret deal with the Sultan Mehmed II to ally him in return for his promise to protect them in their current lifestyle. Based on that, the old churches were left in their status as churches.)

This answer suggests to be the same incident mentioned by Manuel Malaxos in his *Historia Partriarchica* written in 1587. According Malaxos’ story, Patriarch Jeremiah I had to convince Sultan Suleyman I not to convert Pammakaristos into a mosque. Therefore, he first reminded the sultan his father Selim I’s decision, and he argued that the city of Constantinople was not completely taken by siege, but partially it surrendered the Ottomans. Pammakaristos was in the surrendered part of the city, thus, it was not subject to being converted as a part of booty, just like the ones in Fener, Samatya, İmrakor, Narlıkapı.¹⁷² In order to prove this argument, he

¹⁷¹ Ebussuûd Efendi, *Fetâvâ*, Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul., İsmihan Sultan, nr. 223, fol. 101a in Abdullah Demir, Ramazan Günay, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi’nin Fetvaları Fetava-yi Ebussuud*, (İstanbul: SD Yayınevi, 2020) 370.

¹⁷² Feridun Emecen, “İstanbul nasıl Alındı”, in *Osmanlı İstanbulu I : bildiriler: 29 Mayıs- 1 Haziran 2013*, (eds. Feridun M. Emecen, Emrah Safa Gürkan), 37.

found two Muslim men who joined the siege of Constantinople in 1453, and they affirmed that these parts of Constantinople were not taken by sword, because when the soldiers arrived, people volunteered to surrender.

It is interesting that no Ottoman chronicles and eye witnesses of the siege mentions a surrender. Yannis Kordatos argues that the repetitive narratives of historians such as Aşıkpaşazade and Kritovoulos, who was based at Mehmed II's court, might be a way of glorifying the conquest by reciting how bloody it was, and raising up the Sultan's his title "*fatih*," the conqueror.¹⁷³ However, the two eye witnesses' testimonies were mentioned in various secondary works, such as Stephan Gerlach, as well as nineteenth-century historian Athanasios Ypsilantis, who mentions this occasion to have taken place during the meeting of Theoleptos with Selim I.¹⁷⁴

Eventually, these arguments might have convinced Süleyman I, so that Pammakaristos could maintain its status as the seat of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate for decades to come as this fatwa prevented its conversion until the reign of his grandson Murad III.

Pammakaristos monastery differed from other converted monasteries, being a very actively used monastery as the seat and the central building of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. After attempts by four sultans, Bayezid II, Selim I, Süleyman I, and Selim II, the monastery was finally converted into Fethiye Mosque during the reign of Murad III.

The earliest archival document that mentions the conversion of Pammakaristos into Fethiye is included in a *mühimme defteri* from 996 H/1588 CE,

¹⁷³ Yannis Kordatos, *Bizans'ın Son Günleri*, (trans. M. Baca, İstanbul: 1999), 74.

¹⁷⁴ Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü*, 371. Athanasios Ypsilantis, (G. Afthonidis Haz.). Εκκλησιαστικών και πολιτικών των εις δώδεκα βιβλίων Η', Θ' και Ι' ήτοι τα Μετά την Αλωσιν (1453-1789), (Atina: Noti Karavia, 1972), 62. (Cited by Kordatos in Ibid.) cited in Ibid.

along with an order of an amount of lead to cover the outer domes of the structure.¹⁷⁵

This document states that the church of the Patriarch was to be converted into a mosque to commemorate a certain victory.

Interestingly, although the conversion of Pammakaristos had been a hot topic among officials and scholars since decades ago, the conversion, when it is finally done, is not recorded in much detail, or did not survive today. The mosque is recorded to be connected to the waqf of Murad III's tomb in a register from 1099 H/1688 CE recording a staff appointment.¹⁷⁶ However, the waqfiyya of Murad III's tomb, preserved at the archives of Turkish Republic Directorate General of Pious Foundations¹⁷⁷ makes no mention of the Fethiye mosque.¹⁷⁸ This absence might be because the TRDGF waqfiyya dates to a few years earlier than the completion of Fethiye's conversion and preparation for service. It can be assumed that the mosque was completed and was added to the tomb waqf later.

Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger questions the uncertainty on the exact time when the structure began to serve as Fethiye mosque. She traces the name of "Fethiye Camii" in various primary sources, and argues that it was not earlier than 1594 that the monument opened its doors to public visitors as a mosque.¹⁷⁹ Based on evidence from Ottoman sources the conversion was most possibly completed in 1593/1594. The presence of the names *Patrik mahallesi* and *Patrik kilisesi* in two

¹⁷⁵ The summary of the document at BOA with the code A.{DVNSMHM.d.62-403: Kratova kadısına hüküm: İstanbul'da patrik kilisesi denilen kilisede fetih günü ezan okunduğuna müslümanlar şahadet etmekle cami olmasına şer'le hüküm olduğundan tahtı kazasından bin kantar kurşun tedarik edip göndermesi hakkında. Full text is in appendix.

¹⁷⁶ The summary of the document at BOA with the code TS.MA.e 1289-123: İstanbul'da vaki Sultan Murad Han Türbesi Evkafı'ndan Fethiye Cami'inde yevmi iki akçe vazife ile devirhan olan Abdülhalim'in fevtiyle mahlül vazifinin oğlu İsmail Halife'ye verildiği.

¹⁷⁷ Herein after "TRDGF".

¹⁷⁸ Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi Sultan Murad Salis ibni Sultan Selim (1396 Nolu Defter) (Kasa 147).

¹⁷⁹ Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger, "zum Datum Der Umwandlung Der Pammakaristoskirche in Die Fethiye Camii." *Byzantion (Bruxelles)* 77, (2007): 32-41.

Tahrir defters from 1546¹⁸⁰ and 1600¹⁸¹ also suggests that the neighborhood and residential tendencies did not change so much yet. A seventeenth century history by Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Selânikî*, mentions the appointment of a *bina emini* (supervisor for construction) to Fethiye Camii in late 1593. Moreover, a firman by Sultan Murat III in March 1594 regulates the Muslim settlement in the vicinity of the mosque¹⁸². These sources suggest that the church was left empty for a few years before the transformation started in 1591/1592, and the construction continued until 1593/1594. Therefore, it is possible to assume that the waqfiyya was issued earlier than Fethiye's completion, and was added to Murad III's tomb waqf afterwards.

As for the fate of the seat of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, it was not abolished as an institution, by the conversion of Pammakaristos. Indeed, it started a journey to be moved among different churches of Istanbul: It was first moved into a chapel in a mansion known as Eflak Konağı in Fener until it was decided to be moved to Hagios Dimitrios in 1597. Finally, in 1602 it was transferred to the Monastery of Hagios Georgios where still hosts the Patriarchate up to the present day.¹⁸³ This mobility of the Patriarchal seat among several churches throughout two centuries suggests that there were a number of churches which were still not converted at least until 1602. Moreover, a thirteenth-century church named Kanlı Kilise located in Balat is a rare example that remains having never been converted into a mosque since 1453. It was still attempted to be converted in the reign of

¹⁸⁰ *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defter 935 (1546) Tarihli*, eds. Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1970).

¹⁸¹ *İstanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri 1009(1600) tarihli*, Mehmet Canatar, ed. (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 2004.)

¹⁸² Ahmet Refik, *Onbirinci Asr-ı Hicrî'de İstanbul Hayatı* (1592-1688), İstanbul, 1988, S. 13, Nr. 27. For the original text of the document, see appendix. Cited by Effenberger in Ibid, 40.

¹⁸³ M. Süreyya Şahin, "Fener Rum Ortodoks Patrikhânesi", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/fener-rum-ortodoks-patrikhanesi> (20.11.2023).

Ahmed III, although it was under protection through two firmans by Mehmed II and Bayezid II. After all, with the help of the efforts by renowned Greek elite of the eighteenth-century Istanbul, it managed to remain as a church.¹⁸⁴ Cases of this kind suggest that Istanbul's churches and dhimmi communities were facing multi-faceted policies and Ottoman rule's decisions concerning them were changing from time to time, instead of a uniform mindset stemming from Sunni fanaticism that lasted for centuries.

Getting back to the agendas and problems of the late sixteenth century, and Pammakaristos' conversion; it could only be done during the reign of Murad III after four sultans and decades of debates and a struggle on the part of the Patriarchs. A crucial question that arises from this conversion is: why would a victory in Georgia directly affect the central architectural structure of Greek Orthodox subjects in Istanbul? In fact, there might have been an indirect connection between the war fought in Georgia and Azerbaijan with the center of a dhimmi community in Istanbul. The war in the East was fought against the Shia, the legally-approved heretic according to Ottoman legislation since the fatwas of Ebussuud in sixteenth century. The bloodshed of decades was a political and a particularly religious contestation. Therefore, celebrating a victory over "unbelievers" could actually have been commemorated through a takeover of a prominent monument of another unbeliever community such as the Greek Orthodox.

Or, an alternative narrative to Azerbaijan-Georgia victory and its relation to Pammakaristos can be put forward through a closer reading of archival documents. The timing of Pammakaristos' conversion suggests various possibilities concerning the background of this decision. Secondary literature often assumes the monastery to

¹⁸⁴ Karen A. Leal, "Communal matters" in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, eds. Shirine Hamadeh, Çiğdem Kafescioğlu (Brill, 2021) 365-393.

be converted into a mosque following a military victory in Azerbaijan and Georgia which happened in 1578-79, therefore, it was the conquest that gave its name to the mosque. This assumption was first introduced in the 1912 publication of Alexander van Millingen.¹⁸⁵ However, as discussed above, findings of Asutay-Effenberger reveal that the conversion process was completed around 1594. By that time, there were more recent military victories than the one in Azerbaijan and Georgia. Contemporary histories by Naima and Selaniki mention such successful events in military campaigns to Hungary that resulted with Ottoman victory in late 1593, which possibly had inspired the name “Fethiye.”¹⁸⁶

Nevertheless, this victory alone still does not seem to have so much to do with the conversion decision itself, according to the following primary sources. The earliest survived document from 1588 that mentions the conversion makes no references to that victory at all but simply refers to the conquest of Istanbul:

In the city of Istanbul, in the time of its conquest, it was testified by Muslims that the blessed azan was recited inside the Patriarchal church, therefore, it became a blessed mosque according to the *shar’i* law. Hereby this is the imperial decision for constructing a mosque in my blessed name [...] ¹⁸⁷
Interestingly, within the same decade, another document also makes a

reference to conversion of a church in the neighborhood of Patrik. Very similarly, this church is also claimed to have been prayed inside right after the conquest of Istanbul, therefore legally it had become a mosque. However, the document states that it “fell into the hands of the infidel” and became a church again. Hence, the

¹⁸⁵ van Millingen, 148.

¹⁸⁶ Asutay-Effenberger, “Zum Datum,” 9.

¹⁸⁷ BOA A.{DVNSMHM.d. 62-403. Translation mine. Original text is as follows: “Maḥrûse -i İstanbul’da vâkı’ olan Paṭriḳ Kilisesinde maḥmiye-i mezbûre feth olundıkda ezân-ı şerîf okundığına müslümanlar şehâdet idüp cami’-i şerîf olmasına şer’le hüküm olunduğu eelden kendü nâm-ı şerîfime câmi’ binâ olunmak için niyet-i hümayunum olub [...]”

church was to be reconverted into a mosque.¹⁸⁸ Apparently, something made the Ottomans suddenly remember about these cases that would have happened approximately 150 years ago, and trace those churches one by one to reconvert them into mosques. This seems like a pattern starting from the sixteenth century, given the gradual Islamization of built environment in that vicinity, which will be discussed in the last chapter of this thesis.

Getting back to the conversion of Pammakaristos, Gerlach writes that it was done for nothing but the nice location the patriarchate occupied.¹⁸⁹ The sixteenth-century anonymous *Historia Patriarchica* supports this by pointing out to the monumental visibility of Pammakaristos, by informing us about when Rüstem Paşa the son-in-law of Suleyman I ordered the cross stood upon the bell tower of Pammakaristos to be put down during a polemic with the patriarch Dionisius. According to *Historia*, given the location of Pammakaristos on a hill higher than all its surroundings, the cross was visible from afar, and every Christian knew where their patriarchate was, just by looking at it. When the cross was removed, it caused a great sorrow on them.¹⁹⁰ Accordingly, a century later, Ayvansarayi talks about a litigation, “*niza*” for reason of the conversion:

Possession being taken of it in the year one thousand [1591-92] as a result of litigation, the sultan of the time, His Majesty Murad Khan the Third, converted it into a blessed mosque.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ A.{DVNSMHM.d. 52 – 44. Original text is as follows, also in the appendix: İstanbul kâzısına hüküm ki: şüret-i sicil gönderüp mahrûse-i İstanbul’da Patrik mahallesinde (damaged part) bir kenîse İstanbul fethinden sonra mescid olup içinde namâz kılınmış iken ? ve sair (damaged part) kimesne hizmet eylemeyüp mescîd hâli kalmaklı kefare eline düşüb kenîse olduğu ‘udûl-i müslimînden nice ihtiyâr kimesneler şehâdet eyledikleri (damaged part) imdi huşûş-ı mezbûr pâye-i serîr a’lâma arz olundıkda üslûb-u sâbık üzre mescîd olmasını emr idüb buyurdım ki: Vuşûl (damaged part) zıkr olunan kenîseyi girü üslûb-u sâbık üzre mescîd eyleyüb içâme-i şalât itdiresiz.

¹⁸⁹ Cited in van Millingen, 148.

¹⁹⁰ Bekker, *Historia*, 178.

¹⁹¹ Original text is as follows: “Hîn-i fethde ibkâ olunan kilisalardan olup, bin tarihinde vukû’ bulan bir nizâ üzerine yedlerinden ahz olunarak, sultân-ı zemân Murâd hân-ı salis hazretleri câmi-i şerîfe tebdîl eylemiştir.”

It is important to note that the conversion is not possible to be done in the year one thousand of the Hijri calendar, since we already have the aforementioned document from year 1588 which mentions the start of the conversion process by ordering lead to cover the dome of the structure. Moreover, the appointment of a *bina emini* that Selaniki mentions in the year 1593 suggests that the modification process still was going on in that date. However, the passage from *Hadika* is still important since it links the bureaucratic/political polemics in which the Greek clergy was involved to the conversion of the patriarchal church.

Apparently, both political tensions between the clergy and the Ottoman government dating back to earlier decades, and the patriarchal church's monumental presence which probably began to annoy the government meanwhile contributed to the conversion of Pammakaristos. Eventually, the monastery was taken from the Greek clergy, and its disputed conversion was celebrated under a name with victorious connotations around the one thousandth year of the Hijra, along with some other churches nearby, possibly to erase Orthodox monumentality from that quarter.

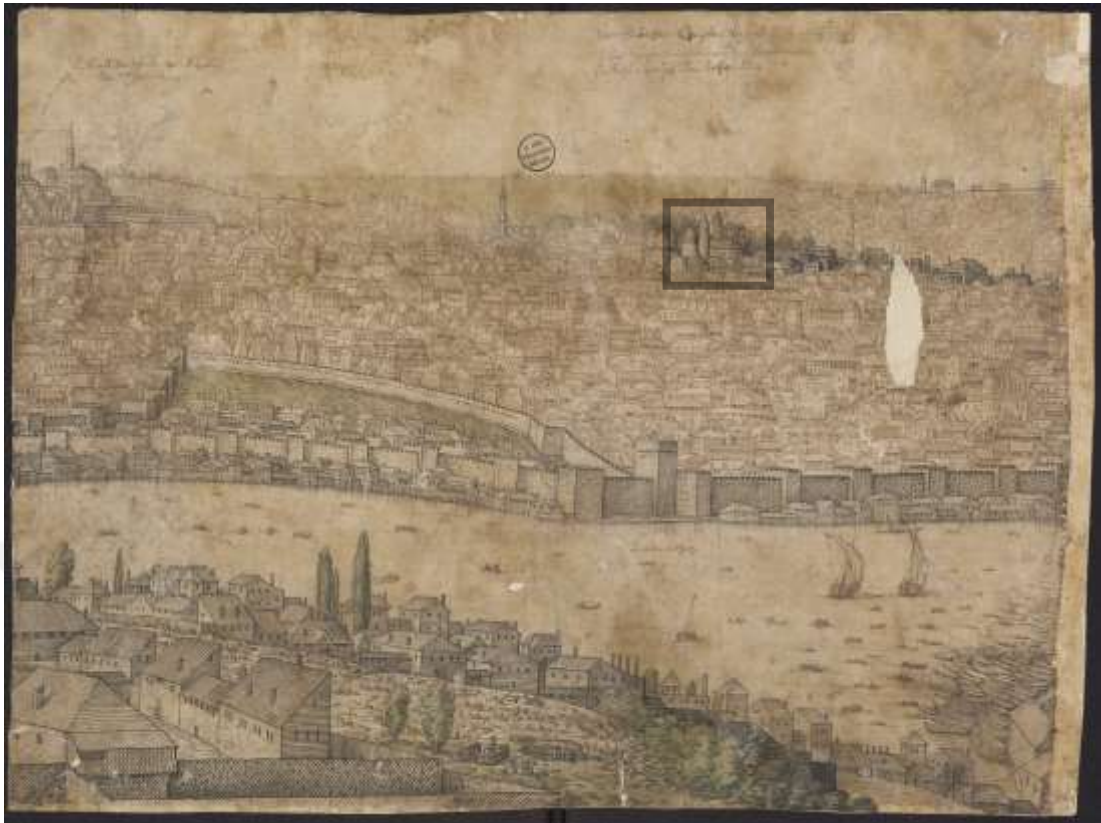


Figure 21: View of Istanbul by Melchior Lorichs in 1559, showing Balat, Fener and the Patriarchal church¹⁹²

After all is said, even in a time of a very compelling imperial crisis such as the later sixteenth century, a conversion of this kind still might have a combination of very distinct motivations behind. It seems very likely to make an interpretation on Murad III, being personally engaged with this conversion.

Firstly, considering patronage habits and image-building of Murad III, he was most primarily keen on book patronage. Since his time as a sanjak chief in Manisa, he was keen on prestige books, and sponsored expensive illustrated manuscripts. During his sultanate, book sponsoring remained an important culture among the

¹⁹² Retrieved from Leiden University Libraries Digital Collections with shelfmark BPL 1758 / 15 on <https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/1276520> on 21.12.2023.

court elite such as Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and Gazanfer Ağa. He commissioned many books and translations including *Siyer-i Nebi* (biography of prophet Muhammed), translations of *Metâli 'ü's-Sa'âde ve Menâbi 'ü's-Siyâde* (Propitious Stars and Sources of Sovereignty) from Arabic into Ottoman Turkish, and almost all works of court historian Lokman.¹⁹³ The lavishly illustrated *Surname-i Humayun* which was prepared after the circumcision of his son (later Mehmed III), also had political and ideological representations of his reign, either depicting Safavid turbans being humiliated in the Hippodrome, or depict Safavid envoys as they convert to Sunnism.¹⁹⁴ Also, *Şehname* (Book of King of the Kings) had strong political connotations depicting Murad III's authority.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, he was writing his own dreams and visions which helped him further his spiritual and political career.¹⁹⁶

The bibliophile sultan also made architectural donations distributed to various parts of the empire. He does not have a gigantic complex nor mosque at the capital, but a relatively modest one in Manisa where he spent time as a sanjak chief. He also sponsored renovations of Ka'ba and prophet's mosque in Medina, adding a madrasa, a hospice, a water dispenser surmounted by an elementary school, and a convent.¹⁹⁷ However, he was not a sultan who spent his life in battle fields, and none of the victories of his time were made under his command. Therefore he, like his father Selim II, might have been not allowed by the mufti to build a monument in his name in the capital city, based on the observations of two contemporary western travelers

¹⁹³ Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing history at the Ottoman court*, (Indiana: Indiana University Press: 2013), 43-44.

¹⁹⁴ Tijana Krstić, "Introduction," in *Entangled Confessionalizations? Dialogic Perspectives on the Politics of Piety and Community-Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th–18th Centuries* (2022), 1.

¹⁹⁵ Fetvacı, *Picturing*, 44.

¹⁹⁶ Özgen Felek, '(Re-)creating Image and Identity: Dreams and Visions as a Means of Murād III's Self-fashioning', in *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies*, Ö. Felek and A. Knysh eds (Albany, 2012), pp. 249–272.

¹⁹⁷ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 257.

Jean Palerne and Reinhold Lubenau.¹⁹⁸ Hereby, converting such a symbolically important building as the patriarchal church, and including it in his ewqaf might also have seemed like a convenient way to commemorate himself in his capital city. Moreover, naming the mosque directly after a victory “Fethiye” also might have seemed convenient to boost the morale of his people. Therefore, the legitimacy crisis of Murad III’s reign might have been attempted to be postponed by celebrating a faraway victory in a prominent monument at their capital.



¹⁹⁸ As cited in Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 66.

CHAPTER 4

PAMMAKARISTOS' AFTERLIFE: THE FETHIYE MOSQUE

As the controversial decision conversion of Pammakaristos into Fethiye Mosque finally was made in the late sixteenth century, the same monument was now expected to serve slightly different practices and an entirely different community. Therefore, the structure needed a series of modifications for the adjustment of it into its new life as a sultanic mosque. These inside-out processes transformed the monument in many aspects ranging from physical to institutional. This chapter aims to examine Pammakaristos' evolution into Fethiye starting from 1588, when the conversion of Patriarchal church into a Friday mosque is mentioned for the first time in a *mühimme defteri*,¹⁹⁹ until the end of the eighteenth century.

This evolution starts from very essential inner physical features such as the replacement of the entire support system of the structure, to its institutional rebirth as a Friday mosque with philanthropical functions open to public, and lastly, the outwards transformations it encouraged that appeared as a gradual Islamization in the neighboring streets of Fethiye. Fethiye Mosque, being an endowment, began to constitute a new institution with its staff and facilities. The sub-functions of the Pammakaristos monastery such as residential spaces and water supply which used to be enjoyed in large part by the Patriarchate staff, (as it is the tradition of Byzantine monastic culture) was now to be operationalized for a collective utilization addressed in large part to the Muslim community. Moreover, the vicinity of the monument was to reshape through the decades after the conversion. It was imperially encouraged

¹⁹⁹ BOA A.{DVNSMHM.d...62-403: Kratova kadısına hüküm: İstanbul'da patrik kilisesi denilen kilisede fetih günü ezan okunduğuna müslümanlar şahadet etmekle cami olmasına şer'le hüküm olduğundan tahtı kazasından bin kantar kurşun tedarik edip göndermesi hakkında. (Birer sureti: Novabırda, Sidrekapsi kadılarına)

that a new and Muslim community dwelled as densely as possible around the mosque. Moreover, the elite tended to fund the construction of new edifices near the Fethiye Mosque, as well as starting to reside around it. Throughout the first decades following its conversion, the neighborhood witnesses a transformation from a margin with a dhimmi population into an elite urban space of inhabitation and socialization. Eventually, in the second century following the conversion, Fethiye already became a considerably new place.

4.1 The making of Fethiye and its physical evolution throughout centuries

Fethiye, originally being designed as a place for Christian worship, reflected many fundamental characteristics of its contemporaries, as discussed in detail in the second chapter.

Therefore, some changes to reshape the structure's anatomy were needed, in order to adjust it to Islamic practices. The immediate physical changes made into the now-mosque church were highly fundamental. This determination in making this conversion despite all the expenses and labor suggests the importance and role that was attributed to Pammakaristos/Fethiye by the Ottomans.

First of all, the annexation of a *mihrab* was the most primary procedure in conversions of Byzantine churches into mosques. Many churches that were converted into mosques were endowed through the mihrab annexation, such as in the case of the conversions of Chora monastery into Kariye Camii.²⁰⁰ However, this procedure inevitably disrupts the natural orientation of Byzantine churches. Most of the Byzantine churches had their apse as focal point placed on their east façade.

²⁰⁰ Semavi Eyice, "Kariye Camii", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kariye-camii> (20.12.2023).

However, a mihrab, the focal point of a mosque where prayers are led from, should face the direction of qibla, which falls on the southeast of Istanbul.

The conversion of Pammakaristos also started from the minbar and *mihrab*, and the *mihrab* was also placed on the East façade of the structure. However, in Pammakaristos, the placement of mihrab was not a basic amendment that could have been done on the crosswise south of the existing apse, and the Ottomans chose to follow a much more complicated procedure: they demolished the central apsis as well as the two *pastophoria* domes placed on the north and south of the apse. After that, they rebuilt a new domed structure that stood on two newly built walls connecting with a corner facing the east, in the place of the former apsis²⁰¹. A possible reason behind this may have been the obstacle that the plan of Pammakaristos caused. In case the mihrab was placed on the original apsis, the plan would not allow the *imam* to be in the first line that faces *qibla*. The southeast corner of the side chapel stood closer to Mecca, thus was in the most front line. Therefore, a person who would pray there would have to proceed the imam who would stand in the apse. Eventually, the mihrab, which would ideally be the focal point of a mosque would be left in shade. Most probably for the same reason, there was a barrier placed inside of the south chapel in the direction of the qibla. (figs 22-23)

²⁰¹ Mine Esmer, "Evaluating Repairs," 409.

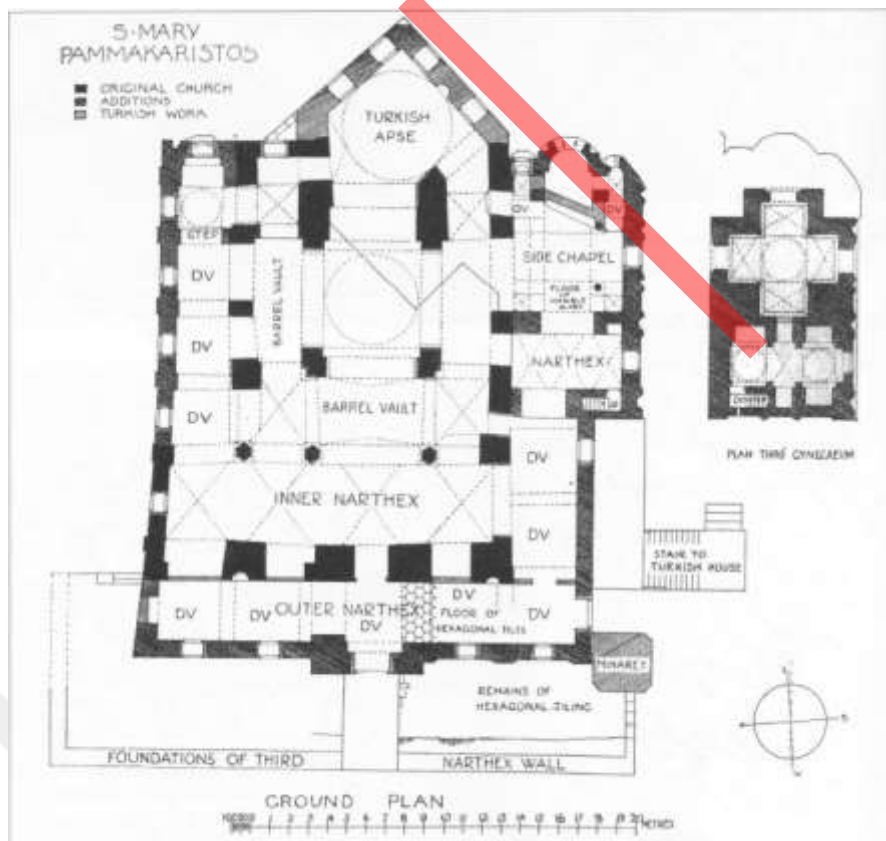


Figure 22: Survey of Fethiye by Alexander van Millingen in 1912. Red line I added shows the qibla and the direction that people stood while praying.



Figure 23: Angular Ottoman apse built in place of the original apse and the mihrab placed diagonally. photo by the author, 8 May 2023.

Another immediate modification was as exhausting as the construction of the aforementioned domed structure. Ottomans redesigned the dissociation of the interior space by removing some of its boundaries to create unity, while creating some new spaces of seclusion. Firstly, the exonarthex, which the Ottomans combined with the narthex of the northern church, became incorporated into the *harem* part of the mosque.²⁰² Harem has multiple meanings in an Ottoman mosque. First is a secluded

²⁰² Semavi Eyice, *Son Devir Bizans Mimârisi*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1963), 54.

part in a classical Ottoman mosque which was placed inside of the inner courtyard and followed the portico, second is a larger area that involves the courtyard of the mosque.²⁰³ The abovementioned harem possibly refers to the first usage. Moreover, Ottomans removed the old columns in order to carry the structure on large arches that stood on large piers. The many columns placed inside the church used to follow the aisles on the north and south of the naos. They were replaced by piers that were fewer in number but stronger, so that they would allow for the creation of larger spaces for the congregation during prayers, in order to create uniformity.²⁰⁴ Moreover, there used to be walls that created slightly separated spaces inside the north church. In the original plan of Pammakaristos, the northern annex and the northern aisle were separated by a wall which was again, removed by the Ottomans. It seems that the Ottomans prioritized an undisrupted wide space for worship instead of disruptions through multiple columns and a partition within interior.²⁰⁵ In addition to the *mihrab*, a *muezzin mahfili* was also added, as was mentioned in an eighteenth-century repair record which will be discussed in the following parts.

²⁰³ Semavi Eyice, "Cami", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/cami#2-mimari-tarihi> (13.12.2023).

²⁰⁴ Ibid, 460.

²⁰⁵ Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 21.



Figure 24: View from the narthex, photo by the author, 8 May 2023

As for the parekklesion or the southern church, it was also transformed into a prayer space, however, very interestingly, the mosaics with figural representations were never covered nor removed, as we see in a photograph from early twentieth century when it still was a mosque but not a museum yet.



Figure 25: Photo by of the dome of Parekklesion published by van Millingen in 1912²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 155.



Figure 26: View of the dome of parekklesion, photograph from the 1978 publication by Mango and Mouriki²⁰⁷

The outer appearance also changed following the conversion. Firstly, the most distinguishing feature of Fethiye's conversion, the replacement of the original apse with a new domed space facing the qibla changed the view of the structure on its east façade. The original apse, which was semicircular was now replaced by a larger and angular structure covered by an Ottoman-style dome. Also, the bell tower that we see in the mid-sixteenth century woodcut disappeared; today a minaret stands in its place.

²⁰⁷ Mango and Mouriki, *Mosaics and Frescoes*, Illustration 27.



Figure 27: View of Fethiye from southeast with its minaret, photo by Sébah-Joallier Studio.²⁰⁸

The minaret, which is also mentioned in the seventeenth century travelogue of Evliya Çelebi²⁰⁹ also seems to be added along with immediate changes after the conversion into a Friday mosque, before the mosque opened its doors in 1593/4.

Apart from Fethiye's distinguishing feature with its entirely new apse, there are various Byzantine churches that underwent different distinguishing physical transformations while being converted into mosques or masjids. Zeyrek (formerly Pantokrator church), Kalenderhande (formerly Theotokos Kyriotissa church) and

²⁰⁸ Retrieved from https://www.archnet.org/sites/1983?media_content_id=8040, on 02.12.2023.

²⁰⁹ Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*, 261.

Molla Gürani Vefa Kilise Camii (former name unknown but argued to be Hagios Theodoros Tyron)²¹⁰ which were among the first Byzantine churches to be converted after 1453 underwent a slightly more simple adaptation process. Basically, a mihrab was placed diagonally on the original apse, and all were added a minaret on the southwestern end. Renovations on various parts were done in the following centuries and not during their early processes of adjustment to Islamic practices.



Figure 28: Pantokrator/Zeyrek, view from east by Ebersolt Thiers²¹¹

Zeyrek is composed of three adjacent structures, and the southern one appears as the main building with a more prominent dome and an apse preceding the ones of the other two. Therefore, its mihrab was placed on the southern apse, whereas Kalenderhane and Vefa Kilise Camii, being much simpler buildings had their mihrab on their only main apses. Moreover, Zeyrek also has well protected opus sectile

²¹⁰ Eyice, “İstanbul’da Kiliseden Çevrilmiş Cami ve Mescidler”, 283.

²¹¹ Jean Ebersolt and Adolphe Thiers, *Les Eglises*, PL XLVIII.

tilework on its floors and there are remains of mosaics that used to ornament its ceilings.²¹²

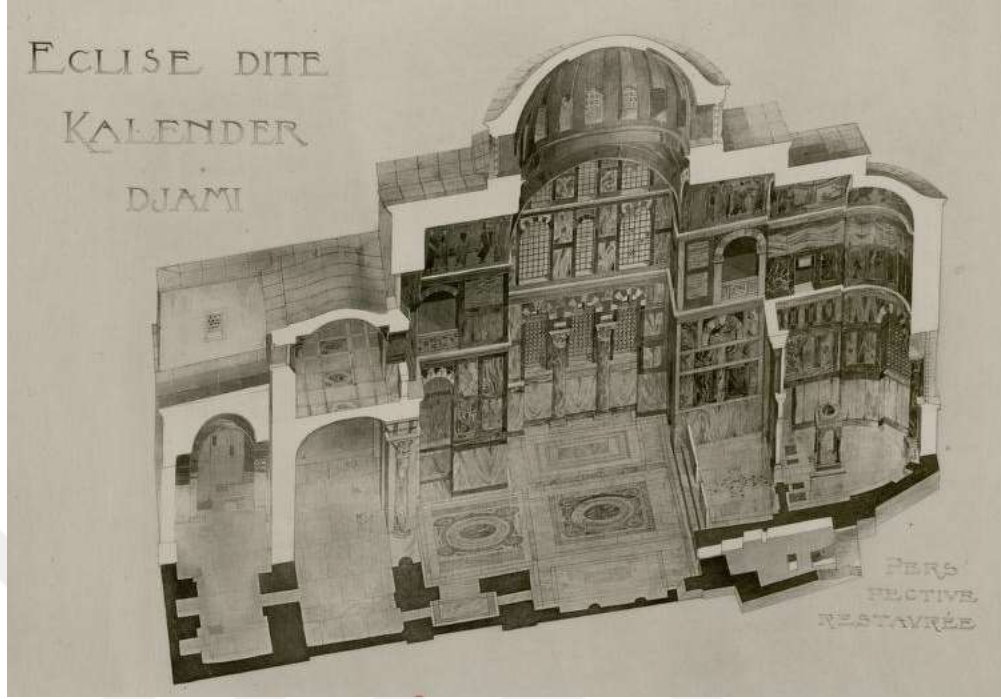


Figure 29: Cut view of Kalenderhane by Ebersolt Thiers²¹³

Similarly, Chora only needed a mihrab, a replacement of the bell tower with a minaret when grand vizier of Bayezid II Atik Ali Paşa converted it.²¹⁴ The modification was so limited that even the mosaics inside were never covered as we see them being mentioned in the sixteenth century travelogue of Gerlach as well as the eighteenth-century travelogue of Evliya Çelebi.²¹⁵ Exceptions to that was the

²¹² Hayri Fehmi Yılmaz, "Zeyrek Kilise Camii", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/zeyrek-kilise-camii> (10.03.2024).

²¹³ Jean Ebersolt and Adolphie Thiers, *Les Eglises*, PL XXVI.

²¹⁴ M. Baha Tanman, "The Adjustment of Chora Monastery to Ottoman Use" in *Biography of a Landmark, The Chora Monastery and Kariye Camii in Constantinople/Istanbul from Late Antiquity to the 21st Century*, (Brill, 2023), 135.

²¹⁵ Semavi Eyice, "Kariye Camii", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kariye-camii> (10.03.2024).

plastering of the mosaics that were placed on the lower parts where they were most visible.²¹⁶

Another conversion that was made during the reign of Bayezid II, Koca Mustafa Paşa mosque can be considered with a thorough structural intervention it underwent during its conversion from St Andreas Kriesei church. The church was converted during the time of Bayezid II by the order of the grand vizier Koca Mustafa Paşa. A similarity of this structure is that it is one of the three examples of Byzantine ambulatory plan in Istanbul together with Fethiye and Fenari Isa. In order to place a mihrab that could face qibla, the axis of the building which stretched between north-west and south-east needed to be rotated. The slightly crosswise axis of the building instead of facing directly the East like most Byzantine churches, enabled the Ottomans put the mihrab directly on the southern end of the structure. However, the mihrab still would not be the focal point that would be visible by the entire *cemaat*. According to the original plan, the mihrab would be in the place of the southern gallery which was separated from the main dome by two columns (see fig. 30) that set a barrier between the *imam* and the *cemaat*.²¹⁷

²¹⁶ Nadia Podzemskaia, "Dimitri Ismailovitch's Copies of the Mosaics and Frescoes at the Kariye Camii: on the Destiny of Byzantine Artistic Heritage in Istanbul," in *Biography of a Landmark The Chora Monastery and Kariye Camii in Constantinople/Istanbul from Late Antiquity to the 21st Century*, ed. Manuela Studel-Karlen, (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2023), pp. 149-177

²¹⁷ Semavi Eyice, "Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii Ve Külliyesi", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/koca-mustafa-pasa-camii-ve-kulliyesi> (19.03.2024).

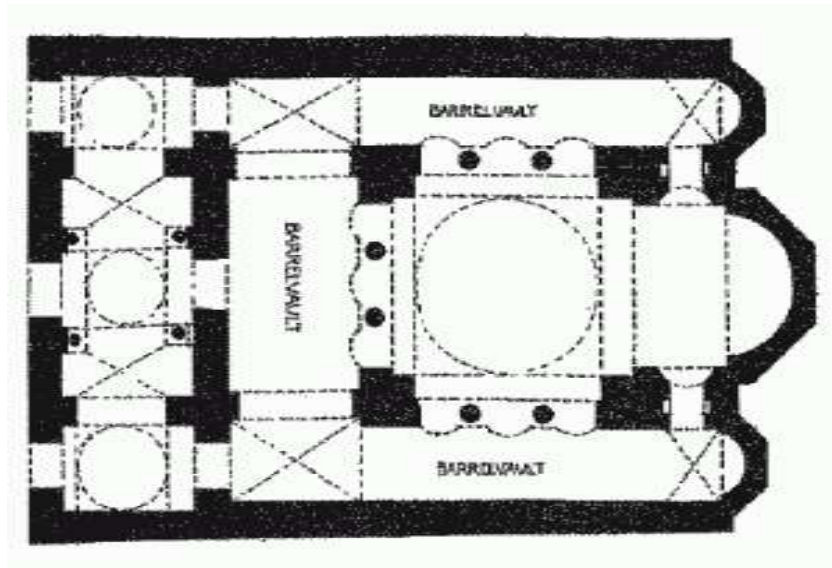


Figure 30: Reconstituted plan of St. Andreas Kriesei by van Millingen²¹⁸

These columns could only be removed with the vaults above them, and that would require the removal of the dome that rose above the vaults. This led to a complicated procedure that meant the renewal of the entire upper structure of the building. Two half domes on the southern and northern ends of the building were added and connected to a central dome (see fig 31). By this operation, the building looked much

²¹⁸ Van Millingen, Pl. 36.

more similar to a central-domed Ottoman mosque, and the rotated axis of the building enabled the *cemaat* to stand side-by-side in longer lines behind the *imam*.²¹⁹

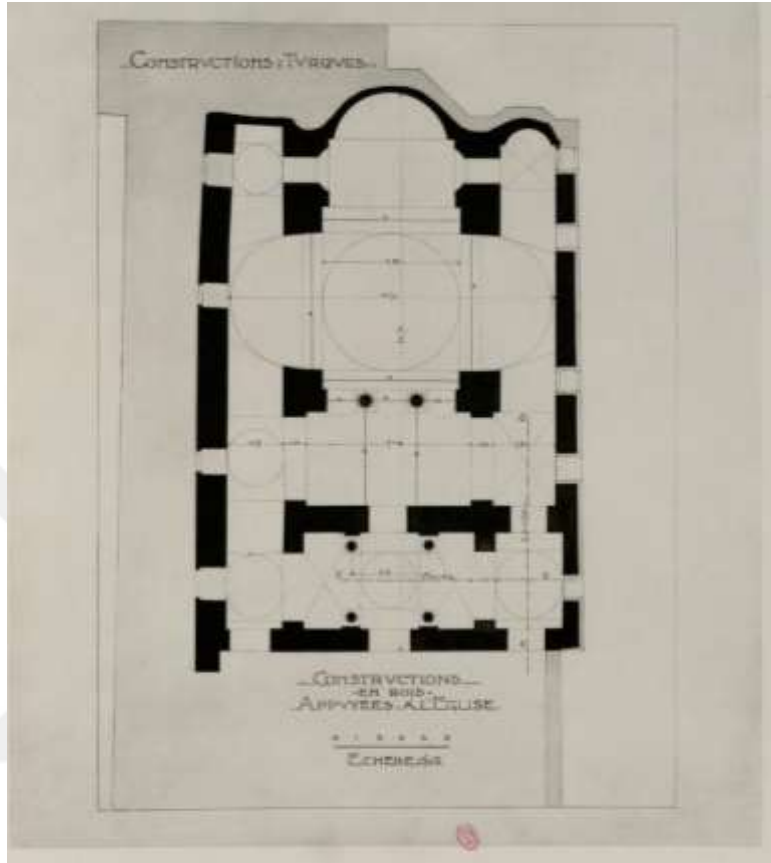


Figure 31: Figure 21: Plan of Koca Mustafa Paşa mosque by Ebersolt Thiers²²⁰

As another example of an ambulatory or ambulatory Byzantine church which was converted into a mosque, Fenari Isa also underwent a similar procedure in terms of the removal of small columns that carried the central dome and placing larger arches carried by larger piers in their stead. The former Lips monastery consisted of two adjacent churches. The northern church was built in cross-in-square form whereas the southern one had a main dome surrounded from north, west and south by a U-

²¹⁹ Eyice, "Koca Mustafa Paşa".

²²⁰ Jean Ebersolt and Adolphe Thiers, *Les Eglises de Constantinople*, (Paris: 1913) Plate XIX.

shaped corridor. This entire structure is surrounded from west and south by an L-shaped parekklesion. The U corridor of the southern church was separated with small columns from the main domed area, like in the Kocamustafapaşa's original plan. Similar to both Fethiye and Kocamustafapaşa, the columns were replaced by the Ottomans with larger arches carried by larger piers in order to have a larger and undisturbed space for prayers.²²¹

Central dome, being an essential element of most Ottoman mosques in Istanbul, enabled the church of SS Sergius and Bacchus to make a more suitable conversion into a mosque during the reign of Bayezid II. Placing a mihrab on the existing apse in a slightly diagonal pose was enough to practically serve to Islamic uses. Structural interventions were completed by opening a number of windows for more daylight to enter, and adding a portico at the western end of the building as a *son cemaat yeri*.²²²

A smaller Byzantine church in a very close location to Pammakaristos/Fethiye, Hagios Ioannes Prodromos en to Trullo was converted into a masjid named after Hiramî Ahmed Paşa, simultaneously with the conversion of Pammakaristos in the late fifteenth century. This church also underwent a change in its support system to overcome a problem of visibility of mihrab caused by the four small columns standing between its apse and main dome, carrying four tunnel vaults. These columns were removed, and the upper structure of the building was connected to the side walls by two larger wooden girders, although today we see the original support system recreated by a renovation in the republican era.²²³

²²¹ Semavi Eyice, "Fenârî İsâ Camii", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/fenari-isa-camii> (19.03.2024).

²²² Semavi Eyice, "Küçük Ayasofya Külliyesi", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kucuk-ayasofya-kulleyesi> (10.03.2024).

²²³ Semavi Eyice, "Hirâmî Ahmed Paşa Mescidi", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/hirami-ahmed-pasa-mescidi--carsamba> (10.03.2024).

Fethiye's conversion, when compared to these former examples is remarkable with its visibility from outside. The angular Turkish apse altering the characteristics of the eastern façade. Moreover, the Turkish dome added on top of that structure is a typical Ottoman hemispherical dome with a lead cover.²²⁴ This dome, located at the very front of the building in the most visible part, invites an interpretation that it signifies a hierarchical superiority in Ottoman architectural tradition.

Pammakaristos/Fethiye has four cisterns. The post-Byzantine state of these cisterns are not exactly mentioned in available sources today. However, it is possible to assume that at least two of them were used in the early post-conversion era. Because, the sixteenth century woodcut made based on the late sixteenth century travelogue by Gerlach show wells located in the courtyard of the monastery. This cistern most probably falls under the middle school on the western end of the mosque today. There is another well inside of the mosque which is still present. These wells, at least the one that still stands inside the mosque, must have been used by the Ottomans. The northeastern cistern is also argued to have been used as a shelter during the First World War.²²⁵

²²⁴ For more on typical Ottoman domes introduced mainly by Sinan, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 21.

²²⁵ Mine Esmer, "Evaluating Repairs," 403.



Figure 32: Water well opens to the cistern under the structure, photo by the author, 8 May 2023

In the seventeenth century, sources become even sparser. There is the observation by Evliya Çelebi, who mentions Fethiye as a “sultanic mosque” converted from a church with a minaret. He also mentions that Fethiye is a bright mosque in which the needy was taken care of.²²⁶ We are informed by the eighteenth-century repair documents that in the courtyard, there were also a number of fountains,²²⁷ which were most probably the ones donated by Kethüda Mehmed Ağa as mentioned in

²²⁶ Karaman, S., and Dağlı, Y., ed. 2008. *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*: İstanbul. 2 vols. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları), 261.

²²⁷ BOA EV.HMH.3228: Türbeler Vakfı mülhakatından olan Fethiye Camii ve Hoca Ali Camii'nin keşf ve tahriri.

Hadikatü'l-Cevami, an eighteenth-century record of mosques of Istanbul by Ayvansarayî.²²⁸

Istanbul's urban history has been marked by recurrent earthquakes and fires, the latter often spread by wooden construction widely preferred due to its inexpensiveness.²²⁹ Parallel to that, Fethiye shared this misfortune, and needed regular renovations throughout centuries that followed its conversion. The eighteenth-century physical transformations of Fethiye mainly consisted of repairs of the damage caused by fires and earthquakes. There are two main records in the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul mentioning two massive repairs of Fethiye in the eighteenth century. The first of these documents dates to 1142H/1729CE and reports the exploration and repair costs of the monument in great detail.²³⁰ A second document which explores the state and a second extensive repair of Fethiye dates to 1172H./17569CE.²³¹ These two documents have been deeply examined in an article by Deniz Mazlum published in 2004.²³² The two documents are also essentially informative concerning parts of the contemporary Fethiye which we hardly get to know about from earlier records.

The first document that records the first comprehensive renovation of Fethiye in the eighteenth century reports the great fire that took place in Balat in 1729, and

²²⁸ Hafız Hüseyin al Ayvansarayı, *The Garden of the Mosques: Hafız Hüseyin al-Ayvansarayı's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul*, trans. and ed. by Howard Crane. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 175.

²²⁹ Saniye Feyza Yagci and Deniz Mazlum, "Traditional Timber Houses of Istanbul: Heritage Values and Preservation Problems", *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, 21:3, 160-177, DOI: 10.1080/13556207.2016.1139853

²³⁰ BOA EV.HMH.3228

²³¹ BOA. EV.HMH.d..5172: İstanbul'da Sultan Selim Han, Sultan Murad Han, Sultan Mehmed Han Türbeleri ve mülhakatı Gül Camii, Hoca Ali Camii ve Fethiye Camiileri Evkafı tamir masrafları.

²³² Deniz Mazlum, "Fethiye Camii'nin 18. yy. Onarımları." *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 8: 168-75.

that had affected Fethiye too. The document informs us concerning the expenditure of the 1729 repairs of Fethiye as in the following:²³³

Repair of marble frames of the fifteen small windows of the mosque seem to cover most of the expenses. Ten windows are recorded to have been added outer wooden wings. However, none of the marble frames, nor the wings exist today. The document also mentions the renovations of twenty-eight glass slabs (probably referring to inner and outer glass panels of windows). In addition to these, three “perfect” doors made of walnut wood were ordered for Fethiye. However we see no walnut gates in present-day Fethiye. It is assumed that the minbar is also damaged by the fire since the document records a bleaching operation of the minbar. The document mentions the renovation of *muezzin mahfili* (a specific tribune placed for the reciter of calling for prayer). There is also a new *mücavir odası*, which refers to a chamber devoted for the use of a pilgrim’s seclusion; however it is not known what happened to that chamber that has disappeared today. The renovation of the stone floor covering was part of that renovation.

When it comes to the changes in outer design, the lead roof of the entire complex was renovated with a large cost of 99,900 *akçes*. It included the renewal of conic roof of the minaret as well as that of fountains for ablution. Nevertheless, we do not see any fountains nor a *şadırvan* of Fethiye mosque. Another seventeenth-century feature of Fethiye that did not survive today is the two gates opening to the courtyard mentioned in this expenditure record. There is one gate and stands on the south wall that surrounds the courtyard today.

²³³ Deniz Mazlum provides the entire content of these documents translated to modern Turkish in the aforementioned article. Following information concerning the content of the two are written based on her publication.

The second record of the eighteenth century in Fethiye's repairs dates to 1172H/1759CE. The document records collective repairs of a number of endowments including Fethiye. These are the tombs of Sultan Selim, Sultan Murad and Sultan Mehmed that are located around Hagia Sophia and the mosques of Hoca Ali in Ayvansaray, Gül, and Fethiye.²³⁴

The operations done on Fethiye are listed as in the following:²³⁵

- * Renewal and painting of the glass and frames of 20 windows in the mosque,
- * Repair of 60 double glass walls ("*çift cam duvar*") at a cost of 2,400 *akçes*,
- * Painting the chandeliers in the mosque,
- * Applying white plaster to the outside and inside of the mosque and whitewashing everywhere,
- * Painting the *muezzin mahfili*,
- * Construction of a lead-covered wooden roof on the gallery around the mosque
- * Applying ochre to existing columns and banisters
- * Placing curved buttresses on existing columns and wooden bases on the columns for the "fortification" of the roof,
- * Renewal of the roof, both in the annex added in the Ottoman period and at the bottom parts of the main dome,
- * Jointing the bricks in the dome drum,
- * Transfer of roof tiles ("*kiremitlerin aktarılması*") on existing courtyard walls
- * Transfer of roof tiles ("*kiremit aktarma*") and repair of the roof on fountains,
- * Repair and calking in 4 bathrooms,

²³⁴ BOA.EV.HMH. 5172.

²³⁵ I have prepared the English translation based on the Deniz Mazlum's modern Turkish translation published in "Fethiye," 174.

- * Laying lead pipes with a diameter of 6 fingers (19 cm) for the waterways coming to the fountains,
- * Repair of painted railings,
- * Placing waterproof plaster inside the water tank
- * Covering the missing lead in the required parts of the mosque's dome and on the roofs that need to be renewed,
- * Making tin on the minaret and placing it in place, also, calking on the *petek* (body) of the minaret.

The last repair expenditure report from the eighteenth century²³⁶ has been recorded after the massive earthquake took place in 1766, although the document does not directly mention the earthquake as a reason for this extensive repair. This repair only covers some small-scale renewal in the exterior surface such as the lead renewal on the main dome and calking on the drum.²³⁷

There is an inscription hanging on the entrance of the mosque, placed after the last renovation that was done in the mid-nineteenth century during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid (fig 33).

²³⁶ BOA.EV.HMH.5543. "İstanbul'da Sultan Selim Han, Sultan Murad Han, Sultan Mehmed Han ve Şehzadeler Türbeleri Evkafı ile Fethiye, Gül ve Hoca Ali Camiileri Evkafı'nın mahsulat ve ihracatı."

²³⁷ Mazlum, "Fethiye," 175.

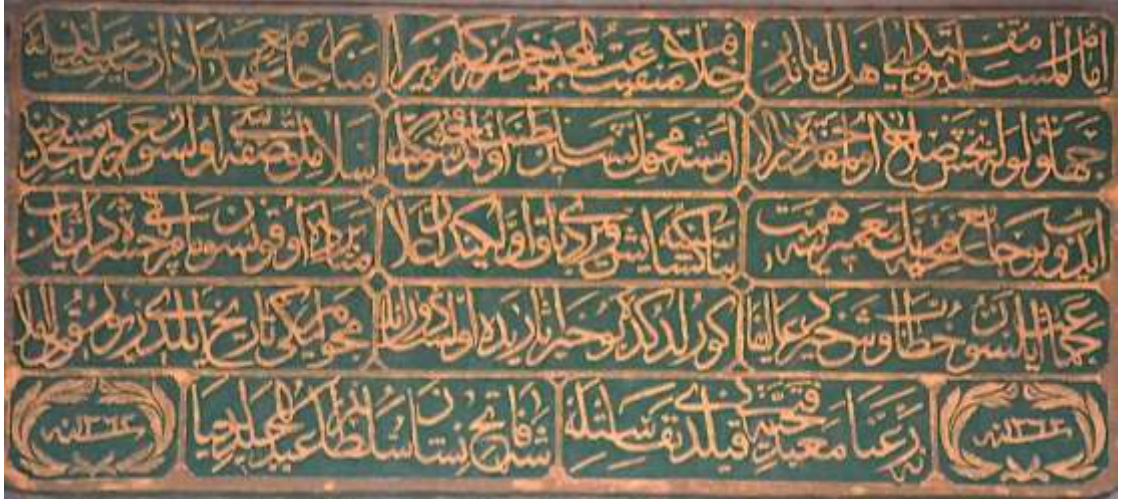


Figure 33: Ottoman Inscription of Fethiye²³⁸

1. “İmâmü’l-müslimîn ve muktedâ-yı ehl-i îmândır
Hilâfet-menkabet ‘Abdü’l-mecîd Hân-ı kerem-pîrâ
Menâr-ı câmi’-i ahdi ezân-i sıyt-ı ‘adliyle
2. Cihâna velvele-bahş-ı salâh olmakdadır hâlâ
O şeh mahfil-nişîn-ı saltanat oldukca şevketle
Selâmlık suffesi olsun harîm-ı mescid-i dünyâ
3. İdub bu Câmi’-ı Fethiyye’nin ta’mîrine himmet
Binâsına küşâyış virdi bak evvelkinden a’lâ
Menâbirde okunsun nâm-ı pâki haşre dek Yâ Rab
4. Cemâ’at eylesun huttâb-veş hayr-ı du’â îfâ
Görüldükde bu hayr-âsârîde ol şâh-ı devrânın
Mücevher iki târîh eyledi Zîver kulu imlâ
5. Ne ra’nâ ma’bed-i Fethiyye’yi kıldı nefâsetle
Şeh-I Fâtih-nişân sultânımız ‘Abdü’l-mecîd ihyâ”
Sene 1262²³⁹

For a brief look at the structural evolution of Pammakaristos/Fethiye see
Appendix C.

Concerning the seventeenth century state of the monument, we also have a
number of documents in the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul that records salaries of the
mosque staff, and they will be examined in the following parts of this thesis.

²³⁸ Zehra Günbeyi, *İstanbul’da Camiye Tahvil Edilen Kiliselere Yapılan Ekler*, (MA Thesis, Istanbul University: 2019), 747.

²³⁹ Ibid.

4.2 Institutionalization of Fethiye: its staff and functions

The conversion of Pammakaristos monastery into the “sultanic” Fethiye mosque as Evliya mentions it, was followed by an institutional rebirth of the monument. What made this converted monument a sultanic mosque seems to be the way it was endowed by the sultan. The monument which formerly served as the Patriarchal seat, was used to be funded through donations by its Greek Orthodox communities in and out of the Ottoman empire, as examined in the second chapter of this thesis. However, subsequent to the conversion, Fethiye mosque began to constitute an entirely new legal entity with new financial sources. The mosque is mentioned as a part of the waqf of Murad III’s tomb in a document from 1688²⁴⁰. Therefore, it was an endowment which was financed through the waqf of Murad III’s tomb, as mentioned parallel to what Ayvansarayî argues. In 1142H/1729CE another document mentions it being included in Türbeler Vakfı (endowment of tombs)²⁴¹ which was from 1586 on, administrated by Darüssaade ağası, a black-eunuch high bureaucrat at the Ottoman court.²⁴² Primarily, sultanic endowments were taken care of by Babüssaade ağası, another eunuch of high position at the Ottoman court. From 1586 onwards, these endowments were united under the newly-founded Evkaf-ı Haremeyn Nezareti (Ministry of Endowment of the two Harems) to be directed under Darüssaade ağası.²⁴³ Therefore, Fethiye Camii, being a part of Murad III’s tomb endowment, was considered under this institution.

²⁴⁰ TS.MA.e 1289-123: İstanbul'da vaki Sultan Murad Han Türbesi Evkafı'ndan Fethiye Cami'inde yevmi iki akçe vazife ile devirhan olan Abdülhalim'in fevtiyle mahlûl vazifenin oğlu İsmail Halife'ye verildiği.

²⁴¹ Ülkü Altındağ, "Dârüssaâde", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/darussaade> (15.12.2023).

²⁴² BOA EV.HMH.d... / 3228 - 0 – 0: Türbeler Vakfı mülhakatından olan Fethiye Camii ve Hoca Ali Camii'nin keşf ve tahriri.

²⁴³ Ş. Tufan Buzpinar, Mustafa Sabri Küçükaşci, "Haremeyn", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/haremeyn> (01.12.2023).

We are also informed by various archival documents concerning that the waqf of Murad III's tomb had landed estates surrounding Fethiye mosque to fund the mosque.²⁴⁴ A *kadı sicili* from 1695 reports the sale of a house, which is included in the endowment of Murad III's tomb, in Katib Muslihuddin neighborhood in the vicinity of Fethiye Camii in exchange for another house. The profit of this house was employed by the harem of Fethiye Camii,²⁴⁵ again underlying the containment of the needs and expenses of the harem, which housed the needy. Harem, which has multiple meanings in a mosque, probably refers here to some constructions placed inside of the courtyard of Fethiye, since it would not make sense to consider the interior of the mosque. The aforementioned repair document from 1172 H. also notes that all the repair expenses would be covered through the endowment's own revenue.²⁴⁶

Concerning the philanthropic aspect of Fethiye that attracted people, we can start by assuming the wells that open to the cisterns becoming open for public use. Moreover, the structure served for residential purposes too. A *kadı sicili*/court register from 1679 reports a consensual divorce case in which a certain Hatice divorced her husband, meanwhile Hatice was already staying in the *harem* part of Fethiye mosque.²⁴⁷ A consensual divorce in *shar'î* law (mentioned as "*muhâlaa yoluyla boşanma*" in the original text) required the wife to forego her rights of bridal money (*mehr*) and alimony (*nafaka*), which may have required the wife to pay a

²⁴⁴ İstanbul Mahkemesi 22 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1107-1108 / M. 1695-1697) cilt: 57, sayfa: 478 Hüküm no: 367 Orijinal metin no: [115b-1]. Document summary in Turkish: "Fâtıma Hatun bt. Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi'nin Sultan Murad Han Türbesi Vakfı'na ait evi takas yoluyla Mehmed Emin Efendi b. Mehmed Efendi'ye satışı"

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ BOA.EV.HMH. 5172, in Deniz Mazlum, 173.

²⁴⁷ Rumeli Sadâreti Mahkemesi 127 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1090-1091 / M. 1679-1680) cilt: 55, sayfa: 54 Hüküm no:4 Orijinal metin no: [2b-1]. Document summary in Turkish: "Hatice bt. Abdullah ile kocası Berber Mustafa Çelebi'nin muhâlaa yoluyla boşandıkları."

contracted amount of *mehr* money to the husband²⁴⁸. Considering that, Hatice, after a *hul* divorce, might have been in need. Additionally, it seems that she left their shared house prior to the divorce as she was mentioned as a resident (“*sakine*” in the original text) at Fethiye’s harem during the divorce. The presence of a divorced woman living in the *harem* of Fethiye suggests that such people were taken care of and were provided a secure place to stay there, supporting Evliya Çelebi’s observation above. It is also noteworthy that as late as 1331H/1915, a document mentions that poor children who migrated to Istanbul because of the war were domiciled in Fethiye Mosque and their educational expenses were covered by some donators.²⁴⁹ Although the scope of this thesis is limited until the end of the eighteenth century, it is still noteworthy that philanthropic functions of Fethiye remained until the end of its Ottoman past and attracted the public with various pursuits being a philanthropic complex.

As for the staff employed inside this institution, we have a number of documents at BOA mentioning appointments to various positions. First of all, Fethiye recruited the essential mosque staff such as *imam*, *hatip*, *muezzin*, *vaiz*, and *kayyım*. The document from 992H/1584CE that orders the conversion of a church in a very close place to Pammakaristos/Fethiye, most probably referring to the Hiramî Ahmed Paşa mosque, and orders appointment of a *hatip* there immediately.²⁵⁰ A *hatip* would preach the special *hutbe*/sermon weekly prior to Friday prayers, and

²⁴⁸ Fahrettin Atar, "Muhâlea", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/muhalea> (13.12.2023).

²⁴⁹ BOA MF.İBT. / 421 – 14. Document summary in Turkish: “... Savaş münasebetiyle İstanbul'a hicret edip Fethiye Camii'nde iskan edilen fakir muhacir çocuklarının bir kısmının yardımseverler tarafından eğitim masraflarının karşılandığı, ibtidai mektebine devam eden çocuklara da gerekli kitapların bedava verilmesi.”

²⁵⁰ BOA TS.MA.e / 892 – 15. Document summary in Turkish: “İstanbul Beyceğiz mahallesinde kilise iken Darussaade Ağası Mehmed Ağa tarafından mescide tahvil edilen binanın Cuma namazı kılınacak şekilde camiye tahvili ve hatip tayinine dair III. Murad'ın İstanbul kadısına hükmü.”

prior to eid prayers. Another document from 1220H/1805CE talks about a vaiz²⁵¹. A vaiz would work as a preacher in an Ottoman mosque to inform the community on various religious topics, but different from a *hutbe*, a *vaaz* could be preached anytime not specifically prior to Friday and Eid prayers.²⁵² Another document from BOA mentions the *kayyım* of Fethiye Mosque.²⁵³ A *kayyım* would work in the preservation of the furniture of the endowed mosque, as well as cleaning of the mosque.²⁵⁴ Another document from 1728 mentions a *muvakkıt* and *müezzin* who worked at Fethiye.²⁵⁵ A muezzin is the staff member in charge of reciting the azan, the call for a prayer from the minaret.²⁵⁶ A *muvakkıt* is a member of the mosque staff who is in charge of time keeping to investigate the precise prayer times to inform the *muezzin*.²⁵⁷ In addition to the aforementioned essential staff, Fethiye also had secondary staff for provisional duties. It has been mentioned in a document from 1099H/1688CE that an appointment of a *devirhan* to Fethiye was made.²⁵⁸ The responsibility of a *devirhan* is to recite Koran regularly prior to specific prayers.²⁵⁹ This could either be the noon prayer each day,²⁶⁰ or prior to Friday prayers each

²⁵¹ BOA C..EV.. / 589 - 29730 – 0. Document summary in Turkish is: İstanbul'da Çarşambapazarı'ndaki Fethiye Camii'nin vaizlik ciheti hakkında mütevellîye Ayşe imzalı takrir.

²⁵² Hasan Cirit, "Vaaz", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/vaaz#1> (15.12.2023).

²⁵³ BOA EV.BRT. / 156 - 15 – 0. Document summary in Turkish: Tevcih, kayyımlık, müezzin-i sani, berat, İbrahim ibn Halil, Fethiye Cami-i Şerifi (Çarşambapazarı), cülus, Sultan Selim Han ve Sultan Murad Han ve Sultan Mehmed Han Evkafı (Ayasofya-i Kebir, İstanbul).

²⁵⁴ İsmail Özmel, "Kayyım", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kayyim> (15.12.2023).

²⁵⁵ BOA C..BLD.136-6776 "Fethiye Camii müezzini ve muvakkiti olan Molla İbrahim ve Ömer Efendi'ye bir senelik aidatlarının verildiği."

²⁵⁶ Mustafa Sabri Küçükaşci, "Müezzin", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/muezzin> (15.12.2023).

²⁵⁷ Ahmet KOÇ and Ömer ÖZDEMİR, "Kanûni Vakfiyesi'ne Göre Süleymaniye Camii Ve Görevlileri". *Diyanet İlmî Dergi* 53/2 (April 2017), 141.

²⁵⁸ BOA. TS.MA.e / 1289 - 123 – 0. Document summary in Turkish: İstanbul'da vaki Sultan Murad Han Türbesi Evkafı'ndan Fethiye Cami'inde yevmi iki akçe vazife ile devirhan olan Abdülhalim'in fevziyle mahlûl vazifenin oğlu İsmail Halife'ye verildiği.

²⁵⁹ Murat Akgündüz, "Osmanlı Döneminde Camilerde Kur'ân Okunmasıyla İlgili Görevliler," *Diyanet İlmî Dergi* 56 (2020): 451.

²⁶⁰ Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1983), 12.

week.²⁶¹ A document from 1097 H/1686 CE mentions a *cüzhan*.²⁶² A *cüzhan*, as its name implies, is a paid mosque member who recites parts of the Koran “*cüz*” specifically in the name of an endower or a specific person in return of a slight sum.²⁶³ As the aforementioned document shows, once someone wants a *cüz* to be recited in their name, they would pay an amount to the endowment. The salaries of each mosque staff member would be paid by the endowment’s trustee (*mütevelli*) through the endowment’s own budget.²⁶⁴

4.3 Transformation outwards: Reshaping of the neighborhood

Throughout the four centuries following the conversion of Pammakaristos into Fethiye, the monument became part of different neighborhoods. Today it stands in Balat neighborhood of the Fatih district in Istanbul. The east side of the monument faces the shores of the Golden Horn. Before starting to analyze the changes in the “vicinity of Fethiye” in this part of the thesis, the sphere of influence for the Pammakaristos monastery seems to be the area down to the shores of Fener. As discussed in Chapter 2, the seat of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, the Greek clergy was administratively connected to the Patriarchal church. The density of churches on the shores of the Golden Horn suggest that Patriarchal church had administrative ties to the foothills. Moreover, a closer reading of *Tahrir Defters* from 1453, 1546 and

²⁶¹ Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye’de Vakıf Müessesesi*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2003), 370.

²⁶² BOA İE.EV.. / 17 - 2021 – 0. Document summary in Turkish: İstanbul’da Fethiye Camii’nde sabıkan Haremeyn Başhalifesi Mehmed Efendi’nin kendi ruhu için vaz ettiği cüzhanlığın tevcihine dair evlad-ı vakıfdan mütevelli Mustafa’nın yazdığı arıza.

²⁶³ Murat Akgündüz, “Osmanlı Döneminde,” 449.

²⁶⁴ Nazif Öztürk, “Mütevelli”, TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/mutevelli> (15.12.2023).

1600 also suggest that the upper part towards the Mese was already became Muslim-dominated by the mid-sixteenth century.

In the 1455 Survey of Istanbul, it was noted that there were 16 houses, 1 shop, and only one church in the Badrak neighborhood, “Badrak,” assumedly referring to “Patrik.”²⁶⁵ This suggests that the nearby Hagios Ioannes Prodromos en to Trullo church and Andifonditi Aya Yorgi Potiras churches were considered outside the boundaries of this neighborhood by then.

Moreover, the only church in the neighborhood was described as “mevkuf” (held for the State Treasury) and “abandoned.” Again, the 1455 Suvey, lists 1 church in the Badrak neighborhood included in Tursun Bey's neighborhood and church itinerary, this time described as “unoccupied.”²⁶⁶

If this one church is Pammakaristos, as the name of the district is “Badrak,” wouldn't it be expected to find the Patriarchate there by 1455, instead of an unoccupied or abandoned church held for the state treasury? Furthermore, as noted in Chapter 1, we know that there were nuns there even before the Patriarchate at the monastery of Pammakaristos. It is questionable, why Pammakaristos, which was in use at that time, is described as abandoned and unoccupied, or if it actually refers to the “Patrik” church. It is also possible that the Pammakaristos was not included in the survey because of its status belonging to the patriarchate.

The 1546 and 1600 land survey registers, focusing solely on endowments, did not specifically examine the Patrik/Badrak neighborhood as a separate entity. This might indicate the absence of Muslim endowments in that area. References to the Patriarch neighborhood/church were made indirectly. In 1546, while describing

²⁶⁵ Halil İnalçık, *The Survey of Istanbul 1455*, İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 2012), 305.

²⁶⁶ İnalçık, *The Survey*, 451.

several properties endowed in the Katip Muslihuddin neighborhood, it was mentioned that they were adjacent to the walls of the Patriarch church²⁶⁷. This description was reiterated in 1600. There was no mention of the Fethiye Mosque or its endowment. Additionally, for the description of another endowment, a water well located in the Patrik neighborhood was mentioned.²⁶⁸

However, a document from 1594 indicates the sale of lands to Muslims in the region. Despite this, the presence of references to the Patriarch Church and neighborhood in the 1600 survey may have been overlooked due to hastily copied data. Asutay-Effenberger has similarly interpreted this.²⁶⁹

In any case, it seems that the emergence of Muslim endowments within the immediate vicinity of Fethiye took some time. Nevertheless, surrounding neighborhoods such as Katip Muslihuddin, Beyceğiz, and Muhyiddin Hamamı had Muslim-sponsored endowments in both surveys.

From this, we can observe Islamization in the neighborhoods surrounding the structure before its conversion. However, the institutional and social connections of Pammakaristos/Fethiye seem to align not with nearby Muslim-majority neighborhoods on the upper hills towards the Mese but with other Greek churches administratively connected and concentrated along the shore. Hence, I decided to focus on the area towards the shore, taking into account the topographically highest point where Fethiye is situated, as its connections seem to be more oriented towards the lower parts.

²⁶⁷ *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defter 935 (1546) Tarihli*, eds. Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1970), 418. Original text as follows: “Höcerât- 8 bâb ve kenîf ve muhavata der nezd-i câmi'-i mezbûr Hudûdî mülk-i Fâik Beğ ve hâit-i Kenise-i Padriyah...”

²⁶⁸ *İstanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri 1009(1600) tarihli*, Mehmet Canatar, ed. (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 2004.), 662.

²⁶⁹ Asutay-Effenberger, “Zum Datum,” 7.

Prior to the conversion of Pammakaristos, Christian patronage was focused on the Fener and Balat area, surrounding the Patriarchal church. Firstly Serbian, and later on Wallachian and Moldovan donors deployed in the foothills of Balat that stretched through the Fener coastline, in the sites of Vlahsaray and Boğdan Saray. This might have to do with the diplomatic contacts of them with the Patriarchate.²⁷⁰

Over the centuries following the conversion of Pammakaristos monastery into Fethiye mosque, the neighborhood surrounding the monument did not only change in name: it witnessed a remarkable transformation in both the religious and ethnic composition of its inhabitants, along with the construction of new buildings which were endowed for public use by the Ottoman elite. Ottoman documents dating to the monument's pre-conversion era housed a remarkable amount of dhimmi subjects. It is important to bear in mind that the residential profile that concentrated on dhimmi subjects was the reason why the patriarchate was decided to be moved here back in 1454 in the first place, which is discussed in the second chapter of this thesis.

It takes some time until the Fethiye Camii Mahallesi, or a neighborhood which is directly named after the mosque is officially mentioned in a register. Asutay-Effenberger argues that the repetitive mentioning of Patrik Kenisesi in the two aforementioned tahrirs could be because the mosque was not ready for opening to public use before 1593/94 and a *mahalle* to be named after that.²⁷¹ Besides this, as early as 1003H/1595CE, there is a document in which Murad III already orders the inhabitation of the district by selling the fields surrounding the monument²⁷² to help

²⁷⁰ Melvani, "Patronage in Constantinople," 421.

²⁷¹ Asutay-Effenberger, "Zum Datum der Umwandlung."

²⁷² BOA A.{DVNSMHM 73-831, see Appendix. Document summary in Turkish: İstanbul kadısına hüküm ki: Mahruse-i mezburede Fethiye Camii'nin etrafı miriden fûruht olunmak emrim olmuştur buyurdum ki vardıkda ferman-ı celilü'l-kadrim üzere cami-i mezburun etrafını talib olanlara değer-i baha ile fûruht ettiresin.

the formation of the neighborhood. Following that, there is an archival document from 1016H/1608CE which mentions a neighborhood named after Fethiye camii for the first time.²⁷³ Hadikatü'l-Cevami, “Garden of Mosques” which had been written in 1788 or 89 also mentions that Fethiye mosque has a neighborhood named after itself. After that, as late as 1206H/1792CE “Fethiye mahallesi” is mentioned in another document.²⁷⁴ It is therefore possible to assume that Fethiye Mahallesi existed until the end of the eighteenth century. In a document dating to 1322H/1904CE, it is not mentioned as a “mahalle” but a “semt” which corresponds to a larger area that combines multiple “mahalles” in it. In that document, the “Fethiye Semti” involves “Katip Muslihuddin Mahallesi” in it.²⁷⁵ Nevertheless, very interestingly, at a later date that we cannot trace the Fethiye *semti* or *mahallesi* both disappeared as Fethiye Mosque reached the twenty-first century as a part of the Katip Muslihuddin Mahallesi in Çarşamba semti of Fatih in Istanbul. In 2008, the four districts of Katip Muslahattin, Hızırçavuş, Tahtaminare, and Tevkiicafer were combined under the new borders of Balat.²⁷⁶ Fethiye therefore began to be included within the new borders of Balat Mahallesi in the *semt* of Çarşamba in the present day.

In time, as the name of the neighborhood changed, the overall demographic profile also changed. The conversion was followed by a residential transformation in the vicinity. Starting from the seventeenth century onwards upper sides of Balat,

²⁷³ BOA TS.MA.e / 1243 – 44, Also see Appendix. Document summary in Turkish: Fethiye Mahallesi'nden vefat eden Hattat Mahmud Efendi bin Abdullah'ın varisleri olan oğulları Mehmed Çelebi ve Ahmed Çelebi'nin kendilerine intikal eden aynı mahalledeki bir evi, Beşiktaş'ta Sultan Camii Mahallesi'nde üç evi, bir bağ ve çayırılığı, Hasköy'deki bir evi müstemilatlarıyla birlikte babalarının borçlarına mukabil Mehmed Paşa Evkafı'na sattıkları.

²⁷⁴ BOA C..EV..104-5158. Document summary in Turkish: “İstanbul'da Fethiye mahallesi nezdinde Kemancıbaşı Mehmed Ağa Camii Vakfı imamet cihetinin tevcihi.”

²⁷⁵ BOA DH.MKT. 864-31. Document summary in Turkish: Dersaadet'in Fethiye semtinin Katib Muslihiddin Mahallesi'nde meydana gelen yangından zarar gören bina sahiplerine yardım yapılması ve arsaların yeniden düzenlenerek çıkmaz sokakların çıkar sokak olarak düzenlenmesi.

²⁷⁶ The web page of the district governorate of Fatih: <http://www.fatih.gov.tr/mahallelerimiz>

Galata and Hasköy became mixed quarters as Muslims began to show interest in residing there, while shores remained as places with dense Greek and Jewish population. This process was expedited by the construction of the Mosque complex of Selim I.²⁷⁷ Some dhimmi communities from then on began to settle around the villages along Bosphorus such as Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, Kuruçeşme, Arnavutköy, Kuzguncuk.²⁷⁸

Sources suggest a special effort by Murad III to revive the lands around Fethiye with new inhabitants. In 1003H/1595CE the sultan ordered the selling of the *mîrî* fields surrounding Fethiye.²⁷⁹ In an undated document at BOA, another document reports that some people bought more than one parcel and built houses with large courtyards, most probably because the fields were not filled as densely as expected. These spaces were ordered to be taken back from them to be sold to different inhabitants to populate the neighborhood in a more dense way.²⁸⁰ As the operations for populating the neighborhood was going on, we begin to see an elite residential interest in the quarter by the first half of the seventeenth century. Moreover, a *kadı sicili* from 1623 informs us that Vezir Cafer Paşa dwelled in the neighborhood of Fethiye Camii prior to his death. He had multiple houses there, and he endowed them for himself and his family members.²⁸¹ Another *kadı sicili* reports

²⁷⁷ Namık ERKAL and Firuzan Melike Sümertaş. "Of a Piece with Their Habitations": Phanariots and Their Houses on the Phanar Waterfront." *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies* 4 (2022): 10.

²⁷⁸ Fariba Zarinebaf, "Intercommunal Life in Istanbul During the Eighteenth century", *Review of Middle East Studies*, Volume: 46, No: 1, 2012, p. 82.

²⁷⁹ BOA A.{DVNSMHM.d... / 72 – 154. Document summary in Turkish: İstanbul kadısına hüküm ki: Mahruse-i mezburede Fethiye Camii'nin etrafı miriden fûruht olunmak emrim olmuştur buyurdum ki vardıkda ferman-ı celilü'l-kadrim üzere cami-i mezburun etrafını talib olanlara değer-i baha ile fûruht ettiresin. See appendix for full text.

²⁸⁰ BOA A.{DVNSMHM.d... / 72 – 154. Document summary in Turkish: İstanbul kadısı ve Mimarbaşı: Fethiye Camii etrafındaki boş arazilerin bir ve yarım evlek miktarda bedeli mukabili halka verilmesi emrolunmuş iken dörder beşer evlek alıp kendilerine avlu yapanların engellenerek avlularının bozulması.

²⁸¹ Evkaf-ı Hümâyûn Müfettişliği 1 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1016-1035 / M. 1608-1626) cilt: 45, sayfa: 540 Hüküm no: 480 Orijinal metin no: [157b-1]

that a house in that quarter was endowed by Gazi Sinan Paşa the Yemen conqueror²⁸² showing Sinan Paşa's interest in investing charity in that vicinity. Another *kadı sicil* from 1709 reports the selling of a house in the *mahalle* of Fethiye to a *kadı* of Egypt, who would be a wealthy and upper-class resident.²⁸³ A document from the reign of Selim III reports that a certain Hatice hanım, who was daughter of a certain İsmail Paşa, and recently passed away had a residence near Fethiye mosque. This luxury residence was to be allocated to the grand vizier İzzet Mehmed Paşa through this special *berat* of the sultan. The document, being written with gold ink and boldly ornamented, reveals the importance of that location, as well as the value of that residence. As a grand vizier was given a residence in the vicinity of Fethiye, it seems possible to assume that the very high elite inhabitation in the quarter existed through late eighteenth century.²⁸⁴

Apart from housing, public facilities were also enriched with additional buildings donated by the elite. First one among them is a medrese, sponsored by the aforementioned Sinan Paşa who served as a grand vizier under Murad III and died in 1595.²⁸⁵ Today there is a secondary school built upon the ruins of that *medrese*. This modern school was designed by Mimar Kemaleddin and completed in 1919.²⁸⁶

Hadika also mentions that a *mekteb* and fountains in addition to the *medrese*

²⁸² İstanbul Mahkemesi 22 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1107-1108 / M. 1695-1697) cilt: 57, sayfa: 480 Hüküm no: 368 Orijinal metin no: [116a-1].

²⁸³ Bab Mahkemesi 92 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1120-1121 / M. 1709) cilt: 60, sayfa: 232 Hüküm no: 221 Orijinal metin no: [29b-1]. Original summary: Mustafa Ağa b. İbrahim ile hanımı Havva bt. Abdullah'ın ortak oldukları evlerini Mısır kadılarından Hacı Mehmed Efendi b. Hacı Ali'ye sattıkları.

²⁸⁴ BOA MFB 1083. Document summary which does not give a precise date is: "İsmail Paşa'nın müteveffa kızı Hatice Hanım'a ait olan Nişancı mahallesinde Fethiye Camii yakınlarındaki evin Sadrazam İzzet Mehmed Paşa'ya ihsan olunduğu. (III. Selim dönemine ait; tuğra altın yaldızlı mürekkeple çekilmiştir. Satırlar kırmızı ve altın yaldızlı mürekkeple yazılmış, üzerlerine altın serpmeler yapılmış ve araları altın yaldızlı büyük noktalarla süslenmiştir; 16 satır; 85x168 ebadında; berat)"

²⁸⁵ Mehmet İpşirli, "Koca Sinan Paşa", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/koca-sinan-pasa> (13.12.2023).

²⁸⁶ Ahmet Vefa Çobanoğlu, Özkan Ertuğrul, "Kemâleddin Bey, Mimar", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kemaleddin-bey-mimar> (19.12.2023).

sponsored by Kethüda Mehmed Ağa who was the son-in-law of Grand Vizier Maktul Damad İbrahim Paşa.²⁸⁷

4.4 Transformation in the profile of religious spaces

The aforementioned sources suggest a remarkable increase in elite-Muslim profile in the vicinity. However, this transformation, although it might have been affected by the contemporary Sunnitization trend, and by political tensions, still does not mean a wholesome cancellation of Christian visibility in early modern Istanbul's urban and architectural experience, as their presence in Fener and Balat reveals. At first, the Patriarchal seat being moved among three churches between 1588 and 1614 shows that there still were decent churches to serve for such an important administrative institution by that time in Balat and Fener. Moreover, a number of churches, although not active, that were never converted and were allowed for dhimmi usage, even though monumentally most remarkable one, Pammakaristos was converted. Considering that one fifth of the Ottoman capital consisted of Greek Orthodox subjects, maintenance of their places of worship is a natural phenomenon, although some symbolically-important buildings such as Pammakaristos might have been affected by political tensions.

The first church which hosted the patriarchate for the ten years that followed the conversion of Pammakaristos is known as a chapel that belonged to a kiosk called Eflak Konağı, because it was owned by wealthy Wallachian rulers in Fener. It is also known as the church of Panagia Paramythia today.²⁸⁸ The church is inactive today however it was never used as a mosque nor converted to any other Islamic

²⁸⁷ Ayvansarayi, *The Garden*, 175.

²⁸⁸ M. Süreyya Şahin, "Fener Rum Ortodoks Patrikhânesi", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/fener-rum-ortodoks-patrikhanesi> (23.12.2023).

institution. Alexander van Millingen mentions the second church in Fener named St. Demetrios Kanabou close to Küçük Ayvansaray Kapısı in Fener. This church is interesting since it was mostly built during the late sixteenth century to serve for the Patriarchate until 1614, when the seat was moved into the church of St. George in Fener.²⁸⁹ This humble church of St Demetrios Kanabos, according to van Millingen, was never converted into a mosque until the time of his publication in 1912.²⁹⁰ Eventually, we see at least two churches in a walking distance to Pammakaristos to host the patriarchate in the time of Pamakkaristos' conversion. Sources providing information into the presence of churches in the vicinity of Pammakaristos/Fethiye neighborhood of Istanbul during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are scarce. Endowment documents do not mention names of dhimmi worship spaces as centers of neighborhoods.²⁹¹ However, we still know about a number of churches which were to be converted simultaneously with Pammakaristos, and a few decades later into Islamic spaces. There are two documents from the late sixteenth-century that mention the conversion of a church in that vicinity, first of which is most probably St. John Prodromos en to Trullo.²⁹² Hiram Ahmed Paşa, a vizier who previously served as a janissary leader, and a defterdar, converted the church into a *mescid* and endowed it. Another monastery in Balat, the Monastery of Manuel remained as a Christian space of worship until 1626.²⁹³ In that year, it was converted into a *mescid*

²⁸⁹ Alexander van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople, Their History and Architecture*, (London: Macmillan and Co., 1912) 148.

²⁹⁰ Ibid, 191.

²⁹¹ Kafescioğlu, *Constantinople/Istanbul*, 199.

²⁹² From 1584 BOA TS.MA.e / 892 – 15: İstanbul Beyceğiz mahallesinde kilise iken Darussaade Ağası Mehmed Ağa tarafından mescide tahvil edilen binanın Cuma namazı kılınacak şekilde camiye tahvili ve hatip tayinine dair III. Murad'ın İstanbul kadısına hükmü.
From 1582 BOA A.{DVNSMHM.d... / 52 – 44: İstanbul kadısına hüküm: İstanbul'da Patrik Mahallesi'nde bir kilise vaktile mescid edilüp içinde namaz kılındıktan sonra hali kalup yine Hristiyanların eline geçüp kilise olduğu bildirilmekle tekrar mescid eylemesi hakkında. See appendix for full text.

²⁹³ Semavi Eyice, "Kefeli Mescidi", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4, p. 518.

and began to be called Kefeli/Kefevî Mescidi, referring to the Caffan Catholic inhabitants who were brought from Crimea and settled around that quarter in the time of Mehmed II²⁹⁴. Although the monastery was a Byzantine monastery by origin, it was granted for the use of the aforementioned Catholic community, therefore, the conversion of it into a *mescid* suggests a decline in the Catholic presence in the quarter.

Dhimmi population more or less remained in the shores on the Golden Horn throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries even besides the increasing Muslim population,²⁹⁵ and their places of worship were much more tolerated there, Ottomans even allowed construction of the Balat Balino church in the sixteenth-century as well as the very inclusive renovation of the Panagia Paramythia church right before the placement of the patriarchate there.²⁹⁶ It is also very interesting that the church of Andifonditi Aya Yorgi that stood in a very close distance to Fethiye was never subject to conversion, and still is being actively used. Three pre-Ottoman Christian structures of Ioannes Prodromos (in present-day Ayvansaray), Metrology, and Panagia Paramythia were never converted too, but all of them are abandoned and in a very unpreserved state today.

A further step in Islamicizing the vicinity happened through constructions of entirely new Islamic structures as the district was gradually gaining attraction of donors. Throughout the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, it is possible to trace the Islamicizing of the district by new mosques, *mescids*, tekkes and medreses being erected street by street. For the gradual Islamization in the vicinity of Fethiye

²⁹⁴ Kafescioğlu, *Constantinople/Istanbul*, 199.

²⁹⁵ Zarinebaf, "Intercommunal Life," 82.

²⁹⁶ Greta Steeber, *An Architectural Reflection of Community: a Study of the Patriarchal Churches in Constantinople/Istanbul as a Reflection of the Relationship of Christians and Muslims in the Ottoman Empire*, (MA Thesis, Luther Seminary, 2012) 60.

and by constructions erected by Muslim donors and conversions of churches nearby see Appendix A according to information given by *Hadikatü'l-Cevami*. The maps are prepared based on the Müller-Wiener map of Istanbul.

The area from Pammakaristos stretching towards the shores, already had Islamic spaces, newly constructed or converted after 1453, such as mosques/mescids of Hızır Çavuş, Debbağ Yunus, Yusuf Şucaaddin Ambari, Tahta Minare, and on the hill side, there stood the masjid of Beyceğiz.

In the sixteenth century, we see a dramatically increased interest in both conversions, and new constructions. In addition to converted and newly constructed masjids and mosques, there are three new medreses, one of which stood very closely to Fethiye, and a *hamam* and a fountain. While some of them were constructed prior to Pammakaristos' conversion decision in 1588, very strikingly, seven were constructed just within the same decade with Pammakaristos.

There is a number of constructions which could not have been pinned on the map because they did not survive today nor their exact locations are known. These structures which we get to know about through their recordings as late as the late 18th century through *Hadikatü'l-Cevami* are, Kemha mescidi, which was sponsored by Kemhacıbaşı Mehmed Ağa in 1650 located in between Drağman/Tercümanyunus and Çarşamba in a close location to Fethiye.²⁹⁷ However, the *mescid* gradually was damaged and disappeared in time. Another construction in the vicinity that did not survive today, Bakkal Ahmed Ağa mescidi was also constructed near Fethiye in the seventeenth century in an area called Karagümrük in the present day but disappeared

²⁹⁷ Ayvansarayı, *The Garden*, 209. Tahsin Öz, *İstanbul Camileri* vol. I, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1996) p. 88.

in time.²⁹⁸ These *mesçids* can be seen as examples to increasing elite donations in the decades that followed the conversion of Pammakaristos.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the continuing constructions reveal the persistent interest of Muslim funders in the area. Seven new constructions one of which is a medrese were erected in this century. In the eighteenth century, three new mosques one of which had a medrese was built. Additionally, a tekke, which was sponsored directly by the sultan Ahmed III himself was constructed in the same area²⁹⁹ proving the elite and Muslim interests. This should have encouraged the sufi communities, that two new sufi-oriented constructions were built in the nineteenth century such as Mesneviyhane³⁰⁰ and the tekke of İsmet Efendi.³⁰¹

All these construction activities in terms of religious concepts or public facilities, arose hand-in-hand with the rising Muslim population in the areas that surrounded Fethiye. Taking into consideration the constructions and conversions that already started in the early sixteenth century prior to Pammakaristos' conversion, it is possible to assume that Pammakaristos, being a central administrative and religious center of a non-Muslim community began to draw more and more attention within that place triggering pro-Sunni policies. Its conversion, however, still seems to have motivated a remarkable elite interest in its vicinity. Moreover, the very elaborate renovation of Fethiye opened many facilities to public use, therefore, it attracted both the elite and the needy with regards to its different aspects.

²⁹⁸ Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Bakkalahmedağa Mescidi" *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* vol. IV, (İstanbul: Tan Matbaası), p.1928. Erdal Karaman, *Fatih Camileri*, 488.

²⁹⁹ M. Baha Tanman, "Nûreddin Cerrâhî Tekkesi", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://Islamansiklopedisi.Org.Tr/Nureddin-Cerrahi-Tekkesi> (24.12.2023).

³⁰⁰ M. Baha Tanman, "Mesnevîhâne Tekkesi", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://Islamansiklopedisi.Org.Tr/Mesneviyhane-Tekkesi> (24.12.2023).

³⁰¹ Süleyman Uludağ, "Hâlidîyye", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/halidiyye#2-anadoluda-halidilik> (24.12.2023).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study has examined the multi-layered heritage of Pammakaristos/Fethiye with regards to various concepts such as architectural, institutional, legal, social, and urban. The once less favored convent of Byzantine Constantinople had become the most prominent Greek Orthodox monument during its Ottoman past. Despite that, the Ottomans' determination in converting it into a Friday mosque suggested associations with an ideological shift within the empire in the early modern era. Safavid rivalry, as well as Selim's conquest of the two holy cities of Islam had prompted the early modern Ottomans to perceive themselves as the globally most prominent leaders and representatives of their faith. Eventually, by the early sixteenth century, the dhimmi subjects of the empire were already more or less affected by that ideology.

My investigation on the Balat area and the increasing number of Islamic foundations showed an already started Muslim interest in the northwestern shores of Istanbul peninsula, and it was to continue throughout the following centuries. Whereas the conversion of Pammakaristos was a part of this program with further politic and ideologic associations. The closer reading of archival material suggested highly political backgrounds of the contemporary church-to-mosque conversions in Istanbul. Moreover, primary sources suggest that the name "Fethiye" given to Pammakarsitos most probably refers to the conquest of Istanbul, but not Azerbaijan and Georgia, as popularly argued.

Changes in imperial ideology, although affected imperial decisions and regulations of churches in theory, such as prohibiting the construction of *hudas*

churches nor Selim I's command the conversion of all churches, they do not seem to have been applied in practice. Both in provinces and in Istanbul, people found different ways to evade it. Here the interesting point is while some actively used churches were subject to forceful conversion, some churches remained in dhimmi use and were never converted even though they may have lacked a community and were eventually abandoned. It suggests that the point was limiting dhimmi monumentality, not their institutional existence in general.

The conversion of the Patriarchal church into Fethiye mosque led to social and environmental transformation since it enabled the structure's many facilities for utilization by the Muslim public, and was supported with new donations by the Muslim elite. Transformation of Pammakaristos into a Friday mosque seems to have attracted a remarkable Muslim population. By the end of the eighteenth century, we see that the built environment in the vicinity of Fethiye became more and more Islamized.

The establishment of new facilities, such as fountains, and a madrasa, attracted increasingly more people to the mosque's, providing essential services to the local population. The patronage of Ottoman elites, including grand vizier Sinan Paşa, further solidified the mosque's status as a significant urban landmark.

The urban transformation in the vicinity of Fethiye Mosque illustrates the broader socio-economic changes taking place in Istanbul during this period. The sale of nearby estates and the encouragement of Muslim settlements in the area reflect the Ottoman state's efforts to reshape the city's demographic and religious landscape. By the eighteenth century, the neighborhood around Fethiye had evolved into an elite Muslim district, characterized by new residential patterns and religious spaces. The ongoing archaeological and archival efforts will undoubtedly continue to shed light

on the multifaceted history of Fethiye Mosque, offering new perspectives on its role in the history of Istanbul.

Future studies could focus on comparative analyses of other church-to-mosque conversions in Istanbul and beyond, examining the distinctnesses and similarities in their transformation processes. Moreover, Byzantine churches of Istanbul that have never been converted and remained their religious identity also needs more scholarly attention. Additionally, a more detailed investigation into the communities associated with these monuments could provide a richer understanding of social and cultural significance of the Byzantine heritage in the Ottoman Istanbul.

APPENDIX A:

MAPS SHOWING THE TRANSFORMATION IN THE VICINITY OF
PAMMAKARISTOS/FETHIYE

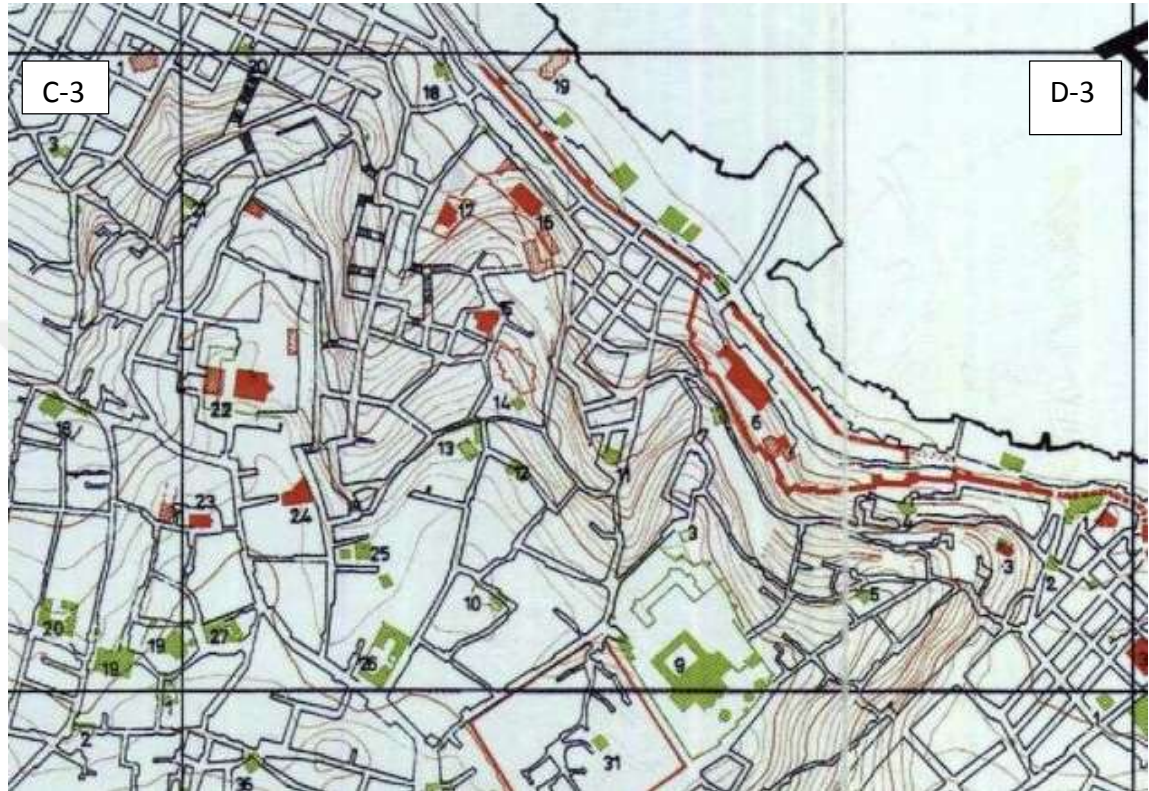


Figure 34: Balat and Fener area in Müller-Wiener's map of Istanbul³⁰²

Legend of all buildings visible on the maps:

MAP SECTION D-3:

- 1 Ayakapı bath and Ayakapı church
- 2 Sirkeci Tekkesi Masjid
- 3 Sinan Paşa Masjid
- 4 Karabaş Masjid
- 5 Debbağ Yunus Masjid
- 6 Hagios Georgios Patrikhane
- 7 Kuburbeli Masjid
- 8 Ekserci Masjid
- 9 Sultan Selim mosque
- 10 Cebecibaşı Masjid
- 11 Cafer Subaşı Masjid

- 12 Ismet Ef. Tekkesi
- 13 Tevkii Cafer Masjid
- 14 Mesneviyhane Masjid and Tekke
- 15 Theotokos Mukhlitissa
- 16 Metochion tu Hagiu Taphu
- 17 Blachsaray
- 18 Tahra Minare Masjid and bath
- 19 Bulgar Kilisesi
- 20 Çavuş Masjid
- 21 Yazıcı Masjid
- 22 Fethiye mosque
- 23 Hrami Ahmed Paşa Masjid

³⁰² Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, appendix. (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1977).

24 Hagios Georgios Potiras
 25 Murad Molla Library
 26 İsmail Ef. Mosque and Madrasa
 27 Mehmed Ağa Madrasa

3 Kesmekaya Masjid
 18 Drağman Camii and Tercüman
 Yunus Madrasa
 19 Mehmed Ağa Mosque and bath
 20 Defterdar İbrahim Efendi Madrasa

MAP SECTION C-3:

1 Hagios Taksiarkhes

and Masjid

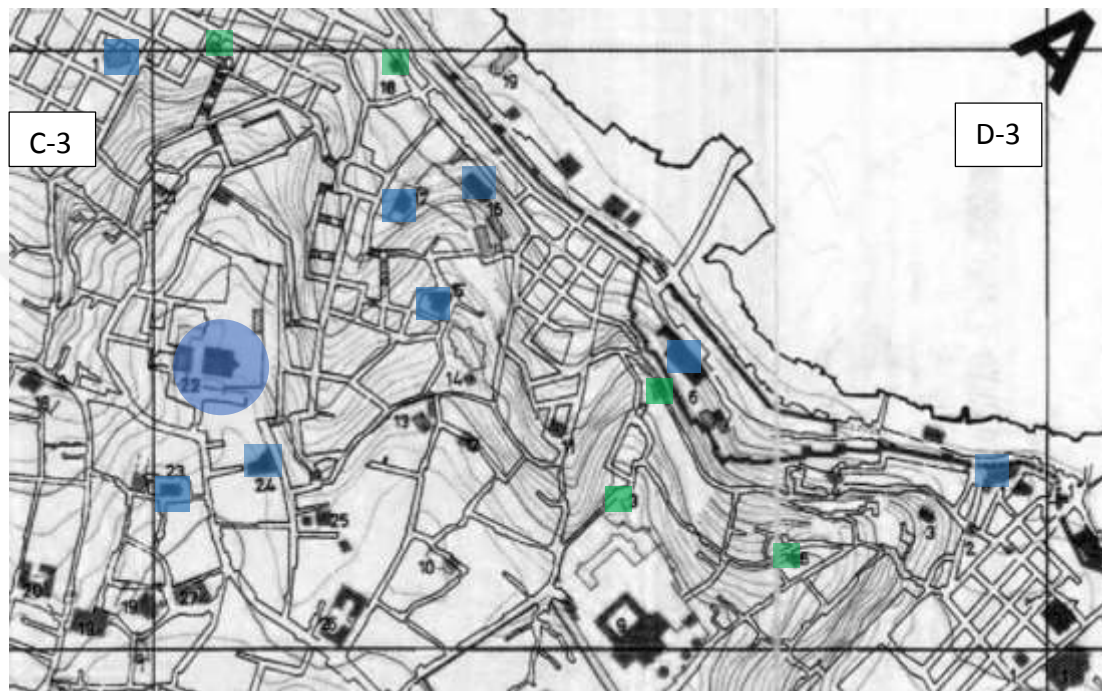


Figure 35: Religious constructions of Balat and Fener in the late 15th century

Blues refer to buildings that function as churches while greens refer to Muslim endowments.

MAP SECTION D-3:

1 Ayakapı bath and Ayakapı church
 4 Karabaş Masjid
 5 Debbağ Yunus Masjid
 6 Hagios Georgios
 7 Kuburbeli Masjid
 8 Ekserci Masjid
 15 Theotokos Mukhliotissa
 16 Metochion tu Hagiou Taphu
 17 Blachsaray
 18 Tahra Minare Masjid and bath.
 20 Çavuş Masjid

22 Pammakaristos Monastery
 23 Hagios Ioannes en to Trullo church
 24 Hagios Georgios Potiras

MAP SECTION C-3:

1 Hagios Taksiarkhes

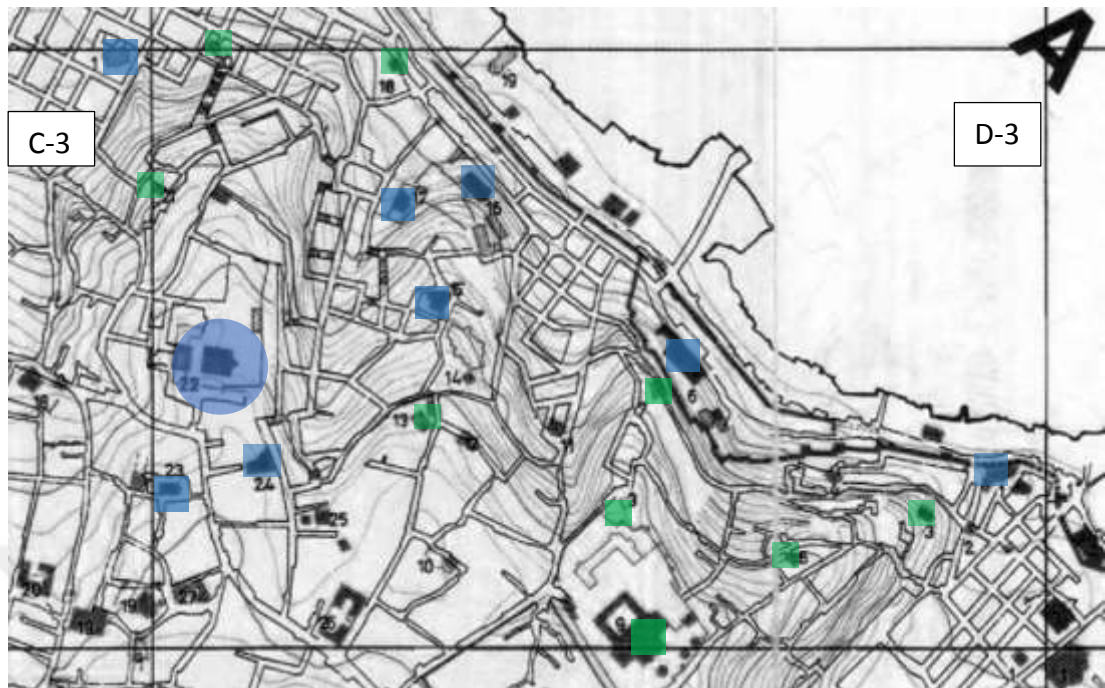


Figure 36: Religious constructions of Balat and Fener in the early 16th century, prior to conversion of Pammakaristos

Blues refer to buildings that function as churches while greens refer to Muslim endowments. Italics show the new constructions and/or conversions.

MAP SECTION D-3:

- 1 Ayakapı bath and Ayakapı church
- 3 *Sinan Paşa Masjid*
- 5 Debbag Yunus Masjid
- 6 Hagios Georgios
- 7 Kuburbeli Masjid
- 8 Ekserci Masjid
- 9 *Sultan Selim mosque*
- 13 *Tevkii Cafer Masjid*
- 15 Theotokos Mukhlitissa
- 16 Metochion tu Hagiou Taphu
- 17 Blachsaray
- 18 Tahra Minare Masjid and bath
- 20 Çavuş Masjid
- 21 *Yazıcı Masjid*
- 22 Pammakaristos Monastery
- 23 Hagios Ioannes en to Trullo church
- 24 Hagios Georgios Potiras

MAP SECTION C-3:

- 1 Hagios Taksiarkhes

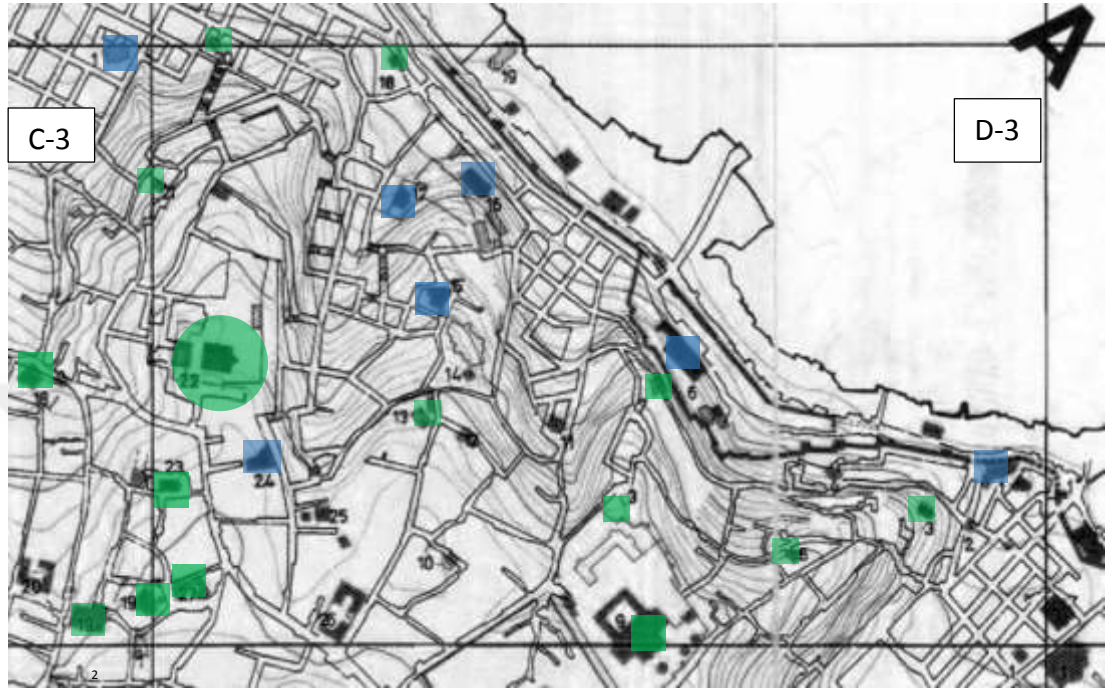


Figure 37: Religious constructions of Balat and Fener in the late 16th century
Blues refer to buildings that function as churches while greens refer to Muslim endowments. Italics show the new constructions and/or conversions.

MAP SECTION D-3:

- 1 Ayakapı bath and Ayakapı church
- 3 Sinan Paşa Masjid
- 5 Debbâğ Yunus Masjid
- 6 Hagios Georgios
- 7 Kuburbeli Masjid
- 8 Ekserci Masjid
- 9 Sultan Selim mosque
- 13 Tevkii Cafer Masjid
- 15 Theotokos Mukhlitissa
- 16 Metochion tu Hagiou Taphu
- 17 Blachsaray
- 18 Tahra Minare Masjid and bath

20 Çavuş Masjid

21 Yazıcı Masjid

22 Fethiye mosque

23 Hırami Ahmed Paşa Masjid

24 Hagios Georgios Potiras

27 Mehmed Ağa Mosque and madrasa

MAP SECTION C-3:

1 Hagios Taksarkhes

18 Drağman Camii and Tercüman Yunus Madrasa

19 Mehmed Ağa Mosque and bath

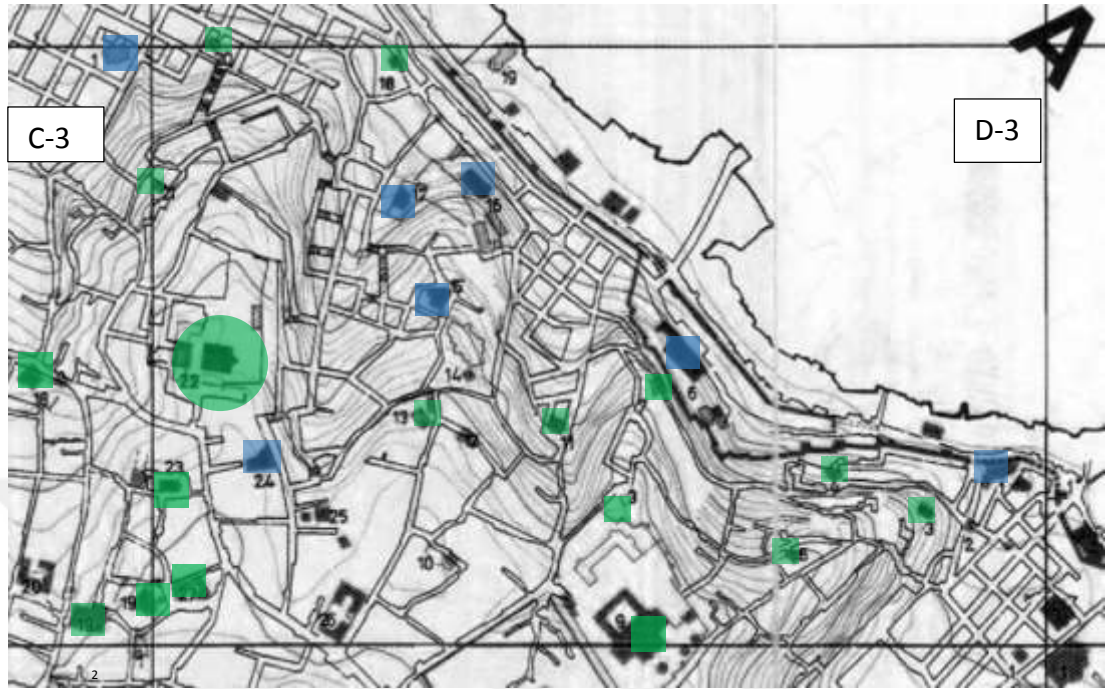


Figure 38: Religious constructions of Balat and Fener at the end of the 17th century.

Blues refer to buildings that function as churches while greens refer to Muslim endowments. Italics show the new constructions and/or conversions.

MAP SECTION D-3:

- 1 Ayakapı bath and Ayakapı church
- 3 Sinan Paşa Masjid
- 4 *Karabaş Masjid*
- 5 Debbag Yunus Masjid
- 6 Hagios Georgios
- 7 Kuburbeli Masjid
- 8 Ekserci Masjid
- 9 Sultan Selim mosque
- 10 *Cebecibaşı Masjid*
- 11 *Cafer Subaşı Masjid*
- 12 *Ismet Ef. Tekkesi*
- 13 Tevkii Cafer Masjid
- 15 Theotokos Mukhlitissa
- 16 Metochion tu Hagiu Taphu
- 17 Blachsaray
- 18 Tahra Minare Masjid and bath
- 20 Çavuş Masjid

21 Yazıcı Masjid

- 22 Fethiye mosque
- 23 Hiram Ahmed Paşa Masjid
- 24 Hagios Georgios Potiras
- 27 Mehmed Ağa Madrasa

MAP SECTION C-3:

- 1 Hagios Taksiarkhes
- 18 Drağman Camii and Tercüman Yunus Madrasa
- 19 Mehmed Ağa Mosque and bath

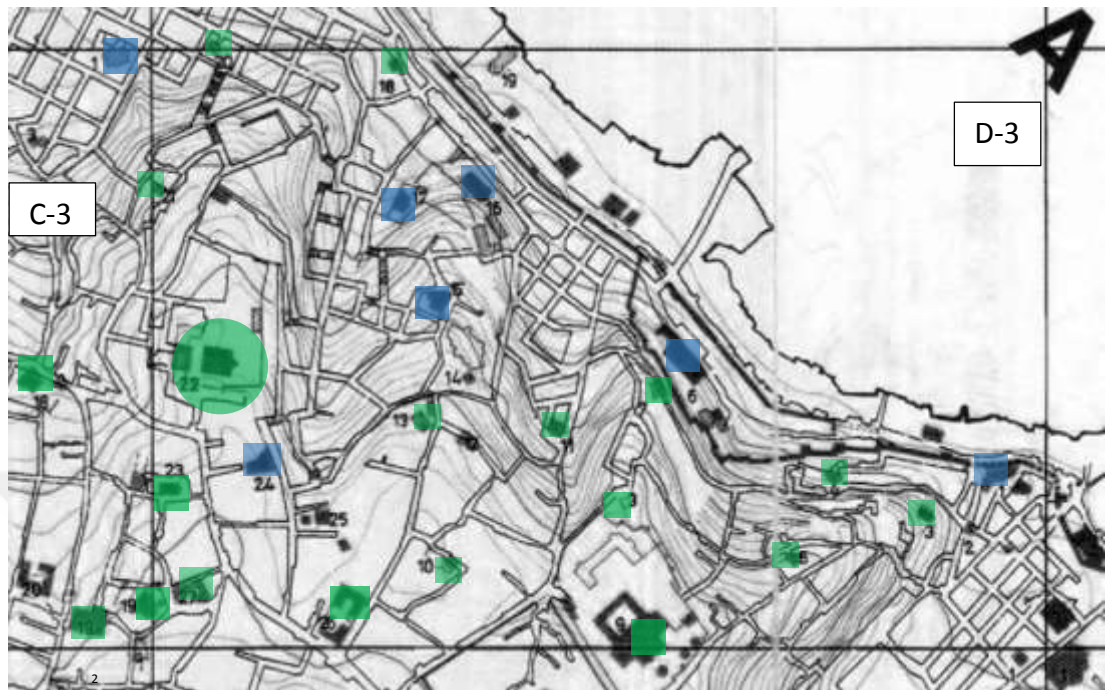


Figure 39: Religious constructions of Balat and Fener at the end of the 18th century.

Blues refer to buildings that function as churches while greens refer to Muslim endowments. Italics show the new constructions and/or conversions.

MAP SECTION D-3:

- 1 Ayakapı bath and Ayakapı church
- 2 Sirkeci Tekkesi Masjid
- 3 Sinan Paşa Masjid
- 4 Karabaş Masjid
- 5 Debbağ Yunus Masjid
- 6 Hagios Georgios
- 7 Kuburbeli Masjid
- 8 Ekserci Masjid
- 9 Sultan Selim mosque
- 10 Cebecibaşı Masjid
- 11 Cafer Subaşı Masjid
- 12 Ismet Ef. Tekkesi
- 13 Tevkii Cafer Masjid
- 14 *Mesneviyhane Masjid and Tekke*
- 15 Theotokos Mukhlitissa
- 16 Metochion tu Hagiou Taphu
- 17 Blachsaray
- 18 Tahra Minare Masjid and bath

- 20 Çavuş Masjid
- 21 Yazıcı Masjid
- 22 Fethiye mosque
- 23 Hiramî Ahmed Paşa Masjid
- 24 Hagios Georgios Potiras
- 25 Murad Molla Library
- 26 *İsmail Ef. Mosque and Madrasa*
- 27 Mehmed Ağa Madrasa

MAP SECTION C-3:

- 1 Hagios Taksiarkhes
- 18 Drağman Camii and Tercüman Yunus Madrasa
- 19 Mehmed Ağa Mosque and bath



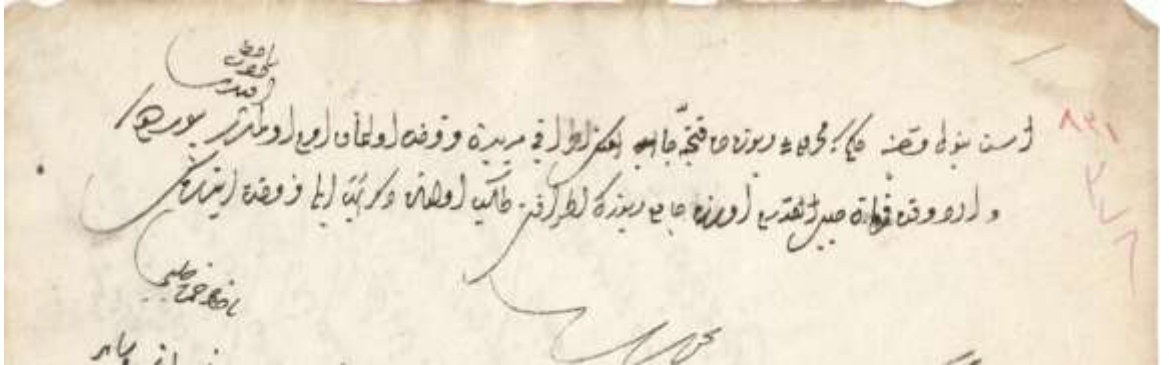
APPENDIX B

ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

Document code and summary: BOA A.{DVNSMHM.d... / 73 - 831 -

İstanbul kadısına hüküm ki: Mahruse-i mezburede Fethiye Camii'nin etrafı miriden fûruht olunmak emrim olmuşdur buyurdum ki vardıkda ferman-ı celilü'l-kadrim üzere cami-i mezburun etrafını talib olanlara değer-i baha ile fûruht ettiresin.

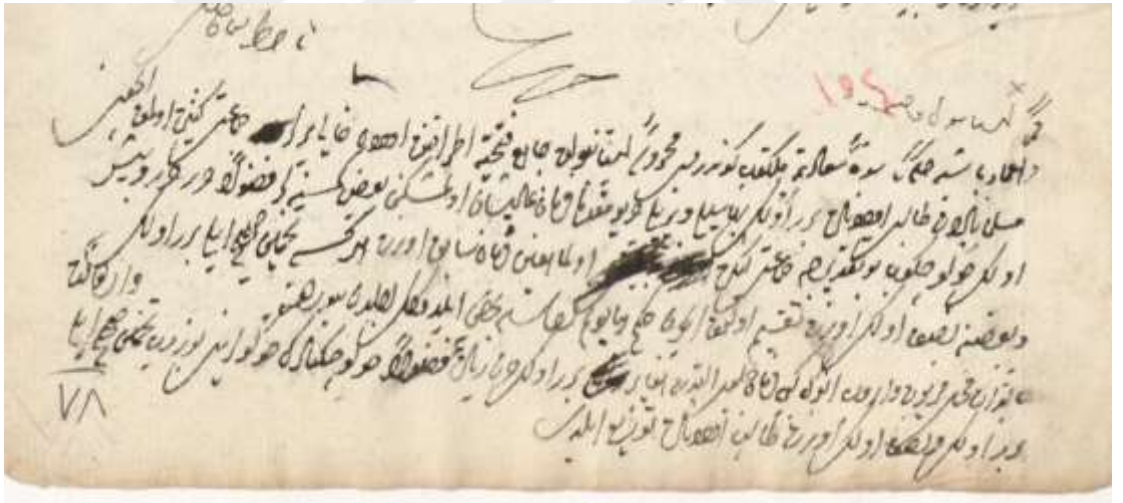
Transliteration and original document: İstanbul kâzısına hüküm ki: Maḥrûse-i mezbûreden Fethiye Cami'i'niñ eṭrâfı mîrîden fûruht olunmaḵ emrim olmuşdur. Buyurdum ki vardıkda fermân-ı celîlû'l-kadrim üzere câmi'-i mezbûrun eṭrâfını ṭâlib olanlara değer-i bahâ ile fûruht ettiresiz.



Document code and summary: BOA A.{DVNSMHM.d... / 72 – 154. İstanbul kadısı ve Mimarbaşı: Fethiye Camii etrafındaki boş arazilerin bir ve yarım evlek miktarda bedeli mukabili halka verilmesi emrolunmuş iken dörder beşer evlek alıp kendilerine avlu yapanların engellenerek avlularının bozulması.

Transliteration and original document:

İstanbul kâzısına ve mi'marbaşına hüküm ki: Südde-i sa'âdetime mektûb gönderüp mahrûse-i İstanbul'da Câmi'-i Fethiye etrâfında olan hâlî yerler cemâ'at-i keşîre olmak için Müslümanlardan tâlib olanlara birer evlek behâsiyle virile deyû muqaddeman fermân-ı 'âlişân olmuşiken ba'zı kimesneler fuzûlen dörder beşer evlek avlu çeküb bu takdîrce cemâ'at-i keşîre olmamağın fermân-ı sâbık üzre herkese tahmîn-i sahlî ile birer evlek ve ba'zına nısf evlek üzre takşîm olunmak için hükm-i hümâyûnum ricâsına 'arz eylediğın ecilden buyurdım ki; Vardıkda bizzat maḥall-i mezbûra varub onun gibi olan fermân-ı celîlü'l-kadrime muğâyir birer evlekten ziyâde fuzûlen avlu çekenlerin avlularını bozub tahmîn-i sahlî ile bir evlek ve nısf evlek üzere talib olanlara tevzi' eylesin.

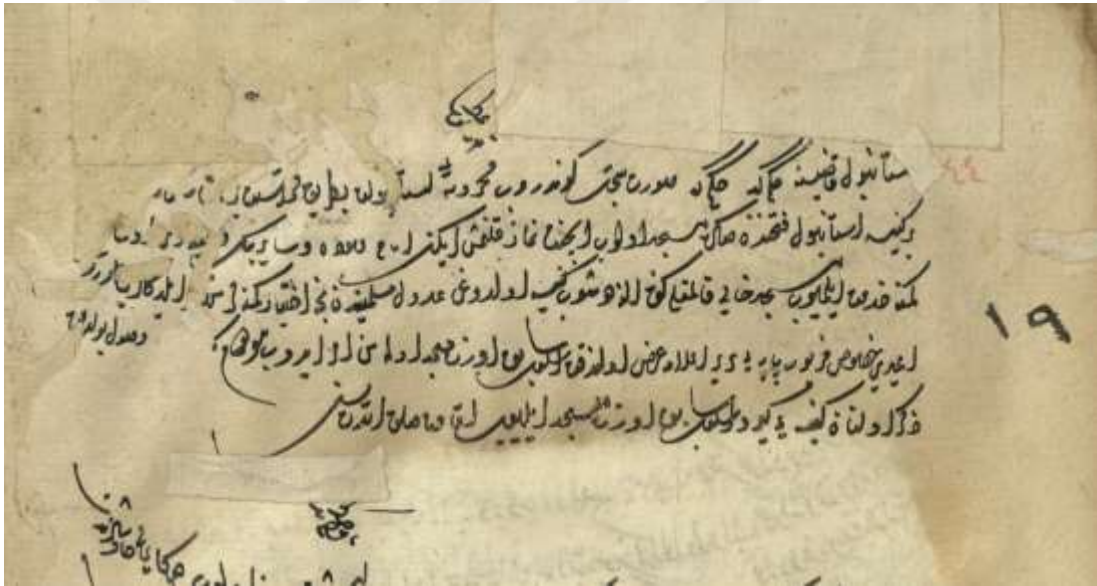


Document code and summary: BOA A.{DVNSMHM.d... / 52 - 44

İstanbul kadısına hüküm: İstanbul'da Patrik Mahallesi'nde bir kilise vaktile mescid edilüp içinde namaz kılındıktan sonra hali kalup yine Hıristiyanların eline geçüp kilise olduğu bildirilmekle tekrar mescid eylemesi hakkında.

Transliteration and original document:

İstanbul kâzısına hüküm ki: şûret-i sicil gönderüp mahrûse-i İstanbul'da Paṭrîk maḥallesinde (damaged part) bir kenîse İstanbul fethinden sonra mescid olup içinde namâz kılınmış iken imam olan ve sair (damaged part) kimesne hidmet eylemeyüp mescîd ḥâli kalmakla kefare eline düşüb kenîse olduğu ‘udûl-i müslimînden nice ihtiyâr kimesneler şehâdet eyledikleri (damaged part) imdi ḥuşûş-ı mezbûr pâye-i serîr a’lâma arz olundıkda üslûb-u sâbık üzre mescîd olmasını emr idüb buyurdım ki: Vuşûl (damaged part) zikr olunan kenîseyi girü üslûb-u sâbık üzre mescîd eyleyüb iḳâme-i şalât itdiresiz.



Document code and summary: BOA A.{DVNSMHM.d. 62-403

Kratova kadısına hüküm: İstanbul'da patrik kilisesi denilen kilisede fetih günü ezan okunduğuna müslümanlar şahadet etmekle cami olmasına şer'le hüküm olduğundan

tahtı kazasından bin kantar kurşun tedarik edip göndermesi hakkında. (Birer sureti: Novabırda, Sidrekapsi kadılarına).”

Transliteration and original document:

Ḳratova ḳāzısına ḥüküm ki: Maḥrûse -i İstanbul'da vâḳı' olan Paṭriḳ Kilisesinde maḥmiye-i mezbûre feth olundıkda ezân-ı şerîf okundığına müslümanlar şehâdet idüp cami'-i şerîf olmasına şer'le ḥüküm olunduğu ecden kendü nām-ı şerîfime cāmi' binā olunmak için niyet-i hümāyunum olub eyle ola zıkr olunan cāmi'-i şerîfe kurşun elzem olmağın taht-ı ḳazāsından olan ma'denden bin ḳanṭar kurşun tedārik olunmasına emr idüb buyurdım ki

Vuşûl buldukda te'hir ? itmeyüb taht-ı ḳazāsından bin ḳanṭar kurşun mu'accelān tedārik itdürüp südde-i sa'âdetime gönderesiz.



APPENDIX C

TABLE SHOWING PHYSICAL EVOLUTION OF PAMMAKARISTOS/FETHIYE

Summary of physical evolution of Pammakaristos/Fethiye until the end of the eighteenth century.



PERIOD	CHANGES IN THE MONUMENT	SOURCES
KOMNENIAN PERIOD, 11 TH CENTURY	• Main church was built with a central dome, cross-in-square plan, and aisles on the north, west and south. • An inscription was placed inside of the main apse.	• 1964 excavations, inscriptions • Surrounded the main apse and recorded by the sixteenth-century accounts of traveller and scholar John Malaxos
LATIN PERIOD, 1204-1261	• A bell tower was placed outside of the monastery adjacent to its south façade.	• The bell tower appears in the sixteenth-century woodcuts by Schweigger and Martin Crusius rectangular shape resembling Latin style.
PALAIOLOGAN PERIOD, LATE 13 TH AND EARLY 14 TH CENTURY	• The northern church was thoroughly repaired. • A parekklesion was built adjacent to the south façade around 1325. • The U-shaped annexation was completed surrounding the northern,	• Poem by Manuel Philes, placed as an epigraph on the east façade. • Contemporary accounts of John Malaxos

	western, and partially southern parts of the main church between 1326 and 1341.	
OTTOMAN PERIOD, LATE 16 TH CENTURY	• The main apse together with the pastophoria apses were destroyed and replaced by a new domed space. • The support system was altered: multiple arches carrying the central dome were replaced by larger piers. • The walls dividing the north annex and the north aisle, as well as the dividing the narthex and west aisle were replaced by large piers. • The bell tower was replaced by a minaret.	• Observations on the structure itself with comparisons to visual material from earlier periods

OTTOMAN PERIOD, 18TH CENTURY	• 1729 repair covered the following: renewal of sixteen window jambs with marble. Timber covers were installed for ten windows. • Twenty-eight pieces of glass were installed on interior and exterior of windows. • Three gates made out of walnut trees were added. • Floor of the exonarthex was covered with hexagonal bricks. • The outdoor portico was covered with lead. • In the 1759 repair, domes and roof of the structure were covered with lead. • Archival documents in the BOA archives with codes ○ A. {DVNSMHM.d.72/154 ○ A. {DVNSMHM.d.73/831
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