

The Istanbul Divanyolu

Maurice Cerasi



The book deals with the architectural space of the Divan axis, not only the street now called Divan Yolu but the entire system of streets which formed the thoroughfare from the Topkapı Palace to the city walls. It was the main ceremonial route of Istanbul, stage for the Sultan's stately processions, for the important Pashas' daily transit, but the exhibition of power and magnificence was never sublimated into an overall architectural image. They were enacted on a background of chaotic and lively daily city life. Street composition was unplanned and dominated by variety in form, type and volume. Particularly in the 18th and early 19th centuries when a very interesting and unique urban scene took form, secondary elements such as funerary enclosures and fountains, much more than the principal functional and religious building types which were more traditional in layout and style, were carriers of innovative architecture.

The essays define the ideological and aesthetic character of Ottoman urban space and architecture through the analysis of this characteristic segment of the imperial city.

The Istanbul Divanyolu.
A Case Study in Ottoman Urbanity
and Architecture

ISTANBULER TEXTE UND STUDIEN

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BAND 3

The Istanbul Divanyolu.
A Case Study in Ottoman Urbanity
and Architecture

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with the collaboration of
Emiliano Bugatti and Sabrina D'Agostiono

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Chapter 1: Introduction

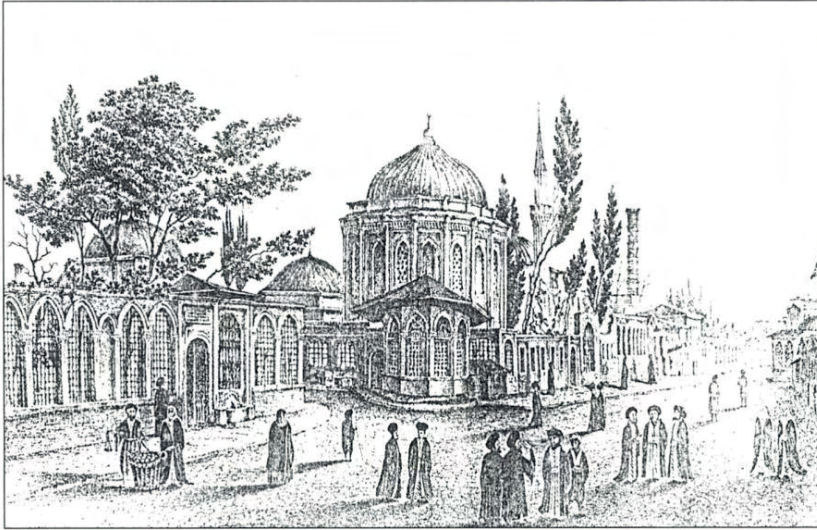


Fig. 1: *The Divanyolu in mid 19th century. From left to right: the Çorlulu Ali cemetery, the Koca Sinan mausoleum, the column of Constantine, the porch of the Köprüllü medrese prayer hall. Lithograph by Hercules Catenacci, Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, Vd-7 Fol-T.8.*

The Ottoman Divanyolu (and its extension, the Divan axis) formed the main thoroughfare linking Topkapı Palace at the eastern limit of the peninsula, to the gate of Edirne, principal gate for the continental road into Europe.

It was a concentrate of functional facts and of revealing symbolism.

It was not quite like the ‘main street’ of many other towns, western or eastern, which absorb most, if not all, the highest commercial and monumental expressions of the city. Perhaps, its nearly five-kilometre curving route was too long; perhaps the immense metropolis was too complex to seek expression in a single structure. Many dense and economically vital quarters lay away (but not too far away) from the axis; certainly, only part (but not too small a part) of Istanbul’s Ottoman architectural heritage was situated along the axis.

Since the early Eighties of the 20th century, it seemed to me that the key for the full comprehension of architecture and town-building

in the Ottoman Empire after the 17th century lay in the conflicts and syncretism of cultures, and not in the too simple concepts of Westernisation or Ottomanisation. The uncomfortable clash of architectural concepts and of visions of urban life had been obvious to all, laymen and specialists. But a foggy cultural discussion in which distaste or nostalgia prevailed, understated, or sometimes ideologically overplayed, the historical (and I would add, structural) roots of the clash. I had been thinking of the Kampos suburb in Ottoman Chios (Sakızadası) as a paradigmatic example of synthesis of Western (Genoese) and local ('meta-Byzantine' Greek) models: gradually, after the early Nineties, I discovered that Classical Ottoman themes and complex South-Eastern Anatolian and North-Syrian ways had seeped in. A happily harmonious hybrid model—*felix culpa!*—had come to life (I believe, around the second half of the 18th century). On the other hand, since almost a century and a half, the avenue today named Divanyolu, a short tract between the At Meydan, the column of Constantine (Çemberlitaş) and Beyazıt, has stubbornly kept being neither 'here' (Ottoman) nor 'there' (Western).

In 2000-2001 I was assigned the coordination of a research project on the intercultural characteristics in the historical centres of the Eastern Mediterranean,¹ within which my group in Genoa chose the Divanyolu and the Kampos as case studies.²

Previously I had received an Aga Khan Fund research fellowship at Harvard to work on the Divanyolu. This gave me a unique three-month opportunity to screen all the bibliographical, map and photographic material available on the argument. I was amazed to find out how little had been done or was known under the specific heading 'Divanyolu', and how much, instead, could be gleaned from other sources on the history and architecture of Constantinople-Istanbul for its effect on that axis.

¹ Research project MIUR-COFIN 2001 (Italian Ministry for University and Research with the Universities of Bari, Genova and Palermo) "Analysis and rehabilitation of urban fabric with intercultural characteristics in the historical centres of the Eastern Mediterranean".

² The project "Typology and public space in the Divanyolu (Istanbul) and Kampos (Chios): historical analysis and criteria for protection and urban rehabilitation" has been concluded in December 2003.

I discovered that the Divan thoroughfare was not only an important segment of the Istanbul street system: it could also be a filter for a new and stimulating perspective on the wider issue of the ideological and aesthetic character of Ottoman urban space and architecture, and on its transformation in the 18th and 19th centuries; a peculiar angle from which to view, and give sense to, the immense and bewildering material and information on Ottoman Istanbul which scholarly—or, as for that, also un-scholarly and yet loving!—work has accumulated during the last century, and especially, during the last decades.

The outcome of that discovery was an enthusiastic concentration of the ampler research efforts on the sole Divanyolu. No over-all picture of that important street had been attempted. Of course, today's orderly Divanyolu is but a pale image of the chaotically changing and yet architecturally splendid image of the pre-1865 'road of the Pashas'. West of Beyazıt and Fatih the image has simply been swept away: only a few short fragments in a street or two are there to remind us that the route was like a string of beads strung with timber houses and small palaces, fragile shops, minuscule cemeteries, delightful mosques and modest monuments. Nineteenth century photographers had indulged in picturesque small-scale town life or in the representation of monuments; the street scene at intermediate scale did not interest them. The reconstruction of the over-all architectural aspect of the thoroughfare is hence impossible.

And yet, on the other hand, during the last thirty years much topographic information has been produced and systematised.³

³ I have widely used the following reference works for the chronology and surveys of the Divan Yolu history, monuments and street system: Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Hicri Onüçüncü asırda İstanbul Hayatı*, İstanbul: 1930; Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Hicri Onüçüncü asırda İstanbul Hayatı*, İstanbul: 1932; the invaluable *The Garden of the Mosques: Hafız Hüseyin al-Ayvansarayî's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul*, ed. Howard Crane, Leiden: Brill Muqarnas Supplements 8 2000; Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: portrait of an Ottoman city in the nineteenth century*, Washington: University of Washington Press 1986 / University of California Press 1993; Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, *Constantinople: The Fabric of the City*, 1998 in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), 157-264; *Eminönü camileri*, İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet

Müller-Wiener's 1977 seminal work (unfortunately limited to the pre-18th century period)⁴; the surprisingly rich though uneven voices in the eight volumes of the 1993 *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi*⁵, the two not always perfect compilations of the Müftülüks of Fatih and Eminönü on the mosques of their districts,⁶ and last and above all,

Vakfı Eminönü Şubesi, [1987]; *Fatih camileri ve diğer tarihi eserler*, İstanbul: T.C. Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Fatih Müftülüğü 1991; Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London: Thames&Hudson 1971; Cornelius Gurlitt, *Der Baukunst von Konstantinopel*, Berlin: Wasmuth 1912; Halil İnalçık, art. "İstanbul", in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, new ed., Leiden: Brill 1993, iv 233-59; Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul, an urban history: Byzantium, Constantinopolis, İstanbul*, İstanbul: Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey 1996; Paul Magdalino, *Constantinople Médiévale—Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines*, Paris: De Boccard 1996; Cyril Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople: 4. - 7. siècles*, Paris, de Boccard, 1985; Robert Mantran, *İstanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, Paris: Adr. Maisonneuve 1962; Robert Mayer, *Byzantion—Konstantinopolis—İstanbul*, Wien und Leipzig: Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Ph.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 71 band 3, 1943, 1-129; Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie İstanbuls*, Tübingen: Wasmuth 1977; Mouradja d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la Législation Mahométane; l'autre, l'Histoire de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris: Vol II 1790, Vol III 1820; Raymond Janin, "Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique", Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1964; Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphoros / Örtlich und geschichtlich beschrieben von Jos. von Hammer; mit 120 griechischen, lateinischen, arabischen, persischen und türkischen Inschriften, dem Plane der Stadt Constantinopel und einer Karte des Bosphoros*. [Pesth: Hartleben's Verlag, 1822] (Reprint: Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1967); Tahsin Öz, *İstanbul Camileri*, Ankara: 1962; Behçet Ünsal, "İstanbul'un İmarı ve Eski Eser kaybı" in *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri*, İstanbul: 1968.

⁴ Müller-Wiener *Bildlexikon*.

⁵ *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı 1993-95 (in 8 volumes).

⁶ Eminönü Camileri, Fatih Camileri.

the admirable *Garden of the Mosques*⁷ edited by Howard Crane, whose footnotes and index are even more useful and reliable than Ayvansarayi's text itself. I should add the by now numerous and invaluable historical studies on the single aspects or periods of Istanbul as an urban creation.⁸

One problem is that these secondary sources, no more and no less than precedent texts, and even more than primary sources, are contradictory as to toponyms and dates. The large-scale over-all picture we have tried to describe and analyse is nothing but an over-all picture: the reader should consider the data on the single architectural facts and events we report as reliable (or as unreliable) as the sources they have been derived from.

The chief argument of this book is, however, that overall picture. Not so much the single monuments and short tracts of the axis, as its role in the city's life and architecture, and the way it mirrors Ottoman culture.

Over-all survey, representation and interpretation were the three nodal stages in the process.

The interpretation of the Divan street system, now almost completely lost except for its central stretch, required first of all the systematic comparison of ancient and modern maps, the assembly of the existing few architectural surveys of its architectural monuments, and a reasonably reliable (but far from very precise) reconstruction of its chronology based on secondary sources.

The written historical sources did not have much to say. That is why the research team's inability to read Ottoman Turkish proved to be a lesser handicap than I had thought. Of course, property and judiciary information in the Ottoman court annals available⁹ might have produced some additional detail data, but they involved a period

⁷ Garden of the Mosques.

⁸ See for example: Zeynep Nayır, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet ve Sonrası*, İstanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi 1975; Çelik Remaking; various works on particular functional types such as fountains, hammams, schools, libraries which will be quoted in the following chapters.

⁹ *İstanbul vakıfları tabir defteri: 953 (1546) tarihli*, eds. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, İstanbul: Baha Matbaası 1970.

not vital for our project and would have required a far longer research process than could be faced by our programme.

The common architectural characteristics of the buildings and their accessories—not so much in their autonomous stylistic and typological development, as in their relation to the construction of the street and city image—were far more important, and were examined with a view to reach a synthetic description.

The interpretative synthesis would have been impossible without the work of Emiliano Bugatti and Sabrina D'Agostino who surveyed some tracts of the Divanyolu, and summarised the survey and data files in the appendix chapters and architectural drawings of this volume.

I am much indebted to the helpful and patient personnel of the Harvard library system—of the Houghton and Pusey Map Collections, and of the Fine Arts Library, especially of my good friends Andras Riedlmayer and Jeff Spurr of the Aga Khan Program Documentation Center, who went out of their way to help me in my fastidious search for pertinent photographic material. The facilities of the Widener Library, incredibly rich not only in scholarly works but also in brochures and popular literature on Istanbul, allowed me to do the work of months in days and weeks.

I am also very grateful to Gülru Necipoğlu and Cemal Kafadar at Harvard, and Nur Akın and Günkut Akın in Istanbul for the opportunity they gave me to discuss the issues of this work and directed me to the right sources.

Dr. Aygül Ağır of the Istanbul Technical University, whose work on the epigraphy of some *hazire* corrected some of my initial intuitions, was also of great help in digging out information on maps and other material.

(MC)

Chapter 2: Physical Characteristics, Toponyms and Identity

Which parts of the Istanbul street mesh can be called Divan Yolu? The Ottoman and modern Turkish toponyms corresponding to the main thoroughfare running from Ayasofya to Edirne Kapı are not of much help in determining its identity. Could it and should it be called the Divanyolu as it has been done, on and off, all through the 18th century? Contrarily, is the sole tract leading from Ayasofya to Beyazıt the Divanyolu proper? Or else, in an even more restrictive interpretation reflected by the official Istanbul toponyms of the last half century, should we consider Divanyolu the short street which leads from Firuz Ağa to Çemberlitaş, and—this is no mere coincidence—which corresponds to the Mese Regia, the straight arcade street which connected the Million and Chalke palace gate to the Forum of Constantine? It has also to be considered that Ottoman street names and numbers were no firm reference for the identification of space and place, as *maballe* were, and that most pre-20th century maps of Istanbul were drawn and labelled by foreigners, some authoritatively familiar with ottoman officialdom, others much less so.

It is in the 18th century that the appellation Divan Yolu becomes manifestly and frequently used.

Naima never uses the place-name Divanyolu, though he has quite a few occasions to do so. Some dramatic and colourful events take place in front of the Valide Hamam, the Darphane, the Arslanhane: one feels there is a spatial unity through which the events and their quarrelling and fighting protagonists parade. During the conspiracy to oust Sultan Ibrahim and his sustainers, the “*stubborn and foolish*” Mülakkab Pasha, Kadı Asker of Rumeli, wants to attend the meeting of the conspirators in the Sultan Ahmet Mosque, where, however, he is not wanted. He and his magnificent retinue encounter by the Valide Hamam the hostile Şeyhülislam, who had warned him against participating. He tries to cavalcade along the Şeyhülislam, but is pushed away and vituperated by the street crowds all along the way

to Atmeydanı and the mosque gate where he is lynched.¹⁰ In 1644, the newly appointed Kethüda Bey, Murad Ağa, revives the old tradition of the double *alkış* (acclamation) once dedicated to the chief Kethüda by his followers on his return from the Divan—the first, when coming out of the Bab-ü Hümayun, the second by the Süleymaniye mosque, the *alkış* clique having run before him to repeat their exploit.¹¹

The stage of those events is then a precise and well-defined spatial frame: that of the eastern part of the Topkapı-Beyazıt-Edirnekapı axis. Was that the Divanyolu? I think so, though other streets, such as the Gedik Pasha Caddesi seem just as clearly delineated as possible alternate routes in the 1810 map and in other early 19th century maps. If the scene was Divanyolu, and it plausibly was, why does Naima not give it a name?

¹⁰ Mustafa Naima, *Naima Tarihi*, İstanbul: Z. Danışman Yayınevi [1967-1969], 1846. See also Mustafa Naima, *Annals of the Turkish Empire from 1591 to 1659 of the Christian era*, London: Oriental Translation Fund 1832.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1655.



Fig. 2: *The Divan axis and its main monuments.*

The Surname-i Vehbi describes the final October 1720 *sünnet* (circumcision) procession after the fifteen-day festival for the circumcision of Ahmet III's sons. Its references to the Divanyolu are ambiguous. Of the *alay* assembled in Eski Saray under the guidance of the Sadrazam, and on its progression to the Topkapı Palace, Vehbi writes in folios 152b and 153a: *And after the beginning of the imperial procession had reached Ak Saray [having emerged] from the Gate of the Musk-Dealers (Miskçiler kapusu) and [passed] through Paymasters (Vezneciler) [and proceeded] before Old Chambers of the Janissaries (Eski Odalar) and past Horhor Fountain at the head of Saddlers-House (Serrac-hane called "Saraçhane" today), [it followed] Divanyolu without passing before the Lâleli Fountain, Old Mints (Darbhane-i Atik), or Baths of the Queen Mother (Valide Hammam) and arrived, replete with magnificence and pomp, at the perfectly-designed and heart-fetchingly beautiful pavilion that had been newly constructed at the Court Studios in the vicinity of the Lions Menagerie (Arslan-*

hane) so that his Majesty the Sultan might view the passage of the festival-trees (nabıl).¹²

It is not difficult to follow so far the procession: it exited from the Old Palace (Eski Saray, A in fig.3) in Beyazıt through a new breach made in the precinct wall for the very big *nabıl* (presumably the main group went through the southern gate), moved West through Vezneciler up to Saraçhane Başı, past the janissary quarters (curiously the Şehzade mosque is not mentioned), plied left to Aksaray through the Horhor residential quarter where it inverted its direction and turned eastwards by the Lâleli fountain¹³, the Old Mint and the

¹² See in the facsimile volume of the *Surname-i Vehbi* (Seyyit Vehbi, *Surname: Sultan Ahmed the III's Festival of 1720*, Bern: Ertuğ Editions, 2000), Ragnar's translation of "Ve alay-ı hümayunun ibtidası Miskçiler kapusundan Vezneciler içinden Eski Odalar önünden Serrac-hane başında Horhor Çeşmesi'nden Ak Saray'a çıktıktan sonra Divanyolu ile Lâleli Çeşme ve Darb-hane-ı 'Atik ve Valide Hammamı önünden mürur etmedin Azametli Padişah alay nahılların seyr için Arslan-hane kurbunda Nakkaş-hane'de ibda'u inşa olunan kasr-ı bi-kusur-ı dil-keş-nakş-ı temaşayı şayeste-saz-ı teşrif-ı kudum-ı iclal ü şevket ve müterakkıb-ı alay-ı pür-haşmet oldular". I have only changed the passage "...[it followed] Divanyolu without passing before the Lâleli Fountain, Old Mints (Darbhane-i Atik), or Baths of the Queen Mother (Valide Hammamı)..” in "...[it followed] Divanyolu before passing by the Lâleli Fountain, Old Mints (Darbhane-i Atik), or Baths of the Queen Mother (Valide Hammamı)..” interpreting "mürur etmedin" as "mürur etmeden", since there would be no sense in listing buildings not paraded by, especially when they are on the Divanyolu proper, as in this case. Bypassing them would have meant parading within the narrow (and by 1720, surely vaulted) streets of the Covered Bazaar (Kapalıçarşı).

¹³ The name probably derives from the tulip gardens in the area. The Lâleli Çeşme is not that of the Lâleli külliye which did not exist then. See Garden of the Mosques for 'Lalezar mescidi' built before 1706 with a mimber donated by Çiçekçi Mehmet Bey, son of the founder (178, 192). 'Lâleli çeşme' could be located in Horhor or Şehremini (this last quarter is, however, too far out to be credibly on the route). See also a possible connection to the 'Lalezar bahçı' pleasure grounds mentioned by Evliya (Evliya

Valide Hamam, and, finally, paraded under the Sultan's window in the Nakkışhane (see fig. 4).

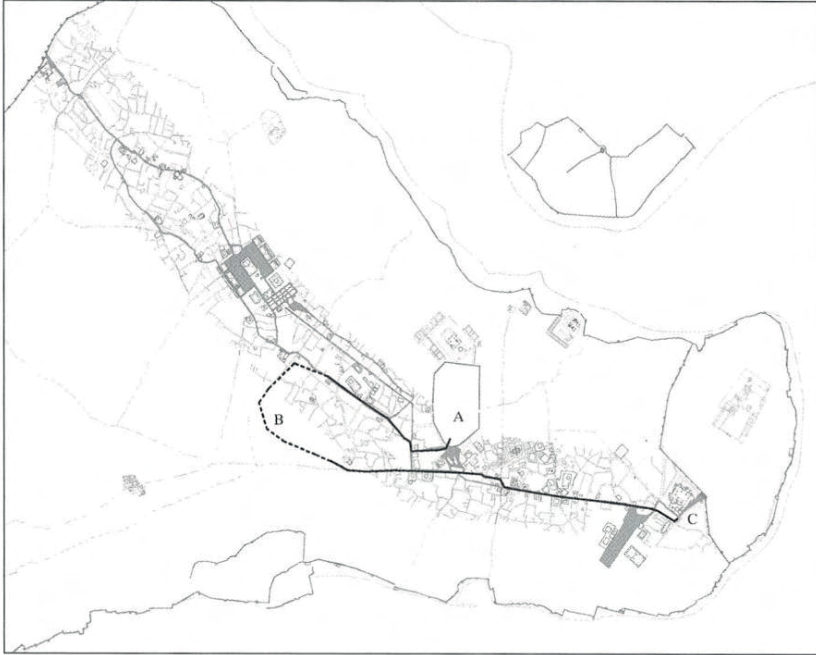


Fig. 3: The 1720 sünnnet procession route as described by the *Vehbi Surname*. A Eski Saray. B Horhor. C Arslanhane.

Now the question is: does “*Divanyolu ile*” mean entering the Divanyolu at this point, or moving towards the Divanyolu? Was then the tract from Aksaray also called Divanyolu? The common interpretation,¹⁴ even more contorted than Vehbi's long sentence, has

Celebi, *Narrative of travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the seventeenth century, translated from the Turkish by the Ritter Joseph von Hammer*, London: Parbury, Allen, & Co. 1834-50 / reprint New York: Johnson Reprint Corp. 1968, II 84-85), and the pre-mid 18th century Lâleli Çeşmesi mentioned for its nearness to the Abbas Ağa sebil.

¹⁴ For example R.E. Koçu, *Seyid Vehbi-Surname (Üçüncü Ahmedin oğullarının sünnnet düğünü)*, Istanbul: 1939. For a better documented critical study see: Esin Atıl, Levni and the Surname:

been that the Divanyolu was reached after going through Lâleli and Simkeşhane and is probably influenced by modern place-names, which emphasize the monumentality of the eastern part of the street, whereas, as we shall see, 18th to 19th century placename giving was more extensive.

Again, it would seem that for Vehbi the Divanyolu ends where the Sultan is seated, that is, at the window of the Nakkaşhane (the royal miniature workshop) supposedly near the Arslanhane (an ancient Byzantine building converted to royal menagerie). Now, this is perplexing: in Kauffer's plan, taken up also by Melling (who would want to be precise about things regarding the court), the Arslanhane is within a maze of narrow streets south of Ayasofya.¹⁵

the story of an eighteenth-century Ottoman festival, İstanbul: Koçbank, c1999.

¹⁵ The plan of the Topkapı Palace grounds and approaches in Antoine-Ignace Melling, "Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore, d'après les dessins de M. Melling, avec un texte rédigé par Lacretelle le jeune", Paris: Treuttel 1809-1819 clearly starts the "Divan Joli" with the Firuz Ağa mosque near the İbrahim Pasha palace, delineating an avenue whose ceremonial function can be imagined along the south-western precinct wall of Ayasofya.

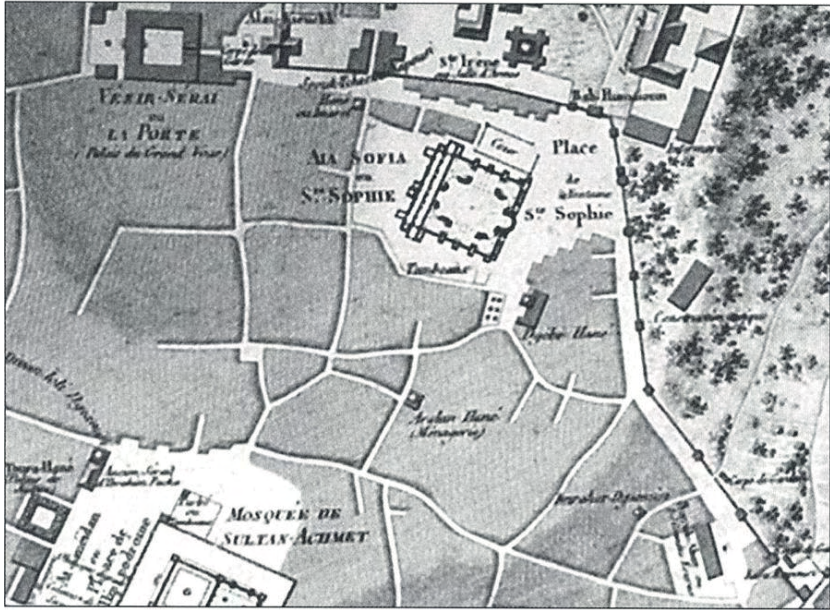


Fig. 4: Detail from the Kauffer-Melling map. The map ends the Divanyolu with the Firnız Ağa mosque (centre left). The Arslanhane is in the centre.

Is that ceremonial avenue cooped up within that mesh, or is the Divanyolu itself an area, a group of streets through which run processions near the Topkapı Saray, and not a monumentally defined space? A funeral, or the Sultan's sword girdling *alay*, would have run along the southern precinct wall of Ayasofya, in view of the royal *türbe*, not in the irregular mesh by the Arslanhane.

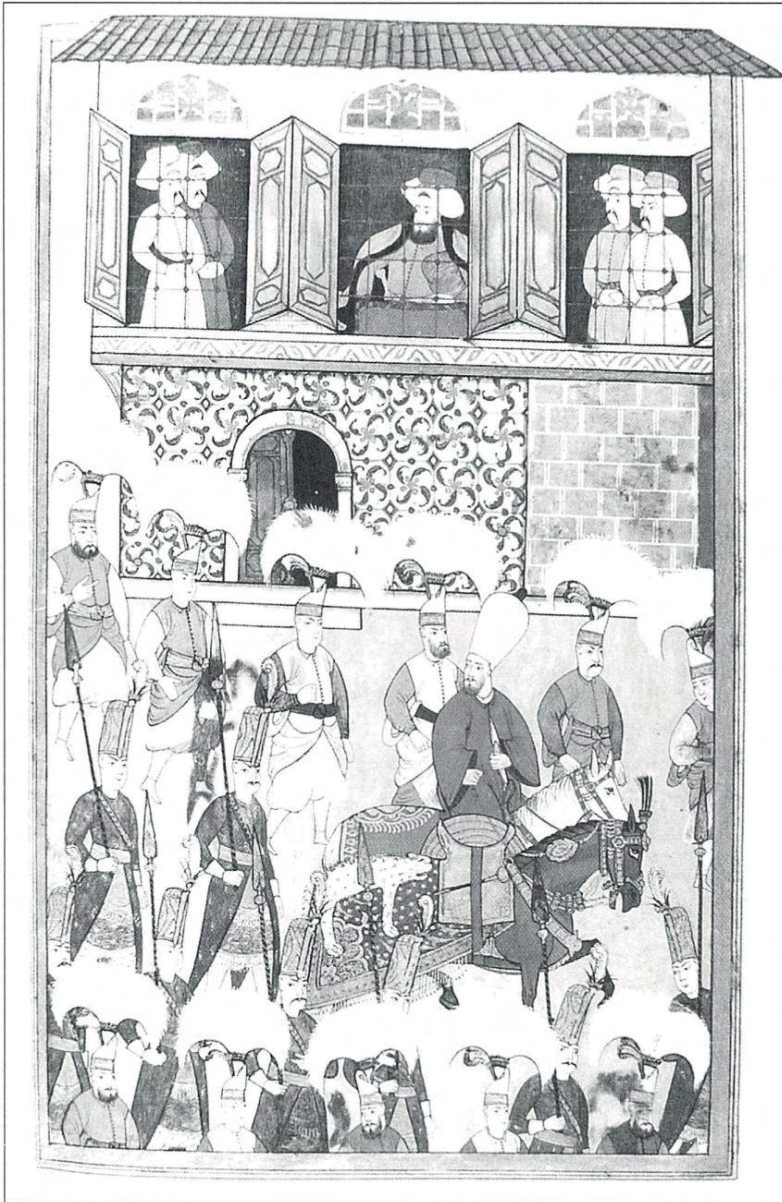


Fig. 5: *Ahmet III watches the 1720 sünnet procession from the Nakkaşhane in the Arslanhane near Ayasofya (Surname-i Vehbi).*

Western or Western-oriented local observers all through the 18th century keep faith to an even more extensive nomenclature.

İnciciyan¹⁶ calls Divan Yolu both streets running west to Edirnekapı and the south-western city gate, this last street roughly corresponding to the Mese which linked the Roman Imperial palace to the Via Egnatia. Cantemir does not call it so but stresses its importance, both in writing and in his well notated map.¹⁷ D’Ohsson involves the whole northern axis, and not only its eastern part: “*Dans la Capitale il n’y a qu’une seule rue remarquable par sa largeur et par son étendue; c’est le Divan-yolı: elle s’étend depuis le Sérail jusqu’à la porte Edirné-Capoussy...*”¹⁸ Carbognano¹⁹ says of it “*riesce bella ed agevole, quella dicesi Divan-Iolu, la quale dal Serraglio conduce alla porta di Adrianopoli.*”

Less explicit, but all the more convincing, is the *Ruzname* of Ahmet Efendi, Selim the Third’s private secretary, an almost daily log which gives us an exhaustive eleven-year picture of Selim’s movements in the city.²⁰ In more than one case the route is defined as running through the Divanyolu, especially when reporting on the trip to the farther mosques (Koca Mustafa Pasha, Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha...).

A decade after d’Ohsson, the engineer Seyyit Hasan, drafting the so-called Beyazıt II aqueduct map,²¹ places the toponym Divanyolu

¹⁶ Ğ. İnciciyan, *XVIII. asırda İstanbul*, ed. Hrand D. Andreasyan, İstanbul: Baha Matbaası 1976 [İstanbul Matbaası 1956], 76.

¹⁷ He was a privileged witness who could appreciate the importance of the street—in part, corresponding to the ancient Xerolophos—despite some restrictions in access. Demetrius Cantemir, *Late Prince of Moldavia, The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othoman Empire*, London: 1756 [Latin original 1734], 101 and note 13: “*Aksarai - White Palace: so is the Street called by the Turks which looks to the Propontis, where now are the beautiful Chambers of the Janizaries... Jengiodalar... thro’ this street is not permitted even to the Women of the Janizaries to pass.*”

¹⁸ D’Ohsson *Tableau*, II 175.

¹⁹ Cosimo Comidas da Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica dello stato presente di Constantinopoli*, Bassano: 1794, 51.

²⁰ Serkâtibi Ahmet Efendi, *III. Selim’in Sırkatibi Ahmed Efendi tarafından tutulan Ruzname*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi 1993.

²¹ Partial 1:2500 scale map of Istanbul drawn by the military engineer Seyyit Hasan around 1810-15, in the *Türk ve İslam Eserleri*

in at least three different points of his drawing: not only in Çemberlitaş (“*Divanyolu sebili*”), but also south of the Bozdoğan aqueduct near Saraçhane, and in Karagümrük, well after Fatih, just before Zincirli Kapı. He calls Edirne Kapı Caddesi the very last tract, almost devoid of important *vakıf* monuments except the conclusive Mihrimah group.

The 1836 von Moltke map²² goes as far as to name the street we might call the southern branch of the axis and which links Beyazıt to

Müzesi n.3339. See Kâzım Çeçen, *II. Bayezid suyuolu haritaları*, İstanbul: İstanbul Su ve Kanalizasyon İdaresi 1997.

²² Helmuth, Graf von Moltke, *Karte von Constantinopel 1/25.000*, Berlin 1842. Moltke is in quite a different position from the other map-makers of the first half of the 19th century. His old school-master, the geographer Ritter, considered him “*a born topographer with a genial eye for every landscape characteristics*”. See also Helmuth, Graf von Moltke, *Letters of Field-Marshal Count Helmuth von Moltke to his mother e his brothers*, London: J.R. Osgood McIlvaine & Co. 1891, and Helmuth, Graf von Moltke, *Aufzeichnungen, Briefe, Schriften, Reden mit Zeichnungen aus Moltkes Skizzenbuch*, Ebenhausen bei München: W. Langewiesche-Brandt [1922]. Moltke’s first survey was of the winter 1836-37. His first version of the map, he writes his mother in February 1837, was commissioned by the ‘Grand Seigneur’ (the Sultan), adding that “*the map will in the future be one of the most interesting results of my residence in Turkey*”. Ergin (Nuri Osman Ergin, *Mecelle-i umur-i belediyye* [1922], reprint İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri, 1995, 1243-45), Yerasimos (Stefan Yerasimos, *Homines et Idées dans l’Espace Ottoman*, İstanbul: Analecta Isisiana XXIX 1997, 323), and Çelik (Çelik *Remaking*, 84), seem to suggest that the Moltke map was the basis for an urban reform proposal of the street system, and not merely a survey drawing. Much has been said and written on a version of the map overwritten with notes and sketches which Ergin saw in 1915, but has not been found again. It is curious that Moltke let pass such a grand design without comment in his writings. Effectively, the 1836 plan has a very linear Beyazıt-Hekimoğlu connection if compared to the Kauffer plans (both 1786 and later versions) in which the Beyazıt-Lâleli-Hekimoğlu axis twists and meanders, while the Beyazıt-Edirnekapı route appears much straighter. It is more a question of perception than

Koca Mustafa Pasha, Divanyolu. The place name Divan Yolu appears in the Turkish version of the map near the Lâleli mosque, and in the German version it is even further west. The very marked, and certainly mistaken, linear continuity of the Ayasofya-Beyazıt axis with the Lâleli-Aksaray route in his map was perhaps no casual mistake, nor a project intention, but the result of the common opinion that this too was part of the Divan Yolu. He certainly referred to a common convention when defining the Divanyolu so extensively.²³

At the end of the Mahmut II period, with the avenues to Beşiktaş and Dolmabahçe already delineated, and the Mahmut II *türbe* built, Baratta calls Divanyolu “*una delle più belle e spaziose vie di Costantinopoli, della quale occupa una cresta centrale. Contansi in essa, tra molti altri ragguardevoli edifici, il mausoleo di Soliman Pasha, la moschea di Nisciangi Pasha, di Chemli-Kammam e Carakumruk...*”²⁴ naming, in other words, a good tract of the Edirnekapı route Divanyolu, just as Mühendis Seyyit Hasan did a few years earlier and as the *Rużname* suggests.

a question of projects, and might also be due to hasty survey by Moltke, or to small changes in the building context during and after the construction of the Lâleli, Simkeřhane, Tařhan *vakıf* works on the Beyazıt-Lâleli-Hekimođlu axis, perhaps not perceived decades after Moltke by map-makers reluctant to spend much time in the “more Muslim” quarters west of Beyazıt, relying, as most did, on previous surveys.

²³ True, the main purpose of his mapping work had been military and aimed at the geographical precision of the outskirts of the town, and he obviously drew on the work of Kauffer, Hammer and Barbié du Bocage. It was no mere tourist and curiosity- or collector-oriented map, as could be the almost contemporary Davies 1:20.000 scale map in J.-J. Hellert, *Atlas de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris: Bézard, Dufouret C.ie 1844. Von Moltke, assigned to Istanbul by the Prussian Army General Staff and later ‘lent’ to the Serasker, had travelled in daily contact with Mahmut II for days. When the map was published, he had risen in rank to a position that would forbid him to neglect light-heartedly the correct street names in two different editions.

²⁴ Antonio Baratta, *Constantinopoli effigiata e descritta*, [Genova: 1830] Torino: Fontana e Pomba 1840, 559.

In this paper I shall call, for the sake of convenience, Divan axis the whole thoroughfare from Ayasofya to Edirnekapı, involved as it is in ceremonial processions and flanked by important *vakıf* works, and Divanyolu proper the street that runs from Ayasofya to Çarşıkapı, that is to the bifurcation at the eastern corner of the Kemankeş building compound in 19th century maps. I am not going to give a conclusive interpretation on whether the Beyazıt-Aksaray-Haseki-Koca Mustafa Pasha axis, or at least part of it, can be included in the Divan axis system. It probably was so for some time after the construction of the Lâleli and Taş Han works,²⁵ but no lasting mark in this sense has been left in written and drawn records.

There can be no doubt as to the fitting toponyms of the Divanyolu proper up to the Kemankeş complex. It is, moreover, an easily recognizable single space.

The Divan axis was the channel for important processions in and out of the city and across the city, was called the Divanyolu in many occasions (but not always) over a very long period. It is not, however, a single street or a line of streets in sequence. In many tracts it is formed by two or more streets running in parallel; very probably, ceremonial processions would proceed in one or the other of the streets, to touch important events or artefacts—imperial *türbe* in certain occasions, janissary *oda* entrances or market districts in others—or simply to channel crowds through every possible space in that mesh of bottlenecks.

Although street naming was of scarce relevance in Ottoman towns, or in any pre-Modern town, name-giving does, nevertheless, afford circumstantial evidence on the collective memory of urban roles.

The question I advance, however, is not a matter of names. It is: given the importance of this axis in the symbols and ceremonials of Ottoman society and in the daily life and culture of Istanbul, how and in which parts and aspects was it associated to the values and functions of that culture? Could we assert that Divanyolu was the name for routes linking imperial sites? And what was its relationship to the daily life and activities of the city?

²⁵ The trend was confirmed much later, towards the end of the 19th century, too, with construction of the Aksaray Valide mosque by the Italian architect Montani.



Fig. 6: Detail of the 1520 Varassore engraving based on a view of Constantinople of around 1480. Note the winding but discernible route from Ayasofya ("S. Sophia") and Topkapı Palace ("El Seraglio novo"), by the column of Constantine ("Colona Serpentina"), Eski Saray ("Seraglio vecchio"), up to the Fatih complex ("Almaratro") and city walls.

Variations and bifurcations of the route

In the various maps of Istanbul drawn over a period of three centuries, the route's width and path vary enormously. To what degree are these variations due to varying perceptions, to the observer's subjective or cultural attitude, and to what degree to effective changes in the layout of the Divan axis? There are blatant contrasts in the representation of those streets in the maps of Buondelmonti, Vavassore, Seyyit Hasan, Cantemir, Reben, Kauffer, and many others. Vavassore, for example, shows a tortuous tract from Ayasofya to Çemberlitaş followed by a regular line from this last to Beyazıt (fig. 6). But here, as in many other maps, the representation of city blocks and building masses rather than streets gives a false impression of the effective form of streets. Also, distances are foreshortened where the mapmaker did not, or could not, dispose of a precise survey. This is particularly true of the axis west of Fatih. Even Stolpe, who presumably resorted to modern topographical instrumentation, foreshortens the street between Nişancı and Hafız Pasha mosques and eliminates the Kumrulu *mescit*.²⁶

The deformation of the street layout in maps does not evolve progressively, in time or in a given direction that might suggest an effective change in physical form, or in the fruition of the various channels of streets forming the axis. The Reben Homann map of 1764,²⁷ which shows a single linear and very clear street (fig. 7), is contradicted by earlier and later maps which show a more complex or confuse system. It demonstrates not so much an evolution of the street, as an oversimplified interpretation of the system.

²⁶ The difficulty for Western mapmakers to do surveying in the more traditional Moslem quarters may have been exaggerated, but it certainly influenced the graphic description of those parts of the city.

²⁷ Bosphorus Thracicus - Der Kanal der Schwarzen Meer... geometrisch aufgenommen durch Johann Baptist von Reben, Kaysl. Königl. Ungarl. Ingenieur Hauptmann, herausgegeben durch die Homaenne. Erben zu Nürnberg 1764.

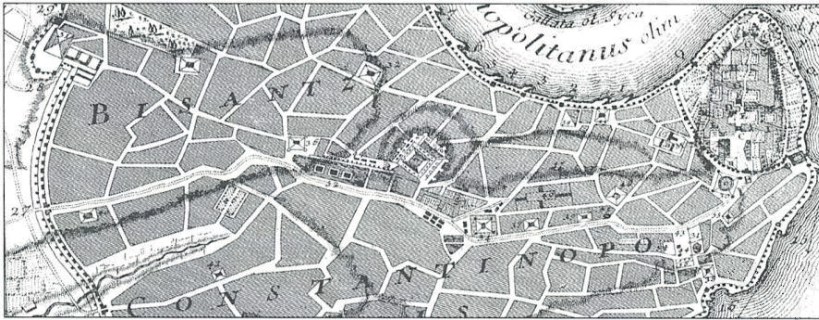


Fig. 7: The axis running through Istanbul in the 1764 Reben-Homann map.

In 1776 Choiseul-Gouffier wrote: “En traversant la ville pour se rendre à la porte d’Andrinople, on rencontre presque sur une meme ligne les Mosquées, ou Djschami, baties par les Empereurs...”²⁸

²⁸ Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, vol. I Paris, 1782, vol. II Paris, 1809.

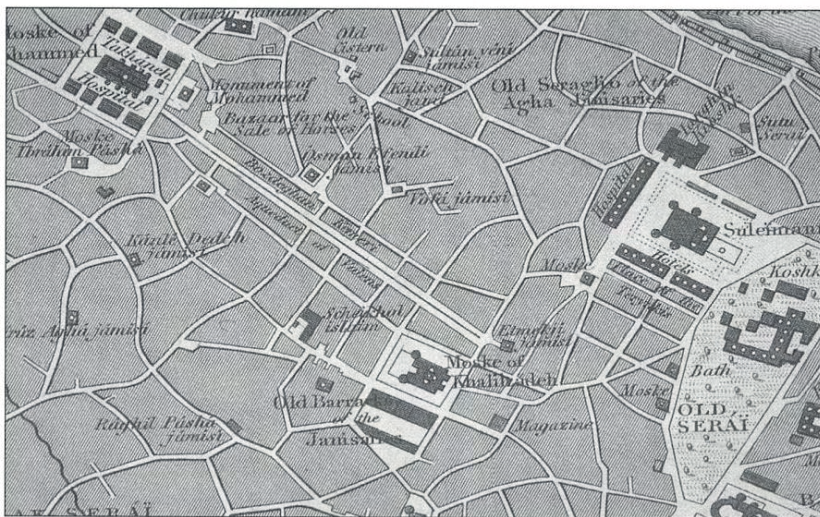


Fig. 8: The axis in the fourth decade of the 19th century in the Davies map based on the Kauffer and Barbié du Bocage surveys (176-1820). From Hellert, 1844. Above: from the Fatih complex to Beyazıt and Eski Saray. Below: from Beyazıt to Topkapı Palace.



Fig. 9: The Divan yolu and the north-western branch of the axis in the 1836 Von Moltke map. Top: from Fatih to Edirnekapi. Centre: from Fatih to Beyazıt and Eski Saray. Bottom: from Beyazıt to Ayasofya.

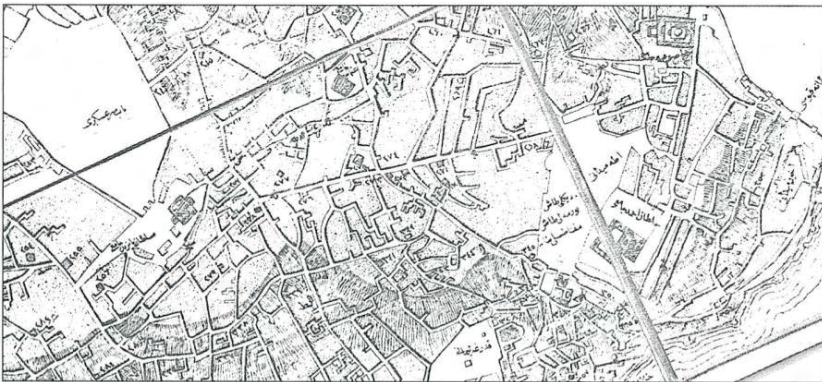
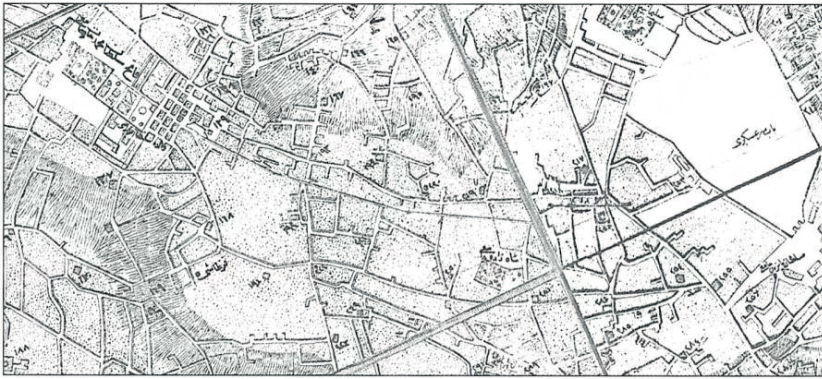
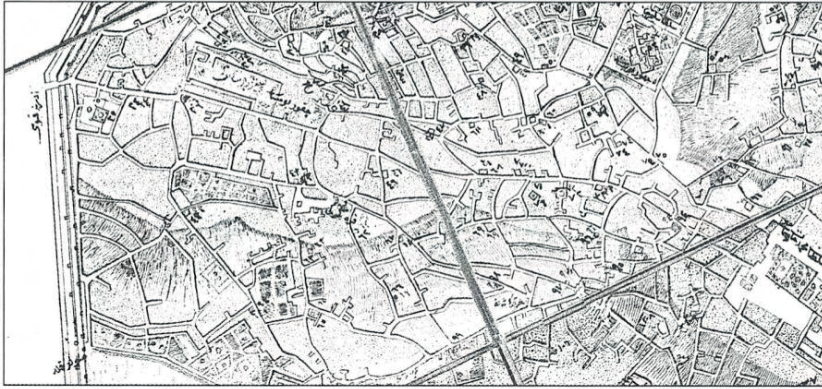


Fig. 10: The Divan axis in the 1848 Dar-as-Sultanah map. Top: from Edirnekapi to Fatih. Centre: from Fatih to Eski Saray. Bottom: from Eski Saray and Beyazıt to Ayasofya.

In the map contained in that book²⁹ the Bâbıâli-Edirnekapı route appears more direct and linear than it has ever been (Cfr. fig. 8).

Half a century later, the 1836-37 von Moltke map suggests that the Divanyolu develops south of Beyazıt, that there is no direct connection between Şehzade and Fatih, and that the route is aimed at the heart of the Fatih ensemble through the urban fabric north of the Valens aqueduct (fig. 9). On the contrary, as far as we can deduce from maps, descriptions and *vakıf* sites, the axis had evolved through the 17th to the 18th centuries, as a fasciculus of streets running from Ayasofya-Topkapı to Edirne Kapı and Yedikule, rather than as a single, architecturally recognizable street-corridor. We can argue, then, that the Divan axis can be considered, from a geometrical-spatial point of view, not as a unique and continuous space, but as a compound of streets along a general direction, in many points defined by alternative routes, in other words, a directionally rather than geometrically defined system.

The sequences of *medrese*, fountains and other buildings of public fruition in the direction of Edirnekapı-Ayasofya, shown in (fig. 2) may be accepted as a representation of the more important streets along that direction. Those sequences often form parallel chains. Some streets may have lost their importance and may have been substituted by alternative routes in the same direction and attracted *vakıf* investments. A significant case is that of the street that elbows north out of the Beyazıt-Aksaray route in front of the Hasan Pasha Han and the Simkeşhane, and bends around again westwards to the Şehzade colonnade street. This exceptionally north-south oriented diversion in a system running east-west aligns many important buildings.³⁰ It might have been formed as an alternative route to the

²⁹ Map drawn by Kauffer after survey in 1776: “*Carte Générale de la Ville de Constantinople et du Canal de la Mer Noire...*” published in: Choiseul-Gouffier *Voyage* (45x125 cm). Revised and updated editions have followed. See for example: “*Plan von Constantinopel und seinen Vorstaeden.... Geometrisch aufgenommen im J. 1776, berichtigt und vermehrt in J. 1786 von Fr. Kauffer, Ingenieur bey der französischen Gesandtschaft des Grafen Choiseul-Gouffier, mit neuen Zusätzen von J.B. Barbié du Bocage 1821*” (Berlin & Pesth 1821 (British Library Map Room, 43990.(10.)).

³⁰ The Seyyit Hasan Pasha *medrese* with its elaborate fountains and *sebil*, and Sabuncu Han, and at least one important *konak*, the late

direct Beyazıt-Şehzade connection, as the very interesting market streets of Beyazıt south of the Old Palace had gates which presumably were closed at certain hours and certain circumstances.³¹

The complexity and contradictions of the system is probably due to a peculiarity of Ottoman commercial urban space which developed along two apparently contrasting principles of formation through introvert precincts and through continuous streets. *Çaryz* quarters tended to be formed by regular parallel streets as well as by enclosure. *Hans* were the extreme result of this last trend. On the other hand, commercial and public activities could develop, either in diluted or concentrated quantities along linear and continuous streets. Concentration gave rise to enclosure. That is why it is so difficult to classify *çaryz* areas as closed precincts or as open street grids, and why the Divan axis in various points and epochs bypassed commercial areas and sought alternate routes.

Not all precincts react to urban connections in the same way. Market and commercial precincts (closed *çaryz* grids) had high surface densities, but in some cases, as in the Fatih Saraçhane market, let the main urban pedestrian traffic run through it.

Religious and *vakıf* precincts of the 16th to the 18th centuries, instead, have lower building densities and tended to avoid urban traffic. Significantly, the imperial *keilliye* of those centuries were placed off the Divan axis. No ancient map shows any direct link from the axis to Süleymaniye or to the Yavuz Selim complex. The Fatih ensemble is the only large building compound which is crossed by the axis and has even influenced the surrounding street mesh.³² Its

19th- early 20th century Zeynep Hanım Konak, and though further north, the 18th century Kapudan İbrahim Paşa Konak and mosque.

³¹ See the Seyyit Hasan map of around 1810 (*Ist 1810 mp*).

³² I have argued this question in: Maurice Cerasi, “The Urban Perspective of Ottoman Monuments from Sinan to Mehmet Tahir: Change and Continuity”, in *Aptullah Kuran İçin Yazılar - Essays in honour of Aptullah Kuran*, eds. Ç. Kafesçioğlu and L. Thyss-Şenocak, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayınları 1999, 171-190, and in chapter xiii of Maurice Cerasi, *La Città del Levante: Civiltà urbana e architettura sotto gli Ottomani nei secoli XVIII-XIX*, Milano: Jaca Book 1988 (Turkish translation: Maurice Cerasi, *Osmanlı Kenti: Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda 18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Kent*

main gates were and still are part of the central urban scene for thousands of pedestrians on their daily errands.

(MC)

Uygarlıđı ve Mimarisi, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayınları
1999).

Appendix to Chapter 2: Variations in Path and Layout

The graphic reconstruction of the Divan axis and its monuments corresponds to a morphological condition relative to the first half of the 19th century (see plates III to VII). This historical period reflects a situation wherein the routes were consolidated in the previous centuries and at the same time responds to a factual state that had not yet undergone urban transformations, which after 1865 determined the progressive break-up of the historical city. The superposition of the 1880³³ map with the latest 1998 aerophotogrammetry enabled us to start tracing the street of the Divan axis. Comparison was possible because this historical map was created using the modern techniques of urban surveying. In the section of the Divan axis between Eski Saray and Edirnekapi, the 1880 map quite probably reflects the morphological situation in the first half of the 19th century; the layout of the main lanes in the map, are similar to those of much earlier historical maps.³⁴ On the other hand, the eastern part of the Divan axis, between the Beyazıt mosque and Ayasofya, had already been modified in 1880 by the urban operations of the Eighteen-sixties.³⁵ For the layout of the demolished or modified urban blocks we resorted to pre-1860 historical maps. These maps, prepared by Europeans or Ottoman technicians, feature particular representative techniques, deformations and in some cases inaccuracies, which require extra deductive effort in interpreting the urban layout. Despite its inaccuracies, the 1810 map provides us with useful information, deriving from the presence therein of numerous annotations and from the relief plan of some minor architectonic elements (doors and gateways, *sebil*, fountains, *türbe*) that are hard to represent using modern conventional methods.

To understand the variations in course, width and morphology of the lanes of the Divan axis we shall examine separately its various sections.

³³ See Map List, *Ist 1880 mp*.

³⁴ See *Ist 1810 mp*, *Ist 1848 mp*.

³⁵ See Appendix to Chapter 10.

The Ayasofya district. The route from the Topkapı building towards the Hippodrome near the southern side of the Ayasofya wall enclosure split into two lanes. The first, alongside the sultan türbe inside the wall enclosure, was ritually and symbolically important (A). This branching off was due to the presence of a block that occupied the space between the mausoleums of Ayasofya and the Haseki Hürrem *hamam* of Sinan. Further on, the two paths united, and continued westwards, separated from the Hippodrome by another urban block (B).³⁶

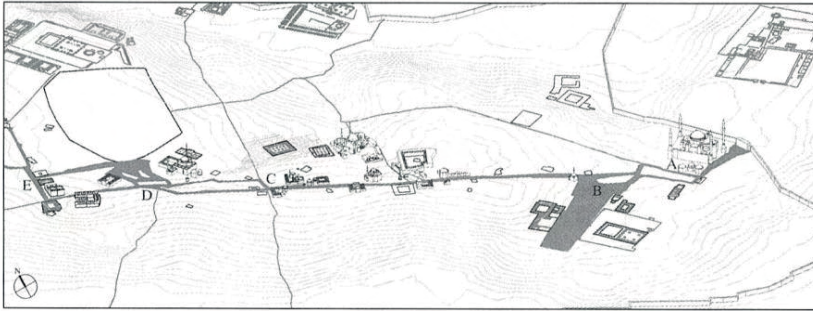


Fig. 11: *The Divan axis from Ayasofya to Beyazıt and Eski Saray.*

The section between the Hippodrome and the Koca Sinan Pasha medrese. This section, more or less corresponding to the antique Byzantine Mese Regia, was situated in a ridged position with respect to the natural relief. It was a straight lane and there was a high concentration of monumental buildings and charitable institutions. The linearity and considerable width of this street compared to the winding, narrow inland roads did not escape the notice of the authors of early 19th century representations.³⁷ We believe that the width of the street should have been around 8 metres at most, whereas different sources mention 6-6.5 metres, still quite wide for the time, and almost doubled following the urban-planning operations of the Eighteen-

³⁶ The blocks between Ayasofya and the Hippodrome can be seen on some historical maps preceding 1865. See *Melling mp* (fig. 4) *Ist 1848 mp* (fig. 10).

³⁷ See *Ist 1810 mp*, *Ist 1848 mp*.

sixties.³⁸ The route branched into two at the Kemankeş Mustafa Pasha and Kara Mustafa Pasha *medrese* (C).

The area later called Beyazıt Meydanı. As it approached the Beyazıt mosque, the route branched into two short sections that ran on both sides of a block, and came together again not much further in correspondence with the Beyazıt square (D). In the early 19th century, the Beyazıt square was marked by small buildings, mostly shops, that encircled the space between the mosque, the Beyazıt *medrese* and the wall enclosure of Eski Saray. In this point, the Divan axis continued along two alternative ways: across the Beyazıt square via a series of possible paths or continuing outside the square with a single route.

³⁸ This gauge hypothesis was derived from the reconstruction of the now partly demolished buildings (corner of the Çemberlitaş (Valide) Hamam womens' entrance hall, Köprülü porch) and the Allom drawing (fig. 12) for proportional comparison of heights and widths. For the urban-planning operations of the 19th century, see Chapter 10 and its Appendix.

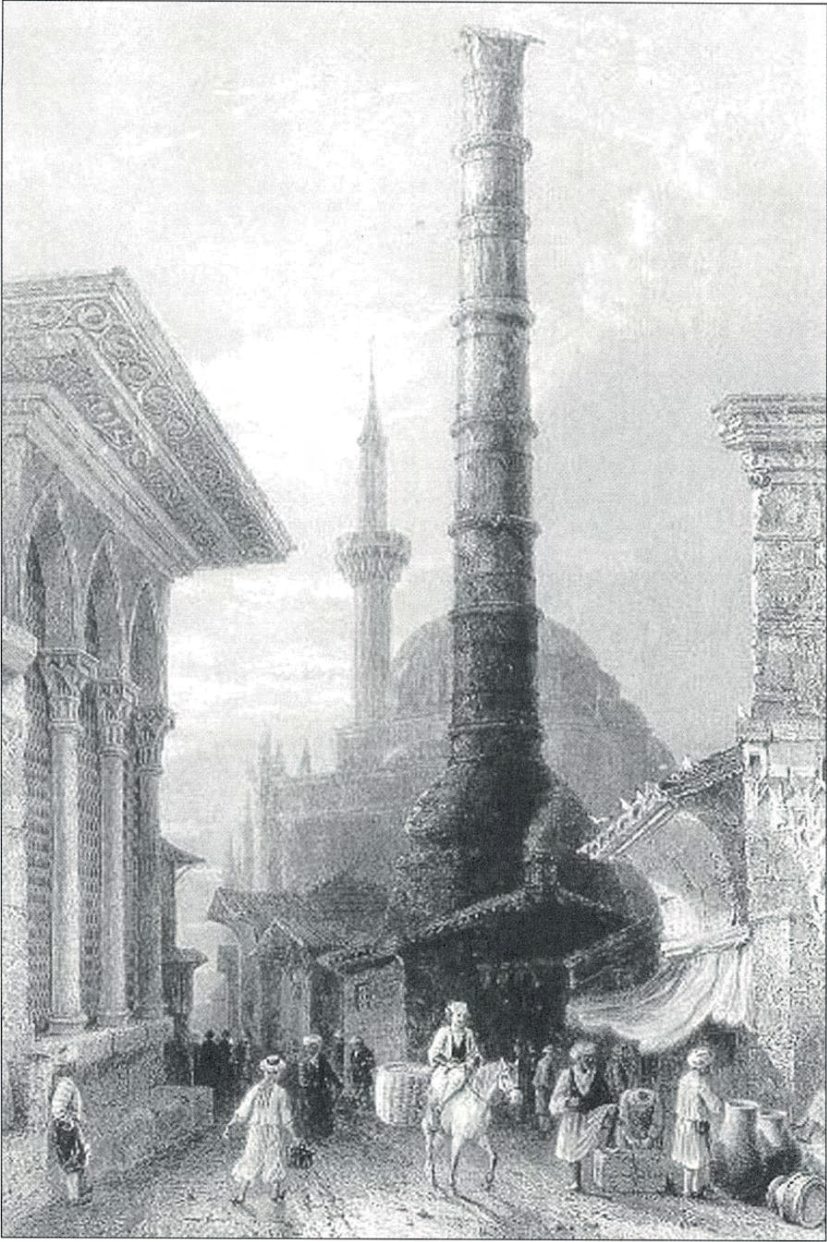


Fig. 12: *The porch of the Köprülü medrese prayer hall and the corner of the Valide Hamam before the post-1865 street widening operations. Engraving by Thomas Allom, 1840.*



Fig. 13: *The Beyazıt Meydanı surroundings in the 1810 Seyyit Hasan map. Note the gates in the market precinct between Eski Saray (top left) and the Beyazıt mosque (centre).*

The routes across the Beyazıt square originated from two gates or doors, situated within the rows of shops that defined the southern side of the square (fig. 13). Some buildings were freely placed inside the square itself, probably short-lived structures or shacks that could be used for trade, which forced the lanes that converged in this open space to branch off.³⁹ All the possible crossings had a natural exit in the gate between the Sabuncu Hanı *han* and the Seyyit Hasan Pasha *medrese* (E).

The route outside Beyazıt square continued along its previous linear direction towards the Aksaray quarter. At the Beyazıt *hamam* and the Simkeşhane and Hasan Pasha Hanı *han* (F), this tract took a sharp turn to the north, towards Sabuncu Hanı, near which it joined the streets arriving from Beyazıt square.

The Divan axis from the Beyazıt quarter to the Fatih complex. After passing the Sabuncu Hanı, the Divan axis once again split into two lanes. Both headed towards the Fatih mosque following the direction set by the Valens aqueduct. Those two streets were parallel to the aqueduct and situated to its north and to its south and progressed more or less in a straight line.

³⁹ It is not very clear as to why the gates in some secondary streets are not shown in the 1810 map. If they did not exist the overall closure of this space failed.

The section north of the aqueduct followed the hollow between the Beyazıt and Fatih mosques, and became considerably steeper near the Fatih complex; it was characterised by a minor architectonic scale of buildings and by the prevailing presence of *medrese*, *mekteb* and *mescit*. Near the Fatih complex the route met the At Pazarı market to then branch out into an orthogonal network of possible paths (G). Access to the Fatih complex was through the main gateways situated to the south of the wall enclosure. Other entrances were present on the north-eastern side of the complex, between the buildings of the *medrese*.

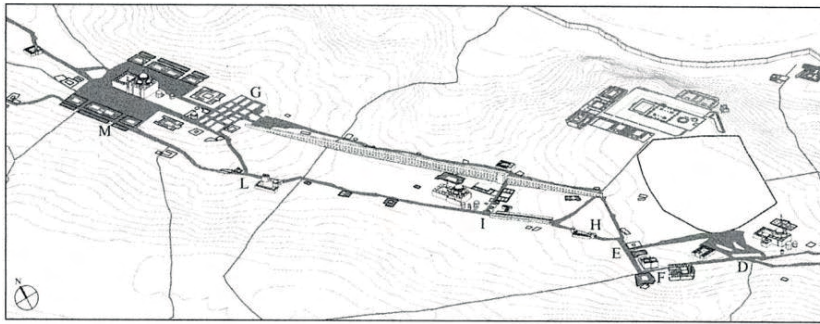


Fig. 14: The Divan axis from Beyazıt and Eski Saray to the Fatih complex.

The section south of the aqueduct originated at the Kuyucu Murat Pasha *medrese* and continued towards the Direkler Arası arcade *arasta* (H). This last arcade street aligned with the boundary wall of the Şehzade mosque, brushed against the important Old Barracks of the janissaries (I) and, in the section between these architectonic complexes, ran in a straight line with a constant width, not found anywhere else in the Divan axis. The route branched off into two sections near the Dülgerzade mosque (L). One branch of this axis joined a lateral street of the At Pazarı market and continued towards a main gateway on the southern side of the wall of the Fatih complex (fig. 15). Conversely, the other branch headed into the street between the double row of *medrese* on the south-western side of the complex itself (M). From this path, it was possible to continue towards the Karagümrük quarter, as well as to enter the inner courtyard of the mosque through the entries situated between the double row of *medrese* that made up the western side of the enclosure.

The Fatih complex, in relation to the relief of the city, is situated in one of the highest points of the area. Its geometrically regular,

symmetrical and clearly defined wall enclosure, is a unique example compared to the other monumental complexes of the city. The urban routes were conditioned by the geometric plan of the entrances. The axial disposition of the gates south of the enclosure wall with those to the north enabled an interesting continuity of the urban paths that crossed the large courtyard inside the enclosure.

From the Fatih complex to Edirnekapı. The Divan axis continued past the Fatih complex to cross a main road that arrived directly at the Edirne city gate on the Theodosian city walls. A secondary route joined it about halfway.



Fig. 15: The south-eastern gate (Çorba Kapısı) of the Fatih complex.

The main path originated from a gateway in the northern side of the wall of the Fatih complex (N). The route crossed the Karagümrük quarter and was much more winding than the other sections of the Divan axis described above. The central part of the lane in Zincirlikuyu, was thick with monumental buildings built in the classic period, of small and average architectonic scale (plate III).



Fig. 16: *The Divan axis from the Fatih complex to Edirnekapi.*

A secondary route was situated further south and originated from the inner street within the south-western double *medrese* row of the Fatih complex (M). The route, characterised by a minimal presence of monumental buildings, ran along the Armenian neighbourhood and Karagümrük square (O) after passing Sinan's Mesih Ali Pasha mosque. This tract converged immediately afterwards with the main street, joining it near the Semiz Ali Pasha *medrese*, also by Mimar Sinan.

The 'land customs' or Karagümrük, which in fact gives its name to the neighbourhood, must have been situated in a not well-defined point of these two lanes, probably in the important square of the same name.

(EB, SD)

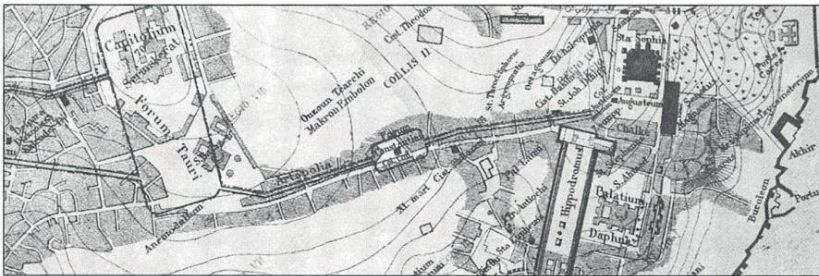
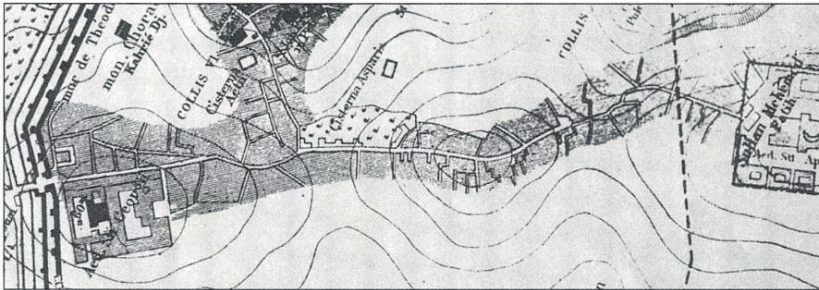
Chapter 3: Byzantine Mese and Ottoman Divanyolu

There is a vein of ambiguity in the interpretation of the Mese as forerunner of the Divanyolu. The coincidence, however rough, of the Divan axis with two of the main three branches of the central Roman-Byzantine Meses has, in almost all times, given rise to confusion and to a completely false association of epochs and forms. Most maps drawn by Europeans in the 19th century meticulously superimpose the ancient Byzantine-Roman sites and place-names on the Ottoman town.



Fig. 17: Extract from the Stolpe-Mordtmann 1855-80 map. Above: from Fatih to Edirnekapi. Centre: from Beyazıt and Eski Saray to the Fatih complex. Below: from Topkapı Palace to Beyazıt and Eski Saray.

The use of the 1855-60 Stolpe map by Mordtmann is a good example of this.⁴⁰ It is a carefully surveyed and drawn plan, an excellent restitution of the Ottoman town, with its *maballe*, ethnic differentiation, and the ever-changing street system. And yet, the site-names of the Mese, the Artopoleon and various Fora—which would have deserved their own autonomous representation—have been printed by Mordtmann on this totally extraneous context.



⁴⁰ Reprint of the Plan de la Ville de Constantinople ainsi que ses confins... per C. Stolpe, ci-devant au service de la Sublime Porta... corrigé et augmenté depuis l'an 1855 jusqu'à 1863 par C. Stolpe'', Berlin-Pera 1863. Scale 1: 10.000, in August J. Mordtmann, Guide de Constantinople avec une introduction historique, Constantinople: Lorentz & Kiel (n.d. but around 1880). See also the earlier C. Stolpe, Text zum Plan von Constantinopel mit seinen Vorstädten, Pera-Constantinopel: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1863). An interesting interpretation is Barbié du Bocage's 1783 sketch plan *Essai d'un Plan de Constantinople telle qu'elle était sous les Empereurs Grecs depuis Constantin jusqu'à la prise des Turcs...* Terminé le 30 novembre 1783 at the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (Cartes et Plans Ge.C.10571).

Fig. 18: Extracts from Mordtmann “Constantinople au Moyen-Age” (1891). Above: from the Charsia gate (now Edirnekapi) to the Holy Apostles (now Fatih). Below: from the Forum Taurii to the Hippodrome

In this respect, the same Mordtmann’s reconstruction of the Byzantine sites,⁴¹ though superseded by later research, is much more correct. It seeks to locate the Byzantine and Roman sites referring to some of the existing Ottoman elements, but does not attempt to weld two totally non-referential images. It is interesting to note that for the westernmost part of the axis, from Fatih to Edirnekapi, any extrapolation of the scant archaeological data onto the wholly un-Classical street web is correctly avoided.

The general geography and layout of the two thoroughfares from the Hippodrome-Ayasofya-Sultan Ahmet area to Beyazit-Forum Taurii, bifurcating out from there south-west (Porta Aurea) or north-west (Porta Charsia—Edirne Kapi), and the siting on the highest topographic saddles along the hills do give a rough impression of analogy. On the other hand, the multiple channels of the Ottoman Divan axis system (see Chapter 2), and the still open questions of the archaeological interpretation of the Byzantine street system render hazardous the attempt to correlate the two epochs.

During the last two decades, the work of Mango and Berger—mainly focused on the early Roman-Byzantine Constantinople—and that of Magdalino on Medieval Constantinople have thrown new light on the hypothetic form and urban significance of the Byzantine

⁴¹ Partial archaeological map in August J. Mordtmann, “Constantinople au Moyen-Age—Relevé Topographique“, in: “Revue d’Art Chrétien”, 1892. Published as a separate map as: *Esquisse Topographique de Constantinople: Constantinople au Moyen-Age—Relevé Topographique des constructions encore existantes remontant à cette époque dressé par le docteur J. Mordtmann sous les auspices et aux frais du Comte Riant, membre de l’Institut et publié par F. de Melyv MD.CCC.XC.I*, Lille: 1892. Müller-Wiener *Bildlexicon*, and Wolfram Kleiss, *Topographisch-Archäologischer Plan von Istanbul*, Tübingen: Wasmuth 1967, contain updated archaeological information on Byzantine sites.

Mese system.⁴² But we do not know how much that system had changed in the two centuries that preceded the Ottoman conquest.

The Charsia gate (Edirnekapı) route might have acquired its Ottoman period layout from around the 10th century. We should also take into account the pendulum of change in urban directions through two millenniums of city development. Very early, the overland northern route out of the city of Byzantium had asserted itself. Then, under Constantine the Via Egnatia-Porta Aurea direction acquired privilege. Still later, the Holy Apostles-Blachernae Palace-route into the Balkans direction gained urban momentum.⁴³ In the first three centuries of Ottoman rule, emerged (or reasserted itself) the Edirnekapı direction out towards the Davut Pasha military grounds and Eyüp; there ensued a peripheral downfall for the Porta Aurea and the south-western gates. Lastly, in the early 19th century, we perceive an ambiguous return of functional and partly ceremonial roles to the Lâleli-Aksaray-Koca Mustafa Pasha and Yedikule axis, confirmed a few decades later by suburban and railroad development along the Marmara coast. We do not know when precisely, and how gradually, those changes took place, and to what degree they were counterbalanced by persisting previous trends, but we do know that they were not absolute: that the superseded directions maintained part of their urban roles and potential. It is therefore impossible to establish clear-cut differences or similarities between the Byzantine period as a whole and the Ottoman period in all its duration.

⁴² For the earlier period see the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, *Constantinople in Dumbarton Oaks Papers 54* (2000), 157-264. For the later period: Magdalino *Constantinople Médiévale*.

⁴³ Important triumphal processions through the Charisios gate were exceptional. Only one, in AD 793 is mentioned by = s1cf!G [hai&òThe Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate”, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers 54* (2000), 174 and note 8. Even after the Blachernai palace became the imperial residence most processions were staged from the Seraglio Point (Sarayburnu), reached by the emperor by boat from Blachernai church, up to St. Sophia and the Hippodrome(see also Albrecht Berger, “Imperial and ecclesiastical processions in Constantinople”, in *Byzantine Constantinople—Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu, Leiden: Brill 2001, 83).

Even at the eastern end of the system (the Ayasofya-Çemberlitaş tract: recognizable heir to the Mese Regia), archaeological findings show that the modern DivanYolu, *grosso modo* as wide as the central alley of the early Mese Regia, has siled some 10 meters south.⁴⁴ But of course, this has come after fourteen centuries of infill which has raised the street level by 2.35 meters,⁴⁵ and after many encroachments, followed by 19th century street reformation.

There are no proofs at all that the Fatih-Karagümrük-Edirnekapi road coincides in all its length with the Byzantine Mese system or with the later pre-Ottoman street system.⁴⁶ East of the Fatih complex and starting from its central Western gate, the route kept a curving and yet coherent layout in which monuments, residential buildings and cemeteries were concentrated in sequence much as in other Moslem quarters of Istanbul. It is reasonable to presume that the double path north and south of the Bozdoğan-Valens aqueduct, now Şehzade Caddesi and Kovacılar Caddesi, well established in Ottoman times, as we can presume from the sequence of *vakıf* works on both lanes, existed in the Byzantine period as the crest position and the open arcaded structure of the aqueduct would easily have allowed it. Berger's second option in the reconstruction of the street system in the Holy Apostles-Polyeuktos region, if confirmed, would certainly reinforce the assumption.⁴⁷ Of course, the "old overland road to the northwest... along the Aetios cistern... (to) the Gate of Charisios... (running) parallel.. to the large court of the Fatih mosque",⁴⁸ would coincide with the

⁴⁴ See Müller-Wiener *Bildlexikon*, 232, fig. 263.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 256.

⁴⁶ As a matter of fact, the Mordtmann *Esquisse Topographique* map does not even attempt to correlate the Mese and the Divan axis north-west of Fatih.

⁴⁷ Albrecht Berger, "Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople", in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), 161-72. See page 169 and figures 3 and 4.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 168. Note that Berger (*ibid.*, 162) holds that only the part east of the Capitol should be named Mese. Cfr. Müller-Wiener *Bildlexikon*, 269, as well as 21, fig.2 for the 4th to 7th centuries: all three branches (Deuteron, Xerolophos and the main Milion-Taurus tract) are denominated Mese. For the later periods (*ibid.*, figures 3 and 4) the northern branch loses its distinction. See also Rodolphe Guiland, *Etudes de Topographie de Constantinople Byzantine*,

Ottoman axis only at its points of origin and arrival. But then, 16th to 19th centuries urban density may have diverted the alignments of the intermediate tracts in that previously sparsely built region.

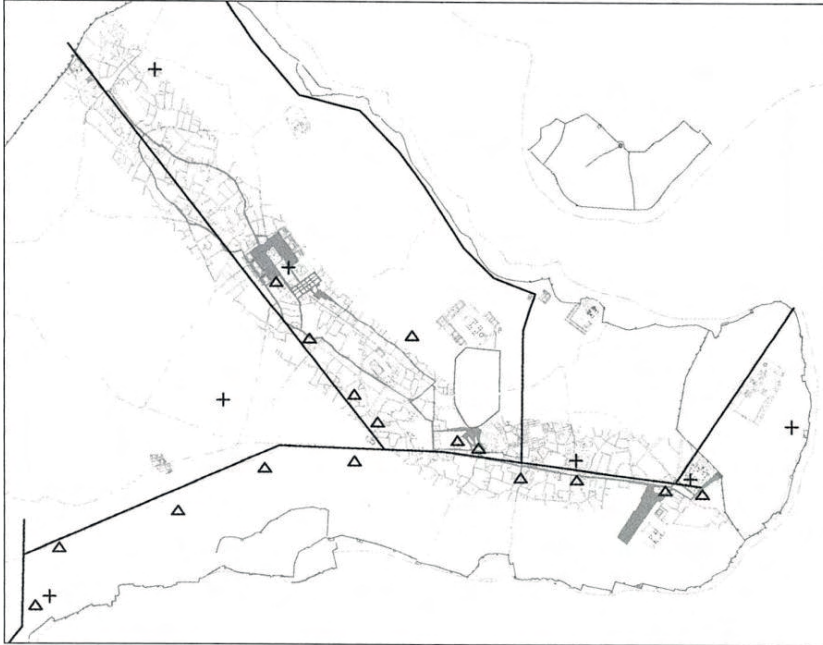


Fig. 19: Processions and holy sites in the late Byzantine period (Synthesis of data from Berger “processions” and Magdalino *Constantinople Médiévale*). Black lines: mostly mentioned processional routes. The two main Mese exit through the Charisios gate (upper left) and the Porta Aurea (lower left). Crosses: churches visited by emperors both in the late period and before. Triangles: ceremonial stations quoted in *The Book of Ceremonies*.

On the other hand, the south-western processional way of Byzantine Constantinople, extending “about 5.5 kilometres from the Theodosian Golden Gate to the Milion [and] basically unchanged after 435”,⁴⁹ had reacquired momentum only at the end of the 18th century, and not as far as the city walls.

It has been held that all public spaces of Constantinople except those of the pre-Constantine nucleus were all on the Mese

Berlin—Amsterdam: 1969, II 72 (the *mese* were often named after the quarter they crossed), and 72-76 for the many synonyms of *mese* in naming main thoroughfares (*leoforon*, *plateia*, *agora*).

⁴⁹ Mango “The Triumphal Way”, 180.

branches.⁵⁰ Meaning, I suppose, formal open space: *fora*, *stoai*, voids centered on a monumental column.⁵¹ This was certainly not the case in Ottoman Istanbul whose public spaces were the outer courts of the larger *külliye*, prairies or informal *meydans*, some of which like those of Vefa, At Meydanı (Hippodrome), Karagümrük, lay at a very short distance from the Divan axis. Similar informal spaces must have existed in the late Byzantine city, too. The busy thoroughfares and commercial concentrations and most informal elements were a common heritage of the two urban cultures. What distinguished them was rooted more in the formal characterisation of space than in the informal traits of the city.

The early Mese were arcaded streets with clear architectural junctions and hinges the Imperial Palace, the Million, the Forum of Constantine etc. all architecturally measurable and controlled through a clear geometry and perspective. The Ottoman system is a non-artery rambling through the city in a continuum of short linkages between juxtaposed elements whose strong linguistic implications I shall discuss later. The four focal elements inserted by Fatih Mehmet II—his imaret and its markets, the Old Palace, the Grand Bazaar, the New Palace—are lonely islands recognizable as emergent places, not visually conclusive. However impressive, Ayasofya and the Beyazit mosque are no more than episodes from the viewpoint of the street system.

The late Byzantine city had already undergone heavy disintegration, as we can see in the Buondelmonti view, even if some fragments of arcade streets had remained.⁵² It would also seem, that

⁵⁰ Albrecht Berger, “Processions”, 73. Furthermore, Berger points to the fact that the processional routes to the churches and back were on the Mese or on the Makros Embolos, whereas in Rome they had followed circular itineraries (ibid., 74). This may contradict the opinion that circular ceremonial processions by emperors and patriarchs were more typical (see note 55).

⁵¹ ! “It is...remarkable that ecclesiastical ceremonies were held in the Forum... in the late ninth century a small chapel was built... at the base of the column of Constantine.” (ibid., 75).

⁵² Mordtmann *Esquisse Topographique*, 44 and 73, reports two different versions of the Buondelmonte view in the Vatican and in Venice. Contemporary descriptions point to a loss of individual identity of the Mese. The route had probably already become a meandering

in the last period of Byzantine rule “*the old ceremonial way through the city was used rarely*”, the Constantine forum being visited by imperial processions only once a year.⁵³ The image of architectural grandeur and unity of imperial urban space had been perhaps lost decades and centuries before the Ottoman conquest. Is it hazardous to presume a gradual reduction of the ceremonial use of the thoroughfare in Byzantine times?⁵⁴

Later, the Ottomans transformed the thoroughfare into an infinitely long route out of the city, and through the city, whereas each Mese had been finite. This long path, in certain aspects, not much different than a suburban or non-urban road along which functions and buildings aggregate, typically underwent a process of permanent transformation.

The ceremonial role of the axis, too, despite some common symbolism of imperial exposure to public view along the axis, was very different functionally and culturally. Is the sultans’ self-representation through their movement in urban space and their symbolically stopping in certain points (by the *türbe* of an ancestor, at the gate of the Eski Odalar janissary barracks) comparable to the *taxis* of the Byzantine emperors?⁵⁵ I believe not. After all, such stops

urban space through voids, ruins and isolated monuments without having yet the vitality of the Ottoman epoch.

⁵³ Berger “Processions”, 84-85. It has yet to be proved that the Mese were the most important ceremonial and architecturally representative urban spaces of the very late Byzantine period. See on the routes of the Byzantine imperial manifestations, and generally on the so-called *mese* main streets: Müller-Wiener *Bildlexikon*, 269-70; Guiland *Etudes*, I 217-49 for “Itinéraires des Livres des Cérémonies”, and II 69-76 for “La Mése ou Regia”.

⁵⁴ See Jean Ebersolt, *Constantinople: recueil d'études, d'Archéologie et d'histoire*, Paris: 1951, 49, for Basil the First's Sunday procession from St.Sophia to the Holy Apostles (actual site of the Fatih *külliye*), which does suppose an imperial parade through the main axis, but most ceremonial texts mention tours of the walls or short trips to given religious sites. See also: Cyril Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople: 4. - 7. siècles*, Paris: de Boccard, 1985.

⁵⁵ At least for the periods examined, and especially from Theophilos to the Isaurians, “*une symbolique très forte est instituée entre l'empereur et*

during a procession were, and are, usual in almost all cultures. In Byzantine Constantinople the ceremonial stations had an exceptional aura and symbolic intricacy in which religious and loyalist meanings were intermingled: the *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus attributes the title 'holy' to many rooms of the Imperial Palace in which the ceremonies took place; in the emperors' processions through the town numerous ceremonial stations were both religious and civic.⁵⁶ So intense an interpenetration of religious and state ceremonial and culture in urban and architectural space is unknown to the Ottoman town.

la ville” through the emperor’s processional movement in urban space (M.-Fr. Auzépy, “Les déplacements de l’empereur dans la ville et ses environs (VIII-Xe siècles) in: *Constantinople and its hinterland—Papers from the Twenty-seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993*, eds. Cyril Mango and Gilbert Dagron, London: Variorum 1995, 359-366). Though some processions did run through the town from Palace to gates, Auzépy reads a stronger symbolism in the circular or encircling processions which took the Palace cross to various sites in a spiral of stations, or sailing around the town walls and gates.

⁵⁶ Mango & “The Triumphal Way”, figure 2.

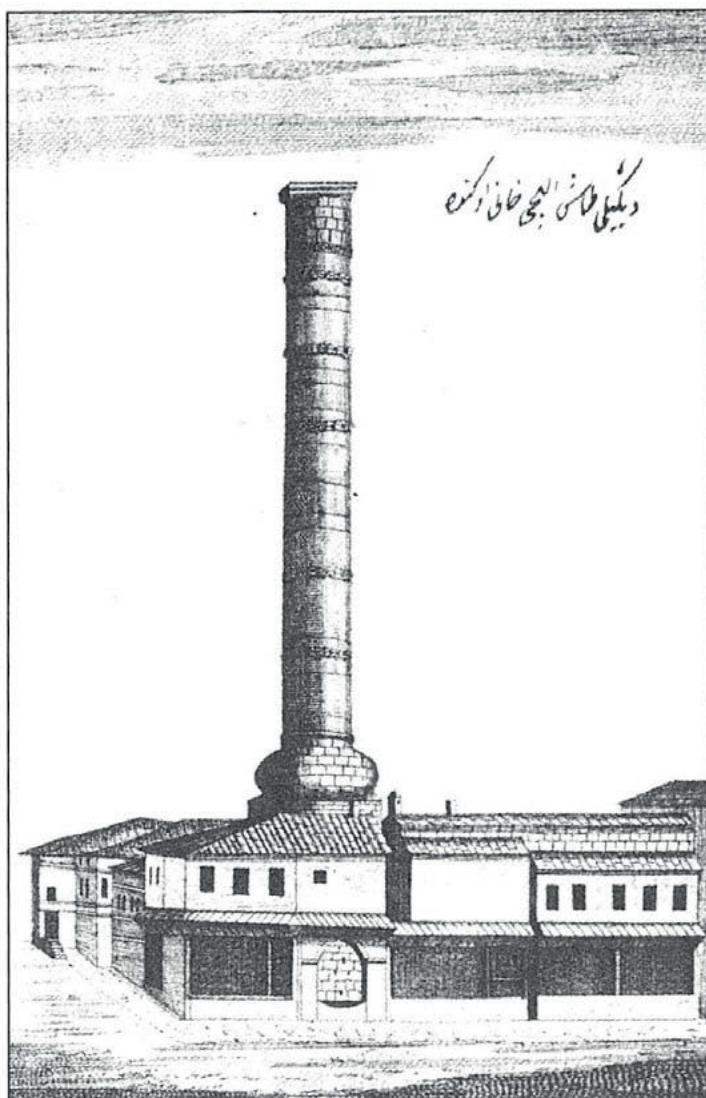


Fig. 20: Shops and butts surrounding the column of Constantine in an early 19th century drawing.

Not only an idea of magnificence, but also commerce had given form to the early Byzantine arcaded Mese, which had only in certain tracts a monumental build, and had often ephemeral wood arcades. Both the Divan axis and the Meses (or the arcade streets, or *stoai*) bore commercial development in certain tracts, but not along their entire

course.⁵⁷ The position of those concentrations was maintained after the Ottoman conquest.⁵⁸ In the Ottoman town, shopping streets consisting of wooden shops not much different than the Byzantine ones, caused an interruption or deviation, even when they were built on orthogonal patterns as often was the case: they did not underline architecturally the thoroughfare. This was probably true also of the late Byzantine period.

Ottoman processions, interesting and picturesque in themselves, did not seem to require magnificent backgrounds. In no case, except Nevşehirli Damat Ibrahim Pasha's unique Şehzade *arasta*, have Ottoman builders and patrons tried to revive the arcade street tradition. Columns and arches, have an important place in Evliya's accounts and in lore for their grandeur and for their supposed magical properties, certainly not because of their place in the classical urban tradition.⁵⁹

In conclusion, the temptation to interpret the Ottoman and Byzantine thoroughfares in mutual reference could not but give rise to an incongruous perception of the authentic image and structure of each period, lost in the too facile equation, inhibiting the perception of the specific architectural values of the Ottoman axis.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Marlia Mundell Mango, "The Commercial Map of Constantinople", in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), 189-208. Also Guiland *Etudes*, II 69-79, mentions the prevailing commercial function of the main *mese* (Constantine's Mese Regia—ἡ Πρωιά—later was often called simply *agora* like many other commercial streets) lined by mall shops.

⁵⁸ M. Mango "The Commercial Map", 206-07.

⁵⁹ Probably things did not stand otherwise with the late Byzantines. Their roots in Classical culture and traditions may have had more of the myth than of effective cultural continuity, as Cyril Mango holds in: "Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism" in *Byzantium and its Image—History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and its Heritage*, London: Variorum Reprints 1984, 29-43.

⁶⁰ Such wishful thinking and such false attribution of ancient and glorious formal values to a totally different asset have played havoc with urban reform around the Divan Yolu. Celal Esad's innocent and well-meaning reconstruction drawing of the

(MC)

‘Byzantine Mese’ was an alarming forerunner of misplaced sentiments and ambitions in popularised historicism: see Djelal Essad [Arseven], *Constantinople de Byzance a Stamboul*, Paris: Librairie Renouard, H. Laurens 1909. I believe such imagery partly gave an ideological support to the incredibly gross street clearance of the Nineteen-Fifties, as if the city were expressing a long-neglected vocation for miles-long perspectives.

Chapter 4: The Sultan's Ceremonial Axis

Implicitly since at least the beginning of the 17th century, and explicitly, during the 18th and after, the Divan axis or northern Mese—as well as part of the Beyazıt-Aksaray-Hekimoğlu route—was considered the Imperial route, was called Divanyolu and involved in important processions.

Thévénot had seen, in 1655-56, a three to four-foot-wide belt of sand strewn in the middle of the road to mark and ease the Sultan's passage.⁶¹ Pietro della Valle mentions the “...*strada ...dónde ill Rè & altri personaggi sogliono far le entrate più solenni...*”⁶² In the 18th century not only the passage of the Sultan but also that of his nearest relatives must not have been infrequent and, perhaps, with the relaxation of court ceremonial, some solemnity had been lost.⁶³ Chronicles report that

⁶¹ Jean Thévénot, *Voyages en Europe, Asie et Afrique*, Amsterdam 1727 (3rd edition), 272. Charles Diehl, *Constantinople*, Paris: 1924, 90, quotes the *Journal* of Antoine Galland who in the 17th century calculated that the sultan's march through the city took five hours.

⁶² Viaggio di Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino, con minuto ragguaglio di tutte le cose notabili osservate in essi, Descritti da lui medesimo in 54. Lettere familiari, da diversi luoghi..., Rome: [1650] 1660, 56-57. See also Sieur du Loir, *Voyage du Sieur du Loir, contenu en plusieurs lettres écrites du Levant, avec plusieurs particularités... Du Grand Seigneur, la Religion & les moeurs de ses Sujets*, Paris: chez François Clouzier 1654, 55-64, containing a long description of his walk through the main street: he describes on one side of the Beyazıt mosque a long gallery where “gentillessees comme on fait à Paris au Palais, hormis des rubans, parce qu'ils n'en portent point” were sold (58); Şehzade mosque is at the end of “une rue ... belle et large [ou] on vend les arcs, les fleches & les cervois”, in the same street (from Okçular in Beyazıt to Şehzadebaşı) he describes “la Vieille Chambre des Janissaires.... proche de là... deux colonnes ... Bruslée, la seconde appelée hystoralle, est où se tenoit autrefois le Marché des Femmes... Dykili-Tach...” (59-60).

⁶³ Cfr. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: the Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge MA-London: The MIT Press 1991, 258: “..the 18th cent marked an increased relaxation of the ceremonial code...”.

after the enthronement of Osman III in 1754, his mother moved to the Topkapı Palace from the Old Palace in a closed litter and greeted the crowds “*Bila-hicab kafesleri açub*”, (shamelessly opening the grills despite the Islamic principle of closure).⁶⁴

The Sultan’s relation to the city, its rites and customs, is a subtle and not always palpably described mix of aloof separateness and boisterous exposure. Was not the separateness of the Topkapı Palace,⁶⁵ reached from the Divan Yolu only after a detour around Ayasofya, scarcely visible from anywhere but across the street, and yet with all the traffic it generated—troops, conspiring groups, goods, craftsmen, Divan officials, princesses—all moving within reach of, or physically within, the main thoroughfare; was not this contiguity-separateness, the key to understanding the interplay of attention and neglect, order and chaos, possession and abandon which formed and yet de-structured the axis as an architecturally perceivable artefact?

Military parades

The most impressive and perhaps more involving of the state processions, the week-long parade of troops and Pashas outing for campaigns in the West, must have had a strong impact on the people of Istanbul, and exposed the heart of the Ottoman political system and its tensions in dealing with the population. Those parade-like marches developed along the five kilometres of the Edirnekapi-Topkapı route. They touched (and if my analysis of street topography is correct, ran through and stopped in), the Fatih building compound in view of Sultan Mehmet Han’s *türbe*, and perhaps would have been involved as much in the other Mehmet’s (Şehzade) complex if the

⁶⁴ Necdet Sakaoğlu, art. “Osman III” in *Dünden bugüne İstanbul*, VI, 154-157.

⁶⁵ See Necipoğlu Topkapı, 242: “The palace was not only an architectural manifestation of Ottoman absolutism; its architecture in turn actively informed the discourse and conceptualization of empire for generations... standing isolated... majestically raised over the Byzantine acropolis, the new order superimposed upon the old”, and 251: “Friday prayers, when he (Mehmet II) paraded from his palace to the imperial mosques...”.

original project of a symmetrical outer court on the Eski Odalar grounds had been realized.⁶⁶

Naima mentions the ‘magnificent’ procession of the army and the *mevkiib-i hümayun* (the Sultan’s and his retinue’s procession) with the *ulema* and *küibera* (the grandees) at the start of the campaign of June 1596 against the Hungarians and Serbs from Edirne.⁶⁷ He does not describe it in detail, but it must have been very similar to those in Istanbul. D’Ohsson’s description of the seven days of passage of troops and officials and statesmen for Emin Mehmet Pasha’s 1769 Russian campaign, and his account of the troubles which accompanied the campaign procession point to a level of symbolic interference between the powerful and the subjects coming to light in some, but not all, points and structures of the city.⁶⁸ The Conak-Toughi emblem (the *Konak tuğu* horse-tail banner) was exhibited to the public for six weeks, at the end of which it was carried to the military camp in Davut Pasha outside the city. The next day, the janissary craftsmen units as well as many other *odas* and dervishes started from the Atmeydan. The procession was long and variegated: first come the farmers, then booksellers, millers, tailors etc, all in military uniforms. Two days later, the janissaries with their dervishes and music went out through two wings of crowds of men and women. In the following days other troops followed. The last day was dedicated to the procession of the Grand Vizier, the banners, the Grand Mufti in *kotchi* (open coach).

⁶⁶ And at this point, I would speculate if Sinan’s genial innovation of lateral arcades for the Sultan mosques had not been thought of as a fit backstage for, or architectural commentary to, the processions.

⁶⁷ Naima, *Naima Tarihi*, 143.

⁶⁸ D’Ohsson *Tableau*, III 420-23. Benvenga also describes a 17th century *alay* towards Edirnekapı during the beginning of a military campaign: Abbate Michele Benvenga, *Viaggio di Levante con la Descrizione di Costantinopoli e d’ogni altro accidente*, Bologna 1688, 206-20. See Chapter 9 for imperial ritual and daily urban life.



Fig. 21: *A procession winding through the Divanyolu during the reign of Soliman the Magnificent. Engraving by Pieter Coeck van Aelst around 1535. The engraving has been reversed in printing so as to show in the correct topographical sequence the mosque of Firuz Ağa on the left and the Fatih complex in the background, upper right.*

The whole ceremony was overseen by the master of ceremonies and his three assistants. As usual, there were disorders because of the turbulence of the troops and the fanaticism of the dervishes and the emirs: some hundred non-Muslims were killed and the Muslims who tried to defend them were wounded. In the following days ten of the disturbance makers were hanged. In 1793 Abdül Hamit I abrogated the *alay* tradition and the campaign against Austria started without that ceremonial.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *“Cevdet Paşa Tarihinde Seçmeler”*, İstanbul 1994, 189.

Necipoğlu's interpretation of the Istanbul Sultan mosques as an ideal itinerary linking the Imperial mausoleums along the Divanyolu⁷⁰ affords us still another key for understanding the complex ideological perception of this axis, made of overlapping and sometimes diverging layers of values, uses and symbols, of single 'stations' architecturally and monumentally defined, but which was not modelled homogeneously in all its length.

A large number of Sultans had been buried aligned along this long route: Mehmet II (d. 1481) at Fatih, Beyazıt II (d. 1512) at Beyazıt, Selim II (d. 1574), Murat III (d. 1595), Mustafa I (d. 1623) and Ibrahim (d. 1648) in Ayasofya, Ahmet I (d. 1617), Osman II (d. 1622) and Murat IV (d. 1640) in the Sultan Ahmet ensemble nearby. But not all the sultans had their tombs on the Divan axis. Süleyman the Magnificent (d. 1566) had chosen a site on the axis for that of his son, not for his own and for his father's (Selim II d. 1520), having favoured isolated and impressive hilltop sites at noteworthy distance from the thoroughfare for their *keşilliye*.⁷¹ Other sultans in different epochs had imitated him.

From mid 17th century to mid 19th, the central thoroughfare was no longer favoured for funerary sites. We perceive two distinct trends: one chose building compounds dominating the view from the sea, the second opted for those in touch with the daily commercial life of the town. Curiously (or should we say, significantly?) this period corresponds roughly to that of the predominance of the Pasha sites on the axis. There is a hundred and forty year long period, from 1648 to 1789, in which the Sultans seem to prefer burial in centrally located mosques within important commercial areas, or in existing

⁷⁰ Gülru Necipoğlu, "Dynastic Imprint on the Cityscape: the Collective Message of Imperial Funerary Mosque complexes in Istanbul" in *Cimetières et traditions funéraires dans le monde islamique: actes du colloque international... Istanbul, 28-30 septembre 1991*, eds. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Aksel Tibet, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1996, II 23-36.

⁷¹ The Sultan Abdülmecid (d. 1861) also is buried in the Selim complex.

keilliye, all off the axis except the Lâleli ensemble, which is, however, on its southern and minor branch.⁷²

In mid 19th century, Mahmut II (d. 1839) broke this trend and chose a highly symbolic site, reasserting the Divan Yolu as the theatre of the state's power.⁷³ It is no longer the domain of the great pasha families but that of the new balance emerging from the Gülhane Ferman constitutional reforms which crown the efforts of the Sultan and of the progressive components of the state apparatus. The Mahmut II mausoleum was conceived as part of a cemetery which would, in the course of time, hold important members of officialdom. Its position, too, on the crossroad to Bâbiâli, the seat of government, throws a very meaningful light on the link between the Sultan and Bâbiâli in the mid decades of the 19th century.

⁷² Mehmet IV (buried in the Eminönü Valide Camii) to Süleyman II and Ahmed II (both in the Süleymaniye complex) to Mustafa II, Ahmed III and Osman III (also in the Valide Camii), Mustafa III (d. 1774) and his son Selim III (d. 1808) in Mustafa's mosque in Lâleli, Abdül Hamit I (d. 1789) in his Bahçekapı *keilliye*.

⁷³ See Necipoğlu *Topkapı*, 31 -34. Even if the Divanyolu was not the main or only site for the ritual visit to the royal tombs, it still was the route to reach them.

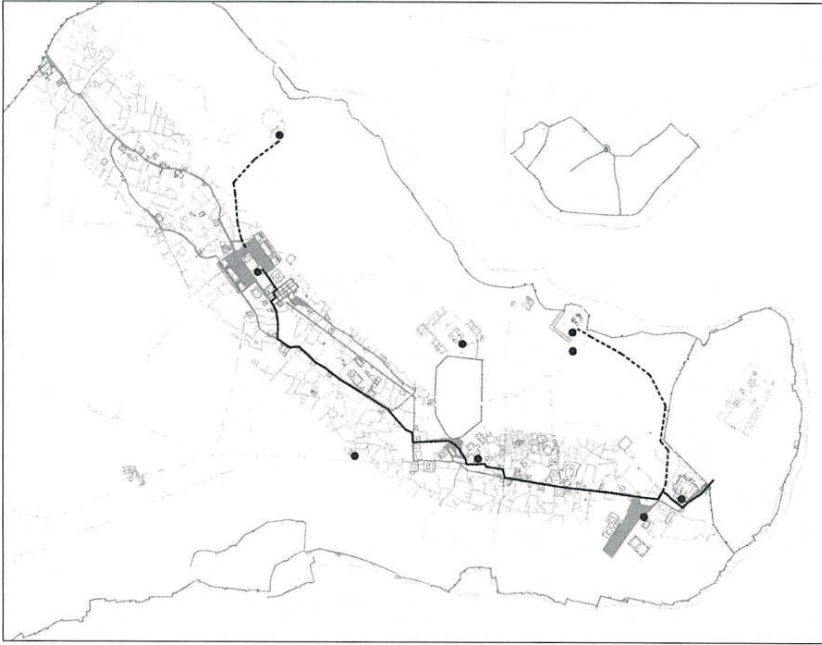


Fig. 22: Funeral processions and mausoleums of the sultans. Each dot represents a mausoleum or group of mausoleums.

This mausoleum and the Fatih and Şehzade *türbe* are the only points where the reigning Ottoman dynasty made manifest to the busy life and traffic of the city core its cult of the dynastic dead. In both cases (and similarly in the Ayasofya precinct, which did not have, however, the same impact on city life, and in the Abdül Hamit I *türbe* which is in a different part of the city centre) passers-by could see directly the mausoleums and offer their prayer.

It must be added, on the other hand, that the imperial funeral *alay*, accompanied by the new Sultan—who derived in part the dynastic legitimacy of his power from this show of loyalty to his ancestors—had to run along the Divan axis with the sole exception of the funerals for sultans to be buried in the Eminönü-Bahçekapı district and in Ayasofya. It was perhaps a sign of the times that the last Sultan to be buried in Istanbul, Sultan Reşat (Mehmet V d. 1918), had chosen his burial ground in Eyüp, and was taken there by boat along the Golden Horn, bypassing the Divanyolu, whereas, a century earlier, the funeral of Selim the Third's much respected and pious mother, Mihrîşah Sultan, also buried in Eyüp in her grand complex, had run along the axis.

We can say that the dynasty's self-exposure to the public, at least as far the cult of the dead is concerned, did not follow strict permanent rules, but that there were very clear patterns which dominated the scene for decades.

The Friday alay

The Sultans attended the Friday prayers each week in a different *selatin* (imperial) mosque. In 1610, writes Sandys, he was followed by a retinue of one thousand men.⁷⁴ Did they always ride through the Divan Yolu? If we can judge from the Selim III *Ruzname*,⁷⁵ not necessarily always, though this route did prevail. The examination of some fifty trips for the Friday *namaz* to Sultan mosques on the Aksaray e Edirnekapı routes gives a good idea of the use of space in that period, before the main changes in street width and cuts of mid-19th century. Beyazıt, Lâleli, Fatih are the main destinations, and in a surprisingly lesser measure, Şehzade, Süleymaniye and Eyüp.⁷⁶ There is an unexpected frequency of trips to Lâleli on horseback both ways; the return usually (*mütad üzre*) starts with a visit to Eski Saray or to the Lâleli sepulchre of the Sultan's father, Mustafa III. And, of

⁷⁴ George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun An. Dom. 1610. Four Books containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Aegypt, of the Holy Land*, London: 1637 (4th ed.), 75.

⁷⁵ Serkâtibi Ahmed *Ruzname*. It does not always describe in detail the routes but invariably mentions the mosques visited, and distinguishes horseback trips (*alay-ı sıvar*) and boat trips (*sandal ile*).

⁷⁶ These last two mosques have been examined for comparative reasons, whereas other *selatin* mosques, such as Nuruosmaniye, Yeni Valide, as well as the Bosphorus and Üsküdar mosques have not been examined. If we can trust Ahmet Efendi's registry, the Sultan went to Süleymaniye for Friday prayers only seven times in eleven years: but then, when he went there he had to stop at the nearby Ağa Kapısı (the Janissary commander's palace) to drink the ritual cup of syrup ("*mu'tad olan nuş-ı şerbet rüsumu*"), not a pleasant incumbency for a sovereign who was trying to eradicate the power of that corps!

course, rain or other inconveniences brought about last minute changes in programme.⁷⁷

The *sank alayı* (the procession of officials with two turbans of the Sultan, a day or a few hours in advance on his passage, to announce the itinerary), also, proves the existence of alternate routes. In a later epoch, with no *sank alayı* preceding him, Selim III sought to travel on different routes on the return trip from the Friday rite. Even when he travelled by boat he would use a different landing for the return trip.⁷⁸ These apparently unimportant details explicit a strategy of exposure of the monarch, through transient events and through places not always monumental or formally solemn.

Feast processions

The Sultan's and the Imperial court's feasts had often a public finale. Courtly feasts, for weddings, circumcisions, or on less important occasions, ended with processions carrying *nahl* between the New and Old Palaces, or from this last to a *konak* or to a mosque.⁷⁹ The illumination and decoration (*donanma*, *şehrayin*) of houses and public buildings must have been a frequent event.⁸⁰

Once or twice in a century, there had also been grandiose feasts and processions offered by the sultans to the whole town populace. They were expensive and lasted weeks. Their magnificence is

⁷⁷ The Friday procession has been widely described and depicted in paintings and etchings. Dattili (Conte L. Dattili, *Aperçu de la Ville de Constantinople*, Turin: 1831, 22) insists on the Sultan's changing his destination every week. Some late 19th century travellers report the sultans' preference for the newer Bosphorus mosques.

⁷⁸ Cfr. Berger "Processions", 81 for horse-back or boat trips of Byzantine emperors one way to or from processions. *Ibid.*, 82-83, 85: the way by boat to Blachernai church, to the Pege and Stoudion monasteries and to St. Kosmas and Damianos was normal.

⁷⁹ See Doğan Kuban, "The miniatures of Surname-i Vehbi", and Stefan Yerasimos, "The Imperial Procession: Recreating a world's order" both in the facsimile Vehbi *Surname* volume. D'Ohsson *Tableau*, II 175: "*Divan-yoli: ... c'est-là que se font les marches solennelles dans toutes les fêtes civiles et religieuses*".

⁸⁰ Metin And, *Kırk gün kırk gece*, İstanbul: 1959.

witnessed by the *Surname* albums written by great poets and illustrated by famous miniaturists. The last such procession was enacted in October 1720 for the circumcision feast of the crown princes and of 500 children of the town people and ran through the Divan axis.⁸¹

Eyüp and the girdling of the sword

In the variegated typology of stately *alay*, the five-six hour cavalcade of the Sultan before or after the sword-girdling ceremony in Eyüp Ansar's mausoleum in Eyüp outside the city walls had a particular pregnancy.

The origin and symbolism of that ceremony has been widely, but not conclusively, discussed.⁸² What we do know is that up to 1807 the Sultan was taken by rowboat to Eyüp and having been consecrated there, rode back from Edirnekapı to the Palace through the Divan axis acclaimed by his subjects. It has been held that in 1807 Mustafa IV inverted the traditional direction of the *cülus* parade, going to Eyüp by land and returning to the Palace by boat.⁸³

⁸¹ See Chapter 2 and Vehbi *Surname*.

⁸² Cemal Kafadar, "Eyüp'te Kılıç Kuşanma Törenleri" in *Eyüp: Dün/Bugün (...sempozyum, 11-12 Aralık 1993)*, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı 1994, discusses our limited knowledge of the origin and significance of the ceremony.

⁸³ See for example, in art. "İstanbul", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988-, 5 ii 1218-19, Ahmed III's sword girdling ceremony and his return through Edirne Kapı to the Palace. Also: Necdet Sakaoğlu, "Saray ve İstanbul", in *Essays in Honour of Aptullah Kuran*, eds. Ç. Kafesçioğlu and L. Thyss-Şenocak, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayınları 1999, 278-285. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray teşkilatı*, Ankara: 1984, dedicates some chapters to ceremonial and takes up Es'ad Efendi, *Osmanlılarda Töre ve Törenler (Teşrifat-ı kadime)*, Istanbul: 1979, for the description of the *Alay*.

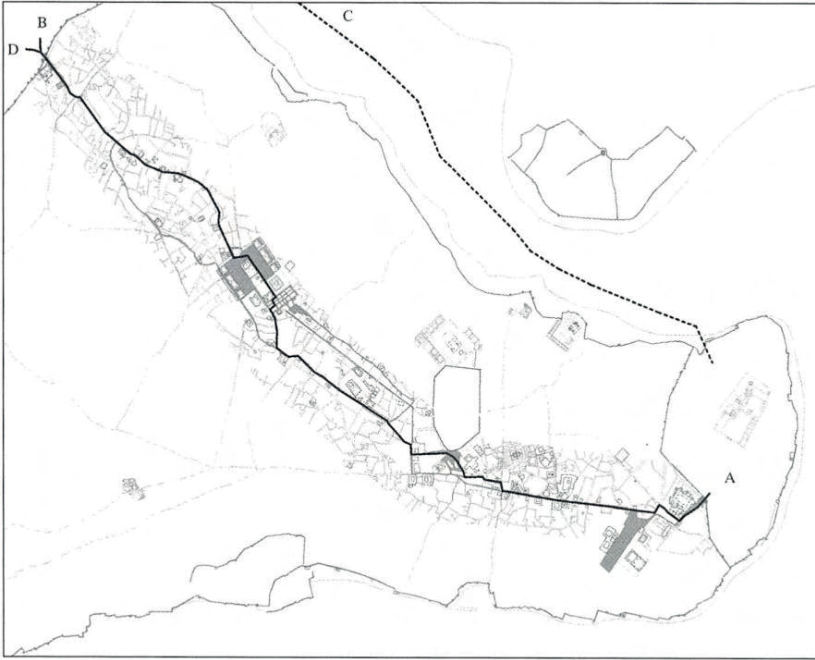


Fig. 23: Imperial processions through the city to and from Eyüp (A-B) and to the Davut Paşa military grounds (A-D). C: the sea route to Eyüp from the Topkapı Palace (A).

In the collective memory, all this surely interwove emotional and dramatic perceptions of the Istanbul people's life with power struggles and representations, as we shall see when examining the roles of the Pashas. The outcome was very far from the idyllic and picturesque representations on which a very large part of the literature on Istanbul, foreign and Turkish, has indulged, ignoring all that was not *mesire*, minute life and images of the *mahalle*, feasts and fireworks, great architecture... It was also quite distant from the formally harmonious representation of power, which all of us, sensitive to five centuries of Renaissance and post-Renaissance architecture, and impregnated with memories of Classical Antiquity, tend to associate to architecturally analogical space in which stately figures move within a stately architectural stage, and architecturally magnificent space is fittingly taken up by magnificent figures and processions.⁸⁴ Pietro della Valle mentions a “...strada ...donde il Rè &

⁸⁴ The axis remained to the very end “a scraggy path...”, much as in the *Via Papale*, Medieval Rome's main processional route from the

altri personaggi sogliono far le entrate più solenni...” in which he saw a “*corteo pomposo dei veziri che vanno al Divano*” adding “*...quasi come i cardinali in Roma... ma questo di Costantinopoli è più maestoso assai.*”⁸⁵ and in a general way, one might read here an echo of pre-Renaissance Rome and its papal processions.⁸⁶ There was a difference, however, which might help us understand better the ideological and psychological status of the Divanyolu. In Rome, confused antagonistic and/or servile feelings were sublimated in carnival-like acts and gestures (the ‘Possesso’ or seizure of the Pope’s mount) fixed by tradition. Such was not the case in Istanbul, even though some commentators have held that the phrase “*Sultanım, senden büyük Allah var!*” (“My Sultan, [only?] God is greater than you!”) in the *alkış* had more of the warning than the praise.⁸⁷ Furthermore, the contents of representation of power and magnificence, were those of the retinue and of the processions, but were not sublimated into an overall architectural image as they did in later Rome. The Ottomans, though they did reinterpret the Byzantine imperial ideology of universal

Vatican to the Lateran, that had to submit much later to the Renaissance and Baroque political and aesthetic vision to become a precise architectural image on a grand scale (Richard Ingersoll, *The Ritual use of Public Space in renaissance Rome*, (Ph.D. thesis University of California, Berkeley 1985), University Microfilms International 1990, 177-79).

⁸⁵ Della Valle *Viaggio*, 94.

⁸⁶ As described in Ingersoll *The Ritual use*. There too, the *Via Papale* was run by ceremonies and processions, not always in its full length; streets and ceremonial roles were not fixed. There too, up to the 16th century, the route had not found an architectural vest. There too, the procession was a paradigm of the relations of the populace factions to the powerful, an occasion for giving vent to not clearly perceived antagonisms.

⁸⁷ See Konrad Dilger, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Osmanischen Hofzeremoniells in 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, München 1967, 62-70; Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, entry “*Alkış*” in: *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1946-1956: “*mağrur olma Sultanım, senden büyük Allah var*” [quoted from Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil].

hegemony in their court ceremonies and rhetoric,⁸⁸ did not inherit even from the earlier if not from their immediate predecessors, the will to incorporate urban space in their vision of rite and magnificence. On the other hand, the thoroughfare reacquired very fast the ancient density of its urban functions, lost during the last decades of Byzantium, making difficult, even if the will had existed, to model that space into a unique and coherent architectural representation of the state's power.

We can then conclude that the highest level of urban formation and significance, the Sultan's level, did not model plastically the Divan axis (and the Divanyolu proper) after its own image, as it did in many imperial ensembles in other contexts.

But from the last decades of the 17th century a minor level of power was active in modelling piecemeal, and yet coherently, the axis.

(MC)

⁸⁸ Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954; Ebersolt *Constantinople: recueil*, appendix *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantine*, 7. See also various passages in Necipoğlu *Topkapı*.

Chapter 5: The Pashas and the Representation of Power

The complex and stratified significances of the Divan street as a cultural artefact was built up through many strata of functional, aesthetic and symbolic factors. Its form was the work of the Sultans in a much lesser measure than could be expected. After all, it was not a ceremonial route for the Court alone.

One layer of symbolic and formal significance was due to the action of Pasha patrons of the late 17th and of the 18th century. It is commonly held that the Divanyolu was so named because of the traffic of Pashas and of their crowded retinues from the Divan to and from their palaces. Those palaces— *konak* and *saray*—were interchangeable, and often changed ownership and tenure. This, added to the fact that any procession would have its start or its point of arrival at the Pasha's or vizier's residence or at the imperial ladies' Eski Saray, meant that the ceremonial routes would branch off towards the specific *konak* or *saray*, and that the Divanyolu could have been perceived as a fasciculus of routes fanning out to the surrounding street system.

The scene of the daily processions of Pashas and members of the Divan plying at least twice a week between the Palace and their *konaks* was in itself a paradigm of power: their own power and that of the state they served. The main thoroughfare and its side streets had become, whatever their architectural coherence or disorder, a theatre for the powerful. In time, acquiring formal articulation through architectural monuments—the pashas had inserted into the urban scene small and medium-size *vakıf* building compounds and their accessorial elements: *türbe*, *hazire* walls, *sebil*...—the paradigm grew into a metaphor of power. It produced a coherent street architecture obtained strictly through the dialectics of these accessorial elements, independent but mutually sympathetic.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Lacking explicit graphic documentation of the preceding period, we can only presume, on the basis of typological analysis, that the Divanyolu acquired architectural coherence, in some stretches and only during and after the 17th century through a peculiar composition and design of the pasha ensembles. The deep unity

More and more, in the 17th and the 18th centuries, that power took less ephemeral material forms of representation. The distant view of the Sultan's magnificence sometimes edged up to the Divan Yolu but did not dominate it (the Fatih, Şehzade and Beyazıt mosques were exceptions). The Pashas' tombs and *hazire* and schools and libraries crowded the view. And they were there to stay.

Of course, the milieu of the Pashas and the Court were not entirely separate entities. The many marriages, symbolic or factual, of Sultan Ibrahim's daughters to the Pashas he wanted to promote or favour, were enhanced by festive processions with ornamental *nahl* carried through the streets to the Topkapı Saray. The "jewel-clad *cariyes*" (concubines) his viziers offered him, too, went the same way. One of the most important of these *gelin* or *çeyiz alayı* recounted by Naima was that of Fazlı Pasha and the Sultan's eldest daughter. The magnificent procession started near the mint (presumably in Tavşantaşı, south of Beyazıt), passed by the Kenan Pasha Saray into the Eski Saray, where the Sadrazam with the costly *nahl* and precious gifts, the viziers and the Şeyhülislam, and other grandees accompanied the bride in a coach, through the *kuşbaç* (bird-sellers' shops and stands) to the Atmeydan and from there, to Topkapı Palace.⁹⁰

of these constructions, which tend to build up a harmonious scene, is lost when the single monuments or parts of monuments remain isolated—much has been demolished—or have been studied out of context.

⁹⁰ Naima, *Naima Tarihi*, 1756. As often happened, eaves and *çıkma* bow windows had to be demolished for the passage of the *nahl* in the narrow streets from the mint to Eski Saray.

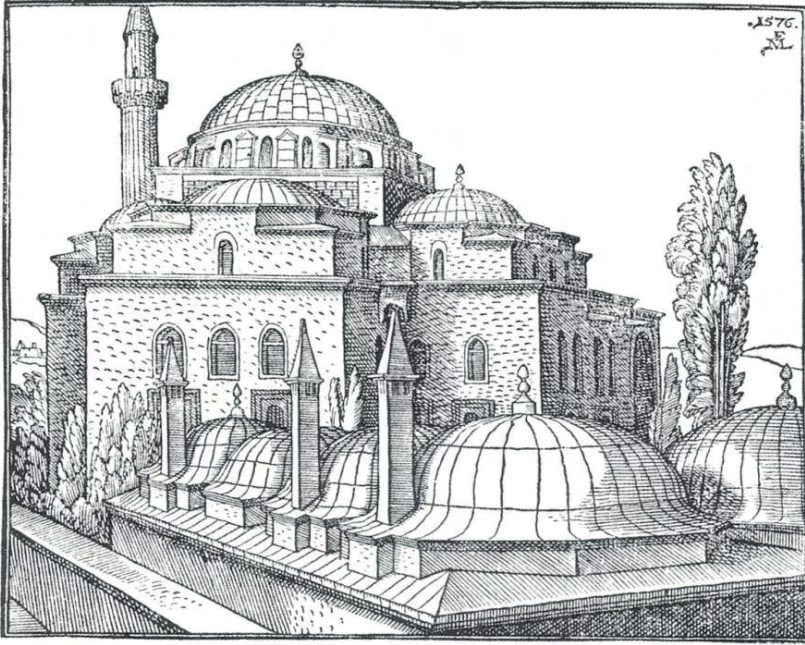


Fig. 24: *Pasha mosque on the Divanyolu; Alik Ali Pasha in Çemberlitaş, 1496-97.*

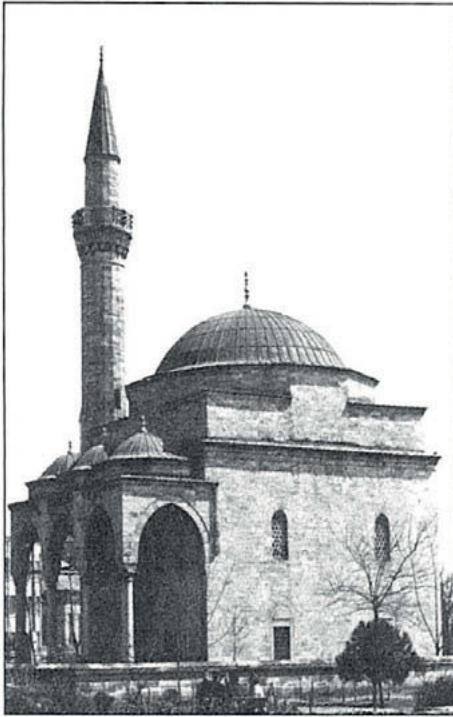


Fig. 25: Pasha mosque on the Divanyolu; Fıruz Ağâ, 1490.



Fig.: 26: Pasha mosque on the Divanyolu; Nişancı Mehmet Paşa, 1584-88.

From the point of view of patronage, and consequently, from that of site selection, functional and dimensional aspects of the vakıf endowed, there were noteworthy differences between the after-16th century Pasha endowments and the earlier ones, and, generally, of those of the Sultans.

Especially in terms of urban and architectural policies and siting.⁹¹ Most of the mosques on the axis dated from the 15th and 16th centuries when the Sultans and the Pashas, perhaps then much closer to the Sultan's power structure, focused on the *nahiye* structure of the city and its urbanization, and less on their personal and family piety.⁹² Similarly, most Divan axis mescit were founded in the Fatih and Beyazıt periods.

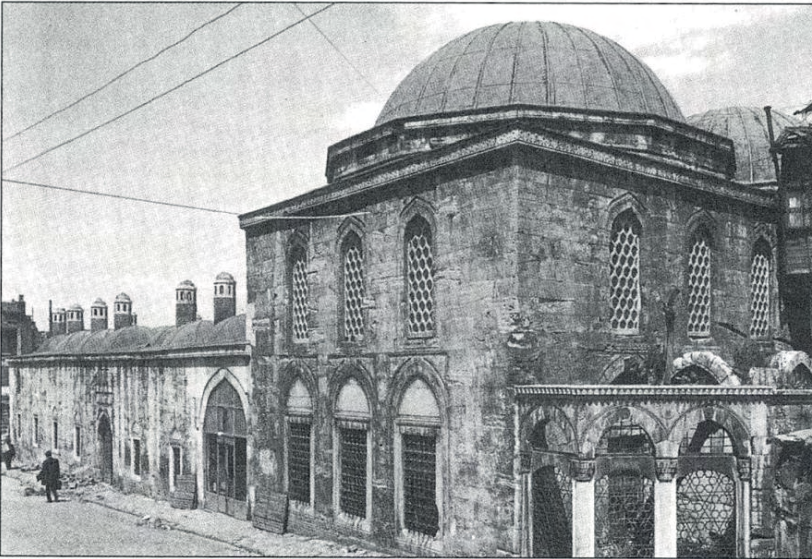
Mausoleums and *bağire* (small urban burial grounds within a *keülliyeye*), associated to small *medrese*, were far more important in giving shape to the current and architectural fabric of the street. Of the 106 Sadrazam tombs documented, 25 are concentrated on the eastern tract of the Divan axis between Firuz Ağa and Aksaray, 39 are in Eyüp and Üsküdar, and only 42 are dispersed in all the rest of *intra muros* Istanbul.⁹³ The main group is within the *keülliyeye* of the Köprülü, Çorlulu, and Merzifonlu families. The *medresetürbe* combination was a typical form of the emergent pashas' donations from the end of the 16th to mid 18th centuries and gave the Divanyolu a specific architectural character.⁹⁴ The *türbe* were surrounded by cemeteries for the Pasha families and followers, and sometimes were accompanied by *sebils* and fountains.

⁹¹ See fig. 2, map of the principal *vakıf* on and around the Divan Yolu. Note how the 16th to 18th century Sultan *vakıf* stand off the axis.

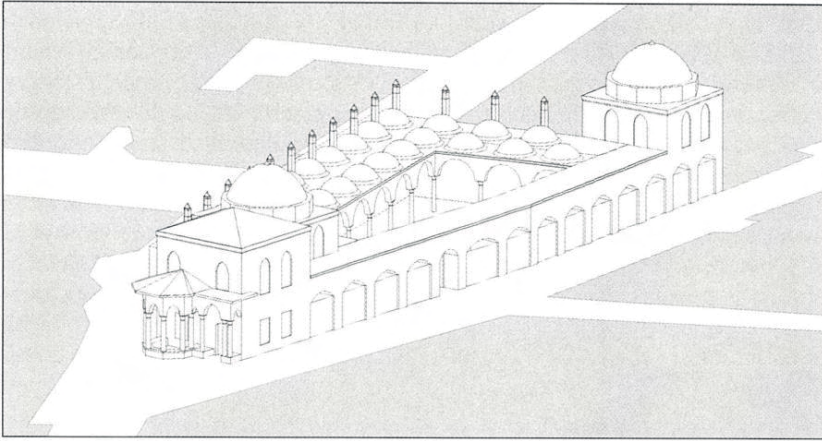
⁹² See Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Vizieral Undertakings in the Making of Ottoman Istanbul", in *Art Turc/Turkish Art—Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Turkish Arts*, Genève: 1999, 409-13.

⁹³ See: M. Orhan Bayrak, *İstanbul'da Gömülü Meşhur Adamlar (1453-1978)*, İstanbul 1978; Hakkı Önkal, *Osmanlı Hanedan Türbeleri*, Ankara: 1992. See also our findings in Chapter 6, notes 107-08.

⁹⁴ Kuran sees the origin of this new form of *türbe-medrese* complex in Sinan's Eyüp Sokullu complex taken up by Davut Agha and other Sinan disciples (Aptullah Kuran, *Sinan—the grand old master of Ottoman architecture*, Washington-Istanbul: AKA Press 1987, 132).



Medrese complexes on the Divanyolu. Fig. 27: *Gazanfer Ağa*, 1596. Fig. 28: *Ekmekçiade Abmet Pasha*, first decade 17th century.



Medrese complexes on the Divanyolu. Fig. 29: Kuyucu Murat Pasba, around 1610. Fig. 30: Seyyit Hasan Pasba, 1745.

The hold of some important vizier families on the central part of the axis and their capability to maintain their representative status by architectural means is impressive. The Divan Yolu would not be

what it has been architecturally and spatially without the *türbe* and *hazire* of Köprülü, Çorlulu, Merzifonlu or Amcazade. A grand vizier might be demoted (almost all were) and even be decapitated (quite a few were), his *konaks* and *yalis* confiscated. And yet his mausoleum and the tombs of his sons and family, of his people would be there to remain and mark the urban scene.

Obviously, it is the *vakıf* institution which insured that durability. But it is not the sole factor. The great power the pashas had acquired from the end of the 16th century up to the reign of Ahmet III (1703-1730) can be explained also with most sultans' indifference to the problems of the city (they had preferred living in Edirne during an over fifty year period), and indirectly with the weight acquired by the ladies of the court. Istanbul was left in the hands of *kaymakams*. Favourite pashas and court officials mediated court intrigues through the court ladies and obtained positions of prominence and influenced decisions concerning the city. Mantran holds that the Kızlar Ağası (the palace Chief Eunuch) had substantial power on the *vakıf* because he could assign the sites and uphold a cause in presence of the sultan and the sultanas.⁹⁵ Of course those positions of privilege were risky. Even in the less unstable 18th century, derogations and the overturning of positions brought confusion in urban policies. One example was that of the Grand Vizier Seyyit Hasan. In mid century had prevailed the decision not to build any more *hans* within the city walls, but the pasha obtained a special derogation from the Sultan and built the important *han* on the Divanyolu to finance the maintenance of that other important religious foundation, his *medrese* on the bifurcated branch of the Divanyolu. Nevertheless, pressure was put on the Sultan, and the pasha was decapitated because he had circumvented the prohibition! And yet his tomb and buildings are still there, and many other *hans* would be built in the following eighty years!

All this changed in the course of the 19th century, (see Chapters 7 and 10), and *konaks* and burial space passed into new hands.

(MC)

⁹⁵ Mantran *Istanbul*, 173.

Chapter 6: Change and Variations

The comparative study of available maps drawn over a period of three centuries and of the architectural typology reveals noteworthy changes, and even blatant contradictions and conflicts of 'planning' ideology and aesthetic attitudes in the Divan axis. This is particularly true after the Tanzimat period, but great differences in width, layout and geometry of the system can be discerned more or less in all periods.

To what degree were the differences perceived over the centuries in the layout of the axis due to effective mutations, and to what degree to subjective or to the cultural differences of the observers?

I have already observed that the deformation of the street layout in pre-18th century maps does not suggest an effective change in physical form (see Chapter 2). Buondelmonti, who had seen in pre-Ottoman Constantinople some columns of the Mese standing, nevertheless traces frankly curved paths between the monuments. To counterbalance this apparent lack of straight streets in the Byzantine city, we have Vavassore's later image of a hesitating but vaguely linear street from Ayasofya up to Constantine's column (fig. 6). Which is true to life? The Divan axis was traced or re-traced across vast, once urban, but at the time semi-void (or even semi-rural) space. After 1453 it had been re-urbanized at points. Not all new public uses were kept throughout the Ottoman period: many *vakıf* buildings decayed or were abandoned, others were renovated where patrons saw fit. Fires gutted the quarters through which the axis ran. All this enhanced a sense of continuous transformation and contributed to the unfinished aspect of the city.

Street naming, too, was ambiguous. Written sources rarely allow us to identify streets with the precision of position and path that morphological analysis requires. Nevertheless, we can conclude that some streets did lose their relevance and were replaced by others running in the same direction; that more than one street formed the main course; that deviations were so frequent that sometimes side streets took on the function of the main street. This is very evident around Beyazıt *meydan* and the Old Palace and immediately East and South of the Fatih complex. In both cases it is probably the growth of the shopping districts and of their street mesh that deviated the route from its previous linear (though never straight) course.

On the whole, the pattern of change in the course of time does not show a chronological progression of expansion or densification outwards from the centre, a process of building or renewal starting from the centre and working out to the city walls. The chronology of the monuments and the divagations of the lane confirm that urbanization, or better, Ottomanisation, invested from the very beginning the whole historic peninsula within the Theodosian walls—a vast and sparsely built territory—siting monumental buildings and collective functions along the entire axis in points disparate and sometimes quite peripheral. There was no grand princely plan but only individual *vakıf* donations, hence individual decision-making. The two complexes founded by Ali Pasha the Old (Atik) at both ends of the axis with no attempt to concentrate on an enclave or single street scene to imprint the endower's will and vision on the city in a grand design, are typical of this process. The classical period foundations (roughly of the 1520-1650 period) are dispersed over the whole length of the thoroughfare. On the contrary, the 17th and 18th century foundations tend to concentrate, with some rare exceptions, in the tract between Fatih and Çemberlitaş (see plates VI, VII).

Frequent changes in property, use and form, and the transience of a large part of the artefacts (timber housing, easily dismantled precinct walls) rendered it very difficult to maintain a recognizable formal asset of the axis at any period. Fires had a determinant role in the phenomenon of continuous change of the city image.⁹⁶ Change came also because building, demolition and rebuilding, rehabilitation of decaying structures were diffuse activities all over the axis at all times. So many mosques, fountains, palaces have been rebuilt, reconverted, or merely repaired and re-dedicated by new patrons,

⁹⁶ See: İnalçık “İstanbul”, 247-48, and the entries “İstanbul”, “Mustafa III”, “Osman II” and “Selim III” in *Düünden bugüne İstanbul*: great fires touched the area in 1718 and in 1757; the Kapalıçarşı was restored after the great earthquake of 1767; in 1808 the fire that broke out in the Cebeciler janissary barracks ravaged the districts of Ayasofya, Sultan Ahmet and Divan Yolu. Because of the 1812 cholera epidemic the *bekâr odaları* (bachelor rooms in *hans* and shanties) were demolished. Fires broke out in 1826 in the Grand bazaar, and in 1827 around the Şehzade Acemi barracks, in 1865 in Hoca Pasha.

that the date of their first foundation and that of effective construction of the standing monument are hopelessly intermixed for all but the most important and well studied cases.⁹⁷

The perception of continuous transformation, of juxtaposed decay and new grandeur, is true of all pre-modern great historical centres in the Mediterranean.⁹⁸ Rome was an arcadia of ruins, fields, empty lots and of monuments ancient and contemporary. In Istanbul, great fires, the typological trend to low densities and garden enclosures, the transient tenure of palaces and *konak*, the not so rare abandonment of *vakıf* buildings (both confirmed by chronicles and documents) accentuated the feeling of continuous transformation. The diffusion of provisional booths and sheds, which we can see in drawings and photographs, must have aggravated that feeling and rendered, in any epoch, difficult to perceive the monumental aspects of the overall structure. Street level rose or dropped at even greater rates than in Rome.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Reconstruction and reuse were particularly important in the tract between Ayasofya and Beyazıt. One example of reuse of a site is that of the Çorlulu Ali Pasha complex near Parmakkapı (now Çarşıkapı), which is believed to have been built on the site of the old Simkeşhane (gilding workshops) after being bought from its patroness who built the larger and renewed Simkeşhane Han in Beyazıt. See *Garden of the Mosques* 28, 86; and also, İnalçık “Istanbul”, 241. This is a simple case because architecturally both buildings were new.

⁹⁸ As Kostof asserts “...in cities only change endures...all cities are caught in a balancing act between destruction and preservation...deterioration of the urban fabric isa constant”. Spiro Kostof, *The city assembled: the elements of urban form through history*, London: Thames and Hudson 1992, 105, 280, 290.

⁹⁹ In Imperial Rome the ground level rose 120 cm from the Augustan to the Constantine period. In İstanbul, writes İnciciyan (*XVIII. Asırda*, 67-69) the column of Constantine had its base 5 meters (sic) under street level. The grading of the Divanyolu after 1867 brought around a drop of street level in front of the Mahmut II funerary complex, giving it its queer look raised on rhetorically monumental steps.

Another sign of change in the course of time was the increasing cultural and political introversion of *intra muros* Istanbul from the 16th century up to the 19th as opposed to Galata and the port quarters. This certainly gave distinctive functional attributes to the Divan axis (within which the western tract took on an even more introverted character), and practically meant closure to the activities of foreign residents. As a matter of fact, Elçi Han (sometimes called by foreigners Teutsche Haus), which had been the residence of foreign emissaries and merchants in the 16th century, ceased to be so around mid 17th when it was allocated to the representatives of vassal states. International trade, leisure activities not of Turkish-Ottoman character developed elsewhere. So did administrative functions as Bâbüali took over the functions once dealt in the individual pasha *konaks*. Retail commerce, Ottoman type leisure activities, housing and religious activities augmented. But, as we shall see, the second half of the 19th century brought a very interesting inversion of trends. For a few decades, not only Western style theatres and cinemas but also internationally linked activities took root along the axis.¹⁰⁰ So much so, that between roughly 1880 and 1920 the throbbing and modernising heart of the city was centred in the Şehzade-Firuz Ağa tract, a sort of *ante litteram* Beyoğlu-Taksim.

Perhaps the most important changes in the place of the various tracts of the axis in the town structure and their symbolic weight became manifest after 1860, but it was a phenomenon in preparation

¹⁰⁰ Was the settlement of certain United States agencies on and near the axis, around the end of the 19th century and during the Allied occupation of the city, a sign of the return of foreign agencies to a district of increasing importance and tending to modernise? See the Pervititch maps which show an American Hospital in a *konak* near the Kara Mustafa *medrese*, the YMCA in Beyazıt (*Jacques Pervititch sigorta haritalarında İstanbul: İstanbul in the insurance maps of Jacques Pervititch*, İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı, 2000). I am told by Paolo Girardelli of Boğaziçi University that the *American Bible House* (or *Han*) was in Mercan, east of the Serasker (ex Old Palace) area in a building designed by Giorgio Domenico Stampa, İstanbul architect of Italian origin, and that the Armenian Protestant church in Gedikpaşa (founded 1830, built 1911), just south of the Divanyolu must have been connected to American missionary activity.

for over a century: the gradual shift in functional-political weight from the Topkapı-Ayasofya-Çemberlitaş route to the Bâbüali-Çemberlitaş route. Since 1654, when the Grand Vizier Halil Pasha's *konak* near the Alay Köşk had been confiscated,¹⁰¹ it had become, on and off for the next decades, the residence and office of the Grand Vizier in charge. From the first decades of the 18th century it was the permanent seat of the government and its growing bureaucratic services.¹⁰² This ensued in a conspicuous shift of activities from the Topkapı Palace to Bâbüali, hence a partial transfer in ceremonial symbolism and a tangible shift in effective urban traffic to and from the city's centre and main routes. And yet, for many more decades, at least till 1848, there was no direct connection between Bâbüali and the Bazaar district, which had to be reached either through Mahmut Pasha or through the Divanyolu by Ayasofya.¹⁰³ It is therefore surprising that in the planning of the Nuruosmaniye building compound, ninety years before that devious connection changed, the main entrance to the Bazaar had been enhanced by the route across the two gates of the outer court: a very strong preliminary statement for the design of a street aimed at the Bâbüali district.¹⁰⁴ By 1880 this state of things had thoroughly changed with the opening of the Nuruosmaniye and Bâbüali main streets. But the forerunner of that transformation was Mahmut the Second's funerary complex, an urban hinge underlining the passage from one axis to the other in topography and symbolism, linking as it did the new focuses of the emerging Tanzimat: the seat of government and the more dynamic aspects of 'modern' commercial and urban functions.¹⁰⁵ The Bâbüali-

¹⁰¹ Robert Mantran, *La Vie Quotidienne à Constantinople aux temps de Soliman le Magnifique et de ses successeurs (XVI^e et XVII^e siècles)*, Paris: Hachette 1965, 36-41.

¹⁰² Mehmet Nermi Haskan, *Hükümet kapısı, Bab-ı Ali: kuruluşundan Cumhuriyet'e kadar*, İstanbul: Çelik Gülersoy Vakfı 2000.

¹⁰³ See for example, the Kauffer, Melling and Moltke maps and the 1848 Mühendishane survey (figs. 8, 9, 10).

¹⁰⁴ I have dwelt in detail on this question in Cerasi "Perspective".

¹⁰⁵ For later dramatic transformations—the reorganization proposals of the "Islahat-ı Turuk" urban street reform commission (1865-69) at work after the great Hocapaşa fire—see Çelik *Remaking*, 48-52. The proposals included the conservation of monuments, a symmetrical rearrangement of the Mahmut II mausoleum, the

Nuruosmaniye-Çarşı direction absorbed interests which in precedence were concentrated on the Topkapı Palace-Ayasofya-Çemberlitaş direction, freeing this last from urban density, giving it, so to speak, more breath for upper education, important official departments and monumental open space. It was not only a return of the dead Sultan's return to the Divanyolu. It was also a very strong takeover of the new state bureaucracy of symbolic space from the old Pashas.

I have already mentioned the change in size from the grand masonry palaces of the Classical period to the smaller but still large timber *konaks* dominating the 18th century scene in the midst of modest current housing. In the 19th century their size further diminished, but they became more diffuse. Some had front gardens separated from the street by walls, but mostly they had lateral or backyard gardens and they were constituted of the same architectural elements of the typical middle-class housing of traditional Istanbul, though they were more refined and very much larger.¹⁰⁶

An important historical factor of change came from the out spill of government activities out of the Bâbîâli area into the Divanyolu, and in general, from the emergence, during the last decades of the 19th century, of an upper-middle-class environment of *konaks*, coffeehouses and leisure activities of various types in the eastern tract of the axis. This went so far as to affect the funereal status of the axis. The surviving tombs nearest to the street front in the Çorlulu, Köprülü, Atik Ali and Koca Sinan *hazîre* are mostly of the 19th century.¹⁰⁷ Though inhumation was always in peripheral cemeteries

definition of the Divan Yolu as a “*cadde-i cesim*”, and d tramway line.

¹⁰⁶ The educational reform of the last decades of the 19th century, taking over some typical timber *konaks* broke the masonry tradition of Ottoman *medrese* and *sibyan mektebi* as can be seen in the schools section of the Sultan Abdül Hamit photographic collection. The author remembers many state offices standing in the Fifties of the 20th century which had obviously been such *konaks*.

¹⁰⁷ Of course, these *hazîre* have been subjected to various disturbances. I must mention some of our findings after a partial and preliminary survey on the tombs along the Divanyolu in four

after 1860-70,¹⁰⁸ the positions most visible from the street were still allotted to prominent persons. Most research conclusions point to a change in patronage and user category in the area, and a gradual appropriation of the 'aristocratic' or Pasha burial sites. Members of the higher and middle levels of Palace and Bâbüali bureaucracy, military and civilian, took over. The very large *hazire* of the Mahmut II ensemble was plausibly meant to assert this trend. It combines monumentality, symbolism and public and private piety in contact with residential urban life and within a well-defined space continuum, a very 'bourgeois' combination. Significantly, such mutations are completely absent from the socially more conservative tract west of Fatih.¹⁰⁹

building compounds. There has been considerable turnover of tombstones (very few pre-1800 tombs have survived). The tombs facing the street in the Çorlulu, Köprülü, Atik Ali e Koca Sinan are mainly of the 18th and 19th centuries, well after their foundation. It is to be presumed that the older tombstones have been substituted. The preliminary surveys were conducted for this program by Prof. Yücel Demirel, Dr. Aygül Ağır, Dr. Tarkan Okçuoğlu, Dr. Deniz Mazlum, for epigraphy and dating, and architect Emiliano Bugatti and Sabrina D'Agostino for architectural elements. There is a large amount of tombstones marking the burial-place of late 18th and 19th century personalities and their familiars in positions visible from the Divanyolu. Of the 35 tombs facing the street examined in the Köprülü *hazire*, 2 were of the first half of the 19th century and 3 of the second half; in that of Atik Ali they were respectively 40 and 7 out of 76; in that of Koca Sinan 16 and 14 out of 67; in that of Çorlulu Ali 16 and 7 out of 38. Considering the great number of illegible tombstones, this is a very high proportion. Almost all the rest are of the 18th century. Only 8 were of the 17th century, none earlier.

¹⁰⁸ The outer cemeteries of Eyüp and Üsküdar were the main burial areas. Only important personalities could be buried in central areas. Apparently, the reuse of tombs (theoretically forbidden) in central *hazire* was current practice for the privileged.

¹⁰⁹ See Edhem Eldem, "Istanbul: from imperial to peripheralized capital", in *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999, 135-206, at p. 202:

This level of change in social milieu and in urban life had, for almost eighty years up to the early 1940s, an important place in intellectual and middleclass opinion's nostalgic perception of the 'Istanbul tradition'. It has been described in memoirs, and in the literary evocation of atmospheres, but has scarcely been registered in images.¹¹⁰

The Goad and the Pervititch maps,¹¹¹ as well as the few extant 19th century photographs, suggest that at the end of that century, 'modern' urban activities and types had inserted themselves in the existing fabric in a spontaneous and haphazard process; that some timber *konaks* and traditional houses survived among the dense sprawl of commercial buildings around the Bazaar and Mahmut Pasha; that 'European-wise' street enlargement and avenue-making coexisted with fragments of traditional urban fabric and Ottoman monuments, creating a bewildering and complex situation much like urban periphery in Western Europe or early American 'down-town'.

The continuous upheaval of functions and buildings allowed a lasting architectural mark, coherent in its grammar and urban logic,

“As with the Empire as a whole, Istanbul began to reflect a growing divide between modernity and tradition. While some of its parts adapted to the new functions and roles assigned to them, a great portion of the city, unable to conform to the new conjuncture, began to decay and stagnate.” Eldem appears to see this process much later than I do, during a phase of “*explosion of the city outward*” when the upper classes move their residence out of the *intra muros* city and only the administrative centre remains on the Divanyolu. Considering the subtler functional changes the Divan axis reflects, I believe that the “*option of asserting a more traditional or conservative stand by staying within the perimeter of the walled city*” (ibid. 204) is not quite true before the turn of the century.

¹¹⁰ For the curious ellipsis of current residential aspects of the Divanyolu abundantly photographed during the second half of the 19th century by well-known professional photographers for its monumental and picturesque scenery of public buildings, street vendors etc., see my 2002 essay (now in print): Maurice Cerasi, “The Perception of the Divanyolu through Ottoman History”, in: *Essays in Honour of Professor Afife Batur*, eds. A. Ağır and N. Akın, Istanbul: Literatur [2004].

¹¹¹ Insurance maps of Pervititch (see *Pervititch sigorta*).

only through the 17th and 18th centuries, certainly not a long period in the sixteen-century long history of the axis. The changes, which came later, left only contradictory signals, did not ‘Westernise’ the axis, nor gave meaning to the Ottoman elements (see Chapter 10).

(MC)

Chapter 7: The Urban Scene: Order and Chaos

The processional routes and the frequent and very ceremonial passages of Pashas did not occur within an architecturally pure and abstract theatre stage. Theirs was a background of ordinary and confuse urban events and elements.

There is an amusing and apparently insignificant detail in the description of the after-Divan exit ceremonial Es'ad Efendi, a late 18th century official, proposes in his "*Teşrifat-ı kadime*", book of court ceremonial regulations.¹¹² The ceremonial had a slow and elaborate protocol. The Pashas and viziers move to their own palace (*saray* or *konak*) or *kapı* (residence and office of the Grand Vizier, *Paşa Kapısı*, of the commander of the janissaries, *Ağa Kapısı*, and of the Şeyhülislâm, *Fetva Kapısı*) only after all have exited from the palace and, once outside, have greeted each other formally, in a hierarchically complicated protocol. During which ceremony, each Pasha and his retinue waits outside the Bab-ü Hümayun, each in his established position: to the left or right of the gate, in front or around the *sebil* etc. It was a long ceremony in full sight of the town people. Some positions, says Es'ad Efendi, are by the *bakkal* (grocer) or in front of other shops. *Bakkals* and Pashas together, certainly not on the same footing (those were not times of equality and democracy), but within the same architectural scene! That is Divanyolu, and that is, in good measure, Ottoman Istanbul! On one hand we have a strict ceremonial, on the other, the pulsating life and disorder of the city, all within the one and same scene. The hieratic representation of power and faith (high-slung greetings, turbans of shape and colour chosen according to ceremony and status...) vying with the disorder and casual happenings of common people (vulgar shouts, movement of goods and people in confusion). This contrast can be transposed into similar conflicts in aesthetic order and sense of propriety: there is strict order in some architectural and urban forms as opposed to the clever acceptance of casual coexistence in others.

The Divan axis (including the Divanyolu proper) was also the main thoroughfare of a busy and bustling town. Hence it was a cross-

¹¹² Es'ad Efendi, *Osmanlılarda Töre ve Törenler (Teşrifat-ı kadime)*, İstanbul: 1979, 86-91. Es'ad Efendi (1790-1848) had been *Kadı* of İstanbul and ambassador to the Persian court.

section of the Istanbul ruling classes' ambitions and of its daily life and of the dubious battle between the two.¹¹³

¹¹³ The most important physical (and not merely ceremonial or economic) impact of the court's presence in the city was that of the Old Palace in Bayezit. Residence of court ladies not directly associated to the reigning Sultan, it generated movement to and from the Topkapı Palace, and was the origin or destination of many *alay* processions. It was a large interruption and void in the continuum of urban activities in a very central area. It is true that it had various gates (Evliya *Narrative of travels* Book I, 113; see also Hammer *Constantinopolis*, I 322)—eastwards the Divan gate, southwards the Beyazıt gate, to the north the Süleymaniye gate, but it is also true that in the 18th century only the eastern gate towards Mercan Çarşı was open (İnciciyan *XVIII. Asırda*, 32-34).

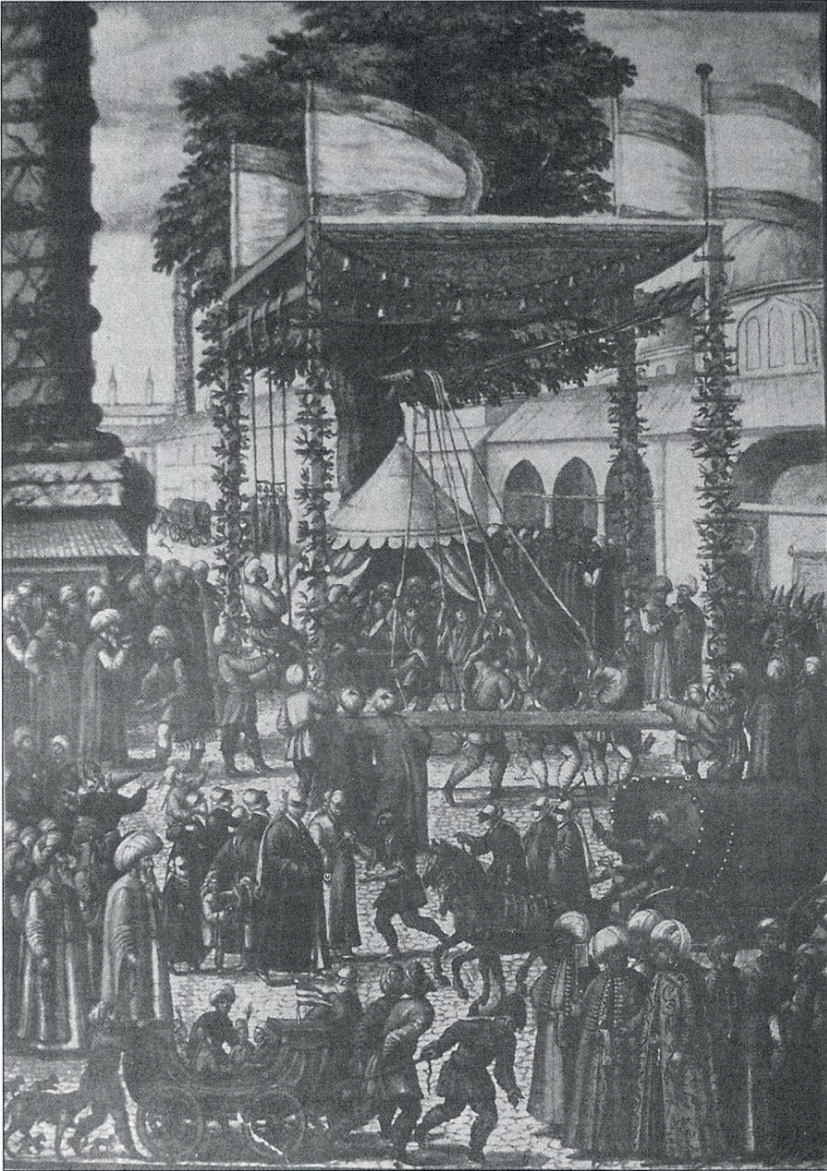


Fig. 31: *A procession, monuments, popular feast and shops around Çemberlitaş (the column of Constantine) in the 17th century. Vienna, National Library, codex 8626.*

Travellers could not help noting this main street and its configuration though they did not constantly call it Divan Yolu. It was “*large, droite*

et de plain-pied...”¹¹⁴, “...l’endroit de C. le plus habité et le plus élevé...”¹¹⁵ “...lunghissima... larga e piana per l’alto de’ colli, e quasi sempre dritta...”¹¹⁶ Della Valle mentions that it could be travelled through in a litter born by four mules.¹¹⁷ Probably its width varied around the same 3.6 to 6 meters observed at the beginning of the 19th century.¹¹⁸ For Pitton de Tournefort “...la seule rue qui va du Serrail à la porte d’Andrinople est praticable, les autres sont serrées, obscures, profondes...”¹¹⁹ Of the “rue d’Andrinople ...” he adds “...après avoir bien considéré cette rue la plus longue & la plus large de la ville, ordinairement on va se promener aux Basars ou Bezestins...”¹²⁰; in other words, he had the impression that real urban life was in the Bazaar and much less so on the Divan Yolu.

Commercial activities and centre of the town

In the Byzantine epoch the eastern tract of the axis had been the busiest part of the town, especially around the Forum of Constantine.¹²¹

¹¹⁴ Mantran *Vie*, 43 quotes Quiclet, *Les voyages de M. Quiclet à Constantinople*, Paris: 1664, 164: [la rue] “large, droite et de plein-pied... [où] le Grand Seigneur... etc... y font leurs plus magnifiques entrées.”

¹¹⁵ *Lettres du Baron de Busbecq, Ambassadeur de Ferdinand I ... auprès de Soliman II...*, Paris 1748 (French translation of Busbecq de Ghislaine, *Itinera Constantinopolitanum & Amazianum* 1581), II 17.

¹¹⁶ Della Valle *Viaggio*, 56-57.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 304. Incidentally he also mentions that Buondelmonti had seen there a “colonnato” (part of an arcade street or a few free-standing columns?) which apparently he could not find. See also Benvenge *Viaggio di Levante*, 219: a “lettica, che direi forse stanza portatile” carried by four mules took part in the procession.

¹¹⁸ See Ergin *Mecelle*, II 1003-1005: the width of the pre-1860 Divanyolu varied from 5 *zirâ* (around 3 m) in front of Firuz Ağa mosque to 5-7 *zirâ* by the Mahmud 11 mausoleum. Our interpretation of pre-1865 photographs and engravings suggest somewhat larger widths (Appendix to Chapter 10).

¹¹⁹ Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d’un voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du Roy*, Lyon: 1717, II 183.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, II 230-31.

¹²¹ Ebersolt *Constantinople: recueil*, 74, for street and market affluence.

Mantran has widely described the dislocation of commerce and other urban functions in the town in the 16th and 17th centuries.¹²² From the *bedesten* three streets proceed towards Şehzade, Sarraçhane (the market east of Fatih) and Mahmud Pasha and the Golden Horn, that is, towards the main commercial and crafts districts. The concentrations along the axis, as well as in the direction of Aksaray, however important, are not as vital as the directions perpendicular to the axis.¹²³ The density of commercial activity is huge near the Golden Horn and the Mahmut Pasha district,¹²⁴ whereas the surroundings of the Bedesten and Beyazıt absorb commercial activities of higher value, which do not require large storage space. The Bazaar area contains some 4000 shops in the Bazaar proper, in the *hans* and in the surrounding streets. Shops dealing in foodstuffs and books were in the exterior of the bazaar. The Beyazıt area was the centre for booksellers (*sahaf*) and one of the areas with the highest concentration of public entertainment activities.¹²⁵ The Divan Yolu held four physician's shops.¹²⁶ There were no weekly markets near the Divan axis except that of Çarşamba, a few hundred paces north of the axis. The road to Edirne was very important,¹²⁷ and consequently, though not a great commercial attraction in itself, the Divan axis had a claim to a vital urban role. *Han* construction on the axis was consistent, if not as thick as in the area between Kapalıçarşı and the port: Vezir Han (1661 circa), Elçi Han, Simkeşhane, Hasan Pasha Han, Sabuncu Han, Şekerci Han were all on the way out of the centre of the town into the European continent.¹²⁸ Also, the main customs area was in Karagümrük (land customs in Turkish) well within the city walls.

¹²² Mantran *Istanbul*, 38-39.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 414-15.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 452-467 and plates 11 to 14 for the emplacement of activities.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 499. The entertainment activities, according to Evliya's *Narrative of travels*, employed 15.000 people.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 498 (reported from Altınay, *Hicri Onikinci asırda*). However, the main medical concentrations were in Galata and Hocapaşa.

¹²⁷ Mantran *Istanbul*, 479.

¹²⁸ See: Ceyhan Güran, *Türk Hanlarının Gelişimi ve İstanbul Hanları Mimarisi*, İstanbul: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü [1976].

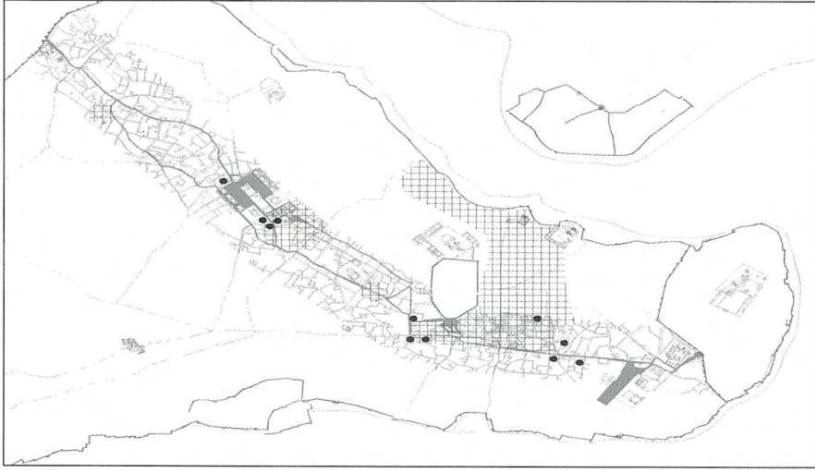
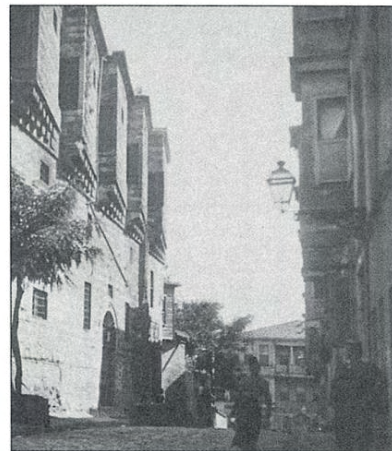
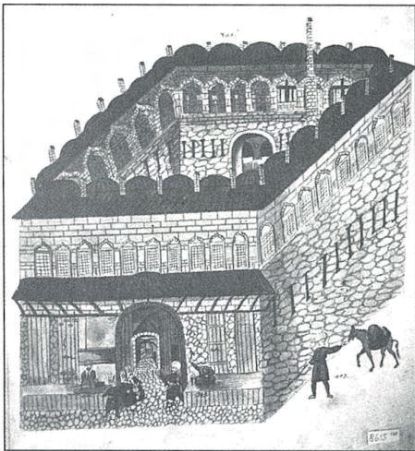


Fig. 32: *The main commercial activities. The main concentrations are the hatched areas: Saraçhane, south-east of the Fatih complex; Şehzadebaşı and Beyazıt; from the Divanyolu up to the Golden Horn. The dots indicate some important hans on the axis.*



Hans. Fig. 33 Main entrance gate to the Hasan Pasha Han. Fig. 34 Elçi Han. Fig. 35 Side elevation of the Hasan Paşa Han (note the housing fabric on the opposite side of the street).

It would seem that in the 17th century there were no taverns, entertainment and music in the central area,¹²⁹ but things drastically changed in the second half of the 19th century, bringing to light functions and structures perhaps first out of sight. The abolition of the janissary corps in Şehzade freed buildings and plots, which had been used by this corps.¹³⁰ The shops and taverns frequented by the janissaries converted to civilian uses. The district formed the first large concentration of teahouses, coffee-shops in which *meddah* and *karagöz* performed, and later of theatres and cinemas,¹³¹ outside of the Galata-Pera district across the Golden Horn. Towards the end of the 19th century the Çemberlitaş-Beyazıt tract of the Divanyolu¹³²

¹²⁹ This must have been a recent process. Mantran *Vie*, 279-281, quotes Evliya: the main entertainment activities (taverns, musical entertainment, ill-famed *kaymakçı* (creameries) are in Unkapanı, Cibali, Galata, Tophane and even Eyüp, all very distant from the Divan axis.

¹³⁰ Süheyl Ünver, “Yeniçeri kışlaları”, *Bellekten*, 160 XL [1976].

¹³¹ See: Necdet Sakaoglu and Nuri Akbayar, *A thousand days and a thousand nights: the world of entertainment in Istanbul from Ottoman times to the present day*, Istanbul: Denizbank c1999, 170-71, 204-07, and on the Direklerarası atmosphere at the beginning of the 20th century, 218-21. See also Metin And, *Türk tiyatrosu tarihi*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları 1994 [Metin And, *A History of Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey*, Ankara 1963-64]; Metin And, *Karagöz: Turkish shadow theatre*, Ankara: Dost Yayınları 1975; *Dünden bugüne İstanbul* various articles on traditional *ortaoyunu* (“Ortaoyunu”, VI 146) and Western-style theatre.

¹³² Gérard de Nerval, *Voyage en Orient*, Paris: 1851, 193, watched *karagöz* and *taklid* theatre in Beyazıt square: “La place du Sérasquier [military commander: the military command was then in the Old Palace] est la plus brillante de toutes. Ouverte en triangle, avec les illuminations de deux mosques à droite et à gauche, et dans le fond celles des bâtiments de la guerre, elle présente un large espace aux cavalcades et aux divers cortèges qui la traversent. Un grand nombre d’étalages de marchands ambulants garnissent le devant des maisons, et une dizaine de cafés font assault d’annonces diverses de spectacles, de baladins et d’ombres chinoises.”

possessed a very large number of literary café and *meddah* teahouses.
133

If we can trust the 1810 Seyyit Hasan map and its imperfect record of shop concentrations, the pattern was that of some sparse clusters along the axis and many more appendices branching off the route into bazaars or precincts. This is a very different pattern from that of Western towns and even of some Anatolian and Balkan small towns in which continuous lines of shops in the main street enforced and rendered persistent the urban form, of great consequence to the concept of town architecture and to the perception of architectural space. However, on the whole, it was not the axis itself that had commercial and entertainment functions, but the areas it crossed. The role of the Divan axis in the history of the city was certainly that of a main axis generating urbanization (after all, important markets, activities and monumental complexes had some connection to it and were linked through it), but in itself did not absorb or exhibit all elements of urban imagery.

Houses and palaces

The principal cause of the movement of Pashas through the Divan axis, the distribution of their *kapı* and *konak*, is unfortunately the question we know less of. We have partial lists for various periods, all unsystematical. The Pasha *konaks* and *sarays* (which were, remember, office and residence, centre for their kin, officials and followers, each

¹³³ See for example: the many entries in *Dünden bugüne İstanbul*: “Arif’in Kiraathanesi”, I 305a, “Beyazıt”, II 180, “Çayhaneler”, II 481-82, “Fevziye Kiraathanesi”, III 307-08, “Kiraathaneler », IV 564, and ref. entries, “Direklerarası”, III 60, “Meddahlık”, V 320, “Şehzadebaşı”, VII 155 and ref. entries; R.E. Koçu, art. “Divanyolu Kahvehaneleri” in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 2nd ed., İstanbul: [1958] 1971, 4626. See also: *Cafes d'Orient revisités*, eds. Hélène Desmet-Grégoire and François Georgeon, Paris: CNRS Éditions, c1997, 56; Tibet Aksel “Divanyolu Konakları” in *Sanat ve Folklor*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basimevi 1971, 295-302; Metin And *History of Theatre* and other writings on *karagöz* and *meddah*. For the change in the city life of the upper middle classes see the very interesting diary of an Ottoman ‘bourgeois’ in Paul Dumont and François Georgeon, « Un bourgeois d'Istanbul au début du XX^e siècle », *Turcica*, XVII [1985], 127-182.

a palace in its own rights, each stimulating traffic, commerce and all sorts of urban activities in their neighbourhood) were apparently dislocated, since the 16th century mainly in a not very small area running from the Hippodrome-Kadırga (later Sultan Ahmed) up to Beyazıt and Süleymaniye and down to Vefa, north of the Valens aqueduct.¹³⁴ Almost all of the great masonry palaces of the 16th century had disappeared by the 19th century or even earlier. Certainly in the 18th century, and probably in the 17th, residential architecture, both small and great, was in timber. Maps dating from early 19th to early 20th centuries allow us to recognise many important konaks or small palaces, mostly in wood, in the area. Further occasional information for specific periods can be gleaned from maps such as the 1810 Seyyit Hasan map, covering the area from Çemberlitaş to Edirnekapı, and as the Pervititch and Goad insurance maps that report dimensions and building materials, and sometimes, the name of the konak.

¹³⁴ According to Evliya at least ten grand palaces are on or near the Divan axis: we can mention those of Pertev Pasha in Kovacılar, of Moralı Mustafa Pasha at Acemioglanlar in the Şehzade area, of Koca Kenan Pasha and Mihrimah Sultan in Beyazıt. The Fazlı Paşa *saray* was probably on a site opposite to the actual Mahmut II complex (in art. “İstanbul”, *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988-, 5 ii 1213). Ergin *Mecelle*, I 382: quotes *Tevkîât Abdurrahman Paşa Kanunnamesi* for the rules for the Grand Vizier’s inspection of markets and shops for prices and tax payments: the tour ends in Zeyrekbaşı to return to the official’s own palace on the Divanyolu. Günkut Akın, “Divanyolu Küresi”, *Tarih ve Toplum* 72 [1989], 21-23: the Mahmut II complex was built on the site of the Palace which had been repaired and given in 1792 to Esmâ Sultan (the Younger 1778-1848). *DBI* III, 207. Many such examples can be given.

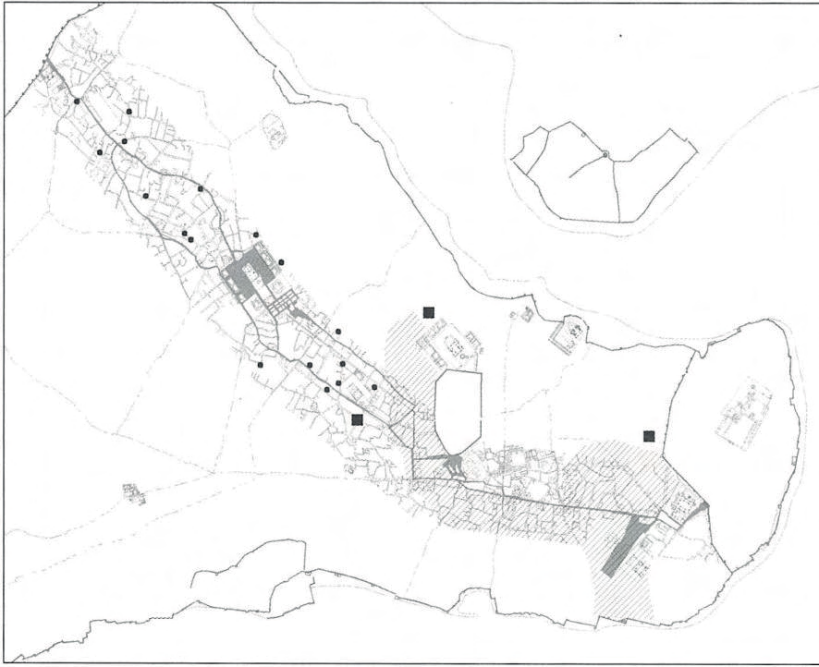


Fig. 36: *Housing and konaks*. The hatched areas are the main concentrations of palaces. The three black squares are: the Old Janissary Barracks (*Eski Odalar*) in Şebzadebaşı, the Ağa Kapısı and Bab-i Ali (grand Vizier's konak and later government house) on the western margin of the Topkapı Palace grounds. The black dots report an unsystematic list of some important konaks on the axis not contained within the previous areas and identified in the 1810 Seyyit Hasan map and other sources.

Not all *konaks* were registered by the sources, which usually ignored the lesser *konaks*. On the other hand, it is reasonable to expect that there was a rapid turnover in plot occupancy, all residential buildings being in wood, fire ravage frequent and land tenure not very solid.

Mantran holds that the area of buildings with administrative roles was more concentrated during the Ottoman 16th and 17th centuries than in the Byzantine epoch, chiefly in the Topkapı-Bâbüâlî quarters.¹³⁵ Probably not all *konaks* were exclusively official seats of the ruling pashas, and there had always been upper-class housing with no official functions as in the late 19th century. The western tracts of the Divan axis have maintained their mix of housing and commercial and public uses up to today. In the Pervititch maps of the Nineteen-twenties even in the densely commercial quarters of the

¹³⁵ Mantran *Vie*, 37.

bazaar district, let alone the Divan axis, we find groups of wooden houses, probably remnants of larger residential ensembles of precedent periods, wedged into strictly commercial and business quarters of masonry build. The character and significance of that presence changed in the course of the 19th century (see chapter 6), because *konaks* and burial space in the *hazire* passed on to the emergent state bureaucracy's leading families. Certainly, during the first decades of the 20th century the Divanyolu area possessed an impressive heritage of middle-size and smallish *konaks*, and two or three palaces, interspersed with current housing and shops.¹³⁶ For some observers, it was considered a very distinctive residential area for high officials of the 19th century and later for the upper middle classes.¹³⁷ There must have been an important residential life and much pedestrian traffic around the main street, overflowing from the side streets full of *konaks* and ordinary houses.¹³⁸

Curiously, we have few photographs of that urban fabric but literary and map evidence in this sense is quite clear.¹³⁹ Was that fabric the result of the very great social changes the Ottoman middle and upper classes had undergone in the Tanzimat period with the emergence of a new Imperial bureaucracy, professionals, and merchants? Were old *vakıf* and commercial areas patronized for the housing of these classes? Or, as I suspect, and as the mix of types seems to suggest, were some of the older mansions fragmented, some others modernized? Whatever the answers, there is no doubt that housing fabric did exist in all times and that the two main types

¹³⁶ One of the first multifamily buildings in Istanbul, Letafet Apartmanı, actually a beginning of the 20th century *konak*, was on the Divan axis, in Şehzadebaşı (Dünden Bugüne İstanbul, V 203).

¹³⁷ Akın "Divanyolu Küresi", 21: the enlightened upper class lived in mansions on the Divanyolu. Ergin Mecelle, III 1222 "İstanbulun bugün en mâmur ve en kibar semti olan Bâb-ı Ali, Divanyolu, Gedikpaşa cvarları..." ("Istanbul's most flourishing and distinguished quarter is in the Bâb-ı Ali, Divanyolu, Gedikpaşa district").

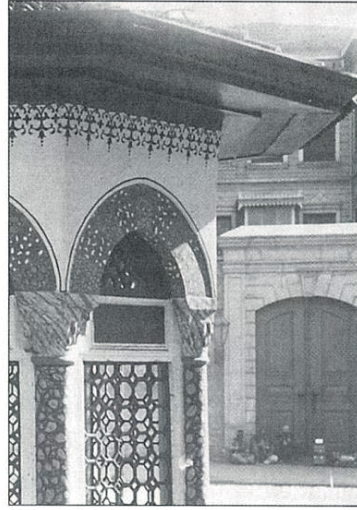
¹³⁸ See note 119 on local congregational mosques.

¹³⁹ See Cerasi "The Perception" for the curious lack of photographic documentation. Literary sources are mainly nostalgic writings on lost 19th century Istanbul written in the Thirties to Fifties. They depict a residential Divan Yolu where the inhabitants could "cross the street reading the newspaper..."

we see in plans and in rare photos—the *konak* freestanding in a garden enclosed by high walls on the street, *konaks* aligned on the street with the typical Ottoman house architecture of wooden façades and bow windows—were a substantial, if not dominant, part of the street scene.



Houses and konaks. Fig. 37 A typical 19th century konak transformed into a rüşdiye (girls' school), not on the Divan axis but very similar to those on the axis. Fig. 38 End of 19th century photograph of the southern margin of Beyazıt Meydanı.



Houses and konaks. Fig. 39 A typical early 20th century house on the axis near Karagümriük. Fig. 40 A rare view of a konak with front garden opposite the Koca Sinan sebil on the

Divanyolu (see map fig. 61). Fig. 41 An early 20th century *konak* in Şebzadebaşı transformed into one of the first apartment houses (from Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi).

This brings about the crucial question of the density of the residential fabric along the route and its relation to the *keüllüye*. Had the monumental buildings and the commercial areas somehow depleted the axis of its housing potential?¹⁴⁰ Here too, we have to make recourse to contradictory circumstantial evidence. Certainly, some of the mosques on the axis did not have *maballe*, that is, they did not serve a residential congregation, but most did, proving that the axis and particularly its immediate hinterland had an intense residential life.¹⁴¹ Most *mahalles* bordering the axis must have been well populated, but we do not know how much of that population would gravitate on the Divan axis. They were all Moslem *mahalles* except for part of the Karagümrük district and around Edirnekapı. Novels and journalistic accounts of the early 20th century mention the diffuse presence of the *konaks* of the upper-middle classes in the eastern part of the axis (Divanyolu), notwithstanding the immense surface taken up by monumental buildings and by the commercial district. But, on the whole, residential density on the plots was low. At all times wide gaps in the urban fabric allowed the distant view of the seas on both sides of the axis, recalled by many travellers.

¹⁴⁰ Mantran *Istanbul*, 40-41, holds that the overall housing density was low but that some areas such as the quarters on the Marmara seaside and the Fatih-Kapalıçarşı-Ayasofya axes as well as Eyüp, Edirnekapı and Yedikule were densely inhabited.

¹⁴¹ Ayvansarayı lists some mosques on the axis or near, it as having no *maballe*, that is, as having no local congregation (*Garden of the Mosques*). They are important Friday mosques or mosques within a *medrese* or *tekke* complex (Çorlulu Ali Pasha, Nuruos-maniye, Şehzade, Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha, Emir Buharî Tekkesi: see *Garden of the Mosques* 86-87, 24-25, 18, 102-104). A few others were *mescit* or relatively small mosques (Manisalı Mehmet Pasha, Hatice or Sultan Mescit, Halil Pasha, Kapudan Pasha: see *ibid.* 179-80, 142, 109, 195). The Acemioğlanlar Mesciti being one of the mosques of the janissary barracks had, of course, no *maballe*. All the other mosques and prayer halls had each its own *maballe*. See Catalogue of Monuments and Plate VIII.

*'Public' buildings*¹⁴²

I have already written that most of the mosques on the axis dated from the 15th and 16th centuries: the most important are those of Firuz Ağa, Atik Ali Pasha in Çemberlitaş, Beyazıt, Şehzade, Hüsam Efendi, Fatih, Hafız Ahmet Pasha, Nişancı Mehmet Pasha, Üçbaş, and Atik Ali Pasha near Karagümrük. There was also a conspicuous number of small *mescit*, almost all of the earlier periods. Of the thirty-five in a list of 18th century mosques¹⁴³ only seven, excluding the restoration of the Fatih complex are on, or very near, the axis.¹⁴⁴

Mosques were certainly the heart of what we might call for simplicity the 'public system', but many other building types contributed to the urban character of the street, especially so after mid-17th century.

¹⁴² I am quite aware that the term 'public' is inappropriate to the Ottoman institutional reality. I use it only to avoid the use of windy circumlocutions such as: pertaining to public use or community use, but of semi-private (institutionally controlled private) property etc.

¹⁴³ İnci Nurcan, "18. Yüzyılda İstanbul Camilerine Batı Etkisiyle Gelen Yenilikler", *Vakıflar Dergisi XIX*, [1985], 223-36.

¹⁴⁴ They are: the Kaptan İbrahim Pasha (1707) in Beyazıt; Çorlulu Ali Pasha in Çarşıkapı (1716), Beşir Ağa (1745), Sultan Mustafa also called Çakmakçılar, Zeynep Sultan (1769) and Nuruosmaniye (1756), these last three not quite on the axis, but on the Bâbiâli-Bazaar line, İnciciyan *XVIII. asırda* mentions thirteen so-called Pasha mosques in the city. Of these five are on the Divan axis: both Atik Ali mosques, Ahmed Pasha, Nişancı Mehmed and Edirnekapı Camii (Mihrimah Sultan), which last is not a Pasha mosque at all.

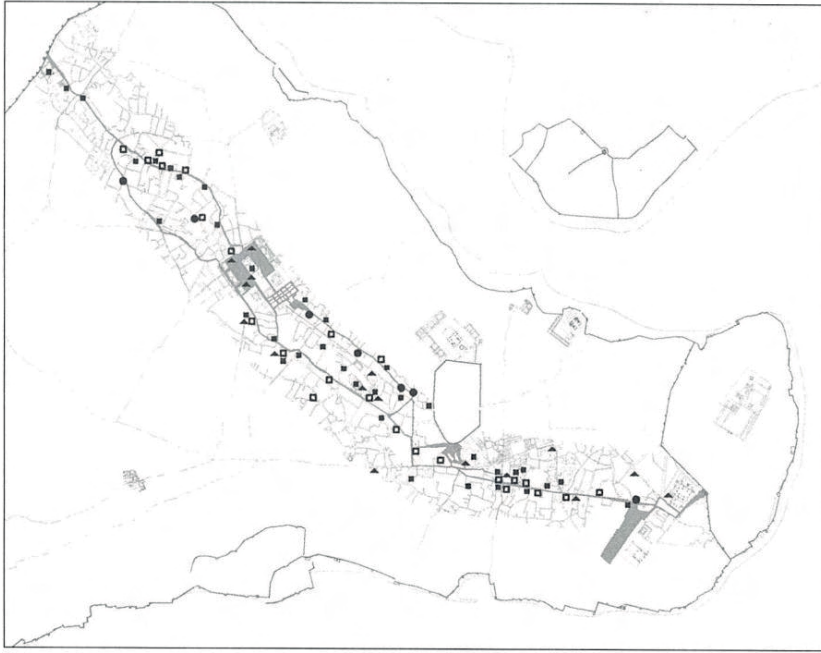


Fig. 42: Public buildings on the axis. Black squares: mosques. White squares: medrese. Small black circles: sibyan schools. Triangles: libraries.

Sixty-three of the extant 166 Istanbul and Üsküdar *medrese* at the end of the 19th century face the thoroughfare or are in its immediate hinterland.¹⁴⁵ The 16th and 17th century Pashas were substantial *medrese* endowers. The emergence of the *medrese* as the main element of the architectural ensembles dates from the end of the 16th century. As a matter of fact, after the 1496 and 1500 Atik Ali *medreses* in Çemberlitaş and in Edirnekapı, both dominated by their mosques, in all the other main Pasha *küllie* of the axis the *medrese* emerged functionally and architecturally, with small mosques or prayer halls attached.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ See Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, “1869’da faal İstanbul Medreseleri“, *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* [1977], 277-85. Zeynep Ahunbay, art. “Medreseler”, in *Dünden bugüne İstanbul*, V 322-23, confirms the concentration of *medreses* in the quarters along the axis, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries.

¹⁴⁶ Koca Sinan (1593), Gazanfer Ağa (1596), Ekmekçizade and Kuyucu Murat (both around 1610), Kemankeş Mustafa (1641),

Although the tendency of the dervish *tekke* to seek peripheral sites, and the standing contrast between the *medrese* based *ilmiye* class and the *tarikât* are well-known,¹⁴⁷ it still comes as a surprise to find only 5 out of the 159 *tekke* extant in 1869, on the eastern Divan axis (between Firuz Ağa and Şehzade).¹⁴⁸ In all, the quarters around the axis contain no more than 38 *tekke*, and these mostly in the Fatih-Karagümrük-Edirnekapı area. The propensity of dervish groups to choose suburban sites with natural scenery does not explain fully their scarcity on the eastern Divan axis, considered there had been many exceptions before the 17th century.¹⁴⁹ Rather, the fact reminds us of the proximity of the Divanyolu to official ideology as expressed

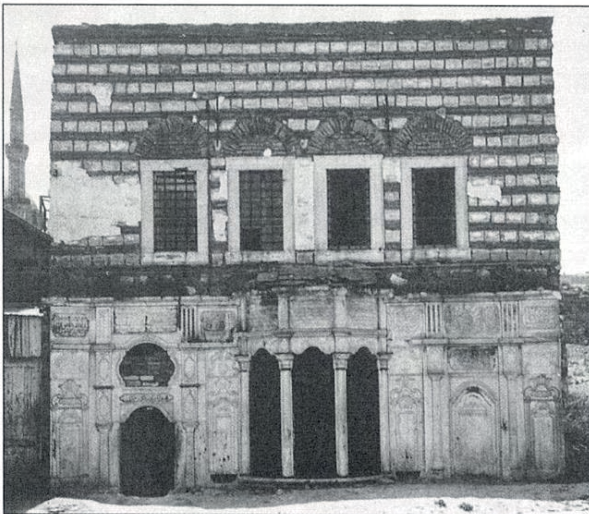
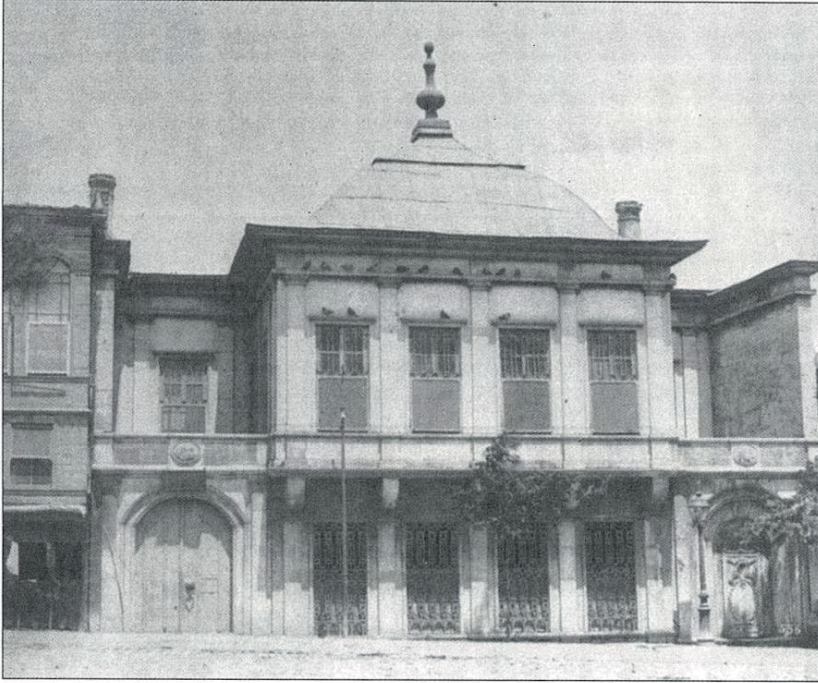
Köprülü Mehmet Pasha (1661), Kara Mustafa Pasha (1683), Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha (around 1699), Çorlulu Ali Pasha (1708), Damat İbrahim Pasha (1720), Seyyit Hasan Pasha (1740).

¹⁴⁷ See Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety—the Ottoman Ulema in the Post-Classical Age (1600-1800)*, Minneapolis: 1988, 139; also p. 205 “the triumph of the medrese”: between 1651 and 1705, 160 *medrese* added to the extant 120 to 200.

¹⁴⁸ See Zakir Şükrü Efendi, *Die Istanbuler Dervische-Konvente und ihre Scheiche (Mecmuat Tekaya)*, ed. Klaus Kreiser, Freiburg: 1980. Of course, the co-existence of *tekke* and *medrese* in a large *küllîye* was not unusual in the Classical period. It has been held, for example, that the demolished L shaped building next to the Constantine column in the Atik Ali complex was a *tekke*. Later *tekke* are free-standing autonomous complexes. The Çorlulu *tekke* is an 18th century exception, interesting for its very central position and for its layout of two adjacent courts for *medrese* and *tekke*. See also: Baha Tanman, art. “Tekkeler” in *Dünden bugüne İstanbul*, VII 236-40; Atilla Çetin, “İstanbul’daki Tekke, Zaviye ve Hankâhlar hakkında 1199 (1784) Tarihli Önemli bir Vesika”, *Vakıflar Dergisi* XIII [1981], 583-90; *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art and Sufism in Turkey*, ed. Raymond Lifchez, Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford: University of California Press 1992.

¹⁴⁹ The reciprocal penetration of *tarikât* centres and the cultural and social life of all classes of Ottoman society was so strong that many quarters in the Eyüp district or in the southern *intra muros* quarters near the Marmara shore had many *tekke* in the very centre of residential *maballes* with no landscape view at all.

by the *ilmiyye* class and hence, of the favour it accorded to the *medrese* milieu.



Sibyan schools. Fig. 43 *The Cevri Kalfa school (1819)*. Fig. 44 *The Recai Efendi school (1775)*.

Single-class primary schools (*sibyan mektebi*) existed as an institution in almost all *mahalles* within current housing or mosques. Only some, mostly of the 18th century, were beautifully built masonry buildings inserted in the urban fabric. These last had many typological elements similar to that of housing but were enriched by fountains or *sebils* on their ground-floor façade. They were an important feature of late Ottoman Istanbul.¹⁵⁰ The schools of Recai Efendi, of Cevre Kalfa, of Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha are very carefully designed and innovative buildings of great impact on the street scene.

Seventeen libraries—out of a total of over forty in the whole town and its suburbs—were on the axis or very near it. They had been donated chiefly by *şeyhülislam* and *sadrâzam*, a few by the sultans and sultanas, and were quite visible from the street, though only few were freestanding.¹⁵¹ Such libraries as those of Köprülü, of Şehit Ali Paşa on the north-eastern boundary of the Şehzade complex, of Şeyhülislam Veliyüddin Efendi (attached to the Beyazıt mosque), the Mahmut I library of the Fatih complex, all very visible from the route, contributed greatly to the architectural physiognomy of the axis.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Özgönül Aksoy, *Osmanlı devri İstanbul sibyan mektepleri üzerine bir inceleme* (published thesis), İstanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi 1968. *Sibyan* schools appear to be fairly diffused throughout the entire historical peninsula. See also A. Turgut Kut, “İstanbul sibyan mektepleriyle ilgili bir vesika”, *Journal of Turkish Studies*, I [1977], 55-82, reporting a manuscript list of 318 schools written around 1923-28. Though the identification of the *mekteb* on or very near the Divan axis, is very difficult, we can say very roughly, that no more than forty or forty-two were within the quarters crossed by the axis, the rest being fairly evenly distributed over the İstanbul urban area.

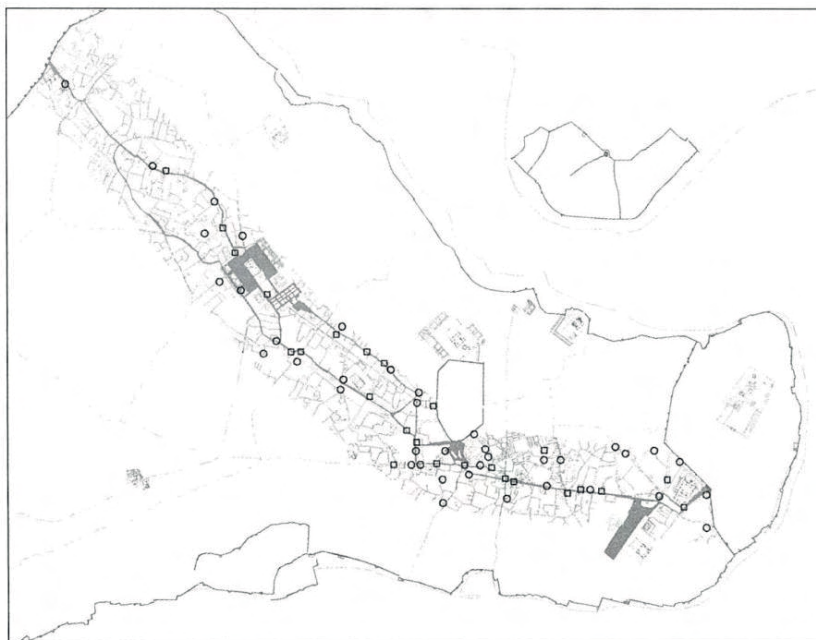
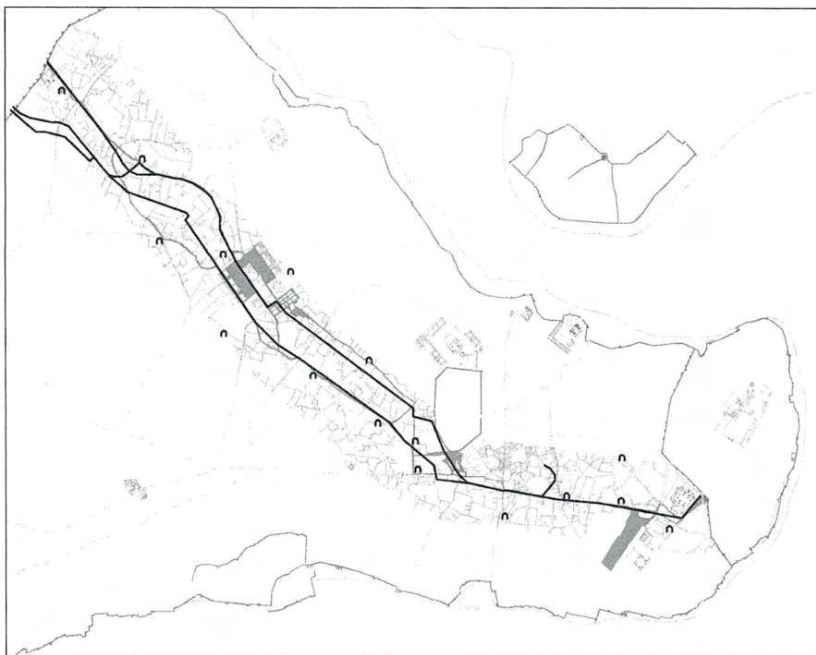
¹⁵¹ See Ahmet Küçükalfa, “İstanbul Vakıf Kütüphaneleri”, in *V. Vakıf Haftası*, Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü 1987, 51ff. The important Ragıp Pasha Library, on the southern branch of the Divan axis and of the first decade of the 18th century, is incorporated in the court of the *medrese*, and was therefore not visible from the street.

¹⁵² Some schools were incorporated in the *külliyeye*: that of Şeyhülislam Esad Efendi on the outer precinct wall of Fatih, the Beyazıt and Şehzade, the much deteriorated Atik Ali school on the street

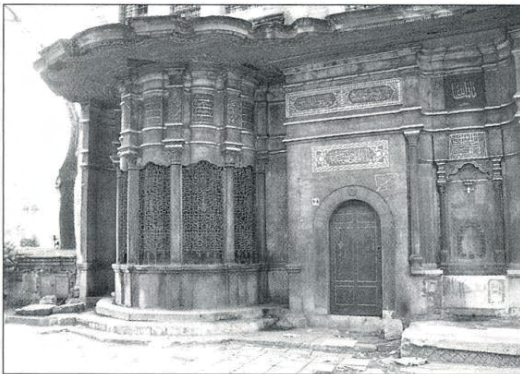
Fountains and sebil (monumental chambers for the distribution of water and drinks to passers-by) were an important feature of the Istanbul street scene. The Halkalı and Kırkçeşme water supply lines and some of the main underground aqueducts for most of the the city's *kaüllüye*¹⁵³ run along the crest lines of the main hills, just as the Divan axis does, and sometimes coincide with it.

front. Other incorporated libraries were less visible: Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi, the Çorlulu Ali, Damad Ibrahim within the homonymous *medrese*.

¹⁵³ The principal aqueducts running on the crest line are the Mahmutpaşa, Köprülü, Beylik, Süleymaniye, Bayezit, Fatih, Sultan Ahmet, Nurosmeniye, Mihrimah aqueducts. The Lâleli aqueduct runs much lower in its western tract but converges on the southern branch of the Divan axis after Fatih. See: Kâzım Çeçen, *İstanbul'un vakıf sularından Halkalı suları*, İstanbul: İstanbul Su ve Kanalizasyon İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü 1991; also Çeçen II. *Bayezid suyu*.



Water supply. Fig. 45 *Aqueducts and hammams along the axis.* Fig. 46 *Distribution of sebils*



Water supply. Fig. 47 *The Koca Sinan sebil (1596).* Fig. 48 *The so-called Mahmut II sebil (1745, restored beginning 19th century).* Fig. 49 *The Seyit Hasan sebil (1745).*

The ducts are underground and emerge only with the Bozdoğan (or so-called Valens) aqueduct. The system supplied a public well at

Zincirlikuyu near Karagümrük and the multiple fountains called Kırkçeşme (Forty Fountains), east of the Fatih market, in front of the Gazanfer Ağa *medrese*.¹⁵⁴

Surprisingly, we have found only some thirty fountains on the axis or very near it, an insignificant portion of the almost thousand fountains registered in various lists for the whole city.¹⁵⁵ Many must have been demolished during street enlargement operations. On the other hand, the concentration on the Divan axis of one third of the over forty Istanbul *sebil* can be considered a sign of the will to create monumental effects along the route. Some 18th century *sebils* and fountains, especially in the Fatih-Beyazıt tract, enhanced magnificently the street scene.¹⁵⁶

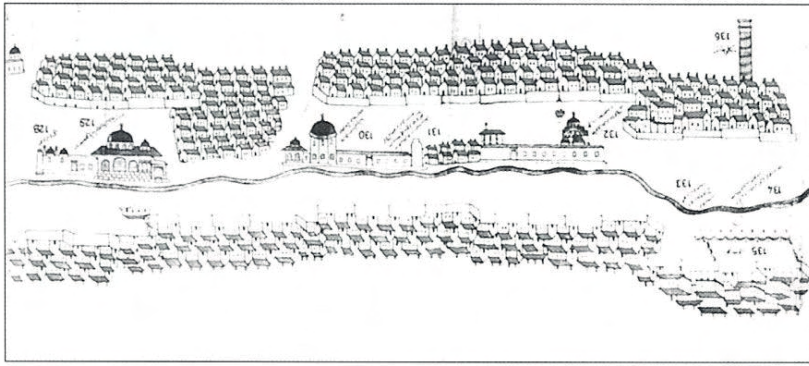


Fig. 50: *Distribution of water to various vakif complexes along the Divanyolu (from Çeçen 1991). To the left: the Kemankeş Paşa medrese. In the centre: the Koca Sinan and Atik Ali complexes.*

¹⁵⁴ The ducts, the well and almost all the fountains can be clearly seen in the Seyyit Hasan *Ist 1810 map*.

¹⁵⁵ See: İzzet Kumbaracılar, *İstanbul sebilleri*, İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi 1938; İbrahim Hilmi Tanışık, *İstanbul çeşmeleri*, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1943-45; Affan Egemen, *İstanbul'un çeşme ve sebilleri: resimleri ve kâtabeleri ile 1165 çeşme ve sebil*, İstanbul: Arıtan Yayınevi [1993]; Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu, *Su güzeli: İstanbul sebilleri*, İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı 1995.

¹⁵⁶ In the Fatih-Beyazıt tract, the fountains and *sebils* of the Recai Efendi school, of the Seyyit Hasan *medrese*, of the Damat İbrahim Pasha ensemble, of the Nakşidil mausoleum, and of the Simkeşhane, are of particular effect.

Hammam distribution is fairly homogeneous in Ottoman Istanbul in relation to residential and commercial areas. At least 13 public baths—of which two, those of Beyazıt and Çemberlitaş, have prominent sites—can be traced more or less directly on the axis. This is not a very large number: many must have been demolished.¹⁵⁷

(MC)

¹⁵⁷ For public baths (*hamam*) see the Catalogue of Monuments (the most important *hamam* are: Merdivenli Mihrimah Sultan Hamamı, Acemioğlanlar Hamamı, Beyazıt Hamamı, Çemberlitaş or Valide Hamamı. See also: Mehmet Nermi Haskan, *İstanbul hamamları*, İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu 1995, and Müller-Wiener *Bildlexikon*, 324-25.

Chapter 8: The Architectural Characteristics

Given its functional and ceremonial importance, the degree to which the Divan Yolu system reflects formal organization or lack of it, is a central question in the appreciation of Ottoman aesthetics and ideology. Wrongly classified as informal, picturesque, and hence lacking architectural control, Ottoman urban aesthetics in towns was deeply rooted in Ottoman environmental consciousness and form psychology, and was undoubtedly connected to structural factors, to the city's being: (a) a *collage* of recognisably individual parts—*maballes*, *çarşy*, *vakıf* compounds, and many other heterogeneous elements—tending to form precincts rather than a common urban spatial continuity; (b) a display of hierarchical distinctions (contrast between types; articulation of each *keüllıye* into parts of different semantic category, hierarchy, scale and complexity); (c) formed of architecturally distinct public and domestic spheres (both in building materials and in relationship to urban morphology).

This state of things led to certain characteristics of the monumental buildings and ensembles in their insertion in the street: (a) variety and diversification of adjacent elements in size, form and type; (b) development of main façades in all directions, independently of street alignment (street façades being much less a reference for street formation than in Western town architecture); (c) formal complexity and refinement in detailing to resolve the conflict of diversified forms (such as continuous but direction-changing moulding, generously fenestrated walls to define urban voids...); (d) emphasis on corners used as architecturally rich frontage or as 'urban prows' to divide streets; (d) balance of elements of relevant weight and size used as accents or for counterpoint;¹⁵⁸ (e) role of accessory elements as carriers of innovation on the street front;¹⁵⁹ (f) enclosure

¹⁵⁸ One beautiful example is the Kuyucu Murat ensemble, in which the domes at the two extremes counterbalance the long and low volume, and the corner-facing *sebil* gives the sense of direction (see fig. 29).

¹⁵⁹ While the main buildings of the *keüllıye* are simpler, more conservative and remain in the background (such is the delicate and relatively small scale architecture of semi-transparent *hazıne*

and insertion of individual trees, the recourse to single gardens or *hazire* as autonomous elements of the overall composition.

In the appendix to this chapter we describe some of the typical situations along the axis. The situations and factors described were very marked in the 18th century town, and much less so in earlier periods. However, as far as monumental public space is concerned, the formal principles listed are very different from those of other cultures which have exploited distant visual focuses, symmetry, or, as in the modern Western town, serial iteration of buildings of one type linked by a physically and functionally recognizable common denominator.¹⁶⁰

The housing fabric, though formed by house types different from those of Western cities in its materials and in the lower building density, nevertheless, formed, in a certain measure, the continuous texture of the street as in the West. It was often interrupted by monuments, and in some points, it inserted itself in small groups into strings of monuments and cemeteries. In the Divan axis, it was not as strong a characterising element as in other quarters of Istanbul: rather, it constituted a neutral backdrop for monumental architecture, or, conversely, brief exceptions for the continuum of monuments and their subsidiary elements.

The street as an architectural scene

I shall try to answer a series of conceptual and iconographic questions that the aesthetic and ideological identity of the Ottoman system, as seen in the Divan axis, raises. Which forms had more power of representation? Which have to be perceived as reciprocally connected?

enclosures, *sebil*, fountains, as in the Nevşehirli Damat Ibrahim Pasha and Çorlulu Ali Pasha building compounds).

¹⁶⁰ Such is the case of the sidewalk, shop windows, or lines of trees or the common height of continuous street fronts which are common and binding denominators in 19th century avenues. The western avenue is serial (types and voids are at regular or similar intervals) and homogeneous (it has dimensional and social similarity of types, one same rule of relationship to sidewalk etc.).

Since some four thousand years the urban street is a basic structure of towns.¹⁶¹ The street is not the simple outcome of the passive assembly of buildings. Its nature is cultural; every culture or epoch has its own positive and active way of making streets.

The position and relation of monuments to the street in the Divan axis has changed in the course of time. But on the whole, the street system in central Istanbul was firmly anchored in the psychological and cultural implications of traditional Ottoman urbanity, up to mid 19th century in central parts, and up to the very end in the more Turkish-Ottoman quarters.

The description of streets in their architecture and environmental context is a rare event in Ottoman culture. Matrakçı Nasuh, and, even less so the miniaturist of the Istanbul view in Piri Reis, and Velican of the Hünername, do not seem to have perceived streets as an important feature of Istanbul. In Matrakçı's drawing, one can vaguely discern the route of the Divan axis because the buildings, however conventionally represented, do reflect a logical disposition of the street, sequential and in relation to the hand, left or right (fig. 51). The conventional and schematic transliteration of the buildings and their reciprocal siting is realistic though the form symbolical. The streets themselves are not depicted.¹⁶² Matrakçı uses a straight strip of

¹⁶¹ But as Kostof writes, it is not a natural form, it cannot be taken for granted, it was an invention (Kostof *The city assembled*, 105). Also, Spiro Kostof, *The city shaped*, London: Thames and Hudson 1991, 189ff., quotes J. Rykwert: "The street is human movement institutionalized".

¹⁶² Even where some have seen streets, as Gabriel did, interpreting the two parallel buildings angled toward the Fatih complex as the Direklerarası, which did not exist then (Albert Gabriel, "Les Etapes d'une Campagne dans les deux Irak d'après un manuscrit Turc du XVI^e siècle", *Syria—Revue d'Art Orientale et d'Archéologie*, IX, fasc. IV (1928), 346 ff). Walter B. Denny, "A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Plan of Istanbul", *Ars Orientalis*, VII (1968), 49ff, develops a more refined and detailed analysis of the drawing and revises Gabriel's interpretation, rightly insisting on the conventional rather than realistic or fantastic representation of different building typologies (mosques, *medrese* etc.). Strangely enough, though, he attributes an inexistent error in the representation of the Atik Ali complex. He sees in the small

building with serial openings, either rectangular or arcaded, to symbolize typologies of serial nature, such as *medrese* (series of cells) or shops (series of openings on the street). Even where a whole quarter has an orthogonal mesh of streets, as is the case of the Grand Bazaar, he uses symbolically these serial strips to represent the building type and not the space.¹⁶³ Street-flow is not even envisaged; serial form is just a shorthand symbol: spatially finite forms are more easily grasped and transferred on paper. We can safely say that the street-flow and serial composition are not referential denominators for Ottoman architectural and urban representation. This reflects on street composition and on the possibility to grasp its unity through focal perspective. Absence of overall symmetry, the technique of narrative composition, and the standing out of certain emblematic forms such as domes and minarets have been constant factors of the mature Ottoman townscape.

building to the right above the mosque a *mescit* patroned in another quarter by Ali Pasha, and presumes that it was mistakenly placed in the larger complex. I believe it should represent instead, the dervish *tekke* of the complex, which was actually an L-shaped series of domed and arcaded cells, but was drawn here, with the same house-like geometry he identifies in other *tekke* or palaces. This would, as a matter of fact, confirm Denny's general assessment of Matrakçı's conventions.

¹⁶³ Actually, Denny "A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Plan" interprets as Bezesten a courtlike form between Atik Ali and Beyazıt. I believe it represents the whole Çarşı, the structure in the centre being the Bezesten.

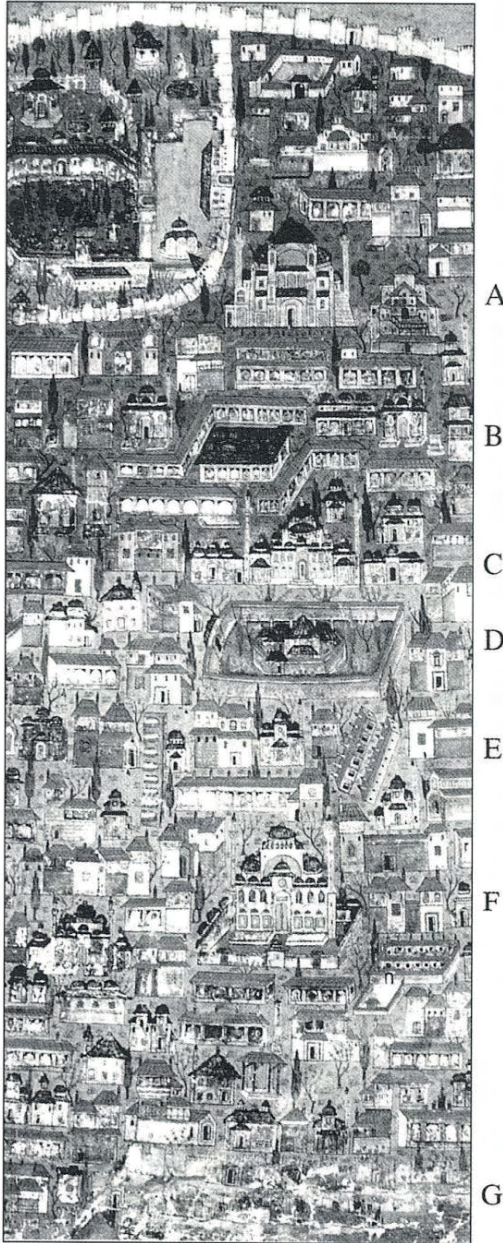


Fig. 51: *The Divan axis in the Matrakçı Nasuh representation of Istanbul (1537). Along the Divan axis can be seen: A Ayasofya, B Çemberlitaş, Atik Ali mosque and, further left, the Grand Bazaar, C the Beyazıt mosque, D Eski Saray, E Saraçhane market, F the Fatih complex, G the Adrianople gate in the city walls.*

Urban perspective

Perspective is a paradigm of urban form and of the mentality which built the town and established reciprocal interrelations between spaces and forms.

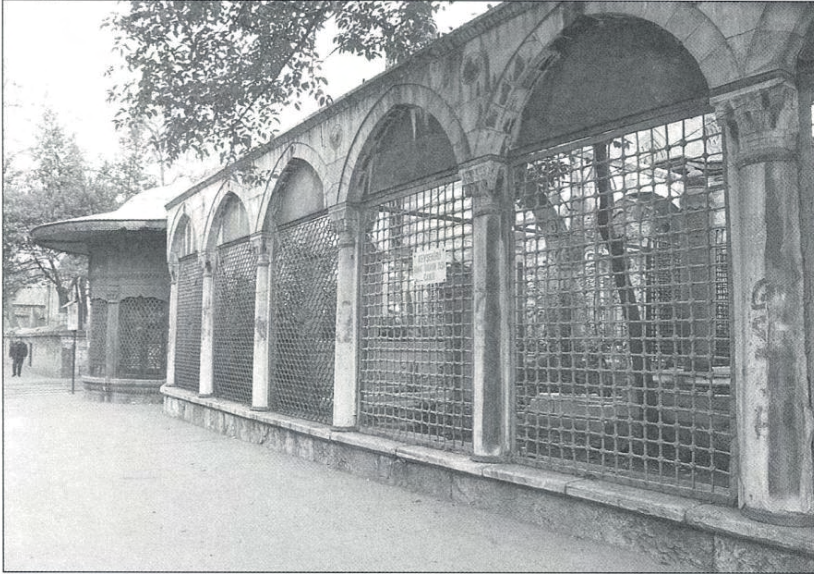


Fig. 52: *The sebil and the hazire grill of the Damat Ibrahim medrese and arcade street complex.*

In the Renaissance and post-Renaissance West, urban perspectives and straight streets have been associated to motion and promenades, none of which were quite congenial to the urban way of life in the Ottoman area.¹⁶⁴ Also, from the point of view of Western urban aesthetics, the street-and-thoroughfare system called *Divan Yolu* is inconceivably narrow and surprisingly deprived of hierarchy. Even a very central and important part of the axis—say that around *Çemberlitaş* as it appears in certain etchings—could have margins defined by barracks. On the opposite, other tracts of minor relevance—say around the *Nişancı* mosque only a few decades ago—could be a neat and nice sequence of gardens, cemeteries, small houses, monuments. Earlier, in the 18th century, there had been a

¹⁶⁴ See: Della Valle *Viaggio*, 242:“..perché i turchi non usano mai passeggiare, anzi l'hanno per cosa da matti...”

short-lived experiment in functional continuity through spatial flow and movement in space in the arcade street of Direkler Arası near Şehzade. But this tentative was never repeated again.¹⁶⁵

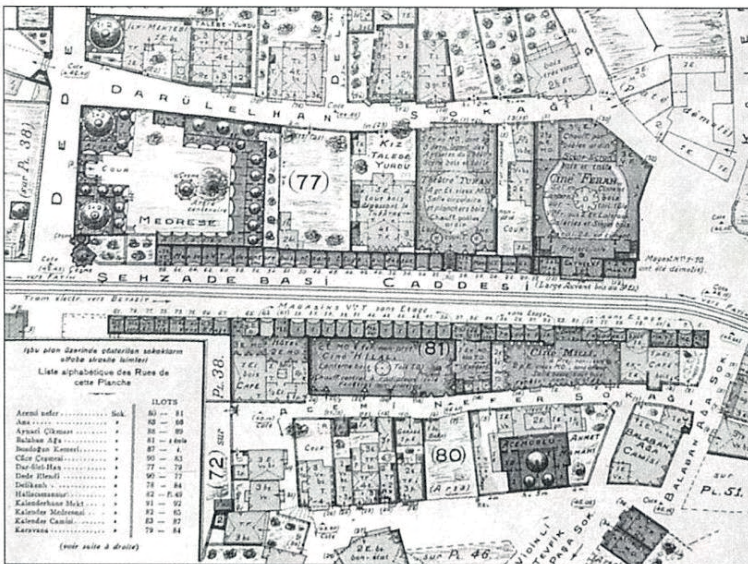
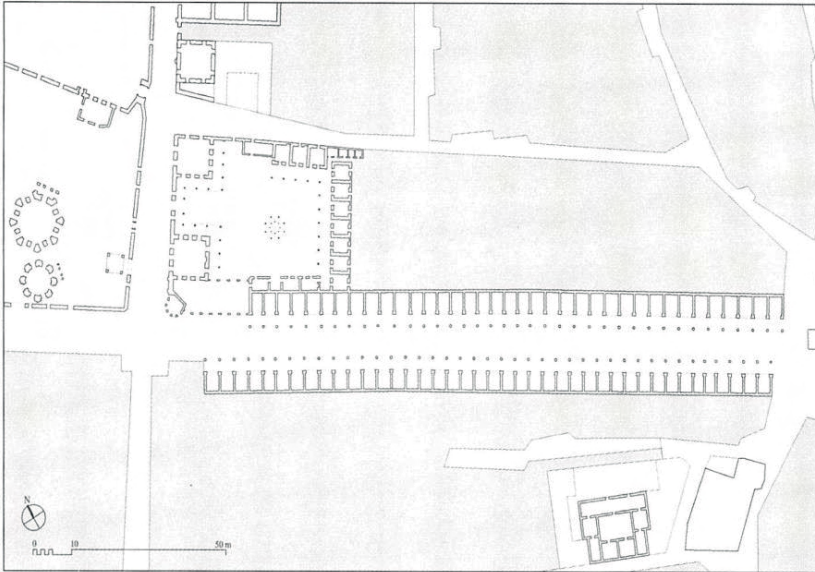


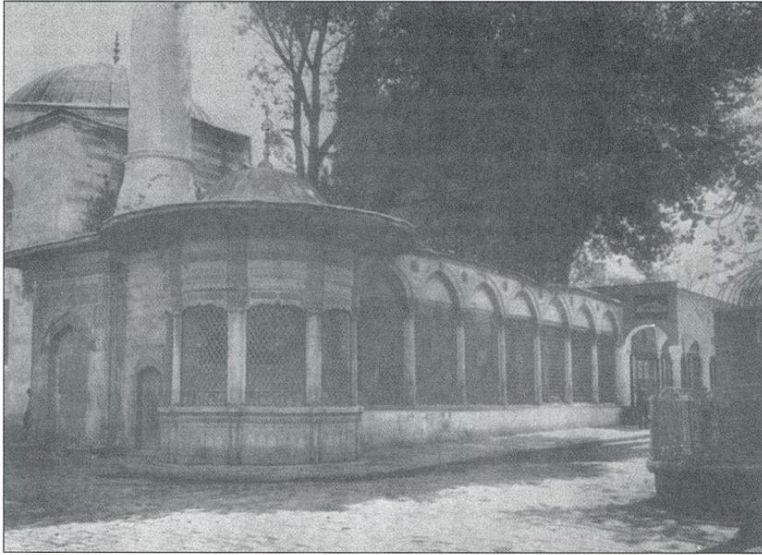
The Damat Ibrahim medrese and arcade street complex. Fig. 53: The arcade surviving in the late 19th century.

On the following two pages:

Fig. 54: Reconstructed plan of the complex. Fig. 55: The complex and the remaining shops in the early 20th century Pervitich map. Fig. 56: The sebil, prayer hall and hazire in a 19th century photograph. Fig. 57: The sebil, the Şehzade mosque and some arcades around 1830-40 in a Thomas Allom engraving.

¹⁶⁵ Three decades later, the shop arcades on the north-western margin of the Nur-u-Osmaniye complex. The idea could be Western influenced, and yet their scale and the form of their constitutive elements (capitals, arches, intercolumnal rhythms) recall rather, modest Byzantine examples and the central arcade of 7th century Anjar, the only arcaded town center in Islam. That had been an attempt, no matter if unconscious, of East-West synthesis.



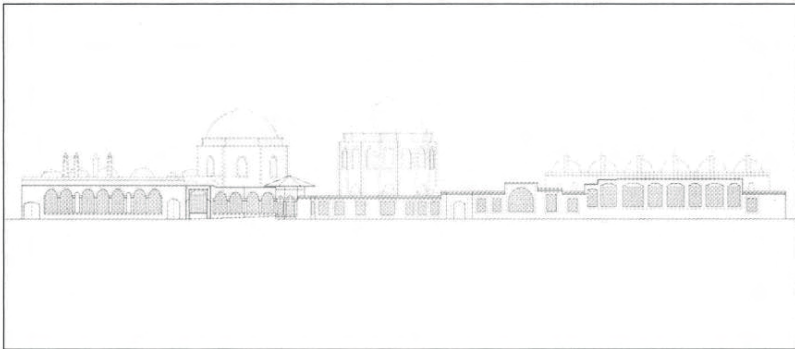
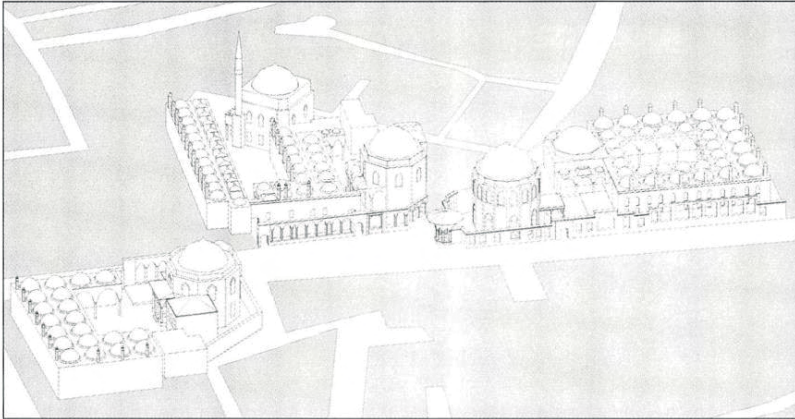


Lack of focal perspective did not mean lack of mutual references in buildings standing in a common urban setting. What we might call Ottoman perspective grouped closely some units in a scene or composition, distancing or ignoring others. It used techniques of enclosure or aperture, which changed much in the course of time but always enhanced the effects of estrangement/definition, so important in the Ottoman sense of monumentality. A fenestrated precinct wall puts a greater distance between the objects it encloses and the

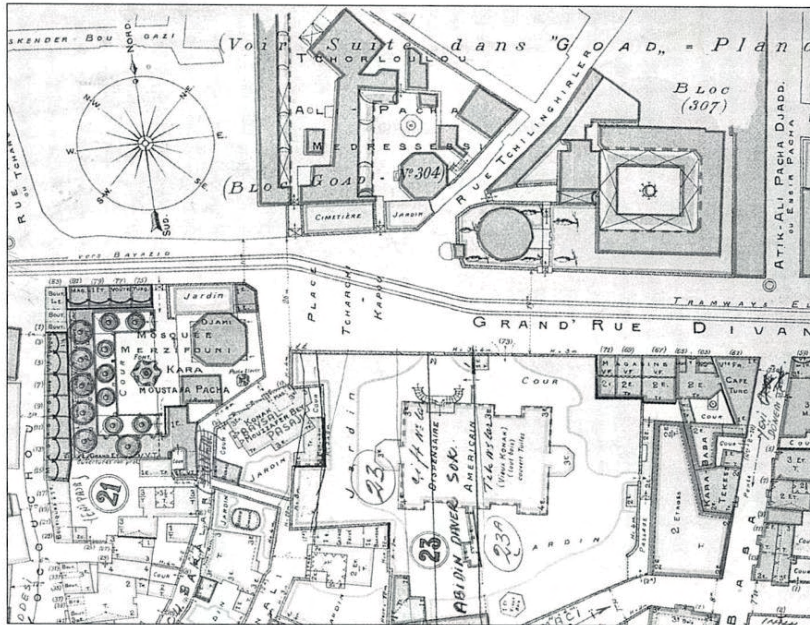
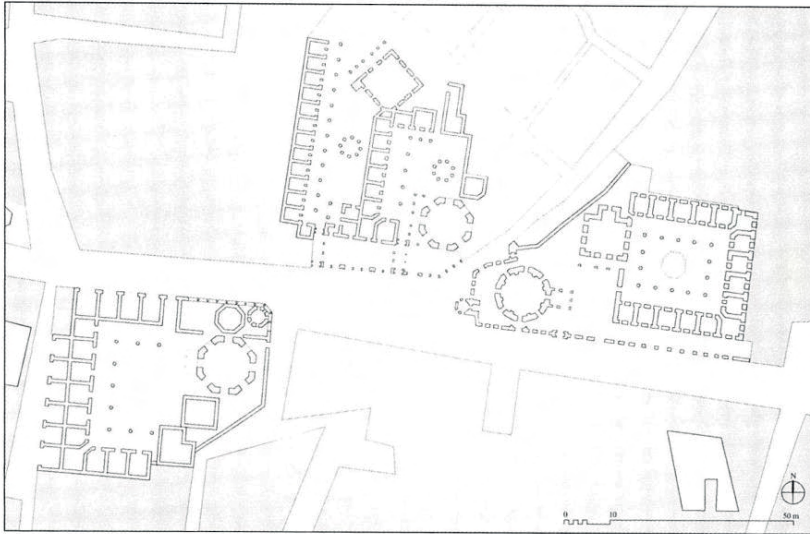
context and, at the same time, framing and selecting some objects (for example, tombs and epitaphs) draws them nearer. A flowing moulding binds heterogeneous building parts; the technique of simple geometric forms juxtaposed in various modes gives unity and yet depth... Consider the mutual formal reference of neighbouring groups, such as that of the Çorlulu Ali Pasha, Kara Mustafa Pasha and the Koca Sinan Pasha *keülliyeye* facing each other, and the very interesting formal interrelations resulting thereof on the Divanyolu (as well as in many other sequences in central Istanbul and Eyüp). Was it the result of a conscious awareness of urban aesthetics? Or, on the contrary, was it the casual product of chance or only of common symbolical, social and economic factors?

The significance of the urban scene as a whole was obtained through static views, through variety and casual sequences. I believe that a deliberate urban aesthetic strategy was present. Those constructions were meant to create a common background. Their localization on the Divan Yolu derived motivation and prestige from their being a collective endeavour, somehow independent from the court.

Those monuments can be seen as autonomous constellations held together by a system of slack and fluid relationships. Each one had changing borders. Which were the borderlines which define the single architectural unit-complex? Which elements were incidental, which fundamental for the aesthetic structure of the unit. Is a richly decorated *sebil* an organic part of an austere *medrese* mostly composed of bare and simple masonry? Given its functional and aesthetic separateness could it not be placed in any other point of the building compound or of the street? The *medrese* and the *sebil* belong to one and same foundation act. Functional priorities of economy and space may have obliged juxtaposition. But the point is that both the donor and the architect did not impose separateness or homogeneity as an *a priori* question of principle but derived an evident pleasure from the play of contrasts and from the polyphony hence derived.



The Kara Mustafa, Çorlulu, Koca Sinan group of medreses. Fig. 58: Axonometric view of the group. Fig. 59: Street elevation of the Çorlulu and Koca Sinan ensembles. On the following pages: Fig. 60: Reconstruction of the general plan around 1850. Fig. 61: The three medreses and their surrounding in the Pervititch and Goad maps (1905 and around 1920). Note the large konak with garden in the centre (Cfr. 40). Fig. 62: Part of the Çorlulu ensemble and the Koca Sinan sebil along the Divanyolu. Fig. 63: Assembled photographs of Koca Sinan complex along the street. Fig. 64: Assembled photographs of the Kara Mustafa complex along the street after demolitions for street widening and displacement of sebil and hazire. The blank wall on the right is a result of the demolition of the shops on the medrese front.





The role of minor building elements: ‘short linkages’

The fragmentation and discontinuity of the urban scene has been described in various chapters of this study. In this chapter, we shall underline how fragmentation, diversity and differentiation became positive instruments of composition. The complexity and heterogeneous aspect of its building types demanded adequate techniques of unification. On the other hand, that complexity and that variety suggested a solution. The necessity to master heterogeneity produced peculiar compositional devices.¹⁶⁶ The

¹⁶⁶ Note how the heterogeneous buildings, some of medieval bourgeois typology, others in idealised Renaissance types, in the Urbino and Baltimore panels attributed to Luciano Laurana and wrongly called “Ideal City views”, are tamed into unity by the common spatial reference offered by focal perspective.

ensembles or the individual buildings were disarticulated into conventionally conceived elements (series of domes, height and volume geometry adapted to different functional classes).

Diversity was the result of the nature of the urban fabric and its elements. The main prayer halls of the religious compounds had to face southeast in the Mecca direction whatever the street alignment.

Minor elements such as fountains, small burial grounds, precinct walls became, with the fall in size of *vakıf* building after the classical period, allimportant for the urban scene and were designed with refinement and conceived to establish cross-references at short distance among heterogeneous architectural elements. They gave form and distinction to late Ottoman urban space,

For example, the contrast of diverse geometrical volumes became a linguistic expedient rendering richer and more interesting the street scene; mouldings and wall- or volume-coping became the common link of connected building parts heterogeneous as to height and form; the hiatus created by the gaps of the *hazıre* voids was overcome by their very interesting fenestrated enclosure walls, and turned the drawback into an asset. Those enclosures, easy to rebuild, allowed adaptation of the ensembles to change in street alignment, to new architectural taste. Thus, new junctures could be formed, voids due to the demolition of obsolete buildings filled in, new building parts inserted. The method was obviously easier to apply to accessorial elements than to the main buildings.

Another example is the aesthetical climax and emphasis reached in comer or crossroads situations. It is present both in the architecture of the Classic period (after all the Kuyucu Murat ensemble's is late classicism) and in current town housing. But it is very rare in the cultured architecture of the West before the last decades of the 19th century. So it is as much a characteristic of Ottoman town formation as the principle of collage of small-scale typological elements. The rotating comer column of the precinct wall in the Şehzade ensemble, probably a Sinan invention, is a significant example.

These expedients were not used to mould the whole urban space. It is only towards the beginning of the 17th century that they acquired force and refinement and were used as the main architectural resource of architectural street forming towards the end of the 17th and all through the 18th. The combinatory experimentation of the Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha complex and the small Kuyucu Murat

Pasha complex, which, as I have already mentioned, stood at the sharp bifurcation of streets, with its *sebil* as a prow dividing the waves, are typical forerunners. In other situations in which the crossroads were less obtrusive, the whole armamentaria of detailing and niceties of height differences were used to underline and dramatize the corner position. This composition gambit, very common in Ottoman town culture and rare in the West before the 19th century, is as important as the principle of *collage* of small scale typological elements.

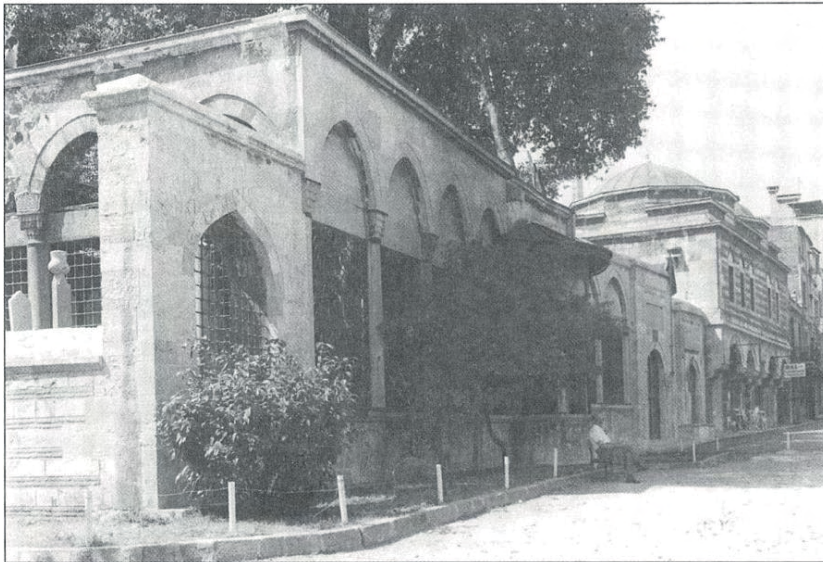
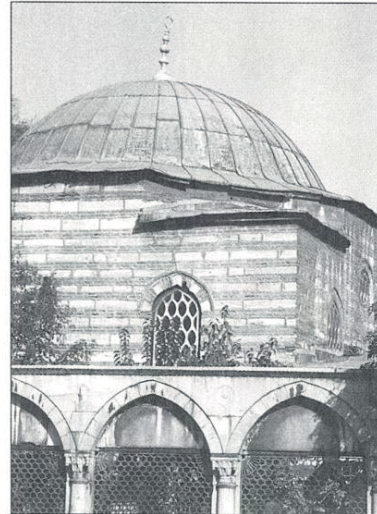
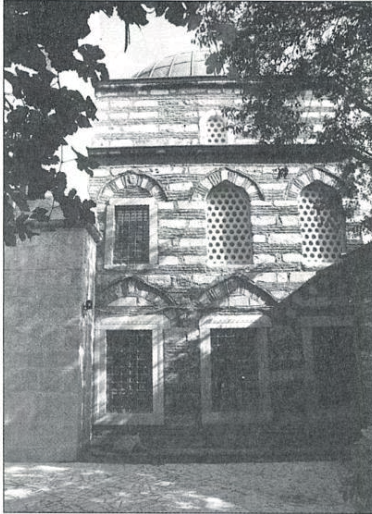


Fig. 65: *The Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha complex (around 1700).*

The sedimentation of many autonomous forms and layouts (*bazire*, orientation to Mecca of tombs and prayer halls, different scale of elements) did not admit a common street alignment and was not based on perspective, symmetry, iteration, as it would have in a Western town. The Divan axis constructed its architectural and spatial unity in a very peculiar way through a complex web of short linkages; that is, through formal composition stratagems aimed at establishing harmonious cross-references among neighbouring but heterogeneous elements, interrelating reciprocally parts standing at a short distance from each other, no matter if within the same architectural design or within neighbouring designs.

Accessory and minor elements—fountains, mouldings, walls—had an indispensable role in giving form to late Ottoman urban space as a means of introducing cross-references where such short distance relations link heterogeneous elements. The principle of collage of small-scale typological elements is as much a characteristic of Ottoman town formation as the dome and minaret.



The conservative inner architectural elements contrasting with novel street architecture. Fig. 66: The tekke volume of the Çorlulu complex. Fig. 67: Library volume of the Damat Ibrahim complex.

Significantly, in its finesse, Eighteenth century public space made recourse mainly to those minor elements. The urban image of Istanbul was no longer that of the classical period. The new *vakıf* building compounds were smaller and variegated. There was a substantial balance in their size and form with the new house type, in timber and expendable and yet more elaborate than in the past. The functional type array also was much more complex and articulate. Hence, the Classical Ottoman method of aggregating clear-cut volumes of diverse geometrical form had to be reformed. It is my opinion that European Baroque and Mannerist models were at this stage intuitively absorbed to link the contrasting forms of the diverse parts of each compound and to soften the visual impact of the urban

elements between themselves.¹⁶⁷ This was easier to apply to the subsidiary elements than to the main buildings like mosques that would attract conservative reaction to innovation. Semi-transparent *hazire* enclosures, *sebil*, fountains, and even of small houses and *konaks*, were carriers of innovative architecture and dominated the street front, while the main buildings of the *külliye* were simpler, more conservative and remain in the background. This can be seen in the Nevşehirli Damat Ibrahim Pasha and the Çorlulu Ali Pasha compounds in which the prayer hall and other major building elements inside the court had none of the Tulip period novel ornamentation.

The street scene was chiefly formed by those subsidiary elements. The fenestrated *hazire* walls, so placid and regular in precedent centuries, brought a great variety and inventiveness in the form and details of individual openings. The *hazire* walls and epitaph placing show great refinement aimed at obtaining maximum visibility and transparency from the street (see figs. 68 to 80).



The Şehzade precinct wall on the Divan axis. Fig. 68: South-eastern wall and mausoleums.

¹⁶⁷ For the clever but wholly un-Western use of Baroque and Western concepts to enhance the fundamentally Ottoman roots of 18th century experimentation in Istanbul see Maurice Cerasi, “Un Barocco di Città: trasformazioni linguistiche e tipologiche nel Settecento ad Istanbul”, *Quaderni di Storia dell’Architettura* 3 (2000), 81-102.

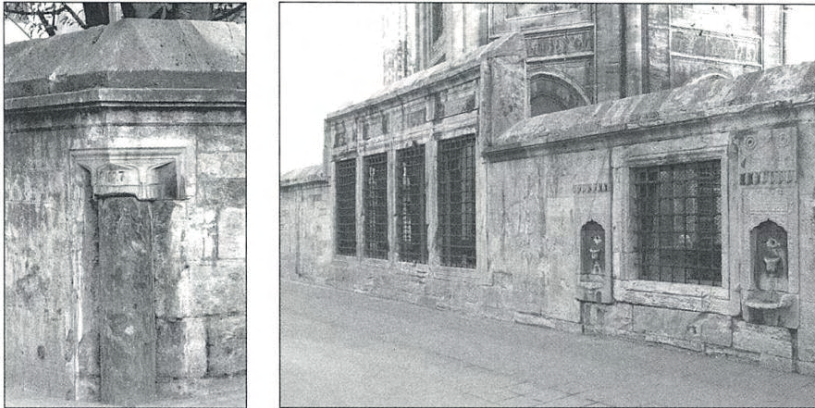


Fig. 69: The 'rotating column' of the corner opposite the Damat İbrahim complex. Fig. 70: Detail of 68.

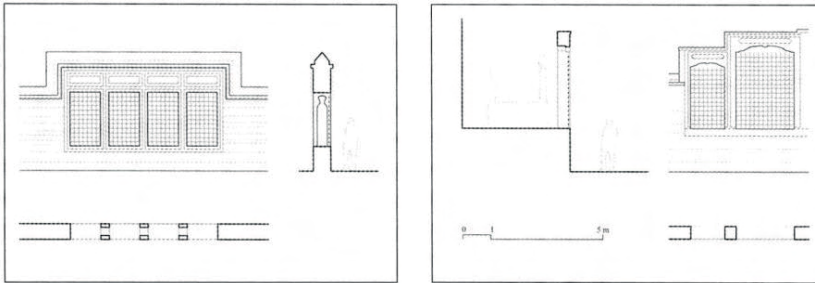
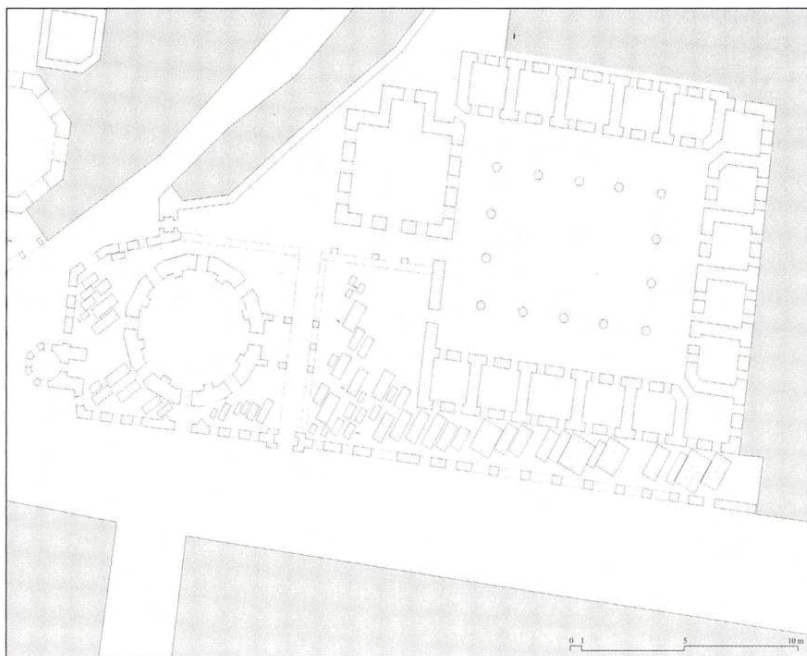


Fig. 71: Elevation and section of the Şebzade precinct wall openings to the hazire. Fig. 72: Elevation and section of the Koca Sinan hazire openings modified in the 18th-19th centuries (Cfr. Fig. 74).



Tombs and hazire walls. Fig. 73: The disposition of tombs in the Koca Sinan hazire.



Fig. 74: *Detail of the Koca Sinan hazire openings.*

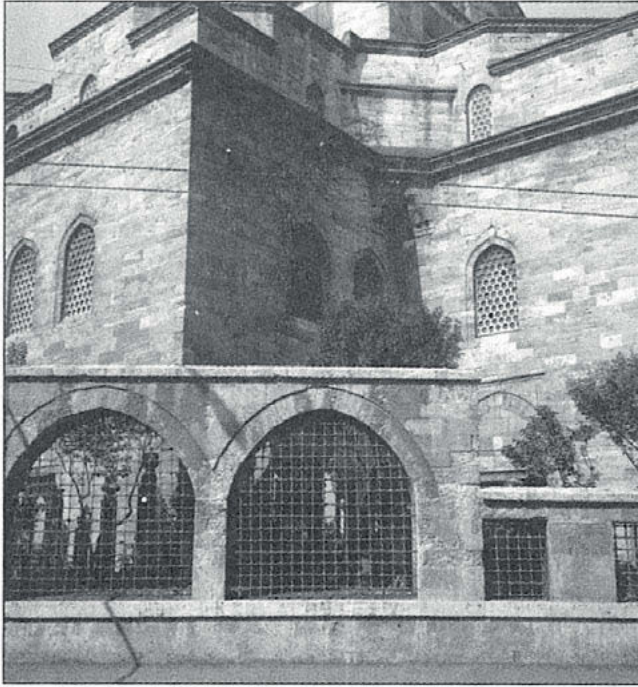


Fig. 75: *Detail of the Atik Ali hazire openings.*



Figs. 76-77: Detail exterior and interior views of the Çorlulu Ali Pasha complex hazire openings.



Fig. 78: *Interior view of the Nişancı Pasha complex hazire.*



Figs. 79-80: Nineteenth century funerary architecture on the Divan axis. Left: the Nakşidil sebil and türbe near Fatih (1818). Right: Hattat Rakım Efendi türbe and hazire in Karagümriük (1825).

Nature, open views and non-serial composition

The loose, open-space oriented typology of Ottoman architectural complexes and housing, catastrophic fires, frequent change, the many cemeteries bordering the street, the existence and even prevalence of semi-rural voids in the city fabric in late Byzantine times, the option of Fatih's Pashas to decentralise urbanization settling their donations and *maballe* all over the urban territory, and above all, ambiguously

both cause and effect of all the preceding factors, the Ottoman propensity for towns of open character, semi-urban and/or semi-rural, had a determinant effect on the structure of the Divan axis and accounted for the gaps. It was the very constitution of the town and building types, and its daily way of life that weaved itself into such loose a fabric. In all its parts, central or marginal, minor or monumental, the axis was a sequence of void and built-up spaces. Its grammar was that of agglutination and collage. Its five kilometre long course could recall that of a highway across a vast and multifarious territory, or the course of a river meandering through that territory, sometimes changing its bed and running in parallel streams.

The vision of nature, in the Western idea of town and architecture used as terminal scene for a perspective or as all-embracing context opposed to man's artefacts, has a very different appeal to Ottoman psychology. The Divan axis was much appreciated for its panoramic overtures. Thanks to its geography, and to the scale and nature of its architectural elements, it afforded deep views on both sides to the Golden Horn and to the Marmara Sea. Busbecq de Ghislaine wrote of that from the *han* in which he was practically under arrest (certainly the Elçi Han) he could see the distant sea, though “..le devant donne sur une rue, qui conduit au Sérail du grand Seigneur: c'est celle par laquelle il passe tous les Vendredis, pour aller à la priere au Temple de Saint-Sophie”.¹⁶⁸ Moltke, in his article on Mahmut II, describes his mausoleum as having very open views on both seas, and that—the dead Sultan's close collaborators told him—Mahmut had chosen the site for that very reason.¹⁶⁹

The non-serial insertion of natural elements—trees, as well as views—was incorporated individually but not casually.¹⁷⁰ Seventeenth

¹⁶⁸ Busbecq *Lettres*, II 17.

¹⁶⁹ Graf Helmuth von Moltke, *Unter dem Halbmond—Erlebnisse in der alte Türkei—1835-1839*, Tübingen, Basel 1979, 345.

¹⁷⁰ Contrarily, Goodwin (Goodwin *A History*, 367), although referring to a specific case seems to propend for the casualness of juxtaposition of tombs, buildings and other elements “*simply because tradition and the exigencies of the terrain dominated the organization of the complexes*”. However, he adds: “*Nonetheless, these stone thickets and copses skirting the foundations along the Divan yolu or, in particular, at the Amcazade complex are highly foils to masses of masonry, and form a transition between natural growth, above all trees, to man-made structures.*”

and Eighteenth century Ottoman builders had perfectly mastered the individual insertion of elements. The general episodic or narrative character of urban form easily led the way to consider natural elements individually, and to place them—for example, trees—with a precise feeling of composition, certainly not in a haphazard way. The recourse to double tree-rows or the conclusion of a perspective on some distant panorama or architectural object, so common in both Western and Persian and Mughal cultures, were practically ignored. Their introduction in the early 19th century by European architects and gardeners involved the Divan Yolu no earlier than the Eighteen-sixties.

Much like Islamic carpet design and muqarnas ornamentation that derive their fascination from repetition and from the narration of variations in form, the composition tool of ‘short linkage’ in a context of richly variegated volume, type and of varying void and building, recalls the procedure of narration. It produced a ‘*forma urbis* without form’.¹⁷¹

The Divan Yolu can be interpreted as a loose route through architectural and urban events, some clustered, and others diffuse. It is the nearest we can find in the urban culture of all times to space used as a path through events and forms, utterly distinct from the serial and homogeneous conception of the Western avenue. One of the last examples of narrative composition in the Istanbul public space, not a form or idea of a town comprehensible at a glance (as the form and idea of a *kaüllîye* did, or as the whole town in its organic composition might suggest in many other pre-industrial civilizations), its was an idea of form running through all the parts visible from urban space. When he referred to a “...*longue rue des Mosquées, qui forme l’artère principale, et qui aboutit aux grands bazars... admirable, la nuit surtout,*

But the point is that architectural aesthetics is not the result only of the architect’s wilful search for form, but also, and perhaps much more so, of what he willingly accepts and of what he rejects. Focal symmetry (after all, very easy to organize) was rejected, loose group composition (no less skilful than English Romantic landscaping) was accepted.

¹⁷¹ Unfortunately, that ‘form’ has been rendered fragmentary and unintelligible by urban regularization procedures applied after the 1865 fire, for the very reasons recalled in Chapter 10 and its Appendix.

à cause des magnifiques jardins, des galeries découpées des fontaines de marbre aux grilles dorées, des kiosques, des portiques et des minarets multipliés... inscriptions dorées... “; Gérard de Nerval¹⁷² acknowledged the thoroughfare as a concentrate of events exposed and narrated, in no way comparable to the French avenues. The Ottomans, too, were perfectly aware of its potential. We can see it in the grandiose, and not at all casual, combinations of the *bazire* walls of varying design. We can see it, a hundred steps off the Divanyolu, in the brilliant solutions of the accessory elements of the Nuruosmaniye complex—the sequence of gate and enclosing shops and their upper floor quarters, the north-eastern margin with its collage of shops, mausoleum, *bazire*, and library.

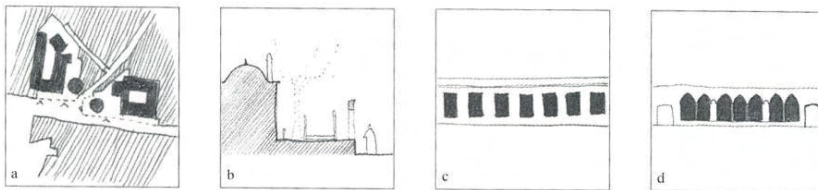
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¹⁷² Nerval, *Voyage* [8th edition (1875)], 192.

Appendix to Chapter 8: Architectural Form in Some Typical Situations

This appendix identifies some aspects that characterise the urban route, analysing the most recurrent and emergent elements and architectonic techniques used in the monumental buildings along the Divan axis.

The fenestrated boundary walls of the monumental complexes. The fenestrated precinct walls of the monumental complexes towards the street are most important actors in the urban scene (a). Their openings render the wall transparent, and allow passers-by to see the sequence of elements inside the complex: the cemeteries, the mausoleums, the trees, the main buildings and invites them to stop in front of the tombstones for a prayer (b). The addition of architectonic elements for public use to these walls also gives them greater volume articulation. The constructive sophistication of the masonry and the rich and complex composition of the openings are aspects of great interest for the architecture of the street.

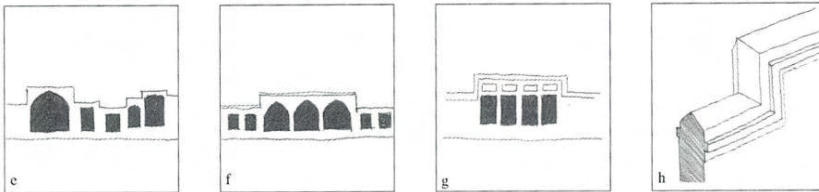


The precinct walls contain various kinds of openings and a variable composition of blank wall sections and voids. In the Atik Ali Pasha, Koca Sinan Pasha, Kara Mustafa Pasha (fig. 64), Şehzade, Gazanfer Ağa (fig. 27), Nişancı Mehmet Pasha (fig. 26) complexes, the wall features a fenestration with rectangular openings, framed by a slight moulding; it is associated with a double sloped wall crowning, emphasised on its lower side by an overhanging moulding. This type of opening was consolidated in the classical period and its use also continued after the 16th century. In the boundary walls of the Atik Ali Pasha mosque and of the Gazanfer Ağa *medrese* the classical fenestration is repeated with a constant regularity, determining an overall sequential uniform composition of full blank walls sections or pilasters and voids within an unvarying wall height (c). The boundary wall of the Şehzade (fig. 68) complex has a freer composition of

fenestration, it is not sequential, and has a harmonic rhythm due to the succession of openings of different sizes, several being grouped together. It has a variegated scansion of voids and the wall height varies continuously.

In the Damat Ibrahim Pasha (fig. 52) and Çorlulu Ali Pasha (figs. 76,77) complexes, the boundary walls have pointed arch openings set on capitals and pillars, shaped as half-columns on the street front. In the boundary wall of the Damat Ibrahim Pasha *medrese* this type of opening is set in sequence, obtaining very high transparency, the mass of the wall being reduced to a rhythmic pattern of half-columns and arches, rising from a continuous wall base and ending with a coping of unvarying height. In the fenestrated wall of the Çorlulu Ali Pasha complex, the arched openings in the main section of the street, are alternated with smaller filled-in sections, producing a coherent whole and a symmetrical composition: AABAAABAA (d).

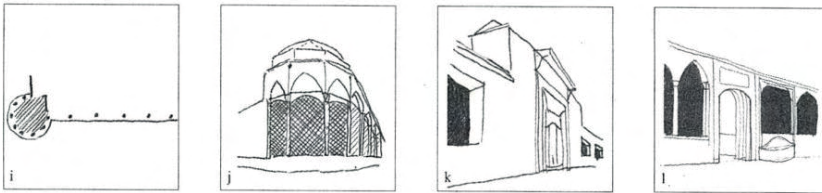
The Koca Sinan Pasha *medrese* boundary wall has various types of fenestration with varying rhythm: classic openings, a large arched opening, rectangular fenestrations characterised by their larger size and baroque style ornaments and mouldings, probably replacing previous types (e) (fig. 74).



Some openings, or groups of these, stand out through a change of scale or because of the special care taken in their detailing. In the boundary wall of the Çorlulu Ali Pasha complex, a single, larger rectangular wall opening (fig. 62) interrupts the repetition of arched openings and stands out for its elaborate moulding frame profile and for the small fountain at its base.¹⁷³ The extensive fenestration, opening onto the cemetery behind it draws the attention of the passers-by towards the tombs inside the boundary wall; some of the tombs identified in the survey include that of the donor Çorlulu Ali

¹⁷³ The fountain was originally situated under the present level of the street surface. Not presently visible, it is represented in a 19th century etching (fig. 1).

Pasha and his son. In the central part of the boundary wall of the Atik Ali Pasha mosque (fig. 75), a group of three large arched openings provides an impressive increase in the height of the wall, producing a kind of ‘display’ effect towards the cemetery behind the wall (f). In the boundary wall of the Nişancı Mehmet Pasha complex three openings, of the same kind and size as the other openings, but set closer together, form a group underlining the *türbe* of the donor. There is no increase in the size of the opening or a higher wall here, but there is special treatment of the jambs (fig. 78), that are very deep, similarly to the adjoining ones, but are hollow in their central part, thus increasing the visual breaks and the sense of lightness of the wall. The Şehzade complex has many groups of openings along the *bağire* stone wall. The height of the wall varies proportionally with these, and the double sloped crowning of the wall and the lower moulding subsequently move, vertically following the changes in height (g, h). The fenestration corresponding to the position of the *türbe* behind the wall (figs. 70, 71), have hollow jambs common to two openings, as in the Nişancı Mehmet Pasha complex.

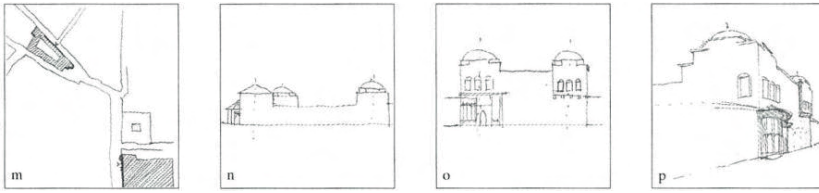


On the fenestrated precinct walls are inserted *sebil* and fountains. In the Gazanfer Ağa (fig. 27), Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha, Damat Ibrahim Pasha (fig. 56), Koca Sinan Pasha (fig. 62) and Sultan Mahmut II (fig. 82) complexes, the *sebil* are in continuity with the masonry of the fenestrated wall but form advancing volumes into the street, contributing to the overall articulation of the funerary memorial precinct walls. In the Gazanfer Ağa, Damat Ibrahim Pasha, Koca Sinan Pasha complexes, the *sebil* is on a corner, and becomes an overhanging and conclusive element of the boundary walls, taking on an important role as the junction of several roads (i). In the Kara Mustafa Pasha *medrese*, even though the *sebil* is on the corner of the complex, it does not jut out from the line of the street. It continues evenly the rhythmic progression of voids and fenestration sequences of the boundary wall (j).

In the Atik Ali Pasha complex, a fountain is present in the boundary wall of the mosque, in correspondence with an increase in height of the wall, originally caused by the presence of the *şadırvan* at this point inside the complex (k). The large fountain breaks the sequence of windows in the fenestrated wall. It is positioned close to the complex entrance and extends inside the bulk of the wall itself, jutting out from it through the mouldings of the jambs and of the crown. The fountain in the Damat Ibrahim Pasha complex, which is also large, concludes the boundary wall, between the body of the *medrese* and the corner *sebil*. Its crown juts out onto the street and is aligned with the adjoining *sebil*. In the Şehzade complex, apart from the large fountain at the northern entry, there are two small fountains situated along the fenestrated wall, at the sides of an opening and can be perceived in association with the central fenestration (fig. 70).

In exceptional cases the entry gate to the monumental complex can become an element that articulates the boundary wall. In the Gazanfer Ağa *medrese*, the entry is gate that juts out from the boundary wall, because of its greater height and elaborate construction. Entry is through a monumental gateway also in the boundary walls of the 19th century memorial stone complexes of Sultan Mahmut II and Nakşidil Sultan. But normally, in the boundary walls of the Atik Ali Pasha, Nişancı Mehmet Pasha, Koca Sinan Pasha, Kara Mustafa Pasha, Çorlulu Ali Pasha monumental complexes, entry is through an opening in the current masonry walling, underlined by a slight increase in the height of the wall or quite a large headway that on the map corresponds to a thickening of the wall, but usually does not jut out from the other elements of the fenestrated wall (1).

Articulation of the boundary walls situated on the street front, in the monumental buildings with only one body. In the monumental buildings made up of a single building body aligned with the street front, the architectonic elements facing onto the street are more complex. The entrance gate, the fountains, the *sebil*, the shops, all become part of the boundary wall of the building and are situated in the foreground of the urban space (m). The domes, the cornices, the protruding upper-floor rooms also contribute to the volumetric articulation of the building and give the boundary wall facing onto the street a three-dimensionality and complexity that suggest a dynamic perception well beyond the simple bi-dimensional interpretation of the façade.



The building corner on the main street or at crossroads is where architectural elements of public use or volumetric protrusions are most commonly situated. In the Kuyucu Murat Pasha *medrese* (fig. 29), at one end of the building, there is a *sebil*, aligned with a small entrance and with the body of *türbe*. This point of the building becomes a kind of urban watershed between two streets, one of which is a lane of the Divan axis. The protruding volume of the domed hall situated at the other end acts as a counterweight to the concentration of architectural elements present on this corner. On the main street, the central part of the building has a regular series of shops that shut off the inner courtyard of the *medrese* on the street front. It is lower than two the corner bodies it stretches between. The continuity and lack of stringcourses in the masonry emphasises this variation in height between the ends and the central part (n). In the Seyyit Hasan Pasha *medrese* (fig. 30) there is an increase in height at the two ends of the building on the street side, due to the presence of two domed halls situated on the first floor. The asymmetric architectural and volumetric elements jutting onto the street add to the verticality of these corners of the building (o). The cantilever of the *dersbane* on the first floor, at one end, counters the overhang of the *sebil* and its large, jutting out roof, at the other end (p). Furthermore, the movement of the cornice and the dovecote situated in the top part of the corner of the *dersbane* facing inwards to the courtyard, emphasise the importance of the corner and the way it is perceived from the street. In the Ekmekçizade Ahmet Pasha *medrese* (fig. 28), at a point where several streets meet, the side margin of the building has an increase in the height of the classroom and of the *türbe* volumes. There is also a *sebil* at this point of the building, at street level, and near it, a small *hazire*.

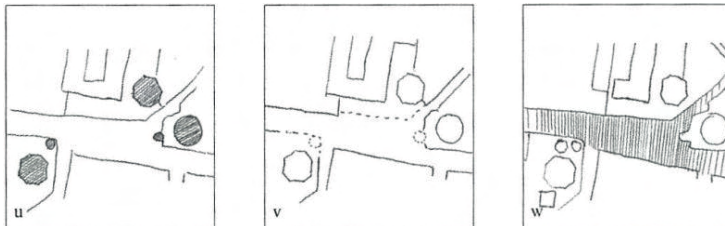


In some 18th century monumental buildings, can be seen a substantial differentiation in form, use and building techniques between the ground and upper floors on the street side. In the Seyyit Hasan Pasha *medrese*, some shops, a fountain and a *sebil* are situated on the ground floor, having a public function and direct use from the street; on the first floor we find the classrooms of the *medrese*, used for lessons and prayer. The street level was built in squared blocks of stone, the *sebil* and fountain in richly gilded marble, while on the upper floor, terminating with a jutting brick cornice, alternate rows of stone and brick were used. The contrast in the constructive simplicity of the upper floor with the formal showiness of the public elements on the ground floor is striking. In the Recai Efendi primary school (fig. 44), too, the plinth on the street has an elaborate marble facing, modelled on the convex surface of the *sebil* in the centre with at its sides fountains and entrance similarly moulded and profiled. The construction of the the first floor classroom masonry is simple and basic: the façade is in horizontal layers of stone and brick and the window lintels and jambs are squared from single blocks of stone (q). This difference in the treatment of the walls on the side of the building facing the street, with stone on the street level floor and a stone and brick first floor is also found in other monumental buildings, such as in the Hasan Pasha Hanı *han* and in the *mekteb* of the Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha complex. (r, s). In both these buildings, the shops are situated on the ground floor, and the upper floors hold the rooms where the actual functions of the building take place. The Cevri Kalfa school (fig. 43), a 19th century building, revives the formal distinction of the street façade floors, not by differentiating the masonry treatment, but through the cantilever of the room on the first floor on the plinth of the lower floor, where a fountain and door are symmetrically placed on the sides of the main building (t).

Relationships between neighbouring monumental buildings. In the eastern part of the Divan axis, the proximity along the same section of street of three *medrese*, Koca Sinan Pasha, Çorlulu Ali Pasha, Kara Mustafa Pasha (figs. 58, 59, 60), which share architectonic lexicon and rules

(dimensions and heights, relationship between street section and elevation, building materials and techniques, composition and ornamental elements), gave rise, within a common urban space, to the formation of visual and formal relationships between these monumental buildings. In their present state, after the demolitions in the late 19th century and the widening of the street in the 1950s,¹⁷⁴ there is a partial alteration of the architectonic and perception relationships between the three monuments. The urban space we refer to therefore precedes these urban transformations, but the fact that these three complexes have been well-preserved makes it possible to verify the considerations regarding the distinctiveness of this site.

The three *medrese* were built over slightly more than a century. The street limit is defined in all three monumental complexes by the fenestrated boundary wall and the main bodies of buildings remain behind this. The *türbe*, present inside every complex, and the *sebil* on the corner of the boundary walls, generate a perceptive connection between these elements in the urban space since their form and volume makes them stand out. (u).



The connection between these architectures, which have a bearing on their common urban context, is due to shared linguistic elements, such as the arches set on semi-colonnades/pillars in some sections of the fenestrated boundary walls and in the *sebil* (v), to the common use of materials, freestone masonry and the lead roofing of the *türbe*. It ensues that in the perception of this architecture from the street, the sum of formal relations gives a sense of unity to the urban space enclosed by the three monumental ensembles (w).

The concentration of several monumental complexes in other sections of the Divan axis lead us to suppose that similar relations may have existed at other points along the route. But the

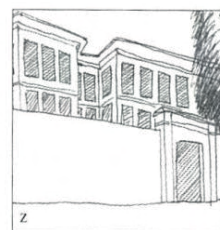
¹⁷⁴ See Appendix to Chapter 10.

transformations and destructions caused by urban planning operations and by the degradation of the buildings, limit the possibility to develop an exhaustive analysis on other urban contexts along the axis. The mid-19th century etching by Thomas Allom (fig. 57) might legitimate the hypothesis that similar situations may have existed, near the Damat Ibrahim Pasha *medrese*, in the mutual links between the Direkler Arası arcade, the *sebil*, the fenestrated *bazire* wall and the entrance to the janissary barracks. The demolition of most and the lack of sufficient documentation prevents full verification.



Fig. 81: *View of the Kara Mustafa, Çorlulu, Koca Sinan group of medreses before street widening operations in the 19th and 20th centuries (reconstruction).*

Serial timber housing on the background of or within monumental sequences. Now almost totally disappeared, typical Ottoman timber housing, up to the end of the 19th century was an almost prevalent architectural background along the axis for monumental architecture.



In some tracts, timber houses, in small groups of houses or singly, were placed between neighbouring monumental buildings (x). This is

particularly evident in the Pervititch maps for the Zincirlikuyu quarter (see also fig. 39 and houses in the background in fig. 1).

We have almost no photographic documentation of long curtains of timber houses in such quantities as to create a very characteristic and dominant background where monumental architecture and commercial buildings were sparse (y). They certainly existed, as registered by maps and by photos of the Valens aqueduct that show some timber houses, but they were replaced by masonry houses and office buildings very early in the 20th century.

The Pervititch maps and some rare photos show *konaks* which were free-standing and had wall-enclosed gardens (z). They were not frequent but did exist, especially in the eastern tract of the axis (see also fig. 40).

(EB, SD)

Chapter 9: Ritual and Power in Daily Urban Life

The Divan axis was a narrative not only of architectural and typological variations. For the townspeople it was also a journey through mythical and symbolical facts, familiar and yet forcefully pregnant: they might stop for a short prayer by the tombs, remember processions terrifying or joyful, admire the domes of the powerful, enjoy the sebils and fountains and evoke their real or imaginary donators. The vision of cemeteries architecturally enhanced and yet within the same scale and frame of everyday life, was obsessive: both an *et in Arcadia* ego reminder and proud invocation of communal roots in that soil.

Though the Divan axis was rich in ideological and ritual meanings for Ottoman society, they were not expressed by its general form, or at least, not in the way in which the myths and rituals of foundation of many other societies had determined homogeneous forms and plans.

Rykwert lucidly explores the ideas and dreams, and the beliefs hidden in the forms and functions of historical cities through their basic geometrical layouts, the recurrent symbolism of centre—fringe—gate, and insists on universal mental forms.¹⁷⁵ Such an interpretation would apply fairly well to each outstanding Ottoman monumental ensemble, but hardly to the Ottoman town parts. Not directly and not without much mediation.

As in many other Islamic towns, Ottoman Istanbul can be seen as a sum of heterogeneous foundations: *maballe*, *tekke*, *külliyè* etc. In the century of Fatih and Beyazıt this was literally true: the foremost pashas had actually founded the *maballe* and religious complexes that had ottomanised the city. Later the foundation concept was often enacted as re-foundation through restoration, and, sometimes, through mere renaming. The myth and ideology of foundation was all-pervading in the subtle rhetoric of donator epigraphy, but it rarely

¹⁷⁵ Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, Princeton: 1976. I am using the Italian translation: *L'idea di città: Antropologia della forma urbana nel mondo antico*, Torino 1981.

lead to geometrical forms in over-all urban parts.¹⁷⁶ In its hero-foundation-tomb accession¹⁷⁷, the psychological impact of the foundation concept on the aesthetics of urban space is magnificently exposed in the peculiar image of cemeteries (*hazire*) and in the characteristic dialogue of transparent precinct walls and monuments.¹⁷⁸ Piety certainly played a dominant role in the interiorization by the town's population of the sight of centrally placed *hazire* and of the practice of saying a short prayer for the dead whose tombs were visible from the street. The collective presence of the dead, or better, the sum of many individual sepulchres in the Ottoman scene has perhaps more impact than that of monuments to

¹⁷⁶ The patron, pasha or man of religion, often appears, or wishes to appear, as the founder of a *maballe* or an ensemble, even if he has only restored it.

¹⁷⁷ Rykwert *Idea of a Town*, 19-20.

¹⁷⁸ After 1860-70 inhumation was always in peripheral cemeteries (Eyüp and Üsküdar being the main areas). The tendency had been at work also in earlier decades. Only important personalities could be buried in central areas. The reuse of tombs in central *hazire* was current practice for the privileged. Of course, the symbolical and formal role of transparent precinct walls has also to be re-examined in view of tombstone positioning. The impressive turnover of tombstones suggests that such positions were coveted for their prestige, as much as, and perhaps more than pious reasons (the donator's wish to attract prayers after his death). Nicolas Vatin ("Sur le rôle de la Stèle Funéraire et l'Aménagement des Cimetières Musulmans à İstanbul" in *Melanges Prof. R. Mantran*, Zaghoun: Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Ottomans, Morisques, de Documentation et Information 1988) reports that in Eyüp some tombs might have two epitaphs, one on the effective burial place and, another one, on a tombstone placed near the *hazire* opening to the street. No evidence was found in that sense on the Divanyolu. Hans-Peter Laqueur, *Osmanische Friedhöfe und Grabsteine in Istanbul*, Tübingen, 1993, does not mention double-positioning of epitaphs. For cemeterial practice and norms, see: Nicolas Vatin, Stéphane Yerasimos, "L'implantation des cimetières ottomans intra muros à İstanbul" in *Cimetières et traditions funéraires*, II 37-56.

single individual heroes.¹⁷⁹ Rykwert's statement (à propos heroic foundations) that only a hero can found a city, and that an existing tomb can instil great attraction on the assembly of a new community, fits perfectly the Ottoman case if we are not thinking of the act of foundation as an overall creation of a new city.¹⁸⁰ The city, then, as we see it in the Divan axis, is the summation of eponymous foundations and of burial places. The form of the city is the sum of the single forms of these units, which sometimes possess recognizable form and boundaries, but always widely recognized meaning. It is not an autonomous form.

The elaborate protocol of the Pashas, their large retinues, the complicated ceremonial of mutual greetings, and the *alkış* of their own followers (see Chapters 2, 4 and 5), were not meant only to impress their peers, but were also an exhibition of power aimed at the town, calling up its humours and complicities. But Ottoman power found its own significant representation in signals which were fragmented and certainly not embedded in an overall town imagery. Indeed, those signals could be single monuments and buildings. More often, they were not directly architectural. They could be assumed through a technique of appropriation of natural landscape (siting), through the presence of costumes, of symbolic tools such as *tuğra*, symbolising military command, *nahil* symbolising abundance and generosity. A procession's symbolic significance could derive from its having incorporated these last elements, or because it touched certain places in town, rather than because it was enacted against a hieratic background of architectural scenery. After all, that of formal urban monumentality and its elements (triumphal arches, majestic colonnades, heroic perspectives) as symbol of—and commentary on—power, is a concept limited to specific epochs such as that of the post-republican Roman world, of the Mannerist and Baroque Western cities, and of few other periods, but not of Ottoman mentality. In the Surname-i Vehbi (see Chapter 2), the procession itself is perceived as being monumental, not its theatre.

¹⁷⁹ Even today the observer is impressed that visitors to Eyüp on Islamic festivities pray not only at Eyyub-i Ensari's tomb (he is the archetypical hero-founder for the city however apocryphal his sepulchre) but at all important tombs of pashas early or recent!

¹⁸⁰ Rykwert *Idea of a Town*, 19-20.

This is one of the keys for understanding the Ottoman use and perception of urban space.¹⁸¹

The over-all architecture of urban space was not decanted, as in the Renaissance Via Papale of Rome, into a harmonious scene, an abstraction of (and from) the chaotic and rich magma of urban facts, a concretion of architectural harmony previously perceivable only as a potentiality.¹⁸² This transition from immanent architectural form, and symbolical allegiance-adversity of people and town to power and court, into a codified and formally perceivable décor, was enacted only in some parts of the Divanyolu, and only in certain periods. Istanbul missed a development similar to that of Rome, both because of the nature of Ottoman urban aesthetics, and of the sultans' changing attitudes to the town and their changing preferences for various sites. Doubtless, the almost two-century-long occupation of the axis by the prominent pashas would have played against any imperial design. The struggle between Western and Ottoman visions of town design, so manifest during the last century of Ottoman rule, further aggravated the lack of magnificence in the overall architectural decorum.

Western observers shocked by the contrast of the daily disorder of the Istanbul streets with the magnificence of its processions and monuments, were extrapolating a rule from two historical periods—

¹⁸¹ Events and their architectural theatre acquired connotations similar to that of the European West only very late, certainly not before the last four decades of the 19th century, and only for some parts of the Divan axis and even there, with differences of nuance or even discrepancies due to the typological character of the existing buildings. Adequacy to the principles of parade-promenade-perspective and symmetry-seriality-façade continuum, much more decisive for Western-oriented symbolic and aesthetic modernization, than specific stylistic character which European Eclecticism could always absorb within its grammar, penetrated the eastern terminal (practically the Hippodrome), very timidly and with unresolved conflicts, in the Ayasofya-Çemberlitaş tract.

¹⁸² See Chapter 4. In Rome “*what had been received as a ritual form of political dialogue by the 15th century papacy was restructured in the 16th as unmitigated triumph*”, because in that century, the Via Papale had been transformed into an architecturally monumental sequence expressive of the Pope’s power (Ingersoll *The Ritual use*, 177-79).

late Antiquity, and Western Renaissance and Baroque—of their own background: the sublimation of urban chaos through urban architectural decorum. Not a universal truth. Their perception of Ottoman culture, which like the majority of urban cultures had not partaken of that climax, was consequently conditioned.

(MC)

Chapter 10: Reforms and the Conflict in Urban Conceptions

The axis underwent deep changes in the 19th century (see the appendix to this chapter). The ambiguous relationship of private property to public space in the Ottoman town, the inability of the vakif institution (private and religious but intended to subvene to public and lay necessities) to assume a total municipal control, the suffocation of increasing traffic in the mesh of narrow streets had been long perceived. The demand for reforms was in the air since the last decades of the 18th century. The frequent fermans in this sense were applied gradually after the fourth decade of the 19th century, during the so-called Tanzimat period, and later as part of the grand design of modernisation or ‘Westernisation’ of Ottoman society and institutions.

I shall discuss briefly the effects of the emerging modern municipal order on the axis, its inability to adopt any but rigid Western concepts of spatial organisation.

‘Westernisation’ as an architectural, and up to a certain degree, as an urban project, was the conclusion of an almost two centuries-old process of trial and error. Initially it was a cultural success: Western Baroque and Rococo concepts filtered into the Ottoman discourse without disrupting it, and enhanced the spatial and plastic continuity of the connective elements. At the end, superimposing rigidly the Western avenue concept on the existing situation, it cancelled the values that had been crystallized from mid Seventeenth century to the first decades of the Nineteenth. But could not, and did not, substitute those values with a tangibly coherent asset. I believe that the failure and its causes—the incompatibility of the 19th-20th century ‘modern’ Western idea of town and of its aesthetics with the ideas and techniques that gave form and character to the Ottoman urban space—have not been fully measured.

Paradoxically, the functional questions put forward to justify the substantial transformation of the fabric and of the street system have not been resolved by the very drastic measures adopted in a century and a half. Street widening has only postponed by a few years the functional crisis of the central thoroughfare which after enlargement attracted a quantity of traffic it could not possibly bear. Nor have

commercial patterns and uses changed much: shopkeepers, peddlers and customers have happily grafted 'oriental' ways on new spaces. The deepest and most dramatic effects were not functional, but of an ideological and architectural stand, and they regard more volume articulation and form of the fabric, rather than style, the idea of urban form rather than functional assets.

The conceptions of urban form and functions of the two systems—Western and Ottoman—are fundamentally opposed: the concentration and introversion and homogeneity of the *bazaar-çarşı* structure and its pedestrian lanes versus the chain-like long commercial streets of the West and its dependence on vehicular traffic; the open and low-density residential fabric of the Ottoman town as opposed to the more compact and dense fabric of the West European model; the typical Ottoman fragmentation in form, volume and direction versus the serial regularity of the modern avenue and its alignments; the loss of meaning of the vital 'short linkages' (see Chapter 8) when geometrically disciplined by long layouts and perspectives. Nineteenth century West European urban composition calls up public monumentality through the imposition of symmetry, distant axial perspective, and alignment on the street or referred to the street. Ottoman monuments of large or medium scale have slight reference to street alignments; they are mediated to public space by accessorial elements; façades are not prominent in their complex volume composition; Mecca-orientation and greenery further complicate their link to public space.

It is significant that in other situations single Ottoman monuments had been captured within a Western urban space concept as outstanding exceptions: in the Divanyolu they were too many, too frequent and of minor size to fit in, but mostly large enough to avoid demolition. The 'discourse' of urban culture they utter when inserted in the new grid, though 'tamed' by cuts, is too loud to be overwhelmed by the new elements; it merely loses its clarity and power of expression. This, of course, is all the more true of 15th to 18th century buildings, but even later monuments submit to a change in accents. One example is the 1839 Mahmut II mausoleum ensemble, in which Western architectural post-classicism prevails, and yet was part of the episodic form of the Ottoman street.



Fig. 82: *The Mahmut II funerary complex (1839) before street widening and levelling.*

After street widening and regularization, with the street level lowered, the basement steps impose a deliberately monumental and rhetoric separation from street level, the whole composition shifts weight from the Ottoman narration of urban space (see previous chapters) to the current Beaux-Arts composition principles of unity and symmetry. Both undercurrents had been active in the design of the building, but now one overcomes the other.

During the last four decades of the 19th century, many monumental buildings along the Divanyolu were submitted to ugly cuts to enlarge the street (see Appendix). The *medrese* of Kara Mustafa lost its shops; part of the Atik Ali *medrese* was demolished and realigned on the widened street. Shockingly coarse was the chopping off of the corner of the Çemberlitaş Hamam and of a good slice of the Köprülü *medrese* with incongruous façades in Moresque pseudo-Usul-ü-Osmaniye stuck on the bleeding stumps by Barborini¹⁸³ along the street line at an impossible angle for the architectural organisms they are supposed to complete. A face-(façade)-saving operation which after a few decades proved insufficient to meet traffic requirements, and was not able, in over 130 years, to recreate the fine

¹⁸³ See Cengiz Can, art. “Barborini, Giovanni Battista” in *Dünden bugüne İstanbul*, II 54, on the Italian architect active in Istanbul in the second half of the 19th century.

architectural linkage of the Ottoman Divanyolu or to open the way for a coherent new language.



Figs. 83, 84: *The central tract of the Divanyolu before and after street cuts in the second half of the 19th century. Above around 1848; below around 1880 (compare with present situation, plate V below).*



Figs. 85, 86: *The Divanyolu near Çemberlitaş after street widening. Above: the Barborini arrangement of the amputated façade of the Valide Hamam at the end of the 19th century. Below: in 2002; to the left can be seen the Barborini redesign of the Köprülülü medrese façade on the street.*

Exceptional trees and single groves had been part of the glories of Ottoman Istanbul. But how could trees be planted and taken care of individually, with an eye to single botanic and visual situations, when all the European texts and manuals promoted the ‘new’ vision of boulevards and avenues with mile-long lines of trees, all of the same type and growth? The subtle rhythm of the hazire walls, the trees here and there in nooks and gardens, the small ornamental elements of varying size and profile of the previous Ottoman scene, all lost

their formal privilege, their ‘short linkages’, and hence their significance, when hidden by avenue-like tree lines. Ever miserly rows of trees (standing there since a century and a half, over and over replanted in a sort of caricature of the European avenue concept) muffle the perception of the once splendidly emergent single trees within the hazire and courtyards.¹⁸⁴

The traditional Ottoman structure and town-keeping could be shocking for 19th century Ottoman technicians and intellectuals formed on a Western-oriented vision of urban values. The querulous tone of many reports concerning the disorder of the Divanyolu in the Mecelle-i-Umumiye,¹⁸⁵ prove that they saw in it above all lack of propriety. The struggle of the elite to modernise the country and to absorb universally progressive qualities, certainly a vital necessity, was too great to allow finesse and gradualness.¹⁸⁶ The partisans of municipal reform simply did not have the cultural instrumentation (technological and aesthetic) necessary to cope with the subtlety and the individualism of situations prominent in the traditional town fabric.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ Magnificent tree-lined boulevards had been formed in the void spaces of Dolmabahçe and Yıldız in the 19th century, but not here, in the throbbing heart of the city, where the contextual conditions would not consent an aesthetic and ideological *tabula rasa*.

¹⁸⁵ Ergin *Mecelle*, VII 3896, 3902: reports and complaints against huts and provisional structures in the “honourable and select places [*mûtenâ ve şerefli mahaller*]” of the Divanyolu and Grand Bazaar surroundings.

¹⁸⁶ Günkut Akın, “Tanzimat ve bir Aydınlanma Simgesi”, in *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Dönemi*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı 1993, 129, draws a striking contrast between the symbolic reference to Illuminism in the globe of the Mahmut II fountain and the unsensitive cut of the corner of the Çemberlitaş Hamam (see note above), just a few meters away, in the same period. The author also calls attention to the relation between the Divanyolu’s being a residential area for the 19th century elite and the presence of such a symbol.

¹⁸⁷ The urban reform commission reports, from 1839 on, reflect the faith of Ottoman reformists in European town planning and street-enlargement. See: Çelik *Remaking*, 50-51. Ergin *Mecelle*, II 938-58, II 1003 (1839 report establishing a minimum of 20 zirâ/12 meters), II 1007 (a compromise is reached on 10 zirâ for

The process of change and reform has not been able to weld together past and present, nor to underline their distinction. One grammar and one ideology petered out, but they were not substituted by a coherent new grammar and ideology. The formal values put forward by each of the still standing elements, the idea of a town it implied, were contradicted and blurred by its neighbours, old but de-contextualised, or new and conceived for a totally different context. It is not a matter of aesthetic judgment or of urban and architectural restoration techniques. It is a matter of unresolved conflicts in the idea of town (its life, symbols, cultural interpretation) and formal logic (the linguistic origin and potential of each constitutive element, the relations to the context it implies).

(MC)

the main streets). Ibid., III 1222, VII 3896, 3902, for 19th and early 20th century deliberations and reports in which the almost petulant references to the decorum of the select and ‘proud’ quarters of the city contaminated by tumble-down sheds and popular activities. Ergin *Mecelle*, III 1245, quotes a Mimar Mazhar Bey who accuses the Tanzimat reform practice as being *hypocritical and un-national* (“*riyâkâr ve milliyetsiz*”). Parisian boulevards are the model. Measures regarding conservation of monuments, and not of urban fabric, also seem to have been taken from European practice and theory. The modality of urban reform denotes a total incomprehension of the Ottoman urban syntax, curiously specular to the incomprehension of urban classicism that the Ottomans had shown (see Chapter 3).

Appendix to Chapter 10: Change and Reform in the 19th Century

In the 19th century a vast reformatory movement absorbed Ottoman society. In the city of Istanbul, this led to a season of changes, drawn out over a century, eroding a fair share of the historical city. The combination of causes and the reasons that determined this historical period, the urban planning operations that were implemented and the consequences that they had on the form of the city, have been dealt with and analysed in several studies.¹⁸⁸ In this appendix we intend to examine the changes and actions that modified the historical routes and the monuments of the Divan axis, mainly in the 19th century and subsequently in the 20th century.

¹⁸⁸ See Stéphane Yerasimos, “A propos des réformes urbaines des Tanzimat”; İlhan Tekeli, “Nineteenth century transformation of Istanbul metropolitan area” in: *Villes Ottomanes a la fin de l'Empire*, Paris: Ed. l'Harmattan 1992, 1-32 and 33-45; Çelik *Remaking*; Alain Borie, Pierre Pinon, Stéphane Yerasimos, *L'occidentalisation d'Istanbul au XIX siècle*, Paris-La Défense: BRA-E.A 1991; Pierre Pinon, “Trasformazioni urbane tra il XVIII e il XIX secolo”, *Rassegna di architettura* 72 (1986), 53-61; Eldem “Istanbul”.



Fig. 87: *The principal areas submitted to deep modification of the urban fabric in the 19th century along the Divan axis (grey grid).*

In the 19th century there was no overall transformation plan, despite the many new building regulations. The procedure was quite haphazard, resolving case by case the urban situations that needed change or for which existed the will to modify. The main transformations that affected the Divan axis in the 19th century were: the widening of pre-existing streets, the replacement of timber houses with other types and techniques, and the subsequent introduction of a new “rational” layout of the urban blocks, and lastly, the creation of urban squares resulting from the demolition of the city blocks near important monuments.

Widening of the streets and regularisation of the city blocks in the 19th century. The 1839 Tanzimat reform introduced regulations relating to urban form, mainly regarding the minimum width of existing streets. After the large fires of 1848 and 1863, which involved extensive areas of the city, new building regulations progressively increased the minimum street widths, and regulations on the replacement of fire-damaged timber houses with new stone and brick buildings were introduced. The basic regulation concerning plot subdivision and

layout after the fires was of 1863. It included norms on the geometrically regular layout of the new blocks. The technical problems of street orientation in the new blocks were dealt with in an official communiqué in 1867 concerning the great Hoca Pasha fire of 1865.¹⁸⁹

Following this fire, which affected the eastern part of the Divan axis, the section between the Firuz Ağa mosque and the Koca Sinan Pasha *medrese* was widened. The width of the street was doubled overall¹⁹⁰, leading to the partial demolition of monumental buildings aligned with the previous street width. Some parts of the Köprülü Mehmet Pasha *medrese*, the Atik Ali Pasha *medrese* and the Çemberlitaş *hamam* were amputated of certain building portions facing the street, while the precinct wall of the Atik Ali Pasha mosque was moved back to adapt to the new alignment. Furthermore, the neighbourhoods to the north and south of the route were regularised, eliminating blind alleys and twisting streets, widening the roads and introducing a more or less orthogonal network of blocks.

During the second half of the 19th century, some parts of Direkler Arası *arasta* were progressively demolished to widen the street. First of all, the portico arcades to the north were demolished.¹⁹¹ Later the south arcades were eliminated, and, gradually, some shops were demolished or converted. Between the late 19th century and the early 20th century, only two bodies of shop buildings of the original building of the *arasta* had remained. In the building to the north, the shops were progressively replaced with theatres and cinemas. The width of the street was more or less doubled, allowing a dual tramway line to be laid.

¹⁸⁹ See Pinon “Trasformazioni”, 55.

¹⁹⁰ See Appendix to Chapter 2.

¹⁹¹ The plan of the *arasta* in the Pervititch insurance map (*Perv mp 1904-40*) and the 1880 map (*Ist 1880 mp*) suggest that the northern porticoes were already demolished in 1880.



Fig. 88: Occasional street widening along the Divan axis in the Fatih-Karağimriik section. Extract from the 1929 Pervititch map with the street margins underlined.

It can be assumed that in various sections of the Divan axis, in the period between 1839 and 1880, some of the street widening that took place did not affect the monumental buildings, but minor buildings such as houses and shacks. An example of this can be found in the north-western part of the Divan axis lanes, and in particular in the Zincirlikuyu street. Before the introduction of the 19th century regulations on street widths, we can presume that the average width was 5 metres at the most.¹⁹² Conversely, in the Pervititch insurance maps¹⁹³ regarding this section, which represent the 1933 situation, but that was probably not much different from that at the end of the 19th century, considerable diversities in width along the route, even within short sections can be observed. In the vicinities of the Atik Ali Pasha mosque the street width varies from 5 metres to 10 metres (fig. 88). This casual discontinuity of the street margins probably derives from the progressive demolition of small buildings, in most cases

¹⁹² This width can be found at the Nişancı Mehmet Paşa mosque and the cemetery facing it which presumably is still in its original position.

¹⁹³ See *Perv mp* 1904-40.

very common shacks, which narrowed the street, as well as from an episodic application of 19th century building regulations. In the 1860s, part of the historical layout was regularised around the Edirne gate (Edirnekapı), in the quarters formerly Greek or Christian (or as such indicated in the Stolpe maps).

Demolition of blocks near Ayasofya and the Beyazıt mosque in the 19th century. Towards the end of the 19th century a policy to clear the areas around some important monuments was implemented in a way similar to that of early 19th century Europe. In some cases it was considered inappropriate to have minor buildings near important monuments.

The official communiqué of 1867 relating to the great Hoca Pasha fire, apart from indications on building reconstruction, also included the creation of free spaces around Ayasofya by demolishing some of the city blocks adjoining it, even if not affected by fire. Large sections of the residential fabric were demolished, in particular a housing block facing the sultan mausoleums, thus forming rise rectangular square on the southern side of the monument.

Similarly, the buildings set up for trade that delimited the area between the mosque, the Beyazıt *medrese* and the wall enclosure of the Eski Saray were demolished, freeing the space around the mosque and delineating the present Beyazıt Meydan.¹⁹⁴

In the 20th century, new urban planning operations, accomplished in two stages, in the twenties and thirties, and in the fifties and sixties, led to the progressive disappearance of entire sections of the historical Divan axis. The dissolution of the historical routes took place mainly after the existing building structure was completely torn down, generating new urban axes made up of large, straight avenues. Adaptation of the city blocks to the new margins and the construction of new fabric traced perpendicularly to the new orientation, followed.

¹⁹⁴ The area surrounding the Beyazıt mosque and the zone of the Hippodrome were both redesigned by Bouvard at the end of the 19th century as monumental squares. However, these projects were never executed, although the two squares were extended and remodelled in the 1950s.

First stage of transformations and urban dismantling in the 20th century. In the early decades of the 20th century, a wide avenue was formed from Edirnekapı up to near the Beyazıt square. It was more than three kilometres long and took on the role of infrastructure first of all for tram traffic, then automobile. In its northernmost tract, the new avenue overlapped the historical route that had united Edirnekapı with the reservoir of Aetios (Çukurbostan). The construction of this avenue led to the demolition of a number of monumental buildings situated along the Divan axis and to the definitive disappearance of great parts of its course. The external row of *medrese* on the southwestern side of the Fatih complex was demolished, and the lane within the double row of *medrese* on completely lost. It ensued that the importance of the entries on the western side of the complex diminished. The new axis was tangent to the Fatih complex. The quarters around the mosque were regularised on an orthogonal layout set by the direction of the complex, and some minor monumental buildings not aligned in the same way demolished. South of the aqueduct of Valens, the historical layout of the Divan axis, a sizeable portion of which disappeared with the new axis, and the monumental buildings that were lined up with it were demolished. The long line of shops on the southern side of the Direkler Arası *arasta*, which had survived without porticoes up to the early decades of the 20th century, though in line with the new avenue, were finally demolished during the first half of the century.

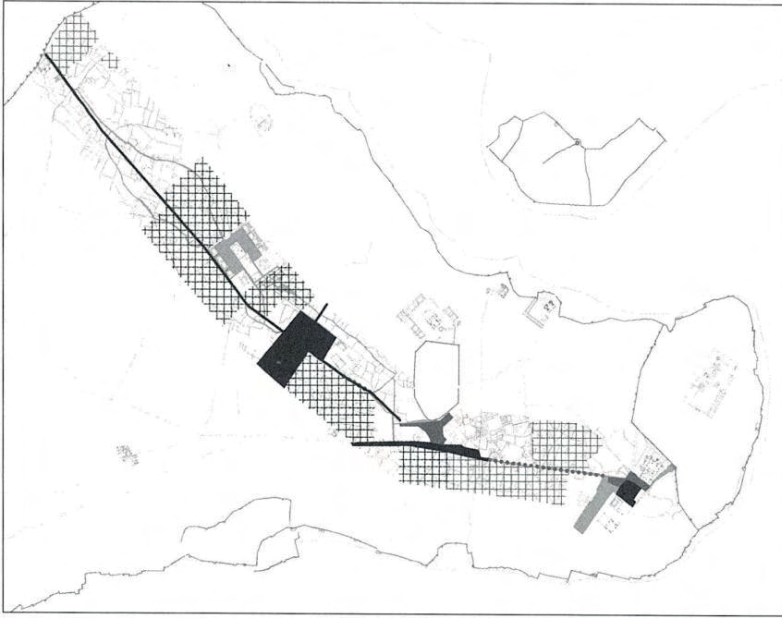


Fig. 89: The principal areas submitted to deep modification of the urban fabric (grey grid) and new large open space (in black) in the 20th century along the Divan axis.

Second stage of transformations and dismantling of the historical system in the 20th century. Around mid-century, the extensive urban planning operations aiming at the creation of large road network infrastructures from the historical town towards the suburbs outside the Theodosian city walls, acquired further momentum. The second stage of operations was carried out as delineated in the early forties of the 20th century by the Henri Prost city plan, which had proposed the creation of new large thoroughfare through the historic city out to the suburbs towards the quarters of Galata and Pera, across the Golden Horn.¹⁹⁵

After the Edirnekapı-Beyazıt Meydanı roadway was constructed between the nineteen-thirties and nineteen-fifties, more demolitions took place in the area between the Fatih complex, the aqueduct of Valens and the Şehzade complex. This razing delineated, towards the Golden Horn, the Atatürk Bulvarı roadway, perpendicular to the aqueduct, progressively removing portions of the existing fabric.

¹⁹⁵ See Pinon “Trasformazioni”, 58.

In the nineteen-fifties and nineteen-sixties Atatürk Bulvarı became a very wide avenue, as it is now. Consequently, once the remaining buildings demolished, the large urban gap, a sizeable part of which is presently taken up by a traffic interchange area, led to the definitive break in the continuity of the historical Divan axis. In particular, the historic route north of the aqueduct was split by the new Atatürk avenue, while the lane south of the aqueduct, already compromised by the first stage operations, disappeared completely.

In the Beyazıt area, whole city blocks south of the mosque were demolished to widen the street to Aksaray,¹⁹⁶ increasing the empty space around the complex, already formed through 19th century demolitions. As far as the new street alignment was concerned, two important 18th century *han*, the Hasan Pasha Ham and the Simkeşhane, were cut through losing half their surface. Moreover, the Kemankeş Mustafa Pasha *medrese* was totally demolished, some architectonic elements of the Kara Mustafa Pasha *medrese* complex—precinct walls, *sebil* and cemetery—were moved back to allow the passage of the new tram line, and its shops on the north façade of the complex were eliminated.

(EB, SD)

¹⁹⁶ This operation too can be traced back to the Prost plan.

Catalogue of Monuments

The following is an abbreviated version of the Catalogue of Monuments of the research project. It contains the list of all *vakıf* and public buildings of the Ottoman period whose existence has been ascertained and roughly located in maps and documents within a nearly 600 meter wide urban strip along the Divan axis. The aim of the catalogue is not that of architectural investigation as far as single buildings are concerned, but to support maps and general considerations contained in the main text with useful data. Some of the drawings and photographs of the original catalogue are included in the main text. Many of the monuments have been documented in extant literature under various names: after the main appellation in bold face, some of these are indicated. The type category '*mekteb*' refers always to '*sıbyan (sübyan) mektebi*'.

Bibliographical sources, as well as reference to the name of the architect, have been omitted in the case of widely known and well documented monuments, as far architectural aspects are concerned, but have been maintained where pertinent to site and urban structure. The question mark after 'Built/founded' or 'Demolished' means that no construction or demolition date has been found.

Abbreviations used in the Catalogue referring to Bibliography and Maps (see) are:

A Sıby	Aksoy İstanbul sıbyan mektepleri
DBI	Dünden Bugüne İstanbul
Ekyab	Ünsal "Eski Eser kaybı"
EmCam	Eminönü camileri
FthCam	Fatih camileri
Goodwin	Ottoman Architecture
GM	The Garden of the Mosques
ISR	İstanbul şehri rehberi 1934
IstCam	Öz İstanbul Camileri
IstHamamları	Haskan İstanbul hamamları
IstHanları	Güran İstanbul Hanları
Ist1810 mp	Map Seyyit Hasan 1810

Ist1880 mp	Mühendishane-i-H. map
KurSinan	Kuran Sinan
MW	Müller-Wiener Bildlexikon
MW mp	general map, <i>ibid.</i>
Perv mp	Insurance maps 1904-40
Stlp mp	Stolpe Plan de la Ville 1863.

The referential map coordinate numbers are those of MW mp, and where this last does not show the monument catalogued a progressive number has been added to the same map rectangle reference. The names of the quarters and *maballes* having changed in the course of time, both those reported by Stolpe (1864) and Ergin (ISR 1934) are included when possible, with the same orthography of the source, even when obviously differing from modern Turkish.

C3/10a Mihrimah Camii, Mihriban Sultan Camii

Built/founded: 1547-48 Type: mosque in complex with: *hammam* (C3/10b), *medrese*, *türbe* Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Maballe*: Hatice Sultan (ISR), Hadji Muheddin (Stlp mp); Street: Edirne Kapısı Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp C3/10 Bibl.ref.: MW, 442 / DBI V, 454 / GM , 26 / IstCam I, 49 / FthCam, 165 Note: The mosque had no *maballe* (GM).

C3/10b Merdivenli Mihrimah Sultan Hamamı

Built/founded: 1547-48 Type: *hammam* in complex with: mosque (C3/10a), *medrese*, *türbe* Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Maballe*: Hatice Sultan (ISR), Hadji Muheddin (Stlp mp); Street: Edirne Kapısı Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp C3/10 Bibl.ref.: MW, 442 / DBI V, 455 / IstHamamları, 243.

C3/12 Hatice Mescidi, Sultan Mescidi

Built/founded: 1805; Demolished: around 1920s Type: mosque Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Maballe*: * (ISR), Dervisch Ali (Stlp mp); Street: Edirne Kapısı Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp C3/12 Bibl.ref.: GM, 142 / IstCam I, 124 n302 / FthCam, 204 Note: *In 1934 (ISR) the site is on public space outside *maballe* boundaries.

C3/25 Ekmekçi Muhyiddin Camii

Built/founded: Fatih period; Demolished: around 1920s Type: mosque Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Maballe*: * (ISR), Dervisch Ali (Stlp mp); Street: Edirne Kapısı Caddesi Note: *In 1934 (ISR) the site is on public space outside *maballe* boundaries. No direct bibliographic data found (see ref. DBI VIII, 133).

C4/5 Nişancı Mehmet Paşa Camii

Built/founded: 1584-88 Type: mosque in complex with: *türbe*, *bazire*, *medrese* (C4/35)* Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Maballe*: Koca Dede (ISR), Nischandji Pascha (Stlp mp); Street: Zincirlikuyu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp C4/5 Bibl.ref.: MW, 447 / DBI VI, 86 / GM, 233 / IstCam I, 110 / FthCam, 183/ KurSinan, 301, 234-37 Note: Attributed to a disciple of Sinan (KurSinan, 234-37) though included in the list of Sinan works (KurSinan, 301). * The Çukur Medrese (C4/35) probably connected to the court of the mosque (see Ist1880 mp and MW mp).

C4/6a Keskin Dede Camii, Efdalzade Camii, Efdalzade Hamideddin Mescidi

Built/founded: Beyazid II period; Demolished: 1945 Type: mosque in complex with: *medrese* Kadiasker Mustafa Efendi (C4/6b) Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Mahalle*: Beyliğiz (ISR), Jeni Tschitschek o Nischannđji Pascha (Stlp mp); Street: Zincirlikuyu Caddesi, Mehmed Ağa Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp C4/6 Bibl.ref.: GM, 205, 233 / IstCam I, 88 n190 / FthCam , 151.

C4/6b Kadiasker Mustafa Efendi Medresesi, Efdalzade Medresesi

Built/founded: before 1686-1687; Demolished: 1945 Type: *medrese* in complex with: mosque Keskin Dede (C4/6a) Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Mahalle*: Beyliğiz (ISR), Jeni Tschitschek o Nischannđji Pascha (Stlp mp); Street: Zincirlikuyu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp C4/6 Bibl.ref.: FthCam, 238 / GM, 205.

C4/7 Şeyhül İslam Mehmed Efendi Medresesi, Malul-Zâde Medresesi

Built/founded: Murat III period; Demolished: ? Type: *medrese* Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Mahalle*: Beyliğiz (ISR), Jeni Tschitschek (Stlp mp); Street: Zincirlikuyu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp C4/7 Bibl.ref.: FthCam, 239.

C4/8a Üçbaş Mescidi, Nureddin Hamza Mescidi

Built/founded: 1532 Rebuilt: 1960 Type: mosque in complex with: *medrese* (C4/8b) Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Mahalle*: Beyliğiz (ISR), Jeni Tschitschek (Stlp mp); Street: Mehmed Ağa Caddesi, Zincirlikuyu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp C4/8 Bibl.ref.: DBI VII, 333 / GM, 57 / IstCam I, 148 / FthCam, 220 Note: The original building has been attributed to Sinan (KurSinan).

C4/8b Üçbaş Medresesi

Built/founded: 1530-31 Rebuilt: 1960 Type: *medrese* in complex with: mescit (C4/8a) Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Mahalle*: Beyliğiz (ISR), Jeni Tschitschek (Stlp mp); Street: Mehmed Ağa Caddesi, Zincirlikuyu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp C4/8 Bibl.ref.: DBI VII, 333 / GM, 57.

C4/9 Halil Efendi Medresesi, Kadir Halil Medresesi

Built/founded: ? Type: *medrese* Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Maballe*: Beyliğiz (ISR) Muhtesib Iskender (Stlp mp); Street: Zincirlikuyu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp C4/9 Note: Bibliographic data not found.

C4/10 Zincirlikuyu Hamamı, Semiz Ali Paşa Hamamı

Built/founded: Süleyman I period; Demolished: 1959* Type: *hammam* Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Maballe*: Beyliğiz (ISR) Muhtesib Iskender (Stlp mp); Street: Zincirlikuyu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp C4/10 Bibl.ref.: MW, 324-25 / FthCam, 309/ IstHamamları, 301 Note: *Partial demolition of timber façade. In 1995 complete demolition (IstHamamları).

C4/11 Atik Ali Paşa Camii, Zincirlikuyu Camii

Built/founded: 1500 circa Type: mosque Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Maballe*: Beyliğiz (ISR), Muhtesib Iskender (Stlp mp); Street: Atik Ali Paşa Sokağı Map ref.: MW mp C4/11 Bibl.ref.: MW, 374 / DBI I, 403 / GM, 133-135 / IstCamI, 159 / FthCam, 222 Note: Same period and patron as F7/11 (GM).

C4/12 Hattat Mustafa Rakim Türbesi

Built/founded: 1825 Type: *türbe* Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Maballe*: Beyliğiz (ISR), Muhtesib Iskender (Stlp mp); Street: Atik Ali Paşa Sokağı Map ref.: MW mp C4/12 Bibl.ref.: FthCam, 356.

C4/13 Semiz Ali Paşa Medresesi, Cedid Ali Paşa Medresesi

Built/founded: 1550-60 Type: *medrese* Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Maballe*: Derviş Ali (ISR), Muhtesib Iskender (Stlp mp); Street: Zincirlikuyu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp C4/13 Bibl.ref.: MW, 374, 366 / DBI II, 391 Note: Attributed to Sinan (KurSinan).

C4/19 Tahta Minare Camii, Tatlikuyu, Muslihittin, Muslihiddin Çavuş Mescidi

Built/founded: before 1520; Rebuilt: 1841 Type: mosque Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Maballe*: Muhtesir Iskender (ISR), Muhtesib Iskender (Stlp mp); Street: Uzun Yol Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp C4/19 Bibl.ref.: DBI VII, 225 / IstCam I, 144 / FthCam, 214.

C4/22 Mesih Ali Paşa Camii, Eski Ali Paşa, Mesih Mehmet Paşa Camii

Built/founded: 1585-86 Type: mosque Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Maballe*: Muhtesi Iskender (ISR), Kassab Baschi o Tschiraghi

Muheddin (Stlp mp); Street: Uzun Yol Map ref.: MW mp C4/22
Bibl.ref.: MW, 438 / DBI V, 406 / GM, 213 / IstCam I, 104 /
FthCam, 162 / KurnSinan, 232-34 Note: Attributed to Sinan's
disciple Davut Ağa (KurSinan).

C4/34 Ümmi Veled Medresesi

Built/founded: Sinan period; Demolished: ? Type: *medrese* Quarter:
Karagümrük (ISR); *Maballe*: Beyliğiz (ISR), Nischanndji Pascha (Stlp
mp); Street: Zincirlikuyu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp C4/34 Bibl.ref.:
GM, 233 / FthCam, 242 / KurSinan 267 Note: Attributed to Sinan
(KurSinan).

C4/35 Çukur Medresesi

Built/founded: ? Demolished: ? Type: *medrese* Quarter: Karagümrük
(ISR); *Maballe*: Koca Dede (ISR), Nischanndji Pascha (Stlp mp);
Street: Zincirlikuyu Caddesi Note: Bibliographic data not found.

C4/36 Name not found *

Built/founded: before 1520 (1512 circa); Demolished: ? Type: *mekteb*
Quarter: Karagümrük (ISR); *Maballe*: Muhtesir Iskender (ISR),
Muhtesib Iskender (Stlp mp); Street: Uzun Yol Caddesi Bibl.ref.:
GM, 175, 222 Note: * Has been associated to the neighbouring
mosque of Tahta Minare (C4/19) (GM).

C4/3 Koca Mustafa Hamamı, Eski Ali Paşa Hamamı

Built/founded: Sinan period; Demolished: 1918 Type: *hammam*
Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Hacı Üveys (ISR), Kassab Baschi
(Stlp mp); Street: Eski Ali Paşa Caddesi Bibl.ref.: MW, 324-325 /
FthCam, 307 / Sinan, 277 / IstHamamları, 214 Note: Attributed to
Sinan (KurSinan).

D4/26 Hafız Ahmet Paşa Camii

Built/founded: 1595 Type: mosque in complex with: *medrese, sebil*.
Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Şeyh Resmi (ISR), Tschiraghi
Muheddin (Stlp mp); Street: Corekçı kap. Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp
D4/26 Bibl.ref.: MW, 418 / DBI III, 492 / GM, 98 / IstCamI, 66 /
FthCam, 114 Note: The mosque had no *maballe* (GM).

D4/39 Kumrulu Mescit, Mimar Sinan Mescidi

Built/founded: 1550-75; Rebuilt: 1963-64 Type: mosque Quarter:
Karagümrük (ISR); *Maballe*: Koca Dede (ISR), Nischanndji Pascha

(Stlp mp); Street: Zincirlikuyu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp D4/39
Bibl.ref.: GM, 190 / IstCam I, 94 / FthCam, 155 Note: original
architecture attributed to Sinan (GM)

D4/41 Yahya Tevfik Efendi Medresesi

Built/founded: end 18th century; Demolished: around 1920s; Type:
medrese; Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Şeyh Resmi (ISR), Tschiraghi
Muheddin or Scheih Resmi (Stlp mp); Street: Yeni Çeşme Sokağı,
Tekye Sokağı Map ref.: MW mp D4/41 Bibl.ref.: GM, 485n.

D4/42 Pırınççı Sinan Ağa Mescidi

Built/founded: Fatih period; Demolished: around 1920s Type:
mosque Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Şeyh Resmi (ISR),
Tschiraghi muheddin (Stlp mp); Street: Tekye sokağı Map ref.: MW
mp D4/42 Bibl.ref.: MW, 409 / GM, 71 / IstCam I, 116 / FthCam,
192.

D4/44 Mustafa Çelebi Mektebi

Built/founded: 1777; Demolished: around 1920 Type: mekteb
Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Şeyh Resmi (ISR), Tschiraghi
Muheddin (Stlp mp); Street: Yeni çeşme Sokağı, Tekye Sokağı
Bibl.ref.: GM, 486 / A Siby, 111 Note: had a *sebil*.

D5/4a Küçük Karaman Hamamı

Built/founded: end 15th beginning 16th; Demolished: 1928 Type:
hammam Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Kirmasti (ISR), Tschiraghi
Muheddin (Stlp mp); Street: Malta Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp D5/4
Bibl.ref.: MW, 324-25 / FthCam, 308 / IstHamamları, 230.

D5/4b Efdalzade Medresesi

Built/founded: 1496-1503 Type: *medrese* Quarter: Merkez (ISR);
Maballe: Kirmasti (ISR), Tschiraghi Muheddin (Stlp mp); Street:
Cörekçi Kap. Caddesi, Süpürgeçiler Sokağı Map ref.: MW D5/4
Bibl.ref.: DBI III, 133 / FthCam, 91 Note: Dershane now mosque.

D5/4c Şekerci Hanı

Built/founded: end 17th century; Type: han Quarter: Merkez (ISR);
Maballe: Kirmasti (ISR), Tschiraghi Muheddin (Stlp mp); Street:
Süpürgeçiler Sokağı Map ref.: MW mp D5/4 Bibl.ref.: DBI VII, 157
/ GM, 205 / IstHanları, 231.

D5/5a Emir Buharî Tekkesi Camii

Built/founded: Beyazid II period; Rebuilt: 1963 Type: mosque in complex with: *zaviye* (D5/5b) Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Hacı Üveys (ISR), Molla Chosrew (Stlp mp); Street: Emir Buhari Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp D5/5 Bibl.ref.: DBI III, 167 / IstCam I, 51/FthCam, 162 / GM, 49 Note: The mosque had no *maballe* (GM).

D5/5b Emir Buharî zaviye

Built/founded: 1516; Demolished: around 1920s Type: *zaviye* in complex with: mosque (D5/5a) Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Hacı Üveys (ISR), Molla Chosrew (Stlp mp); Street: Emir Buhari Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp D5/5 Bibl.ref.: DBI III, 167 / IstCam I, 51 / FthCam, 276.

D5/6 Fatih Camii

Built/founded: 1462-70; Rebuilt: 1767-71, Type: mosque in complex with: *medrese*, *imaret*, 4 libraries (Cami iç, Fatih's first library, Carullah Veliyüddün Efendi, Sultan Mahmud I), mekteb, *türbes* of Fatih and of Gülbahar Sultan; Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Kirmasti (ISR), * (Stlp mp); Street: Deve Caddesi, Karaman Caddesi, Karaman-ı Kebir Caddesi, Yeni Han Sokağı, Cambaz Sokağı Map ref.: MW mp D5/6 Bibl.ref.: MW, 408-09 / DBI III, 262, 265-69 / GM, 11 / IstCam, I 56-58 / FthCam, 39-47, 354 / Goodwin, 395 Note: * *Maballe* undefined in Stlp mp. Sultan Mahmud I library dated 1763 (IstCam I, p1 58) or 1742 (DBI III, 268 / GM, 12 n53).

D5/14 Hüsam Bey Mescidi

Built/founded: 1612; Rebuilt: 1911 Type: mosque in complex with: *türbe* of Sun'Ullah Efendi Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Kırk Çeşme (ISR), Segban baschi (Stlp mp); Street: Destgâhcılar Caddesi, Zeyrek Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp D5/14 Bibl.ref.: GM, 102 / IstCam I, 74 / FthCam, 131.

D5/15 Gazanfer Ağa Medresesi

Built/founded: 1596; Type: *medrese* in complex with: *türbe*, sebil Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Kırk Çeşme (ISR), Kyrk tscheschme (Stlp mp); Street: Destgâhcılar Caddesi, Kırkçeşme Sokağı Map ref.: MW mp D5/15 Bibl.ref.: MW, 359 / DBI III, 375 / GM, 14.

D5/17 Manisalı Mehmet Paşa Camii, Kul camii

Built/founded: 1495; Rebuilt: 1964 Type: mosque in complex with: Atpazarı Tekkesi Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Hüssam Bey (ISR), Muknesi Tschelebi (Stlp mp); Street: Merdivenli Sokak, Destgâhcilar Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp D5/17 Bibl.ref.: DBI I, 420 / IstCam I, 94 / EmCam, 179 / FthCam, 160 / GM, 179-80.

D5/19a Dülgerzade Mescidi

Built/founded: 1502 Type: mosque in complex with: *medrese* (D5/19b) Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Sofular (ISR), Mahmud Pascha (Stlp mp); Street: Kızıtaşı Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp D5/19 Bibl.ref.: GM, 119 / IstCamI, 49 / FthCam, 90.

D5/19b Dülgerzade Medresesi

Built/founded: 1502; Demolished: ? Type: *medrese* in complex with: mescit (D5/19a) Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Sofular (ISR), Mahmud Pascha (Stlp mp); Street: Kızıtaşı Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp D5/19 Bibl.ref.: GM, 119 / FthCam, 236.

D5/21 Feyzullah Efendi Medresesi

Built/founded: 1700-01 Type: *medrese* Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Sofular (ISR), Kiredschi Hane o Mahmud Pascha (Stlp mp); Street: Halil Paşa Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp D5/21 Bibl.ref.: DBI III, 308-09 / GM, 110 Note: Includes mescit and library of Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi.

D5/25 Büyük Yıldız Hanı

Built/founded: ? Demolished: around 1920s Type: han Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Kirmasti (ISR), Kiredschi Hane or At Bazar (Stlp mp); Street: Sarraf Sokağı, Yeni Han Sokağı, Karaman-ı Kebir Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp D5/25; Bibl.ref.: MW, 275 / IstHanları, 230.

D5/26 Bahçeli Hanı

Built/founded: XVI secolo; Demolished: 1890 Type: han Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Kirmasti (ISR), Kiredschi Hane (Stlp mp); Street: Arslanhane, Karaman-ı Kebir Caddesi; Map ref.: MW mp D5/26 Bibl.ref.: MW, 275 / IstHanları, 147.

D5/27 Arablar Hanı

Built/founded: ? ; Demolished: around 1920s Type: han Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Kirmasti (ISR), Kiredschi Hane (Stlp mp);

Street: Nalbant Sokağı Map ref.: MW mp D5/27 Note: No bibliographic data found.

D5/28 Halil Paşa Camii

Built/founded: 1617-18; Demolished: 1927 Type: mosque Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Hasan Halife (ISR), Ibrahim Pascha or Kiredschi Hane (Stlp mp); Street: Halil Paşa Caddesi, Karaman Caddesi Bibl.ref.: GM, 109 / IstCam I, 66 / FthCam, 115.

D5/29 Kazasker Mektebi, Abdürrahman Efendi Mektebi

Built/founded: before 1520; Demolished: around 1920s Type: mekteb Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Hoca Üveys (ISR), Molla Chosrew (Stlp mp); Street: Emir Buhari Caddesi Bibl.ref.: GM, 49.

D5/30 Name not found*

Built/founded: ? ; Demolished: around 1920s Type: han Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Kirmasti (ISR), Kiredschi hane (Stlp mp); Street: Karaman-ı Kebir Caddesi Note: * Located near Arablar Hanı (D5/27), Bahceli Hanı (D5/26), Büyük Yıldız Hanı (D5/25). Bibliographic data not found.

D5/31 Rüştüye Mektebi

Built/founded: end of 19th century, before 1880; Demolished: around 1920s Type: mekteb Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Husam bey (ISR), At Bazar (Stlp mp); Street: Gözlemeci Sokağı Bibl.ref.: A Siby, 88.

D5/32 Kıztaşı Hamamı

Built/founded: Beyazıt II period; Demolished: 1908 Type: *hammam* Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Sofular (ISR), Mahmud Pascha (Stlp mp); Street: Kıztaşı Caddesi Bibl.ref.: MW, 324-325 / FthCam, 308 / IstHamamları, 210.

D5/33 Çukur Hamamı

Built/founded: 1848-88; Demolished: 1894* Type: *hammam* Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Kirmasti (ISR), Scheih Resmi (Stlp mp); Street: Çukur Hamam Sokağı Map ref.: MW mp D5/33 Bibl.ref.: MW, 324-325 / GM, 196 / IstHamamları, 123 Note: * Not used as *hammam* since 1810 (IstHamamları). Location hypothesis deduced from Ist1810 mp.

D5/34 Sultan Mahmut II sebili

Built/founded: 1745 Type: sebil Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Kirmasti (ISR), Tschiraghi Muheddin (Stlp mp); Street: Çörekçi Kapı Caddesi, Süpürgeciler Sokağı Bibl.ref.: DBI IV, 263-265 Note: Restored in 1822 by Sultan Mahmut II.

D5/35 Nakşidil Sutan külliyesi

Built/founded: 1818 Type: *türbe* in complex with: *sebil*, *bağire* (contains also *türbe* of Münire Sultan), needlecraft school; Quarter: Merkez (ISR) May be considered part of the Fatih complex Map ref.: MW D5/6 Bibl.ref.: DBI VI, 41/ FthCam, 322, 358 / Goodwin, 417 / MW, 409.

D6/1 Firuz Ağa Mescidi

Built/founded: 1490 circa; Demolished: 1934 Type: mosque Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Kirk çeşme (ISR), Yawaschdji Schahin (Stlp mp); Street: Şekerci Sokağı Map ref.: MW mp D6/1 ibl.ref.: IstCam I, 61 / GM, 176 Note: Same period and patron of F7/18 (GM).

D6/2 Mimar Ayaz Ağa Camii, Saraçhane Başı Mescidi

Built/founded: Beyazid II period; Demolished: 1957 Type: mosque Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Baba Hasan Alemî (ISR), Yawaschdji Schahin or Kiz Taschi (Stlp mp); Street: İbrahim Paşa Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp D6/2 Bibl.ref.: DBI V, 467 / IstCamI, 119 n273 / FthCam, 197 / GM, 136.

D6/3 Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Medresesi

Built/founded: 1700 Type: *medrese* in complex with: *mescit* (1697-1702), *mekteb*, library, *türbe*, *sebil*, *bağire* Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Sofular (ISR), Kiz Taschi (Stlp mp); Street: Saraçhâne Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp D6/3 Bibl.ref.: DBI I, 238 / GM, 102-104 / IstCam I, 22-23 / FthCam, 132, 235.

D6/13 İbrahim Paşa Hamamı

Built/founded: Beyazit II period; Demolished: 1940 Type: *hammam* Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: * (ISR) Firuz Agha o Yawaschdji Schahin (Stlp mp); Street: İbrahim Paşa Caddesi, Mahmud Sokağı Map ref.: MW mp D6/13 Bibl.ref.: FthCam, 308 / EKayb, 22 / IstHamamları, 188 Note: *In ISR the site is on public space outside *maballe* boundaries.

D6/14 Ebulfazıl Mahmut Efendi Medresesi

Built/founded: 1648 circa; Demolished: 1940s Type: *medrese* Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: * (ISR), Raghıb Pascha o Kalender Hani (Stlp mp); Street: İbrahim Paşa Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp D6/14 Bibl.ref.: DBI III , 121 Note: **In ISR the site is on public space outside *maballe* boundaries.. Decaying in 1934 Perv mp.

D6/16 Hoşkadem Medresesi, Ankaravî Mehmed Efendi Medresesi

Built/founded: second half 17th cent. Type: *medrese* Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Baba Hasan Alemlı (ISR), Raghıb Pascha (Stlp mp); Street: Kırık Tulumba Sokağı Map ref.: MW mp D6/16 Bibl.ref.: GM, 66, 112 n 859 Note: *Haşıre* at corner of Kırık Tulumba Sok. - Reşid Paşa Sok. (Perv mp).

E5/26 Revanı Çelebi Mescidi, Koğacılar Mescidi

Built/founded: Selim I period; Demolished: 1942-43 Type: mosque Quarter: Merkez (ISR); *Maballe*: Kırk Çeşme (ISR), Kyrk Tscheschme (Stlp mp); Street: Küçük Kovacılar Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp E5/26 Bibl.ref.: DBI VI, 320 / GM, 131 / IstCam I, 93 n199 / EmCam, 159.

E6/2 Ekmekçi(zade) Ahmet Paşa Medresesi

Built/founded: first decade 17th century Type: *medrese* in complex with: *türbe*, *sebil*, *haşıre* Quarter: Beyazıt (ISR); *Maballe*: Molla Hüsrev (ISR), Scheih Gulistan Atik (Stlp mp); Street: Küçük Kovacılar Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp E6/2 Bibl.ref.: MW, 358 / DBI III, 146.

E6/3 Büyük Kovacılar Hamamı

Built/founded: Süleyman I period; Demolished: 1923 Type: *hammam* Quarter: Beyazıt (ISR); *Maballe*: Molla Hüsrev (ISR) Scheih Gulistan Atik (Stlp mp); Street: Kovacılar Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp E6/3 Bibl.ref.: IstHamamları, 84.

E6/4 Recai Mehmet Efendi Mektebi

Built/founded: 1775 Type: mekteb Quarter: Beyazıt (ISR); *Maballe*: Kalenderhane (ISR), Scheih Gulistan Atik o Kalender Hani (Stlp mp); Street: Küçük Kovacılar Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp E6/4 Bibl.ref.: DBI VI, 311.

E6/5 Burmalı Mescit

Built/founded: before 1553 Type: mosque Quarter: Beyazit (ISR); *Maballe*: Kalederhane (ISR), Kaleder Hani (Stlp mp); Street: Burmalı Mescit Sokağı Map ref.: MW mp E6/5 Bibl.ref.: GM, 73.

E6/6 Şehzade Camii

Built/founded: 1548-49 Type: mosque in complex with: *medrese*, library, *imaret*, *tabhane*, *bağire*, *türbe* of Şehzade Mehmet and of Rüstem Pasha Quarter: Beyazit (ISR); *Maballe*: Kalenderhane (ISR), Kalender Hani (Stlp mp); Street: Şehzadebaşı Caddesi, Şehzade İmaret Sokağı Map ref.: MW mp E6/6 Bibl.ref.: MW, 481 / DBI VII, 152 / GM, 18.

E6/7 Molla Hüsrev Mescidi, Sofular Mescidi

Built/founded: Fatih period Type: mosque Quarter: Beyazit (ISR); *Maballe*: Molla Hüsrev Alemleri (ISR), Scheih Gulistan Atik (Stlp mp); Street: Küçük Kovacılar Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp E6/7 Bibl.ref.: DBI V, 485 / IstCam I, 123 / EmCam, 143.

E6/10 Ataullah Efendi Mektebi

Built/founded: ? Type: mekteb Quarter: Beyazit (ISR); *Maballe*: Kalenderhane (ISR), Kalender Hani (Stlp mp); Street: Küçük Kovacılar Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp E6/10 Note: Bibliographic data not found.

E6/12a Damat İbrahim Paşa Medresesi,

Maktul İbrahim Paşa Medresesi, İbrahim Paşa Medresesi

Built/founded: 1720 Type: *medrese* in complex with: *mescit*, *sebil*, library, *bağire*, shop arcade street (*arasta* E6/12b); Quarter: Beyazit (ISR); *Maballe*: Kalenderhane (ISR), Kalender Hani (Stlp mp); Street: Direkleraşi Caddesi, Şehzade imaret Sokağı Map ref.: MW mp E6/12 Bibl.ref.: DBI IV, 131 / DBI II, 547 / IstCam I, 76 / Goodwin 1971, 370.

E6/12b Direkler Arası Kemerleri

Built/founded: 1720 ; Demolished: * Type: arcade street or *arasta*, considered part of complex in E6/12a Quarter: Beyazit (ISR); *Maballe*: Kalenderhane (ISR), Kalender Hani (Stlp mp); Street: Direklerarası Caddesi Bibl.ref.: DBI IV, 131 / DBI II, 547 / IstCam I, 76 Nota: * Part of arcades demolished around mid 19th century; remaining parts gradually substituted up to the first decades of the 20th.

E6/13a Acemiođlanlar Mescidi

Built/founded: Fatih period; Demolished: 1918* Type: mosque
Quarter: Beyazit (ISR); *Maballe*: Kemal Pařa (ISR), Ferdjum Yonus
(Stlp mp); Street: Acemođlu Sokađı Map ref.: MW mp E6/13
Bibl.ref.: EmCam, 11 / GM, 163 Note: *Totally demolished in 1918
(GM).

E6/13b Acemiođlanlar Hamamı, Meydan Hamamı

Built/founded: Süleyman I period Type: *hammam* Quarter: Beyazit
(ISR); *Maballe*: Kemal Pařa (ISR), Ferdjum Yonus (Stlp mp); Street:
Acemođlu Sokađı Map ref.: MW mp E6/13 Bibl.ref.: MW, 258, 324 /
DBI I, 62 / IstHamamları, 9.

E6/16 Kuyucu Murat Pařa Medresesi

Built/founded: 1610 circa Type: *medrese* Quarter: Beyazit (ISR);
Maballe: Camci Ali (ISR), Ferdjum Yonus o Awzal Saden o Sogan
Agha (Stlp mp); Street: Vezneciler Caddesi, Beřir ađa Sokađı Map
ref.: MW mp E6/16 Bibl.ref.: DBI V, 143 / MW, 362.

E6/17 Merdivenli Hamam, Merdibanlı Hamam

Built/founded: ? ; Demolished: ? Type: *hammam* Quarter: Beyazit
(ISR); *Maballe*: Süleymaniye el Maruf (ISR), Awzal Sadeh or Sogan
Agha (Stlp mp); Street: Kemeraltı Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp E6/17
Note: Bibliographic data not found.

E6/18 Seyyit Hasan Pařa Medresesi

Built/founded: 1745 Type: *medrese* Quarter: Beyazit (ISR); *Maballe*:
Camcı Ali (ISR), Sogan Agha (Stlp mp); Street: Vezneciler Caddesi
Map ref.: MW mp E6/18 Bibl.ref.: DBI VI, 543 / GM, 100.

E6/20 Kaptan Pařa Camii, Kapudan Pařa Camii

Built/founded: 1725 Type: mosque in complex with: mekteb
Quarter: Beyazit (ISR); *Maballe*: Süleymaniye el Maruf (ISR), Sari
Bajazid (Stlp mp); Street: Kapudan Pařa Sokađı Map ref.: MW mp
E6/20 Bibl.ref.: DBI IV, 433 / GM, 195 / EmCam, 102-104 /
IstCam I, 82.

E6/24 Sabuncu Hanı

Built/founded: ? Demolished: around 1920s Type: han Quarter:
Beyazit (ISR); *Maballe*: Kalenderhane (ISR), Sogan Agha (Stlp mp);
Street: Vezneciler Caddesi Note: Bibliographic data not found.

E6/25 Arpa Emini Mustafa Efendi Sıbyân Mektebi,
Kalenderhane Mektebi

Built/founded: before 1542 Type: mekteb Quarter: Beyazıt (ISR); *Maballe*: Kalenderhane (ISR), Kalender Hani (Stlp mp); Street: Küçük Kovacılar Caddesi Bibl.ref.: GM, 185 n1444 / A Sıby, 91.

E6/26 Name unknown*

Built/founded: ? Type: mekteb Quarter: Beyazıt (ISR); *Maballe*: Kalenderhane (ISR), Kalender Hani (Stlp mp); Street: Burmalı Mescit Sokağı Note:* Bibliographic data not found. In maps indicated near Burmalı Mescit (E6/5).

E6/27 Şehid Ali Paşa Kütüphanesi

Built/founded: 1710-11 Type: library Quarter: Beyazıt (ISR); *Maballe*: Kalenderhane (ISR), Kalender Hani (Stlp mp); Street: Şehzade Camii Sokağı Bibl.ref.: MW, 275 / DBI V, 173 / GM, 19.

E7/1 Beyazıt Camii

Built/founded: 1501-06 Type: mosque in complex with: *imaret*, library Şeyhülislam Veliyüddün Efendi, mausoleums, *medrese* (E7/2), *hammam* (E7/3) Quarter: Beyazıt (ISR); *Maballe*: Beyazıt (ISR), Sultan bejazid weli o Medresseh (Stlp mp); Street: Okcular başı Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp E7/1 Bibl.ref.: MW, 386-388 / DBI II, 88, 180/ DBI VII, 378 / GM, 16 Note: The Şeyhülislam Veliyüddün Efendi library wing was added to the mosque in 1768-1769 (GM).

E7/2 Beyazıt Medresesi

Built/founded: 1507 Type: *medrese* in complex with: mosque (E7/1), *imaret*, *türbe*, *hammam* (E7/3) Quarter: Beyazıt (ISR); *Maballe*: Camcı Ali (ISR), Sogan Aga o Medresseh o Sultan Bejazid Weli (Stlp mp); Street: Hasan Paşa Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp E7/2 Bibl.ref.: MW, 355 / DBI II, 180.

E7/3 Beyazıt Hamamı

Built/founded: 1500-05 Type: *hammam* in complex with: mosque (E7/1), *imaret*, *türbe*, *medrese* (E7/2) Quarter: Beyazıt (ISR); *Maballe*: Camcı Ali (ISR), Sogan Agha (Stlp mp) ; Street: Vezneciler Caddesi, Hasan Paşa Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp E7/3 Bibl.ref.: MW, 355 / DBI II, 93 / IstHamamları, 56.

E7/9 Hasan Paşa Hanı

Built/founded: 1745 Type: han Quarter: Kumkapi (ISR); *Maballe*: Tavşantaşı (ISR), Sogan Agha (Stlp mp); Street: Hasan Paşa Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp E7/9 Bibl.ref.: MW, 355 / DBI III, 566 Note: Partly demolished for street enlargement in the 1950s.

E7/10 Simkeşhane, Simkeşhanı

Built/founded: end 17th to beginning 18th century; Type: han Quarter: Kumkapi (ISR); *Maballe*: Tavşantaşı (ISR), Sogan Agha (Stlp mp); Street: Hasan Paşa Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp E7/10 Bibl.ref.: MW, 355 / DBI VI, 561 / IstHanları, 233 Note: Partly demolished for street enlargement in the 1950s (DBI III).

E7/11 Dibekli Emin Bey Mescidi

Built/founded: before 1514 Type: mosque Quarter: Kumkapi (ISR); *Maballe*: Tavşantaşı (ISR), Medresseh (Stlp mp); Street: Emin Bey Sokağı Map ref.: MW mp E7/11 Bibl.ref.: EmCam, 58.

E7/21 Sekbanbaşı Yakup Ağa Mescidi, Sofular Mescidi

Built/founded: Fatih period; Rebuilt: 1969 Type: mosque Quarter: Kumkapi (ISR); *Maballe*: Tavşantaşı (ISR), Sogan Agha (Stlp mp); Street: Yakup Ağa Sokağı Bibl.ref.: MW, 355 / IstCam I, 120 / EmCam, 168.

F7/2 Esad Efendi Kütüphanesi, Ezat Efendi Kütüphanesi, Vakanüvis Esad Ef. Kütüphanesi

Built/founded: 1845 Type: library Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*: Alemdar (ISR), Peik Hane (Stlp mp); Street: Cağaloğlu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp F7/2 Bibl.ref.: DBI III, 198 / GM, 342.

F7/6 Nuruosmaniye Camii, Nur-i Osmaniye Camii

Built/founded: 1756 Type: mosque in complex with: *medrese*, library, *türbe*, *imaret* Quarter: Beyazit (ISR); *Maballe*: Tayahatun (ISR), Nallu mesdjid (Stlp mp); Street: Nur-i Osmaniye Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp F7/6 Bibl.ref.: GM, 24-25 / IstCam I, 111-112 / EmCam, 154-55.

F7/7 Hüseyin Ağa Camii

Built/founded: Beyazit II period; Rebuilt: recently Type: mosque Quarter: Alemdar (ISR) *Maballe*: Molla Aliyyul Fenari (ISR), Mehmed Pascha (Stlp mp); Street: * Map ref.: MW mp F7/7 Bibl.ref.: IstCam I, 74 / EmCam, 31-33 / GM, 98 Note: * Not shown in Ist1880 mp.

F7/8 Hoca Piri Mescidi, Makasçılar Mescidi

Built/founded: Murat IV period; Rebuilt: 1954-55 Type: mosque
Quarter: Beyazıt (ISR); *Mahalle*: Beyazıt (ISR), Mehmed Pascha (Stlp mp); Street: Makasçılar Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp F7/8 Bibl.ref.: IstCam I, 99.

F7/9 Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa Medresesi

Built/founded: 1641; Demolished: 1950s Type: *medrese* in complex with: *mescit*, *bağire*, *türbe* Quarter: Beyazıt (ISR); *Mahalle*: Beyazıt (ISR), Mehmed Paşa (Stlp mp); Street: Sultan Bayezid Caddesi, Çarşı Kapı Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp F7/9 Bibl.ref.: IstCam I, 112 n243 / EmCam, 113.

F7/10 Çorlulu Ali Paşa Medresesi

Built/founded: 1716-17 Type: *medrese* in complex with: mosque, library, *tekke*, *mekteb*, *türbe*, *bağire* Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Mahalle*: Molla Aliyyulfenari (ISR), Mehmed Pascha (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp F7/10 Bibl.ref.: DBI II, 527-29 / IstCam I, 43 / EmCam, 56 / GM, 86-87.

F7/11a Atik Ali Paşa Camii, Sedefçiler Camii

Built/founded: 1496-97 Type: mosque in complex with: *mekteb* (F7/11b), *medrese* (F7/22), *bağire*, *imaret*, *tekke*, *türbe*, Elçi Hanı (F7/41) Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Mahalle*: Molla Aliyyul Fenari (ISR), Djemberli Tasch (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp F7/11 Bibl.ref.: DBI I, 404 / IstCam I, 24 / MW, 371-73 / GM, 165-66 Note: Precinct wall rebuilt to enlarge street (cfr. Ist1880 mp, Ist1848 mp). Same period and donour C4/11 (GM).

F7/11b Atik Ali Paşa Mektebi

Built/founded: around 1500 Type: *mekteb* in complex with: F7/11a Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Mahalle*: Molla Aliyyul Fenari (ISR), Djemberli Tasch (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Bibl.ref.: DBI I, 404 / IstCam I, 24 / MW, 371-73.

F7/12 Vezir Hanı

Built/founded: 1659-60* Type: han Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Mahalle*: Molla Aliyyulfenari (ISR), Nallu Mesdjid (Stlp mp); Street: Nur-i Osmaniye Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp F7/12 Bibl.ref.: DBI VII, 382 / EmCam, 206-208 / IstHanları, 99-101 Note: *Construction date

debated (DBI VII). Contains small mosque donated by Fazıl Ahmet Pasha (d.1676-77) (EmCam).

F7/13 Sultan Mahmut II Türbesi

Built/founded: 1839-40 Type: complex with *türbe*, *sebil*, *bazire*
Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*: Molla Aliyyul Fenari (ISR),
Djemberli Tasch (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Map ref.: MW
mp F7/13 Bibl.ref.: DBI V, 263-65 Note: *Hazire* contains 140 tombs.
Architect Garabed Balyan. Modified and enlarged 1876 (DBI V, 263-
65).

F7/14 Kızlarağası Medresesi, Mehmed Ağa Medresesi

Built/founded: end 16th century Type: *medrese* in complex with:
mekteb, sebil Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*: Alemdar (ISR), Dus
Doruh (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp
F7/14 Bibl.ref.: DBI V, 356 Note: Wrongly also called Hoca Rüstem
Medresesi.

F7/16 Tatlı Su ile Acı Su Hamamı, Acı Hamamı

Built/founded: ?* Type: *hammam* Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*:
Alemdar (ISR), Dus Doruh (Stlp mp); Street: Hamam Sokağı Map
ref.: MW mp F7/16 Bibl.ref.: DBI I, 62 / IstHamamları, 10 Note: *
17th century (DBI), before 1584 or 15th cent. (IstHamamları).

F7/17 Cevri Kalfa Mektebi

Built/founded: 1819 Type: mekteb Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*:
Alemdar (ISR), At Meidan (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Map
ref.: MW mp F7/17 Bibl.ref.: DBI II, 423 Note: In the late 19th
century a new wing was added to the originally symmetrical building
and, raised to three floors (DBI II, 423).

F7/18 Firuz Ağa Camii

Built/founded: 1490 Type: mosque Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*:
Bindirdirek (ISR), At Meidan (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi
Map ref.: MW mp F7/18 Bibl.ref.: MW, 414 / DBI III, 321 / IstCam
I, 60-61 / EmCam, 72.

F7/21 Köprülü Mehmet Paşa Medresesi

Built/founded: 1659 Type: *medrese* in complex with: mescit (ex
dershane), *türbe*, library (F7/42) Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*:
Bindirdirek (ISR), Djemberli Tasch (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu

Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp F7/21 Bibl.ref.: DBI V, 89 / EmCam, 119 Note: Partly demolished and relocated to allow street widening in the 1860s (see Ist1880 mp).

F7/22 Atik Ali Paşa Medresesi

Built/founded: 1496-97 Type: *medrese* in complex (F7/11a, b, 22, 41)with: mosque, *mekteb*, *hazîre*, *imaret*, *tekke*, *türbe*, Elçi Hanı Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*: Emin Sinan (ISR), Djemberli Tasch (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp F7/22 Bibl.ref.: DBI I, 403 / MW, 371-73 Note: Partly demolished to allow street widening in 1860s (see Ist1880 mp).

F7/23 Mimar Hayreddin Mescidi

Built/founded: Beyazıt II period; Rebuilt: 1898* Type: mosque Quarter: Kumkapı (ISR); *Maballe*: Mimar Hayreddin (ISR), Djemberli Tasch (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp F7/23 Bibl.ref.: IstCam I, 105 / EmCam, 136 Note: * Modified in the second half of the 20th century.

F7/24 Kara Mustafa Paşa Medresesi, Merzifonî Kara Mustafa Paşa Medresesi

Built/founded: 1683-84 Type: *medrese* in complex with: dar-ül-hadis (now mescit), *türbe*, *mekteb*, *hazîre*, *sebil*, shops Quarter: Kumkapı (ISR); *Maballe*: Mimar Hayreddin (ISR), Sultan Bejazıt Weli o Mehmed Pascha (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp F7/24 Bibl.ref.: DBI V, 403 / GM, 190 Note: Partially demolished in 1953, *sebil* and *türbe* relocated, shops demolished (EKayb).

F7/38 Koca Sinan Paşa Medresesi

Built/founded: 1596 Type: *medrese* in complex with: *sebil*, *türbe*, *hazîre* Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*: Molla Aliyyulfenarî (ISR), Mehmed Pascha o Djemberli Tasch (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp F7/10 Bibl.ref.: DBI VII, 4 / MW, 361 / KurSinan, 132 Note: Attributed to Davut Ağa (KurSinan).

F7/40 Çemberlitaş Hamamı, Valide Hamamı

Built/founded: 1574-83 Type: *hammam* Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*: Molla Aliyyul Fenari (ISR), Djemberli Tasch (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp F7/12 Bibl.ref.: DBI II, 484 / IstHamamları, 97 Note: Sinan school (Marcel Restle, Reclam's

Kunst Führer-İstanbul, Stuttgart 1976, 371-72, but not mentioned in KurSinan). Corner cut off and redesigned by Barborini during street enlargement in the 1860s (see Ist1880 mp).

F7/41 Elçi Han, Elçi Hanı

Built/founded: probably 1510-1511; Demolished: ? Type: han in complex with: mosque (F7/11a), *mekteb* (F7/11b), *medrese* (F7/22), *bazıre*, *imaret*, *tekke*, *türbe* Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*: Bindirdirek (ISR), Djemberli Tasch (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Bibl.ref.: DBI I, 148 / DBI III, 141-49 / IstHanları, 221 Note: Probably demolished partly after 1855, and totally in the beginning of the 20th century.

F7/42 Köprülü Mehmet Paşa Kütüphanesi

Built/founded: 1659 Type: library in complex with: mescit, *medrese* (F7/21), *türbe* Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*: Bindirdirek (ISR), Djemberli Tasch (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Bibl.ref.: DBI V, 91 Note: Donated by Fazıl Ahmet Pasha also donour of the small *mescit* within Vezir Hanı (F7/12) (DBI V, 91).

F7/43 Asmalı Mescit, Hacı Ferhat Mescidi

Built/founded: Fatih period; Demolished: 1917 Type: mosque Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*: Bindirdirek (ISR), Dus Doruh. (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Bibl.ref.: EmCam, 20 / GM, 27.

F7/44 Sinan Ağa Mescidi

Built/founded: end 16th century; Demolished: 1917 Type: mosque Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*: Bindirdirek (ISR), Dus doruh (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Bibl.ref.: EmCam, 171 Note: Precise site not defined.

F7/45 Kaliçeci Ağa Camii, Halıcı Hasan Mescidi

Built/founded: 1519; Rebuilt: 1751, 1868 Type: mosque Quarter: Kumkapı (ISR); *Maballe*: Mimar Hayreddin (ISR), Sultan Bejazid Weli (Stlp mp); Street: Bayezid Caddesi Bibl.ref.: DBI IV, 400 / EmCam, 100.

F7/46 Molla Fenari Mescidi, Dikilitaş Mescidi

Built/founded: 1495; Demolished: ? Type: mosque Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*: Molla Aliyyul Fenari (ISR), Djemberli Tasch (Stlp mp);

Street: Nur-i Osmaniye Caddesi, Divanyolu Caddesi Bibl.ref.: EmCam, 140 / IstCam I, 47 / GM, 129.

F7/47 Süleyman Paşa Hanı

Built/founded: ? ; Demolished: ? Type: han Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*: Bindirdirek (ISR), Dus doruh (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Note: Bibliographic data not found. Shown in Stlp mp and MW mp, MW, 283, Ist1880 mp.

F7/48 Hoca Rüstem Mescidi

Built/founded: 16th century; Demolished: ? Type: mosque Quarter: Alemdar (ISR); *Maballe*: Alemdar (ISR), Dus Doruh (Stlp mp); Street: Divanyolu Caddesi Map ref.: MW mp F7/14 Bibl.ref.: IstCam I, 72.

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¹⁹⁷ Further texts, if referred to only occasionally, are reported in the footnotes

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- ISR* [Osman Nuri Ergin] *İstanbul şehri rehberi*, İstanbul: Türk Anonim Şirketi, 1934 (1:8000 scale maps of quarters with street and mahalle names).
- Ist1810 mp* Partial map of İstanbul drawn by military engineer Seyyit Hasan around 1810, scale 1:2500. Published in Çeçen *II. Bayezid sıyolu*.¹⁹⁸
- Ist1848 mp* *Dar-al-Sultanah – Plan of Constantinople*, Constantinople 1848, scale approximately 1:11.000.¹⁹⁹
- Ist1880 mp* Map of İstanbul surveyed and drawn by members and students of the Ottoman Imperial Engineering School (Mühendishane-i Hümayun) in 1875-82.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ The original map is item n.3339 in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi.

¹⁹⁹ The copy examined (British Library Map Room, MAPS 18.a.57) has legend in Ottoman characters.

²⁰⁰ Full-scale reprint in Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *19. Asırda İstanbul Haritası*, İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Enstitüsü, 1958.

<i>Kauffer mp</i>	<i>Carte Générale de la Ville de Constantinople et du Canal de la Mer Noire</i> published in: Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, “ <i>Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce</i> ”, vol. I Paris 1782. ²⁰¹
<i>Melling mp</i>	Plan Particulier du Sérail du Grand Seigneur et de la Partie de la Ville qui l’avoisine in Antoine-Ignace Melling, <i>Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore, d’après les dessins de M. Melling, avec un texte rédigé par Lacretelle le jeune</i> , Paris: Treuttel 1809-1819. ²⁰²
<i>Moltke mp</i>	Helmuth, Graf von Moltke, <i>Karte von Constantinopel</i> , 1/25.000, Berlin: 1842. ²⁰³
<i>Mordt mp 1892</i>	Partial archaeological map of Istanbul in August J. Mordtmann, “Constantinople au Moyen-Age – Relevé Topographique“, <i>Revue d’Art Chrétien</i> , 1892.
<i>Mordt-Stlp mp</i>	Map insert in August J. Mordtmann, <i>Guide de Constantinople avec une introduction historique</i> , Constantinople: Lorentz & Kiel (n.d.). ²⁰⁴
<i>MW mp 1977</i>	Map of Istanbul with reference numbers of monuments and sites in Müller-Wiener <i>Bildlexikon</i> . ²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ Revised and updated editions have followed. See British Library Map Room, 43990.(10.): “Plan von Constantinopel und seinen Vorstaeden.... aufgenommen im J. 1776, berichtet und vermehrt in J. 1786 von Fr. Kauffer, Ingenieur ...mit neuen Zusatzen von J.B. Barbié du Bocage 1821”. Berlin & Pesth 1821.

²⁰² It is a finely redrawn excerpt of *Kauffer mp*.

²⁰³ Also « Mekteb-i-fünun-u-harbiyye..... scale 1:2500

²⁰⁴ The map is an updated to 1880 version of the Stolpe with ancient toponyms in overprint. The *Guide* contains lists of streets, *mahalles* and monuments.

²⁰⁵ General 1:10.000 map of archaeological and monumental sites of Istanbul based on the survey map *Société Anonyme d’études et d’entreprises urbaines* (Istanbul 1922), updated to 1962 for the main streets and with partial indication of the around 1880 street system. The Catalogue of Monuments in the present report bear the same numbers of the Müller-Wiener map.

- Perv mp 1904-40* Detail maps of some Istanbul quarters surveyed and drawn for the insurance companies by surveyors Goad and Pervititch, dated 1904 to 1940.²⁰⁶
- Reben mp 1764* *Bosphorus Thracicus – Der Kanal der Schwarzen Meer... geometrisch aufgenommen durch Johann Baptist von Reben, Kaysl. Königl. Ungarl. Ingenieur Hauptmann*, herausgegeben durch die Homaenne. Erben zu Nürnberg 1764.
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PLATE I *Perspective view of the Divan axis, westwards from Ayasofya, in its relation to the natural topography of Istanbul and its main monumental ensembles.*

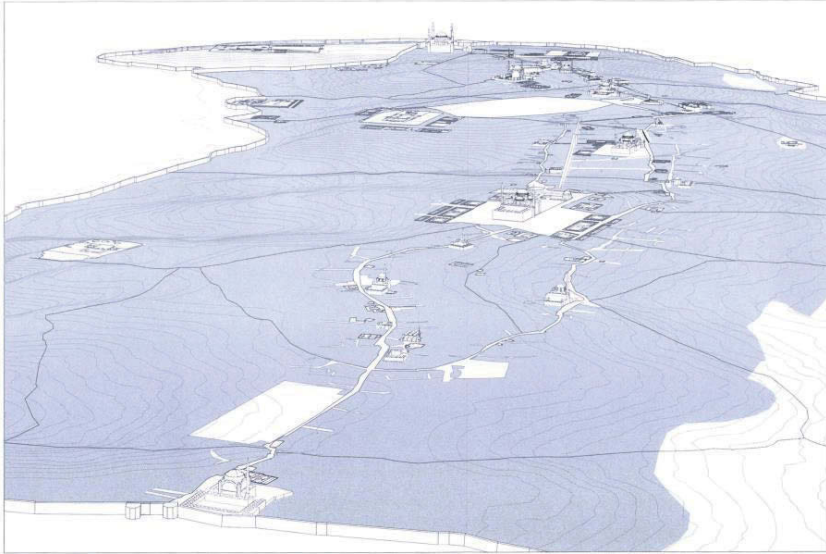


PLATE II *Perspective view of the Divan axis, eastwards from Edirnekapi.*

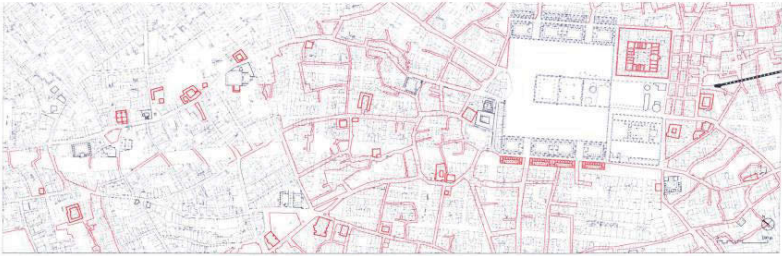
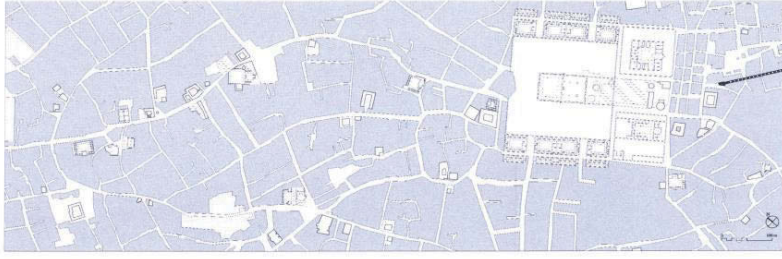


PLATE III *The modification of the street web in the Karagümriik-Fatih area. Above: reconstruction of the street web in mid 19th century. Below: the same, drawn on the 1996 map. The demolished parts of the city blocks and buildings have been drawn in red.*

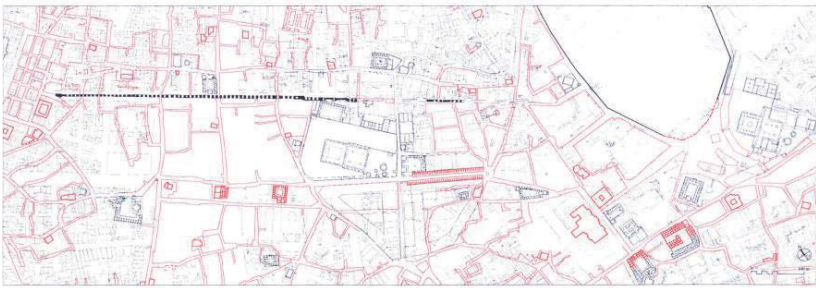
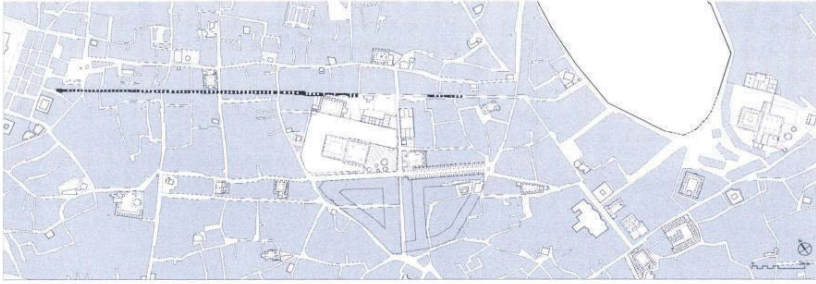


PLATE IV *The modification of the street web in the Beyazıt-Fatih area. Above: reconstruction of the street web in mid 19th century. Below: the same, drawn on the 1996 map. The demolished parts of the city blocks and buildings have been drawn in red.*

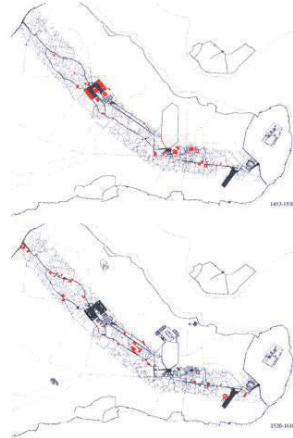


PLATE V (Left) *The modification of the street web in the Beyazıt-Ayasofya area. Above: reconstruction of the street web in mid 19th century. Below: the same, drawn on the 1996 map. The demolished parts of the city blocks and buildings have been drawn in red.* PLATE V (Right) *The construction of the monumental axis. The chronological maps include only the buildings whose site and foundation or reconstruction dates are known at least with reasonable*

approximation. In red are indicated the monuments built within the period represented, in black those previously built or founded. The acronyms in letters and numbers refer to the Catalogue of Monuments.

Above: monuments built in the 1453-1520 period (in red). Edirnekapı-Fatih: C3/25, C4/6a, C4/11, C4/19, C4/36, D4/42, D5/5a, D5/5b, D5/29, D5/4a, D5/4b, D5/6, D5/33 (7 mosques, 1 medrese, 2 mekteb, 2 hamam, 1 zaviye). Fatih-Beyazıt: D5/17, D5/19a, D5/19b, D5/32, D6/1, D6/2, E5/26, E6/7, E6/13a, E7/1, E7/2, E7/3, E7/11, E7/21 (10 mosques, 2 medrese, 2 hamam). Beyazıt-Ayasofya: F7/7, F7/11a, F7/11b, F7/18, F7/22, F7/23, F7/41, F7/43, F7/45, F7/46 (7 mosques, 1 medrese, 1 mekteb, 1 han).

Below: monuments built in the 1520-1610 period (in red). Edirnekapı-Fatih: C3/10a, C3/10b, C4/5, C4/7, C4/8a, C4/8b, C4/9, C4/10, C4/13, C4/22, C4/34, C4/35*, D4/26, D4/39, C4/37 (6 mosques, 4 medrese, 3 hamam). Fatih-Beyazıt: D5/15, D5/25*, D5/26, D5/27*, D5/30*, D6/13, E6/2, E6/3, E6/5, E6/6, E6/10*, E6/13b, E6/16, E6/17*, E6/24*, E6/25 (2 mosques, 3 medrese, 1 mekteb, 2 hamam, 1 han). Beyazıt-Ayasofya: F7/14, F7/16, F7/38, F7/40, F7/44, F7/47*, F7/48 (2 mosques, 2 medrese, 2 hamam). * Buildings whose foundation/building date has not been found, but inserted in black as assumed to have been built in the first phase.*

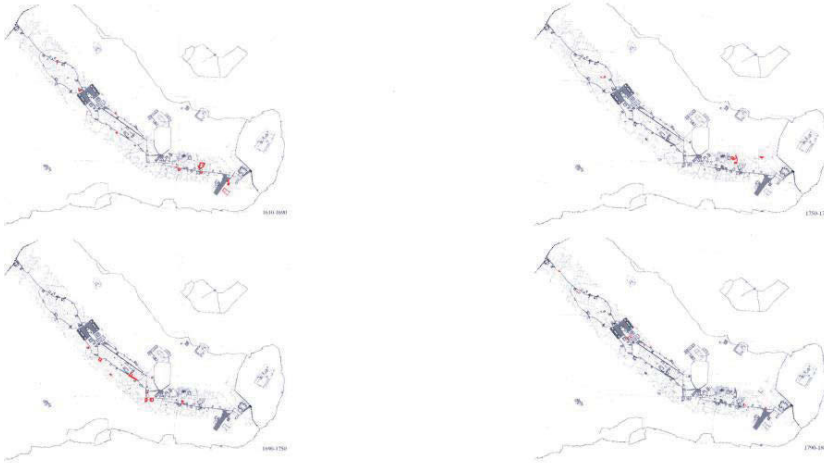


PLATE VI *The construction of the monumental axis. The chronological maps include only the buildings whose site and foundation or reconstruction dates are known at least with reasonable approximation. In red are indicated the monuments built within the period represented, in black those previously built or founded. The acronyms in letters and numbers refer to the Catalogue of Monuments.*

Above left: monuments built in the 1610-1690 period (in red). Edirnekapı-Fatih: C4/6b, D5/4c (1 medrese, 1 han). Fatih-Beyazıt: D5/14, D5/28, D6/14(2 mosques, 1 medrese). Beyazıt-Ayasofya: F7/8, F7/9, F7/12, F7/21, F7/24, F7/42 (1 mosque, 3 medrese, 1 han, 1 library).

Below left: monuments built in the 1690-1750 period (in red). Edirnekapı-Fatih: none. Fatih-Beyazıt: D5/21, D6/3, D6/16, E6/12a, E6/12b, E6/18, E6/20, E6/27, E7/9, E7/10 (1 mosque, 6 medrese, 2 han, 1 library, 1 arasta). Beyazıt-Ayasofya: F7/10 (1 medrese).

Above right: monuments built in the 1750-1790 period (in red). Edirnekapı-Fatih: D4/41, D4/44 (1 medrese, 1 mekteb, 1 library in D5/6). Fatih-Beyazıt: E6/4 (1 mekteb, 1 library in E7/1). Beyazıt-Ayasofya: F7/6 (1 mosque).

Below right: monuments built in the 1790-1880 period (in red). Edirnekapı-Fatih: C3/12, C4/12 (1 mosque, 1 türbe). Fatih-Beyazıt: D5/31, D5/35 (1 mosque, 1 türbe). Beyazıt-Ayasofya: F7/2, F7/13, F7/17 (1 mekteb, 1 library, 1 türbe).

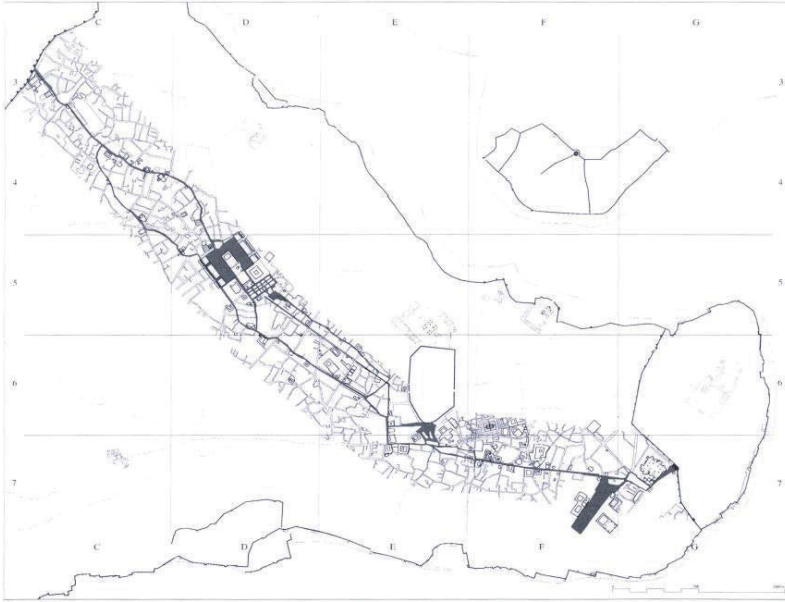
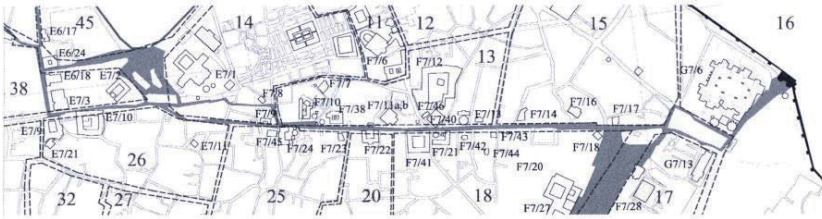
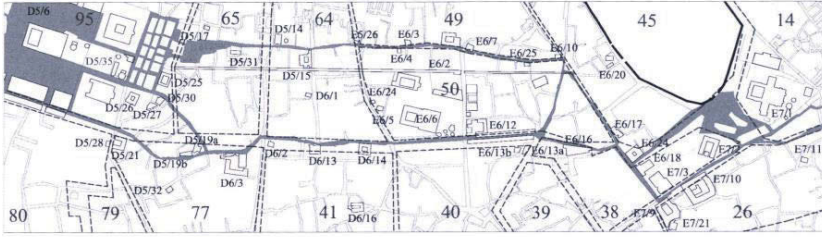
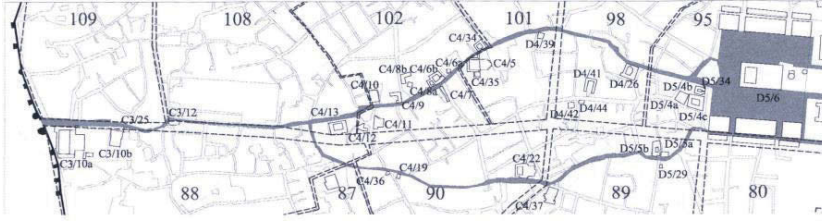


PLATE VII *The graphic reconstruction of the Divan axis and its monuments around the first half of the 19th century. The grid coordinates are those of Müller-Wiener Bildlexikon.*



The numbers with larger lettering are those of the mahalles touched by the Divan axis as registered in the 1934 official street guide map (Istanbul Şehri Rehberi). In 1934 street structure, the number and boundaries of mahalle had been drastically changed if compared to the Mordtmann-Stolpe maps and attached texts (Mordtmann Guide de Constantinople) containing lists of streets, mahalles and monuments. Cfr. Hadikat (Garden of the Mosques).

The districts or nahıye involved in 1934, moving westwards from Ayasofya, were: Alemdar, Beyazıt, Merkez (the Fatih area), Karagümrük. In the central tract the northern fringe of the Kumkapı district is touched.

The 1934 names of the mahalle are as follows (the approximately corresponding Stolpe toponyms are reported in brackets):

- Alemdar district: 16 Cankurtaran, 17 Sultanahmet, 15 Alemdar, 18 Binbirdirek, 13 Molla Aliyülfenari, 20 Emin Sinan, 12 Mahmutpaşa, (At Meidan, Jeschil Tulumba, Dus Doruh, Vezir Han, Djemberli Tasch, Nallu Mesjid, Mehmed Pascha).

- Kumkapı district: 25 Mimar Hayreddin, 26 Tarşantaşı, 27 Saraç İshak, 32 Nişanca, (Sultan Bejaşid Weli, Medresseh).

- Beyazıt district: 11 Tayabatun, 14 Beyazıt, 45 Süleymaniye el Maruf, 38 Camı Ali, 39 Balaban, 40 Kemalpaşa, 50 Kalenderhane, 49 Molla Hüsvrev Alemi, (Mehmed Pascha, Sultan Bejaşid Weli, Medresseh, Sogan Agba, Ançal Saden, Ferdjüm Yonus, Sari Bajaşid, Turbedar Kemal, Ke Fellu, Kalender Hani, Scheib Gulistan Atik).

- Merkez district (Fatih): 64 Kırk Çeşme, 41 Baba Hasan Alemi, 65 Hüssam Bey, 77 Sofular, 79 İskender Paşa, 80 Hasan Halife, 95 Kirmastı, 89 Hacı Üveys, 98 Şeyb Resmi.

(Kyrk tscheschme, Raghib Pascha, Segban Baschi, At Bažar, Kiz Taschi, Mahmud Pascha, Kiredschi Hane, Yawaschdji Schahin, Ibrahim Pascha, Molla Chosren, Muknesi Tschelebi, Scheib Resmi, Tschiraghi Mubeddin, Kassab Baschi).

- Karagümrük district: 101 Koca Dede, 102 Beyliğiz, 90 Muhtesir Iskender, 87 Keceçi Karabaş, 108 Derviş Ali, 109 Kariye Atik Ali Paşa, 101 Koca Dede, 88 Hatice Sultan, (Nischandji Pascha, Yeni Tschütschek, Muhtesib Iskender, Dervisch Ali, Hadji Mubeddin).

PLATE VIII *The monumental buildings of the Divan axis referred to the grid coordinates of Plate VII and to the Catalogue. Top: from Edirnekapı to Fatih. Centre: from Fatih to Beyazıt and Eski Saray. Bottom: from Beyazıt to Ayasofya and Topkapı Palace.*

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