

## Chapter 7: The Urban Scene: Order and Chaos

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

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

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

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

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

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

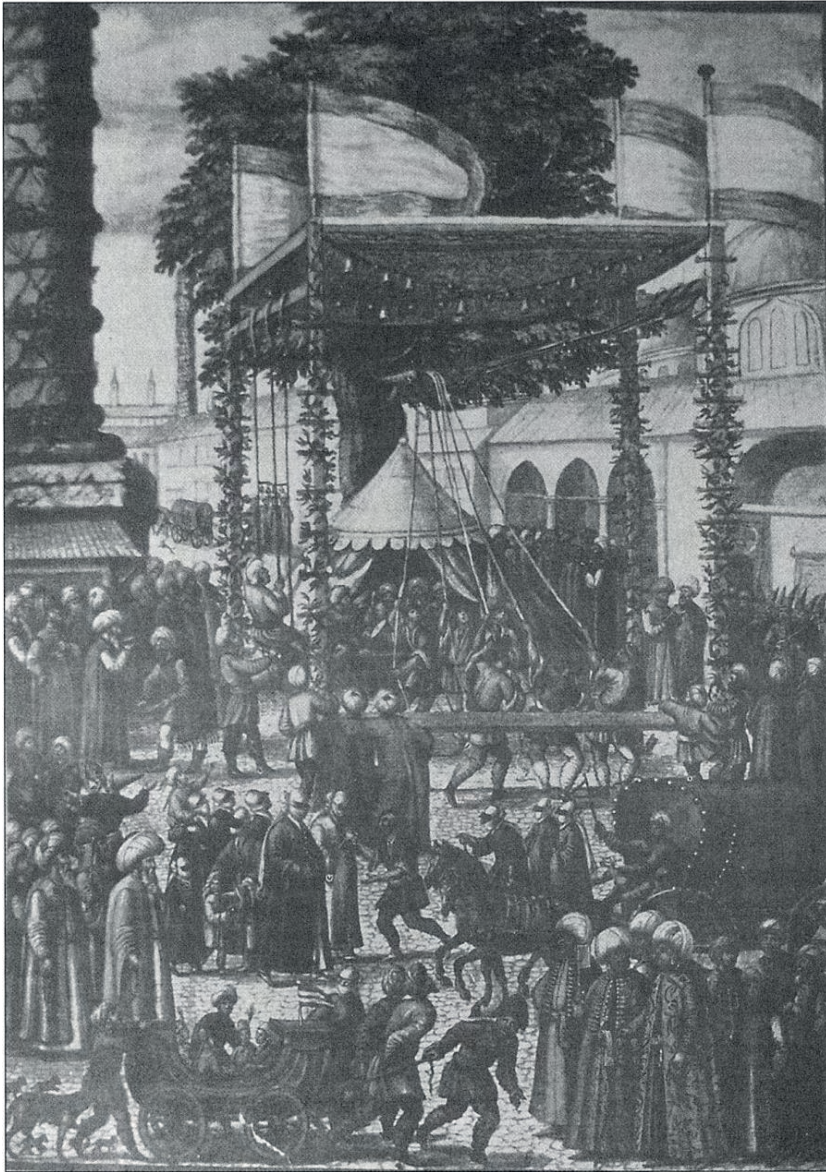


Fig. 31: *A procession, monuments, popular feast and shops around Çemberlitaş (the column of Constantine) in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Vienna, National Library, codex 8626.*

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

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

### *Commercial activities and centre of the town*

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

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

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

<sup>116</sup> Della Valle *Viaggio*, 56-57.

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

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

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

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, II 230-31.

<sup>121</sup> Ebersolt *Constantinople: recueil*, 74, for street and market affluence.

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

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<sup>122</sup> Mantran *Istanbul*, 38-39.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 414-15.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 452-467 and plates 11 to 14 for the emplacement of activities.

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

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

<sup>127</sup> Mantran *Istanbul*, 479.

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

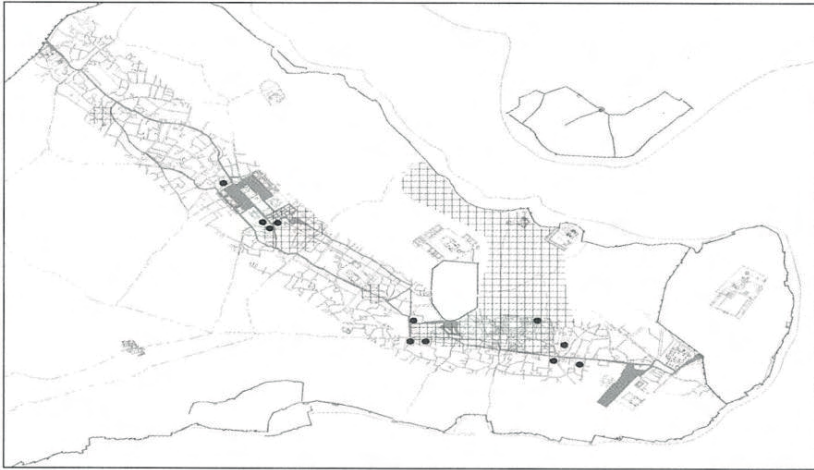
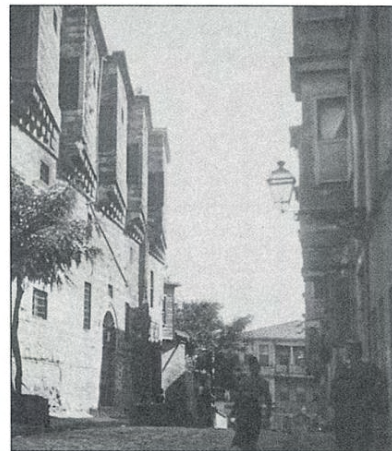
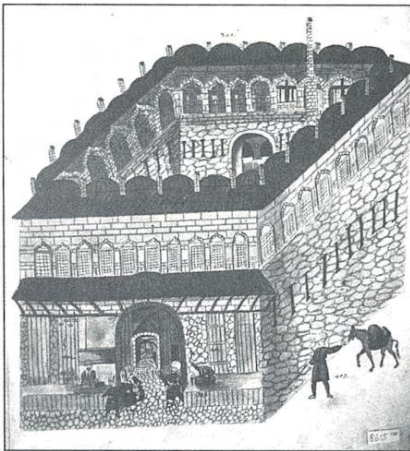
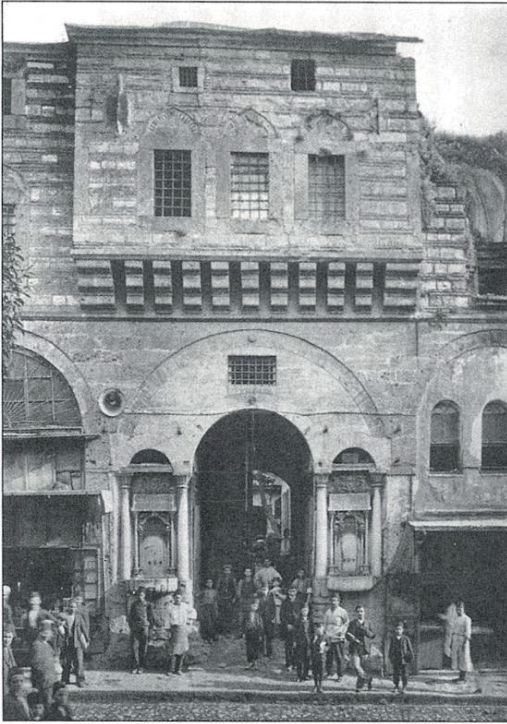


Fig. 32: *The main commercial activities. The main concentrations are the hatched areas: Saraçhane, south-east of the Fatih complex; Şehzadebaşı and Beyazıt; from the Divanyolu up to the Golden Horn. The dots indicate some important hans on the axis.*





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

It would seem that in the 17<sup>th</sup> century there were no taverns, entertainment and music in the central area,<sup>129</sup> but things drastically changed in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, bringing to light functions and structures perhaps first out of sight. The abolition of the janissary corps in Şehzade freed buildings and plots, which had been used by this corps.<sup>130</sup> The shops and taverns frequented by the janissaries converted to civilian uses. The district formed the first large concentration of teahouses, coffee-shops in which *meddah* and *karagöz* performed, and later of theatres and cinemas,<sup>131</sup> outside of the Galata-Pera district across the Golden Horn. Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Çemberlitaş-Beyazıt tract of the Divanyolu<sup>132</sup>

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

<sup>130</sup> Süheyl Ünver, “Yeniçeri kışlaları”, *Belleten*, 160 XL [1976].

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

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



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

### *Houses and palaces*

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

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

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

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

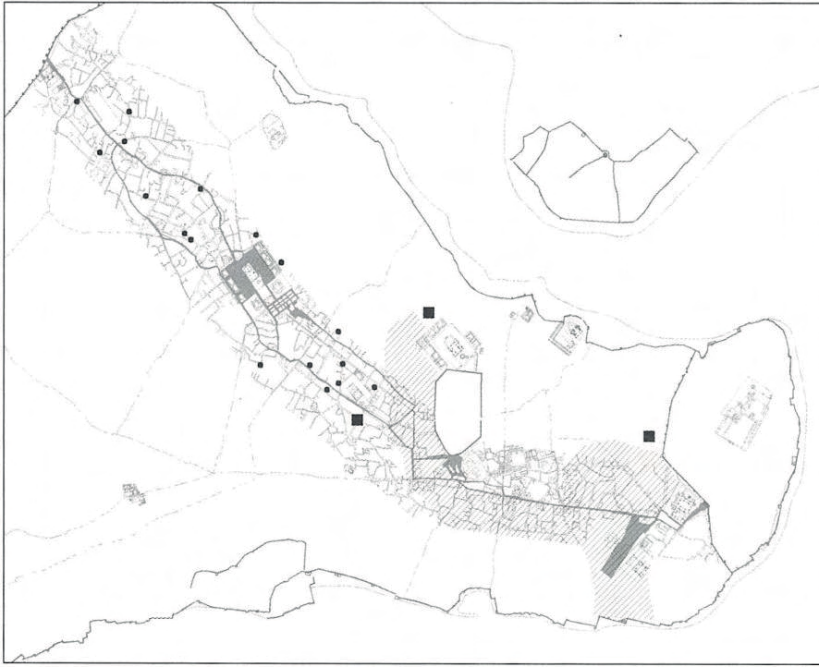


Fig. 36: *Housing and konaks. The hatched areas are the main concentrations of palaces. The three black squares are: the Old Janissary Barracks (Eski Odalar) in Şehzadebaşı, the Ağa Kapısı and Bab-i Ali (grand Vizier's konak and later government house) on the western margin of the Topkapı Palace grounds.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

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

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

<sup>135</sup> Mantran *Vie*, 37.

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

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

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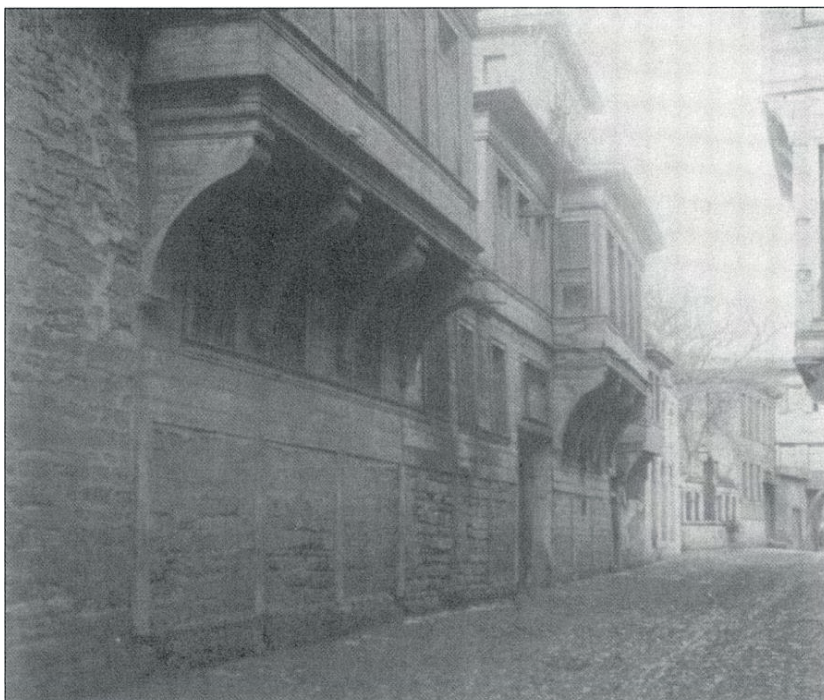
<sup>136</sup> One of the first multifamily buildings in Istanbul, Letafet Apartmanı, actually a beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century *konak*, was on the Divan axis, in Şehzadebaşı (Dünden Bugüne İstanbul, V 203).

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

<sup>138</sup> See note 119 on local congregational mosques.

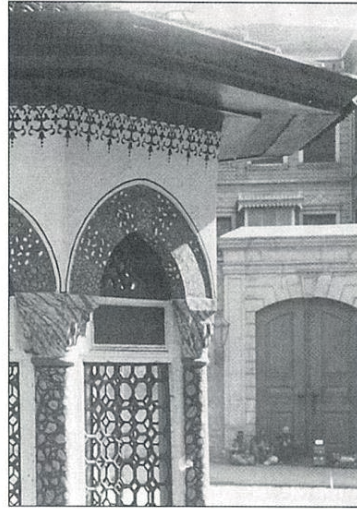
<sup>139</sup> See Cerasi "The Perception" for the curious lack of photographic documentation. Literary sources are mainly nostalgic writings on lost 19<sup>th</sup> century Istanbul written in the Thirties to Fifties. They depict a residential Divan Yolu where the inhabitants could "*cross the street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

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





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



*Houses and konaks. Fig. 39 A typical early 20<sup>th</sup> century house on the axis near Karagümrük. Fig. 40 A rare view of a konak with front garden opposite the Koca Sinan sebیل on the*

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

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

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

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

I have already written that most of the mosques on the axis dated from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries: the most important are those of Firuz Ağa, Atik Ali Pasha in Çemberlitaş, Beyazıt, Şehzade, Hüsam Efendi, Fatih, Hafız Ahmet Pasha, Nişancı Mehmet Pasha, Üçbaş, and Atik Ali Pasha near Karagümrük. There was also a conspicuous number of small *mescit*, almost all of the earlier periods. Of the thirty-five in a list of 18<sup>th</sup> century mosques<sup>143</sup> only seven, excluding the restoration of the Fatih complex are on, or very near, the axis.<sup>144</sup>

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

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

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

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

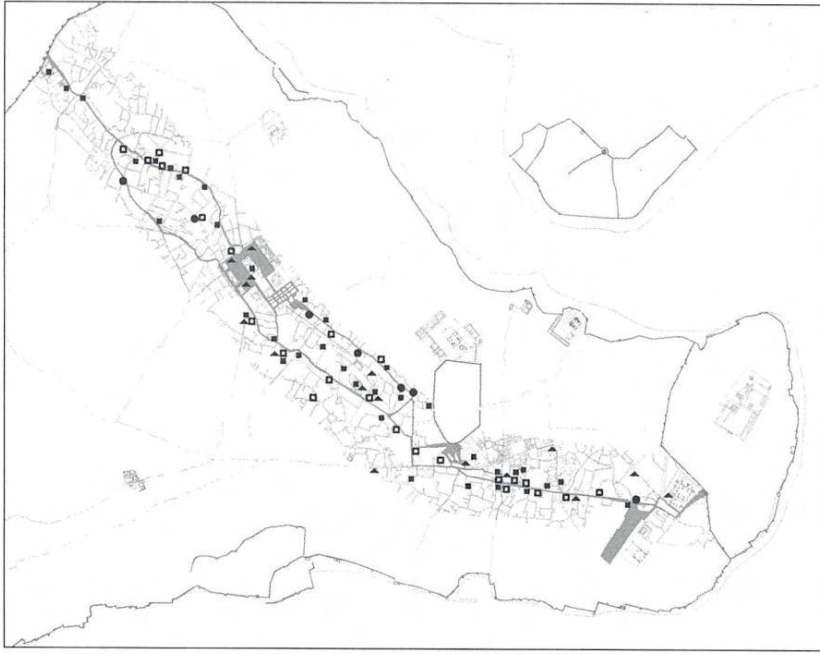


Fig. 42: Public buildings on the axis. Black squares: mosques. White squares: medrese. Small black circles: sibyan schools. Triangles: libraries.

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

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

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

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

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

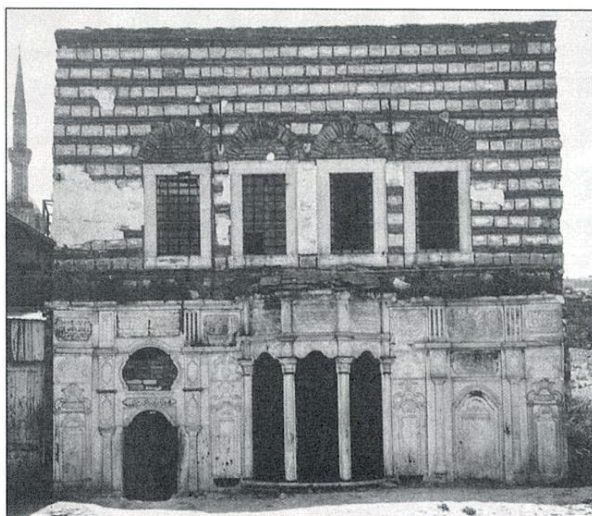
<sup>147</sup> See Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety—the Ottoman Ulema in the Post-Classical Age (1600-1800)*, Minneapolis: 1988, 139; also p. 205 “the triumph of the *medrese*”: between 1651 and 1705, 160 *medrese* added to the extant 120 to 200.

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

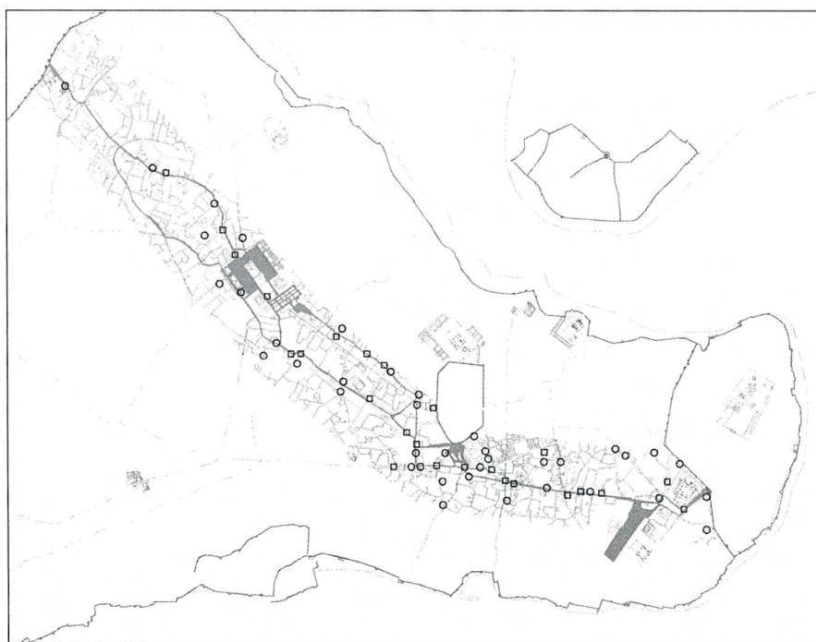
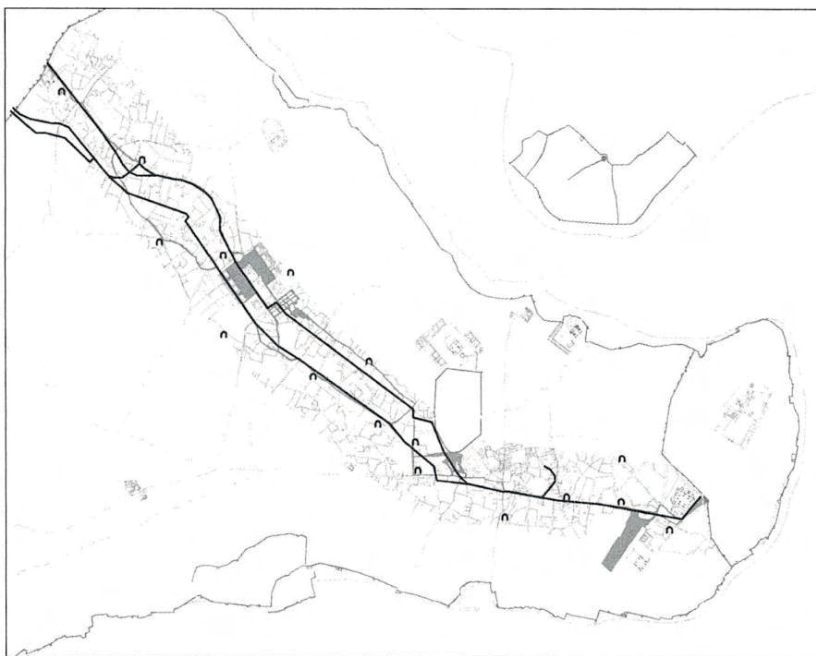
<sup>152</sup> Some schools were incorporated in the *küllîye*: that of Şeyhülislam Esad Efendi on the outer precinct wall of Fatih, the Beyazıt and Şehzade, the much deteriorated Atık Ali school on the street

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

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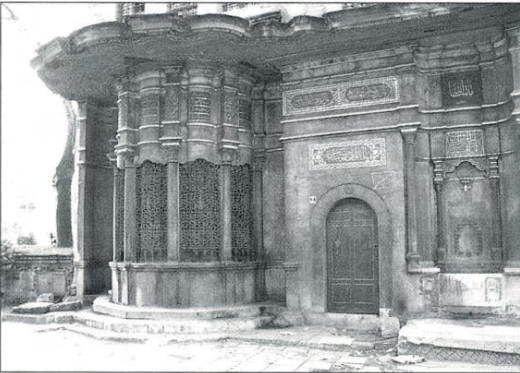
front. Other incorporated libraries were less visible: Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi, the Çorlulu Ali, Damad Ibrahim within the homonymous *medrese*.

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



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





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

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



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

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

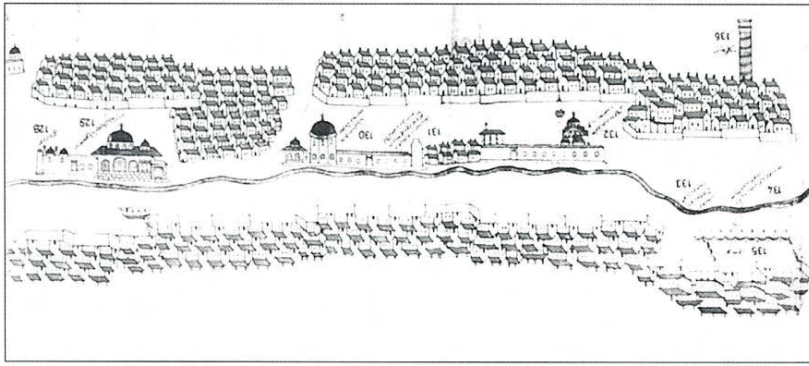


Fig. 50: Distribution of water to various vakıf complexes along the Divanyolu (from Çeçen 1991). To the left: the Kemankuş Paşa medrese. In the centre: the Koca Sinan and Atik Ali complexes.

<sup>154</sup> The ducts, the well and almost all the fountains can be clearly seen in the Seyyit Hasan *İst* 1810 map.

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

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

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

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