
11TH
INTERNATIONAL
ANAMED ANNUAL
SYMPOSIUM

Sacred Spaces and Urban Networks

© Koç University Research Center
for Anatolian Civilizations
(ANAMED), 2019

KOÇ UNIVERSITY SUNA KIRAÇ LIBRARY

CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

International ANAMED Annual
Symposium Sacred spaces, urban networks
/ authors : Ayşe Belgin-Henry, Paolo
Girardelli, Rachel Goshgarian, Christina
Maranci, Zeynep Oğuz Kursar, Robert
Ousterhout, A. Hilâl Uğurlu, Suzan Yalman,
Zeynep Yürekli ; editors : A. Hilâl Uğurlu,
Suzan Yalman ; publication coordinator and
proofreading : Alican Kutlay ; copy editors
: Lauren Davis, Brian Johnson.-- İstanbul
: Koç University Research Center for
Anatolian Civilizations, 2019.

200 pages ; 19,5 × 25 cm.-- Koç
Üniversitesi Anadolu Medeniyetleri
Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları
ISBN 978-605-7685-14-8

1. Sacred space. 2. Religions. I. Belgin-
Henry, Ayşe. II. Girardelli, Paolo. III.
Goshgarian, Rachel. IV. Maranci,
Christina. V. Oğuz Kursar, Zeynep. VI.
Ousterhout, Robert. VII. Uğurlu, A. Hilâl.
VIII. Yalman, Suzan. IX. Yürekli, Zeynep.
X. Kutlay, Alican. XI. Davis, Lauren. XII.
Johnson, Brian. XIII. Koç Üniversitesi
Anadolu Medeniyetleri Araştırma Merkezi.
XIV. Title.

BL580.K88 2019

EDITORS

Suzan Yalman
A. Hilâl Uğurlu

AUTHORS

Ayşe Belgin-Henry
Paolo Girardelli
Rachel Goshgarian
Christina Maranci
Zeynep Oğuz Kursar
Robert Ousterhout
A. Hilâl Uğurlu
Suzan Yalman
Zeynep Yürekli

COPY EDITORS

Brian Johnson
Lauren Davis

PUBLICATION COORDINATOR

& PROOFREADING
Alican Kutlay

PUBLICATION ASSISTANT

Alara Demirel

BOOK DESIGN

Burak Şuşut, Fika

SYMPOSIUM COORDINATOR

Ebru Esra Satıcı

CONTRIBUTING COORDINATOR

Şeyda Çetin

PROJECT MANAGER

Buket Coşkuner

ANAMED DIRECTOR

Chris Roosevelt

PRINT

Ofset Yapımevi
Çağlayan Mahallesi,
Şair Sokak, No. 4
Kağıthane, İstanbul
Certificate No: 45354

PUBLISHER

KOÇ UNIVERSITY RESEARCH CENTER
FOR ANATOLIAN CIVILIZATIONS
(ANAMED)
İstiklal Cad. No: 181, Merkez Han
34433 Beyoğlu, İstanbul
T. +90 212 294 10 00
anamed_info@ku.edu.tr
Certificate No: 18318

FIRST EDITION

İstanbul, 2019

ISBN

978-605-7685-14-8

COVER IMAGE

Adapted from the symposium
poster designed by Suzan Kentli
Aral.

© 2019. This book has been published on the
occasion of the 11th International ANAMED
Annual Symposium "Sacred Spaces + Urban
Networks," that was held at Koç University
Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations
(ANAMED), İstanbul, on December 9th, 2016.

© 2019. All rights reserved. No part of this
publication, either text or photographs, may
be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system,
or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
electrical, mechanical, photocopying,
recording or otherwise, without prior
permission.

The authors of this book acknowledge that the
work is their original creation and that all the
opinions are their own and no one else can be
held accountable for them, and that there are
no parts in their work that could infringe upon
the rights of third parties.

SACRED SPACES AND URBAN NETWORKS

EDITED BY SUZAN YALMAN AND A. HİLÂL UĞURLU

Table of Contents

vii

Acknowledgments

ix

Abbreviations

3

Introduction

SUZAN YALMAN and A. HİLÂL UĞURLU

17

CHRISTINA MARANCI

Liturgical Landscapes: Text and Context in the
Armenian Foundation Rite

33

PAOLO GIRARDELLI

Landscape and Divine Justice: Archbishop Hilléreau's Perception
and Patronage of Christian Architecture in Istanbul

51

AYŞE BELGİN-HENRY

The Bishop, the Saint, and Their Site: The Wondrous Mountain
in an Antiochene Context

67

ZEYNEP OĞUZ KURSAR

Sultans as Saintly Figures in Early Ottoman Royal Mausolea

89

ROBERT OUSTERHOUT

Constructing and Deconstructing Sacred Space in
Byzantine Constantinople

105

A. HİLÂL UĞURLU

The Role of “Sacreds” in the Political Agenda of the
“Reformist” Ottoman Sultan Selim III (r. 1789-1807)

119

SUZAN YALMAN

From Plato to the *Shāhnāma*: Reflections on Saintly Veneration in
Seljuk Konya

141

RACHEL GOSHGARIAN

The Arm of St. Thecla between Armenia and Aragon: Bodilessness,
Placelessness, Diplomacy, and the Reliquary Trade

159

ZEYNEP YÜREKLİ

Ibn al-‘Arabi and Rumi in the Twists and Turns of Ottoman
Religio-Politics

177

Contributors

181

Index

Acknowledgments

The 11th International Annual Symposium of Koç University's Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED) and this volume owe much to the assistance and encouragement of numerous individuals. We are thankful to Umran İnan, President of Koç University, and Aylin Küntay, Dean of the College of Social Sciences and Humanities, for their support. We would also like to express our deepest gratitude to ANAMED's director Chris Roosevelt and manager Buket Coşkuner, who both played decisive roles in bringing this project to life.

Without the invaluable contributions of our colleagues, neither the symposium nor this volume would be possible. We are grateful to each one of them. Our earnest and special thanks go to the two keynote speakers, Robert Ousterhout and Zeynep Yürekli, whose enlightening lectures set the tone for the symposium. Aside from the authors in this volume, İklil Erefe Selçuk, Oya Pancaroğlu, and Tolga Uyar presented papers at the conference and Deniz Çalış Kural, Koray Durak, Shirine Hamadeh, and Sara Nur Yıldız chaired and moderated panels. Among those who could not attend the symposium, we are delighted that Christina Maranci could participate in the final publication.

During the symposium, former ANAMED publications editor Özge Ertem and former project and event coordinators Şeyda Çetin and Ebru Esra Satici, as well as Ceren Öner and Serra Tanman offered critical assistance. Graphic designer Suzan Kentli Aral created the eye-catching symposium poster. For the present volume, we are deeply indebted to publication specialist Alican Kutlay, who supported us at every stage of the process, from its inception to publication. We would also like to acknowledge his intern Alara Demirel. We express our sincere thanks to Brian Johnson and Lauren Davis, who copyedited the English volume, and to translators Barış Cezar and Hilal Gültekin, who helped us reach a broader audience. This handsome volume became tangible thanks to the patience and artistic endeavors of designer Burak Şuşut.

Several current and former undergraduate and graduate students from Koç University's Department of Archaeology and History of Art (ARHA) offered their kind help: Bihter Esener and Levent Tökün translated abstracts and prepared the symposium booklet; Zarifa Alikperova and Pelin Peker assisted during the symposium; and Sabahattin Enes Can Kırbaç prepared initial lists for the index, which were ultimately composed and finalized by Lauren Davis. We are grateful to all of them.

The invaluable insight and generous spirit of friends such as Ivana Jevtić and Leyla Kayhan Elbirlik deserve special mention. Finally, our eternal thanks go to the Yalman-Okurer and Akçal-Uğurlu families, who have shown great patience, unwavering support, and understanding throughout the years spanning the symposium and final publication.

Abbreviations

ACHCByz	Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archeology</i>
AKMED	Koç University Suna & İnan Kiraç Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations
ANAMED	Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations
AUB	American University of Beirut
<hr/>	
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BOA	T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı
ByzF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<hr/>	
CUP	Cambridge University Press
<hr/>	
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DORLC	Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection
<hr/>	
EI2	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2. ed., 13 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2009)
EI3	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 3. ed. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007–)
EUP	Edinburgh University Press
<hr/>	
HUP	Harvard University Press
<hr/>	
IAE	Istanbul Research Institute
IJMES	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
INHA	Institut National de l'Histoire de l'Art
ISGBSS	International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium
<hr/>	
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<hr/>	
LUP	Liverpool University Press
<hr/>	
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art
<hr/>	
NYU	New York University

OUP

Oxford University Press

PSUP

Pennsylvania State University Press

PUP

Princeton University Press

REB*Revue des études byzantines*

SUNY

State University of New York

TDVIA*Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 44 vols.
(Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–2016)**TTK**

Türk Tarih Kurumu

UC Press

University of California Press

UCP

University of Chicago Press

VGM

Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü

VKV

Vehbi Koç Foundation

YKY

Yapı Kredi Publications

YUP

Yale University Press

PAPERS

Introduction

Suzan Yalman and A. Hilâl Uğurlu

He [the bishop of Carrhae, formerly Harran] immediately took us to the church which was outside of the city, [built] on the very spot where the house of Abraham had stood. According to the holy bishop, it was built of the same stones and on the same foundations. [Egeria 20.3]¹

The city of Ḥarrān contains the Shrine of Abraham, known as the Shrine of the Rock, of which it is said that Abraham used to sit upon it waiting for his sheep. [al-Harawi]²

What is a sacred space? How do we begin to understand the dynamics between religious belief and architectural development? Pilgrimage accounts for Harran, a renowned ancient city of Upper Mesopotamia, help illustrate important points. These travelers from different religious backgrounds reported on the significance of a site in the city. This location was believed to be the temporary dwelling place of Abraham before he moved to the land of Canaan, as stated in the Old Testament (Gen. 12:4-5).³ Yet, the site's sacred associations were not limited to the Abrahamic religions. The city was referred to as “the heathen city” by the Fathers of the Church because of the

1 *The Pilgrimage of Etheria*, ed. and trans. M. L. McClure and C. L. Feltoe (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1919), 36-40.

2 Ali ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawī, *A Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage (Kitab al-ishārāt ilā ma'rifat al-ziyārāt)*, trans. J. W. Meri (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 2004), 160.

3 C. E. Bosworth, “Ḥarrān,” *Encyclopedia Iranica* XII/1, 13-14; available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/harran> (accessed on 1 August 2019).

dominant pagan population.⁴ An early Christian pilgrim's account (ca. 381–84 CE) by Egeria, underlines that the location chosen for the church of the city was the “very spot where the house of Abraham stood.” Moreover, she recorded that the pagan people of the city also venerated the same site, which indicates the multilayered meanings attributed to the same location.⁵ Centuries later, when a Muslim pilgrim, al-Harawi (d. 1215), visited Harran, he also recorded a site associated with Abraham. This time, however, instead of a residence, it was a rock that Abraham was believed to have sat on while waiting for his flock. What remains unclear is if this was another “spot” or if the association with the previous sacred site changed over time.

In English, “sacred” is often considered to be something that is “worthy of religious veneration” or “entitled to reverence and respect.”⁶ For different faiths, the term “sacred” (or its equivalent in different liturgical languages) have varied meanings, nuances, or associations.⁷ On the other hand, the experience of “religious awe” is a shared concept that demonstrate similarities.⁸ The renowned historian of religion, Mircea Eliade (d. 1986), defines the manifestation of the sacred as “hierophany”⁹ and states that it “transforms the place in which it appears, so that a profane place becomes a sacred precinct [...] Because the sacred first appeared in those places, they become an inexhaustible source of power and sacrality.”¹⁰ For Eliade, the term relates to a sensory

4 Géza Fehérvári, “Harrân,” *EI2*, 3:227–30.

5 These “pagans” were the well-known Sabians. See François de Blois, “Sabians,” in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, ed. J. Dammen McAuliffe, 6 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 4:511; and Kevin van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes: From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 64–115.

6 *Merriam-Webster*, s.v. “sacred,” accessed 30 July 2019, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sacred?utm_campaign=sd&utm_medium=serp&utm_source=jsonld. Also see *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “sacred,” by Frederick J. Streng, accessed 2 August 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/sacred>.

7 For foundational discussions of the “sacred,” particularly in the Christian context, see Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. K. E. Fields (New York: The Free Press, 1995); Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and its Relation to the Rational*, trans. J. W. Harvey (London: OUP, 1923); Gerardus van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation: A Study in Phenomenology* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1938); and Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. W. R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., 1963). For debates on the “sacred and secular” binary in Islam, see Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (California: Stanford University Press, 2003); and Shahab Ahmed, *What is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton: PUP, 2016). For an overview, see Peter Gottschalk, “Introduction,” in *Muslims and Others in Sacred Space*, ed. M. Cormack (Oxford: OUP, 2013) 2–14. For further discussion of spatial qualities of the “sacred,” see Alicia Walker and Amanda Luyster, ed., *Negotiating Secular and Sacred in Medieval Art: Christian, Islamic, and Buddhist* (Farnham, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009); and Bonna D. Wescoat and Robert G. Ousterhout, ed., *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 2012).

8 William M. Ramsay and Gertrude L. Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2008), 17, 30, and especially xiii, xix (foreword by Robert G. Ousterhout and Mark P. C. Jackson).

9 The term “hierophany” consists of the Greek words *hieros*, meaning holy or sacred, and *phainein*, that is, to show, to reveal/to bring to light. See Mircea Eliade and Lawrence E. Sullivan, “Hierophany” in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 15 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 6:313–17.

10 *Ibid.*

experience with the divine. Developing these ideas further and elaborating on the spatial dimension in “the making of sacred space,” the Byzantine art historian Alexei Lidov has proposed the term “hierotopy” and formulated it as a “type of creativity that is deeply rooted in human nature.”¹¹

The cases from Harran exemplify these two terms. Any natural element that is venerated by people or deemed sacred (such as al-Harawi’s rock) might be considered a manifestation of sacred (*hierophany*). Meanwhile, when a religious narrative linked to an actual site (as in Egeria’s church) encourages architectural “creativity,” it has the power to transform a regular locus into a *locus sanctus* as a form of *hierotopy*. Egeria’s account stresses materiality in this transformation by stating that “it was built of the same stones and on the same foundations.” The sacred associations of the church were thus literally and figuratively constructed by human agency. This enhanced status was further disseminated and legitimized by the later secondary narrative of the bishop of Harran.

With its history that goes back millennia, Anatolia is studded with such sites like Harran from different eras that are deemed “sacred,” including Göbeklitepe, Yazılıkaya, Mt. Nemrut, the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, Mt. Ararat, Cappadocia, St. Paul’s Well in Tarsus, the Cave(s) of the Seven Sleepers, and the Tomb(s) of Sarı Saltuk. Each one of these *loca sancta* has its own unique history of sanctification. Focusing on a different set of case studies from the same geography, the papers in this volume illustrate the role of human agency in the creative process of transforming awe-inspiring sites into sacred spaces. Furthermore, most of these articles reveal that the sacred associations were tightly linked to an underlying narrative.

The pilgrimage accounts for Harran demonstrate that such narratives play an active role in the promotion of certain sites as “sacred.” For instance, well-known stories that are not site-specific, such as the legend of the Seven Sleepers—or “Companions of the Cave” (*Aşhāb al Kahf*) in the Islamic context—become attached to particular locations.¹² Of the many such caves around the world, Ephesus, Elbistan, and Tarsus

11 Alexei Lidov, “Hierotopy: The Creation of Sacred Spaces as a Form of Creativity and Subject of Cultural History,” in *Hierotopy: Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, ed. A. Lidov (Moscow: Progress-tradition, 2006), 32–58, esp. 33; and idem, “Creating the Sacred Space: Hierotopy as a New Field of Cultural History,” in *Spazi i percorsi sacri: i santuari, le vie, i corpi*, ed. L. Carnevale and Ch. Cremonesi (Padova: libreriauniversitaria.it Edizioni, 2012), 61–90.

12 Another well-known case that is not site-specific involves St. George / Khidr, see İlyas Çelebi, Süleyman Uludağ, and Cemal Kurnaz, “Hızır,” in *TDVIA*, 44 vols. (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1998), 17:411–12; and John Renard, “Khaḍir/Khidr” in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’an*, ed. J. Dammen McAuliffe, 6 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 3:81. See also Oya Pancaroğlu, “The Itinerant Dragon Slayer: Forging Paths of Image and Identity in Medieval Anatolia,” *Gesta* 43/2 (2004): 151–64; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *İslâm-Türk İnançlarında Hızır Yahut Hızır-İlyas Kültü* (Istanbul: Kabalcı, 2007); and Ethel Sara Wolper, “Khidr and the Changing Frontiers of the Medieval World,” *Medieval Encounters* 17 (2011): 120–46. For an ongoing project at the Oxford University’s Khalili Research Centre involving the cult of Khidr in Anatolian and Indian contexts, see “Clash of Civilizations,” *The Khalili Research Centre*, accessed 6 August 2019, <https://krc.web.ox.ac.uk/article/clash-civilizations>.

are three notable examples in Anatolia.¹³ Another way in which narrative plays a key role is how specific venerated personages become associated with particular sites. These might either be places that are connected to their life stories or their deaths. In the case of the church and well built on the site where St. Paul is thought to have lived in Tarsus, the site—also his birthplace—acquired sacredness because of its link with the saint. Likewise, any accepted/supposed burial place of a venerated figure—be it a simple tombstone or a larger shrine complex—indicates the importance of narrative in the creative construction of a sacred built environment.

What further complicate the understanding of sacred space are particular “discoveries” of places that relate to narratives and holy personages. While the natural death of a saintly figure was perhaps more straightforward, locating the remains of a martyr often involved supernatural interpretations or divine interventions such as dreams or visions. Such a dream by an early thirteenth-century Seljuk sultana prompted the discovery and establishment of the Shrine of Seyyid Gazi, a renowned frontier warlord of the eighth century who later gained sainthood.¹⁴ In the case of Sarı Saltuk, a similar figure from the late thirteenth century, supernatural events in his hagiography played a crucial role in the dissemination of his cult and multiplication of his veneration sites across Anatolia and the Balkans.¹⁵ These sites, known as *maqam* in the Islamic tradition, did not necessarily contain actual remains but their memory and associations.¹⁶

The human agency in the “creation” of sacred spaces reaches another level of complexity when considering sites of association. An interesting contemporary case helps illustrate this point. In the 1970s, during road expansion in the district of Fulya in Istanbul, workers discovered human remains and a sign with text. Presuming that the findings belonged to a certain “Bardakçı Baba” as indicated in the inscription, they created a simple burial on the other side of the road. As years went by, local residents ascribed new meaning to this site and it became venerated. In the early 2000s, a group of Marmara University School of Dentistry alumni who used to study in this location in the 1960s admitted to creating an internal joke involving a sign as well as an anatomical skull model for their studies.¹⁷ Despite such claims, as well as the lack of official records for this “Bardakçı Baba,” when a construction company wanted to develop the area for a new twenty-story highrise building, they did not

13 Oya Pancaroğlu, “Caves, Borderlands and Configurations of Sacred Topography in Medieval Anatolia,” *Mésogeios* 25–26 (2005): 249–81.

14 Zeynep Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of Bektashi Shrines* (Farnham, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 55–56.

15 See Machiel Kiel, “Sarı Saltuk,” in *TDVIA*, 36:147–50. Also see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Sarı Saltık: Popüler İslâm’ın Balkanlar’daki Destanı Öncüsü (XIII. Yüzyıl)* (Ankara: TTK, 2002).

16 See Süleyman Uludağ, “Makam” in *TDVIA*, 27:409–10.

17 “‘Bardakçı Baba’ bir öğrenci şakası mı?,” *Pembener*, accessed 19 August 2019, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2002/11/22/yasam/yas01.html>.

want to tarnish their public image and therefore covered the tomb with black marble, surrounded it with a modern glass barricade, and included a sign stating “*Bardakçı Baba, al-fatiha* [i.e., pray for his soul].”

Although the Bardakçı Baba case raises questions regarding the authenticity of the site and the actual personage, what is striking is that the accepted local veneration was enough to physically demarcate the site and manipulate its urban environment. In this way, it was transformed into a “sacred space” or *locus sanctus* (Lat. pl. *loci sancta*). In fact, the Greek origins for “sacred precinct” (*temenos*) come from the root “to cut.”¹⁸ Thus, even in the case of questionable origins, all “sacred” sites establish various forms of veneration and rituals, carving out a space for themselves in the urban context.¹⁹ The urban footprint of these sites varied according to the level of importance attributed to the “sacred.” In some cities, a major shrine alone has the potential to affect spatial dynamics, such as creating a new nucleus. Today, the Shrine of Jalal al-Din Rumi plays such a role in Konya. However, because of its multilayered history, cities of Anatolia often housed multiple sites that were attributed varying levels of sanctity by the different cultures that inhabited them. These *loci sancta* created a complex web of meanings, uses, and spaces. Today, with its major and minor sacred sites from Hagia Sophia to the Shrine of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, from hundreds of *hagiasmas* to *maqams*, the city of Istanbul is a living testimony to the complexity of the relationship between sacred spaces and urban context.

* * *

This volume presents diachronic and synchronic studies of Anatolian sacred sites from the medieval period onward that situate them within the abovementioned spatial and sociocultural dynamics. When discussing the relationship between sacred and urban spaces, oftentimes what first comes to mind for the period in question is the role of congregational spaces—such as the cathedral or Friday mosque—that had an impact on the establishment or development of the city.²⁰ These structures no doubt had a pivotal role; however, this study aims to look beyond this limited scope and to understand other spaces deemed “sacred,” such as funerary buildings, dervish lodges, monasteries, and holy springs. These sites that have a range of functions and

18 Joan R. Branham, “Sacred Space under Erasure in Ancient Synagogues and Early Churches,” *The ArtB* 74/3 (1992): 375–94, as cited in Wescoat and Ousterhout, “Afterword,” in *Architecture of the Sacred*, 368.

19 While “urban” is one of the key themes of this volume, the development of cities in Anatolia is a vast subject that is beyond the scope of this introduction.

20 The perception of the mosque or the church as “sacred” is a debated topic. For our thoughts on the questionable sanctity of the mosque, see our introduction in A. Hilâl Uğurlu and Suzan Yalman, ed., *The Friday Mosque in the City: Liminality, Ritual and Politics*, Critical Studies in Architecture of the Middle East (Chicago: Intellect Books, forthcoming). For debates regarding the perception of the church and theories of embodiment, see Setha M. Low, “Embodied Space(s): Anthropological Theories of Body, Space, and Culture,” *Space and Culture* 6/1 (2003): 9–18; and Jelena Bogdanović, ed., *Perceptions of the Body and Sacred Space in Late Antiquity and Byzantium* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2018).

associations with sanctity are of particular importance since they create destinations that have a magnetic quality. These ideas, which inspired us to organize the 11th International ANAMED Annual Symposium in 2016, formed the basis of this volume. Our initial goal was to explore different layers of sacredness in Anatolia.

Many contemporary studies often utilize the word “palimpsestous” to refer to overlapping.²¹ Yet, literally, a palimpsest is an artifact (papyrus, manuscript, etc) where the original writing is scraped off and a new text is inscribed.²² Only in rare instances are both texts visible or even related to each other. However, in the case of sacred spaces in Anatolia, the studies presented in the symposium and the articles in this collection reveal that the past is not always scraped off.²³ The transition from one belief system to another—whether it be religion or a different sect—manifested itself in a variety of ways: ruptures resulting in palimpsests, continuities in the use of sacred sites, adaptations of narratives to form parallel uses, and even spatial coexistence were all possibilities.

This volume explores the variety of these situations by examining different sacred sites and their own unique histories. While some articles address sacred sites created in the natural environment, others study the politics of these creative processes in urban contexts. The multivalent character of these sacred spaces is further complicated through networks that are created through human agency. The first article of the volume focuses on the desire to build within a natural landscape and examines the negotiation of constructed spaces with this topography. In her article entitled “Liturgical Landscapes: Text and Context in the Armenian Foundation Rite,” Christina Maranci utilizes liturgical sources to shed light on how medieval

21 For palimpsest or palimpsestous, see Nebahat Avcıoğlu, “Istanbul: The Palimpsest City in Search of its Architect,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 53/54 (2008): 188–208; and Gülru Necipoğlu, “The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: ‘Abd al-Malik’s Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleyman’s Glosses,” *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 17–105. Also, the concept “palimpsest” was further discussed and elaborated in a recent symposium: “Cities as Palimpsests? Urban Evolutions in the Eastern Mediterranean,” Impact of the Ancient City, Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge ERC Advanced Grant Conference, Bahçeşehir University, Istanbul, May 2019.

22 Arietta Papaconstantinou’s thought provoking analysis during the second day of the abovementioned symposium (Cities as Palimpsests?) triggered some of these ideas.

23 The following three papers presented at the 11th International ANAMED Annual Symposium unfortunately could not be included in this volume: Oya Pancaroğlu, “Maqams and Tombs of Holy Personages in Tarsus”; İklil Selçuk, “Akhi Brotherhoods and Urban Development in Medieval Anatolia”; and Tolga Uyar, “Sacred Spaces in Medieval Cappadocia: Tradition, Transformation and Appropriation,” (papers presented at the 11th International ANAMED Annual Symposium, 9 December 2016). For their related publications, see Oya Pancaroğlu, “Visible/Invisible: Sanctity, History and Topography,” in *Tarsus: A Study of Mersin, Turkey—From Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. F. Yenişehirlioğlu, E. Özveren, and T. Selvi Ünlü (Switzerland: Springer, 2019), 79–91; İklil Selçuk, “Suggestions on the Social Meaning and Functions of Akhi Communities and Their Hospices in Medieval Anatolia,” in *Architecture and Landscape in Medieval Anatolia, 1100–1500*, ed. P. Blessing and R. Goshgarian (Edinburgh: EUP, 2017), 95–113; and Tolga Uyar, “Carving, Painting, and Inscribing Sacred Space in Late Byzantium: Bezirana Kilisesi Rediscovered (Peristrema-Cappadocia),” in *Architecture and Visual Culture in the Late Antique and Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honor of Robert G. Ousterhout*, ed. V. Marinis, A. Papalexandrou, and J. Pickett (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, forthcoming).

Armenian churches were viewed in their physical context. While churches were built and perceived within the dramatic landscape of Armenia, this aspect was underlined by liturgical rites. Maranci argues that the natural elements, loaded with sacred symbolism and incorporated to the foundation rituals in various ways, helped construct the sacredness of the church. Moreover, the transformation of local stones into building material not only created a contrast but also established a connection, forming a bridge between the built and natural worlds. This intertwined perception was created by the agency of the clergy.

The following two articles, by Paolo Girardelli and Ayşe Belgin-Henry, also focus on the agency of the church members in the creation process of “sacred spaces,” both in different times, geographies, and contexts, such as urban and suburban. In his article “Landscape and Divine Justice: Archbishop Hilléreau’s Perception and Patronage of Christian Architecture in Istanbul,” Girardelli examines the agency of an archbishop, Julien-Marie Hilléreau, in constructing new churches for a community in the newly developing districts of the city. Twenty years of Hilléreau’s vicariate in Istanbul (1835–55) coincided with a crucial period of change in power balances and collective self-representation that affected the urban landscape of the city. Girardelli argues that, as the apostolic vicar of the Latin Catholic community of Istanbul, Hilléreau was instrumental in creating a new visual topography with significant landmarks that communicated intercommunal messages.

In contrast to nineteenth-century Istanbul, Ayşe Belgin-Henry’s study presents the creation of an extra-urban sacred topography in sixth-century Antioch. In her article entitled “The Bishop, the Saint, and Their Site: The Wondrous Mountain in an Antiochene Context,” she investigates the personal relationship between St. Symeon the Younger (ca. 521–92 CE) and certain clergy members who affected both the gradual stages of Symeon’s promotion to sainthood and the expansion of his site where he exercised stylitism (i.e., ascetic pillar dwelling). Among these religious figures, Belgin-Henry particularly underlines the critical role of Ephraimios, the bishop of Antioch between 527 and 545, whose history of local politics in the city seems to be at play in his encouragement of Symeon’s sainthood. His ultimate desire to develop the site, first into a complex and, eventually, into a pilgrimage destination, had important ramifications, as this would draw visitors from near and far to Antioch. This vision was necessitated due to competing pilgrimage sites in the greater region, most notably that of St. Symeon the Elder in Qal’at Sem’an.

The way in which Wondrous Mountain (Samandağ) outside of Antioch gained its “sacred” aura appears to be by means of a *hierotopic* project. This kind of involvement in the creation process of “sacred” spaces and destinations finds a more overtly political expression with the Ottomans. Zeynep Oğuz Kursar explores the ambitions of the dynasty in their reconceptualization of Bursa through the patronage of royal tombs. In her article entitled “Sultans as Saintly Figures in Early

Ottoman Royal Mausolea,” she examines the foundation story, which included an auspicious dream, as well as a marriage alliance between a Sufi sheikh’s daughter and the eponymous warrior-ruler, Osman I (r. ?–1324). As the author demonstrates, this narrative was architecturally manifested by means of a funerary site in Bilecik that helped construct a “sacred” genealogy for the dynasty. While the first two rulers were interred in a Byzantine church, thereafter rulers were buried in their own funerary convent complexes that would set a precedent as “saintly” shrine complexes. Oğuz Kursar articulates that these complexes helped establish new pilgrimage destinations thanks to the sanctified tombs of the sultans and therefore played an important role in the urban development of the under-inhabited parts of the city.

After the case of Ottoman Bursa that illustrates how political aspirations of a dynasty help create new “sacred” centers of gravity, Robert Ousterhout takes us back to the ultimate project of Byzantine Constantinople. In his article entitled “Constructing and Deconstructing Sacred Space in Byzantine Constantinople,” Ousterhout focuses on the transformation of Byzantium into Constantinople, a city that was envisioned to be the new capital of the Roman Empire. He argues that, unlike Jerusalem or Rome, “sacredness was not embedded in the landscape” of this city, therefore it needed to be “politically constructed” by its founder Constantine (r. 306–37) and later emperors.²⁴ In this and other similar sacralization processes of cities, two major tools were often intertwined. The first one involved imperial construction activities that also built metaphors. For instance, through certain architectural decisions and mimesis, the Church of the Holy Apostles and the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople made references to the Heavenly Jerusalem. Such visual cues for the “sacred” were further elaborated through rituals,²⁵ which bring us to the second tool that played a crucial role in this political construction, namely, the utilization of sacred relics. By mobilizing relics within the city and performing certain rituals, they imbued their own sacredness to the spaces in which they were placed or carried through. Among other examples, Ousterhout mentions the case of St. Euphemia, famous for her oracular role in the Council of Chalcedon; even though the locus of her burial site was eventually lost, her sanctity was literally transported across the sea to the capital through her relics.

24 For Constantinople as a political construct, see Cyril Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople* (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1985); and Robert Ousterhout, “Sacred Geographies and Holy Cities: Constantinople as Jerusalem,” in *Hierotopy: The Creation of Sacred Space in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, ed. A. Lidov (Moscow: Progress-Tradition, 2006), 98–116. For further reading, see Annette Hoffmann and Gerhard Wolf, ed., *Jerusalem as Narrative Space / Erzählraum Jerusalem* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), especially articles by Alexei Lidov, “A Byzantine Jerusalem: The Imperial Pharos Chapel as the Holy Sepulchre,” 63–104; and Robert Ousterhout, “The Memory of Jerusalem: Text, Architecture, and the Craft of Thought,” 139–54. These ideas were also expressed in: Gerhard Wolf, “Between Distance and Proximity: Religious Architecture versus Sacred Topography; Sites, Non-Sites and Landscapes,” paper given at workshop entitled “Synagogue, Church, Mosque: Connections and Conversions,” Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul (SRII), 16–18 November 2017.

25 For relations between sacred spaces and ritual, see Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: UCP, 1987); and idem, “The Bare Facts of Ritual,” *History of Religions* 20, no. 1/2 (1980): 112–27.

Although scholars such as Ousterhout have been skeptical about Constantinople's "sacred" identity, he concludes that the Byzantines accepted their capital as "sacred."

This perception was not only valid for the Byzantines but also true for the Ottomans who took over the city in 1453. Under Ottoman rule, the city was partly reorganized and mostly reconstructed, and new rituals were invented and exercised, however, the main idea of politically constructing a sacred capital city remained.²⁶ In her article entitled "The Role of 'Sacreds' in the Political Agenda of the 'Reformist' Ottoman Sultan Selim III," A. Hilâl Uğurlu examines the twofold construction history of the Eyüp Sultan shrine complex. Just like the Church of the Holy Apostles had been associated with the founder of Constantinople, the site of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari (known as Eyüp Sultan in Turkish) was initially founded by and associated with Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81), the founder of Kostantiniyye, to endow the city with a spiritual patron as well as an Islamic identity and sanctity. The mosque was later demolished and reconstructed at the end of the eighteenth century by another sultan, Selim III (r. 1789–1807). Uğurlu argues that the reasons for Selim's patronage were not structural needs, but rather, political expediency. She sheds further light on how Selim's architectural interventions to certain "sacred" sites and buildings were employed to strengthen his waning power and bolster his legitimacy at a time when the empire was challenged on many fronts and the sultan's religious authority was questioned.

As the example of Abu Ayyub illustrates, the presence of a notable spiritual figure had the potential to transform buildings into "sacred" spaces and impact their surroundings, giving rise to the notion of cities and their patron saints. Such was the case of Seljuk Konya, as Suzan Yalman discusses in her article entitled "From Plato to the *Shāhnāma*: Reflections on Saintly Veneration in Seljuk Konya." Based on travelers' accounts, Yalman examines how a site that was the tomb of the Christian church father, St. Amphilochius, became associated with the tomb of the philosopher Plato in thirteenth-century Muslim sources. The fact that the site was visited by members of different religious communities reveals the multiple identities of the saint. The appearance of Plato's name elsewhere in the Konya region (Sille and Beyşehir) demonstrates the extent of this cult. Yalman argues that the curious attribution of a Christian site to a pagan philosopher happened during the Seljuk period. The unusual decorative program of the new city walls, commissioned by 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad in 1220—which reportedly included the effigy of the philosopher who had founded the city—reveals the interest in transforming an ancient figure into the patron saint of Konya. Such a visual cue on the walls would signify the saint's presence for travelers and pilgrims.

26 These ideas were expressed by Méropi Anastassiadou-Dumont, "Sacred Spaces in a Holy City: Crossing Religious Boundaries in 20th Century Istanbul," lecture in "Social Sciences and Humanities Seminar Series," Koç University, 20 February 2018.

While the Plato cult reveals the intricate relationship between the memory of saints and the agency of rulers in cultivating pilgrimage destinations, the case of an earlier saint from Iconium—St. Thecla, a second-century female saint and virgin-companion of the Apostle Paul—expands the network beyond Anatolia, including the breadth of the Mediterranean. In her article entitled “The Arm of St. Thecla between Armenia and Aragon: Bodilessness, Placelessness, Diplomacy, and the Reliquary Trade,” Rachel Goshgarian examines the remarkable account of St. Thecla, who had no actual remains or locus due to the nature of her death. Despite Thecla’s “bodilessness” and “placelessness,” the miraculous discovery of her right arm twelve centuries after her death led to political and diplomatic exchanges between the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and the Kingdom of Aragon. Goshgarian traces the relationship between the two polities to understand how and why diplomatic and religious rapports were established and developed across the Mediterranean that eventually culminated in the gifting of a valuable church relic. Through the mobilization of the relic across a distant geography and the creation of new rituals, the arm of St. Thecla came to play a crucial role in fulfilling the role of patron saint for the coastal Catalan city of Tarragona on the Iberian Peninsula. In her exploration of the network of exchanges, Goshgarian also questions the transformation of the saint’s iconography, from “bodiless” and “transvestite” to an “overtly sensualized physicality in the late medieval period,” which was exported beyond Anatolia.

The creation of sacred sites and the expansion of saintly networks is also explored by Zeynep Yürekli in her article entitled “Ibn al-‘Arabi and Rumi in the Twists and Turns of Ottoman Religiopolitics.” Looking at the broader sixteenth-century Ottoman geography, she examines Ottoman patronage of Sufi shrines and their development as pilgrimage sites. The efforts of sultans at employing the “sacred” for legitimacy and self-fashioning has been a continuous theme, as evident from the articles of Oğuz Kursar and Uğurlu. Yürekli explores such endeavors beyond the capital—Kostantiniyye/Istanbul—during the reign of Selim I (r. 1511-20). As she underlines, the Ottomans usually avoided “acts of extreme humility,” unlike the Safavids and Mughals, who showed public devotion to Sufi shrines. Through the case study of Selim I’s architectural patronage, Yürekli investigates the sultan’s involvement in select Sufi loci following his military successes against the Mamluk Sultanate. In her discussion, Yürekli distinguishes between martyrria (as in that of Abu Ayyub) and Sufi shrines (such as those of Ibn al-‘Arabi and Rumi), underlining that “the latter’s influence tended to go deeper into society” due to the “mediation of discipleship, pilgrimage, legend, and scholarly debate.”

All papers in the present volume demonstrate the active role of human agency in the creation of sacred spaces. In addition, Ousterhout’s work on Byzantine Constantinople and Goshgarian’s research on the transfer of St. Thecla’s arm also underscore the crucial role of mobility in these *hierotopic* projects. Apart from objects

such as relics,²⁷ of further significance is the circulation of people—as indicated by Yürekli’s comments on social impact—who populate these spaces.²⁸ Once a new destination is created as a *locus sanctus* (whether the Wondrous Mountain or the tomb of Plato), then it begins to attract pilgrims who share the same experience.

* * *

Pilgrimage is a powerful tool that creates a web of relations between sacred spaces through the movement of humans and their participation in the divine.²⁹ Whether part of a personal spiritual journey or a collective system of piety that shape a shared experience (*communitas*),³⁰ believers establish links and create networks that help strengthen interactions between different sacred sites and cities. Both their inner journeys and the physical struggles that they face during the actual journey not only amplify the sanctity of their destinations but also the network itself.

Networks between sacred sites, the shared experiences of people who activated these networks, and the greater social impact that they create have been the subject of scholarly attention for the last decade. Interdisciplinary studies utilizing new technologies have enabled recent scholarship to expand their horizons using “network theory.”³¹ Such efforts to collect data and analyze them digitally for historical disciplines is evident from the increasing number of academic digital platforms, such as Historical Network Research, Pelagios Network, Tabula Imperii Byzantini, and OpenOttoman.³² The possibilities presented in these initiatives were explored

27 See Renana Bartal, Neta Bodner, and Bianca Kühnel, “Natural Materials, Place, and Representation,” in *Natural Materials of the Holy Land and the Visual Translation of Place, 500–1500*, ed. R. Bartal, N. Bodner, and B. Kühnel (London: Routledge, 2017).

28 The theme of trade, merchants, and the *akhi* brotherhood was a topic explored by İklil Selçuk during the symposium. See Selçuk, “Akhi Communities and their Hospices in Medieval Anatolia,” 95–113. For ideas on circulation, mobility, and portability, see Cécile Morrisson, ed., *Trade and Markets in Byzantium* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2012); Scott Redford, “Portable Palaces: On the Circulation of Objects and Ideas about Architecture in Medieval Anatolia and Northern Mesopotamia,” *Medieval Encounters* 18 (2012): 382–412; and Christiane Gruber, ed., *Islamic Architecture on the Move: Motion and Modernity*, Critical Studies in Architecture of the Middle East (Bristol, UK: Intellect, 2016).

29 For “ambiguity of pilgrimage,” see Wendy Pullan, “Intermingled Until the End of Time: Ambiguity as a Central Condition of Early Christian Pilgrimage,” in *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods*, ed. J. Elsner and I. Rutherford (Oxford: OUP, 2007), 387–409.

30 For this sense of “*communitas*,” see Victor Turner, “The Center out There: Pilgrim’s Goal,” *History of Religions* 12/3 (1973): 191–230.

31 There are many ongoing digital humanities projects that utilize network theory in various fields. For lists of digital humanities projects, see “HNR Bibliography,” *Historical Network Research*, accessed 6 August 2019, <http://historicalnetworkresearch.org/resources/bibliography> and “Projects,” *European Association for Digital Humanities*, accessed 6 August 2019, <https://eadh.org/projects>. As for new journals established in digital humanities fields, see the *International Journal for Digital Art History* (since 2015; <https://journals.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/dah/issue/archive>) and the *Journal of Historical Network Research* (since 2016; <http://historicalnetworkresearch.org/journal/>).

32 Marten Düring, *Historical Network Research: Network Analysis in the Historical Disciplines* [website], accessed 6 August 2019, <http://historicalnetworkresearch.org/>; *Pelagios Network* [website], accessed 6 August 2019, <https://pelagios.org/>; *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* (TIB) [website], accessed 6 August 2019, <https://tib.oeww>.

and embraced in a most fitting manner by the 12th International ANAMED Annual Symposium, entitled “Spatial Webs: Mapping Anatolian Pasts for Research and the Public,” that took place 29–30 November 2017.³³

All these developments toward collaborative and digital projects pave the way for future studies of sacred spaces and their related urban networks. In addition to the interest in what is considered “sacred,” the architectural environment that reflects their aura and the networks created between them are further subjects that attract scholarly attention.³⁴ The rise of digital humanities projects has made it possible to demonstrate the various layers of these networks and visualize them more easily. An example might be the endeavor that focuses on the coexistence of different religions and their sacred sites in the greater Mediterranean region, entitled “Shared Sacred Sites and the Politics of Pluralism.”³⁵ An offshoot of this research initiative relevant to Anatolia focuses on the British archaeologist Frederick William Hasluck’s (1878–1920) well-known work, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*. Utilizing “text analysis, mapping and interactive visualization tools,” the digital project entitled “Visual Hasluck: Mapping Christianity and Islam in the Mediterranean” aims to provide “a new visual and geo-spatial ‘reading’” of this text.³⁶

In addition to these pioneering platforms, there are non-academic digital sources that may offer supplementary information. For Anatolia, the case of *turbeler.org*, a site that provides general information, photographs, and satellite maps for Islamic visitation sites is particularly noteworthy. Although the contemporary pious interests are evident from the option to find the “nearest tombs around you,” such initiatives could be a first point of departure for mapping the initial nodes of sacred sites. Combined with projects like “Visual Hasluck” or future social network analysis efforts, these dots/nodules could be then transformed into powerful digital visualization tools that employ network theory to describe, classify, analyze, and map various new possibilities to help shed further light on pilgrimage patterns and networks across time.

ac.at/; and *OpenOttoman* [website], accessed 6 August 2019, <https://openottoman.org/>.

33 For the papers of this symposium, see Christopher Roosevelt, ed., *Spatial Webs: Mapping Anatolian Pasts for Research and the Public* [12th International ANAMED Annual Symposium] (Istanbul: ANAMED, forthcoming 2020).

34 Clive Foss, “Archaeology and the ‘Twenty Cities’ of Byzantine Asia,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 81/4 (1977): 469–86; idem, “Pilgrimage in Medieval Asia Minor,” *DOP* 56 (2002): 129–51; Robert Ousterhout, ed., *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990); and Wes Williams, “A Mirror of Mis-Haps, / A Mappe of Miserie’: Dangers, Strangers, and Friends in Renaissance Pilgrimage,” in *The Book of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250–1700*, ed. P. Brummett (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 205–40.

35 Elazar Barkan and Karen Barkey, ed., *Choreographies of Shared Sacred Sites: Religion, Politics, and Conflict Resolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014); also see *Shared Sacred Sites* [website], director Karen Barkey, accessed 6 August 2019, <http://sharedsacredsites.net/>.

36 See Frederick William Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929); and “Visual Hasluck,” *Shared Sacred Sites*, accessed 6 August 2019, <http://sharedsacredsites.net/visual-hasluck/>.

While our initial goal in convening the symposium was to investigate different layers of sacredness in Anatolia, ultimately, the volume sheds light on parallels among case studies and presents the connectedness between these layers. By exploring various significant sacred sites in the region and how they might have created or interacted with their urban contexts, this collection not only contributes to the field but also paves the way for future possibilities that utilize contemporary digital technologies.