Perform Your Prayers in Mosques!: Changing Spatial and Political Relations in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Istanbul

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An article published on May 29, 1852, in the *Journal de Constantinople* reported a new environmental planning project for Istanbul's Tophane district. A range of shops would be demolished so that the main street could be widened and transformed into a square that ended at the flamboyant main door of the Nusretiye Mosque (1823–26). Tophane Fountain and certain other neighbouring fountains would be renovated, and trees would be planted between the boundaries of the Artillery Barracks and the widened main street, to make the Tophane district 'the most beautiful, pleasant and healthiest promenade' of the city. This reported endeavour was only a small aspect of a larger project that began in the 1840s, after the proclamation of the Gülhane Rescript (November 3, 1839), and it was considered a physical extension of Ottoman modernization.[1] Throughout the long nineteenth century, while the urban fabric of the capital was regularized and adjusted to the expectations and needs of the ongoing modernization efforts, novel building types, such as barracks, schools, and railway stations, and new social spaces, such as parks, theatres, and promenades, emerged.[2] Many existing building types and thus the daily routines shaped by them were also affected.

Although imperial mosques that embodied these existing building types were constructed according to a new architectural approach and mentality during the long nineteenth century, they are usually studied in a way that isolates them from their urban context. Earlier scholarship emphasized their royal pavilions, which dominate their frontal facades, their increasingly vertical proportions, the diminishing size of their prayer halls, and the growing adaptation of European decoration, rather than evaluating them with respect to their spatial relationship with the city and their social interaction with their users.[3]

The aim of this paper is to explore the ways in which institutional and urban modernization processes, as well as the transformation of architectural preferences for imperial mosques, affected the relationships among the mosque, the city, and its people. I will explore this theme in three parts. First, I will briefly introduce the early modern mosques of the Ottoman capital in order to arrive at a general understanding of the spatial and social transformations that the Ottoman imperial mosques underwent. Second, I will discuss the differences between the early modern and the nineteenth-century imperial mosques in context of their relations with the city and the public. Finally, I will deal with the changing character of nineteenth-century imperial mosques and the nature of the Friday processions, focusing on the second half of the Hamidian Era (1876–1909), when stately processions reached their peak in terms of importance, yet the number of venues decreased to one.

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The Early Modern Imperial Mosque Courtyard as a Public Sphere

Following the Ottoman capture of Constantinople, their first physical intervention in the city was the conversion of Hagia Sophia, the religious and political centre of Eastern Christendom, into an imperial mosque. It became the symbol of the long-awaited conquest.[4] Shortly after declaring that Constantinople was the new seat of his throne, Mehmed II (*r.*1444–46, 1451–81) initiated a grand and ambitious urban programme that indicated the symbolic refoundation of the city.[5] By the end of his reign, aside from his grandly scaled monumental mosque complex, which defined the new socio-religious centre of Istanbul, there were around 200 mosques and masjids built throughout the city.[6]

In his book *Hadika't-ül Cevami* (Garden of Mosques), completed in 1781, Ayvansarayî Hafız Hüseyin Efendi (*d.*1787) lists 821 mosques of all sizes after recounting the grand imperial mosques of the city in detail.[7] In 300 years, the number of mosques and masjids in the city had quadrupled, and the number of monumental imperial mosques had increased to ten.[8] Each of these imperial mosques, carefully placed within Constantinople's walls, on sites that would leave their mark on the city's silhouette,[9] was the centre of large socio-religious complexes; together, they formed the social nuclei of the capital.[10]

Until the late nineteenth century, when regularizing the urban fabric and clearing around historical, symbolic buildings in order to emphasize their monumentality became one of the indicators of a 'modern' city, dense residential buildings filled the spaces between these large socio-religious centres.[11] Writing in the late eighteenth century, Ayvansarayî noted that Hagia Sophia, as well as the mosques of Mehmed II (1463–70), Bayezid II (1500–06), Selim I (1522), Şehzade Sultan Mehmed (1543–48), Süleymaniye (1548–59), and Sultan Ahmed (1609–17) had their own neighbourhoods (*mahalle*).[12] Others – such as the Yeni Cami (1663), Nur-u Osmaniye (1748–55), and Laleli (1760–63) mosques, which were not surrounded by neighbourhoods – were usually located in the heart of busy commercial districts.

The borders of these mosque complexes were not as defined as those of the mosques themselves were. Dependencies such as an imaret, madrasa, library, primary school, caravanserai, or group of shops would be sited in the immediate vicinity of the mosque, and alleys between them would connect to the existing street networks. However, the liminal spaces between imperial mosques and their dependencies were more defined. The outer and inner courtyards were the thresholds of the mosques. All early modern imperial mosques in Istanbul were positioned in the midst of a green open space, which was walled off. Through this outer courtyard one could enter the hard-floored inner courtyard, which was located at the northern facade of the mosque and typically surrounded by arcades [Figure 1].

Architectural evidence such as the elaborate ablutions fountains situated in the middle of inner courtyards (and sometimes in outer courtyards) refer to the self-purification aspect of preparation that was part of the original architectural programme. It may be assumed that these spaces were also planned as gradual transition zones that would draw the visitor away from the hustle and bustle of city life and help him or her enter a more spiritual mood in preparation for the prayers inside the mosque. Following the example of the Edirne Üç

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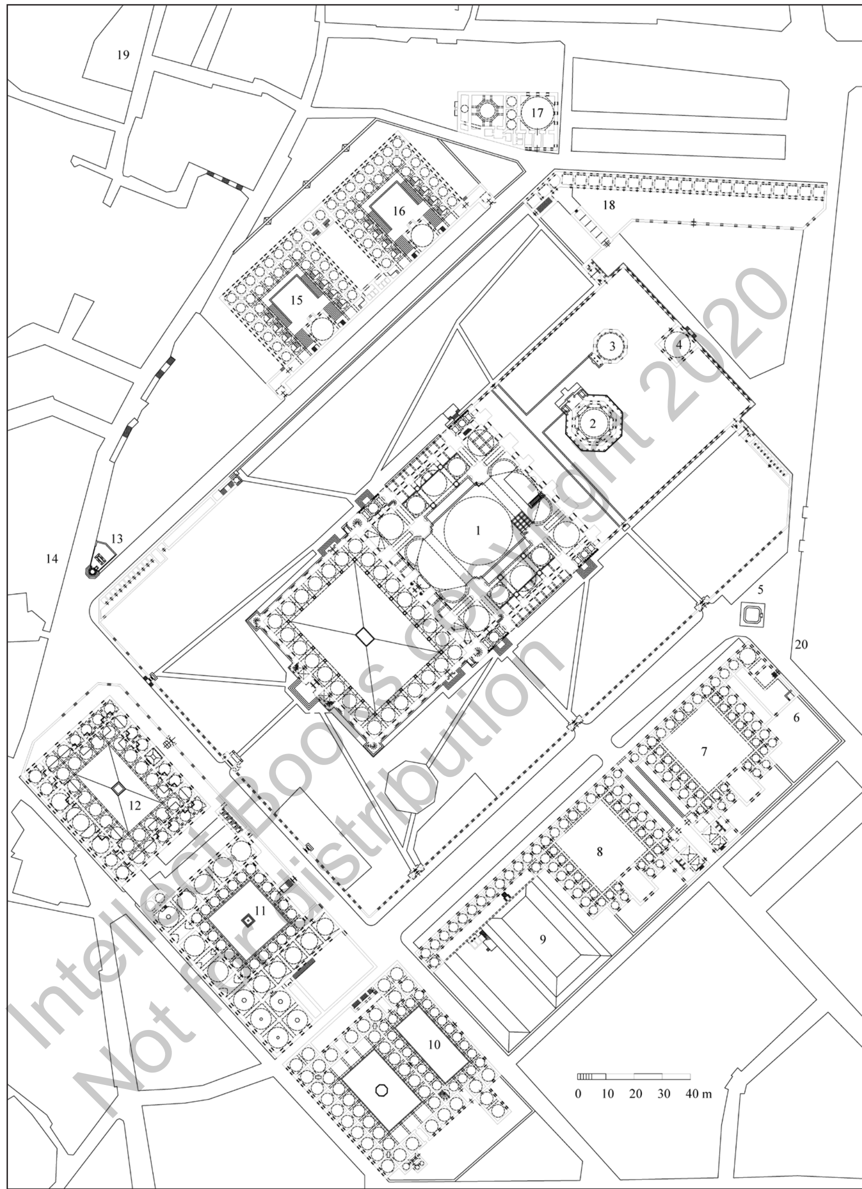

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Figure 1: Site Plan of Süleymaniye Mosque Complex, showing inner and outer courtyards of the mosque. Drawn by Arben N. Arapi, Source: archnet.org. (1) mosque, (2) mausoleum of Süleyman, (3) mausoleum of Hürrem, (4) Koran recitation school, (5) public fountain, (6) elementary school, (7) first (*evvel*) madrasa, (8) second (*sani*) madrasa, (9) remains of medical school, (10) hospital, (11) hospice, (12) guesthouse, (13) Sinan's tomb with domed sabil and empty plot of his endowed school and residence, (14) the janissary agha's residence, (15) third (*salis*) madrasa, (16) fourth (*rabi*) madrasa, (17) bathhouse, (18) hadith college, (19) madrasa near the palace of Fatma Sultan and Siyavuş Pasha.

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Şerefeli Mosque (1438–47), the first Ottoman imperial mosque with an inner courtyard, these areas were probably also meant to provide additional space for the congregation when the space inside the mosque itself was insufficient for communal prayers, such as Friday or Eid prayers.

On the other hand, many archival documents and other primary sources contain evidence indicating that mosque courtyards – and even mosques themselves – also became the settings for a variety of other events of daily life. In comparison to the mosques proper, where certain behavioural codes determined who could enter and in which manner, courtyards were much more accepting and embracing places. The common denominator for these open public spaces was urbanity rather than co-religiosity. These were the places where Muslim and non-Muslim Istanbulites could meet, gather, and express themselves in different ways, albeit most of the time under the control of the government. Sometimes this shared urbanity reveals itself in the notes of various events, carved on the metal rings of the column bases of the porticoes. They provide a broad array of records mostly connected to shared urban experiences, ranging from the dates of great fires that affected the city to notes concerning the departure of the Ottoman navy, from the dates of royal marriages to the restoration dates of imperial mosques.[13] At other times, the kinship of those who lived in the city would redound itself on the use of these spaces. For instance, during the 1807 rebellion, a military uprising which ended with the dethronement of Selim III (*r.*1789–1807), 400 janissary leaders gathered in the courtyard of Süleymaniye Mosque several times. They used it as one of their headquarters, where they made critical decisions about the course of the rebellion.[14] In contemporary times, squares and large parks meet a city's need for public space; in the pre-modern era, mosque courtyards fulfilled this need.[15] Obviously, these open public spaces were not used only when there was unrest but for all types of public social occasions. It is known that some attractions related to imperial celebrations took place in mosque courtyards. For instance, on December 30, 1808, during the imperial festivities for the birth of Fatma Sultan, the daughter of Mahmud II, a rope was hung on the minaret situated on the Kaşıkçı side of Bayezid Mosque, and an acrobat walked across it until he reached the minaret balcony.[16] Thousands of citizens who wanted to watch the show filled the Bayezid Mosque courtyard. Due to a lack of space, many people climbed up trees, to the point that some trees fell down due to the weight of the spectators. It is worth underlining that this courtyard was the Bayezid Mosque's outer courtyard, which was converted into one of the largest squares in Istanbul during the republican era.[17]

Because the Bayezid Mosque is located in the trade centre of Istanbul, various trade activities also took place in its outer courtyard. For example, butchers are known to have made sales there during the eighteenth century.[18] When archival documents are examined, it is clear that exhibitions and bazaars were present in the outer courtyards of all imperial mosques. These courtyards formed an intense commercial environment, over which the government attempted to keep firm control.[19] We can gather from orders to demolish unlicensed shops and booths in mosque courtyards that there were some unauthorized setups and sales in outer courtyards of mosques, and a struggle against them took place,

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but was not completely successful.[20] Commercial activities in outer courtyards sometimes also spread to the inner ones. For instance, up until the twentieth century, during the month of Ramadan, the inner courtyard arcades of many imperial mosques housed open bazaars called Ramadan Exhibitions.[21] Aside from their commercial facet, Ramadan Exhibitions, which brought together members of different social strata, also functioned as a medium through which regular people interacted with officials and, therefore, the state.[22]

Mosque courtyards also took on the role of urban shelters in the case of personal tragedies or natural disasters, mostly fires and earthquakes.[23] For almost all known fires, records indicate that Istanbulites found shelter in the inner courtyards of large mosques. These spaces took on this role in part because their building materials were more fireproof than wood and in part because they could hold large crowds and stand apart from otherwise dense urban spaces. Derviş Mustafa Efendi, in his book *Harik Risalesi*, which tells the story of two huge fires that ravaged Istanbul in 1782, describes people carrying the belongings they managed to save from the fire into the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, where they felt safe. In another big fire – referred to as the Harik-i Ekber (the greatest fire), which destroyed the Şehzadebaşı, Aksaray, and Laleli districts almost completely – those who saved their property took shelter in the Laleli Mosque and Şehzade Mosque courtyards as well as in the mosques' prayer halls. Unfortunately, however, this time the courtyard of the Laleli Mosque fell short in protecting the Istanbulites and their property. Due to the fire jumping into the inner courtyard and the mosque, around 600 people who took shelter there died. Mustafa Efendi writes that he could not forget the sight for months.[24] In books written by Ottoman historians, especially those like Selaniki, Evliya Çelebi, Şemdanizade, and Taylesanizade, who interested themselves in social life, such fire stories can be found regularly – sometimes with a happy ending, sometimes sad.[25]

In his book *Mür'it-tevarih*, the eighteenth-century historian Şemdanizade records another very interesting use of certain sultanic mosque courtyards.[26] This sometimes-snippy writer mentions men and women riding Ferris wheels, swings, and carousels placed in the courtyards of the Bayezid and Fatih mosques, among other locations.[27] Although the presence of such mixed-gender activities troubled this conservative writer, he does not seem to have been especially bothered that these activities took place in mosque courtyards rather than in other locations; he includes mosque courtyards in his list of places without putting any particular emphasis on them. If mosque courtyards had been attributed a specific sacredness, one might expect Şemdanizade to have objected explicitly to their use for mixed-gender entertainment. However, his apparent indifference suggests that their users understood mosque courtyards as broadly social spaces. These users varied according to the location of the complex as well as the functions surrounding it. For example, the primary regular visitors to the courtyards of imperial mosques that were surrounded by extensive madrasa complexes, such as the Mehmed II or Süleymaniye complexes, were the madrasa students, who most likely perceived these liminal spaces as spaces of their daily life. During the elections for student representatives, called *kemerbaşı*, on January 19, 1787, there arose a dispute that escalated into violent clashes between two student groups. In that

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incident, which took place in the courtyards of the Sultan Mehmed (Fatih) and Sultan Selim mosques, the main actors were the students of the many madrasas located in these very mosque complexes.[28]

The versatile use of mosque courtyards in daily life continued uninterrupted throughout the early modern era until the beginning of the twentieth century. As exemplified above, it was common to find trade, recreation, entertainment, political activities, and conflicts in those mosque courtyards – and sometimes even inside the mosques themselves. That they retained their primacy, especially in the eyes of the Istanbulites, until very late is usually ignored in studies of nineteenth-century imperial mosques.

The mosque plan with an inner courtyard – and, perhaps even more importantly, the tradition of building large mosque complexes within the city walls – came to be abandoned by the end of the eighteenth century. This architectural plan type, the last example of which is the Laleli Mosque, gave way to a single-domed, vertically elongated building type, the frontal facade of which would be covered by a large royal pavilion.[29] Possessing courtyards with less clearly delineated and more permeable boundaries, these mosques and their dependencies were not able to provide space for the urban activities that took place in the large, intramural imperial mosque complexes.

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Reorganizing the Institutions, Redefining 'the City', Redesigning the Imperial Mosque

An imperial command (*hatt-ı hümayun*), part of a series of official correspondence found in the Ottoman state archives, regarding the current situation of France in 1804, states that 'the French administration was in the hands of the wretched (*esafil*) since there was no king [to rule] in France and therefore no friendship should be expected from them'. Additionally, it warns the Ottoman administration about the books concerning the 'republic' and 'freedom' that 'the wretched' published in various [local] languages, such as Greek, Armenian, and Turkish, and sent to Mora and other places within the Ottoman territories.[30] Only years after the outbreak of the French Revolution, the Ottoman rulers were forced to face nationalist ideologies that threatened the empire's territorial integrity, their basis of legitimacy, and the imperial ideology. Their first reaction to this existential challenge was an attempt to restore and reinforce the imperial system by modernizing the military as well as administrative, bureaucratic, and legal institutions.[31] These Western-inspired reforms, initial fragmented attempts of which can also be found earlier in the eighteenth century, were first introduced as a comprehensive programme, called the New Order (Nizam-ı Cedid), by Selim III (*r.*1789–1807) in 1792. Over the next fifteen years, with infrastructural requirements emerging from the military reforms, along with the rehabilitation and renovation of existing military facilities, five extensive new barrack complexes were built outside the walled city [Figure 2]. The greatest of them, Selimiye Barracks, belonged to the newly established modern central imperial army. The Selimiye Mosque, also in Üsküdar, was inaugurated on April 5, 1805, just a few years after the completion of this monumental barracks. The mosque was located on a hilltop overlooking the vast barracks building, the

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Figure 2: Barrack complexes commissioned by Selim III (*r.*1789–1807), plan of Istanbul by Helmuth von Moltke (1839). (1) Barracks for the bombardiers and miners corps *(Humbaracı ve Lağımcı Ocağı)* in Hasköy, (2) Barracks for the artillery and cannon carriers corps *(Topçu ve Top Arabacıları Ocağı)* in Tophane, (3) Barracks for the artillery and cannon carriers corps *(Topçu ve Top Arabacıları Ocağı)* in Taksim, (4) Levend Çiftliği, (5) Selimiye Barracks.

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compound surrounding it, and the walled city. Selim III's clear preference for the location of his eponymous mosque underscored the importance he placed on the military reforms and also announced the personal connection between his new army and the city across the Bosphorus.

The Selimiye Mosque was located diagonally within a walled enclosure, on the northeast side of which a primary school, timekeeper's office, bathhouse, and fountains were aligned. When entering the courtyard, one would see the elongated northern facade of the mosque instead of the inner courtyard that all previously constructed imperial mosques possessed [Figure 3]. Its five-bay entrance portico led to the cubical prayer hall, which was smaller than most of the imperial mosques built in the walled city – and equivalent in size to royal women's mosques, such as the Ayazma Mosque, built in 1760–61 by Mustafa III, father of Selim III, in memory of his mother and brother.[32] On each side of the entrance portico were slender minarets and the two block-like lateral wings of the royal pavilion, which extended beyond the width of the prayer hall, the archetype of which could be found on the entrance facade of the Beylerbeyi Mosque (1778), built by Abdülhamid I in memory of his mother.

The imposing impact of the royal pavilion (*hünkar dairesi*) on the entrance facade of the mosque and the location of the royal tribune (*hünkar mahfili*) within the prayer hall were the continuation of an architectural experiment that began in the mid-eighteenth century.[33] It was also the first implementation of this spatial organization in an imperial mosque built for and by the sultan. In earlier classical mosques, the sultan's elevated tribune, a platform on

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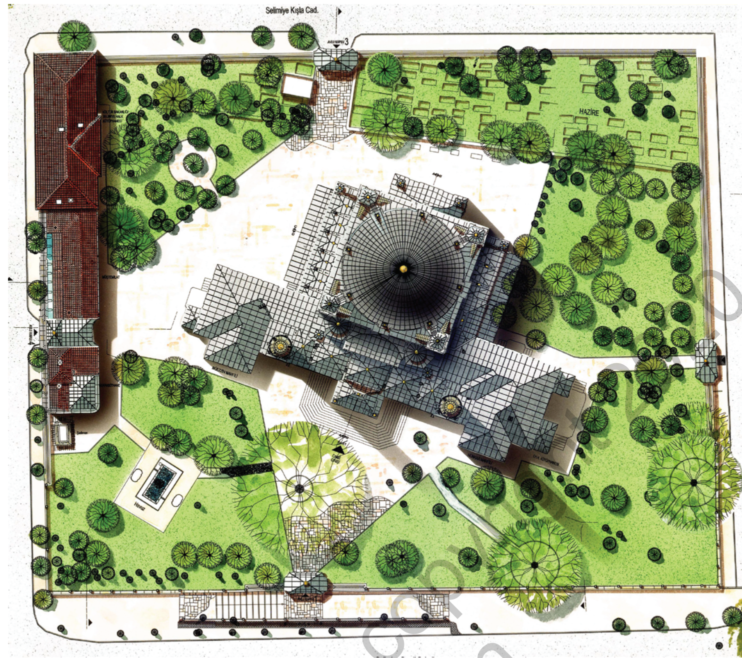

Figure 3: Site plan of the Üsküdar Selimiye Mosque. Courtesy of Avunduk Mimarlık.

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slender columns, was situated in the southeast corner of the prayer hall. It was only accessed through a modest private royal entrance and a narrow staircase. This simple architectural solution gave way to an elaborate scheme in the seventeenth century, with the attachment of a royal pavilion to the southeast of the mosque from the exterior. The sultan would enter this royal pavilion through an elaborate gate and a wide ramp, rather than via the unpretentious entrance, and would directly reach his elevated platform inside the mosque from there.[34] In addition, the pavilions contained rooms in which he and his entourage could rest after prayer. These royal pavilions created an imperial focal point near the mosque and stressed the prominence of the sultan. Additionally, the tribunes placed the sultan above and in front of his subjects, underlining both his privileged position and his religiosity, which was a fundamental component of imperial legitimacy.[35] However, in Selimiye the royal pavilion was situated above the entrance on the northern wall of the prayer hall, and the royal tribune was now a part of this pavilion, which was connected to the prayer hall through an arched opening [Figure 4]. This new spatial organization shifted the sultan's place in the prayer hall from anterior to posterior but provided him a more spacious palatial setting in a more liminal zone between the mosque and the city. This alteration, which set the trend for later imperial mosques, also suggested an architectural and ideological change in which the visibility of the state was more central and dominant.

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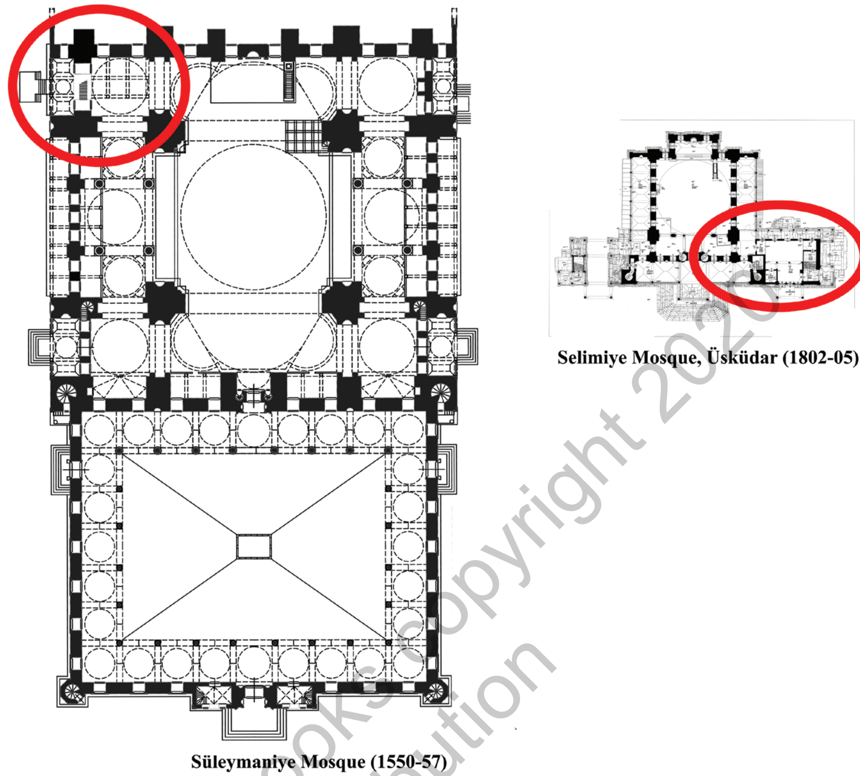

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Figure 4: Plans of Süleymaniye and Selimiye Mosques, showing the location of their royal tribunes. (The plans are proportional to each other) Left: Drawn by Arben N. Arapi, Source: archnet.org; Right: Courtesy of Avunduk Mimarlık.

The Selimiye Mosque's departure from architectural tradition was not limited to its location or its spatial organization but also included its status within the complex. Apart from its dependencies, it was also accompanied by numerous shops, a printing house, a bakery, various factories and workshops, and shoreline facilities for rowers and porters, all of which maintained fundamental spheres for urban life to flourish within the new military compound.[36] However, unprecedentedly, the mosque itself no longer constituted the focus of the complex. This was the most significant feature that distinguished the imperial mosques of the long nineteenth century from their predecessors. These mosques were mostly secondary buildings, shaped as satellites of military or palatial complexes. They no longer functioned as the chief determinants of daily life but took part in a social life shaped in accordance with the nature of the complex of which they were a part. Consequently, courtyards, which were the social spaces of classical imperial mosques, disappeared from the later mosques because the complexes of the late period already featured new social spaces that stemmed from their own raison d'être. For example, there were outdoor and indoor training areas in the barracks

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built in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where soldiers could congregate for various reasons. Therefore, the mosque did not need additional gathering spaces around it.

The barracks complexes built at the beginning of the long nineteenth century were located on the outskirts of the city as fully equipped urban centres. While the Selimiye barracks complex, as mentioned above, was built in the periphery of Üsküdar, occupying the grounds of the erstwhile Kavak Palace, the barracks for the Bombardiers and Miners Corps (Humbaracı ve Lağımcı Ocağı) were located in Hasköy, on the northern banks of the Golden Horn. Levend Çiftliği was situated further north, close to one of the main water supplies of the city. New barracks for the Cannon Carriers (Top Arabacıları) were located near the existing artillery barracks (Topçu Kışlaları) in Tophane, where the imperial cannon foundry (Tophane-i Amire) had been located for 300 years. Also, an additional barracks complex for the Artillery Corps (Topçu Ocağı) was built on the grounds of a mulberry orchard in Taksim, situated at the outer periphery of Pera [Figure 2]. In just a few decades, more were added to these barracks. However, this time most of them were situated in the valley behind the Beşiktaş waterfront palace, signalling major urban developments that would create a secondary centre for the capital.

In fact, the urban growth beyond the city walls, which occurred along the Golden Horn tributary but mostly along the suburban banks of the Bosphorus, had begun more than a century before.[37] However, there were scattered settlements both along the Golden Horn and to the north of the walled city of Galata.[38] In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, this growth became a full-scale urban transformation, which stemmed from the implementation of reforms based on Western models. When the Beşiktaş waterfront palace was rebuilt as the Dolmabahçe Palace by Sultan Abdülmecid I (*r.*1839–61) and became the permanent residence of the court in 1856, subsequent imperial building activities mainly clustered behind it. The shoreline between Tophane and Dolmabahçe Palace, the road between Taksim and Şişli – which also defined an interface between the newly established neighbourhoods for Muslim and non-Muslim elites – and finally the street that connected Dolmabahçe Palace to Teşvikiye formed the sides of a large zone that functioned as a new centre. Large barracks buildings, military schools and hospitals, new neighbourhoods, and the facilities necessary for a modern palace were all located in that area.

During this time, Abdülmecid I and his two successors, Abdülaziz (1861–76) and Abdülhamid II (1876–1908), built (or decided to build) their mosques in and around this new centre, along the shores of Bosphorus. Besides practical reasons – such as the lack of space in the walled city, or the affordability of smaller mosques along the seashore – the main reason for this choice of location must have been the need for symbolic and visual Islamic predominance in creating the new 'modern' centre, which was situated close to the centuries-old non-Muslim centre of the capital. The proclamation of the Gülhane Rescript in 1839, as part of the modernization process, changed the balance and the hierarchy between different confessional communities. Although the protection of the rights of all subjects, regardless of religious belief, was promised, the rulers needed to stress that the state's affiliation was with Islam.[39] Unease among Muslim subjects was a major concern.[40] The mosques that were built in the nineteenth century, with a novel architectural fashion

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and a new mentality, on the shores of the Bosphorus were thus creating the required dominant Islamic element in the silhouette of the new centre of the capital, similar to the silhouette of the walled city.

On an individual basis, they were built within or in very close proximity to the imperial palaces in which the sultans predominantly resided. Bezm-i Alem Valide Sultan Mosque was close to Dolmabahçe Palace; both the Küçük Mecidiye Mosque in Çırağan and the Büyük Mecidiye Mosque in Ortaköy hugged Çırağan Palace; the Aziziye Mosque was planned to be built behind the Dolmabahçe Mosque, at the place today known as Taşlık; finally, the Hamidiye Mosque and Yıldız Palace had a similar spatial relationship [Figure 5a-b]. They all were built by these sultans as small, semi-private mosques that belonged mainly to the palaces to which they were attached.

The interior spatial capacities of the later mosques were drastically smaller than their predecessors'. While a maximum of 400 people could fit for prayers in Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque, or 300 people in Büyük Mecidiye Mosque in Ortaköy, the capacity of Süleymaniye Mosque was 6000. Comparing the number of employees listed in the charitable foundations of Süleymaniye and Mecidiye Mosques in Çırağan makes it apparent that this dramatic spatial reduction also affected the number of people working in the imperial mosques [Figure 6]. The numbers of imams and preachers (*hatip* and *vaiz*) were similar, and the decrease in the number of muezzins could easily be explained by the decrease in the number of minarets from four to one. Likewise, the decrease in the number of employees working in support services could be related to the relatively limited requirements of a smaller space. However, the 213 people who were employed to recite certain prayers at specific times in the Süleymaniye Mosque were absent from the Mecidiye Mosque. Instead, a few of these recitations were made the duties of the first imam. Nine people (one *duagu şeyh* and eight *hatimhan*) were temporarily employed for special occasions. In addition to the differences between the relative centrality of their locations and their sizes, the scaling down of performances communicating the 'multi-sensorial messages of the divine' in the mosque signalled a change in the frequency and habits of users of the Mecidiye Mosque.[41] From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the increase in the number of official documents that warn Muslims to perform the five daily prayers in the mosques and request imams to inform judges (*kadı*) about people who did not attend mosques – and even order the punishment of people who did not attend prayers in mosques without a reasonable excuse – also indicate the changing praxes.[42] In one of the orders directed to the Chief Judge of Istanbul, the small size of congregations in the mosques and masjids of the capital was related directly to the Muslim Istanbulites' failure to perform the five daily prayers in these places.[43]

Seemingly, the imperial mosques of the nineteenth century were intended to serve the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods around them. For instance, the main purpose of the Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque's construction was stated in an archival document as 'to make the inhabitants of neighbourhoods close by the exalted imperial palace and the members of the army a partner of the virtues of the five times prayer' (*saray-ı mualla-yı tacidarileri*

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Figure 5a–b: Photograph and site plan showing the spatial relationship of Bezm-i Alem Valide Sultan Mosque and Dolmabahçe Palace.

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People responsible for reciting certain prayers at certain times (*Duaguyan*)	Number of people designated for the position in the *waqfiyya*	Number of people designated for the position in the *waqfiyya* of **Çırağan Mecidiye Mosque**
Cüzhan	120	0
Devirhan	10	First Imam
En'amcı	41	0
Yasinhan	1	First Imam
Tebarekehan	1	0
Ammehan	1	First Imam
Mühellil	20	0
Salavathan	10	0
Meddah	1	0
Muarrif	1	0
Musallî	6	0
Religious Officials		
Imam	2	2
Orator (*hatip*)	1	First Imam
Muezzin	24	3
Preacher (*vaiz*)	1	1
Maintanance support services		
Time keeper (*muvakkit*)	1	0
Qur'an reciter (*hafiz-ı mushaf*)	2	0
Distributor and collector of Qur'an fascicles (*müteferrik-i ecza*)	4	0
Overseer (*noktacı*)	2	0
Door keeper (*bevvab*)	2	1
Care taker (*kayyum*)	10	0
Sweeper (*ferras*)	2	0
Garbage collector (*kennas*)	2	0
Protector of the mosque perimeter (*nazır'ül-cudran*)	1	0
Supervisor of the oil lamps and illumination (*sirâcî*)	8	0
Incence lighter (*buhurî*)	1	0
Person responsible for filling pitchers for ablutions (*ibrikçi*)	1	0
Gardener (*bağban*)	1	0
Gas lamp lighter and custodian of the imperial lodge (*gazcı ve mahfel-i daire hümayun bekçisi*)	0	1

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Figure 6: Chart showing the number of employees listed in the charitable foundations of Süleymaniye and Çırağan Mecidiye Mosques. *Sources:* Kemal Edib Kürkçüoğlu ed., *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi* (Ankara: Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Nesriyati, 1962); Şefaattin Deniz, 'Sultan Abdülmecid Vakıflarından Çırağan Mecidiye Camii', *Vakıflar Dergisi* 43 (2015), 105–118.

civarındaki mahallat-ı islamiye ahalisiyle efrad-ı asakir-i nizamiye evkat-ı hamsede fezail-i cemaatten hissedar bilmek).[44] However, in contrast to the abundance of sources regarding various aspects of daily life in and around early modern mosques, there is hardly any evidence that this mosque was frequented by the 'desired' users or that it became a backdrop

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for any aspect of daily city life other than flamboyant Friday processions. When Friday ceremonies took place in these late Ottoman imperial mosques, the intended relationship that people would have had with the mosque was designed according to the perception from the outside. Seen from this perspective, the 'royal pavilions' (*hünkâr kasırları*), which overshadowed the mosques' prayer areas in terms of both scale and spatial organization, acquired a different meaning. It is certainly not surprising that, in a semi-private imperial mosque, the architectural aspect that represented the sultan himself was grander and more ostentatious. Another change in architectural design, the disappearance of the inner courtyard, is also meaningful in this regard. The inner courtyard became unacceptable by virtue of being an architectural element that would separate the royal pavilion, which symbolized the ruler, from the city and its people.

Friday Processions and 'The Mosque'

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Ottoman court was forced to return to the capital after 46 years of residence in Edirne following an upheaval in 1703, referred to as the Edirne Incident. The royal presence in Istanbul was critical to Istanbulites; thus, the court's visibility in the city became an essential tool in strengthening its legitimacy. New occasions for sacred ceremonies and secular festivals were instituted, and old ones were revived.[45] One of the key occasions on which the sultan could be seen and accessed by his subjects regularly was his procession to the Friday prayers in one of the city's mosques. These were not perceived as stately processions, as were the processions performed on religious holidays.

While eighteenth-century sources either do not mention the sultan's weekly visits to imperial mosques or give only the name of the mosque that was visited, nineteenth-century travellers' accounts provide detailed information on the Friday processions. For example, the geologist Hugh Edwin Strickland (*d.*1853), who visited Istanbul in 1836, recounts the visit of Sultan Mahmud II to a 'small mosque on the hill called Yeni-Djamie' for a Friday prayer. He writes, 'There was nothing very striking in the procession, which consisted of a few guards, pages, nobles and several of the Sultan's horses, in the midst of which Mahmoud himself appeared.'[46] He also seems not to have been impressed by the number of people who assembled to see the procession, which he reported was at most 100.

Another English traveller, Albert Smith, who spent a month in Istanbul in 1849, gives a detailed description of the Friday procession of Sultan Abdülmecid to the Beylerbeyi Mosque. He also expresses his disappointment: 'A dream of the Arabian Night had been somewhat harshly dispelled. I had seen a sultan and but for his fez, he might have passed for a simple foreign gentleman from Leicester Square.'[47]

Unlike the earlier, peripatetic Ottoman sultans of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, who seasonally moved between palaces and performed Friday prayers in different mosques every week, Abdülhamid II opted for a single centre of gravity, Yıldız Palace, where he resided in a semi-secluded fashion. This choice was a physical manifestation

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of Abdülhamid II's goal to consolidate and retain the power that had shifted toward the Sublime Porte (Bab-ı 'Ali) through the nineteenth century.[48] The Hamidiye Mosque, built within the boundaries of this palace by the end of 1885, acted as the palace's interface with the city.[49] In fact, it was transformed into 'the mosque' for that period. It was the sultan's predominant choice for all stately processions and the only place where his subjects encountered his physical presence. At a time when the central role of the caliphate was emphasized, these weekly ceremonies also helped construct the illusion of the caliph as a permanent and immobile centre.[50] I argue that making the Hamidiye Mosque the ultimate destination of these grandiose Friday processions and turning the masses from all over the city into essential participants, altered the physical boundaries of the mosque on a weekly basis, transforming the environs of the mosque into its courtyard and the city as a whole into a vast liminal space.

Georgina Adelaide Müller, the philologist Max Müller's wife, who watched one of the Friday ceremonies that took place in the Hamidiye Mosque in 1894, gives a detailed account of this procession. She notes that about 8000 soldiers were situated around the mosque. The carts that brought female dynasty members were waiting inside the courtyard, and the courtyard was filled with pashas, the sultan's aides-de-camp, and other state dignitaries in their elaborate uniforms. Going through this crowd, climbing the stairs that led to his private space in the royal pavilion, and returning to his palace using the same route was the sultan's only visible role in this procession. After the sultan took his place, pashas rushed inside the mosque using the main entrance, in order to join the prayer. Since the prayer hall could not accommodate all of the guests, prayer rugs were carried out to the courtyard for everyone to be able to participate.

Ambassadors and their companions, travellers and journalists who obtained permission to observe the ceremonies, and dignitaries who expected to be received by the sultan after the prayer, would watch the procession from embassy kiosks across from the Hamidiye Mosque, near the entrance to the palace.[51] Attending the Friday processions was mandatory for all the princes and dignitaries as well as selected high-ranking officers, and it was unacceptable for anyone to be absent without a valid excuse. Attendance and absences (along with reasons for absence), as well as ranks, official posts, classes, and the names of dignitaries and officers, were recorded in very detailed weekly charts. According to a chart prepared for the Friday procession that took place on March 20, 1908, 120 high-ranking officers were expected to attend, aside from the military corps.[52] This number changed from week to week, and the accounts were kept on a regular basis. There was also a section on these charts where opinions about each person were noted, which reveals the importance of Friday prayers as a tool of superintendence. This way both civilian dignitaries and military officers were constantly monitored by the central authority and had to declare their absolute obedience to the sultan periodically.

Another significant alteration to the Friday processions during the Hamidian Era was the regular and broad participation of numerous military regiments in the ceremony. A few days before every procession, various military groups would be summoned to attend

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the Friday ceremony. The pompous march of those regiments, accompanied by anthems, would start from their barracks, located in different corners of the capital. Using various routes, they would approach the Hamidiye Mosque in Yıldız, where they lined up and paid their tributes to their commander-in-chief. Among these military groups were regiments formed by soldiers from all over the empire, such as the Plevna regiment, the Albanian Imperial Guard Battalion known as Fesli Zuhaf, the Arab Imperial Guard Battalion known as Sarıklı Zuhaf, and the Ertuğrul Cavalry Guard Regiment, named after the eponymous father of Osman Gazi, the first sultan. The composite character of the regiments marching through the city every week would point to the grandeur of the empire as well as of the sultan himself.

Samuel Sullivan Cox, an American congressman who came to Istanbul in 1885 with a diplomatic mission, wrote in his memoirs:

> What a splendid attraction it is for the populace of Constantinople! What a fete day once every week! What a variety of the soldiers! What a changeable aspect the soldiers present from week to week! Today a regiment from Soudan, tomorrow a battalion from Albania. Each Friday there is a new greeting to new people of strange and distant parts of the World.[53]

The new concept of 'Ottoman Citizenry'[54] that the Abdülhamid administration proposed, to unite all Muslim elements – irrespective of ethnicity – under the only legitimate authority, the sultan himself, is reflected in this account. It also draws a picture in which the whole city becomes the stage for the Friday procession. A series of documents found in the Ottoman archives reveals which regiments attended which Friday processions and from which barracks they came.[55] According to these documents, from the 1890s onward, the groups attending the Friday processions came to be standardized: one battalion from the Ministry of War (Bab-ı Seraskeri), ten battalions from the vicinity of Yıldız, the fourth cavalry regiment from the Gümüşsuyu barracks and Şişli and Zincirli guardhouses, the Ertuğrul Cavalry regiment – some from Davudpaşa barracks and some from the vicinity of Yıldız Palace, the First Lancer Cavalry Regiment (*süvari mızraklı birinci alayı*) from Davudpaşa, a troop from the Beyoğlu Bombardiers Barracks, and the naval battalion from the imperial arsenal. Although the number of soldiers varied from week to week, the participation of these regiments became a regular feature of the ceremony [Figure 7].

The march of these large groups of soldiers along various routes through the city every Friday probably created a new routine in the daily life of Istanbulites. Fausto Zonaro (*d.*1929), the court painter of Sultan Abdülhamid II, portrayed a very lively scene from this routine in one of his paintings, in which he depicted the Ertuğrul Cavalry regiment passing through the Galata Bridge on the march from their barracks in Davudpaşa to Yıldız [Figure 8]. In his memoirs, he also described his first encounter with the Ertuğrul Cavalry, on a Friday morning in the spring of 1894. He first portrays the soundscape by recounting the 'rather familiar march approaching from a distance', the 'March of the Ertuğrul Regiment', and 'the rhythmic sounds of the trained horse's shoes'. Then, he continues,

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Figure 7: Abdülhamid II going to the Hamidiye Mosque for a Friday Prayer, surrounded by soldiers.

Figure 8: Fausto Zonaro, 'The Imperial Regiment of the Ertugrul on the Galata Bridge'. Courtesy of the National Palaces Painting Museum, Istanbul.

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I stand leaning against the railing on the left side of the Bridge, and there, in front of the scene of distant mosques appears a stream of red pennons and the white silhouettes of the horses can be distinguished. I wait.

The regiment approaches in strict lines, their footsteps in tune with the music. It is an extraordinary spectacle. I watch this official parade with great interest. First the music, then the Commander Pasha, the officers, followed by the Regimental Banner and snow-white horses arranged in lines with their stiff-backed, sparkling cavalrymen in their green uniforms, and in a dazzling light, the red pennants rising up to the fiery sunfilled sky.[56]

A very detailed attendance chart, from approximately six years after Zonaro's first encounter with the Ertuğrul regiment, informs us that 388 cavalries and 61 soldiers from the court band unit (*mızıka bölüğü*) marched from the Davudpaşa Barracks to the Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque on August 17, 1900, for the procession [Figure 9].[57]

To understand the dynamism that Friday processions created throughout the city, one should imagine a scene in which approximately 500 soldiers, at least 80 per cent of them on their horses, leave their barracks in Davudpaşa. Along the way, they meet up with another regiment of 500 coming from their barracks in Rami, located, like Davudpaşa, in the outer peripheries of the city. Entering the city from Edirnekapı as a group of 1000 soldiers, most of them on their horses, they march along the road near Fatih Mosque and join another regiment (*1. fırka 1. tabur*) coming from the Ministry of War (Bab-ı Seraskeri), comprising at least 100 soldiers on foot. Those 1100 soldiers, most on horseback, would march together in great splendour through the narrow roads of the walled city. After they crossed the Galata Bridge, they would go to Beşiktaş. Meanwhile, another military group would take the Kasımpaşa–Şişhane–Cadde-i Kebir (today İstiklal Caddesi)–Maçka–Beşiktaş route, and, after joining the previously mentioned group, they would parade up the steep hill toward the Hamidiye Mosque [Figure 10].[58]

The music played, the noise and the dusty smell of the horses filled the air, the uniforms and banners of the regiments created a dense visual picture as they marched, one after another, through the city. And then, a still, deep silence, followed by organized chanting of 'long live the Sultan' (*padişahım çok yaşa*) at the Hamidiye Mosque. These sensory experiences allowed people who lived in different parts of the city to temporarily move into a liminal state of mind, between their daily routines and the extravagant procession that sought to trigger the feeling of belonging to a grand empire by being part of such a vast procession as a proud citizen. Although it had a limited inner space, the Hamidiye Mosque, as the centre stage of this weekly performance, used its own vicinity, namely the Yıldız Valley, as an outer courtyard, thus redefining its own boundaries [Figure 11]. The absolute silence around the mosque also created yet another threshold between the mosque and the rest of the city.

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	hayvanat						musika bölüğü									
	gayri		mevcudi													
mahall-i ikameti	yekun-ı kaffesi	tüfenkçi-i hazret-i şehriyari bölüğünde	yekun	mekkari ve ester	binek	yekun-ı kafiyesi	yekun	neferat	onbaşı	bölük emini	çavuş	ser çavuş	mülazım-ı sani	mülazım-ı evvel	yüzbaşı	yekun-ı alay
davudpaşa kışla-i hümayununda	259	1	258	15	243	449	61	42	7	1	3	2	3	2	1	388
yıldız sarayı aliyyesi civarında	316		316	20	296	391										391
yekun	575	1	574	35	539	840	61	42	7	1	3	2	3	2	1	779

	gayr-ı mevcudu							yekun-ı mevcudu														
		neferen							sıra harici													
mahall-i ikameti	yekun-ı gayri	alay-ı sairede	na-mezun	Liverpol'da	Almanyada, Fransada	tebdil-i havada ve sılada	hastahanede	yekun-ı mevcudu	onbaşı	çavuş	alay çavuşu.	boruzan	esnafat	Neferat	onbaşı	bölük emini	çavuş	ser çavuş	mülazım-ı sani	mülazım-ı evvel	yüzbaşı vekili	yüzbaşı-yı evvel
davudpaşa kışla-i hümayununda	51	6	1	1	2	35	6	337	8	5	3	18	14	215	25	2	1	2	5	3	3	4
yıldız sarayı aliyyesi civarında	45	2				32	11	346		1	2		20	249	38	3	3	3	5	11	3	4
yekun	96	8	1	1	2	67	17	683	8	6	5	18	24	464	63	5	4	5	10	14	6	8

	merâ ve erkân																		
mahall-i ikameti	yekun		tüfenkçi ustası	sancakdar yüzbaşı vekili	yaver yüzbaşı	esvabcı yüzbaşı	eczacı	eczacı yüzbaşı	imam	katib-i sani	baytar ve cerrah kol ağası	katib-i alay	kolağası	emin-i alay	binbaşı ma'a cerrah ve misafir	kaimakam ma'a tabib	miralay ma'a baytar	mirliva ve muallim	ferik
davudpaşa kışla-i hümayununda	29		1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	5	1	2	3	2	2	2
yıldız sarayı aliyyesi civarında	4										1				2	1			
yekun	33		1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	1	5	1	4	4	2	2	2

vukuat

firari
.... macar
1

tebdil-i havadan amedi
neferen
1

sılaya refti
neferen
1

bir hafta zarfında hastahaneye gidüb gelen efrad-ı şahanenin mikdarı
hasta-i amedi neferen 4
hasta-i refti neferen 7

hassa piyade ikinci fırka-i hümayuna mensub süvari anadolu alay-ı hümayunlarının mevcud ve gayr-i mevcuduyla bir hafta zarfında zuhura gelen vukuatını mübeyyin işbu bir kıta jurnali bi't-tanzim atabe-i felek mertebe-i cenab-ı Hilafet-penahilerine takdim kılınmış olmağın ol babda ve herhalde emr u ferman veliyy-i nimet-i bî-minnetimiz sevgili padişahımız efendimiz hazretlerinindir.
an-kulları ferik süleyman faik b. halil fi 3 ağustos sene [1]316

Figure 9: Document showing the detailed attendance chart to the Friday Procession in 17.08.1900, Ottoman Archives Y.PRK.ASK 163-40/2.

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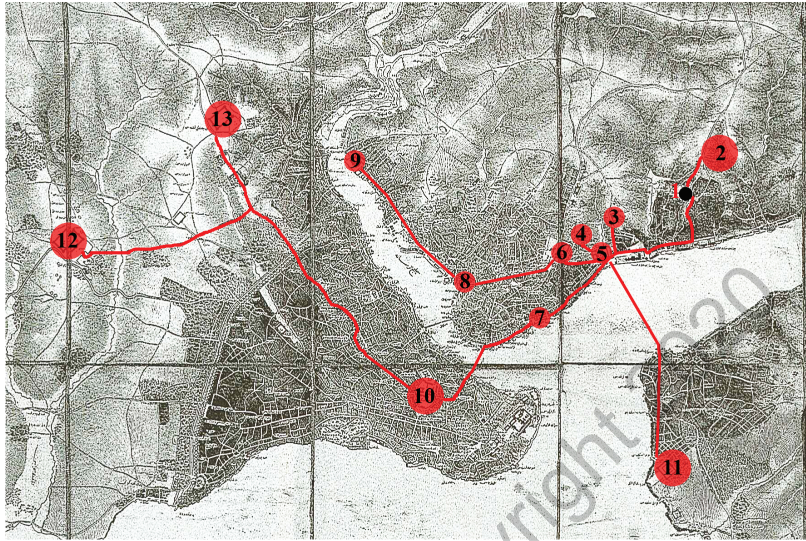

Figure 10: Map showing routes of different regiments going from their barracks to the Hamidiye Mosque. *Drawn by the author*. Plan of Istanbul by Helmuth von Moltke (1839). (1) Hamidiye Mosque in Yıldız, (2) Ertuğrul and Orhaniye Barracks behind the Yıldız Palace, (3) Maçka Barracks, (4) Mecidiye Artillery Barracks (*Taşkışla*), (5) Gümüşsuyu Barracks, (6) Barracks for the artillery and cannon carriers corps (*Topçu ve Top Arabacıları Ocağı*) in Taksim, (7) Barracks for the artillery and cannon carriers corps (*Topçu ve Top Arabacıları Ocağı*) in Tophane, (8) Imperial arsenal, (9) Barracks for the bombardiers and miners corps (*Humbaracı ve Lağımcı Ocağı*) in Hasköy, (10) Ministry of War near Bayezid Square, (11) Selimiye Barracks in Üsküdar, (12) Davudpaşa Barracks, (13) Rami Barracks.

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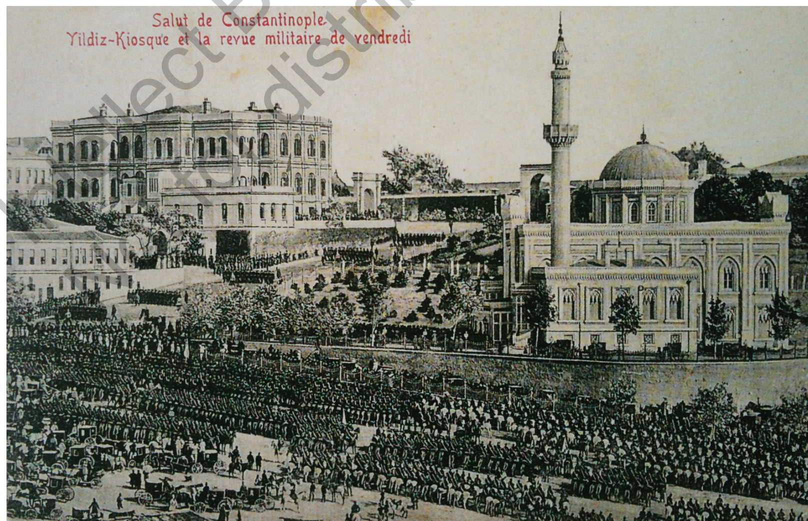

Figure 11: Photograph showing a part of the Yıldız valley during a Friday procession.

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Conclusion

The imperial mosques of Istanbul were not only monumental buildings that symbolized imperial power and authority but also spaces that were socially produced by the people of Istanbul. This paper illustrated the changing relationship between the imperial mosques of Istanbul and the city during the long nineteenth century, from a bottom-up perspective, by exploring how spatial experiences and practices in and around these mosques changed over time.

As stated in the first section of this paper, in the early modern era the imperial mosques were all located inside the city walls of Istanbul and were enclosed by organically formed residential or commercial areas. Although the boundaries of the liminal spaces between the mosques and the city were defined by high walls surrounding the mosques, their functions were not. With the diverse functions that took place within them, these liminal spaces, namely the inner and outer courtyards of imperial mosques, formed the nuclei of social life.

Like the city itself, imperial mosques were adapted to the changing needs of the state, especially during the long nineteenth century, when the administrative and socioeconomic structure of the empire was transformed. These new imperial mosques were located outside of the walled city, mostly within newly established barracks or palatial complexes. They were no longer the focus of the complexes of which they were parts, and although they were physically more connected to their environments, with their almost non-existent boundaries and light, porous walls, the social life around them was not as lively as that of their predecessors. While the early modern imperial mosques retained their primacy in the life of the city until the last days of the empire, the later imperial mosques were mostly perceived by their users as scenes of spectacle.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the support of the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED) at Koç University, the Istanbul Research Institute, SALT and The Barakat Trust during various stages of my research. I would also like to thank Sibel Bozdoğan, Elvan Cobb, Ezgi Dikici, Cemal Kafadar, Hakan Karateke, K. Mehmet Kentel, Meredith Moss Quinn, Akın Sefer, Melis Taner, Deniz Türker, and Suzan Yalman for their invaluable insights and constructive criticism.

Notes

1 For detailed information on the regularization of the capital's urban fabric during the nineteenth century, see Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 49–82.

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2 Çelik, *Remaking of Istanbul*; and Yonca Köksal, 'Urban Space and Nationalism: Changing Local Networks in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire', in *Social and Historical Studies on Greece and Turkey*, eds Çağlar Keyder and Thalia Dragonas (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2010), 35–52.

3 Doğan Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında Bir Deneme* (Istanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1954); Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971); Ayda Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl Istanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci* (Istanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1975); Aptullah Kuran, 'The Evolution of the Sultan's Pavilion in Ottoman Imperial Mosques', *Islamic Art* 4 (1990–91): 281–300; Betül Bakır, *Mimaride Rönesans ve Barok: Osmanlı Başkenti Istanbul'da Etkileri* (Ankara: Nobel Yayın Dağıtım, 2003); and Gözde Çelik, 'Sultan Abdülmecid'in Istanbul'da Yaptırdığı Camiler', in *Nakş-ı Istanbul – Ortaköy Büyük Mecidiye Camii*, ed. Ahmet Uçar (Istanbul: Gürsoy Grup, 2015), 121–53.

4 Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 18–22.

5 For a general overview of building activities in Istanbul after 1453, see Halil İnalcık, 'Istanbul: An Islamic City', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990): 1–23; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*; and Gülru Necipoğlu, 'From Byzantine Constantinople to Ottoman Kostantiniyye: Creation of a Cosmopolitan Capital and Visual Culture under Sultan Mehmed II', in *From Byzantion to Istanbul: 8000 Years of a Capital* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2010), 263–76.

6 In *Fatih Devri*, Ayverdi lists 192 mosques in Istanbul. In *Istanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri*, he and Barkan list 190 mosques in addition to 17 converted churches. See Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fatih Devri Mimarisi,* vol. 3 (Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Neşriyatı, 1953), 538–41, Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri*: 953 (1546) târîhli, (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1970), 11.

7 Ayvansarayi Hafız Hüseyin Efendi, Ali Satı Efendi, and Süleyman Besim Efendi, *Hadikatü'l-Cevami (İstanbul Camileri ve Diğer Dini-Sivil Mimari Yapılar),* vols. 1–2, ed. Ahmed Nezih Galitekin (Istanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2001).

8 These ten mosques were Hagia Sophia, the Mosques of Mehmed II, Bayezid II, Selim I, and Şehzade Sultan Mehmed, as well as Süleymaniye, Sultan Ahmed, Valide Sultan (in Eminönü), [Nur-u] Osmaniye, and Laleli Mosques.

9 For detailed information on the location selection criteria for the classical imperial mosques of Istanbul, see Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), 117.

10 The Friday mosques that were built by the women of the dynasty were smaller in size, less grandiose, and lacked some of the architectural features that were considered imperial prerogatives, such as marble-paved inner courtyards or multiple minarets with several galleries. Most of them were surrounded by dependencies such as madrasas, public baths, imarets, or caravanserais, creating a rich sociocultural environment around them. They would either be located intra muros where certain social functions were deficient or needed, such as in the case of Haseki Complex in Avratpazarı, or in the townships of Üsküdar, Eyüp, and Galata. See Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*; Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan: Women and Gender in the Early*

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Modern World (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Marianne Boqvist, 'Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World', *Journal of Early Modern History* 12.5 (2008): 452–54; and Muzaffer Özgüleş, *The Women Who Built the Ottoman World: Female Patronage and the Architectural Legacy of Gulnus Sultan* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2017). Although the term 'imperial mosque' (*cevami-i selatin*) refers both to the Friday mosques built by and for the sultans and to those built by and/or for the women of the imperial household, in this chapter I will use the term rather restrictively, to refer to the former. For the significations of the imperial mosques and a general synopsis, see Howard Crane, 'The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy', in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, eds Irene A. Bierman, Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1991), 173–243.

11 Çelik, *Remaking of Istanbul*, 49–81.

12 Ayvansarayi Hafız Hüseyin Efendi, Ali Satı Efendi, and Süleyman Besim Efendi, *Hadika't-ül Cevami*, 44, 50, 53, 56, 57, 58. (There is contradicting information on the neighbourhood of the Selim I Mosque in two different copies of *Hadikat'ül Cevami*, 56n7.)

13 Remzi Duran, *Selatin Camilerindeki Avlu Sütunlarının Madeni Bileziklerine Hakkedilmiş Yazılar Üzerine, D.E.Ü. İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol. 11 (İzmir, 1998), 135–40. See also, Nazif Arıman, *İstanbul'un Bilezik Yazıları* (Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş., 2018).

14 Aysel Yıldız, *Crisis and Rebellion in the Ottoman Empire: The Downfall of a Sultan in the Age of Revolution* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2016), 32.

15 The political demonstrations at Tahrir Square, Cairo, in 2011, Occupy Wall Street protests at Zuccotti Park near New York City's Wall Street financial district in 2011–12, and Gezi Protests in Gezi Parkı, Istanbul, in 2013 are some of the examples that come to mind regarding the use of squares and large city parks in contemporary times.

16 Kemal Beydilli, ed., *Osmanlı Döneminde İmamlar ve Bir İmamın Günlüğü* (Istanbul: TATAV Yayınları, 2001), 115.

17 On the transformation of Bayezid Mosque's outer courtyard to Bayezid Square, see Neşe Gürallar, *Emergence of Modern Public Space from a Traditional Mosque Courtyard* (Saarbrücken, Istanbul: Verlag Dr. Müller, 2009); and Turgut Akbaş, *Osmanlı Istanbul'unda Bâyezid Meydani ve Tarihi Çevresi* (MA thesis, İÜ, Istanbul, 2011).

18 Ottoman Archives (Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives) C.BLD. 89–4413, (1185) *İstanbul'da Bayezid Camii avlusunda bir kasap dükkanı gediği mahlul olup, müstahakkına İstanbul kasabbaşısı ve kethüdalar sekbanbaşı Yusuf Ağa'ya inha etmekle ol vechile tevcihi*.

19 On trade activities in the inner and outer courtyards of mosques, see documents from the Ottoman Archives Y.A.HUS.163-131, BEO 220-16439, BEO 215-16079, BEO 296-22189.

20 On demolitions of unlicensed buildings in the outer courtyards of mosques, see Ottoman Archives IMVL 485-21974.

21 For more information on Ramadan Exhibitions, see Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet Merasim ve Tabirleri Toplum Hayatı* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), 251–53; '*Beyazıt Camii ve Külliyesi*' in TDVİA, vol. 6, 47; and Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 152.

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22 I would like to thank Prof. Mehmet Kalpaklı for bringing the case of Zati (*d.*1546), the renowned sixteenth-century poet, to my attention as an earlier example of people perceiving mosque courtyards as places where they could interact with the state. After being disfavoured by the court, Zati began writing amulets and working as a fortune-teller (*remmal*) at the inner courtyard of the Bayezid Mosque, with the hope of presenting his new work to the state elite and winning back the favour of the court. For more information on the poet Zati, see Sooyong Kim, 'Minding the Shop: Zati and the Making of Ottoman Poetry in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century' (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2005).

23 Mosque inner courtyards, apart from their function of protecting the populace during disasters, also exhibit a much more clichéd protection function. Even today, newborn babies who lack parental care are frequently left in mosque courtyards with the hope that they will be adopted by someone who can care for them. In the early modern era, imperial mosques were considered prime places to abandon babies because people thought that they would grow up near wealthy people connected to the palace. Should the baby be a girl, the probability that the child would be supported by the government until she married was relatively high. See Ottoman Archives A..}MKT.MVL 79-61, 1272.

24 Derviş Efendi-Zade Derviş Mustafa, *1196–1782 Yangınları, Harik Risalesi*, ed. Hüsamettin Aksu (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994), 40.

25 The pools built in the outer courtyards of the Beyazıd, Laleli, Süleymaniye, and Nuruosmaniye Mosques in the late eighteenth century were also added to the list of precautions taken against the Istanbul fires. Though the water that accumulated within these pools was supposed to be used against fires within the city, it can be speculated that people who took shelter in the mosque and its courtyard used it to protect themselves and the building. See Ottoman Archives HAT 239-13342.

26 This is also mentioned by other writers from earlier and later periods. See Ertuğrul Oral, 'Tarih-i Gılmani' (PhD diss., Marmara University, Istanbul, 2000), 9; and *Abdülaziz Bey Osmanlı Adet Merasim ve Tabirleri Toplum Hayatı (Âdet ve Merâsim-ı Kadime, Tabirat ve Muamelât-ı Kavmiye-i Osmaniye)*, eds Kazım Arısan and Duygu Arısan Günay (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), 268.

27 Fındıklılı Şemdanizade Süleyman Efendi, *Mür'i't-Tevarih,* vol.1, ed. Münir Aktepe (Istanbul: Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1978), 3.

28 Taylesanizade Hafız Abdullah Efendi, *İstanbul'un Uzun Dört Yılı (1785–1789)*, ed. Feridun Emecen (Istanbul: TATAV, 2003), 184–85.

29 In his book *The Panorama of the History* (*Mür'it Tevarih*), Şemdanizade Süleyman Efendi uses a conscious and descriptive vocabulary when depicting buildings. His choice of the word '*mualla*', which can either mean 'glorious' or 'elevated/high', when describing imperial mosques such as the Nuru Osmaniye, Ayazma, Laleli, and Zeyneb Sultan Mosques, may point to Şemdanizade's – and, consequently, Istanbulites' – awareness of the elongating vertical proportions of mosques in that era, compared to the classical proportions.

30 Ottoman Archives HAT 139-5763.

31 Elif Andaç, 'Transnational Ideologies and State Building: The Ottoman Empire in Transition', *Political Power and Social Theory* 20 (2009): 133–66. For a general overview of the New Order (*Nizam-ı Cedid*) Reforms and their aftermath, see Virginia Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*

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1700–1870: An Empire Besieged (Harlow: Longman/Pearson, 2007), 180–206; Frederick F. Anscombe, *State, Faith, and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 33–60; Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789–1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Aysel Yıldız, *Crisis and Rebellion in the Ottoman Empire: The Downfall of a Sultan in the Age of Revolution* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2016); and Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016).

32 Üsküdar, one of the three boroughs of Ottoman Istanbul (*bilad-ı selase*), housed many imperial mosque complexes built by and for the women of the Ottoman dynasty, the nearest example of which was Ayazma Mosque, built in 1760–61 by Mustafa III, father of Selim III, in memory of his mother and brother, Şehzade Süleyman. However, the Selimiye Mosque marked the first time that an Ottoman sultan built an eponymous mosque there.

33 For a general synopsis of the eighteenth-century imperial mosques, see Ünver Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque: The Architectural Refashioning of Eighteenth-Century Istanbul* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019).

34 According to Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, the spatial organization of the new mosque of Mehmed II, especially its royal pavilion, was novel among the architecture of Ottoman congregational mosques, marking a radical change in the Ottoman style of rulership. See Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 79. For detailed information on the development of royal tribunes and pavilions in the early modern era, see Abdüllah Kuran, 'The Evolution of the Sultan's Pavilion in Ottoman Imperial Mosques', *Islamic Art* 4 (1991): 281–300.

35 Hakan T. Karateke, 'Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate: A Framework for Historical Analysis', in *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, eds Hakan T. Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), 13–54.

36 Gözde Ramazanoğlu, 'Osmanlı Yenileşme Hareketleri İçerisinde Selimiye Kışlası ve Yerleşim Alanı' (PhD diss., Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2003); and Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*.

37 For cultural and urban transformations in Istanbul throughout the eighteenth century, see Tülay Artan, 'Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth-Century Bosporus' (PhD diss., MIT, 1989); and Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).

38 See Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan, *Istanbul tarihi: XVII. asırda Istanbul*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan, ed. Kevork Pamukciyan (Cağaloğlu, Istanbul: Eren, 1988); P. İncicyan, *Onsekizinci Asırda Istanbul* (Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1976); and Sarraf Sarkis Hovhannesyan, *Payitaht Istanbul'un tarihçesi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakdı Yurt Yayınları, 1996).

39 http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e753, accessed November 26, 2017.

40 Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Tezakir (1–12)*, ed. Cavid Baysun (Ankara: TTK, 1991), 68–72.

41 See Nina Ergin, 'A Multi-Sensorial Message of the Divine and the Personal: Qur'anic Inscriptions and Recitation in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Mosques', in *Calligraphy in Islamic Architecture: Space, Form, and Function*, eds Mohammad Gharipour and Irvin C. Schick (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 105–18; and Nina Ergin, 'The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context', *Art Bulletin* 96.1 (2014): 70–97.

42 For examples of these documents, see Ottoman Archives A.}MKT. 86-85, A.}MKT.NZD. 21-75, A.}MKT.NZD. 297-57, A.}MKT.UM.. 118-63, A.}MKT.UM.. 118-65, A.}MKT.UM..

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119-18, A.}MKT.UM.. 119-75, A.}MKT.UM.. 120-51, A.}MKT.UM.. 121-24, A.}MKT.UM.. 122-47, A.}MKT.UM.. 122-50, A.}MKT.UM.. 122-67, A.}MKT.UM.. 123-11, A.}MKT.UM.. 124-14. A significant number of these type of documents are dated to 1852–53. The signs of this increase can also be traced in the accounts of Ahmed Lütfi Efendi (1816–1907) for the year 1853: Advice for performing the prayers; Muslim people are warned by an announcement which elucidates that [the people that are] reluctant to attend the five prayers – which is the basis of the people of Islam and the pillar of the true religion – regularly will be subjected to an admonition (*tenbih-i salat; ehl-i İslam'ın esas ve imad-ı din-i mübini olan salavat-ı hamsenin cema'atle müdavemetde tekasül edenler haklarında ta'zirat-ı şer'iyye icra olunacağı efrad-ı müslimeye i'lan ile tenbih olundu*).

43 Firman registers of Istanbul court (no. 213), p. 102 (21.6.1847): all faithful Muslims are obliged to perform the five daily prayers, the most protected symbol of Islam, with the congregation regularly. Despite the warnings issued from time to time in this regard, some people – although they do not face any obstacles – idle away time, which causes the esteemed mosques and masjids to be empty (*şe'a'ir-i islamiyyenin en takvası olan salat-ı hamse-i mefruzayı cemaatle edaya müdavemet etmek kaffe-i mü'minin-i muvahhidine lazime-i zimmet olup bu babda aralık aralık tenbihat-ı mukteziye icra olunmakta ise de bazı kesan bir gune mevanim ve maslahatı olmadığı halde öteye beruye beyhude vakit geçirerek ka'in cevami' ve mesacid-i şerifenin cema'atten hali kalmasını mucib olup*). For the transliteration and analysis of the whole register, see Ahmet Eryüksel, 'Istanbul Kadılığı 213 No.lu Ferman Defterine Göre 1831–1863 Senelerinde Sosyal ve İktisadi Hayata Dair Kararlar' (MA thesis, Istanbul University, 1990).

44 Ottoman Archives Y.PRK.AZJ. 9–99.

45 Hamadeh, *City's Pleasures*, 51.

46 Hugh Edwin Strickland, *Memoirs of Hugh Edwin Strickland*, ed. William Jardine (London: John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row, 1858), 102.

47 Albert Smith, *A Month in Constantinople* (London: D. Bogue, 1850), 102–06.

48 From the early nineteenth century on, princes were allowed to attend Friday ceremonies in the mosques of their choosing. Despite the relative simplicity of the Friday processions compared to those that took place on religious holidays, this critical change must have affected the visibility of the imperial family in the city. During the Hamidian Era, Abdülhamid II specifically chose members of the high-ranking elite and sent them to certain imperial mosques, such as Hagia Sophia, Sultan Ahmed, or Süleymaniye, to attend Friday prayers. As representatives of the sultan, these individuals should also have played an intermediary role in transmitting the vibes of authority and power that accumulated in Yıldız.

49 A contract was arranged for the construction in the first months of 1883 (Ottoman Archives Y.PRK.BSK.6-83), and a ground-breaking ceremony took place on October 28 of the same year (Ottoman Archives Y.PRK.AZJ. 9-99). On the inscription panel, the construction date of the mosque is recorded as 1885. For more information about the building process and the architecture of Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque, see Selman Can, *Yıldız Camii'nin İnşası ve Mimarına İlişkin Yeni Bilgiler, 'Nurhan Atasoy'a Armağan'*, ed. Ahmet Akcan (Istanbul: Lale Yayıncılık, 2014), 59–67; Ahmet Ersoy, 'Aykırı Binanın Saklı Kalfası: Hamidiye Camisi ve Nikolaos Tzelepis (Celebis)', *Batılılaşan Istanbul'un Rum Mimarları,* (Istanbul: Tavaslı

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Yayıncılık , 2010), 104–17; Selçuk Batur, 'Yıldız Camii', *DBİA* vol. 7 (1994): 514; and Selman Can, 'Yıldız Camii', *DVİA,* vol. 43 (2013): 540–41.

50 For an example of a very similar use of ceremonies as a tool for stressing the vital role of the caliphate, see Paula Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994).

51 Theophile Gautier, who visited Istanbul in the early 1850s, records that he watched the Eid procession of Sultan Abdülmecid I from within an old building with many windows just near the Hagia Irene. It is known that such temporary structures were built so that non-Muslims could watch significant religious ceremonies from the early nineteenth century on. These can be perceived as predecessors to the embassy kiosk that became permanent during the second half of the Hamidian Era. See Théophile Gautier, *Constantinople* (Paris: Michel Levy Freres, 1856), 243–44.

52 Ottoman Archives Y.PRK.ASK. 254-89.

53 Samuel Sullivan Cox, *Diversions of a Diplomat in Turkey* (New York: C. L. Webster & Company, 1893), 34–35.

54 Selim Deringil, 'The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908', *Comparative Study of Society and History*, 35.1 (January, 1993): 3–29.

55 Ottoman Archives Y.PRK.ASK. 13-42; 38-95; 23-29; 31-55; 33-16; 38-95; 41-7; 41-79; 50-70; 68-83; 76-41; 98-96; 104-80; 106-73; 110-49; 159-22; 162-50; 163-40; 163-100; 178-53; 180-8; 184-46; 199-61; 207-58; 208-33; 208-89; 211-15; 213-1; 217-36; 224-120; 225-12; 225-140; 226-55; 228-11; 230-100; 231-42; 234-89; 240-21; 243-60; 244-8; 247-29; 247-101; 248-96; 251-1; 252-81; 253-63; 254-13; 254-89; 162-21; Y.PRK.SGE. 5-102; Y.PRK.TŞF. 5-71; 6-53; 7-30; 8-9; 7-34; 7-41; 7-51; 7-55; 7-58; 8-25; 8-44; Y.PRK.ZB. 32-32; Y.PRK.BŞK. 69-30; Y.PRK.MYD. 26-22; Y.PRK.HH. 37-14; Y.PRK.MYD. 26-105; Y.MTV. 20-98; 73-46.

56 Fausto Zonaro, *Twenty Years under the Reign of Abdülhamid: The Memoirs and Works of Fausto Zonaro,* eds Erol Makzume and Cesare Mario (Istanbul: G Yayın grubu, 2011), 97.

57 Additionally, it includes meticulous information on the excuses of ninety-six soldiers of that regiment who were not able to attend the procession: seventeen were in hospital, sixty-seven were on duty in other places, two were in Germany and France with various missions, two were penalized, and eight were on duty in other regiments. See Ottoman Archives Y.PRK. ASK. 163-40.

58 Hakan Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa: Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüz Yılında Merasimler*, (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), 108.

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