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THE YENI VALIDE MOSQUE COMPLEX AT EMINÖNÜ

The Yeni Valide Mosque complex in Eminönü, Istanbul, was a major imperial Ottoman architectural project whose construction spanned both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (fig. 1). Built by two powerful dynastic women, the mothers of Mehmed III and Mehmed IV, and designed by three or possibly four royal architects, the mosque complex was among the largest built in Istanbul in the post-classical era. Construction of the foundations began in 1597 under the auspices of Safiye Sultan (fig. 2), the mother of Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603), but was abandoned shortly

after the sultan's death in 1603. The succession of Ahmed I (r. 1603-17) to the Ottoman sultanate marked the end of Safiye Sultan's tenure as queen mother, or *valide sultan*; she was moved from the harem to the Old Palace to be replaced by a new *valide*, Kösem Sultan. When she died the Yeni Valide project was abandoned, and what had been built of the mosque's foundations was left untouched for fifty-seven years.

The building site, which had been expropriated at great cost from a largely non-Muslim community, was repopulated by minorities involved in the commercial



Fig. 1. The Yeni Valide Mosque complex from the Galata Bridge. Photo by Sebah and Joaillier, 1890. (Photo: courtesy German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul)



Fig. 2. Portrait of Safiye Sultan, mother of Sultan Mehmed III. Artist and date unknown.

area adjacent to the customs depots of Eminönü.¹ Shortly after a conflagration in 1660 devastated the section of the city from Unkapanı to Eminönü, the imperial family once more became interested in the Yeni Cami project. The Ottoman chronicler Silahdar informs us that at the suggestion of the head imperial architect, Mustafa Ağa, the mother of Mehmed IV, Valide Hatice Turhan (fig. 3), decided to re-expropriate the property and resume construction.² Under her patronage, the mosque was completed in 1663 and inaugurated in 1665 along with its dependencies: a royal pavilion (*hünkâr kasrı*), a tomb (*türbe*) for herself, a building for water distribution (*sebilhane*), a primary school (*sıbyan mektebi*), and a market (*çarşı*).

Recent research on patronage by women of the imperial family in the Ottoman Empire has shown that by the later years of Süleyman's reign the court had become more sedentary as Ottoman princes and their



Fig. 3. Portrait of Hatice Turhan Sultan. Attributed to Paul Rycaut, consul in Smyrna, 1660-67. (Photo: from *Mufussal Osmanlı tarihi*[Istanbul, 1960], 4:2015)

mothers remained in the Topkapi Palace rather than move to the provincial territories of the empire as they had done in earlier times. Until the mid-sixteenth century, the major architectural endeavors of imperial women had been realized outside the capital as the mothers of potential heirs to the sultanate, serving as the protectors and advisers to their sons, held court with them in the provinces. In the royal household of the provinces it was the mother of the prince, as the eldest member of the court, who took over the role of patron of public construction. As the locus of princely residences shifted increasingly to the center of the empire, however, imperial women responded by building pious works in Istanbul rather than in the provinces.³

Both *valide* patronesses of the Yeni Cami complex, by choosing to build a major public work in the capital of the empire, continued a pattern of patronage by imperial women that had been initiated in the sixteenth century by Süleyman's wife, Haseki Hürrem. By locating her foundation in the political center of the empire and announcing her patronage in the foundation inscription of the Eminönü mosque, Hatice Turhan linked herself to earlier Ottoman women patrons who had sponsored pious monuments in the Ottoman capital and in a very concrete way took up the legacy left by her *valide* predecessor.⁴



Fig. 4. The Yeni Valide Mosque complex and the Eminönü harbor. Photo by Sebah and Joaillier (1890). (Photo: courtesy German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul)

For imperial women of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, then, building in the capital had high priority. Where in the city they built was also a concern as some sites, due to their elevation and/or proximity to the administrative center and ceremonial axes of the city, were more highly valued than others. Because the Yeni Valide Mosque is not located along the Divan Yolu, not adjacent to the Topkapı Palace, and does not command a hilltop site as the mosques of Fatih, Süleyman, and Sultan Ahmed do, its placement on the "lowly" waterfront site of Eminönü has been cited as proof that imperial women patrons were denied choice properties in the capital for their architectural foundations (fig. 4).⁵ Implicit in this explanation for the site of the Eminönü complex is the assumption that the *valides* were passive recipients of whatever property was allocated to them by someone more elevated in the Ottoman hierarchy as, given any choice in the matter, they would never have selected a site like Eminönü which lacked the visibility of its hilltop neighbors.⁶

Hatice Turhan's waqfiyya, contemporary Ottoman and European chroniclers, and the epigraphic program of the mosque, however, show clearly that the accepted explanation that the siting of the Yeni Cami project in Eminönü was the result of discrimination against imperial women building in the capital is incorrect. First, in both phases of the Eminönü building campaign, the commercial advantage of the waterfront site was an important factor in the decision to locate the mosque in that quarter of the city. Particularly in the second phase of the campaign, the L-shaped market buildings are concrete evidence of an intended commercial enterprise (fig. 5).⁷ Second, as Eminönü was a largely non-Muslim section of the city, it was an attractive area in which to initiate a building campaign which could Islamicize this densely populated commercial district. The selection of Eminönü as a site for the architectural campaigns of the *valides* was intentional and a central factor in shaping the building agenda of both patronesses.

EMINÖNÜ AS A COMMERCIAL CENTER

To point the way to a reassessment of the position of dynastic women regarding site selection in the capital, it is important to consider the commercial attraction of Eminönü as a major factor in the choice of location for imperial munificence. Long before the Ottomans conquered Istanbul, Eminönü was a busy

commercial center and served as the location of several of the city's customs houses.⁸ As early as the tenth century, on the site of the present Yeni Valide mosque, stood the Porta Hebraica, the Latin name for the city gate in this quarter which attests to the presence of a community of Jews there, most probably of the Karaite sect.⁹ After the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II, non-Muslims were moved into the city to repopulate it and rejuvenate its economic and social life.¹⁰ In the following years many non-Muslims moved, or were moved, to Istanbul and settled in the Eminönü quarter and other locations along the banks of the Golden Horn.¹¹ Reports of Ottoman chroniclers and various poll-tax registers give us some indication of the changing demographics of non-Muslims residing in Galata and Istanbul, from the time of Mehmed II's conquest of the city through the seventeenth century.¹² Of particular interest is a register for the years 1595-97 which provides valuable information about the number, origins, and occupations of Jews in the Eminönü area prior to the construction of Safiye Sultan's mosque.¹³ While it is difficult to calculate the exact figures for Jews who were relocated as a result of the first expropriation undertaken for the Yeni Valide project, it is clear that the area surrounding the present location of the Yeni Cami mosque and the Egyptian market was a particularly densely populated Jewish quarter, and that there were very few Muslim establishments in this area before 1598. Expropriations for Safiye Sultan's project were on a hitherto unprecedented scale.¹⁴

Eminönü was a major port on the Golden Horn, and it was the place where business was transacted between foreign and Ottoman merchants, Muslim and non-Muslim tax farmers. As early as the fifteenth century archival sources attest to a growing dissatisfaction among Muslim merchants over the increasingly influential role played by Jewish tax farmers in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵ The powerful positions held by Jewish merchants and tax farmers in the capital were also targeted in the mid-sixteenth century by Venetian merchants who resented Jewish monopolies over certain markets such as textiles and the wheat trade. As Arbel has pointed out, "The official representatives of the Republic in the Turkish capital reiterated time and again during the 1550's and 1560's that Jewish merchants completely dominated the supply of wool, cloth, and camlets, and that the Venetian merchants in Istanbul were unable to acquire these products and export them unless they were willing to comply with

the conditions imposed on them by the Jewish businessmen."¹⁶ Tension over the prominent role of Jewish merchants and tax farmers in the capital culminated in 1582 when a group of ship's captains and merchants filed a petition with the central government complaining that the collectors of the customs taxes were all Jewish and the latter had not exercised acceptable behavior towards Muslims paying the tax. The Muslim merchants requested "that henceforth such servants of tax farmers should not be Jewish."¹⁷ A document published by Refik informs us that this request was granted.¹⁸

The growing discontent voiced by Muslim and Venetian merchants over the Jewish tax farmers and merchants in the capital must have facilitated Safiye Sultan's efforts to expropriate the valuable property from the Jews that was required for the first building campaign of the Yeni Cami.¹⁹ In the second phase of building undertaken by Hatice Turhan, the rhetoric surrounding the process of expropriation, as evidenced in the waqfiyya and parts of the mosque's epigraphic program, reveals that a well-orchestrated campaign was organized to affirm the authority of the *valide's* central role in the Ottoman state and to legitimize an architectural enterprise which completed the transformation of the Eminönü quarter from a largely non-Muslim merchant quarter to one whose central focus became the Yeni Mosque and its dependencies.

ZULMIYE VS. ADLIYE

The decision to build in Eminönü posed a number of difficulties for both Safiye Sultan and the architects involved in the initial construction. The expropriation of land for the mosque was costly and handled improperly, earning the first Eminönü project a poor reputation in the annals of Ottoman architectural history. While relatively few construction records for the two *valides'* building campaigns have been discovered in the Ottoman archives, we are fortunate in having detailed accounts by contemporary Ottoman chroniclers of the Eminönü project.²⁰ Of particular interest to these chroniclers were the controversies surrounding the expropriations that preceded both building campaigns. It is clear from the account by Selaniki of the first campaign and by Silahdar of the second that the confiscation of property, even for an imperial architectural project, was a highly charged event, the

execution of which had to be conducted in a just and legal way.²¹

Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, an Ottoman chronicler who wrote in the final years of the sixteenth century, provides a valuable contemporary account of the first expropriation and the problems with the foundation work during Safiye Sultan's building campaign. The chronicler's entries for 29 January 1598 and 8 March 1600 state that the mosque, soup kitchen (*imaret*), inns (*ribat*), and other pious foundations which Safiye Sultan intended to build were located in the Jewish quarter of Emin iskele (Eminönü). The necessary number of stone (*kârgir*) buildings were confiscated and leveled to prepare for the laying of the mosque's foundations and Kapıcı Kara Mehmed Ağa, the superintendent (*kehüda*) to the chief black eunuch of the harem, was appointed as overseer. The grand vizier Hasan Pasha visited Eminönü to check on the progress of the project. Kara Mehmed Ağa was to pay a compensatory sum double the value of the confiscated property to the various landowners, but failed to do so.²²

To date no waqfiyya has been found for Safiye Sultan's Eminönü foundation, so it is difficult to determine when, or even if, any of the subsidiary buildings of the complex were ever built. Of the mosque itself, only the foundations up to the base of the first window were completed.²³ Again from Selaniki's reports we know that the foundation work had presented the architect Davud Ağa with a tremendous challenge. On the soft shores of the Golden Horn, the prodigious weight of the mosque's foundations, estimated to be ten thousand tons, created a serious problem of water seepage: Selaniki claims that Davud Ağa was much acclaimed for his innovative solution, which was to pump out excess water from the foundations so that he could complete the lower substructure of the walls of the mosque.²⁴

In addition to the technical problems with the early construction, Safiye Sultan's project was also troubled by criticism in the palace over the great expense of the enterprise. Venetian sources report that members of the Janissaries and other court officials "attribute many disorders to her [Safiye Sultan], in particular the consumption of money for a superb mosque she is having built." The *bailo* Agostino Nani, who was in Istanbul from 1600 to 1603, reports that Safiye Sultan's poor relations with some of the Janissaries and officials in the Topkapı Palace and the

exorbitant expenses incurred while building the mosque threatened her political power and caused a brief hiatus in the construction of the mosque. Nani writes, "They [the Janissaries] attribute many disorders to her, in particular the consumption of money for a superb mosque she is having built; but she has halted its construction."²⁵ Sanderson, however, informs us that work was suspended only briefly and writes a few months after the *bailo's* missive that "the Great Sultana's church goeth up apace, and she rayneth as before."²⁶

By the mid-seventeenth century Safiye Sultan's mismanaged project was being described by Evliya Çelebi as an "act of oppression" (*zulmiye*), and the contrast between the impropriety of the first campaign and the justness of the second became a kind of leitmotif in the references by later Ottoman chroniclers to the Yeni Valide complex.²⁷

From the intense efforts and huge funds expended upon clearing and preparing the foundations for the Yeni Valide project and the perseverance Safiye Sultan showed in continuing to build in the face of criticism from the palace over the expense of the foundation work, it is evident that the Islamicization of the busy commercial district surrounding the customs houses (seen clearly in Grelot's engraving of 1680; fig. 6) was a significant and intentional step in the *valide's* agenda. By Islamicizing the non-Muslim quarter of Eminönü, Safiye Sultan hoped to seek legitimation for her project, and it appears that the initial expropriation was facilitated by capitalizing on the growing resentment over the prominent role of Jewish customs merchants and tax farmers in the Eminönü quarter.

At this point it is important to recognize how the *Book of Counsel*, written by Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, had shaped late-sixteenth-century opinion concerning royal foundations.²⁸ Written for Safiye Sultan's husband Murad III, Mustafa Ali had admonished imperial patrons against building charitable endowments using the resources of the treasury rather than booty seized in the campaigns of the faith. Mustafa Ali writes:

As long as the glorious sultans, the Alexander-like kings have not enriched themselves with the spoils of the Holy War and have not become the owners of lands through the gains of campaigns of the Faith, it is not appropriate that they undertake to build soup kitchens for the poor and hospitals or to repair libraries and higher medreses or, in general, to construct establishments of charity, and it is seriously not right to spend and waste the means of the public treasure on unnecessary projects.

For the Divine Laws do not permit the building of charitable establishments with the means of the public treasury, neither do they allow the foundation of mosques and medreses that are not needed unless a sultan, after conducting a victorious campaign, decided to spend the booty he has made on pious deeds rather than on his personal pleasures, and engages to prove this by the erection of [public] buildings.²⁹

Mustafa Ali's advice was intended for the reigning sultan, but his admonitions would have impressed the regent queen mothers as well, when they took up the reins of power from their sons or husbands. Safiye Sultan's husband had won no major victories over the Christian armies, and thus he appears to have taken Mustafa Ali's advice to heart and refrained from public building.³⁰ Her son Mehmed III also showed little interest in leaving behind an architectural heritage from his sultanate. Faced with the prospect of her husband and now her son's reign passing with no architectural commemoration, Safiye Sultan herself initiated a building enterprise in the center of the empire. While no recent Ottoman victories could justify this expensive undertaking along the lines suggested by Mustafa Ali, the expropriation of property in the capital could have been intended as an example of "proper patronage" because of its Islamicizing purpose.³¹ Ultimately Safiye Sultan's attempts to legitimize her campaign failed, but her persistence with the Eminönü project in the face of technological obstacles and so much criticism reveals that Eminönü was a valued location. It was only when her son died and she was removed to the Old Palace by Ahmed I that she abandoned all hope of completing her project in Eminönü.³²

The memory of the improperly conducted expropriation at Eminönü re-emerged in the rhetoric surrounding the construction of Sultan Ahmed's mosque, the imperial project undertaken by Safiye Sultan's grandson in the years between the first and second phases of the Eminönü building campaigns. In the *Risâle-i Mi'mâriyye*, an early-seventeenth-century architectural treatise written for Mehmed Ağa, the imperial architect of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, the author Cafer Efendi recounts in the thirteenth through the eighteenth couplet of the *Esasîyye Kasîde* (Foundation Ode, 53b) the story of the expropriation of property in the Atmeydanı (Hippodrome) prior to the construction of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. The allusions to the earlier *zulmiye* of Safiye Sultan, the ambi-

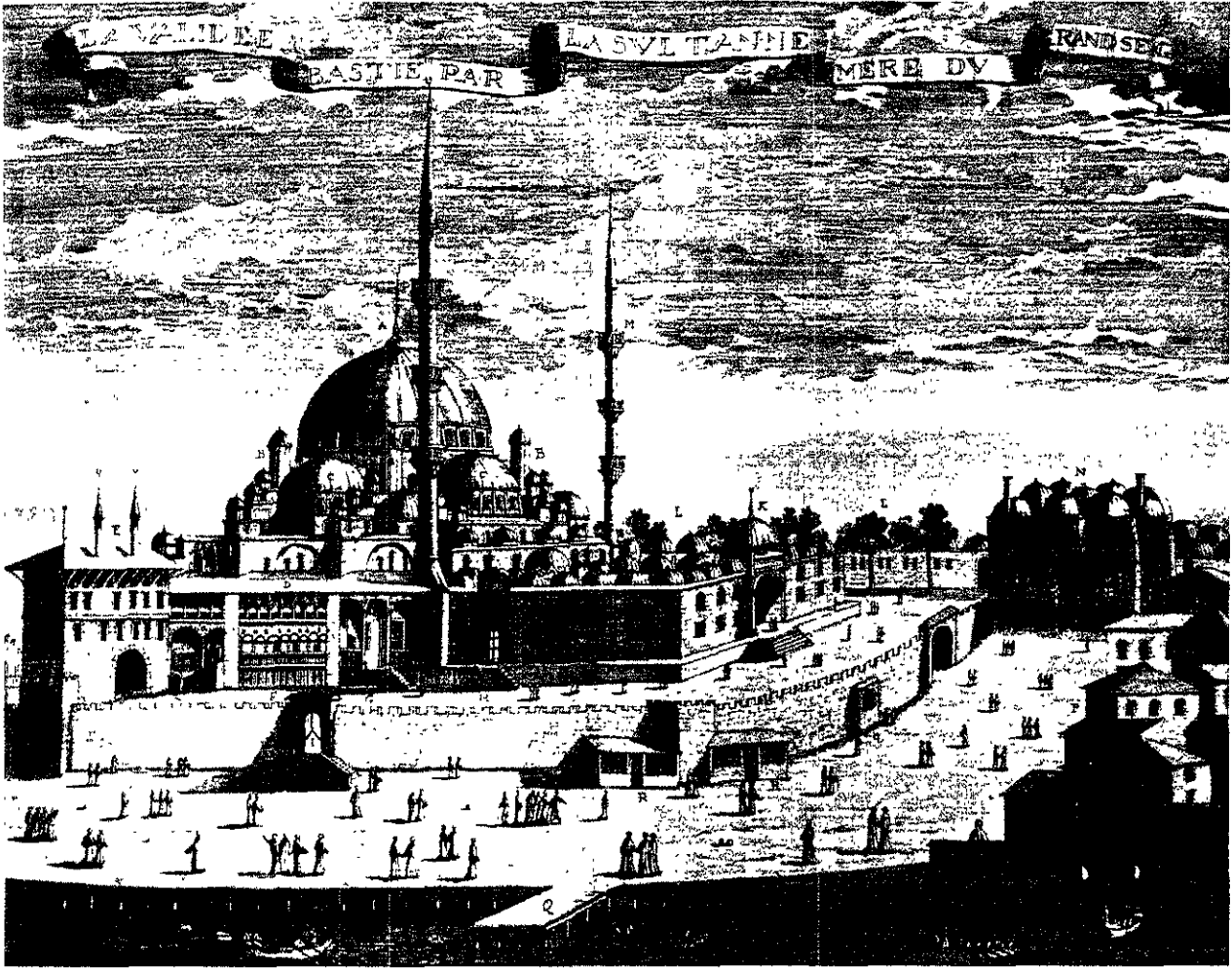


Fig. 6. Yenı Valide Mosque complex and customs houses of Eminönü in lower-right corner. Engraving by G. J. Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople* (1680). (Photo: courtesy Celik Gulersoy and the Istanbul Library)

tious and domineering grandmother of Sultan Ahmed, are evident. According to Cafer Efendi, Sultan Ahmed was a just ruler who had legitimately expropriated the land for building his complex. The sultan was:

Desirous of charity and good works, he is a caesar [like]
Alexander
A ruler like the strong Haydar, a follower of the path of
righteousness,
Observe the munificence and kindness of the Shah of the
World!
How he roamed the world to perform this act of charity!
The benevolent Shah did not consent to the tearing down
of districts.
He did not wish that abodes and dwellings be removed.
In the city of Istanbul there were many aged palaces.

There were none, either man or jinn, dwelling in those
houses.

The buildings occupied one of the finest locations in the city.

They had become filled with nests of owls.

God's inspiration came upon His Majesty the Shah of the
World

He built many monuments and good works on these
vacant lands.³³

In fact, the buildings in the Atmeydanı were hardly empty structures, nor were any of the lands in that quarter of the city vacant. Even though Sultan Ahmed purchased the palaces located there and the district was not as populated as Eminönü, the Atmeydanı confiscation was an expensive and unpopular move. Cafer Efendi, however, by his reference to Safiye Sul-

tan's project, shows how Sultan Ahmed's expropriation was conducted in a just way and compared favorably to that undertaken by his grandmother.³⁴

The foundations of Safiye Sultan's mosque would stand for over half a century before another *valide sultan*, the powerful Hatice Turhan, could carry the Eminönü project to completion. Mehmed IV's mother's involvement in the repossession of the Eminönü site and the completion of her predecessor's project once again calls into question the accepted view that the harbor site was a mediocre spot allocated to an imperial woman.³⁵ It is apparent that Hatice Turhan, like Safiye Sultan before her, understood and wanted to exploit the commercial advantages of the Eminönü site. The prominent position of the Mısır Çarşısı (Egyptian Bazaar) in the *valide*'s complex is striking, especially when one considers that the courtyard of the complex is dominated by two large khans,

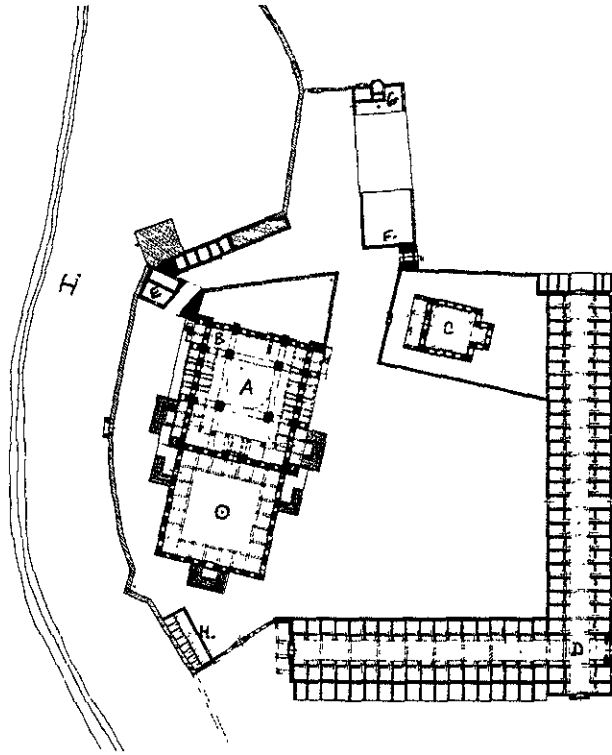


Fig. 7. Yeni Valide Mosque complex. Plan. Key: (a) mosque; (b) *hünkâr mahfili* (royal prayer loge); (c) *türbe*; (d) Mısır Çarşısı (Egyptian market); (e) *hünkâr kasrı* (royal pavilion attached to mosque); (f) *mekteb*; (g) *sebîlhane*; (h) customs houses; (i) Golden Horn. (Reproduced from I. Ateş and F. Alçı, *Istanbul Yeni Camii ve Hünkâr Kasrı* (Ankara, [ca. 1953], p. 263)

that is, commercial rather than religious structures (fig. 7). Silahdar reports that the imperial architect Mustafa Ağa, who had been involved in the construction of the fortresses in Çanakkale for Hatice Turhan, suggested to the grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha that the *valide* revive the Eminönü project rather than undertake repairs of the Cerrahpasha mosque near Aksaray, which the vizier had earlier suggested to the *valide*. After the fire of 1660 Silahdar reports that Hatice Turhan followed the advice of Mustafa Ağa, rather than Mehmed Köprülü, indicating that the *valide* herself had made a choice between proposed sites.³⁶

Had Hatice Turhan been aware of the contents of Cafer Efendi's *Risale* and Mustafa Ali's *Counsel*, using the abandoned foundations of Safiye Sultan's mosque in Eminönü would have had some appeal. By resurrecting Safiye Sultan's project Hatice Turhan saved expensive foundation work and began the re-Islamization of the Eminönü district. While there again had been no major Ottoman conquests to justify such a large and costly project. Hatice Turhan would succeed where Safiye Sultan had failed. She was able to legitimize the second expropriation required by her campaign and the expense of her project by manipulating recent events in the capital and tying her act of patronage to an earlier Ottoman and Islamic past.

Hatice Turhan benefited from the bad press that had surrounded the first expropriation in Eminönü. The expropriation of the mosque's foundations and the surrounding area in 1660 was perceived this time as a noble, pious act: it would drive out the Jews of the district, who, once the construction of Safiye Sultan's project was halted, had again inhabited the quarter. Silahdar writes of Hatice Turhan's noble efforts to save the district from the Jews. He notes that "the place where Safiye Sultan's partially completed mosque lay had been neglected, cluttered with debris, and overrun by Jewish-owned houses. The abominable condition of the area was an affront to religion [Islam] and the state: the completion of the mosque would guarantee prayers for the *valide* until the time of the Resurrection."³⁷

As with the first expropriation, there was again resistance in Eminönü from Jewish property owners. Silahdar reports that after the decree to vacate was announced, the Jews in the district offered the grand vizier one thousand *kese* (purses) of *akçe* from the community treasury to retain their property. The offer was rejected and the ultimatum given: either sell your homes or face execution (*Kabûl etmeyüp cümlesin*



Fig. 8. Detail of tile panel showing the Hashr (Exile) verse (Qur'an 59:23) inscribed on the second floor, adjacent to the entrance to the royal prayer loge.

redd ve her kam yerin fūrūhî etmezler ise katl olunur). Most of the expropriated area was then allocated to the *valide*'s project; the rest was bought by Muslims.³⁸

Hatice Turhan's *waqfiyya* is quite explicit about what was perceived to be the sordid state of the Eminönü area before the second campaign.³⁹ The document, now in the Süleymaniye Library, relates how the 1660 fire reduced the Jewish houses surrounding the Yeni Valide mosque foundations to rubble (*zîr ü zeber*). The disreputable houses of the Jews were turned into houses of flames (*âleşkede-i pür-şerir*) as a message from God to end the evil doings of the Jews in Eminönü. In the course of the expropriation some sections of Eminönü were purchased and the owners were satisfied (*irzâ etmek*), but other evil owners (*mahallî ashâb-ı serr ü fesâd*) resisted turning over their property. The Muslims in the area, however, helped the builder of the mosque.⁴⁰

Further evidence that Eminönü was selected to Islamicize this lucrative quarter of the city exists in sections of the epigraphic program chosen for the mosque. Of particular interest are the Qur'anic verses from the Exile sura (59:23), which refer to an early Islamic instance of confiscation of property from non-Muslims. The verse is located on the gallery level near the *hünkâr mahfili* (royal prayer loge) (fig. 8). It reads: "He is the Sovereign Lord, the Holy One, the Giver of Peace, the Keeper of the Faith; the Guardian, the Mighty One, the All-Powerful, the Most High! Exalted be God above their Idols."⁴¹ The verse makes no specific reference to the Yeni Valide project, but those believers who knew how the passage proceeded would understand that it recounts the prophet Muhammad's expedition against the Banu al-Nadir, a Jewish tribe

in Arabia, and the subsequent confiscation of this tribe's land by the Muslims:

It was he who drove the unbelievers among the People of the Book out of their dwellings into the first exile. You did not think that they would go; and they for their parts fancied that their strongholds would protect them from God. But God's scourge fell upon them whence they did not expect it, casting such terror into their hearts that their dwellings were destroyed by their own hands as well as by the faithful. Learn from your example you that have eyes.⁴²

A later passage from the same sura mentions how the unbelievers had been punished by fire: "But in the world to come the fire shall be their scourge because they have set themselves against God and His apostle."⁴³ While continuing through the recitation of the Hashr sura, the reader would have conjured up the memory of the recent fire of 1660 which had destroyed many of the Jewish houses in the Eminönü area and greatly facilitated the construction of the mosque. Finally, Safiye Sultan's earlier expropriation in the Eminönü area may also have been recalled while reciting the final part of the Exile sura which reads, "Like those who were but recently punished before them, they tasted the fruits of their own deeds: a woeful scourge awaits them."⁴⁴

The selection and display of verses from the Exile sura in Hatice Turhan's mosque could have had the underlying purpose of legitimizing the expropriation of property from the Jews and other non-Muslims in the Eminönü area by linking contemporary events in the capital such as the fire and expropriation to a Qur'anic precedent. Just before the second building campaign, Ottoman and European chroniclers as well as account registers for Hatice Turhan's foundations attest to the powerful influence of a certain Vani Efendi in Hatice Turhan's court circle.⁴⁵ A key figure in the revival of the ultra-conservative Kadizadeli movement in the Ottoman Empire during the late seventeenth century, Vani Efendi was appointed preacher (*vâiz*), at the Yeni Valide mosque, and had played a role in the religious education of Mehmed IV, Hatice Turhan's wayward son. Later account registers for the Yeni Cami show that Hatice Turhan's foundation also supported Vani Efendi's convent (*tekke*).⁴⁶

It is no coincidence, then, that Sir Paul Rycout, the British consul in Smyrna, reports in 1662 that at the time when the second Eminönü campaign was initiated, Vani Efendi was preaching about the fires and

pestilence of 1660, calling the disasters an omen sent by God to warn the believers of the evils that had been brought to the city by the unbelievers.⁴⁷ Appointed by the *valide* as the *vâzî* for the Yeni Cami, Vani Efendi and his sermons may have set the stage for the removal of non-Muslim inhabitants from the district. He appears to have assisted his patroness in a well-orchestrated campaign for the expropriation of non-Muslim property surrounding the Yeni Cami foundation and the subsequent Islamicization of the busy commercial quarter. While the mosque complex was not funded by the booty of Ottoman victories over infidels, as Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali had recommended many decades before, the Eminönü building campaign was construed as a local victory over non-Muslims in the capital and legitimated by tying this victory to an early Islamic incident involving Muhammed's expropriation of property from the Jews.

Hatice Turhan's patronage, unlike that of her predecessor, was recorded as a just and pious endeavor. Evliya Çelebi, writing of the queen mother's noble efforts to save the ruined quarters, makes a clear distinction between the expropriation undertaken by Hatice Turhan and that of Safiye Sultan during the first building campaign. What had once been an act of oppression (*zulmiye*) now became an act of justice (*adliye*).⁴⁸

Safiye Sultan and Hatice Turhan's attempts to Islamize a lucrative commercial quarter of the city led to the decision to build on the site next to the customs houses of the Golden Horn. For Hatice Turhan, building on the foundations of Safiye Sultan's project was not only economical, but tied her in a very concrete way to the architectural legacy of the powerful imperial women patrons before her. By resuming an abandoned project and surrounding it with the political rhetoric of conquest, the *valide*'s munificence was buffered from contemporary criticisms of dynastic indulgence. Hardly a result of discrimination against imperial Ottoman women patrons building in the capital, the selection of Eminönü as a site for the Yeni Valide mosque complex appears to have been an intentional choice and reflects the impact of political events and economic circumstances surrounding the construction of a major Ottoman architectural enterprise of the seventeenth century.

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NOTES

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1. Robert Mantran, "Foreign Merchants and Minorities in Istanbul during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, 2 vols. (New York, 1982), 1:127-37.
2. Fındıklı Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdâr Târîhi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1928), 1:218-19.
3. See Leslie Peirce, "Shifting Boundaries: Images of Ottoman Royal Women in the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Critical Matrix* 4: (Fall-Winter, 1988), 61, n. 39. Süleyman's mother Hafsa Sultan, for example, built the Sultaniye in Manisa where she had her court with her son Süleyman before he became sultan and moved to Istanbul. See M. Çağatay Uluçav, *Manisa'daki Saray-i Amîre ve Şehzadeler Türbesi* (Istanbul, 1941), p. 9, and "Kanunî Sultan Süleyman ve ailesi ile ilgili bazı notlar ve Vesikalar," *Kanunî armağanı*, (Ankara, 1970), pp. 230-31.
4. For records of the foundation inscriptions of imperial women who built in the capital before Hatice Turhan, see my "The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex in Eminönü, Istanbul (1597-1665)" Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1994, pp. 56-62. In the main portal inscription of the Yeni Valide mosque, the *valide* sultan takes full credit for founding the mosque. The line in the lowest panel of the inscription to the immediate right of the central portal inscription proclaims that she ordered the mosque to be built (*emru sultanına ataleleha*). The third line of the inscription again refers to the *valide*'s role as the patroness of the mosque (*Ammarahû Rabbhûâ lemâ tehvî veccezhâ bi-küllî mekremetin a'limû's-sırru ve a'limû'n-nevâ. hasenun kale fihî târihâ*; note the feminine endings of *rabbhûâ* and *veccezhâ*, which openly acknowledge that the patron was a woman).
5. Ülkü Bates, "Women as Patrons of Architecture in Turkey," *Women in the Muslim World*, ed. Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp. 243-60.
6. For the problem of who in the Ottoman hierarchy had the authority to select or allocate a building site, see my "Yeni Valide Mosque Complex," p. 25, n. 51, and Irvin Schick's review article, "Gynaecium and Power: The 'Sultanate of Women' Reconsidered," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Spring 1995, p. 12. Summarizing Ayvansaravî's *Hadîkat-ül Cevâmî*, Ülkü Bates reports that 7 percent of the mosques in Istanbul, or 63 out of 953, were built "by or for" women ("Women as Patrons," p. 246). I suggest that mosques built for women and mosques built by them should not be lumped together in the same group merely because women were somehow involved in the project. Analysis of the language of the foundation inscriptions, contemporary chroniclers' reports, and the foundation charters can be very helpful in determining the chain of authority in architectural projects, but this research must be done on a case-by-case basis. For example, it is evident from the foundation inscription of Hatice Turhan's mosque and Silahdar's account of the project that

- she was recognized as the legitimate patroness of this pious work. Further, in the *valide's* official foundation charter, her political authority in the empire is confirmed by her title, *sühbet-ul devlet* ("the [female] owner of the Ottoman state"). There is clear evidence in the second phase of the Yeni Valide project that ultimately it was the *valide* who was exercising legitimate and official authority, hence there is no doubt that the Eminönü project was built by her and not for her ("The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex," p. 226; Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library no. 150, fol. 9b)
7. Letters between the grand vizier and Hatice Turhan further attest to the *valide's* interest in and concern with commercial matters. In a letter written to the grand vizier about the loss of revenue from Egypt, the *valide* inquires of the vizier, "What is the reason why the [annual] revenue from Egypt has fallen to 800 purses when it used to be 1200 purses? ... During the reign of my lord Sultan Ibrahim, may God have mercy on him, and during the reign of Sultan Murad, how many times, year after year, did we see the Egyptian revenues arrive? What can they be thinking of that they send such a shortfall?"; as quoted and translated by Leslie Peirce in *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York, 1993), p. 236; from the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives (TSMA) 7001/32. The income that Hatice Turhan had endowed for the Yeni Cami complex was, according to the waqfiyya (Süleymaniye Library no. 150, fol. 24b-29a), derived from real estate and rental properties in Istanbul and in several villages in Rumelia. For a comprehensive list of all properties and expenses mentioned in the waqfiyya, see my "Yeni Valide Mosque Complex," pp. 228-30, Appendix 1 4.
 8. Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (Paris, 1950), pp. 237-42.
 9. Ali Ülgen, *Fatih devrinde İstanbul* (Ankara, 1939), p. 12. The origins and ideology of the Karaite sect of Judaism are controversial and beyond the scope of this article. For additional information, see William Brenner, "Karaites of Christianity—Karaites of Islam," *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times* (Princeton, 1989), pp. 55-74. For information regarding the Karaite sect in Byzantine history, see Zvi Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium: The Formative Years, 970-1100* (New York, 1959).
 10. Halil Inalcik, "Jews in the Ottoman Economy and Finances, 1450-1500," *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. C. E. Bosworth et al. (Princeton, 1988), p. 527, n. 1.2.
 11. Tahsin Öz, "Zwei Stiftungsurkunden des Sultans Mehmed II Fatih," *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, 4 (1953): 25-28; Uriel Heyd, "The Jewish Communities of Istanbul," *Oriens*, 6,2 (1953): 304.
 12. S. Yerasimos, "La Communauté juive d'Istanbul à la fin du XVIe siècle," *Turcica* 27 (1995): 101-30; Uriel Heyd, "The Jewish Communities of Istanbul in the Seventeenth Century," *Oriens* 6 (1953): 300-3, for information on related archival documents: Başbakanlık Arşivleri (BA) (Prime Ministry Archives of Istanbul) Tapu ve Tahrir Defterleri (Cadastral Survey Records) nos. 210, 240; Maliyeden Müdevver Defterleri (MM) (transferred from the Finance Ministry) 90, fol. 105b; MM 14393, MM 2060, MM 20198, MM 286.
 13. For summary information about MM 14393, see the recent article by Yerasimos, "La Communauté juive d'Istanbul," pp. 107-8 and nn. 21-25.
 14. *Ibid.*, p. 108, n. 29.
 15. Inalcik, "Jews in the Ottoman Economy and Finances," pp. 513-50.
 16. Benjamin Arbel, *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean* (Leiden, 1995) pp. 18-19.
 17. Haim Gerber, "Jewish Tax Farmers in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986): 146, 152.
 18. *Ibid.*; references to Ahmed Refik are in nn. 27 and 71.
 19. From the reports of Venetian officials residing in Constantinople at this time we know that the Venetians found Safiye Sultan to be a particularly useful link to her son, Sultan Mehmed III. See Eugenio Alberi, ed. *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato*, ser. 3, 3 vols. (Florence, 1840-55); 3:439-40, as cited by Peirce, *Imperial Harem* p. 223, for reports by Venetian officials concerning Safiye Sultan. While recent research has established that neither Safiye Sultan nor Nurbanu, her predecessor, was of Venetian origin, (see B. Arbel, "Nur Banu (c. 1530-83): A Venetian Sultana," *Turcica* 24 [1992]: 241-59), it is clear that she was often involved in trade negotiations with the Venetian merchants of Constantinople.
 20. Mustafa Selaniki, *Tarih-i Selânikî*, 2 vols., ed. Mehmed İpşirli (Istanbul, 1989), Mehmed Raşid, *Tarih*, 5 vols. (Istanbul, 1282), vol. 1; Silahdar Fındıklı; Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihî*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1928), vol. 1; Evliya Çelebi; *Seyâhatnâme*, 5 vols. ed. C. Mümin (Istanbul, 1314/1896-97). To date there are few construction records from the Yeni Valide project. The brick orders for the second phase of building (MM. 5777) do exist; they show payments for bricks ordered for the mosque, shops, coffee rooms, and other structures of the complex from 6 August 1661 to 27 March 1664. For a translation of these orders, see my "Yeni Valide Mosque Complex," pp. 237-41. Unfortunately, the *Mühimme* registers (book of records of the Imperial Assembly of the State) 74,75,76 and 92,95 which correspond to the first and second building phases respectively of the Yeni Valide project do not contain court orders or contemporary documentation related to the building of the complex.
 21. Expropriation was not a simple process even for royalty. According to Josef Schacht, expropriation for the public good was possible "only within very narrow limits. The theory of Islamic law has thus developed only a few rudiments of a special law of real estate; conditions of land tenure in practice were often different from theory, varying according to place and time, and hence the institution of vakf has become of great importance" (*An Introduction to Islamic Law* [Oxford, 1964], p. 142, from Schacht's chapter on property, pp. 134-43. See also H. Gerber's important study of Ottoman law in a comparative perspective, *State, Society, and Law in Islam: Ottoman Law in Comparative Perspective* [Albany, N.Y., 1994]).
 22. Selaniki, *Tarih-i Selânikî*, pp. 723, 849-50.
 23. A. Ülgen, "Yenicami" *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942): 388.
 24. H. Peynircioğlu, I. Aksoy, and K. Özüdoğru, *Eminönü Süleymaniye-Unkapanı bölgesinin geoteknik etüdü ve Yeni Cami imellerinin incelenmesi*, İstanbul Teknik, İnşaat Fakültesi, No. 31 (May 1978): 9-10

- 25 Peirce, *Imperial Harem*, p. 242, n. 48.
26. John Sanderson, *Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant 1584-1602*, ed. Sir W. Foster, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, vol. 67 (London, 1931), p. 204.
27. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme*, I: 302; see n. 48.
28. Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali 1541-1600* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 101-6.
29. Cited by Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 113 and n. 100.
30. Ibid.
31. Evliya Çelebi mistakenly identifies Safiye Sultan as the mother of Fatih Mehmed and remarks on the exorbitant cost of the *valide*'s project (see below, n. 50 and *Seyâhatnâme* I: 302). For documents related to the source of Safiye Sultan's expenditures, see TSMA, Defter (D.) 4323/1; TSMA D.4323/2; TSMA D.8422, which deal with the rental income generated by shops in Üsküdar and Istanbul and the expenditures made for a small fountain and mosque in the Karamanlı section of Üsküdar; see also "Yeni Valide Mosque Complex," pp. 33-35.
32. As a last attempt to leave behind evidence of her piety, and to commemorate the reign of her son, Safiye Sultan may have returned to the earlier model of *valide* patronage in the provinces. After the death of Mehmed III, Safiye Sultan appears to have appropriated a mosque in Cairo that had been built originally by Osman, the chief black eunuch of the imperial harem (*darüssaade ağası*). The inscription on the portal of the Malika Safiyya mosque carries the date Muharrem 1019 (21 April 1610) and says that the mother of Sultan Mehmed had the mosque erected. As the first phase of the Eminönü project drew to an end, it appears that the *valide* took the most expedient route to architectural patronage by appropriating the Cairo foundation as her own. For the foundation inscription of the Cairo mosque, see my "Yeni Valide Mosque Complex," pp. 247, 283. See also TSMA Evrak (E) 7787/1-2 for the firman dealing with Egyptian properties given to Safiye Sultan by Mehmed III. Information concerning the Cairo mosque can be found in Oktay Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi* (Istanbul, 1972), p. 323; Su'ad Mâhir Muhammad, *Masâjid Misr wa awliyâ'uhû al-sâlihûn* (Cairo, 1983); Richard Parker, Robin Sabin, Caroline Williams, *Islamic Monuments in Cairo: A Practical Guide* (Cairo 1985), p. 162. The Cairo foundation and other pious works outside Istanbul that were sponsored and supported by Safiye Sultan will be the subject of a forthcoming article
33. Crane, *Risale*, p. 66; fol. 52a.
34. For information about the Sultan Ahmed complex, see Zeynep Nayır, *Osmanlı mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet külliyesi ve sonrası (1609-1690)*: TSMA D.212, *İstiklak ve muzeme masrafları defteri*; Necipoğlu, "Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul," p. 113; Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (Baltimore, 1971), p. 343.
35. Bates, "Women as Patrons of Architecture in Turkey," pp. 243-60.
36. Silahdar, I:218-19.
37. Ibid.: *Öyle bir vâlide-i büzürg-vârlarının hayrât-ı halâleleri bir alay-ı mahallât-ı Yehûd içinde mezbelelikde harûb yapmak lâyh-ı din ü devlet-i pâdisâhî değildür*
38. Ibid., 218-219: *Deyü Yehûd arasında dellâl nidâ etdirilmeğün bi'z-zarûri satub kimin vâlide sultân hazretleri alup câmi 've muzâfâtına ilhâk ve kimin daği ahâlî-ı şehri alup a'lâ sarâylar binâsıyla ma'mûr-ı âfâk-ı 'âlem cyledüler.*
39. Süleymaniye Library 150, fols. 17b-18b.
40. The waqfiyya says that the Jews claimed there was a single black spot in the area (*siyâh pâkize*), possibly a reference to the burned foundations remaining from Safiye Sultan's project (Süleymaniye Library 150, fols. 17b-18b).
41. References to the Qur'an are quoted from *The Koran*, trans. N. J. Dawood (London, 1993).
42. Qur'an 59:2.
43. Qur'an 59:3.
44. Qur'an 59:15.
45. Madeline Zilfi, "The Kadızadeli: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45, no. 4 (1986): 251-69.
46. TSMA D. 8757; see "Yeni Valide Mosque Complex," p. 175.
47. Paul Rycout, *The History of the Turkish Empire from the Year 1623 to the Year 1692* (London, 1680), pp. 104-5; see also M. Zilfi, *Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Post-Classical Age (1600-1800)* (Minneapolis, 1988), pp. 149-54.
48. Bu câmi' evvelce Fâtih'in vâlidisi tarafından on Mısır hazinesi şarf olunarak tâklarına kadar yapılmış iken, bâniyesi merhûmenîñ vukû'ı vefâtına mebnî o zamândan beru harab ve nâ-tammâm kalub zulmiye ismiyle şöhrat bulmusdu."... "Harik-i meşhûreden sonra Mehmed-i râbî'in vâlidisi sultân İstânbûl'u gezerken bu câmi in esâsını keşf ederek hclâl malından 5.000 kîse ifrâz ile binâsına şürû' ederek adını "adliyye" koydu" (*Seyâhatnâme* I:302).