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Eunuchs and the City: Residences and Real Estate Owned by Court Eunuchs in Late Sixteenth-Century Istanbul

Ezgi Dikici

Abstract

This article explores how the Ottoman court eunuchs engaged with the topography and population of Istanbul by examining the urban residences and other real estate endowed in the 1590s by four aghas representing different backgrounds and career tracks across the court eunuch spectrum. Using evidence gleaned from their endowment deeds and other documents, it attempts to reconstruct their immediate living environments and map their property ownership across the cityscape, reflecting on the spatial distribution and concentration areas of their real estate, the continuities and changes in their residential patterns, as well as how their career tracks, family members, friends, and other connections informed their proprietorship.

Keywords: eunuchs, palace officials, residential architecture, real estate, pious foundations

Hadımlar ve Şehir: On Altıncı Yüzyıl Sonu İstanbul’unda Saray Hadımlarının Evleri ve Emlaki

Özet

Bu makale, Osmanlı saray hadımlarının İstanbul’un topografyası ve nüfusuyla nasıl bir ilişki kurduğunu incelemek amacıyla, çeşitlilik gösteren bu grup içerisinde farklı köken ve kariyer geçmişlerini temsil eden dört ağanın 1590’larda vakfettiği şehir içi konutları ve diğer emlaki mercek altına alıyor. Ağaların vakfiyeleri ile diğer belgelerden elde edilen izleri takip ederek onların bizzat içinde yaşadıkları ortamı yeniden kurmaya ve edindikleri mülkleri şehir peyzajı üzerinde haritalandırmaya çalışıyor. Bunu yaparken de mülklerinin mekânsal dağılımı ve yoğunlaştığı alanlar ile ikamet örüntülerindeki süreklilik ve değişimler üzerine düşünmeyi, bir yandan da meslek hayatlarının, aile üyelerinin, dostlarının ve diğer bağlarının, hadımların kendi mülkiyetleri üzerinde nasıl bir etkisi olduğunu anlamayı amaçlıyor.

Anahtar kelimeler: hadımlar, saray görevlileri, konut mimarisi, emlak, vakıflar

One of the many inappropriate affairs that the Ottoman bureaucrat and prolific author Mustafa Âlî complains of in his book of etiquette (*Mevâ’idü’n-Nefâ’is fî Kavâ’idi’l-Mecâlis*, dated 1599–1600) is the increasing tendency of the aghas of the inner court (*harem ağaları*) to acquire houses for themselves outside the palatial grounds.¹ While only the chief (white) eunuch would have been granted this privilege during the reign of Süleyman I (r. 1520–1566), in the times of Âlî, “even the

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¹ Âlî’s remark on the aghas’ acquisition of houses (“harem ağalarının taşrada müstakıl evler idinüp . . .”) is found in chapter four of his work, devoted to the “Unseemly Affairs of the Ağas in the Inner Palace” (*Ahvâl-i nâ-şâyeste’-i âğâyân-ı harem-serây*). Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî ve Mevâ’idü’n-Nefâ’is fî Kavâ’idi’l-Mecâlis*, ed. Mehmet Şeker (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997), 276–278; Âlî, *The Ottoman Gentleman of the Sixteenth Century: Mustafa Âlî’s Mevâ’idü’n-Nefâ’is fî Kavâ’idi’l-Mecâlis*, “*Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings*,” ed. Şinasi Tekin and Gönül Alpaz Tekin, annotated trans. Douglas S. Brookes (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 2003), 20–22. As of the late sixteenth century and in Âlî’s usage, the term “harem” clearly encompassed the male zone of the inner court (*enderûn*) as well as the female zone, whereas today we only call the latter “harem.” A note on transliteration: I have followed YILLIK’s conventions for my own transliterations from Ottoman Turkish and Arabic in the main text and provided full transliteration in the Appendices, but kept the quotations from the modern editions of published primary sources as is.

lowest eunuch guard [had] obtained a house outside the palace.⁷² Yet it was not their property accumulation per se that troubled Âlî. What was alarming was rather the fact that, as the aghas became house owners, they also began to assume an improper eagerness to “develop networks and social connections, expand their wardrobe, and mingle with the common folk outside [the palace],”⁷³ to the detriment of the proper performance of their duties, which, after all, ultimately depended on maintaining the strict separation of the inner court—i.e., its population of pages and concubines—from the masses of commoners living in the city.

Âlî implies that, especially for the low-ranking young eunuchs, setting up a household of their own meant an exciting new phase of expansion, which he likens to the unveiling of a bride.⁴ Indeed, many of these novices must have been newcomers to the vibrant capital city, after having spent some time in the provincial household of a grandee,⁵ or at the (again, provincial) princely court of the current sultan himself.⁶ And yet, unless he rented or bought a house in the city, a eunuch of the Topkapı Palace in this early phase of his “career”—for lack of a better word—would not even have a room of his own, despite his reasonable salary.⁷ These conditions would dramatically change, as we shall see, if he managed to climb to the highest echelons in one of the two career ladders specific to eunuchs—one in the court of male pages (*enderûn*), open to “white” eunuchs, and the other in the harem, open to “black” eunuchs—and thus became entitled to house ownership. However, of the incumbent court eunuchs affiliated with the four major imperial palaces in Istanbul, whose total population was around 185–192 in the period 1582–1583,⁸ only a tiny minority would make it to the top of the hierarchy (fig. 1).

2 Âlî, *Ottoman Gentleman*, 21. “Şimdi ise ednâ kapu oğlanı taşrada evler idinmişdür.” Âlî, *Mevâ’idü’n-Nefâis*, 277.

3 Modified version of Brookes’s translation (Âlî, *Ottoman Gentleman*, 20–21); cf. “alâka’i tâmmeleri ve hengâmeyi büyüdüp ten-câmeyi artırup taşrası ile muhâleta’-i ‘âmmeleridür,” Âlî, *Mevâ’idü’n-Nefâis*, 277.

4 “Kendüsi tavâşiden iken güyâ ki min vecih olunmuşdür.” Âlî, *Mevâ’idü’n-Nefâis*, 277; cf. “Although he is a eunuch, from the appearances one would think he had become a bride.” Âlî, *Ottoman Gentleman*, 21.

5 The young court eunuchs who originated from provincial households in the second half of the sixteenth century included a certain Ahmed and Mehmed. The former was transferred to the imperial palace in the 1550s after the death of his master, the white eunuch Haydar Pasha, who was then the governor of Ohri(d), and the latter was given as a gift (*pışkeş*) by the governor of Erzurum during the reign of Selim II (r. 1566–1574). These two would later become respectively the vizier Hâfız Ahmed Pasha and *Gürcü* (“Georgian”) Mehmed Pasha (grand vizier in 1622–1623). Mehmed b. Mehmed er-Rûmî Edirnevî, “Târîh-i Âl-i Osman,” in Abdurrahman Sağırlı, “Mehmed b. Mehmed Er-Rûmî(Edirneli)’nin Nuhbetü’t-Tevârih ve’l-Ahbâr’ı ve Târîh-i Âl-i Osman’ı (Metinleri, Tahlilleri)” (PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2000), 51 and 40. For a group of seventeen young eunuchs—ten Abyssinians and seven white ones—gifted to the court by the governor of Egypt on his return to Istanbul in 1585, see Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selânikî*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, 2 vols. (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1989), 1:159.

6 Three of the eunuchs discussed in this article originated from the provincial princely courts of Selim II (Mehmed and Gazanfer Aghas) and Murad III (Musahib Mehmed Agha). A register recording the names and daily wages of the courtiers at Prince Selim’s palace shows that there were sixteen eunuchs (*gılmân-ı der*, “gate boys” [same as *kapu oğlanı*]) in the harem section (*dârü’s-sa’âde-i enderûnî*) apart from the chief harem eunuch Beşir (*ağa-i dârü’s-sa’âde*), and eight eunuchs (again called *gılmân-ı der*, “gate boys”) in the male section (*dârü’s-sa’âde-i bîrûnî*) in addition to the four high-ranking eunuchs employed in the same part (*ağa-i der*, “agha of the Gate” or “chief [white] eunuch”; *serhâzin*, “head treasurer”; *serkârları*, “head of the commissary”; and *ağa-i sarây*, “agha of the palace”), BOA, MAD d. 903, p. 4 (Cemâziyelevvel 967 [January–February 1560]), see subsequent pages for the following months.

7 Low-ranking white eunuchs would stay with the pages in the *enderûn* dormitories so that they could “prevent and protect [the pages] from heinous deeds [i.e., from same-sex relationships]” (ef’âl-i şeni’ adan men’ u hîfz etmek). Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, *Kühûl’-Ahbâr: c. II, Fâtih Sultân Mehmed Devri, 1451–1481*, ed. M. Hüdaî Şentürk (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003), 98. The lowest daily wage for the Topkapı Palace’s white eunuchs—excluding bonuses—was 10 *akçes*, according to *ibid.* A payroll register dated Zilhicce 1009–Muharrem 1010 (June–July 1601) also shows that the majority received 10 *akçes* each, BOA, D.SVM.d. 36080 (see fig. 1). Thus, they were better or equally paid compared to most *ehl-i hiref* painters, whose average daily wage was around 10 *akçes* in the second half of the sixteenth century. See Rifkî Melîd Meriç, *Türk Nakış San’atı Tarihi Araştırmaları 1: Vesikalar* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyât Fakültesi, Türk ve İslâm San’atları Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1953), 7–10. Fig. 1 shows that the minimum daily wage of court eunuchs in this period was 5 *akçes* for all palaces in Istanbul, except for the Topkapı *enderûn*, where it was 8 *akçes*.

8 BOA, MAD d. 148, 7a–7b, 31b, 36b (990–991 [1582–1583]) shows that there were 41 aghas in the male court and 28 in the harem of the Topkapı Palace, 43 in the Old Palace (a 44th moved into the Galata Palace), 35–40 in the İbrahim Pasha Palace, and 38–40 in the Galata Palace. I added these up with the caveat that the 41 *ağayân-ı enderûnî* (given as a sum at *ibid.*, 7a) might also include the three non-eunuch aghas of the Privy Chamber. Another register from 1601 also records at least 43 eunuchs in the *enderûn*. BOA, D.SVM.d. 36080. Perhaps the most important among these numbers is the 28 (black) eunuchs in the Topkapı harem, given that this group was previously estimated to have a much larger population. See Jane Hathaway, *The Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Harem: From African Slave to Power-Broker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 54. A document dated 1042 (1632) indicates that there were 35 eunuchs at the harem of the Topkapı Palace, excluding the chief harem eunuch, and lists the names of the 27 “aghas of the Gate of Felicity” (i.e., white eunuchs) apart from the five major aghas of the male court: TSMA, d. 10457/61. For the increase in the numbers and wages of some eunuch corps since 1555–1556, compare the numbers above with Ömer Lütfî Barkan, “İstanbul Saraylarına Ait Muhasebe Defterleri,” *Belgeler* 9, no. 13 (1979): 6, 19, 27. The numbers cited for 1582–1583 may or may not include the eunuchs in charge of the palace infirmary (*bimârhâne*) located in the first courtyard of the Topkapı Palace: these increased from two to three, to four aghas from 1577 to 1602, TSMA, d. 34, 36b, 84b, 120a, 233b. For a transliteration of TSMA, d. 34, which should be crosschecked for occasional errors and omissions, see Osman Yiğit,

Figure 1: Court eunuch hierarchy in Istanbul according to daily wages. The number next to each title indicates the official's daily wage in terms of *akçes*. Appointments attested in the sixteenth century are indicated by arrows (→).

* Head of the Privy Chamber was not always a eunuch.

** These wages are conjectured according to Gazanfer Agha's combined wage of 170 *akçes* as the holder of both offices.

Source for the numbers in square brackets: BOA, MAD d. 148, 7a-7b, 31b, 36b (990-991 [1582-1583]).

Source for the numbers in parentheses: BOA, D.SVM.d. 36080, pp. 2-3 and 10-11 (Zilhicce 1009 [June-July 1601], pp. 6-7 (Muharrem 1010 [July 1601]).

Source for the numbers: 'Âli, *Kühül'-Ajbâr*: c. II, 96-100.

Sources for the appointments: TSMA, d. 34, 18a, 20a, 21b, 50a, 66a; Selânikî, *Tarih*, 1:39.

GALATA PALACE	İBRAHİM PASHA PALACE	TOPKAPI PALACE					OLD PALACE
		Enderun				Harem	
		Privy Chamber	Gate of Felicity	Treasury	Commissary		
			Chief white eunuch <i>Kapı Ağası</i> 90 (100 ^{**})				
		Head of the P. C.* <i>Has Oda Başı</i> 60 (70 ^{**})		Head treasurer <i>Hazinedarbaşı</i> 60 (80)	Head of the C. <i>Kilercibaşı</i> 50 (60)	Chief harem eunuch <i>Darıssaade Ağası</i> [70]	
			Agha of the palace <i>Saray Ağası</i> 40 (60)	Treasury steward <i>Hazine kethüdası</i> (60)			
Agha of the Galata Palace [30]	Agha of the İbrahim Pasha Palace [30]	Non eunuch aghas <i>Silahdar, Çukadar, Rikabdar</i> 20 each (30-25-25)	Palace steward <i>Saray Kethüdası</i> (35)			Agha of the Old P. Eski Saray Ağası [40]	
Lesser eunuchs: [1 agha: 8 <i>akçes</i>] [5 aghas: 6 <i>akçes</i> each] [31-33 aghas: 5 <i>akçes</i> each]	Lesser eunuchs: [1 agha: 8 <i>akçes</i>] [3 aghas: 6 <i>akçes</i> each] [30-35 aghas: 5 <i>akçes</i> each]		Lesser eunuchs: (1 agha: 20 <i>akçes</i>) (1 agha: 14 <i>akçes</i>) (1 agha: 13 <i>akçes</i>) (4 aghas: 12 <i>akçes</i> each) (26 aghas: 10 <i>akçes</i> each) (3 aghas: 8 <i>akçes</i> each)		Com. steward <i>Kiler kethüdası</i> (20)	Lesser eunuchs: [1 agha: 20 <i>akçes</i>] [7 aghas: 10 <i>akçes</i> each] [7 aghas: 8 <i>akçes</i> each] [8 aghas: 6 <i>akçes</i> each] [4 aghas: 5 <i>akçes</i> each]	
						Lesser eunuchs: [11 aghas: 8 <i>akçes</i> each] [3 aghas: 7 <i>akçes</i> each] [6 aghas: 6 <i>akçes</i> each] [22-23 aghas: 5 <i>akçes</i> each]	

It is thus important to note that Âli does not condemn eunuch households categorically but problematizes the aghas' premature acquisition of households. In his view, these burgeoning households were harming the imperial court in more than one way. For one, they were placing an additional burden on the already strained finances of the palace, as the imperial stores and kitchens were working to supply provisions for the household inhabitants (*ehl-i beyt*) of every agha.⁹ At the same time, with his body in the palace, but his mind wandering away to his life outside, each of these eunuchs was becoming estranged from his duties, turning into a half-hearted and neglectful overseer of the palace community, which in turn paved the way for further degeneration.¹⁰

Exaggerated though they may be, Mustafa Âli's remarks reflected a real concern among the courtly circles about how to curb the relations of the courtiers with "the outside" (*taşra*), the world beyond the walls of the palace. To ensure the secrecy of its own internal affairs, as well as to prevent the formation of corrupt factional-financial relations with outsiders,¹¹ the imperial court enforced—with some success—not only absolute confinement upon pages, but also restrictions upon eunuchs, whose position was more liminal, strategic, and therefore more precarious. In the case of white eunuchs, this was not so easy, for even long before "Istanbulite" (*şehri*) eunuchs infiltrated their ranks in the late seventeenth century (if not earlier),¹² it was rather common for white eunuchs' family members to come and find

"Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi 34 Numaralı Filori Defteri (Değerlendirme-Transkripsiyon)" (master's thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2018). There were also a few castrated court dwarfs and mutes, as well as some other court eunuchs who were not part of the official eunuch corps, such as Musahib Mehmed Agha, who is discussed in this article. In addition to the palaces considered here, it seems that there were further groups of eunuchs employed in the Üsküdar Palace and the Queen Mother's Palace (*Vâlide Sultân Sarayı*), i.e., the palatial residence of Murad III's mother Nurbanu Sultan at Yeni Kapı near the Aya Kapı. See Gelibolulu Âli Mustafa, *Nushatü's-Selâtin: Siyaset Sanatı*, ed. Faris Çerçi (Istanbul: Büyüyen Ay, 2015), 336. Of course, it should be kept in mind that the total population of eunuchs in early modern Istanbul was larger than that of court eunuchs, since many elite households kept eunuch servants and apparently there were also manumitted ones freely living in the city.

9 "[H]er ağânun ehl-i beyt-i [sic: beyt or beyti] zeḥâyiri kilâr-ı 'âmire ve maḥbaḥ-ı ḥaşdan âmâdedür." Âli, *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâis*, 277. Âli, *Ottoman Gentleman*, 21 mentions "families" instead of household inhabitants.

10 Âli, *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâis*, 277 cites the following verse to describe this situation: "Ten bunda ve cân anda, gönül arada hayrân" (The flesh is on one side, the soul on the other side, and the heart in between, perplexed). Âli, *Ottoman Gentleman*, 21. The author's next complaint mentions a parallel desire on the part of pages and concubines: although prohibited from getting out of the palace, those would sometimes feign illness to trick the aghas into letting them out, resulting in their staying for months in someone else's home. *Ibid.*; Âli, *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâis*, 277.

11 In the 1580s and 1590s, several eunuch dwarfs were expelled from the palace as soon as it was discovered that they had "mingled" and had corrupt dealings with outsiders. Selânikî, *Tarih*, 1:136, 353, 2:485, 487. Âli also describes, in a previous note, how earlier grand viziers would send their men to the palace gate to spy on the aghas and see whom they were conversing with, in an effort to find out bribery transgressions. Âli, *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâis*, 276; Âli, *Ottoman Gentleman*, 20.

12 A "şehri" eunuch called İbrahim Agha entered the Topkapı Palace's white eunuch corps in 1103 (1692). TSMA, d. 835, 5a. It is unclear what this really means: Was he a free native of Istanbul castrated into slavery, or just a naturalized eunuch

them in Istanbul, and thereby to establish a permanent link with “the outside.”¹³ By contrast, black eunuchs, who had more distant, inaccessible families and no countrymen among the ruling elite, could more easily conform to the requirement of being complete outsiders. Thus, an imperial order sent in 1574 to the governor of Egypt had specifically demanded twelve Abyssinian or Nubian eunuchs “who did not know the Turkish language.”¹⁴ Nevertheless, in a telling event of 1592, the chief black eunuch Server Agha’s attempt to prohibit the subordinate harem eunuchs from dealing and communicating with the “outside folk” (*taşra halkı*) was met with vehement resistance and protest on their part, leading to his exile to Egypt and the suppression of the others by an apparently more authoritarian new chief.¹⁵

This pressure exerted upon the lesser eunuchs, however, contrasted with the liberality enjoyed by those occupying the top rungs of the hierarchy. As early as the period from 1473 to 1481, Giovanni Maria Angiolello had observed that the chief eunuch of the Old Palace was receiving “many gifts from the Great Turk,” including “a large villa [*una grossa villa*] about six miles distant from Constantinople.” He also had “a house outside the palace” (*casa fuori del serraglio*). Having among his privileges a high daily salary of 100 *akçes*, an allowance for living expenses, as well as a retinue of slaves, this official was “free to do as he likes for three or four hours during the day, but at night he must always remain in the palace.” By contrast, the twenty lesser eunuchs under his authority, a mixed group of blacks and whites, had to “remain there day and night, serving and watching the women.”¹⁶

Various pieces of evidence from later periods also confirm that the court not simply tolerated but in fact accommodated and supported its high-ranking eunuchs’ efforts to acquire real estate, establish their own households, and engage with the city outside at their own discretion. This sometimes took the form of granting them valuable urban properties;¹⁷ at other times, it meant providing employment for their kinsmen and household slaves,¹⁸ and even allowing them to set up their own business and engage in trade.¹⁹ As for having a house of one’s own, this had already ceased by the late fifteenth century to be the chief white eunuch’s prerogative—if it ever had been, as Âlî claimed—given that Bayezid II’s head treasurers Firuz and Sinan both had their own residences in the city, with no apparent objection from the royal court.²⁰ By the time a eunuch reached the pinnacle of the hierarchy, he would have established a sizable household with more than a hundred slaves,²¹ most of whom he would have likely lodged in

who spent some time in an Istanbul household? For a discussion of the practice of castration in the Ottoman domains and by the Ottoman court itself, see A. Ezgi Dikici, “The Making of Ottoman Court Eunuchs: Origins, Recruitment Paths, Family Ties, and ‘Domestic Production,’” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 30 (2013): 105–136.

13 Eunuchs’ relatives are discussed below.

14 “Ammâ gönderilen tavâşî ‘acemî olub Türkce bilir olmaya.” BOA, A. {DVNSMHHM.d. 26, p. 226, order no. 645 ([early] Cemaziyelahir 982 [September 1574]).

15 The order given to their new chief, the white eunuch Hacı Mustafa Agha, to cruelly discipline the lesser-ranking black harem eunuchs is captured by the wording of Selânikî, *Tarih*, 1:281: “kara-ağalara ak-ağa zecr u kahr ile hâkim olmak buyuruldu.” See also Ahmed Resmî Efendi, *Hamiletü’l-Küberâ*, ed. Ahmet Nezihi Turan (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2000), 45–46.

16 Quoted in Barnette Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte: The Grand Seraglio of Stambul* (New York: AMS Press, 1970 [1931]), 91; the original source is Giovanni Maria Angiolello [attributed to Donado da Lezze], *Historia turchesca (1300–1514)*, ed. I. Ursu (Bucharest: Carol Göbl, 1909), 129. Apparently the same liberties and requirements applied to both chief eunuchs presiding over the Old and the New (Topkapı) Palaces; the agha of the latter palace (i.e., *kapu ağası*) also had an abode outside the palace for his “family, horses, and camels,” but he was not permitted to stay there overnight, for he was supposed to be continuously at the court: “tiene stantia fuori del serraglio per famigli, cavalli et camelli, ma la persona sua sta di continuo nel serraglio, con licenza puol andare, ma non albergar fuori del serraglio.” *Ibid.*, 123–124.

17 Bayezid II, for instance, granted to his head treasurer Sinan Agha the traditional residence of the Venetian bailo at Balık Pazarı, which the eunuch endowed as a pair of khans in 1502. Stéphane Yerasimos and Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, “La résidence du baile de Venise à Balıkpazarı. Essai de localisation,” *Anatolia Moderna/Yeni Anadolu* 6 (1996): 1–11.

18 Many documents attest to the appointments of eunuchs’ relatives to posts in the capital as well as in the provinces; one example is the appointment of the newly converted nephew of Ali Agha, the agha of the Old Palace, as a doorkeeper at the “upper gate” (supposedly of the Old Palace) at BOA, A. {DVNSMHHM.d. 2, p. 11, order no. 108 (13 Rebiülevvel 963 [January 26, 1556]). For the court’s employment of a eunuch’s slaves, see İbrahim Metin Kunt, “Kulların Kulları,” *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi* 3 (1975): 27–42.

19 Two imperial orders addressed to the qadi of Istanbul in 1618 reveal that the then incumbent chief white eunuch Mehmed Agha was managing two different bakery shops in Istanbul proper, one that he rented from a waqf in the Çukur Hamamı Quarter, and the other being his own property (*mülk fırını*) at Tavuk Pazarı. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, İstanbul Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1027/M. 1618)*, project director M. Âkif Aydın, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010), 489, no. 747, facsimile at 502, 95a (early Cemaziyelahir 1027 [May–June 1618]); *ibid.*, 473–474, n. 727, facsimile at 507, 89b (late Cemaziyelahir 1027 [June 1618]).

20 Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 201.

21 TSMA, d. 9319 lists the 145 male slaves of Yakub Agha, the chief white eunuch who died in 1566.

his private urban mansion. Two documents drawn up in 1557 for the purpose of finding suitable employment at the imperial palace for the 156 male slaves who belonged to the deceased chief white eunuch Cafer Agha reveal an elaborate household structure including a variety of professionals—such as cooks, barbers, musicians, boot-makers, arrow-makers, tent-makers, a veterinarian, and a goldsmith—twenty-one “veterans, who would wander together with the agha,” and thirty-nine young boys who were schoolchildren raised by the household.²²

Thus, when Âlî complained that “although interest in connecting with the outside is a great offense for eunuchs, that inadmissible deed has today become great worth and honor for those people,”²³ he was making a historical observation that this privilege was becoming increasingly accessible for the low-ranking novices. Yet this switch from a negative to a positive judgment can also be understood to reflect a change of attitude that any given eunuch would have perceived towards his outside endeavors at some point in his lifetime: at a not clearly delineated, perhaps negotiable moment of his career, the outside connections, riches, and any real estate that he had begun to amass would no longer represent an “offense” but transform into the nucleus of a fortune that he could now legitimately continue to expand.

This article examines the residences and other real estate of a group of eunuchs who were already past this threshold of legitimacy by the 1590s, the decade when Âlî deplored the dissolution or downward shift of the threshold itself. It uses the descriptions of the residences that are found in the available endowment deeds belonging to four officials occupying different ranks of the eunuch hierarchy in the 1590s to contextualize these in a more comprehensive overview of the aghas’ property ownership in Istanbul. Much of the following discussion, however, focuses on the relatively better documented real estate of two patrons in particular: Gazanfer Agha, the head of the entire palace personnel, who—in a rather unusual fashion—simultaneously held the offices of head of the Privy Chamber ([*Hâss*] *Oda başı*, 1577–1581, 1583–1603)²⁴ and chief white eunuch (*kapu ağası* or *Bâbü’s-sa’âde ağası*, 1581–1603),²⁵ and

22 Kunt, “Kulların Kulları,” 27–42. As Kunt points out, these documents attest to the symbiotic relationship between the royal court and the chief eunuch’s household, for fourteen of the agha’s slaves were already employed at the palace as confectioners (*helvâcılar*) and cooks (*aşçılar*) while their master was still alive, indicating the presence of literally “slaves of slaves” within the imperial household. *Ibid.*, 30. For the practice of slavery in the Ottoman Empire especially in the sixteenth century, see Nur Sobers-Khan, *Slaves without Shackles: Forced Labour and Manumission in the Galata Court Registers, 1560–1572* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2014).

23 “Alâka taşra büyük cürm iken tavâşîye / O kavme oldı bugün emr-i nâ-pesend kadr-i ‘azîm.” This couplet is part of the poem that concludes the chapter discussed in this article. Âlî, *Mevâ’idü’l-Nefâis*, 278. Âlî, *Ottoman Gentleman*, 22 provides a different translation.

24 Gazanfer was the head of the Privy Chamber from late 984 (early 1577) until his promotion to the post of chief white eunuch on 19 Receb 989 (August 19, 1581). TSMA, d. 34, 32b (the earliest entry with “Oda-başı Gazanfer Ağa,” dated 27 Zilkade 984 [February 15, 1577]), 60a. After two other officials serving as the head of the Privy Chamber, he was reinstated to this position between 28 Şevval-6 Zilkade 991 (November 14–21, 1583) and began to hold both offices from then on. For his reappearance as *odabaşı*, see *ibid.*, 77a. It seems that his predecessor in 1577, Cafer Agha, was not his brother Cafer—as was previously thought—but a namesake. See the first quotation dated February 24, 1577 in Maria Pia Pedani, “Safiye’s Household and Venetian Diplomacy,” *Turcica* 32 (2000): 14, n. 14, which refers to Gazanfer’s—not his brother’s—appointment. Gazanfer’s (probably younger) brother Cafer, who was also a eunuch, left the palace on 1 Muharrem 987 (February 28, 1579), having been given a bonus of 400 gold coins and a garment. TSMA, d. 34, 43b (“Oda-başı Gazanfer Ağa’nın karındaşı Ca’fer Ağa oturağa çıkub”). Cafer apparently never achieved a high post in the palace, since his name is mentioned without any title. He seems to have been sent to Egypt at some point and died there, because an endowment deed that Gazanfer registered in 1584 refers to him as “his deceased full brother Cafer Agha, buried in Egypt” (*shaqîqihî al-marhûm al-maghfûr Ja’far Agha ibn ‘Abd al-Shakûr al-madfûn fî mahrûsa Misr*) and stipulates the creation of a new set of jobs for Quran recitation at the Little Hagia Sophia Mosque in Istanbul partly for the benefit of his soul. TSMA, e. 853/20 (early Cemaziyelahir 992 [June 1584]). As for Gazanfer’s predecessor in 1577 who was also named Cafer, this agha had been appointed as head of the Privy Chamber immediately after Murad III’s accession to the throne in December 1574. For the earliest and last entries with his name, see TSMA, d. 34, 21b, 32b. He was probably the same person as “Cafer Agha the European [*al-İfranî*], son of Abdullah, known as the previous *odabaşı* [*al-ma’rif bi-oda-başı sâbiqan*],” who was born to a father named Pep(e)lan in Vestia(?) in Spain (“min wilâyat İspâniyya min dâr al-harb”) and who, upon his death in 1582, was survived by his two sisters Kamer and Emine as well as his brother Mehmed’s son Mustafa. TSMA, e. 1081/23 (mid-Ramazan 990 [early October 1582]). This might also be the one who died of plague in October 1582. See Pedani, “Safiye’s Household,” 14, n. 14. The “Spanish” Cafer Agha was most probably also a eunuch, given his apparent lack of any wife or children. His (other?) brother Mehmed was apparently a page in the Privy Chamber even after his dismissal. TSMA, d. 34, 43b (“Çıkan Ca’fer Oda-başı’nın karındaşı Mehmed’e,” 15 Muharrem 987 [March 14, 1579]).

25 Gazanfer Agha evidently registered two different endowment deeds between 1593 and 1596 for his madrasa complex next to the Valens Aqueduct. The one that I focus on is his substantial endowment deed dated late Cemaziyellevvel 1004 (January 1596), VGMA, d. 571, no. 8, pp. 11–22. A luxurious copy of this deed is at the Sadberk Hanım Museum, SHM 15011-Y.90; see Zeren Tanındı, *Harmony of Line and Colour: Illuminated Manuscripts, Documents and Calligraphy in the Sadberk Hanım Museum Collection*, trans. Priscilla Mary Işın, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Sadberk Hanım Museum, 2019), 1:376–377. An earlier endowment deed of Gazanfer survives in an undated and incomplete copy whose first pages are missing. TSMA, d. 1973. It includes information on earlier states of certain properties he endowed in 1596, as well as

12 Mehmed Agha, the chief harem eunuch (or chief black eunuch, *kızlar ağası* or *Dârü's-sa 'âde ağası*), whose tenure (1574/5–1591) marked the beginning of the ascendancy of black harem eunuchs.²⁶ In addition to these two major figures, I also look at the endowments made by two other officials for further insights: Kayış Mustafa Agha, the head treasurer (*hazînedârbaşı*, 1582–1603),²⁷ who ranked immediately below Gazanfer and later succeeded him,²⁸ and the black eunuch Mehmed Agha, who, as a companion (*musâhib*) of Murad III (r. 1574–1595), held a position outside the two official career ladders specific to eunuchs.²⁹ Examining the residences owned by several contemporary aghas would help to see these in context, instead of as isolated instances, and to make better sense of the particularity of each case.

Thus, in what follows, I examine the four patrons' residences in terms of their architectural characteristics, location, and urban context, trying to delineate what these indicate regarding the eunuchs' household populations, daily lives, and relationships with the city at large. The article then proceeds with a discussion of the long-term patterns of continuity and change in the eunuch residences and other real estate in Istanbul, as well as of the possible impact of their retainers' composition on the aghas' property accumulation in the intra muros city and its three suburban townships of Üsküdar, Galata, and Eyüb. This exploration is meant to contribute to a better understanding of the ways in which court eunuchs engaged with the city and mingled with its population. The real estate they acquired arguably served as a primary tool or anchor in doing so: as urban spaces under their direct private ownership, these properties can not only enable us to reconstruct the actual settings they inhabited and the urban trajectories they physically moved along, but also hint at the social circles they came into varying degrees of contact with—whether their neighbors, tenants, waqf administrators, or household cohabitants—as well as the commercial activities by hosting which they were able to participate in the city's economy.

Mehmed Agha's Residence near the Old Palace

In January 1591, when the chief harem eunuch Mehmed Agha's stomach illness got severe, he had to be removed "from the sultan's vicinity" and transferred by carriage to his own residence,³⁰ so that he could receive care and die in the privacy of his home. Yet he breathed his last as soon as he arrived there. The next day, the Imperial Council meeting was cancelled for his funeral, effectively enforcing its members to participate in the ceremony. The participants must have largely followed the northern/primary branch of the city's ceremonial axis, the Divanyolu. Having taken the agha's body probably from his house to the east of the Old Palace (fig. 2: A), the procession must have headed northwestwards, going first to the mosque of Mehmed II (Fatih) for the funeral prayer and then to his mosque complex in the Beğceğiz/Beğcüğez Quarter (now known as Çarşamba), where he was buried in the designated ground of his mausoleum (fig. 3).³¹

some other pieces of real estate. This earlier document must be dated to the period between 1593 and 1596 due to its reference to the agha's madrasa, the construction of which began after the royal authorization in late Ramazan 1001 (late June 1593). TSMa, e. 892/37.

26 The main endowment deed of Mehmed Agha used in this research is TSMK, EH 3028, which was posthumously registered on 10 Rebiülahir 999 (February 5, 1591); the date at 94a. He also had an earlier one registered in early Şevval 990 (October–November 1582). TSMK, EH 3001, the date at 37a. For earlier studies on Mehmed Agha's career, see Hathaway, *Chief Eunuch*, 55–76; Hathaway, "Habeşi Mehmed Agha: The First Chief Harem Eunuch (Darüssaade Ağası) of the Ottoman Empire," in *The Islamic Scholarly Tradition: Studies in History, Law, and Thought in Honor of Professor Michael Allan Cook*, ed. Asad Q. Ahmed, Behnam Sadeghi, and Michael Bonner (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 179–195.

27 The reason for his nickname "Kayış," supposedly meaning "leather strap," is unclear. Mustafa seems to have acquired it very early on and retained it throughout his life. TSMa, d. 34, 4b (*Gulâm-ı Der* ["gate boy"] *Kayış Mustafâ Ağâ* as of 25 Rebiülevvel 978 [August 27, 1570]), 235b (*Kapı Ağası Kayış Mustafâ Ağâ* as of 22 Şaban 1012 [January 25, 1604]). He became the agha of the palace (*sarây ağası*) on 5 Cemaziyelahir 982 (September 22, 1574), head of the commissary (*kilârcıbaşı/kilercibaşı*) on 19 Rebiülevvel 988, Salı (Tuesday May 3, 1580), and head treasurer (*hazînedârbaşı*) on 11 Rebiülevvel 990 (April 5, 1582). TSMa, d. 34, 20a, 50a, 64b.

28 Mustafa Agha's endowment deed dated early Şaban 1002 (April 22–May 1, 1594) is found at *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Rumeli Sadâreti Mahkemesi 21 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1002–1003/M. 1594–1595)*, project director M. Âkif Aydın, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2011) (hereafter abbreviated as *Rumeli 21*), no. 245, pp. 225–230 (Turkish translation of the Arabic text) and 56b–59a (facsimile).

29 *Ibid.*, no. 262, pp. 241–252 (transliteration) and 62a–65a (facsimile). It is dated early Zilkade 1002 (July 19–28, 1594).

30 Selânikî, *Tarih*, 1:229–230, in late Rebiülevvel 999.

31 *Ibid.* The mosque complex is mentioned in TSMK, EH 3028, 15b, 20b. See also Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 498–501.

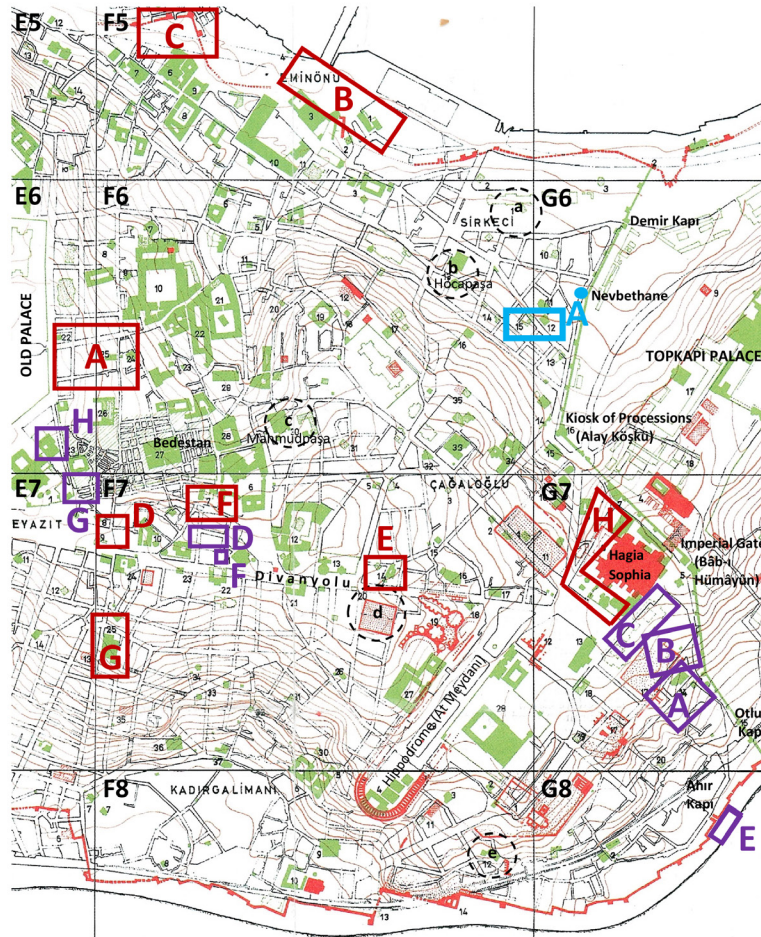


Figure 2: Eunuchs' properties, eastern part of the Istanbul peninsula (after Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*). TSMK, EH 3028; VGMA, d. 571, no. 8; *Rumeli 21*, no. 245.

The numbers in parentheses below refer to each property's order of appearance in the respective endowment deed.

Approximate locations of Mehmed Agha's properties marked in red:

- (A) Mehmed Agha's residence (11), a bread bakery, six rooms, five shops (12), and another house (14), in the area around the Sırt Bath [F6:25] and the Mercan Agha Mosque [F6:24].
- (B) A public eating-house (cooking sheep heads and trotters), a candle workshop, a slaughterhouse, two storehouses, a *boza*-drinking house, a sherbet-drinking house, and a cookshop, around Emin İskelesi and Yahud Kapısı (1, 2, 3, 4).
- (C) Ten unspecified shops in total, an empty plot, a timber storehouse, a spoon-maker's shop, and five storehouses, near Meyve İskelesi and Ahi Çelebi Mosque (5, 6, 7, 9).
- (D) A shop (15) near Irgad Pazarı, abutting Mehmed Agha's *sebil* (water dispenser) and the Hoca Piri Waqf [Hoca Piri Mosque at F7:8].
- (E) Seven or nine cells (18), and another shop (19), abutting Mehmed Agha's *sebil-mekteb* (water dispenser with an upper-story elementary school) and madrasa near the Hoca Rüstem Mosque [F7:14].
- (F) Eleven rooms, five storehouses, and six shops at the Poultry Market (Tavuk Pazarı) (16).
- (G) Eighteen rooms (17) in the quarter that centers on the Gedik Ahmed Pasha Mosque and Bath [F7:25].
- (H) Twenty-four rooms for bachelors, twelve shops, and twenty-four rooms for married couples (20) near Hagia Sophia [G7:6].

Approximate locations of Gazanfer Agha's properties marked in purple:

- (A) Gazanfer Agha's residence (1) and other house compounds (36, 37, 38) around the İshak Pasha Bath (35) and Mosque [G7:14].
- (B) A house (18), a tenement of seven cells (19), and another tenement of four rooms (20) in the İshak Pasha Quarter.
- (C) Khan adjacent to the royal painting atelier near Hagia Sophia [G7:6] (2).
- (D) A compound of three rooms, two shops, and a storehouse (3), and another compound (called *menzil*) comprising a shop, a tailor's shop, and a large room (4), both adjacent to the Slave Market (Esir Hanı) at Tavuk Pazarı.
- (E) House with a boathouse and a storehouse outside the Ahır Kapı (15).
- (F) Shop (21) adjacent to the fountain of Ali Pasha near the Ali Pasha Mosque [F7:11].
- (G) Three shops near the Flea Market (Bit Pazarı) (22, 23, 24).
- (H) Three shops adjacent to the flour depot of the Bayezid II soup kitchen (*imâret*) (17).

Approximate locations of Mustafa Agha's properties marked in blue:

- (A) His residence in the quarter of the Kara Kedi/Karakı Hüseyin Çelebi Mosque [G6:12], and his madrasa [F6:15], near the Nevbethane.

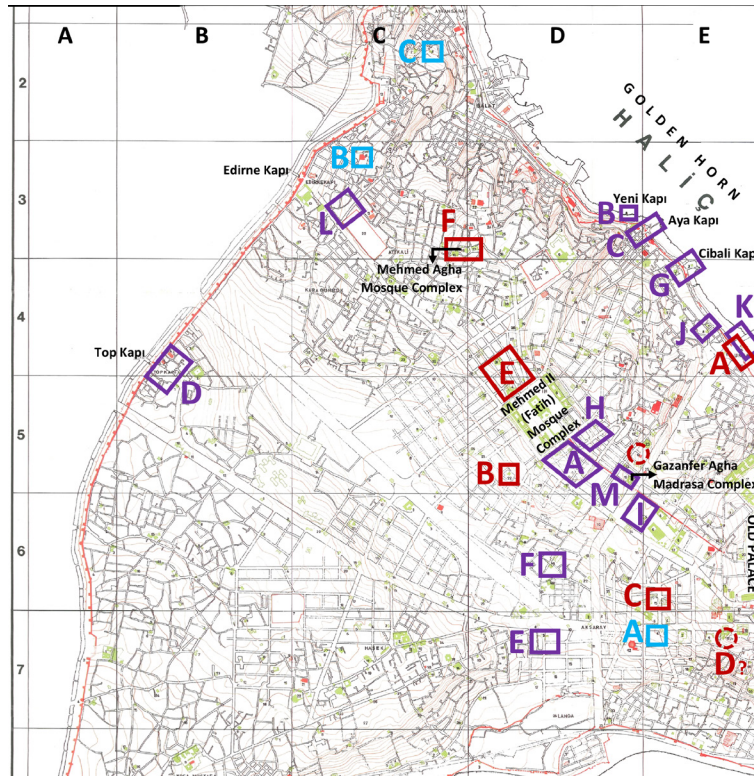


Figure 3: Eunuchs' properties, western part of the Istanbul peninsula (after Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*). TSMK, EH 3028; VGMA, d. 571, no. 8; *Rumeli 21*, no. 245.

The numbers in parentheses below refer to each property's order of appearance in the respective endowment deed.

Approximate locations of Mehmed Agha's properties marked in red:

- (A) Six shops near Unkapamı (8).
- (B) Twenty-six rooms for married couples, a house, and twelve shops next to the İskender Pasha Mosque [D5:22] (10).
- (C) Unspecified property near the Kadıasker (or Çukurçeşme) Bath [E6:15] (13).
- (D) A house in the Sekban Quarter, presumably around either the Sekbanbaşı Yakub Agha Mosque [near E7:9] or the Sekbanbaşı İbrahim Agha Mosque [D5:13] (21).
- (E) Two storehouses, six shops, and twelve rooms for bachelors at the Küçük Karaman market area (22).
- (F) Mehmed Agha's mosque complex [C3:19, D3:27] at Çarşamba/Beğçeğiz together with his double bath (23) and other nearby properties: ninety unspecified shops, a pastry shop, a bread bakery, a *boza*-drinking house, a storehouse, a grocery store, twenty-seven rooms for married couples, and two houses (24–44).

Approximate locations of Gazanfer Agha's properties marked in purple:

- (A) Khan at Büyük Karaman (5).
- (B) Two rooms, five shops, and one boathouse (a compound called *menzil*) outside the Yeni Kapı near the Aya Kapı (6), and a three-story house in its vicinity (7).
- (C) A house (8) inside the Aya Kapı, adjacent to the fortification, in the quarter of the Tahta Minare Mosque; three other houses in its vicinity (9, 10, 11); and a house with storehouses outside the Aya Kapı (27).
- (D) Garden and house near the Top Kapı (12).
- (E) Two tenement blocks, one with fourteen rooms (13) and the other with nine rooms (14) in the quarter of the Çakır Agha Mosque [D7:9] near Langa.
- (F) House in the quarter of Kızıl Musluk [presumably same as the quarter of the Kızıl Minare Mosque, D6:19] (16).
- (G) Two large houses, one entirely outside the Cebe Ali (Cibali) Gate (25) and the other apparently extending from the Sivrikoz Mosque [E4:2] to the seacoast (perhaps over the city wall?) (26).
- (H) Two buildings comprising a total of sixteen shops, fourteen cells, and two stables (28, 29) near the Horse Market (At Pazarı).
- (I) A butcher's shop near the Şehzade Mosque [E6:6] (30).
- (J) A thirty-cell tenement with a shop (31) in the Debbağlar Quarter, next to the Haraccı Kara Mehmed Waqf [mosque at E4:7].
- (K) A total of fourteen shops, one storehouse, a room (*gurfe*) and ten other shops for selling fish outside Unkapamı (32, 33, 34).
- (L) Thirty-two rooms for families, forty-eight shops at Çukur Bostan [C3:22] near the Edirne Kapı (39).
- (M) Gazanfer Agha's madrasa complex [D5:15], nine rooms (40), and one shop (41).

Approximate locations of Mustafa Agha's properties marked in blue:

- (A) The residence of his cousin Rüstem Agha in the quarter of the Kızıldaş Mosque [E7:6] (1).
- (B) A house and two shops in the quarter of Kilise Camii [presumably the Chora, C3:6] near the Edirne Kapı (2).
- (C) Ten contiguous rooms in the quarter of the Hacı Ali Mosque in Balat [C2:8] (3).

Mehmed Agha's house in question must be the one that his posthumous endowment deed (*vakfiye* or *waqfiyya*) refers to as "his own abode of felicity" (*kendü sa'âdethâneleri*)³² located in the eastern proximity of the Old Palace, next to one of the properties endowed by the eunuch Mercan Agha in the previous century (fig. 2: A; App. A: 11³³). Granted as a gift by Sultan Murad III in 1587, the dwelling had previously been used by the late Sünbül Agha, the agha of the Old Palace,³⁴ where Mehmed too had probably worked before he was promoted to the headship of the Topkapı Palace harem in December 1574 or slightly later in 1575.³⁵ Although one would expect him to move to a house closer to his new workplace, the Topkapı Palace, there may have been a rationale behind his remaining in the vicinity of the old one.

With this promotion, Mehmed was given the title of *Dârü's-sa'âde ağası* (the chief eunuch of the harem section) of the Topkapı Palace.³⁶ It was probably with the growing importance of the Topkapı's harem, in a process culminating in the reign of Murad III, that its chief eunuch came to be hierarchically above the agha of the Old Palace.³⁷ Nevertheless, even after this appointment, Mehmed Agha's connection with the Old Palace persisted,³⁸ not only due to the sultan's continual use of these royal quarters, but probably also because the agha was now practically the head of the entire imperial harem. Thus, it is possible that, in this early stage of the re-articulation of the eunuch organization, Mehmed still retained a tighter hold of the Old Palace and was recognized as the successor of the line of the aghas who supervised it. His dwelling's location in between the two palaces may therefore have been in accordance with this transitional period.

Like many other elite residences in sixteenth-century Istanbul, this residence too consisted of a number of buildings arranged around two courtyards.³⁹ Visitors approaching it from the public street would find the dwelling adjacent to a bakery known as Baba Ali Fırını, which was subsequently rebuilt by Mehmed and incorporated into his waqf.⁴⁰ Probably immediately visible from the street were the most public units of this house compound: a fountain that Mehmed established for public use⁴¹ and ten shops.⁴² The shops indeed constituted a befit-

32 TSMK, EH 3028, 27b. The residence is briefly discussed in Leyla Kayhan Elbirlik, "Dialogue Beyond Margins: Patronage of Chief Eunuchs in the Late 16th Century Ottoman Court," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 22 (2010): 75.

33 "App." refers to the Appendices at the end of the article.

34 TSMA, e. 852/103 (10 Rebiülahir 995 [March 20, 1587]). According to TSMA, e. 1078/7 (early Cemaziyevvel 994 [April 20–29, 1586]), Sünbül Agha had bought a house in this (Mercan Agha) quarter, just a year before his death. This was a more modest double-courtyard dwelling situated next to another one that he had purchased earlier. Based on the clues in the relevant documents, I conjecture that Sünbül may have joined and rebuilt his two houses to create the large residence that was given after his death to Mehmed. A few months after the purchase, Sünbül had also arranged for the construction of a waterway to bring water from Eyüb to his own residence and its surroundings. TSMA, e. 1252/48 (7 Şevval 994 [September 21, 1586]).

35 Indeed, when he died in 1591, he would also be succeeded by the agha of the Old Palace, (the aforementioned) Server Agha, who had replaced Sünbül. TSMA, d. 34, 104a, 146b (4 Rebiülahir 999 [January 30, 1591]).

36 This was in fact a generic title that applied to the agha of the Old Palace, as well as to the principal harem administrators of provincial princely courts. See Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına Ait Muhasebe Defterleri," 6; BOA, A.(DVNSMHHM.d. 55, p. 228, order no. 412; and footnote 6 above.

37 The chief eunuch of the Topkapı Palace harem thus became the *Dârü's-sa'âde ağası* par excellence. Mehmed Agha's endowment deed of 1582, however, refers to him as "the chief at [or head of] the sublime palace" (*er-re'îs bi's-sarâyî'l-âli*), although it does use the term "*Dârü's-sa'âde ağası*" in assigning the waqf's superintendence to the future chief harem eunuchs. TSMK, EH 3001, 17a, 25a. His posthumous endowment deed also gives his title as *re'îs-i sarâyî'l-âli* (head of the sublime palace). TSMK, EH 3028, 14a.

38 An excess amount of his earlier waqf's revenues was to be kept in the Old Palace. TSMK, EH 3001, 31a.

39 See Stéphane Yérasimos, "Dwellings in Sixteenth-Century Istanbul," in *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2003), 275–300.

40 The endowment deed explains that this bakery was initially founded by a certain late Baba Ali on a plot that he rented from the Hoca Hamza Waqf. After purchasing the building from the founder's descendants, Mehmed Agha rebuilt the bakery and appended to it five shops and six upper-floor rooms, while he continued to pay an annual rent (*mukâta'a*) to the Hoca Hamza Waqf, the owner of the plot (App. A: 12). Just next door to his residence, the bakery must have functioned practically as an extension of his household and compensated for the apparent lack of a baking oven inside the dwelling—a facility which was available in about 25.10 percent of the houses in Istanbul proper. Yérasimos, "Dwellings," 285.

41 The fountain was most likely based on the waterway established by Sünbül Agha in 1586–1587; see the relevant footnote above. One of the witnesses for the authorization of Sünbül's waterway in 1586 was indeed a son of Baba Ali by the name of el-Hac Mustafa, whose bakery must have been one of the beneficiaries of the water arrangement. TSMA, e. 1252/48.

42 According to Yérasimos, "Dwellings," 285, "In 7.94 percent of all houses, shops and dwelling places were located in the same buildings" and such house-shop combinations were particularly frequent (20.1 percent) in the largely commercial district of İbrahim Pasha, where Mehmed Agha's house was located; indeed, the room-shop combinations next to

16 ting transition between the compound's residential inner core and the commercial heart of the city that surrounded it. The row of shops and upper-story rooms, built subsequently by Mehmed Agha on the other side of the Baba Ali Fırını, extended the house's business façade further along the street (App. A: 12).

Moving deeper into the outer courtyard, one would encounter perhaps the strongest indication that this was an elite household belonging to a member of the ruling class: for here was the *dîvânhâne*, the apparently free-standing reception hall, a venue to welcome visitors and to hold stately councils.⁴³ The presence of no less than three stables in the courtyard implies a large number of visitors to the *dîvânhâne*, who would also benefit from the toilet, running water, and kitchen situated nearby. The fourteen rooms on top of the stables were possibly occupied by the employees—probably slaves—of Mehmed's outer court: the people who worked at the kitchen and the stables, served at the *dîvânhâne*, and perhaps operated the ten shops as well.

The inner court, by contrast, constituted a more intimate space that Mehmed probably shared with none but a handful of his closest servants/slaves. In addition to having its own garden and more than one toilet, this section also included such rarely found "luxuries" as a kitchen and a bath.⁴⁴ Mehmed's own bedroom, which goes unspecified in the endowment deed's description, would have been one of the six rooms occupying the two floors of a structure in the inner courtyard. All in all, this inner core of the dwelling was not dramatically different in terms of its components from that of the agha's other *menzil* (house compound) next to the Sırt Bath—it was perhaps even slightly inferior to it (App. A: 14). The advantage of this main residence instead seems to have lain in its spacious outer courtyard, which provided room for the bulk of the household population, as well as for the *dîvânhâne*. In other words, the priority in its constitution was on its more "public" outer area, while the "private" inner part was equipped with the comforts of well-to-do houses.

Gazanfer Agha's Residence in the İshak Pasha Quarter

Moving on to the residence of the chief white eunuch Gazanfer Agha in the İshak Pasha Quarter, we encounter a somewhat different living environment (fig. 2: A). Unlike the residence that was given to Mehmed as royal largesse, this one is explicitly stated in the endowment deed dated 1596 to have been constructed under the auspices of Gazanfer himself, which makes it safer to attribute the choices concerning its make-up to his agency alone (App. B: 1). Located in a largely residential area, the house did not include any commercial component. Nor does the endowment deed mention a *dîvânhâne* or any other structure for receiving guests. Yet, comprising more than fifty rooms within its two courtyards, it seems to have housed a much larger household population compared to Mehmed Agha's residence of only twenty rooms. Indeed, it is referred to in the endowment deed as the agha's "endowed palace" (*vakıf sarâyı*) (App. B: 37, 38).

Gazanfer's lofty residence was in the immediate vicinity of the outer wall surrounding the Topkapı Palace, in a neighborhood sloping down towards the Ahır Kapı (Ahır Kapusu, Gate of Stables) of the sea walls, and right next to the mosque and bath of the fifteenth-century



Figure 4: The İshak Pasha Mosque (left) and Bath (right). Photograph: Ezgi Dikici, December 2019.

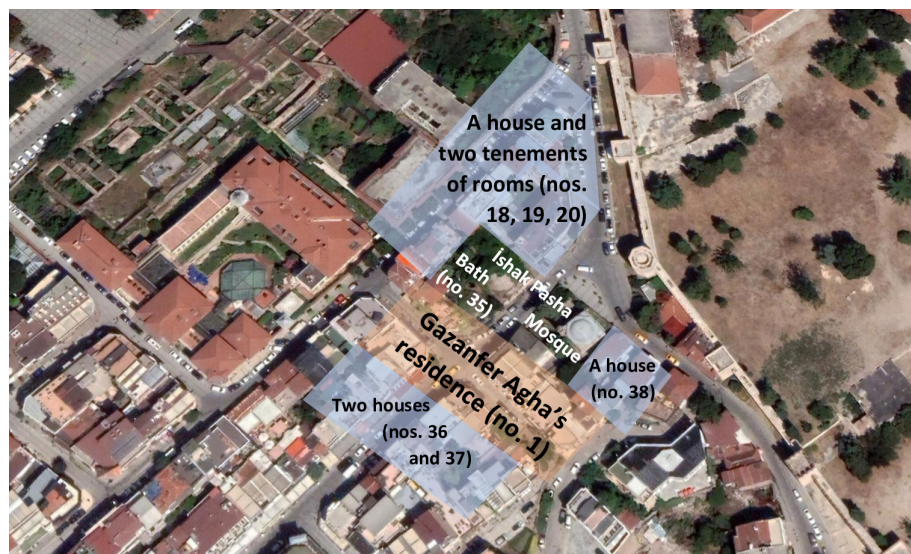
the bakery, noted in the previous footnote, are an example of this arrangement. What we see in the agha's residence, however, is a rather different case: that of an elite residential compound incorporating commercial units, which do not necessarily share their building with a housing unit.

⁴³ See *ibid.*, 279. The fact that Yerasimos found only one example of this structure in his study of sixteenth-century dwellings in Istanbul must be due to the apparent exclusion of most contemporary elite waqfs from the surveys of pious foundations, which were the main sources of his research. For instance, the waqfs of both chief eunuchs Mehmed Agha and Gazanfer Agha, as well as those of the contemporary viziers (as opposed to those of the older generations), are omitted from the 1600 waqf survey (see Mehmet Canatar, ed. *Istanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri 1009 (1600) Tarihli* [Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 2004]), even though such surveys are often treated as if they contained "all" the waqfs.

⁴⁴ As of 1546, in the first five districts of the intra muros Istanbul, including the İbrahim Pasha district, where Mehmed Agha would later be residing, only about 5.1 percent of the houses with more than four rooms had a kitchen and a mere 1.7 percent had a private bath. See Uğur Tanyeli, "Norms of Domestic Comfort and Luxury in Ottoman Metropolises: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," in *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2003), 305, table 2.



Figure 5: Reconstruction of the probable and approximate areas within which Gazanfer Agha's residence and other properties in the İshak Paşa Quarter were located (Google Earth, ©2021 Maxar Technologies). VGMA, d. 571, no. 8. The numbers on the marked areas refer to each property's order of appearance in the endowment deed (see App. B).



It is difficult to determine the size and exact shape of the dwelling, but based on the clues in the endowment deed, as well as the current street structure and the direction of entrance to the İshak Pasha Mosque, it is likely to have laid to the southwest of the mosque and the bath and may have been approached either through the street in between these two structures or from a public street running to the northwest. In any case, the double-courtyard compound may have had a roughly rectangular layout, with its inner section probably lying to the south. The endowment deed describes first the inner court's and then the outer court's buildings—just like that of Mehmed Agha—but ends with an additional structure consisting of a room and a space of unclear shape (*muhît*) that adjoins the inner quarters (*büyüt-ı dâhiliyeye mülâsık*)—perhaps a peripheral vestibule that goes around the outer structures to give direct access from the street to the inner courtyard. If we follow the description in the backward direction—that is, from the outside to the inside, just like someone entering the house through the outer courtyard—the outermost structures would be the toilets, an enclosed open space (*muhavvata*), and a well. The two stables and the two kitchens, also located in the outer section, might have been

45 Kafescioğlu, *Constantinople/Istanbul*, 66, 117, and 127. This is based on the interpretation that the “belvederes functioned as a link between the palace and its surroundings, signifying that the sultan was watching over his realm.” Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1991), 33. It is possible that İshak Pasha's residence was also in the vicinity or even at the same spot as Gazanfer's house.

46 Later account books of Gazanfer's waqf verify that the bath at App. B: 35 is indeed the İshak Pasha Bath.



Figure 6: The İshak Pasha Bath (left) and Mosque (right), and the octagonal belvedere tower of the Topkapı Palace wall seen in the middle. Photograph taken from the probable location of Gazanfer Agha's residence, excerpt from a postcard of unknown date. SALT Research, Ali Saim Ülgen Archive, TASUH1375.

differentiated according to whether they served the residents of the inner court or the outer one, the latter group being lodged in a two-story structure with seven rooms below and ten rooms above. Perhaps facilitated by the presence of a public bath next door, the residence was also endowed with a striking abundance of water sources: there was running water at five different spots in the inner and outer sections, as well as an additional double bath, which, being located in the inner courtyard, served the residents lodged in the twenty-five upper-floor and eight ground-floor rooms constructed in this section. Like the two kitchens and two stables, the existence of a bath in the inner part also seems to indicate a hierarchical distinction between the inner and the outer segments of the household population, as the latter group probably used the public bath of İshak Pasha. At the same time, the fact that it is a double bath strongly indicates the presence of women among the residents of the inner quarters.

These women must have included not only some female slaves of Gazanfer,⁴⁷ but his family members as well. Gazanfer is known to have hosted his mother Franceschina Zorzi Michiel in Istanbul from 1582 through 1584 and then again from 1590 until her death on December 27, 1591.⁴⁸ On the very day she passed away, Gazanfer's sister Beatrice Michiel arrived in Istanbul, and soon afterwards, at her brother's instigation, converted to Islam and took the name of Fatma.⁴⁹ Eric Dursteler notes that Beatrice/Fatma, just like their mother, stayed in "Gazanfer's seraglio,"⁵⁰ but also writes that she "lived with her brother in the imperial palace [i.e., in Gazanfer's mansion next door?] until 1593, when she moved into another seraglio that Gazanfer had constructed to accommodate her."⁵¹ Since Fatma married Ali Agha, the chief doorkeeper (*kapucibaşı*), by June 1593,⁵² it is possible that she began to reside elsewhere

47 The names of some of his slaves are retrievable from the waqf's account books, such as BOA, İE.EV 1/100, 3a (23 Zilkade 1026 [November 22, 1617]), because Gazanfer allocated in his endowment deed a daily allowance of 5 *akçes* for ten of his manumitted female slaves in need—this amount was 10 *akçes* for their ten male counterparts. VGMA, d. 571, no. 8, 21.

48 Pedani, "Safiye's Household," 14; Eric R. Dursteler, *Renegade Women: Gender, Identity, and Boundaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 5 ("residing in her son's seraglio"). For Franceschina's other son Cafer, see footnote 24 above.

49 Pedani, "Safiye's Household," 25. Beatrice's husband Zuane Zaghis, a merchant whom she had married after the death of her first husband in 1588, had traveled to Istanbul in 1590, accompanying Franceschina, and—to Beatrice's chagrin—tried to derive profit from Gazanfer's connections until his return to Venice in May 1591. Dursteler, *Renegade Women*, 7–8, 12.

50 "On her arrival in the Ottoman capital, Beatrice was met by a large company of Ottoman officials. They ceremoniously conducted her from the port to Gazanfer's seraglio, where his more than one hundred slaves attended to her every whim." *Ibid.*, 10.

51 *Ibid.*, 18–19.

52 *Ibid.*, 19. Previously the *silâhdârbaşı* (or *silâhdâr ağası*)—a cavalry officer of the Porte—Ali Agha was appointed as the chief doorkeeper in 1591/1592. Selânikî, *Tarih*, 1:272, 2:672.

with her husband.⁵³ In any case, some time after he became the head of the imperial stables (*büyük mirâhûr*) in May 1597,⁵⁴ Ali Agha bought another house, which belonged to his deceased predecessor and was located most probably in Cağaloğlu, to the west of the Topkapı Palace. Fatma endowed this residence in 1607 and continued to live there through 1612 and possibly until her death in 1613.⁵⁵

Back in the early 1590s, however, Gazanfer indeed seems to have been enlarging an existing property of his (perhaps already his residence?) at İshak Pasha to make it a more comfortable dwelling for his sister and his probably expanding household. Three legal certificates attesting to Gazanfer's acquisition of properties in the neighborhood from April to July 1592 help us reconstruct this rebuilding process. Gazanfer first acquired a house that adjoined his own property and the İshak Pasha waqf buildings by exchanging it with another residence in the same neighborhood. Notably, the plot of his new possession belonged to the Little Hagia Sophia Waqf, which was endowed by the former chief white eunuch Hüseyin Agha in the early sixteenth century and of which Gazanfer himself was the superintendent. The plot also abutted the property of a certain Mustafa Agha, who was clearly a eunuch according to his introductory formula (*elkab*).⁵⁶ Gazanfer then purchased two other neighboring properties apparently to incorporate them into his own mansion: a plot with fig and mulberry trees and an empty plot, both of which seem to have adjoined his original estate from a side facing away from the İshak Pasha Mosque and Bath. For these, he had paid a total of 550,000 *akçes* to two different palace employees.⁵⁷ This was not a vain investment: the resulting palatial residence built on this enlarged piece of land was eventually going to be bequeathed to his sister via the waqf arrangement.⁵⁸

53 One of Gazanfer's endowed properties was next "to the house that Ali Agha built" ("Ali Ağa binâ itdüği menzile) near the Slave Market (fig. 2: D), but it is unclear whether this was the same Ali Agha. VGMA, d. 571, no. 8, p. 14.

54 Ali also retained his existing office (chief doorkeeper). Selânikî, *Tarih*, 2: 685–686 (early Şevval 1005).

55 Ali's purchase of his late predecessor Ahmed Agha's house from the latter's brother is recorded in the documentation of a legal case from 1612, which confirmed Fatma Hatun's ownership of the house after it was contested by the Haremeyn Waqfs. The document explains that after Ali's death (i.e., his execution soon after that of Gazanfer in 1603), the house was not confiscated but left to Fatma, who was his only heir (cf. Dursteler, *Renegade Women*, 31–32). She endowed it in 1607, giving the right of residence to herself, and in accordance with that, she was still resident there as of 1612 ("hâlâ kendisi şart-ı mezkûrî üzere sâkinedir"). *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri 45: Evkaf-ı Hümayûn Müfettişliği 1 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1016–1035/M. 1608–1626)*, project director M. Âkif Aydın, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: Kültür A.Ş., 2019) (hereafter abbreviated as *Evkaf 1*), no. 47, pp. 108–110 (transliteration) and 13a–b (facsimile) (early Zilkade 1020 [January 5–14, 1612]). Fatma's endowment deed, which was presented to the court for this case, is at *ibid.*, no. 46, pp. 105–108 (transliteration) and 11b–13a (facsimile) (24 Muharrem 1016 [May 21, 1607]). The residence was in the Piri Agha or Piri Kethüda Quarter, which may have been centered on the no longer extant Piri Agha Mosque (fig. 2, F6:35), near the present-day office of the Governorship of Istanbul in Cağaloğlu. See Hâfiz Hüseyin Ayyansarayî, *The Garden of the Mosques: Hafiz Hüseyin al-Ayyansarayî's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul*, ed. and trans. Howard Crane (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 174. It had "in its inner courtyard two lower-story chambers [beyt], a kitchen, a pantry, a bath, a well, a toilet, a garden with fruit-bearing and non-fruit-bearing trees, five upper-story chambers, one middle and two side sofas, a roofed terrace [tahtapûş], and running water measuring one *masura*, and in its outer courtyard two rooms on top of the gate, an oven, a kitchen, a well, an empty area, two lower-story chambers, eight upper-story chambers, a reception hall [divânhâne] with a sofa, a room with [large?] windows [câmlı oda], a water tank with a fountain [şâdirvân], a storehouse built of brick or stone [kâgîr mahzen], a bath, and on top of that a room and a toilet." *Evkaf 1*, no. 46, 106, and 12a.

56 T SMA, e. 1252/26 (27 Cemaziyelahir 1000 [April 10, 1592]). The first of the witnesses is the chief architect Davud Agha, who was probably in charge of the reconstruction. The exchanged property previously belonged to a horseman (*cüнді*) and saddler (*sarrâc*), who must have been employed in the nearby stables of the imperial palace. *Ibid.* Just four days after this exchange, Gazanfer bought another house for 120,000 *akçes* in the İshak Pasha neighborhood from a food-taster (*zevâk*) working in the palace. T SMA, e. 1243/79 (2 Receb 1000 [April 14, 1592]). The given clues do not allow to identify it with any of Gazanfer's properties registered in his endowment deed, perhaps except for the inner section of the house no. 18 (see App. B).

57 He bought the treed property for 250,000 *akçes* from Süleyman Agha, the incumbent *sipâhî oğlanları ağası*, who appears in Gazanfer's endowment deed as the owner of another property next to Gazanfer's mansion (App. B: 1). T SMA, e. 1243/75 (10 Receb 1000 [April 22, 1592]). The other estate was purchased from Mustafa Çavuş, who made the transaction in the name of his father Piri, who was the proprietor. T SMA, e. 1243/72 (18 Şevval 1000 [July 28, 1592]). The latter might alternatively correspond to the house in no. 36 (see App. B), instead of being part of Gazanfer's mansion.

58 Soon after Gazanfer's execution in January 1603, his sister's son Giacomo, who had been brought to Istanbul in 1600 and renamed Mehmed (Dursteler, *Renegade Women*, 27–28), gave a petition to the sultan. Now a page in the Privy Chamber, Mehmed asked three properties of his uncle to be spared from confiscation and granted to himself. His request was accepted. The properties included "the house that had been bought from the wife of the former *bölük ağası* Süleyman Agha in the İshak Pasha Quarter" and "the two orchards/vineyards [*iki kut 'a bâğlar*] in the village called Kadıköy." T SMA, e. 887/33 (5 Şaban 1011 [January 18, 1603]). These must be unendowed properties that Gazanfer may have acquired after founding his waqf in January 1596. It is possible that the first one abutted no. 1 or no. 20 in App. B and the second one may have been near Gazanfer's endowed orchards/vineyards, see footnote 113.



Figure 7: The İshak Pasha Bath. Photograph: Ezgi Dikici, December 2019.

Pleasure Gardens (and Summer Houses?) of Gazanfer and Mehmed Aghas

Gazanfer Agha's endowment deed stipulates that two of his properties would be used by him until his death, after which they would be passed on in an order of succession first to his sister Fatma Hatun, then to her spouse Ali Agha, to her descendants, and finally to Ali's descendants.⁵⁹ One of these two properties was Gazanfer's palatial mansion at İshak Pasha, and the other was another luxurious property for private use: a pleasure garden on the Kuruçeşme coast along the Bosphorus, "housing numerous rooms in its inner and outer sections, a bath, running water, pavilions, and vines" (fig. 8, App. B: 58).

As the head of the palace hierarchy, Gazanfer seems to have held the exclusive right among eunuchs to own a pleasure garden of his own on the shores of the Bosphorus. His endowment deed refers to this seaside garden in Kuruçeşme as a "beautiful garden" (*hadika-i enika*), this term seeming to denote a "pleasure garden" that differed from the ordinary—probably more agriculture-oriented—gardens he owned in the Top Kapı (Top Kapusu, Cannon Gate) area and Eyüb, which are simply called "garden" (*hadika*) (fig. 3: D, fig. 8: A, App. B: 12, 46). In fact, he owned another seaside garden (called "the Priest's Garden") on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, situated between the neighboring royal gardens of Kulle and Kandil, the latter being a favorite of Murad III (fig. 8, App. B: 53).⁶⁰ Yet, his Kuruçeşme garden, neighbored by the properties of two Jews, may have offered a more secluded recreational spot.

Mehmed Agha too had his own "*hadika-i enika*." His garden, however, was not on the seashore, but in an inland part of Üsküdar, "In the new neighborhood that gained fame through its relation to her majesty the queen mother [*vâlide sultân*]," i.e., in proximity to the Atik Valide Complex of Nurbanu Sultan, the mother of Murad III (App. A: 47). Mehmed probably had been involved in the development of Nurbanu's waqf from its earliest stages onwards and was consequently awarded with its superintendence and further privileges in her endowment deed.⁶¹ Apparently located not far from Nurbanu's own summer residence,⁶² the agha's garden is listed as the first of a series of properties he owned in the vicinity of her waqf buildings in Üsküdar (fig. 8). The property seems to have incorporated two different plots granted to him

⁵⁹ VGMA, d. 571, no. 8, p. 21.

⁶⁰ Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture," in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), 43. Evliya Çelebi refers to "the Priest's Garden" as "the Priest's Grove" (Papas Korusu) and writes that it was gifted to Vani Efendi by Mehmed IV. Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zillî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, and Robert Dankoff, 10 vols. (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996–2007), 1:227. The endowed garden, therefore, must have passed on to royal or private ownership at some point.

⁶¹ "Endowment Deed of the Atik Valide Vakfı (VGM, D. 1766)," in Nina Macaraig, *Çemberlitaş Hamamı in Istanbul: The Biographical Memoir of a Turkish Bath* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 248–285 (early Rebiülâhır 990 [April–May 1582]).

⁶² Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 287–288 and 538, n. 160.



Figure 8: Eunuchs' properties outside Istanbul proper (Google Earth, ©2019 Maxar Technologies, TerraMetrics). TSMK, EH 3028; VGMA, d. 571, no. 8; *Rumeli 21*, no. 245 and no. 262.

The numbers in parentheses below refer to each property's order of appearance in the respective endowment deed.

Mehmed Agha's properties in red:

- (A) A shop, a slaughterhouse, a butcher's shop, four cells, and five rooms inside the Eğri Kapı of Galata (45).
- (B) A public eating-house (cooking sheep heads and trotters) outside the Galata walls, between Kürkçü Kapı and Azap Kapı (46).
- (C) A (pleasure?) garden, a house, thirty-four rooms for married couples, forty-seven shops, a garden, two khans, thirty-one rooms, a sesame oil press, a linseed oil press, a tanners' workshop, three empty plots, a bread bakery, an orchard/vineyard in Üsküdar (47-58).
- (D) Two spaces for storing snow with nine icehouses and two ditches, a house (*hâne*) with a storehouse and a garden, two icehouses, a candle workshop, a slaughterhouse, a house (*menzil*) in Eyüb (59-63).
- (E) A garden, two orchards/vineyards, six meadows, four fields, and a plot, all with fruit-bearing trees, outside the Top Kapı (64-75).

Gazanfer Agha's properties in purple:

- (A) Two slaughterhouses, a tanners' workshop, a garden, and a bread bakery with a horse mill (*âsiyâb-ı esb*) in Eyüb (42-44, 46-47).
- (B) A space for storing snow, an icehouse, and a field in the Kağithane Valley (listed as part of Eyüb) (45).
- (C) A total of twenty-three shops, eight rooms for married couples, eighteen other rooms, two bakeries with horse mills, a house, a boathouse with three rooms, a linseed oil press, and a sesame oil press in Üsküdar (48-52, 54-56).
- (D) A seaside garden situated between two royal gardens (listed as part of Üsküdar) (53).
- (E) An orchard/vineyard in Kadıköy (listed as part of Üsküdar) (57).
- (F) A pleasure garden on the Kuruçeşme coast of Galata (58).

Mustafa Agha's property in blue:

- (A) A shop in the Tenbel Quarter of Üsküdar (4).

Musahib Mehmed Agha's properties in green:

- (A) Twenty-two newly built shops; twelve contiguous residential units, each including a dwelling (*menzil*) with a hearth, a small courtyard, and a separate toilet; and eighteen two-story units for married couples, one of which comprised a bay window (*şehnişin*) and six rooms, on the Tophane coast of Galata (1-3).

22 in 1577 and 1578.⁶³ According to the endowment deed, the garden comprised a pool as well as fruit-bearing and non-fruit-bearing trees within an area measuring about 5,420 m²;⁶⁴ yet, it apparently did not have any buildings to make it a true recreational residence. Mehmed solved this problem by buying a nearby or adjacent house from a certain carpenter named Halil in 1578 (App. A: 48).⁶⁵ The endowment deed's inclusion of this purchase information as well as details regarding the profession of a neighbor⁶⁶ suggests that Mehmed might have been personally using this dwelling, probably as a recreational facility in connection with his pleasure garden. Although the house was rather modest, having only two shops and two upper-story cells in its outer section along with a room and a toilet in the inner part, it incorporated a rarely found component: a cell for mystical retirement (*çilehâne*), which indicates its earlier owner's Sufi leanings, likely shared by Mehmed.⁶⁷

Mustafa Agha's and His Cousin's Residences

Given that white eunuchs had greater chances of reuniting with their family members compared to their black counterparts, it is no surprise that once again we encounter a relative in the endowment deed (1594) of Mustafa Agha, the head treasurer. This relative is a certain Rüstem Agha b. Abdülmennan, who worked as a food-taster at the kitchen of the imperial court (*al-dhawwâq al-sultânî*) and was identified as a son of Mustafa Agha's paternal uncle (*ibn 'ammihî*).⁶⁸ The two cousins originated, in all likelihood, from the town of Lubine in the Nevesin district of Bileke in Hersek (today Ljubinja in southern Bosnia and Herzegovina), where Mustafa had constructed a mosque and an elementary school.⁶⁹ However, unlike his cousin, whose patronym suggests a non-Muslim father, the eunuch Mustafa's (*ibn Mahmûd*) father seems to have recently converted to Islam.⁷⁰ The two cousins also had another uncle and at least one more relative who were given fiefs in the Balkans most probably through Mustafa's intercession.⁷¹ It is highly likely that Rüstem's employment at the palace was also thanks to Mustafa's influence and may have occurred at the time of the latter's tenure as head of the commissary (*kilercibaşı*) between 1580–1582. As a further gesture of patronage, and possibly urged by Rüstem's dissatisfaction with his current dwelling, Mustafa allocated in his endowment deed a house for him and his descendants.⁷² This was a double-courtyard

63 The first of these empty plots was explicitly "granted for the construction of a house [by the agha], together with a gate already built in it" (menzil binâ itmek için içinde olan yapılmış kapusuyla temlik olundu). TSMA, e. 853/127/7 (10 Cemaziyellevvel 985 [July 26, 1577]); TSMA, e. 853/127/5 (late Şaban 986 [late October 1578]).

64 102.66 m x 52.8 m. I calculate one architectural *zirâ* (*binâ zirâ*) at 0.73333 m. *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (TDVİA), s.v. "Arşın," by Mehmet Erkal. This is the only property whose size is indicated in the endowment deed.

65 It was purchased on 16 Cemaziyellevvel 986 (July 21, 1578) for 13,000 *akçes*. TSMA, e. 853/127/6.

66 "Mustafa son of Ferhad, who currently works as chief of the men-of-sails (*gümi başı*) at the shipyard." App. A: 48.

67 The original purchase document also mentions a kitchen, a *sofa* in front of the *çilehâne*, a *serir* ([open-air?] couch), a well, and fruit-bearing trees. The outer section is described as a *çârtâk* (a structure with open sides) on top of the gate and a shop underneath it. TSMA, e. 853/127/6. Acquired at the end of the Atik Valide Mosque's first phase of enlargement, these properties may perhaps also have served the agha and/or his men during their inspections of the monument's next stage of construction (1584–1586). See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 286.

68 *Rumeli 21*, no. 245, pp. 225–230 (translation) and 56b–59a (facsimile).

69 These place names and the identity of Mustafa Agha have been rectified in Elma Korić, "Power Broker at the Ottoman Palace in Istanbul: Darüssaade Ağası Hacı Mustafa Ağa," in *Osmanlı İstanbulu V*, ed. Feridun M. Emecen, Ali Akyıldız, and Emrah Safa Gürkan (Istanbul: İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi, İBB, 2016), 811–834.

70 Mustafa appears as "ibn [i.e., son of] 'Abdülmu'in," thus having a non-Muslim father, in TSMA, e. 1240/88 (17 Rabiülâhîr 999 [February 12, 1591]). His father may therefore have converted sometime between 1591 and 1594 and taken the name Mahmud.

71 The uncle appears in an order issued in late Zilhicce 989 (January 1582) upon the appeal of Mustafa, who was then the head of the commissary (*kilercibaşı*). His uncle (*'amûsî*) named Mehmed, who held a fief in Foça (Foča) in Hersek, had gone missing while travelling between Foça and Vişegrad (Višegrad) and was considered to have been murdered, since his horse was found beheaded in the Drina River. The rescript ordering investigation to the local qadis was handed to a certain "Sarı Hüseyin the *güllâc*-maker" who was under the *kilercibaşı*'s command (*hidmetinde olan*). BOA, A.{DVNSMHHM.d. 46, p. 289, order no. 660. For the other relative named Piri, son of Yakub, see BOA, A.{DVNSMHHM.d. 45, p. 18, order no. 195 (15 Cemaziyelâhîr 989 [July 17, 1581]).

72 *Rumeli 21*, no. 245, 57a. The courthouse that registered Mustafa's endowment deed between April 22–May 1, 1594 also looked at an apparently relevant case around the same days (on 4 Şaban 1002 [April 25, 1594]). From the proceedings we learn that a certain Rüstem Agha *ez-zevvâku's-sultânî*, resident at the Ali Pasha Quarter near the Edirne Kapı (Edirne Gate), was trying to enforce his uncooperating neighbor Şemsimah Hatun to sell her house to him instead of someone else, for he claims pre-emption (*shuf'a*). *Ibid.*, no. 85, pp. 114–115 (transliteration) and 24b–25a (facsimile). Rüstem was presumably Mustafa Agha's cousin and he was probably hoping to enlarge his own house by combining it with the neighboring property. Did his troubles with his insufficiently small and rather far away residence urge his cousin Mustafa to precipitate the registration of his waqf and to allocate him an appropriate house?

house in the Kızıltaş (or Kâtib Bali) Quarter (fig. 3). It had in its inner section a total of four rooms arranged in two floors, a kitchen, a pantry, an anteroom (*sofa*), a well, and a toilet, and in its outer part, a stable, a two-story building with two rooms, and another toilet.⁷³

Mustafa's own residence, on the other hand, appears to be in the Kara Kedi Quarter near the Nevbethane, which is the other octagonal tower of the Topkapı Palace wall apart from the one across Gazanfer's mansion and was used for sounding the kettledrum (fig. 2, fig. 9).⁷⁴ This house is not endowed—at least not on this occasion—and not described in the endowment deed, but mentioned in connection with the two fountains that the agha had built in front of its door. For the amelioration of these two waterways, the waqf was to hire two employees that would be selected from among carpenters and stonemasons.⁷⁵ From a later endowment deed which Mustafa registered in 1610, when he was the chief white eunuch, we learn that he built a madrasa accompanied by more waterworks in the same neighborhood (Kara Kedi) where his house was situated.⁷⁶

The location of Mustafa's house and madrasa in the vicinity of the Nevbethane suggests a continuity with various other eunuchs and courtiers who resided to the west of the Topkapı Palace. One of these was Sinan Agha, a fellow head treasurer who owned a mansion comprising twelve rooms and other facilities at the Hacı Sinan bin Elvan Quarter—i.e., near the present day Sirkeci railway station facing the Golden Horn—at the beginning of the sixteenth century (fig. 2: a).⁷⁷ Additionally, there was Mustafa's former superior Mahmud Agha (chief white eunuch, 1566–1581), who had been living in the Hocapaşa/Hâce Üveys Quarter (fig. 2: b) during his earlier term as the agha of the palace (*Sarây-ı Cedîd ağası*).⁷⁸ Twice in 1560, Mahmud applied to legal authorities to seek redress of his grievances concerning his neighbors' new constructions and water-dripping eaves that damaged his residence.⁷⁹ These cases attest to the inconveniences of a densely built-up neighborhood, which may well be the reason that led him later on to move to the probably less populous area to the south of the peninsula (fig. 2: e).⁸⁰ An even closer contemporary of Mustafa living in the Hocapaşa area was Canfeda Hatun, the chief matron of both the Topkapı and Old Palace harems. In 1585, she asked for the sultan's permission to bring water to her residence, which was apparently in some proximity to the house of Mehmed Pasha, the governor of Rumelia.⁸¹ Located further from the Topkapı, in the quarter of the Mahmud Pasha Mosque, was the mansion of the eunuch dwarf Hasan Agha (fig. 2: c). After Hasan's death in 1591, his house was sold to pay off his debts under the auspices of Mustafa himself, whom the dwarf had authorized in his lifetime for this purpose.⁸²

Yet the location of Mustafa's house had a much more precise correspondence with that of the house and other nearby structures of Abbas Agha, a seventeenth-century chief black eunuch. Abbas Agha's endowment deed dated 1670 reveals that in the "Nevbethane Quarter" now stood a house allocated to chief harem eunuchs (*Dârü's-sa'âde ağalarına müte'ayyin ve mahsûs menzil*)

73 *Rumeli 21*, no. 245, 57a: "al-hâwî 'alâ muhawwatayn dâkhiliyya wa-khârijiyya ammâ al-dâkhiliyya mushtamila 'alâ thal[â]that buyût 'ulwiyya wa-bayt suffi wa-matbakh wa-bayt ma'rûf bi-kilâr wa-suffa wa-bi'r mâ' wa-kanif wa-ammâ al-khârijiyya muhâwiyya 'alâ istabl wa-bayt 'ulwî wa-suffi wa-kanif."

74 *Ibid.*, 58a.

75 *Ibid.*: "li-kull wâhid min al-rajulîn al-najjârîn al-hajjârîn li-islâh tarîq al-'aynayn al-jâriyatayn allatayn banâhimâ al-wâqif amâma bâb manzilihî al-wâqî' bi-mahallat 'Kara Kedi' bi-qarn 'Nevbethâne' bi-l-mahmiyya al-marqûma."

76 T SMA, d. 6952, 7b-8a (late Zilhicce 1018 [March 1610]). His earlier endowment deed had allocated 800,000 *akçe* for the construction of a madrasa, without specifying its location.

77 Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 201.

78 For his evidently unusual promotion from one post to the other in 1566, see Selânikî, *Tarih*, 1:38, 39, 64–65.

79 In the first case, a new building that Mustafa b. İsmail had built on the private street (*tarik-i hâss*) between his and the agha's houses was obstructing the latter's gutter ("tamlahğına zarar dur, tamlâ tamlayacak yeri yokdur"). T SMA, e. 1252/15, no. 2 (24 Zilkade 967 [August 16, 1560]). In the second one, water was dripping from the eaves of the house of a Jewish neighbor named Abraham, son of Bayram, onto the agha's house, which was under construction, and into its courtyard ("hâlen binâ etdüği evlerinin üzerine Abraham veled-i Bayram nâm Yahûdî'nin evinin saçağı sarkub tamlası ev üzerine ve havlı içine akar, zararı vardır"). *Ibid.*, no. 1 (12 Rebiülevvel 968 [December 1, 1560]). The chief architect Sinan was summoned twice by the law court to inspect these issues.

80 For information retrieved from the endowment deed of Mahmud Agha (dated late Cemaziyelahir 973 [October 1575]), see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 490; and see also T SMA, e. 969/63, which seems to be a partial copy of an earlier version of Mahmud's endowment deed, dated by the archival database to 974 (July 1566–July 1567).

81 BOA, A.{DVNSMHHM.d. 58, p. 159, order no. 422 (25 Cemaziyelahir 993 [June 24, 1585]).

82 T SMA, e. 1240/88 (17 Rabiiülahir 999 [February 12, 1591]).

near the Kara Kedi (by then distorted into Garâkî) Hüseyin waqf buildings.⁸³ Abbas not only endowed several charitable structures in the area, but also possessed a mansion of his own abutting the palace wall near the Demir Kapı (Iron Gate, fig. 2).⁸⁴ Further evidence also shows that at least two other chief harem eunuchs before Abbas owned residences in the Demir Kapı area.⁸⁵ It is noteworthy that each of these harem officials could pass from his house into the palace directly through this gate, without having to go through the bustling streets of Mahmutpaşa or curving his way through the Divanyolu, as their predecessor Mehmed would probably do around 1590. The Demir Kapı thus afforded a less ceremonious but much more secure passage into the palace grounds and was possibly used by the head treasurer Mustafa himself before his neighborhood came to be dominated by chief harem eunuchs in the following century.

Musahib Mehmed Agha's Waterfront Residence at Tophane

The endowment deed of the fourth eunuch that I examine, however, reveals not only a different location—outside Istanbul proper, diverging from the regular intra muros domiciles that we have seen so far—but also a different social anchor (other than family and slave household) that links a court agha to the outside world: a close friendship. The waqf that Musahib Mehmed Agha founded in 1594 was in fact a joint endowment brought about by the untimely death of his friend Dukakinzade Ahmed Çelebi/Efendi at an apparently young age.⁸⁶ A descendant of the famed Dukakinzade family of the Albanian nobility,⁸⁷ Ahmed Çelebi was most probably a member of the ulema, as indicated by the endowment deed's general emphasis on learning and knowledge, as well as the high-profile madrasa professors who witnessed the endowment. The agha combined his own funds with one third of his friend's wealth—the legally acceptable amount that one was able to endow in one's deathbed—in order to create “a new market area” (*sûk-ı cedîd*) near his own residence in the coastal Tophane district of Galata (fig. 8).⁸⁸

This waterfront residence, which the agha had endowed a few years earlier, was located near the Süheyl Bey Mosque. The endowment deed makes it clear that the eunuch was residing in that house, in front of which he had also built a fountain.⁸⁹ It is not described in full, but briefly praised with some sensory details evoking eighteenth-century *yalıs*:

The matchless house that he owned in the township of Tophane, the joy-giving pleasant abode, which, being located on the seacoast, overlooks the mirror-like Mediterranean; [such a house that remaining in] silence for a moment in its peaceful *sofa* appeases the heart and sharpens the mind.⁹⁰



Figure 9: The Nevbethane, one of the two octagonal towers of the Topkapı Palace's outer wall. Photograph: Ezgi Dikici, December 2019.

83 TSMK, EH 3039, 9b.

84 Abbas Agha's residence is worth describing here as a seventeenth-century counterpart to Mehmed Agha's late sixteenth-century house. Its description in the endowment deed notably includes a greater variety of specific units, reflecting an increased functional differentiation between the various parts of houses in comparison to earlier periods; cf. Tanyeli, “Norms of Domestic Comfort,” 301–316. Like Mehmed Agha's house, this one too had a particularly remarkable outer section, albeit a more compact one comprising a three-story structure. This outer building had seven rooms, a *sofa*, a passageway (*dehlîz*), an intermediary hall (*mâbeyn otası*) apparently on the upper floor. On the middle floor, there were nine rooms and a toilet, and on the lower floor, a large stable capable of housing as many as fifty horses, a hayloft (*samanhâne*), a barley storehouse (*arpa anbarı*), a courtyard, a kitchen, a well, and running water. The inner section comprised four upper-floor rooms, as well as a bathroom, a dressing room (*câmekân*), a belvedere (*cihânnümâ*), a *sofa*, a passageway (*dehlîz*), a roofed terrace (*tahtabûş* [sic: *tahtapûş*]), and an oven (*fırın*) again on the upper story; and on the lower story, it had another four rooms, a pantry, a storehouse, a well, a kitchen, running water, and a garden. The mansion was adjacent to the properties—probably residences—of the royal companion Mustafa Pasha and a certain Mehmed Agha, who was probably another palace employee. TSMK, EH 3039, 11a.

85 After Lala Süleyman Agha (chief harem eunuch in 1651–1652) was dismissed from the office, he is said to have spent time in his mansion at Demir Kapı (Demür Kapı) during the day and in the Old Palace at night, for a while as he was preparing to move to Egypt, Ahmed Resmî Efendi, *Hamîletü'l-Küberâ*, 56. See also the summary of TSMA, e. 852/107 in the archival database for the late chief harem eunuch Idris Agha's house in this area being granted apparently to a white eunuch of the *enderûn* (a *kiler kethüdâsı*, steward of the commissary) in 1663.

86 *Rumeli* 21, no. 262, pp. 241–252 (transliteration) and 62a–65a (facsimile).

87 The family's first notable member in Ottoman service was Dukakinzade Ahmed Pasha, who became grand vizier in 1514 and was executed in 1515. *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. “Dukakinzâde Ahmed Paşa,” by Abdülkadir Özcan. For another member, a poet, see *ibid.*, s.v. “Dukakinzâde Ahmed Bey,” by Nejat Sefercioğlu.

88 *Rumeli* 21, no. 262, 247 and 64a. The endowed one third of Ahmed Çelebi's wealth was 322,000 *akçes*, which Mehmed Agha, as the executor, spent for the construction of a number of properties.

89 *Ibid.*, 246–247 and 63b.

90 *Ibid.*, 63a: “mahmiye-i Tophâne'de mâlik oldukları menzil-i bî-nâzır ve dâr-i behcet-medâr-i dil-pezîr ki leb-i deryâda vâki' olub âyine-misâl Deryâ-yı Sefid'e nâzır ve sahn-ı sofa-i safâsında bir lahza sükûn bâ'is-i teskîn-i dil ve sebeb-i teşhîz-i hâtırdur.”

Residing on the Bosphorus may perhaps be a growing trend among courtiers—especially royal companions—at this time, because at least two other companions of Murad III owned houses on the Üsküdar coast. One of these, the black eunuch dwarf Zeyrek Agha, may have actually resided in the waterfront house with ten rooms and a boathouse (*kaykhâne*) which he endowed in 1593 in Üsküdar.⁹¹ Another royal companion, Şemsi Ahmed Pasha (d. 1580) also had a waterfront residence in Üsküdar, next to which he built his mosque complex.⁹² Yet another contemporary example is Nev’i Efendi, who became a tutor of Murad III’s sons in 1590; although not a royal companion, Nev’i lived in Anadolu Hisarı and “must have spent numerous hours commuting to the palace for work daily.”⁹³

The location of Musahib Mehmed Agha’s house on the Bosphorus coast in fact makes sense considering his job as a royal companion. Not only was he apparently unbound by the restrictions that required the eunuchs following the regular career track to reside close by the palace they worked, but he was also exceptionally mobile, able to make distant travels whenever he liked.⁹⁴ More importantly, like other royal companions, Mehmed was most probably a frequent participant in Murad III’s outings to the royal gardens along the Bosphorus, which he could possibly join directly from his dwelling.⁹⁵ It is noteworthy that, in arranging the edifices of the joint endowment, Mehmed chose to build his own structures along the shore, where they would be visible to seafarers—such as the sultan himself—while his late friend’s portion of the waqf was situated inland across the road. Just as his literarily embellished endowment deed and its emphases on his erudition and his loyal friendship with a member of the ulema, the visibility of his buildings too seem to have been carefully crafted to cultivate his image as an excellent *musahib*.

Towards Mapping Eunuchs’ Istanbul: An Analysis of Their Real Estate Ownership Patterns

From this limited sample of a few individuals, we can already delineate some patterns in court eunuchs’ residence ownership, as well as some continuities and changes that go beyond the bounds of the late sixteenth century. In this section, I would like to discuss these findings, considering them together with further observations about the aghas’ other real estate acquisitions in Istanbul.

Career Track and Residence/Real Estate Location

It already appears that a eunuch’s rank or, more broadly, his career track somehow dictated the district where his residence would be located. As a royal companion, Musahib Mehmed Agha was able to reside on a suburban coast, from where he could access by boat the sultan’s gardens along the Bosphorus as well as in the Topkapı Palace, whereas the eunuchs in charge of various units of court officials had to live within the walled city and—preferably—near the palace where they worked. As the palatial duties of these hierarchically bound eunuchs who followed a more structured career path required their constant presence in Istanbul proper, they also tended to concentrate a large part of their real estate there. More than half of the real estate that Gazanfer and Mehmed endowed in the larger Istanbul area was in Kostantiniyye (the *intra muros* part of the city) and they both endowed close numbers of “property units”⁹⁶ there and in each suburban township, following the same order of preference—Kostantiniyye, Üsküdar, Eyüb, and Galata—with the exception of Mehmed’s agricultural properties outside

91 The house comprised ten upper- and ground-floor rooms, a stable, a toilet, a garden, and a boathouse. *Ibid.*, no. 29, pp. 73–77 (transliteration) and 13a–14a (facsimile) (dated 11 Receb 1001 [April 13, 1593]); Zeyrek’s name (*bi-Zeyrek Ağa*) is misread as “Büzürg Ağa” in the transliteration found in this publication. The endowment deed is also at TSMA, e. 1250/9 (15 Receb 1001 [April 17, 1593]). For Zeyrek and Ottoman court dwarfs in general, see A. Ezgi Dikici, “Saltanat Sembolü Olarak ‘Farklı’ Bedenler: Osmanlı Sarayında Cüceler ve Dilsizler,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 248 (August 2014): 16–25.

92 The mansion was “conveniently situated across from the Topkapı Palace, where he frequented the sultan’s private living quarters.” Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 495.

93 Aslı Niyazioğlu, “Ottoman Sufi Sheikhs between This World and the Hereafter: A Study of Nev’îzâde ‘Aîâ’î’s (1583–1635) Biographical Dictionary” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2003), 33–34.

94 Very unfavorably disposed toward this eunuch, Mustafa Âlî reports that “at times he would even look down his nose at the sultan’s generosity. Sometimes he would go off to Egypt and Mecca, at other times to Yemen, as if he intentionally sought to maltreat the Shadow of God, the Refuge of the World himself.” Âlî, *Ottoman Gentleman*, 27.

95 For the sultans’ garden excursions, see Necipoğlu, “Suburban Landscape,” 32–71.

96 By “property units” I mean each set of properties designated in an endowment deed and separated from one another by a phrase such as “ve biri dahî” (and another one is). These sets may consist of a single piece or a group of properties that are found together, such as an adjacent group of shops and dwellings.

Mehmed Agha's real estate	75 property units:
<p>A pie chart titled 'Mehmed Agha's real estate' showing the distribution of 75 property units across five locations. The largest portion is in Kostantiniyye at 58%, followed by Üsküdar and Top Kapı at 16% each, Eyüb at 7%, and Galata at 3%. A legend on the right identifies the colors: blue for Kostantiniyye, orange for Galata, grey for Üsküdar, yellow for Eyüb, and light blue for Top Kapı.</p>	<p>75 property units:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 44 in Kostantiniyye (58%) • 12 outside Top Kapı (16%) • 12 in Üsküdar (16%) • 5 in Eyüb (7%) • 2 in Galata (3%)
Gazanfer Agha's real estate	58 property units:
<p>A pie chart titled 'Gazanfer Agha's real estate' showing the distribution of 58 property units across four locations. The largest portion is in Kostantiniyye at 71%, followed by Üsküdar at 17%, Eyüb at 10%, and Galata at 2%. A legend on the right identifies the colors: blue for Kostantiniyye, orange for Galata, grey for Üsküdar, and yellow for Eyüb.</p>	<p>58 property units:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 41 in Kostantiniyye (71%) • 10 in Üsküdar (17%) • 6 in Eyüb (10%) • 1 in Galata (2%)

Table 1: Classification of Mehmed and Gazanfer Aghas' real estate according to location. TSMK, EH 3028; VGMA, d. 571, no. 8.

the Top Kapı (table 1). This pattern was also repeated on a lesser scale by the head treasurer Mustafa in his much more modest waqf, with three out of four properties being in Istanbul proper and one in the secondary town of Üsküdar.⁹⁷ It was, however, completely reversed in the case of Musahib Mehmed, who had his entire waqf near his waterfront residence in Galata. These are of course tentative observations, given that a waqf does not necessarily represent the entirety of a patron's possessions, unless it is an all-encompassing posthumous endowment such as that of Mehmed Agha.

Enderûn Eunuchs' Gravitation towards the Topkapı Palace

It is not surprising then that the two top-ranking eunuchs of the *enderûn* track, Gazanfer and Mustafa, had their houses in immediate vicinity of Topkapı Palace in the 1590s. What needs to be stressed, however, is that living in such proximity to the palace appears to have been relatively new for this category of eunuchs. Previously in the late fifteenth century, the head treasurers Firuz and Sinan Aghas as well as Mahmud Agha, who was the chief white eunuch before Gazanfer, are known to have lived further apart from the palace: Firuz near his mosque on the Divanyolu, Sinan in the Sirkeci area, and Mahmud next to his mosque to the southeast of the Hippodrome (At Meydanı) (fig. 2: d, a, e).⁹⁸ In contrast to these earlier mansions which had a more independent presence within the urban fabric, the residences of Gazanfer and Mustafa were situated almost as annexes to the imperial palace. This may have been a result of the increased royal seclusion requiring them to remain close at hand, as well as a reflection of their elevated status and concomitant distancing of themselves from the ordinary urban

⁹⁷ Rumeli 21, no. 245, pp. 225–230, 56b–59a.

⁹⁸ For Firuz and Sinan, see Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 201. Firuz Agha's mansion was situated on top of the Binbirdirek Cistern (fig. 2: d), while his nearby mosque (F7:18) was in the immediate vicinity of the site of the palaces originally founded by the Byzantine eunuchs Lausos and Antiokhos (F7:19). Ibid.; Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Istanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-Istanbul*, trans. Ülker Sayın (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 122–125 and 238. Firuz's residence had multiple rooms on two floors, a number of anterooms, a kitchen, a *mahnâ* (?), a bath, a stable, a garden in its inner courtyard, and two gardens in its outer courtyard. TSMK, d. 6931, 56a–b.

population. Another possible factor is their concern for security, which probably became more acute with the growing threat of the *sipâhi* revolts towards the turn of the seventeenth century. Yet, even though Gazanfer would manage to avoid execution during the revolt of 1601, he would be dragged out of the sanctuary of the inner court itself and beheaded in the 1603 uprising.⁹⁹

Also noteworthy is the fact that each of the two highest-ranking eunuchs of the *enderûn*, Gazanfer and Mustafa, had their mansions situated across from one of the only two octagonal towers of the palace wall. In the case of Gazanfer, this meant taking over a previously (grand) vizierial site, that of İshak Pasha. Since the area across the wall's only dodecagonal tower, the Kiosk of Processions (Alay Köşkü) (fig. 2), was recurrently the site of the grand vizierial residence, from Mehmed II's grand vizier Mahmud Pasha to the nineteenth-century Bâb-ı Âlî,¹⁰⁰ it is interesting that the areas around the two octagonal towers, situated on its two sides, came to be associated with eunuchs at this time.

Harem Eunuchs' Shift from the Old Palace to the New

In contrast to the *enderûn* eunuchs, whose residences apparently concentrated around the Topkapı Palace at a relatively later date, the eunuchs of the Old Palace seem to have lived in the immediate vicinity of their own workplace from a much earlier date onwards. As we have seen, connection with the Old Palace led the highest officers of the harem corps, Sünbül and Mehmed, to reside at a very specific locality in its eastern proximity, between that palace and the Uzunçarşı. In doing so, they were probably following a series of predecessors beginning with Mercan Agha, who owned houses and other properties around there in the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁰¹ What is interesting is that, being very close to the Bedestan and the Uzunçarşı, this location put the harem eunuchs at the commercial heart of the city and may have occasioned at least for Mehmed Agha stately passages with his retinue on his way to and from the Topkapı Palace, thus lending him further urban visibility as the highest ranking harem eunuch.¹⁰² As the office of the chief harem eunuch later came to be more firmly established in the Topkapı Palace, its residential locus also shifted to the latter's vicinity. Abbas Agha in the seventeenth century was apparently not the only holder of this office to have had his own private home in the immediate outside of the Topkapı Palace, near the octagonal tower of Nevbethane, an area where chief harem eunuchs also had a permanent official residence by this time.

Housing Standards for High-Ranking Eunuchs

The descriptions of large urban mansions found in the endowment deeds give a sense of the housing standards that were deemed appropriate for the aghas' status. In congruity with elite houses in general, these included having a relatively large array of household facilities (e.g., kitchen, toilet, stable) within a double-courtyard arrangement, which suggests an internal hierarchy and gender segregation within the household population. Another common characteristic was the entitlement to bring running water to the vicinity—if not the interior—of their houses (as in the case of all four eunuchs examined in this study). Thus, a major change regarding the residences of high-ranking eunuchs seems to be their inclusion (in larger numbers?) into the narrow circle of elite mansions that enjoyed the privilege of running water in their private setting. According to a water distribution register of 1568–1569, only nine

99 See Günhan Börekçi, "Factions and Favorites at the Courts of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) and His Immediate Predecessors" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2010), 48–63. For Gazanfer's increased involvement in the empire's politics around the turn of the seventeenth century and the circumstances leading to his execution, see also Levent Kaya Ocağan, "The Changing Dynamics of the Ottoman Patronage Networks (Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries)," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 34 (2017): 9–18.

100 Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 116–117.

101 In the area surrounding his mosque in the Uzunçarşı (fig. 2: F6:24), Mercan Agha had endowed in 1463/4 a house with a total of ten rooms in its inner and outer sections, and across from it, another house with five rooms. *Ibid.*, 200.

102 In 1585, Mehmed Agha's ceremonial appearance was upgraded by a sultan order which indicated that he would be given from then on the same quality of horse trappings (*raht*) as those given to the chief white eunuch on every New Year's Day (*nevrûz*). BOA, A. (DVNSMHM.d. 58, p. 13, order no. 42 (8 Rebiülâhîr 993 [April 9, 1585])). Even if he did not use those specific trappings in his daily life, the order still suggests that he was now allowed to have a more pompous presence in public. Compare the relatively modest horse trappings of Mehmed Agha as of 1579–1581 with the more elaborate ones used by Gazanfer Agha in the 1590s–1603 in the two miniatures showing them on unceremonial occasions: Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 154, fig. 4.02 and 255, fig. 6.06.

28 private houses belonging to officials of the vizierial rank had access to water provided by the Kırkçeşme system of conduits.¹⁰³ As Uğur Tanyeli notes, “Perhaps this was the most expensive of all domestic comforts, because it was accessible only to those fortunate few who could pay for the extension of the main system by a new water source (*katma*) located outside the city boundaries.”¹⁰⁴ Granted only by sultanic permit and measured by *lüle* and *masura*, private access to the city’s water supply system was a strictly controlled privilege in sixteenth-century Istanbul. As we have seen, all the eunuchs in our sample had running water brought to their houses by the 1590s, and in the case of Mehmed’s dwelling, there is surviving documentation as to the extension of the waterway to the house by the previous owner Sünbül in 1586.

Relative Positions of Mehmed and Gazanfer

Even though Mehmed’s striking rise to prominence creates the illusion that he was of equal standing to Gazanfer, it is important to remember that the latter as the chief white eunuch was still at a higher position vis-à-vis the chief harem eunuch and this seems to be reflected by a difference in their salaries as well.¹⁰⁵ In accordance with Gazanfer’s superior rank and simultaneous tenure of the post of *odabaşı*, his residence had not only multiple water outlets in its interior but also a capacity of hosting more than twice as large a population as the house of Mehmed. The chief harem eunuch’s residence, on the other hand, remarkably incorporated a *dîvânhâne*, which reflected the growing importance and volume of his administrative functions after he took over the supervision of the large waqfs supporting the two holy cities (Haremeyn) from Gazanfer Agha in 1588.¹⁰⁶

Gazanfer’s relatively secure, privileged position as the holder of the traditional highest rank is evident in the wider diffusion of his properties across the Bosphorus, his ability to own a pleasure garden on the seacoast, and his ownership of khans in the intra muros area, at what may be seen as economically valuable spots: the first of his khans was right next to the royal painters’ atelier (*mîrî nakkâşhâne*) near the Hagia Sophia (fig. 2: C);¹⁰⁷ the second was located at the Büyük Karaman area to the southeast of the mosque of Mehmed II (fig. 3: A).¹⁰⁸ By contrast, Mehmed had only two khans in Üsküdar.¹⁰⁹ Both eunuchs tended to acquire real estate along Kostantiniyye’s main arteries and wharfs (fig. 2–3) and on many occasions made long-term lease arrangements with old waqfs—such as the Hagia Sophia and Bayezid II waqfs—that required the payment of a yearly rent known as *mukâta’a*, which allowed them to be the legal owners of all the buildings and other investments that they created on the plots leased from a waqf.¹¹⁰ Gazanfer, however, apparently had a greater access to the plots leased by old waqfs: not only was he able to make deals with a larger number of waqfs (eight or nine, as opposed to six in Mehmed’s case), but he also made such arrangements for a higher percentage of his property units (43.1 percent, as opposed to around 30 percent in Mehmed’s waqf).¹¹¹ At least in one case, that of his large orchard/vineyard in Kadıköy (fig. 8), Gazanfer seems to have made a

103 This number of private houses was to rise to thirty-nine in the second half of the eighteenth century. Tanyeli, “Norms of Domestic Comfort,” 307.

104 By contrast, ordinary city dwellers typically used well water. *Ibid.*, 307–308.

105 Mehmed Agha’s daily wage was 86 *akçes*, of which 70 *akçes* was the actual wage (*mevâcib*) and 16 was an allowance for meat (*bahâ[-i] gûşt*). BOA, MAD d. 148, 7a (990–991 [1582–1583]). Almost two decades later, Gazanfer was receiving 170 *akçes* per day. BOA, D.SVM.d. 36080, pp. 2–3 and 10–11 (Zilhicce 1009 [June–July 1601]), pp. 6–7 (Muharrem 1010 [July 1601]). This seems to be a combined wage for his two positions, comprising 100 *akçes* for chief white eunuch and 70 *akçes* for head of the Privy Chamber. Cf. the wages of 90 and 60 *akçes* for these respective offices reported by Mustafa Âli for the previous decade (Âli, *Künhü’l-Ahbâr: c. II*, 96–100); there may have been a 10-*akçe* increase in each in the final years of the sixteenth century. Yet, in any case, the chief white eunuch seems to have received a higher wage compared to the chief harem/black eunuch.

106 Hathaway, *Chief Eunuch*, 60–63.

107 VGMA, d. 571, no. 8, p. 14. This reference constitutes the earliest known proof for the location of the royal studio near the Hagia Sophia, as noted in a recent catalogue entry on the Sadberk Hanım Museum copy of the same endowment deed. Tanındı, *Harmony of Line and Colour*, 1:376–377.

108 VGMA, d. 571, no. 8, p. 15.

109 TSMK, EH 3028, 54a and 54b.

110 Bahaeddin Yediylidiz, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye’de Vakıf Müessesesi: Bir Sosyal Tarih İncelemesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003), 134–135.

111 Gazanfer’s *mukâta’a* arrangements were with the following waqfs: Hagia Sophia, Pamukçubaşı, Bayezid II, Haracı Kara Mehmed, Sinan Pasha, Çadırcı Ahmed, Eyüb, İbrahim Agha, and an unnamed waqf. Mehmed’s waqf was paying annual rents to the waqfs of Hagia Sophia, Hoca Hamza, Mehmed II, Eyüb, Baba Nakkaş, and Bayezid II. The fact that, in contrast to Gazanfer and Mehmed, Mustafa did not make any *mukâta’a* agreements may suggest a lesser connection with waqf networks; the head treasurer also had two of his four property units in a relatively peripheral area (fig. 3).

deal with one of the waqfs under his own supervision: the waqf of İbrahim Ağa.¹¹² While the chief harem eunuchs' superintendence over waqfs has attracted more scholarly attention,¹¹³ it is important to keep in mind that, even after the transfer of the Haremeyn waqfs, the chief white eunuchs continued to oversee a large number of waqfs and were not immediately cut off from the benefits that such connections may have brought to them.¹¹⁴

Connection between Real Estate and Household Structure

When the residences and other real estate properties of Gazanfer and Mehmed Aghas are considered together and subjected to a comparison, two distinct patronage profiles emerge. Mehmed exhibited a greater emphasis on acquiring commercial properties and rentable units of communal housing (table 2, table 3, and table 4), giving the impression of a more fiercely profit-driven investment behavior. This tallied with the fact that his own residence was located in a commercial area and incorporated shops. In contrast, Gazanfer, who lived in a predominantly residential neighborhood, placed almost as much focus on housing investments as on commercial ones and concentrated on acquiring what appear to be relatively well-off family houses, rather than tenement blocks for poor bachelors or couples.¹¹⁵ This difference between the two patrons is puzzling and was perhaps influenced by more than just personal preferences.

I hypothesize that the household may have been a key institution governing many of such choices regarding real estate investments and hence the waqfs subsequently created from these. In suggesting that, I take into account a household patriarch's obligation to provide employment and/or lodgings to his clients (i.e., protégés and household members) and assume that he would acquire at least a fraction of his real estate specifically for the latter's use. The population of a household, representing an array of professions, made up a "human capital" which could be put into service not only in governmental positions and courtly jobs but also in commerce and craftsmanship. As a network of joint venture and solidarity, the household would have an economy of its own, which could be (partially) perpetuated by a waqf beyond the patron's demise. Therefore, the commercial and residential leanings of Mehmed and Gazanfer in their respective investments may well have stemmed from the professional composition of their individual households.

This professional composition, in turn, must have been shaped according to the needs and possibilities arising from the patron's specific position within the social matrix. Gazanfer, for instance, was not only part of the network of Venetians in Istanbul, which included some members of the Ottoman ruling elite, but was also able to expand his circle of kinship by marrying his sister to an official on the military-administrative career track. Consequently, his household may have had a greater concentration of members aiming for governmental or courtly posts. Possibly, though not necessarily, Gazanfer would have been able to allocate some of the houses in his possession to these protégés—just as Mustafa earmarked a residence for his cousin, who was a court employee. Mehmed, by contrast, was not related to the core elite via communal or family connections and this disadvantage may have enabled or necessitated him to structure his household around somewhat different objectives and interests. The commercial focus of his investments might be related to a possible concentration of artisans and salesmen among his household members. Yet, apart from providing his slaves and clients with means of production and commerce, Mehmed may also have been motivated simply by the need to acquire economic capital in order to compensate for his relative lack of social capital in his quest for strengthening his newly elevated status.

112 "Karye-i Kâdı civârında merhûm İbrâhîm Ağa zâviyesi kurbunda iki kıt'a otuz dönüm bâğdır." VGMA, d. 571, no. 8, p. 17.

113 See Ahmet Arslantürk and Kadir Arslanboğa, "1668–1670 (H. 1079–1080) Yıllarında Dârüssaâde Ağası Nezâretindeki Vakıflarla İlgili Bazı Arşiv Kayıtları," *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies* 34 (2015): 15–39.

114 See BOA, EV.HMH.d. 4146 (2 Muharrem 1153 [March 30, 1740]) for a list of the 103 waqfs that chief white eunuchs continued to oversee through the eighteenth century. The İbrahim Ağa Waqf is mentioned at *ibid.*, 3a.

115 A similar difference is also noticeable in the respective waqf buildings of Musahib Mehmed Ağa and Dukakinzade Ahmed Çelebi. As opposed to the four houses (*menzil*), fourteen shops, and a total of eleven "rooms" or units of collective housing in his friend's endowment, Musahib Mehmed's portion of the waqf included twenty-two shops and thirty units rooms of collective housing in total, but no independent houses at all. *Rumeli* 21, no. 262, pp. 241–252, 62a–65a.

Table. 2: Classification of Mehmed and Gazanfer Aghas' endowed properties. TSMK, EH 3028; VGMA, d. 571, no. 8.

	Mehmed Agha	Gazanfer Agha
Purely residential property units:		
sets of rooms for collective housing	8	4
individual houses or house compounds (<i>menzil</i>)	5	12
" <i>menzils</i> " which seem to be a set of rooms/cells	–	1
Houses with commercial units:		
house compounds incorporating commercial units	2	1
smaller houses combined with commercial units	1	7
Residential-commercial hybrids:		
<i>menzil</i> + rooms + shops	1	–
" <i>menzils</i> " consisting of sets of rooms/cells and shops	–	3
other sets of rooms combined with shops	8	5
khan + rooms + shops	1	–
Primarily commercial property units:		
khans	1	2
single or grouped commercial structures	32	19
agricultural properties unattached to other structures	14	3
Other property units:		
<i>hadika-i enika</i> (presumably pleasure garden)	1	1
unspecified properties	1	–
TOTAL NUMBER OF PROPERTY UNITS	75	58

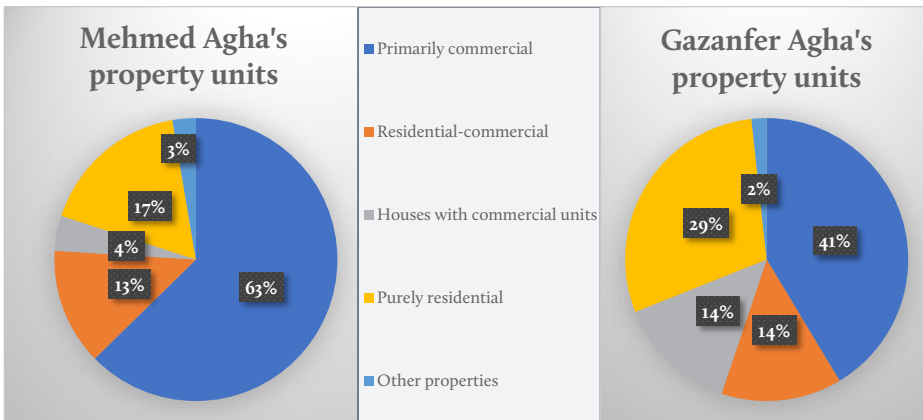


Table 3: Shop types and total numbers of separate shop units in the endowments of Mehmed and Gazanfer Aghas. TSMK, EH 3028; VGMA, d. 571, no. 8.

	Mehmed Agha	Gazanfer Agha
unspecified shop units (<i>dükkân</i>) as part of the properties called “ <i>menzil</i> ”	12	32
unspecified shop units as part of khans	unmentioned	18
other unspecified shop units	197	86
cookshop (<i>aşçı dükkânı</i>)	1	-
fish shop (<i>balıkçı dükkânı</i>)	-	10
grocery store (<i>bakkâl dükkânı</i>)	1	-
public eating-house cooking sheep heads and trotters (<i>başhâne / serhâne</i>)	2	-
<i>boza</i> -drinking house (<i>bozahâne</i>)	2	-
sherbet-drinking house (<i>şerbetçi</i>)	1	-
bakery (<i>fırın</i>)	-	1
pastry shop (<i>börekçi fırını</i>)	1	-
bun bakery (<i>çörekçi fırını</i>)	-	1
bread bakery (<i>fırın-ı habbâz / etmekçi fırını</i>)	3	2
butcher’s shop (<i>kassâb dükkânı</i>)	1	1
slaughterhouse (<i>selhâne</i>)	3	2
linseed oil press (<i>bezirhâne</i>)	1	1
sesame oil press (<i>şîrûğanhâne, şîrûğan değirmeni</i>)	1	2
tanners’ workshop (<i>debbâğhâne</i>)	1	1
public bath (<i>hamâm</i>)	1	1
tailor’s shop (<i>hayyât dükkânı</i>)	-	1
spoon-maker’s shop (<i>kaşıkçı dükkânı</i>)	1	-
candle workshop (<i>şem hâne</i>)	2	-
TOTAL NUMBER OF SHOP UNITS	231+	159
Other types of commercial properties:		
space for storing snow (<i>karlık</i>)	2	1
icehouse (<i>buzluk</i>)	11	1
storehouse (<i>mahzen</i>)	16	at least 8 (mostly as part of “ <i>menzils</i> ”)
timber storehouse (<i>keresteci mahzeni</i>)	1	-
boathouse (<i>kayikhâne</i>)	-	at least 1 commercial

Table 4: Room types and total numbers of rooms in the tenements endowed by Mehmed and Gazanfer Aghas. TSMK, EH 3028; VGMA, d. 571, no. 8.

	Mehmed Agha	Gazanfer Agha
Total number of rooms for married couples (<i>evli / müte’ehhil[în] odaları</i>)	111	40
Total number of rooms for bachelors (<i>mücerredân odaları</i>)	36	-
Total number of unspecified room (<i>oda</i>) units in tenements	71	47
Total number of unspecified room (<i>oda</i>) units in tenements called “ <i>menzils</i> ”	-	7
Total number of cell (<i>hücre</i>) units in tenements	11 or 13	7
Total number of cell (<i>hücre</i>) units in tenements called “ <i>menzils</i> ”	-	44
TOTAL NUMBER OF ROOMS IN COLLECTIVE HOUSING	229 or 231	145



Figure 10: Probable locations of Mehmed Agha's properties around his mosque complex and bath (Google Earth, ©2019 Maxar Technologies). TSMK, EH 3028. The numbers in parentheses refer to each property's order of appearance in the endowment deed.

Conclusion

This article has presented a preliminary analysis of the residences and real estate owned by a diverse group of high-ranking eunuchs in Istanbul in the 1590s, with an aim to gain insights into their private living environments and their relationship with the world outside the palace. Constituting the *crème de la crème* of the larger and variegated group of eunuchs, these patrons acquired a freedom of real estate ownership after a restriction imposed on them in the early stages of their courtly service. According to Mustafa Âli, these traditional constraints had relaxed by the 1590s, which allegedly saw a greater drive among low-ranking eunuchs to acquire private quarters of their own in the city. The imperial court had in fact always been supportive of high-ranking eunuchs' household formation and real estate ownership. There was nothing new or unusual about eunuchs having large mansions in the city. Yet the heightened volume of property accumulation by the two most prominent eunuchs of this period, Gazanfer and Mehmed Aghas,¹¹⁶ feeds the impression of a general increase in the power and urban visibility of the entire eunuch community. In this study, I have tried to put their material presence in Istanbul in a wider, comparative context, juxtaposing them with the much more modest waqfs of some of their closest peers in rank.

The property descriptions examined above give rise to several observations/questions, which may be elucidated by further research. First of all, there seems to have been a consistent connection between a given eunuch's rank or career track and the location of his residence. The highest-ranking eunuchs of the *enderûn*, Gazanfer and Mustafa had their mansions in the immediate vicinity of the Topkapı Palace, each near one of the two octagonal towers of the palace wall. Their divergence from earlier known examples of eunuch residences by their unusual proximity to the imperial palace is noteworthy and may possibly reflect the impact of the trends of increasing sultanic seclusion and concentration in the Topkapı Palace. As for the mansion of the chief harem eunuch Mehmed, I have suggested that its proximity to the Old Palace may have been related not only to this official's previous post, but also to his ongoing link to these premises in accordance with the then effective definition of the office of *Dârîi's-sa'âde ağası*. As the palatial duties of these career-track eunuchs required their residence in Istanbul proper, they also concentrated more than half of their real estate there. Musahib Mehmed Agha, by contrast, had his entire waqf near his waterfront residence in Tophane, from where he could probably join Murad III's leisurely excursions to the gardens along the Bosphorus. All these residences, as well as the trajectories and entryways the aghas passed through on their way to their specific working quarters, hint at possibly consistent linkages between the spatial configuration of the royal palaces and the residences of its personnel in the city.

The differences observed in the investment patterns of different court eunuchs also bring into vivid relief the possibilities and restrictions arising from the individual station of each. Gazanfer's relatively secure position as the holder of the traditionally highest office in the court hierarchy

¹¹⁶ For example, the previous chief white eunuch Mahmud Agha endowed only about forty properties (twenty-five or twenty-six houses, six rows of rooms, and eight shops) in Istanbul. Ahmet Uyaniker, "Bir Mimar Sinan Eseri Kapı Ağası Hadım Mahmûd Ağa Camii'nin Hicri 1020 (M. 1611) Yılına Ait Vakıf Defteri," *Karadeniz* 30 (2016): 141-154.

along with the extra post of *odabaşı* is reflected in such privileges as having khans in the intra muros area and a pleasure garden along the Bosphorus, as well as a greater access to the plots leased by old waqfs. The real estate acquisition strategy of the two black eunuchs named Mehmed, on the other hand, was arguably in line with their precarious position as newly emerged royal favorites who partly lacked the support of the tradition: these two patrons sought to create focal areas in the urban fabric which would be associated with their memory (i.e., Musahib's waqf in Tophane and the chief harem eunuch's concentration of properties near the Atik Valide Mosque Complex and the Çarşamba area, fig. 8 and fig. 10). In doing so, they either directly cooperated with another, more powerful patron (Nurbanu Sultan) or presented their waqf as a joint endeavor with an elite figure of high lineage and learned status (Dukakinzade). All such differences in their real estate ownership patterns highlight the diversity of their individual experiences, refuting any blanket notion of eunuchhood. This article's portrayal of court eunuchs as denizens of Istanbul is meant to be part of such an effort to grasp their living conditions within the spatial, social, and economic context of the late sixteenth-century Ottoman capital.

APPENDICES

Selected properties endowed by Mehmed Agha and Gazanfer Agha, based on their respective endowment deeds.

The numbers in the first column indicate each property unit's order of appearance in the endowment deed, followed by the folio/page numbers. Only the properties located in the larger Istanbul area are counted; provincial real estate and socioreligious structures created for charity are excluded.

APPENDIX A: Mehmed Agha's residence and other selected properties (according to TSMK, EH 3028)

Total #	Type	Location	Architectural and other characteristics	Annual rent (<i>muḳāṭa'a</i>) of the plot, if any	Adjacent to
75					
#11 35b -36a	menzil (<i>gifted by Murad III</i>)	Sarây-ı 'Atik kurbunda	muḥavvateyni müstemil olub dâhiliyesinde tahtâni ve fevkâni altı bâb odayı ve maḥbaḥı ve ḥammâmı ve ḥadıka[yı] ve kenâ'ifi müstemil olub muḥavvata-i ḥâriciyesinde üç 'aded âḥürü ve fevkâni on dört bâb odayı ve maḥbaḥı ve mâ'-i câriyi ve divânḥaneyi [36a] ve kenâ'ifi ve on bâb dükkânı ve dükkânlara muttaşıl Müslümânlar için tesbîl itdükleri mâ'-i câri[yi] muḥtevidür	-	- tarik-i 'amma - merḥûm Şüfî Mehmed Paşa ile merḥûm Mercân Ağa vakfına - vakf-ı merḥûmdan Baba 'Alî Fırını dimekle ma'rûf ḥabbâz fırınına
#12 36a - 36b	fırın-ı ḥabbâz, 6 (<i>upper</i>) oda, 5 [d]ükkân	menzil-i merḥûma muttaşıl	'arşası[nı] merḥûm H'oca Hamza vakfından muḳāṭa'a ile alub üzerine sabıkan binâ ihdâş iden merḥûm Baba 'Alî evlâdından vakıf-ı [36b] mûmâ-ileyh ḥazretleri binâsını iştirâ' itdükden sonra müceddeden fırın-ı ḥabbâz binâ idüb ve fevkâni altı bâb oda ve beş 'aded [d]ükkân binâ itmışlerdür	<i>unspecified amount</i> → H'oca Hamza waqf	- (<i>on 2 sides</i>) tarik-i 'amma - menzil-i salîfî'z-zikre
#13 36b	unspecified building ¹¹⁸	Kâdi' asker ham[m]âmı kurbunda	-	-	- vezir-i müşîr Ferhâd Paşa mülküne - tarik-i 'amma - Yahyâ Yayabaşı mülküne - Râbi'a Ḥâtûn'uñ vakfına

117 This unit (fig. 3: C) located next to a property of the vizier Ferhad Pasha—who was an ally of Mehmed Agha—seems to correspond to the “house and shops near the palace of Ferhad Pasha” (hâne ve dekâkin der kurb-ı sarây-ı Ferhâd Paşa) in an account book of the waqf dated 1006 (1597–1598). TSMK, d. 1597, 1b.

#14 37a	menzil	Saray-ı 'Atık kurbunda	iki muhavvata[yı] müstemil menzildir; dâhiliyesinde üç báb odayı ve fevkâni iki báb odayı, ortalarında şofa ve ham[m]âmı ve maṭbaḥı ve üç 'aded beyt-i süfliyi ve bāğçe[yi] ve kenifi muḥtevidür; ve muhavvata-i ḥâriciyesinde bir aḥûrî, fevkâni iki báb odayı ve ortasında şofayı ve anbârı müstemildir	-	- Süleymân Çavuş mülküne - Mercân Ağa vakfına - Şırt Ḥam[m]âmına - tarîk-ı 'amma
#47 52b - 53a	hadika-i eniḳa	Vâlide Sultân Hazretlerine intimâyıla şöhret bulan mahalle-i cedidede	içinde olan havzı ile ve eṣcâr-ı müşmire ve gayr-i müşmiresiyle hadika-i mezbûrenün 'arşası tülen binâ zirâ'ıyla 140 zirâ' ve 'arzan 72 zirâ' dur	-	- (on 2 sides) tarîk-i 'amma - merḥûm el-Hâc Ahmed Paşa b. el-merḥûm Mahmûd Beğ mülküne - Mehmed Agha's waqf
#48 53a - 53b	menzil (Neccâr Ḥalil'den iştirâ itdükləri)	mevzi'-i mezkûrda	taşrasında iki báb dükkânı ve fevkâni iki báb hücreyi müstemil olub ve dâhiliyesinde bir báb odayı ve bir çilehâneyi ve kenifi muḥtevidür.	-	- hâlen tershânedede gümü başı olan Muṣtafâ bin Ferhâd mülküne - tarîk-ı 'amma - (on 2 sides) Mehmed Agha's waqf

APPENDIX B: Gazanfer Agha's residence and other selected properties (according to VGMA, d. 571, no. 8)

Total #	Type	Location	Architectural and other characteristics	Annual rent (muḳâfa'a) of the plot, if any	Adjacent to
58					
#1 p. 14	binâ itdükləri menzil	Aḥûr Kapusına karib merḥûm İshâk Paşa Mahallesi'nde	muḥavvateyni müstemil olub dâhiliyesinde tahtâni sekiz báb odayı ve fevkâni yigirmi beş báb odaları ve çifte hamâmı ve ḥârici ve dâhili beş yerde câri kâmil iki lüle mâ'-ı 'azbı müstemil olub ve ḥâriciyesinde tahtâni yedi báb oṭaları ve fevkâni on báb oṭaları ve iki báb maṭbaḥı ve iki báb aḥûrî bi'r-i mâ'ı ve muhavvata ve kenâ'ifi ve bundan mâ'adâ büyüt-ı dâhiliyeye mülâşık bir báb odayı ve muḥîti müstemil	-	- Süleymân Ağa mülki - Muṣtafâ Çelebi mülki - merḥûm İshâk Paşa Mescidi ile hamâmı - tarîk-ı 'amm
#12 p. 15	hadika / menzil	Top Kapusu kurbunda	dâhiliyesinde iki báb tahtâni odayı ve bir hamâmı ve bi'r-i mâ' ve eṣcâr-ı müşmire[yi] müstemil	-	- (on 3 sides) tarîk-ı 'amma - T[?]rkeşci(?) Muşlı mülküne
#18 p. 15	menzil	İshâk Paşa Mahallesi'nde	muḥavvateyni müstemil olan menzildir ki muhavvata-i dâhiliyesi üç báb büyüt-ı 'ulviyeyi ve bi'r-i mâ'ı ve kenifi ḥâvi olub muhavvata-i ḥâriciyesi dört báb 'ulvi evleri ve altında bir báb aḥûrî ve kenifi ve üç báb tahtâni odaları müstemil	-	- Gazanfer Agha's waqf - 'Osmân b. 'Abdullah mülküne - Oruç Beğ b. 'Abdullah mülküne - tarîk-ı ḥâşşa

#19 p. 15	menzil	“	fevkâni ve tahtâni yedi bâb hücerâtı ve kenifi hâvi olan menzildür	-	- Oruç Beğ b. ‘Abdullâh ve Rıdvân Beğ b. ‘Abdullâh mülklerine - merhûm Nahlbend (sic) Muştafâ vakfına - (on 2 sides) tarik-i hâşşa
#20 p. 15	4 oda	“	dört bâb tahtâni odalardur	45 akçe → <i>unnamed waqf</i>	- merhûm Sinân Paşa vakfına - Na'lbend Muştafâ vakfına - Süleymân Ağa b. ‘Abdullâh mülküne - tarik-i hâşşa
#35 p. 16	hamâm	İshak Paşa mahallesinde	-	2000 akçe → <i>waqf of the late Sinan Pasha</i>	- tarik-i ‘amma - merhûm Sinân Paşa hânına - (on 2 sides) [Gazanfer Agha's] menzillerine
#36 p. 16	menzil	“ (mahall-i mezbürda)	-	-	- (on 2 sides) [Gazanfer Agha's] menzillerine - tarik-i hâşşa - Muştafâ Kethüdâ mülküne
#37 p. 16	menzil	“ (kurbunda)	-	-	- [Gazanfer Agha's] vakıf sarâylarına - tarik-i hâşş - şîşeci otalarına - Yahyâ Efendi vakfına
#38 p. 16	menzil	“ (mahall-i mezbürda)	-	-	- [Gazanfer Agha's] vakıf sarâylarına - ‘Abdi ve Muştafâ mülklerine - mescid-i şerife - tarik-i hâşşa
#46 p. 17	hadıka	Medîne-i [Eyüb'de]	-	-	-
#53 p. 17	Papas Bâğçesi	-	-	-	- mirî Kulle bâğçesine - mirî Kandil bâğçesine - deryâya - vâdiye
#58 p. 17	hadıka-i enika	Ġalaṭa kazâsına tâbi Kûn Çeşme ... mevzi [in]de	leb-i deryâda hârici ve dâhili büyü-t müte‘addide[y]ji ve hamâmı ve mâ‘-i câri ve kuşûrı ve kürümü müştetil	-	- Mûsâ veled-i (blank) nâm Yahüdi mülküne - Yâsef veled-i (blank) nâm Yahüdi mülküne - deryâya - vâdiye

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