

BYZANTINE CHURCHES IN ISTANBUL

THEIR TRANSFORMATION INTO MOSQUES
OR MASJIDS

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FOREWORD

Certain Byzantine churches were transformed into mosques quite soon after the conquest of Constantinople. The Church of St. *Sophia* became the “Great Mosque,” which also served educational purposes. A number of other churches were adopted to serve as the mosques of other educational centres. The conversion of still other churches into mosques continued at intervals until the end of the seventeenth century, by which time only two Byzantine churches still remained Christian: the Church of St. Irene and the Church of St. Mary of the Mongols.

This work considers the conversion of Byzantine sanctuaries into mosques from social, historical and architectural points of view, in other words, not only why the churches were converted into mosques, but also what specific architectural alterations were undertaken by the Ottomans in the process.

The book thus focuses on the Ottoman period of the structures rather than on the Byzantine. The monuments are presented in two principal categories, the first part dealing with those still preserved, and the second with those either in ruins or no longer visible at all. Within these two main sections, the monuments and the sites are treated geographically, i.e. according to location.

THE CONVERSION OF CHURCHES

It was 29 May 1453, when the Turks entered Constantinople through the land walls, and on the very next day Mehmed II strode into the Church of St. *Sophia* to proclaim it the Great Mosque of the city. It was customary practice that prayer be held in the most impressive edifice of a newly conquered community. Mehmed II proudly announced that the city would henceforth be honoured as his capital.

Regarding himself as the emperor of Rome, he aimed at establishing a worldwide empire. For this reason he strove throughout his reign to transform the ruined capital of the Byzantine Empire into the centre of this World Empire.¹ He re-established Istanbul according to the traditions of a Turco-Islamic city.²

Without delay, preliminary measures –including a number of building projects– were undertaken in preparation for the repopulation of the city: repair of the fortification walls, the construction of a citadel and the building of a palace. Then, in 1459, to promote the prosperity of the city, Mehmed II summoned his dignitaries and ordered each of them to establish an architectural complex within the city.³ In the following years, not only the sultan and his Grand Vizier Mahmud *Paşa* themselves, but other dignitaries as well assumed the responsibility of constructing complexes that would serve as the nuclei of new residential quarters.⁴

At his conquest of the city, Mehmed II found it greatly depopulated.⁵ Kritovoulos reports that the sultan's first concern was to repopulate the metropolis.⁶ Because most of the inhabitants had fled the city,⁷ persuasive measures were necessary: fugitives who returned within a specified time were promised the right to reoccupy their houses and practice their own religion.⁸ The families of captives of the empire were settled along the shores of the *Haliç* (the Golden Horn).⁹ They were provided with housing and exempted from taxes for a given period.¹⁰ Many people from various parts of the empire were forcibly resettled in Istanbul. *Kariştiran* Süleyman *Bey*, as the prefect of the city, was specifically put in charge of repopulation.¹¹ Mehmed II issued firmans, decrees ordering the resettling of Muslims, Christians and Jews from both Rumelia and Anatolia.¹² Deportation from other conquered cities also helped to swell the population of the capital.¹³ The successive sultans continued Mehmed's policy of bringing newly conquered populaces to the capital city.¹⁴

The newcomers were settled into either existing or newly founded neighbourhoods (*mahalle*), the latter developed by those who had made themselves heroes in the conquest (often with the rank of *segbanbaşı*, *topçubaşı* or *sancakdar*). These honoured founders, who were presented with a home in the new quarter, would then provide a *masjid* or mosque to function as the public prayer hall –the core of the neighbourhood– an edifice that served also as a public forum where the *imam* would make public announcements issued by the sultan or his viziers. This *masjid* or mosque would be built in the centre of the neighbourhood; if, however, there was a Byzantine edifice in a convenient location, it was only practical to convert it for this purpose rather than constructing a new building.

St. *Sophia* had the honour of being the first church converted into a mosque. Mehmed II established a *waqf* to support this new mosque, which soon began to serve as the educational centre of the city as well.

Immediately after the conquest, a few buildings –including St. *Sophia*– were transformed for use by Muslims, and these were all looked after by the same *waqf*. The Church of St. *Saviour Pantokrator* was used as a madrasa until the completion of the *Semaniye* Madrasas of Mehmed II. Likewise, the Complex of the Church of St. *Saviour Pantepoptes* was converted into an Islamic institution called the *Eski İmaret Medresesi*. The

Church of *Akataleptos* was turned into a *tekke* for the *kalenderi* dervishes; hence it was called the *Kalenderhane* Mosque. Still another Byzantine construction was converted into the *Güngörmez* Masjid.

Aside from *Ayasofya*, the only other outstanding church that was converted into a mosque supported by a waqf during the reign of Mehmed II, was the Church of St. Theodore. It took the name of *Molla Gürani*, tutor to Mehmed II, and the founder of its waqf.

Besides the above-mentioned churches, a number of smaller Byzantine buildings were adapted for Islamic purposes during this same period. Each of these was made into a masjid by someone who had played a significant role in the siege of Constantinople and had thus been put in charge of encouraging the repopulation of the district in which he had been given a house.¹⁵ The *Balaban Ağa* Masjid, the *Etyemez Tekke* Masjid, the *Hoca* Hayreddin Masjid, the *Kasım Ağa* Masjid, the *Manastır* (or Mustafa *Çavuş*) Masjid, the *Sancakdar* Hayreddin Masjid, the *Şeyh Süleyman* Masjid, the *Toklu Dede* Masjid, and the *Yıldız Dede Tekke* Masjid were among the buildings converted by such persons.

The reign of Bayezid II differed somewhat from that of Mehmed II in respect to the conversion of Byzantine buildings. Probably due to the increased population of the capital¹⁶ and the existence of newly established *mahalles*, each with its own masjid or mosque, it was now generally the more impressive Byzantine churches that were converted by viziers or other dignitaries during the reign of Bayezid II. These include the following: the *Atik Mustafa Paşa* Mosque, the *Gül* Mosque, the *İmrahor İlyas Bey* Mosque, the *Kariye* Mosque, the *Koca Mustafa Paşa* Mosque, and the *Küçük Ayasofya* Mosque.

In addition, the ruins of the Church of *Chalcoprateia* were rebuilt as the *Acemi Ağa* Masjid by *Lala* Hayreddin, and the *Sivasi Tekke* Masjid was converted to the Islamic faith by Bayezid II himself.

In the succeeding periods the conversions slowed down even more, with the formation of new *mahalles* coming almost to a standstill.¹⁷ Nevertheless, a few buildings underwent conversion because they were now surrounded by a mainly Turkish population. The *Ese* (İsa) *Kapı* Masjid and the *Sinan Paşa* Masjid, both converted under Süleyman I, are examples of such buildings. By the reign of Murad III, the districts where the Church of *Pammakaristos* (which became the *Fethiye* Mosque) and the Church of St. John the Baptist in *Trullo* stood had become so predominantly Muslim that their conversion was inevitable.

In the reign of Murad IV, two more churches underwent conversion for similar reasons. The first of these was the Church of the Monastery of Manuel, which became the *Kefeli* Mosque. After the conquest it had served for some time as the church of Christians brought from *Caffa* (*Kefe*).¹⁸ The second is the *Odalar* Mosque. The *Şüheda* Masjid, whose founder died in 1043/1633-34, was also probably converted in this period.

In the times following the reign of Murad IV the practice of converting Byzantine structures into mosques and masjids became rare. One example of such is the *Hamza Paşa* Masjid that was converted by *Hamza Paşa* who was appointed Governor of Egypt in 1094/1682-83.

There are, of course a certain number of buildings for which the date of conversion is unknown. Among these are the *Purkuyu* Masjid, the *Şeyh* Murad Masjid, and the *Segbanbaşı* Ferhad *Ağa* Masjid, all of which have disappeared. It would seem likely, however, that the *Segbanbaşı* Ferhad *Ağa* Masjid belongs to the period of Mehmed II, for it was at that time *segbanbaşıs* were given the responsibility of encouraging population.

Among the other buildings with uncertain dates for conversion is the *Arabacı* Bayezid Masjid, which might well become an Islamic building within the reign of Selim I. This is suggested because the wages of the personnel were supplied by the waqf of the Sultan Selim Mosque. We may guess that another building, the Haydarhane Masjid might well have become a masjid around the sixteenth century because it was so recorded in the *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* of 953/1546.

To sum up, there were three principal reasons to convert Byzantine buildings into use for the Faith of Islam. The first of these was the requirement of certain buildings to serve as mosques (including the Great Mosque), educational centres, *tekkes*, and the like. The second was the establishment of Muslim *mahalles* in which Byzantine churches or chapels often stood ready-made and easily adaptable, and the third reason was the diminishing number of Christians in the neighbourhoods where the churches were situated as the Muslim population grew. Eventually nearly all the surviving Byzantine churches were transformed into masjids or mosques.

One of the churches never been appropriated for the use by the Muslims is the Church of St. Mary of the Mongols (Mouchliotissa), which remained in the possession of the Orthodox Church because the *Fener* quarter in which it stood was left to the Greeks following the conquest.

A second church that was never transformed into a mosque was that of St. *Irene*. This may have been because of its location only some decametres from the Great Mosque of *Ayasofya*; a mosque here must have seemed unnecessary. Furthermore, after the completion of *Saray-ı Cedid (Topkapı Sarayı)*, the edifice of St. *Irene* was isolated within the first courtyard.

Among the most characteristic architectural elements added or changed in the course of converting Byzantine churches or chapels into mosques, perhaps the principal feature was the addition of a minaret. With very few exceptions¹⁹ a minaret was erected near the buildings, generally near the west corner of the main structure. The second basic alteration was the arrangement of a *mihrab* in the interior. To create the *mihrab*, the main apse of a building was often used; otherwise a niche would be carved into the wall. Any Byzantine mosaics or frescoes existing on the interior had to be obliterated; to accomplish this, the walls were generally simply plastered over and covered in whitewash.

More extensive Turkish alteration was usually limited to repairing damages the buildings suffered in earthquakes or fire. Such interventions most often consisted of alteration, repair, or replacement of roofs and domes; supporting columns were often replaced with Turkish piers or arches.²⁰

Other typical alterations included fenestration; unwanted windows and doors would be walled up, and upon occasion walls were pierced to open new windows. The outer narthexes of a few churches, their original character lost or destroyed, were replaced with Turkish porticos. In general, however, repairs and restoration on the narthex of the churches and chapels tended to follow the original style.

Thus in spite of alterations for Islamic use, the churches on the whole retained their original plans and forms. Their basic structure remained that of a church although they now functioned as a Muslim place of prayer.

Needless to say, the decision to convert the structures came in response to the rapid increase of the city's Islamic population and the establishment of new *mahalles*. Each of these newly founded neighbourhoods would be supplied with a mosque to be used both for religious practice and public assembly.

By the end of the reign of Bayezid II, the formation of new *mahalles* had almost come to an end, and in the succeeding periods the conversion of buildings slowed down. Conversion now occurred only when a church became surrounded by a Muslim population. Likewise, when a church had fallen into poor condition and was in need of repair, it would be turned into a mosque so that it might survive for generations to come. The basic reason for the survival of most of these structures is, in fact, that they were given a new function which assured their being kept in good repair.

THE SURVIVING STRUCTURES

SULTANAHMET The *Ayasofya* Mosque The Church of St. *Sophia*



The Ayasofya Mosque. A general view.

Today's *Ayasofya* Museum, or the former St. *Sophia*, is the construction of Justinian, which was preceded by two earlier buildings. The first church was begun in the reign of Constantine the Great (324-337) and completed by Constantius (337-361). This first edifice was set on fire during the banishment of St. John *Chrysostom*, then patriarch, in 404. However, the rededication of the second church took place in 415, under Theodosius (408-450). This second church was also set alight, this time in the *Nika* riot of 532.

No description of either of the pre-Justinianic churches has survived. It is probable that both were simple basilicas.

Justinian's church, designed by the architects Anthemius of *Tralles* and Isidore of *Miletus*, was dedicated in 537, but part of the dome collapsed in 557 following an earthquake. The dome was replaced, strengthened, and given height. Isidore the younger was called upon for these improvements. In the year 562 the doors of the church were opened once more.

Justinian's building is a variation on a domed basilica. The general plan of the building is a rectangle divided into a large central nave and two side aisles. The central nave is covered by a colossal dome supported on the east and west by half-domes.²¹

Considerable damage has been done to this building by the several earthquakes it has survived.²² In addition to its collapse in 557, the dome partially caved in again in 989, and Trdat, an Armenian architect, was given responsibility for its restoration. In 1346 another earthquake severely damaged the dome, and this time it was restored by Astras and the Italian Giovanni Peralta. The present dome thus represents these three periods of reconstruction; that is to say, nothing remains of the original dome.

The first regular restoration of the church was undertaken in the second half of the ninth century under Basil I (867-886). Some time in the succeeding periods the four flying buttresses along the west facade were erected.²³ In 1327, after the Latin occupation, in the reign of Andronicus II *Palaeologus* (1282-1328), major repair and reinforcement were carried out throughout the church. The principal work done at this stage was the construction of new buttresses.



The Ayasofya Mosque. A lithograph (Paspates).

The church of St. *Sophia* was converted into a mosque soon after the conquest of Constantinople. This followed the tradition of offering prayers in most significant building suitable immediately after the capture of a town. The event is related by Ayvansarayi.

“Sultan Mehmed, the Father of the conquest, after conquering this House of Arts (Istanbul) had it (the church of St. *Sophia*) cleaned within and without, added a minbar, and performed his first prayers there on Friday”.²⁴

First of all after its transformation, Mehmed II established a waqf for the building.²⁵ In succeeding years new waqfs were founded so that eventually *Ayasofya* was assured a handsome income which helped it resist the passage of time.²⁶

What makes the monument an Islamic building are additions to the interior and exterior from all periods of the Ottoman Empire.

A marble *mihrab* was probably erected between 892/1486 and 893/1487,²⁷ and the present *mihrab* must date to the sixteenth century.²⁸ In different periods two *hünkâr mahfils* were built in the mosque. As we see from the tiles, the old *mahfil* dates from the sixteenth century, while the new one was built by the Fossati brothers during their extensive repairs in the nineteenth century. Ayvansarayi speaks of a number of *mahfils* built by different sultans.²⁹ Murad III constructed four marble *mahfils*, one of which was reserved for the *müezzins*. Ahmed III built another in 1118/1706-7, and Mahmud I still another. The second important addition made by Mahmud I is the library which was added between two of large buttresses on the south in 1152/1739-40. In the interior today one sees two large marble vessels brought from Pergamum by Murad III and a stone minbar commissioned by Murad IV, as well as the

great polycandelions hung from the dome by the Fossati brothers in 1266/1849 to replace the globular oil lamp used to light the interior during the reign of Ahmed III.

All the windows with stained glass-decoration are Turkish. The old *hünkâr mahfili*, the interior of the library and the wall of the *mihrab* are covered with tiles, mostly from *İznik*. Another significant feature of the interior are the eight large circular plaques with inscriptions, the work of *Kazasker* Mustafa İzzed *Efendi*, installed during the 1266/1849 restoration; these replaced earlier plaques produced by *Teknecizade* İbrahim *Efendi* in 1054/1644-45.

Of the four minarets, that at the southeast represents an original construction of Mehmed II.³⁰



The Ayasofya Mosque. A minaret.

Although it is the oldest surviving, it does not appear to have been the first erected.³¹ The call to prayer at *Ayasofya* within a few days of the fall of the city is said to have been made from a

wooden tower³² temporarily employed pending completion of a taller minaret on the south turret of the west window.³³ This first minaret was then removed by order of Selim II in 981/1573.³⁴ The northeast minaret was then erected by Bayezid II, and that at the southwest corner was begun in the reign of Selim II, but—unfinished at his death in 982/1574—completed by Murad III on his accession to the throne. The latter also had the architect Sinan design another minaret at the northwest corner.



The Ayasofya Mosque. The foundations of the madrasa.

Soon after the conquest and the conversion of St. *Sophia* into a mosque, Mehmed II built the first madrasa in Istanbul just to the north of the narthex of the former church.³⁵

Although it was closed at the completion of the *Semaniye* Madrasas of the *Fatih* Complex in 875/1471, it was reopened under Bayezid II,³⁶ who established a waqf for the madrasa³⁷ and added a second story.



The Ayasofya Mosque. The tomb of Selim II.

Other structures of significance outside the main building are the sultans' tombs to the south of the great edifice. The first tomb was erected by Sinan shortly after the death of Selim II. The second imperial tomb, that of Murad III, was built by the architect Davud in 1008/1599. The third large one, that of Mehmed III, was the work of the architect *Dalgıç* Ahmed, who completed it in 1017/1608.



The Ayasofya Mosque. The tomb of Mustafa I and İbrahim I, formerly the baptistery

Alongside that of Murad III, there is also the smaller octagonal tomb of the princes. After 1017/1608 no more tombs were built, but the nearby baptistery was converted into a tomb for Mustafa I. Sultan İbrahim was also buried in this structure.³⁸



The Ayasofya Mosque. The tomb of Murad III

Many additions were made in the reign of Mahmud I. The *imaret*, the primary school, the *şadırvan*, and the library all date to that period. The two *sebils* in the courtyard of *Ayasofya* were then erected, the first in the seventeenth century by Sultan İbrahim and the second in the eighteenth century. Another later building, built in the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid, is the *muvakkithane*.³⁹



The Ayasofya Mosque. The primary school.



The Ayasofya Mosque from the east.

Significant reinforcement and repairs were also carried out during the Ottoman period. In 981/1573 the entire building underwent a thorough renovation, for various buttresses were in need of repair,⁴⁰ Sinan was asked to do everything necessary for the security of the building.⁴¹



The Ayasofya Mosque. The library.

In 1264/1847 another extensive restoration was undertaken under the supervision of the Fossati brothers. Between these two major phases there were various minor repairs and consolidations both within and without the mosque. Official records show that in the seventeenth century the domes were sheathed in lead.

During the reign of Ahmed II the walls were re-plastered. The whole of the building then underwent repairs again in the reign of Mahmud I, and Mahmud II then spent 800 *keses* on repairing of the monument.

Of all these interventions, the most extensive work was the restoration of the Fossati brothers, which continued from 1264/1847 to 1266/1849. During these years, “the portions of the building that looked most threatening were reconstructed and the lead roofs were repaired. The dome was relieved of four heavy buttress arches, whose function was taken by a double cincture of iron around its base. Thirteen columns of the gynaeceum, which were inclining under the thrust of the great arches that support the dome, were put straight again.”⁴²

The exterior walls of the mosque, after repair, were also re-plastered, and the height of brick minaret increased to conform with the others.

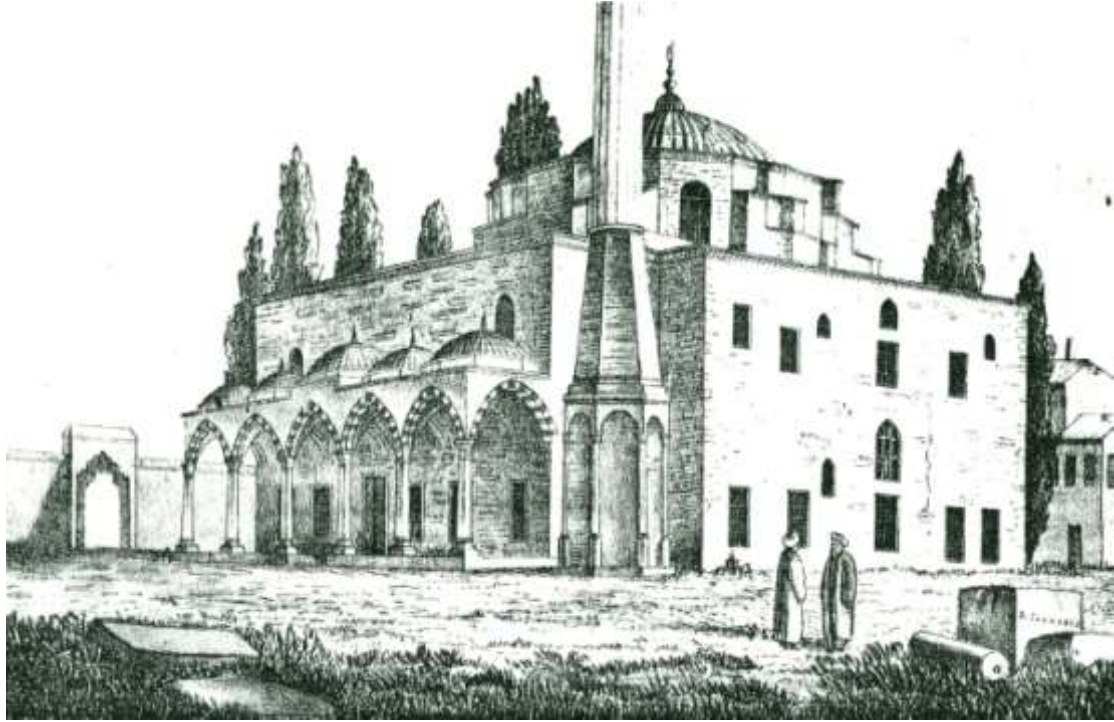
Thus in every period of the empire the mosque underwent at least minor repair. In November of 1934, then, the Ministry of Education, acting on the proposal of Atatürk, converted the monument into a museum.⁴³

The *Küçük Ayasofya* Mosque The Church of Ss. Sergius and Bacchus



The *Küçük Ayasofya* Mosque from the west.

This building, situated near the sea walls along the Sea of Marmara at *Kadırğa*, not far from the railway, is known as the *Küçük Ayasofya* Mosque due to its likeness to the *Ayasofya* Mosque.⁴⁴ The sanctuary, as a church, was certainly the work of the Emperor Justinian the Great (527-565), who originally dedicated it to the soldier saints Sergius and Bacchus.⁴⁵ Many scholars agree on the year 527 for the date of foundation of the edifice. Similarly the year 536 has been accepted by some as the date for the completion. The church was a sanctuary of Monophysite monks.⁴⁶



The Küçük Ayasofya Mosque. A lithograph (Paspates).

As for the plan, the building is an octagon roofed with a dome and enclosed by a rectangle that includes a narthex along the side of the entrance and galleries in the interior.⁴⁷



The Küçük Ayasofya Mosque. The interior with the dome.

The church was converted into a mosque by Hüseyn *Efendi*, the head eunuch in the harem of Bayezid II, who is buried in a tomb within the courtyard of the complex.⁴⁸

Ayvansarayi states that around the mosque, a *tekke* with thirty-six chambers was founded, and that the Grand Vizier Ahmed *Paşa*, established a *şadırvan* and a school,⁴⁹ and that Amine *Hatun* built a madrasa.⁵⁰ At present one can see only twenty-eight cells of this last forming a 'U' just opposite the structure of the mosque.

In the *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* there is indeed record of a waqf established by Hüseyin Efendi.⁵¹ This fund, which included the *Küçük Ayasofya* Mosque itself, was quite rich.



The Küçük Ayasofya Mosque seen from the portico.

The Turkish features in the building include a portico stretching the length of the narthex and the minaret at the south.⁵² All the windows in the structure were altered, and the dome sheathed in lead.⁵³

The mosque was damaged by earthquakes in 1648 and 1763.⁵⁴ In 1648 plaster fell from the interior of the dome, and windows along the north and south were broken. Following the quake of 1763 the architect Ahmed Ağa was put in charge of restoration,⁵⁵ and repair work was done again in 1247/1831. The railway, built in the 1860s, now separates the mosque from the madrasa.⁵⁶

The *mahalle* which grew up around the mosque still exists today, and the mosque remains in use.



The Küçük Ayasofya Mosque. The interior with the mihrab.



The Küçük Ayasofya Mosque. The interior with the minbar.



The Küçük Ayasofya Mosque. The interior.



The Küçük Ayasofya Mosque. The Tomb of Hüseyin Efendi.

LALELİ – VEZNECİLER

The *Kalenderhane* Mosque The Church of *Akatalptos* (Church of *Diaconissa*)



The Kalenderhane Mosque. A general view.

This mosque, which is still in use, stands near the Aqueduct of Valens in *Şehzadebaşı*. It has recently been identified as the Church of St. *Saviour Akatalptos*.⁵⁷ According to Striker and Kuban, it cannot be dated earlier than the end of the twelfth century.⁵⁸ The church belongs to the domed-cross type with barrel vaults over the arms and a dome in the centre.⁵⁹

After the conquest, the church was taken over for the Faith of Islam by Mehmed II.⁶⁰ The waqfiyya of the sultan indicates that this building functioned as a *mevlevihane* for ceremonies to be held by dervishes called '*kalenderi*' on Fridays; and that it was used as a soup kitchen as well.⁶¹ However, in the official accounts of the *Ayasofya* Mosque (dated from 893/1489 to 895/1491) it was shown as a madrasa called '*Kalenderhane*'.⁶² Then, as Ayverdi states, it was turned into a madrasa, with the personnel's expenses supplied by the waqf of the *Ayasofya* Mosque.



The Kalenderhane Mosque. A lithograph (Paspates).

Ayvansarayi informs us that around the mosque there were a madrasa and other pious foundations.⁶³ This indicates that in the eighteenth century, in which Ayvansarayi lived, the building was not only used as a mosque, but that a madrasa had been erected in the neighbourhood.⁶⁴

Ayvansarayi also states that *Maktul Beşir Ağa* repaired the mosque, enlarged its waqf and built a *mahfil* for the sultan in its interior.⁶⁵ *Mustafa Efendi, arpa emini* is said to have founded a school near the gate of the mosque.⁶⁶ According to an inscription dating from 1271/1854-55 the mosque burnt at this time and remained in a state of disrepair until it was restored by *Hacı Kadri Efendi*.⁶⁷



The Kalenderhane Mosque. The dome.

The building displays Turkish interventions. The present dome is a Turkish construction,⁶⁸ the original eastern wall has been replaced by a Turkish wall, and at the south corner a *mihrab* has been installed. The northern and southern walls of the building have been pierced by windows.⁶⁹

A *mahalle* grew up around the mosque.⁷⁰



The Kalenderhane Mosque. The Interior with the mihrab.



The Kalenderhane Mosque. The interior.



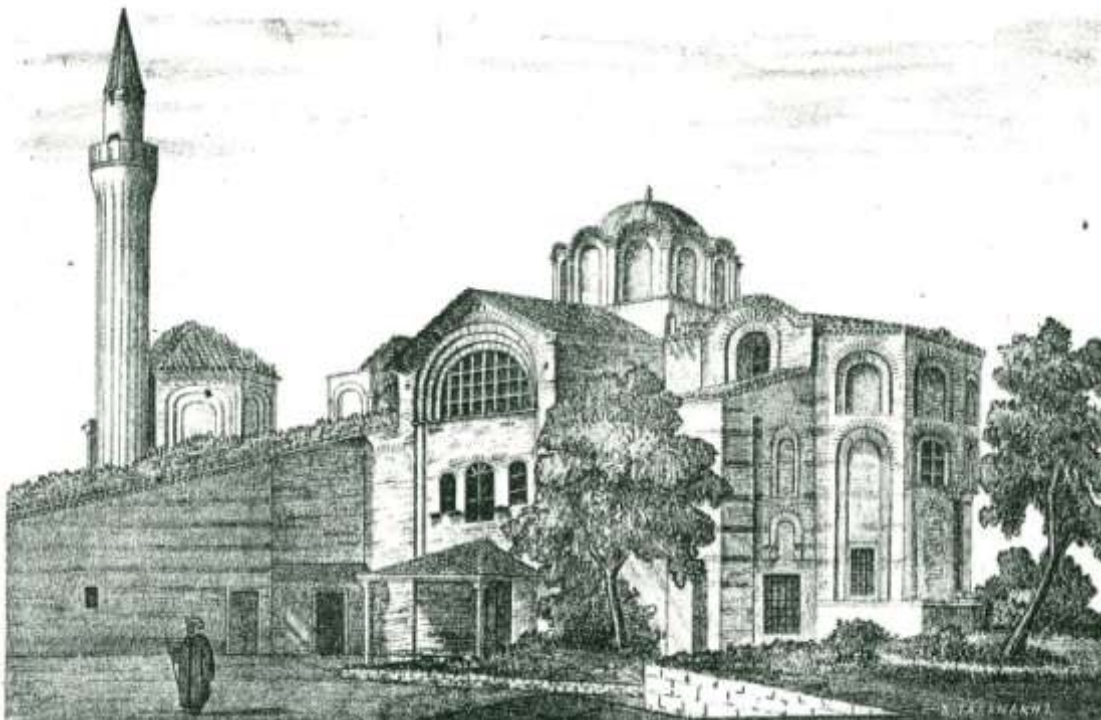
The Kalenderhane Mosque. The minaret.

**The *Molla Gürani* Mosque, or the *Vefa Kilise* Mosque
The Church of St. Theodore**



The Molla Gürani Mosque. The dome.

This building stands in *Vefa*. Its original name has not been securely established, but according to Gyllius it is the Church of St. Theodore.⁷¹ The principal structure was built in the eleventh or early twelfth century; to this an outer narthex was added sometime in the *Palaeologan* period.⁷²



The Molla Gürani Mosque. A lithograph (Paspates).

The original structure was erected on the four-column plan⁷³ and displays a very fine fourteenth-century facade, incorporating sixth-century columns and capitals.



The Molla Gürani Mosque seen from the exonarthex.



The Molla Gürani Mosque. The dome.

The conversion took place during the reign of Mehmed II; it was *Molla Gürani*, sheikhulislam, who transformed the church into a mosque.⁷⁴ A waqf founded in 889/1484 by Gürani and signed by *Molla Ali bin Yusuf-ül-Fenari*, provided for the upkeep of this structure with income from a group of buildings in the *mahalle* of *Şeyh Vefa*.⁷⁵



The Molla Gürani Mosque. The minaret.

During the transformation into Islamic use a minaret built of brick was added to the mosque,⁷⁶ the windows in the northern and southern walls were bricked up as well, probably

in the same period. In the interior, according to Ayvansarayi, a minbar was erected by Abdurrahman *Efendi*, son of *Eminzade Hüseyin Ağa*.⁷⁷

A neighbourhood once surrounded the mosque,⁷⁸ which is still in use at present.

**The Bodrum Mosque, or the *Mesih Ali Paşa* Mosque
The Church of *Myrelaion***⁷⁹

This is a small mosque in *Laleli* identified as a church which had been associated with the Convent of *Myrelaion*.⁸⁰ Erected between 920 and 922, this monastic church had been built by Romanus I *Lecapenus* (920-944) just beside his palace.⁸¹



The Bodrum Mosque. A general view.

The Byzantine construction was a four-column church.⁸² (Although the remains of the underlying foundations are similar in plan, it may not have been a sacred edifice.) Whatever its use, it very pragmatically raised the building to the level of the neighbouring palace.⁸³ We do know that it was used as a burial chapel for Romanus, his wife Theodora, and other members of the imperial family.⁸⁴



The Bodrum Mosque. The interior with the dome.

Not much is known of its history during Ottoman times. It was converted into a mosque by the governor of Egypt *Mesih Ali Paşa*,⁸⁵ who was also responsible for establishing a waqf in 907/1501-2.⁸⁶ After its conversion, the name '*bodrum*' (cellar) was given to it because of its substructure.⁸⁷ The masjīd was surrounded by its own neighbourhood, or *mahalle*.⁸⁸



The Bodrum Mosque. The interior.

Ottoman interventions to the building were very minor, the changes made were, in fact due more to its condition, which necessitated a series of repairs, than to the desire to turn it into a mosque. To strengthen the building, the columns upon which the dome rose were

replaced by Turkish piers. Windows were opened in the central and northern apses, and a few others walled up. A minaret was erected at the south corner of the facade.

The mosque was twice ravaged by fire, first in 1199/1784 and again 1331/1912,⁸⁹ after which it remained in ruins for some time. It has been recently restored and is again in use.⁹⁰

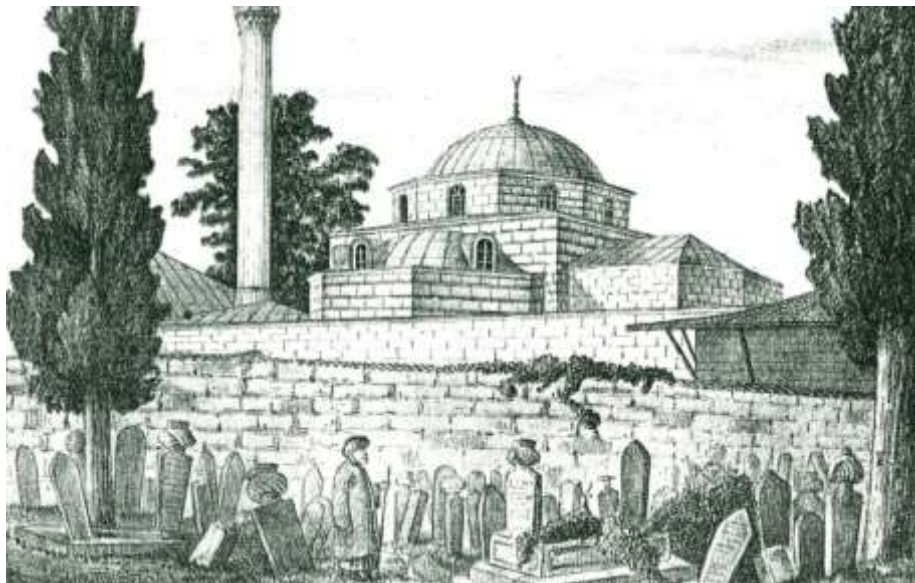


The Bodrum Mosque. A lithograph (Paspates).

KOCAMUSTAFAPAŞA

The *Koca Mustafa Paşa*, or the *Sünbül Efendi* Mosque The Church of St. Andrew in *Krisei*

The *Koca Mustafa Paşa* Mosque, also known as the *Sünbül Efendi* Mosque, was the well-known church of a Byzantine monastery in *Kocamustafapaşa*. According to Mamboury, it was originally constructed by Arcadia, a sister of the Emperor Theodosius II (408-450), and became part of a convent dedicated, ca. 767, to St. Andrew of Crete, martyred during the reign of Constantine V (741-775).⁹¹



The Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque. A lithograph (Paspates).



The Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque. A general view.

The church, which—along with the monastery in general—had been severely damaged during the Iconoclastic period, was restored by Basil I (867-886), only to suffer destruction again during the Latin occupation. During the *Palaeologan* period Theodora, the niece of the Emperor Michael VIII (1260-1282), is said to have embellished the monastery and enlarged the church.⁹²



The Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque from the east.

The church was converted into a mosque by *Koca Mustafa Paşa*, grand vizier of Bayezid II, in 895/1486,⁹³ hence its name.⁹⁴ The same vizier also established a waqf for the mosque.⁹⁵

The conversion was followed by the establishment of a *tekke* at the site, which occasioned the establishment of a madrasa, a *zaviye*, a school, and an *imaret*; *Çelebi Muhammed Cemalettin* was first appointed sheikh,⁹⁶ and upon his death Yusuf Sünbül Sinaneddin took over this duty. Ayvansarayı lists the successive sheikhs of the *tekke*.⁹⁷

The mosque itself was gradually incorporated into a building complex. *Ekmekcizade Ahmed Paşa* erected a building immediately adjacent, and *Veliyuddin Efendi* constructed a *muvaqqithane* nearby. In 1150/1750 *Hacı Beşir Ağa* presented a fountain, and in 1271/1854 the Grand Vizier *Rıfat Paşa* erected a *sebil*. A second *sebil* was erected by *Hacı Emine Hanım*. A madrasa outside the courtyard was founded by *Nuh Efendi*. In addition to these structures, a number of tombs were built for the sheikhs, and within the courtyard many others associated with the complex were eventually buried.⁹⁸

The site gradually became a religious centre high in public esteem. The complex eventually formed the core of a large residential area consisting of some thirty *mahalles* on the Seventh Hill of Istanbul.⁹⁹



The Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque. The minaret.

The church itself is an example of an edifice that lost nearly all of its original character during its conversion into a mosque. Originally a church built on an ambulatory plan, as a mosque it was reoriented by ninety degrees so that the Muslim worshippers would face

toward Mecca. The south aisle was therefore transformed into a *mihrab*; its original barrel vault was replaced by a Turkish half-dome, and the north aisle, on the same axis, received the same treatment. At the same time the original Byzantine dome was replaced by a Turkish one. To support the new central dome and the half-domes flanking it, Turkish arches were thrown diagonally across the aisles on either side. The central apse beyond the bema, although not been altered in the interior, was filled in with a Turkish wall on the exterior. The lateral apse to the left was altered and roofed with a Turkish dome. Another dome was built over the bay at the north of the inner narthex.¹⁰⁰

The portico with five bays along the north wall of the building is also of Turkish construction. The exterior has been entirely refaced by the Turks so that no Byzantine masonry whatsoever is visible from the outside today.¹⁰¹

The mosque is still in use at present.

The *Sancakdar* Hayreddin Masjid The Monastery of *Gastria*

This building stands in *Kocamustafapaşa*, only a short distance north of the *Sulu Manastır*. It has been traditionally identified with the Monastery of *Gastria*,¹⁰² but there is no firm archaeological evidence to support this identification. Although there have been various attempts¹⁰³ to establish the date of construction, further study of the monument is needed. The plan of the church is relatively simple: a Greek cross inscribed within octagonal walls.¹⁰⁴



The Sancakdar Hayreddin Mosque. A lithograph (Paspates).

From the conquest onwards the history of the edifice is reasonably well known. During the reign of Mehmed II *Sancakdar* Hayreddin converted it into a masjid and established a waqf for it.¹⁰⁵ At a later date, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Grand Vizier Mustafa *Paşa* donated a minbar.¹⁰⁶



The Sancaktar Hayreddin Paşa Masjid. A general view.



The Sancaktar Hayreddin Paşa Masjid. The interior.

According to the plan drawn by Van Millingen, the apsidal part is of Turkish construction.¹⁰⁷ A minaret was also erected. The building continued in use as a mosque until 1312/1894, when it was ravaged by an earthquake.

Today the *Sancakdar* Hayreddin Masjid has been newly restored and is used as a prayer hall by the residents of the neighbourhood, which has survived to the present.

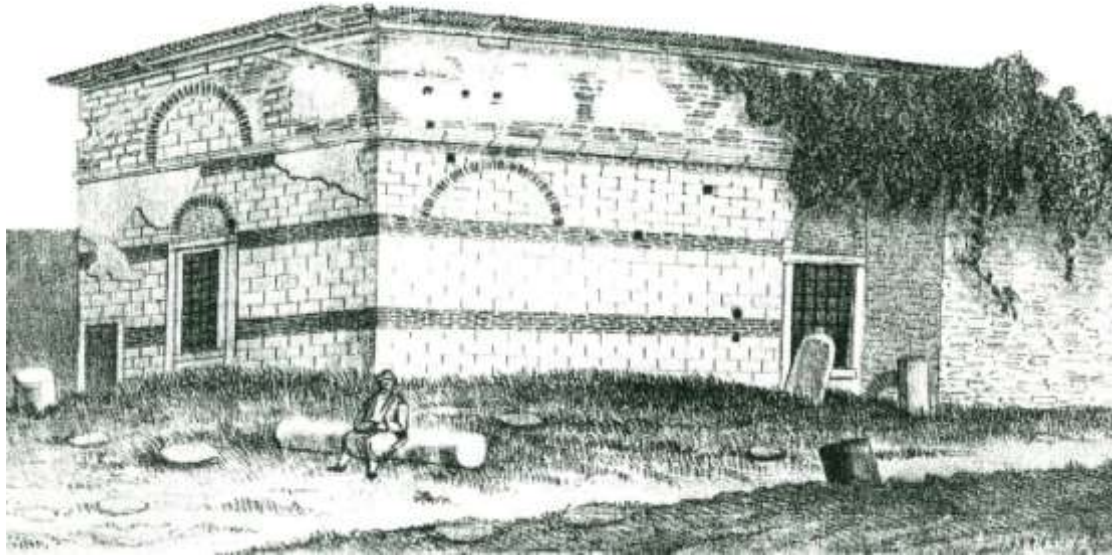
TOPKAPI – AKSARAY

The *Manastır* Masjid



The Manastır Masjid A general view.

Located in *Topkapı*, this masjid is presently used by the personnel of the *I.E.T.T.* (Istanbul Electricity, Tramcar and Tunnel Organisation). Its Turkish name, that is to say, '*Manastır*' (monastery) indicates that in Byzantine times it was a part of a monastery, very probably of the Monastery of *Kyra Martha*.¹⁰⁸ A thirteenth century construction, it is a small oblong hall divided into two unequal components which would have served as a narthex and a nave (with three bays).¹⁰⁹



The Manastır Masjid. A lithograph (Paspates).

It was Mustafa *Çavuş*, a subject of Mehmed II, who turned the building into a masjid,¹¹⁰ the expenses of which were provided by a waqf of the sultan.¹¹¹

At the time of the conversion no minaret was added, but during subsequent repairs, the structure was provided with a wooden minaret (which has not survived).¹¹² The roof of the building is of Turkish construction.

In the course of conversion, the central apse was pierced by a window, and the south apse filled and converted into a *mihrab*.

In the neighbourhood that surrounded the mosque were a fountain and a school both built by Ali *Ağa*.¹¹³

The *mahalle*¹¹⁴ that once accompanied the mosque was absorbed into the *Ereğli Mahalle* in 1934.



The Manastır Masjid. The southern wall of the building.

The *Fenari İsa* Mosque
The Church of Constantine *Lips* (Church of St. Mary *Panachrantos*)



The Fenari İsa Mosque. A general view.

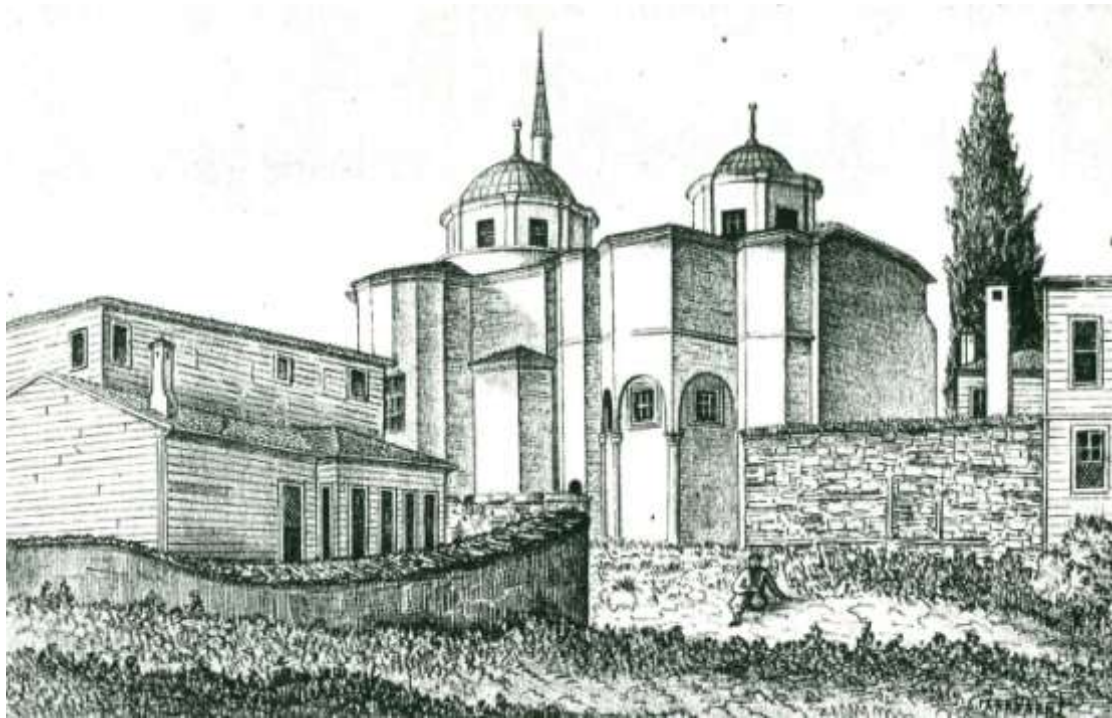
This complex stands on *Vatan* Boulevard. It was a group of churches attached to the Monastery of *Lips*, dedicated to the Mother of God, *Panachrantos* (All-Immaculate).¹¹⁵ It consists of two churches side by side, and an outer narthex common to both. The north church is of the four-column type while the south one is of the ambulatory type.¹¹⁶ Unique are the four diminutive chapels on the roof, grouped round the main dome.

The north church was built by Constantine *Lips*, a dignitary at the court of Leo IV (886-912) in 907. After the Latin occupation the Empress Theodora, the consort of Michael VIII *Palaeologus* (1260-1282), restored the building and added the south church, which was to serve as a mausoleum for herself and her family.¹¹⁷ The new church was dedicated to St. John the Baptist.¹¹⁸ At a later period of the *Palaeologan* Dynasty, an outer narthex was added, running along the west and south walls of the two churches.

It is evident that after the conquest the complex of these two churches remained for sometime in the hands of Christians.¹¹⁹ It was converted into a mosque by Ali *Efendi* of the *Fenari* family, who died in 902/1496-97.¹²⁰ In 1043/1633-34 a terrible fire destroyed nearly half of the city. Three years later, in 1046/1636-37 the Grand Vizier Bayram *Paşa* restored the mosque, making radical architectural alterations. The columns in the naves were replaced

with pointed arches, and the four principal columnar supports in the northern structure were also transformed into grand pointed arches, Turkish in style, which span the entire interior space. The decoration was stripped from the walls, and both domes were constructed anew.¹²¹ Certain windows were inserted, and a minaret erected at the southwestern corner of the outer narthex.¹²² The grand vizier also furnished a *mihrab* and minbar.¹²³ By the end of the seventeenth century, then, the chambers of the complex had been turned into a *tekke* by the *imam* Sheikh İsa el- Mahvi; it was renamed the *Fenari İsa Mosque*.¹²⁴ In 1247/1831-32 the mosque again underwent repairs, but was subsequently devastated by fire in 1917.¹²⁵ Restoration of the ruins was begun by the Ministry of Mosques in 1960, and completed with the assistance of the Byzantine Institute. The complex presently functions as a mosque.

The mosque was surrounded by its own *mahalle*.¹²⁶



The Fenari İsa Mosque. A lithograph (Paspates).



The Fenari İsa Mosque. The dome of the south building.



The Fenari İsa Mosque. The interior of the building with the nave and the Turkish arches.



The Fenari İsa Mosque. The interior of the south building with the mihrab.

ZEYREK

The *Zeyrek Kilise* Mosque The Church of St. Saviour Pantokrator



The Zeyrek Kilise Mosque. A general view.

Consisting of two churches with a burial chapel between them, this building now called the *Zeyrek Kilise* Mosque stands in *Zeyrek*. It was part of a monastery famous in the Middle Byzantine period. Known as St. *Saviour Pantokrator* (Christ the Almighty), the structure was built between 1120 and 1136. Originally comprised of a hospital and a hospice for elderly men, it also housed the graves of the *Comnenen* family. The three buildings communicate with one another through openings in their common walls. The south church, the oldest, is a simple four-column plan with two narthexes. The north church was constructed on a similar plan, while the central chamber is an oblong hall featuring two domes.¹²⁷



The Zeyrek Kilise Mosque. A lithograph (Paspates).

Soon after the Ottoman conquest the complex was entirely transformed and dedicated to the Faith of Islam by Mehmed II.¹²⁸ At first it served as a madrasa with the churches used as the mosque.¹²⁹ *Zeyrek Molla Efendi* was appointed as the first *müderris* of the madrasa; hence the Turkish name of the edifice.¹³⁰ After the completion of the *Semaniye* Madrasas in the building complex of Mehmed II, the Madrasa of *Zeyrek* passed out of existence, but the mosque continued to function.¹³¹

In Turkish hands the complex underwent minor alterations and additions. First of all, a minbar and a *mihrab* were added (both of which have been renewed in succeeding periods). A *hünkâr mahfili* was built into the mosque. To reinforce the structure of the mosque, the columns supporting the main domes both in the north and south structures were replaced by Turkish piers. The dome on the north church has undergone many Turkish alterations. The original walls and vaulting were plastered over.¹³²

A *mahalle* grew up around the mosque.¹³³ *Zenbilli Ali Efendi*, sheikhulislam, built a school for the neighbourhood.¹³⁴ In 1934 the *mahalle* was merged into the *Sinan Ağa Mahalle*.¹³⁵

The Şeyh Süleyman Masjid

This building stands about 150 meters southwest of the *Zeyrek Kilise* Mosque. Its Byzantine history remains vague. Neither its identity nor its function is known.¹³⁶ Even though it is considered a *Palaeologan* structure by many, the masonry indicates that it should stem from an earlier Byzantine period.¹³⁷

The superstructure is octagonal although the ground plan forms a square. The building was turned into a masjid by Şeyh Süleyman, a sheikh in the reign of Mehmed II;¹³⁸ hence the Turkish name of the building. Although Ayvansarayi states that it had no *mahalle* of its own,¹³⁹ there is a record of a *mahalle* known as that of Şeyh Süleyman¹⁴⁰ in the *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* of 953/1546. Thus, the *mahalle* must have been dissolved before the lifetime of Ayvansarayi.



The Şeyh Süleyman Masjid from the west.

In Turkish times the building appears to have undergone various renovation, most particularly the doors and windows. Ayvansarayi reports that it was destroyed by the fire of *Cibali*¹⁴¹ and thereafter rebuilt by Mustafa III, who also provided the building with a minbar.¹⁴² Just opposite the building a madrasa was erected between 1193/1779 and 1195/1781.¹⁴³



The Şeyh Süleyman Masjid. A lithograph (Paspates).



The Şeyh Süleyman Masjid. The interior.



The Şeyh Süleyman Masjid. The Dome.

FATİH – EDİRNEKAPI
The *Eski İmaret* Mosque
The Church of St. *Savior Pantepoptes*



The Eski İmaret Mosque. A general view.

This building, situated only a few meters west of the *Zeyrek Kilise* Mosque, has been identified with the church of St. *Saviour Pantepoptes* (Christ, the All-Seeing). The founder was Anna Dalassena, mother of Alexius *Comnenus* (1081-1118). The edifice was built on the four-column plan.¹⁴⁴

Not long after the conquest the church was converted into a mosque; it was Mehmed II¹⁴⁵ who established a waqf to provide for the expenses of its personnel.



The Eski İmaret Mosque. A lithograph (Paspates).

According to Ayvansarayi the mosque is called the '*Eski (old) İmaret*' because it had served as part of an *imaret* until the completion of the *Fatih* Complex by Mehmed II; only later was it employed as a mosque in its own right.¹⁴⁶ The waqfiyya of Mehmed II, however, indicates that the building had been called '*Eski İmaret*' even when it was serving as an *imaret* with thirty-five chambers in addition the mosque itself.¹⁴⁷ Ayverdi also reports that these chambers were temporarily transformed into a madrasa with this sanctuary serving as its mosque.¹⁴⁸ This would suggest that the word *imaret* here denotes simply a building complex rather than public kitchens (although the complex may well have included a kitchen of its own).

A minbar for the mosque was furnished by an Ahmed *Efendi*, son of İshak *Efendi*, sheikhulislam.¹⁴⁹

We know that a *mahalle* had been established around the complex as early as the reign of Mehmed II because such a neighbourhood is listed in the waqfiyya.¹⁵⁰ Ayvansarayi describes this *mahalle* as still intact in the nineteenth century,¹⁵¹ although it no longer exists today.

The chambers, too, have disappeared, but the mosque itself has not only survived but remains in use.

Plans drawn by Van Millingen demonstrate that only minor Turkish alterations were made to the building¹⁵² when it was converted to the use of Islam. A minaret was added, certain windows were filled in, and a few alterations made to the roof.

**The Ahmed Paşa Masjid (*Hırami* Ahmed Paşa Masjid)
The Church of St. John the Baptist in *Trullo***



The Ahmed Paşa Mosque from the north.

This building stands at *Çarsamba*, in the neighbourhood of the *Fethiye* Mosque. It is identified as the Church of St. John the Baptist in *Trullo*,¹⁵³ but it is not known when or by whom it was built. The date of construction is thought to be in the twelfth century.¹⁵⁴ As to the plan, it belongs to the four-column type church with a narthex and three semicircular apses.¹⁵⁵



The Ahmed Paşa Masjid. A lithograph (Paspates).

The church was not converted into a masjid for some time after the conquest. Pharantzes recorded that the Church of *Pammakaristos*, now the *Fethiye* Mosque, had been made the patriarchal seat and that Patriarch Gennadius had transferred the nuns previously accommodated there to this building.¹⁵⁶ It was Ahmed Paşa, sheikhulislam, also identified with the title '*hırami*,' who turned the building into a masjid.¹⁵⁷ Although there is no record of the date of the conversion, it is improbable that the church became a masjid either before

1000/1591-92 (when the patriarchal seat was removed from the *Pammakaristos*), or after 1007/1598-99, the year in which Ahmed *Paşa* died.¹⁵⁸



The Ahmed Paşa Masjid from the east. The apses.

Originally the arches supporting the dome rested on four piers or columns, but these were removed in the course of Turkish repairs.¹⁵⁹ Most of the windows were walled up,¹⁶⁰ while in the southern wall of the narthex a door was opened.¹⁶¹ A wooden minaret was added to the roof.¹⁶²

Because the structure was languishing in ruin, restoration was undertaken by the Ministry of the Waqfs in 1960.¹⁶³ At present it is used for the Faith of Islam. The masjid was once the centre of a *mahalle*.¹⁶⁴

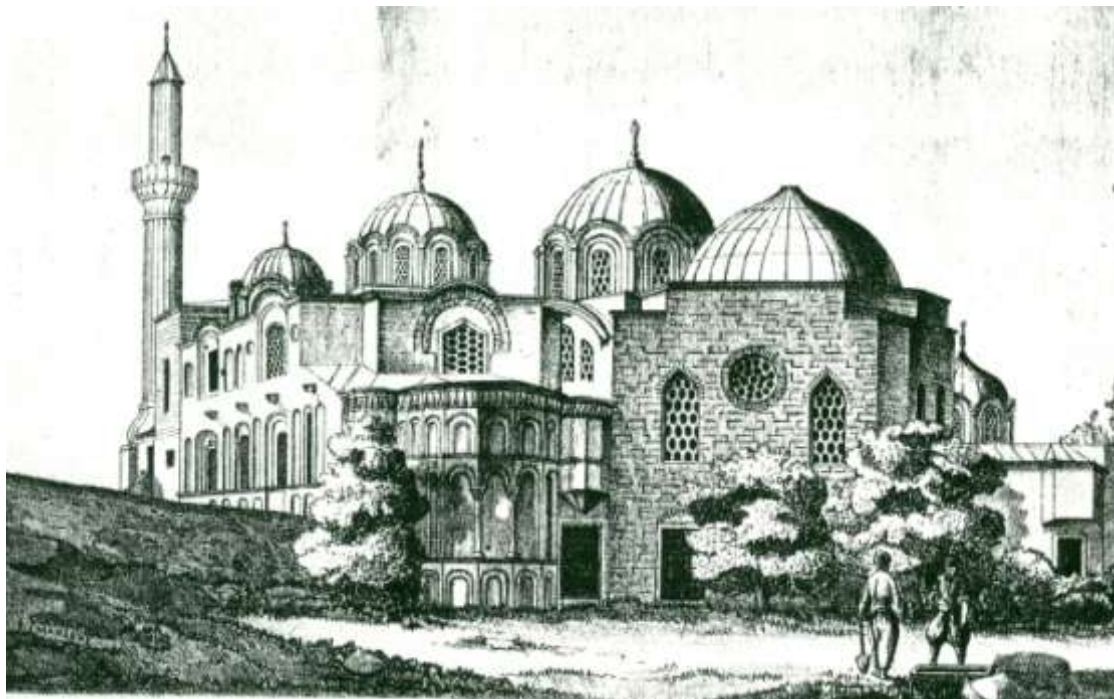
The *Fethiye* Mosque The Church of St. Mary *Pammakaristos*

Situated at *Çarsamba*, at the edge of the Fifth Hill, this building contains a south church, now a museum and a north one, still in use as a mosque. This was the Byzantine church of *Pammakaristos* (Mary the All-Blessed). It consists of three parts; the main church on the north, ambulatory in plan; the south church; and the parecclesion, a small four-column chapel. There is a narthex and gynaecium on the west,¹⁶⁵ and a perambulatory which envelops the building on the south, west, and north sides.¹⁶⁶

When and by whom the church was founded cannot be so readily determined, although there are some suggestions.¹⁶⁷



The Fethiye Mosque. A geneal view.



The Fethiye Mosque. A lithograph (Paspates).

Three years after the conquest, the church became the patriarchal seat of Istanbul. Previously, Patriarch Gennadius had been appointed by the sultan and given the Church of the Holy Apostles.¹⁶⁸ Then, as the neighbourhood of that church had become chiefly inhabited by the Turks, he withdrew to the Church of *Pammakaristos*. The reason why he selected this church was that a large colony of Greeks, who had been brought to repopulate the capital, had settled in this district.¹⁶⁹ During the next one hundred and thirty-eight years the *Pammakaristos* remained the seat of successive patriarchs.

Because of disagreements between the monks and government officials, this building was taken from them, and then converted into a mosque in the reign of Murad III, in the year when Georgia was conquered, hence the Turkish name '*fethiye*' (conquest), given to the edifice.¹⁷⁰

After its conversion, Sinan *Paşa*, then grand vizier, established a madrasa in the courtyard, and *Maktul Kethuda Bey Mehmed Ağa*, son-in-law of *Damad İbrahim Paşa*, built a school and put a fountain there.¹⁷¹ After that, in 1051/1640 fire devastated the building.¹⁷² During the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid the mosque was repaired.¹⁷³ Between 1936-1938 the structure was once again restored, this time by the Administration of the Waqfs. In 1960s the Byzantine Institute of the United States and Dumbarton Oaks cleaned and restored the side chapel, uncovering the mosaics and replacing missing columns.¹⁷⁴

The Turkish alterations to the church on the north included the replacement of three eastern apses by a triangular domed projection and the addition of a *mihrab* in the southeast corner. The floor in the eastern portion was raised a step above the general level, and the triple arcades around the other three sides were replaced by broad pointed arches.



The Fethiye Mosque. The interior of the south building with the dome and the vaults.

In the south church the columns on the north side supporting the arches of the dome were replaced by a Turkish arch spanning the building from east to west. Another significant Turkish addition to the building is the minaret erected at the southwestern corner.

The mosque was surrounded by its own *mahalle*.¹⁷⁵



The Fethiye Mosque. The mihrab from the exterior.

The *Kefeli* Masjid The Monastery of Manuel



The *Kefeli* Masjid. A general view.

This building is located a short distance to the east of the *Odalar* Mosque in *Karagömrük*. Its Byzantine history is almost unknown.¹⁷⁶ Although generally accepted as the refectory of the Monastery of Manuel, founded in the mid-ninth century, recent studies show that it is a later Byzantine construction.¹⁷⁷ The northward orientation makes it highly unlikely that the structure was built as a church. Grossmann found evidence of a triple nave, however, suggesting that the building was a basilica in plan.¹⁷⁸ At present, nothing remains of the eastern flank, and what remains –the southern end– of the western flank has been turned into a *son cemaat yeri*, a place for latecomers to prayer.

After the conquest, during the relocation of Christian communities from *Caffa* (*Kefe*) in the Crimea in 880/1475, this building was handed over to the Christians.¹⁷⁹ Thereafter, it was used jointly by Catholics and Armenians. It was converted by an anonymous person from *Caffa* around 1040/1630;¹⁸⁰ hence the Turkish name of the building.

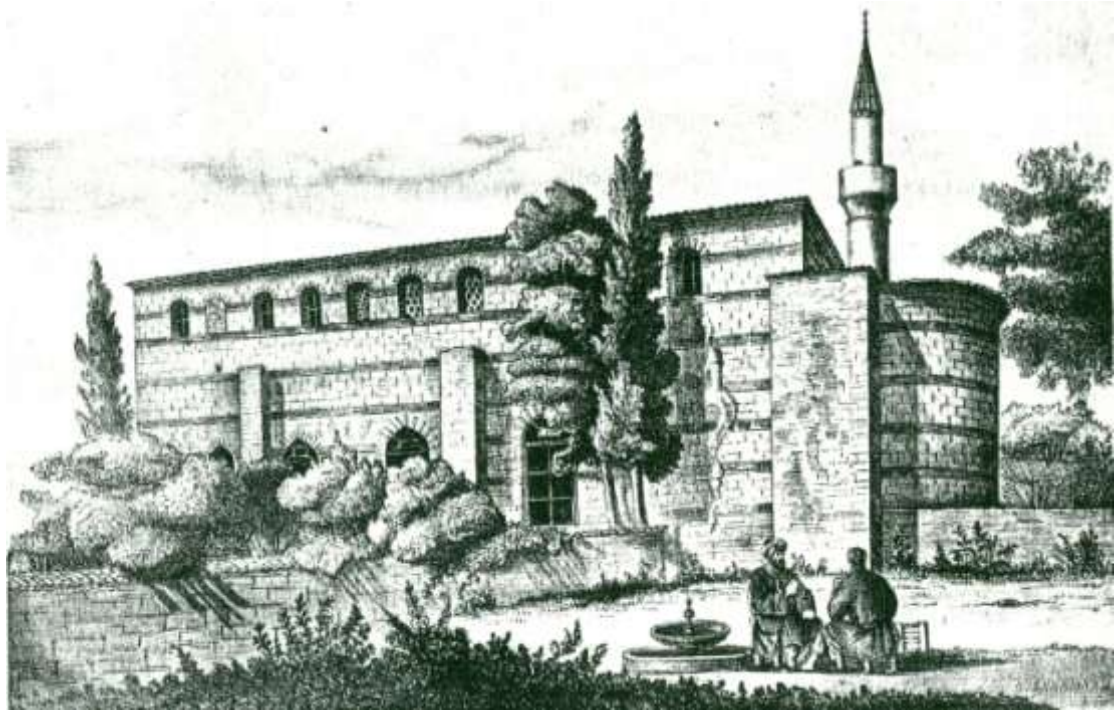
In the course of conversion minor interventions such as the walling up of some windows were undertaken. A minbar was presented by *Hekim Ali Paşa*.¹⁸¹

For the waqf of the masjid, the only source is *Hadikat-ül-Cevami* by Ayyansarayi. As he states, the expenses of the personnel were supplied by the waqf of Selim I.¹⁸²

After the conversion some building took place around the masjid. A madrasa was built by *Gazi Mahmud*, and a school was erected by *Mustafa Çavuş*.¹⁸³

In the 1970s the building was restored; and during this restoration the minaret was repaired.¹⁸⁴

The masjid was surrounded by its own *mahalle*.¹⁸⁵



The Kefeli Masjid. A lithograph (Paspates).



The Kefeli Masjid from the east.

The Kasım Ağa Masjid

Located at *Edirnekapi*, in the neighbourhood of *Çukurbostan*, the building, together with the *Odalar* Mosque and a cistern on the same site, must have belonged to a monastery since these three buildings stood very close to each other.¹⁸⁶ The monastery has not been identified yet.¹⁸⁷ Nor has the function of the present masjid in Byzantine times. Judging from its masonry, Mathews suggests that it was a *Palaeologan* establishment while Eyice suggests it is an Early Byzantine construction.¹⁸⁸

Although the district remained Christian for about two hundred years after the conquest, the building was converted into a masjid in the fifteenth century.¹⁸⁹ However, Ayvansarayi states that it was built by *Segbanbaşı* Kasım Ağa.¹⁹⁰ The implication here is that the masjid was never originally a Christian building. In the light of much investigation, it seems certain that it was in fact a Byzantine building.¹⁹¹ Therefore, Kasım Ağa was not the builder but rather the person responsible for its conversion into a masjid.

The same person founded a waqf for the masjid.¹⁹² The *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* of 953/1546 shows that the waqf had an extensive *evkaf* throughout the city.¹⁹³

When the Turks encountered the building after the conquest it was in a ruinous condition.¹⁹⁴ In the course of conversion the kibra wall gained a thoroughly Turkish character with the addition of a *mihrab* with stalactites, and a window on either side.¹⁹⁵ The walls were pierced with Turkish windows and a stone minaret was erected.¹⁹⁶

The edifice was damaged by an earthquake in 1312/1894 and then by a fire in 1919. Between 1975 and 1977 it was restored by the foundation *Fatih'in Eserlerini İhya ve Koruma Derneği*, and its minaret was rebuilt in 1989.¹⁹⁷

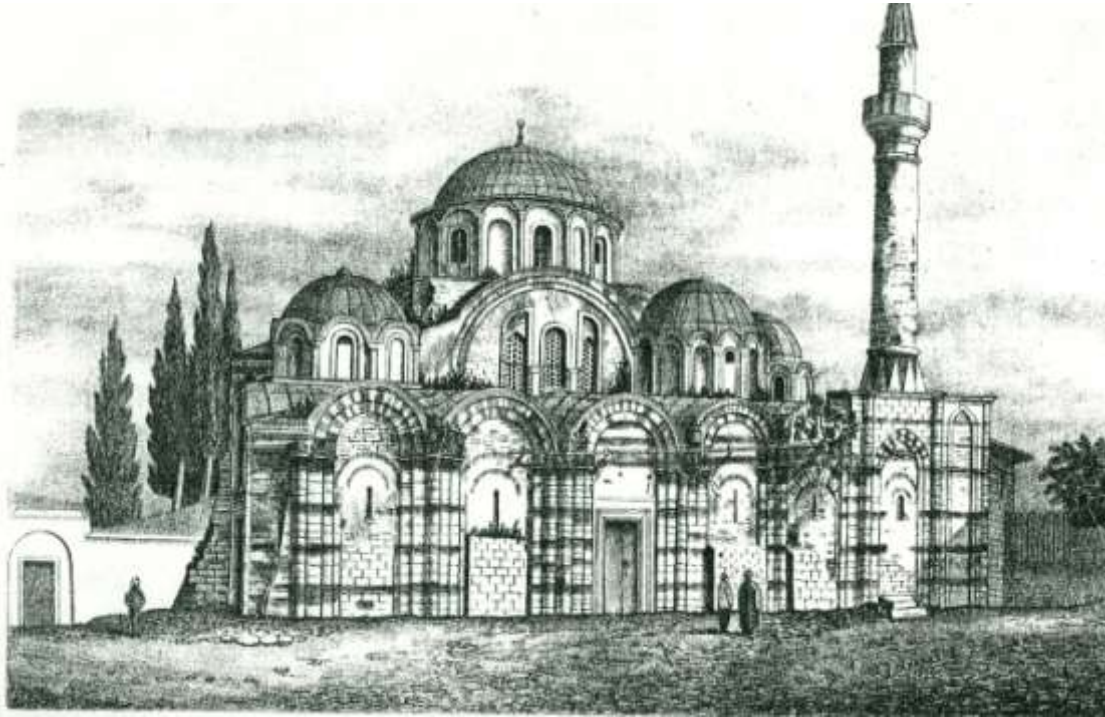
The neighbourhood of this masjid was known as 'the *Perakende Mahalle*' until 1934, when it was combined with *Derviş Ali Mahalle*.¹⁹⁸

The Kariye Mosque (Atik Ali Paşa Mosque) The Church of St. Saviour in Chora¹⁹⁹



The Kariye Mosque. A general view from the west.

This mosque is not far from the Adrianople Gate at *Edirnekapı*. Until only a century and a half ago, the monument had been forgotten. After 1860, when it was rediscovered, the Turkish government had the walls of the building cleaned and the mosaics revealed.²⁰⁰ In 1948, a second extensive program of cleaning and restoration was begun under the sponsorship of the Byzantine Institute of America and the Dumbarton Oaks.²⁰¹ Now the edifice is a museum.



The Kariye Mosque. A lithograph (Paspates).

The excavations of the Byzantine Institute show that nothing in the present building can be dated earlier than the *Comnenen* period;²⁰² their findings have distinguished two phases within the period.²⁰³ The building of the first phase (1077-1081) was probably constructed on a small cross-in-square plan, in contrast to that of the second phase (datable to 1120) with a broad apse and a square domed nave.²⁰⁴ A replacement of the narthex and side chapels between 1315 and 1321 gave the structure its present shape.²⁰⁵ The structure today has a central sanctuary with an inner and outer narthex, a storied gallery along the north, and a parecclesion to the south.²⁰⁶



The Kariye Mosque from the east.

The conversion into a mosque took place during the reign of Bayezid II, for it was *Atik Ali Paşa*, the grand vizier at the time, who converted it and founded a waqf for it.²⁰⁷ In the *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* of 953/1546, it was registered under the name of *Kenise*

Camii.²⁰⁸ Of the date of conversion nothing is known. However, it is known that Ali Paşa died in 917/1511. The conversion could not have been undertaken any later. Likewise it could not have been before 907/1501, when he was appointed the grand vizier.²⁰⁹

In succeeding periods an *imaret* and a school were erected around the mosque by Hacı Beşir Ağa, *dar-üs-saade* agha, who died in 1159/1746.²¹⁰ Neither the school nor the *imaret* stands at present.

The Turks did not significantly alter the building in the course of conversion. The original dome was replaced by a Turkish one since it had collapsed.²¹¹ Another Turkish construction, the minaret, was built at the western corner of the parecclesion. The large window bays across the facade were walled up by the Turks.

Van Millingen informs us that the mosque suffered much from fire.²¹² Ülke records that in the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz, the building was repaired,²¹³ and then in 1875-1876 it was restored under the supervision of the architect Kuppas.²¹⁴ The earthquake of 1894 then severely damaged the building and toppled the minaret, occasioning another restoration in 1898 during the reign of Abdülhamid II.²¹⁵

The mosque was surrounded by its own *mahalle*.²¹⁶



The Kariye Mosque. The main dome.

ALONG THE *HALIÇ* (THE GOLDEN HORN)

The *Atik* Mustafa Paşa Mosque
(also known as the *Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque* and the *Hazret-i Cabir Mosque*)
The Church of Ss. Peter and Mark



The Atik Mustafa Paşa Mosque from the south east. The apses.

Neither the name nor the founder of this building in the neighbourhood of *Ayvansaray* is known. According to the Patriarch Constantius IV, it was the church of Ss. Peter and Mark,²¹⁷ and Eyice identifies it with a church of St. Thecla that was built in the ninth century.²¹⁸ The exact date of its construction has not been determined. Various suggestions for dating range from the fifth century to the twelfth.²¹⁹ The plan of the church is the simplest form of the domed-cross type with no galleries.²²⁰

According to Ayvansarayı, this was one of the churches transformed into mosques by the Grand Vizier Mustafa Paşa;²²¹ hence the Turkish name *Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque*. The word '*atik*' preceding the name may be a title added to distinguish this Mustafa Paşa Mosque from another which bore the same name. The conversion must have been undertaken during the reign of Bayezid II, for Mustafa Paşa was killed in 918/1512-13.

The apsidal southern chamber was used as a tomb, and a grave there makes the building one of the rare examples of a mosque with a tomb in the interior. Although Ayvansarayı states that a Cabir bin Abdullah was buried here,²²² neither of the two persons we know by that name could have been buried in this building.²²³ The mosque nevertheless also goes by the name of *Hazret-i Cabir*.



The Atik Mustafa Paşa Mosque. The interior with the tomb.

Ayvansarayi also mentions a pair of baths beside the mosque, but at present there is no trace of such a building at the site of the mosque.²²⁴ Eyice informs us that there is a street called '*Külhan Sokak*' (Bath-Stoker Street) within the district, however, and that Turkish baths existed there until 1908 or 1910.²²⁵

Opposite the mosque is a fountain also mentioned by Ayvansarayi. It was built by *Şatır Hasan Ağa* in 1104/1692-93. The mosque stood within its own *mahalle*.²²⁶

Originally the building was entered through a narthex.²²⁷ On its foundations, a Turkish portico has been erected. Whereas in the Byzantine period entrance had been provided by three doors,²²⁸ during the conversion the two side doors were transformed into windows. Probably at the same time, both the interior and exterior of the walls were plastered over, and windows to the east and along the flanks walled up. Originally the interior must have been brighter than it is now.²²⁹ The *mihrab* is on the axis of the central apse. The original dome of the building, which must have been higher and windowed,²³⁰ was also replaced during the Ottoman period; the roof is likewise of Turkish construction.²³¹

In 1957 the Byzantine Institute of America uncovered frescoes depicting the Archangel Michael and the twin brothers, Saints Damian and Cosmas in the arcade along the southern exterior wall.²³² These clearly belong to the final period of Byzantine art in Istanbul, the first half of the fifteenth century.²³³

In the earthquake of 1310/1894 the building was severely damaged, and the minaret partially collapsed.²³⁴ Sometime before 1906 the entire mosque was restored and the minaret rebuilt. It remains in use by the faithful of the neighbourhood.



The Atik Mustafa Paşa Mosque. The interior.



The Atik Mustafa Paşa Mosque. A lithograph (Paspates).

The *Gül* Mosque²³⁵
The Church of St. Theodosia



The *Gül* Mosque from the east. The apses.

This edifice stands at *Cibali* and at present is used as a neighbourhood mosque. For the identification of the building in the Byzantine times, early scholars selected St. Theodosia as most likely.²³⁶ With foundations dating to the ninth century,²³⁷ it is a domed-cross with a gynaecium.²³⁸

Ayvansarayi indicates that it was not converted into a mosque for sometime after the conquest, stating that it was used at first as a storehouse for the fleet.²³⁹ According to him, it was Selim II who turned the church into a mosque. However, in the *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* of 953/1546 there is a record of a *mahalle* under the name ‘*Gül Mosque*’.²⁴⁰ Therefore it seems that in the reign of Süleyman I the building had been used as a mosque. Moreover, *icmal defteri*, registered under the number ‘93’ in the *İstanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi* (the Istanbul Municipal Library), shows that conversion of the church into a mosque was begun in 895/1490.²⁴¹ That is to say, the building became a mosque in the reign of Bayezid II. Nevertheless Selim II might have established a waqf of the mosque.

Mahmud II certainly paid visits at intervals, for a *hünkâr mahfil* was constructed here in his reign.²⁴²



The Gül Mosque. The dome.

The building has undergone several repairs since the conversion so that the original features and the Turkish alterations cannot easily be distinguished from each other. However, the plans drawn by Van Millingen show that the dome as being Turkish construction.²⁴³ Although the central apse retains its original form, it has undergone Turkish alterations. The original outer narthex has been replaced by a Turkish one. Another Turkish construction is the minaret at the southwest corner of the main building.

The *Mahalle* of the *Gül* Mosque existed until 1934, when it was absorbed into the *Mahalle* of *Küçük Mustafa Paşa*.



The Gül Mosque. The minaret.



The Gül Mosque. The interior with the mihrab.



The Gül Mosque. The north gallery.

THE STRUCTURES DESTROYED OR IN RUINS

ÇEMBERLİTAŞ – SULTANAHMET – EMİNÖNÜ

The Yıldız Dede Tekke

This building near the *Hamidiye* Complex at *Bahçekapı* has not survived. Following the conquest a church at this spot was presented to Necmeddin *Dede*, also known as *Yıldız Dede* and *Yıldız Baba*. He had taken part in the siege of Constantinople, and he gave his name to the *tekke* established here.²⁴⁴ A *hamam*, or Turkish bath, that he built also took his name. During the reign of Mahmud I, a *tekke* comprised of a *masjid*, *türbe* (tomb) and two chambers was constructed at the site under the supervision of the architect *Kayserili Mehmed Ağa*, who died in 1742.²⁴⁵ Restoration was then carried out during the reign of Abdülhamid I.²⁴⁶

The *Acemi Ağa* Masjid, or the *Lala Hayreddin Masjid* The Church of St. Mary *Chalcoprateia*

This was originally a church dedicated to the Mother of God in the Byzantine quarter of *Chalcoprateia*;²⁴⁷ it is believed to have housed a sash from her robe. Only 150 meters from St. *Sophia*, this building stands next to the Zeynep Sultan Mosque opposite the *Gülhane* Park. Who founded the building has not yet been clearly determined. According to various accounts of its date, however, it should have been begun by the Princess Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II (408-450) and finished by the Empress Verina, wife of Leo I (457-474).²⁴⁸ According to most Byzantine sources it functioned as the patriarchal church for a while after 532, when St. *Sophia* was damaged by fire.²⁴⁹ In the reign of Basil I (867-886) it was rebuilt, and a dome was added above the nave.²⁵⁰ The original plan of the church was that of a three-aisled basilica of broad proportions.²⁵¹

The building was transformed into the Faith of Islam by *Lala Hayreddin*, *arpa emini*, and hence its name.²⁵² As Ayvansarayi introduces the date of its conversion as 889/1484, this must have taken place at the beginning of the reign of Bayezid II.

Only the apsidal part of the building was turned into a *masjid*. This was not because the building was too large but because only that part of it had survived damage during the Latin occupation of the city.

Lala Hayreddin established a *waqf* for the building,²⁵³ and *Acemi Ahmed Ağa*, *bab-us-saade* agha, extended this *waqf* by assigning *ecza-i şerife*.²⁵⁴ For this reason the *masjid* is also known as the *Acemi Ağa Masjid*. Ali *Paşa*, grand vizier, killed in 1169/1755, presented a minbar to the building, as Ayvansarayi has recorded. The latter also mentions a fire, which occasioned a re-building, but gives no date for this. On the other hand, as an inscription on the *masjid* shows,²⁵⁵ Mehmed Said *Paşa*, the grand vizier who succeeded Ali *Paşa*, repaired the building within the year.²⁵⁶ This repair is probably the same rebuilding mentioned by Ayvansarayi. Müller-Wiener writes that the fire of 1200/1785 damaged the *masjid* severely.²⁵⁷

The neighbourhood of this *masjid*²⁵⁸ was combined with the *Alemdar Mahalle* in 1934.²⁵⁹

This edifice continued in use until the early twentieth century.²⁶⁰ Since its abandonment, the site has gradually deteriorated. In 1937 the minaret was pulled down, and then its materials were sold.²⁶¹ At present only ruins of the building survive.²⁶²

The *Güngörmez Masjid*

This building, which stood in the neighborhood of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, fell victim to an explosion when it was in use as a powder magazine.

The structure had been converted into a masjid after the conquest. It was looked after as a waqf of Mehmed II, its personnel paid by this waqf.²⁶³

A *mahalle* associated with the masjid continued in existence until 1934.²⁶⁴

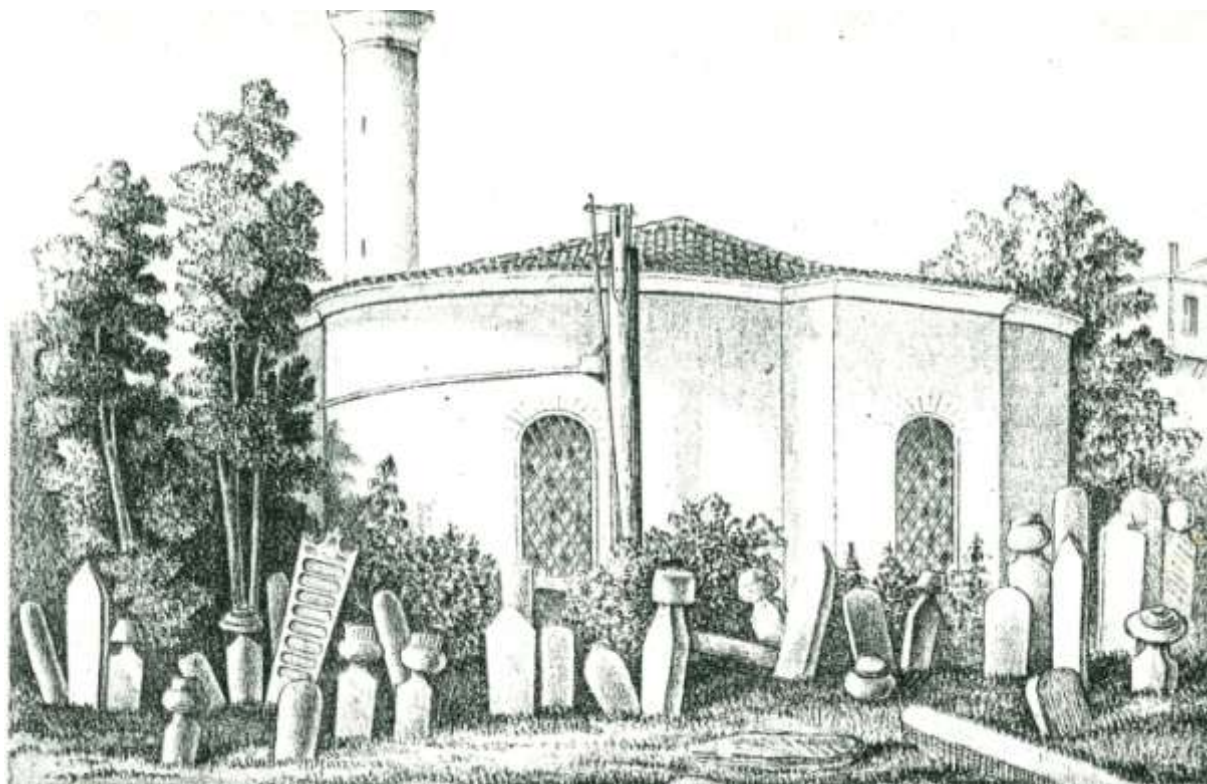
The Hamza Paşa Masjid
(also known as the *Peykhane* or the *Tahta Minareli Masjid*²⁶⁵)

This building, once located at *Çemberlitaş*, has not survived, nor has its exact site been located.

It is only from Ayvansarayi²⁶⁶ that we learn the building was transformed from a church into a masjid. Little is known of its history either as a church or as an Islamic building. What is certain is that a church here was converted into a masjid by Hamza Paşa who was appointed governor of Egypt in 1094/1683.²⁶⁷ The building consequently received his name. The masjid stood within its own neighbourhood.

AKSARAY – LALELİ – SARAÇHANE

The Balaban Ağa Masjid



The Balaban Ağa Masjid. A lithograph (Paspates).

This modest building stood in *Şehzadebaşı* until the beginnings of the twentieth century. In 1911 it was ravaged by fire, and in 1930 it was pulled down by the Ministry of the Waqfs,²⁶⁸ so that at present there is nothing left of it.

Neither its original name nor its function is clear,²⁶⁹ and who built the structure is likewise unknown.²⁷⁰ The original construction most probably dated to the fifth century.²⁷¹

The plan was basically circular; the interior was hexagonal, with six niches and a crypt beneath.

The building was adapted for Muslim worship by a *Balaban Ağa*²⁷² who was a *segbanbaşı* of Mehmed II; it was he who established the waqf, which dates to 888/1483.²⁷³

Ayvansarayi states that the waqf of the *Ayasofya* supplied wages for the personnel of the masjid²⁷⁴ which was situated within its own *mahalle*.²⁷⁵

In the course of conversion windows were pierced, a *mihrab* was built into the interior, and a portico was added to run along one-half of the exterior. A minaret was built on one of the piers.

The Segbanbaşı İbrahim Ağa Masjid

This edifice was standing in ruins near the Complex of Gazanfer Ağa until 1934, when it was partially pulled down to widen Atatürk Boulevard. In 1953 all remains were completely obliterated by apartment blocks.

The Byzantine structure was a four-column church with three apses, quite small.²⁷⁶ The original name has never been determined. Suggestions for the date of construction range from the eleventh century to the thirteenth century.²⁷⁷

The waqfiyyas of Mehmed II indicate that the site of the church remained in the hands of the Christians for some time. Thus it probably continued in use as a church until its conversion. The edifice was transformed into a masjid by *Segbanbaşı İbrahim Ağa*, hence its Turkish name. The conversion certainly occurred before 902/1496-97, the year when *Segbanbaşı*, whom Ayvansarayi indicates as the founder of the waqf,²⁷⁸ was killed and interred in front of the *mihrab*.²⁷⁹ A record of the waqf also occurs in the *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* of 953/1546.²⁸⁰

The minaret, which dated from the fifteenth century,²⁸¹ was most likely constructed in the course of the conversion. We learn again from Ayvansarayi that a minbar was presented by *Gürcüzade Hüseyin Efendi*, a contemporary of his.

Paspates published a picture of the masjid²⁸² which shows that the building had been extensively repaired in the nineteenth century.²⁸³ Furthermore, according to a lost inscription, the edifice was repaired by *Pertev Nihal Hanım*, the mother of Sultan Abdülaziz, in 1254/1838.

The masjid was the centre of its own *mahalle*.

The Haydarhane Masjid

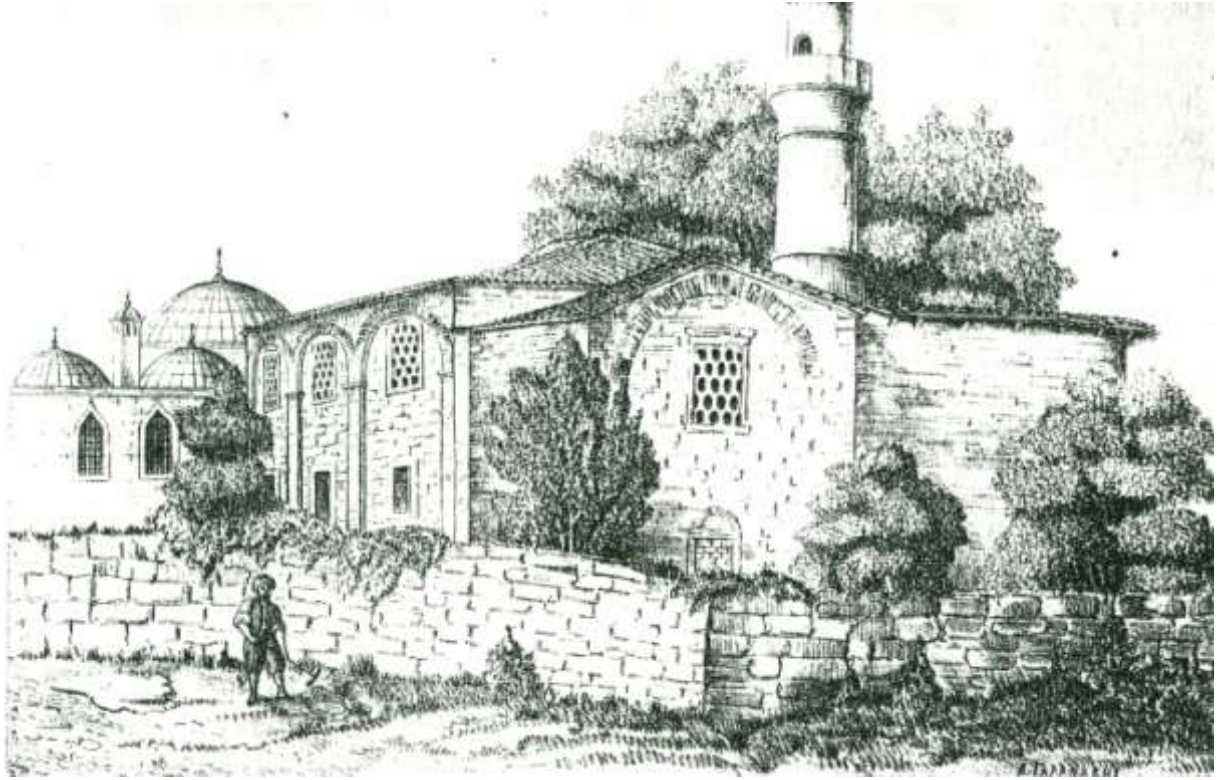
Of this masjid, which once stood between *Aksaray* and *Saraçhane*, nothing remains. From Ayvansarayi we learn that it was one of the churches converted for Islamic use.²⁸⁴ It was Haydar Dede, a sheikh, who turned the building into a masjid, and gave it his name. The conversion must have occurred before 953/1546 because the *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* of that date includes a *mahalle* under the name of 'Haydarhane Masjid'.²⁸⁵

A waqf for the building was established by *Bıyıklı Ali Paşa* while he served as grand vizier; after he was killed, the waqf was joined to that of Osman II, sultan at the time.²⁸⁶ *Bıyıklı Ali Paşa* is also known to have furnished the masjid with a minbar.²⁸⁷

As mentioned above, the masjid must have been surrounded by a *mahalle* named after it; this neighbourhood survived until 1934, when it was dissolved.

KOCAMUSTAFAPAŞA – YEDİKULE – SİLİVRİKAPI

The Ese (İsa) Kapı Masjid (also known as the İbrahim Paşa Masjid and the Manastır Masjid)



The Ese (İsa) Kapı Masjid. A lithograph (Paspates).

This building has stood in ruins in *Kocamustafapaşa* ever since 1894, when an earthquake brought down the roof and most of the north and west walls.²⁸⁸

This edifice is known by at least three Turkish names: the most frequently heard is *Ese (İsa) Kapı Masjid*,²⁸⁹ but it is also spoken of as the *İbrahim Paşa Masjid* and the *Manastır Masjid*.²⁹⁰ Its name in Byzantine times, on the other hand, has not survived (although the structure is undoubtedly of *Palaeologan* origin).²⁹¹ The plan of the building is unusual: a long rectangle with a single nave.²⁹²

The monument was converted into a masjid by a vizier of Süleyman I, *Hadım İbrahim Paşa*, who also established its waqf.²⁹³ Relying on his waqfiyya,²⁹⁴ Ayverdi states, however, that the conversion did not take place during the reign of Süleyman I, but in that of Mehmed II. Although in the list from *Fatih Mehmet*'s time there is a record of a *mahalle* known as '*İsakapısı*,' there is no mention of the mosque.²⁹⁵ Therefore, it seems almost certain that the conversion had not yet taken place during the reign of Mehmed II.

All the responsibility for the conversion had been handed over to the famous architect Sinan.²⁹⁶ He reduced the central apse to a flat exterior, and at the centre of the south wall of the building he inserted a *mihrab*. He also added a minaret where the prothesis had been.

A picture by Paspates depicts the exterior of the edifice in 1877.²⁹⁷ His rendering reveals a roof of wooden construction covered with tiles. It also demonstrates that windows had been opened by the Turks.

Outside the monument a U-shaped madrasa was constructed by Sinan, and *Kapıağası Ahmed Ağa* designed a fountain for the courtyard.

The *Etyemez*²⁹⁸ Tekke Masjîd (Mirza Baba Masjîd)

This building once stood at *Etyemez* in the neighbourhood of *Kocamustafapaşa*, where the *Sosyal Sigortalar Hastanesi* (the Social Security Hospital) now stands. The only record that it was transformed from a church is *Hadikat-ül-Cevami* by Ayvansarayi.²⁹⁹ There is not much known about its history during the Byzantine period. According to Ayverdi it belonged to the Monastery of *Dius*.³⁰⁰

The building was converted by *Şeyh Derviş Mirza Baba*, son of *Buharalı Ömer*, and a remarkable soldier during the siege of Constantinople. He founded its waqf in 886/1481.³⁰¹

Why the building is called the *Etyemez* is obscure. According to one tradition, the monastery here belonged to monks who never ate meat.³⁰² On the other hand, it may represent a nickname given to *Mirza Baba* because an *Etyemez Mirza Baba Tekkesi* appears in the lists of *tekkes*.³⁰³ It is probable that after the conversion the masjîd was given the name *Mirza Baba Masjîd* for there is a record of a *Mahalle* of *Mirza Baba Masjîd* in the *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* of 953/1546.³⁰⁴ Ayvansarayi, who records the masjîd under the name *Etyemez Tekke Masjîd*,³⁰⁵ states that there was no *mahalle* associated with it. Then, after the sixteenth century the neighbourhood was joined to another *mahalle*. Ayvansarayi noted that *Şeyh Ali Efendi* performed ceremonies for *Sa'di Tarikati* in the masjîd.³⁰⁶ Therefore, it is evident that the masjîd was also used as a *tekke*, and it is reasonable to assume that the building was named after the neighbourhood of *Etyemez*.

The *İmrahor İlyas Bey* Mosque The Church of St. John the Baptist of the *Studion*



The *İmrahor İlyas Bey* Mosque. A view from the nave.

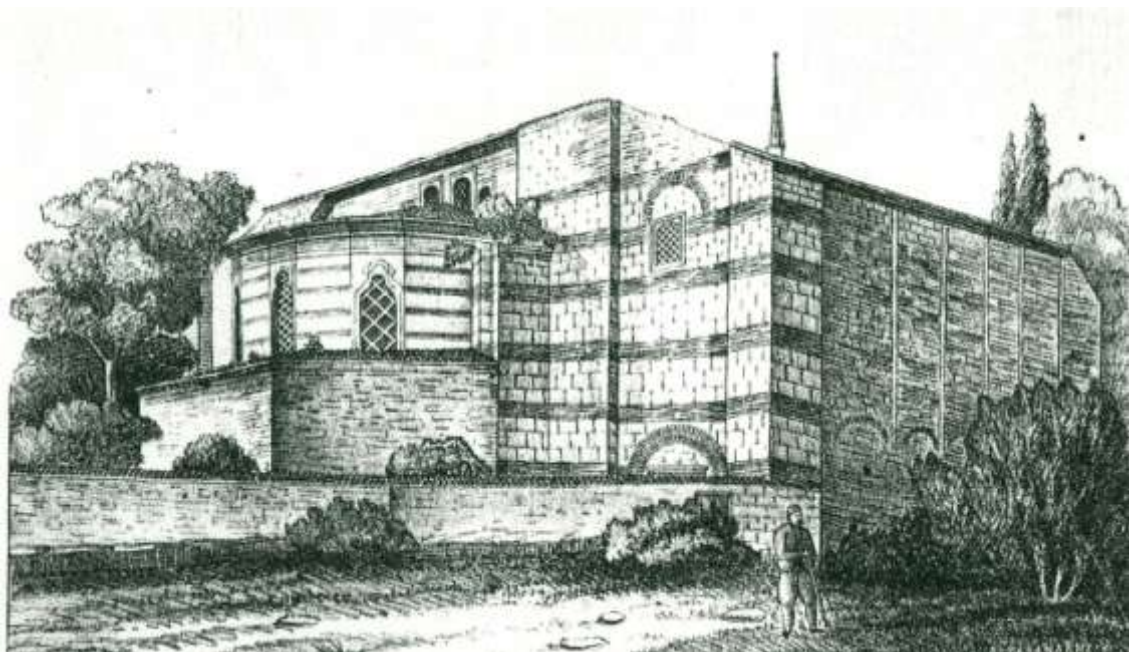
This building is situated in *Yedikule*. It is identified with the church dedicated to St. John the Baptist, giving it the honour being the oldest Byzantine shrine in Istanbul. It was founded by Patrician Studius around 463, and a monastery was added. The edifice is a basilica, and it is the only surviving example of that type in Istanbul. Although it is in poor condition at present, it still retains its characteristic basilical features: the atrium with a fountain in the centre before the church, the narthex, the interior area divided into a nave and aisles with lines of columns, a semicircular apse at the eastern end, and galleries over the aisles.³⁰⁷



The İmrahor İlyas Bey Mosque. A view from the apse.

The church was converted into a mosque by İlyas *Bey*, the *mirahur* (equerry) of Bayezid II, and hence its Turkish name.³⁰⁸ The waqf of the mosque was also established by him.³⁰⁹

The building underwent extensive alterations by the Turks, who wished to repair the battered edifice rather than to appropriate it for a mosque.³¹⁰ In the course of reconstruction, some openings were walled up, and certain doors and columns replaced by Turkish ones. The upper parts of the apse were rebuilt, and a minaret was added against the wall of the southern bay of the narthex.³¹¹



The İmrahor İlyas Bey Mosque. A lithograph (Paspates).

Ayvansarayi states that in a later period the mosque was turned into a *tekke* by Devlet Han, a Tartar khan.³¹²

A *mahalle* grew up around the mosque.³¹³



The İmrahor İlyas Bey Mosque from the north.

The Arabacı Bayezid Masjid

This building was located near *Silivrikapı*, although it is not exactly known where it stood.³¹⁴ Although the site of the edifice is shown on a map drawn by the students of the School of Engineering in 1284/1848, it does not appear on that drawn in 1880 and published by Ayverdi.³¹⁵ Eyice found the remains of an old graveyard and a fragment of a marble sarcophagus during his investigations at the site.³¹⁶ Little is known of its history.

According to Ayvansarayi it was turned into a masjid by Arabacı Bayezid.³¹⁷ He also states that the personnel's wages were paid from the waqf of the Sultan Selim Mosque.

The masjid was once the centre of a *mahalle*.³¹⁸

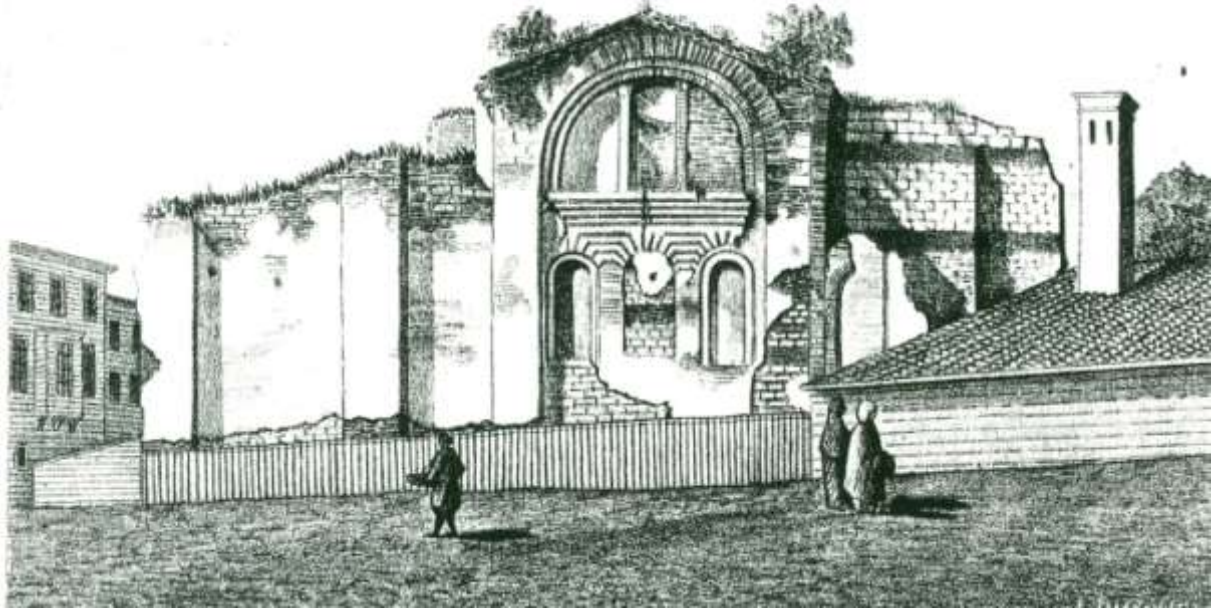
ZEYREK

The Segbanbaşı Ferhad Ağa Masjid

This building was situated at the edge of Atatürk Boulevard in *Zeyrek*. It was converted into a masjid by Ferhad Ağa,³¹⁹ who also founded a waqf.³²⁰ There is no record for the date of conversion. The masjid originally formed the centre of a neighbourhood which was subsequently absorbed by the *Kırkçeşme Mahalle* in 1934.

FATİH – KARAGÜMRÜK – DRAMAN

The Şeyh Murad Masjid



The Şeyh Murad Masjid. A lithograph (Paspates).

The Şeyh Murad Masjid was located at *Çarşamba*, not far from the *Eski İmaret* Mosque. It has now disappeared and modern houses occupy the site.³²¹

As a Byzantine building, we know very little about it.³²² According to Ayvansarayi it was converted into a masjid by Şeyh Murad,³²³ but there is no record of the date of conversion. Ayvansarayi also indicates that the minbar was presented by *Üskudari Kilisli* (Kilisi?) Hüseyin Efendi.³²⁴ There was no *mahalle* associated with it.³²⁵

The Purkuyu (or Perkuyu) Masjid

(also known as *Parmakkapı* Masjid, *Kandili Güzel* Masjid, and *Katip Hüsrev* Masjid)

This building, which once stood in *Cibali*, has borne various Turkish names. No longer in existence,³²⁶ it was destroyed during the First World War.

It was converted into a masjid by *Katip Hüsrev*, who also founded its waqf.³²⁷ Ahmed Efendi presented a minbar, and Rabia *Hatun* placed a fountain in its precinct. In 1287/1870 Mahmud Paşa restored the masjid,³²⁸ and a minaret was added as well.³²⁹

The Sivasi Tekke Masjid

Being one of the least researched buildings in the study, there is very little to report about this masjid. The only source of information is Ayvansarayi's *Hadikat-ül-Cevami*,³³⁰ from which we learn that the structure was located at *Çukurbostan* in *Sultanselim*. The conversion was made by Bayezid II for Muhiddin Mehmed Efendi, sheikh, who died in 920/1514. During the reign of Mehmed III, the masjid was appropriated to *Sivasi Şeyh Abdülmecid Efendi*, hence the Turkish name of the building. It was he who presented the minbar. After his death in 1049/1639-40 his son Abdülbaki Efendi was then appointed to the building as a sheikh. It stood in a neighbourhood of its own.

The *Hoca Hayreddin Masjid*

The actual site of this building, which was located somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Mesihalipaşa* in *Fatih*, has not been exactly determined. Neither is its early history clear; neither the founder of the structure nor its Byzantine name is known.

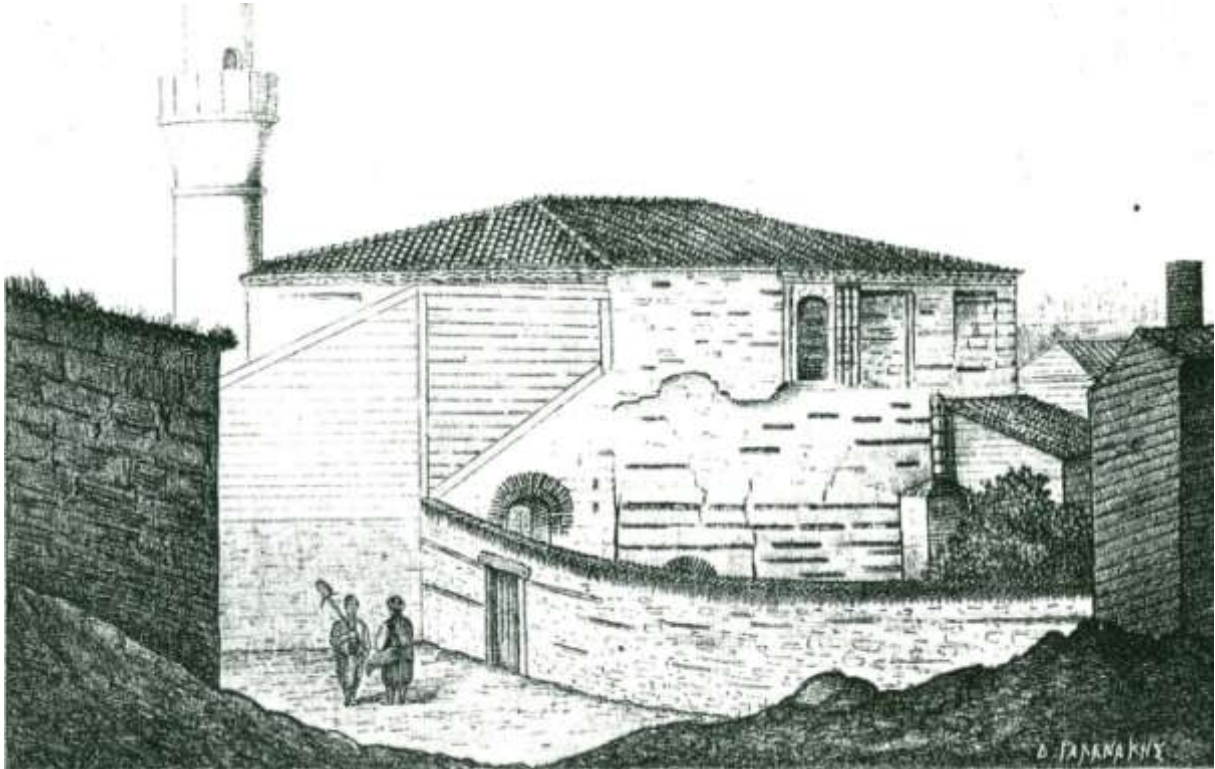
The building was converted into a masjid by *Hoca Hayreddin Efendi*, from whom it takes its name. He founded the *Hoca Hayreddin Mosque*, also known as the *Üç Mihrablı Masjid*, where he is buried.³³¹ He also founded a waqf, which included his mosque and a madrasa as well.³³² The conversion must have occurred before 880/1475-76, for that is when *Hoca Hayreddin* died.³³³

Around the *Hoca Hayreddin masjid* a *mahalle* grew up under the same name. In 1934, however, the neighbourhood was absorbed into the *Hoca Üves Mahalle*.³³⁴

The *Şüheda Masjid*

This building was located in *Karagümrük*, but has not survived. Like the edifice itself, the exact site is unknown. According to what was recorded by *Ayvansarayi*, an endowment for the masjid was established by *Ahizade Hüseyin Efendi*, sheikhulislam,³³⁵ who died in 1043/1634. The conversion of the structure into a masjid must therefore have taken place before that date. There was no *mahalle* associated with the masjid.³³⁶

The *Odalar Mosque (Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa Mosque)*



The *Odalar Mosque*. A lithograph (Paspates).

Today nothing remains of this building, which stood in *Karagümrük*. Together with the *Kasım Ağa Masjid* and a nearby cistern, it probably once formed a part of a monastery; all three structures are very close to one another.³³⁷



The Odalar Mosque. The ruins of the building and a window.

The original church was built on a four-column plan with polygonal apses and a dome on pendentives.³³⁸ Its history can be traced back to 880/1475, when it was converted to Catholic use following the resettlement here of a community of *Genoese* from the Crimea.³³⁹ The district remained in Christian hands until the mid-seventeenth century, when in 1046/1636 –because of the increase of Muslim population in the surroundings– the church was closed by Murad IV. The building was then dedicated to the Faith of Islam by the Vizier *Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa*, in 1050/1640.³⁴⁰



The Odalar Mosque. The ruins of the building and the minaret.

The waqf of the masjid was established by this same vizier. At the time of the conversion the mosque took his name; only later did it receive its present appellation of the *Odalar* (chambers) Mosque, a reference to the multiple chambers which make up its substructure.

In the 1890s the mosque fell into ruins; only the exterior shell of the apse remained.³⁴¹
The mosque formed the centre of its own *mahalle*.³⁴²

ALONG THE *HALIÇ* (THE GOLDEN HORN)

The *Toklu İbrahim Dede* Masjid The Church of St. Thecla



The *Toklu İbrahim Dede* Masjid. A lithograph (Paspates).

This building, which stood a few paces to the rear of the *Heraclian* Wall in *Ayvansaray*, remained intact until 1929, when it was sold as a source of building materials for demolition. It has now completely disappeared and on its site rises cluster of dwellings.

As a church, it is mentioned for the first time as a chapel restored by Thecla, the oldest daughter of the Emperor Theophilus (829-842) in the ninth century.³⁴³ In the eleventh century Isaac *Comnenus* (1057-1059) rebuilt it from the foundations; in the succeeding century it was pulled down and reconstructed by the Emperor John II *Comnenus* (1118-1143).³⁴⁴ The building was an oblong hall with a domed nave, and was preceded by a narthex.³⁴⁵

There is no record of the conversion date or of the person responsible for the conversion. In the Turkish period, however, the edifice was known as the *Toklu İbrahim Dede* Masjid. The reason for the name remains a question. According to *Ayvansarayi*, an *Esseyh Toklu Dede* was appointed a keeper of a tomb in the neighbourhood said to contain the body of Ebu Seybet-ül-Hudri (an acquaintance of the Prophet Muhammed), killed before the walls of Constantinople during the Arab siege.³⁴⁶ It is possible that his name was given to the masjid. According to Van Millingen the word '*toklu*' should be a derivative of '*Thecla*'.³⁴⁷

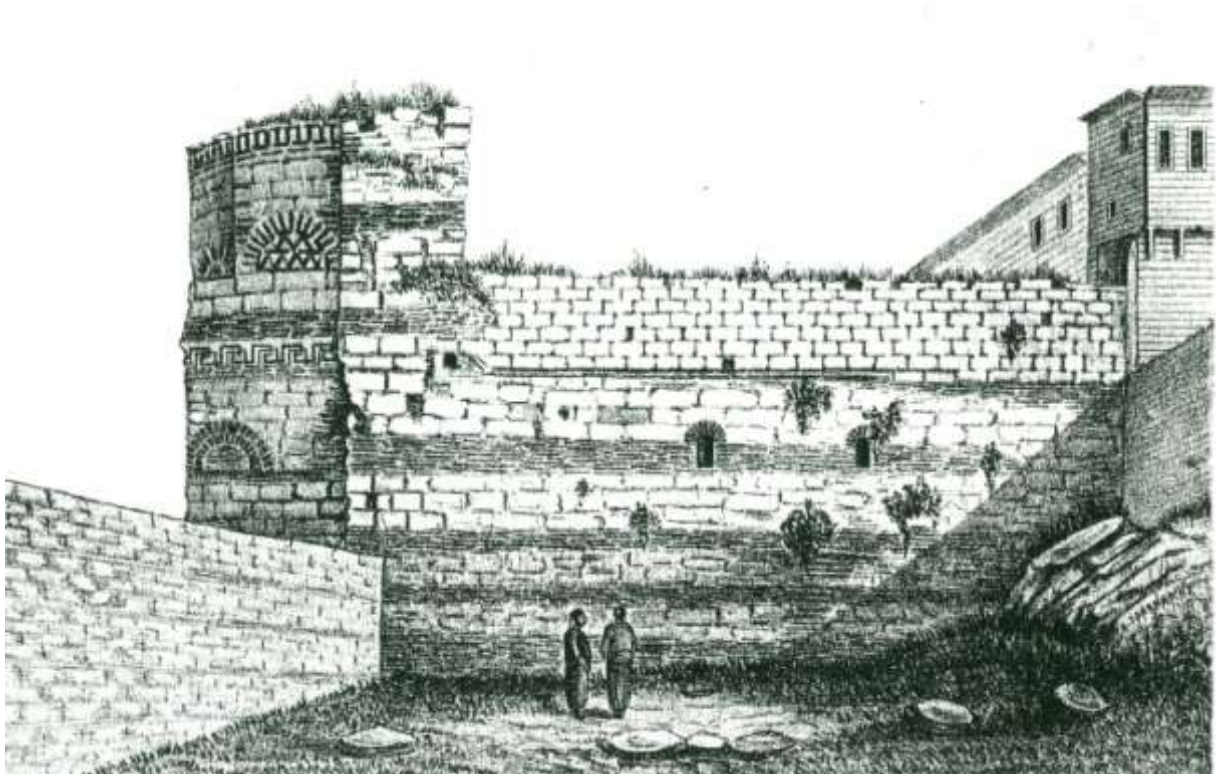
The above-mentioned tomb, for which a waqf was founded by Bayezid II, seems to have been reason enough to choose this site for a masjid and *mahalle*. According to *Ayvansarayi*, both *Toklu İbrahim Dede* and *Ahmed-ül-Ensari* were buried nearby. He states as well that *Çorlulu Ali Paşa* extensively refurbished the tomb and added a fountain for ablution. In his *Hadikat-ül-Cevami* *Ayvansarayi* records, too, that *Kanuni* Sultan Süleyman presented a fountain to the *mahalle*.

A waqf for the masjīd, Ayvansarayi states, was established by *Hacı Hafız Mustafa Çelebi*.

As for the Turkish interventions, a number of plans drawn by Van Millingen and Mathews show that the building underwent only minor changes. According to the plans, a number of windows were added by the Turks. Van Millingen has also demonstrated that a new roof for the building was constructed by the Turks as well.

The *mahalle* no longer exists. The site now lies within the boundaries of the *Atik Mustafa Paşa Mahalle*.³⁴⁸

The Sinan Paşa Masjīd



The Sinan Paşa Masjīd. A lithograph (Paspates).

This building, also known as the ‘*Kızıl* (red) Masjīd’ because of the color of the bricks, stood near the *Haliç* (the Golden Horn) in *Ayakapısı*. Little is left of it today, only the substructure.

The Byzantine background of the structure remains in the dark. Neither the founder nor the identity of the building is clear.³⁴⁹ From the masonry we know that it was a *Palaeologan* structure,³⁵⁰ and judging from the foundations, we may assume that it was a chapel probably constructed on a hall plan.³⁵¹

The building was converted by *Kapudan Sinan Paşa*, the brother of the Grand Vizier *Rüstem Paşa*.³⁵² There is no information on the date of conversion, but it must have been before 961/1553, the year in which *Sinan Paşa* died.³⁵³ The masjīd once stood within its own *mahalle*.³⁵⁴

GLOSSARY

agha: chief, master.

arpa emini: comptroller of the supplies of barley.

dar-üs-saade agha: chief eunuch of the sultan's harem.

ecza-i şerife: thirty parts which comprise the Koran.

evkaf: government department in control of estates in mortmain.

firman: imperial edict.

harem: women's apartments in a Muslim household.

hünkâr mahfili: balcony or gallery for the sultan.

icmal defteri: summary registry

imam: Muslim priest.

imaret: complex of public buildings and institutions supported by a waqf; kitchen.

İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri: waqf registry in Istanbul.

kese: purse of 1000 *akçes* or aspers

kalenderi: name sometimes given to itinerant dervishes

madrassa: higher institute of Muslim education

mahalle: quarter, district.

mahfil: balcony.

masjid: small mosque.

mevlevihane: lodge of *Mevlevi* dervishes.

mihrab: niche of a mosque indicating the direction of Mecca.

minbar: pulpit in a mosque.

mirahur: master of the sultan's stables.

muvaqqithane: timekeeper's lodge

müderris: professor

müezzin: one who calls Muslims to prayer.

nahiye: administrative subdivision of a township.

sancakdar: standard-bearer.

sebil: place where water is distributed free.

segbanbaşı: provincial militia chief.

sheikh: chief, head.

sheikhulislam: head of the hierarchy of *ulema*, Doctor of Muslim theology.

şadırvan: reservoir with faucets at the sides for ablutions, usually attached to a mosque.

tekke: lodge of a dervish order.

topçubaşı: chief gunner.

waqf: grant of land or other source of revenue given in mortmain for pious or charitable purposes.

waqfiyya: the deed of endowment of a waqf.

zaviye: dervish hospice, accommodating travellers.

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NOTES

¹ İncalcık, 1969-1970, p. 234.

² İncalcık, 1969-1970, p. 234.

³ Kritovoulos, 1954, p. 140.

⁴ Barkan, 1962-1963c, pp. 236-296.

⁵ Studies have been done on the population of Istanbul before its capture. According to Schneider the total population of Istanbul was between 40.000 and 50.000. Schneider, 1952, p. 39. On the other hand, Ayverdi suggests that it was as high as 70.000. Ayverdi, 1958, p. 70.

⁶ Kritovoulos, 1954, p. 93.

⁷ İncalcık, 1978, p. 224.

⁸ İncalcık, 1978, p. 224.

⁹ Kritovoulos, 1954, p. 83.

¹⁰ Kritovoulos, 1954, p. 83.

¹¹ Kritovoulos, 1954, p. 85.

¹² Kritovoulos, 1954, p. 93. Schneider, 1952, pp. 41-42. "Istanbul," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, V/2, 1950, pp. 1205-1206.

¹³ İncalcık, 1978, p. 238.

¹⁴ İncalcık, 1978, p. 239.

¹⁵ "Istanbul," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, V/2, 1950, p. 1201.

¹⁶ Ayverdi, 1958, p. 82.

¹⁷ Compare Ayverdi, 1958 to Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970.

¹⁸ İncalcık, 1978, p. 238.

¹⁹ The following buildings have no minarets: the *Manastır* Masjid, the *Şeyh Süleyman* Masjid and the *Toklu İbrahim Dede* Masjid. Plans and illustrations suggest that the *Purkuyu* Masjid and the *Sinan Paşa* Masjid had no minarets either.

²⁰ The four original columns in the following structures were replaced by Turkish piers: the *Ahmed Paşa* Masjid and the *Bodrum* Mosque. Turkish arches, on the other hand, were employed both in the north building of the *Fenari İsa* Mosque and the south building of the *Fethiye* Mosque.

²¹ For a detailed description of the plan see Mainstone, 1988, p. 21 ff.

²² Lethaby and Swainson, 1894, p. 122.

²³ Lethaby and Swainson believe the buttresses were built in the ninth century. Lethaby and Swainson, 1894, p. 193. Swift attributes them to the Latins, claiming that flying buttresses were unknown before the twelfth century and did not come into general use even in France, where they seem to have originated, much before the beginning of the thirteenth century. Swift, 1935, p. 464. According to Mainstone they should not be Latin construction, for there were no major campaigns of reconstruction between 1204-1261. Mainstone, 1988, p. 104.

²⁴ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 25.

²⁵ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 25.

²⁶ Official accounts of the *Ayasofya* Mosque between the years 894/1489 and 895/1490 (about seven years after the death of Mehmed II) indicate that the total income of the waqf of the mosque had reached 789,838 *akçes*. Barkan, 1962-1963a, p. 342 ff. Furthermore, the documentary registration of the waqfs of the *Ayasofya* Mosque by Ali *Fenari* in 926/1519-1520 reveals that the income had by then increased to 1,424,288 *akçes*. Ali *Fenari*, *Ayasofya Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri*, İstanbul, *Belediye Kütüphanesi*, *Muallim Cevded Yazmaları*, No. 0.64. In short, the income had almost doubled by the end of the reign of Selim II.

²⁷ Within those years 8181 *akçes* were spent on the *mihrab*. Barkan, 1962-1963a, p. 363.

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- ²⁸ In the sixteenth century a series of reconstructions were undertaken. Moreover, the ornament on the *mihrab* would appear to be classical, that is to say, sixteenth-century.
- ²⁹ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 25 ff.
- ³⁰ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 25 ff.
- ³¹ Emerson and Van Nice, 1950, p. 33.
- ³² This tower had been constructed by the Latins as a belfry. Swift, 1935, p. 462.
- ³³ Emerson and Van Nice, 1950, p. 33.
- ³⁴ For the content of the firman see Altınay, 1935, p. 21.
- ³⁵ At the very beginning *Molla Hüsrev* was the *müderris* in the madrasa. After him, Ali *Kuşçu* was appointed as the *müderris*.
- ³⁶ Ayverdi, 1973, p. 318. Because Ayvansarayi mentions this madrasa, it must have still been in use around 1195/1780, the period *Hadikat-ül- Cevami* was written.
- ³⁷ Ayverdi, 1973, p. 318.
- ³⁸ Akar, 1971, pp. 277-290.
- ³⁹ Akar, 1971, pp. 277-290.
- ⁴⁰ Our most important source on these repairs is a firman issued by Selim II. Emerson and Van Nice, 1950, pp. 39-40; Altınay, 1935, p. 21.
- ⁴¹ Emerson and Van Nice, 1950, pp. 33-34.
- ⁴² Fossati, 1852.
- ⁴³ For the bibliography on the building see Müller-Wiener, 1977, p. 94-96 and Mathews, 1976, pp. 267-268.
- ⁴⁴ The *Küçük Ayasoya* Mosque has been given that name (Little *Ayasofya*) by the public because it looks like the great *Ayasofya* Mosque.
- ⁴⁵ There is a legend about the dedication of the church to these two saints. Millingen, 1912, p. 64.
- ⁴⁶ Millingen, 1912, p. 65.
- ⁴⁷ For more sources on the church in general, see Müller-Wiener, 1977, p. 183. For further investigation into the building see Mathews, 1976, pp. 242-243. Just beside this church Justinian also built the no longer existent Basilica of Ss. Peter and Paul. The two buildings formed a double sanctuary sharing a common atrium and a continuous narthex. Associated with the Church of Ss. Sergius and Bacchus was a large palace named the Palace of Hormisdas after the locality in which it stood.
- ⁴⁸ Ayvansarayi, 1987b, p. 25.
- ⁴⁹ These two buildings have not survived.
- ⁵⁰ Ayvansarayi, 1987b, p. 25.
- ⁵¹ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, pp. 16-18.
- ⁵² A minaret built in the eighteenth century displayed Baroque features. Pulled down in 1935, it was replaced in 1956.
- ⁵³ Millingen, 1912, pp. 70-83.
- ⁵⁴ Eyice, 1994, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* V, p. 147.
- ⁵⁵ Özşen and Aköz, No date, p. 3.
- ⁵⁶ Eyice, 1994, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* V, p. 147.
- ⁵⁷ Mordtmann first identified the building as the church of St. Mary of Diaconissa. Mordtmann, 1891, p. 476. Until 1935, the edifice had generally been considered the Church of St Mary of *Diaconissa*, and thereafter the Church of the *Akateptos*. Striker and Kuban, 1997, p. 13. During the work of investigation and restoration sponsored by the Dumbarton Oaks and the Istanbul Technical University between 1966 and 1978, two frescoes

of the figure of St. Mary with the inscription *Kyriotissa* were found. It therefore seems reasonable that the church was dedicated to St. Mary *Kyriotissa*.

⁵⁸ Striker and Kuban, 1967, pp. 251-258 and Striker and Kuban, 1997, p. 3.

⁵⁹ Müller-Wiener, 1977, p. 158; Mathews, 1976, p. 172; Hamilton, 1933, pp. 90-91; Sumner-Boyd and Freely, 1989, pp. 210-212.

⁶⁰ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 230.

⁶¹ *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*, nos. 45, 59, 323, 358 and 366; Ayverdi, 1973, p. 428.

⁶² Barkan, 1962-1963a, pp. 351-352.

⁶³ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 230.

⁶⁴ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 230.

⁶⁵ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 230. An inscription dated 1160/1746-47 indicates that the mosque was in a state of disrepair and was restored by Beşir Ağa. Striker and Kuban, 1997, p. 19.

⁶⁶ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 230.

⁶⁷ Striker and Kuban, 1997, pp. 19 and 20.

⁶⁸ Millingen, 1912, p. 186.

⁶⁹ Ayverdi, 1973, p. 428.

⁷⁰ Ayvansarayi records a *mahalle*. Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 230. In the *waqfiyya* of Mehmed II and in the *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* there is no information about the *mahalle* of the *Kalenderhane* Mosque.

⁷¹ Petrus Gyllius (Piere Gilles), 1729, p. 202.

⁷² Müller-Wiener, 1977, p. 171; Mathews, 1976, pp. 386-387.

⁷³ For the description of the plan of the church see Millingen, 1912, pp. 246-250. According to Brunov the church represented a five-aisle plan. Brunov, 1931-1932, pp. 139-144.

⁷⁴ Ayvansarayi, 1987b, p. 25.

⁷⁵ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 161.

⁷⁶ According to Hallensleben, the square chamber of the minaret was originally the first story of a belfry. Hallensleben, 1965, pp. 208-207.

⁷⁷ Ayvansarayi, 1987b, pp. 139-144.

⁷⁸ In the *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* of 953/1546 there is no mention of such a neighbourhood, but only of a *mahalle* of the *Şeyh Vefa* Mosque. Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 161.

⁷⁹ 'Myrelaion' means, in Greek, the place of myrrh-oil.

⁸⁰ This identification was first suggested by Petrus Gyllius. Millingen, 1912, p. 191.

⁸¹ Mathews, 1976, p. 209. Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* II, 1994, p. 263.

⁸² For a description of the building see Millingen, 1912, pp. 196-200. See also Müller-Wiener, 1977, p. 106. Mathews, 1976, p. 210. Striker, 1981, *passim*.

⁸³ Striker, 1966, p. 212.

⁸⁴ Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* II, 1994, p. 263.

⁸⁵ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 55.

⁸⁶ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 142.

⁸⁷ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 55.

⁸⁸ Ayverdi, 1958, p. 36.

⁸⁹ Mathews, 1976, p. 209. Eyice states that the church may have also been damaged by fire during the Latin occupation. Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* II, 1994, p. 264.

- ⁹⁰ The building received attention from the Istanbul Archaeological Museum in 1964 and 1965. Mathews, 1976, p. 264. Since 1986 it has again been under restoration. Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* II, 1994, p. 264.
- ⁹¹ Mamboury, 1953, p. 258.
- ⁹² Müller-Wiener, 1977, p. 176; Mathews, 1976, pp. 3-4; Sumner-Boyd and Freely, 1989, pp. 356-357.
- ⁹³ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 224; Yazıcı, 1956, p. 95.
- ⁹⁴ One occasionally encounters the incorrect identification of this the mosque as the *Hoca Mustafa Paşa* Mosque.
- ⁹⁵ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, pp. 366-369.
- ⁹⁶ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 226.
- ⁹⁷ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 226.
- ⁹⁸ Köseoğlu, 1953, p. 11-17.
- ⁹⁹ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 366.
- ¹⁰⁰ Millingen, 1912, pp. 113-118.
- ¹⁰¹ Millingen, 1912, pp. 113-121; Eyice, 1980, pp. 7-13; Eyice, 1953, pp. 173-177.
- ¹⁰² Millingen, 1912, p. 268.
- ¹⁰³ Van Millingen has suggested the fourteenth century. According to Janin it should be an eleventh- or twelfth-century building, but Pasadaios has claimed that it might go back as far as the fourth, fifth or sixth centuries. Mathews, 1976, p. 231.
- ¹⁰⁴ Millingen, 1912, pp. 270-271. It is reasonable to assume that the edifice was originally a tomb or a martyrrium.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 170.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 171.
- ¹⁰⁷ Millingen, 1912, p. 267.
- ¹⁰⁸ Eyice, p. 1980, pp. 35-36; Eyice, 1954, p. 148.
- ¹⁰⁹ For the description of the plan see Millingen, 1912, p. 264.
- ¹¹⁰ Ayvansarayı, 1987b, p. 56.
- ¹¹¹ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 394.
- ¹¹² Ayvansarayı, 1987b, p. 56.
- ¹¹³ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 394. The *mahalle* is recorded as ‘the *Çavuş* Muslihuddin Maşjid *Mahalle*.’ Muslihuddin is a nickname for Mustafa.
- ¹¹⁴ Ayvansarayı, 1987b, p. 56.
- ¹¹⁵ The *Fenari İsa* Mosque has been generally known as the Church of St. Mary *Panachrantos* due to an epithet of the Mother of the God in an epigram carved on the cornice of the north church. In fact the Church of St. Mary is a different church.
- ¹¹⁶ According to Brunov, the north church was a five-aisled plan. Brunov, 1927, pp. 257-286.
- ¹¹⁷ According to Macridy, Constantine *Lips* repaired the church but did not rebuild it. Macridy, 1964, pp. 253 ff. For more bibliography on the church see Müller-Wiener, 1977, pp. 130-131. For investigations into the church see Mathews, 1976, pp. 322-323.
- ¹¹⁸ Sumner-Boyd and Freely, 1989, p. 264, Mathews, 1976, p. 322, and Mamboury, 1953, p. 265.
- ¹¹⁹ In the waqfiyya of Mehmed II there is a record of the *mahalle* of the Monastery of *Lips*. At that time the district must have been still in the hands of Christians. *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*, no. 166.
- ¹²⁰ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 215.
- ¹²¹ Mathews, 1976, p. 322.

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- ¹²² Millingen, 1912, pp. 136-137. This minaret, pulled down in 1942, has been recently replaced.
- ¹²³ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 215.
- ¹²⁴ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 215.
- ¹²⁵ The ruins were investigated by Brunov in 1924 and excavated by Macridy in 1929. Both scholars claimed to have found evidence of a still earlier church on the site. See Brunov, 1927, pp. 257-286 and Macridy, 1964, pp. 253 ff.
- ¹²⁶ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 215.
- ¹²⁷ Müller-Wiener, 1977, p. 209; Mathews, 1976, pp. 71-72.
- ¹²⁸ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 158.
- ¹²⁹ *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*, nos. 43, 165
- ¹³⁰ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 158.
- ¹³¹ Ayverdi, 1973, p. 537.
- ¹³² Millingen, 1912, p. 233 ff; Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 158.
- ¹³³ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 211; Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 158.
- ¹³⁴ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 158.
- ¹³⁵ Ayverdi, 1958, p. 40.
- ¹³⁶ Grosvenor states that it was used as a library of the Monastery of *Pantokrator*. Grosvenor, 1895, pp. 427-428. There is, however, no satisfactory archaeological evidence for this. Eyice prefers to interpret it as a funerary chapel even though no evidence of burial has been found there. Eyice, 1955, p. 59. Fıratlı and Yücel suggest its use as a baptistery as it duplicates the plan of the Baptistery of St. *Sophia*. Fıratlı and Yücel, 1952, pp. 23-26.
- ¹³⁷ Mathews, 1976, p. 315.
- ¹³⁸ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 177.
- ¹³⁹ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 177.
- ¹⁴⁰ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 242.
- ¹⁴¹ Historical sources mention nine different fires in *Cibali*. There is no notation about which fire this was.
- ¹⁴² Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 177.
- ¹⁴³ Ayvansarayi says that the madrasa was built in his time. Considering that his works were written between 1193/1779 and 1195/1781, the construction should have taken place around this time. Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 177.
- ¹⁴⁴ For the plan see Millingen, 1912, pp. 212-217. For an extensive bibliography see Müller-Wiener, 1977, p. 122. See also Sumner-Boyd and Freely, 1989, pp. 238-239.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*, no. 44. Barkan, 1962-1963a, p. 351.
- ¹⁴⁶ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 67.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*, no. 316.
- ¹⁴⁸ Ayverdi, 1973, pp. 347-348.
- ¹⁴⁹ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 68.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*, nos. 44 and 165. Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 282; Ayverdi, 1958, p. 20.
- ¹⁵¹ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 68.
- ¹⁵² Millingen, 1912, p. 217.
- ¹⁵³ According to Pharantzes the designation of the building as a church in ‘*Trullo*’ is due to a palace named ‘*Trullus*’ which once stood in the district north of the *Fethiye* Mosque. Millingen, 1912, p. 202. On the other hand, Eyice states that ‘*Trullus*’ was a name assigned to one of the domed halls in the Great Palace. Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* IV, 1994, p. 67.

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- ¹⁵⁴ Millingen, 1912, p. 335. Eyice, 1946, p. 276.
- ¹⁵⁵ Millingen, 1912, pp. 203-205.
- ¹⁵⁶ Millingen, 1912, p. 202.
- ¹⁵⁷ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 72.
- ¹⁵⁸ Millingen, 1912, p. 205.
- ¹⁵⁹ Millingen, 1912, p. 204.
- ¹⁶⁰ During the restoration of 1960 these were reopened. Mathews, 1976, p. 159.
- ¹⁶¹ Eyice, 1946, p. 277.
- ¹⁶² This minaret has disappeared.
- ¹⁶³ Mathews, 1976, p. 159. Eyice, 1990, p. 287.
- ¹⁶⁴ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 72.
- ¹⁶⁵ At the beginning of the fourteenth century this side chapel was added to the south side of the church as a mortuary for Michael Glabas and his family. Sumner-Boyd and Freely, 1989, p. 279.
- ¹⁶⁶ For more bibliography on the building see Müller-Wiener, 1977, pp. 134-135 and Mathews, 1976, p. 347. See also Ogan, 1949, pp. 271-308, Sumner-Boyd and Freely, 1989, pp. 279-281 and Hamilton, 1933, pp. 87-88.
- ¹⁶⁷ According to Mango and Hawkins' examination of the edifice and the cistern that lies beneath the main church, the central part of the building should date from the *Comnenen* period and occupies the site of an earlier construction, for the cistern appears to have been fashioned out of a crypt. Mango and Hawkins, 1964, pp. 319-340. Ogan agrees that it was founded by John II *Comnenus* (1118-1143), and Anna Dalassena, his wife. Ogan, 1949, p. 280. According to Eyice it was rebuilt on the foundations of a previous church soon after the close of the period of the Latin occupation. He furthermore states that it was Michael Glabas, the general under Andronicus II *Palaeologus* (1282-1328), who erected this building. After that in 1315, his wife Maria added a parecclesion to the right of the church. He concludes that all three parts belonged to the same period, that is to say, to the period of Andronicus *Palaeologus*. Eyice, 1980, p. 23. Van Millingen suggests that the construction of the church dates from an earlier period than that of the *Comnenen*. Millingen, 1912, pp. 138-168. On the other hand, the main church is considered by some authorities not to have been built, but repaired after the close of the Latin occupation. However, many historians agree that the second church was built by Maria as a burial chapel.
- ¹⁶⁸ Kritovoulos, 1954, p. 94.
- ¹⁶⁹ Millingen, 1912, p. 146.
- ¹⁷⁰ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 214.
- ¹⁷¹ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 214.
- ¹⁷² Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* III, 1994, p. 300.
- ¹⁷³ Ülke, 1957, p. 48.
- ¹⁷⁴ Underwood, 1956, pp. 215-219.
- ¹⁷⁵ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 157.
- ¹⁷⁶ Millingen, 1912, pp. 253-264.
- ¹⁷⁷ Mathews, 1976, p. 190; Müller-Wiener, 1977, p. 168.
- ¹⁷⁸ Mathews, 1976, p.190. Eyice, 1998, p. 117.
- ¹⁷⁹ Eyice, 1998, p. 111.
- ¹⁸⁰ Ayvansarayi, 1987b, p. 19.
- ¹⁸¹ Ayvansarayi, 1987b, p. 19.
- ¹⁸² Ayvansarayi, 1987b, p. 19.
- ¹⁸³ Ayvansarayi, 1987b, p. 19.
- ¹⁸⁴ Eyice, 1988, p. 118.

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- ¹⁸⁵ Ayvansarayi, 1987b, p. 19.
- ¹⁸⁶ Eyice, 1973, pp. 170.
- ¹⁸⁷ According to Eyice the building should have belonged to the Monastery of Petra.
- ¹⁸⁸ Mathews, 1971, p. 186.
- ¹⁸⁹ Eyice, 1973, p. 170.
- ¹⁹⁰ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 220.
- ¹⁹¹ Eyice, 1973, p. 176.
- ¹⁹² Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 406.
- ¹⁹³ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 406.
- ¹⁹⁴ Eyice, 1973, p. 176.
- ¹⁹⁵ Eyice, 1973, pp. 174-175.
- ¹⁹⁶ Eyice, 1973, p. 174.
- ¹⁹⁷ Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* IV, 1994, p. 480.
- ¹⁹⁸ Ayverdi, 1973, p. 43.
- ¹⁹⁹ The term ‘*Chora*,’ according to some writers, refers to an attribute of Christ as the sphere of man’s highest life. On the other hand, other writers maintain that the term implies that the church was outside the city limits. Millingen, 1912, p. 289.
- ²⁰⁰ Mathews, 1976, p. 40.
- ²⁰¹ Mathews, 1976, p. 40.
- ²⁰² Who actually founded *Chora* is not clear. According to the historian Nicephorus Gregoras, the monastery here was founded during the reign of Justinian the Great (527-565). Millingen, 1912, p. 288. However, there is no information on this building in the writings of the historian Procopius. Underwood dates the founding of the original monastery to the reign of either Phocas (602-610) or Heraclius (610-641). He believes it was established by Priscus, one of Heraclius’ generals. Underwood, 1966, p. 6. As it was falling into ruin, it was rebuilt by Maria Ducaena, mother-in-law of the Emperor Alexius I *Comnenus* (1081-1118) between 1077 and 1081. It was remodelled once again around 1120 by the *Sebastokrator* Isaac *Comnenus*, the son of Alexius I. Sumner-Boyd and Freely, 1989, p. 292. Theodore Metochites, a remarkable personage in his time, carried out extensive work on the building from 1315 to 1321. This activity left the nave unchanged, but added the inner and outer narthexes as well as the parecclesion. Sumner-Boyd and Freely, 1989, p. 292 and Millingen, 1912, p. 288 ff.
- ²⁰³ Mathews, 1976, p. 41.
- ²⁰⁴ Mathews, 1976, p. 41.
- ²⁰⁵ Mathews, 1976, p. 41.
- ²⁰⁶ For the description of the plan see Millingen, 1912, p. 288 ff. See also Müller-Wiener, 1977, pp. 162-164; Mathews, 1976, p. 41; Hamilton, 1933, pp. 91-92 and Sumner-Boyd and Freely, 1989, pp. 291-292.
- ²⁰⁷ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 219.
- ²⁰⁸ Barkan-Ayverdi, 1970, p. 424.
- ²⁰⁹ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 203.
- ²¹⁰ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 219.
- ²¹¹ The dome was repaired by the architect İsmail *Halife* following the earthquake of 1766. Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* IV, 1994, p. 468.
- ²¹² Millingen, 1912, p. 304.
- ²¹³ Ülke, 1957, p. 40.
- ²¹⁴ Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* IV, 1994, p. 468.
- ²¹⁵ Akyürek, 1996, p. 47.

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- ²¹⁶ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 159.
- ²¹⁷ Constantius IV, Patriarch, 1986, p. 83.
- ²¹⁸ Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* I, 1994, p. 406. Eyice, 1990, p. 281. He also states that the same building was repaired by Isaac I *Comnenus* (1057-1059) during the eleventh century.
- ²¹⁹ In view of the surviving archaeological evidence Mathews and Hawkins date the building to the ninth century. Mathews and Hawkins, 1985, p. 133.
- ²²⁰ The dome rises over L-shaped piers. According to Krautheimer this type represents a phase between the Early and Middle Byzantine periods. Krautheimer, 1965, pp. 204-211. Likewise, Eyice regards this building as a transitional form between the *Gül* Mosque and the *Kalenderhane* Mosque. Eyice, 1960a, p. 1294. For an extensive bibliography on the monument see Müller-Wiener, 1977 p. 83. For a thorough description of the monument see Millingen, 1912, pp. 191-195. See also Sumner-Boyd and Freely, 1989, pp. 334-335, Hamilton, 1933, p. 92 and Mathews, 1976, p. 15.
- ²²¹ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 224 ff.
- ²²² Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 232.
- ²²³ Cabir bin Abdullah-ül-Ensari died in Medina in 690/1291, and the other Cabir bin Abdullah we know never visited Istanbul. Eyice, 1960a, p. 1293. Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* I, 1994, p. 407.
- ²²⁴ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 232.
- ²²⁵ Eyice, 1960a, p. 1293.
- ²²⁶ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 232.
- ²²⁷ Mathews and Hawkins, 1985, p. 130.
- ²²⁸ Mathews and Hawkins, 1985, p. 130.
- ²²⁹ Mathews, 1976, p. 15.
- ²³⁰ Mathews, 1976, p. 15.
- ²³¹ Millingen, 1912, p. 194.
- ²³² Mathews, 1976, p. 15 and Mathews and Hawkins, 1985, p. 130.
- ²³³ Mathews and Hawkins, 1985, p. 130.
- ²³⁴ Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* I, 1994, p. 406.
- ²³⁵ There is some speculation on the Turkish name of the mosque. According to legend, one day before the conquest the church had been decked with roses (*göl*) in celebration of the feast day when Turkish soldiers entered the church. According to another story, the coffin said to be in the burial chamber under the southeast pier of the building belongs to *Göl Baba*, a Muslim saint.
- ²³⁶ Some scholars accept the church as that of St. Theodosia while others consider it to be that of St. Euphemia. Millingen, 1912, pp. 161-165; Mathews, 1976, pp. 128-129.
- ²³⁷ According to Pargoire the building was originally St. Euphemia and was built in the ninth century. Pargoire, 1906, pp. 161-165. This hypothesis has been accepted by Janin as well. Janin, 1969, pp. 127-129 and 143-145. According to Sumner-Boyd and Freely the church dates from the late tenth or the eleventh century. Sumner-Boyd and Freely, 1989, p. 319.
- ²³⁸ Müller-Wiener, 1977, p. 142; Mathews, 1976, p. 129; Sumner-Boyd and Freely, 1989, pp. 319-321, Hamilton, 1933, pp. 89-90.
- ²³⁹ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 21.
- ²⁴⁰ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 269.
- ²⁴¹ *Dört Yıllık İcmal Defteri, İstanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi*, No. 93.
- ²⁴² Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 21.
- ²⁴³ Millingen, 1912, pp. 179-182.
- ²⁴⁴ Tanman, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* VII, 1994, p. 516.

- ²⁴⁵ Tanman, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* VII, 1994, p. 516.
- ²⁴⁶ Tanman, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* VII, 1994, p. 516.
- ²⁴⁷ The name *Chalcoprateia* derives from the Greek word 'khalkos' meaning copper. A market in this quarter manufactured and sold copper items.
- ²⁴⁸ Mathews, 1971, p. 28.
- ²⁴⁹ Sumner-Boyd and Freely, 1989, p. 35.
- ²⁵⁰ Muller-Wiener, 1977, p. 78.
- ²⁵¹ In plan it resembles the Church of St. John, or the *İmrahor İlyas Bey Mosque*. For details of the plan see Mathews, 1971, pp. 28-33.
- ²⁵² Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 202.
- ²⁵³ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 28.
- ²⁵⁴ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 202.
- ²⁵⁵ Eyice states that the inscription was on the gate of the courtyard. Eyice, 1958, p. 179.
- ²⁵⁶ Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* I, 1994, p. 61.
- ²⁵⁷ Müller-Wiener, 1977 p. 78.
- ²⁵⁸ Ayvansarayi accepts the name of the *mahalle* as the *Acemi Ağa Masjid Mahalle*. Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 202. In the *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri* of 953(1546) it is identified as the Hayreddin *Bey Mahalle*. Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 179.
- ²⁵⁹ Ayverdi, 1958, p. 33.
- ²⁶⁰ Eyice, 1990, p. 288.
- ²⁶¹ Eyice, 1990, p. 288.
- ²⁶² In 1912 Mamboury identified the remains. In 1924 Lauthoud and Pezard published photographs and introduced a summary plan of the site. In 1964 Kleiss, of the German Institute of Archaeology in Istanbul, surveyed the site and excavated the cruciform crypt in the sanctuary. For the investigation of the church see Mathews, 1976, p. 319.
- ²⁶³ Barkan, 1962-1963a, p. 352.
- ²⁶⁴ Ayverdi, 1958, p. 21.
- ²⁶⁵ Ayvansarayi records the masjid as the Hamza *Paşa Masjid*. Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 134. In the list presented by Eyice this masjid is also called the *Peykhane* or the *Tahta Minareli Masjid*. Eyice, 1986, pp. 13-14.
- ²⁶⁶ Ayvansarayi, p. 134.
- ²⁶⁷ Ayvansarayi, p. 134.
- ²⁶⁸ Mathews, 1976, p. 25. Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* II, 1994, p. 9.
- ²⁶⁹ Mordtmann suggests that this monument be identified as the Church of the *Theotokos tou Kuratoros*. Mordtmann, 1892, p. 71. Van Millingen considers this small building to be the library of a monastery. Millingen, 1912, p. 265. Eyice states that it was originally the burial place for a family, or perhaps a saint, that was later converted into a chapel. Eyice, 1960b, p. 1946. Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* II, 1994, p. 9.
- ²⁷⁰ According to Janin it was established by a government official under Leo I (457-474) to house the relics of Ss. Martha, Mary and Lazarus.
- ²⁷¹ Millingen, 1912, p. 265. Mansel, 1933, p. 210-229. Schneider, 1936, pp. 53-55.
- ²⁷² Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 98. For further information on the *Balaban Ağa Masjid* see Eyice, 1960b, pp. 1946-1949. See also Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* II, 1994, p. 9-10.
- ²⁷³ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 153.
- ²⁷⁴ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 98.
- ²⁷⁵ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 98.

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- ²⁷⁶ Eyice, 1954, p. 141.
- ²⁷⁷ Eyice, 1954, pp. 141-142.
- ²⁷⁸ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 172. Mehmed Ziya states that the *segbanbaşı* was killed in 857/1453. Mehmed Ziya, 1928, p. 48.
- ²⁷⁹ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 172.
- ²⁸⁰ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 196.
- ²⁸¹ Eyice, 1954, p. 141.
- ²⁸² Paspates, 1877, p. 375.
- ²⁸³ Paspates, 1877, p. 143.
- ²⁸⁴ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 133.
- ²⁸⁵ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 231.
- ²⁸⁶ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 133.
- ²⁸⁷ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 231.
- ²⁸⁸ Eyice, 1990, p. 289. Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* III, 1994, p. 199.
- ²⁸⁹ This name appears to have circulated among the populace because the mosque was located near one of the former gates of the city.
- ²⁹⁰ Ayvansarayı speaks of the mosque as the *Manastır* Masjid. Ayvansarayı, 1987b, p. 53. With such a name it may well have belonged to a monastery in the Byzantine period.
- ²⁹¹ Eyice, 1980, p. 39.
- ²⁹² Müller-Wiener, 1977, p. 119; Mathews, 1976, p. 168; Sumner-Boyd and Freely, 1989, pp. 353-354.
- ²⁹³ Mehmed Ziya, 1928, pp. 45-46.
- ²⁹⁴ Ayverdi, 1973, p. 425.
- ²⁹⁵ *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*, no. 237.
- ²⁹⁶ Kuran, 1986, p. 311.
- ²⁹⁷ Paspates, 1877, pp. 361-363.
- ²⁹⁸ The word *etyemez* means one who never eats meat.
- ²⁹⁹ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 67.
- ³⁰⁰ Ayverdi, 1973, p. 457.
- ³⁰¹ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 32.
- ³⁰² Tanman, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* V, 1994, p. 474.
- ³⁰³ Tanman, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* V, 1994, p. 474.
- ³⁰⁴ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 379.
- ³⁰⁵ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 67.
- ³⁰⁶ Ayvansarayı, 1987a, p. 67.
- ³⁰⁷ Müller-Wiener, 1977, p. 152; Mathews, 1971, p. 144; Hamilton, 1933, pp. 33-34; Sumner-Boyd and Freely, 1989, pp. 360-362. For the plan see Millingen, 1912, pp. 49-55.
- ³⁰⁸ Ayvansarayı, 1987b, p. 41.
- ³⁰⁹ Ayvansarayı, 1987b, p. 41 and Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 375.
- ³¹⁰ In 1782 the building was damaged by fire. It was restored by Nazıperver, a craftsman in the treasury of Selim III in 1219/1804-1805. In 1236/1820 it was again repaired by Mehmed Rasim, the head architect in the Ottoman palace. Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* IV, 1994, p. 167.

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- ³¹¹ Millingen, 1912, pp. 56-59.
- ³¹² Ayvansarayi, 1987b, p. 41.
- ³¹³ Ayvansarayi, 1987b, p. 41.
- ³¹⁴ Eyice, 1959, p. 918. Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* I, 1994, p. 287.
- ³¹⁵ Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* I, 1994, p. 287.
- ³¹⁶ Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* I, 1994, p. 287.
- ³¹⁷ Ayvansarayi, 1987, p. 147.
- ³¹⁸ Ayvansarayi, 1987, p. 147.
- ³¹⁹ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 173.
- ³²⁰ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 240.
- ³²¹ A photograph of the ruins was taken by Berggen and there is also an illustration by Galanikis published by Paspates. Paspates, 1877, pp. 382-383.
- ³²² Eyice, 1967, pp. 111-130.
- ³²³ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 180.
- ³²⁴ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 180.
- ³²⁵ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 180.
- ³²⁶ According to Paspates and Mordtmann this building was the Byzantine church of St. Isaías.
- ³²⁷ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 101.
- ³²⁸ Müller-Wiener, 1977, p. 193.
- ³²⁹ Eyice, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* VI, 1994, p. 226.
- ³³⁰ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, pp. 163-164.
- ³³¹ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, pp. 86 and 139.
- ³³² Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 180.
- ³³³ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 86.
- ³³⁴ Barkan and Ayverdi, 1970, p. 209.
- ³³⁵ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 174.
- ³³⁶ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 174.
- ³³⁷ Eyice, 1973, p. 168, Eyice 1993-1994, p. 2, and Eyice, 1998, p. 100.
- ³³⁸ Müller-Wiener, 1977, p. 220.
- ³³⁹ Mathews, 1976, p. 220.
- ³⁴⁰ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 75; Mamboury, 1953, p. 308.
- ³⁴¹ Mathews, 1976, p. 220.
- ³⁴² Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 75.
- ³⁴³ Millingen, 1912, p. 209.
- ³⁴⁴ Millingen, 1912, p. 210.
- ³⁴⁵ Mathews, 1976, p. 376. For the architectural features and the description of its plan see Millingen, 1912, p. 211.
- ³⁴⁶ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 197.
- ³⁴⁷ Millingen, 1912, p. 210.
- ³⁴⁸ Ayverdi, 1958, p. 50.

³⁴⁹ For suggestions as to the identity of the building see Eyice, 1980, p. 52.

³⁵⁰ Eyice, 1980, p. 52; Mathews, 1976, p. 260.

³⁵¹ Mathews, 1971, p. 260.

³⁵² Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 173.

³⁵³ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 172.

³⁵⁴ Ayvansarayi, 1987a, p. 173.