

THE OTTOMAN TOWN IN THE SOUTHERN BALKANS FROM 14TH TO 16TH CENTURIES:

A MORPHOLOGICAL APPROACH.

by OURANIA BESSI

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School of Archaeology and Antiquity

College of Arts and Law

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Abstract

This thesis discussed the morphological patterns of Ottomanization performed in the southern Balkans through the comparative study of four mainland cities, *Dimetoka*, *Gümülcine*, *Siroz*, *Yenice-i Vardar* spread along the multicultural *Via Egnatia*. Through the cross-disciplinary application of morphological and defterological concepts, we were able to trace existing and reconstructed forms back to their formative processes (as evident in a series of reconstructive maps) and to interpret them within the theoretical framework of structural rationalism. The advanced argument disproves the orientalist reading of the Ottoman (Islamic) city as an irrational and chaotic morpheme and reconfirms Veinstein's theory on the existence of a normative type for the Ottoman town that lays in the morphology of the Balkan cities. This thesis' main contribution lies in defining that the identifier of 'originality' or 'purity' for this type derives from its particular geographical divisions. Accordingly, the coining of the type that we extended was reflective of these particular geographical divisions, as an obvious functional and formal analogy amongst the towns of this group. We thus concluded that the typological identification of the 'original' Ottoman town can be encapsulated in the Balkan-Anatolian type with a Byzantine kernel and an Ottoman fringe belt. This consists of a highly rationalized system of axes, with pivotal being that of the *çarşıya*, which functioned as the vehicle of infrastructural development.

Το Βιργινία, Σώστη και Κυριακή

R.I.P.

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Place name equivalence

Dede-Ağaç: Alexandroupoli

Dimetoka: Didymoteicho

Dirama: Drama

Edirne: Andrianoupoli

Gümölcine: Komotini

Kesterya: Kastoria

Kızıl Deli: Erythropotamos

Meriç: Evros

Selanik: Thessaloniki

Vodina: Veroia

Yenice-i Vardar: Yanitsa

List of Definitions

Editorial Note:

Diacriticals are not used in the transliteration of Arabic or Persian. Ottoman Turkish phrases are rendered in Modern Turkish orthography. The words or suffixes in brackets are additions or reconstructed forms of words suggested by the author. The question marks in the parentheses indicate words, the reading of which remains uncertain. Main reference source is the 1890 edition of Sir J. Redhouse *Turkish and English Lexicon*. For the transcription of common Ottoman terms I have also consulted the ‘Glossary of terms’, Morea (2005), pp. xxiii-xxx1.

A

Aba’iye: makers of coarse woolen cloth and saddle cloth makers

Aktēmon: Fiscal category of peasants with no property.

Anca ki: the place which (Table 1)

Aşkuncu, Eşkuncu or Eşkinici: a mounted feudal yeoman; an irregular cavalryman; the name that a sipahi assumed after he joined the campaigns (Table 22)¹

‘Atık: manumitted slave

Atmacı: a sparrow-hawk hunter (Table 22)

‘Avarız: wartime taxes, in that sense extraordinary taxes and dues to meet emergency expenses

Azade: manumitted slave

B

Bağat: vineyards

Bağcı: a vineyard worker

Bakı (al): surplus or amount in arrears

Bakısı tekkeyede sarf olunurmuş: the remainder to be spent at the tekke (Table 20)

Başhane: butchery specializing on sheep heads (Table 5)

Bazdar: falconer, keeper of the hawks (Table 4)

Bevvab: gate-keeper

Borc: debt (Table 1)

Bozacı: maker of the drink *boza* (Table 2)

¹ Gökbilgin (1957), p. 30

Burgos: suburban area

C

Cabi: rent collector

Cerahor: name given to Christian militia forces employed in the Ottoman army especially as fortress defenders and paid a wage (*ecr, ücret*) for their services; thus mercenaries

Cerrahı: surgeon (Table 2)

Cercer: owners/ operators of the agricultural equipments, which were driven over the spread sheaves on the threshing floor in order to separate the grain (Table 2). As a proper name its use is attested in other parts of the empire and especially in Eastern Anatolia. See *Redhouse Dictionary* (1890 edn.), p. 654 and *Tarama Sözlüğü* II: 760.

Ç

Çanakçı: potter (Table 2)

Çarşı: market

Çarşıya: processional road, central artery of the market space

Çeltükçi: rice producer exempted from taxes; they were usually war captives

Çiftlik: Land workable by a peasant family using a pair of oxen; a big farm under the control of an absentee landlord; a plantation-like farm; a village (Table 20)

Çulah: weavers

D

Debbağ: leather tanner

Değirmenci: miller (Table 2)

Dellak: shampooer in a public bath (Table 2)

Demos: the common people (populace as a political unit)

Deyrhanlu: as belonging to a monastery (Table 18)

Dilsuz (dilsiz): mute (Table 2)

E

Emr-i ahur: master of the stables (Table 1)

Eşkuncu: See *Aşkuncu*

Etmekci: baker

F

Fani: deceased (Table 2)

G

Gayub: absent, disappeared

Gedik: a shop or place of business in any building, held by patent or warrant assigning it to a special use of ownership (Table 2, 3)

Giru: left behind (Table 3)

Göz: closet, compartment

Gramatikos (Greek): the secretary of the Christian community (Table 2)

Gulam: slave

Güreyi: trainer and keeper of hunting birds for the imperial hunt who enjoyed and exemption from taxation (Table 8)

Ğ

H

Habbaz: baker (Table 8)

Hacet: requirement (Table 1)

Haddad: blacksmith (Table 2, 3)

Hafız: guard, custodian or anyone who knows the Qur'an by heart (Table 1)

Hallada hilafete: May God make his reign perpetual (Table 2, 3)

Haliya: at the present time (Table 3)

Hammam: public bath

Hanat: pl. of *han*

Haraçcı: the collector of taxes owed by the non-Muslims such as *cizye* or *haraç*

Harc etmek: to spend (Table 3)

Hass (has): Private holding; a prebend belonging to the sultan, grand vizier or another member of the elite with a yearly income of over 100.000 *akçes*²

Hayyat: tailor

Hibe: gift (Table 3)

Hatib: reader, reciter of rogatory prayers

Hüddam: servant

Hükm-i cihan-muta: the order that the entire world obeys (Table 3)

Hükm-i şerif: imperial order (Table 3)

I

İ

İn'am etmiş: to donate (Table 3)

İrgat (Greek): labourer (Table 2, 3)

² Morea (2005), p. xxvi

İspano (Greek): proper last name, of Spanish origin or beardless (Table 2, 3)

Ispençe: land tax on non- Muslims (head tax paid by a non-Muslim to the holder of a timar)

İşleyici: habitual workers (Table 1)

K

Kalaycı: an artisan who tins copper vessels (Table 2)

Kayyum: a care-taker of a mosque (Table 2, 3)

Kebeci: responsible for maintaining the thick felt cloaks (kebe) worn by the residents and seniors of the foundation

Keçi: small, celibate (Table 18)

Keçici: seller of goat hair (Table 22)

Keresteci: timber merchant (Table 2, 3)

Kervansaray: caravansaray

Kıst: share/lot (Table 20)

Kilavuz: a road-guide leader. At (Table 2) *kilavuz* is misspelt as قولاغوز instead of قلاغوز.

Kogacı: water-bucket seller (Table 2)

Kontos (Greek): short (Table 2)

Kovakrağ: poplar meadows (Table 1)

Koz: walnut (Table 1)

Köprübaşı: bridge chief attendant

Kum: sand (Table 2)

Kuyumcu: goldsmith

Kuyunlu: blacksmith (Table 1)

Külliyeye: architectural complex

Kürekçi: oarsman or rower

L

Levahık: appendage (Table 3)

M

Macar: Hungarians

Makbere: cemetery, burial place (Table 20)

Ma'ruk: guards who surround the castle (Table 22)

Mastoros (Greek): mason (Table 2, 3)

Mavrayenis (Greek): black bearded (proper name) (Table 2, 3)

Maziye: passed (Table 5)

Meblağ: amount of money/sum (Table 20)

Mestur: written

Mu'arrif: inferior functionary in a mosque acting as a chorister (Table 8)

Mukarrer: confirmed in written, certain

Muhassıl: tax collector

Muy-tab: spinner of goat hair and maker of woven articles. At (Table 2, 3) *muy-tab* مویتاب is also spelled as موتاب.

Mutaf: mohair worker same as *muy-tab*, see above (Table 8)

Mutasarrıf: beneficiary

Muttasıl: contiguous, adjacent (Table 3)

Muzarı': one who lets land for a share of the harvest, thus share of the harvest (Table 3)

Muceb-i hüccet: by the legal requirement of the edict (Table 3)

Mütecaviz: to trespass (Table 7)

N

Nayzen: nay player (Table 2, 3)

Nalbant: blacksmith

Na'ib: a judge substitute of canon law

O

Orguropiyos (Greek)= *Organopoiios*: maker of musical instruments (Table 2, 3)

P

Paraphthora: corruption

Palios (Greek): senior (Table 2, 3)

Paşmakcı: slipper maker (Table 2, 3)

Politi (Greek): proper last name, Constantinopolitan

Proto Yeros (Greek)= *Demogeron*: the governor of the Christian community (Table 2, 3)

Protomastor (Greek): chief mason (Table 2, 3)

R

Rabak (al): condition, restriction (Table 1)

S

Salcu: constructor of rafts (Table 2, 3)

Salgin'dan hasıl olan meblağ: lump sum taxation

Saraç: seller of saddlers and harness

Sarban: camel driver (Table 2, 3)

Sarf olunmak: to be expended

Sayyad: hunter

Sayir rüsumu: other taxes (Table 6)

Segban: a keeper of the hounds; especially the keepers of the Sultan's hounds that were later incorporated within the corps of Janissaries, as a division of thirty-four regiments (Table 2, 3)

Solak: guardsman in attendance on the Sultan in processions (Table 18)

Suq: çarşı: the market area

Ş

Şapcı: alum handler (Table 18)

T

Ta'allukat: (plural of ta'alluk تعلق) appendage. In table 20, it means the dependents or members of the extended Evrenosoğlu family, the attached to the Evrenosoğlu.

Tabbah: cook (Table 2, 3)

Tahancı: grinder (Table 1)

Taksimat: divisions, branches (Table 1)

Tamias (Greek): cashier (Table 2, 3)

Tebdil olmak: to be change, modified or exchanged for (Table 3)

Temkin etmek: to settle (Table 7)

Temlik: a landed estate held in freehold by patent from the crown (Table 3)

Tevabi': dependencies, attached districts (Table 3)

Tevki 'i: cipher of the sultan (Table1)

U

Ü

V

Y

Yamak: assistant, military rank (Table 2, 3)

Yeyen: nephew (Table 1)

Yolcu: road repairing technician (Table 8)

Yormanos (Greek): German (Table 2, 3)

Younari (Greek): proper last name, seller of furs

Z

Za'i' olmuş: to have been lost (Table 3)

Zaviye: hospice

Ze'amet: large prebend ranging from 20,000 to 100,000 *akçes* given to a commander or high sipahi officer

Zindancı: prison warden (Table 2, 3)

Introduction

Introductory remarks on the thesis project

This thesis discusses the urban patterns of Ottomanization carried out in the southern Balkans through a comparative study of four mainland cities situated along the multicultural *Via Egnatia*. The rationale of the thesis is based on the axiom that the Ottoman expansion in Europe was launched towards the Thracian and Macedonian provinces of present-day Northern Greece, which preserve unique, material pieces of evidence for the elucidation of obscure aspects of the morphogenesis and development of the Ottoman town. Material evidence is employed as eloquent testimonies that shed light on the hazy specifics of the Ottoman polity during the first one and a half centuries of its formation, a period which has been characterised as the “black hole” of Ottoman history.¹

The typological analysis consists of four case-studies of the towns that played a pivotal role in the chronicle of Ottoman expansion: *Dimetoka* (1357), *Gümülcine* (1361/2), *Siroz* (1383), *Yenice-i Vardar* (1385/6). Analysis of these four case-studies follows classification into two sub-types: a) towns with a fortified (Byzantine) kernel and an *extramural* Ottoman settlement and b) towns with an Ottoman settlement and an unfortified (Byzantine) kernel.

The existing bibliography consists of the works of Todorov², Gökbilgin³, Barkan⁴, Balta⁵, Kiel⁶, and Ayverdi⁷ that illuminate either the socio-political, economic and

¹ C. Imber., “The legend of Osman Gazi”, in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389)*, Institute of Mediterranean Studies, Crete 1993, pp. 67-75.

² N. Todorov, *The Balkan City 1400-1900*, University of Washington Press, Seattle and London 1983; idem., *Situation démographique de la Péninsule balkanique (fin du XVes. début du XVIes.)*, Sofia, Editions de

demographic aspects of the Ottoman polity in the Balkans, or architectural aspects of the Ottoman city (in the form of collective works and monographs). The first critical contribution to the study of the Ottomanization process in the southern Balkans was achieved by Heath W. Lowry⁸, who further acknowledged the need for a detailed architectural appraisal of the material evidence from an archaeological/art-historical point of view.

All these exemplary works are time-specific contributions to socio-political, economic or architectural aspects of Ottoman urbanism. However, none of these deals with issues of urban structure and morphology from an evolutionary standpoint. Due to this lack of concomitant advance between the understanding of the cities' socio-economical development and their morphological structure, the study of the town in Ottoman studies has become unbalanced. Thus, the originality of my project lies in that it conceptualizes fundamental phenomena of the Ottoman morphogenesis and structural evolution through the comparative morphological analysis of four of the earliest Ottoman towns formed in Europe.

l'Académie bulgares des sciences, 1988 ; idem., *Society, the City and Industry in the Balkans, 15th-19th Centuries*, Aldershot, Ashgate Variorum, 1998.

³ M.T. Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası, mukataalar, vakıflar, mülkler*, İstanbul 1952, idem., *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlad-ı Fatihan*, İstanbul 1957.

⁴ Ö.L. Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak vakıflar ve temlikler. I İstîlâ devirlerinin kolonizatör Türk dervişleri ve zâviyeler", II. "Vakıflar bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak kullanılmasında diğer şekilleri", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. II (1942), pp. 279-386; idem., *XV ve XVI'ncı Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ziraî Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları*, I Kanunlar, İstanbul 1943.

⁵ E. Balta, *Les vakifs de Serres et de sa région XV- XVIe siècles*, Athens 1995 ; idem., "H Trakē stis Othōmanikes katastixōseis", *Thrakē historikes kai geōgraphikes proseggysseis*, Athens 2000, pp. 107-116.

⁶ K. Machiel, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, Norfolk, Variorum, 1990.

⁷ E.H. Ayverdi, A. Yüksel, G. Ertürk and I. Nüman, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri: Romanya, Macaristan*, vol. I, books 1 and 2, İstanbul, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1980; idem., *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri: Yugoslavya*, vol. II, book 3, İstanbul, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1981; idem., *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri: Yugoslavya*, vol. III, book 3, İstanbul, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1981; idem., *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri: Bulgaristan, Yunanistan, Arnavudluk*, vol. IV, book V, İstanbul, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1982. The works of Ayverdi have been followed in the same, catalographic concept by: F. Yenişehiroğlu, *Türkiye dışındaki Osmanlı Mimari Yapıtları*, Ankara 1989; N. Çam, *Yunanistandaki Türk Eserleri*, Ankara 2006; İ. Bıçakçı, *Yunanistan'da Türk Mimârî Eserleri*, İstanbul 2003; N. Konuk, *Midilli, Rodos, Sakız ve İstanköy'de Osmanlı Mimarisi*, Ankara 2008 and *Yunanistan'da Osmanlı Mimarisi*, Ankara 2010; E. Brouskari (ed.), *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, Hellenic Ministry of Culture-Directorate of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Antiquities, Athens, Livani Publications, 2008.

⁸ H. Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans 1350-1550: the conquest, settlement and infrastructural development of Northern Greece*, İstanbul, Bahçeşehir University Publications, 2008; idem., *In the footsteps of the Ottomans: a search for sacred spaces and architectural monuments in Northern Greece*, İstanbul, Bahçeşehir University Publications, 2009; Lowry H. and Erünsal İ.E., *The Hacı Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice-i Vardar: notes and documents*, İstanbul, Bahçeşehir University Publications, 2010.

This thesis is the product of an innovative perspective which lies on the interdisciplinary investigation of the relationship between defterology and morphology.⁹ The methodology lies in the reconstruction of the aforementioned towns' topographies and the compilation of detailed geo-referenced maps corresponding to each case-study. The corroboration of the material remains and the recovery of non-existent infrastructure is achieved through the extensive use of Ottoman archival sources—mainly of the type of cadastral surveys [*tapu tahrirs*] and *vakf* inventories, but also through the use of inscriptional data sets—that are then combined with traditional archaeological practices: collection and interpretation of field evidence and recording of the historical buildings.¹⁰ The accurate dating of the *vakfs* and the surviving monuments, in conjunction with their geo-reference within the street plan of these towns, allows the periodization of the stages of urban development from the 14th to 16th centuries for each case-study.

This is based on my belief that only through such an interdisciplinary approach it is possible to reconstruct the Ottoman topography of lands, where Ottoman authority was discontinued. In these lands, where the Ottoman monuments are demolished or the residues of Ottoman memory are obliterated from the urban scenery (in other words, in cases where the task of reconstructing the historical topography becomes extremely challenging), we can only make sense and taxinomize the plethora of various archival, archaeological, art-historical, cartographic-topographic, and oral historical cues, by applying the epistemological grid of morphological theory. I am emphasising the value of this approach for the lands outside the frontiers of modern Turkey, where Ottoman historical continuities have been disrupted and where the evidence of the Ottoman material culture can be only visualized through the compilation of detailed geo-referenced maps.

⁹ See footnotes 29, 30, 32 and 34 of the chapter.

¹⁰ C. Renfrew and P. Bahn, *Archaeology: Theory methods and Practice*, London 1991.

The compilation of such maps as referencing works for the study of further case-studies is of outmost importance. It is only through the compilation of relevant comparative works from other regions of the empire that we can reach reliable conclusions about the original urban type of the Ottoman town. Under this light, my objective is to visualize the morphological solutions used in the Ottomanization of the southern Balkans that can serve as a working framework for the urban history of the transitional era, from the medieval to the early modern period.

Part A: Theoretical framework

1) Morphological theory and the adapted model

Setting the enquiry within chronological and conceptual context

The rationale beyond the comparative study of these four case-studies lies in transcending the experience of a unique place—in the customary form of urban monographs on individual cities—in order to identify the principles that qualify authentic samples of Ottoman fabric in the 14th century's settlements. By this way, we aimed to assess whether these prevalently spontaneous urban constructions are the result of an anarchic town planning or the product of a rationally structured settlement process.

As the towns of our interest were accomplished by the Muslim Ottomans within the geographical limits of Europe, we would need to define our query within the theoretical and chronological framework of both medieval¹¹—as well as western—and pre-modern Islamic urbanism.¹² André Raymond debunked the academic bias of the earlier generations of Orientalists in his discussion of the spatial development of the Islamic city. He criticised the dismissive interpretation accorded to the Muslim model and, particularly, to the Ottoman substratum of the Mediterranean cities, as an inorganic assemblage of quarters, by marking the structural analogies between the western and the Oriental city. Even, he reached the point

¹¹ L. Mumford, *The city in the history*, London, Pelican Press, 1966, 362-394 (chap. 11: Medieval disruptions Modern Anticipations).

¹² Key articles providing a comprehensive overview of Islamic urbanism with view to schools of thought, spatial semiotics and legislative framework: G. A. Neglia, "Some historiographical notes on the Islamic city with particular reference to the visual representation of the built city," in R. Holod, A. Petruccioli, and A. Raymond (ed.), *The city in the Islamic World*, vol.1 of *The Handbook of Oriental Studies* 94, Leiden, Brill, 2008, 3-47; A. Raymond, "The spatial organization of the city," in R. Holod, A. Petruccioli, and A. Raymond (ed.), *The city in the Islamic World*, vol.1 of *The Handbook of Oriental Studies* 94, Leiden, Brill, 2008, 47-70; B. Hakim, "Law and the City," in R. Holod, A. Petruccioli, and A. Raymond (ed.), *The city in the Islamic World*, vol.1 of *The Handbook of Oriental Studies* 94, Leiden, Brill, 2008, 71-92.

to explicitly state that “there is nothing specifically Muslim about urban structural characteristics”.¹³

Along the same syncretistic lines, Gilles Veinstein advocated that the existence of the typical Ottoman town lies in the morphology of the north-western Anatolian and Balkan cities and concluded that “there existed an original urban type, halfway between the Arabic and the Western towns; and if this analysis is confirmed from future studies, then the term—Ottoman town—will be legitimately used to refer to this type”.¹⁴ If we were then to rationalize the arrangement and diversity of such a hybrid urban morpheme, we would first need to turn back to the period of its morphogenesis—the 14th century—and to devise an interdisciplinary methodology, which, could transcend both geographical and conceptual limitations.

The medieval town model extends chronologically from the 10th to the 14th century, with formative elements that can be summed up in the monastery, the guildhall and the church; yet, without suggesting that for the formation of the archetypical medieval town all these institutions would be present in any particular town or would carry equal weight.¹⁵ The most significant morphological evolution of medieval urbanism consists in the development of the grid plan during the 13th century. From England to Germany and the Lower Countries a series of cities started being formed along main land routes, a topographic parameter that had a major effect on their site-planning development.¹⁶

In these so-called “street-villages” [*strassendorf*], house grouping assumed the configuration of a bordering lane developed along the central (longitudinal) axis, while in many cases we encounter subordinated (secondary) routes developed as parallel to the

¹³ Raymond (2008), pp. 51-58.

¹⁴ G. Veinstein, “The Ottoman town (fifteenth-eighteenth century),” in R. Holod, A. Petruccioli, and A. Raymond (ed.), *The city in the Islamic World*, vol.1 of *The Handbook of Oriental Studies* 94, Leiden, Brill, 2008, p. 217.

¹⁵ Mumford (1961): chapter (11) Medieval disruptions Modern Anticipations, pp. 362-394.

¹⁶ P. Lavedan and J. Hugueney, *L’urbanisme au Moyen Age*, Bibliothèque de la Société Française d’Archéologie 5, Genève (Droz), 1974, p. 10.

longitudinal axis adjoined through transversals. In the cases where the main axis is a straight line, then the parallel and the perpendicular axes demarcate a grid plan, which, however, does not demonstrate any obvious signs of premeditation. In the cases where the central axis is a curve, the secondary axes reflect this curvature (Freibourg at Brisgau or Prenzlau); while in cities developed at the intersection of axes forming a right angle, we observe the development of an orthogonal plan that reproduces the cross-axial arrangement.¹⁷

Alongside, these morphological evolutions we need to consider that the 14th century in the medieval West is the grandiose period for the construction of enceintes. Extensive construction schemes of walls and fortifications reconfigure the layout of ancient and medieval urban centres (e.g., Rome, London, Vienne, Tours, Bourdeaux, Toulouse, Arles, and Avignon), into impregnable castles.¹⁸ The same applies to the Byzantine Balkans. Here, conditions of social insecurity resulting from consecutive civil wars, insurrections, and external attacks necessitate—apart from the reconstruction of the walls (e.g. Didimoteicho, Thessaloniki, Skopje)—the fortification of dwellings with towers and cisterns, so that they resisted assault; the conclusive image is that of mansions that look like cities within cities.¹⁹ This trend is in conflict with the practices attested in the lower Balkans, where the Ottomans are breaking new ground by introducing settlement outside the walled town in the form of *extramural*²⁰, suburban accretions.²¹

¹⁷ Lavedan – Hugueney (1974), p. 11.

¹⁸ Lavedan – Hugueney (1974), pp. 23-25.

¹⁹ C. Bouras, “Houses in Byzantium”, *Deltion tēs Xristianikēs Arcaïologikēs Etairias*, vol. 11, 1982-1983, pp. 1-26; S. Curcic, *Architecture in the Balkans: From Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent*, Yale University Press, 2010, chap. 4 and 5.

²⁰ M.R.G. Conzen, *Thinking about urban form: papers on urban morphology, 1932-1998* (ed. Michael P. Conzen), Bern, Peter Lang, 2004, p. 245. Conzen defines as extramural, the part of the Inner Fringe Belt situated outside the fixation line, as a large, open-grained zone of irregular accretionary plot and building development, often showing an impeded street-system.

²¹ This idea has been recently introduced in H. Lowry, “The early Ottoman Period,” in M. Heper and S. Sayari (ed.), *The Routledge handbook of Modern Turkey*, London, 2012, p. 9 and has been theoretically substantiated by the current thesis.

Ottomans are not the first to have introduced the pattern of unenclosed settlement. Seljuk Turks in the 13th century Anatolia and, particularly, semi-independent local emirs who assumed power from the centralized Seljuk sultanate of Rum after its eclipse in 1243 started erecting their community buildings, such as dervish lodges [*zaviye*], on thoroughfares extending outside the lower citadel. Still, mosques and *madrasas* remained within the inner citadel that was preserved for the governing elite, while the market district (which was initially extending within the lower citadel and was meant for the non-Muslim population), gradually expanded outside the city walls.²²

Additionally, the Rum Seljuk palace park can be seen as another expression of unenclosed settlement, since it was primarily located outside the city-walls. However, fact remains that the pleasure palaces were essentially garden enclosures with surrounding walls.²³ Under this light, we can conclude that although the Seljuk city in the 13th century starts to emerge slowly outside the city-walls, it cannot be compared to the Ottoman practice of transferring the entirety of the urban institutional functions to the *suburbium*, practically, reinstating the city outside the city-walls. It is thus important to understand how the Ottoman practice works and to try to derive meaning from it.

Morphological Theory

In this connection, urban morphological theory provided the conceptual tools to observe the urban construct's mutation as the result of the dialectic balancing between inner

²² U.A. Peker, "Seljuk architecture and urbanism in Anatolia," *European Architectural History Newsletter* 1 (2008): 30-31; E. S. Wolper, "The politics of patronage: political change and the construction of dervish lodges in Sivas", *Muqarnas*, vol. 12, 1995, pp. 40-41.

²³ S. Redford, "Thirteenth-century Rum Seljuq palaces and palace imagery", *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 23, 1993, pp. 219-236; L. Golombek, "Urban patterns in pre-Safavid Isfahan", *Iranian Studies*, vol. 7, 1974, pp. 21-31.

and external polarities, or as we shall see, as *intramural*²⁴ and *extramural* fabric.²⁵

Conzenian theorization has been decisive towards the epitomization of a phenomenon, the recurrence of which I could corroborate in the early Ottoman conquests of the lower Balkans.

Conzen meant to rationalize accretions to the Old Town of Alnwick in the medieval English province of Northumberland by developing the concept of the fringe belt.²⁶ In his words:

“this broad belt is traversed by older roads that radiate from the Old Town and its arterials”.

This is also one of the points drawn by Petruccioli when discussing the urban fabric of the Islamicized Mediterranean: “The ancient city gates, even if obliterated in a later extension, are almost always detectable because of the traces left by transverse and radial routes that meet there”.²⁷

Moreover, Conzenian theory has been proved a valuable research tool of a dynamic character that had the potential to reconstruct historical topographies and resolve periodization issues. Besides, it is suitable for working on small scale settlements typically accommodating a population of around 3,000 to 5,000 people, such as the size of most early modern Ottoman towns in the lower Balkans²⁸; yet it, did not hinder further elaboration on the concept of urban polarity.²⁹

Muratorian theory discerned urban polarities of the inner and external types, which, in the Ottoman urban semiotics, can be conceived under the terms *intramural* or Byzantine kernel, as opposed to the *extramural* settlement or the appended Ottoman *varoş*. The co-

²⁴ Conzen (2004), p. 249. Conzen defines as intramural, the part of the Inner Fringe Belt situated within the fixation line, as a relatively restricted zone [...] within the generally close-grained morphological frame of a traditional plot pattern.

²⁵ K. Kropf, “Aspects of urban form”, *Urban Morphology*, vol. 13, 2009, pp. 105-120.

²⁶ M. Berke, “Morphogenesis, fringe-belts and urban size: an explanatory essay”, in Terry R. Slater (ed.), *The Built Form of Western Cities: Essays for M.R.G Conzen on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1990, pp. 279-299. Berke perceptively interprets the development of the fringe belt concept by Conzen as a means of rationalising the complexity and variety of the urban evolution.

²⁷ M.R.G. Conzen, *Alnwick, Northumberland: A Study in Town-Plan Analysis*. Institute of British Geographers 27. 1st ed. London, 1960, p. 12; A. Petruccioli, “New methods of reading the urban fabric of the Islamicized Mediterranean”, *Built Environment*, vol. 28, 2002, p. 209.

²⁸ See tables 11, 12, 23, 27.

²⁹ G. Cataldi, G.L. Maffei, and P. Vaccaro, “Saverio Muratori and the Italian School of planning typology”, *Urban Morphology*, vol. 6, issue 1, 2002, pp. 3-14; Petruccioli (2002), pp. 205-208.

ordination and, consequently, the evolution of the urban fabric lie in the balancing between inner and external polarities. However, the role of external polarities in this dipolar structure gains in importance, since they occupied and fixed the urban boundary at a given time, and operated as fundamental places of contact between town and countryside. As the town grew and underwent reorganization, they became inner civil polarities (*landmarks*) and then, a new boundary and a new fringe belt were created further out.³⁰

Now, critical cross-referencing between the conceptual apparatus of Conzenian and Muratorian schools allowed the interpretation of the transitional process from the Byzantine to the Ottoman town as a ‘reversal of polarities’ phenomenon; thereby, they encapsulated the morphogenetic experience of the early Ottoman town in the lower Balkans. In Southeastern Europe, the Ottomans marginalized the inner polarity—the Byzantine kernel—and reconfigured the town under the new—external polarity—that assumed the configuration of the Ottoman outer suburb [*varoş*].

Thus, applying the morphological theory towards the conceptualization of Ottoman morphogenesis aims to point that morphological evolutions function on a cross-cultural level and that the Ottoman experience can be equally rationalized based on concepts of general significance. In this context, the term ‘morphogenesis’ comes to denote the study of the urban landscapes forms’ development (morphology) over time, as one of the fields of systematic investigation in historical geography.³¹ Then, conceptualization of the *modus operandi* behind early Ottoman settlement patterns means to explain the arrangement and diversity of the urban area—in terms of plan types and resulting geographical divisions—and

³⁰ For references on Muratorian theory consult: Cataldi Maffei Vaccaro (2002), pp. 3-14; G. Cataldi, “Saverio Muratori architetto (1910-1973). Il pensiero e l’opera”, *Studi e Documenti di Architettura*, Università di Firenze, Istituto di composizione architettonica I e II, vol. 12, 1984, pp. 5-14; S. Muratori, R. Bolatti and G. Marinucci, *Studi per una operante storia urbana di Roma*, Rome, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1963.

³¹ D. Gregory, “Morphogenesis”, in R.J. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt and M. Watts (eds.), *The dictionary of human geography*, Blackwell Oxford (5th edition), pp. 480-481; M.R.G. Conzen, “Morphogenesis, morphological regions and secular human agency in the historic townscape as exemplified by Ludlow”, in D. Deneke and G. Shaw (eds.), *Urban historical geography: recent progress in Britain and Germany* 1988, pp. 258-272.

thus, to establish basic concepts, applicable to recurrent phenomena in the morphogenesis of the Ottoman town.

For this purpose, I have incorporated in my analysis conceptual terms for the reading of the urban fabric developed under the Urban Morphology Research Group of the University of Birmingham and the Italian school of urban morphology. I am taking a qualitative and descriptive approach towards the interpretation of the Ottoman urban form. This can be best described as historico-geographical and it is primarily rooted in the works of the German geographer M.R.G. Conzen.³² Conzen's unrivalled understanding of the entire history of geographical urban morphology, in conjunction with his breadth of vision, enabled him to position urban morphology in relation to a wide range of other fields. His two major contributions (i.e., the plan analysis of Alinwick from 1960 and the publication of collected papers), practically substantiated the field of urban morphology, which had been recognized as a field of scientific and scholarly investigation, one century earlier through the work of Otto Schlüter.³³

The contribution of the present thesis to the field lies in abstracting morphological and defterological concepts³⁴ from their accepted frames of reference and applying them towards an interdisciplinary analytical model. This model allows the tracing of existing and reconstructed forms back to their formative processes and their interpretation within the theoretical framework of structural rationalism. Of course, this is not the first attempt to

³² Conzen (1960), pp. 3-11; M.R.G. Conzen, "The use of town plans in the study of urban history", in H.J. Dynos (ed.), *The study of Urban History*, 1968, pp. 113-131; Conzen (2004), pp. 48-77; Kropf (2009), pp. 105-120; Cataldi - Maffei - Vaccaro (2002), pp. 3-14.

³³ O. Schlüter, "Über den Grundriss der Städte", *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, vol. 34, 1899, pp. 446-462; idem., "Bemerkungen zur Siedlungsgeographie", *Geographische Zeitschrift*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1899, pp. 65-84.

³⁴ On the use of the Ottoman tax and population registers as a source for the writing of economic and urban history: Ö.L.Barkan, "Türkiyede imparatorluk devirlerinin büyük nüfus ve arazi tahrirleri ve hakana mahsus istatistik defterleri", *İ.Ü.İ.F.M*, vol. 2 (1940-1941), pp. 20-59; idem., "Tarihi demografi araştırmaları ve Osmanlı tarihi", *Türkiyat Mecmuası* vol. X (1951-1953), pp. 1-27; idem., "Essais sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'empire Ottoman aux Xve et XVIe siècles", *Journal of the Economic and Social history of the Orient*, vol. 1 (1957), Issue 1-3, pp. 9-36; H. Lowry, "The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri as a source for social and economic history: pitfalls and limitations", *Studies in Defterology, Ottoman society in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, İstanbul (Isis Press), 1992, pp. 3-19.

apply the morphological theory towards the study of the urban form in Turkey. Ayşe Kubat employed the spatial-analytical aspect of morphological theory—as substantiated through syntax values—towards the cross-examination of the morphological structure (physical structure) of a series of Anatolian fortified cities with their city plans (patterns). The mathematical model applied by Kubat relied on the axiom that “*the urban open space is the generator of urban form and it should be analyzed by emphasizing its continuous nature*” as attested through the aspects of geometric order, axiality and articulated spatial organisation.³⁵

Thus, space syntax emerged as a quantitative method for the description of built spaces that determined the layout’s symmetry or asymmetry (through the integration value), and the extent in which the structure of the urban open space was broken up (through the convex articulation value). In the majority of the examined cases, the most integrated lines (the integrated core) were clustered at the centre, where the commercial hub lies. Yet, the most segregated lines occurred by the city walls in the peripheral areas that in the Islamic-Turkish settlements coincide with the residential districts. Accordingly, Kubat concluded that the most important syntactic characteristic of the Anatolian fortified towns can be summarised in their deep and segregated urban layouts. Under this light, this methodology opts for solutions and answers about the place “*we might go to*” or the adaptability of a new design proposal into the existing structure of an area. Thus, purpose wise the methodology means to provide urban designers with material when creating new syntheses, which would reflect traditional characteristics of the historical settlements.³⁶

Still, it cannot help us rationalize neither the morphogenetic mechanism of how the Ottoman town came to a formation nor to periodize the morphological phases of its

³⁵ A.S. Kubat, “Morphological characteristics of Anatolian fortified towns”, *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, vol. 24, 1997, p. 98.

³⁶ Kubat (1997), pp. 99, 122; A.S. Kubat and M. Topçu, “Morphological comparison of two historical Anatolian towns”, in A.S. Kubat, Y. Güneş, Ö. Ertekin and E. Eyüboğlu (eds.), *Proceedings of the 6th International Space Syntax Symposium (İTÜ)*, vol. 1, 2007, pp. 1-12; A.S. Kubat, “The study of urban form in Turkey”, *Urban morphology*, vol. 14, issue 1, 2010, pp. 31–48.

evolution. The reason is that, it essentially lacks the interdisciplinary basis that would accommodate the cross-reference of the morphological observation with the influx of archival information. The limitations of such an approach, when applied on material from the Balkan context, show clearly where open space has not preserved its continuity, due to the obliteration (intentional or circumstantial) of the Ottoman fabric. As we shall see further down, within this very Balkan context, the earliest and, in this sense, historically valuable samples of Ottoman urban fabric (fringe belts) are to be preserved.

The adoption of the historico-geographical approach in the methodology of this thesis means to overcome such restrictions. Since, I maintain that the application of the principle of historical stratification in the examination of the physical structure will enable us to trace the structural forms back to their formative processes. In other words, it will allow us to reconstruct the format of the urban fabric and periodize its morphological phases.

Phenomena of Systematic Investigation

We would next need to define the methodological framework of our systematic investigation and identify the fundamental categories of phenomena that can be further applied in the study of the early Ottoman urban morphology. In that respect, we should mention that the necessity for the application of a morphological theory was realised at a later stage of this thesis' research, after the compilation of the reconstructive maps. We need to note this point, as it affects some of the main elements of the systematic investigation, which, constitute the dogmatic apparatus of the school of urban morphology. For the study of the towns of the 14th and 15th centuries, we lack sufficient information about the building fabric. This is due to the fact that first, historical cadastral surveys of the cities/towns for this period have not survived; secondly, the variable combination of the three fabric-element complexes

of the building type, materials and style has not been preserved. Of course, we refer to samples of vernacular architecture and not to historical religious and secular monuments, a number of which are still discernible in the townscape of the towns of our interest. To put the partial evidence that has survived for study in its proper context, we need therefore to link our analysis to the other phenomenon of urban morphology: the town planning.

Conzen's concepts of 'accretionary growth', 'kernel', 'fringe belt' and 'fixation line' constitute the fundamental conceptual terms that evolve into analytical tools of our interdisciplinary methodology.³⁷ This section aims to define these terms and justify their adaptation to the needs and peculiarities of the Ottoman material. The term kernel emerges as a pivotal element; that is, the centre of a town formed by the earliest, medieval plan-units often referred to as the Old Town. In three of our cases, the Old Town coincides with the Byzantine castled citadel, which becomes clearly defined from the subsequent exterior development conditioned by the existence of the city walls and the differentiation of the building fabric. The understanding of the Byzantine citadel as the kernel of the Ottoman urban fabric allows the conceptualization of accretional growth within the Ottoman town.

The term accretion or accretional growth denotes the morphogenetic process of outward growth of a town from its kernel, substantiated through the peripheral addition of a fringe belt to the built-up area of a town. Conzen's definition of the fringe belt incorporated the concept of concentric rings of urban growth consisting of: "*a first or Inner Fringe Belt (IFB), one or more Middle Fringe Belts (MFB) and the most recent or Outer Fringe Belt (OFB). Each belt is self-perpetuating, going successively through its initiation (fixation), expansion and consolidation phases*".³⁸

³⁷ Conzen (2004), Appendix A: a glossary of technical terms, pp. 240, 245-246, 248, 249.

³⁸ Conzen develops the concept more fully in the following passage:

" [The urban fringe consists of] *a belt-like zone originating from the temporarily stationary or very slowly advancing fringe of a town and [is] composed of a characteristic mixture of land-use units initially seeking peripheral location. As such it is a distinct type of integument and a major plan-division in its own right. Significant changes in the whole civilizational context of a town's development such as fluctuations in*

Significant changes in the whole civilizational context of a town's development—such as the settlement of the first Ottomans—caused intermittent deceleration in the outward growth of the Byzantine town, as well as marked changes in the admixture of new land-use types at the town fringe. In our case-studies from the Balkans, the geographical result emerging gradually from the Ottoman settlement is a system of successive, broadly, concentric fringe belts separated from the kernel, (i.e. the Byzantine citadel). In three out of the four cities of our investigation—*Dimetoka*, *Gümülcine* and *Siroz*—the fringe belt coincides with the *suburbium*, commonly encountered in Evliya as the *varoş* of the Ottoman town. This can be identified with the un-walled, non-agricultural settlement outside the gate of a pre-urban nucleus, often representing an early stage in the development of the early modern city.³⁹ This evolution is attributed to binding historical circumstances (i.e. the pre-existing Christian population), that prescribed restricted accretional development within the kernel during the fixation phase of the *IFB*.

The broad pattern of growth resulting in the plan development of a series of early Ottoman towns in the lower Balkans conforms closely to M.R.G Conzen's theorization on the Inner Fringe Belt (*IFB*). The term *IFB* denotes a commonly closed fringe belt surrounding the kernel of a town, arranged asymmetrically around an antecedent fixation line as its backbone, which can be then divided into a restricted intramural and a much larger extramural space.⁴⁰ The only diversion from the theory can be identified in the fact that, wherever applicable, the intramural building development of our cases is exclusively

population and economic development or repeated intensification in the introduction of all kinds of innovations causes intermittent deceleration or standstill in the outward growth of a town as well as marked changes in the admixture of new land-use types at the town fringe. In towns with a long history the geographical result emerging gradually from these dynamics is often a system of successive, broadly, concentric fringe belts more or less separated by other integuments. It can thus produce a first or Inner Fringe Belt (IFB), one or more Middle Fringe Belts (MFB) and the most recent or Outer Fringe Belt (OFB). Each belt is self-perpetuating, going successively through its initiation (fixation), expansion and consolidation phases." Conzen (2004), 245-246. Originally discussed in M. R.G. Conzen, *Alnwick, Northumberland: A Study in Town-Plan Analysis*. Institute of British Geographers 27. 2nd enl. ed. London, 1969, p. 125.

³⁹ Conzen (2004), Appendix A: a glossary of technical terms, p. 259.

⁴⁰ Conzen (2004), Appendix A: a glossary of technical terms, p. 248.

restricted to the settlement of the garrison.⁴¹ This as a highly restricted plot, of non-residential character at the fringes of the traditional plot pattern (i.e. the Byzantine fabric) that has not preserved its layout apart from scattered buildings.

Essentially, the very Ottoman town can be substantiated in the development of the *IFB*, since it surrounds the Byzantine castle and is arranged asymmetrically around an antecedent fixation line, the castle wall. Most importantly, the *IFB* is articulated along older roads that radiate from the gates of the Old town, which evolve into the arteries (axes) of the Ottoman town with pivotal being that of the *çarşıya*, the commercial street.⁴²

Review of the Literature on Islamic urbanism

Before embarking on the discussion of the adapted model in detail, it will be useful to provide a brief historical overview of the scholarship achieved so far on the history of Islamic urbanism in order to identify the place of the present study within the epistemological field of urban studies.

Pioneers in the study of the Islamic city were the French historians William and Georges Marçais, Le Tourneau and Robert Brunschvig who focused their work on the network of North African cities starting in the 1920s.⁴³ Their ‘orientalising’ theory influenced by Weber’s⁴⁴ aphoristic conceptions of the anarchic Islamic city versus the typological homogeneity of its western European counterpart, projected the Maghrebian

⁴¹ A lucid example of this trend can be attested in the case-study of Dimetoka (See map 1: B2).

⁴² The *çarşıya* will also appear in the analysis under the term processional road. The term is also used by the historian Lory but for denoting the area of the *Pazar* because in Bulgarian the term *Pazar* comes to denote the commercial fair where the peasants. B. Lory, *Le sort de l’héritage Ottoman en Bulgarie: l’exemple des villes Bulgares 1878-1900*, İstanbul 1985, p. 99.

⁴³ Their method and epistemological outlook was influenced by the status of these cities as colonial ‘possessions’, the physical recording of which served political objectives. G.A. Neglia, “Some historiographical notes on the Islamic city with particular reference to the visual representation of the built city”, in R. Holod, A. Petruccioli, and A. Raymond (ed.), *The city in the Islamic World*, vol.1 of *The Handbook of Oriental Studies* 94, Leiden, Brill, 2008, pp. 3-18, 43-44.

⁴⁴ M. Weber, *The city*, New York, Free Press, 1958, pp. 80-89.

urban model as the normative, spatial model for the entirety of the Islamic world. According to this theory, the Islamic city was an irrational morpheme comprised of chaotically arranged components: the ‘*suq*’, the Friday mosque, the citadel and the city walls. The guilds of craftsman constituted the functional basis of the Islamic city, which was accommodated in the ‘*suq*’ zone.⁴⁵

Contemporaneous to the research group discussed above is the work of another French historian Jean Sauvaget, on a series of Syrian cities, which inaugurated the morphological era in urban studies. Through the use of cadastral surveys, he managed to unveil the Hellenistic substratum of the Late Antique and Islamic city, and to identify the monoaxonic orientation that gave form to the weaving of the Islamic urban stratum.⁴⁶ Sauvaget’s work has been particularly influential for the current study, as the theorization on the urban planning of *Dimetoka* will reveal. However, it was not possible to share his reading of the posterior strata as a progressive *parafthora* [corruption] of the classical phase of the city. As we have already suggested and we will further discuss, the Balkan type that we are casting developed unconstrained from the Hellenistic or Byzantine substratum. Thus, the Ottoman phases should be assessed on different grounds as products of ingenious improvisation.

Anatolian cities too, despite the abundance of related cadastral material⁴⁷, did not escape from the hellenocentric bias that discarded as lacking sophistication the Ottoman urban solutions. Thus, the Ottoman strata were condemned into *damnatio memoriae*⁴⁸ until

⁴⁵ G. Marçais, “La conception des villes dans l’Islam”, *Revue d’Alger*, vol. 2, 1945, pp. 517-533; R. Brunschwig, “Urbanisme médiéval et droit musulman”, *Revue des études Islamiques*, vol. 15, 1947, pp. 127-155.

⁴⁶ J. Sauvaget “Esquisse d’une histoire de la ville de Damas”, *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, vol. 8, 1934, pp. 467-472; idem., *Alep. Essai sur le développement d’une grande ville syrienne*, Paris 1941; idem., “Le plan antique de Damas”, *Syria*, vol. 26, 1949, pp. 314-358.

⁴⁷ Neglia (2008), p. 9, footnote 17.

⁴⁸ E. Malboury, “İstanbul : Un nouvel element pour la topographie de l’antique Byzance”, *Archäologischer Anzeiger: Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Arcäologischen Instituts*, vol. 49, 1934, pp. 50-61; R. Busch-Zantner, “Zur Kenntnis der osmanischen Stadt”, *Geographische Zeitschrift*, vol. 38, 1932, pp. 1-13.

the early 1990s, when the paradigm-shifting works of Pinon were formulated.⁴⁹ Still, before proceeding with the latest evolutions in the urban scholarship of the Anatolian cities, short reference should be made to three major works; these, critically revised the generic typologies advocated by the Marçaisean and Pirennean models on the North African cities and remain cognitive cornerstones in the field of urban studies and morphological theorization.

Lapidus in his work on the history of the Mamluk cities of Syria and Egypt challenged the image of oriental despotism. He developed a socio-political model of urban syncretism for the Muslim world, which advocated a concept of homogeneity and flexible stratification across Muslim urban societies.⁵⁰ Lapidus introduced this morpheme of urban solidarity, which he introduced as ‘mosaic society’, was coordinated under various religious, ethnic or racial networks. He identified the neighbourhood [*mahalle*], founded around the agnatic clan, as the core social unit and discussed also fiscal collectivism associated with these neighbourhood networks.⁵¹

The second significant revision and re-orientation of the theoretical model towards a morphological approach was achieved by the Italian urban historian Smuel Tamari. He suggested a methodological classification of the Islamic cities in four types (Hellenistic-Mediterranean, Iranian-Mesopotamian, Southern-Arabian and residential). Tamari concluded

⁴⁹ P. Pinon, “Les tissus urbains ottomans entre Orient et Occident”, in *Proceedings of the 2nd International Meeting on Modern Ottoman Studies and the Turkish Republic*, Leiden 1989, pp. 15-45; A. Borie, P. Pinon et S. Yerasimos, “Tokat: essai sur l’architecture domestique et la forme urbaine”, *Anatolia Moderna*, vol. 1, 1991, pp. 239-273; P. Pinon, “Essai de définition morphologique de la ville ottoman des XVIIIe-XIXe siècles”, in *La culture urbaine des Balkans*, vol. 3, *La ville des Balkans depuis la fin du Moyen Age jusqu’au début du XXe siècle*, Paris-Belgrade (1989) 1991, pp. 147-155; idem., “Essai de typologie des tissus urbains des villes ottomans d’Anatolie et des Balkans”, in *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture: “A supra-national Heritage”*, İstanbul 2000, pp. 174-198 ; idem., “The Ottoman Cities of the Balkans in R. Holod, A. Petruccioli, and A. Raymond (ed.), *The city in the Islamic World*, vol.1 of *The Handbook of Oriental Studies* 94, Leiden, Brill, 2008, pp. 143-158.

⁵⁰ I.M. Lapidus, *Muslim cities in the later middle ages*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1967; idem., “Muslim Cities and Islamic Society”, in I. M. Lapidus (ed.) *Middle Eastern Cities: A symposium on Ancient, Islamic and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism*, Berkley, University of California Press, 1969, pp. 47-79; idem., “Muslim Urban Society in Mamluk Syria”, in A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern (eds), *The Islamic City*, Papers on Islamic History I, Oxford, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970, pp. 195-207.

⁵¹ Lapidus (1967), pp. 85-95.

that the Islamic city despite being formed under the influence of the anterior substrata developed an idiosyncratic morphological identity, which was the product of sheer imaginative ingenuity.⁵² The present thesis owes a great deal to Tamari's methodological outlook and process of epistemological corroboration. However, my approach rests in the interdisciplinary investigation of the relationship between defterology and urban form.

The contribution of the French historian Jean-Claude Garcin, while continues along the same revisionist lines, introduced a new methodological parameter that has been particularly inspirational to the present thesis. This consists in the division of his oversimplified Orientalist model into periods. In this way, Garcin's approach practically introduced the concept of periodization in morphological studies.⁵³

Pinon and Veinstein

Our regional enquiry as regards to the character of the Ottoman city in the Balkans can be most substantially concluded with the time and place specific works of Veinstein⁵⁴ and Pinon.⁵⁵ Pinon advocated that the only credible way for the research to establish the original character of the 'Eastern city'⁵⁶, in the sense of corroborating whether characteristics ascribed to the weaving of its urban fabric (such as the anarchic layout, the intertwining network of twisting streets, the centrality of the bazaars and dominance of the minarets) ever actually existed, can be established conclusively through the study of the cadastral plans. Only by

⁵² S. Tamari, "Aspetti principali dell' urbanesimo musulmano", *Palladio*, nos. 1-4, 1966, pp. 45-82.

⁵³ J.C. Garcin, "Le Caire et l'évolution urbaine des pays musulmans", *Annales islamologiques*, vol. 25, 1991, pp. 289-304.

⁵⁴ G. Veinstein, "La ville Ottomane: les facteurs d'unité", *La ciudad islamica. Ponencias y comunicaciones*, Saragosa 1991, pp. 65-92; idem., "La ville Ottomane", in N. Naciri and A. Raymond (ed.), *Sciences sociales et phénomènes urbains dans le monde arabe*, Casablanca 1997, pp. 105-114; idem., "The Ottoman town (fifteenth-eighteenth century)", in R. Holod, A. Petruccioli, and A. Raymond (ed.), *The city in the Islamic World*, vol.1 of *The Handbook of Oriental Studies* 94, Leiden, Brill, 2008, pp. 205-217.

⁵⁵ See footnotes 49 and 54.

⁵⁶ Pinon (2008), p. 144.

treating the cadastral surveys as crude evidence, do the traces of the earliest structures become legible. However, he made clear that these plans only appeared in the late 19th century, a fact that constitutes the main limitation of the material. Plans used as evidence for the corroboration of earliest structures/fabrics must perforce be anachronistically applied, unless significant parts of their urban tissue can be securely dated. This is the point where the material from the towns of *Dimetoka* and *Siroz* assumes a particular importance, since through its use we are able to join up this broken relationship and establish a clear periodization of the Ottoman morphological phases.

Pierre Pinon formulated his pioneering theory of 1989 as a response to a pivotal research question: “*given the cultural diversity of the Ottoman Empire, how can we expect to believe that only one [type] of an Ottoman city existed?*”⁵⁷ The working hypothesis he put forward advanced the argument that the Ottoman Empire should be divided—in terms of architectural typologies and urban morphologies—in two major zones: a) the ‘Turco-Balkan’, and b) the ‘Arabo-Ottoman’ regional variations. The first group encompasses the areas of the Balkans and North-western Anatolia. Whilst, the second includes southern Anatolia, Near East, Magreb and cities like Kayseri, Konya, Urfa and Diyarbakir that constitute the early conquests of the Seljuks whose Byzantine substratum had been covered over before the beginning of the Ottoman era.⁵⁸

Still, Pinon was adamant on the fact that if we were to define the ‘purely’ Ottoman city, then we should restrict ourselves to the cities founded from scratch from the end of the 15th century onwards.⁵⁹ In that case, we would need to exclude from our research agenda Bursa, Edirne, and *Dimetoka* [Didymoteicho], as ‘Ottomanized’ towns, with diverse pasts of Greco-Roman and Byzantine identity founded in the 14th century.

⁵⁷ Pinon (1989) 1991, pp. 147-155.

⁵⁸ Pinon (2008), pp. 146-147.

⁵⁹ Pinon (2008), p. 144.

It is my contention that in order to decipher the ‘pure’ Ottoman fabric, we need to turn first to the towns that underwent ‘Ottomanization’ the earliest and—more importantly—to the towns that developed *extramural* Ottoman settlements. This thought leads us to a series of late 14th century’s conquests at the lower Balkans with a Byzantine *intramural* and an Ottoman *suburbium*, namely, *Dimetoka* [Didymoteicho], *Gümülcine* [Komotēnē], *Drama* [Drama], *Siroz* [Serres] and *Karaferye* [Veroia]. Such a methodological prioritization stems primarily from the realisation that understanding of the extramural accretions will advance our knowledge of how the Ottoman fabric acquired cohesion with the castle and essentially, of how it came to a formation.

These towns cannot be morphologically associated with the sub-types of the north-western Anatolian towns of Bursa and Iznik or, the Balkan cities of Edirne and Thessalonikē. In these towns, Pinon identified the over-bearing presence of the Byzantine (antique) grid plan over the formation of the posterior Ottoman fabric. This can be explained by the fact that their earliest Ottoman morphological phases were developed within the city walls and were consequently subjected to the specifics of a pre-determined morphology. Still, since the material of our study extends outside the boundaries of the castled town in the open landscape, we should seriously reconsider the thesis that “*the Ottomanized cities of the Balkans constitute a mere adaptation of the Byzantine cities*”.⁶⁰

The case-studies discussed in this thesis corroborate the existence of an original urban type for this group of towns, as Veinstein has predicted.⁶¹ They legitimately deserve to be called ‘original’ since the genesis of the earliest and unrestrained from the impact of the Byzantine substratum fabrics is to be traced in these towns. Thus, although the towns of the type arose within the geographical boundaries of the ‘Turco-Balkan’ or ‘North-Western’ group of Ottoman urbanisation, they developed exclusively extramural Ottoman fabrics that

⁶⁰ Pinon (2008), p. 147.

⁶¹ Veinstein (2008), p. 217.

can be datable in the 14th century (proto-Ottoman morphological phase). Accordingly, the coining of the type should reflect these particular geographical divisions that constitute the semantic form of the type. Towards this direction, *typo-morphological* theory can be proven helpful. The birth of a type is conditioned by the fact that a series of cities share an obvious functional and formal analogy amongst themselves.⁶² “*In the process of comparing or selectively superimposing individual forms for the determination of the type, the identifying characteristic of specific cities is eliminated and only the common elements remain which appear in the whole series. Type, then is depicted as a scheme deduced through a process of distillation from a group of formal variants to a basic form or common scheme*”.⁶³ Under this light, the type that we are casting can be defined as the Balkan-Anatolian group with a Byzantine *intramural* and Ottoman *extramural*.

The analytical model

The hypothesis of this thesis can be summarised as follows. An original urban type existed, halfway between the Arabic and the Western towns, which can be legitimately referred to as the ‘original’ Ottoman type. This type evolved under the dialectic balancing between the Byzantine kernel and the Ottoman, extramural settlement (i.e., the fringe belt). The fringe belt was spatially hierarchized upon the principle of reflective axiality; as a result, the early Ottoman town-planning assumed the form of a highly conceptualized system—a

⁶² J. Rykwert, “On Typology”, *Architectural Design*, vol. 33, 1963, pp. 544-56; G. Cataldi, “Designing in stages: theory and design in the typological concept of the Italian school of Saverio Muratori”, in A. Petruccioli (ed.), *Typological Process and Design theory*, M.I.T 1998, pp. 35-54.

⁶³ A. Petruccioli, “Exoteric-Polytheistic-Fundamentalist Typology. Gleanings in the form of an introduction”, *Typological Process and Design Theory*, M.I.T 1998, p. 9; Lathouri argues that by the term “type” is implied the characteristic form or particular physiognomy that enables a building or a city to be read as to its fundamental purpose. M. Lathouri, “The city as a project: types, typical objects and typologies”, *Architectural Design*, vol. 8, issue 1, 2011, pp. 24-31.

living organism—that when adapted to a site, it maximized the opportunities of the landscape for settlement by setting up or enhancing connectivity of the fabric.

Towards this direction, the devised methodology focuses on the development of an epistemological framework, which will allow and substantiate the examination of these fabrics' morphology and readdress the issue of the Ottoman town's typology. Essentially, the working model challenges the image of the anarchal Balkan city by examining the phenomenon of Ottoman urban morphogenesis under the perspective of 'structural rationalism'; in the sense that the detailed articulations of the town plan are carried in a systematic way to give a structural order to the internal spatial relationships of the town plan.

In order to appreciate the significance and extent of our approach, we would need to take a look on the most recent academic attempts to define the traditional (Ottoman) form of the Balkan city. Yerolympou in her book "Urban transformations in the Balkans", in an attempt to expose the inferred changes to the Balkan city upon the "de-Ottomanization" process, provided a description of the physical structure and form of the Balkan city. In this, she identified the shared characteristics of these cities as: a) the anarchic development along with the insertion of rural areas within city limits, b) the inexistence of a particular role assigned to ancient fortifications, c) the residential separation of multiethnic population into allocated quarters, with an introverted, strictly supervised communal life of their own, d) especially reserved quarters for market places and workshops, e) absence of a civic centre, and, f) twisted system of narrow, ill-maintained streets.⁶⁴ All in all, the emerging pattern for the traditional city is that of visual and structural disorder and fragmentation. It is thus portrayed as highly contradictive to the 19th century's metamorphotical model of the Ideal City fostered under the direct auspices of European modernization.

⁶⁴ A. Yerolympou, *Urban transformations in the Balkans (1820-1920)*, Thessaloniki 1996, p. 14.

Of course, such aforistic generalisations can be attributed to the lack of time and place specific research counterbalanced by the dependency on western travellers' biased '*ekfraseis*' [travel accounts] of the Ottoman cities in the Balkans. Yet, most of the times, they failed to grasp the inner rhythm of the Ottoman town plan. Echo of this orientalisng perspective emerges most convincingly in the chapter "The Ottoman heritage on the Bulgarian cities and the new urbanism" of Lory. Through the testimonies of western travellers, he reconstruct a consistent portrait of the anarchal, oriental Ottoman Bulgaria, which eventually dictated the need for urban reformation, substantiated through the tracing of straight and spacious avenues leading to the administrative and commercial centres.⁶⁵

The working model devised in this thesis means by paying tribute to M.R. Conzen's theoretical apparatus⁶⁶ to establish basic concepts applicable to recurrent phenomena in the morphogenesis of the early Ottoman city. Through the comparative analysis of the town plans of four towns that were either conquered or established by the Ottomans in the first half of the 14th century within the strictly defined geographical area of the lower Balkans, we mean to explain the arrangement and diversity of the urban area in terms of plan types and resulting geographical divisions. By adopting an evolutionary viewpoint over the span of two centuries (14th-16th c.), we expect to show basic principles and morphological phenomena of the town plans during the period of transition from the Byzantine to the Ottoman city, which can be applicable to the study of the Ottoman city in general.

In this connection, it is fundamental to establish how we mean to use 'town plans' in our approach. Conzenian methodology relies upon the axiomatic that "*the town plan includes all features of the built-up area shown on the 1/2500 Ordnance survey plan*". Town plan then emerges as the topographical arrangement of an urban built-up area containing three distinctive elements: a) streets and street systems, b) plots and their aggregation in

⁶⁵ Lory (1985), p. 101.

⁶⁶ Conzen (1960), p. 4.

street-blocks, and c) buildings.⁶⁷ In this sense, town plan constitutes the most comprehensive record of the town's physical development since it maintains a full array of residual features.⁶⁸

Still, town plans in this rigid sense as defined by Conzen, Pinon, and Veinstein (as discussed above) have not survived or even, have never been compiled for 14th to 16th centuries. Subsequently, the 20th c. town plans that constitute the working platform for the towns of our interest cannot provide information on the entirety of the 14th c. street-system, since the excruciating detail of the type of information allowed through the 20th c. cartographic evidence, such as the street-lines and plot pattern can be corroborated only for the 20th century context.⁶⁹ Despite Conzen's contention that "*the street is the most refractory element of the town plan and changes affecting the street-system are generally confined to the detail of street-lines and even then are slow to appear*"⁷⁰, there is no epistemological method to confirm whether the 20th c. street-lines and the plot boundaries correspond to the 14th century's town plan features, or not.

Additionally, the modernization of the Balkan cities in the 20th century and the intentional obliteration of the Ottoman residues from the urban memory—the so-called de-Ottomanization process—have irreparably disturbed the relation of the modern city to its Ottoman substratum.⁷¹ This becomes instantly apparent in the case-study of *Siroz*. In *Siroz*

⁶⁷ Conzen (1960), pp. 4-5.

⁶⁸ Conzen (1960), p. 6.

⁶⁹ Conzen defines the term *street* as the open space bounded by street-lines meant for traffic. The arrangement of these contiguous spaces within an urban area may be called *street-system*. Each street-block constitutes a group of contiguous land parcels, i.e. plots, which in their turn are essentially units of land use. The arrangement of the contiguous plots is evident from the plot boundaries, which when considered separately from other elements of the town plan, may be called the *plot pattern*. Conzen (1960), p. 5.

⁷⁰ Conzen (1960), p. 6.

⁷¹ A. Yerolymou, "Mia prototypē poleodomikē epembasē", in A. Yerolymou-Karadēma and L.Theodōridou-Sōtēriou (eds.), *Serres 1900-1940 xōros kai istoria*, Serres, 2008, pp. 25-60; L. Theodoridou, "H anoikodomēsē tēs polēs kata ton mesopolemo", in A. Yerolymou-Karadēma and L.Theodōridou-Sōtēriou (eds.), *Serres 1900-1940 xōros kai istoria*, Serres, 2008, p. 254; M. Harmuth, "Negotiating tradition and ambition: Comparative perspective on the 'De-Ottomanization' of the Balkan cityscapes", *Ethnologia Balkanica*, vol. 10, 2006, pp. 15-34.

the geo-reference of the 1994 grid plan over the 1914 topographic survey revealed that the modern city was essentially reconfigured based on regular geometry.⁷² Such a drastic re-designing of the city's layout is the result of consecutive revisions of the street plan, which were aimed to the eradication of the Ottoman street system and inferred the final corruption of the Ottoman fabric.⁷³

Given the above limitations, how can we then expect to use the twentieth century's town plans in our attempt to recompose the Late Medieval or Early Modern topography? Although it is not possible to corroborate the fourteenth century's plot pattern, we can attest the position and dating of the street-blocks and, in this sense, the core layout of the street-system. Street-blocks, as the areas within the town plan unoccupied by streets and bounded by street-lines⁷⁴, can be identified within the context of Islamic urbanism with the formative unit of the quarter [*mahalle*]. The formation of the quarters [*mahalle*] is closely bound to the establishment of the sultanic and private endowments that in Islamic jurisprudence are resumed under the legal entity of the *vakf*.

Defterological evidence on the urban *vakfs* provides us with retrospective information on the formation and the upkeep of the *vakfs*, around which the numerous quarters evolved. For example, although the earliest surviving tax register on *Siroz* dates from 1454⁷⁵ the entries on the urban *vakfs* witness to their foundation from the reigns of Murad I (1359-1389), Bayezid I (1389-1401) or the interregnum (1402-13). Given the scarcity of available Ottoman sources synchronic to the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, these data acquire

⁷² See map 6 of the appendix.

⁷³ N. Nikolaou, "Ē megalē pyrkagia tou 1849", *Serraika Analekta*, vol. 1, 1994, pp. 136-151, Pl. 2; Yerolymou (2008), pp. 28-41.

⁷⁴ Conzen (1960), p. 5.

⁷⁵ *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA)*, TT3 858(1454-1455), pp. 156-173; The dating of the survey in 1454 as against the previously accepted date of 1464-1465 was argued by Michael Ursinus, "An Ottoman census register for the area of Serres of 859 H.(1454-1455)? A reconsideration of the date of composition of Tahrir Defteri TT3", *Südost Forschungen*, vol. 45, 1986, pp. 25-36.

a particular value.⁷⁶ Cross-examination of these pieces of evidence with an array of miscellaneous metadata can help us map the 14th to 16th centuries' street-blocks and essentially—the core layout of the street-system— within the 20th century's city plan. It becomes therefore possible by relying on tangible, archival evidence to: a) monitor the investment laid on the towns under the reigns of the six sultans over the formative period of a century and a half, and b) reflect the chorostatic dimension of this evolution in dialectic partnership with residual features (such as the monumental and domestic architecture) on the reconstructive maps.

At a first phase, the recovery of defterological data serves towards the reconstruction of the nowadays corrupted (non-existent) Ottoman town plan of the towns under discussion. Accordingly, the adaptation of an evolutionary approach spanning the reigns of six sultans over the course of a century and a half means to trace existing and reconstructed forms back to their formative processes and to interpret them within a rationalized conceptual framework.

It is precisely at this stage of the analysis that we need to organize the traces left from the succession of different cultural époques on the townscape of the towns into a system of historical stratification.⁷⁷ Morphologically, the geographical character of a town finds expression in the townscape, which is a combination of town plan, pattern of building forms and pattern of urban land use.⁷⁸ The succession of different periods leaves its traces on the townscape of the cities, the outline and fabric of its built-up area, which then assumes the

⁷⁶ Lowry (2012), pp. 6-7. Lowry comments on the scarcity of available synchronic sources and points to the fact that until his publication of Haci Evrenos's genealogical tree, the first two centuries of Ottoman history were reconstructed based either on late sixteenth century's Ottoman chronicles or on the synchronic (i.e.,) fourteenth and fifteenth century's neighbouring historiography (Greek/ Slavic).

⁷⁷ "The townscape acquires historical character or historicity in proportion to the number of morphological periods involved and displays this through historical stratification, which constitutes the most important general principle in historical urban morphology" as quoted from Conzen (2004), pp. 71-72. The concept was initially introduced in Conzen (1960), p. 6.

⁷⁸ Conzen (1960), p. 3.

function of an accumulated record of the town's development.⁷⁹ Each period leaves its distinctive material residues which for the purpose of topographical analysis can be viewed as a *morphological period*. Under this light, periodization emerges as an indispensable component of the morphological analysis that needs to be adequately adapted to the time and place specific scope of our study. Our case-studies from the lower Balkans would be then subjected to a refined system of periodization for Ottoman urbanism, which would monitor the state of the inferred changes, as *pro re nata*.

Urban growth in the lower Balkans during the second half of the 14th c. can be essentially resumed in the development of the fringe belt. Since, within the system of historical stratification for the towns of our interest the phenomenon of accretional growth appears to be exclusively connected with the Ottoman intervention, thus, the cultural époque spanning 14th to 20th c. can be broadly defined as Ottoman. However, we are in the position to provide a detailed subdivision of the époque into shorter intervals, which reflect the morphological evolution of the: a) the proto-Ottoman phase (reigns of Murad I to Mehmed I), b) the classical phase (reigns of Murad II to Bayezid II), and c) the consolidation phase (reigns of Selim I and Süleyman I), which practically coincide with the initiation, expansion and consolidation phases of the Inner Fringe Belt (*IFB*).⁸⁰

The topics discussed, in varying degrees of detail according to the richness of the documentation, in each chapter of the thesis are the following: *the breakdown of quarters and their topographic identification; the ways in which vakfs structured the landscape; periodization, town planning conception and morphological reflections; patterns of Ottomanization and their geostrategic dependencies; demographic fluctuations; issues of social synthesis and stratification.*

⁷⁹ Conzen (1960), p. 6.

⁸⁰ Conzen (2004), pp. 246, 248.

To recapitulate, this thesis contributes to the field of Ottoman urbanism through offering a new perspective which consists of an interdisciplinary investigation of the relationship between defterology and urban morphology.

B. Ottomanization as a colonization process

Historical circumstances in Byzantine Thrace and the Ottoman method of conquest

Before proceeding with the discussion of periodization, it is appropriate that we start our analysis with a sketch of the prevailing conditions under which the Turkish conquest of Thrace became possible during the first half of the 14th century. Although Thrace was the direct victim of the clashing interests in Byzantine politics during the period of the two civil wars, the signs of demographic decline were already visible in the 13th century. This has been interpreted as a result of the dependency of the Thracian cities on the agricultural production of the hinterland and the failure to develop a sustainable urban economy, which would rely on a balanced commercial and artisanal growth. Therefore, by the first half of the 14th century when the systemized conduct of the Turkish incursions became an inescapable reality, the economy of these cities collapsed as a result of the decline of the agrarian economy.⁸¹

The Ottoman methods of conquest, on the other hand, were devised under circumstances of necessity. The incapacity of the early Ottomans to directly attack a fortified city encouraged the formulation of an established war tactic divided into three stages. At the first stage, the warriors of the faith [*Gazis*] raided the countryside by organizing attacks of

⁸¹ G. Vogiatzēs, *Ē prōimē othōmanokratia stē Thrakē: ameses dēmographikes synepeies*, Thessalonikē, Hrodotos publications, 1998, pp. 188-189; P. Charanis, "Observation on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire", (offprint from) 13th *International Congress of Byzantine Studies* 1966, pp. 10-16.

accelerating intensity.⁸² Initially, by this sporadic opportunistic pillaging, they aimed to reduce the productivity of the arable lands and to confiscate existing crops; a fact which paralyzed the economic life of the Thracian cities, since they could not counter-balance the losses through other fields of economy.⁸³ The intensity of the raids had reached its peak by the 1340s, when *Gregoras* notes that the frequency of the incoming news on the pillaging of the Thracian hinterland was a daily phenomenon which had desensitized the Byzantine historiographers.

By 1343, these raids were being indirectly instigated by Kantakouzenos (1292-1383), who invited the Turks of the principalities to help fight his battles against John V Paleologos (1332-1391) but he could not force them to return home after they had collected their loot. *Umur Bey* of *Aydin* came to his aid against the Bulgarian siege of *Dimetoka* by supplying him with 380 ships and 2,900 soldiers. He disembarked on the banks of Evros and supplied the castle with provisions attained through the raiding of the Thracian countryside. The harsh winter that followed forced *Umur* to retreat and thus his troops had no means of survival apart from looting.⁸⁴

⁸² H. Inalcik, *Fatih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar*, 2nd ed., Ankara, 1987, pp. 113-129; E.A. Zachariadou, "Efēmeres apopeires gia autodioikēsē stis ellēnikēs poleis kata ton 14o and 15o aiona", *Ariadnē*, vol. 5, 1989, pp. 345-347.

⁸³ The Turkish raids of the first half of 14th century were conducted in three waves: a) In 1305 Turks from Aydin under the leadership of Halil united with Catalan mercenaries and raided Gelibolu and its littoral. Afterwards, they pillaged all the Thracian areas, through which they crossed on their way to Kavala, from where they returned by boats back to Minor Asia. b) In 1321 Orhan instigated his soldiers to pillage the Macedonian and Thracian seashore. c) In 1327, a year before the end of the first Byzantine civil war (1321-1328), emperor Andronicus II asked from Orhan to send his troops over to Thrace against his grandson Andronicus III. Orhan's forces crossed over the Straits to Eastern Thrace and after their defeat by Andronicus III, returned to Minor Asia with ships offered by Andronicus II for that purpose: E. Zengines, *O Bektasismos stē Dytikē Thrakē: symbolē stēn historia tēs diadoseōs tōn Othomanōn ston Elladiko xōro*, Thessaloniki, 1996, pp. 86-88 ; K. Ercilasun, "Orhan Bey devrinde Osmanlı devleti'nin Trakya politikası", *Türk Kültürü*, vol. 33, no 388, 1995, p. 489.

⁸⁴ P. Lemerle, *L'emirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident : Recherches sur "La geste d'Umur Pasha"*, Bibliothèque Byzantine Etudes 2, Paris, 1957, pp. 144-146; Cantacuzeni Ioannes, *Ioannes Cantacuzeni imperatoris historiarum libri IV*, cura L. Schopeni, vol. II, Bonn, 1828-1832, pp. 348, 396, 404, 476.

In 1343 Kantakouzenos admitted that Thrace apart from the urban centres had become deserted and uninhabited.⁸⁵ In 1345, Kantakouzenos used another contingent of Turkish mercenaries (16,000 soldiers) supplied by Orhan and managed to win over the north-eastern portion of Thrace.⁸⁶ In 1352, he turned again to the help of his by then—son in law—Orhan against John V Paleologus.⁸⁷ Orhan negotiated as the reward for his help the retention of the readoubt in *Tzybē* used as a supply station for the Thracian troops that he had provided for the service of Kantakouzenos. Zenginēs interprets this move as a conscious geostrategic decision that would enable the Turks to undertake attacks in the Thracian hinterland and thus, to establish their grip on the European side.⁸⁸ As will be further discussed, the raids were accompanied by the on-going influx of Turkish settlers, through which the repopulation of the deserted lands was finally achieved. This process describes how the first Ottoman nucleus of Rumeli—the county of *Paşa* [*Paşa sancağı*—was formed.⁸⁹

Apart from the Turkish invasions, the Thracian population was crippled in the 14th century under the burden of social injustice, infectious diseases and natural disasters.⁹⁰ The

⁸⁵ F. Giannopoulos, *Didymoteicho ē historia enos Byzantinou Ochyrou*, , Athens, Peloponnēsiako Morphōitiko Idryma, 1992, p. 92.

⁸⁶ İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 1, Ankara, 1982, pp. 155-156; Ercilasun maintains that this was a 10.000 force commanded by Süleyman Paşa, which entered Thrace: Ercilasun (1995), p. 490; it should be also considered that in June 1348 Kantakouzenos attacked the Bulgarian bandit *Momčilo* outside *Dimetoka* having on his side the 20.000 Turkish cavalry forces under the leadership of *Umur* and Süleyman Bey, son of the emir of *Saruhan*. After the death of *Momčilo*, the Turks destroyed the curtain wall of the castle and raided the littoral.

⁸⁷ A. Bryer, "Greek Historians on the Turks: the case of the first Byzantine-Ottoman marriage", in R.H.C. Davis and J.M. Wallach-Hadrill (ed.), *The writing of history in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to R. W. Southern*, Oxford 1981, pp. 482-484; R. Macrides, "Dynastic marriages and political kingship", in J. Shepard and S. Franklin (eds.), *Byzantine Diplomacy, Papers from the twenty-fourth spring symposium of Byzantine studies*, (Cambridge March 1990), Aldershot, Variorum 1992, pp. 261-280.

⁸⁸ Zeginēs (1996), pp. 92-96; Although Ercilasun admits the strategic importance of *Tzympe* for the further expansion of Turks in Thrace, recounts contra Zeginēs that Orhan, due to illness could not make it to the set meeting with Kantakouzenos and that Süleyman Paşa was willing to surrender the cities and that he abdicated from the control of *Tzymbe* and of the other castles in the area for a certain sum of money: Ercilasun (1995), pp. 493, 496.

⁸⁹ M.H. Sentürk, "Osmanlı devleti'nin kuruluş devrinde Rumeli'de uyguladığı iskan siyaseti ve neticeleri", *Bellekten*, vol. 57, 1993, p. 91.

⁹⁰ The earthquake of Gelibolu (12th of March 1352) dilapidated the city walls and gave the chance to Süleyman Paşa to conquer apart from the castle, the seashore of Marmara up to *Tekirdağ*. In the conquered areas, it was inaugurated the practice of the voluntary immigration of Turco-Anatolian settlers, who inhabited the citadels

synergy of these parameters of crisis prepared the ground for the Ottoman penetration and the final conquest. The social class that was most severely affected by the Turkish raids was that of the peasant farmers who constituted the largest part of the population.⁹¹ The magnate landholders exploited their labour, while their fiscal obligations to the state exceeded by far their powers.⁹² On top of this, the devastating plague of 1347 and its recurrent outbreaks in later years such as 1361/1362 contributed to the severe depopulation and the widespread abandonment of the land. As Frankopan notes “*the link between the two is central, for without constant demography, not only was production likely to be reduced because of the contraction of labour force, but the collapse of markets, local, regional and urban meant that there was failure of demand*”.⁹³

The political tension between paupers and magnates was expressed through a series of revolts that broke out at pivotal Thracian and Macedonian cities: at Adrianople (1341), at Thessaloniki and finally at *Dimetoka* (1342).⁹⁴ Under these circumstances, the Ottoman methods of conquest aimed at the annihilation of the villages and the enslavement of their residents. Byzantine chronicles unanimously record the large numbers of enslaved Thracians who ended up in the slave markets of the emirates of Asia Minor.⁹⁵ These slaves constituted the investment capital of the new frontier principalities. In this way, the devastation and depopulation of the countryside facilitated the final subjugation of the suburbs to the Turks. Then the second phase of the conquest was commenced which was based on a polity of vassalage. Since these cities could not last for long without the suburbs, they opened their

and repaired the walls. Suleiman Paşa appointed governors [*subaşı*] to the counties [*kasaba*]: Ercilasun (1995), p. 492.

⁹¹ *Aktemones (who had nothing), also called pezoi (those on foot) sometimes onikatoi (who owned a donkey)*. A. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant society in the late Byzantine Empire: a social and demographic study*, Princeton University Press, 1977, pp. 142-181.

⁹² P. Charanis, “Internal strife in Byzantium in the fourteenth century”, *Byzantion*, vol. 15, 1940-1941, p. 225.

⁹³ P. Frankopan, “Land and power in the middle and later period”, in J. Haldon (ed.), *The social history of Byzantium*, London, Blackwell Publishing, 2009, p. 135.

⁹⁴ D.M. Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453*, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 199.

⁹⁵ Vogiatzēs (1998), pp. 193-195.

gates and paid annual tribute to the Turks or negotiated diverse terms of voluntary surrender. The third phase constituted the fully-fledged submission of the region within the Ottoman emirate.⁹⁶

This last phase resulted in an administrative fragmentation, where the fortified cities of the hinterland constituted stripes of freed land within a countryside overpowered by the Turkmen cavalry raiders [*akıncı, yürük*]. In this way the communication with Constantinople was interrupted, decisions could not reach the periphery, nor could the periphery receive provisions or supplies. Thus the peripheral cities first in Bithynia and then in Thrace were left ungoverned creating a power vacuum that was filled by a new leadership, provided by the Turks.

The Turkish colonization of Thrace

What was the character of the early Ottoman polity and what social forces did the Ottomans manage to mobilize in order to support their dynasty and expand their rule in Thrace?

Witteck and Gibbons initially argued that the early Ottoman state was formed from a Turkish nomadic population, which settled in the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire and by being cut off from its Turkish-Islamic counterparts mixed with the local Byzantine population. Initially, they were in search of pasturage for their flocks and after a certain period of time, they were transformed into mighty warriors. Under the light of this theory,

⁹⁶H. Inalcik, "Ottoman methods of conquest", *Studia Islamica*, no. 2, 1954, pp. 113-129; Zachariadou (1989), p. 345.

the Ottoman state was an amalgam of Turkish nomads cross-race bred with Byzantine converts.⁹⁷

In reality, the Turkish repopulation and colonization of the Balkans seems to have been achieved through a large-scale Turkish settlement, rather than mass-scale conversion. Köprülü was the first to have put forward such an argument by stressing the fact that the Mongol capture of *Erzurum* in 1242 and the pillaging of its hinterland led to a new form of immigration. The dismantlement of the Seljukid Empire under the Mongols resulted in the flooding of Anatolia with Mongol troops and masses of immigrants with their livestock.

Therefore, expansion towards the west emerged as a solution for the congested Turkic populations of Anatolia, who were in search of pasture lands. Most importantly, the social synthesis of the borderlands constituted a melting pot which attracted not only nomads, but also urban settlers, members of the *ulema*, sheikhs, caravan personnel and all kinds of artisans.⁹⁸ Barkan pointed to the sense of a continuum of the Ottoman immigration westwards, as the last wave of the Turco-Anatolian migrating groups which followed an already established practice of settlement and colonization.⁹⁹ As we shall see under the following subheading, these groups constituted the first settlers who were transplanted to the newly conquered lands through spontaneous migration or organized deportation and became instruments for the achievement of the project of Ottoman colonization.¹⁰⁰

First and foremost, it should be realized that the pre-1389 Ottoman state, especially at the time of its rise in Anatolia, can be best described by the term “kings of the territorial divisions” in the sense that the prevailing political framework was that of fragmentation and complete incompatibility with any form of centralized authority. In the absence of a stable

⁹⁷ H. Gibbons, *The foundation of the Ottoman empire: a history of the Osmanlis up to the death of Bayezid I (1300-1403)*, London 1968; P. Wittek, *The rise of the Ottoman empire*, London, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1938 {reprinted in 1971}.

⁹⁸ M.F. Köprülü, *Osmanlı devleti'nin kuruluşu*, Ankara 1959, pp. 7-28; Barkan (1942), p. 280.

⁹⁹ Barkan (1944), pp. 350-351.

¹⁰⁰ Consult the discussion under the subheading “Colonization practices: spontaneous migration [*göçebe*] and deportation [*sürgün*]” of the current chapter.

state structure with secure frontiers the sovereignty gap was filled by the “lords of the frontiers” known as *uç beys*, such as *Evrenosoğulları*, *Mihalloğulları*, *Turhanogulları* and *Malkoçoğulları* who enjoyed hereditary status over extensive lands and commanded large contingents of Turkmen raiders [*akıncı*].¹⁰¹

The military dependency of the first sultans on the frontier lords has been best portrayed in the relationship “*primus inter pares*” in the sense that they were not subjugated to the sultan’s authority but tribally based elites, who could practically dictate their own terms to the ruling sultans and in many cases influenced the dynastic succession.¹⁰² İnalçık admits that the powerful *uç beys* in the Balkans acted somehow independently and played a decisive role in the fratricide period until the conquest of Istanbul.¹⁰³ This dynastic equilibrium was fully shifted only during Mehmed II’s reign through the empowerment provided by the slave [*kul*] system and their indispensable involvement within all three major administrative components namely the centre, the periphery and the army. Still, evidence retrieved from the 1472 register from the raiders’ [*akıncı*] recruitment attest to the assimilation of a defined body of the *akıncı* corps in the Ottoman army under Mehmed II.¹⁰⁴

Colonization agents

The *uç beyliks* of Anatolia and Rumeli functioned as urban playgrounds, which attracted settlers from all classes and professions of the Turco-Islamic world; from professors of Islamic Jurisprudence from Iran, Crimea and Egypt and Seljukid and Ilhanid bureaucrats from central and eastern Anatolia to representatives of diverse religious orders, Muslim

¹⁰¹ R. Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman sovereignty: tradition, image and practice in the Ottoman imperial household 1400-1800*, London, Continuum Books, 2008, pp. 43-47.

¹⁰² H. Lowry, *The nature of the early Ottoman state*, Albany (NY) 2003.

¹⁰³ İnalçık (1954), p. 69.

¹⁰⁴ M. Kiprovska, *The military Organization of the Akıncıs in Ottoman Rumelia*, MA Thesis, Bilkent University, Ankara (Turkey), 2008 (abstract).

warriors and dervishes. In this way, the arrival of central Asian nomads and transplanted intellectuals in the frontier region of Anatolia, not only provided the newly formed Ottoman state with the adequate human and spiritual resources, but also confirmed its Turco-Islamic identity.¹⁰⁵

The emergence of the late medieval Anatolian confraternity phenomenon should be set in this context. The 13th and 14th centuries Anatolian *Ahis* were managed under a code of *fütüvvet* [Arab., the qualities of a young man].¹⁰⁶ The first treatise on the *fütüvvet* institution written in Turkish by Yahya al Burgazi provides information on the bi-partite structure of these hierarchical brotherhoods. These were discerned in the *qavli* [those of the word] and *sayfi* [those of the sword] branches and acknowledged three levels of membership: the sheikh, the *ahi* and the *yiğit* [novice].¹⁰⁷

Çağatay advocated that a critical parameter of the *ahi*'s life and polity consisted in the settled character and the trade or artisanal basis of their comradeship. These comradeships evolved into the rule of guilds in the newly founded urban hubs of the Anatolian principalities.¹⁰⁸ Ülken pointed that not only they set the foundation for the repopulation of the newly conquered areas through the organization and systematization of the artisanal production and commercial activities, which had atrophied under the Byzantine administration, but also regulated the relations between producers and producer-consumers.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Barkan (1942), pp. 282-284, 288-289; Ö.L. Barkan "Osmanlı imparatorluğunda bir iskan ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler", *İ.Ü.İ.F.M*, vol. 10, no. 1-4, 1948-1949, pp. 524-537.

¹⁰⁶ The term *Ahi* is preferred in the Anatolian *fütüvvet* treatises as a term discerning a comrade of the *fütüvvet* brotherhood from the members of the Sufi orders. R. Goshgarian, *Beyond the Social and the Spiritual: Redefining the Urban Confraternities of Late Medieval Anatolian*, PhD Thesis, University of Harvard, 2007, p. 109; Cl. Cahen, "Futuwwa", *E.I.*, 2nd ed., vol. II, 1965, pp. 961-969.

¹⁰⁷ This seems to be reconfirmed in the work of the 14th century's author Ahmed-i Gülşehri. Goshgarian (2007), pp. 15, 81-83, 142-144, 153-156.

¹⁰⁸ The role of the *Ahis* as agents of sedentarization and promulgation of the Turkish culture extends from the fields of moral and spiritual guidance to issues, daily hygiene and housekeeping: Çağatay N., *Bir Türk kurumu olan Ahilik*, Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınları 1974, pp. 31, 101-107, 111-132.

¹⁰⁹ H.Z. Ülken, "Vakıf sistemi ve Türk şehirliği", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. IX (ayrı basım), 1971, p. 21.

Still, Goshgarian in the most recent contribution to the field suggested a multi-layered interpretation of the hierarchized *ahi* institution as “urban based, politically-powerful, endowing-capable, diplomacy-oriented, armed associations”; in this sense, she essentially argued that *ahis* were much more than governing bodies of late medieval Anatolia. Their engagement in the many facets of Anatolian life was attributed to the flexible character of their institution. The diverse levels of membership in these social groups reflect the variety of levels in their engagement with Anatolian life and speak for the fluid nature of the institution. This as a fact not only shows to what extent their activities exceeded the trade and artisanal sphere but also bears testimony to the decentralized power structure prevailing in the region at the time.¹¹⁰

Apart from their hierarchical basis, key point of their polity was that they convened in lodges within urban spaces. By using these sites as their abodes, the *fütüvvet* organisations procured a social environment in changing Anatolia that ensured urban stability through the promulgation of a moral code of communal life.¹¹¹

In return for their services, the first sultans awarded the *ahis* with land freeholds [*mülk*] or with concessions of the profits generated from appointed lands, which they used for the establishment of their lodges—the *zaviye*. In urban contexts the *ahis* functioned as cornerstones of stability that ensured the maintenance and enhancement of the urban network and infrastructure. When settled within urban contexts, they occupied uninhabited or even rural, peripheral zones of the cities.¹¹² The Balkan experience from the Ottoman towns of *Dimetoka*, *Gümülcine* and *Siroz* serves to corroborate this observation. Within the urban fabric of the early Ottoman town of the Balkans, the *zaviye*-concentration lies exclusively in the fringe belt that extends outside from the Byzantine kernel; in this sense, the *zaviyes*

¹¹⁰ Goshgarian (2007), pp. 162-167, 174.

¹¹¹ Goshgarian (2007), pp. 174-177.

¹¹² The 554 *evkaf defteri* from the county of Bolu, which records the *vakfs* and *mülks* of the first sultans and their comrades, includes plenty citations of Sheiks, *Fakihs* and *Ahis*. Barkan (1942), pp.284-285, 290-292.

enunciated the trajectories towards which the towns would be further developed. The first artisanal communities and the stemming hubs of settlement at early Ottoman *Dimetoka*, *Gümülcine* and *Siroz* can be interpreted within this framework: namely, artisanal communities such as the leather-tanners [*debbağlar*], goldsmiths [*kuyumcular*] and others, that were established around the various *zaviyes*.¹¹³

Apart from the urban sites trusted Sheikhs founded rural *zaviyes* on sites which could vary from abandoned Christian lands and remote terrains to geostrategic territories such as crossroads, bridges and mountain passages. Their spiritual retreats, which initially revolved around a focal *zaviye* and *tekye*, evolved into villages through canalization of the demographic dynamic which varied from voluntarily settled nomads to forced settlers and deportees [*sürgünler*]. Their rural sedentarization aimed at patrolling and ensuring public safety in the roads, along with assisting the voyagers. Through the continuous cultivation of abandoned lands, the maintenance of gardens and orchards, stock raising and the infrastructural development they supported the broader project of Ottomanization through the promotion of a sustainable habitation model. In light of the developed network of the *zaviyes*, it becomes understood that the first sultans conceptualized a dynamic mechanism, which generated tailor-made administrative solutions for the newly conquered lands by empowering capable administrators [*ahis-dervishes*] with administrative and real autonomy (tax-exemptions).¹¹⁴

Four such dervishes played an integral role in the conquest of the *Dimetoka* countryside on the side of Orhan and Murad I and were awarded with lands in return for their services. These are the Bektashi *tekye* of *Sersem baba* at the village of *Russa*, the *zaviye* of *Seyyid Ali Sultan*, widely known as *Kızıl Deli*¹¹⁵, the *Timurhan Sheikh zaviye* in the arable

¹¹³ On the archival evidence on the *vakfs* of these *zaviyes* consult discussion under chapters 1, 2 and 3.

¹¹⁴ Barkan (1942), pp. 290-293.

¹¹⁵ According to the *mülkname* of the *vakf* of the bektashi dervish *Kızıl Delü* from 1401, its upkeep was secured from the income generated by the first Tatar settlements. The ruins around which the Tatars were allocated

field of *Elmalu* and the *Sari Saltık zaviye*; all four of them are located on the mountains of Rhodope en *Dimetoka*.

Colonization practices: Spontaneous migration [göçebe] and deportation [sürgün]

The methods of mass deportation and spontaneous or voluntary migration were used by the Ottomans to repopulate and ensure their ownership of the newly conquered lands. For the area of our interest, the extensive Turkish colonization of the Balkans in the 15th century has been exclusively attributed to the spontaneous influx of ethnically mixed Anatolian masses. These were urged into a large-scale emigration after the pressure applied by Timur's attack in 1402; however, the first group of 2,000 Tatars are believed to have settled in the countryside between Edirne and Filibe is recorded to have arrived even earlier in 1400, when Timur was expanding to the Anatolian periphery.

These migrating groups were summoned by the first *uç* and *sancak beys* and through their gradual settlement they contributed to the territorial expansion of the empire.¹¹⁶ Equally, during the interregnum, nomads were summoned by the claimants to the throne against their brothers. One such event is recorded when a Turcoman became Emir Süleyman's guide in his attempt to escape from Musa Çelebi's pursuit.¹¹⁷ This process of voluntary immigration was most often supported by the offer of unoccupied houses to new

constituted a geostrategic passage. The shareholders *Ahis* and *dervishes* named the stemming *vakf* after his founder as *Kızıl Delü derbendi* and were encharged with the safeguarding of the passage, in exchange of which service they were exempted from *örf-i tekalif*. The earliest reference on the freehold [*mülkiyet*] cites only the possession of a ruin (wreck). However, we can speculate that as time went by, the collection of the poll-tax from the villages would have allowed to the dervishes to erect a proper Bektashi *tekye*: Barkan (1942), pp. 293, 297; Zengines (1996), pp. 26-31; Yıldırım R, *Seyyid Ali Sultan[Kızıldeli] ve Vilayetnamesi - Rumeli'nin fethinde ve türkleşmesinde öncülük etmiş bir Gazi Derviş*, Ankara 2007.

¹¹⁶This process has been parallelised with the Turkification of Western Anatolia in 13th c., which was realized through the establishment of the *gazi* principalities, as the outcome of the westwards emigration of Turkic emigrants from the Asiatic hinterland after the dismantlement of the Seljukid Empire. İnalçık (1954), p. 127; Ö.L. Barkan, "Osmanlı imparatorluğunda bir iskan ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler: II. Rumelinin iskanı için yapılan sürgünler", *İ.Ü.İ.F.M.*, vol. XII, 1950-1951, nos. 1-2, pp. 58-59, 73.

¹¹⁷M.T. Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlad-ı Fatihan*, İstanbul 1957, pp. 16-17.

settlers, as Neşri's account on Trabzon experience wittingly encapsulates: "in order to give houses to Muslims, those houses which had been vacated by the unbelievers were divided evenly among them".¹¹⁸

It seems that in practice the repopulation of the newly conquered lands was achieved by a combination of encouraging voluntary settlement, which when proved inadequate was supplemented by various types of forced deportations.¹¹⁹ The practice of mass deportation functioned as a multifocal state device towards the resettlement of the conquered lands and the enlivening of their weakened infrastructure. The foundation of new villages and counties allowed the recovery of the trade and transportation network and eventually, facilitated the mobilization of military forces.¹²⁰ Barkan acknowledged in this practice a state response to the pressing "agrarian issue"¹²¹, which, by aiming to accommodate cultivators' demand for land, succeeded in providing tangible solutions to the infrastructural regeneration of the newly conquered lands. What most potently emerges is an underlying pattern designed as a social engineering policy, which managed to channel the available man power towards the arable lands of highest return, the cultivation of which would render tax revenues to the state.

One of the earliest noted occurrences of the practice dates from the conquest of *Argos*, the capital of *Mora*. In 1397 *Haci Evrenos* transferred 30,000 war captives from *Argos* to *Anatolia*.¹²² In the same time, Yıldırım Bayezid deported Turkmen and Tatar nomads from *Anatolia* to the suburbs of *Skopje* and *Thessaly* in *Rumeli*. The son of *Gazi Evrenos*, *Burak Bey*, who settled in *Thessaly* and invested in the foundation of his eponymous *vakf* in the area, conducted his raids against the *Morea* by using the aforementioned settled nomads as his forces. The dependence of these first settlers on the *uç beys* and their households

¹¹⁸ This passage was quoted in Lowry (1992)², p. 54.

¹¹⁹ Lowry (1992)², p. 56.

¹²⁰ Barkan (1950-1951), p. 57.

¹²¹ Ö.L. Barkan, "Osmanlı imparatorluğunda bir iskan ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler", *İ.Ü.İ.F.M*, vol. 10, no. 1-4, 1948-1949, p. 549.

¹²² Barkan (1950-1951), pp. 77-78.

remained strong until the 16th century. The 16th c. cadastral surveys of Trikala (the capital of Thessaly County) records 4,547 *Yürük* households, as being administered under a system of military organisation, part of which consisted of the body of the Evrenosoğlu *Yürüks*.¹²³

In Mehmed II's reign peasants from the Morea, Albania and Serbia were transplanted to the suburbs of Istanbul under the special status of *kulluk* and *ortakçı* and in this way the agricultural grouping of 180 villages came into formation. Under the same spirit, a series of villages specializing in the breeding of sheep and cattle were established around Bursa and Biga with deported war prisoners who assumed the status of *ortakçı* and *kesimci*.¹²⁴

Another dimension of the practice convincingly emerges from the archival documentation; that of a punitive exile for a number of nomadic groups which had proven unruly and for criminals who had committed various offences.¹²⁵ In these cases, the practice assumed the character of rehabilitation and security operations and served the fulfilment of military purposes for the hosting areas. Since the second half of the 14th century Turkish nomads from Anatolia, who had proven troublesome were transplanted in the Balkan borderlands and by assuming the special military status of *Yürüks* accompanied by the receipt of *timars* formed decisive geostrategic positions which evolved into indispensable military bases.¹²⁶ These groups can be recognised within the irregular forces of *akıncı* operating under the leadership of *Hacı Evrenos* or the *Saruhan Yürüks*, who were deported to Rumeli during Murad I's reign.

From a local perspective, although the earliest archival evidence on the *Yürük* and *Tatar* settlements at *Dimetoka* and *Gümülcine* date from Mehmed II's era, they practically

¹²³ Barkan uses Hamer, who in his turn cites Chalcocondyles: Barkan (1950-1951), pp. 77-78.

¹²⁴ Barkan (1950-1951), p. 63.

¹²⁵ As an early attestation of the punitive dimension of the practice from the era of Yıldırım Bayezid is the deportation of the *Saruhan Yürüks* to *Filibe* (Plovdiv) in 1400-1401 as a punishment because they violated the state monopoly of salt extraction at the *Menemen* valley. Barkan (1950-1951), pp. 69-71.

¹²⁶ Barkan (1950-1951), pp. 66-67; Gökbilgin based on information from a lawbook of Mehmed II's era specifies that this ethnic epithet gradually came to denote the special corps of infantry mercenaries in the Ottoman army: Gökbilgin (1957), pp. 20-21.

corroborate the fact that these settlements were formed as a result of a sequence of migrating waves to Thrace which extended over the 14th and 15th centuries. This population was diffused all over the Thracian countryside and by assuming either the fiscal status of tax-exempted subjects or the legal status of *yürük*, *küreci* or *yağcı*, they were accommodated either within the *timar* lands assigned to *sipahis* or at villages belonging to the *vakfs* or the governor's fiefs [*has*].¹²⁷ The existence of *kürecis* or *yağcıs* at the cities of *Dimetoka* and *Gümülcine* is corroborated through the 15th and 16th century *tahrirs*.¹²⁸

The deportation process in the 1572 edict concerning the newly conquered land of Cyprus has been pictured as pragmatically addressing the agrarian issue by encouraging settlement on the island through the offering of a comprehensive, two year tax exemption to the deportees, the list of which was compiled based on a selection of one in every ten households from various cities and villages mostly in central Anatolia.¹²⁹ At the same time the deportees ensured professional diversity through the meticulous selection of healthy professionals from every specialization of the craft guilds' range, with the aim of bringing about the economic revival of the cities. The deportees were dispatched along with their livestock, yokes and professional utensils, while their freehold properties were auctioned.¹³⁰ The deportees were recorded in state records with their name, neighbourhood of origin, livestock and equipment. The instructions of the above edict were extended to all parts of Anatolia and Rumeli.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Gökbilgin (1957), p. 29.

¹²⁸ Consult tables 1-9 and 18-22 of the appendix.

¹²⁹ The actual number of the deportees cannot be defined. Barkan (1948-1949), p. 554.

¹³⁰ Barkan (1950-1951), p. 58.

¹³¹ Barkan (1948-1949), p. 554.

Capital management and the vakf institution under the first sultans

In the previous section, it was discussed how the ‘*imaret*’ system functioned as the institutional framework under which Ottomanization was realized. This section will focus on the legal status of the conquered lands and their management within the Ottoman land economy. According to the canonical law, *gaza* attainments, that is lands which have passed on to the *emir* [sultan or the state] as booty shares under the right of the conquest were meant either to be expended for the benefit of the deprived and the travellers or to be set aside as a reserve in the interest of the future Muslim generations.¹³²

These lands constituted the founding and managing capital of the *imarets*, which were established and managed through the active economic agent of the *vakf*.¹³³ ‘*Imarets* and their relying functions are conceived under the term of *külliye*, which means to denote the agglomeration— around a focal mosque—of various cultural and social institutions of welfare [*medrese, kütüphane, imaret, aşevi, taphane, birmarhane, hamam, kervansaray*] that employed a great number of civil servants and paid workers.¹³⁴ The settlement of these employees generated the need for the development of subsidiary secular operations [*han, çarsılar, fırın, salhane, başhane, mum imalathanesi*] that were meant to produce a continuous line of revenues for the upkeep of the *külliye* by covering every field of artisanal production and trade.¹³⁵ While, the first group was meant to fulfil benevolent functions for the public,

¹³² Ö.L. Barkan, “Şehirlerin teşekkül ve inkişafı tarihi bakımından Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmaret ve sitelerin kuruluş ve işleyiş tarzına ait araştırmalar”, *I.Ü.I.F.M.*, vol. 23, 1963, no 1-2, p. 240; idem., “Osmanlı imparatorluğunda kuruluş devrinin toprak meselesi”, *Actes du 2em Congres d’Histoire*, 1937, pp. 1-14; F. Köprülü, “Vakıf müessesinin hukuki mahiyeti ve tarihi tekamülü”, *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2, 1942, pp. 26,29.

¹³³ Köprülü (1942), pp. 26,2; K. Orbay, “Structure and context of the Waqf account books as sources for Ottoman economic and institutional history”, *Turcica*, vol. 39, 2007, pp. 3-47.

¹³⁴ V.A. Çobanoğlu, “Külliye”, *İ.A.*, 2nd ed., vol. 26, 2002, pp. 542-544.

¹³⁵ O. Ergin, *Türk şehirlerinde imaret sistemi*, İstanbul 1939, pp. 21-59; Barkan(1963), pp. 240-241.

the second group should be seen as investment of pure economic spirit intended to bring income to the endowment.¹³⁶

These operations, which constituted a certain monopoly and privilege, formed the nuclei of new cities or of new quarters around pre-existent cities where infrastructure was required for the accommodation of the new Turkish settlers. The inspection of several cities' topographic plans (Bursa, Edirne and a number of Balkan cities) has shown that these cities were formed and evolved around a prominent cluster of monumental buildings which constituted the *imaret* site.¹³⁷ In this way, *vakfs* both influenced and reflected the economic and social conditions of their location at a given time¹³⁸

Vakfs were established under the charitable bequest of Muslims including sultans or viziers, who secured their subsistence through their private treasury [*hususî hazîne*] or their own possessions [*kendi malları*] in the form of a concession of revenues allocated for the establishment and upkeep of these *vakfs*. In order to further ensure their longevity, sultans endowed these *vakfs* with villages and shares of tax revenues collected from public domains and with capital set aside on behalf of the state.¹³⁹ In essence, *vakfs* were charitable foundations which enjoyed administrative and financial autonomy due to the protection of the conditions stipulated in their foundation charters [*vakfiyyet*] under divine sanction. Still, although, the allocated revenues were supposed to be expended only upon the defined charitable purposes—in the sense of the *vakf* being a charitable object pleasing to God—in practice most *vakfs* benefited individuals; in particular, family *vakfs* (*evlatlık vakıflar*) aimed to protect the family's financial interests¹⁴⁰.

¹³⁶ H. Inalcik, "Capital formation in the Ottoman Empire", *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 29, 1969, no 1, p. 133.

¹³⁷ In this sense the system managed to promote repopulation of the newly conquered lands by creating ties of bureaucratic dependency of the employees to the *imaret* sites: Ergin (1939), pp. 17-20, 61-64; Barkan (1963), pp. 240-241; Orhonlu (1984), pp. 1-5, 24-26; Ülken (1971), pp. 13-37.

¹³⁸ Orbay (2007), p. 7.

¹³⁹ Barkan (1963), pp. 240-241.

¹⁴⁰ Inalcik (1969), pp. 132-133.

Chapter 1: *Dimetoka*

A. Justification of *Dimetoka* as the inductive case-study of the thesis

The material remains preserved in *Didimoteicho*, at the north-eastern extreme of today's Greece, do not capture the splendour and magnitude of the secondary Ottoman capital of *Dimetoka*. *Dimetoka* constituted a district [*nahiye*] of western Thrace within the *Rumeli beylerbeyliği* or *Eyalet* [European province], which was the first administrative and political domain of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. It was formed under Murad I after the conquest of Edirne, who appointed in the dual position of governor [*beylerbey*] of the *eyalet* and warden [*muhafız*] of Edirne *Lala Şahin* and then *Timurtaş Paşa*. After the conquest of Sofia in 1385, when the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans progressed to its second phase, the *eyalet* appeared as *Paşa livası*, in the sense of the *beylerbeys'* fief. During the period of the early conquests, *Rumeli Beylerbeyliği* comprised the counties of *Vize*, *Kırk-kilise* and *Çirmen*, while by the 17th century it expanded to twenty four districts. In the 16th century, *Rumeli Beylerbeyliği* was discerned in two branches, the right and left ones [*sağ/sol kol*]; the western branch was divided in 12 districts one of which was *Dimetoka*.¹

The city of *Dimetoka* was fiscally subsumed under the fief of the sultan [*hassa-i padişah*], which means that the taxation collected from its residents contributed to the sultanic revenues destined for the interior treasury.² The conquered lands acquired “by force of the sword” were turned into state [*miri*] lands and were discerned into *hass* [lands], *timars* and *zeamets*.³ *Hass* were equally divided into sultanic fiefs [*havass-ı padişah*], vezirial fiefs [*havass-ı vuzeran*] and into the domains of the royal ladies [*paşmaklık*].⁴ Geographically, the

¹ It should be noted that the term *eyalet* was used interchangeably with the term *vilayet*. Gökbilgin (1952), pp. 6-20; Stoyanovski (1973-1974), p. 214.

² The relevant part from the *defter* reads “*nahiye-i Dimetoka, hassayı padişah, nefsi-i Dimetoka*”: *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* (BOA), TT20 890 (1485), p. 141; Balta (2000), p. 109; Halacoğlu (1991), pp. 78-82.

³ Uzunçarşılı (1982), pp. 504-506.

⁴ Orhonlu-Göyünç (2003), pp. 268-270.

district of *Dimetoka* extended over the meeting point of the tributary *Kızıl Deli* [Erythropotamos] with the *Meriç* [Evros] River. In the 19th century it was connected through a 50 km rail network with Istanbul over *Dede-Ağaç* [Alexandroupolis] and following its annexation to Greece in 1920, it occupies a position at a distance of 5 km from the Turkish border and 31 km from Edirne.⁵

This chapter will attempt to make *Dimetoka*'s stages of urban development intelligible. Our time-specific study focuses on the period from the 14th to 16th centuries, since this is the time-frame which allows the observation and conceptualization of the city's transitional identity from the Byzantine *thema* of *Didimoteicho* and *Andrianoupoli* to a secondary capital of the Ottoman principality and its evolution into an acclaimed urban centre of Islamic learning of the classical era. The choice of this very city as the introductory case-study of my thesis is not accidental. In the chronicle of the Ottoman conquest, *Dimetoka* is the earliest Ottoman acquisition of a sizeable Byzantine walled city on European soil, which played a particular role in the Byzantine geopolitical affairs of the 14th century. Due to the particularity of the historical circumstances under which the Ottoman city came to its formation, *Dimetoka* constitutes case wise a morphological unicum in the field of early Ottoman urbanism.

As we shall show, in the mid 14th century the city wall had undergone a major restoration scheme under *Tarchaneiōtēs*, which practically turned the city into an impregnable stronghold. Still, less than a decade later in 1357 the city was surrendered under terms to the *akıncı* of Murad I and it was immediately transformed into the second Ottoman capital and the first on European soil. Therefore, this city provides us with the unique opportunity of attesting how the Ottomans reacted in a case where their efforts were not compromised by repairing or reinforcing but they could concentrate on the process of

⁵ Darkot (1945), p. 589.

ascribing an Ottoman character to a Byzantine castled town. The Ottoman *modus operandi* can be now reconstructed through providing the answers to the following questions; how did they interact with the inherited infrastructure; what was the pace of the building activity and of the investment that they undertook; more importantly, can the application of a concise town-planning idea be discerned?

The second parameter which substantiated my concentration on the town was its geostrategic importance. Its location close to the main river routes of *Ardas* and *Meriç*, which connect the inner Balkans with the Aegean along with its proximity to the two major trade routes of the area, the *Viae Egnatia* and *Militaris*, further secured its fortified position aided by man and nature. The geostrategic importance of the castle is evident from the maintenance of the garrison throughout the 15th and 16th centuries⁶, a period of time when the Ottoman authority in the Balkans was securely achieved and the Ottoman banner was carried as north as Buda (1541). Therefore, the maintenance of the garrison in the castle implies that *Dimetoka* was regarded as a stronghold for the securing of Edirne and Istanbul. This complies with the role that the city played in late Byzantine politics, as a satellite city of Constantinople which hosted the seat of the exiled court during the civil war between the *Kantakouzeni* and *Paleologi* families in the 14th century.⁷

The third parameter, which finalized my choice, was the number of the surviving registers on the city of *Dimetoka*; especially by the fact that four out of the five surviving registers are complete *mufassal* [detailed] surveys from the 15th and 16th centuries which are

⁶ For the analytic data on the garrison consult the discussion on Murad I's investment under the subheading "Periodization" of section C. Topographic reconstruction of Ottoman *Dimetoka* in chapter 1.

⁷ During the early Paleologan period *Dimetoka* became one of the cities which hosted the imperial household. The son of emperor Andronikos III (1297-1341) who became Emperor John V was born there. The acquired regal status has possibly contributed to the economic and demographic development of the city, since the presence of an imperial court increased the prosperity of the inhabitants. During the civil war between John V Paleologos and John VI Kantakouzenos (1292-1383) in 1341, the latter declared *Dimetoka* as his capital. Asdracha (1976), pp. 130-148; Matschke (2002), pp. 463-465.

preserved in the collections of *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* and *Ataturk Milli Kütüphanesi*.⁸ The earliest register extends over the reign of Murad II and Mehmed II (1455 to 1473)⁹, while the second earliest register dates from 1485¹⁰, that is to say, more than a century after the induction of the Ottomanization project in the town. Still, their contribution to the reconstruction of late 14th century's urban history is of utmost importance, since they provide retrospective information on the formation and the upkeep of the charitable foundations, around which the numerous quarters evolved. The inclusion of this material in the present study serves a twofold objective; primarily, it constitutes the key source towards the periodization of the phases of urban development through the provision of valuable information on the social and financial aspects of the pious foundations endowed in the city and at a second stage, it allows the conceptualization of demographic synthesis and social stratification of the Ottoman city in the 15th and 16th centuries. This becomes possible, since the material survives in a close sequence from the years 1519¹¹, 1520¹², 1568¹³ and 1570.¹⁴

⁸ Lowry has stressed the importance of the study of a series of registers for a given area over time, as the means of overcoming inconsistencies recurring in the surveys. Lowry (1992)¹, pp. 3-19. The archival material consulted for the chapter of Dimetoka, with the exception of Mc.Yz. 0.89, has been also used by the economic historian R.L. Staab, *The Timar System in the Eyalet of Rumeli and the Nahiye of Dimetoka in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, PhD Thesis, University of Utah, 1980.

⁹ Cevdet Muallim Yazmaları, Atatürk Kütüphanesi: 0.89, 860-878 (1455-1473), pp. 5-8; for the transcription consult Table 1 of the appendix.

¹⁰ BOA, TT20 890 (1485), pp. 141-149, 243-248, 255-258, 265-268, 271-274, 277-280, 301-302; for the transcription consult Table 2 of the appendix.

¹¹ BOA, TT77 925 (1519), pp. 139-147, 223-224, 235-238, 241-244, 247-252, 255-268, 285-288; for the transcription consult Table 4 of the appendix.

¹² BOA, TT370 926 (1520), pp. 19-20. This is the least trustworthy register. The fluctuation in the totals is impossible, given the fact that it was completed just a year after the TT77. It reminds more of a contracted rather than a detailed variety and thus, I would rather trust the more detailed TT77; for the transcription consult Table 6 of the appendix.

¹³ BOA, TT1090 976 (1568), pp. 72-75; For the transcription consult Table 7 of the appendix.

¹⁴ BOA, TT494 978 (1570), pp. 158-166. This survey has been published in the MA *Thesis* of Emen (2010), pp. 9-11, 17-19, 39-41, 72-73, 76-77, 83-84. Emen misread the names of the Christian quarters as Köse Papaz instead of Kosta Papas and Ayo Sofi instead of Ayo Todora and Ayo Nikola (p.9); for the transcription consult Table 8 of the appendix.

Identification of the topographic specifics and the town-planning conception: introductory remarks

The characteristics of the landscape are of particular importance for understanding the location of the fortification and the development of the subsequent Ottoman annexation. The fortified settlement of *Dimetoka* rises to an altitude of 107 m. in height; this is laid around a plateau, which expands from West to East at the level of roughly 80 m. Three quarters of its extent is defined by the hill bounded by the stream of *Kızıl Deli*. At the western side the steep slope constitutes a natural wall, while at the north-western corner the slope gets even steeper and it is accessed through a monumental gate.¹⁵ *Evliya* describes that “*There is not a trench and there is not even a place for a future trench, since there is no such need; because at some places of the castle the land retreats and there is a cliff of the height of two minarets [...]. On the south side runs the Kızıl Deli River, and although there is no further trench at the south side, the river forms a strong frontier*”.¹⁶

The south side of the hill retains its steepness for the first 500 m., while it extends towards the eastern side; from that point onwards, a broad, flat zone of land, roughly 30 m. in height and 100 m. in width rises between the foothills and the river banks softly residing towards the river.

On the south-western side is to be found one of the main access points to the castle: the Gate of the Bridge [*Köprübaşı*].(See map 1: B4) The steepness of the slope almost vanishes from the south-western up to the north-eastern side of the hill; these were the most vulnerable parts of the fortification, which were reinforced with a double-wall, after which the city was named. The fact that the north-eastern side was the most accessible part of the landscape defined the location of the subsequently developed cellular of the Ottoman settlement.

¹⁵ Giannopoulos (1992), pp. 116-117.

¹⁶ For the translation consult appendix *Evliya Çelebi on Dimetoka*, pp. 327-335.

At the highest point of that impregnable castle were to be found the palace quarters, while its inner encirclement was fortified with two towers, namely, these of the maiden [*kız*] and of the arsenal [*cephane*]. *Evliya* writes that “*Since there were Christians in the castle at the time of the conquest, by effect of the war agreement, there are, still to this day no Muslims in the castle apart from the garrison warden. Within the castle there are a hundred stone houses roofed with tiles, which are the well maintained houses inhabited by the ill-omened ones but the warden also maintains his residence in the inner precincts of the castle keep*”.¹⁷ Consequently, since there were no Muslim quarters within the castle, apart from the Muslim neighbourhood of the castle [*mahalle-yi kale*] where the garrison was housed¹⁸, the Muslim element could be only accommodated in the outer suburban area.

Indeed, 15th century archival data¹⁹ corroborate the eye witness narrative of *Evliya* from the 17th century. The 16 Muslim quarters were distributed outside the walled city, from the eastern slope of the hill down to the valley. These were the quarters of the leather tanners [*Debbağlar*], *Karagöz Bey*, *Burak*, *Medrese*, the tax collector [*Haraçcı*], *Oruç Bey*, *Cercer*, the Mosque, the goldsmiths [*Kuyumcular*], *Habibi Fakih*—alternatively named—the Magyars, *Bazarlu Bey*, *Hocaca*, *Doğan Bey*, the head of the bridge [*Köprübaşı*] and the Tatars. (See map 1: B5, E11, C8, 19, D10, 18, C9, C7, F13, G15, 16, G14, B6, F12)

¹⁷ For the translation consult appendix *Evliya Çelebi on Dimetoka*, pp. 327-335.

¹⁸ For the data on the *mahalle-yi kal'a* consult the discussion on Murad I's investment under the subheading “periodization” of section C. Topographic reconstruction of Ottoman *Dimetoka* in chapter 1.

¹⁹ For the analysis of the 15th and 16th centuries' archival material consult sections C. Topographic reconstruction of Ottoman *Dimetoka* and D. Demographic fluctuations in *Dimetoka* from mid. 15th to mid. 16th centuries and their interpretation in chapter 1.

B. Ottoman town-planning in a comparative perspective

The new socio-political order constituted a new dynastic reality that was topographically accommodated in—the appended to the Byzantine kernel—Ottoman fringe belt. The segregation between the two parts was preserved throughout the 14th to 16th centuries, in a way that the name of the city, literally “double-walled”, could be employed to designate the existence of two parallel realities. This attestation contradicts the experience found in the first royal city of Bursa, where symbiotic necessity led to the development of an “accommodating” architectural language, which relied mostly upon the principle of appropriation.²⁰ However, at *Dimetoka* where there was no such necessity, the two worlds unfolded without restriction and evolved according to their own devices. Therefore, it can be suggested that the settlement pattern of *Dimetoka* moved forward from the model of the “city within a city”, to the unfolding narrative of two synchronic urban matrices (i.e) the Byzantine kernel and the Ottoman fringe belt. As discussed in the introduction, it is under the Balkan-Anatolian type with a Byzantine *intramural* and Ottoman *extramural* that the first samples of a pure Ottoman fabric—unrestricted from the over-bearing presence of the anterior Byzantine (antique) grid plan—can be attested.²¹

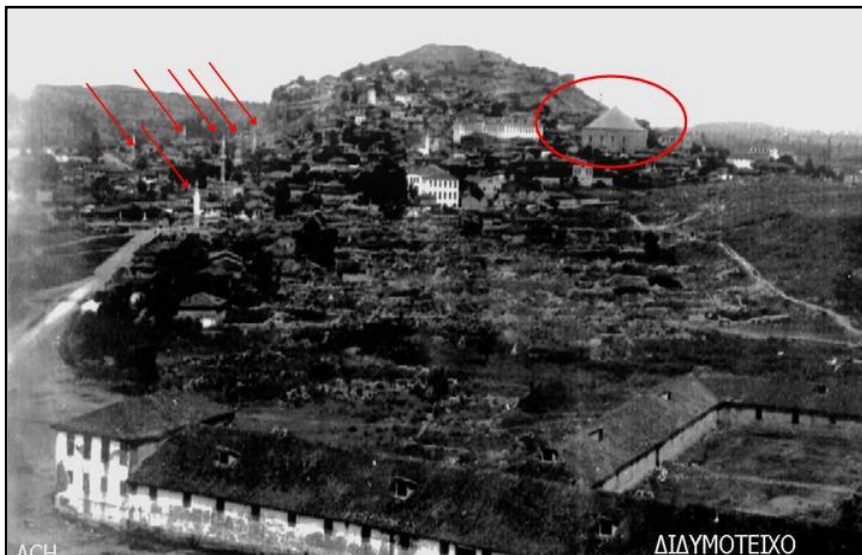
It is under this light that the bipolar microcosm of 14th century *Dimetoka* appears as sharing the attributes of an international affairs’ polity, where the balance of power between the “states”—the *raiyyet* and the Muslim subjects—and their chorotaxic behaviour was defined under social parameters. In this connection, constructivist theory interprets social reality as “a product of human invention which exists only as an inter-subjective awareness amongst people. It is a set of ideas, a system of norms which has been arranged by certain

²⁰ Cağaptay (2011), p. 64.

²¹ As discussed under the subtitle Pinon and Veinstein of the Morphological Theory and the Adapted Model section.

people at a particular time and place".²² Along the same constructivist lines, Preziosi argues that "*within the Ottoman world, cities established their own regimes of legibility—the ways in which cities employed architectonic*" and I would add topographic "*cues manifest how they were to be reckoned with by their inhabitants*".²³

If we were then to interpret the semiology of the 14th century's Ottoman town-planning through the constructivist viewpoint, we would identify a "meaning ascribing" quality in its modelling process. Scholars, such as Kuran, recognise a teleological perspective in this process when arguing that "*the idea of substantiating a prior claim to the conquered land has always been of primary importance to rulers*".²⁴ Under this light, the semiotics of Murad I's and Bayezid I's state building project at *Dimetoka* reflect the attempt of claiming dynastic legitimacy as successors (and heirs) of the Seljukid Empire by appropriating a morphological solution adopted in the post-Seljukid Anatolia—the extramural settlement pattern.²⁵



Pl. 1 West view of the city (1910-12) shot eastwards from *Hocaca* mescid showing the axis X1. In the picture are visible the minarets of the mosques: (east-west) *Hocaca*, *imaret cami'i* or *Nasuh Bey*, *Bazarlu Bey*, *Abdal Cüneyid* and southwards again from east to west *Cercer* and *Debbağlar*

²² Jackson-Sorensen (2010), p. 162.

²³ Preziosi (1991), p. 5.

²⁴ Kuran (1992), p. 126.

²⁵ On the settlement pattern of post-Seljukid Anatolia reference is made to Wolper (1995), 39-47 and idem., *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia*, University Park-Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003, pp. 42-60. Substantiation of the argument on the extramural settlement of *Dimetoka* follows under section C of the current chapter.

Still, as discussion under the following section will show, under the early Ottomans the adapted morphological solution was critically revised and furthered into a system of structural axiality that meant to articulate the landscape along a centripetal spatial value (i.e.), that of the *çarşıya*.²⁶ This axial system reaches its maturity only after the second half of the 15th century, a period that morphologically coincides with the classical phase of the town's historical stratigraphy, the consolidation of which we can follow throughout the 16th century. By then, the skyline of *Dimetoka* was adorned with the minarets of 16 mosques that created the allusion of an almost relief landscape out of the flat plane; this long-lasting impression was reflected in the encapsulation “the city with the 17 minarets”, which was maintained intact until the 19th century apart from slight alterations.(See pl. 1.) Thus, the classical phase of *Dimetoka*'s town-plan should be reckoned as the culminating stage of an evolutionary process that occurred during the proto-Ottoman phase.(See key to map 1) Identifying the infrastructural development of the proto-Ottoman phase is of utmost importance, since it was the era when the spatial accommodation of the suburban landscape to an Ottoman archetype was achieved. The agents of the conquest, who evolved into influential state figures, obtained state lands in the form of property grants which were subsequently turned into trusts for pious endowments [*vakfs*]. These *vakfs* constituted the follicles of urban development, around which the diverse quarters emerged.²⁷

What was Dimetokas' urban profile?

The Pirennean model, as ascribed to the Ottoman realm, has led to an accentuated preference for the study of market cities. Inalcik²⁸, Sahilioglu²⁹ and Abacı's³⁰ works on Bursa,

²⁶ The morphological analysis of the town-plan is discussed in section C. Topographic reconstruction of Ottoman *Dimetoka* of chapter 1.

²⁷ Inalcik (1991), p. 19.

Sauvaget's on Aleppo³¹, Raymond's on Cairo³² emphasized the role of these cities in interregional and international trade. Pirenne's insistence on the primary role of foreign and interregional trade in determining the fortunes of these cities has been criticised, as a result of which a prototype of the merchant as an outsider to the cities in which they traded was projected.³³

Braudel's remarks about Sicilian "agro-towns" have warned us that in certain areas of the pre-industrial world large agglomerations could in fact exist without any substantial commercial or industrial activity.³⁴ Faroqhi attests a crucial point concerning the urban profile of the city of *Kayseri* in central Anatolia, which applies to the case of *Dimetoka* too, by observing that: "*the role of this town in interregional trade was minor, and from the international trade point of view, it was even close to zero*".³⁵ Apart from leather manufactures— at the neighbourhood of *Debbağlar*³⁶—and the *Dimetoka* scarlet red ceramic wares of cups, basins, bowls and pitchers, which were world famous³⁷, its craft industries produced for a local market. The famous *Dimetokan* ceramic wares along with the tobacco remained the exportable staples of the area until the 19th century as the testimonies of the travellers Sayger and Eneholm attest.³⁸

²⁸ İnalçık (1960), pp. 131-147.

²⁹ Sahılioğlu (1975).

³⁰ Abacı (2007).

³¹ Sauvaget (1941).

³² Reymond (1984); Reymond (2000).

³³ Faroqhi (1990), p. 137.

³⁴ Braudel (1979), p. 423; Faroqhi (1990), p. 138.

³⁵ Faroqhi (1990), p. 138.

³⁶ For the cross-referencing of the quarter consult Table 10: no. 1 of the appendix.

³⁷ For translation consult appendix *Evliya Çelebi* on *Dimetoka*, pp. 333-341.

³⁸ In 1829, C. Sayger and A. Desarnod visited *Dimetoka* in the capacity of royal librarian and royal painter of the Russian army. They arrived at Thrace through the route Burgaz-Edirne, from where they reached *Dimetoka*, Kirk Kilise, *Vize* and then returned back to Edirne. According to their report, a brisk commercial network was established amongst the cities of *Dimetoka*, Enez and Izmir. Via Izmir are exported to the capital the highly acclaimed local ceramic wares and tobacco, for which there was an accentuated demand at Istanbul and Asia. The Greeks are producing a woollen fabric of exquisite quality which is consumed within their community, while there is an equally remarkable production of silk fabrics at a smaller scale. As for the agricultural production of the region, this included the cultivation of tobacco, oat, barley, wheat and rice. The city was full of orchards, vineyards and cotton and tobacco fields. Sayger (1834), pp. 12-130.

Despite its geographic proximity to two major trade routes—the *Viae Egnatia* and *Militaris*—still, *Dimetoka*'s nodal position on a tributary road between the two main routes seized its chance to develop into a brimming commercial centre like Bursa or Edirne. Its scarce commercial infrastructure comprises of a few *hans*, with the most prominent being that of *Nasuh Bey mir-i liva of Silistre*, and two *kervansarays*. Archival information regarding the commercial and artisanal activities sustained within the city of *Dimetoka* from the 1570s' is restricted to the reference to a closed market, the *eski kapan*, in front of the *çarşı kapısı* where grocery and grain trade was conducted. The rents from the shops of the *eski kapan* provided for the upkeep of the *imaret* and *medrese* of Bayezid I.³⁹

In light of the above, *Dimetoka* can be described as a “*semi-rural market town with a very limited radius*”, which yet managed to raise its population by the reign of Selim II.⁴⁰ This urban growth can be attributed to the devising of grain agriculture, the cultivation of vineyards and mostly on the procurement of livestock breeding, which allowed the city not only to be self-sufficient but also to emerge as one of Istanbul's central suppliers of sheep and oxen by the end of the 16th c. In that respect, Evliya informs on the famous agricultural production of scrumptious grapes and the *tekkeş* variety of quinces”.⁴¹

In this section, we propose to examine the stages of *Dimetoka*'s urban formation in conjunction with the role of the Ottoman state in this process. In order to analyze this we would need to determine how the civil structures were created and maintained by the central administration such as the creation of the pious foundations and how their arrangement affected the layout of the town. Which are the civil structures which defined the proto-Ottoman phase?

³⁹ Emen (2010), pp. 72-73.

⁴⁰ The population of *Dimetoka* rose from 2.053 individuals in 1519 to 2.405 in 1570. Consult Table 11 of the appendix.

⁴¹ For translation consult appendix *Evliya Çelebi on Dimetoka* on pp. 327-335.

Dimetoka should be viewed as a trophy city representing the triumph of Ottoman hegemony on European soil and thus, it does not comply with the model, of the trade city, as the examples of Bursa⁴², *Siroz* and other Anatolian cities suggest⁴³. On the other hand, despite being a capital, because of its short-lived glory it was soon stripped of its sultanic status and consequently the only proper investment, which ascribed the Ottoman character to the town, was undertaken by Bayezid I. Therefore, it should be understood that although it belongs in the corpus of Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul it does not share their regal status in the sense that it cannot boast of the same heavy investment.

The interpretation of Dimetoka's urban profile within a comparative framework:

Dimetoka-Bursa-Edirne

The experience of *Dimetoka* raises the question of whether it represents the norm in the Ottoman polity or an exception. In order to answer this question we would need to turn to a comparative analysis. In 1996, Kuran attempted the first comparative spatial analysis of three Ottoman capitals and in this way inaugurated a methodological tool with the potential of reconstructing—through a holistic spectrum—the urbanisation scheme of the Ottoman principality.⁴⁴

His initial ambition was to elucidate a common spatial pattern devised under the first sultans until Mehmed II, which nevertheless, proved to be unattainable. Instead, he argued that although all three cities underwent the same transformation project as a result of which, they re-emerged under the conventional Turkish urban organization of *castle-city-suburb*, each of them developed along a different graphic pattern. Ottoman Bursa grew along a linear

⁴² Ergenç (2006).

⁴³ Faroqhi (1990), p. 138.

⁴⁴ Kuran (1996), pp. 114-131.

axis, Ottoman Edirne enveloped the old town and the new castle, while in the case of Istanbul Ottomanization occurred within the city walls. He summarised the common features of these three cities in a generic, tripartite basis comprised of: a) a centrally arranged castle, b) the placement of the bazaar in the vicinity of the castle and c) the growth of the Ottoman neighbourhoods around the *'imarets*.

Although Kuran's approach carries a great potential, by failing to "*take the next logical step of integrating the crucial body of information into his chronological or typological analysis of building programs*"⁴⁵, it missed the chance to read the underlying pattern for the following two reasons: a) it ignored or underestimated certain nagging questions and b) it was methodologically imprudent since it compared three cities on the basis of their characteristics as capitals, without taking into account the different historical periods in which they were developed. To avoid such traps in this thesis, we intend to provide a comparative spatial analysis between *Dimetoka* Bursa and Edirne, as three cities and regional centres which, apart from their shared identity as capitals, were Ottomanized under the socio-political realities of the proto-Ottoman polity in the 14th century.

A synchronic urban perspective is thought to be an indispensable step towards making *Dimetoka's* stages of urban development intelligible. Only by distinguishing the proto-Ottoman phase of the town from its late morphological phases, can we reinstate a perspective of the town-planning solutions, as devised under the first sultans and seek to understand the extent of their involvement in the site-planning solutions that were devised in the immediate post-conquest phase of development.

Despite critical revision of the "Orientalist" theory in the field of urban studies, in 1991 Crane argued with reference to Bursa's urbanisation that "*the various structures that*

⁴⁵ This is a point Pancaroğlu draws on the reason why the connection between building programs and landscapes of early Ottoman Bursa has been overlooked in scholarly studies; with special reference to Gabriels' work. Pancaroğlu (1995), p. 40.

went to make it up were scattered over irregular terrain in an organic manner and that little attempt was made to impose a preconceived and arbitrary plan on the site".⁴⁶ The topographic and morphological analysis of the early Ottoman towns at the lower Balkans, as discussed in this thesis, has turned abundant evidence to question this argument. The landscape might have dictated the specifics of the planning but there is a conscientious and consistent Ottoman response to that, which suggests conceptualisation, premeditation and systematization. Perhaps, if the site-planning of Bursa was seen as a unique paradigm without parallels, it could have led to such a conclusion; but when juxtaposed with the experience from other early Ottoman towns, then the coincidences become too many to be considered random. Therefore, the question remains: can we discern a normative developmental pattern for the Ottoman town of the 14th century and if no such common pattern exists, can we identify the geo-political parameters which necessitated the creation and manipulation of diverse site-planning solutions on the Ottoman part?

Use of the citadel and the maintenance of the walls

i. Bursa

The core issue of this question revolves around the Ottoman use of the citadel and maintenance of the walls in the post-conquest phase of these towns. Upon the conquest of Bursa in 1326 Orhan Gazi undertook an extensive repair scheme over the city-wall which involved: a) stabilization works with the insertion of numerous spolia and b) the reinforcement of the curtain wall including *Bab-ı Zemin* and the *Yer kapı* with triangular turrets c) the reinforcement of the prison gate [*Zindan kapısı*] with a pentagonal inserted

⁴⁶ Crane (1991), p. 174.

turret.(See Pl. 2.) Ayverdi interprets these measures as necessary precautions against the Byzantines, who the Ottomans feared could always obtain extra help from the West.⁴⁷

When in 1326 Bursa peacefully submitted to the Ottomans after being besieged for nine arduous years, the principle of *istimalet* and *aman* was granted and the terms of surrendering allowed the Byzantines to leave the citadel in return for the total of 30,000 *ducats*.⁴⁸ The citadel was then inhabited by the Ottomans and became their administrative and military base, where the organisation and institutionalization of the Empire took place.⁴⁹ Orhan's urbanisation scheme involved around two lines of investment with what can be seen as group or function targeting: a) the citadel where his people, the administrative and military staff would get accommodated and b) the *varoş* where the prospective populations, in their majority nomads moving from Anatolia, would colonize the valley after being inducted into the framework of a sedentary life. As Pancaroğlu attests, the suburban district "*at the time of the conquest was considered a remote one. Orhan Bey's decision to develop it immediately speaks for his ambition to expand drastically the urban territory into the outlying lands*".⁵⁰

Orhan's *intra muros* development involved: a) the use of the Byzantine donjon buttressed with seventeen semi-cylindrical towers at the north-eastern section of the citadel within which, he repaired or set up from scratch the *Bey's* palace.⁵¹ Although its original architectural composition is not clear, from a 17th century document we learn that it included an audience hall, a privy chamber, a *hammam*, stables and a harness shop.⁵² To the east of the donjon the following building complexes were constructed: Orhan's mosque and the tomb

⁴⁷ Ayverdi (1966), p. 116.

⁴⁸ Arnakis (1947), pp. 155-160.

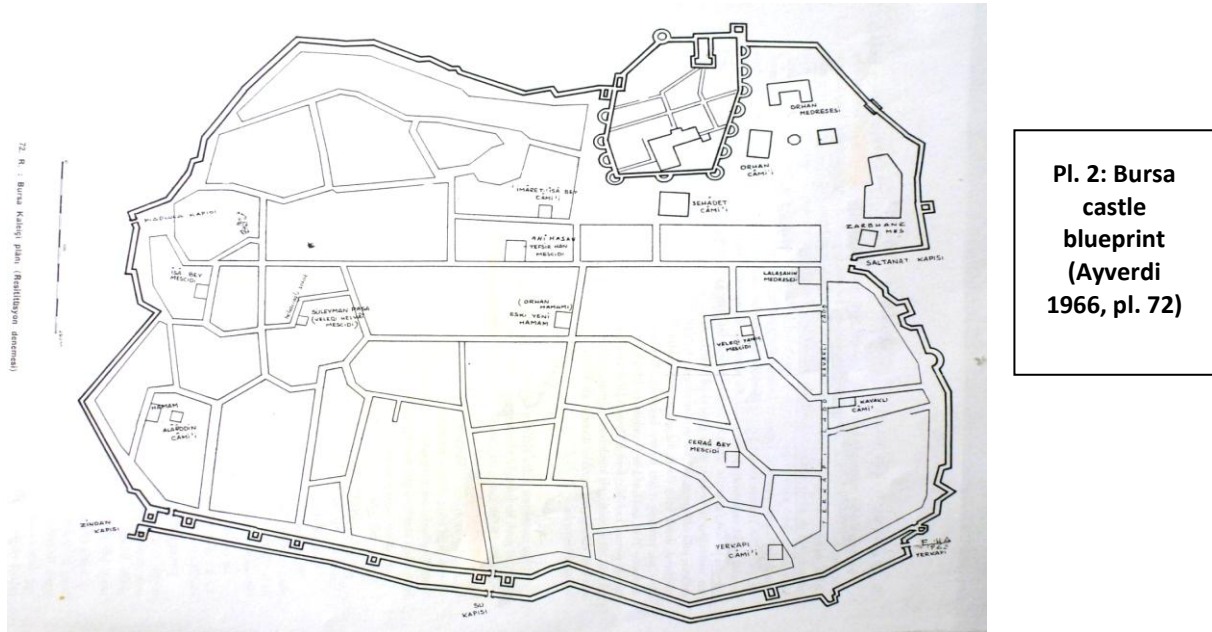
⁴⁹ Arabaci (*Academia.edu*), p. 22.

⁵⁰ Pancaroğlu (1995), p. 43.

⁵¹ Arabaci (*Academia.edu*), p. 21, footnote 35.

⁵² Ayverdi (1966), p. 117.

of his father Osman Bey⁵³, which was realised from a converted church⁵⁴, his *medrese* and his *imaret*, while to the south of it, he erected his *hammam*.(See Pl. 2.)



Pl. 2: Bursa castle blueprint (Ayverdi 1966, pl. 72)

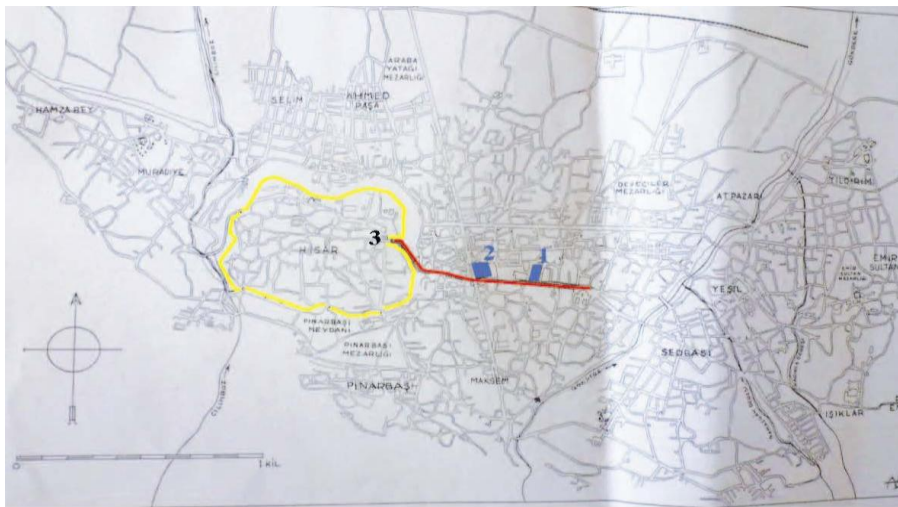
Still, the most interesting investment of Orhan’s era remains the construction of the lower castle [*Asađı hisari*] which was intended to encircle his *külliye* and thus to secure his newly founded market centre in the lower suburbs. Foremost, his *külliye* should be seen as the micrograph of a satellite, walled unit placed in the wilderness, which would function as a self-sufficient urban nucleus. Within the courtyard were found at its centre a focal mosque (1339), to the east of which a *medrese* and a *zaviye* were situated and to its western side a *han* and a *hammam*. On its north side, the mosque was bounded by a primary school [*mekteb*]⁵⁵. Yet, can we believe that it was erected in a complete wilderness, with no reference point to

⁵³ The Orhan Bey mosque of the upper castle was destroyed after the earthquake of 1855. According to its dedicational inscription, which nowadays lies on the side entrance of the neighbouring *Sahadet* mosque, it was established in 1337. Ayverdi (1966), pp. 58-59.

⁵⁴ The identity of these Byzantine buildings is disputed. Pancarođlu (1995), p. 43, footnote 12.

⁵⁵ For an extensive analysis on Orhan’s *imaret* consult Ayverdi (1966), pp. 61-89 ground plan figs. 74-77; for an analysis of Orhan’s destroyed *imaret* at *Iznik* as an axial *eyvan* mosque and his *imaret* at Bursa as a cross-axial example consult: Kuran (1968), pp. 78-79, 98-109; for a comparative overview of Orhan’s *imarets* at *Iznik* and Bursa consult Aslanapa (1986):“*Iznik’te Orhan Gazi ve Murat Hündavendigar Devri Eserleri*” and “*Bursa’daki ilk eserler ve Murat Hündavendigar Devri Eserleri*”, pp.3-23; for the position of Orhan’s *imaret* within the evolutionary spectrum of the architectural type of the *imaret-zaviye* consult Kuban (1988), pp. 84-86.

the castle? Ayverdi has already drawn attention to the fact that Orhan’s *külliye* was lying over a pre-existent axis [*eski yol*] which led from the upper castle to the ramparts.⁵⁶



Pl. 3: City-plan of Bursa. (A.Gabriel, Une capital Turque, Bursa. Paris 1958, pl. 3)

1. Orhan Gazi Imaret 2. Ulu mosque (Bayezid I) 3. Eastern Gate of the Byzantine castle

This can explain why Orhan’s *imaret* is not oriented towards the *kibla*, but looks south-west, while *Ulu* mosque (ca.1400) constructed sixty years later looks south-east. Such plans reveal an era when a much more confident manipulation of the landscape was contemplated. In this case, we can attest that the infantile dependency on a guided, external layout was transcended. The same chorotaxic mechanism is evident in all Balkan examples discussed in this thesis. Orhan’s *imaret* was arranged along Bursa’s eastern axis, which commenced from the central gate -the *Sarayı kapısı* and led in an easterly direction.(See Pl.3.) This suburban artery evolved into the “processional road” or *çarşıya* of the Ottoman town, along which, the town’s earliest urban nuclei/monuments were endowed. Such orientations should be understood as the spine of the early Ottoman urban development.

The walls of the lower castle became enveloped in Orhan’s *medrese* and *zaviye* located at the upper castle and joined with the walls of the monuments in the area occupied by the posterior *Emir Han*. They were then directed in an easterly direction over the *bedesten*—where the Iron Gate [*Demir Kapı*] was—and further east to the *Tuz Han*, from

⁵⁶ Ayverdi (1966), p. 117.

where they would turn south to Orhan's *külliye*, at the west side of which was placed the stone gate [*Taş kapı*].(See Pl.4.) Finally, the walls would join with the upper castle's south-eastern rampart and thus, the lower castle would encompass a total area of 200m.⁵⁷

Pl. 4: Bursa The central area of the market (Goodwin 2003, pl. 49)



1. Fidan han;
2. Orhan mosque;
3. Koza han;
4. Geyve han;
5. Bey hammam;
6. Sipahiler çarşısı;
7. Bedesten;
8. Bey Han;
9. Şengöl hammam;
10. Ulu mosque

It becomes then obvious that the first Ottomans did not ignore the walls, but on the contrary, valued their function and necessity. In 1326, the protection of both the citadel and the suburban settlement was thought to be of primary importance: fortifying and expanding emerge as two congruent objectives. The balance between these two priorities in the cases of *Dimetoka*, *Gümülcine* and *Siroz* that were Ottomanized in the second half of the 14th c.

In these cases, one can observe the cognitive jump of the nullification of the walls, something that was virtually inconceivable in the western medieval world. In medieval urbanism, the historical centre remains the apex of the city. All sources agree that it is not

⁵⁷ Evidences for the existence of such a construction were provided in the endowment deed of the Umur Bey mosque from 1460 (865), which mentions the existence of the patron's *han* and shops in the lower castle: Ayverdi (1966), p. 117.

possible to conceive western European urban evolution without circumscribed and compact cities.⁵⁸ According to Henry Pirenne “*Once outside the gates and the moat we are in another world, in the domain of another law; the essential character of the European bourgeoisie was that it formed a privileged class in the midst of the rest of the population. From this point of view the medieval town offers a striking contrast both to the ancient town and to the town today*”.⁵⁹ This is the norm that the Ottomans discontinued; by transferring the “rule of the bourgeois class” outside the walled city and by re-defining the social synthesis of the extended suburb, they promoted the transition from the medieval to the early modern city.

ii. *Dimetoka*

In the case of *Dimetoka*, this innovation does not apply to the use of the suburban area *per se*, but mostly in the ascription of a new character to its use. The extramural zone, known as *burgos* or *commerce* was inhabited since the late-Byzantine era. The Byzantine *demos* of the extended suburb was mainly inhabited by *aktēmon* peasants. This is known from the outbreak of a revolt in August 1342 against the oppression of *Dimetoka*'s feudal class, which was settled within the citadel. In exasperation against Kantakouzenos and his court, the armed *demos* attacked the walls and threatened to exterminate anyone who opposed. The garrison of the castle pretended to surrender, opened the gates and then attacked the peasants, who in order to survive, sought refuge with their children and wives in the neighbouring cities. All their houses in the extended suburban area were demolished, their valuables and

⁵⁸ Benevolo (1993), pp. 74-104; Braudel (1976), pp. 53-91; Lavedan-Hugueney (1974): Chapter 3. II) La création urbaine en France/XII-XIV siècles- Le Sud-Ouest de la France, pp. 67-96, Chapter 4) La création urbaine hors de France, pp. 101- 131, Chapter 5) Le cadre de la vie urbaine à la fin du moyen âge, pp. 135-173.

⁵⁹ Pirenne (1936), p. 239. It needs to be mentioned that K. Tuna in his doctoral thesis refers to the differentiation of the Islamic city from the Western city, as the congruent system which comprises of the castle and the suburban area. Though, he only elaborated on the legal equity achieved under Islam for both the residents of the citadel and of the suburb, as opposed to the latter being unprotected by civic law in the case of the western city. Tuna (1987), p. 160.

the wood from their residences were moved to the castle and in their place orchards and gardens were grown.⁶⁰ As a result of the stripping of the suburbs, the town became more vulnerable in the event of a seizure.⁶¹

This testimony is further corroborated through ceramic and architectural findings. Bakirtzis argues that during the late Byzantine period the artisans and peasants were residing outside the encirclement in the ‘outer quarter’ or ‘lower city’. His argument is based on the discovery of exclusively late Byzantine/ early Ottoman pottery sherds in the cave-houses carved into the *Dimetoka* hill; the production of these ceramic wares relates to two ceramic furnaces which were brought to light a few meters below the ‘Palace Gates’ [*saray kapısı*], at a depth of 3,60 m. lower than the contemporary stratum.⁶² The position of the furnaces should be then identified as being at the level of the *Carşı kapısı*, the ‘Gate of the Market’ (See map 1: B3), which functioned as the spatial point of transition from the Byzantine to the Ottoman urban terrains.

Therefore, the innovation introduced by the Ottoman lies in the stripping of the extended suburb of its peasant status and its re-configuration under a new social synthesis through the transferral of the ‘rule of the bourgeois class’ to a position outside the walled citadel.⁶³ In this way, they nullified the very dimension of the medieval city set aside as the abode of the feudal class in former times.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ *Cantacuzeni* II, pp. 278-309.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

⁶² These ceramic furnaces were emptied at the time of their destruction and were connected to a third furnace recovered at *Ferres*, close to the church of *Cosmosoteira*, which is positively dated in the “early Post-Byzantine” period. These furnaces are chronologically related to the *Varna* and *Suceava* (Romania) furnaces and were interpreted within the context of the commercial and financial developments realised under the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans, which prepared the ground for the vast diffusion of ceramic ateliers in these lands. Bakirtzēs (1981), pp. 150-152.

⁶³ This term has been originally used Pirenne in order to define the upper echelons of the medieval, castled society. Pirenne (1936), p. 239. In our context, the term bourgeois has been employed to contextualize a broader spectrum of urban activities and groupings, alongside the commercial aspect and is adapted to the social stratification suggested by *inalcık*. Consult analysis on p. 127 of the current chapter under the subheading: Interpreting Town planning within a Constructivist Framework.

⁶⁴ The process is analytically discussed under section C. Topographic reconstruction of Ottoman *Dimetoka* of chapter 1.

The explanation for the introduction of minor alterations to the Byzantine citadel of Dimetoka

At this point, we need to examine what was the state of the inherited infrastructure and what use did the Ottomans make of it? *Dimetoka* castle comprises of two homocentric encirclements- the inner and outer ramparts- which extend over a surface of 1,300 m. of land. The outer rampart is re-enforced with towers arranged in rhythmic intervals.⁶⁵ The layout and spatial conception of the castle has remained intact throughout the centuries, with the expected adjustments and repairs applied after major episodes of damage and destruction. The earliest levels are dated to the 6th c. and are still visible as the foundations over which the subsequent levels were laid. (See Pl. 5)



Pl. 5: Dimetoka Castle Blueprint (Tsouris 1995, pl. 19)

⁶⁵ Euthymiou (1957), pp. 249-378; F. Gianopoulos (1989), p. 63.

The fact that the Ottoman intervention to the castle was minimal was due to the pre-existing late Byzantine scheme of extensive repairs executed less than a decade before the Ottoman conquest. This was launched under the auspices of the *prōtostrator* *Constantin Tarchaneiōtēs*, archon of *Dimetoka* with *Arsene Tzamlakon* who served as the head of imperial navy until the Venetian-Genovese war of 1351-1352. According to the Asdracha-Bakirtzē's hypothesis, he undertook the scheme of repairs before Kantakouzenos (1282-1383) delivered the city to John V Paleologos (1332-1391); and although, the duration of his mandate is not known, it is probable that he continued exercising his duties under John V Paleologos too.⁶⁶ Denis specified that John V settled in *Dimetoka* in 1352 after his return from Thessaloniki to Constantinople.⁶⁷ Kantakouzenos attempted to reconcile the differences between John V and his son Mathew with an exchange. He assigned the fief located between *Dimetoka* and *Christoupolis*, formerly assigned to his son Mathew, to John V and he gave to Mathew in exchange Adrianople and its hinterland. The endowment deed of the fief dated 1352 clearly assigns *Dimetoka*'s hinterland to John V which proves that it did not then constitute one of Mathew's possessions.⁶⁸

It becomes then understood that *Tarchaneiōtēs*'s scheme of repairs was carried out just before the surrendering of the city by Kantakouzenos to John V Paleologos in 1352 (i.e.), in the last years of the 1340s. Indeed, there was a need for such a repair around that time. In June 1348 Kantakouzenos attacked the Bulgarian bandit *Momčilo* outside *Dimetoka* having on his side 20,000 Turkish cavalry forces under the leadership of *Umur* and *Süleyman Bey*, son of the emir of *Saruhan*. After the death of *Momčilo*, the Turks destroyed the curtain wall of the castle and raided the surrounding countryside.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Asdracha-Bakirtzēs (1980), pp. 268-270.

⁶⁷ Denis (1960), p. 11.

⁶⁸ *Cantacuzeni* III, p. 238; Gouridis (2006), p. 57; Giannopoulos (1989), pp. 94-95.

⁶⁹ *Cantacuzeni* III, p. 532; Nicol (1996), p. 69, footnote 42.

In light of the above, it can be explained why the *Tarchaneiōtēs* scheme was focused on the outer rampart and its reinforcing towers; these interventions are visible in the tower nos. 1, 5-7, 9-12.⁷⁰ In this phase, which is most accurately represented in the tower 1 there is the tendency to create a coarse version of cloisonné (See Pl. 6), modified by a random effort to dress the stone cellular with single or double brick segments inserted to the horizontal or perpendicular beds.



Pl. 6:
Dimetoka
Castle:
south-
eastern
tower no. 1
dating from
ca. 1350
(Bessi 2010)

In addition, one encounters the extensive use of the horizontally arranged triple brick in the perpendicular joints of the masonry. (See Pl. 7)



Pl. 7:
Dimetoka
Castle:
eastern tower
nos 11,12
dating from
ca. 1350
(Bessi 2010)

⁷⁰ Tsouris (1995), p. 98, footnote 15.

The scheme of repairs undertaken by *Tarchaneiōtēs* bequeathed an impregnable castle to the Ottomans. The fact that the defensibility of the castle remained in a good standing explains why the first Ottoman intervention can only be identified in tower no. 19. (See Pl. 8)



**Pl. 8:Kız
Kulesi
dating
from
ca.1360
(Photo:
Bessi
2010)**

which corresponds to the “Gate of the Bridge” [*Köprü Kapısı*].⁷¹ Practically the intervention was restricted to the relocation of the south gate to the castle and the repairing of the bridge crossing over *Kızıl Deli*.⁷² This infrastructural basis was reinforced by the gradual formation, in the area between the gate and the north bank of the stream, of the neighbourhood of *Köprübaşı*.⁷³

⁷¹ “Another gate allows to the west side and is called the gate of the bridge”: consult appendix *Evliya Çelebi* on *Dimetoka*, pp. 327-335.

⁷² “Thanks to the very beautiful water and climate, it is a beloved silver land. Its name comes from the redness of the bronze colour, because they are drinking from the water of *Kızıl Deli*. This river springs from the mountain of *Tanriverdi* and it runs under a lofty stone arched bridge with twelve vaults (positioned) at the south side of the lower fringes of the castle, laid with oak beams and (supported) on permanent pillars; further up from the castle the river crosses afar from a gunshot range positioned at the south and (further down) it meets with *Arda*, *Tunça* and *Meriç* rivers and joins with the Aegean at a place in the vicinity of *Enez* castle”: consult appendix *Evliya Çelebi* on *Dimetoka*, pp. 333-341.

⁷³ For the cross-referencing of the quarter consult Table 10: no. 14 and discussion under subheading “Periodization” of section C. Topographic reconstruction of Ottoman *Dimetoka* in chapter 1.

Gouridis was the first to draw attention to the “Gate of the Bridge” being a 14th century Ottoman work but did not justify his dating.⁷⁴ Such a justification is valuable for understanding the extent of Ottoman intervention in the Byzantine fortifications undertaken under Murad I (1360-1389). The new addition to the southern gate diverted the entrance towards the south-west by approximately 150 m. This change, in accordance with an accustomed pattern in the Ottoman military architecture, was intended to block the frontal access to the gate by creating a tubular passage way.(See Pl. 9) Similar constructions have survived in classical military parallels, such as the *Rumeli Hisar* (856 H./ 1453/53)⁷⁵, at the castles of *Çesme* (913 H./1508-1509)⁷⁶ and *Midilli* (890 H./1485-1486)⁷⁷. A square tower was placed against the polygonal tower n.20 with which it was then connected by the means of a buttressing wall in which a gate was opened. A second wall starts from the south-eastern facade of the Ottoman tower and adjoins it with the tower n.21, which was constructed in the 6th century.



Pl. 9: Kız Kulesi dating from ca.1360 (Photo: Bessi 2010)

⁷⁴ Gouridis (1999), p. 108; the existence of the gate escaped the study of Ayverdi (1982), pp. 190-195 and Ayverdi (1966), pp.482-483; Bıçakçı (2003), pp.47-61; Çam (2006), pp. 31-32.

⁷⁵ Ayverdi (1989), pp. 660-661.

⁷⁶ Ayverdi (1983), p. 483.

⁷⁷ Based on unpublished inscriptional material retrieved by the author in 2009.

Evidence for the dating of this structure is to be found in its masonry and the decorative elements used on its facades. The masonry can be characterized as a combination of alternating layers with a coarse cloisonné (See Pl. 10); that is to say, the stone course instead of having a distinct ashlar arrangement presents a scruffy dressing of the blocks with single inserts of brick in both the perpendicular and horizontal beds with a few occurrences of double brick in the perpendicular joints. The style of alternating layers is also encountered in the polygonal tower no.7 (See Pl. 11) attributed to *Tarchaneiōtēs* (ca. 1340)⁷⁸ and in the nearby 14th century fortress of *Pythion*⁷⁹; the differentiating point between late Byzantine and early Ottoman masonries lies in the broad use of brick inserts which completely distort the neat Byzantine type of alternating layers into a scruffy cloisonné with double or triple inserts in the perpendicular joints. Similar masonry is encountered in the Han of *Hacı Evrenos* constructed at nearby *Traianoupolis*, which dates from the second half of the 14th century.



Pl. 10: Kız Kulesi and butressing wall dating from ca. 1360 (Photo: Bessi 2010)

⁷⁸ Tsouris (1995), footnote 15, p. 98.

⁷⁹ Bakirtzēs - Oraïopoulos (2004), pp. 41-43; Kores (1989), pp. 275-278, Pl. LXIX-LXXI.



Pl. 11:
Dimetoka
castle:
northern
tower no. 7
from ca.
1350
(Photo:Bessi
2010)

The decorative features of the gate consist of two blind, high-pointed brick arches, which embellish the eastern and southern facades of the square tower. Decorative arches and vaults as a decorative theme were broadly employed by the Constantinopolitan architectural school in their attempt to create articulated facades.⁸⁰ For example, such a semi-circular blind arch is encountered by the *Lefke* gate of the *Iznik* walls. (See Pl. 12)

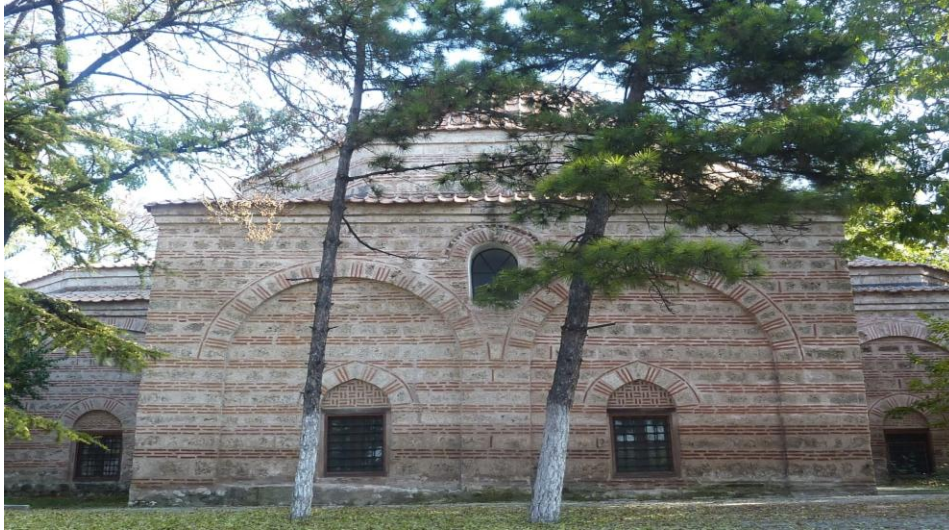


Pl. 12: Semi-circular blind arch as a decorative detail of the *Lefke* gate at *Iznik* walls (Photo: Bessi 2012)

Although no Turkish parallel of military architecture exists, this style evolved into a popular decorative device of 14th c. Turkish religious architecture of the Anatolian principalities. It is

⁸⁰ Pasadaios (1973), p. 88.

encountered in the Orhan Bey mosque at Bursa (See Pl. 13) and at the *Puşinpuş zaviye* at Yenişehir.(See Pl. 14)



Pl. 13:
Orhan Bey
mosque at
Bursa
north-west
view
(Photo:
Bessi 2009)



Pl. 14:
Puşinpuş
Zaviye at
Yenişehir
south-
eastern
view
(Photo:
Bessi 2012)

In these instances blind arches and contiguous vaults attribute plasticity to the facades by subdividing the surface into decorative panels within which windows are inscribed. Whereas, in our case, the arches occupy the entire width of each facade and they appear to have a structural function. According to Aktuğ-Kolay, the use of blind arches interwoven within the masonry is encountered in the art of the principalities, as elements denoting frontality and indicating the main entrance of religious buildings. In cases such as the

medrese of *Ahmet Gazi* (1375-1376) in *Peçin*, the mosque of *İlyas Bey* at *Balat* (1404), and the türbe of *Yedikızlar* at *Manisa* the frontal facade is defined by a screen arch which envelopes the main entrance or a series of frontal openings. In a unique example, that of the *Hundavendigâr* mosque at *Tuzla* all four facades are articulated with a blind arch.⁸¹

To sum up, the Ottomanization scheme undertaken by Murad I at *Dimetoka* can be summarized as follows:

a) The reconstruction of the *Köprü* and *Carşı kapısı*, though of the latter no material remains survive

b) The transformation of the palace quarters into a royal residence along with the inclusion of the royal treasury [*hazine-yi hümayun*]⁸²

c) The granting of the first endowment for the *zaviye* of *Abdal Cüneyd*, which initiated the subsequent development of the outer suburb. Still, it should be realised that what during the eras of Bayezid I (1389-1401) and still more of Mehmed I (1413-1421) would evolve into the actual Ottoman urban fabric was initiated as an unprotected urban agglomeration and remained as such. According to *Evliya*: “*The extensive lower suburb of the town spreads over the banks of the Kızıl Deli River. However, there are no castle walls around it, since the steep slopes on the south side of the citadel climbing up from the north bank of the Kızıl Deli overlook and envelop it and since the inner castle itself also overlooks the varoş district [it is well protected by both natural and man-made obstacles]*”⁸³

⁸¹ Aktuğ-Kolay (1999), p. 44, drawings 32-33, 35-36 and illustration 11 (it suppose to depict the Hudavendigâr mosque but it actually shows the *Yedikızlar türbe* at Manisa).

⁸² E.A., Zachariadou, “The Sultanic residence and the capital Didimoteichon and Adrianople”, in Kolovos, E., P. Kotzageorgis, S. Laiou and M. Sariyannis (eds.), *The Ottoman empire, the Balkans, the Greek lands:toward a social and economic history*, Studies in honor of J.C. Alexander, Istanbul, Eren publications, 2007, pp. 357-361. Also refer to footnote 93 of the current chapter.

⁸³ For the translation consult appendix *Evliya Çelebi* on *Dimetoka*, pp. 327-335.

What was the Ottoman use of the Byzantine citadel?

If we accept Inalcik's point that the palatial quarter in Edirne was completed in 1369, a date which pinpoints the subsequent transfer of the imperial seat there, then what was the use of the palatial quarter at *Dimetoka* in the period after 1369?⁸⁴ The answer to this query is the key for the interpretation of the contradictory town planning solutions adopted at *Dimetoka*, Bursa and Edirne.

If we can prove that the Byzantine palatial structure of *Dimetoka* accommodated the sultanic inner palace [*enderun-i hümayun*] until the reign of Mehmed II, we should then accept that apart from the garrison of the castle residing in the *mahalle-yi kal'e*, the sultan was entirely surrounded by Christians.⁸⁵ In Edirne, on the other hand, the building program developed the other way around: for the first 50 years before the formation of the Ottoman fringe belt, the Ottomans resided within the Byzantine kernel while the sultan's residence stood outside the walls. This seems to suggest the fact that the first mosque and subsequent quarter outside the city walls is that of *Gazi İbrahim Bey*, as dating from 1411-1412.⁸⁶

The building activity of Hüdavendigâr (1360-1389) was of a low intensity in the after conquest period. Hüdavendigâr converted the biggest church of the citadel [Agia Sophia] into a mosque [*Halebi medrese cami'i*] and expanded the dervish lodge of *Hacı Bektaş* known as *Küçük* mosque.⁸⁷ In accordance to the pattern attested at *Dimetoka*, Murad I (1362-1389) erected between the years 1365-1368 the first palace within the city walls, the so-called *Yeni Saray*. This was located at the *Kırlangiç* ridge extending between the hills of Murad Bey (Muradiye-Küçükpazarı) and Topraklı, northeasternly from the *Selimiye cami'i*.⁸⁸ *Hibri*

⁸⁴ Inalcik (2008), p. 157.

⁸⁵ This is based on the archival evidence as reviewed in Table 1: no. 16 of the appendix.

⁸⁶ Kuran (1996), pp. 114-131.

⁸⁷ During Murad II's (1421-1451) reign, a *medrese* was erected adjacent to the mosque where it was appointed as *müderris Sıraceddün Mehmed Halebi*. In his memory the mosque was renamed into the mosque of *Halebi medrese*. Eyice (1965), pp. 69-71; Tanman (1998), pp. 325-326.

⁸⁸ M. Özer, *Edirne Sarayı (Saray-ı Cedid-i Amire): Kısa bir Değerlendirme*, İstanbul, Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014, pp. 5-6.

Efendi explains that “After Murad I conquered Edirne in 1362, he immediately returned to Dimetoka; but because he liked the climate and the water of Edirne and it seemed to him a far more pleasant place, he choose Edirne over Dimetoka. Eventually, it seemed that there was ample of space at Edirne and that the city would acquire lavish ‘*imarets* and it would become a laudable capital. Therefore, he constructed the Old Palace (which is actually called the New Palace) in 1366/7”.⁸⁹

Yeni Saray was repaired by Yıldırım Bayezid (1389-1401), his son Musa Çelebi (-1413) who added an encumbassing buttressing wall and finally, by Suleiman I (1520-1566). To his intervention is attributed the addition of a series of new palace spaces , such as the ‘Privy Chamber’ [*has oda*], the Treasury [*hazine odası*], the Campaigning Chamber [*seferliler odası*], the pantry [*kiler*].⁹⁰ Since, *Yeni Saray* was located within the citadel, it was lacking gardens and orchards. This along with many other infrastructural difficiencies can justify the construction of the second palace commenced by Murad II (1421-1451) in 1450. This was completed under Mehmed II and since it took the name *Yeni Saray* [Sarayı-i Cedid-i Amire], the first palace within the citadel became the *Eski Saray*.⁹¹ The position of Murad II’s *Yeni Saray* on an island within the *Tunca* River at the west side of the town and its inscription within a single row of defensive walls might reflect the shift from Seljuk to Timurid palatial practices in the after 1402 era.⁹²

After having outlined the stages of investment launched at *Dimetoka* and Edirne, we can then proceed with an examination of the evidence attesting to the use of the citadel for the housing of the inner palace until Mehmed II’s reign and the presence of the garrison in the castle until Selim II’s reign.

⁸⁹ Gökbilgin (1965), pp. 89-90.

⁹⁰ Özer (2014), pp. 5-6.

⁹¹ Osman (1957); Tahsiz (1965), pp. 217-222.

⁹² M. Gronke, “The Persian Court Between Palace and Tent: from Timur to ‘Abbas I’”, in L. Golombek and M. Subtenly (ed.), *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century, Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture, Supplements to Muqarnas*, vol. 6, pp. 18-22, Leiden, Brill, 1992.

A detailed description of the palace is provided by *Evliya*: “the domed royal quarters are to be found in the upper citadel. [Where] there are canopied chambers roofed with pure lead and numerous chambers and turrets. The palace is a double-storied, stone structure of a truncated shape which spreads over the steep, red rock and extending from east to the south-west of the castle; it is the aesthetic high point of the castle and the most overbearing compartment of the quintipartite castle. Its perimeter measures 2,500 paces”.⁹³

The earliest source after 1369 reporting on the use of the sultanic residence at *Dimetoka* by Murad I is a 14th c. anonymous Byzantine chronicle.⁹⁴ In 1373, Murat I crossed *Dardanelles* to campaign in Anatolia with his vassal John V Paleologus. It was then that Murad’s eldest son Savcı Çelebi and John V’s Andronicus revolted against their fathers. They declared themselves sultan and emperor at Bursa and Istanbul respectively. On the 25th of March 1373 they were both defeated at *Pikridion* at the Bosphorus and while Andronicus surrendered to his father, Savcı Çelebi fled to *Dimetoka* and found shelter within the castle where he held on until the 7th of September. Murad I now besieged the castle and starved the garrison forcing it to surrender on the 29th of September. He watched the decapitation of his son from his tent set up by the bank of the *Kızıl Deli*.

In 1433 the French counsellor and spy of the Duke of Burgundy-*Bertrandon de la Broquiere* on his trip to the Holy Lands reported during his sojourn at *Dimetoka*, that the royal treasury was located there.⁹⁵ As Zachariadou has pointed out the Treasury [*hazine-yi hümayun*] belonged to the inner palace [*enderun-i hümayun*] of the royal household, which corresponds to the royal privy chambers [*has oda*]; therefore, we can conclude that the inner palace was located at *Dimetoka* at this time.⁹⁶

⁹³ For the translation consult appendix *Evliya Çelebi on Dimetoka*, pp. 327-335.

⁹⁴ Schreiner (1975), p. 96; Charanis (1938), pp. 335-363; Charanis (1943), pp. 286-314; Dölge (1958), pp. 217-232; İnalçık (2008), p. 159.

⁹⁵ Kline (1988), pp. 173, 180.

⁹⁶ Zachariadou (2007), pp. 357-361; Gibb-Bowen (1951), pp. 77-79.

In 1444 *Ladislav*, king of Poland and Hungary, instigated by the Byzantines and the Pope regarded the peace treaty of the 12th June 1444 as invalid and prepared for war. This caused alarm at Edirne. Many of the panic-stricken people fled to Anatolia, new defence systems started being constructed, while the officials had their valuables and treasures transported to the castle of *Dimetoka*, where the treasury was located.⁹⁷

Further evidence concerning the maintenance of the inner palace of the royal household at *Dimetoka* until at least the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512) can be found in the presence of slaves recorded in the earliest known extensive register from *Dimetoka* dating from 1485.⁹⁸ These are discerned through the names: *gulam*, 'atik or *azade* [manumitted slave] attached to their proper names. An explicit reference to a *Saruca gulam-ı enderun* is recorded in the breakdown of the *Oruç Paşa* quarter from 1485.⁹⁹ The neighbourhoods with the highest concentration in slaves are *Oruç Bey* (25%), *Bazarlu Bey* (29%), *Hocaca* (11%) and the Muslim quarter of the castle (40%).¹⁰⁰ The *Hocaca* and *Bazarlu Bey* (See map 1: G13 and 16) quarters are within the artisanal and commercial zone, where the presence of slaves as a working force is expected¹⁰¹. Within the Muslim quarter of the castle, their presence is also justified as courtiers of the 'Outer' imperial household [*birun erkani*].

Based on the layout of the Topkapı and Edirne palaces the second courtyard housed the *Divan-ı hümayun* with the 'Outer Treasury' [*diş hazine*], while in the contiguous third courtyard housed the *enderun* or *harem-i hümayun* along with the 'Imperial Treasury' [*hazine-i amire*].¹⁰² The court of the inner palace was composed of several groups of *kapıkulu* [mercenary] pages recruited by means of the *pençik* and *devshirme* systems or captured during warfare. According to the *devshirme* practice, the ablest children between

⁹⁷ *Gazavat* (1978), p. 43; this has been cited in Zachariadou (2007), pp. 357-361.

⁹⁸ Consult Table 2: nos 6, 11, 12 of the appendix.

⁹⁹ For the transcription consult Table 2: no. 6.

¹⁰⁰ Consult Table 10 of the appendix.

¹⁰¹ For the commercial exploitation of slaves in 15th and 16th Ottoman society: Sahilioğlu (1985), pp. 44-112.

¹⁰² Necipoğlu (1991): a) construction and layout of the palace: p. 8, b) the public treasury: pp. 86-90, c) the inner treasury: pp. 133-141.

the ages of eight and eighteen were assigned to the Edirne, *Galata* and *İbrahim Paşa* palaces where they became familiar with the manners and customs of the Turkish-Islamic culture in order to serve the empire as military leaders and high ranking administrators or courtiers. From there, they were then accommodated in designated chambers of the inner palace: the *seferli* [Campaigning], *kiler* [Pantry] and the *hazine* [Treasury].¹⁰³ At that stage, they furthered their education and when prepared they joined the royal cavalry [*kapıkulu süvari ordusu*] or the palace service as attendants identified by the terms *gulam* or *iç-oğlan*.¹⁰⁴ Within the inner palace, the most highly regarded group of courtiers was that of *Enderun ağaları* managing the affairs of the 'Privy Chamber' [*hasoda*] as the sultans' domestic attendants.

The institution of *enderun ağaları* was established under Murad II (1421-1451) and it was furthered under Mehmed II (1451-1481) who attributed a humanistic outlook to their educational curriculum. There was also the office of courtiers of the outer palace [*birun erkani*], who were charged with the public affairs of the sultan, such as the imperial imam, doctor, surgeon, ophthalmologist, the steward of the gatekeepers, the Chief Gardener, the Chief Equerry [*mirahur*]. These officials were not compelled to reside within the palace premises.¹⁰⁵

The institution of slavery gained in importance under the centralizing policies of Bayezid I in Anatolia who realised that in order to break the dominant families of the rival Turcoman principalities, he would need to associate the state and military offices with slaves, who would owe their allegiance only to the sultan. Bayezid's efforts at centralization came to a halt after the battle of Ankara (1402). However, during the recuperation period both Mehmed Çelebi (1413-1421) and his son Murad II (1421-1451) succeeded in bringing about

¹⁰³ Halaçoğlu (1991), pp. 28-31; Uzunçarşılı (1984), pp. 300-339.

¹⁰⁴ Özcan (1996), p.184.

¹⁰⁵ Halaçoğlu (1991), pp. 30-31; Uzunçarşılı (1984), pp. 459-464.

a political balance between the palace slaves and the *sipahis* by pursuing a soft approach. The first use of the *kapikulu* to resolve a power struggle came in 1446 when *Çandarlı Halil* engineered a Janissary revolt, removed Mehmed II and his advisers from power and brought Murad II back to the throne. Mehmed II in his efforts to establish a centralized and absolute power against the hereditary, semi-feudal system of the frontier principalities relied on the empowerment of the slave [*kul*] system and made their involvement an indispensable part of the central state apparatus and the army. In 1451 after his return from his *Karaman* campaign, Mehmed II reformed the military force [*kapikulu askerleri*] by demoting the *sekbans* (troops assigned to accompany the sultan to the hunt) and actually expanded the size of the corps to nearly triple its former size. In the aftermath of the conquest of Istanbul, he dismissed *Çandarlı Halil Paşa* and appointed to the post of grand vizier only viziers from *devshirme* origins.¹⁰⁶

The fact that the *enderun-i hümayun* along with the *harem-i hümayun* was installed at *Dimetoka* prior to Edirne and at intervals hereafter can be confirmed by the valuable testimony of the Italian traveller *Giovan Maria Angiollelo* from the 1470s. According to his account, Mehmed II's sister was living in the palace of *Dimetoka*, information which comes to corroborate Zachariadou's hypothesis that Murad II's harem resided at *Dimetoka*. Zachariadou¹⁰⁷ contested Babinger's indecisiveness on the birthplace of Mehmed II by pointing to the fact that most of his examined texts were composed at the end of the 15th century¹⁰⁸, while the *takvim* of Murad II confirming *Dimetoka* as Mehmed II's birthplace was compiled during Murad II's lifetime or very soon after his death in 1451.¹⁰⁹

According to *Angiollellos'* account: “in 1470 they camped at a castle, which was called *Dimestica*, where a sister of the sultan was living, who was entrusted with the place by

¹⁰⁶ Özcan (2001), pp. 347-349.

¹⁰⁷ Zachariadou (2007), p. 360.

¹⁰⁸ Babinger (1962), pp. 167-171; İnalçık (2003), pp. 395-407: İnalçık also accepts Edirne as Mehmed II's birthplace.

¹⁰⁹ Menage (1976), pp. 573-575.

*the sultan and she was living like a queen because she had taken the heads of twenty of her slaves in order to attest, whether they could still be alive, but mostly, because she wanted to prove her allegiance to her brother. Moreover, this woman was of disputable morality, [since] she was [first] buying young slaves, the ones she liked and then, she was killing them, out of fear of being accused; because, if the sultan became aware of her actions, he would kill her. Sultan Murad, her father, had already stipulated in his testament that she should honour her brother and should be obedient to him. After the victory of Mehmed II at Negroponte, she reminded him of some of his barons, whom he released from captivity. Then he married her to one of his slaves, named Isa Bey, who was a relative of the Paleologos family”¹¹⁰. Therefore, if his sister was born at *Dimetoka*, then it is probable that he too was born there and consequently his father’s harem was to be found there.*

In 1452 *Doukas* recounts that Mehmed II after the completion of *Rumeli Hisar* decreed that every boat crossing through the Bosphorus should pay tolls to the Ottoman authorities. Around that time a Venetian vessel sailed through the Bosphorus without stopping and was sunk by canon fire. The crew was captured and brought before Mehmed at his court at *Dimetoka*, who ordered their death.¹¹¹

Even after the end of Mehmed II’s reign evidence suggests that the palace was still in use. According to *Evliya* “*since this castle was the old seat of the state, Musa Çelebi son of sultan Yıldırım resided there too; because there were many hunting attractions Bayezid II settled there too for many years. In fact, when Selim Han I took the caliphate by force from his father, this became Bayezid Han’s capital; that is to say, he got exiled [there] and when*

¹¹⁰ The testimony of *Angiolello* is the first western recount of the journey from southern Greece to Istanbul after 1453. The two brothers from *Vicenza* were captivated by Mehmed II in 1479 at *Negreponete* and while Francesco died during the attack, *Giovan Maria* was driven enslaved through Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace to Istanbul. *Angiolello* (1982), pp. VII-XII, 18-19.

¹¹¹ *Doukas* (1997), p. 475.

he died in the vicinity of Havsa, his shroud was brought to Istanbul and he was buried in front of the mihrab of the mosque”.¹¹²

Müneçimbaşı provided information on an extensive scheme of repairs in the palace and the walls of the citadel ordered by Bayezid II after the catastrophic earthquake of 1503.¹¹³ Moreover, the preservation of the palace throughout 16th century can be attested through a reference made to a certain *Kasim Abdin* who was registered as one of the repair technicians of the palace [*meremmetci-yi saray*] from the nearby neighbourhood of the Tatars that makes its appearance in the register dating from the 1570s.¹¹⁴

Finally, the garrison of the castle was maintained throughout the 16th century.¹¹⁵ This attestation confirms that long after the Ottoman banners were carried as far north as Buda (1541), the geostrategic importance of *Dimetoka*—as the site of a royal provincial palace—was still much valued.

To recapitulate:

- a) The Ottomans, whose principal court was situated at Bursa, used the palace, settled in the citadel and extended a second lower fortification around the first *imaret* site,
- b) At *Dimetoka*, they re-used only the palace from the precincts of the citadel and allowed the Christians to continue residing within its confines while they settled themselves in the unfortified suburb and
- c) At Edirne, the Ottomans’ third capital, they settled in the citadel but instead of using the existing palace they built a new fortified palatial complex in the outer suburbs.

So why do we see these three different settlement patterns being adopted in the Ottomans’ first three imperial cities? I believe that this is due to the varying conditions under which these three cities had surrendered, taken in conjunction with an evaluation of the

¹¹² For the translation consult appendix *Evliya Çelebi* on *Dimetoka*, pp. 327-335.

¹¹³ *Müneçimbaşı* (1868), p. 472.

¹¹⁴ For the transcription consult Table 8: no. 5 of the appendix.

¹¹⁵ Consult discussion of the evidence under section C. Topographic reconstruction of Ottoman *Dimetoka* of chapter 1.

geostrategic position of these towns within the regional network of the 14th century's Ottoman polity.

Although, technically speaking all three towns surrendered under terms, actually surrendering after nine arduous years of besiege (the case of Bursa) greatly differs from surrendering after no siege at all. The latter case, as we shall see, entitled those surrendering to a privileged treatment. The Byzantines of Bursa, while having surrendered, were made to evacuate the citadel and in effect had to buy their freedom at the price of 30,000 *ducats*. In a sense, the city was punished for resisting. Historiographic sources record that most of the locals fled to Istanbul, while an equally sizable part of the population, which chose to remain, was eventually deported to the countryside around Bursa. Besides, we should also consider the disruption caused by the plague during the Bursa investment; *Aşıkpaşazade* is explicit about the fact that Orhan needed to evacuate the castle because of the piled up corpses, which means that the choice of the expulsion of the Greek population can be also attributed to public health concerns under the threat of an epidemic. The same situation seems to apply to Edirne too. Edirne's surrender followed a long and painful siege and thus after its conquest the city needed to be repopulated.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ The most corroborated revision of the conditions under which Bursa was conquered has been provided by G. Arnakis in his published doctoral thesis. According to this, Ottomans reappeared and settled outside the Bursa castle in 1317; that is 9 years before its surrendering in 1326. At that time Osman was in control of the Bithynian countryside apart from the urban centres of Bursa, Iznik and Izmit. The Ottomans attempted disclosure of the city by setting up peripheral read-outs, but still Osman did not seem to have sufficient forces in order to press for surrendering. The insufficiency of the Ottomans forces can be also confirmed by the fact that Andronicus III managed to break the seizure and to supply Bursa with wheat from *Trigleia* port. Still, no attempt was made by the Constantinopolitan government to support the besieged Bursa and Andronicus II was explicitly criticized for this political decision of his, which is thought to have caused the actual surrendering of the city. The city was surrendered on the 6th of April 1326, when the civil war between the two Andronicus was at its peak. Two are the parameters which are thought to have urged Bursa's citizens into surrendering: the epidemic outbreak of plague and foremost, the broken moral of the citizens, who had realised that the government had already abandoned the city to its own devices and that resisting would not take them anywhere. *Aşıkpaşazade* presents the superintendent of Bursa explaining the decision of the citizens to surrender: they were becoming day by day aware of the empowering position of the Ottomans and the decadence of the Byzantines, the Ottoman nodal read-outs disrupted the commercial life of the city, the Ottoman peasants flooded the countryside and enjoyed a peaceful living, the city's governor was cutting off army supplies and the defenders were lacking arms. Köşe Mihal along with the governor negotiated the terms of surrendering according to which the Greeks could leave the citadel in return for the total of 30.000 doucats.

The same condition does not apply to the surrender of *Dimetoka*. Despite slight discrepancies in the different accounts of the conquest¹¹⁷, one main literary plot emerges: *Hacı İlbey* was retreating at *Pythion*—a stronghold located less than 10 km north of *Dimetoka*—and was pillaging the countryside around *Dimetoka* in the period immediately preceding the town's surrender.¹¹⁸ This short period of pillaging cannot justify *Dimetoka*'s effortless delivery into the Ottomans' hands considering the impregnability of the castle, which had been repaired less than a decade earlier.¹¹⁹

The resolution is provided in *Oruç Bey*'s version in which the literary 'topos' of the ambush was introduced in order to disguise the inability of the Ottomans to besiege or directly attack the impregnable castle. This state of affairs resulted in an 'off the record' settlement between the aristocratic class of *Dimetoka* and the Turkish warriors that can be recognised in the '*ahd ü peyman*'. This is the treaty agreed upon the surrendering of the town by the *tekfür*. In exchange, the *tekfür* secured not only his unencumbered exodus from the town along with his family and property, but also his maintenance through the concession of revenues allocated from a village in the vicinity of *Enez*.¹²⁰

If we were then to consider that the peasants were annihilated by the aristocracy of the castle because they revolted against *Kantakouzenos* and his court in 1342, in conjunction with the fact that since 1343 the Ottomans had been raiding the countryside around *Dimetoka*¹²¹, it becomes then clear that the current allies of the Ottomans—the aristocracy of the castle—had no reason to resist and were thus offered a privileged treatment.

Most of them fled to Istanbul, but the majority of the residents remained and were gradually converted. Arnakis (1947), pp. 155-160.

¹¹⁷ Consult appendix *The sources on the conquest*, pp. 336-340.

¹¹⁸ Uzunçarsılı (1982), p. 158; Ercilasun (1995), p. 495.

¹¹⁹ The dating of the alterations has been discussed above, under the sub-heading "*The explanation for the introduction of minor alterations to the Byzantine citadel of Dimetoka*" of chapter 1.

¹²⁰ Consult appendix *The sources on the conquest*, pp. 336-340.

¹²¹ For the details consult section 2. Ottomanization as a colonization process of the introduction chapter.

As much as the initial formation of a town planning solution was dependent on the conditions of the conquest, equally decisive for laying further investment on a town and for its consequent morphological evolution was its strategic position within the regional urban network. Zachariadou draws our attention to a point that should be seriously considered; the Ottomans were dividing their time between *Dimetoka*, where a part of the Ottoman court resided and Edirne, where the Ottoman palace and administrative offices, as meant for the embassies, were located.¹²²

Dimetoka was the only secure castle in the *Enez* valley. Edirne due to its vulnerable position on the *Via Militaris* would have been left unprotected in the event of an incoming attack. The incident with *Vladislas* clearly shows that the Ottomans turned to the walls when their settlement was insecure. In this context, the establishment of the Ottoman fringe belt at *Dimetoka* can be conceived as an absolute breach of the Western and Eastern medieval conventions. The core motive for the development of this pattern can be identified in *Demetrius Kydones*' testimony, as expressed in one of his letters: "such is the present time that everyone outside the walls has been submitted to the Turks, and everyone within the walls has been exterminated by the famine, the upheaval and thousand other troubles and have turned their hopes only to the Christian help".¹²³ Under the Ottoman methods of conquest, the walls are turning into a curse, which can be averted only through the filter of the Ottoman fringe belt; the Ottoman structural addition that further reinforced the defensibility of the castle by infiltrating the access routes and canalising control over the citadel.

Thus, discussion of the conditions under which the aristocracy of *Dimetoka* delivered the town to the Ottomans means to justify why all Christian quarters registered in the

¹²² Zachariadou (2007), p. 360.

¹²³ "[...] καιρός δὲ οἷος οὐκ ἄλλος ὁ νῦν, τῶν μὲν ἔξω τειχῶν πάντων δουλευσάντων τοῖς Τούρκοις, τῶν δὲ ἔνδον πενία καὶ στάσει καὶ μυρίοις ἄλλοις κακοῖς ἀναλισκομένων, πρὸς μόνην δὲ τὴν παρὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν βοήθειαν ἀφορώντων" Liber XIX: Epistula 190 (9) Ioanni Lascari Calophero Romam, Constantinople 1378-1379: *Démétrius Cydonès* (1960), p. 63.

subsequent Ottoman tax surveys are contained within the walls.¹²⁴ The Ottoman presence in the castle was restricted to the inner palace and to one Muslim quarter, the *mahalle-yi kal'e* that accommodated the garrison of the Muslim timariots. The essential Ottoman investment can be substantiated in the colonization of the outer suburb or—as alluded in the introduction— of the Ottoman fringe belt. The morphological evaluation and periodization of the *Dimetoka* fringe belt follows in the section above.

C. Morphological analysis

Topographic reconstruction of Ottoman Dimetoka: the argument

In his seminal work, Veinstein put forward the theory that the existence of the typical Ottoman town lies in the morphology of the north-western Anatolian and Balkan cities. He encapsulated the common characteristics of the group in: a) easily identifiable continuous great axes, b) straighter and longer dead-end streets and c) less densely settled habitat. More importantly, he concluded that “*there existed an original urban type, halfway between the Arabic and the Western towns; and if this analysis is confirmed from future studies, then the term—Ottoman town—will be legitimately used to refer to this type*”.¹²⁵

In this section it will be argued how the first substantial urban conquest of the Ottomans in the Balkans complies with this normative paradigm. At the same time, an elucidation of the factors that influenced the adaptation of such a morphological solution will be also attempted. Towards this objective, we would apply the periodization system for Ottoman urbanism as enunciated in the introduction: the proto-Ottoman phase (reigns of Murad I to Mehmed I), the classical phase (reigns of Murad II to Bayezid II) and the

¹²⁴ Consult Table 1: no. 17 of the appendix.

¹²⁵ His conclusive theory was based on the works of Pinon and Panerai. Veinstein (2008), p. 217.

consolidation phase (reigns of Selim I and Süleyman I).¹²⁶ Our aim is to encapsulate the state of the inferred changes, as viewed at the time of their conception.

In order to make the stages of urban development intelligible, we would need to provide answers to questions related to urban patronage: what were the quarters of Ottoman *Dimetoka*¹²⁷, when were the pious foundations [*vakfs*] of the city established and how was the lay-out of the city affected by their arrangement? The urban *vakfs* of *Dimetoka* in terms of their financial potential and power are all classified within the same category of medium-sized *vakfs* with cash above 2,000 *akçes* and less than 100,000 following the classification suggested by Gerber in his work on the *vakfs* of neighbouring Edirne.¹²⁸ Even the two sultanic *vakfs* set up by Bayezid I and Mehmed I, did not share the magnitude of the genuine economic enterprises as described by İnalçık.¹²⁹

The reconstruction of the proto-Ottoman morphological phase will help us understand the town-planning solution devised under the first sultans in the period prior to the interregnum (1402-1413). The classical phase of the town-plan should be seen as the culminating stage of an evolutionary process that unfolds over the course of a century and a half, subdivided under the reigns of six sultans. We should, though, bear in mind that this evolution cannot be considered as the product of a state orchestrated initiative, but rather a local and instinctive response to functional and pragmatic changes.

Architects were organised officially into the ‘corps of royal architects’ under Bayezid II (1481-1512). Before then, its kernel should have been formed during the building activity exerted after the conquest but architects were submitted under the miscellaneous group of ‘distinguished royal servants’ [*müteferrika*]. By the time of Suleiman I (1520-1566), the corps has been beaurocratically consolidated as an administrative branch of the centralised

¹²⁶ As discussed under the subheading the Analytical Model of the morphological theory and the adapted model section.

¹²⁷ Consult Table 10: A cross-referencing table of *Dimetoka* neighbourhoods of the appendix.

¹²⁸ Gerber (1983), p. 31.

¹²⁹ İnalçık (1969), p. 134.

state that coordinated construction enterprises throughout the empire either through the dispatch of royal architects or the stationing of city architects.¹³⁰

In 16th c., the royal storehouse was provided with two official seats: the city prefect [*şehremini*] and the chief architect [*mi'marbaşı*] that has been compared to the minister of a board of public works. Evidence derived from Bayezid II's book of royal donations suggest that the architectural profession, and thus ascendancy to the positions, was running families until the beaurocratizaiton of the corps under Sinan (Suleiman I).¹³¹

Major provinces began to acquire their chief architects during Sinan's time. These architects were appointed to the periphery in order to realise extensive repair works at the nodal fortifications. For the completion of these projects local craftsmen were levied in return for tax exemptions.¹³² Meanwhile, although the Jerusalem post of chief architect was virtually the preserve of the Nammar family, it seems that it was the *kadi* who notified the sultan in 1586 of the shortage in manpower.¹³³ Another decree dated 1545 informs the *kadi* and warden of the castle of İzdin in Morea that Mimar Kasim was sent with a building supervisor [*emin*] and a secretary [*katib*] to renovate the castle. Upon completion of the project, a second inspection would have been conducted by another architect arriving from the capital. It is further stipulated that if any difference in cost arises from the original assessment, then the warden, *kadi* and building supervisor would have been regarded responsible.

Bayezid II' book of royal donations suggests that there was the custom of appointing a building overseer [*bina naziri*], a building supervisor [*bina emini*] and a building secretary [*bina katibi*].¹³⁴ At *Dimetoka*, the south dedicatory inscription of the Bayezid I mosque

¹³⁰ G. Necipoglu, *The Age of Sina: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2005, chap. 5: Institutional framework of architectural practice, pp. 153-176.

¹³¹ Necipoglu (2005), pp. 153-155.

¹³² Barkan (1943), pp. 396-397.

¹³³ Necipoglu (2005), p. 159.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

dating from 1420 explicitly stated that works towards the completion of the mosque were resumed under the aegis of *kadi Seyyid Ali*.¹³⁵ We should thus seriously consider the possibility that the posts in charge mentioned in the 14th c. *kitabe* are setting the procedural standards, the preservation and formalization of which we can attest in the 16th c. registers.¹³⁶

Periodization: the proto-Ottoman phase

Let us now proceed with the discussion of each phase, starting from the initial project, that of Murad I (1360-1389). His intervention entailed five lines of investment, with the principle aim being the housing of the inner palace [*enderun-i hümayun*] and the treasury [*hazine*] within the palatial premises of the Byzantine citadel.¹³⁷

Second in importance comes the accommodation of the first Ottoman *timariots*, who constituted the garrison of the castle, in the one and only Muslim “Quarter of the Castle” [*mahalle-yi kal'e*]. Although, the *mahalle-yi kal'e* appears only in the 1485 register¹³⁸, the garrison and thus the neighbourhood were systematically maintained until the 16th century (See map 1:B2).

The summary survey of 1520 numbers within the congregation of the Muslim of the castle a constable [*dizdar*], a steward [*kethüda*], 15 members of the garrison [*muhafaza neferan*] and an *imam*.¹³⁹ The detailed survey of 1570 registers 6 timariots as pertaining to the garrison of the *Dimetoka* castle. Amongst these are identified the castle’s constable, the

¹³⁵ “Your humble functionary and most feeble of men *Seyyid Ali Kadi* of *Dimetoka* and the celebrated *Doğan* son of *Abdullah*, May God mend them with fame and esteem, the glorious building was erected by the prominent of engineers and the elected of architects who is a skilful master in his art *Ivaz* son *Bayezid*” Ayverdi (1956), pp. 14-15; Ayverdi (1972), pp. 148, 150; Ayverdi (1982), pp. 193-194.

¹³⁶ Orhonlu states that until the 16th c. in all other cities apart from Istanbul, Edirne and Bursa, the responsibilities assumed by the *Mimarbaşı* office were exercised by the local *kadi*, Orhonlu(1984), pp. 13-17.

¹³⁷ Consult discussion on the inner palace at *Dimetoka* under the subheading “What was the Ottoman use of the Byzantine citadel” of the chapter 1.

¹³⁸ For the 1485 survey consult Table 2: no. 16 of the appendix.

¹³⁹ For the 1520 survey consult Table 6: no. 1 of the appendix.

operator manager of the *tekye* [*tekyeci*], an official of the external treasury at Edirne [*dar hidmet-i hazine'i haric dar Edirne*] and a cavalryman [*sipahi*] assigned the highest income (13,036 *akçes*) among the timariots realised through various villages and a farm.¹⁴⁰ This data elucidate aspects of the basic building blocks of Ottoman provincial administration, the *timar* system. Before the withdrawal of the invasionary army, small garrisons were placed in fortresses of strategic importance. Then cavalrymen [*sipahis*], who composed the main force of the imperial army, were given *timars* in the villages; while those assigned the epithet *hisar-eri* or *kale-eri* constituted the real military force of most 15th c. fortresses and were stationed *intra muros*.¹⁴¹ In this period, the *sipahis* appointed to the Balkan lands were state assigned settlers [*sürgün*] from Anatolia and *vice versa*.¹⁴²

According to the earliest data (1431) on the *timar* system from the province of Albania, out of 335 timariots 16% were Christians amongst whom numbered the Metropolitan and 3 Bishops, 30% were Muslim settlers from Anatolia and the remaining 44% were converted slaves [*gulam*].¹⁴³ Until the reign of Mehmed II, the rates of Christian timariots varied from 3.5% to 50% of the total depending on the area.¹⁴⁴ It becomes therefore understood that in the 15th century the local Greek, Serbian and Albanian military elites were incorporated within the Ottoman *timar* framework, as Christian *timar-erleri* and were not subjected to Islamization by force.¹⁴⁵

Under the *timar* system, the agricultural production and the land, as owned by the state, was assigned to the use of the farmer and the appointed *sipahi*. *Sipahis* were charged

¹⁴⁰ For the 1570 data consult Table 9: no. 6 of the appendix.

¹⁴¹ İnalçık (1954), p. 107.

¹⁴² The state practice of *sürgün* was discussed under the subheading "Colonization practices: spontaneous emigration (*göçebe*) and deportation (*sürgün*)" of the Introduction chapter.

¹⁴³ İnalçık (1987), p. 159.

¹⁴⁴ Evidence is retrieved from central Balkan provinces such as the counties of Krčevo (Montenegro), Vulçitrn and Pristina (Kosovo), Prilep (Fyrom). Ibid., pp. 150-152, 168.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 141.

with collecting the fixed tax from their *çiftlu* peasants, as their income.¹⁴⁶ In addition of serving as local administrators of their fiefs, they were compelled to perform well-defined military functions in return for their rights of usufruct.¹⁴⁷ Their main responsibility involved joining the military campaigns every year, and since an average of 5-6 retainers were usually obtained from each *timar*, they typically served in turns. Apart from that, these pre-conquest timariots enjoyed fiscal autonomy, thanks to which they managed to maintain their estates.¹⁴⁸

In this fashion, *timars* were passed on a hereditary basis from father to son and no privileged treatment of the Muslim *sipahis* was attested. Muslim *timars* could be transferred to Christians, but no Christian *timars* could be transferred to Christians. However, the fact remains that these Christian *sipahis* were gradually Islamized and finally disappeared from the timariot class. This social phenomenon has been attributed to psycho-social incentives which prompted Christians to conversion and has not been explicitly linked to a state policy. It appears that Muslim timariots formed a particularly enticing circle for the Christian military classes during the time of the campaigns.¹⁴⁹

The fourth stage of Murad I's investment entailed the reconstruction and reinforcement of the two critical gates of the Byzantine castle—*Köprü* and *Çarşı*—with towers and a second curtain wall (See map 1:B4, B3).¹⁵⁰ The “Quarter of the Bridgehead” [*mahalle-yi Köprübaşı*] was established adjacent to the reconstructed gate of the bridge with the purpose of further securing the passage and regulating the traffic (See map 1:B6).¹⁵¹

Although, we don't have evidence for the establishment of an early *vakf*, the accommodation

¹⁴⁶ İnalçık (1991), p. 18.

¹⁴⁷ Lowry (1992)³, p. 144.

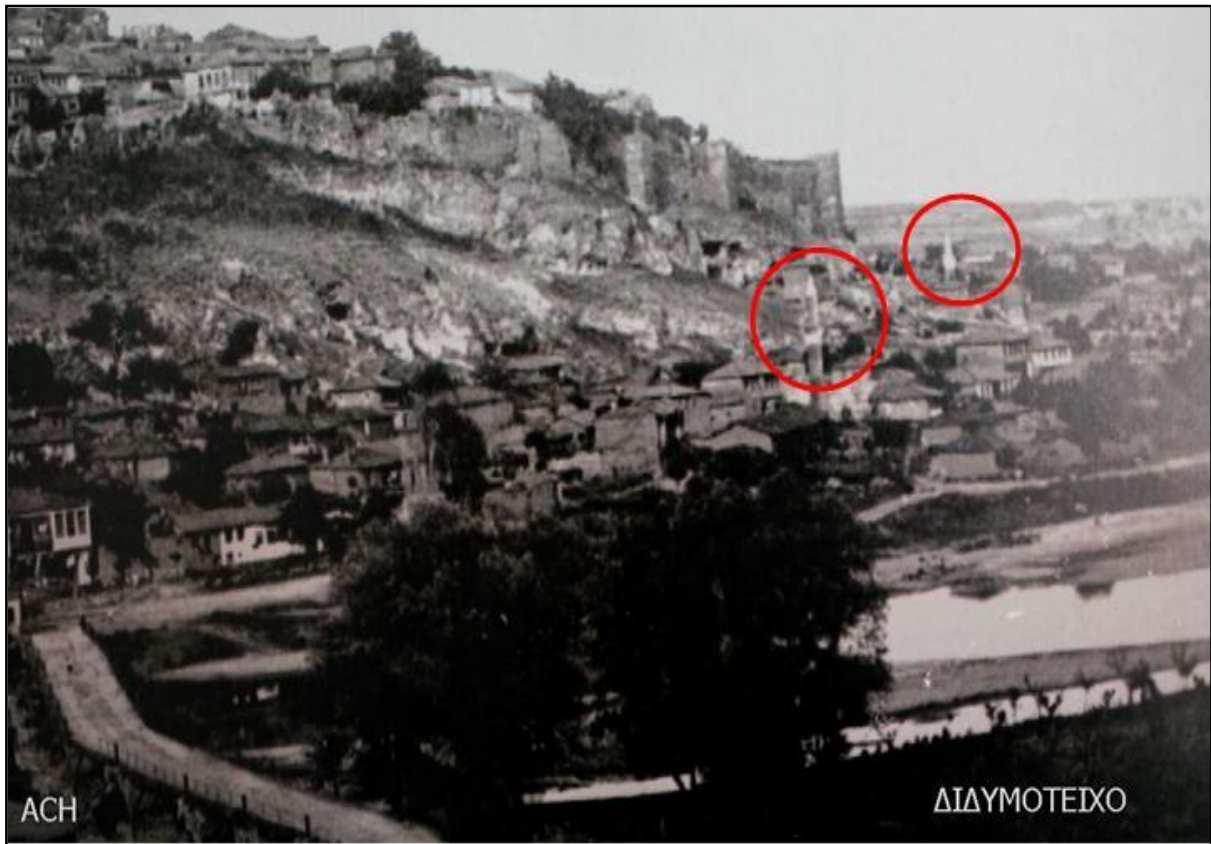
¹⁴⁸ İnalçık (1987), p. 151.

¹⁴⁹ İnalçık (1987), pp. 166-168.

¹⁵⁰ The topographic identification of the quarters relies on the work of Delibalta (2007). The architectural analysis and dating of the *Köprübaşı* gate in Murad I's reign has been discussed under the subheading “Why minor alterations to the Byzantine citadel of Dimetoka” of section B. Ottoman city-planning in a comparative perspective of chapter 1.

¹⁵¹ Consult Table 10: no. 14 of the appendix.

of the *Köprübaşı* community as guardians of a geostrategic position in exchange for the granting of tax exceptions, complies with the customary practices of Ottoman colonization.¹⁵²

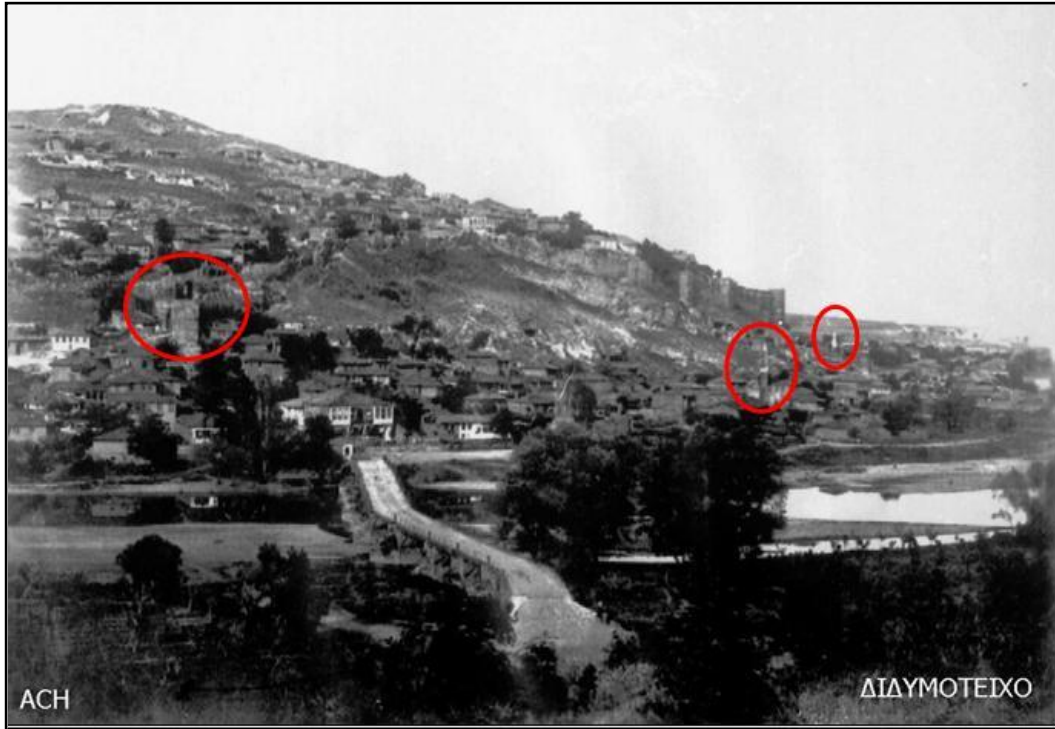


Pl.15: South-east view (1912) of the neighbourhood of *Köprübaşı* from the south bank of *Kızıl Deli* tributary depicting the minarets of *Cercer* and *Abdal Cüneyid* meşcids.

The fifth stage of Murad I's investment lies in the endowment of the first *zaviye* in the town that of the *Ahi Abdal Cüneyd*.¹⁵³ The *zaviye* was ensconced within the boundaries of the eponymous quarter, which was to be found to the south of the *Çarşı kapısı* (See map 1:B5; pls. 15-18). From this angle is also visible the extension of the *Y axis*, as shown on the reconstructed map.(See Pl. 1)

¹⁵² Sentürk (1993), p. 90.

¹⁵³ Consult Table 10: no. 1 of the appendix.



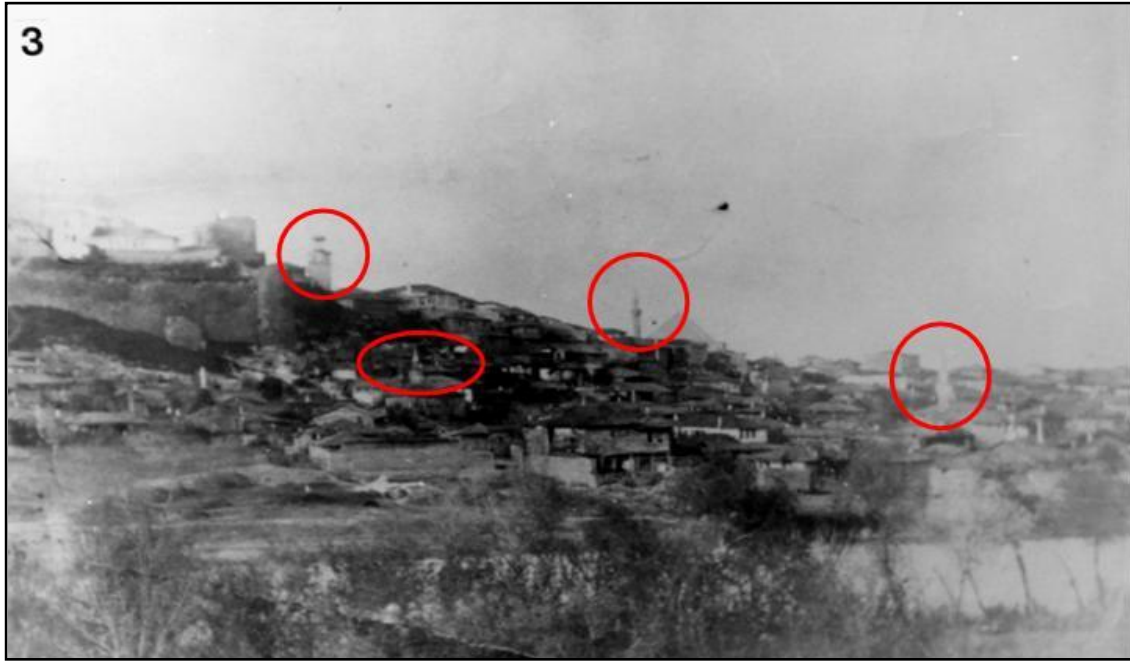
Pl. 16: Another south-east view (1912) of the neighbourhood of *Köprübaşı* from the south bank of *Kızıl Deli* tributary depicting the *Köprübaşı kapısı* and the minarets of *Cercer* and *Abdal Cüneyd* mescids.



Pl. 17: Detail from panoramic picture depicting the neighbourhoods of *Köprübaşı* and *Debbağlar*.

Therefore, it becomes clear that apart from the use of the palace quarters by the sultan and his court until 1369, when the Edirne palace was completed and the official transfer of the court was realized¹⁵⁴, the first Ottomans were settled outside the walls by the north bank of the river in what would evolve into the artisanal zone of the city. The artisanal dimension derives from the second name of the quarter as that of the leather tanners [*mahalle-yi debbağlar, nam-ı diğer Abdal Cüneyd*].

¹⁵⁴ İnalçık (2008), p. 157.



Pl. 18: South-east view of the *Cercer*, *Abdal Cüneyd* and *Karagöz Bey* neighbourhoods; the two frontal circles point to the *Abdal Cüneyid* and *Karagöz Bey* mescids, while the ones in the background point to the clock tower and the minaret of the mosque of Bayezid I respectively.

This “double consecration” relates with the social forces that the first Ottomans managed to mobilize towards the colonization of Thrace, such as the colonizing dervishes and the *ahis*. The critical parameter of *ahis*’ life and polity consists in the settled character and the artisanal basis of their comradeship which was mainly constituted of craftsmen and evolved into the rule of guilds in the newly founded urban hubs of the Anatolian principalities.¹⁵⁵ In this sense, they not only set the basis for the repopulation of the newly conquered areas through the organization and systematization of the artisanal production and commercial activities, but also regulated the relations between producers and producers-consumers. It becomes therefore understood why the first artisanal communities in early Ottoman *Dimetoka*, namely, the leather-tanners [*debbağlar*] and the jewellers [*kuyumcular*] were developed around the *zaviyes* of *Abdal Cüneyd* and *Ahi Denek* respectively.

¹⁵⁵ The role of the *ahis* as agents of sedentarization and promulgation of the Turkish culture extends from the fields of religious and spiritual guidance to issues of daily hygiene and housekeeping. Çağatay (1974), pp. 31, 101-107, 111-132.

The earliest archival data on the *zaviye* are retrieved from the *vakf* inventory of the 1485 survey which reads: “the *vakf* of the *zaviye* of *Abdal Cüneyd* was endowed by Murad I with a piece of land allocated at the suburbs of the city of *Dimetoka*. Until today, *Abdal Cüneyd*’s granddaughter administers the *zaviye*, but no edicts [of proprietorship] were shown”. The amount of 396 *akçes* was set aside for the upkeep of the *tekye*. This was secured from reserved meadows [*çayir-i hassa*], the tithe on vineyards [*öşr-i bağat*] and other miscellaneous revenue sources [*sayir-i cihat*].¹⁵⁶ Still, the analytic breakdown of the quarter shows that from the 38 taxable households only two are registered as *debbağ* and a third one from the quarter of *Burak*.¹⁵⁷ Obviously, by the 1480s almost 120 years after the first formation of the leather- tanners’ guild their activity in the city had most probably been relocated. In the 1519 register, an explicit reference on the *zaviye* being a *Bektaşî* one makes its appearance within the quarter entry and further stipulates that “the dervishes *Sersam Baba*, *Derviş Mustafa*, *Kara Abdal*, *Derviş Cüneyd*, *Hacı Hasan Cüneyd* and *Abdal Cüneyd* would receive exemption from the ‘*avariz* tax according to a renewed imperial edict, which is to be found in their possession. By 1519, the revenues of the *zaviye* reached the amount of 790 *akçes* which was generated from vineyards of 170 *dönüm* and 15 reserved meadows in the vicinity of the city.”¹⁵⁸

During Bayezid I’s reign (1389-1401), the commercial and administrative zone of *Dimetoka* came into formation along the suburban artery which evolved into the processional road or *çarşıya*. His involvement in the town-planning is of crucial importance, since with his endowment of the most prominent *vakfs* in the city—his *medrese* and his mosque—, he practically constructed the spinal axis of the Ottoman city. As discussed above, under Murad I the first settlement outside the castle occupied the southern terrain extending from the *çarşı*

¹⁵⁶ For the Ottoman transcription consult Table 3: no. 11 of the appendix; Gökbilgin (1952), p. 174; Barkan (1942), p. 338; Ayverdi (1982), p. 195.

¹⁵⁷ For the breakdown of the *Abdal Cüneyd* quarter in 1485 consult Table 2: no. 1 of the appendix; for the quarter of *Burak* consult Table 2: no. 3 of the appendix.

¹⁵⁸ For the transcriptions consult Table 4: no. 13 and Table 5: no. 3.

kapısı. Under Bayezid I, the opposite side north of the *Çarşı kapısı* area was being developed with the quarters of the *Medrese* [*mahalle-yi medrese*], Jewellers [*mahalle-yi kuyumcular*] and the Mosque [*mahalle-yi cami'i*]. At this point, it would only suffice to say that these three quarters were arranged along the main axis of *çarşıya* (axis Y), as can be attested through the reconstructed map (See map 1: C8, C7, C9).

The first quarter to occupy the north fringes of the *çarşıya* at the level of *Çarşı kapısı* was the “Quarter of the *Medrese*” [*mahalle-yi medrese*] (See map 1: C8 and pls. 19-21).¹⁵⁹ This evolved around the *vakf* of the *medrese* of Mehmed Çelebi, which, based on an entry from the 1519 survey, was not actually founded by Mehmed I (1413-1421), but by Bayezid I (1389-1401).¹⁶⁰



Pl.19: The springing of the *çarşıya* at the height of *Çarşı Kapusu* separating the northern quarter of *Medrese* from *Saat Külesi* and the southern quarter of Abdal Cüneyid. Shot of 1912 taken from the *şerefe* of Mehmed Çelebi mosque.

¹⁵⁹ For the cross-referencing of the quarter consult Table 10: no. 4.

¹⁶⁰ For the transcription consult Table 5: no. 9 of the appendix.



Pl. 20: View of the paved *carşıya* at the height of the *Medrese* quarter (right side) facing at the *Çarşı Kapusu* and *Saat Kulesi*.



Pl. 21: South-west view of the city taken from the minaret of *Mehmed Çelebi* mosque depicting the open market space westwards from the mosque and the adjoinment of the two axes of the city Y and X1 before *Bazarlu Beğ* quarter.

A first reference to “the *vakf* of *medrese* and *mescid* from the city of *Dimetoka*” is provided in the 1456 survey according to which, its upkeep was secured through urban, real estate revenues amounting to 9,615 *akçes*. These resources included a *hammam* generating an income of 7,700 *akçes* quarterly, rents from 6 shops in the *bazar* of the city amounting to 350

akçes, rents from the *kervansaray* of *Dimetoka* accruing 255 *akçes* per year and finally, rents from 34 shops within the *Kapan [Hanı]* and the *kervansaray* of Edirne producing 1,255 *akçes* per year.¹⁶¹ By 1485 the revenues of the foundation were considerably reduced (5,927 *akçes*) and needed to be adjusted back to 10,777 *akçes* by the time of the 1519 survey. It should be noticed that after 1519 the revenues were being secured from the collection of the poll tax from the village of *Ilica*.¹⁶²

The “Quarter of the Jewellers” [*mahalle-yi kuyumcular*] developed around the *zaviye* of *Ahi Denek* (See map 1: C7).¹⁶³ The archival entry on the *vakf* of the *zaviye* from the 1519 survey elucidates many questions generated by discrepancies arising from the professional breakdown of the neighbourhood entries. According to this source: “the *vakf* of the *zaviye* of *Ahi Denek* was to be found in the neighbourhood of the Butchers, or alternatively named of the Jewellers in the city of *Dimetoka*; the aforementioned *zaviye* was erected by sultan Bayezid I, who further endowed the *vakf* with a *başhane* within the market of *Dimetoka*, which at that moment (1519) was in the hands of *Ahi Kasim*”.¹⁶⁴

This explains primarily, why 10% of the professionals in the survey of 1485 were butchers, while only the 5% were jewellers or related professionals in a neighbourhood which in all references is cited as the “Quarter of the Jewellers”.¹⁶⁵ Secondly, this is the quarter with the highest rate of converts (64%) generated in the interim between 1485 and 1519, which can be attributed to the function of the *zaviye*, the impact of which remained strong

¹⁶¹ For the transcription consult Table 1: no. 4 of the appendix.

¹⁶² For the 1485 data consult Table 3: no. 3; for the 1519 data consult Table 5: no. 9. *Gökbilgin* supports that the 1485 entry refers to the *Çelebi medrese* within the castle of Edirne and not to that in the town of *Dimetoka*. In my opinion, the cross-examination of the 1453 with the 1519 data clarifies that the *medrese* under question was the *Çelebi medrese* at *Dimetoka*, which has been initially endowed by Bayezid I. Besides, *Gökbilgin* had previously misplaced the *Oruç Paşa medrese* too and located it at Edirne, against *Hibri Efendi* and *Evliya*'s accounts. *Gökbilgin* (1952), p. 282.

¹⁶³ For the breakdown of the quarter in 1485 consult Table 2: no. 9.

¹⁶⁴ For the transcription consult Table 5: no. 5; Barkan (1942), p. 338; *Gökbilgin* (1952), pp. 190-191: He is suggesting alternative readings of the name as *Dönük*, *Dinek*, *Döğün*; Ayverdi (1982), p. 195.

¹⁶⁵ For the cross-referencing of the quarter consult Table 10: no. 9.

until the second half of 16th c. In the 1568 survey 10 households out of 32 consisted of new converts (31%).¹⁶⁶

The same confusing situation as with regards to the identity of the founder applies to the “Quarter of the Mosque” [*mahalle-yi cami'i*], which developed around the Mehmed Çelebi mosque.¹⁶⁷ We know that the mosque was not endowed by Mehmed I (1413-1421), but earlier by Bayezid I (1389-1401). In the 1485 and 1519 registers, the quarter appears under the heading “Quarter of the Mosque” [*mahalle-yi cami'i*], while in the 1568 and 1570 registers it is referred to as “the quarter of the old mosque of the deceased and who his sins have been forgiven Bayezid Han, may the mercy of God be upon him” [*mahalle-yi cami'i-yi atik-i merhum ve mağfurun lehu Yıldırım Bayezid han 'aleyhi al-rahmetu ve al-mağfired*].¹⁶⁸

The “Quarter of the Mosque” is located opposite the “Quarter of the Jewellers” and in



Pl. 22: East view of the city from the castle, where the quarters of the mosque, of the Jewellers and *Bazarlu Bey* can be discerned (after 1950s)

¹⁶⁶ For the breakdown of the quarter in 1568 consult Table 7: no. 10 and in 1570 consult Table 8: no. 10.

¹⁶⁷ Consult analysis under subheading “The Bayezid mosque” of the current chapter.

¹⁶⁸ For transcription of the evidence consult Table 2: no. 8; Table 4: no. 6; Table 7: no. 11; Table 8: no. 11.

this sense, it concludes the formation of *Dimetoka*'s commercial zone along the pivotal axis of *çarşıya* (See map 1: C9 and pls 18, 1, 22-24).¹⁶⁹



Pl. 23: Earlier shot from the same angle of the picture 22 when the *Dimetoka Rüştiye* and *Idadiye* buildings were still standing.



Pl. 24: North-west view of the city taken from the south bank of *Kızıl Deli*. It can be discerned the *Karagöz Bey* quarter, the *Mehmed Çelebi Mosque* and at far west side the *Abdal Cüneyid* quarter.

The earliest archival reference is provided by the 1485 survey citing the “*vakf* of the mosque of *Dimetoka*, as being currently in the possession of the preacher”. The revenues of

¹⁶⁹ For the cross-referencing of the quarter consult Table 10: no. 8.

the *vakf* are amounted to just 570 *akçes* and they derived from a vineyard at the borders of the city (of 130 *dönüm*), which is confirmed by *Mevlana* son of an *ahi* as being in the possession of the *hatib*.¹⁷⁰

Finally, the *vakf* which was most likely endowed in the last years of Bayezid I's reign (1389-1401) and developed into a quarter [*mahalle-yi Oruç Bey*] (See map 1: D10) during the subsequent period of the interregnum (1402-1413) is the *vakf* foundation of *Oruç Bey* [*Oruç Paşa*] (See map 1: C10).¹⁷¹ It should be stated that in the absence of the deed of trust, the recovered archival data point to its foundation during the interregnum period, while historiographic sources and archaeological evidences indicate a dating during Bayezid I's reign.

Although, the founder appears in the first four registers (including the 1456 one) as *Oruç Bey*, in the last two he is named as *Oruç Paşa*. However, it should be realized that we are dealing with the same *vakf* since its upkeep was secured through the same resources [villages of *Prangi* and *Copanlu*].¹⁷² The 1456 entry on the freehold [*mülk*] of the deceased surveyor [*yazıcı*] *Oruç Bey* states that the freehold was to be found in the hands of *Hacı Mehmed*, son of *Ahmed*, son of 'Ali Bey, son of *Oruç Bey*. An imperial order bearing the cipher of the exalted sultan (Mehmed II) was issued. The *vakf* was secured through income deriving from *Copanlu* and *Prangi* villages and its accrued revenues had risen from 3,728 *akçes* in 1456 to 9,405 by 1519.¹⁷³ In the 1485 survey the aforementioned freehold is registered as the charitable foundation of *Oruç Paşa*'s descendants. The entry explains that during Mehmed II's reign, the *vakf* was confiscated and dispersed in landholdings [*timars*], while its deed of trust was seized and lost. Still, the deed of ownership [*mülkiyet*] was found

¹⁷⁰ For the transcription consult Table 3: no. 9.

¹⁷¹ For the cross-referencing of the quarter consult Table 10: no. 6.

¹⁷² For the 1453 survey consult Table 1: no. 3; for the 1485 survey consult Table 2: no. 6 and Table 3: no. 1; for the 1519 survey consult Table 4: no. 1 and Table 5: no. 1; for the 1520 survey consult Table 6: no. 2; for the 1568 survey consult Table 7: no. 15; for the 1570 survey consult Table 8: no. 15.

¹⁷³ For the 1453 data consult Table 1: no. 3; for the 1485 data consult Table 3: no. 1 and for the 1519 data consult Table 5: no. 1.

written in an old register. The hereditary status of the freehold was granted by sultan Bayezid II and an imperial edict was dispatched to the deputies of the county [*kaza*], as a result of which, the descendants of *Oruç Paşa* were named as the beneficiaries of the endowment.¹⁷⁴ The above details are also repeated in the 1519 survey.¹⁷⁵

The legal precedent established in the above encapsulates glimpses of Ottoman landholding history in its assumed form as a constant struggle between the absolutist state and the private interests for the control over agricultural lands, which constituted the primary form of capital formation or state finances.¹⁷⁶ Absolute property ownership for the subjects of the empire was not often recognised, while in light of the legal dictum of the sultan who enjoyed the “ownership” of the entire realm, confiscation of subjects’ possessions as the ultimate sanction was never far away.¹⁷⁷ The monarch could eliminate individuals and confiscate their wealth with ease in an attempt to curb the landholding elite and to consolidate absolute political power. Benefiting from changing circumstances, after confiscating freeholds and *vakfs* from the local *beys* in Anatolia and the Balkans, the state dispersed them into *timars* and thus reclaimed them as state lands [*miri*]. These reforms in the public expenses sector were accommodated through concomitant institutional practices such as the requirement of renewing the deeds of trust upon every dynastic succession and the conducting of thorough inspections before the compilation of the imperial land surveys. The most systematic of all these highly confiscatory policies was introduced in Rumeli by Mehmed II after the conquest of Istanbul and caused strong reactions; the confiscated lands were returned to their owners by Bayezid II.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ For the 1485 data consult Table 3: no. 1; Gökbilgin (1952), pp. 246-247.

¹⁷⁵ For the 1519 data consult Table 5: no.1.

¹⁷⁶ İnalçık (1991), pp. 17-35.

¹⁷⁷ Keyder (1991), p. 11.

¹⁷⁸ Barkan in this article discussed the role of the “agrarian question” in the political struggle of the first sultans against the landed aristocracy; he explained how the institution of the hereditary landed property [*malikane*] evolved and what its common distinguishing properties were. Barkan (1980), p. 282.

So who was *Oruç Bey* and when was his quarter established? Since the 1456 entry presents a lineage of three generations, we have to estimate that at least 60 years had elapsed between the initial endowment of the *vakf*. This track of thought takes us back to the beginning of the century and thus to the period of the interregnum. Indeed, two personalities can be recovered under such a name and both are related with the close circle of Süleyman Çelebi. One is *Oruç Bey* son of *Şeyhi Hacı Ali* and spouse of *Fatma Hatun* and the second is *Oruç Bey* son of *Kara Timurtaş Paşa*.

For the first case, the data is retrieved from a second entry in the 1456 survey, which confirms that the freehold of *Mahmud Çelebi* son of *Fatma Hatun* and *Oruç Bey*, who was the son of *Şeyhi Hacı Ali*, became a *mülk* after an edict granted from Süleyman Çelebi who is known to have contested the throne between the years 1402-1411.¹⁷⁹ The personality of *Fatma Hatun* is instrumental for the narrative since only two princesses bore that name in the period under examination: the daughters of Yıldırım Bayezid (1389-1401) and Murad II (1421-44/1446-51). For the first one, we know that after the battle of Ankara, she was brought by her brother *Emir Süleyman* from Bursa to Edirne. When Süleyman Çelebi made a treaty with *Byzantium*, he sent his brother *Kasim* with their sister *Fatma* over to Istanbul, in his attempt to provide his guarantee for the agreement. *Fatma Hatun* remained at Istanbul until the reign of Mehmed I (1413-1421); she was then brought to his side and married to one of his *beylerbeys*. After her death, she was buried in the mausoleum of *Orhan Bey* at Bursa.¹⁸⁰

Indeed, the *Sicill-i Osmani* notifies that *Oruç Paşa* was the son of *Timurtaş Paşa* and companion of Süleyman Çelebi at the time of *Timur*'s attack. During the fratricide period he took sides with Mehmed I (1413-1421). He was appointed *Beylerbey* of Anatolia in 1423 by

¹⁷⁹ For the transcription consult Table 1: no. 1.

¹⁸⁰ The second *Fatma Hatun*, who does not relate to our discussion, is buried adjacent to her father's, Murad II, mausoleum according to a charter of the deceased buried in Bursa's mausoleums. *Babinger* claimed that she was married to *Zağanos Mehmed Paşa*. But this should be wrong, since the documentation suggests that she was married to the son of *Çandarlı İbrahim Paşa*, *Mahmud Çelebi*. Uluçay (1980), pp. 26, 36.

Murad II and subsequently ascended to the vizierate. He died in 1426.¹⁸¹ Therefore, there is some evidence to suggest that patron was *Oruç Paşa* son of *Kara Timurtaş Paşa* and spouse of *Fatma Hatun* and that the entry on the *mülk* of *Mahmud Çelebi* was erroneous about the identity of his father.

Still, although the activity of *Oruç Paşa* can be tracked down in the interregnum and the subsequent periods, two of his monuments, the *medrese* and the *hammam*, date from the last years of Bayezid I's reign. Apart from these two monuments, his *türbe* is still extant and allows the topographic identification of his quarter, as adjacent to the funerary *enceinte* at the north-eastern fringes of the city (See map 1: D10).¹⁸² This is where we should place his *medrese* too, while his *hammam* [*fısıltı hammamı*] was located by the river bank in the neighbourhood of the *Cercer* (See map 1: 18).¹⁸³

The erection of the no longer surviving *medrese* of *Oruç Paşa* at *Dimetoka* is confirmed by *Evliya*, who recounts that “there are also four *medreses* of the learned amongst which the *medrese* of Bayezid Han and the *medrese* of *Oruç Paşa*”.¹⁸⁴ *Hibri Efendi*, who served as a professor of the *medrese* in the late thirties of the 17th century, passes on the information that the *medrese* was built in 1400-1401 and the *hammam* which was providing subsistence for the *medrese* was completed a year earlier in 1398-1399.¹⁸⁵ Indeed, the above is also corroborated by the 1519 survey, where it is recorded that the “*vakf* of *Oruç Paşa medrese* was secured through the following resources: a vineyard (of 3 *dönüm*), a share of the *hammam* which was to be found in the city of *Dimetoka* with an undefined annual income and shops”.¹⁸⁶ Since, the annual income of the *medrese* is not provided we are not able to estimate the financial potency of the foundation. However, judging from the reputable

¹⁸¹ *Sicill-i Osmanî* (1996), vol. 4, pp. 12, 81.

¹⁸² Delibalta (2007), pp. 78-84.

¹⁸³ Delibalta (2007), pp. 153-157.

¹⁸⁴ For the translation consult appendix *Evliya Çelebi* on *Dimetoka*, pp. 327-35.

¹⁸⁵ Baltacı (1976), pp. 107-108; Kiel (1981), p. 135.

¹⁸⁶ For the transcription consult Table 5: no. 2; Gökbilgin (1952), p. 247.

scholars that taught in the *medrese* during the 16th century, such as *Taşköprü-Zade Alaeddin Ali* and *Abdulfettah Efendi*, it can be deduced that it belonged to the highest echelon of academic excellence of the time.¹⁸⁷

Cross-examination of the data on the quarter suggests that it was the only quarter to have vanished from the urban scenery of *Dimetoka*, since in 1570 it numbered just 3 households and even the *imam* came from the *Bazarlu Bey* quarter.¹⁸⁸ A striking issue which emerges from the 1485 survey is the high rate of slaves with 7 out of the 28 households being owned by slaves, amongst which the senior slave of the aforementioned *Oruç Bey* was one.¹⁸⁹

The foundation of an acclaimed educational institution, such as the *medrese* of *Oruç Paşa* in conjunction with the 25% of its residents being able to afford slaves is significant in light of the fact that: “*the market value of slaves was at a level which not everyone could afford. Slaves were a means of display for wealthy families and the leading men of the state and constituted the swarms of servants, guards and other attendants, who by their presence enhance the importance of their masters*”.¹⁹⁰ This indicates that the quarter of *Oruç Bey* constituted *Dimetoka*'s aristocratic suburb during Bayezid I's era, which disappeared from the urban scenery due to the strategraphic redistribution contrived in Selim II' reign (1566-1574).

It should be therefore understood that the very infrastructure which unveiled the Ottoman character to the city consisted in reinstating the commercial and religious umbilicus outside the city walls under the tripartite scheme of *citadel-mosque-çarşı* should be considered as a proto-Ottoman investment realized under the auspices of Bayezid I. More importantly, the most revealing component of the morphological systemization alluding to the central state's ascendancy over centrifugal tendencies was encoded in the construction of

¹⁸⁷ Baltacı (1976), p. 108.

¹⁸⁸ For a cross-referencing of the quarter consult appendix Table 10: no. 8; For the 1570 data consult Table 8: no. 1.

¹⁸⁹ For the data consult Table 2: no. 6.

¹⁹⁰ Sahillioğlu (1985), p. 47.

the centripetal axis of *çarşıya*. This should be understood as a chorotaxic index which regulated the infrastructural development through the spatial acculturation of the suburban terrain.

Another expression of Bayezid I's social policy, which although implemented in the rural areas of *Dimetoka*'s hinterland had a beneficial impact on the metropolis too, derives from the act of securing provision for the sailors and deck-hands working in the *Meriç* River under the legislative framework of the *vakf*. The entry of the *vakf* of sultan Yıldırım Bayezid Han in the *vakf* inventory of the 1485 survey indicates that the sailors and deck-hands were made exempt from the tax of *avariz* through the grand of an imperial edict. In addition, the deck-hands were meant to receive the income of 1,833 *akçes* generated by the village of *Sovaklar Mehmedi*; a stipulation, which was however, not included in written form in the relevant imperial certificate.

A second entry on the *vakf* of sultan *Yıldırım Bayezid* from the 1485 survey informs that the sailors were registered since the time of Bayezid I and that the deck-hands at the passage of the village *Prangi* had in their hands a deed of trust [*vakfiyye*] from previous sultans. At that moment (1485), the *vakf* was in the hands of *Mustafa* son of *Bayramlu*, *Mustafa* slave of *Ibrahim* and *Şah Veli* son of *Mustafa*, who were offering their services at the *Prangi* ford over the *Meriç* River, as facilitators of the commuting traffic.¹⁹¹

Periodization: the Classical phase

Let us now proceed with the discussion of the classical phase, during which two main tendencies can be observed: firstly, the formed clusters began to receive a buffering zone which would evolve into the urban fringes through the peripheral settlement of troublesome

¹⁹¹ For the transcription consult Table 3: nos. 4-5; by 1519 the income of the *vakf* was reduced to 1296 *akçes*. As shown in the Table 5: no.7.

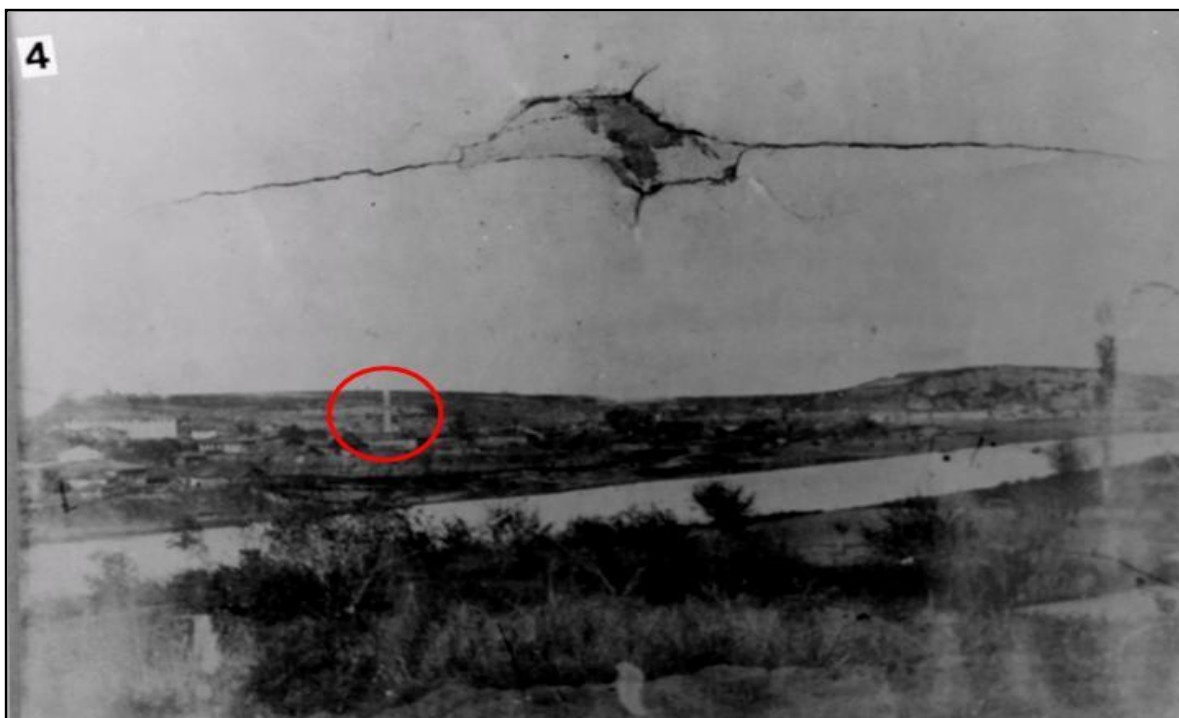
ethnic groups [*Magyars, Tatars*]. Secondly, the addition of new quarters realized the expansion of the commercial zone towards the south bridge; an evolution which can be visually conceptualized through the emergence of the new axes *X1* and *Y2* (See map 1). The axis *X1* should be considered as a pre-tracked route, since it constituted the *çarşıya* of the Byzantine castle. Still, the Ottoman contribution lies in the suburban expansion of the axis and in its merging with a new appended chorotaxic unit, which allowed access to the south bridge. The classical era can be discerned in the reigns of Murad II (1421-44/1446-51), Mehmed II (1444-46/1451-81) and Bayezid II (1481-1512).



Pl. 25: South-east view of the city showing the *Y2* axis to the south bridge, as in picture 24 but taken this time from the balcony of the minaret of *Mehmed Çelebi*. It shows clearly the minaret of *Bazarlu Bey* mescid and the track of the road leading to the south bridge before the *Karagöz Bey* mescid.

The “Quarter of *Karagöz Bey*” [*mahalle-yi Karagöz Bey*]¹⁹² along with that of *Hocaca* defined the south sub-route *Y2* and thus constituted the south entrance to the town. (See map 1:E11, 16 and pls. 18, 24-26)

¹⁹² For the cross-referencing of the quarter consult Table 10: no.2.



Pl. 26: North-east view of the city showing the *Karagöz Bey* quarter from 1912.

Karagöz Bey, after obtaining a property grant from Murad II, erected an *imaret* in the city of *Dimetoka*.¹⁹³ The 1456 survey registers the freehold of *Karagöz Bey* as being at that moment in the hands of ‘*Acem Hoca*, who possessed an imperial edict and a deed of trust issued by the sultan (Murad II). He expended for the upkeep and the repairs of the *imaret* in his attempt to prevent it from collapsing. The assigned income reached the amount of 2,495 *akçes* in 1456 and it was generated from incomes endowed to the *vakf* from: a) *Hekimoğlu* village, b) a mill and c) 12 shops within the *bazaar* of *Dimetoka*, which were however in a ruinous state.¹⁹⁴

The 1485 survey makes no reference to an *imaret* but to a *tekye* owned by the *vakf* and alludes to the same statutory evolution as discussed with reference to the *Oruç Bey vakf*. According to this, the *vakf* of *Karagöz Bey* was a freehold property, which was bought by a certain *Hekimoğlu*. He expended sums for the *tekye* of the *vakf*, which was situated in the

¹⁹³ *Gökbilgin* appears to be positive on this being a Murad II’s property grant to *Karagöz Bey*. *Gökbilgin* (1952), p. 289.

¹⁹⁴ For the 1453 entry consult Table 1: no. 2.

city of *Dimetoka*. Then, under Mehmed II trusts and freeholds were confiscated and dispersed into landholdings [*timars*]; while Bayezid II reinstated the deeds of trusts to a state of validity.¹⁹⁵ In 1485, the subsistence of the *vakf* was secured through a single resource, that of *Hekimoğlu* village, which provided the amount of 4,042 *akçes*.

In the 1519 survey, there are two *vakfs* registered under the patronage of *Karagöz Bey*, the first is that of the *mescid* of the *Karagöz Bey* quarter, which is co-registered along with the *vakf* of *Ali Bey* and the second is that of the *zaviye* of *Karagöz Bey*.¹⁹⁶ The upkeep of the *mescid* was secured through the income of 2,000 *akçes*, which was collected from 114 shops in the city of *Dimetoka*, rents in cash and grants of 500 *akçes* from *Abdi Çelebi Hatun* and *Ayşe Hatun*; the accrued capital was entrusted to the hands of the *imam* of the *mescid*. The *zaviye* was maintained by the income of 3,788 *akçes*, which was generated by the *Hekimoğlu* village.

For the quarters of the Magyars or *Habib Fakih* [*mahalle-yi Habib Fakih nam-ı diğer Macarlar*] and that of the Tatars [*mahalle-yi Tatarlar*], due to the absence of archival data elucidating the foundation history of the relevant *vakfs*, we would need to track down their establishment in a different way(See map 1: F12-13).¹⁹⁷ The state practice of forced deportation [*sürgün*] was intended to transplant ethnic groups [*Yürüks, Tatars, Magyars*] to diverse parts of the empire for political and/or colonizing purposes. A broad infusion of Tatar crowds was recorded in Rumeli since *Mehmed Çelebi*'s time and kept on through later periods too. During Murad II and Mehmed II' reigns Tatars were arriving in Rumeli as guilds of craftsmen, which served as justification for their urban settlement.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, imperial law books from the reign of Mehmed II, record that the largest population of *Yürüks* and Tatars was placed in the hinterlands of *Dimetoka*, *Gümülcine* and *Ferecik* between the

¹⁹⁵ For the 1485 entry consult Table 3: no. 7 and Gökbilgin (1952), p. 268-269; for the 1519 entry consult Table 5: no. 4.

¹⁹⁶ For the 1519 entry consult Table 5: nos. 4, 8; Gökbilgin (1952), pp.289-290;Ayverdi (1982), p. 194.

¹⁹⁷ For the cross-referencing of the quarters consult Table 10: nos. 10, 16.

¹⁹⁸ Aktepe (1953), p. 309.

years 1456-1467¹⁹⁹; thus, the establishment of the Magyars and Tatars quarters can be attributed to Mehmed II's reign.

Finally, during the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512), the *vakfs* of the *mir-i liva* of *Iskenderiye Nasuh Bey* and *Bazarlu Bey*²⁰⁰ were founded and in a sense concluded the formation of the *XI* axis, which was leading to the south bridge (See map 1: G14-15 and pls. 1, 22, 21, 25). This axis evolved into a type of highway along which the *kervansarays* for the travellers and one of the most famous soup-kitchens of the city were to be found. *Evliya* recounts “*the imaret of Nasuh Bey is a lead roofed eatery, where food is cheap for rich and poor. There are also (...) charming commercial hans. Mainly, the lead roofed han of Nasuh Bey is famous. Additionally, there are two kervansarays for travellers*”.²⁰¹

The freehold of *Nasuh Bey*, who served as *mir-i liva* of *Iskenderiye*, was a property grant from his father in law, Bayezid II. *Nasuh Bey* erected his *zaviye* at *Dimetoka*, along with a mosque and an elementary school [*mekteb-hane*] at *Bey* village; and since the *zaviye* bore a dome, it was endowed into a *mescid*. The topographic identification of *Nasuh Bey zaviye* or *imaret* was enabled through a note included within the entry of *Doğan Bey* quarter, commenting on the proximity of the quarter with the *imaret*.²⁰² The freehold was endowed with two villages [*Bey* and *Hacı* or alternatively named *Celtukçı*] which generated the income of 4,760 in 1485, which had increased to 19,261 *akçes* by 1519.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ Gökbilgin (1957), pp. 21-29.

²⁰⁰ For the cross-referencing of the quarters consult Table 10: nos. 13 and 11.

²⁰¹ For translation consult appendix *Evliya Çelebi* on *Dimetoka*, pp. 327-335.

²⁰² For the transcription of the note on the quarter Table7: no. 13.

²⁰³ For the 1485 data consult Table 3: no. 2 and for the 1519 data consult Table 5: no. 10; Gökbilgin(1954), pp. 448-449.

Interpreting town-planning within a constructivist framework

In 1991 Crane argued with regards to Bursa's urbanisation that: "*the various structures that went to make it up were scattered over irregular terrain in an organic manner and that little attempt was made to impose a preconceived and arbitrary plan on the site*".²⁰⁴ The topographic analysis of the early Ottoman cities from the lower Balkans comes to disprove this thesis. The landscape might have dictated the specifics of the planning but there is a conscientious Ottoman response to that, which suggests conceptualisation and systemizing; foremost, when such a conceptualisation is being professed in different case-studies, then it constitutes an Ottoman *modus operandi* or a behavioural pattern. This thesis is discussed in depth at the 'town-planning conception' sections of each chapter. Perhaps, if the site-planning of Bursa was seen as a isolated urban phenomenon, then it could have lead to such a conclusion; but when we add its experience to those already documented from other early Ottoman cities, then the coincidences become too many. Then, the towns begin to emerge as part of an overall pattern endeavoured during the proto-Ottoman era. Therefore, the question remains: can it be argued that a normative spatial pattern is discernible as in the Ottoman cities of the 14th century?

We will attempt to argue that the re-invention of Ottoman *Dimetoka* functions as a normative archetype of an Ottoman town during the proto-Ottoman era which will be reproduced in a series of Balkan towns with a Byzantine kernel and an Ottoman fringe belt. The attested systemic arrangement, which evolved into a pattern of settlement, assumed the form of a stable denominator indicated by a river or a major thoroughfare in relation to which the *çarşıya* was aligned. Pirenne has already discussed how the conditions of nature, such as the terrain conformation or the direction of the river courses, defined the site of the medieval

²⁰⁴ Crane (1991), p. 174.

cities, as the reasons which determined the direction of trade and in this way steered the merchants towards them.²⁰⁵ Still, the Ottoman input lies in the intuitively transformation of the natural parameters into an orchestrated *bricolage* of axes subjugated under the pivotal syntactic value of *çarşıya*.

The geo-reference of the neighbourhoods and the reconstruction of the town's topographic congruity revealed that the clustering of the quarters was conceptualized around the axis *X*—the *Kızıl Deli* river—and axis *Y* the *çarşıya*, which corresponds to the Edirne route. The *çarşıya* functions as the town's spine along which the religious and commercial hubs are developed and where the most prominent architectural features are to be encountered: the *zaviye* of *Abdal Cüneyd*, the clock tower, the Bayezid *medrese*, the *zaviye* of *Ahi Denek*, the Bayezid mosque and the *medrese* of *Oruç Paşa* (See map 1: B5, CD, C8, C7, C9, D10).

As shown on the reconstructive map of Ottoman *Dimetoka* (See map 1), the earliest quarter of the suburban settlement, that of *Abdal Cüneyd*, constitutes the angle point of the *çarşıya* and it has been visualized as the extension of axis *Y*. The fact that we can attest the historical and geographic succession of the quarters of *Abdal Cüneyd*, the *Medrese*, the *Kuyumcular* and the mosque in alignment and not under a chaotic pattern verifies the understanding of a main axis and that this perception was methodically respected by successive generations.

In light of the available data, a highly rationalized chorotaxic perception of spatial hierarchy emerges, which is subjected to an intuitive geometrical adaptation. The intuitive character of the Ottoman landscape enhancement is suggested from the fact that the designation of the *çarşıya* and its sub-routes responds to pre-existent tracks of access. For example the processional road *Y* corresponds to the Edirne route, the sub-route *Y2* over the

²⁰⁵ Pirenne (1925), p. 140.

south bridge to the *Via Egnatia* exit and the *Köprübaşı* sub-route *YI* to the north-west exit. It appears that the Ottoman political objective was to regulate the conditions of access and to control the routes which were creating access. Still, the pre-existent tracks should be thought only as a navigational grid, while the spatial hierarchy of the clusters remains a genuine product of Ottoman conception. Therefore, the resourcefulness of the Ottoman town-planning lies in the attainment of a systemic balance of spatial causality that develops as a response to political objectives.

This inner causality of *Dimetoka* in geo-reference terms can be visualized through the parallel arrangement of the *çarşıya* (axis *Y*) with the *Köprübaşı* sub-route (axis *YI*) and their transversal intersection with the Byzantine processional road of the castle (axis *XI*). The axis *XI* was extended during the classical phase outside the castle with the development of the quarters of *Bazarlu Bey*, *Karagöz Bey* and *Doğan Bey* [*Nasuh Bey*]. The existence of the *XI* axis can be attested from the historical pictures (See pls. 19, 21). The congruent angles generated at the intersection of the transversal *XI* correspond to the *Çarşı* and *Köprübaşı* gates (See map 1:B3, B4) and in that way discern the two diverse operational zones of the city: the religious/commercial (axis *Y*) from the artisanal (axis *X*).

In light of the above, the periodization of *Dimetoka*'s urban development can be conceptualized under two main concentrations: the proto-Ottoman and the classical phases. During the initial phase, the formation of the *çarşıya* functioned as the vehicle of infrastructural development through which the spatial acculturation of the suburban terrain to an Ottoman archetype was achieved. More importantly, the ascription of the core Ottoman character to the city bears the cipher of Bayezid I. The complete form of this axial system emerged only after the 1420s and it should be understood as a reflection of the city's classical phase, whose consolidation we have the chance to follow throughout the 16th c.

Up to this point, the discussion was focused on making the stages of *Dimetoka*'s urban development intelligible and on unveiling the process under which the town deployed its Ottoman cultural armature. However, it needs to be stressed at this point that the aforementioned process presupposes the cognitive jump of the 'nullification' of the walls.²⁰⁶ As discussed above, at *Dimetoka* the Ottomans discontinued the medieval norm of the West by transferring 'the rule of the bourgeois class' outside the walled city; though, in this case the term bourgeois should be employed to contextualize a broader spectrum of urban activities and groupings, alongside the commercial aspect.

In light of the above, the social strategraphy of Ottoman *Dimetoka*, which emerges through the analysis of the suburban quarters, can be divided into the following groups: the military-administrative class or those to whom state authority was delegated [*sipahis, merd-i kal'e*], the *ulema* and the head of the *tarikats* [*imams, ahis, dervishes*], the bourgeoisie engaged in interregional trade and finance and finally guildsmen engaged in local trade and handicrafts [*debbağlar, kuyumcular, cercer*].²⁰⁷

Thus, by re-defining the social synthesis of the "extended suburb", they nullified the very function of the medieval city, as the abode of the feudal class. It appears that in *Dimetoka* Ottoman legitimacy was congruent with the balancing of the control amidst the citadel—as the inherited Seljukid tradition would dictate²⁰⁸—and the suburban terrain, which could secure access to the citadel. Under the Ottoman methods of conquest, the walls turned into a curse, which can be averted only through the filter of the Ottoman fringe belt or *varoş*. In this way, the Ottoman structural addition further reinforced the defensibility of the castle by infiltrating the access routes and canalising control over the citadel.

²⁰⁶ I don't regard Bursa as a pioneer in this evolution because of the walls of the lower castle. This point has been analytically discussed under the subheading "The interpretation of *Dimetoka*'s urban profile within a comparative framework: *Dimetoka-Bursa-Edirne*" of chapter 1.

²⁰⁷ İnalçık (1977), p. 37.

²⁰⁸ Bacharah (1991), p. 112.

The conceptualization of town's lay-out along the main access arteries shows that the Ottomans diverted the *loci* that physically and semantically dominated the city and created a new urban “*umbilicus*”: from the apex to the plane, that is from the castle to the Mehmed Çelebi mosque. In this sense, they diverted the centre of gravity and set a second neuralgic focus point, which practically marginalized the pre-existent centre and re-instated the city under new terms. The signifier of “*Ottomaness*” was encapsulated in the redefinition of what a commanding position was, which assumed visual representation through a two-fold device: the appendage of the suburban fabric (fringe belt) and the introduction of minor interventions to the Byzantine citadel.

D. Demographic fluctuations in *Dimetoka* from mid. 15th to mid. 16th centuries and their interpretation

The use of the Ottoman tax registers towards the elucidation of the demographic history of given areas within the Ottoman Empire has been initially devised by Barkan.²⁰⁹ The tax and population registers, which were compiled every 30-40 years, record the number of adult males residing in all residential units (city, town or village) and state their land properties; based on these data, tax liability was calculated.²¹⁰ The richness of the provided information, with regards to the legal status, the privileges-duties and the demographics of the diverse social classes, allowed historical queries on issues of social stratigraphy to be generated.

²⁰⁹ Barkan (1940-1941), pp. 20-59 and 214-247.

²¹⁰ In the Ottoman Empire the basic *raiyyet* tax paid in principle by every Muslim peasant who owned a *çift*, that is the unit of agricultural land which could be ploughed by two oxen, was the *çift resmi*. A *çift* was determined as from 60 to 150 *dönüms* according to the fertility of the soil. The fractions of this tax can take the form of *nim çift* (half *çift*), *ekinlü bennak* (land less than a half *çift*) or *caba bennak* (married peasant with no land). Barkan (1957), pp. 14, 19; İnalçık (Çift-Resmi); İnalçık (Bennāk)

Furthermore, the material enabled the reconstruction of the fiscal status of certain imperial domains through the denotation of the status of the lands, which constituted the annual revenue sources of these districts. These lands are discerned in imperial domains, fiefs of dignitaries, military fiefs [*timars* ascribed to *sipahis*, *za'ims*], freeholds [*mülks*] and pious foundations [*vakfs*].²¹¹ Last but not least, the multifocal dimension of the information provided through the cadastres enabled their use in research conducted within the fields of historical topography and geography.²¹² As Kolovos has pointed: “*they can provide a basis for the comparative study of the economic and social history of the Ottoman provinces, through the lens of the Ottoman financial administration*”.²¹³

Still, the limitations of the material have been equally stressed. Lowry emphasized their restrictive nature as provincial tax registers for the *timar* system intended for the listing of taxable revenue sources allocated as income for the *timariots*. Because of this targeted function, they fail to record tax-free income generated from private properties, properties attached to *vakfs* or any source of revenue intended for the centre.²¹⁴

The 15th c. evidence

Although, the first surviving, detailed survey on the county [*nahiye*] of *Dimetoka* was conducted between the years 1455 and 1473, it does not offer any information on the breakdown of the urban quarters.²¹⁵ Therefore, we need to turn to the first detailed [*mufassal*] survey that follows from 1485; this provides us with a breakdown of the neighbourhoods, villages, *timars*, *mülks* and *vakfs* of the *Dimetoka* County.²¹⁶ The 16

²¹¹ Barkan(1957), p. 16.

²¹² Barkan (1951-1953), p. 4; Kotzageorgis (2007), pp. 237-239.

²¹³ Kolovos (2007), p. 202.

²¹⁴ Lowry (1992)¹, p. 8; Lowry (1992)⁴, p. 124.

²¹⁵ Consult Table: nos 1-5.

²¹⁶ Consult Tables 2 and 3.

Muslim quarters in 1485²¹⁷ contained a total of 396 adult married male-headed households [hanes]; from this total a 13.0 % share were celibates of tax-paying age and a 12.1 % share was represented by the exempted households.²¹⁸

From the breakdown of the Christian quarters as recorded in the successive surveys it seems that in 1485, they somehow ignored the subdivision into the diverse Christian quarters and they classified all the Christians under the title neighbourhood of the Christians of the castle [*mahalle-yi Gebran-ı kal'e*], which nevertheless, was rectified in the follow up survey from 1520. The Christian quarter of the castle in 1485 contained a total of 113 households among which 7 households headed by widows [*bives*] were included.²¹⁹ Utilizing a hypothetical coefficient of five individuals per adult male headed household as suggested by Barkan²²⁰, it appears that *Dimetoka*'s total population in 1485 comprised of some 2,326 individuals from which 1,772²²¹ were Muslims and 554²²² were Christians.

There can be no doubt that these 554 Christians recorded at *Dimetoka* in 1485 were the descendants of the Christians of Byzantine Didymoteicho, since the city was surrendered in return for certain guarantees for the safety of its inhabitants.²²³ The challenge lies in the determination of the identity and provenance of the Muslim population. In the previous section of the current chapter, the establishment of the Ottoman quarters was conceptualized within the time-frame of a periodization system. If we were to attest the resilience of this

²¹⁷ Consult Table 10.

²¹⁸ Consult Table 13 showing the breakdown of Muslim tax male-headed households, exempted households, celibates of taxpaying age households and converts at *Dimetoka* in 15th and 16th centuries.

²¹⁹ Consult Table 17 showing the breakdown of Christian tax male-headed households, celibates of taxpaying age and widow-headed households at *Dimetoka* in 15th and 16th centuries.

²²⁰ On the use of the coefficient towards the computation of the total I consulted: Barkan (1957), p. 21; Lowry (1992)², p. 52.

²²¹ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 396 total adult male - headed households - 52 celibates of taxpaying age = 344 x 5 = 1720 + 52 {the celibates} = 1772 {Total of Muslims at *Dimetoka* in 1485}. The data used for the computation of the formula are edited in Table 2 and in Tables 10, 11, 13.

²²² The formula utilized in deriving this figure is 113 total adult male - headed households - 1 bachelor of Tax - paying age = 112 x 5 = 560 - 7 {missing adult male figure in widow-headed households} = 553 + 1 {bachelor} = 554 {Total of Christians at *Dimetoka* in 1485}. The data used for the computation of the formula are edited in Table 2 and in Tables 10, 11, 16, 17.

²²³ The circumstances of the conquest are analytically discussed under the subheading "What was the Ottoman use of the Byzantine citadel?" of chapter 1.

system, we would expect to find the highest shares of new-settlers and converts in the quarters of the classical phase²²⁴, which would be extended over the period of approximately 60 years before the conducting of the survey. This notion is based on the hypothesis that quarters founded closer to the 1485 survey, would reflect clearer the identity of their population, when compared to quarters formed during the proto-Ottoman phase.

In topographic terms, this hypothesis would be construed in the concentration of new-settlers and converts groups in the urban fringes [quarters of *Macarlar* and *Tatarlar*] and along the Y2 axis towards the south bridge [quarters of *Karagöz Bey*, *Bazarlu Bey*, *Hocaca*]. For the identification of new settlers, we would need to turn to a resolution devised by Lowry with regards to the population of Selanik in 1478. He supported that the registering of male married Muslims with their proper names and occupations, rather than the most common practice of proper name and patronym suggested forcibly deported settlers.

These new settlers would be called with their profession by their fellows within the micro-environment of the *mahalle*, so as to become easily recognised.²²⁵ Still, it would not be possible to include in this computation the registering of the leather-tanners [*debbağlar*] at the quarter of *Abdal Cüneyd*, of butchers [*kasaban*] and jewellers [*kuyumcular*] at the “Quarter of *Kuyumcular*” and of guides [*kilavuz*] at the “Quarter of the Mosque”. Obviously, these cannot be recognised as new settlers, since, they are the descendents of the first settled communities of Ottomans, which flourished through the commercial and artisanal infrastructure developed under the guilds and the operation of the *zaviyes*.

Indeed, cross-examination of the data with the location of the quarters on the map has revealed that the population of *Hocaca* quarter (See map 1: 16), which constitutes the eastern boundary of the Y2 axis, contained a total of 53 households out of which, a 16% share were

²²⁴ For periodization purposes the classical phase would be discerned into the reigns of Murad II (1421-44/1446-51), Mehmed II (1444-46/1451-81) and Bayezid II (1481-1512).

²²⁵ Lowry (1992)², p. 52.

converts and another 16% share were professionals.²²⁶ More importantly, the raw figures of these two groups are the highest in the entire 1485 survey. These rates conjured with the marginal location of the quarter reconfirm that the quarter was established close to 1485, since the quarter was still receiving new settlers. The next quarter configuring the same synthesis is that of the Magyars with a 25% share of professionals and 10% of converts, followed by the quarter of the Tatars with a 26% share of professionals and *Bazarlu Bey* with a 14%.²²⁷ It is not accidental that in the first three quarters, there is at least one reference to a male Muslim with the patronym *Anadolu*, as a new settler from the Anatolian lands.

An interesting aspect of the demographic synthesis as emerging from the 1485 survey is the institution of slavery. There are 32 slave households recorded which vanish after 1485.²²⁸ As discussed above²²⁹, some of these 32 slaves can be explicitly associated with the inner palace as accommodated within the citadel; therefore, their extinction from 1519 onwards could possibly point to the period when the palace had stopped being used.

The 16th c. evidence

The data from the second in the extant series of *tapu tahrirs*, dated from 1519, come to corroborate what has been previously attested by Barkan, İnalcık and Lowry.²³⁰ A decrease in the number of Muslims at *Dimetoka* occurred in the period of 35 years elapsing from the earlier survey of 1485. The 16 Muslim quarters in 1519 contained a total of 320 adult married male-headed households [*hanes*] and they were thus reduced by -19.2% compared to the total Muslim population in 1485.²³¹ This has been interpreted as the return

²²⁶ Consult Table 10: no. 12.

²²⁷ Consult Table 10: nos. 10, 11, 15.

²²⁸ Consult chart 2.

²²⁹ Consult discussion under subheading “What was the use of the Byzantine citadel” of chapter 1.

²³⁰ Lowry (1992)², p. 58 and footnote 33.

²³¹ Consult Table 10, 12, 13 and chart 1 of the appendix.

to their homelands of a portion of the forcibly deported population to the city in the previous generation.²³² Only two quarters retained or augmented their population during this period: the quarters of the classical phase *Cercer* and *Magyars*.

However, the reduction of the Muslim population negatively correlates with two other parameters: firstly, the rise of the Christian population by 60.2 % compared to the total Christian population in 1485 and secondly, the rise of the Muslim converts by 26.6 % that equates with the highest rate of converts in the entire century.²³³ Utilizing a hypothetical coefficient of five individuals per adult male headed household as suggested by Barkan²³⁴, it appears that *Dimetoka*'s total population in 1519 comprised of some 2,053 individuals of which 1,308²³⁵ were Muslims and 745²³⁶ were Christians.

In 1519 the names of the four Christian quarters of *Kosta Papa*, of the Jews [*Yahudiyen*], of *Aya Todora* and *Manastir* make their appearance for the first time. The 1568 survey records that the collection of the poll tax [*cizye*], the land tax [*ipençe*] and other taxes [*sair rusum*] from the Christians of the city of *Dimetoka* was allocated to the *vakf* of Murad Hundavendigar, while the payment of old wartime taxes [*avarız*] was exchanged for their services at the groves and vineyards of the imperial palace in Edirne.²³⁷ In the same survey it is also attested the addition of two new Christian quarters, these of *Ayo Nikola* and *Arnavutlar*.²³⁸ The community of Albanians has been residing (*i.e.*, settled) in the town for more than 20 years. Therefore they have the right to remain and be registered as part of the

²³² Ibid., p. 58.

²³³ Consult Table 12, 13, 17 and chart 2.

²³⁴ On the use of the co-efficient towards the computation of the total I consulted: Barkan (1957), p. 21; Lowry (1992)², p. 52.

²³⁵ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 320 total male-headed households - 73 bachelors of tax-paying age = 247 x 5 = 1235 + 73 {the bachelors} = 1308 {Total of Muslims at Dimetoka in 1519}. The data used for the computation of the formula are edited in Table 4, 10, 11, 13.

²³⁶ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 180 total adult male-headed households - 34 bachelors of tax-paying age = 146 x 5 = 730 - 19 {missing adult male figure in widow-headed households} = 711 + 34 {the bachelors} = 745 {Total of Christians at Dimetoka in 1519}. The data used for the computation of the formula are edited in Table 2, 10, 11, 16 and 17.

²³⁷ For the transcription consult Table 7: nos. 15-21. However, the identity of the *vakf* as that of Murad Hundavendigar derives from the TT 370, p. 19. For this consult Table 6.

²³⁸ Consult Tables 16-17.

permanent residents making up the households presently on the ‘outside’ of the inner citadel [*birun-i kale*]. They are listed with the others who reside within [*enderun*] because of their proximity to the castle keep.²³⁹

As with reference to the town’s Jewish congregation, in the 1520 survey the quarter of the *Yahudiyān* is recorded as that of *Dimitri* or alternatively stated of the Jews [*Mahalle-yi Dimitri nam-ı diğēr Yahudiyān*] and the subjects recorded bear Christian first names.²⁴⁰ Therefore, we can deduce that at least until 1570 when we can follow the records the quarter had retained only the name but not its Jewish congregation.²⁴¹

The high rates of new converts in the 1519 survey, speak for the state’s promptness to deal with the city’s depopulation by providing incentives and establishing a network of *zaviyes*. In 1519, the rates of the converts are discernible from the names of the adult male residents of the city, determined by virtue of the fact that converts along with taking a new Muslim proper name, appear in the register as “*veled-i or ibn-i Abdūllah*”, thus with the name ‘*Abdullah*’ as patronymic. “Clearly, it was used as a marker to identify new converts to Islam”.²⁴² It seems that the process of apostasy from Christianity to Islam was a social reality throughout the 16th c. at *Dimetoka*. This becomes clear when examining the rates of the converts from the 1568 survey in which they still constitute the 19.4% out of a total of 340 households.²⁴³

To date, the most detailed analysis of the apostasy in a 16th century Ottoman city is that provided in Lowry’s study of the Black Sea port of Trabzon, where he demonstrates that no less than 28.60% of Trabzon’s 1553 residents were converts, while, a generation later in 1583, the total was 22.57%.²⁴⁴ Bearing the population analogy in mind, the similarity

²³⁹ Consult appendix Table 7: no. 18.

²⁴⁰ Consult Table 6.

²⁴¹ Consult Tables 7: no. 19, 8: no. 24, 10: 17.

²⁴² Lowry-Erünsal (2010), p. 117.

²⁴³ Consult Table 13.

²⁴⁴ Lowry (2010), p. 117.

between the figures for conversion at *Dimetoka* (26.6% and 19.4%) with those seen in Trabzon during the 16th c. is striking.²⁴⁵ Todorov has equally shown that at the beginning of the 16th c. Christians constituted a considerable part of the population and that the Muslim new comers in these previously Christian lands were in their majority converts.²⁴⁶

As Minkov has argued conversion to Islam in the Balkans was primarily a social phenomenon which follows the pattern established by Bulliet for the central Islamic lands. He recognises a 0.3% conversion rate in 1490 compared to 1489 which interprets as the early beginnings of the conversion process in the Balkans and concludes that with the exception of Bosnia and Herzegovina, no more than 2.5 % of the population had converted to Islam by the end of the century. Even for 15th c. the rates of converts at *Dimetoka* are significantly higher (6, 3 %).²⁴⁷

The phenomenon of the religious conversion is strongly interrelated with the emergence of at least 4 *zaviyes*, older and newer, at all the sizeable quarters marking the boundaries of the town's fringe belt: *Debbağlar*, *Köprubaşı*, *Cercer*, *Haraçcı*, *Hocaca*. The importance of the *zaviye* network in the process of Turkification has been discussed in depth²⁴⁸; it has been further argued the extinction of the *zaviye* type structures by Süleyman I's reign (1520-1566). The material from *Dimetoka* can extend the period of their alleged extinction, since in the 1570 survey the number of *zaviyes* rises from 5, as recorded in the 1568 survey, to 7. This is attested through indirect references to the number of the attendants or functionaries exchanging their services for exemptions.

²⁴⁵ Consult Table 13.

²⁴⁶ Todorov (1983), pp. 185-202.

²⁴⁷ Mintov (2004), pp. 34, 40; table 13.

²⁴⁸ Barkan (1942), pp. 279-387; Lowry (2008), pp. 66-106.

The theory of social engineering

The Muslim population regains after 1519 and in 1568, when the number of households reached 340 from 291; interestingly, the same growth is also noted for the Christian quarters too, where the growth is from 181 to 198 households with the addition of two more quarters. Therefore, it can be observed that in the third quarter of the 16th c. the demographic supremacy of the Muslims over the Christians tended to be disturbed, a fact which, bearing in mind the colonizing methods applied during Mehmed I's reign, required attention.

Indeed, in the following detailed survey conducted just two years later, the number of exempted households had risen from 55 to 155 constituting almost 44.7% of the Muslim population. Table 15 and chart 3 show the percentage share of the exempted households in comparison to the overall number of households. Within the two year period from 1568 to 1570 there is a significant increase of the percentage share of exempted households of 31.5%. This is intriguing as in the period of the previous 83 years before 1568 there is a maximum variation of 5.1%. Residents who in 1568 had been registered as tax-payers, simply appear in 1570 as fully exempted based on all sorts of grounds, with the most popular being their capacity as religious functionaries [members of the *'ulema'*].

Striking is the fact that many of the functionaries were registered as residing in different neighbourhoods from where they were actually serving; Emen made a note of the fact in her MA thesis, though she suggested that this movement was related to the local demands of the civil service.²⁴⁹ I can see how such a conclusion was reached, when focusing on material from a particular point in time. However, the use of a series of registers for the city of *Dimetoka* and in particular the cross-referencing of the 1570 survey with the 1568 one

²⁴⁹ Emen (2010), p. 93.

alerts us to the fact that in 1568 adult married male-headed taxable households appear as exempted in 1570 and that in the period of two years half of the city's Muslim populace received tax breaks. What initially appear to have been a few isolated phenomena begin to emerge as part of an overall policy followed by Selim I (1512-1520) and Süleyman I (1520-1566) throughout the course of their reigns which meant to drastically reconfigure the demographic synthesis of the city. The application of a mechanism, in other words, of a state policy attempting to strengthen the demographic density of the Muslim population of this, otherwise, firmly-annexed territory.

Barkan was the first to suggest a reading of the registers from the point of the exempted, in an attempt to elucidate who actually constituted the social classes of the privileged in the Empire. He identified as exempted those who exercise an honorific function such as the functionaries of the various sects, the descendants of celebrated families renowned for their contribution to the welfare of the community, the civil servants (miners, wardens of passages, bridge officers and superintendents, the sultanic horse and camel breeders, the sultanic suppliers of saltpetre and arrows). In this category should be also included senior [*piri*] and disabled citizens, who were unable to fulfil their fiscal duties.²⁵⁰

But let us discuss the data as emerging from the actual quarters: in the quarter of *Abdal Cüneyd* in the interim of these two years the number of the imams doubles (from 1 to 2), two new converts in the neighbourhood *Hüseyin* and *Pervane* are exempted [*muaf*] and a new addition as *al'mu'arrif* (without further defining whether it was the *hafiz*, *müezzin* or the *kayyum* of the mosque) is awarded with a berat.²⁵¹

It was promptly realised that the Muslim populace was reducing. We can thus, extend the hypothesis that tax incentives were offered in order to re-enforce the demographic density of the Muslim element and to prevent the Muslim de-population of the city. If this is correct,

²⁵⁰ Barkan (1957), p. 15.

²⁵¹ Consult Tables 7: no 2 and 8:no. 2.

then these measures were expressions of a conceptualized, official policy that aimed at the social engineering of the urban landscape during Selim I and Suleiman I's reigns.

The conducting of a consecutive detailed survey in such a short time implies that they meant to attest the application of these measures and their efficacy. Indeed, this has been proven successful, since the Christian quarters lost almost ¼ of their population in 2 years and almost half of the Muslim population was made exempt and under this status continued to reside in *Dimetoka*.²⁵² This shows clearly in the table 17 that records the crude numbers of the Christian tax male-headed households, these of the celibates of tax-paying age and these of widow-headed households. For a reason that we cannot attest, the 44 households of singles and the 10 households of widows disappeared from *Dimetoka* in the period of 2 years elapsing between 1568 and 1570.²⁵³

The above policy should be seen as another sophisticated extension of the state control policies of mass deportation, ingeniously mastered under Mehmed II; his reshuffling of the available manpower in three formerly Christian cities (Istanbul-Selanik-Trabzon) has interpreted as striving to achieve an inner religious and ethnic balance.²⁵⁴ There can be little doubt that the above policy aimed towards the same direction.

Another point that emerges through the registers extending over the reign of Selim I and Süleyman I is the well-attested phenomenon from Ottoman Anatolia of a near doubling of the taxpaying population between 1500 and 1600.²⁵⁵ This is interpreted within the framework of the 16th century that is regarded as a period of economic and demographic upswing for the entire Mediterranean. Compounding the effects of the demographic rise, the importation of American silver further disturbed the Ottoman economy that reacted in the

²⁵² Consult Bar chart 4: values for the years 1568 and 1570; Bar chart 3: values for the years 1568 and 1570 and Table 15: percentage of total in 1570 compared to 1568.

²⁵³ Consult Table 17.

²⁵⁴ Lowry (1992)², p. 57; Lowry (1992)⁵, pp. 86-87.

²⁵⁵ Barkan (1951-1953), pp. 1-27; Orhonlu (1984), p. 3.

form of a “price revolution”²⁵⁶; which led to financial strain placing pressure on both peasants and townsmen and resulted in the extinction of certain branches of textile manufacture. This in turn can be seen as part of a general crisis in Ottoman craft production in the same period.²⁵⁷

Parallel demographic growth is observed in 16th c. Europe too. The number of the cities with at least 10.000 inhabitants rose by over 40% to 220% in 1600 and perhaps more in the decades immediately following. This urban growth was well distributed over nearly every part of Europe. In the non- Mediterranean regions urban growth began slowly in the first half of the sixteenth century, quickened its pace dramatically in the century from 1550 to 1650, and then decelerated, reaching a low point in the first half of the eighteenth century. In Iberia and Italy urban growth was rapid throughout the sixteenth century only to collapse in the seventeenth. Still, the second half of the sixteenth century was the only period in which rapid population growth and rapid urbanization occurred together.²⁵⁸

A major impact of the crisis has been also felt on one of the most decisive organs of the urban life, the *vakfs*. Due to the debasement of the currency, the revenues of the pious foundations declined which led to the downsizing of their service provision. Another side-effect can be seen in the overstuffing of the payrolls of these institutions with employees, who eventually constituted a parasitic group of sinecure holders. These effects were felt alongside the flourishing of exploitative practices imposed by corrupt officials exercised at the expense of peasants and urban producers.

²⁵⁶ Faroqhi (1984), op.cit.; Barkan (1975), pp. 3-28.

²⁵⁷ Faroqhi (1984), op.cit.; Barkan(1975), pp. 3-28.

²⁵⁸ De Vries (1984), pp. 28, 39-40.

D.Architectural Analysis

The Bayezid mosque

Its construction was initiated under Bayezid I and it was completed under Mehmed Çelebi; an interpretation which abides with *Evliya*'s allusion to the monument as the Bayezid mosque and explains why Ayverdi explicitly recognised two phases of construction.(See Pl. 27) The initial or Bayezid's plan, which was abandoned under the inauspicious circumstances of the interregnum (1401-1413), ordained the construction of a double-domed structure supported on two square, central pillars and on the outer walls by the means of arches mounting over sets of pilasters attached to the outer walls. When construction works were resumed on the edifice under Mehmed I, they resulted in the adaptation of a pyramidal roofing system, which necessitated the erection of an extra set of pillars. This reminds of the wooden version of high pitched, stone roofs of Seljukid mosques and tombs such as the Afyon Ulu Mosque (1272-1277) and at Aksaray the Ulu mosque (12th-13th c.), the Ahi Şerafeddin Aslanhane Cami'i at Aksaray (13th c.) and Ahi Elvan Camii (14th c.).²⁵⁹ The attribution of the mosque to Mehmed I derived from the commemoration of the sultan in the mosques' foundation inscription [*kitabe*], which sealed the culminating phase of its constructional odyssey.²⁶⁰

To sum up, this chapter has argued that the re-invention of Ottoman *Dimetoka* functions as a normative archetype for the original type of the Ottoman town with a Byzantine kernel and an Ottoman fringe belt. Investment was articulated along pre-existent

²⁵⁹ H. Karpuz, A. Kuş, F. Şimsek, İ. Divarçı (eds.), *Anadolu Selçuklu Eserleri*, Selçuklu Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları No: 28, 2008, pp. 29, 75, 105, 107.

²⁶⁰ "The order for the building of this blessed mescid and holy place of worship [it was given from] the exalted sultan, who is supported by the Absolute Judge (God) from the heavens with his overshadowing state being always aided to further success. With his overpowering sultanate, he is the representative of the God in the world and the protector of the Islamic state, world and faith; and the exalted name of the sultan, who is a son of a sultan, is progenitor of military victory. Mehmed son of Bayezid son of Murad son of Orhan, Gods' companion, who is rewarding the world with his acceptance and benevolence and his munificent edifice (...) [which is to be found] in the heart (centre) of the famous city [built] in the third month of 823 H.(1420 A.C)", Ayverdi (1956), pp. 14-15; Ayverdi (1982), pp. 193-194; *Riyazi Beldeyi Edirne*, vol. 3, pp. 16-19.

tracks of axes which evolved into the arteries of the Ottoman fabric. The fact that we can attest the chronological and spatial succession of the quarters of *Abdal Cüneyid*, *Medrese*, *Kuyumcular* and *Cami'i* in alignment verifies that they were formed with an axis as their reference.

We can then periodize the morphological phases of this evolution. During the initiation phase (proto-Ottoman), the *çarşıya* emerges as the vehicle of infrastructural development. The spatial acculturation of the suburban terrain to an Ottoman archetype is commenced under Bayezid I. Still, the formation of the axial system should be viewed as the result of an evolutionary process that acquires a concrete format only after the 1420s; it is after then that we should also set the beginning of the classical phase.

We have further shown that the quarters of the classical zone encompassed as an outer ring the quarters of the proto-Ottoman phase after the concentration of new-settlers and groups of converts in the urban fringes. The highest rates of these group in 1485 register arose exclusively in the peripheral quarters of *Hocaca*, *Magyars*, *Tatars*, *Bazarlu Bey* and *Cercer*. This means that the town's morphological evolution followed a normative ring pattern of accretional growth articulated along the syntactical value of the axial system.

Pl. 27: a) Ground plan of Mehmed Çelebi mosque at Dimetoka in its present state (Ayverdi 1972, p. 137) and b) reconstructive ground plan of the first phase (Bayezid I) of the Mehmed Çelebi mosque at Dimetoka (Ayverdi 1972, p. 141) and c) reconstructive section of the first phase (Bayezid I) of Mehmed Çelebi mosque (Ayverdi 1972, p. 138)



Chapter 2: Gümölcine

A. Review of the archival sources

Before proceeding with the analysis of the neighbourhoods of *Gümülcine*, it is essential to discuss in a separate section the town's *vakfs*. Due to a gap of archival information on the town- quarters of 14th and 15th century *Gümülcine*, through an examination of data provided in three, surviving *vakf* registrations, we are able to determine that the pattern of urban development in this city deviates significantly from what had been attested for the other case-studies from the mainland discussed in this thesis. It appears that *Gümülcine* followed a different path of urban development, since the *vakfs* listed in the earliest register dated from 1456¹ do not correspond to any of the neighbourhoods appearing in the 1530 register (with the only exception being the *vakf* of *debbağlar*).² Even in the cases of the *vakf* of the *zaviye* of Evrenos, there is no onomastic relation with any of the quarters; or on the other side of the argument, the quarter of the “Old mosque” does not correspond to any of the *vakfs* listed, despite the fact that the physical evidences for both monuments are still extant and witness to their construction in the 14th century. To complicate the image even more, the *vakfs* listed in the first register are in their entirety *vakfs* of *tekyes* and *zaviyes*.³

These *vakfs* appear to have survived and have augmented their income in the subsequent register dating from 1530, along with a number of newly founded *vakfs* which constitute the new additions to the urban *vakfs*'s list.⁴ Since, the first register does not provide us with an analytic breakdown of the neighbourhoods and it is only by the third

¹ Cevdet Muallim Yazmalları, Atatürk Kütüphanesi: 0.89, 860-878(1456-1473), pp. 18, 30-31; for the transcription consult Tables nos. 18-20 of the appendix. Lowry adopts the dating 1456/ H860 (11 December 1455-29 November 1456). Lowry (2008), p. 44.

² BOA. TT167, pp. 7, 11-19.

³ Consult Table 20.

⁴ TT167, pp. 11-19.

register that such information is offered⁵, we can therefore conclude on the names of neighbourhoods based only on 16th century sources. That is to say, we can only witness the name of the quarters as they stood at the end of the 15th and in the early 16th century. Abiding with this last observation is the fact that in the 1530 register, the sixteen new *vakf* entries endow *mesçids* of the relevant quarters. These are clearly new additions, on the grounds that they do not appear in the 1456 register and they all refer to newly founded *mesçids* with modest incomes. In that sense, the 1530 register portrays an image of the town which much conforms to the urban experience from the other case-studies, where there is a correspondence between the *vakfs* and the town-quarters. As Ülken has pointed out, the growth rate in infrastructure of the Ottoman cities is reflected by the number of the established *vakfs*, as the pivotal socio-political institutions around which urban hubs evolved.⁶

Therefore, through the examination of the archival material, we mean to attest how the geo-referencing of the town's founding cellular, *i.e.*, the *zaviyes* can help us reconstruct the town's initial, morphological phase which at the moment remains cryptic.

B. The proto-Ottoman phase: 1362-1456⁷

Transition from Byzantine to Ottoman *Gümülcine* was realised under investment laid by *Hacı Evrenos* between the years 1363-1383⁸ in his attempt to assert political

⁵ (*Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü*) TTD. 187 (1568), pp. 110-113.

⁶ H.Z. Ülken, "Vakıf sistemi ve Türk şehirliği", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. IX (ayrı basım), 1971, pp. 15, 31.

⁷ This corresponds to the quarters of the "First Ottoman Phase: 1363-1456" as shows on map 2. The quarters of this phase bear the letter B as a diacritic, because technically this is the second phase in the town's evolution after the Byzantine phase denoted by the area of the castle (See map 2:A)

⁸ The chronological framework during which *Hacı Evrenos* turned *Gümülcine* into his seat has been recently redefined by Kılıç, as between 1373, date when the town was conquered for the second time and 1383, when *Siroz* was surrendered to *Hayreddin Paşa* and was given to *Hacı Evrenos* as a border zone. We can thus conclude that during the period of 10 years when *Hacı Evrenos* maintained his residence at *Gümülcine* pursued his building program. A. Kılıç, "Guzât vakıflarına bir örnek : Gümülcine'de Gazi Evrenos Bey Vakfı", *Balkanlarda*

legitimization.⁹ Until his death in 1417, *Hacı Evrenos* lead the Ottoman banner through Thrace and Macedonia to the shores of the Adriadic Sea, through the commandment of large contingents of Turkmen raiders [*akıncı*].¹⁰ The hereditary status he enjoyed over the conquered lands allowed him to set up the basis for the infrastructural development of the Ottoman state in the Balkans.¹¹

The current chapter examines the spatial manifestation of *Hacı Evrenos*'s involvement in the establishment of the town's proto-Ottoman core through the reconstruction of the Ottoman town plan and the periodization of its morphological phases. In particular, the mapping of the proto-Ottoman phase will help us realise the scale of his investment and to conceptualize the subsequent, classical phase of the town's morphological development from the end of the 15th century as subjected to the application of the dynamic practices of Ottoman colonization.

In this chapter the argument that *Hacı Evrenos* was a freelance coordinator, who conceived the project of *Gümülcine*'s Ottomanization and worked for 20 years towards this goal will be advanced. In these years his ambitions grew greatly to the extent of dynastic claim, which *Gümülcine* however, did not have the potential to sustain as it was subjected to

Osmanlı Vakıfları ve Eserleri Uluslararası Sempozyumu, 9-11 Mayıs 2012 İstanbul, Başbakanlık Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları No. 107, Ankara 2012, p. 261; H. Inalcik., "Murad I", *İ.A.*, vol. 31, 2008, p. 159.

⁹ S. Cağaptay, "The Road from Bithynia to Thrace: Gazi Evrenos' İmaret in Komotini and its Architectural Framework", *Byz. Forschungen*, vol. 30, 2011, p. 432.

¹⁰ V. Dimitriadis, "The Tombe of Gazi Evrenos Bey at Yenitsa and its Inscription", *BSOAS*, vol. 39, issue 2, 1976, pp. 328-332.

¹¹ *Hacı Evrenos* has recently attracted a fair amount of academic attention by young and senior historians, which has resulted in the production of an impressive corpus of literature. Far from attempting to provide an exhaustive list of the relevant litterature on the topic, key works of the last decade can be listed as follows: A. Çalı {Kılıç}, "Akıncı Beyi Evrenos Bey'e Ait Mülknâme : the Conveyance of Raider Ewrenos Beg", *OTAM*, vol. 20, 2006, pp. 59-79; idem, "Guzât Vakıflarına bir Örnek : Gümülcine'de Gazi Evrenos Bey Vakfı", *Balkanlarda Osmanlı Vakıfları ve Eserleri Uluslararası Sempozyumu*, 9-11 Mayıs 2012 İstanbul, Başbakanlık Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları No. 107, Ankara 2012, pp. 259-276; idem, "Evrenos Bey'in Kökeni Hakkında Tartışmalar ve Yeni Bir Değerlendirme", *Belleten*, vol. 75, 2011, pp. 745-768; idem, *Bir Osmanlı Akıncı Beyi Gazi Evrenos Bey*, İstanbul, İthaki yayınları No. 902, 2014; L. Kayapınar, "Osmanlı Uç Beyi Evrenos Bey Ailesinin Menşei Yunanistan Coğrafyasındaki Faaliyetleri ve Eserleri", *Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi Sosyal Enstitüsü Dergisi*, vol. 2004, issue 8 (2004), pp. 133-142; Lowry (2008), pp. 15-64; idem (2009); Z. S. Zengin, "İlk dönem Osmanlı vakfiyelerinden Serez'de Evrenuz Gazi'ye Ait Zaviye Vakfiyesi", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. XXVIII, 2004, Ankara, pp. 93-111.

the immediate geo-political control of the sultanic capitals of *Dimetoka* and *Edirne*. Therefore, he left the town, after securing his household under the legal loophole of the ‘*ta’alluqat*’, in the search of a new settlement which he would turn into his ‘signature city’ and where he would be allowed the independence and uncompromised potential he was seeking.

Methodologically, the attempt to theorize on the scale of *Hacı Evrenos*’ patronage at *Gümülcine* is subjected to an over-bridging analysis which aims to define the level of his engagement in the town’s infrastructural development in relation firstly, to the social forces which were activated in the town’s micro-environment and secondly, to his investment projects in all three urban frameworks, namely *Gümülcine*, *Siroz* and especially *Yenice-i Vardar*. In that respect, the entries of the 1456 register on the various *tekyes* and *zaviyes* elucidate the synergistic role of the *fütüvvet* organization towards the town’s repopulation and infrastructural development.

Hacı Evrenos as a coordinator of an infrastructural micro-environment

We would first need to define the chronological framework during which *Hacı Evrenos* turned *Gümülcine* into his seat. According to *Neşri*, the conquest of *Gümülcine* was realised between those of *Edirne* 1360-1 and *Biga* 1364-65, thus in the years 1362 - 1364. When, it comes to the transfer of his residence to *Siroz*, *Neşri* provides the *hijri* year 787 (1385-86) as when *Siroz* was surrendered to *Hayreddin Paşa* and when it was equally given to him as a border zone¹²; whereas *Kaftantzēs*, who discusses thoroughly the sources related to the first occupation of *Siroz* in 137, establishes a dating for its final conquest in 19th of

¹² In that very year *Hacı Evrenos* conquered *İskeçe* and *Maronya*, while *Kavala*, *Dirama* and *Siroz* were surrendered to *Hayreddin Paşa*. In the same year *Karaferya* with all its suburbs was conquered, its fiefs were dispersed to timariots and the tieth was imposed to its Christian population. At last, *Siroz* was given to *Hacı Evrenos* as a border land”, *Neşri* (2008), pp. 394-395.

September 1383 based on references derived from five Greek codices.¹³ Based on this chronology we can then conclude that during a period of approximately 20 years *Hacı Evrenos* maintained his residence at *Gümülcine* during which time he pursued his building program.

The monuments which can be attributed to *Hacı Evrenos*' patronage with certainty are related to the *vakf* of his *zaviye*, which is identified with the extant *imaret-cami'i* (See map 2: B1) and the nowadays lost *kervansaray* and *hammam* which were ascribed as revenue to his *vakf*. The earliest data on these monuments are derived from the 1456 register and are discussed under the following subheading: The *vakfs* of the proto-Ottoman phase.¹⁴

The last monument which is identified by Kiel¹⁵ as his mosque is the extant 'Old mosque' in the "*mahalle-yi Eski mescidi*" (See map 2: B2).¹⁶ Evliya does not identify the initial patron of the monument, mentioning only its restoration in 1677 (1088) by a certain *sipahi*: "All in all, there are 16 prayer spaces. But, the most prosperous and embellished, ancient shrine having the most populous congregation is situated within the market district. The Old mosque is not lead roofed and is built in the old style".¹⁷ From its description as a tiled mosque built in the old style, its dating in the 14th early 15th century cannot be debated. However, the ascription of the Old Mosque under the patronage of *Hacı Evrenos* cannot be attested with certainty either. This conclusion is drawn from the following three observations: Evliya assigns only a *mescid* to *Hacı Evrenos* which Ayvedi relates to his

¹³ İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 1, Ankara 1982, pp. 164-165; Lowry (2008), p. 41.

¹⁴ Consult Table 20.

¹⁵ M. Kiel, "Observations on the history of Northern Greece during the Turkish Rule: historical and architectural description of the Turkish Monuments of Komotini and Serres, their place in the development of Ottoman Turkish architecture, and their present condition", *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, Norfolk, Variorum, 1990, 1971, p. 421; idem., "The oldest monuments of Ottoman-Turkish architecture in the Balkans: the imaret and the mosque of Ghazi Hacı Hacı Evrenos in Gümülcine (Komotini) and the Hacı Evrenos Khan in the village of İlica/Loutra in Greek Thrace (1370-1390)", *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, Norfolk, Variorum, 1990, pp. 124-127.

¹⁶ Consult Table 22: No. 1.

¹⁷ *Çelebi* (2003), pp. 37-39.

'*imaret-cami*'¹⁸, his building program at *Yenice-i Vardar* did not entail the construction of a mosque either¹⁹ and Ayverdi associates the 'Old mosque' with the mosque of *Hacı Hayreddin*.²⁰

The vakfs of the proto-Ottoman phase

The zaviye of the deceased Evrenos Bey

His financial predominance in the micro-environment of Ottoman *Gümülcine* shows through the discussion of the financial power of his *vakf* in relation to the rest of the town's *vakfs*. The section on the *evkaf* of the *Gümülcine* County in the 1456 register opens with the entry of the '*vakf* of the *zaviye* of the deceased *Evrenos Bey*'. What needs to be noted at this point is that in all three registers the only reference to any of *Evrenos*'s endowments in *Gümülcine* relates to his *zaviye*.

The *zaviye* of *Hacı Evrenos* at *Gümülcine* complies with the norm as regards the breakdown of its sources of revenues. Still, this is not instantly apparent due to the fact that the 1456 *defter* is one of the earliest and does not present the systematized layout we encounter in later tax registers. Following the annual account book from 1489 the sources of revenues of the *imarets* can be discerned in two categories: urban and provincial. The rents secured from real estates [*emlaks*] as *hans*, *hammams* and shops, while the second category refers to the production of the villages that belonged to the *vakf*. The biggest part of the *imarets*' revenues (82%) was secured from the villages; in fact, the administrators of the

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 38; Ayverdi (1982), p. 220.

¹⁹ Consult discussion under subheading C. The monuments: Urban planning under *Hacı Evrenos* of chapter 4.

²⁰ Ayverdi (1982), p. 219.

vakfs were the ‘owners’ of the villagers and since these lands belonged to the state, the *vakfs* were collecting their various dues and taxes.²¹

For further facilitation of the analysis and of the taxonomic classification into urban and provincial revenues, the sources of revenues are shown analytically in tables 20 and 21 of the appendix. Up to the entry no. 9 [*İmam-ı tekke*], we understand that these resources are urban, despite the fact that revenues of a mill and the lump sum from the allotment of *Küstemir* are also included in this section. This is due to the semi-urban status of the town of *Gümülcine*, as it will be discussed in the conclusions.²²

In order to calculate the actual revenues of the *imaret* both in cash and kind, we would need to take into consideration that: a) the contributions are either quarterly or per entry year and b) that for the calculation of the yield are the prices of the commodities at the time are needed. Data extrapolated from the 1456 register show that the upkeep of the *vakf* was secured through a variety of urban and agricultural revenues which amounted to a total of 40,787 *akçes* without the attribution of the yield from the allotment of *Küstemir*. Amongst these sources, the *Hacı Evrenos*, or alternatively known as the *eski hammam* produced the highest annual revenue of 8.005 *akçes*²³, while lesser contributions of 1,400 *akçes* were rendered quarterly by: a) 45 shops within the city of *Gümülcine*, b) lump sum taxation and c) vineyards. The *kervansaray* rendered 1,000 *akçes* quarterly. The provincial revenues of the *vakf* amounted to 65,077 *akçes* and were derived from the village of *Helvacı* established by the descendants of the un-emancipated slaves of the *vakf*. Forty-five percent of this revenue was derived from income in kind.

The most interesting entry registered under the *vakf* of the *zaviye* is the group of dependants; that is to say, the sixteen households of his extended family at *Gümülcine*

²¹ Ö.L. Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda imaret sitelerinin kuruluş ve işleyiş tarzına ait araştırmalar”, *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, vol. XXIII, 1962-63, pp. 252-253: Table 1.

²² Part C: conclusions, pp. 278-285.

²³ *Çelebi* (2003), p. 38; Ayverdi (1982), p. 222.

[*ta'allukat-ı Evrenosluyan*].²⁴ This entry is associated with another group of dependents registered under his *'imaret* at *Siroz*. As, there is no indication of these groups contributing to the income of the *vakf*, we can understand that their entry was meant to denote that they were provided for by the *vakf*. Then, a common practice emerges according to which, individuals from his immediate environment or household at *Gümülcine* and *Siroz*, would be provided for after his death by being appointed to certain positions or by simply having a stipend allocated for them.

The revenues of the *Zaviye* of *Hacı Evrenos* in *Gümülcine* reached in 1456 the amount of 111,664 *akçes*, while in 1489 the sultanic *'imaret vakfs* of *Fatih* in Istanbul, *Bayezid I* at *Edirne* and *Murad II* at *Ergene* were wielding 1,500,611 and 161,564 and 106,285 *akçes* respectively.²⁵ *Barkan* further points to the fact that more than the half of the annual expenses (52,5%) of the *'imarets* were allocated for the coverage of the functionaries' salaries, while the remaining 47,5% was invested in diverse sources such as food and pharmaceutical supplies, hotel equipment and building material. In the analytic breakdown of the salaries of functionaries and attendants of the *vakfs*, special attention was drawn to a particular group of employers that of *zevaidhor'lar*, that is to say, to the ones appointed to consume [lit. 'eat up'] the surplus of revenues. It was observed that this specific category of employees existed in older institutions and not in the newly founded, as synchronic to the 1489 yearly account book and it was responsible for the debasement of the institution. For example, at the modest *vakf* of the *zaviye* of *Süleyman Paşa* at *Bolayir* (86,985 per year) the fact that 1/3rd of the total employees were *zevaidhor'lar* was a threatening factor for the prosperity and viability of the institution.²⁶

²⁴ See Table 20: no. I. 11 of the appendix.

²⁵ *Barkan* (1962-1963), p. 253: Table 1.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 284-291: Tables: 9-10.

This situation rings true for the *zaviye* of *Hacı Evrenos* too, for which we can attest a reduction of its annual revenues from 111,664 *akçes* in 1458 to 55,902 in 1519, despite the inflation rates observed in the Ottoman economy over the period from 1474 to 1528.²⁷

Although, we do not possess direct information on the exact number of its employees²⁸, these can be estimated to be a group of 40 to 70 people²⁹, part of which can be retrieved with certainty from the entry '*ta'allukat-ı Evrenosluyan*' which counted sixteen households. Twenty of these functionaries and attendants of the *zaviye* can be recognized through the breakdown of the quarters as extrapolated from the 1568 register³⁰: (1) *Hüsseyin 'Abdin tabbah-ı 'imaret*, (2) *Fu'ad 'Ali ibn-i Ramazan an bevab-ı 'imaret*, (3) *Tanri Ali cabi-yi 'imaret*, (4) *'Ali Bali ibn-i Mehmet Evrenos*, (5) *Hacı ibn-i Musa Evrenos*, (6) *Hasan ibn-i Yusuf ra'yyet Evrenos*, (7) *Nasuh ibn-i Oruç ra'yyet Hacı Evrenos al-merhum*, (8) *'İsa Bali Hacı Eliyas ra'yyet Hacı Evrenos Bey*, (9) *Mehmed ibn-i 'Ali Hacı Evrenos dar vakf*, (10) *Hacı Apri Evrenos*, (11) *Eliyas 'Abdin Evrenos*, (12) *Ferhad 'Abdin Evrenos*, (13) *Mehmed Hacı Ramazan Evrenos*, (14) *Mustafa 'İsa dar vakf*, (15) *Bali nazır-ı 'imaret dar kira*, (16) *Mustafa kebeci-yi 'imaret dar kira*, (17) *Mustafa ibn-i Mehmed hüddam-ı 'imaret*, (18) *İsa Bali hizmetkar-ı 'imaret*, (19) *Mehmet hizmetkar-ı 'imaret*, (20) *Hüsseyin ser-i bevabbin-i 'imaret*. These are the dependents or the members of the extended *Evrenosoğlu* family, which were acting as the celebrated functionaries of the *vakf* and could be regarded as responsible for the considerable shrinkage of the *vakf*'s revenues.

In terms of the services provided, in absence of further evidence we need to assume that the same principles applied to the sultanic *'imarets* with regards to the public services provided, were to be applied also to the *Hacı Evrenos 'imaret*. In 1489 the *Fatih 'imaret* was

²⁷ See Table 21 of the appendix.

²⁸ TTD187, pp. 110-113.

²⁹ When compared with *vakfs* of the same scale such as: a) the Murad II at Ergene with annual revenues of 106.285 per year and 42 functionaries and, b) the *zaviye* of *Süleyman Paşa* at Bolayır with annual revenues 86.958 and 68 functionaries.

³⁰ TTD187, pp. 110-113.

offering food to at least 1,117 people daily, while Bayezid the II's *'imaret* at Edirne with annual revenues amounting to 578,663 *akçes* was serving daily 99 employees and distributing 1,424 loaves of bread to indigents and travellers. Civil servants [*nazir, şeyh, katib* and *imam* of the *'imaret*], workers (cooks, rice expurgators, busboys) and *medrese* students all benefitted from the meals provided, while the remaining food was dispersed to indigents, widows, travellers and visitors.³¹

One of the customary practices ascribed to the benevolent services of the institution was the protection of the orphans and widows in the form of a benefit settlement. For example the *vakfs* of *Fatih, Ayasofya* and Murad II *'imarets* at Edirne provided allowances to 200 and 40 orphans respectively, with the allocated expenditure reaching, for the case of *Fatih*, the amount of 3,000 *akçes* annually.³² Can it be therefore coincidental the fact that in the 1568 register a new quarter that of the *Orphans* at *Gümülcine* [*Mahalle-yi İbrahim nam-ı diğer Orfana*] makes its appearance?³³

The vakf of the leather-tanners (See map 2: B4)

A much more modest *vakf* is the one which belonged to the leather-tanners. Its people were excluded from the current register [*harici az defter*] and its income consisted of only 100 *akçes* for the entry year and was derived from one shop and an orchard. As already mentioned, this case is the only overlapping one that we encounter between an early *vakf* and a quarter. Still, the proper quarter of the leather-tanners appears only in the 1568, while a certain *vakf* of the *debbağhane* mosque makes its appearance already in the 1519 register

³¹ The data on the *Fatih 'imaret* are provided from the distribution records (*tevziname kayıtlar*), the foundation charters and the annual account books; specifically, the relevant entry citing that the superfluous food was distributed to the poor is included at the end of the *tevziname*. Nevertheless, it is not stated the exact amount of the disposed meals. The data on the *Bayezid 'imaret* are retreated from an abstract of a food charter (*Aş defteri*) appended to the annual account books from 1489. Barkan (1962-1963), pp. 281-282.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 295.

³³ TTD187, p. 113.

with revenue of 1,343 *akçes*.³⁴ The modest size of the *vakf* is judged upon relative criteria of the prices of commodities at the specified time; for example 100 *akçes* would suffice to purchase 10 *kile* (250,66 kgs) of wheat flour, a typical annual quantity for the sustenance of an *imaret-tekye* foundation.³⁵ The topographic identification of the *zaviye* was possible, since in its position stands nowadays the contemporary structure of *debbağhane* mosque.³⁶

The vakf of the tekye of Ahmed

The third *vakf* was that of the *tekye* of *Ahmed* son of *Bali Yunus*. It was explained that this was the private property of *Ahi Mehmed* who turned it into a *vakf*. Although, the register neglects to provide its total revenue, from the list of its belongings including orchards, a mill and seven shops, it seems to be the second richest in *Gümülcine* after the *zaviye* of *Hacı Evrenos*. Of course this can be also a speculative attestation. The traces of the *tekye* cannot be attested in the 1530 register. The only *vakf* which appeared to have belonged to an *Ahi* in the 1530 register is that of the *zaviye* of *Ahi Oran* which was, however, at that current moment in the hands of the *debbağ Bayezid*. The *zaviye* was maintained by revenues of just 300 *akçes* accrued from two allotments, a mill and a shop.³⁷

The Zaviye of Kasap Süpüren (See map 2: B3)

For the *zaviye* of *Kasap Süpüren* we possess more information, since the 1456 register brings to our attention that it experienced serious problems with its upkeep, despite being

³⁴ TT167, pp. 7, 15; İ. Bıçakçı, *Yunanistan'da Türk Mimarî Eserleri*, İstanbul, 2003, p. 131.

³⁵ If 1 İstanbul *kile*= 20 oka and 1 oka= 1,283 kg then 1 *kile*= 25,66 kgs. Therefore the correct weight for 10 kiles is 256,6 kg. The usual value for the oka is 1,2828 kg thus making the kile 25,656 kg. By that rate, the weight of 10 kiles would be 256,56kg. M.I. Marcinkowski, *Measures and weights in the Islamic World*, Kuala Lumpur, 2003, pp. 68-69.

³⁶ For the information, I am indebted to the architect M. I. Redvan from *Gümülcine*.

³⁷ TT167, p. 15.

well-provided with sources which could generate adequate revenues. For example, all 8 shops found in its possession are recorded as being in ruins, while from the three orchards one was turned into a graveyard, the second was neglected and only the third orchard along with three allotments accrued the sole revenue of the *vakf* consisting of 360 *akçes*.³⁸

Its financial state seems to have deteriorated in the interim of seventy years, since in the 1530 register its revenues were reduced to 239 *akçes*.³⁹ But more importantly, the *zaviye* itself was ruined and it was after the issuing of an edict from the *dergah-ı mu'alla* that the reconstruction of the edifice in the place of the old *zaviye* was ordered. Two relevant entries from the same register cite the *vakfs* of the *mescids* of *Süpiiren Mahmud* and (simply) of *Süpiiren*, which we need to assume were founded during the same interim, based on their modest revenues- of 190 and 309 *akçes* respectively- and the fact that they were in close proximity of the *zaviye*. The *mescid* has survived and its location can be topographically identified.⁴⁰

The zaviye of Konukçu Şemseddin

The fifth of the early *vakfs* is that of the *zaviye* of *Konukçu Şemseddin*, which presents a different evolution. When in the hands of *Köykusu Imam Bey* during the second half of the 15th c. it was quite impoverished possessing annual revenues amounting to only 74 *akçes*. This situation was much changed by 1530, when its possessions included 27 shops in *Gümülcine* and *Yenice-i Karasu* that generated 1,217 *akçes*.⁴¹

³⁸ Consult Table 20: no. IV of the appendix.

³⁹ TT167, p. 15.

⁴⁰ Ayverdi (1982), p. 222.

⁴¹ Consult Table 20: no. V of the appendix; TT 167, p. 15.

The zaviye of Puşi Puşan (See map 2: B5)

A *zaviye* that appears in 1456 and has been intriguingly omitted from the 16th century's registers is that of the *zaviye* of *Puşi Puşan* located at the allotment of *Dehurcu Apri*. According to Ayverdi, its existence was known from a series of *sicils* from 17th century onwards⁴² and from a 20th century view. In these *sicils* the *zaviye* appears as registered under a slightly altered name as *Pust Puş*, *Pus Buş* and *Boş Boş* or as known nowadays at *Gümülcine Poç Poç*. It constitutes a key part of the proto-Ottoman phase of the town-plan, since it marks the town's north-west entrance towards the mountainous villages of Rhodope.

The town-planning conception

The Byzantine castle of *Koumoutsina* [*Gümülcine*] was placed at a point of geostrategic importance adjacent to the *Via Egnatia* –at the very end of a mountain route leading to the Thracian inland-and by the eastern shore of the *Boukloutza* or *Şirkalı* River.⁴³ Although, the first reference to the *Koumoutzina* castle is derived from 14th century historiographical sources, its foundation dates from the 4th century B.C. based on recovered inscriptional data.⁴⁴ The remains of the square shaped historical structure are located at the north-western part of the modern city of *Komotini* [*Gümülcine*] (See map 2: A). *Boukloutza* stream was reclaimed and its watercourse was converted into the central artery of contemporary *Gümülcine* (axis X), which assumes several names at different parts of its route

⁴² The documentation dates from H. 1090, 1134, 1172: Ayverdi (1980), p. 222.

⁴³ *Çelebi* (2003), p. 37; G. Vassiliadis, "To kastro tēs Komotēnēs: architektonikē analysē kai tekmeriōsē", *Byz. Forschungen*, vol. 30, 2011, p. 143 and Pl. 2.

⁴⁴ Vassiliadis (2011), pp. 139-154; P. Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi, *Egnatia Odos Istoría kai diadromē sto xōro tēs Thrakēs*, Athens, 2005, pp. 32-35.

Demokritou - Orfeos – Demokratias (See map 2: axis X). This evolution can explain the serpentine shape of the route which snakes through the city's heartland.

The castle bears at its four corners, robust round turrets and a central, double gate at its north-eastern side (See map 2: A1). Excavation results have revealed the remains of the *Via Egnatia* at a distance of 6 km eastern from the city center of contemporary *Gümülcine*.⁴⁵ This recovered route should be conceived as running parallel to at a distance of one km. to the north of the old motorway between *Gümülcine* and *Dedeğac* [*Alexandroupolis*]. Consequently, the *Via Egnatia* can be identified with the *Vletsiou – Sismanoglu - Konstantinoupoleos Avenue*, which when placed one km. to the north, passes by the front of the *Süğüren Mahmud* mosque (See map 2: B3).

As discussed under the subheading on proto-Ottoman *vakfs*, the aforementioned mosque was built in the vicinity of one of the earliest *zaviyes* of *Gümülcine* dating from the 14th century. The fact that the 14th century's *zaviye* of *Süğüren Kasap Süğüren* (See map 2: B3) was built at a location contiguous to the *Via Egnatia* indicates that *Via* had been used as a spinal axis (See map 2: axis Y) upon which the spatial development of the fringe belt was interwoven. From the junction point of *Via Egnatia* (See map 2: axis Y) with *Şirkalı* River (See map 2: axis X), a sub-route of the *Via Egnatia* (See map 2: axis Y1) as leading to the central gate of *Gümülcine* castle (See map 2: A1) can now be reconstructed with confidence.

The meeting point of the river (See map 2: axis X) with *Via Egnatia* (See map 2: axis Y) should be reconstructed at the area where nowadays stands the municipal park of *Agia Paraskeuē*. This is also identified by *Evliya* as the meeting point of *Şirkalı* River with its tributary the *Kalfa* stream, but alas the text does not preserve the Ottoman name of the quarter. According to the source “... *And within the city the water of life and running fountain is called Şirkalı stream. Along this small river, you can cross at five appointed*

⁴⁵ Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi (2005), pp. 32-35.

places over wooden bridges. The city extends over the two sides of this river and further down (Şıkarlı stream) meets with its tributary Kalfa stream at the (...) neighbourhood, which is very close to the city and [from there] they join the Aegean. These two streams originate in the summer pasturages to the north of the city (...), and they provide water to the many thousands orchards of İrem, the gardens of contentment and irrigating the reticulated orchards of the city, to pour into the Aegean".⁴⁶

However, what most convincingly emerges from the geo-referencing of the proto-Ottoman nuclei on the map is the centripetal quality of axis *Y* and its extension *YI* based on which property, they should be identified with *Gümülcine*'s *çarşıya* or public road. The town's most prominent quarters, [i.e.], the quarter of the Cooks [*mahalle-yi Aşçı Mescidi*] (See map 2: B1), the quarter of the 'Old mosque' [*mahalle-yi Eski cami*'] (See map 2: B2) and the quarter of the 'Exalted mosque' [*mahalle-yi cami 'i şerif*] (See map 2: C2) can be all reconstructed as developed along the *çarşıya*. The importance of the aforementioned realisation for the field of Ottoman morphology shows clearly when connected with the functional division of Islamic, urban space as advocated by Tekeli.⁴⁷ The centrality of the commercial district [*çarşı*] in the early Ottoman suburbium was articulated upon pre-tracked axes. Such a sense of reflective axiality presupposes a monitoring process of the access network; by this process, the Ottomans were able to assess how the landscape of the outskirts was configured and then, to canalize access to the citadel accordingly.

In the case of *Gümülcine* the axial dimension of the *çarşıya* is further corroborated through archival references. The abstract from the 1553 endowment inventory registers 13 urban *vakfs* as endowed with real estate properties such as shops, a *han*, a *medrese*, rooms

⁴⁶ Çelebi (2003), pp. 37-38.

⁴⁷ I. Tekeli, "Evolution of spatial organisation in the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic", in L.C. Brown (ed.), *From medina to a metropolis: heritage and change in the Near Eastern city*, Princeton University, 1973, pp. 244-273; *idem*, "Urban patterns in Anatolia: organization and evolution", in R. Holod (ed.), *Proceedings of the conference on conservation as cultural survival*, Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1980, pp. 15-27.

and houses within the city of *Gümülcine*.⁴⁸ The architectural description of these urban sources of revenue is particularly detailed. They refer to the number of the stories and the rooms of these properties, the existence of inner courtyards and the facilities such as furnaces and cellars. More importantly, the fact that these properties are defined by their position in relation to the public road [*tarikî 'am*], with a clear distinction between the properties that are bordering the public road and those viewing to private streets [*tarikî has*] seems to suggest that their position in relation to the *çarşıya* affected their value. Such is the example of the *vakf* of *Murad* which was comprised of “one singled-storied house and one double-storied house with a wooden-floored platform [on the roof for clothes drying] and an [outdoor] privy which was bordered on either side by the freehold properties of Baltacı Ali and Ketenci Hacı and on the front by the public highway”.⁴⁹ It can be then deduced that not only was there a spatial perception of the axes at a social level, but that this morphological arrangement was the regulating factor of the town’s economic life.

We need at this point to take a step back in order to allow the pattern in this ‘mighty maze’ adopted in *Gümülcine*’s micro-environment to emerge and to attest its cross-referencing with parallel morphological solutions adopted in early Ottoman urbanism. It is then that the following pattern of settlement shows clearly: the town-planning perception at proto-Ottoman *Gümülcine* can be summarised in the emergence of a stable denominator indicated by a river (See map 2: axis *X*) or a major, pre-existent thoroughfare (See map 2: axis *Y*) in relation to which a central public highway [*çarşıya* or *tarikî 'am*] is aligned (See map 2: axis *Y1*). Morphological analysis of the towns of *Dimetoka*, *Siroz*, and *Yenice-i Vardar* suggests that this becomes the normative pattern of the proto-Ottoman phase.

⁴⁸ (*Divan defterhane-i amire kalemi evrakı*) A.DFE.d 50. 980.Z.29 (1553), pp. 1-4.

⁴⁹ “Vakf-ı Murad bir bab kettanı haneyi ve bir bab fevkanı haneyi ve ket-i puş ve kenif ki Baltacı ‘Ali ve Ketancı Hacı mülk ve tarika ‘am ile mahduddur”, A.DFE.d 50., p. 3.

In fact, the orientation of the *imaret-cami*' of *Hacı Evrenos* can only make sense when read within this morphological context in the sense of this being the environment in which the *imaret-cami*' was meant to be viewed. The monument was located at the southern extremes of what should be reconstructed as the core quarter of early Ottoman *Gümülcine*. Strikingly enough, the name of the quarter does not derive directly from the sources, but I would extend a tentative identification based on the concentration of *Hacı Evrenos*' descendants and the name of the quarter as appearing in the 1568 register.⁵⁰ According to this, the *imaret* should have been located at the quarter of the *mescid* of the Cooks [*mahalle-yi Aşçı Mescidi*], which was expanding southwards from the main gate of the castle (See map 2: A1) and along the *çarşıya*.⁵¹ The orientation of the *imaret* facing the re-constructed axis *YI*, along with the understanding of the function of the *eyvan*—as an open space which welcomes the view—comes to justify the lack of a *kibla* orientation for the building and to indicate its function as the *domed sofa* interior of a private '*konak*'.

Under this light, the principles of early Ottoman town planning can be conceptualized under the variables of objective and '*modus operandi*'. The '*modus operandi*' can be wittingly encapsulated in Kafadar's argument on Ottoman state building, which can be applied on the Ottoman town-planning context too: "*although all the principalities were heirs to the political culture of Seljuk Anatolia—where I would add architectural culture too—the Ottomans were much more experimental in reshaping it to need, much more creative in their bricolage of different traditions, be they Turkic, Islamic or Byzantine*".⁵² Indeed, adaptability appears to be an instinctive response to the setting and natural resources, which regulated the patterns of Ottoman landscape enhancement.

⁵⁰ TTD187, p. 111.

⁵¹ Consult Table 22: No. 14 of the appendix; TTD 187, p. 111: "Nasuh ibn-i Oruç ra'yyet Evrenos Bey al merhum and 'Isa Bali Hacı Eliyas ra'yyet Evrenos Bey".

⁵² K. Kafadar, *Between two worlds: the construction of the Ottoman State*, University of California Press, 1995, p. 121.

As for their objective, the identification of the two early quarters—*Aşci* and *Süpüren*—and their placement along the axes *Y* and *YI* revealed that the Ottomans were interested in seizing the access to the castle and not the castle *per se*. In support of this argument comes Isfahani's work, who advocated that routes also function as anti-routes, in the sense that they restrict access and channel circulation.⁵³ On the same path Braudel argued that in Mediterranean, space continued being “*enemy number one*” of political states as late as the 16th century⁵⁴, while Harvey pointed that “*the anti-route function of routes is a function not only of linearity and topography but also of political decision, economic advantage or disadvantage, and social, cultural and collective psychological orientation*”.⁵⁵

In this sense, we can attest a breach with the settlement pattern of *Dimetoka*—where the infrastructural investment under Murad I made use of the castle and marked its two gates from the south and east—and also of Bursa, and Edirne, which involved extensive intramural and restricted extramural investment zones. Thus, at *Gümülcine*, seizure of the main exits loses the sense of access to secured and enclosed grounds. So, if the castle is not their target, what was their target?

They were after the pre-tracked network creating access towards this urban hub, because they valued its position. They recognized the geostrategic importance of the position and foresaw the dynamic the site would have for their plans to form a network of cities. Then, they appropriated the dynamic of the site by reinstating the urban hub outside the walls, under a new convergence point: the proto-Ottoman commercial core (See map 2: B1, B2 ,B4). With semiotic subtlety, they reversed the dynastic centre from the castle to the suburb; and the moment that the screen of reversal reality was set up, they assumed authority through

⁵³ M.Z. Isfahani, *Roads and Rivals: The political uses of access in the Border-lands of Asia*, London, 1989, pp. 2-3, 7.

⁵⁴ F. Braudel, *La méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris, 1966, vol. I., p. 326.

⁵⁵ D. Harvey, “Models of the evolution of spatial patterns in human geography”, in R.J.Chorley and P.Haggett (eds.), *Models in Geography*, London, 1967, pp. 559-561; T. Stoianovich, “A route type: the *Via Egnatia* under Ottoman rule”, in *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule 1380-1699*, Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Crete 1996, pp. 208.

visual transference. By this way, they managed to transform Byzantine *Koumoutzina* into the Ottoman *Gümülcine*.

It is not accidental that *Evliya*, when describing the outskirts, chooses to identify the *sehr-i ma'mur* with the *varoş*.⁵⁶ This means that only the outskirts constituted the inhabited and thus urbanised part of the town, since the castled city has passed into a state of disarray. In this context, the use of the word *ma'mur* used by *Evliya* should be interpreted as inhabited and thus, prosperous. Then, the core concept of the proto-Ottoman era clearly emerges at *Gümülcine*: all Ottoman efforts were directed to the infrastructural development of the suburban area, [*i.e.*], the fringe belt.

The castle was inhabited by the Christians, who in 1456 counted some 135 households, the Jews⁵⁷ and the Ottoman garrison of the *hisar-eri* or *kale-eri*. These *hisar-eris* constituted the real military force in most of the fortresses in the 15th c. and as a security measure, they were recruited from distant parts of the empire, thus in Rumelian *Gümülcine* we would expect to encounter Anatolian deportees or settlers.⁵⁸ Apart from these three groups, information on the existence of two Muslim quarters within the castle is retrieved from the 1553 endowment inventory. The *vakf* of *Hacı Eliyas* possessed properties in two quarters within the castle, the quarters of *Denizli Oğlu* and *Hacı İslam* [*Mahalle-yi Denizli Oğlu*] [*mahalle-yi Hacı İslam*].⁵⁹ However, the existence of these two quarters cannot be reconfirmed in the extensive register of 1568.

⁵⁶ *Çelebi* (2003), p. 37.

⁵⁷ Consult Table 18 of the appendix.

⁵⁸ İnalçık (1954), pp. 107.

⁵⁹ A.DFE.d 50., p. 3; TTD 187, pp. 110-113.

C. Classical and consolidation phases (late 15th/beginning of 16th c.): a town in transition

Archival evidence

The inspection of the 167 *defter* dating from 1530, compiled almost sixty years after the first register, portrays an image of a town that has been expanded under a multi-clustered formation that arranges satellite quarters around a triangular umbilicus. This is achieved through the systematic attempt of endowing a series of modest charitable foundations to the town; the religious and educational character of these charitable foundations reveals the agenda of priorities which mean to induct the new-settlers into a communal life conformed to the demands of orthodox Islam.⁶⁰ The new *vakfs* constituted the seeds for the development of the eponymous quarter, the evolution and strengthening of which, we have the chance to observe through the last register from 1568.

Out of the seventeen quarters registered in the 167 *defter*, twelve are directly associated with the establishment of a modest *vakf*, the resources of which do not exceed the 2,000 *akçes* per entry year.⁶¹ In reality 13 out of the 17 quarters can be associated with a *vakf*, the 13th being the *vakf* of the *cami'i şerif* which based on its architectural features dates from late 15th/ early 16th century but cannot be comprised in the list with the rest of the *vakfs* on the basis of its financial precedence. Consequently, out of the 17 quarters only three can allude to their foundation during the proto-Ottoman phase: the quarters of the cooks [*tabbahlar*], the quarter of *imam-ı sarayı*, the quarter of the arsenal [*cephanlu*] that according to the information retrieved from the 1568 register, they seem to have vanished from the urban scenery in the span of 38 years.

These 13 neighbourhoods are: 1) *mahalle-i Eskici Hacı*, 2) *Hacı Yavaş*, 3) *Karagöz*, 4) *Kadi mescidi*, 5) *Hacı Hizir*, 6) *Hayreddin*, 7) *Hoca Nasuh*, 8) *Velioğlar*, 9) *Şehre Küşti*,

⁶⁰ Consult Table 22 of the appendix.

⁶¹ TT167, pp. 15-19.

10) *Yenice*, 11) *Aşci mescidi*, 12) *Bergamlu*. They all developed around the foundation of the *vakf* of an eponymous *mescid* with revenues starting from just 145 *akçes*, as in the case of *Hacı Hayreddin*, and reaching up to 2,800 *akçes*, as in the case of *Hacı Karagöz*. Primary source of income for these foundations are the rents from shops within the town of *Gümülcine*, followed by orchards, allotments and rented properties.⁶²

Apart from these *vakfs*, of interest is the foundation of two new *zaviyes*, the one of which was of a somehow upscaled status on the basis of its income when compared with the newly founded *mescids*. That was the *zaviye* of the *börekciyan*, which was sustained through the income of 3,351 *akçes* secured from shops within *Gümülcine*, agricultural plots and two mills in the possession of a certain *Ahi Ali*. The second *zaviye* is that of *Hacı Şemsüddin* which was secured through the income of 300 *akçes* as derived from an orchard.⁶³

Topographic identification

Topographic reconstruction of all thirteen classical quarters was not possible. Still, we managed to reconstruct the core and borders of the classical phase by using miscellaneous metadata. The *Bergamlu* quarter (See map 2: C5) was identified through reference to the extant 19th century *Tekye* mosque, which was located at that quarter.⁶⁴

The ‘Old mosque’ (See map 2: B2) is associated by Ayverdi with the mosque of *Hacı Hayreddin* based on information derived from 18th century *Kamil Kepeci* documents. The 1530 register records two different quarters as *mahalle-yi Eski mescidi* and *Hacı Hayreddin*, while in the 1568 register the *Eski Mescidi* quarter vanishes and we can only profess the existence of the quarter of *Hayreddin* where the imam of the Old mosque resided.⁶⁵

⁶² TT167, pp. 15-16.

⁶³ TT167, pp. 15-16.

⁶⁴ *Evkaf Kamil Kepeci 757*, Ayverdi (1982), p. 221.

⁶⁵ Consult Table 22: No. 7 of the appendix; TT167, pp.7, 15; TTD187, p. 110.

Therefore, it seems that the merging of the two quarters and the obliteration of the first patron's name occurred in the interim of 38 years between 1530 and 1568. Since, the obliteration of the title 'Old mosque' from the town's collective memory occurred at least a century before the restoration (1677) of the mosque from a certain *sipahi*⁶⁶, then, the association of the mosque with *Hayreddin* is not derived from its restoration, but needs to be further investigated with reference to deferent parameters.

The second, in financial scale, charitable foundation operating in early 16th century *Gümülcine* was the *cami'i şerif*; which has been preserved to the present day as an operational shrine by the Muslim community of *Gümülcine*. Kiel dated the mosque in the last decades of the 16th century based on the style of the Iznik tiles used in the revetments of the *mihrab*.⁶⁷ However, the archival reference of the *vakf* of the *cami'i şerif* in the 1530 register⁶⁸ predates the monument and establishes a dating in the beginning of the 16th century. Further information is provided on the salaries of three of its functionaries: *Mevlana hatib Hoca* received the amount of 1,835 as generated from urban and provincial sources such as shops, orchards and allotments, the *imam Hoca* with a salary of 1,160 *akçes* and the *muezzin Hoca* with 453, all together receiving a total of 4,148 *akçes*.⁶⁹

The town's expansion through the formation of the new quarters at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century can be most convincingly attributed to the mass deportation [*sürgün*] of settlers. The broad infusion of *Tatar* and *Yürük* tribesmen can be recorded in Rumeli since Mehmed Çelebi's time, as having followed an exclusively rural pattern of settlement. This infusion kept on through later periods too, though in a different trend.

⁶⁶ Çelebi (2003), p. 37:

"This mosque which has been dismantled from the wind,
Felt into a completely ruinous state
The sipahi pronounced as the date of its restoration
The heart of the mosque, a wonder(ous), illuminated place"1088 (1677).

⁶⁷ Kiel (1971)¹, pp. 422-423; S. Doukata, "Yeni mosque", *Ottoman Architecture in Greece- Hellenic Ministry of Culture Directorate of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Antiquities*, Athens, 2008, pp. 321-323.

⁶⁸ TT167, p. 15

⁶⁹ TT167, p. 15.

During Murad II and Mehmed II's reigns *Tatars* and *Yürüks*, in broad terms, tribesmen from Anatolia were arriving in Rumeli as guilds of craftsmen; a fact which can justify their urban settlement. Foremost, law books from the reign of Mehmed II attest that the largest concentration of *Yürüks* and *Tatars* to have been transplanted in the littoral of *Dimetoka*, *Gümülcine* and *Ferecik* is to be traced in the period between the years 1456-1467.⁷⁰

Evidence of the urban settlement of these groups of settlers can be recovered from the 1530 and 1568 registers.⁷¹ Although the first survey does not provide us with the onomastic breakdown of each quarter's residents, it lists the quarters along with their final countdowns in households, celibates and exempted. We can then attest that there are 48 individuals listed in 1530 and 42 in 1568 as *çeltukçı*, *eşkuncu*, *yamak*, *yağci*, *küreci* and *akıncı*. These categories, which reflect the transplanted *Yürük* nomads, speak for the state's promptness to establish a class of peasants-soldiers that would secure the colonization project of the Balkan lands. *Eşkuncus* were irregular cavalryman, practically *sipahis* who assumed the title after they joined the campaigns. They were assigned with timars in the lands of their settlement and enjoyed tax exemptions.⁷²

A. The 'imaret-cami' of Hacı Evrenos revisited: from a proto-imperial 'konak' to an imaret?

The 'imaret-cami' of Hacı Evrenos constituted the convergence point of proto-Ottoman *Gümülcine*. The geo-reference of the town's earliest monuments on the map, [*i.e.*], the *imaret* and the 'Old mosque' made possible the reconstruction of the town's *çarşıya* or *tarik-i 'am* (See map 2: axis Y1). Axis Y1 is identified with the extension route connecting *Via*

⁷⁰ Gökbilgin (1957), pp. 21-29.

⁷¹ Consult Table 22: Nos. 1-17 of the appendix and TTD187, pp. 110-113 for the 1568 register.

⁷² Gökbilgin (1957), pp. 30-35.

Egnatia with the main entrance of the Byzantine castle (See map 2: A1). The ‘*imaret*’ was facing to the *tarikî ‘am* and it was erected in close proximity to the main gate of the Byzantine castle. In this sense, it reflects the accustomed proto-Ottoman site reasoning we attested at *Bursa*, *Dimetoka* and as we will see, at *Siroz*.⁷³ According to this, the first Ottoman monuments which were erected outside the city-walls were aligned along pre-tracked routes of access that extended from the gates of the Byzantine castle. In this sense, the orientation of the monument as allowing to the *tarikî ‘am* justifies the lack of a *kibla* orientation for the building.

The first scholar to have published the monument was Kiel in his articles from 1971 and 1983.⁷⁴ In the first, he suggested that it was a typical example of an early *T-shaped* mosque, but of a plan and set-up of which there exist no other examples. Although, Ayverdi noticed that there is no evidence of a central section of the *revak*, he agreed with Kiel’s overall analysis and only objected to the size of the reconstructed *revak*.⁷⁵ Doukata and Bakirtzis who discussed the imaret after 1980s, although, they complied with Kiel’s argument as a *T-shaped* mosque, observed main discrepancies to his architectural examination: the

⁷³ Consult the ‘Town-planning conception’ sections of chapters 1. and 3.

⁷⁴ Kiel (1971)¹, pp. 415-444; Kiel (1983), pp. 117-138.

⁷⁵ I am providing the translation of Ayverdi’s text, since all articles on the ‘*imaret*’ made use of his work, but they did not notice his objection to Kiel’s description. “The Gazi Hacı Evrenos *mescid* and *imaret*: we have in our hands the *Gazi Hacı Evrenos* foundation deed from *Siroz*. But it doesn’t refer to its foundation at *Gümülcine*. It only cites the deceased *Sami Hacı Hacı Evrenos* from 1950’s, who was the first descendant to become an administrator of the *vakf* with such an epithet. *Evliya* and three documents of the *Evkaf Kamil Kepeci* class refer to the *mescid* at *Gümülcine*. In one document it even appears the hall lot of the *vakfs* at *Yenice-i Vardar*, *Gümülcine*, *Siroz*, *Selanik* and *Vodine*. The *imaret* is preserved in a state of ruins. Kiel provided a ground-plan of the imaret. The alterations inferred at the right wing and the central dome are shown on the tentative ground-plan in a different sketched line. His inspection, at its biggest part, is correct. Besides, the building could not have been of a different type. Still, evidences have only survived from the right wing. However, it is not possible that the *revak* was roofed with four cross-vaults, since no evidence is shown of a middle opening of the porch. Additionally, the size of the columns is also doubtful. May as it be, since his drawing gives us an idea, we include this as a picture. As it can be seen from the pictures, the building exists but only at a miserable state. The masonry is of the type of alternating layers. Still the domes are carrying their tile coating with the lower sequences made of old tiles, while the upper sequences of newer, round tiles. Ayverdi (1982), p. 220.

central compartment of the tripartite structure is open on the north side, it has no frontal portico and there are no remains of a *minaret*.⁷⁶

In 2008 when the articles from Doukata and Bakirtzes appeared, Lowry published the first in a series of books on the process of Ottomanization in Northern Greece. In this, he presented literary evidence which extended the theory that the initial allocation of the building was that of *Hacı Evrenos*' residence, before the transfer of his seat from *Gümülcine* to *Siroz* in 1384. Quoting from Lowry, the Ottoman chronographer *Gelibolu Ali* from the second half of 16th c. writes: “after he had lived in *Gümülcine* for a period, he converted his home there into an *imaret* and han and moved to *Siroz*. After he had conquered *Yenice Vardar* he converted his home in *Siroz* into an *imaret* and han and moved to *Yenice*”, b) “it is related that when the famous Commander was residing in *Gümülcine* he was disturbed by some incident and moved to *Siroz*. At that point in time he converted his houses in *Gümülcine* into an *imaret*. Afterwards he was unhappy and left *Siroz* as well. When he came to *Yenice Vardar* he settled down there. Then he endowed his houses in *Siroz* to his *imaret*. When the time had come that he journeyed to the other world his Palace in *Vardar* was also turned into an *imaret*. It is well-known that the aforesaid pious foundation is permitted to be the recipient of the incomes of several prosperous villages”.⁷⁷

In view of this ground-breaking testimony and in conjunction with a significant schematic deviation from the accustomed plan of the *T-shaped* mosque that both so-called ‘*imarets*’ of *Hacı Evrenos* at *Gümülcine* and *Yenice Vardar* present, we should then seriously examine the possibility of this being the earliest sample of Ottoman vernacular architecture that survives to our days. Although, the dating of the monument has been defined with a precision, the question of its architectural identification is still under discussion. In this

⁷⁶ S. Doukata, “Imaret”, *Ottoman Architecture in Greece-Hellenic Ministry of Culture Directorate of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Antiquities*, Athens, 2008, pp. 324-326; C. Bakirtzis - P. Xydias, “Imaret, Komotini, Greece”, in A. Stephanidou (ed.), *Kosmikē Mesaiōnikē Architektonikē sta Balkania 1300-1500 kai ē diatērēsē tēs*, Thessaloniki, 2009, pp. 294-295; Lowry (2008), pp. 41-47; Lowry (2009), pp.32-34.

⁷⁷ Lowry (2008), pp. 41-43.

section, we will examine whether a theory extending the possibility that the monument has undergone two utilitarian phases, from a house to an ‘*imaret*’ could be typologically supported.

The *Gümülcine* paradigm is a tripartite structure which comprises of an axially arranged, volumetric unit of *domed sofa-vaulted eyvan* as devised by Eren, flanked by two side rooms [*tabhanes*] equipped with storage spaces and fireplaces. The *domed sofa* section measures 7.40 x 7.60 m. Its dome is supported from south on the vaulted *eyvan* and from east and west on two arches tectonic to the walls by the means of pendentives (See pl. 28). What constitutes essential diversion from any parallel of the type is the fact that the *domed sofa* remains open.



Pl. 28:
Ground
plan of the
imaret of
Hacı
Evrenos at
Gümülcine
(Bakirtzēs-
Xydas
2008, pp.
294-295)

According to the *T-shaped* mosque theory, the monument would be categorised under the I planimetric sub-type as devised by Dogan.⁷⁸ In this case, the *domed sofa* functions as the pivotal unit that allows access to the prayer space proper and to the side rooms. Typological parallels can be then considered the ‘*imarets*’ of *Koca Mehmed Paşa* at Osmaniçik (1439) (See pl. 29), the *Mezid Bey* at Edirne (1441-42) and to a lesser extent, since they have a portico, the *Gazi Mihal* (1422) and *Beylerbeyi* (1429) ‘*imarets*’ at Edirne. None of these

⁷⁸ A.I. Doğan, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Tarikat Yapıları, Tekkeler, Zaviyeler ve Benzer Nitelikteki Fütüvvet Yapıları*, PhD Thesis, İTÜ, İstanbul, 1977, pp. 109-199.

examples nor, for the matter, do any of the inspected ‘*imaret*’ parallels, exhibit an open *domed sofa* unit axially arranged within a tripartite layout with lateral gravity.



Pl. 29 In search of typological parallels: a) *Abdullah Muhin Zaviye* (Emir 1994, vol.1, pl. 118) and b) various *zaviyes* bearing similarities with the *Gümülcine* ground plan (Dogan 1977, pp. 196, 212)

However, one monument from the broader spectrum of the *zaviye-cami*’ type presents such a dynamic treatment of the *domed sofa* unit. This is the *mescid* of *Akçebe Sultan* at Alanya dating from the 1230s. A single domed space is abutted by a *domed sofa-vaulted eyvan* unit, which form together a rectangle. Access is allowed from the main domed unit and the *domed sofa*, which is entirely open at one side.⁷⁹ However, contrary to our example the arched opening does not occur along the axis of the *vaulted eyvan* and more importantly the domical unit of *dome sofa-vaulted eyvan* is not bound within a tripartite layout with lateral gravity.

To return to the ‘*imaret*’, the fact that the axially arranged *domed sofa* unit remains open means that it is being turned into a free-standing *eyvan*. The moment this qualitative shift is perceived the layout of the *imaret* can be read as a tripartite layout with an *axial eyvan*. In this context, the frontal *eyvan* can be left open since it allows to an inner courtyard or in any case is perceived as bounded by perimeteric fencing. Then the architectural parallels are

⁷⁹ O. Aslanapa, *Anadolu’da ilk Türk mimarisi başlangıcı ve gelişmesi*, Ankara 1991, pp. 60-61.

infinite. Tripartite layouts with axially arranged vaulted *eyvans* flanked by lateral rooms that allow access to an inner courtyard [the *sofa*] are attested in Ottoman vernacular architecture.⁸⁰

As evidence one could point to the Ottoman houses of *Suratlı Malike* at Tire and the residence of *Selime Hatun* at Adana (See Pl. 30).



Pl. 30 Tire Suratlı Malike and Adana Selime Hatun residences (Eldem 1955, p. 53) and the *yazlık* compartments of the *Şifahane* of the Bayezid II complex at Edirne (1488) (Photo: Bessi)

Tripartite vernacular structures with axially arranged *eyvans* were used in our analysis as archetypes in order to derive the core planimetric scheme and to stress the residential character of the type. However, the actual parallel survives not in a synchronic frame to our 14th century *‘imaret*, but in a 16th century building, namely the main *Şifahane* section of Bayezid II’s *külliyeye* at Edirne (1488). The octagonal layout of the *Şifahane* arranges four tripartite units—planimetric micrographs of the *‘imaret*—around an inner domed courtyard (See pl. 31). To the entrance of the octagon leads a corridor which is comprised of identical units arranged in a manner so as to face one another. These *domed sofa-lateral chambers* tripartite layouts were discerned into *kışlak* and *yazlık* and were meant

⁸⁰ S.H. Eldem, *Türk Evi Osmanlı Dönemi*, İstanbul, 1955, pp. 28-53.

for the accommodation of the patients. Thus, the residential dimension of these structures should be seriously considered.



Pl. 31 The imaret of *Hacı Evrenos* at *Gümülcine* and the interior of the *Şifahane* of Bayezid II complex at Edirne (1488) (Photo: Lowry-Erünsal 2010 and Bessi)

In view of the frontal *eyvan* opening employed as an attested architectural convention in the ‘*imaret* of *Hacı Evrenos* at *Gümülcine*— and more clearly at *Yenice-i Vardar*— as much as it reconfirms Emir’s initial theory with regards to the dynamic character of the volumetric unit *domed sofa-vaulted eyvan*, it would be difficult to put forward an argument without accepting the agency of the scheme of a court with four *eyvans* traditionally extended by Eyice.⁸¹ What we propose is that both monuments under *Hacı Evrenos*’ patronage were created under the synergistic influence of both schemes as hybrids. This became possible thanks to the multi-functional character of both types. On that respect, we can refer to the well tracked dimension of the *domed sofa-vaulted eyvan* as the domical unit of various spatial

⁸¹ S. Emir, *Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında çok işlevli yapılar: kentsel kolonizasyon yapıları olarak zaviyeler*, İzmir 1994, vol. I. pp. 25-30.

organizations. Its recurrence in a 16th century's *Şifahane* shows how resilient and versatile a scheme it was. Its versatility becomes further evident from the fact that it has served a great scope of religious and secular purposes from mosques, *gonbats* and *ziyaretgahs* to *medreses*, *daruşifas*, *hans*, pavilions and *konaks* (See pls. 32-33). In this sense, the plasticity of the scheme is unquestionable.



Pl. 32 Hacı Evrenos imarets at *Gümülcine* and *Yenice-i Vardar* (Lowry-Erünsal 2010, pp. 30, 88)



Pl. 33: Khorasan : a) Kermani mosque at Torbate Cam (14th c.) and b) Cuma mescid at Bastam (13th c.) (Photo: Bessi)

Therefore, we should seriously consider the possibility that the initial construction of the *Hacı Evrenos imaret* at *Gümülcine* meant to house his household, which can be thus identified as his ‘konak’. Given the fact that, only one construction phase of the monument can be identified, we can conclude that the conversion from a house to an ‘*imaret*’ was possible because the first use was compatible with the second. That is to say, the building continued accommodating a dwelling function with a shift from the private to public sphere. The schematic deviation from the *T-shaped* mosque remains a reminder of its first use and corroborates the written source attesting to its initial building as the ‘konak’ of *Hacı Evrenos*. However, nowadays we only see part of the initial phase. The *domed sofa* unit remained exposed because it was enveloped within a courtyard that has not been preserved nowadays. Unpublished excavational data that came to light by the 15th Directorate of Antiquities revealed remnants of a perimetric wall.⁸²

To summarise, this section has argued that although *Hacı Evrenos*’ financial predominance in *Gümülcine* cannot but be incontestable, the broader project of Ottomanization was sustained in the frontier principalities [*uç beyliks*] of the Balkans through the activities of the *Ahis*. In return for their services in conquering these lands, the first sultans awarded to them land freeholds [*mülk*] or concessions of the profits generated from appointed lands, which they used for the establishment of a type of convent, the *zaviye*. The examination of the archival material has shown that the first *zaviyes* established in *Gümülcine* were endowed with gardens, orchards and abandoned lands, the cultivation of which along with the laying of further infrastructure on pivotal thoroughfares ensured the maintenance and enhancement of the urban network and suggests the role of the *ahis* as cornerstones of stability within the urban context. In light of the developed network of the *zaviyes*, it

⁸² For this information I am indebted to the archaeologist Ms. Sophia Doukata from the 12th Directorate of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Antiquities of Kavala.

becomes understood that the first sultans conceptualized a dynamic mechanism, which generated tailor-made administrative solutions for the newly conquered lands by empowering capable administrators (*ahis-dervishes*) with administrative and fiscal autonomy (tax-exemptions).

The pragmatic and rational mind of these first agents of Ottomanization reflects in the morphological development of the early Ottoman town. The elucidation of the axial morphological solution adopted in *Gümülcine* proves that early Ottoman patterns of settlement far exceed the simplistic description of an anarchal settlement in the uninhabited, rural or peripheral zones of the cities. The attested systemic arrangement, which evolved into a pattern of settlement, assumed the form of a stable denominator indicated by a river—the *Şirkalı*—and a major route—the *Via Egnatia*—in relation to which the *çarşıya* or *tarika* ‘am (axes *Y* and *YI*) was developed. This level of morphological synthesis presupposes the development of a monitoring process that allowed the early Ottomans to assess how the landscape of the outskirts was configured and then, to canalize access to the citadel accordingly. In this sense, the case-study of *Gümülcine* came to corroborate the argument put forward in the introduction on how the formation of the Ottoman town lies in the synergy of two pivotal geographical divisions, [*i.e.*], the kernel and the fringe belt.

Chapter 3: Siroz

A. Post-conquest *Siroz*: the reconfiguration of a town

Archival material

The review of the archival material on the demographic synthesis of *Siroz* means to serve the purpose of systemizing the stages of urban development within a periodization structure parallel to that for the town of *Dimetoka*. The published archival material on the city of *Siroz*, when compared to other major cities of the lower Balkans, is ample.¹ Due to the extensiveness of the published material, it was necessary that a selection of pivotal surveys was made and that a certain period of study was defined. The criteria for the selection can be summed up as follows: the surveys were of the extensive variety [*mufassal*], that only short interims should have elapsed between surveys and that they were, wherever possible, dated with precision. Therefore, we will focus on the period of 30 years of urban history extending from the first, surviving survey of 1454² until the 1478 survey³, with the inclusion of the intermediate survey of “*Kiril i Metodji*”.⁴

The “*Kiril i Metodji*” survey which dates from Mehmed II’s reign, contains entries concerning a period of twenty-two years (1456-1478) and is thought to precede the 1478 register.⁵ The importance of the “*Kiril i Metodji*” survey lies in the fact that it is the earliest source of analytic information on the breakdown of the quarters; since, the securely dated 1454 survey provides us with only two generic entries of Muslims and Christians with no

¹ Stoyanovski (1978); Balta (1995); Lowry (2008), pp. 140-208.

² BOA. TT3 858 (1454-1455), pp. 156-173; This survey has been published by Stoyanovski (1978). However, I did not have the chance to consult this source. Therefore, for the use of any data extrapolated from this survey, I relied on my own readings and the notes from Balta(1995). The dating of the survey in 1454 as against the previously accepted date of 1464-1465 was argued by Ursinus (1986), pp. 25-36.

³ BOA. TT7 883 (1478-1479), pp. 220-237. An abridged, first publication of its transcription is provided by Balta(1995), pp. 258-260; a detailed transcription is provided by Lowry(2008), pp. 180-184.

⁴ Narodna Biblioteka “*Kiril i Metodji*” (Sofia), Orientalski Otdel: Fonds 122 A, a.e. 425A: Balta (1995), pp. 251-256.

⁵ The justification of why this survey precedes the 1478 is provided by Balta (1995), p. 251, footnote 1.

reference to the breakdown of the quarters. In this way, it is reminiscent of the practice we encountered in the 1485 survey from *Dimetoka* with regards to the registering of the Christian population.⁶

In this section, we will attempt to establish an image of the demographic fluctuations, examine what might have caused them and how these were reflected in the urban fabric. At the second stage, using the same methodological approach as in the previous chapters, we will cross-reference demographic with topographic data in our attempt to periodize the stages of urban development.

The 1454 survey contains a total of 573 adult married male-headed households [*hanes*]; from this total a striking 37% share is registered with their occupations.⁷ This practice served to denote newly arrived settlers, which for the facilitation of the scribes would be differentiated among them with their occupations as an identifier.⁸

From the above, we can attest that some 70 years after the conquest of the town, the Muslim demographic supremacy was insured through the transplantation of new settlers. The repopulation of the town was devised through the application of forced deportations accompanied by voluntary migration.⁹ During Murad I's reign (1360-1389), deportation of new-settlers to *Siroz* can be attested on two occasions. In the first case, the seizure of *Kavala*, *Drama*, *Siroz* and *Karaferya* valley by the forces of *Lala Şahin Paşa* was followed in 1374-5 by the colonization of the *Siroz* hinterland with migratory *yürüks* from the *Saruhan* principality.¹⁰ The second influx of *Yürük* masses from *Saruhan* (*Manisa*) to the *Siroz* and *Vardar* valleys was realized either after the battle of Murad I with the *Karamanoğulları* in 1386-7, when *Kara Timurtaş Paşa* passed over to Anatolia with all the military forces of

⁶ Consult Table 1 of the appendix.

⁷ Consult Table 25 of the appendix.

⁸ Lowry (2008), p. 177.

⁹ Consult discussion under subheading "Colonization practises" of the introduction.

¹⁰ Aktepe (1953), pp. 300-301.

Rumeli; or following the conquest of *Istip*, *Drama* and *Siroz* in 1386 when the need for the repopulation of the newly conquered areas was acutely sensed.¹¹

By all means, *Yürüks* cannot be accounted as the only ethnic group, which was transplanted to *Siroz*; Lowry in his transcription of the 1478 survey, allows us to catch a glimpse at the 4.4% share of the total residents carrying ethnic or geographic markers instead of patronyms.¹² A lesser proportion of ethnic names appears in the 1454 survey, which registers two *Arnavuts*, two *Karamanlus*, a *Selanikli*, a *Sofialu*, a *Bursalu*, two *Çerkez*, two *Acems* and two *Arabs*.¹³ These samples on their own may seem small; though, they should be read more as an indicative flavour of the lands from whence these settlers came and an allusion to the scale of the demographic turbulence caused by new settlement, which contributed to the repopulating of *Siroz*.

The influx of the new settlers in the 1454 survey has been interpreted as having followed the fall of Istanbul and thus, it is placed between the autumn of 1453 and before the end of year 1454, when the survey was compiled.¹⁴ Then, the time of their settlement will be used as the *terminus post quem* for the formation of the *vakfs* appearing in the “*Kiril i Metodji*”, while the *terminus ante quem* should be set just before the 1478, when the quarters, which bear the names of these *vakfs*, appear in the Bulgarian survey.¹⁵

The 1454 survey registers the following five *vakfs*: the endowment of the small, communal mosque of *Gazi Hudavendigar* [*vakf-ı mescid-i Gazi Hüdavendigar*], the endowment of the small, communal mosque [*vakf-ı mescid-i Ismail Bey*], the endowment of the dervish convent of *Gazi Evrenos* [*vakf-ı zaviye-yi Gazi Evrenos*], the endowment of *Turhan Bey* [*vakf-ı Turhan Bey*], the endowment of *Bahaeddin Paşa* [*vakf-ı Bahaeddin Paşa*]

¹¹ Barkan (1950-1951), pp.67-68, 72; Gökbilgin (1957), pp. 13-14.

¹² Lowry (2008), p. 176.

¹³ TT3 858 (1454-1455), pp. 156-173.

¹⁴ Karanastasis (1991), pp. 228-229, footnote 94.

¹⁵ Balta (1995), pp. 27, 251 and footnote 757.

and the endowment of *Mahmud* and *Davud Çelebi*, descendents of *Kara Halil Hayreddin Paşa* [*vakf-ı Mahmud ve Davud Çelebi, evlad-ı Kara Halil*].¹⁶

From these six *vakfs* four can be identified with namesake quarters of the “*Kiril i Metodji*” survey; namely, the quarter of the mosque [*mahalle-yi cami*] evolved around the *mescid* of *Gazi Hudavendigar* that was interrelated with the endowment of the descendents of *Halil Hayreddin Paşa* [*vakf-ı evlatlık Halil Hayreddin Paşa*].¹⁷ The quarter of the dervish convent of *Gazi Evrenos* [*mahalle-yi zaviye-yi Gazi Evrenos*] developed around the dervish convent of *Gazi Evrenos* [*vakf-ı zaviye-yi Gazi Evrenos*], the quarter of *Isma’il* [*mahalle-yi Isma’il*] developed around the small, communal mosque [*vakf-ı mescid-i Ismail Bey*] and the last quarter developed around the *zaviye* of *Bahaeddin Paşa*.¹⁸ Then, these four quarters along with the dervish convent [*zaviye*] of *Şeyh Bedreddin* and the quarter of the Royal mint [*mahalle-yi darbhane*] can be securely reconstructed as the town’s proto-Ottoman core that chronologically extends from the town’s conquest in 1383 until Murad II’s reign.¹⁹

The vakfs of the proto-Ottoman phase and their topographic identification

The *vakf* of the mosque of *Gazi Hudavendigar* (Murad I), which is interchangeably registered as *Eski*, ‘*Atik* or *Kebir cami*’, is the first mosque erected by the Ottomans soon after the town’s conquest. According to its dedicatory inscription cited by *Evliya* it was erected by Murad I’s grand vizir *Kara Çandarlı Halil*.²⁰ *Oruç Bey tarihi* recounts that Murad I charged

¹⁶ TT3, pp. 183, 202, 236, 238, 240 ;Balta (1995), 25-26.

¹⁷ See footnote 68.

¹⁸ See footnote 108.

¹⁹ Georgios Kaftantzēs, *Ē historia tēs poleos tōn Serrōn*, vol. 3 (Thessaloniki, 1996), 176-177. Kaftantzēs discusses thoroughly the sources related to the first occupation of the city in 1373 and establishes a dating for its final conquest in 19th of September 1383 based on references derived from five codices.

²⁰ The inscription as translated by Lowry reads: “In the name of the God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This House of Prayer was built for God, may his name be exalted, in the time of Sultan Murad the son of Orhan, by

his grand vizier with the conquest of *Siroz*, which was realised in 1385 after an ambush devised by certain *Azap Bey*.²¹



Pl. 34 *Eski mosque with the minaret of Tatar Hatun mosque showing at the far right corner*
(Kaftantzis 1991, p. 53)

According to the 1454 survey, the salaries of the functionaries of the mosque were secured through the allocation of various urban revenues to the *vakf*. Among these sources of income are registered: a) an annual contribution of 7.200 *akçes* derived from the *cizye* on the residents of the city, b) rents from 6 shops and c) a share of 1.080 *akçes* accrued from the revenues of the *vakf* of the *Çandarlı* descendents, which was meant for the salary of the *imam*. The Bulgarian survey provides us with a more detailed breakdown of the revenues and expenditures composition. In this source, the attempt to balance the total revenue inflow by the expenses of the current period can be attested; since, the detailing of 10.560 *akçes* of income (secured through *cizye* and rents) was meant to cover the annual expenditure of 11.280 *akçes* for the cost of purchased staples (oil and straw) and the salaries of the

the one who stands in need of his Creator, Halil the son of Ali al-Çandarlı in the year h. 787 (1385-1386)". Lowry (2008), p. 145.

²¹ *Oruç Beğ tarihi* (2008), p. 28.

functionaries. By 1478, the revenues of the *vakf* were increased to 13.080 *akçes* and two grants from the *vakf* of *Esleme Hatun* were meant for the purchase of annual oil supplies.²²

The *Eski cami* along with its *medrese* and *hammam* constituted the first *külliye* of the town, which was complemented with the posterior endowment of the *bedesten* by *Halil*'s son *Ibrahim Paşa* (See map 3: B3, B1). For the topographic identification of *Eski hammam*²³, we adopted Nikolaou's view²⁴, who locates it at the north-east of *Eski cami* at the junction of the streets E. *Andronikou kai Plastira*, rather than the most recently argued position by the junction of *Solomou* and *Papapavlou* streets (See Pl. 35).²⁵



Pl. 35 Remains of *Eski hammam* from the last quarter of 14th century at E. Andronikou and Plastera streets. (See map 3: B3) (Photo: Bessi)

Eski hammam appears in two photos published by Tzanakares from the foundation of the National Bank's branch in 1918 (See Pls. 35-36). Still, Tzanakares did not spot the *hammam* in the picture, let alone recognising its identity.²⁶ Three domes of the *hammam* are clearly

²² Balta (1995), pp. 92-93, 106-108, 175.

²³ Ayverdi (1982), p. 283; Uzunçarsılı (1974), p. 26; Balta (1995), p. 171.

²⁴ Nikolaou (1977), p. 25, Pl. 1.

²⁵ Lowry (2008), pp. 147-149.

²⁶ Tzanakares (1995), pp. 163-168.

shown on the picture; the two higher ones correspond to the *tepidarium* and the side, the lower one to the hot section proper.



Pl. 36 The *Eski hammam* in a 1918 picture, which depicts the foundation of the National Bank's branch at *Siroz* (The picture was published by Tzanakares 1995, pp. 166-167. The identification of the monument is product of my own research)



Pl. 37 The *Eski hammam*. (The picture was published by Tzanakares 1995, p. 130. The identification of the monuments is product of my own research)

The other *hammam* at Solomou and Papapavlou should be identified with the *Debbağlar hammam* (See map 3: C7). The placement of the monument on the reconstructed map revealed its spatial affinity with the adjacent *Debbağlar cami*' and made its identification incontestable (See map 3: C6). Therefore, although, the *Debbağlar hammam* was described by Evliya as an old monument with pleasant water and ambience, it cannot be considered as dating from any earlier than the second half of the 16th century.²⁷

If this is correct, then why was the *külliye* placed at that position? The reconstructive map shows that these three congruent parts of the *külliye* [*mosque-hammam-bedesten*] were aligned along the *çarşıya* (axis γ). Axis Y constitutes the extension of the Byzantine *çarşıya* (known as *günlük*) outside the walled city, which became the spine of the proto-Ottoman settlement. As attested in the case-studies of *Dimetoka* and *Gümülcine*, the *çarşıya* and its sub-routes (axis γ_2) were extending from the gates of the Byzantine castle, such as the gate of the Forum (See map 3: A1) and the A3 side-gate. That means that the arteries of the Ottoman town correspond to pre-existent tracks of access and that the earliest *külliye* endowed to the town was positioned based on the main gate of the castle (A1) as a reference. It becomes then understood that the Ottomans marginalized the inner polarity (the Byzantine castle) and reconfigured the town under the new, external polarity, which assumed the configuration of the first Ottoman *külliye* of *Siroz*. The *külliye* constituted the converging point of the axial system (axes Y - Y_1 - Y_2), which regulated infrastructural development in the outer suburb [*varoş*].

We would also need to reflect on what the spatial interrelation of *Eski cami*' with its dependencies suggests? As shown on the reconstructed map, the *hammam* and the mosque which are both dated from the last quarter of the 14th c. were built at a distance. If we accept the prevailing dating for the *bedesten* in the second half of the 15th century, then this space

²⁷ Ayverdi (1982), p. 283, entry no. 2587; "Ve Debbağlar hammam, kar-ı kadimdir, ab u hevası latifdir", *Çelebi* (2003), p. 59.

inbetween was filled by a century later. Given the spatial congruity of these three monuments in conjunction with a number of architectural irregularities attested in the masonry of the *bedesten*, it seems that such an interpretation cannot be considered as plausible. The architectural survey of the *bedesten* under the subheading ‘Vakfs associated with extant monuments’ of the current chapter means to establish its building phases and to readdress the issue of its dating.

The last component of the *külliye* was the *medrese* which was located in the vicinity of the *cami’i Kebir*. *Evliya* describes that the mosque was lacking a courtyard, as it was built on a small plot of land, which justifies the placement of the *medrese* in the vicinity and not within the precincts of the mosque.²⁸ The same arrangement is also attested at *Dimetoka*, where the Bayezid I [Mehmed Çelebi] mosque was lacking a courtyard and its *medrese* was erected at a distance. Throughout the second half of the 16th century, the allocated revenue of 3,384 *akçes* meant to cover the salary of the *müderris* of the *medrese*, who was also serving as the *mütevelli* of the *vakf*. This revenue was derived from the rents of 16 shops within the town.²⁹

The second most significant *vakf* of the proto-Ottoman phase that of the *zaviye* of *Hacı Evrenos* (See map 3: B4).³⁰ *Evliya* recounts that Murad I conquered *Siroz* for the first time in 1376 by the hand of *Hacı Evrenos*; though, shortly after the Christians managed to reoccupy the city. Once again, *Hacı Evrenos* conquered the city in 1385, who in order to prevent it

²⁸ “ama teng mahalde bina olunmak ile haremi yoktur”, *Çelebi* (2003), p. 57.

²⁹ Balta (1995), p. 134.

³⁰ Based on the information provided by the “Description plates” nos. 6271, 6242, 6271-2 of the exchanged land parcels, Kaftantzēs reconstructed the position of the imaret as located at the junction of Rakintze-Karaiskake-Miaoule and Kresnas streets. Kaftantzēs (1996), p. 270, footnote 205. Before the publication of Balta’s work, he had published an historical picture with the following caption: “this is the mosque (*medrese*) of *Evrenos* at the quarter of *Evrenos Bey*, which was to be found eastern from the neighbouring *Idadi* (*imaret quarter*); further down, it can be seen the *Sevayit Bey cami’i* at *Eslime Hatun* quarter. This was burnt in 1955 and in its place was erected the house of *G.Floka* (*Kresnas Str. 3*). This picture has been taken from a bridge over *Klopotitza* tributary, the nowadays *Kōstopoulou* street”. Kaftantzēs (1986), p. 108, Pl. 196.

from becoming their stronghold once more, tore down parts of the castle.³¹ Although we cannot rely on the dates of the conquest as provided by *Evliya*³², a valuable piece of information remains that *Hacı Evrenos* played a key role in the conquest of *Siroz* and as a result, Murad I (1360-1389) bestowed on him extensive part of the lands conquered under his sword. This is confirmed by a 1386 *berat* of Murad I compiled at Bursa that endows to *Evrenos* the areas of *Gümülcine*, *Siroz*, *Manastır*, *Behleşte* and *Hurpişte* as *sancak*.³³ The lands of his *vakf* encompassed a surface of 1.200 km. of the Vardar valley stretching between the rivers of Aliakmon and Axios.³⁴

According to the canonical law, *Gaza* attainments were meant either to be expended for the benefit of the deprived and the travellers or to be set aside as a reserve in the interest of the future Muslim generations³⁵; under this spirit, Murat I granted to *Hacı Evrenos* extensive part of the lands conquered under his sword as freehold property [*mülk*]. Subsequently, *Hacı Evrenos* converted the freehold property [*mülk*] granted by Murad I into *vakfs* and appointed from amongst his descendents administrators, who would manage the revenue generating sources allocated for the maintenance of his pious foundations.³⁶

The endowment deed of his *zaviye* at *Siroz* was granted by Mehmet Çelebi (1413-1421) and dates from 1415; the sources of income allocated to the *zaviye* can be identified in the taxation collected from the villages of *Valtos*, *Gölka* and *Malıçay* in the *Vardar* valley, of *Toumba* at *Zihna* and of *Bolka*, along with the revenues generated from orchards, vineyards,

³¹ “777 tarihinde Gazi Hudavendigar fethidir be dest-i Gazi Evrenos. Ba’dehu küffar-ı bed-kırdar-ı murdar bu şehre yine istila edüp yine sene 786 tarihinde Gazi Evrenos feth edüp bir dahi küffar-ı haksara cay-ı me’men olmasın deyü kal’asın cabeca rahnedar etmişdir”, *Çelebi* (2003), p. 56; Moschopoulos (1936), p. 158.

³² For a thorough discussion on the conditions and dates of the conquest as derived from the Byzantine sources: Kaftantzēs (1996), pp. 175-177.

³³ Z. S. Zengin, “İlk dönem Osmanlı vakfiyelerinden Serez’de Evrenuz Gazi’ye ait zaviye vakfiyesi,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. 28, 2004, p. 96.

³⁴ Vassilēs Dēmētriadēs, “Forologikes katēgories tōn chōriōn tēs Thessalonikēs kata tēn Tourkokratia,” *Makedonika Μακεδονικά* vol. 20, 1980, pp. 375-448.

³⁵ Barkan (1963), p. 240; Köprülü (1942), pp. 26,29.

³⁶ Balta (1995), pp. 139-143.

shops, salt mines, an estate and plots at *Siroz*.³⁷ The 15th century structure was rebuilt in the 18th century by one of his descendents, *Isa Bey*. According to the testimonial of *Esat Serez* who wrote on the *Hacı Evrenos Cami*' of *Siroz*: "it was a large, historical *cami*'-yi *şerif*, located at the quarter of *Eğri Çinar* (See map 3: B7), where the famous *Bedreddin Simavi* was hung. The structure which was built under the supervision of *Hacı Evrenos* himself had fallen into ruins and it was built by his descendent *Isa Evrenos* in the year 1778. It had a large dome covered with lead and one slender and very tall minaret".³⁸

The sources of income allocated to the *zaviye* can be identified in the record of taxation collected from the villages *Valtos*, *Gölka* and *Malıçay* in the *Vardar* valley, of *Toumba* at *Zihna* and of *Bolka*³⁹; along with the revenues generated from orchards, vineyards, shops, salt mines, an estate and some inns at *Siroz*. The data extrapolated from the Bulgarian surveys, register revenues derived from the aforementioned village of *Tumba*, a farm [*çiftlik*] within the boundaries of the neighbouring *Kameniça* quarter (See map 3: C13) and rents from urban estates. In addition, three groups of dependants as suggested by Balta, are registered under his *vakf*: the *cema'ats* of Christian slaves and *Yürüks*; in 1530, the first group remitted to his *vakf* the amount of 60 *akçes per capita* for the *ispençe*, poll-tax and other of the extraordinary taxes, while the second group remitted the amount of 1,533 *akçes*.⁴⁰

The last group of dependants, namely the employees of his *imaret*, cannot be associated, in my opinion, with the aforementioned groups. The entry of this group should be rather connected with the group of dependants registered under his *Gümülcine imaret*; that is to say, the nineteen households of his extended family at *Gümülcine* [*ta'aluqat-ı*

³⁷ Zengin (2004), 97-99; Ayverdi (1982), 277. An idea of the total revenue allocated for the maintenance of the *zaviye* can be derived from the tax registers. The data extrapolated from the 1454 survey are fragmented and we have a concrete idea only of the contribution from the *Toumba* village (9,957 *akçes*); the 1519 survey records revenues of 43.664 *akçes*. Balta (1995), pp. 142, 144.

³⁸ Lowry (2012), p. 27.

³⁹ Zengin (2004), pp. 97-98.

⁴⁰ Balta (1995), p. 141.

Evrenosluyan].⁴¹ As, there is no indication of these groups contributing to the income of the *vakf*, we can assume that their entry meant to denote that they were provided for by the *vakf*. This means that his descendents or individuals from his household at *Gümülcine* and *Siroz*, would be provided for after his death by being appointed to certain positions or by simply having a stipend allocated for them.

Finally, in order to realise the financial scale of his *'imaret* at *Siroz*, we would need to compare its total revenue with that of his *'imaret* at *Gümülcine* for which we possess concrete information. Nonetheless, the data for the *Siroz 'imaret* in 1454 are fragmented and from all sources of revenue (as recorded in the 1414 *vakfiyye*), we have a solid idea only of the contribution from the *Toumba* village. This amounts to 9,957 *akçes*⁴², in the same time when the amount of some 111,664 *akçes* was allocated to his *'imaret* at *Gümülcine*⁴³, through a variety of urban resources, taxation from villages, lump sums passed on from previous years and the sales of the yield. A more balanced impression is provided from the 1519 data, when the income from *Siroz* reached the amount of 43.664 *akçes* and from *Gümülcine* an income of 55,902 *akçes* was recorded.⁴⁴

The third *vakf* which relates to an identified quarter is that of *'İsma'il Bey* (See map 3: B5, D3 and map 5: ii) located to the south of the *Hacı Evrenos* quarter.⁴⁵ The identification of the quarter is provided by Kaftantzēs, who although being able to define the borders of the quarter with precision (as shown on the map), identified the mosque of the quarter with the mosque D3, which clearly lies outside the boundaries of the quarter.⁴⁶ The 1454 survey records the *vakf* of the *mescid* of *'İsma'il Bey*, as being endowed with 6 shops that remitted

⁴¹ See Table 20: No. I.11 of the appendix.

⁴² Balta (1995), p. 144.

⁴³ Mc.Yz. 0.89 (1455-1473), p. 30; For the analytic breakdown of the revenues consult Table 21 of the appendix.

⁴⁴ Balta (1995), p. 142; *BOA*, TT.d. 70 925(1519), p. 32 and Table 21 of the appendix.

⁴⁵ References on the name of the *vakf* and of the *quarter* are provided by Balta (1995), pp. 104-105, 252, 258, 263.

⁴⁶ Kaftantzēs (1996), p. 172.

annually to the *vakf* 620 *akçes* and a mill that remitted quarterly 400, thus some 1820 *akçes* of total revenues.⁴⁷ Since, Ayverdi records only the mosque of *Evlad-ı Fatihan* at the quarter of *'İsma'il Bey*⁴⁸, and no reference to either a *mescid* or a mosque is made in *Evliya*'s list of the town's twelve Friday mosques⁴⁹, we can extend the hypothesis that the *Evlad-ı Fatihan Cami*' corresponds to the conversion of the aforementioned *mescid* into a mosque in the period after 1500s. If this is correct, then a communal *mescid* cannot be considered as outside the boundaries of its quarter, which means that the identity of the D3 mosque remains still undetermined.

Such a hypothesis seems plausible, since, *'İsma'il Bey* derives his right over the land from the time of the conquest. Based on information retrieved from from the *vakf* of his *çiftlik*, he can be associated with the period of the interregnum. Emir Süleyman granted *'İsma'il Bey*'s grandfather a *mülk*; the main bulk of his lands were at *Ipsala* and another part should be with certainty reconstructed at *Siroz*. Under the confiscatory policy of Mehmed II the *mülk* was dispersed in *timars* and during Bayezid II's reign it was returned to *'İsma'il Bey*'s son, *Ilyas Çelebi*. In 1485, *'İsma'il Bey*'s great granddaughter, *Ayşe Hatun* inherited one third of the *çiftlik*, which she sold to *Mustafa Paşa*. *Mustafa Paşa*, in his turn, endowed the land to a mosque and an *'imaret* he founded at *Siroz*.⁵⁰ The mosque of *Koca Mustafa Paşa* has survived to our days and we can also identify the name of its quarter. It was located

⁴⁷ Information on the *vakf* and the namesake quarter: TT3, 202; Stoyanovski (1978), p. 185; Balta (1995), 104-105, 252, 258, 263.

⁴⁸ Ayverdi (1982), p. 279.

⁴⁹ The mosques are: 1) *Eski cami'i*, 2) *Zeyni Kadi cami'i*, 3) *Ahmed Paşa cami'i*, 4) *Makremeli cami'i*, 5) *Alaca cami'i*, 6) *Selçuk Sultan cami'i*, 7) *Türbe-i Pür-envar cami'i*, 8) *Koca Mustafa cami'i*, 9) *Kara Ahmed cami'i*, 10) *Kara Hasan cami'i*, 11) *Abdizade cami'i* and 12) *Ali Bey cami'i*. Çelebi (2003), pp. 57-58.

⁵⁰ Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livasi, mukataalar, vakıflar, mülkler*, p. 198; Balta (1995), pp. 108-109.

within the confines of the quarter *Bacdar Hayreddin*, which was adjacent to *'Isma'il Bey*'s quarter (See map 3: C14).⁵¹

The fourth *vakf* that constitutes one of the most venerated shrines of proto-Ottoman *Siroz* is the *vakf* of the *zaviye* of *Şeyh Bedreddin*, located adjacent to the *Orta Mezarlık* (See map 3: B6, B7). Although the exact date of its foundation is not known, as there is no reference to the *vakf* in the 1454 survey and the earliest data are retrieved from the reign of Suleiman I (1520-1566)⁵², *Şeyh Bedreddin*'s return to Asia Minor coincides with the period of the interregnum (1402-1413). From 1410 to 1413, he served as *kazasker* of Musa Çelebi, from which position was removed and was exiled to *Iznik* by the contender to the throne Mehmed Çelebi. However, he managed to escape to northern Thrace, where he revolted against the state and expressed his intention to usurp the throne. He was defeated by the *beylerbey* *Bayezid Paşa*, and was caught and hanged in 1416 in the courtyard of a shop within the market of *Siroz*. From 1410 to 1413, he served as *kazasker* of Musa Çelebi, from which position was removed and was exiled to *Iznik* by the contender to the throne Mehmed Çelebi. However, he managed to escape to northern Thrace, where he revolted against the state and expressed his intention to usurp the throne. He was defeated by the *beylerbey* *Bayezid Paşa*, and was caught and hanged in 1420 in the courtyard of a shop within the market of *Siroz*.⁵³

His body was buried in a *türbe* at *Siroz*, which was described by Babinger who visited the city sometime after the population exchange (1926).⁵⁴ The identification of its position within the contemporary city-plan was realised by Zengines, who in collaboration with the city-planner Nikolaou defined the street and the dimensions of its plot of land (16 sq.m.).⁵⁵ This occupies in our reconstructive map the western fringes of *Orta Mezarlık* (See map 3: B7).

⁵¹ Consult discussion under the subheading: Vakfs associated with extant monuments, pp. 213-217.

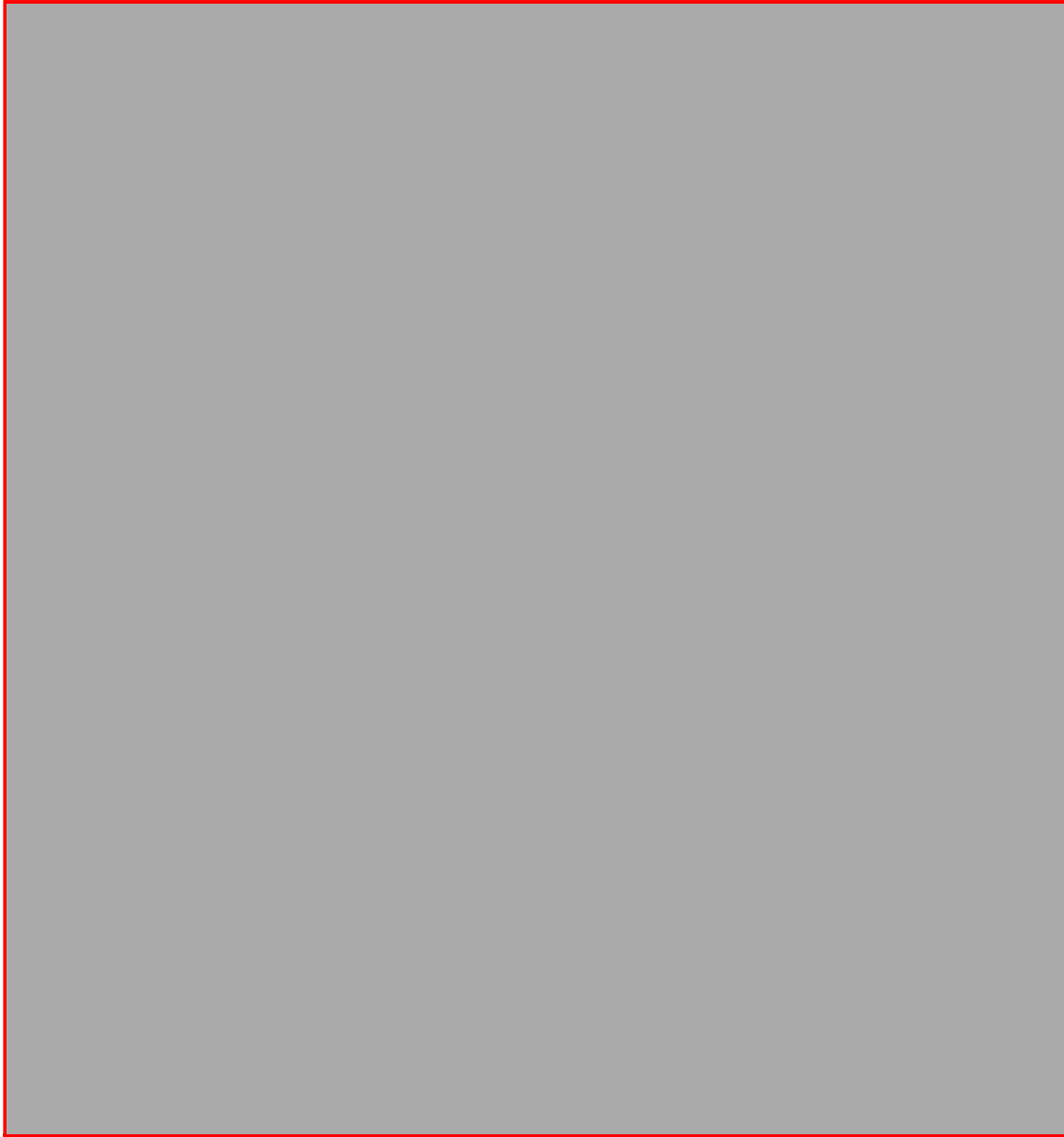
⁵² TT167 937 (1530-1531), p. 78 and TT403 934 (1528-1529), p. 521 as cited in Balta (1995), pp. 119-120.

⁵³ Uzunçarşılı (1982), pp. 362-365; Babinger (1921), p. 47.

⁵⁴ Babinger (1928), pp. 100-102, 121.

⁵⁵ Zengines (1996), p. 144, footnote 67.

In the same year, Kaftantztes published a series of historical pictures from the beginning of the 19th c. depicting the thatched *türbe* of the *Şeyh*, enveloped by the *Qadiri zaviye*.⁵⁶



**Pl. 38: Pür Envar and Qadiri zaviye of Şeyh Bedreddin
(Kaftantztes 1996, p. 183).**

Ayverdi records five monuments as related to the *zaviye* and its precincts.⁵⁷ The first was the *Emir Efendi cami*’ located at the *harim* [courtyard] of the *Şeyh Bedreddin türbe*.⁵⁸ He

⁵⁶ Kaftantztes (1996), pp. 182-187; Konuk (2010), pp. 326-327.

further explains that this mosque was recorded under the entry of the *Koca Emin Efendi zaviye*.⁵⁹ Indeed, further down he records the *zaviye* of *Koca Emin Efendi cami*’, as being located at the *harem* of the *Şeyh Bedreddin tekye*.⁶⁰ The third monument was the mosque of *Pür Envar türbe*; this is listed as the 7th Friday mosque by *Evliya* and is regarded as the actual *türbe* of *Şeyh Bedreddin* by *Ayverdi*.⁶¹ The fourth monument is the *tekye* of *Bedreddin Simavi* and the fifth is the funerary *tekye* of the *Simavi Şeyh Bedreddin*. These are obviously two different buildings; the latter should be reconstructed within *Orta Mezarlık*, where it was located adjacent to the *Orta Mezarlık cami*’ (See Pl. 39), a 14th c. structure destroyed by the Bulgarians in 1912.⁶² While, the *Bedreddin zaviye* proper should correspond to the humble structures showing at *Kaftantzes* pictures, as encompassing the *Pür Envar*. This was destroyed in 1938 by the Greek proprietors, who purchased the plot of land as an exchanged property.



Pl. 39: Orta Mezarlık mosque (14th c. monument repaired at a later stage) (Kaftantzes 1996, p.183).

⁵⁷ It needs to be mentioned that the foundations related to *Şeyh Bedreddin* should be distinguished from these pertaining to *Bedreddin Bey's* quarter (C10), which is one of the quarters of the classical phase. These are: the *Bedreddin mahallesi mescidi* and the *zaviye* of *Hadice Hatun*. *Ayverdi* (1982), pp. 276, 283.

⁵⁸ Balta translates this part the other way around; that the *türbe* of *Şeyh* was to be found in the mosque of *Koca Emir*. Balta (1995), p. 120.

⁵⁹ *Ayverdi* (1982), p. 276.

⁶⁰ *Ayverdi* (1982), p. 279.

⁶¹ *Ayverdi* (1982), p. 281.

⁶² *Ayverdi* (1982), p. 280.

An equally important foundation for the topography of proto-Ottoman *Siroz* was the *zaviye* of *Bahaeddin Paşa* endowed by Emir Suleiman, Murad I and Bayezid I (1389-1401).⁶³ Its discussion has been left for the end of this section, as its topographic identification lies on a logical, yet tentative hypothesis. *Molla Bahaeddin*, son of *Hizir* of *Tokat*, participated in the conquest of *Siroz* in return for which, he was rewarded with lands within the town.

Since, *Tokat* was not part of the proto-Ottoman state during the reign of Murad I, the presence of *Molla Bahaeddin* reconfirms Barkan's theory on the pivotal contribution of the emigrating Anatolian populations to the formation of the early Ottoman state.⁶⁴ Their role as fermentation agents has been also discussed by Beldiceanu-Steinherr, who emphasized on the identity of *Bahaeddin* and his father as *şeyhs* and founders of a *zaviye*. Besides, Gökbilgin states that he and his father are explicitly described as *mevlanas* in the *vakfiyye*.⁶⁵ According to Beldiceanu: "the existence of *Bahaeddin*... attests to an important phenomenon, the colonization of Rumeli by the dervishes".⁶⁶

According to his first *vakfiyye* from 1388, *Bahaeddin* endowed his *zaviye* with one orchard, ten shops and seven houses within the city; based on his second *vakfiyye* from 1390, the villages of *Gümüş* and *Sarciste* were conveyed to his *zaviye* by Bayezid I as a *mülk*.⁶⁷ The total revenue allocated to the *zaviye* amounted to 6,299 *akçes* in 1454 and 14,056 *akçes* in 1519.⁶⁸

⁶³ TT3, p. 240: vakf-ı merhum Bahaeddin Paşa merhumun Bayezid Hündavendigardan ve Emir Süleyman Beyinden mülkiyet üzere mektubleri vardır zaviyeye sarf olunmuş; The total revenue allocated to the *zaviye* amounted to 6,299 *akçes* in 1454 and 14,056 *akçes* in 1519. Balta (1995), pp. 113-116.

⁶⁴ Consult discussion under subheading "Colonization practises" of the introduction.

⁶⁵ Gökbilgin (1952), p. 221 (second part).

⁶⁶ Beldiceanu-Steinherr (1967), pp. 144-247; Balta (1995), pp. 113-116.

⁶⁷ Gökbilgin (1952), p. 221 (second part).

⁶⁸ Balta (1995), pp. 113-116.

In 1995, Tzanakares published a picture of the so-called *tekye*, which stood until the 1930s at the junction of *Kostopoulou* with *Merarxias* streets (See map. 3: B8 and Pls. 40-41). From the picture the following structure can be discerned: a diagonally arranged single-domed space allowed to an inner courtyard, the shape of which cannot be defined. Ten chimneys are shown on the south-east side of the courtyard, which correspond to the *mutfak* of the *zaviye*. Therefore, we can deduce that the building under question was a *zaviye-‘imaret* and that the courtyard made part of the structure. The dome is executed in the exact same fashion as that of *Hacı Evrenos ‘imaret* at *Gümülcine*; it is a low dome with a flattened, perimetric rim and is covered with tiles. This is unquestionably a 14th century *zaviye*.



Pl. 40: The Bahaeddin Paşa ‘imaret in 1930. (The picture was published by Tzanakares 1995, p. 242. The identification of the monument is product of my own research)



Pl. 41: Domes of Bahaeddin Paşa ‘imaret at Siroz and Hacı Evrenos ‘imaret at Gümülcine. (Photo: Bessi)

Amongst the proto-Ottoman monuments [*Hacı Evrenos 'imaret*, *'Isma'il Bey*, *Şeyh Bedreddin 'imaret*] the *tekye* is the one closest to *Eski cami*', an attestation which is consistent with its dating as a 14th c. structure. Moreover, it lies on the Y2 axis and is aligned with the *Eski cami*', which explains the diagonal arrangement of the domed space in relation to the road (*Merarxias str.*), as it was oriented south-east (towards Mecca). On the other hand, it is positioned at the same latitude with *Bedreddin's zaviye*, the second of the three *zaviyes* of the proto-Ottoman phase and in this way allows a first glimpse to the conception of the proto-Ottoman zoning, which will be discussed extensively in the town-planning section. Based on these stylistic and topographic pieces of evidence, we can deduce that the *tekye* of the picture was the *zaviye* of *Bahaeddin Paşa*.

The discussion of the *vakfs* of the proto-Ottoman phase will be concluded with the only Ottoman foundation that was placed within the castle (See map 3: C1). The quarter of the imperial mint [*Darbhane*] was placed within the castle by the eastern gate (See map 3: A7) and close to the church of the *Saints Antonios and Marina*.⁶⁹ The quarter is related to the *vakf* of *Hacı Kemal*, attendant of the ancient imperial mint of Serres; the identity of the founder is established in a *berat* dating from the reign of Mehmed II. However, the initial foundation of the mint at *Siroz* was placed by Lowry in the reign of Mehmed Çelebi (1413-1421), based on the evidence of a silver *akçe* struck in 1420.⁷⁰ The *vakf* was maintained through the income of 7,200 *akçes* secured from thirty shops, four houses, an orchard, a bakery and ten mills. By the reign of Suleiman I, the allocated income of the *vakf* was increased to 12,314 *akçes*. The 1478 survey provides detailed information on the community of the mint, which based on an imperial patent, was receiving exemption from all extraordinary levies and taxes.⁷¹

⁶⁹ V. Papazoglou, "To nomismatokopecio Serrōn," *Serraika Analekta*, vol. 4, 2006, p. 120.

⁷⁰ Lowry (2008), pp. 177-179.

⁷¹ Balta (1995), pp. 145-146.

Unpublished cartographic evidence: the 1914 topographic survey, the assessor plates of 1923 and the methodology towards the reconstruction of the map of Ottoman Siroz (map 3)

For the case-study of *Siroz*, the reconstruction of the town plan was much aided by the recovery of the twentieth century's cadastres⁷² preserved in the form of assessor plates (See maps 3-4). The plates are made from hard paper stuck on canvas with water-based adhesive and stabilized with a waxing coating. These are archived at the local [*Serres*] branch of the State's Real Estate registry, which is subjected under the Department for the Management of Exchanged Properties. The plates along with the 1914 topographic survey (See map 3) became available to me through the Department of Technical Works of the *Serres* Municipality.⁷³ These plates—that provide topographic cues on the town's mosques—constitute the first official attempt to map and register acquired lands obtained by the Greek state after the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. In a way, these plates compliment the material published by Kaftantzis on the "Entry plates" [Description plates] of the exchanged land parcels.⁷⁴ In his material, the exchanged plots of land were annotated with details of the type of the plot, their dimensions, the names of the neighbourhoods, the names of the new and the old proprietors. It is my understanding that my material constituted the topographic survey, subdivided into consecutive assessor plates, which were meant to complement the 'Entry plates'.

The material retrieved from these plates can be topographically reconstructed only when collated with the 1914 topographic survey and the street plan of 1994.⁷⁵ The topographical survey is not dated. However, based on evidence retrieved from the draft report

⁷² Cadastre: official map recording values pertaining to location, quantity, value and ownership of land parcels within a government jurisdiction, *GIS Glossary* (1997), p. 88.

⁷³ The material was obtained during a fieldtrip realized in November 2010. This was subsidized by Roberts Fund and the University of Birmingham.

⁷⁴ Kaftantzis (1996), pp. 268-294.

⁷⁵ The central section of this map was published by Yerolymbou (2008), pp. 25-60; The analysis of the 1914 street plan, its perspectives and amendments were discussed in Rantou (2008), pp. 61-114.

on the proposal for a regulation of the Greek Parliament (2517/1920) adjusting “The rebuilt of the city of Serres on a new street plan”, we can deduce that this is the topographical survey in scales of 1:2000 conducted by the topographic department of the Greek army around 1914, which incorporates features of the street-system of the lost 1880s Ottoman survey in scales of 1:2000.⁷⁶ This is the first attempt to use this source towards the reconstruction of the town’s Ottoman substratum by employing topographic, defterological and geodetic cues synergistically. All previous efforts were focused on the delineation of the burnt zones following either the 1849 or the 1913 fires.⁷⁷

The topographic survey is a unique cartographic evidence of the city’s mapping before the 1913 fire. It depicts the terrain through references to elevation contours and to the topographic relief, in the form of controlling measurements of land within the *Siroz* plateau and its geodetic datum. Additionally, it integrates a primitive annotation system of map features by delineating the land parcels and build up areas with the abutting properties, the streets, the utility nodes and links. Still, there is no denotation of building blocks or marking of the mosques.

The city as shown on the 1914 topographic survey is the result of a town-planning reform launched after the 1849 fire. This affected an elongated zone extending from *Orta Mezarlık* up to the church of *Agioi Theodoroi* in the castle (See map 3: B6 and church No. 31). The reconfiguration of the city followed the Tanzimat specifications, under the influence of which

⁷⁶ The draft report cites that the Ottoman survey was in scales of 1:2000 and that they relied on it when compiling the street plan of 1913 in scales of 1:500. Along with the 1913 street plan, it was also ordered the compilation of a topographical survey. This is the heretofore presented topographic survey of 1914 in scales of 1:2000. The draft report on the proposal of Papanastatiou is published in Yerolymou (2008), p. 29 (footnote 9) and appendix I: 257-261.

⁷⁷ Nikolaou used the central section of the 1914 topographical survey when delineating the burnt zone after the fire of 1846. Nikos Nikolaou, “Ē megalē pyrkagia tou 1849”, *Serraika Analekta*, vol. 1, 1994, pp. 136-151, Pl. 2; the analysis of the 1914 street plan, its perspectives and ammdements were discussed by Eleni Rantou, “Paradosiakos istos kai nees xaraxeis. To sxedio tou 1914 gia tis Serres”, in A. Yerolymou-Karadēma and L. Theodōridou-Sōtēriou (eds.), *Serres 1900-1940 xōros kai istoria*, Serres, 2008, pp. 61-114.

they attempted to eliminate dead-ends, so as to ensure frontality of the properties to the public road, draw straighter axial arteries and construct grandiose public buildings like the *Hükümet konağı* and the *Uzun çarşı*.⁷⁸ Still, as Nikolaou argues, these principles were loosely applied and thus, the 19th century city has clearly retained its early Ottoman character.⁷⁹

The 1914 topographical survey is the only surviving evidence that maps the street system of 19th century *Siroz*. Based on these tracks, I managed to reconstruct the fixation line of the fringe belt—the castle wall—and respectively, the arteries of the Ottoman town plan. The demarcation of the churches on the reconstructive map and the boundaries of the castle are derived from the Nikolaou map on the destruction plan of 1849⁸⁰ and the topographic sketch of the castle by Papageorgiou⁸¹, as enriched with evidence collected during field-work. Thus, the numbering of the churches in our map starts from number 26 to 55, since it follows Nikolaou's systemization.

As alluded in the introduction, defining the kernel of the Ottoman fabric was of utmost importance for the determination of the Inner Fringe Belt (IFB). This task at *Siroz*, compared to *Dimetoka* and *Gümülcine*, became extremely arduous, as the wall was destroyed since the 14th century and the Papageorgiou map was more of a sketch, rather than a cartographic work proper. The main problem resided in the location of the main and subordinated gates [*kör kapusu*], which became clear only after the placement of the Ottoman monuments/quarters on the map and the digitization of the perplexed street network in the periphery of the castle. For the facilitation of the reader, I preferred to omit the digitized parts of the street plot in the visualisation and to emphasize on the axial system, the boundaries of the castle and the Ottoman neighbourhoods.

⁷⁸ Yerolypou (2008), p. 28-29.

⁷⁹ This is his contention when reconstructing the map of the market area before the 1913 fire. Nikolaou (1994), map 1.

⁸⁰ Nikolaou (1994), map 2.

⁸¹ Papageorgiou (1894), Pl. 1.

At a second stage, the 1914 topographic survey was georeferenced using the 1994 street plan as reference (See map 6).⁸² The latter provides us with the demarcation of modern streets and building blocks, so as to understand the relation of the Ottoman to the modern city. The product of the georeference functioned as a bridge between the assessor plates and the topographic survey. The 1994 street plan used the same numbering system of building blocks as the assessor plates. The assessor plates, in their turn, constitute the only source that combines all types of evidence: the 1994 numbering of building blocks, the delineation of land parcels as shown on the 1914 topographic survey and the marking of the mosques through the diacritic of the crescent. Thanks to this material, I managed to locate the mosques at quarters C2, D3 and D4 that would not have been recovered otherwise. (See map 3: C2, D, D4, key to map 3 and Pl. 42)

⁸² The process was realised with the use of AutoCAD software importing the 1994 street plan to coincide with the 1914 map area. For their geographical correction, a transformation with a 2nd degree polynomial was executed by using the churches and the Ag. Sophia stream as ground control points. The result was a raster format file portraying the map in digital form.



Pl. 42: Panoramic view of *Siroz* taken from the akropolis showing the minarets of 9 mosques (Konuk 2010, p.228). From left to right: 1) *Tanrivermiş* mosque (C2), 2) *Doğan Bey* (C3), 3) *Selçuk Hatun* (C8), at the left side of *Eski* mosque is 4) *Arapçılar* mosque, 5) *Eski* mosque with two minarets (B2), at the right side of *Hükümet konağı* 6), unidentified D3 mosque, 7) *Hacı Evrenos* mosque (B4), 8) *Eslime Hatun* mosque (C12), 9) *Koca Mustafa* mosque at *Bacdar Hayreddin* (C14). (Konuk provided the picture with no explanatory caption; the identification of the mosques is product of my own research. The alphanumeric values in the parentheses correspond to the key to map 3)

Through the cross-referencing of evidence provided from these three cartographic sources and their enrichment with metadata acquired through historical pictures, archival and secondary literature references and collection of field-work evidence, it became possible to identify all 4 quarters of the proto-Ottoman phase (Murad I-Mehmed I) and 15 out of the 23 quarters of the classical phase (Murad II-Bayezid II). In addition, a number of monuments

was recovered which: (a) cannot be associated with a specific quarter of the proto-Ottoman or classical era, such as the *Şeyh Bedreddin zaviye* (See map 3: B7), *Bahaeddin paşa zaviye* (See map 3: B8), the *Selçuk Hatun cami* and *hammam* (See map 3: C8-C9), the *Mehmed Bey cami* and *hammam* (See map 3: C4), or (b) chronologically exceed the reach of the present study, such as the *Köprülü* quarter with its *hammam* (See map 3: D1), the *Bostancılar* quarter (See map 3: D2) and the *imaret hammam* (See map 3: D5) or (c) could not be identified, such as the mosques D3 and D4. However, their inclusion on the map contributes to the reconstruction of the city's overall topographic image.

The last map included in this study, is the 1914 street plan (See map 7). This is the response to the need for a new town-planning reconfiguration after the catastrophic fire of 1913, which was caused by the Bulgarian army upon its exodus from the city. This was georeferenced using map No. 6 in order to show the part of the city that has been affected by the 1914 street plan. As it can be seen, the burnt zone corresponds only to the areas of the castle and the market. The urban fabric, apart from the broadening and partial refinement of the streets, retained its Ottoman character intact.⁸³

The town-planning conception of the Proto-Ottoman phase

The spatial reference of the five proto-Ottoman concentrations (*vakfs*/quarters) to the the Byzantine castle, allows us to draw conclusions on the rationale of proto-Ottoman town planning. All proto-Ottoman quarters were arranged along pre-conceived tracks of access, which were extending from the gates of the Byzantine castle. The *Evrenos Bey* and *Isma'il*

⁸³ For Gerolymou the preservation of the Ottoman character retains a negative connotation. She characterizes the 1914 street plan as a step back from the previous one, since it failed to rationalize the image of the chaotic Ottoman city. However, for our study this is a positive point, since it allows the emergence of the proto-Ottoman city-plan. Yerolymou (2008), p. 43.

Bey quarters were arranged along the Byzantine *çarşıya* that was extending westwards from the gate of the Forum (See map 3: axis γ). The gate of the Forum (See map 3: A1), also known as *zincirli kapu*, was known to be closed with a chain and to be guarded by a police booth. This is the reason why church no. 47, which was placed next to the gate, was known as Saint Athanasios or *zincirli kilise*.⁸⁴ The gate of the Forum (See map 3: A1) was the meeting point of the *çarşıya* (axis γ) with the Byzantine processional road [*günlük*] that traversed the castle from east to west (See map 3: gates A1-A7).

The *Eski cami*, *Şeyh Bedreddin*'s *zaviye* and *Bahaeddin Paşa*'s *zaviye* developed along the axes *Y1* and *Y2* extending south-west from the subordinated gate of Saint Nikolas or *Bostancılar kör kapusu*.⁸⁵ Therefore, we can attest an analogy with the settlement pattern of *Dimetoka*, where the infrastructural investment under Murad I marked the two gates of the castle from the south and east. Still, at *Siroz* we have the chance to get a glimpse of the core concept of what, I believe defines the *modus operandi* behind the settlement pattern of the proto-Ottoman era. In the case of *Dimetoka*, this does not show clearly, because it is being blurred by the Ottoman need to make use of the fortification in order to house the *enderun-i hazine*. Thus, the core concept falls into the background.

It is known that at *Siroz* the castle had lost its function as a fortified position since the 14th century, when *Hacı Evrenos* tore down parts of the wall.⁸⁶ Thus, at *Siroz* seizure of the main exits loses the sense of access to secured and enclosed grounds. So, if the castle is not the Ottoman target, what was their target?

They were after the pre-tracked network creating access towards this urban hub, because they valued its position. They recognized the geostrategic importance of the position and foresaw the commercial dynamic the site would have for their plans to form an urban

⁸⁴ Papageorgiou (1894), p. 244.

⁸⁵ Papageorgiou (1894), p. 245.

⁸⁶ *Çelebi* (2003), p. 56.

network. Then, they appropriated the dynamic of the site by resuming the urban hub under a new convergence point-the *Çandarlı külliye*; and managed to transform Byzantine *Serres* into the Ottoman commercial landmark of the lower Balkans, *Siroz*.

The transformation occurred as the result of a process that can be conceptualized through the theory of “reversal polarities”.⁸⁷ The Ottomans marginalized the pre-existent inner polarity, that is, the Byzantine castle, and they resumed the urban kernel under the new grounds of the external polarity, (i.e., the outer suburb). With semiotic subtlety, they reversed the dynastic centre from the castle to the suburb; and the moment that the screen of reversal reality was set up [the *külliye*], they assumed authority through visual transference.

Then, the orchestration of the nodal nuclei begins. At *Siroz* we can study the topology of colonization through the mapping of the *zaviye* network within the micro-environment of a town. With reference to the Seljuq *zaviyes* of the late thirteenth century Anatolia, Ethel Wolper has argued that they meant to transform the hierarchy of city spaces.⁸⁸ In the case of Ottoman *Siroz*, we are in the position of demonstrating that this transformation was based on principles of rationalized continuity, since the process that conjures up the picture of an original urban system is structurally rationalized. The periodization and georeference of the *zaviyes* of both proto-Ottoman and classical phases on the map allow a glimpse to a system of *zaviye* zoning. The *zaviyes* of *Hacı Evrenos*, of *Şeyh Bedreddin* and *Bahaeddin Paşa* constitute the landmarks of the initiation phase of the fringe-belt, which essentially fixed the urban boundaries. These functioned as the gates of the Ottoman town that created and accommodated access to the citadel, in the same time when they opened new ground for prospective development. We can thus deduce that the centre of political power and administration was not uniform in character but from the presence of the *zaviyes*, we

⁸⁷ Consult discussion under the subheading: Morphological theory of Part A, pp. 5-18.

⁸⁸ Wolper (1995), 39.

understand that a number of administrative services were dispersed along relatively straight, rectilinear streets that linked the *zaviyes* with the gates of the citadel.

Moreover, their spatial relation suggests that their placement was subjected to a monitoring process of the available tracks of access; as, they are positioned on routes that extend from the gates of the castle (axes γ - γ_1 - γ_2). In order to understand this monitoring process, we need to pose the following question: what did the first settlers (conquerors) see in the town, that made them decide on where to built their *zaviyes*? Apart from *Bedreddin's* *zaviye*, whose position was dictated by the *Şeyh's* grave within the neighbouring *Orta mezarlık* (an after 1420s addition anyway), how did *Evrenos* and *Bahaeddin* come up with their choices at the end of the 14th century? They needed to have assessed how the landscape of the outskirts was configured so as to canalize access to the citadel. This process can be summarised as monitoring of the access network.

A second layer of the Ottoman *modus operandi* derives from the trajectories, towards which development was laid at *Siroz*. The westward development of the proto-Ottoman phase is a reflection of geostrategic reasoning, which confirms one of the hypotheses extended in the introduction of this thesis namely, the Ottoman expansion and the subsequent investment on the cities under question is primarily subjected to a highly conceptualised geostrategic reasoning and to the position of these cities with reference to the all-extendable frontier line of the early Ottoman principality. It is a declaration of their wish to expand westwards and to create the infrastructural network which would adjoin *Siroz* with *Selanik* (1430) and the newly founded *Yenice-i Vardar*. In this sense, the proto-Ottoman phase of *Siroz* contextualizes spatially the political statement “we are here to stay and to expand westwards”.

B. Classical phase

Archival material

It appears that in total *Siroz*'s population in 1454 comprised of some 5,022 individuals of whom 2,790⁸⁹ were Muslims and 2,232⁹⁰ were Christians. An aspect which comes across quite strikingly throughout the study of the survey is the high share of households registered to widows both Muslim and Christian. The numbers speak volumes: a 47% share was accounted for by Christian widows and a lesser share of 13% of households was in the hands of Muslim widows. Lowry when faced with the same phenomenon of the registering of Muslim widows in the 1478 survey characterised this as unprecedented. Indeed, none of the surveys inspected for the remaining cities discussed in this thesis presents this phenomenon apart from the 1454 and 1478 surveys for *Siroz*. The 'uniquum' of this situation in conjunction with the observation that none of these widows is the wife of a settler⁹¹, help us to reconstruct a more concrete idea of what might have happened at *Siroz* prior or even simultaneously to 1454, which would necessitate the compilation of the survey by the state.

We can securely reconstruct that the high percentages of widows are the results of some catastrophe which decimated the 28% of the population in the previous generation.⁹² If we were to subtract the percentage of the widows and settlers from the Muslim congregation

⁸⁹ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 573 total adult male-headed households = 573 x 5 = 2865 – 75 {missing adult male figure in widow-headed households} = 2790 {Total of Muslims at *Siroz* in 1464}. The data used for the computation of the formula were extrapolated from *BOA*. TT3 858(1454-1455), pp. 156-173.

⁹⁰ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 494 total adult male-headed households - 1 celibates of taxpaying age = 493 x 5 = 2465 + 1 {celibate} = 2466 – 234 {missing adult male figure in widow-headed households} = 2232 {Total of Christians at *Siroz* in 1464}. The data used for the computation of the formula are extrapolated from *BOA*. TT3 858(1454-1455), pp. 156-173.

⁹¹ They are all registered with the names of their husbands and none with their professions. Only in one case, we can deduce that the husband was a settler; that of Fatma widow of Davut the Persian (*Fatma bive-i Davut 'Acem*) which practically reinforces the argument that the rest of the cases, where no settler profile was detected, were locals.

⁹² This result is produced by summing up the totals of both Christian and Muslim widows registered in the 1454 survey as extrapolated from TT3 858 (1454-1455), pp. 156-173.

the result in raw numbers would equal some 286 adult married male-headed households, in the same time when Christian households, after the same deductions, would reach the number of 260. In other words, the Christian population could afford to lose members, but not the Muslim populace. Then the demographic balance would return back to the 14th century's realities, when the Muslims were the minority. This evolution has been averted through the injection of a 37% share of new settlers.

The reason why this phenomenon receives this attention in the present analysis is because I mean to stress the analogy between the sequences of events reflected in the 1454 survey with the 1478 survey.⁹³ My intention is to make the underlying pattern emerge; it seems that throughout the 15th century *Siroz* suffers from a series or repetitive outbreaks of various catastrophes, which urged the state into rectification through a systemized course of action. Although, it might not be always possible to link the results with the cause that inflicted them, we can track their traces in the surveys. This is a point which I feel calls for further clarification, since it seems that attestation of the results alone is not enough. It is my contention, that by focusing on the results we allow the state policy to emerge more clearly as a response to the causes.

Under the light of the above, Lowry attributes the influx of a 76% share of new settlers to the depopulation caused by two successive outbreaks of plague in 1455 and 1467.⁹⁴ Indeed, the demographic decrease attested between the 1454 and the Bulgarian surveys, compiled some time before 1478, shows that the town lost 19% of its population. The “*Kiril i Metodji*” survey from Mehmed II' reign records 23 Muslim quarters, which contained a total of 488 adult married male-headed households [*hanes*]; from this total an 8.0 % share were celibates of tax-paying age. The Christian quarters were 35 and contained a total of 372 adult

⁹³ With reference to the 1478 survey as discussed previously by Lowry (2008), pp. 176-177.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

married male-headed households [*hanes*], from which total a 17.0 % share was headed by widows [*bives*]. Utilizing a hypothetical coefficient of five individuals per adult male headed household as suggested by Barkan⁹⁵, it appears that *Siroz*'s total population between the years some time before 1478 comprised some 4,018 individuals from which 2,254⁹⁶ were Muslims and 1764⁹⁷ were Christians.

The “*Kiril i Metodji*” data need to be compared with the 1478 data because, it is only then that we can realise the re-emergence of the pattern suggested above. I tend to believe that the “*Kiril i Metodji*” survey was compiled right after the second outbreak of plague in 1467, somewhere around the 1470s and thus, it would allow a ten year period for the repopulation of the city with new settlers before the conducting of the 1478 survey. Both surveys come to report the results of the outbreak of plague: its direct effects in the case of the Bulgarian survey and its indirect effects, in the sense of its repopulation (colonization) in the case of the 1478 survey.

This is a conclusion drawn when considering the raw numbers.⁹⁸ The two consecutive outbreaks of plague caused the population to drop by 19% in the 1470 survey. In this case, both congregations were equally effected by the plague and thus their reduction percentages are balanced. After the conducting of the survey, the message was sent to the capital and action towards the rectification of the situation was taken. This resulted in transplanting a 33% share of new settlers, to which the increase of the population in 1478 is due. As it can be

⁹⁵ On the use of the co-efficient towards the computation of the total I consulted: Barkan (1957), p. 21; Lowry(1992)¹, p. 52.

⁹⁶ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 488 total adult male-headed households - 46 celibates of taxpaying age = 442 x 5 = 2210 + 462 {the celibates} = 2256 - 2{missing adult male figure in widow-headed households} = 2254 {Total of Muslims at *Siroz* between 1456-1478}. The data used for the computation of the formula are extrapolated from Balta (1995), pp. 251-256.

⁹⁷ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 372 total adult male-headed households - 8 celibates of taxpaying age = 364 x 5 = 1820 + 8 {the celibates} = 1828 – 64 {missing adult male figure in widow-headed households} = 1764 {Total of Christians at *Siroz* between 1456-1478}. The data used for the computation of the formula are extrapolated from Balta (1995), pp. 251-256.

⁹⁸ For analysis purposes let us adopt the conventional 1470 dating for the Bulgarian survey.

seen on table 23, the increase of 16% can be exclusively attributed to the Muslim congregation, while the Christians experienced a slight drop of 5%.

However, a second reading of the material could also suggest that the high percentages of widowed households could be equally attributed to an engineering policy of the state which meant to keep the Christian populace in the town by providing them with tax-exemptions. Murphey has suggested such an interpretation when faced with the high percentages of widows in the Tokat-Amasya region.⁹⁹ As known, widows were exempted from taxation and if we consider that the region was decimated by war, outbreaks of diseases and various misfortunes, this could be a possible means of keeping the Christian population from fleeing the city; which would affect negatively the economic life of the town.

The vakfs of the classical phase and their topographic identification

i. Vakfs associated with quarters

The development of the town in the second half of the 15th c. can be attested through the formation of a series of 27 Muslim *vakfs*, around which twenty new Muslim quarters evolved.¹⁰⁰ Balta has argued that the formation of these *vakfs* should be set between 1453, when the influx of new settlers can be attested and the 1470 and 1478 surveys, when the quarters bearing the names of these *vakfs* make their appearance.¹⁰¹

From these 20 Muslim quarters, it was possible to identify the location of twelve; these are the quarters of *Darbhane*, *Tanrivermiş*, *Doğan Bey*, *Hacı Ali*, *Ayşe Hatun*, *Murad*

⁹⁹ Murphey (1996), pp. 111-131.

¹⁰⁰ Balta lists 23 quarters as derived from the Bulgarian survey, from which we deduct the three quarters of the proto-Ottoman phase: *Hacı Evrenos*, *İsma'il Bey* and *Cami'i*. For the listing of the quarters consult table 24 of the appendix.

¹⁰¹ Balta (1995), p. 27.

Debbağ, Bedreddin Bey, Tatar Hatun, Esleme Hatun, Kameniça, Bacdar Hayreddin and Hakim Davut.

Reference to the quarter of the imperial mint [*Darbhane*] was made in the section of the proto-Ottoman phase.¹⁰² The boundaries of the quarter of *Tanrivermiş* occupied the eastern fringes of the city and developed along the axis *XI* (See map 3: C2 and Pls. 42-43). The quarter evolved around the *vakf* of the *mescid* of the tanner *Tanrivermiş*, which in the first decades of the 16th century¹⁰³ secured the revenue of 1,548 *akçes* from rents and a grant from the *vakf* of *Esleme Hatun*.¹⁰⁴



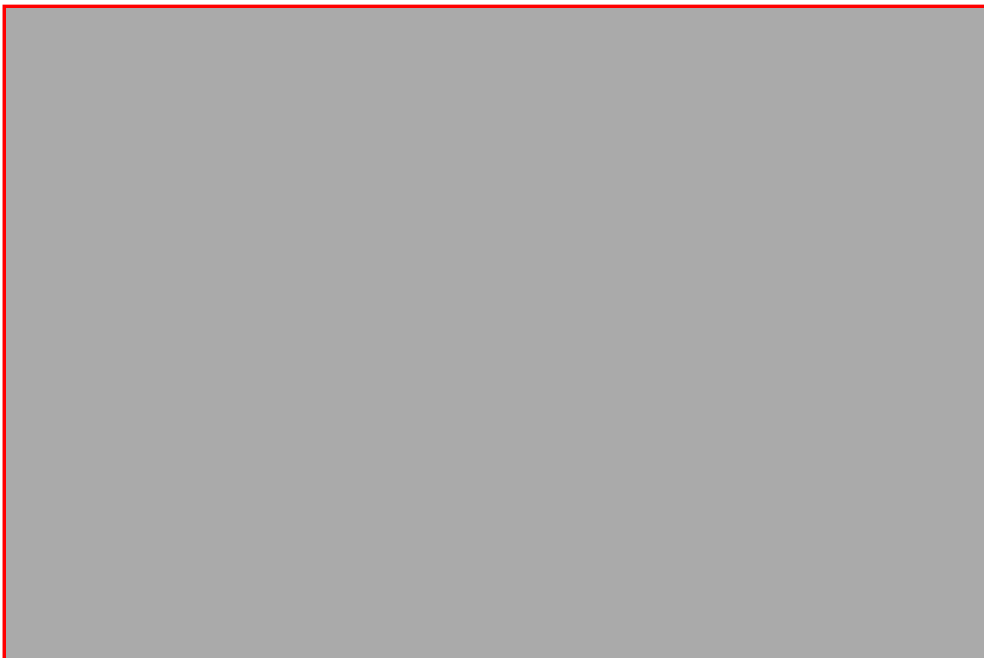
Pl. 43: Panoramic view of *Siroz* taken from the suburb of Kalithea (north-west) showing the minarets of 6 mosques (Kaftantzis 1996, p. 240): 1) *Darbhane mescid* (C1), 2) *Tanrivermiş* (C2), 3) *Mehmed Bey* (C4), 4) *Doğan Bey* (C3), 5) unidentified mosque D3, 6) *Tatar Hatun* (C11). (Tzanakares provided the picture with only a reference to Kalithea, from where it was shot; the identification of the mosques is product of my own research. The alphanumeric values in the parentheses correspond to the key of the reconstructive map 3.)

¹⁰² Consult discussion under the subheading *Vakfs of the Proto-Ottoman Phase and their topographic identification*, pp. 196-197.

¹⁰³ Balta supports that the inventory of the *vakfs* in the Bulgarian survey dates from the reign of Bayezid II and specifically between the years 1501-1510, while the breakdown of the quarters was compiled before the 1478 survey. Balta (1995), pp. 26, 215, 251 and footnote 757.

¹⁰⁴ Balta (1995), p. 97.

The exact location of a mosque within the boundaries of the quarter is indicated in the 1923 assessor plate no. 9.¹⁰⁵ The mosque appears on a series of historical pictures, with the clearest of all depicting its *kibla* view. This should have been taken from the minaret of *Mehmed Bey* since it is taken higher from the houses and south-eastern from the mosque.¹⁰⁶ The picture depicts a mosque with a large, lead-covered dome, a slender minaret, elongated volumetric form and systematic fenestration; elements which suggest a structure of late 17th or 18th century. Although, Ayverdi does not list the *mescid* of *Tanrivermiş*, its existence is verified through the aforementioned grant of *Eslime Hatun*, which meant for the salary of the *hatib* of *Tanrivermiş mescid*.¹⁰⁷ If the mosque of the picture is not the converted into a mosque *Tanrivermiş mescid*, then Ayverdi identifies two other foundations within the boundaries of the quarter: the mosque of *Abacı Mustafa Bey* and the *mescid* and *mekteb* of *Hacı Ali Cakii* from the neighbouring quarter (See map 3: C3). Then, it could also be that the mosque under question is the *Abacı Mustafa Bey*.¹⁰⁸



Pl. 44:
Tanrivermiş or
Abacı Mustafa
Bey mosques
(C2).
(The picture
was published
by Tzanakares
1995, p. 170.
The
identification
of the
monuments is
product of my
own research)

¹⁰⁵ Consult Map 5 (plate 9) of the appendix.

¹⁰⁶ Tzanakares(1995), pp. 122-123, 130.

¹⁰⁷ Consult discussion under subheading Vakfs associated with extant quarters, p. 212.

¹⁰⁸ Ayverdi (1982), pp. 276, 278; Kaftantzis (1996), p. 276.

The position of the quarters *Doğan Bey* and *Hacı Ali*¹⁰⁹ is indicated by Kaftantzēs (See map 3: C3 and Pls. 42-43); however, the boundaries of these two quarters seem to be blurred. Therefore, we preferred to use a common alphanumeric for both, as indicative of their position. For the position of the mosque, I relied on the testimony of the *Sirozean* city-planner Mr. Maronētes, since it was not indicated in the 1923 assessor plate no.9 (where we would expect to find it indicated). Ayverdi refers to the *Doğan Bey* mosque-*mescid* and the quarter *Doğan* appears for the first time in the 1470 survey.¹¹⁰

The identity of *Doğan Bey* has been associated with *Doğan Bey Kurtçu* or *Kurucu*, who served as *sekbanbaşı* and *yeniçeri ağası* under Murad II. Southern from his quarter, we encounter that of his daughter *Ayşe Hatun* [*mescid-i Ayşe Hatun, Doğan Bey*], as suggested by the 1478 survey (See map 3: C5).¹¹¹ Although, the surveys from the reign of Suleiman I include three different entries under the title *vakf* of the *mescid*, Balta argues that they all refer to a single *mescid*. In any case, the revenues of *Ayşe Hatun mescid* did not exceed the 3,423 *akçes*.¹¹²

The quarter of *Debbağ Murad*, also known as ‘*Tabahana*’ proper [*Debbağlar*], developed by the eastern bank of *Klopotitza* tributary (axis X) and extended over the area of contemporary *Eboriou* square (See map 3: C6, C7). Ayverdi records the mosque of *Murad Debbağ* as owned by one of the communities of *Evlad-ı Fatihan*; Kaftantzēs published a picture of the mosque as it stood until 1972, when it was demolished by the municipality (See Pl. 43). As discussed above, in close proximity survives the *hammam* of *Debbağlar*.

¹⁰⁹ Ayverdi (1982), 278; Balta (1995), p. 102; Kaftantzēs (1996), pp. 277, 293.

¹¹⁰ Ayverdi (1982), p. 276; Kaftantzēs (1996), p. 272.

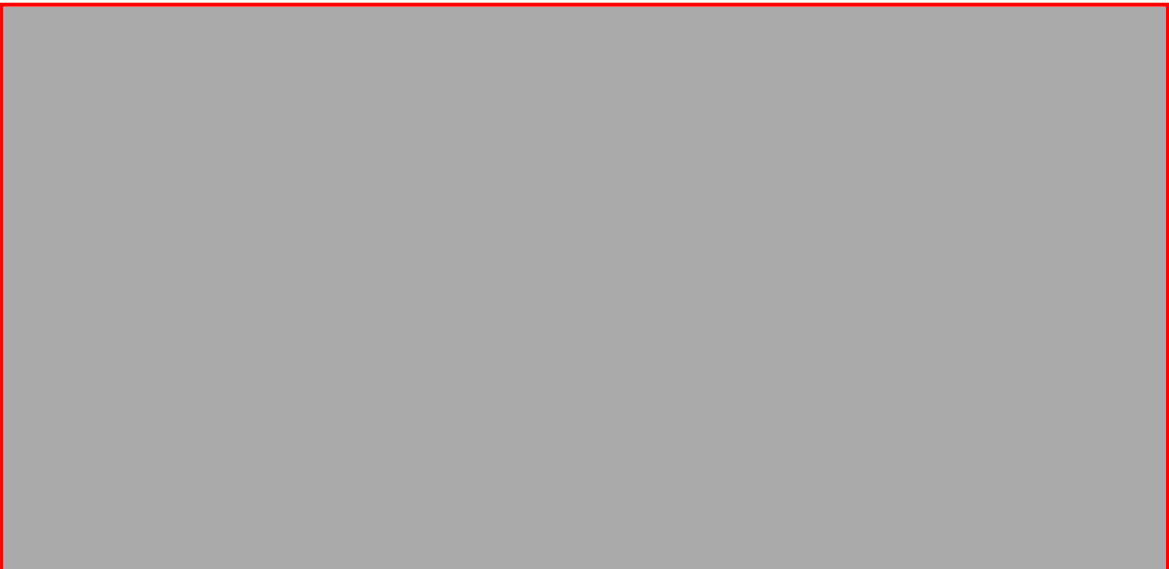
¹¹¹ Gökbiçgin (1952), pp. 224-228; Ayverdi (1982), p. 276; Kaftantzēs (1996), p. 270.

¹¹² Balta (1995), p. 108-109.

At the beginning of the 16th century, the *vakf* of the *mescid* of *Murad Debbağ* was secured through the income of 1,800 *akçes* accrued from rents of 7 shops.¹¹³



Pl. 45 The *Debbağlar* (*Murad Debbağ*) mosque (Kaftantzis 1996, p. 289)



Pl. 46 *Debbağlar hammam* dated from the 15th c. (C7)
(Photo: Gianogludis 1990)

¹¹³ Ayverdi (1982), pp. 276, 283; Balta (1995), p. 100; Kaftantzis (1996), pp. 276, 289.

The boundaries of the quarter of *Bedreddin Bey*, as located southerly from the mosque of *Selçuk Hatun*, are equally indicated by Kaftantzēs (See map 3: C10). Ayverdi records the *mescid* of the quarter *Bedruddin*, which according to the early 16th c. survey was secured through the annual income of 1,896 *akçes* accrued from rents of 13 shops and a mill. For the identity of the patron, two hypotheses have been suggested; either that he was *Bedreddin subaşı* of *Keçiçlik* or *Bedreddin Bey defterdar* of *Rumeli*.¹¹⁴

The next two quarters were formed around *vakfs*, which were established under female patronage: the *Tatar* and *Esleme Hatun*. Ayverdi records two *mescids* in the quarter of *Tatar Hatun*: the namesake one and that of *Yağcı Nasuh*. According to the early 16th century survey, the *vakf* of *Tatar Hatun mescid* was allocated the income of 1,440 *akçes*, which was derived from the rents of eight shops and allotments.¹¹⁵

Esleme Hatun was the daughter of *Halil Paşa*, son of *Ibrahim Paşa Çandarlı*; from her wedding with *Yahşi Bey*, son of *Hamza Bey*, she had a son *Sofu Ali Bey*, whose *zaviye* was also located in the quarter. The concentration of the *Hacı Evrenos* and *Esleme Hatun* quarters along the axis *Y* suggests that, in terms of social *stratigraphy*, these constituted the wealthy semi-suburban zone of classical *Siroz*. Reference is made to them as semi-suburban quarters, since, as it will be shown further down, the classical city was concluded westwards at *Esleme Hatun* (See map 3: C12) and *Orta mezarlık* (See map 3: B6); while, the quarters of *Bacdar Hayreddin* (See map 3: C14) and *Kameniça* (See map 3: C13), which were equally formed during the classical phase, constituted the cut-off suburbs of the city until the 19th century.

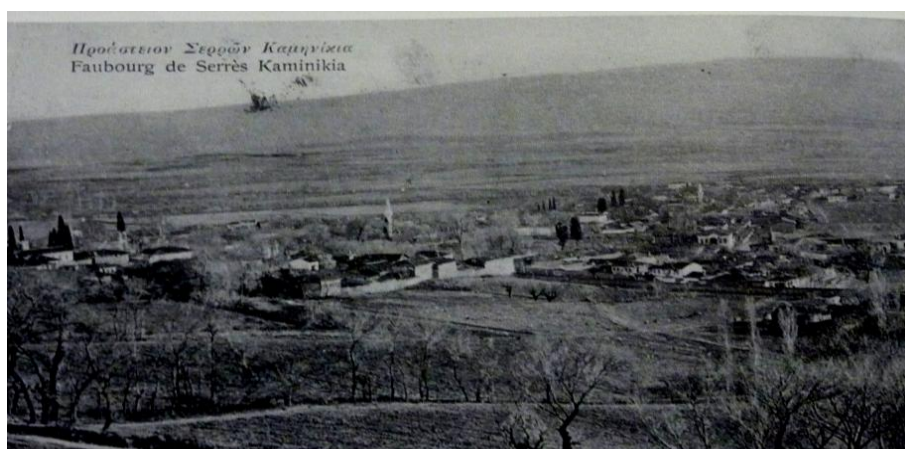
Ayverdi records that two endowment deeds of *Esleme Hatun* existed, one of which endows part of her legacy to the coverage of the annual oil expense necessitated for the elders of a religious foundation; as discussed above, this should be identified with *Eski cami*'. We

¹¹⁴ Ayverdi (1982), pp. 276; Balta (1995), p. 98; Kaftantzēs (1996), p. 275.

¹¹⁵ Ayverdi (1982), p. 281; Balta (1995), p. 105; Kaftantzēs (1996), p. 275

would also need to assume that when Uzunçarşılı cites that she also endowed revenues derived from her domains at Bursa and *Mudania* for the upkeep of the mosque of *Hayreddin Paşa Çandarlı*, the beneficiary was again the *Eski cami*. The survey from the reign of Suleiman I records that her *mescid* was maintained through the income of 215 *akçes* accrued from the rents of a *başhane*, ten shops and an estate. The village of *Prosinki* is another property of the *vakf* that was confiscated under Mehmed II and returned back to the *vakf* under Bayezid II. The village generated the revenue of 7.622 *akçes*, which was meant for the salaries of the reciters of rogatory prayers [*hatibs*] at some of the town's *mescids*, like that of *Tanrivermiş* as seen above.¹¹⁶

The last two quarters which define the western extremities of the city are these of *Bacdar Hayreddin* and *Kameniça*; historical pictures suggest that they were not connected with the town but were more cut-off suburbs (See map 3: C13, C14 and Pl. 47). As Nikolaou points, they were adjoined with the city after the formation of *Venizelou* street, which is the only axis running across the city from east to west. However, *Venizelou* is a result of the town-planning reconfiguration following the fire of 1913. From that, we can conclude that the town's western frontier until the classical phase was *Orta mezarlık*, which as the town was expanding ended up being positioned in the middle of the town and acquired the name *orta*.



Pl. 47 The quarters of *Bacdar Hayreddin* (C14) and *Kameniça* (C13); it shows the minaret of *Koca Mustafa* mosque and the minaret of *Haznedar* mosque at *Kameniça* (Kaftantzis 1996, p. 38)

¹¹⁶ Uzunçarşılı (1974), p. 107; Ayverdi (1982), pp. 280, 282; Balta (1995), pp. 106-108; Kaftantzis (1996), p. 272.

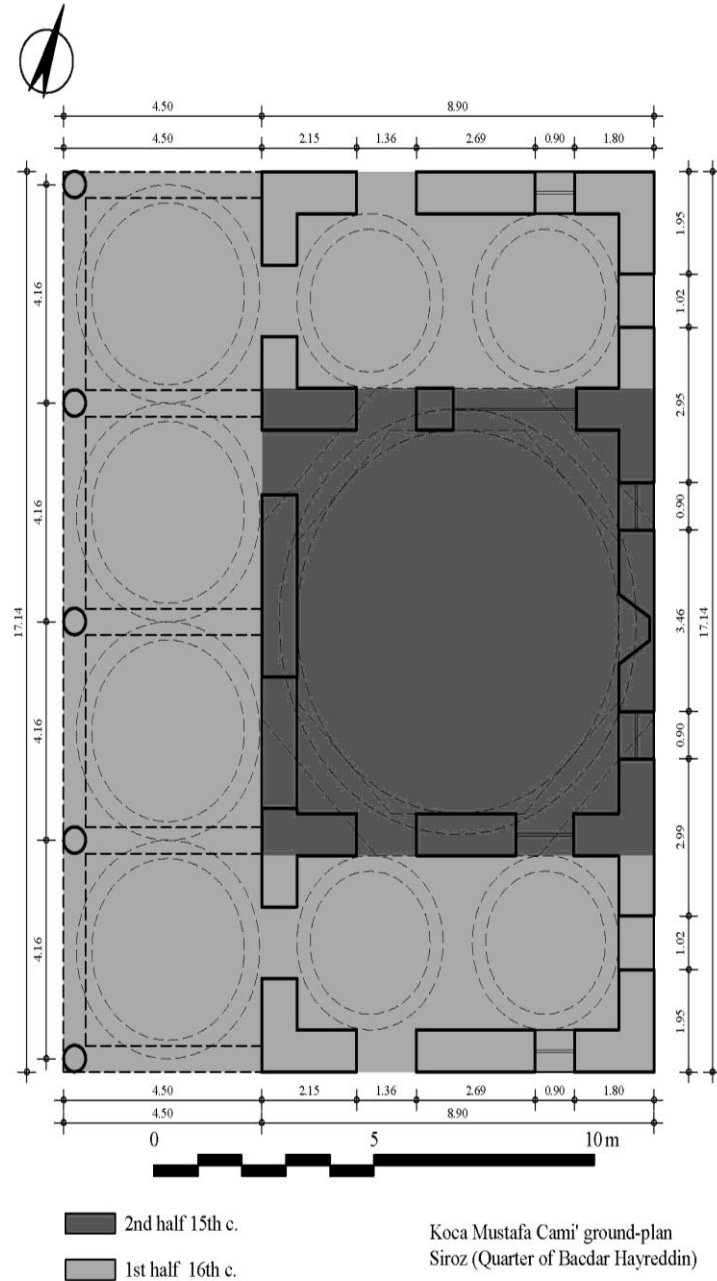
The position of *Bacdar Hayreddin* quarter was identified by Kaftantzēs¹¹⁷; it was then understood that the still extant mosque of *Koca Mustafa* lies within the confines of this quarter. As shown under the discussion of *‘Isma’il Bey*’s quarter, the land bought by *Koca Mustafa* made part of *‘Isma’il Bey*’s *çiftlik*, which was extending westwards from his quarter (See map: B5). Then as the town was expanding, it was sold to *Mustafa Paşa*, who through his investment attracted new settlers. (See Pl. 48)



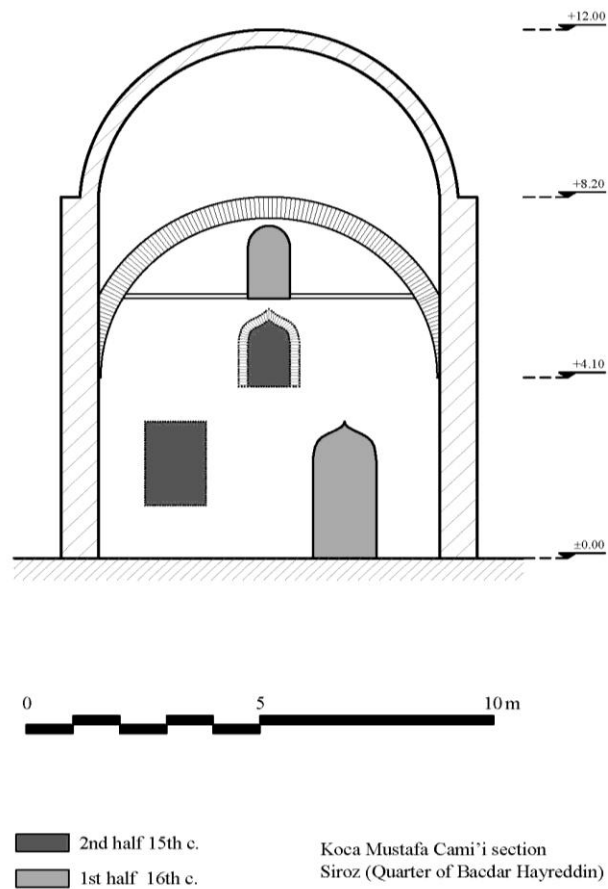
Pl. 48: *Koca Mustafa* mosque (late 15th c.): a) exterior surface of *kibla* wall showing the difference in building phases, b) view of the western wall of the principal building phase allowing to western *tabhane* (Photo: Bessi 2010)

This seems to be suggested by the conversion of the mosque from a single domed to a *T-shaped* type; the repair phase (second phase) of *Koca Mustafa* mosque can be substantiated in the addition of the lateral units [*tabhanes*] and the frontal, four-tiered portico to the initial square unit. This expansion was obviously meant for the accommodation of a bigger congregation (See Pls. 49-50).

¹¹⁷ Kaftantzēs (1996), pp. 270, 277.



Pl. 49 Ground plan of *Koca Mustafa* mosque (2nd half of the 15th c.) (Drawing: Bessi)



2nd half 15th c. Koca Mustafa Camii section
 1st half 16th c. Siroz (Quarter of Bacdar Hayreddin)

**Pl. 50 Section of *Koca Mustafa* mosque showing the building phases (2nd half of 15th c.)
(Drawing: Bessi 2013)**

Historical pictures suggest that the boundaries of *Bacdar Hayreddin*, also known as lower *Kameniça* were mingled with upper *Kameniça* or *Kameniça* proper (See Pl. 47). These two quarters were separated, when *Venizelou* street was formed. From the early 16th century survey, we can recover two *vakfs* related to the area occupied by these quarters. The *vakf* of the *mescid* of the tax collector [*bacdar*] *Hayreddin* was maintained by the income of 3,300 *akçes*; this sum was derived from rents of urban estates and a mill at *Siroz*, along with the impressive number of 38 shops and 5 houses at *Sidrekapisi* (nowadays *Siderokastron*).¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Balta (1995), p. 100.

The second *vakf* is that of the *mescid* and the school for teachers [*mu'allimhane*] of the treasurer *Hacı Hayreddin*. This is also identified as a quarter at the north-west fringes of *Kameniça* by Kaftantzēs. At the beginning of the 16th century, the income of 10,412 *akçes* was allocated to the *vakf*, as derived from the rents of 16 shops, one bakery and one shop within the *kervansaray*. The remains of a *hammam* can be still visible in the area occupied by the quarter, but its name cannot be identified since a *Hacı Hayreddin hammam* is missing from Ayverdi's list and the archival entries on the *vakf* (See Pls. 51-52).¹¹⁹

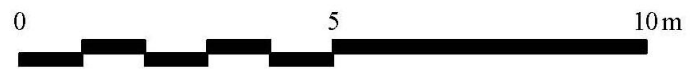
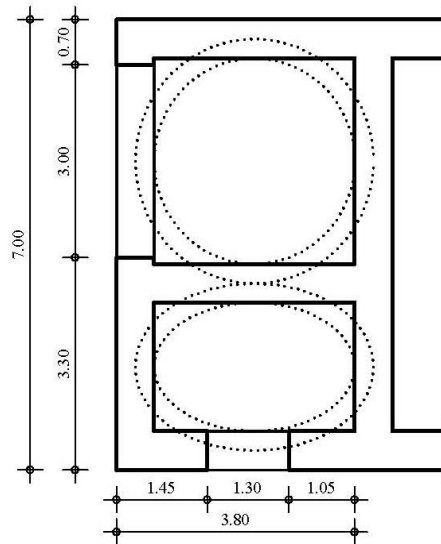
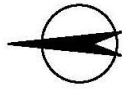
Finally, Ayverdi locates at the courtyard of *Koca Mustafa* mosque the *zaviye* of *Salih Efendi*; Balta records the *vakf* of *Salih Fakih mescid* and a quarter as *Salih*. However, it cannot be deduced with certainty whether these entries refer to the same foundation. If this is confirmed, then the quarter of *Salih* should be also included in the area of lower *Kameniça*.¹²⁰



Pl. 52 Unidentified *hammam* of *Kameniça* (C13) (Photo: Bessi 2013)

¹¹⁹ Ayverdi (1982), pp. 276, 279; Balta (1995), pp. 99, 100, 110.

¹²⁰ Ayverdi (1982), p. 283; Balta (1995), p. 110.



Unidentified hammam at Bosporou str.
Ground-plan
Siroz
~18th c.

Pl. 51 Ground plan of the surviving part from the *hammam* at *Kameniça* quarter (C13)
(Plan: Bessi 2013)

ii. Vakfs associated with extant monuments

The Selçuk Hatun mosque

At the end of the section on the *vakfs* of the classical era, we will include the discussion of three extant monuments: the *Selçuk Hatun* and *Mehmed Bey* mosques and the *Bedesten*. Although the *Selçuk Hatun vakf* does not correspond to an identified quarter, it relates to a still extant monument. In the recent years the mosque of *Selçuk Hatun*, previously known in the literature as *Zincirli* mosque, has attracted a fair amount of scholarly research. However, there is still a clash between the historical and art historical works on the monument, which do not seem to come to an agreement. The resolution, with regards to the identity of the mosque was provided by Lowry, who associated it with the *vakf* of *Selçuk Hatun*, daughter of Bayezid II and spouse of *Mehmed Bey*.¹²¹ He further elaborated on his hypothesis that both mosques were built by the couple in not only a geographical but also a chronological proximity.



Pl. 53 Interior view of *Selçuk Hatun* mosque : the gallery (Photo: Bessi 2010)

This thesis contradicted the already established dating of the monument in the second half of the 16th century and its ascription under the architectural mark of *Sinan*. That was the

¹²¹ Lowry (2008), pp. 156-164.

initial theory maintained by Kiel in 1971¹²², followed by Ayverdi in 1982¹²³, by Gavra in 1986 and 2007¹²⁴ and until recently by Sambanopoulou 2008.¹²⁵ Therefore, the review of the archival evidence serves to argue towards a dating of the monument in late 15th/early 16th century.

Selçuk Hatun was the daughter of Bayezid II and became wife of *sancakbey Ferhad Paşa of Herzegovna*, from which marriage *Gazi Hüsrev Bey mir-i liva* of Bosnia (1480-1541) was born.¹²⁶ In 1485, after the death of *Ferhad Bey* she was espoused to *Mehmed Bey*, who was either the son of the grand-vizir *Ahmed Paşa Gedik* or the son of *Mustafa Paşa*.¹²⁷ According to her endowment deed [*vakfiyye*] composed in 1508, she founded and endowed a *medrese* at *Siroz*. Apart from that, she also founded *mescids* at Bursa and Istanbul, a mosque and a hospital [*ribat*] at *Siroz* and allocated an annual grant of 1,800 *akçes* for the poor of *Medina*. Between the years 1500-1505, she built her mausoleum in the courtyard of her father's mosque. In 1508, when the *vakfiyye* of her mausoleum was compiled, she died and was buried there.¹²⁸

The resolution, as regards the identification of the mosque was provided by Lowry, who linked the extant *Zincirli* mosque (See map 3: C8) with the *vakf* of *Selçuk Hatun* by pointing to the earliest known *vakfiyye*.¹²⁹ Based on this first *vakfiyye*, which has been previously published by Uluçay, the first building to have been endowed by *Selçuk Hatun* at *Siroz* was a mosque; this first *vakfiyye* was followed by a second one compiled in 1508, as mentioned

¹²² Kiel (1971)¹, pp. 442-444a.

¹²³ Ayverdi (1982), p. 281.

¹²⁴ Gavra (1986); *Idem.*, (2007), pp. 140-141.

¹²⁵ Sambanopoulou (2008)², p. 284; Bakirtzis-Sambanopoulou (2009), p. 110.

¹²⁶ Balta (1995), p.132, footnote 362.

¹²⁷ İnalçık (Ahmad Paşa), p. 301.

¹²⁸ Uluçay (2011), pp. 51-52.

¹²⁹ Lowry (2008), pp. 156-164; Uluçay (1959), p. 123, footnote 150.

above. This was published by Gökbilgin and it has been used by both Balta and Kiel in their discussion of the *vakf*.¹³⁰

According to this, Bayezid II conveyed to *Selçuk Hatun* a number of villages, which she endowed, as *mülks* to a *medrese* with 12 chambers she founded at *Siroz*; *Evliya* notes that the *medrese* was lacking a particular chamber for the reading of the Koran and the interpretation of the *hadis*.¹³¹ The villages endowed to the *medrese* are: *Ivrindi*, *Kromişte*, *Yanaciste*, *Nesiz*, *Kosorik*, *Davudça*, *Zikošta* at *Zihne* and *Dirnova*, *Gradişte* at *Siroz*. The income derived from the taxation of these villages was meant to cover the daily wages of the *müderriş* (20 *akçes*), the monthly stipend of the boarding students (40 *akçes*) and the daily wage of the warden (1 *akçe*). The *vakfiyye* allocated funds for the erection of a *zaviye* and of a *tabhane* at an appropriate place in *Siroz*; it further prescribed that a *mescid* would be erected in between these building and allocated fixed allowances for the functionaries of these foundations.¹³² Apart from these monuments subsidized by *Selçuk Hatun*, *Evliya* records a *mekteb*, as being one of the three most famous amongst the city's 26 *mektebs* and a *sebil-hane*.¹³³

The earliest fiscal data on the *mülk* of *Selçuk Hatun* are extrapolated from an early 16th c. survey. However, these are only fragments which do not provide analytic breakdowns of the population and the taxation of the villages allocated to the *mülks*, except for the total of 299 households and the derived income of 30,575 *akçes*.¹³⁴

In the 1519 survey (TT 70), these nine villages yielded revenue of 85,817 *akçes*.¹³⁵ In the 1528 survey, (TT 143) the same villages are registered under the following three

¹³⁰ Gökbilgin (1952), pp. 185-186; Balta (1995), p. 126; Kiel (1971)¹, pp. 432-433.

¹³¹ Moutsopoulos (1939), pp. 163-164.

¹³² Gökbilgin (1952), p. 185.

¹³³ Moutsopoulos (1939), pp. 163-164; Ayverdi (1982), pp. 280-281.

¹³⁴ Balta (1995), pp. 126, 130.

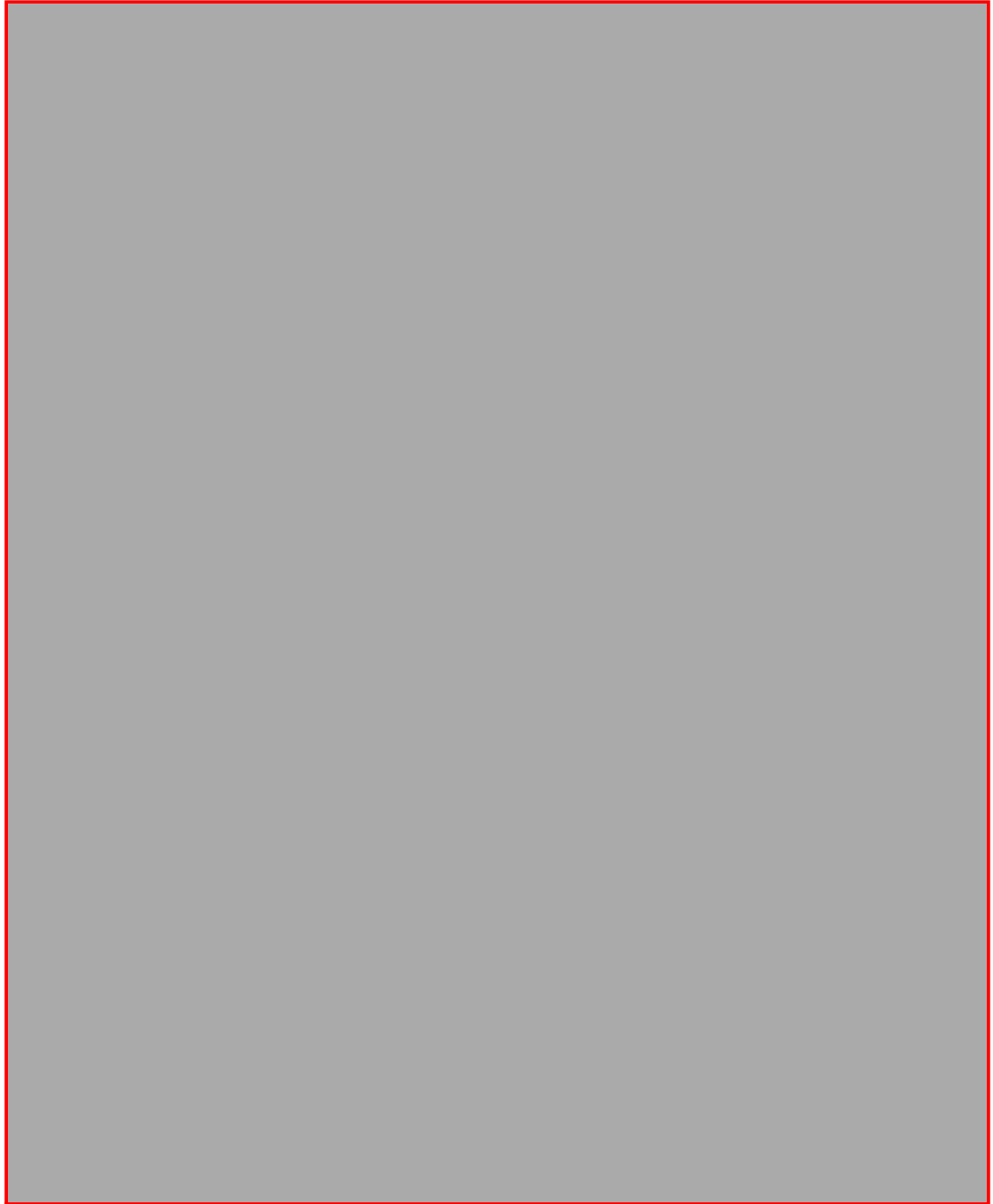
¹³⁵ Balta (1995), appendix I, pp. 243-245.

geographic concentrations: a) the *Zihne* villages of *Koromişta*, *Nesi*, *Vitaçişta*, *Kusoromlu* and the *çiftlik* of *Kosiniça* monastery which generated a revenue of 52,968 *akçes*, b) the *Siroz* villages of *Ivrandi Bala*, *Apano Gradeşta*, *Kato Horopişta*, *Dranova* which generated a revenue of 31,446 *akçes* and finally the *Drama* villages of *Brekilo* and *Zigovişti* with a revenue of 6,235 *akçes*.¹³⁶ In the 1530 survey (TT 167), it is reconfirmed that the income of 31,446 *akçes* deriving from the *Siroz* villages was allocated to the *medrese* of *Selçuk Hatun* at *Siroz*.¹³⁷

From the above, it is asserted that a mosque was founded by *Selçuk Hatun* at *Siroz* sometime in the late 15th century. The allocated revenues suggest that her *vakf* and the endowed foundation equalled the budgets of provincial sultanic foundations; indeed *Evliya* parallels her mosque to a sultanic [*selatin*]. The perimeter walls of the mosque form a rectangular ground plan (22,65m x 9,30 m.) with its *kibla* wall oriented south-east and its portico north-west (See Pl. 54).

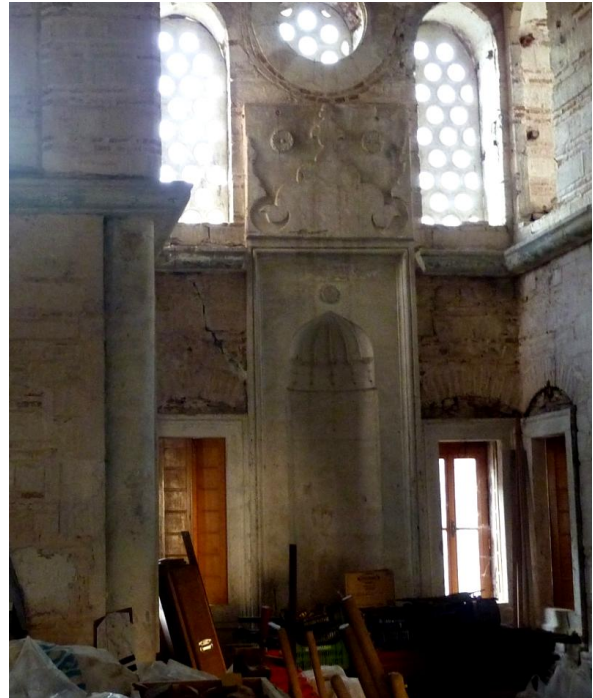
¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹³⁷ Gökbilgin (1952), pp. 388-389.



**Pl. 54 Ground plan and section of *Selçuk Hatun* mosque
(Bakirtzis-Sampanopoulou 2008, p. 109)**

The even walls of the rectangle are interrupted on the south-east side by the protruding niche of the *mihrab*. This is, equally, of a rectangle plan. The niche is perforated on three sides by two pairs of windows at the second level and it is then covered by a half-scafoïd vault, the profile of which equals to one of the vaults, which support the dome from south-east (See Pl. 55).



Pl. 55 Selçuk Hatun mosque at Siroz : a) the *mihrab* as delineated at the exterior, b) view of the *mihrab* niche. (Photo: Bessi 2010)

The spatial development consists of a central square space—the prayer hall—encircled by a perimetric two-storied gallery [*stoa*] of an inverted Π shape, on which the octagonal dome is supported by the means of an octagonal spandrel (See Pl. 56). Four pairs of columns and a pair of monolithic pillars, organised on a square arrangement, carry four cross-axially arranged vaults and four intermediate squinches which transfer the load of the dome to the external walls. In this way, the mosque acquires a transeptal planimetric configuration, while, the domical unit of the perimetric gallery assumes the function of a buttressing device. This is

a typical example of the plan that Millet called the “church with corner squinches” or “Greek-cross octagon” of the expansive type, as reproduced in a series of middle Byzantine designs at Dafni and Stiris of the Greek mainland.¹³⁸



Pl. 56 Interior view of *Selçuk Hatun* mosque: the gallery (Photo: Bessi 2010)

The Mehmed Bey mosque

The second extant Ottoman monument in the town of *Siroz* that demarcates the eastern frontiers of the classical fringe belt is that of *Mehmed Bey*. The mosque according to its dedicatory inscription was built in 1492-1493 by *Mehmed Bey* the son of the grand vezir *Ahmed Paşa* and spouse of Bayezid II’s daughter *Selçuk Hatun*¹³⁹, whose monument lies on the same latitude in a westernly direction. The mosque of *Mehmed Bey* is typologically related to the repair phase (second phase) of *Koca Mustafa* mosque discussed earlier, since

¹³⁸ Millet (1916), pp. 105-118.

¹³⁹ Anhegger (1967), p. 321; Ayverdi (1982), p. 278.

they can be both classified as ‘*zaviye cami*’, multi-functional or *T-shaped* mosques (See Pl. 57). This is an amalgative type of building that was broadly diffused alongsides religious and secular buildings during the first century of Ottoman rule, while it seems to have disappeared by the end of Suleiman I’s reign (1520-1566).¹⁴⁰



Pl. 57: *Mehmed Bey* mosque at *Siroz* (1492/3): a) view of the south-western *tabhane*, b) *mihrab*
(Photo: Gianogloudis 1990)

Eyice summarises the domical components of the *T-shaped* mosques in two congruent domed spaces arranged along the longitudinal axis. These are the prayer hall or *mihrab* compartment [i.e] the mosque space proper and the *domed sofa*. These two central units are flanked by side rooms—the *tabhanes*—that give access to the *domed sofa* unit.¹⁴¹ The very definition of the type as multi-functional mosques derives from the existence of these flanking compartments. The fact that these compact volumetric units were directly accessed from outside and were connected with the focal *mihrab* unit only through the *domed sofa* shows

¹⁴⁰ Eyice (1962-1963), p. 4.

¹⁴¹ Eyice (1962-1963), pp. 6-8.

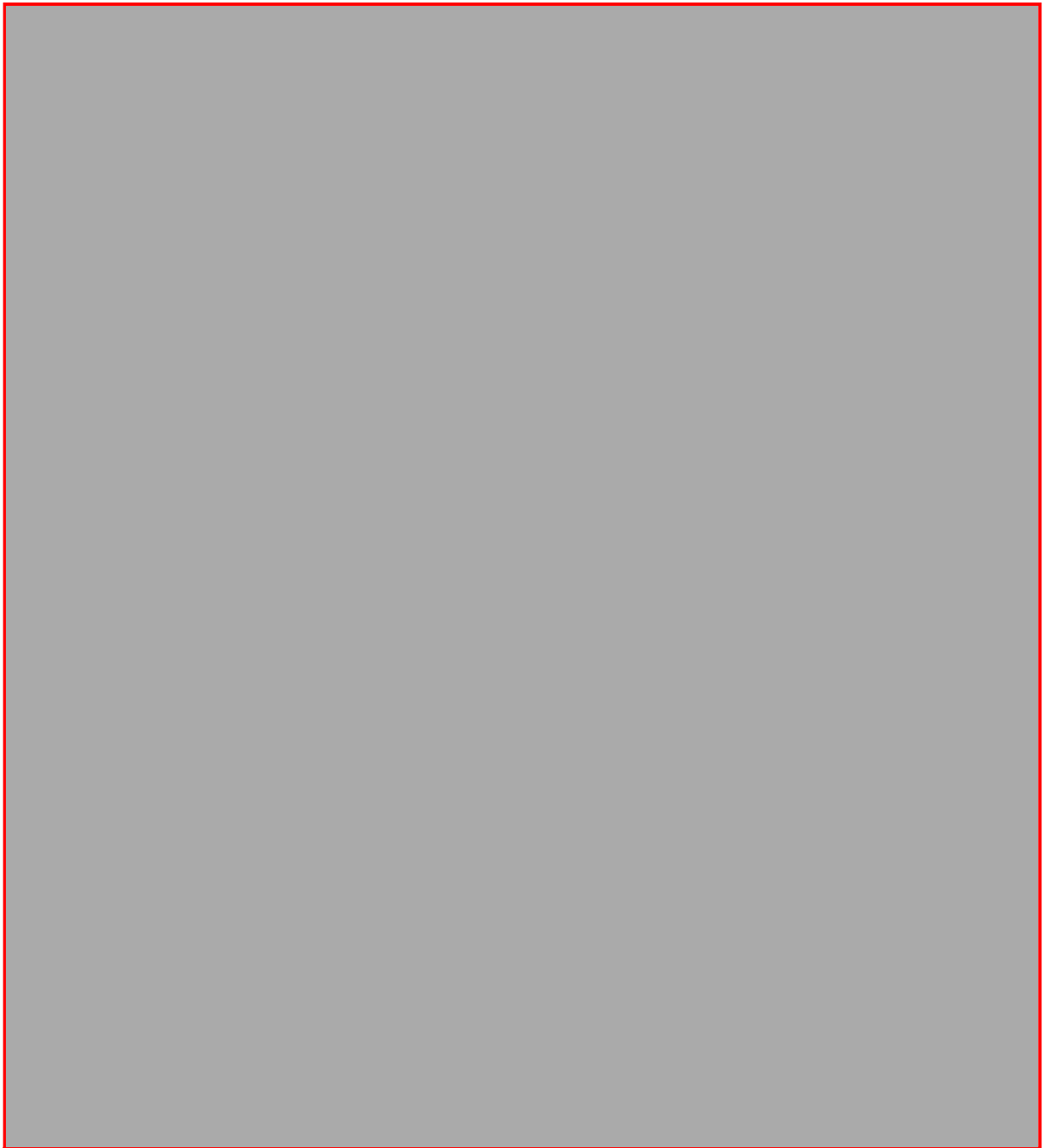
that they were designed for dwelling purposes. These side wings are small places, with no prayer niche, while for the accommodation of the residential purposes they were provided with the necessary closets, niches and fireplaces.¹⁴²

In some cases, the gallery of the final assembly [*son cemaat yeri*] is added; this is the portico extending over the facade, which completes the architectural composition of the type. Finally, minarets were the only non-original parts, which most often constituted posterior additions. Although, some early examples retain minarets which give out an original impression, a group of significant, early monuments do not bear a minaret (*Geyve, İznik: Yakub Çelebi, Nilüfer Hatun, Yenişehir: Postnpuş*). This confirms the theory that initially *T-shaped* mosques were not functioning as communal mosques, but the construction of the minaret follows a course of evolution parallel to the posterior function assumed by these buildings [*i.e*] that of a mosque.¹⁴³ The *Mehmed Bey* mosque constitutes one of the late expressions of the type, when such buildings had already lost their multi-functional dimension and were confined to their concrete function as mosques. This occurred through the loss of the *domed-sofa* unit and the emergence of the *mihrab* unit as its main volumetric and operational component, to which the lateral spaces [*tabhanes*] still allowed access even after their significant reduction in size (See Pl. 57).¹⁴⁴ However, slight discrepancies in the treatment of the lateral spaces attest to the process of dissolution of the *tabhanes* and the empowerment of the focal prayer hall.

¹⁴² Eyice (1962-1963), pp. 8-9.

¹⁴³ Eyice (1962-1963), pp. 9-10.

¹⁴⁴ Eyice (1962-1963), p. 10; Doğan (1977), pp. 210-214.



**Pl. 58: Mehmed Bey mosque at Siroz (1492/93)
(Ottoman Architecture 2008, p. 281)**

In the *Mehmed Bey* mosque, the square shape of the main prayer hall (14,58m x 26 m) is interrupted at its south-east side by the projecting *kibla apsis* and by a series of ten door openings, four of which allow access to the lateral *tabhanes*. The *tabhanes* are roofed with cross-vaults and communicate with the exterior and the frontal portico. Its typological

parallels are the *T-shaped* mosques of *Davud Paşa* (1485) at Istanbul and *Piri Paşa* at Silivri (1530).¹⁴⁵

The Bedesten

The *bedesten* constituted the core of the convergence point in the Ottoman town. The three main axes *Y*, *YI* and *XI* intersected through its gates.¹⁴⁶ Unlike its neighbour the *Eski cami*, it escaped demolition thanks to the intervention of Orlandos in 1930s, who defied the pressure applied by the local commercial community.

The architectural description of the monument as provided by Ayverdi, will help us to identify the issue of its dating: “*This is the bezzâzistan, which although it had its outer shops demolished, it has preserved the proportions of its core structure and of its domes in a way that it can be described as a six domed structure. Under the upper arrangement of windows, there is a phase of repair which becomes evident from the traces of the arches of the shops. The masonry is comprised of scruffy sculpted, chiselled blocks of stone interchanging with two brick sequences and on each side of the stones there are vertically inserted bricks. The upper windows are arranged in pairs under each dome; this could have happened because the domes meant to be bigger. Basically, the bezzâzistan of Serres is bigger and higher than that of Thessaloniki. Its domes are covered with tiles. It is located at the flat part of the city, at its nucleus- that is to say, the market*”. It is, therefore, conveyed clearly that there is a phase of repair, which becomes evident at the upper parts of the masonry.¹⁴⁷

Before proceeding with the inspection of the material evidences, let us first review the recovered archival material confirming the dating of the monument. In the 1568 survey (TT

¹⁴⁵ Anhegger (1967), p. 323; Doğan (1977), pp. 210-214.

¹⁴⁶ Orlandos (1959), pp. 141-142; Ayverdi (1982), p.284; Theodorides (1986), pp. 112-125.

¹⁴⁷ Ayverdi (1982), p. 284.

251), the *bedesten* of *Siroz* is registered amongst the allocated sources of revenue to the *vakf* of *Çandarlı İbrahim Paşa* at Istanbul, which was founded during the reign of Bayezid II. The two *vakfiyyes* related to *İbrahim Paşa*'s *vakf* at Istanbul date from 1494 (h.899) and 1499 (h.904).¹⁴⁸

The next available information on the *bedesten* is recorded in the 1530 survey (TT 167), according to which, the amount of 11,946 *akçes*, as derived from the rents of 82 shops at *Siroz*, was allocated to the *vakf* of the mosque of *İbrahim Paşa* at *Siroz*.¹⁴⁹ The earliest reference to the *vakf* of the mosque of *İbrahim Paşa* in the city of *Siroz* is found in the early 16th c. surveys published by Balta.¹⁵⁰ Finally, the aforementioned 1568 survey conveys that the income derived from “*The bedesten with the shops which surround the bedesten at the city of Serres*” was remitted to *İbrahim Paşa*'s *vakf* at Istanbul. The breakdown of these contributions is as follows: a) the rents from the shops surrounding the market hall amounted annually to the sum of 6,708 *akçes* and b) the rents from the shops inside the market hall amounted annually to the sum of 3,420 *akçes*.¹⁵¹

From the above, one conclusion can be drawn with certainty: in 1494 the *bedesten* was allocated to the *vakf* of *İbrahim Paşa* at Istanbul amongst its sources of income. 1494 coincides with the final phase of repair, which entailed the addition to the pre-existent *bedesten* of an external zone of shops. Architectural evidence reveals that the monument underwent two phases of construction, with the second building phase being identified in late 15th century. The laconic entry in the 1568 survey, where the revenues derived from the *bedesten* of *Siroz* are discerned in two categories: a) the *bedesten* with the shops which surrounded it, b) the town's [old] *bedesten* may well have referred to this phase of repair.

¹⁴⁸ Gökbilgin (1952), p. 418; Barkan-Ayverdi (1970), pp. 82-83; Cezar (1983), pp. 192-194; Lowry (2008), p. 153.

¹⁴⁹ Gökbilgin (1952), p. 425, footnote 665.

¹⁵⁰ Balta (1995), pp. 94-95.

¹⁵¹ Gökbilgin (1952), p. 425.

If this interpretation is correct, then we would need to readdress the question of when the principal building phase commenced and if indeed *Ibrahim Paşa* was the initial founder. The archaeological survey of the building, as discussed in this section, means to establish the existence of two building phases dated in the first and the second half of the 15th century respectively. Towards this direction points also the spatial relation of *Eski cami'i* with *Eski hammam*; as they are positioned in controlled alignment, we would need to accept that the intermediate space was left empty for a century, until the end of the 15th century (See Pl. 37).

Such a resolution is highly problematic; especially considering the known fact that at least two other *bedestens* were built before the conquest of Istanbul. The Bursa *bedesten* was endowed by Bayezid I, when the need for a more secured storage than that offered by *Emir han* was felt (See Pl. 59). The *Koca bedesten* at Edirne, on the other hand, was completed by Mehmed Çelebi as an endowment to his father's *Ulu cami'i*.¹⁵²



**Pl. 59: Bursa bedesten (Bayezid I), b) Edirne bedesten (Mehmed Çelebi)
(Photo: Bessi 2009/2012)**

¹⁵² Kuban (2010), pp. 158-160.

Consequently, I cannot see any reason why this practice would not have been followed in the case of *Siroz* too; in other words, why the erection of *Eski cami'i* and *hammam* would not have been followed in the next twenty to forty years by a *bedesten*. Finally, an architectural analogy should be seriously considered when dating the first building phase of our sample. The *bedesten* of *Tire*, which shares the same layout with the *Siroz bedesten* dates from the reign of Bayezid I and is attributed to the patronage of the local dignitary *Abdüllatif ibn Latif* (See Pl. 60). Under this light, we could extend the hypothesis that the patron would be someone from the family network of the *Çandarlis*, such as the first son of *Hayreddin Çandarli, Ibrahim Paşa*, who died from the plague in 1429.¹⁵³ The *vakf evlatlik* of him and his brother are listed amongst the earliest *vakfs* of the city. From the record of the *vakf* we learn that significant allowances were secured throughout the 15th c. for the *Çandarli* descendants.¹⁵⁴



Pl. 60: *Tire bedesten* ground plan (late 14th c.) reflecting the ground plan of *Siroz bedesten* (Kuban 2010, p. 159)

¹⁵³ Uzunçarşılı (1970), pp. 46-55.

¹⁵⁴ Balta (1995), p. 175.

Architectural analysis

The ground plan of the building is a rectangle with its dimensions reaching approximately 21 x 31 m. and with four gates, one at the middle of each side. It is covered by six domes arranged in two rows in a way that it reflects the plans of *Tire*, Thessaloniki and Sarajevo *bedesten* (See Pls. 60-61). The six domes are supported on the side walls and on two, centrally arranged, elephant legs, by the means of seven slightly pointed double arches. The elephant legs are solid up to the springing of the arches, while from that point onwards they dilute in a pair of arches, the intermediate gap of which, is filled with a narrow vault. The same solution has been also followed at the *bedesten* of Sarajevo, with the main difference being that in the *Siroz* example the apex and the sides of these domes were perforated by small skylights and sets of windows. These revisions of the openings constituted the only sources of lighting to the building, after the inferred repairs at the end of the 15th century.



**Pl. 61: Sarajevo "Bursa" *bedesten* (Rüstem Paşa 1551) and Thessaloniki *bedesten* (Mehmed II 1472/73)
(Photo: Bessi 2010)**

The monument demonstrates proclaimed features of two different building phases, which are discernible through irregularities attested in the masonry. The stonework up to the springing of the pendentives is that of a coarse commixture of cloisonné and alternating layers techniques indicative of early Ottoman masonries. This conglomerate masonry consists of



Pl. 62: *Siroz bedesten*: exterior wall surface of the principal phase (Photo: Bessi 2010)

horizontally inserted bricks in the vertical beds and an irregular alternation of horizontal brick sequences. This style of masonry is also used in the corresponding surface of the exterior wall, up to the point where the wall is chopped back from its original line. (See Pl. 62)

The zone extending above the gates is executed in a stylised version of alternating layers technique indicative of masonries of the Ottoman era. This stylised technique is used in the corresponding surface of the interior wall, as a pseudo-plastering arranged in two parallel friezes on high relief. The first frieze runs along the extrados of the blocked-up windows. (See Pls. 63.a-c.)



Pl. 63. a-c. *Siroz bedesten*: interior wall surface of repair phase (Photo: Bessi 2010)

The fact that this is a superimposed coating over pre-existent masonry becomes evident in many ways. At places where it has not been adjusted properly, the pre-existent fabric shows underneath; or the brick bordure of the frieze protrudes like an impost moulding (See Pl. 63. b-c.). This first frieze is succeeded by a second stucco frieze adorned with inverted palmettes; at places this palmette frieze is destroyed and allows the layers of the pre-existent fabric to show clearly. (See Pl. 64 .a-b.)



Pl. 64. a-b. Siroz bedesten : interior wall surface of repair phase (Photo: Bessi 2010)

That the upper zone of the fabric is later in date than the lower one is clearly indicated by the difference in masonry. The primary building phase reaches up to the springing of the arches, while the repair phase corresponds to the arches and the domes. This is also reflected at the exterior, where the thickness of the walls gradually diminishes from 1.40 m. to 0.90 m.; thus, the exterior wall surface acquires an articulated profile. (See Pl. 62)

Under the light of the above, the repair phase can be summarised in: the extension of the building in height and the blocking of its 32 windows. During the principal building phase, these windows constituted the only source of lighting, which became useless, when they heightened the domes, added the skylights and the external tier of shops (See Pl. 65. a-b.) The first building phase, based on the evidence of the early masonry, can be dated to around

the second quarter of 15th century and the repair phase from the second half of the 15th century onwards.



Pl. 65 a-b. *Siroz bedesten* : blocked windows of the principal building phase (Photo: Bessi 2010)

The town-planning conception of the classical phase

The proto-Ottoman zone of the *zaviye* network is succeeded by a second parallel zone, that of the classical *zaviyes*, which expands the urban boundaries and encompasses both the proto-Ottoman (initiation) phase of the fringe belt and the Byzantine kernel. In this sense, *Siroz* epitomizes the morphological evolution in the Ottoman town as described in the introduction of this thesis. As the town grew and underwent reorganization, the external polarities of the proto-Ottoman phase became inner and thus, the classical or expansion phase of the fringe belt came to a formation. The *vakfs* and the related quarters within the classical zone date exclusively from mid. 15th century onwards.

The *zaviyes* of the second zone—*Koca Moustafa* and *Mehmed Bey*—along with the mosque of *Selçuk Hatun* are all placed on the same latitude and are dated in the same chronological phase. They constitute the new external polarity and the new zone of the fringe belt that succeeds the initiation phase. Their placement is subjected to the same monitoring

process followed for the proto-Ottoman *zaviyes*; they demarcate the new gates of the town from east-south-west and function as induction centers for new settlers, “*revande and ayande*”. In the same time, they pre-announce the trajectories towards which further development will lead.

The case-study of *Siroz* constitutes the cornerstone of the theory advanced in this thesis on the adaptation of an axial morphological solution in the urban environment of the lower Balkans by the Ottomans. In a way, the first two case-studies discussed in this thesis can be seen as the ‘prelude’ inducting towards the ‘crescendo’ of what the engineering of a multi-axial solution would look like.

If at *Dimetoka* and *Gümülcine* we attested the mastering of a biaxial type, then, at *Siroz* the venture reaches its zenith. The Ottoman political objective remains, in this case too, the same: to regulate the conditions of access and to control the routes which were creating access. However, the filtering device at *Siroz* assumes a highly advanced configuration under the dynamic format of an axial grid, which when appended to the pre-existent Byzantine kernel releases its transformative power. It reconfigures the core substance of the latter from an introvert and stagnant built environment into an all extendable and dynamically evolving urban fabric.

This transformative quality of the axial grid lies in its capacity to merge the boundaries between the kernel and the suburbs and to reconfigure the fragmented fabrics into a unified morpheme: the classical city. While proto-Ottoman town-planning is a revision of the Byzantine tracks on the suburban area, classical town-planning discovers how to enhance the potential of the landscape through improvisation and independent planning. In the classical phase, the *Klopotitza* tributary (axis *x*) evolves into a pivotal axis along which the artisanal hubs of tanners (See map 3: C6) and potters by the quarter of *Hakim Davut* (See map

3:C19) were accommodated. Urban development is being furthered to untracked trajectories of the proto-Ottoman axes *Y*, *Y1*, *Y2*, as the formation of quarters of *Bacdar Hayreddin* (See map 3: C13), *Bedreddin Bey* (See map 3: C10) and *Ayşe Hatun* (See map 3: C5) suggest.

The most significant development of the classical town-planning consists in the introduction of the eastward axis *X1* that balanced growth at both sections of the town and consolidated the role of the *külliye* as the convergence point of the Ottoman town. It is after the formation of axis *X1* in the second half of the 15th century, with the establishment of *Tanrivermiş* (See map 3: C2), *Doğan Bey* (See map 3: C3) quarters and the *Mehmed Bey cami*' (See map 3: C4), that the cross-axial enhancement of the landscape shows clearly. Since, it is then that the classical *çarşıya* (axis *X1*) intersects with the Byzantine/proto-Ottoman *çarşıya* (axis *Y*) over the cross-point of the *bedesten*. Classical *çarşıya* is essentially the *Orta çarşı* (See map 3: C15) that adjoins the *bedesten* with the first quarter established westwards, that of *Debbağlar* (See map 2: C6). In the same phase, we should also date the formation of the other markets (See map 3: C16-18) developed around the *bedesten*. The synthesis of the market area concludes in the beginning of the 16th century with the establishment of the *kervansaray* endowed by *Sadrizam Ali Paşa* (See map 3: C20).¹⁵⁵

Although, schematically axis *Y* seems to adjoin with axis *X1*, this is not correct. Axis *X1* in the classical phase intersected with axes *X*, *Y2*, *Y1*, crossed through the *bedesten* and met with axis *Y* over *Tereke pazarı*. As discussed above, these two axes became juxtaposed only after the 1913 fire and the formation of *Venizelou* Street that transverse the town from east to west. For this reason, I have decided to consider them as two different tracks of access that represent two different morphological phases of urban development.

¹⁵⁵ For information on the *kervansaray* consult: Ayverdi (1982), p. 283; Karanastasis (1991), p. 231.

Chapter 4: Yenice-i Vardar

A. Justification for the incorporation of *Yenice* as a case-study in the thesis

The fourth case-study which will be discussed is that of *Yenice-i Vardar* marking the south-western extremes of *Via Egnatia*. This town constitutes one of the few surviving paradigms of Ottoman urban entrepreneurship that preserve their historical core fabric intact. When considering the chronicle of the Ottoman conquest, *Yenice-i Vardar* along with *Tatar Pazarcık* represent the first, uninhibited experimentations of the Ottomans with urban planning in the southern Balkans.¹ *Yenice* was set up by *Hacı Evrenos*, after the transfer of his seat from *Siroz* in 1385. Thus the proto-Ottoman phase of *Yenice*'s urban development falls well within the reign of Bayezid I and the interregnum period. In this way, the town's historical nucleus allows a unique glimpse at an uncompromised urban solution that is valuable to our comparative analysis.

The current section will commence with a review of the published cadastral material providing the breakdown of the neighbourhoods, the demographic synthesis and the recovery of non-extant infrastructure. At a second stage, architectural analysis of the surviving and, wherever possible, recovered monuments will be employed towards the reconstruction of the historical topography and the periodization of the phases of the town's urban development throughout the first two centuries of its morphogenesis (14th to 16th centuries).

The dating and the architectural analysis of these monuments is of utmost importance, since the earliest, detailed survey (1529) on *Yenice* dates from a hundred and seventy years after the date of the town's establishment by *Hacı Evrenos*.² The second survey

¹ Tatar Pazarcık is a late 14th century creation too established by Crimean Tatars. Boykov (2010), pp. 75-77.

² BOA, TT 424 936 (1529), pp. 4-13.

follows in 1540³ and the third one in 1555.⁴ Despite the fact that these first archival sources offer retrospective information on the *vakfs* and their founders, they cannot be used as synchronic testimonies for the lacuna of a hundred and seventy years. Therefore, the intelligence gap for this period can be partially filled with evidences retrieved from the analysis of the material remains.

B. The breakdown of the neighbourhoods

Methodology

The three detailed surveys from the first half of the 16th century allow a constructive insight to the demographic synthesis of *Yenice* during Süleyman's reign belonging to the consolidation phase.⁵ The information retrieved from the surveys relates primarily to the rates of the city's population growth tracked down over the span of the three consecutive decades from the 1530s to 1550s. Despite the restrictive character of the material—on the basis that it records a short period of thirty years from the first half of the 16th century—its importance is still invaluable as a synchronic source of evidences on the social stratigraphy and subsequently on the tax categories.

Of particular interest for the present study is another aspect of information allowed through the surveys. The material provides us with indirect references on the existence of the city's humble charitable foundations [*mescids*, *tekyes*, *zaviyes*], through the recording of their functionaries and personnel. Their existence would have remained unknown to us, since *Evliya* does not provide the number and the names of the *mescids* and *tekyes* of *Yenice*. These references can be then corroborated with the information provided by the *Evkaf Kamil Kepeci*

³ BOA, TT 433 947 (1540), pp. 925-932.

⁴ BOA, TT 723 962 (1555), pp. 530-539.

⁵ Lowry-Erünsal (2010), pp. 115-116.

category of documents (from 19th c.), which have been extensively used by Ayverdi in his volumes on the Ottoman architecture of the Balkan lands.⁶ The information on the prominent *vakfs* of the Evrenos family as provided by the *şecere*, in conjunction with the recovery of the town's humble endowments enables a balanced interpretation of the town's development. For these reasons, it has been considered necessary to revisit these three registers previously published by Lowry and Erünsal. The authors have chosen to use the material from the angle of population growth and demographic synthesis, the balance between the Muslim and Christian congregations, the class of the half-taxed celibates and the rates of the converts.

The aforementioned publication was a detailed summary of the quarters with their demographic totals. The current study adds additional pieces to this body of work by providing the transcription of entries which critically attest to the existence of recovered foundations and further provides the breakdowns of the exempted, celibates and converts. The identification of the class of the exempted suggests a taxonomic reading of the quarters based on their social stratigraphy and whereas possible attempts to establish their topographic correlations, as in the cases of the quarter of *Hacı Lala* and *Hacı Evrenos*.

The Christian quarter and Muslim quarters with Christian population

Over the span of these 25 years population of *Yenice* increased by 12.5%.⁷ Utilizing a hypothetical coefficient of five individuals per adult male headed household as suggested by Barkan⁸, it appears that *Yenice's* total population in 1529 comprised some 2,661 individuals

⁶ Ayverdi (1982), pp. 303-306.

⁷ Consult Table 27 of the appendix.

⁸ On the use of the coefficient towards the computation of the total I consulted: Barkan (1957), p. 21; Lowry (1992)², p. 52.

of whom 2,541⁹ were Muslims and 120¹⁰ were Christians. The 1530 survey records eighteen Muslim quarters and one Christian [*Mahalle-yi eski*] which constituted 3% of the overall population. The 1540 survey records seventeen Muslim quarters with the quarter of *Mehmed Bey* son of *Hizir Bey* being omitted and shows that the Christians in the otherwise Muslim quarter of *Ahmed Bey* lived side by side with the converts.¹¹

The 1555 survey shows that the number of Muslim neighbourhoods was reinstated back to 18 with the addition of the neighbourhood of *Yusuf Bey*, while significant changes are noticed in the settlement of the Christian congregation. The *Mahalle-yi eski* vanishes and in its place we encounter small Christian communities developing within 4 Muslim quarters: the *Ahmed Bey*, *Şehre Küşti*, *Hacı Resul*, *Ali Bey* and that of *mescid-i* of *Hacı Lala*. Amongst them, the quarter of *Şehre Küşti* presents the most unusual evolution. Although, it appears in 1530s as an exclusively Muslim quarter in 1555 ended up being an entirely Christian quarter with the exemption of one convert.¹²

This initial entry of the old neighbourhood becomes understood as the quarter which pre-existed from something [*i.e.*] from the Ottoman settlement. More importantly in 1540s this old quarter co-existed with the first Christian community created within a Muslim quarter, that of *Ahmed Bey*. This very detail shows that we are dealing with two different lines of evolution, which should be understood as the consecutive stages of a relocation of the Christian population in the town.

⁹ The formula utilized in deriving the figure is 581 total adult male-headed households - 91 bachelors of tax paying age = $490 \times 5 = 2450 + 91$ {the bachelors} = 2541 {Total of Muslims at *Yenice-i Vardar* in 1529}. The data used for the computation of the formula are derived from *BOA*, TT 424, pp. 4-13 and their breakdowns are presented in table 27.

¹⁰ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is 24 total adult male-headed households - 0 bachelor of tax-paying age = $24 \times 5 = 120$ {Total of Christians at *Yenice* in 1529}. The data used for the computation of the formula are derived from *BOA*, TT 424, pp. 4-13 and their breakdowns are presented in table 27.

¹¹ Consult Table 26: no. 11.

¹² TT723, pp. 536-538.

According to excavation data that came to light by the 16th directorate of Prehistoric and Ancient Antiquities of Pella, traces of a late-Byzantine settlement were revealed to the west of the *Hacı Evrenos* mosque (See map 8: A1) under the area occupied by the ‘Old Market’ (See map 8: A4). This hamlet along with a few other, scattered settlements of similar type constituted the Byzantine *Bardarion*, which was destroyed a century after the first Ottoman settlement.¹³ This pre-existent Christian nucleus should be identified as the *mahalle-yi eski* of the surveys which existed until the 1540s.

The initial entry on the *mahalle-yi eski* along with the presence of 229 Christians in the 1555 survey raises questions about the fate of this quarter. If we consider that the Christian population did not vanish but was increased by 20.8% in the interim of 15 years between the 1530 and 1555 surveys, in conjunction with the archaeological evidence attesting to a destruction stratum in the area where the *mahalle-yi eski* was located, then we are dealing with a case of forced relocation as a result of urban re-development. In morphological terms, a reversal of polarities phenomenon though in this case without a circumscribed Byzantine kernel.

Given the fact that, the commercial precincts were expanding towards the north-west of the *Via Egnatia*, the existence of a residential settlement in the middle of a commercial district would impede the progress of such a project. Moreover, we should not forget the existence of the *Isa Bey bedesten* (See map 8: B1), which was constructed in the heart of the commercial district, that is to say, the ‘Old Market’. *Evliya*’s testimony comes to corroborate this theory: “*the market had 740 shops, the bazaar and the bedesten. There is a sturdy and secure bedesten made of stone, bearing six domes like precious stones and with 4 iron gates;*

¹³ Xryostomou (1990), pp. 167-189.

such a wonderful establishment cannot be met in any other city".¹⁴ Therefore, it can be suggested that the alienation of the land occupied by the 'Old Quarter' preceded the construction of the *bedesten* and resulted in the relocation of the Christians at the north and north-eastern quarters of the town [*Ahmed Bey* and *Şehre Küsti*]. This can also explain how all Christian quarters ended up being located at the north-east part of the city, as attested from the 19th century's surveys.¹⁵ This was the result of a gradual process starting from the mid 16th century onwards.

Under this light, it would be useful to identify the location of the quarters that received Christian settlers, as this will help us to conceptualize the Ottoman *modus operandi* in a town where they could dictate their own rules from the early stages of its establishment. The 1555 survey shows that four quarters received Christian settlers.¹⁶ From these four, we can identify two. The Quarter of *Ahmed Bey* was extending to east of the mosque of *Ahmed Bey* at the area between the hilltop and the *medrese* of *Ahmed Bey* (See map 8: C3), while for the quarter of *Şehre Küsti* its identification can be produced through a different level of synthesis.

Quarters with the same name are also encountered at Bursa and *Gümülcine* (See map 8: c4). They denoted a small community which had settled within the precinct of *Orta mezarlık* of Bursa and amidst the fringes of the quarters of *Hacı İpekçi*, *Arif Hane* and *Kır Mahallesi*. Still, this community did not belong either to the central quarters or to *Kır* quarter; these topographic specifics corroborate the oral tradition that has prevailed about the naming of the quarter. According to this, because they were not on good terms with the other communities they were settled separately and therefore, they turned their back [*küsmek*] to the already

¹⁴ Dimitriadis (1973), p. 220.

¹⁵ Maurokefalidou (2010), p. 53.

¹⁶ Consult table 26 of the appendix.

formed neighbourhoods- to the town. Even after the incorporation of the quarter to the urban framework along with the expansion of the city, the name of the quarter remained intact.¹⁷

Exactly the same topographic specifics are echoed at *Yenice* too. The *Şehre küsti* quarter of *Yenice* (See map 8: B4) was bounded by the *mezarlik* to the south (See map 8: A5), by *Isa Bey* quarter to the west (See map 8: B3) and by *Ahmed Bey* quarter to the north (See map 8: C3). At the position B4 of the reconstructed map, the minaret of the *Şehre Küsti* mosque is still extant. This was renamed into Lower neighbourhood during the late Ottoman period and constituted one of the five Christian quarters around which the commercial centre of contemporary *Yenice* evolved.¹⁸ The archival evidence suggests that until mid 1550s, it was just a small quarter of the fringe belt which expanded significantly after the settlement of the Christian populace.¹⁹

Under this light, the reversal of polarities phenomenon can be equally discerned at *Yenice*. Initially, the Ottomans were settled around the area of the pre-existent Byzantine settlement (See map 8: A4) that was bounded by *Via Egnatia* and started expanding their town westwards and northwards. As the town grew, the area occupied by the Byzantine settlement evolved into the convergence point of proto-Ottoman and classical *Yenice*, the ‘Old market’. Thus, they relocated the Christians at the town’s fringe belt, which coincides with the town’s north-eastern boundaries. In the later centuries, the town’s classical fringe belt evolved into the town’s modern convergence point, where all commercial activities were transferred from the area of the ‘Old market’(See map 8: B1). The modern commercial centre of *Yenice* lies in the square of *G. Yiota* that coincides with the 19th century’s Christian quarter *Cumra* or *Ag. Konstantinos*.

¹⁷ E. Kadiroğlu, “Şehreküstü Camii”, <http://www.ogretmeninsesi.org/dergi/128/eminkadir.asp>, 2010, (accessed 15 August 2011).

¹⁸ The Christian neighbourhoods in the 19th century *tapu-tahrirs* are: *Lower neighbourhood, Cumra, Bucava, Upper neighbourhood and Varosh*. Demetriades (1975), p. 214.

¹⁹ Consult table 26: no. 15.

The Muslim Quarters

Amongst the most populous Muslim quarters were these of *Isa Bey*, of *Yakub Bey*, of *Hacı Lala*, of the *zaviye* of *Isa Bey*, of *Hacı Evrenos*, of *Hizir Bey*, of *Davud Bey* and *Acem Kadi* while the largest of all was that of *Ahmed Bey*.²⁰ All these quarters, with the exception of *Hacı Lala* and *Acem Kadi*, were created in the name of *Hacı Evrenos*'s descendants. It is therefore possible to estimate the date of their formation from the information on their founders provided by the *şecere*.²¹ The *Hacı Evrenos* quarter, which developed around his eponymous *imaret* (See map 8: A1), was one of the first quarters which were formed at the end of the 14th century. For the *Yakub and Isa Bey* quarters, the *terminus post quem* should be regarded the 1441²² and consequently, the formation should have taken place in the second half of the 15th century.

The “Quarter of *Hizir Bey*” should be attributed to *Hizir Bey Böğrü* “the first born son of *Barak Bey*.... [who] looked after the accounts of *Ahmed Bey*, when the latter was governor of *Vidin*, and became the administrator of *Hacı Evrenos*'s pious foundation for some period of time. When he died *Ahmed Bey* became the administrator once again”.²³ If we consider that *Hizir Bey* belonged to the second generation after *Hacı Evrenos* and that the first generation like *Isa* and *Yakub Bey* died in 1441, while the third generation like *Ahmed Bey* died in 1502-3, then we can estimate that *Hizir Bey* died in the second half of the 15th century and consequently, the formation of his quarter should be set in the same period too.

It becomes then understood that the majority of the quarters were established in the second half of the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. Although, the topographic

²⁰ Consult table 26: nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 16, 18, 11.

²¹ For all the references on the *şecere* I consulted Lowry-Erünsal (2010).

²² Lowry-Erünsal (2010), p. 44.

²³ Lowry-Erünsal (2010), p. 46.

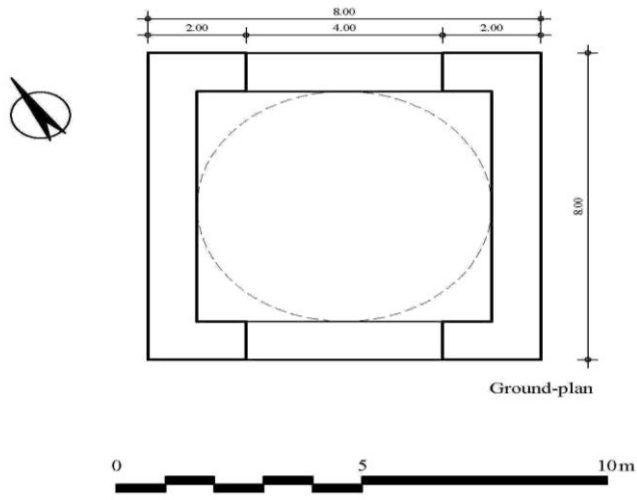
identification of all the quarters is not possible at that point, we can, nevertheless, recognise one of the convergence points of classical *Yenice* [i.e.] the quarter of *Isa Bey* that evolved around his eponymous mosque. This was highly acclaimed by *Evliya* who notices that: “*and the Isa Bey mosque, which was built by one of the ancient architects, whose architectural design is carried with such mathematical precision, that in all sincerity astonishes all who see it*”²⁴.

Since there are no remains of the mosque, it would not be possible to identify the position of the neighbourhood if it hadn't been for a reference appearing in the 1555 survey. In this source, the neighbourhood is cited as the “*mahalle-yi Isa Bey nam-ı diğer hazine*”²⁵, which can be then corroborated with the testimony of the local author *M. Lountemis* from 1928. In his article to a local newspaper comments on the topography of *Yenice* as follows: “*the most pivotal and vibrant spot of our small, seven-hilled town is a roughly-made crossroad called chaznes*”²⁶. From the testimonies of the locals it can be further reconstructed that a stream was springing from *Ahmed Bey* hilltop and crossed through *Hazine* and the Lower quarter [i.e., *Şehre Küsti*] down to *Via Egnatia*. By this way, the stream formed a natural boundary dividing the Christian from the Muslim quarters.

²⁴ Lowry-Erünsal (2010), p. 142.

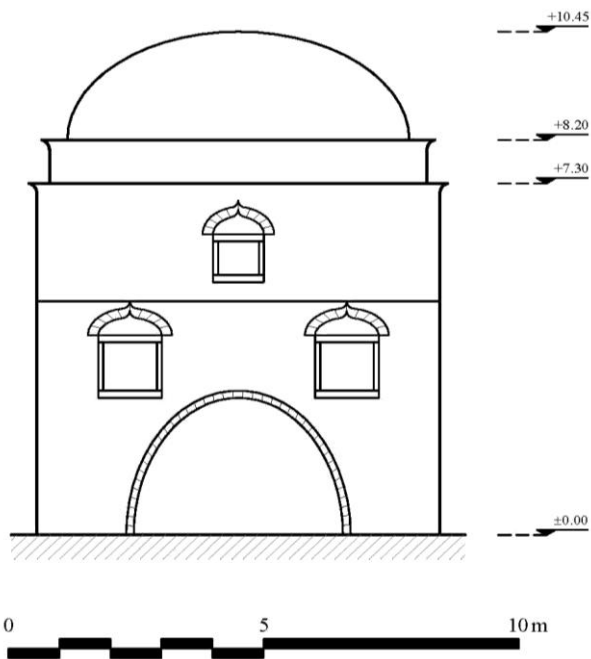
²⁵ TT723, p. 530.

²⁶ Maurokefalidou (2007), p. 54.



Pl. 66:
Ground plan
of the
mekteb of
Şerif Yusuf
Bey (?)
(Drawing:
Bessi 2012)

Mekteb Ahmed Bey
Ground-plan
Yenice-i Vardar



Pl. 67: South-
east view of
the mekteb of
Şerif Yusuf
Bey (?)
(Drawing:
Bessi 2012)

Mekteb Ahmed Bey
South-east view
Yenice-i Vardar

The aforementioned cross-road should be placed to the east of the nowadays square of St. George and close to the junction of the streets Papadopoulou and Papaioannou (See map 8: B3). Thus, *Isa Bey* mosque should have occupied the area where nowadays stands the church of St. George and was to be found within walking distance from a monument (See map 8: B2) which was recently identified as the elementary school of *Şerif Yusuf Bey*.²⁷ (Pls. 66-68)



Pl. 68 The mekteb of Şerif Yusuf Bey (?) (Photo: Bessi 2007, 2010)

Recovered foundations of classical Yenice

Evliya lists 17 mosques in the city, but only names the following five: *İskender Bey*, *Badrali*, *Isa Bey*, *Receb Çelebi* and *Ahmed Bey*. He also records twelve *mescids* but apart from these of *Hacı Evrenos* and *Şeyh İlahi*, the names of the other ten have not survived.²⁸ Therefore, these monuments could be recovered through examination of the entries of the functionaries at the various charitable foundations of 16th centuries *Yenice*.

²⁷ Lowry (2012), pp. 47-52.

²⁸ Lowry-Erünsal(2010), p. 142.

By this way, the present study recovered the names of ten mescids and four mosques. The existence of the (1) *mescid* of *Acem Kadi* is verified through the reference of its administrator *Hasan* in the 1530 survey, which is also recorded as the mosque of *Acem Kadi* by Ayverdi. It was restored by a certain *Abdulrahman Bey*, who endowed the mosque with a few shops.²⁹ The administrator *Hacı Mustafa* of the (2) *mescid* of *Murad Re'im* is recorded in the 1529 survey.³⁰ At the (3) *Ali Bey* quarter is recovered the eponymous *mescid* under the reference of its *imam Seyid Halife*.³¹ In the same quarter it is registered the *muezzin Ali Seyid* of the (4) *mescid* of *Mehmed Bey*. At the quarter of *Mehmed Bey* son of *Hızir Bey* is registered *Davud Isa*, the *muezzin* of the mosque.³² The fifth recovered (5) *mescid* is that of *Hacı Mustafa* known through the entry of its *imam Muslih al-Din Halife*, as resident of the quarter of *Hacı Evrenos*.³³ In the quarter of the *zaviye* of *Isa Bey* are registered the *hatib* and *imam Umur Halife Şeyh Siyah* of the *mosque* of *Mustafa Paşa*, which is the only close reference to the mosque of *Badrali Mustafa Bey* described by *Evliya* as an imposing and awe inspiring work of art.³⁴ In the same quarter are registered the *imam Mahmud Halife* of the (6) *mescid* of the *zaviye* of *Hacı Evrenos*, the existence of which is corroborated by *Evliya*³⁵, the *imam Muslih al-Din Halife* of the (7) *mescid* of *Hızir Bey* founded in the selfsame quarter most probably in the memory of *Hızir Bey Böğrü*³⁶ and the *imam Ahmed Halife Karagöz* of the (8) *mescid* of *Dur* [Ali Bey]. From the entry of this last *mescid* is only legible *Dur* and the reconstruction of its reading was achieved through Ayverdi's reference on the mosque of *Dur*

²⁹ TT424, p. 11; Ayverdi (1982), p. 303.

³⁰ TT424, p. 10.

³¹ TT424, p. 8; Ayverdi (1982), p. 304.

³² TT424, p. 10; Ayverdi (1982), p. 305.

³³ TT723, p. 533.

³⁴ TT723, pp. 532-533; Ayverdi (1982), p. 304.

³⁵ TT723, pp. 532-533; Lowry-Erünsal(2010), p. 142.

³⁶ TT723, p. 532-533.

Ali Bey.³⁷ The neighbourhood of the (9) *mescid* of *Hacı Lala* and the (10) *mescid of the Şeyh İlahi* are mentioned by *Evliya*. In TT.d. 723 the neighbourhood of *Çınarlı* is referred as in the vicinity of e) *Abdi Bey*³⁸, the selfsame mosque of whom is mentioned by *Ayverdi*.³⁹

Therefore, from the twelve *mescids* mentioned by *Evliya* the present study has recovered the following: 1) *Acem Kadi*, 2) *Murad Re'im*, 3) *Ali Bey*, 4) *Mehmed Bey*, 5) *Hacı Mustafa*, 6) of the *zaviye of Hacı Evrenos*, 7) *Hizir Bey*, 8) *Dur Ali Bey*, 9) *Hacı Lala*, 10) *Şeyh İlahi*. *Ayverdi* mentions three more *mescids* but there is no further evidence about the date of their formation: the *mescid* and *imaret* of *Burak Bey*, which are known to belong to his *vakf* at *Yenişehir*, the *mescid* and *imaret* of *Hacı Mehmed Efendi* and the *mescid* of *Ismail son Ali*.⁴⁰

With reference to the mosques of *Yenice*, the present study has recovered four out of the twelve unlisted mosques: a) *Acem Kadi*, b) *Ali Çelebi*, c) *Mehmed Bey*, d) *Abdi Bey*, if we do not include in this list the mosque of *Mustafa Paşa* already named as the *Badrâli* mosque by *Evliya*. For the remaining eight, we have to speculate that each quarter would have been provided with one mosque, hence the registering of their functionaries; and then, if we abstract from these quarters the *mescid* of *Hacı Lala* and that of the *zaviye* of *İsa Bey*, we come up with the mosques of e) *Yakub Bey*, f) *Yusuf Bey*, g) *Hacı Resul*, h) *Hacı Oğurlu*, i) *Hüseyin Bey*, k) *Davud Bey*, l) *Hüseyin Bey* or *Çınarlı* and m) *Debbağlar*.

³⁷ TT723, pp. 532-533; *Ayverdi* (1982), p. 304.

³⁸ *Lowry-Erünsal* (2010), p. 116, read the name of the quarter as *dar kurb-i İsa Bey* but I would suggest a reading as *dar kurb-i 'Abdi Bey* after comparing it with the writing of *İsa Bey* on page 530.

³⁹ TT723, p. 533; *Ayverdi* (1982), p. 303.

⁴⁰ *Ayverdi* (1980), pp. 304-305.

C. Reconstructing town-planning under the patronage of *Hacı Evrenos*

The imaret of Hacı Evrenos: a classical revision of an early Ottoman tripartite plan

The layout of the *Hacı Evrenos imaret* at *Yenice* known as the *İskender Bey* mosque encapsulates glimpses of architectural ingenuity unprecedented within the field of Ottoman architecture. This is due to its amalgamative physiognomy that was formed under the synergistic interaction of historical circumstances with influences inbred within the multi-cultural environment of the borderland. Concluding to the definition of a *typo* for such a hybrid structure is a challenging task. We can extend the term classical revision of an early Ottoman tripartite plan—the ‘*imaret* of *Hacı Evrenos* at *Gümülcine*’—with an axial eyvan (See Pl. 69). Each of the components of this term corresponds to specific spatial properties identified in the monument.



Pl. 69: Ground plan of Imaret of *Hacı Evrenos* at *Yenice-i Vardar* (known as *İskender Bey mosque*) denoting the two successive construction phases from 15th and 16th century. [Drawing: Lokma (2013), delineation of phases Bessi]

Firstly, the *Yenice imaret* is a revision of *Hacı Evrenos*'s 'imaret at *Gümülcine* because of the typological similarities it shares with its counterpart:

- a) a tripartite layout and a spatial development along the latitudinal axis,
- b) a central *domed sofa* unit which transforms into a free-standing *eyvan* and
- c) lateral gravity with an axial centre achieved through the flanking rooms [*tabhanes*].

At the *Yenice* example the central unit, which can be perceived as the equivalent of the *domed sofa*, assumes the function of a free-standing *eyvan* itself since it is not an enclosed space. The 'imaret is suggested to be primarily a sample of vernacular architecture that assumed the function of an 'imaret at a later stage. This was possible, since both phases accommodated a residential function. We extended, thus, the hypothesis that both monuments under *Hacı Evrenos*' patronage were probably based on the fusion of the *domed sofa-vaulted eyvan* with the four *eyvan* court plan (See pls. 32-33, 70). However, at *Yenice* example the influence of the latter scheme becomes far more pronounced, since the central *eyvan* opening is flanked by two lateral *eyvans*. The tripartite scheme of a central *eyvan* flanked by narrow doors is encountered in 12th and 13th century palaces of Syria and Jazira. Yasar Tabbaa when re-visiting the issue of the origins of the four *eyvan* court plan in 2010 pointed to its so far ignored association with cruciform palacial plans adopted in Ayyubid Syria and Jazira from Abassid Iraq.⁴¹

⁴¹ Y. Tabbaa, *Construction of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo*, Penn State Press 2010, pp. 84-93 (chap. 4: The Palace: Forms and Meanings/ The Cruciform Four-Iwan Plan and The Tripartite Court Facade).



Pl. 70 Cuma
moscjid
Isfahan:
south eyvan
ca. 14th
century
(Photo:
Bessi 2011)

In the *Yenice* sample, the central unit which can be perceived as the equivalent of the *domed sofa* assumes the function of a free-standing *eyvan* itself since is not an enclosed space. In the same time, the lateral compartments, although reflective of the latitudinal planimetric development of archaic *zaviye* formations, such as the *Sünbül zaviye* at Tokat, substantially divert from the lateral vaulted *eyvan* spaces of the *Sünbül zaviye*. The domed *sofa* of the *Sünbül zaviye* is volumetrically congruous, since it can function as an independently standing unit, while at *Yenice* the lateral parts are fully merged and none of these three units that correspond to the *sofa* and the *tabhanes* can be perceived as an autonomous structure.⁴²



Pl. 71 Material evidence attesting to the existence of two different construction phases.
(Photo: Bessi 2012)

⁴² Emir (1994), vol. 1, pp. 51-64 and Pl. 74.

The first to have recorded the monument was Kiel⁴³, who provided the only, up to the current moment, layout of the monument. Kiel, attributed the mosque to Evrenosoğlu Ahmed Bey, but in the postscript of his article based on a second reading of *Evliya* he attributed it to *İskender Bey*. The most recent edition of the extract of *Evliya* on *Yenice* was translated by Lowry – Erünsal as follows: “*There are a total of seventeen mosques, each of which is built by rulers and nobles and other people. But the most impressive of all, with its large congregation, is the İskender Bey Cami’i which lies within the market place. It is an ancient sanctuary whose dome is covered with lead. Over its door which lies across from the direction of Mecca is the following inscription which gives its date: İskender, from the line of Gazi Evrenos, rebuilt a house of charity [imaret] of his ancestor and disseminated its advantages. In return for which may his place in the next world be Paradise. Year: H. 916(=10 April 1510- 30 March 1511).*”⁴⁴

The second, reference on the construction phases of the monument is provided in the *şecere* with regards to *İskender Bey*, an antecedent of *Hacı Evrenos*. According to this: “*the deceased İskender Bey was a Provincial Governor, who, having replaced Koca Ahmed Bey as the administrator of Hacı Evrenos’s pious foundation, tore down and rebuilt the Cami’i and he died while serving as the Governor of Iskenderiye and was buried in the Honored tombe. He died on the 27th day of Sefer in the year h. 935(February 26, 1519).*”⁴⁵

The inspection of the masonry corroborates the aforementioned description. The delineation of the construction phases shows on the updated ground plan of the mosque,

⁴³ Kiel (1971)², pp. 300-329.

⁴⁴ Ve cümle 17 aded câmi’i mîr-i mîrân ve gayri kibâr-ı a’yân câmi’leridir, ammâ cümleden mükellef ü mükemmel ve ma’mû ve müzeyyen cemâ’at-i keşireye mâlik çârsû içinde İskender Bey câmi’i, kurşum kubbeli ma’bedgâh kadîmdir. Kible kapusu üzre tahrîr olunan târîhi budur: Ammere’l-İskender min nesli Gâzî Evrenos, Dâre hayrı ceddihî’l-a’lâ fe’amme nef’uhâ, Ecruhâ fî dâr’l-uhrâ cennetü’l-me’vâ limâ, Câe fî târîhihâ dârun karârun ecruhâ. Lowry-Erünsal (2010), p. 141.

⁴⁵ Merhum İskender Bey sancak Beyi olup ve Koca Ahmed Bey’den sonra Hacı Hacı Evrenos mütevellîsi olup câmi’i şerîfi bozup tekrâr yeniden bünyâd etmişdir ve İskenderiye Sancağı Beyi iken vefât edip türbe-i şerifesine defn olunmuşdur. Mâh-ı saferü’l-hayrın yirmi yedinci gününde sene 935, Lowry-Erünsal (2010), p. 56.

which was kindly provided by the architect M.Lokma (See Pl. 69).⁴⁶ There is a clear distinction between the masonry of the *'imaret* and the masonry of the mosque. Phase B corresponds to the *'imaret* and it has been realised in the technique of alternating layers. This tripartite structure reflects the note retrieved from the Evrenosoğulları *şecere* on the rebuilding from scratch in 1510-1511 of the late 14th century *imaret* of *Hacı Evrenos* by the administrator of his vakf *İskender Bey*. Evidence attesting to the existence of two different construction phases are visible in the interior of the mosque, at the north and south walls (See Pl. 71). The *'imaret* that was rebuilt by *İskender Bey* reached up to the springing of the arches of the pre-existent mosque. At these points, the beds of the alternating layers's masonry are distructed and traces of the cloisonné of the phase A are showing. (See Pl. 72)



**Pl. 72: Masonry of the first phase (phase A: the mosque) dated from the beginning of the 15th century
(Photo: Bessi 2012)**

⁴⁶ M. Loukma, The Shrine of İskender Bey at Yanitsa-Accreditation and Restoration Survey, MA Thesis, Aristoteleian University of Thessalonikē, 2012.

In 1670-1671 *Süleyman Bey* restored the dome. The building technique of alternating layers cannot be considered as evidence per se but only in conjunction with two other elements: the building techniques used in the only securely dated structure from 14th century *Yenice-i Vardar*, the *hammam* of *Hacı Evrenos*, and the common architectural features it shared with two other monuments from late 14th century, the *'imaret/mosque* of *Hacı Evrenos* at *Gümülcine* and his han at *Traianoupoli*. In the construction of all three of these monuments the cloisonné technique has been used in accordance with the style employed by the local Byzantine workshops that were working *a la maniera byzantina*.

The cloisonné and the ceramic decoration of the *hammam* of *Hacı Evrenos* in *Yenice* bears similarities with the cloisonné executed in the late 14th century Byzantine monuments from the neighbouring *Beroia* [*Karaferya*], which suggest that a local workshop was active in the area under the patronage of both Byzantine and Ottoman lords. In none of these buildings can we attest the use of alternating layers. Moreover, the other Balkan parallel of an *'imaret-mosque* dated from the *beylik* era (14th century), such as, the *Mihaloglu 'imaret* at *Ihtiman*, is also executed in cloisonné. This accentuates the argument that at least for the surviving monuments executed under the patronage of *Hacı Evrenos*, there have been employed local workshops, which were using the locally accustomed and affordable technique of the Greek school of the mainland, as opposed to the techniques of the hidden brick or that of the alternating layers familiar to the Constantinopolitan school and to the areas under its influence. The use of the alternating layers, and specifically, the highly stylized version we encounter in a series of late 15th and 16th century at *Yenice* it can be probably identified as dating criterion of the classical era. (See Pl. 73)



Pl. 73: Masonry of the second phase (phase B: the *'imaret*) dated from the 16th century (Photo: Bessi 2012)

The *İskender Bey* mosque and the *'imaret* of *Hacı Evrenos* at *Gümülcine* differ in scale, architectural type and supporting system. These inconsistencies were most probably ignored because of the initial typological classification of the structure as a *T-shaped* mosque [*zaviyeli cami'i*] by Kiel.⁴⁷ The spatial development of the *İskender Bey* mosque is laid along the transverse axis; what is striking is the sense of uninterrupted, unified space achieved through the use of two semi-domes. The, 18 m. in diameter, dome is laid by the means of pendentives on two blind arches by north and south and on two semi-domes by east and west that subsequently transmit its load on the exterior walls and flanking spaces. Closer observation suggests that the way in which the frontal *eyvan* has been deformed—at the point of the springing line of the arch—proves that, due to the huge opening, the wall failed to fulfil

⁴⁷ Kiel (1971)², p. 325.

its buttressing function, as bearing the load of the dome. This very deficiency speaks for the experimental character of the type.

These semi-domes bear a transition zone comprised of two conches and a middle blind arch, which externally takes the form of a low, polygonal tympanum. Therefore, the absence of interrupting pillars for the support of the dome, which were replaced by the use of semi-domes, indicates a stage of architectural development viewed in the second half of the 15th century, and specifically after the advancement achieved in the mosque of Bayezid II in Istanbul. What is nevertheless, missing is the spatial development along the longitudinal axis, which characterises the mosque of Bayezid II.

Hence, we can now suggest the following interpretation: the note regarding the dismantling and the rebuilding of the mosque at the beginning of 16th century [*Hacı Evrenos mütevellisi olup cami' şerifi bozup tekrar yeniden bünyad etmiştir*⁴⁸] denoted the front part of the mosque that coincides with the *imaret* of *Hacı Evrenos*. This first imaret had been expanded into the *cami'i şerif* of Yenice during the period of one century which elapsed between the death of *Hacı Evrenos* (1417) and 1519. The phase of expansion was the actual mosque and corresponds to the phase A of the plan. This is based on the evidence that the south addition to the mosque, from where it acquired its nowadays visible, longitudinal shape is executed in perfect cloisonné with windows that bear slightly pointed, semi-circular arches. Moreover, it is encountered a feature indicative of early masonries (14th and early 15 centuries): the intercession, amongst the layers of the cloisonné, of units completed filled with horizontally arranged bricks. (See Pl. 72)

⁴⁸ Lowry-Erünsal (2010), p. 30.

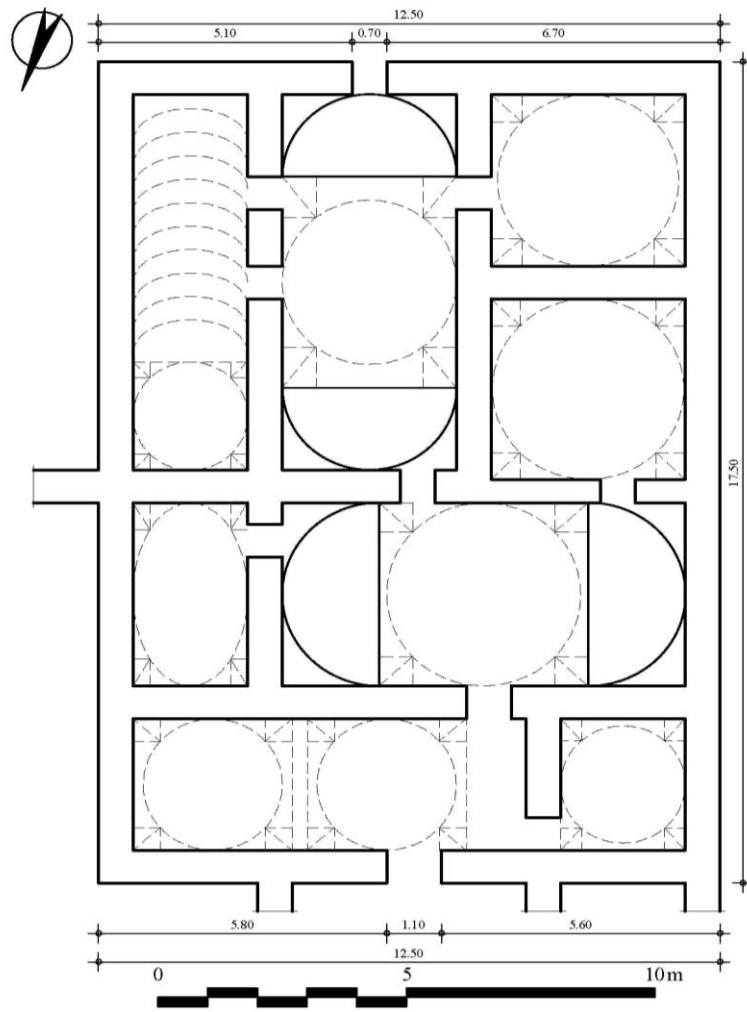
From three historical postal cards published by Lowry⁴⁹ and Maurokefalidou⁵⁰, it becomes instantly visible that we are talking about two different buildings. The frontal one is in such a way higher and wider than the lateral units, which correspond to the spaces under the semi-domes, that these are showing as flanking naves. Such lack of symmetry is certainly not accidental. If this is correct, then the reference in the *şecere* can be interpreted as follows: the administrator dismantled only the frontal part of the *cami'i şerif* that corresponds to the *'imaret* of *Hacı Evrenos*. In his attempt to respect the form of the edifice, he reproduced the same plan but with the material and the established architectural conventions of his era.

The Hacı Evrenos hammam (See map 8: A3)

The *hammam* of *Hacı Evrenos* is aligned with the *'imaret* of *Hacı Evrenos* along the *çarşıya* that leads from Egnatia to Mount Paiko (Strantzi Street) (See Pls. 74-75). In the proto-Ottoman phase, the hammam occupied the northern fringes of the commercial quarter.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁵⁰ Maurokefalidou, p. 208.



Ground-plan of Hacı Evrenos hammam
 Yenice-i Vardar
 last quarter 14th/ early 15th c.

**Pl. 74: Ground plan of the hammam of *Hacı Evrenos* at *Yenice-i Vardar* from ca. 1400
 (Drawing: Bessi 2013)**

The *hammam* is not preserved in its entirety. The principal late 14th century core was turned into a double bath at a later stage, most probably during the refurbishment of the *İskender* mosque, since the remains of the walls abutted to its west side are built in the style of alternating layers. The section depicted in the plan corresponds to the principal building phase judging from the cloisonné masonry and the elaborate ceramoplastic decoration (See Pl. 75). This contains friezes of geometrical patterns running at the lower parts of the masonry. Typologically, the *hammam* is reminiscent of the *Beylerbeyi* hammam and *Tahtakale* hammam at Edirne dating from the beginnings of the 15th century.⁵¹ The plan shows sections of the domed tepidarium that communicates with peripheral utility units (the square domed rooms) and the domed caldarium, which is roofed with the help of two deep, pointed arches.



Pl. 75: Hammam of Hacı Evrenos (Photo: Bessi 2011)

⁵¹ Aslanapa (1991), p. 91.

The Hacı Evrenos kervansaray (See map 8: A2)

Lowry-Erünsal published a picture depicting the *kervansaray* of *Hacı Evrenos* in the old market. According to *Evliya*: “*in addition there is one inn (with a large courtyard) whose services are without charge to all who come and go. That too is among the charitable works endowed by Gazi Hacı Evrenos ...*”.⁵² The georeference of the *kervansaray* was based on two historical pictures and recovered material evidence. Plate 76.b shows a double-storied commercial building on the right side of the *kervansaray* (See Pl. 76). The building is a 19th century structure with five windows on the upper floor and two big square openings on the lower level. Since, the *İskender Bey* mosque stands on the south-east side of this building, we can reconstruct the *kervansaray* as within the area of the old-market.



Pl. 76 a) South view of the 'Imaret of Hacı Evrenos (İskender Bey mosque) and b) The kervansaray of Hacı Evrenos at Yenice-i Vardar 246 (Maurokefalidou 2007, p. 130)

Plate 77 is a later shot of the area taken after the demolition of the *kervansaray* that contains cues, which indicate its exact position (See Pl. 77). These are: the facade of the

⁵² Lowry-Erünsal (2010), pp. 104, 145; Demetriades (1973), p. 222.

building (building A) showing on the far left side of the plate 77 and another 19th century double-storied building on the far right edge of the same picture (building B).



Pl. 77: The commercial district of the Old Market after the demolishing of the kervansaray of *Hacı Evrenos* (Lowry-Erünsal 2010, p. 29)

Building A has two closely opened windows on the upper floor and a single, square door on the lower ground. This is still standing and it can be seen on the street Isauron; the building nowadays has a third window below the set of two but judging from the framing this is a mid 20th century addition (See Pl. 78).



Pl. 78: The commercial building A in its present state (Photo: Bessi 2009)

Building B, a storehouse, is also preserved and it was restored by the 11th directorate of antiquities. Plate 79 shows the building from west, where the trace of a door at the lower north-west corner can be slightly discerned (See Pl. 79). Its front facade was facing *Via Egnatia* and in this manner it was following the orientation of the *kervansaray*.



Pl. 79 The commercial building B in the process of restoration (Photo: Bessi 2010)

The mausoleum of Hacı Evrenos (See map 8: A6)

The present form of the mausoleum of Hacı Evrenos is a 17th century edifice, which came to adjoin two existing mausolea: that of early 15th century that corresponds to the burial place of *Hacı Evrenos* (the north-eastern wing) and that of his son *İki Yürekli Ali Bey* (the south-western wing). Although Lowry correctly assumed that ‘*mezar-ı şerif*’ refers to a larger funeral complex with different components, it was not possible to attest the proportional similarities between the two equally sized wings (naves) of the structure, that correspond to the two mausolea. According to the *şecere* “*the constructed mausoleum of İki Yürekli Bey is that which lies in the direction of the deceased Evrenos head in the sacred burial place*”. From a look at the published ground-plan with the sketch of the burial, it becomes obvious that the second mausoleum is aligned with the head of the deceased. *Hacı Evrenos*.⁵³

⁵³ Skiadaresis (2008), p. 293 and Lowry-Erünsal (2010), pp. 136-137, 142.



Pl. 80: Ground plan of the mausoleum of *Hacı Evrenos* (*Ottoman architecture 2008*, p. 293)

Hacı Evrenos or Ahmed Bey medrese? (See map 8: C3)

In their last publication, Lowry-Erünsal argued that a series of historic photographs depicted the theological seminary of *Hacı Evrenos* based on *Evliya*'s testimony that “*there is a total of one theological seminary. That too is built by Hacı Evrenos and is decorated with lead covered domes*”. In a footnote they noted their concurrence with the identification of Thomas Leisten as an early Ottoman *medrese*.⁵⁴ Although the monument in question has not survived, its position can be reconstructed at the junction of the streets K. Giota and Kyprou and westernly from the Memorial Grave for the victims of the 2nd W.W. This is based on

⁵⁴ Lowry-Erünsal (2010), pp. 136-137, 142.

evidence derived from a series of historical card postal published by Maurokefalidou that show the *medrese* as located at the southern end of the 1st Elementary school of *Yenice*.⁵⁵



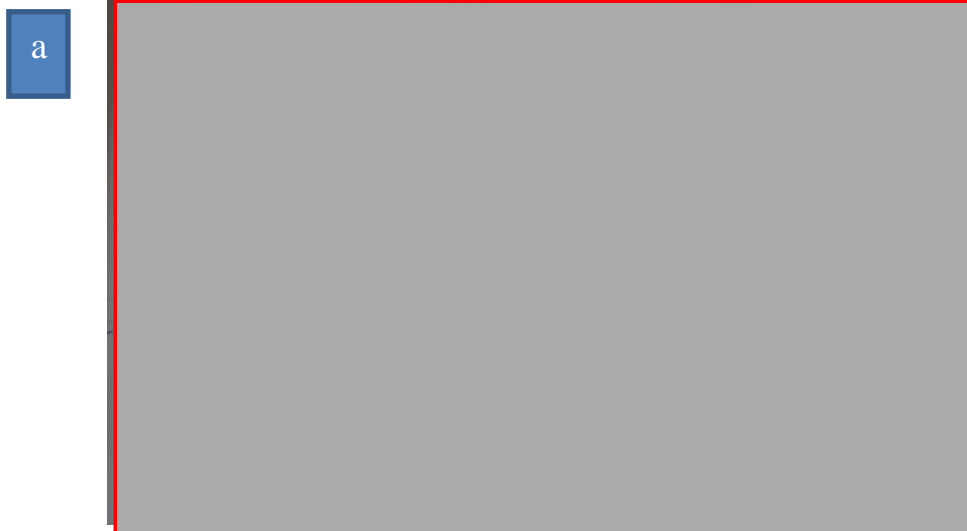
Pl. 81: The medresse of *Ahmed Beğ* at Yenice. From north shows the 1st elementary school and from south the clock-tower (Maurokefalidou 2007, pp. 5, 87)

Still, what seems to be inconsistent in this identification is the proximity of the *medrese* to the mosque of *Ahmed Bey* and the distance that separates the *medrese* from the rest of the *Hacı Evrenos* establishments (See Pl. 80). Although *Evliya* initially cites that the town had only one theological school, further down on his extract on the soup kitchens of *Yenice* he refers to another theological seminary, that of *Şeyh İlahi*.

⁵⁵ Maurokefalidou (2007), pictures on pages 6, 59, 125, 126.

This is further corroborated in the *şecere*, where it becomes explicit that “*Ahmed Bey... built in Yenice-i Vardar a medrese and a cami’i. Next to the mosque he constructed a türbe for the deceased Şeyh Abdullah İlahi. He (i.e., Ahmed Bey) died in the year 1502-1503 and is buried next to the exalted Şeyh*”.⁵⁶ This testimony suggests that we should seriously consider the possibility of this being one of *Ahmed Bey*’s foundations, since this *medrese* is close to the surviving *Şeyh İlahi (türbe)* mosque (See map 8: C2). Apart from the geographic proximity of the *medrese* to the *Ahmed* and *Şeyh İlahi* mosques, the dating of the *medrese* as a fourteenth or a sixteenth century monument can be further decided upon typological evidence.

If we were to accept that this is an early Ottoman *medrese* then the only early parallel that we could draw as reference would be the *medrese* of *Süleyman Paşa* at *Iznik* (1358) (see Pl. 81.a.). The Π-shaped courtyard comprises of four cells from east and west and the *dershane* from south. The *dershane* allows to a lateral space reserved for the *Şeyh* that can be accessed from the adjacent eastern cell too.



⁵⁶ Lowry-Erünsal (2010), pp. 46, 142-143.



Pl. 82: Ground plans of a) the *Şüleyman Paşa medrese* at *Iznik* (ca. 1358), b) *İshak Paşa medrese* at *İnegöl* (1482), c) *Tip medrese* at *Edirne* (1488).

The II-shaped courtyard of the *medrese* that we examine shares the same spatial conception in principle but with several points of departure that might suggest a different dating (See Pl. 80.a.). This is comprised of five cells from south and three or four cells (the exact number cannot be clearly discerned in the picture) from east and west. I include the corner cells to the south wing because they give the impression of compact, volumetric units. In the historical postal card published by Lowry shows clearly that the lateral units of the south wing are further divided into two smaller, domed cells that equal in size the central unit

of the *dershane* (See Pl. 81.b.). Since, the central cell with the protruding dome on high tambour, almost equals the two flanking ones, a better suited parallel would be the *medrese* of *Ishak Paşa* at *İneğöl* built in 1482.

Unfortunately, the scale of the buildings cannot be assessed through the pictures. However, the treatment of the central space occupied by the *dershane* is the same as in the *İneğöl* example. In this case, the emphasis on the primacy of the *dershane* is expressed through the balance of volumes that is lacking from the *Iznik medrese*. A second element that points towards a dating at the end of the 15th/ beginning of the 16th century is the protrusion of the *dershane* unit from the plan and its assimilation in the overall system of fenestration. In both *medreses* of *Ishak Paşa* and Beyazid II's *Tip Medrese* at Edirne from 1488, the *dershane* unit takes the form of a rectangular apse perforated on three sides with windows.⁵⁷ In our example, the protrusion of the *dershane* apse and its perforation with one window shows clearly. If we can thus extend a dating for the monument at the end of the 15th/ beginning of the 16th century, this would mean that the depicted monument is not *Hacı Evrenos'* but *Ahmed Bey's medrese*.

Town planning under Hacı Evrenos: proto-Ottoman phase

The geo-reference of the three monuments accomplished under *Hacı Evrenos'*s patronage has revealed that development at *Yenice* was conceived under a highly rationalized axial arrangement. The 14th century nucleus was knitted along a framework delineated by two axes forming an acute angle of 45°: the *Via Egnatia* (See map 8: axis X) and the *çarşıya* (See map 8: axis Y). At the origin of these two axes lies the *imaret* (See map 8: A1). Axis X is defined

⁵⁷ Goodwin (2003), pp. 30-31, 116-117.

by the *kervansaray* (See map 8: A2) and axis *Y* is defined by the *hammam* (See map 8: A3). The development of the commercial district was directed westwards and followed the curved route of the *Via Egnatia*. When *Hacı Evrenos* erected his *Traianoupoli han* along a thoroughfare of particular geostrategic importance that controlled both *Dimetoka* and Edirne, he laid the infrastructure that accommodated communication between the *Via Egnatia* and the *Via Militaris*. Along the same lines, he meant to secure the western fringes of the *Via Egnatia*. Thus, investment at *Yenice* reflects the geopolitical importance of the site, as a commercial and administrative hub on the route of the *Via Egnatia* towards the west and the north (Dubrovnik route).

These priorities are equally reflected in the bipolar idiosyncrasy of the town-planning conception. The orientation of the monuments gives the impression that the town's one half—the commercial—is an extrovert, opened to the *Via Egnatia* district. While, the other half—the residential/spiritual—conveys the tendency to expand towards the mountainous pasture lands, the hinterland extending beyond *Via Egnatia*. No other town discussed in this thesis, and in particular town that bears *Hacı Evrenos*'s imprint, displays such a clear separation between the residential and commercial sphere.

Laying his investment at *Yenice* could be, then, interpreted as his only opportunity to an uncompromised option. The *Yenice* landscape constitutes a *tabula rasa* where unfettered from the prevalence of a grand-vizier or the dictative presence of a pre-tracked network of access—as in the cases of *Siroz* and *Gümülcine*—he could establish a town-shrine for him and his descendants.

Still, in order to conceptualize the town-planning conception, we would need to define the position of the cemetery. This is aligned with the [*mezar-ı şerif*] the funerary precinct developed around the mausoleum of *Hacı Evrenos*, where the members of the *Hacı Evrenos*

family were resting, but it lies further east (See map 8: A5). In geo-reference terms, the section defined by axis Ψ forms an acute angle with the *çarşıya* (axis γ), which then complements the first acute angle between the axes *Via Egnatia* (axis χ) and *çarşıya* (axis γ) thus constituting two complementary angles, with the sum of their degree measurements equalling 90° . If then these complementary angles are placed on the map, along with the 15th century monuments, they all-together re-produce a diamond shaped form, at the centre of which the mausoleum of *Hacı Evrenos* is to be found (See map 8: A6).

It needs to be clarified that this layout incorporates the monuments of 14th and 15th centuries with the additions of the *bedesten* and the mosque of *İsa Bey* from the beginning of the 15th century (See map 8: B1, B3). Therefore, it leaves out the monuments undertaken under the patronage of *Ahmed Bey* from the beginning of the 16th century (See map 8: C1-C3) based on the understanding that there is only a certain degree of premeditation that could have been achieved. The first formed axes would have had the power to direct the urban expansion up to a certain level. From then onwards, the urban growth was subjected to more or less circumstantial parameters.

Part C: Conclusions

Ottoman town planning in a comparative perspective

Revisions of the morphological theory in Islamic urbanism have contributed greatly to the disassociation of the Ottoman strata from the anarchal, corrupted interpretation of the Greco-Roman substratum. For example, André Raymond criticised the dismissive interpretation accorded to the Muslim model and, particularly, to the Ottoman substratum of the Mediterranean cities as an inorganic assemblage of quarters, by marking the structural analogies between the western and the Oriental city.

Along the same syncretistic lines, Gilles Veinstein advocated that the existence of the typical Ottoman town lies in the morphology of the north-western Anatolian and Balkan cities, and concluded: “there existed an original urban type, halfway between the Arabic and the Western towns; and if this analysis is confirmed from future studies, then the term—Ottoman town—will be legitimately used to refer to this type”. The case-studies examined in this doctoral project corroborate the existence of an original urban type for this group of towns, as Veinstein predicted. They legitimately deserve to be called ‘original’ since the genesis of the earliest and unrestrained from the impact of the Byzantine substratum fabrics is to be traced in these towns. Still, this thesis mainly contributes cognitively to the field, as it defines that the identifier of ‘originality’ or ‘purity’ for this type derives from its particular geographical divisions. Accordingly, the coining of the type that we extended was reflective of these particular geographical divisions, as an obvious functional and formal analogy amongst the towns of this group. We thus concluded that the typological identification of the ‘original’ Ottoman town can be encapsulated in the Balkan-Anatolian type with a Byzantine kernel and an Ottoman fringe belt.

In order to rationalize the arrangement and diversity of such a hybrid urban morpheme we had to devise a new methodological model. This made possible the identification of principles that qualify authentic samples of Ottoman fabric in the 14th century's settlements. Through the cross-disciplinary application of morphological and defterological concepts, we were able to trace existing and reconstructed forms back to their formative processes and to interpret them within the theoretical framework of structural rationalism. Within this framework, we made extensive use of defterological evidence on the urban *vakfs* that provided us with retrospective information on the formation and the upkeep of the *vakfs*, around which the numerous quarters evolved.

Cross-examination of these pieces of evidence with an array of miscellaneous metadata helped us map the 14th to 16th centuries' street-blocks and essentially the core layout of the street-system within the 20th century's city plan. Thus, through the reconstruction of the urban fabrics of four mainland towns, which played a pivotal role in the chronicle of Ottoman expansion in the Balkans [*Dimetoka* (1354), *Gümülcine* (1361/2), *Siroz* (1383) and *Yenice-i Vardar* (1385)], we concluded that the early Ottoman town planning was prioritized upon a rationally structured settlement process. Although spontaneous in its conception, the detailed articulations of the early Ottoman town plan have been carried in a systematic way that gave a structural order to their internal spatial relationships. This force can be encapsulated in the principle of reflective axiality.

The broad pattern of growth resulting in the plan development of our towns in the lower Balkans conforms closely to M.R.G Conzen's theorization on the Inner Fringe Belt (*IFB*). In *Dimetoka*, *Gümülcine* and *Siroz*, the Old Town coincides with the Byzantine castled citadel, which becomes clearly discerned from the subsequent exterior development conditioned by the existence of the city walls and the differentiation of the building fabric.

The understanding of the Byzantine citadel as the kernel of the Ottoman urban fabric allows to conceptualize the accretional growth within the Ottoman town. In all four towns of our investigation, the settlement of the first Ottomans caused the outward growth from their kernel as substantiated through the peripheral addition of a fringe belt to their built-up area. The fringe belt coincides with the *suburbium*, commonly encountered in Evliya as the *varoş* of the Ottoman town. This can be identified with the un-walled, non-agricultural settlement outside the gate of a pre-urban nucleus, often representing an early stage in the development of the late medieval/early modern town.

Essentially, we have shown that the Ottoman part of the late medieval/early modern town can be substantiated in the development of the *IFB*, since it surrounds the Byzantine castle and is arranged asymmetrically around an antecedent fixation line the castle wall. This *IFB* was articulated along pre-existent tracks of access that radiated from the gates of the Old town. These tracks evolved into the arteries (axes) of the Ottoman town with pivotal being that of the *çarşıya*. The spatial reference of the five proto-Ottoman concentrations (*vakfs*/quarters) to the Byzantine castle helped us realize that the earliest endowments bequeathed to the towns—the *Mehmed Çelebi* mosque and medresse at *Dimetoka*, the *Hacı Evrenos* ‘*imaret*’ at *Gümülcine* and the *Eski cami*’ *külliyeye* at *Siroz*—were positioned along the main gates of the castle as a reference.

The next step was to conceptualize the normative pattern emerging from the ‘mighty maze’ of axes in these towns. A river or a major thoroughfare assumed the position of a stable denominator in relation to which a central public highway [*çarşıya* or *tariki ‘am*] was aligned; at *Dimetoka* this principle can be verified in the emergence of the *Erythropotamos* axis, at *Gümülcine* through the *Boukloutza* and the *Via Egnatia* axes and at *Yanitsa* through the *Via Egnatia* axis too. While at *Dimetoka* and *Gümülcine* we attested the mastering of a

biaxial type, at *Siroz* the venture reaches its zenith through the adaptation of a multi-axial morphological solution. We were further able to confirm, based on archival evidence regarding the town of *Gümülcine*, that not only was there a spatial perception of the axes at a social level, but that this morphological systemization—as relied upon the pivotal *çarşıya*—was the regulating factor of the town’s economic life.

Thus, application of the Conzenean theorization helped us conceptualize the broad pattern of growth, since it provided the epistemological tools to elucidate the steps of the morphological evolution. Still, although Conzenean theory helped us rationalize the ‘what’ in our enquiry, Muratorian theory, through the reversal of polarities phenomenon, helped us understand the ‘how’. Within the comparative framework of our analysis, *Gümülcine* first, and then *Siroz* allowed us to encapsulate the core concept of the Ottoman morphological reasoning. At *Dimetoka*, this is not immediately apparent because it is blurred by the Ottoman need to make use of the fortification in order to house the *enderun-i hazine*.

At *Gümülcine*, the identification of the two early quarters—*Aşci* and *Süğüren*—and their placement along the axes *Y and Y1* revealed that the Ottomans were interested in seizing the access to the castle and not the castle *per se*. The same applies to *Siroz*. The *Eski cami*, *Şeyh Bedreddin*’s and *Bahaeddin Paşa*’s *zaviyes* developed along the axis *Y1* and *Y2*, extending south-west from the subordinated gate of *Bostancılar kör kapusu*. In this case too, the castle had lost its function as a fortified position since late fourteenth century, when *Haci Evrenos* tore down parts of the wall. Thus, seizure of the main exits loses the sense of access to secured and enclosed grounds. Then, if the castle is not the Ottoman target, what was it?

In all four cases discussed in this thesis, the Ottomans appropriated the pre-tracked network and created access towards the Byzantine kernels. *Yanitsa* is not an exemption to this; the only difference lies in the fact that its kernel was not circumscribed. The Ottomans

valued the strategic importance of the positions and foresaw the dynamic the sites would have for their plans to form a network of cities. Thus, Ottoman expansion and the subsequent investment laid in the towns under question was subjected to a conceptualised geostrategic reasoning defined by the position of these cities with reference to the all-extendable frontier line of the early Ottoman principality.

As it can be attested in all four case-studies, the Ottomans appropriated the dynamic of the site by marginalizing the inner polarity (the Byzantine castle) and reconfiguring the town under the new, external polarity the proto-Ottoman commercial core.¹ With semiotic subtlety, they reversed the dynastic centre from the castle to the suburb; and at the moment the screen of reversal reality was set up, they assumed authority through visual transference. Then, the new commercial core—traditionally centred around the earliest *küllüye*—evolved into the converging point of the axial system upon which infrastructural development was regulated in the outer suburb [*varoş*].

The importance of the aforementioned realisation for the field of Ottoman morphology shows clearly when connected with the functional division of Islamic urban space, as Tekeli advocated.² The centrality of the commercial district [*çarşı*] in the early Ottoman suburbium was articulated upon pre-tracked axes. Such a sense of reflective axiality presupposes a monitoring process of the access network. By this process, the Ottomans were able to assess

¹ Even in the case of *Yanitsa* that do not possess a circumscribed kernel, the phenomenon of reversal polarities can be equally attested; though not through visual transference but through the relocation of the Christian polarity. The relocation of the Old Christian Quarter, most possibly due to the need for a radical urban re-development, lead to the emergence of the proto-Ottoman convergence point through the assimilation of reclaimed lands from the Old Quarter.

² I. Tekeli, "Evolution of spatial organisation in the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic", in L.C. Brown (ed.) *From medina to a metropolis: heritage and change in the Near Eastern city*, Princeton University, 1973, pp. 244-273; idem, "Urban patterns in Anatolia: organization and evolution" in R. Holod (ed.), *Proceedings of the conference on conservation as cultural survival*, (Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology), 1980, pp. 15-27

how the landscape of the outskirts was configured, and then to canalize access to the citadel accordingly.

Thus, morphological sustainability and eventually, evolution of the urban type that we are coining relied upon the dialectic balancing between the geographic divisions of the Byzantine kernel and the Ottoman fringe belt. Any hypothesis of a preconceived plan can be immediately ruled out. However, the positioning of the dervish convents along major trade routes and thoroughfares (the colonization zoning as discussed in the *Siroz* chapter) attest to the use of a monitoring process of the access network that develops into a spatial behavioural pattern. Then, the urban fabric resulting from such process (i.e., the Ottoman fringe belt) evolves into a highly conceptualized system—a dynamic organism—that, when adapted to a site, maximized the opportunities of the landscape for settlement by setting up or enhancing connectivity of the fabric.

In the second half of the 14th century, the Seljuk cities of Tokat, Sivas, and Amasya equally developed dervish lodges along major thoroughfares, which remained however circumscribed. Wolper argued that all these dervish lodges, *kervansaray* and medreses did not duplicate the services of the urban core but reinforced them. In a sense, although travellers saw a fortified city with a traditional centre, they would not need to travel to the city centre for their business. Quests could have easily visited the closest lodge to fulfil all needs of daily life.³ At first, it seems that the development of the Ottoman zaviye network constitutes a parallel evolution. However, the very fact that the Ottomans extended the principle of reflective axiality outside the city walls to the open landscape speaks for the different levels of critical engagement required. At *Dimetoka*, *Gümülcine*, and *Siroz*, these

³ Wolper (2003), p. 2, 42-60

charitable foundations were not meant to compliment the services of the citadel, but to reinstate its functions in the periphery.

It starts then becoming clear that the practice of uncircumscribed settlement under the Ottomans is no less a form of power expression (as the struck of coins or the acts of patronage) that in context with other official public images meant to assert political legitimacy.⁴ In this sense, establishing themselves outside the walls should be read as more of a statement to the travellers and residents of the region that a change in who controlled the region and the peripheral network has occurred. Then, the fringe belt becomes an urban idiom that evolves into the visual identifier of Ottomaness.

The impact of this practice becomes even clearer if we consider what the reception by the locals (i.e., the Byzantines) was. A 14th c. century historiographer, *Demetrius Kydones*, wrote in one of his letters: “such is the present time that everyone outside the walls has been submitted to the Turks, and everyone within the walls has been exterminated by the famine, the upheaval and thousand other troubles and have turned their hopes only to the Christian help”.⁵ Under the Ottoman methods of conquest, the walls are turning into a curse that can be averted only through the filter of the Ottoman fringe belt. Thus, instead of repairing the walls, they reinforced the defensibility of the castle, by infiltrating the access routes, and canalising control over the citadel. This empowering dimension of the fringe belt bears visual authority.

We can thus deduce that the centre of political power and administration was not uniform in character but from the presence of the *zaviyes*, we understand that a number of

⁴ This is a point that Ethel Wolper draws with reference to the erection of Seljukid portals in multicultural Anatolia. Ethel S. Wolper, “Understanding the public face of piety: philanthropy and architecture in late Seljuk Anatolia”, *Mésogeios* 25-26, 2005, pp. 311-336.

⁵ “[...] καιρός δὲ οἷος οὐκ ἄλλος ὁ νῦν, τῶν μὲν ἔξω τειχῶν πάντων δουλευσάντων τοῖς Τούρκοις, τῶν δὲ ἔνδον πενία καὶ στάσει καὶ μυρίοις ἄλλοις κακοῖς ἀναλίσκομένων, πρὸς μόνην δὲ τὴν παρὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν βοήθειαν ἀφορώντων” Liber XIX: Epistula 190 (9) Ioanni Lascari Calophero Romam, Constantinople 1378-1379: Démétrius Cydonès, *Cydonès Démétrius Correspondance*. Studi e Testi 208, vol. II, edited by Raymond J. Loenertz (Rome, 1960), 63.

administrative services were dispersed along relatively straight, rectilinear streets that linked the *zaviyes* with the gates of the citadel.

It in this context, we need to question whether we can speak of a marked sense of separation between “public” and “private” zones in the proto-Ottoman phase.⁶ The listing of the *mahalle-yi cami*’ at *Dimetoka*, *Gümülcine* and *Siroz* shows that habitation existed around *eski cami*’—the *per se* public zone—but at what radius, we are not in the position to defining. Besides, the fact that the proto-Ottoman quarters are loosely distributed on the reconstructive map seems to reconfirm both Veinstein’s understanding that the type we are casting had a less densely settled habitat and Petruccioli’s prediction of a “semi-rural open space” outside the walls that as an urban tube was fermenting further development.⁷ Under this light, the development pattern assumes the form of a multi-clustered centrifugal scheme—a ring of *zaviye*-quarters—that radiates from the pivotal position of the *külliye*. Thus, although the centrality of the *külliye* and its dimension as a public zone of the urban system remains indisputable, we need to accept that the same balancing between public and private zoning occurs on a lesser scale (a micrograph) within each cluster. This can be expressed via the weaving of residential fabrics around, or as dependent from charitable endowments.

⁶ Johansen, B., “Eigentum, Familie”, *Die Welt des Islams* 19, 1979, pp.19-24.

⁷ Veinstein (2008), p. 217; Petruccioli (2002), p. 209.

Appendices

CHAPTER 1: Dimetoka

Transcriptions

- **Mualim Cevdet Yazmalari 0.89 (1455-1473), pp. 3-9.**

Table 1

Nahiyet-i Dimetoka		
1)Mülk-i Mahmud Çelebi¹ (Fatma Hatunun oğludur) veled-i Oruç Bey bin Şeihi Hacı Ali aslinda Babaları üzerine yazılmışdır Ahir Süleyman Çelebi hükmile haraçınla kapusını kapuyı verilmiş mülkdür	Karye-yi Haydar Hori Raiyyet: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• çiftlu 22• arabacı 1• bive 4• müselleme: çift 1• mülk: asiyab: otak 2, göz 4	Karye-yi Vulgar Hori 'an sinurlu Raiyyet: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• çiftlu 14• arabacı 1• bennâk 11• müselleme çift 2, bennak 1• nefer-i baciyan: çiftlu 4 bennak 1 bive 1• Hasil-ı muka[ta'a] fi senet-il kamile 11,500²
2)Mülk-i Karagöz Bey³ şimdiki halde Dimetoka cami'inin imam-ı 'Acem Hoca elindedir padişahımız hazret tevki'i şerif var berat ve vakfiyyeüzere Karagöz Beyin imaretinden sarf eder	Karye-yi Hekimoğlu Raiyyet: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• çiftlu 18• bennak 11• imam 1 asiyab-ı vakf: 1 nefs-i Dimetoka dahil bazarı dekakin harab: 12	Note: 'an sinur anca ki harab olmağın şimdi 'Acem Hoca meremmet etmiş hasil: 2,495

¹ Mc.Yz. 0.89, p. 5.

² The writing of five and zero is confusing in this survey. I decided to read as five the wider roundels with a space in the centre and as zero the smaller roundels allowing no space in the centre.

³ Ibid., p. 6.

<p>3)Mülk-i Merhum Yazıcı Oruç Bey⁴ şimdi Hacı Mehmed veled-i Murad Bey bin <i>Ahmed</i> veled-i ‘Ali Bey bin Oruç Bey ellerindedir. Sultan al-allam musulmanımız sultnanımız hazret tevki’i şerif var berat. Vakfiyeüzere tasarruf ederler</p>	<p>Karye-yi Prangi Raiyyet:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • çiftlu 8 • imam 1 • bennak 3 <p>hasıl: 1,464</p>	<p>Karye-yi Çopanlu mülk-i mezkur Raiyyet:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • çiftlu 18 • bennak 14 • imam: 1 • ‘arabacı 1 <p>hasıl: 2,264 Al- cümle: 3,829</p>
<p>4)Vakf-ı Medrese ve Mescid ‘an nefsi Dimetoka⁵</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hammam sene kıst: 7,700 • bağ harab • dekakin 6 taksimat 35 • kiraye-yi karuban saray ma’a dekakin: sene 200 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘an Edirne ‘an tabi’i Kapan taksimat 34 ve karuban saray mukata’a fi sene: 1,255
<p>5)Vakf-ı Merhum Gazi Hudavendigar⁶ Asil deftere altı bin akçe yazılıp asağı yazılmış gibidir</p>	<p>Hammam-ı kıst fi senet-il kamile 4,455</p>	<p>Cami’i Edirne Mevlana Çelebi mescidinde olan hafızların bin sekiz yuz akçe ve Baksi Kadi elinden hafızlara ve imamlara sarf olunmuş amma merhum sultan zamanından beru Kadi olan yom beş akçe bu zikr olun mücebinçe Balıban paşalar fetretten yazılmışdır giru ol üzere yazıldı</p>

⁴ Ibid., p. 6.

⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

⁶ Ibid., p. 7.

- *BOA. TT20 890 (1485), pp. 141-150, 244-279.*

Table 2

Name of the Quarter	Number of Households	Number of exempted/celibates/slaves/ widows	In total
1) Mahalle-yi Debbaglar ki Abdal Cuneyid mahallesi dahi derler	{ Hane-yi muslim }: 38 { Among which }: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paşa Fakih imam • Eliyas veled-i Tura müezzin • Mehmed veled-i Kara ‘Ali kethuda • Yusuf keçici • İsmail dellak • keresteci ‘Ali • boyaci Hasan • Ramazan papuçcu • Armağan bardakçı • Hoşkadem debbağ • Kara debbağ (2%) • Eliyas <i>gulam-ı</i> Hacı Hamza • Karagöz <i>gulam-ı</i> Timur • Hamza <i>gulam-ı</i> Hacı Hamza • Şami ‘<i>atik-ı</i> Kogaci Hacı • Hamza <i>azade</i> Hoca Sinan 	{ Among which }: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 3(7%) • Celibates: 7(18%) • Slaves⁷: 5(13%) 	Hane: 38
2) Mahalle-yi Karagöz Bey	{ Hane-yi muslim }: 35 { Among which }: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Melvana Yakub sahib-i cami’i • Süleyman veled-i imam • Kasim veled-i Eliyas kethuda 	{ Among which }: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 3(8%) • Celibates: 7(20%) • Converts: 5(14%) • Slaves: 3(8%) 	Hane: 35

⁷ In the category of slaves are included the following three nouns: *gulam*, ‘*atik*, *azade*.

<p>3) Mahalle-yi Burak</p>	<p>{ Hane-yi muslim } : 12 { Among which } : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eliyas veled-i Hakim imam • Hızır çulah kethuda • Barkgül (?) papuçcu • İsmail <i>gulam-ı</i> Umrşah • Hızır veled-i zindancı • Nasuh çulah • Hacı tabah • Hamza muy-tab <p><i>There are 3 weavers in this neighbourhood.</i></p> </p>	<p>{ Among which } : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 2(16%) • Slaves: 2(16%) </p>	<p>Hane : 12</p>
<p>4) Mahalle-yi Medrese</p>	<p>{ Hane-yi muslim } : 13 { Among which } : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mühiyeddin imam • Halil veled-i İbrahim müezzin • Halil kethuda papuçcu • papuçcu Çelebi • Seyyidi bardakçı • Mola papuçcu • Ali hayyat </p>	<p>{ Among which } : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 3(23%) • Celibates: 1(7%) </p>	<p>Hane : 13</p>
<p>5) Mahalle-yi Haraççı</p>	<p>{ Hane-yi muslim } : 22 { Among which } : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hacı Eliyas imam • kürekçi ‘Ali müezzin • Timur Paşazade kethuda • Abdullah <i>gulam-ı</i> Fazlullah Şeyhi Fani • Atmacı <i>gulam-ı</i> Zakaria • Behtar ‘<i>atik-ı</i> Abdul Hamid • Sefer veled-i çanakçı • Kasim nayzen • Dervişan: ‘Ali Derviş kethuda Abdal </p>	<p>{ Among which } : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 5(22%) • Celibates: 2(9%) • Slaves: 3(13%) </p>	<p>Hane : 22</p>
<p>6)Mahalle-yi Oruç Bey⁸</p>	<p>{ Hane-yi muslim } : 28 { Among which } : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zeyn Hoca imam • ‘Umur veled-i Halil </p>	<p>{ Among which } : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 4⁹(10%) • Celibates: </p>	<p>Hane : 28</p>

⁸ BOA.TT 20 890 (1485), p. 143.

⁹ In these 4 I am including: *Zeyn Hoca Imam, ‘Umur veled-i Halil Müezzin, Papuçcu Hızır Kethuda and Eliyas müselleme nev*, who has a double status as a new exempted and a celibate.

	<p>müezzin</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Papuççu Hızır kethuda • Süleyman <i>gulam-ı</i> Sarban • Doğan <i>gulam-ı</i> Çelebi • Oğurlu '<i>atık-ı</i> Mahmud • Şahgeldi <i>gulam-ı</i> Çelebi • Kirkuz <i>gulam-ı</i> Hızır Bey • Piri <i>gulam-ı</i> Oruç Bey • Eliyas müselle-i nev <i>mücerred</i> • Hasan <i>gulam-ı</i> Zakarya Hoca • Saruca <i>gulam-ı</i> enderun • Hasan <i>yamak-ı</i> o • Rum Hızır • Hamza Rum 	<p>4 (14%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slaves: 7(25%) 	
7) Mahalle-yi Cercer	<p>{Hane-yi muslim}:12</p> <p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Süleyman Hoca imam • Ramazan Divana müezzin • Mahmud kethuda Anadolu • Karagöz '<i>atık-ı</i> Selcuk • İshak azadlu veled-i Cercer • Karagöz '<i>atık-ı</i> Selcuk • Hasan <i>gullam-ı</i> Oruç Paşa 	<p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excmpted: 3 (25%) • Slaves: 3(25%) 	Hane : 12
8) Mahalle-yi Cami'i	<p>{Hane-yi muslim}:25</p> <p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taht al-Din imam-ı cami'i • Mahmud müezzin • Murad veled-i Ata Bey kethuda • 'Ali veled-i Hamza kayyum • Veyısı Fakih na'ib-i kadi • Hızır müselle-i nev etmekci • Karagöz muy-tab • Sinan veled-i Kilavuz Şeyhi Fani • Nasuh veled-i Kilavuz • Hızır habar • Hamza dukkandar 	<p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excmpted: 6 (24%) • Slaves: 2(8%) 	Hane : 25

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yunus dukkandar • Karagöz <i>azade-yi</i> Veyisi Kadi • İskender <i>gulam-ı</i> Sinan Bey • İskender <i>hizmetgar-ı</i> Halil Bey 		
9) Mahalle-yi Kuyumcu	<p>{ Hane-yi muslim}:37 { Among which }:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mustafa veled-i kuyumcu imam • Hasan bartakçı müezzin • Derviş Hızır veled-i İshak • Yusuf veled-i kuyumcu • Süleyman haddad • Musa veled-i kalaycı • Ramazan tamirci • Hoşkodam <i>gulam-ı</i> Hacı Siyah • Mahmud <i>gulam-ı</i> Süleyman • Hızır hayyat • Abas eskici • Halil papuçcu • Hızır sabuncu • Ramazan tamirci • Hızır kasab • Mehmed kasab • Yusuf kasab • İsmail kasab 	<p>{ Among which }:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 3(81%) • Celibates : 5(13%) • Slaves: 2(5%) • Converts: 3(8%) <p>Professional breakdown:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Butchers: 4(10%) • Jewellers and related professions: 3(5%) • Various artisans: 5(13%) • Assistants: 3(8%) 	Hane : 37
10) Mahalle-yi Habib Fakih nam-ı diğer Macarlar	<p>{ Hane-yi muslim}:28 { Among which }:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Ali Fakih veled-i Habib imam • İbrahim müezzin • Mustafa kethuda Anadolu • Şirmerd <i>gulam-ı</i> Ahmed • Şirmerd <i>gulam-ı</i> Habib Hoca • İsmail <i>gulam-ı</i> Kara Danişmend • Burak dellak • İbrahim hayyat veled-i Süleyman • Hacı Hasan muy-tab • Yahşi arabacı • Aliyas arabacı 	<p>{ Among which }:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 3(10%) • Celibates: 3(10%) • Slaves: 3(10%) • Converts: 3(10%) 	Hane : 28

11) Mahalle-yi Kum ki Bazarlu Bey mahallesi dahi derler	{Hane-yi muslim}: 34 {Among which}: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seyyidi ‘Ali imam • Mehmed veled-i Mustafa müezzin • Sinan <i>gulam-ı</i> Mahmud • Eliyas <i>gulam-ı</i> Mahmud • Hamza <i>gulam-ı</i> Mehmedi • Sarica <i>gulam-ı</i> ‘Isa • <i>Çakir azade-yi Saru Hacı</i> • Eliyas <i>azade</i> Hacı Saki <i>mücerred</i> • Hızır <i>azade</i> Hacı Saki <i>mücerred</i> • Eliyas <i>azade</i> Haraci • Eliyas ‘<i>atık-ı</i> Şark • İsmail ‘<i>atık-ı</i> Yusuf Emreci 	{Among which}: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 2(5%) • Celibates: 4(11%) • Converts: 1 • Slaves: 10(29%) 	Hane : 34
12) Mahalle-yi Kum ki Hocaca dahi derler	{Hane-yi muslim}: 53 {Among which}: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hamza Fakih veled-i Mehmed imam • Mustafa veled-i bostanci müezzin • Hızır veled-i Eliyas kethuda • Hoşkodam <i>gulam-ı</i> Çauş • Kirkuz <i>azade</i> Çauş • İsmail <i>azade</i> Mustafa muy-tab • Süleyman <i>azade</i> Hoca Sinan • Eliyas <i>azade</i> Hocaça • Kirkuz <i>gullam-ı</i> Hasan Ağa • Ali gedik • Eliyas hayyat • Mustafa muytab • Yunus çulah • Eliyas arabaci • Behtar muytab • Yunus muytab • Şirmerd kürekçi • Mustafa hayyat • Yusuf cerrahı • Hamza dellak <i>Mücerred</i> 	{Among which}: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 3(5%) • Celibates: 18(33%) • Converts: 9(16%) • Slaves: 6(11%) <p>Occupational breakdown: hayyat 2 papuçcu muy-tab 3 çulah dellak</p>	Hane : 53
13) Mahalle-yi	{Hane-yi muslim}: 5	{Among which}:	Hane : 5

Doğan Bey	{ Among which }: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mustafa Fakih imam • Ali veled-i ‘Abdi müezzin • Hacı Mehmed kethuda • Hasan veled-i Hoca ‘Umur • Mehmed veled-i Abdullah 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 3(60%) • Converts: 1(20%) 	
14) Mahalle-yi Köprü Başı	{ Hane-yi muslim }: 20 { Among which }: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mustafa veled-i Şah Paşa imam • Hamza müezzin • Kemal Derviş • Yusuf <i>gulam-ı</i> Kadi • Hızır <i>gulam-ı</i> Yusuf • İskender <i>gulam-ı</i> Gürani • Hamza <i>yamak-ı</i> Gemici • Ramazan kürekçi • Ramazan dukkandar • Yusuf segban 	{ Among which }: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 3(15%) • Celibates: 1(5%) • Slaves: 3(15%) • Converts: 2(10%) Occupational breakdown: gürekci dukkandar segban	Hane : 20
15) Mahalle-yi Tatarlar	{ Hane-yi muslim } : 29 { Among which }: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mesut Hoca imam • Murad müezzin • Şahin ‘<i>atık-ı</i> al-Din • Tanrivermiş ‘<i>atık-ı</i> Abdullah • Şirmerd <i>gulam-ı</i> Rustem • Turhan <i>yamak-ı</i> Rahman • İsmail ‘<i>atık-ı</i> Rahme • Kaya ‘Ali paşmakçı • Kara hammamcı • bozacı Hacı • Ahmed nalbant • Doğan degirmenci • Veled-i Atmacı çulah • Mustafa veled-i Ahi 	{ Among which }: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted : 2(6%) • Celibates:0 • Convert: 1(3%) • Slaves: 4(13%) Occupational breakdown: paşmakçı hayyat hammamcı nalbant değirmenci	Hane : 29
16) Mahalle-yi Kal’e-yi	{ Hane-yi muslim }: 5 { Among which }: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saruca <i>gulam-ı</i> Çakerzen • Hızır veled-i Argyros • Hamza <i>azade-yi</i> Mehmedi 		Hane : 5

Christian Quarters			
17) Mahalle-yi Gebran kale'yi	<p>{ Hane-yi Gebran}: 106 { Among which}: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nikola Papas • Yorgos <i>yamak-ı</i> Istrati • Tomas ırgat • Mihalikayı tamias • Yani kontos • Linos <i>yamak-ı</i> Bergiot • Polyzot [Polyzois] keremitci • Şevastianos veled-i Papas • Theofylaktos <i>veled-i</i> papas • Nikola Papas • Yorgos Bazarlis • Manolis Anastasis • Manolis Mastoros • Proto Yeros Palios • Manolis Kaluta • Pratiko deđirmenci • Yorgi Dragasinos • Yani ispano • Yorgos mastoris • Mihail Katsivelou • Dimitri Protomastor • Dimitri Politi • Manolis Evretanos • Orguropiyos Pavlos • Patakos • Kosta Evretanos • Giorgis Kaluta • Yani kamilari • Bazarlu • Logara keremetci • Yani Yormanos • Vasilikos • Christodoulos deđirmenci • Nikola Gounari • Nikola Dandrinis [Dendrinis] • Dimitris Ispanos • Todoros Gounaris • Tragodos Birgaris (Boulgaris) </p>	Bive-i Gebran: 7	Hane : 113

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Giorgis kamilaris • Doukas Atranou [Adrianou] • Dimitri eskici • Todoros Makrygiannis • Yorgi Sari • Manolis Kalutsikos • Mihail Exidavelo • Manolis Exidavelo • Amalotos Mavrayenis • Yorgi <i>yamak-ı</i> Bazarlu • Todoros deęirmenci • Mihail Ipsalinos • Mihail Dedeye • Yanni Peritos • Giorgi Ispathari • Vasilikos gramatikos 		
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Table 3

Evkaf ve Emlak			
<p>1)Vakf-ı Evlad-ı Oruç Paşa¹⁰ sonra alınup timara verilecek vakfiyesile mukarrer nameleri bile alınup zâ'î' olmuş ama eski defterlerde giru mülkiyeti mestur bulunduęu sebebdan padişahımız sultan Bayezid han hallada hilafete hazretleri giru mülkiyeti vakf evlatlığı mukarrer tutup hük-m-i firman-ı kaza ceriyan in'am etmiş haliya ol hük-m-i şerif mücebince evladi vakf-i evlatlık üzere mutassarıflardır</p>	<p>Karye-yi Çobanlı Yekun:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hane: 45 • mücerred: 3 • hasıl: 4,939 	<p>Karye-yi Prangi Yekun:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hane: 22 • mücerred: 6 • hasıl: 3,372 	<p>Cema'an:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • karye: 2 • hane: 67 • mücerred: 10 • Hasıl: 8,311
<p>2)Mülk-i Nasuh Bey¹¹ mir-i liva-ı İskenderiye padişahımız sultan Bayezid han işbu köyü hibe ve temlik edup bağışılmış cemi' tevabi' ile ve levahıkıla mülkiyet üzere tasarruf olunur beratı görülmedi</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Karye-yi Bey mülk-i mezkur • Karye-yi Hacı nam-ı dięer Çeltükçi hali re'ayetleri mezkur Bey köyünde otururlar 		

¹⁰ BOA. TT20 890 (1485), pp. 244-245; Gökbilgin (1952), pp. 246-247.

¹¹ TT20, pp. 246-247; Gökbilgin (1952), p. 448.

	<p>Cema'an:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hane: 39 • mücerred: 6 • hasil : 4,760 		
<p>3)Vakf-ı Medreseyi Çelebi¹²</p> <p>This is the “<i>vakf-ı medrese ve mescid ‘an nefsi Dimetoka</i>” From the 1453 register</p>	<p>Karye-yi Ilica viranı Cema'an:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hane-yi Muslim: 3 • hane-yi Gebran: 80 • bive-yi Gebran: 1 • hasil: 5,927 		
<p>4) Vakf-ı Yıldırım Bayezid han¹³ zamanından beru gemicilere vakfımiş gemi işledirler tasarruf edup geçmiş padişahlardan ellerinde hük-m-i şerifleri vardır cemi' 'avarizatdan emin olalar diyu ve padişahımız sultan sultan Bayezid han dahi hük-m-i cihan-muta virup bir karar sabika gemi işledirler diyu. Ama mezkur gemiciler işbu köyün hasılı olurlarmış, lakın beratlarında mestur değildir.</p>	<p>Karye-yi Sofılar Mehmedi¹⁴, vakf-ı gemiciyan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gemiciyan <i>ba berat-ı padişah</i> • Raiyyet-i karye-yi mezkur • cema'an • hane: 15 • mücerred: 1 • hasil: 1,833 		
<p>5) Vakf-ı Yıldırım sultan¹⁵ zamanından beru gemicilere vakfımiş Prangi gecudunda gemi işledirlermiş geçmiş padişahlardan vakfiyeti ahkam-ı şerife vardır. Ama padişahımız sultan Bayezid handan dahi tacdid berat etmemişler haliya şimdi Mustafa veled-i Bayramlı ve Mustafa gullam-ı İbrahim ve Şah Veli veled-i Mustafa beratsuz tasarruf edup mezbur kimesne hizmet ederler</p>			

¹² Ibid., pp. 255.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 265-266.

¹⁴ Kotzageorgis lists the village of Sofılar Mehmedi as a plain area near Meriç river. Kotzageorgis (2007), p. 252.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 266-267.

<p>7) Vakf-ı Karagöz Bey¹⁶ Hekim oğlundan satun alınmış mülkimiş nefsi Dimetokada olan tekyesine sarf olunurmuş bundan ol evkaf ve emlak tebdil ve tegayyür olicak bozulup timara verilmişmiş şimdi giru vakfiyyeüzere tasarruf alınur ama beratları görülmedi</p>	<p>Karye-yi Hekim[li]¹⁷: imam-ı Mevlana Mahmud elinde hükm-i şahı vardır. Dar makam ki imam ola resm-i rüsum Raiyyetları ve ‘avarızları emin ola diye cema’an:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hane: 32 • mücerred: 8 • hasıl: 4,042 		
<p>8)Vakf-ı veled-i Cercer¹⁸</p>	<p>‘öşür : 200</p>	<p>Asiyab-ı dolap: 5 200</p>	<p>Yekun: hasıl:400</p>
<p>9)Vakf-ı Cami’i Dimetokadar tasarruf-ı Hatib¹⁹</p>	<p>Bağ dar sinur-ı şehri muceb-i Mevlana veled-i Ahi dar tasarruf-ı Mevlana Hatib Süleyman dönüm: 130 hasıl: 520</p>	<p>‘an zemin-i vakf-ı mezkur bir muceb-i hocet veled-i Ahi</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘öşür 20 • ‘öşür 30 	<p>Yekun: hasıl: 570</p>
<p>10)Vakf-ı zaviye-i Abdal Cüneyid²⁰ dar nefsi Dimetoka şehir çivarında bir pare yer çükermiş merhum Gazi Murad Hudavendigar zamanından beru vakfımuş şimdikihalde Abdal Cüneyid neslinden oğlu kızı tasarruf edup tekyeye harc ederlerimiş ama hükümleri görülmedi</p>	<p>hasıl: Az çayir-i hassa ve öşr-i bağat ve sayir cihat: 396</p>		

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 272-273; Gökbilgin (1952), pp. 289-290.

¹⁷ Kotzageorgis lists a certain village Hekimli, known in Greek as Yatrades. Kotzageorgis (2007), p. 254.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 274.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 274.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 301; Gökbilgin (1952), p. 174; Ayverdi (1982), p. 195.

- *BOA. TT 77 925 (1519), pp. 139-148*²¹

Table 4

Name of the Quarter	Number of Households	Number of exempted/celibates/widows	In total
1. Mahalle-yi Oruç Bey	{Hane-yi muslim}: 14 ²² {Among which}: • Davud Fakih imam • İshak müezzin • {Hane-yi}dar kira :3 • ‘Ali ‘Umur Dede	{Among which}: • Exempted: 2(14%) • Celibates: 4(28%) • Converts: 1(7%)	Hane : 14
2. Mahalle-yi Medrese	Hane-yi muslim}: 11 {Among which}: • ‘Ali Fakih imam • Halit müezzin	{Among which}: • Exempted: 2(18%) • Converts: 3(27%)	Hane : 11
3. Mahalle-yi Cercer	{Hane-yi muslim}: 20 ²³ {Among which}: • Abdul al-Karim imam ve hatib-i câmi’i • Eliyas müezzin muaf ve müselleme • ‘Ali ‘Umur imam-ı imâret-i Nasuh Bey dar Dimetoka ba berat • Atmaci ‘ibn Abdullah muaf ve müselleme • Davud Sefer müezzin	{Among which}: • Exempted: 5(25%) • Celibates: 5(25%) • Converts: 5(25%)	Hane : 20
4. Mahalle-yi Kuyumcu tâbi’i Dimetoka	{Hane-yi muslim}: 27 ²⁴ {Among which}: • Hamza Fakih imam	{Among which}: • Exempted: 4(14%)	Hane : 27

²¹ In this survey the totals are provided in the form of marginal notes at the left side of each quarter entry and in many occasions do not correspond to the actual numbers of the recorded households. The problem lies in the identification of the exempted. Therefore, for consistency purposes with the rest of the surveys, I have chosen to provide the actual numbers of the recorded households followed by the listing of the entries which I classify as exempted. In the same time, the totals as recorded in the survey are included in the footnotes. The totals of the exempted, celibates and converts are provided in the third column.

²² The survey provides the breakdown of 9 households and 4 celibates.

²³ The survey provides the breakdown of 12 households, 5 celibates and 2 exempted ; it thus suggests a total of 19 taxable households.

²⁴ The survey provides the breakdown of 22 households and 2 celibates; it thus suggests a total of 24 taxable households.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hüseyin Abdullah müezzin • Musa Kethuda • Nasuh ‘Ali imam-ı mahalle-yi Tatar • Rahit debbağ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Celibates: 2(7%) • Converts: 16(59%) 	
5. Mahalle-yi Habib Fakih nam-ı diğer Macarlar²⁵	<p>{Hane-yi muslim}:29 {Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • İbrahim Fakih Imam • Mustafa müezzin • Devleti Han Hızır eşkuncu ve müselleme • Keşi ‘Ahmet muaf müselleme/ mücerred • ‘Ali Abdullah yağci/ mücerred • Süleyman Divani dar kira /mücerred • Hasan ‘atik-ı (?) dar kira /mücerred 	<p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: imam: 1 müezzin:1 muaf ve müselleme: 1 eşkuncu müselleme:1 yağci:1 dar kira: 2= 7(24%) • Celibates: 15(51%)²⁶ • Converts: 9(31%) 	Hane : 29
6. Mahalle-yi câmi’	<p>{Hane-yi muslim}:16²⁷ {Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eliyâs Fakih imam • Eliyas ba berat müselleme • Mustafa ‘ibn Abdullah câmi’i evkaf • Sari İftar eşkuncu hanan • Mehmed Dede eşkuncu yürük 	<p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 6(37%) • Celibates: 2(12%) • Converts: 4(25%) 	Hane : 16
7. Mahalle-yi Tatarlar	<p>{Hane-yi muslim}:23²⁸ {Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nasuh imam • Mehmed müezzin • Hamza Abdullah yağci 	<p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted 6(26%) • Celibates: 5(21%) • Converts: 	Hane : 23

²⁵ TT77, p. 140.

²⁶ The survey provides the breakdown of 11 celibates and we deduce that it excludes the categories of: muaf ve müselleme (1), yağci (1), dar kira (2).

²⁷ The survey provides the breakdown of 10 households, 2 celibates, 2 eşkuncu; it thus suggests a total of 14 taxable households.

²⁸ The register provides the breakdown of 13 households, 5 celibates, 1 yağci, 3 muaf and müselleme; it thus suggests a total of 22 taxable households.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kilavuz Abdullah muaf ve müselleme • Mustafa Abdullah muaf ve müselleme • Yusuf Emir muaf müselleme • Mustafa tüccar • Hamza çulaha • Yusuf papuçcu 	8(34%)	
8. Mahalle-yi Kizlak-ı Burak	{Hane-yi muslim}: ²⁹ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seyyidi ‘Ali imam 	{Among which}: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 1(16%) • Celibate: 1(16%) • Converts: 1(16%) 	Hane : 6
9. Mahalle-yi Köprübaşı	{Hane-yi muslim}: 15 ³⁰ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Ali Fakih imam • Murad ibn-i Kasim mücerred /Şahin zaviye³¹ • Dede Bali Şahin zaviye 	{Among which}: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 3(20%) • Celibates: 3(20%) • Converts: 3(20%) 	Hane : 15
10. Mahalle-yi Doğan Bey	{Hane-yi muslim}: ³² 5 Among which: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hacı İbrahim imam • Hasan müezzini • Mustafa müezzini-i mescid-i Hocaca 	{Among which}: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 3(60%) • Celibate: 1(20%) 	Hane : 5
11. Mahalle-yi Karagöz Bey	{Hane-yi muslim}: 18 ³³ Among which: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Umur Fakih imam • ‘Ali Sinan muaf ve 	{Among which}: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 2(11%) • Celibates: 6(33%) 	Hane : 18

²⁹ The register provides the breakdown of 5 households and 1 celibate. The quarter of *Kizlak Burak* constitutes one of the most representative cases of the discrepancies encountered in the counting system of this *defter*. Does this mean that in this quarter the imam was not exempted?

³⁰ The register provides the breakdown of 10 households and 2 celibates. Therefore, we need to consider as exempted: ‘Ali Fakih imam, Murad ibn-i Kasim Şahin zaviye/ mücerred and Dede Bali Şahin zaviye.

³¹ I would suggest a reading of the name of the zaviye based on the list of the Dimetoka zaviyes provided by Ayverdi. In this he records the Şahin Baba- Şahin Sufi Sultan zaviyesi. A provision for the tekve was made from the allowance of Ahmed Çelebi vakf. Ayverdi (1982), p. 196.

³² The survey provides the breakdown of 3 households and 1 celibate, as if the two müezzin were not exempted.

³³ The survey provides the breakdown of 9 households, 6 celibate and 1 muaf müselleme and thus suggests a total of 16 taxable households.

	müsellem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Converts: 4(22%) 	
12. Mahalle-yi Bazarlu Bey ³⁴	{Hane-yi muslim}: 29 ³⁵ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Ali Fakih imam ba berat Barak Hamza yağci Mustafa ibn-i Yusuf <i>Çiftliğ-i bazdar</i> Mustafa Sarica <i>Çiftliğ-i bazdar</i> Mustafa Kovaklu Gayub Nasuh Cerahor mücerred ve ba berat 	{Among which}: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exempted: 6(20%) Celibates: 3(10%) Converts: 7(24%) 	Hane : 29
13. Mahalle-yi Debbağlar nam-ı diğer Abdal Cüneyid	{Hane-yi muslim}: 44 ³⁶ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mehmed Ramazan imam Mustafa müezzin 	{Among which}: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exempted: 8(18%) Celibates: 15(34%) Converts: 14(31%) Dervishes: 6(13%) 	Hane : 44
Dar zaviye-yi Bektaşî Hane-yi zaviye-yi Abdal Cüneyid mezkur dervişler 'avarız vermezler diyu ellerinde hükm-i şerifi cedidleri var	{Hane-yi muslim}: 6 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sersam Baba Derviş Mustafa Kara Abdal Derviş Cüneyid Hacı Hasan Cüneyid Abdal Cüneyid 		
14. Mahalle-yi Haraççı	{Hane-yi muslim}: 18 ³⁷ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hamza Emral imam Mahmud Tanrivermiş müezzin Kasim Abdullah muaf ve müsellem 	{Among which}: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exempted: 3(16%) Celibates: 6(33%) Converts: 4(22%) 	Hane : 18

³⁴ TT77, p. 142

³⁵ The survey provides the breakdown of 21 households, 2 celibates; it thus suggests a total of 23 taxable households.

³⁶ The survey provides the breakdown of 22 households and 15 celibates; it thus suggests a total of 37 taxable households. In my breakdown (44) I am including the 6 dervishes of the *zaviye*, since, although of a different fiscal status, they belonged geographically to the neighbourhood.

³⁷ The survey provides the breakdown of 10 households, 6 celibates and 1 muaf müsellem; it thus suggests a total of 17 taxable households.

<p>15. Mahalle-yi Hocaca</p>	<p>{Hane-yi muslim}: 34³⁸</p> <p>Amongst which:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mehmed Hacı Hamza imam • ‘Ali Hoca • Emral müezzin Nasuh Bey ba berat • Nasuh ibn-i Abdullah muaf ve müselleme • ‘Ali çulah • Hacı salcu • Yahşi çulah • İskender salcu 	<p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 3(8%) • Celibates: 6(17%) • Converts: 6(17%) 	<p>Hane : 34</p>
<p>Gebran-ı kal'e-yi Dimetoka</p>			
<p>16. Mahalle-yi Kosta Papas mezkure-yi kâfırlar cizyelerin ve ispençeleri hassa verirler ve Edirne saray-ı ‘amıraya tâbi’i olan bağlara ve bahçelere hizmet ederler</p>	<p>Hane-yi Gebran:61</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kostantinos Papas 	<p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mücerredan-ı mahalle-yi mezkur: 10(16%) • Bive-i mahalle-yi mezkur: 8(13%) 	<p>Hane :61</p>
<p>17. Mahalle-yi Yahudıyan tâbi’i kal'e-yi mezbur</p>	<p>Hane-yi Yahudıyan: 20</p>	<p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Celibate: 1 ³⁹ İsmail Davut • Widows: 2 	<p>Hane : 20</p>
<p>18. Mahalle-yi Aya Todora</p>	<p>Hane-yi Gebran:48</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vasiliku Papas 	<p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mücerredan-ı mahalle-yi mezkur :10(20%) • Bive mahalle-yi mezbur: 4(8%) 	<p>Hane : 48</p>
<p>19. Mahalle-yi Manastir</p>	<p>Hane-yi Gebran:52</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yanni Papas 	<p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mücerredan-ı mahalle-yi mezkur: 13(25%) • Bive mahalle-yi mezbur: 5(9%) 	<p>Hane : 52</p>

³⁸ The register provides the breakdown of 25 households, 6 Celibates and 1 *muaf müselleme* and thus suggests a total of 32 taxable households.

³⁹ The register does not mention this celibate in the final breakdown.

Table 5

1. Vakf-ı evlad-ı Oruç Paşa ⁴⁰ sonra alınup timara verilecek vakfiyesi ve mukarrernamesi dahi bile alınup za'ı' olmuş ama eski defter-i mülkiyet mestur bulunmağın merhum Sultan Bayezid han 'aleyhu' al-rahmete ve al'ma'gfiret mülkiyet ve vakf evlatlığın mukarrer tutup hükm-i şerif erzanı kalmışlar ol hükm-i hümayun mücebince vakf evlatlık üzere mutassarıflardır.	Karye-yi Çobanlı vakf-ı mezkur <ul style="list-style-type: none">• hane: 30• mücerredan-ı karye-yi Çobanlı: 11• yekun: 5416	Karye-yi Prangi vakf-ı mezkur <ul style="list-style-type: none">• hane: 17• From which mücerred: 5• yekun: 3,989 <p>Total: 9,405</p>
2. Vakf-ı medrese-yi Oruç Paşa ⁴¹	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Bağ dönüm 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 'an kıst-ı hammam dar nefsi-i şehri-i Dimetoka fi sene• Dekakin
3. Vakf-ı zaviye-yi Abdal Cüneyid ⁴² dar nefsi-i Dimetoka şehri-i civarında bir pare yeri varmış merhum Gazi Hunkar zamanından beru vakf eylemiş. Halıya, Abdal Cüneyidin neslinden oğlu oğlunun kızı oğlu Seydi tasarrufundayımış. Mezkur yeri bağliğa ulaştırub mahsulün zaviyeye harcedermiş.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Hasıl 'an bağat 170 dönüm fi 3 380• 15 çayir-i hisse dar kurb-ı şehri fi sene 50• Yekun: 760⁴³	
4. Vakf-ı mescid-i mahalle-yi Karagöz Bey ⁴⁴ vakf-ı Ali Bey	Dekakin dar nefsi-i Dimetoka 114 bab fi sene 612	Mezkur akçe iki Hatun vakfımış

⁴⁰ TT77 925 (1519), pp. 223-224.

⁴¹ TT77 925 (1519), p. 237; Gökbilgin (1952), p. 247.

⁴² Ibid., p. 242; Barkan (1942), p. 338.

⁴³ Although, it records 760 it adds up to 750.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 242.

	Nakit 1,000 Fi sene 2,000	
5. Vakf-ı zaviye-yi Ahi Denek ⁴⁵ dar mahalle-yi kasaban nam-ı diğ er kuyumcu mahallesi dar nefsi-i Dimetoka sabiken ve zaviye-yi mezbure-yi Yıldırım Han bina edup ve nefsi-i Dimetoğ unda bazar iç inde bir başhane yapup mezkur zaviye-yi vakfımış, al an dar tasarruf-ı Ahi Kasım	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘an mahsulat-ı başhane fi yom: 3 	
6. Vakf-ı Yıldırım Bayezid Han zamanından beru gemiciler vakfımış Prangi gecudunde gemiler iş lermis selatin maziyeden ahkam ş erifleri vardır	<p>Karye-yi Sofılar vakf-ı mezkur</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hane çift: 19 • mücerredan-ı karye-yi mezkur: 8 • Yekun 1,156 	
7. Vakf-ı Yıldırım Bayezid Han ⁴⁶ zamanından beru gemicilere vakf olup Meriçi suyu gecudunde Prangi nam karye-yi mukabileinde gemicilik ederler ve haslar mutassarıflardır. Selatin maziyeden ellerinde hük m-i ş erifleri var.	<p>Karye-yi Sofılar⁴⁷ vakf-ı Gemician</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cema’at-ı Gemician ehl-i berat berat olan gemiciler fevt olup beratsız gemicilik eder oğ ulları vardır: 10 • Evlad-ı gemician: 6, from which 4 mücerred • Ze’amet-i karye-yi mezkur: 9 from which 3 bennak and 3 çift • Yekun: 1,296 	
8. Vakf-ı Karagöz ⁴⁸ Hekimoğ lundan satunmuş Dimetokada olan zaviyesine sarf olunurmuş	<p>Karye-yi Hekim[li] vakf-ı mezkur:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hane 24 (from which) 17 çift, 7 bennak • mücerredan-ı karye-yi mezkur vakf-ı mezkur: 10 (from 	

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 242; Barkan (1942), p. 338; Gökbilgin (1952), p. 190-191: He is also suggesting alternative readings of the name as *Dönük*, *Dinek*, *Döğün*; Ayverdi (1982), p. 195.

⁴⁶ TT77 925 (1519), p. 243.

⁴⁷ Kotzageorgis suggests a tentative identification of Sofılar with the Greek village Sofiko. Kotzageorgis (2007), p. 254.

⁴⁸ TT77 925 (1519), p. 250.

	which) 1 muaf ve müselleme • Yekun: 3,788	
9. Vakf-ı Medrese-yi Çelebi, Yıldırım Han⁴⁹ vakf etmiş	Karye-yi Salih Viranı nam-ı diğer Söğütlü Dere ⁵⁰ 10,777	
10. Mülk-i Nasuh Bey mir-i liva-yı Silistre⁵¹ merhum Sultan Bayezid han 'aleyhu' al-rahmete ve al'ma'gfıret mezkur Nasuh Beye hibe ve temlik edup mezkur dahi Dimetokada bina etuği zaviyesine ve Bey köyünde olan cami'ine ve mektub hanesine ve mezkur zaviye mutasil olan mescidine vakf etmiş merhum sultan Bayezid Handan ve padişahımız a'azza'llahu hazretlerinden dahi mükarrer namesi var olan vakfiyyeüzere tassaruf olunur	Karye-yi Bey köyü vakf-ı mezkur • hane: 49 (from which) 21 çift, 17 bennak, 3 nim • mücerredan-ı karye-yi mezkur: 7 • Yekun: 19,261	

- **BOA. TT 370 926 (1520), p. 19.**

Table 6

Name of the quarter	Number of Households	Number of celibates	Number of Widows
1) Musulman-ı Kal'e-yı Dimetoka	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dizdar: 1 • Kethuda : 1 • Muhafazan nefran: 15 • İmam: 1 		
2) Mahalle-yi Oruç Bey	Hane: 30		

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 264.

⁵⁰ This is also listed by Kotzageorgis as a mountainous area. Kotzageorgis (2007), p. 254.

⁵¹ TT77, p. 285; Gökbilgin (1952), p. 448: He records that the total from the Bey köy was 25.200 and he is further adding cash amounts of 866,000 and 86,600 akçes provided from the defters a) TT370, p. 41, b) TT77, p. 293, c) TT138, p. 13, d) TT136, p. 20.

3) Mahalle-yi Medrese	Hane: 6	Mücerred: 3	
4) Mahalle-yi Cercer	Hane: 10	Mücerred: 3	
5) Mahalle-yi Kuyumcu	Hane: 18	Mücerred: 2	
6) Mahalle-yi Habibi Fakih nam diğer Macarlu	Hane: 10	Mücerred: 3	
7) Mahalle-yi Cami'	Hane: 4	Mücerred: 1	
8) Mahalle-yi Tatarlu	Hane: 12	Mücerred: 4	
9) Mahalle-yi Kizlak Burak	Hane: 4	Mücerred: 1	
10) Mahalle-yi Köprübaşı	Hane: 17	Mücerred: 4	
11) Mahalle-yi Doğan Bey	Hane: 1		
12) Mahalle-yi Karagöz Bey	Hane: 12	Mücerred: 5	
13) Mahalle-yi Bazarlu	Hane: 15	Mücerred: 7	
14) Mahalle-yi Debbağ nam-ı diğer Abdal Cüneyd	Hane: 19	Mücerred: 4	
15) Mahalle-yi Haraççı	Hane: 8	Mücerred: 3	
16) Mahalle-yi Hocaca nam-ı diğer Kum mahallesi	Hane: 24	Mücerred 4	
Yekun:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cami'i: 1 • Medrese: 1 • İmaret: 1 • Hammam: 2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dizdar-ı kal'e: 1 • Kethudayı kal'e: 1 • Muhafazan neferan: 18 • İmam-ı kal'e: 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mahallat-ı şehir: 15 • Hane-yi Müsellem: 163 • Mücerred: 44 <p>Total of Muslim households: 163+44= 207</p>
Gebran-ı kal'e-yi Dimetoka cizyelerin Hudavendigara ve ispençelerin ve sair rüsumu vakf-ı mezburina eda ettiklerinden sonra 'avarızden bedel Edirne'de olun saray-			

ı ‘amiraya tabi’i bağlar be bağciler hizmet ederler			
Mahalle-yi Kostas Papaz	Hane: 45	Mücerred: 1	Bive: 2
Mahalle-yi Dimitri nam-ı diğeri Yahudiyan	Hane: 15	Mücerred: 2	
Mahalle-yi Ayio Todor	Hane: 37	Mücerred: 2	Bive: 6
Mahalle-yi Manastir	Hane: 48		Bive: 5
Yekun:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mahallat: 4 • Hane-yi Gebran: 145 	Mücerred: 3	Bive: 15
Yekun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kal’e: 1 • Dizdar: 1 • Kethuda: 1 • Merdan-ı kal’e: 18 • İmam: 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cami’i: 1 • Hammam: 2 • Medrese: 1 • ‘Imaret: 1 • 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hane-yi Muslim: 163 • Mücerredan-ı Muslim: 44 	Mahallat ma’a Gebran: 19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hane-yi Gebran: 145 • Mücerredan-ı Gebran: 3 • Bive-yi Gebran: 15
Hasıl	39,057		

- BOA. TT 1090 976 (1568), pp. 72-75.

Table 7

Name of the Quarter	Number of Households	Number of Exempted/ Celibates/ Converts	In total
1) Mahalle-yi Medrese	{ Hane-yi muslim}: 11 { Among which}: 1. Hacı Mehmed imam 2. Seyyidi ‘Ali müezzın	{ Among which} • Exempted: 2(18%) • Converts: 5(45%)	Hane : 11
2) Mahalle-yi Debbağın nam-ı diğeri Abdal Cüneyd	{ Hane-yi muslim}: 26 { Among which}: 1. İbrahim Hasan imam 2. Hızır Eliyas müezzın 3. Şa’ban Mehmed Şeyhi 4. Hüseyin Abdullah muaf 5. Şeyhi Mehmed al-Din Seyyidi zaviye-yi Cüneyid Abdal ‘an evlad-ı Cüneyid • Mehmed ‘Ali Hoca • ‘Ali Hoca • Veli Hamza Halvatı • Bali Kurd Ahmed Hoca • Masud Hoca • Derviş Mustafa • Ferhad Abdullah debbağ	{ Among which} • Exempted: 5(19%) • Mücerred: 2(7%) • Converts: 5(19%)	Hane : 26
3) Mahalle-yi Bazarlı Bey	{ Hane-yi muslim}: 26 { Among which}:	{ Among which} • Exempted: 6(23%)	Hane : 26

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ahmet ‘Ivaz imam 2. Mehmed Celebi al-Din imam-ı ‘imaretin Nasuh Bey 3. Tormuş Eliyas müezzin 4. Seyyidi Bali müezzin 5. Şeyhi Seyyidi zaviye-i Hüseyin 6. Piri Hoca hatib-i Cami’i şerif <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mahmud Seyyidi mücerred • Sa’ban debbağ mücerred • İbrahim Hamza al-Din mücerred • Yusuf ‘Abdullah • Ahmet Süleyman • Ahmed diğer • Mustafa Serteraş • Karağöz Abdullah • Hasan Abdullah • Seyyidi Mehmed Seyyid ‘Ali 	<p>imam 2 müezzin 2 Şeyh 1 hatib 1</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mücerred: 3(11%) • Converts: 4(16%) 	
<p>4) Mahalle-yi Cercer</p>	<p>{ Hane-yi muslim }: 22</p> <p>{ Among which }: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mesud Musa imam 2. Kurd Ahmed müezzin 3. Ramazan Hacı Kadi Kavak <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mehmud Bazarlu • Derviş Ramazan • Mustafa güreyi • Ciftlik Hasan Bey <i>dar yed-i</i> Hüseyin bin Abdullah Ramazan mücerred • Ciftlik Hüseyin </p>	<p>{ Among which }</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excmpted: 3(13%) • Converts 2(9%) • Mücerred: 4(18%) <p>çiftlu 1</p> <p>Occupational breakdown: debbağ 4(18%)</p>	Hane : 22

	<p>Bey solak ‘Ali ‘ibn-i Hasan Bey çiftlu</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mehmed debbağ • Hüseyin debbağ • Ahmed debbağ • Hüseyin Mahmud debbağ 		
<p>5) Mahalle-yi Tatarlar</p>	<p>{ Hane-yi muslim }: 41 { Among which }: 1. Hacı Mehmed al- imam 2. Yakub müezzin 3. Hacı Mehmed imam 4. Tormuş müezzin</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (?) paşmakçı • Mustafa paşmakçı • ‘Ali paşmakçı • Hasan kelamcı • Hamza nalbant • Mehmed nalbant • Mustafa dukkandar • Timur Mustafa dukkandar • Süleyman dukkandar 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 4(9%) • Converts: 4(9%) • Celibates: 10(24%) <p>nim çiftlu 1</p> <p>Occupational breakdown: nalbant: 2 aba’iye 3 tüccar dukkandar 3 paşmakçı 3</p>	<p>Hane : 41</p>
<p>6) Mahalle-yi Haraççı Kasim</p>	<p>{ Hane-yi muslim }: 25 { Among which }: • Mehmed Mustafa imam • Hızır Abdullah al- müezzin • Hüseyin Eliyas müezzin-i ‘imaret • Musa Halife imam-ı cami’</p>	<p>{ Among which }</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 4(16%) • Celibates: 3(12%) • Converts: 4(16%) 	<p>Hane : 25</p>
<p>7) Mahalle-yi Hoca nam-ı diğer Kum mahallesi</p>	<p>{ Hane-yi muslim }: 78 { Among which }:</p>	<p>{ Among which }</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 3(3%) 	<p>Hane: 78</p>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ‘Abdullah Hoca imam 2. Hasan Mustafa müezzin 3. Turak Hacı Kadi <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Osman Timurtaş tüccar-ı fûruş nim çiftlu • Tormuş Mahmud tüccar-ı fûruş nim çiftlu • Hasan Nasuh tüccar nim çiftlu • Mehmed çulah • Bayezid Caus nim çiftlu • Mahmud kasab • Veli kasab • Çiftlik Hasan Ramazan dar yed-i Fatima Hatun Hoca Ciftlu • Çiftlik Kelamı Bey ‘an yed-i Mehmed Çelebi ve İbrahim Bey haliya dar yed-i Bayezid Bey ve ‘Ali Şirmerd çiftlu • Çiftlik Ferhud ‘an yed-i Resul Bey çiftlu • Çiftlik Pervane Bey • Çiftlik Hacı Bey dar yed-i Sa’ban Abdullah • Çiftlik Mustafa veled-i İskender • Çiftlik Mahmud Çelebi • Çiftlik Hacı Bey dar yed-i Abdullah merd-i timar • Bağ Hacı Bey dar yed-i Sinan Bey merd-i timar kat: 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Celibates: 13(16%) • Converts: 16(20 %) <p>çiftlu 8 nim-çiftlu: 7</p> <p>Occupational breakdown: çulah kasab 2 tüccar 3 aba’iye</p>	
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<p>8) Mahalle-yi Köprübaşı</p>	<p>{ Hane-yi muslim }: 26 { Among which }: 1. İbrahim zade imam</p>	<p>{ Among which } • Exempted: 1(3%) imam 1 • Celibates: 3(11%) • Converts: 6(23) Occupational breakdown: debbağ 5</p>	<p>Hane : 26</p>
<p>9) Mahalle-yi Karagöz</p>	<p>{ Hane-yi muslim }: 18 { Among which }: 1. Diğer Hoca imam • Hamza kethudayı hümayun • Çift Sarban Hamza dar yed-i Mehmed Çelebi merd-i timar • Çift Sarban Hamza dar yed-i Hamza Fetullah merd-i timar</p>	<p>{ Among which } • Exempted: 1(5%) • Celibates: 4(22%) • Converts: 1(5%) çiftlu 2 nim çiftlu: 1</p>	<p>Hane : 18</p>
<p>10) Mahalle-yi Kuyumcu</p>	<p>{ Hane-yi muslim }: 31 and Çiftlik: 1 { Among which }: 1. Davud Kemal imam 2. Ali Kadi Mustafa 3. Derviş damat-ı Hüseyin 4. Hüseyin Derviş mücerred 5. Ahmed Derviş mücerred 6. ‘Abdullrahim Derviş mücerred • Hacı Ahmed İbrahim (he appears as muaf in 1570) • Çiftlik Çauş ve Ahmed Çelebi</p>	<p>{ Among which } • Exempted: 6(19%) imam: 1 kadi: 1 derviş: 4(16%) • Celibates : 3(9%) • Converts: 8(25%) Professional breakdown: güreyi:3 hayyat:1 samarcı</p>	<p>Hane : 32</p>

	dar yed-i Ahmed Çelebi al-mezbur		
11) Mahalle-yi Cami'i 'atik merhum ve ma'furun Yıldırım Bayezid han 'aleyhu' al-rahmete ve al'ma'gfiret	{ Hane-yi muslim}: 17 { Among which}: 1. Musa Halife Imam 2. Şa'ban müezzin 3. Bayezid müezzin 4. Mehmed Eliyas sarapdar 5. Hacı Mustafa Sinan Dede 6. Mehmed Seyyidi Hüseyin 7. Seyyidi veled-i Mustafa Sa'ban mücerred 8. 'Ali Çelebi 'Abdin 9. Mustafa Hacı Eliyas 10. Süleyman Davud 11. Mustafa Hacı Eliyas 12. Süleyman Davud 13. Musa Abdullah aba'ie 14. Musa Hacı Eliyaş 15. Umur Hacı Eliyaş mücerred	{ Among which} • Exempted: 7(41%) • Mücerred: 3(17%)⁵² • Converts: 2(11%)	Hane : 17
12) Mahalle-yi Habib Fakih nam-ı diğer Macarlar	{ Hane-yi muslim}: 17 { Among which}: 1. 'Ali İshak imam 2. Eyup 'Isa al-mütevelli • Mehmed Halil • Halil 'Abdullah • Bayram 'Abdullah • Çift Mahmud 'Abdullah • Hasan 'Abdullah • Ferhad Abdullah	{ Among which} • Exempted: 2(11%) • Mücerred: 2(11%) • Converts: 7(41%) çiftlu: 2 nim çiftlu:2	Hane : 17

⁵² Seyyidi Veli Mustafa Sa'ban is mücerred and exempted as Seyyid in the same time.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Derviş Abdullah • Çiftlik Halil Nasuh dar yed-i Halil Abdullrahim çiftlu • Mehmed Süleyman çiftlu • Çiftlu ‘Umur dar yed-i Alide (?) ve Fatma Hatun bint-i mezbur. Haliya dar yed-i Alide Hatunun zevce-yi Hacı Mustafa nim çiftlu • Hamza kulak-ı Hamza 		
13) Mahalle-yi Mescid-i Doğan Bey dar kurb-ı ‘imaret	{Hane-yi muslim}: 3 {Among which}: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mustafa Sinan Dede Imam • Mehmed Mustafa al-müezzin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 2(66%) nim çiftlu1	Hane : 3
14) Mahalle-yi Hacı Burak <i>This the first time that the quarter is mentioned as Hacı</i>	{Hane-yi muslim}: 11 {Among which}: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hamza Hoca imam <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Derviş Şahkulu • Zeyn al’Abdin berader-i o • Rüstem ‘Abdullah • Hüseyin ‘Abdullah • Mustafa Abdullah bostancı • Eliyas ‘Abdullah • Mustafa Abdullah sayyad 	{Among which} <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 1(9%) • Converts: 5(45%) 	Hane : 11
15) Mahalle-yi Oruç Paşa	{Hane-yi muslim}: 2 {Among which}: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hızır Ali • Kasim Abdullah 		Hane : 2

Christian Quarters Gebran-ı nefsi Dimetoka cizyelerin hazret padişah alem penahi hallada hilafete hazretlerine verup ispençelerinde ve sair rüsumlarında vakf-ı mezbure-ye eda ettiklerinden sonra ‘avarız bedeli Edirne de olan saray- ı ‘amıraya tabi’i bağlar ve bağçeler hizmet ederler			
16) Mahalle-yi Kostas Papas	{ Hane-yi Gebran }: 37	{ Among which }: • Celibates: 6 • Widows: 3	Hane : 37
17) Mahalle-yi Manastir	{ Hane-yi Gebran }: 49	{ Among which }: • Celibates: 16 • Widows: 4	Hane : 49
18) Mahalle-yi Arnavutlu dar birun-i kal’e-yi mezbur yirmi yıldan mütecavüz imiş kasaba-yi mezbure’de temkin etmişlerdir. Ber muceb-i emr-i şerif-i deftere kayid olunduğu diyu Ferecik Kadisi kasabayı mezburede temrir etuği defterde mukayid bulunmağın vech-i meşru üzerine haliya defter-i cedide deyu kayid olundu mukayid dar defter-i atiğe	{ Hane-yi Gebran }: 25	{ Among which }: • Celibates: 1	Hane : 25
19) Mahalle-yi Yahudiyen	{ Hane-yi Gebran }: 29	{ Among which }: • Celibates: 7 • Widows: 1	Hane : 29
20) Mahalle-yi Ayo Todora	{ Hane-yi Gebran }: 32	{ Among which }: • Celibates: 8 • Widows: 2	Hane : 32
21) Mahalle-yi Ayo	{ Hane-yi Gebran }:	{ Among which }:	Hane : 26

Nikola	26	• Celibates: 6	
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- BOA. TT 494 978 (1570), pp. 158- 166.

Table 8

Muslim Quarters			
1) Mahalle-yi Medrese	{Hane-yi muslim}: 15 {Amongst which} : • Ramazan Veli-yi imam ‘an mahalle-yi Cercer • Mehmed Bayram al-müezzin • İbrahim Süleyman muhassıl • Hasan sarapdar Mustafa dar hane-yi rah • Dar Hane-yi rah: 4 • Dar vakf: 2	{Among which}: • Exempted: 9(60%) • Celibate: 1 • Converts: 4(26%)	Hane : 15
2) Mahalle-yi Debbâğın nam-ı diğeri Abdal Cüneyid	{Hane-yi muslim}: 27 {Amongst which} : • Ahmed Veli-yi imam • İbrahim imam-ı mescid-i Köprubaşı (berader-i o) • Eliyas kanun al-müezzin • ‘Ali Hızır al-mu’arrıf ba berat • Şeyhi Mehmed al-Din Seyyidi zaviye-i Cüneyid Abdal ‘an evlad-ı Cüneyid • Pervane ‘Abdin muaf • Hüseyin ‘Abdin muaf • Yusuf Sefer güreyi • Mustafa Mehmed Güreyi • Hamza Nasuh güreyi	{Among which}: • Exempted: 7(25%) Şeyh1 imam2 müezzin 1 ehl-i berat1 muaf2 • Celibates: 3(11%) • Converts: 4(14%)	Hane : 27
3) Mahalle-yi Bazarlu Bey	{Hane-yi muslim}: 29⁵³ {Amongst which} : 1. Mehmed ‘Ali imam	{Amongst which}: • Exempted: 18(62%) imam: 2 ⁵⁴	Hane: 29

⁵³ In this neighbourhood I am counting 29 households. However, in the final breakdown are listed 9 households, 1 Şeyh, 1 imam, 1 müezzin, 7 ehl-i berat, 1 muhassıl, 1 mücerred, 4 dar hane-yi rah, 1 dar kira and 1 muaf. Since, all these add up to 28, they should have missed someone in the counting.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Lütü Fakih imam-ı ‘imaret-i Nasuh Bey 3. Mesud Fakih imam-ı mahalle-yi Tatarlar dar vakf 4. ‘Abdu’l-Karim Mustafa müezzin 5. Mustafa serteraş dar hane-yi rah 6. Hasan dar hane-yi rah 7. Mehmed Fakih mu’alim dar hane-yi rah 8. Kubad tüccar dar hane-yi rah 9. Ahmed Vekil-i Cercer ‘imaret dar hane-yi rah 10. Ali Hoca imam-ı mescid-i Oruç Paşa ba berat 11. Şeyhi Seyyid zaviye-i Hüseyin ba berat 12. Piri Hoca hatib-i cami’i şerif ba berat 13. Mahmud saka-yı ‘imaret ba berat 14. Nasuh Hacı ba berat 15. Mesut Hoca dar hane-yi rah ve ba berat 16. Abdu’l-rahim birader-i o diğler muhassıl 17. Piri muaf 18. Yahya saka dar Kira 19. Sefer Mustafa mücerred 	<p>müezzin:1 Şeyh: 1 dar hane-yi rah: 4⁵⁵ dar kira: 1 muaf: 1 ehl-i berat:7⁵⁶ muhassıl : 1= • Celibate: 1</p>	
4) Mahalle-yi Cercer	<p>{Hane-yi muslim}:22 {Among which}: 1. Piri Çelebi imam dar mahalle-yi Bazarlı 2. Ali Davud al-müezzin ‘an mahalle-yi Abdal Cüneyid 3. Mehmed Fakih imam-ı</p>	<p>{Among which}: • Exempted: 13 (59%)⁵⁷ Şeyhil imam 3 müezzin 1 hane-yi rah3 dar vakf ve yetim 3⁵⁸</p>	Hane : 22

⁵⁴ Although, the register records in the final breakdown only 2 imams, I have transcribed the names of the four imams in order to avoid confusion. The fourth imam Mesut Fakih Imam Mahalle-yi Tatarlar) is also registered as dar vakf and is included in the ehl-i berat category along with the ‘Ali Hoca imam-ı mescid-i Oruç Paşa who has a berat.

⁵⁵ The survey records 4, although there are 5 listed as dar hane-yi rah, most possibly because Mesut Hoca is considered as ba berat.

⁵⁶ 6 ba berat and 1 dar vakf.

⁵⁷ I counted 12 and not 14. Mehmed Fakih imam-ı Cami’ dar hane-yi yetim is already exempted due to imamate and still the 14th exempted remains unidentified.

⁵⁸ The dar vakf and yetim category numbers 2 because Mehmed Fakih imam-ı Cami’ dar hane-yi yetim is exempted due to imamate.

	<p>Cami' dar hane-yi yetim</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Ramazan Çelebi imam-ı mahalle-yi Medrese 5. Zaviye-i Hacı Bektaş Sinan Dede Şeyhi 6. Hasan Hoca Yolcu dar hane-yi rah 7. Ferhad Subaşı dar vakf 8. Hüsrev al-mütevelli ba berat 9. Musa güreyi dar hane-yi rah 10. Turbali Seyyid taraş dar hane-yi rah 11. Bali zade Ramazan 12. Sefer ibn-i Ramazan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hacı Mustafa debbağ • Ahmed debbağ • Hüseyin Mehmed debbağ • Bazarlu 'Abdin tüccar • Mustafa güreyi • Çiftliğ-i Hasan Bey 	<p>zaviyedar 1 ehl-i berat 1</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Celibate: 1⁵⁹ 	
5) Mahalle-yi Tatarlar	<p>{Hane-yi muslim}:38 {Among which}:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mustafa Hamza imam 2. Yakub 'Arab al-müezzin 3. Hasan muaf 4. 'Ali Mustafa fakir'ül-hal 5. Mustafa merd-i kal'e-yi Dimetoka 6. Mahmud 'Abdin merd-i kal'e-yi Dimetoka 7. Hodaverd Abdin müselleme 8. Hızır Hamza Halil hassa (gulam-ı) 9. Bali Turkut Bali ba berat 10. 'Ali 'abayı dar hane-yi rah 11. Yahşi 'Ali dar hane-yi rah 	<p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 22(58%) <p>imam 2 müezzin 2 ehl-i berat5 dar hane-yi rah 3 muaf 1 dar kira4 fakir'ül-hal 1 müselleme3 hassa1 ehli berat1 dar kira 1 dar vakf 3⁶⁰</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Celibate: 1 • Converts:8(21%) <p>nim çiftlu: 1</p> <p>Professional breakdown: tüccar</p>	Hane : 38

⁵⁹ There are two celibates (Sefer ibn-i Ramazan and 'Abdi veled-i o) but obviously only 1 was regarded as exempted.

⁶⁰ However, for the final countdown of the exempted in this quarter "Hüseyn Eliyas müezzin 'imaret-i Nasuh Bey dar vakf" has been counted with the müezzins.

	<p>12. Halil tüccar dar hane-yi rah 13. Hacı Ramazan müselleme 14. Ahmed ‘Abdin dar kira 15. ‘Ali ‘Abdin meremmetci sarayı ba berat 16. Mahmud İbna veled-i müselleme 17. ‘Abd-i mekyas-ı İshak Paşa Nasuh aba’iye 18. İbrahim Çelebi müezzin cami’i şerif 19. Hacı Ahmed imam mahalle-yi mescid-i Haraççı 20. Hüseyin Eliyas müezzin ‘imaret-i Nasuh Bey dar vakf 21. Hızır ‘Abdin müezzin mescid-i Haraççı 22. ‘Abd’ül-Kadir berader-i o</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Turkut nalbant • Hamza Kasim nalbant • Turğut ‘an karyeyi Tatar 	<p>nalbant aba’iye güreyi</p>	
<p>6) Mahalle-yi Haraççı Kasım</p>	<p>{Hane-yi muslim}: 24⁶¹ {Among which}: 1. Hacı Mehmed imam ‘an mahalle-yi Macarlar 2. Hızır ‘Abdin al-müezzin ‘an mahalle-yi mezbur 3. Emrullah Halife ba berat 4. Ferhad subaşı merd-i kal’e 5. ‘Ali Serdar merd-i kal’e 6. Turak Sarban dar hane-yi rah 7. ‘Abdul Halil çulah dar mezbur 8. Hacı Piri güreyi dar vakf 9. Hacı güreyi dar mezbur 10. Hamza Pervane dar mezbur aba’iye 11. ‘Ali Eliyas nalbant dar hane-yi rah</p>	<p>{Among which}: • Excmpted:12(50%) imam1 müezzin 1 ehl-i berat 3 hane-yi rah 4 dar vakf 3</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Celibates: 5(20%) • Converts: 4(16%) 	<p>Hane : 24</p>

⁶¹ I am counting 24 households while the breakdown suggests a total of 23 (6 taxable households and 12 exempted and 5 celibates).

	12. Veli Sarban dar hane-yi rah		
7) Mahalle-yi Hoca nam-ı diğer kum mahallesi	<p>{Hane-yi muslim}:60 {Among which}: Abdi Halife imam</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hasan al-müezzin 2. Mustafa Kurd muhassıl 3. Hamza ‘Abdin muaf nim çiftlu 4. Mehmed doğancı muaf 5. ‘Ali Sa’aban dar hane-yi rah 6. Seyyidi ‘Ali güreyi muaf 7. Yusuf Mehmed nalbant muaf 8. Hasan Hüseyin aba’iye müselleme 9. Merdan-ı müezzin cami’i şerif dar hane-yi rah⁶² 10. Osman Hacı muaf nim çiftlu 11. Hızır ibn-i Şahkulu dar hane-yi rah 12. Bayram ‘ahure-yi ‘imaret ba berat 13. Hasan merd-i kal’e 14. Hamza çulah dar hane-yi rah 15. Hasan Şedur dar kira 16. Ahmed hayyat dar kira 17. Divane Hacı dar hane-yi rah 18. Hasan ‘Abdin dar kira 19. Kaya tabah-ı ‘imaret nim çiftlu 20. Pirali Eliyas dar hane-yi rah 21. Ferhud ‘Abdin dar hane-yi rah 22. Hüseyin habaz-ı ‘imaret ba berat 23. ‘Ali bevab-ı ‘imaret ba berat 24. Çiftlik Gillani Bey dar yed-i Mehmed Çelebi ve İbrahim Bey bude haliya 25. Çiftlik Ferhud Bey 	<p>{Among which}: • Exempted: 24(40%) imam1 müezzin1 muhassıl 1 muaf 5 müselleme2 dar hane-yi rah7 dar kira 3 ehli berat 3 • Celibates : 2(3%) • Converts:4(6%) nim çiftlu 6 çiftlu 7</p> <p>Occupational breakdown: güreyi 5 nalbant aba’iye 4 hayyat tüccar kasab</p>	Hane : 60

⁶² I regard him being exempted as müezzin.

	26. Çiftlik Pervane Bey 27. Çiftlik Hacı Bey 28. Çiftlik Mustafa veled-i İskender 29. Çiftlik Mahmud Çelebi		
8) Mahalle-yi Köprübaşı	{Hane-yi muslim}:23 {Among which}: • İbrahim Zade imam • İbrahim Hacı Hasan dar Edrene • Hızır Hoşkodam fakir'ül- hal	{Among which}: • Exempted: 3(13%) • Converts: 3(13%) Occupational breakdown: dellak1 debbağ 3(13%)	Hane : 23
9) Mahalle-yi Karagöz Bey	{Hane-yi muslim}:21 {Among which}: • Kurd Hasan imam • Sinan Mehmed al-müezzin • İskender 'Abdin muaf • Nasuh 'Abdin dar hane-yi rah • Hamza Sarban ba berat • Hüseyin Sarban ba berat/bennak	{Among which}: • Exempted: 7(33%) imam 1 müezzin 1 hane-yi rah 1 ba berat 3 ⁶³ muaf 1 • Mücerredan: 3(14%) • Converts: 3(14%) bennak 2 nim çiftlu 1	Hane : 21
10) Mahalle-yi Kuyumcu	{Hane-yi muslim}: 25 ⁶⁴ {Among which}: • Süleyman Mustafa imam • Alladin Lütfi imam • Hacı Ahmed İbrahim • Resvan Hamza güreyi dar hane-yi rah • 'Abd'ül kadir Alladin muhassıl • Derviş damad-ı Hüseyin muaf/Ehl-i berat	{Among which}: • Exempted: 8(32%) imam2 müezzin 1 ⁶⁵ muaf 2 dar hane-yi rah1 muhassıl 1 ehl-i berat 1 ⁶⁶ • Celibates: 2 (8%) • Converts: 3(12%)	Hane : 25

⁶³ Although, ba berat is not written over the other two camel drivers, we should imply that the 3 beratlu recorded are these three camel drivers.

⁶⁴ However, the register provides a wrong total. If 10 exempted plus 17 households amounts 27 hanes, I could only count 25 all together.

⁶⁵ Although it records a müezzin, it was not possible to identify such an entry neither in this quarter nor in anyone else for this matter.

⁶⁶ Although it records an ehl-i berat, there is no indication of this. Could it be perhaps Hacı Mustafa?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hacı Ahmed İbrahim muaf <p>Çiftlik Mahmud Subaşı dar yed-i Haydar Çaus ve Ahmed</p>	Occupational breakdown: nalbant kasap kilavuz hayyat güreyi 2 sarapdar	
<p>11) Mahalle-yi Cami'i atik merhum ve mağfurun Yıldırım Bayezid han 'aleyhi al-rahmetu ve al-mağfıret</p>	<p>{Hane-yi muslim}:20 {Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mehmed Halife imam dar mahalle-yi Cercer İbrahim al-müezzin 'an mahalle-yi Tatarlar Bayram al-müezzin 'an mahalle-yi Hocaca Sinan Dede kayyum-i cami'i şerif Mustafa Mehmed dar vakf Osman Halife na'ib-i atik ba berat Hacı Mustafa Sinan Dede kilları- yı 'imaret ba berat Mehmed veladaş-ı müezzin mescid-i Doğan Bey ba berat Mehmed Eliyas sarapdar Seyyid Mehmed al-Din Şeyh-i 'imaret Seyyid Hüseyin Seyid al-Din müteveli Yusuf 'Ali merd-i kal'e Hacı al-Din al-müezzin 'Abdi Çelebi na'ib-i şehir ba berat Yusuf 'Abdi 	<p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exempted: 18(90%)⁶⁷ imam: 1 müezzin:3⁶⁸ Seyyid: 4⁶⁹ ehl-i berat: 9 dar vakf: 1 Mücerredan: 3(14%) 	Hane : 20
<p>12) Mahalle-yi mescid-i Doğan Bey dar kurb-i 'imaret</p>	<p>{Hane-yi muslim}:</p> <p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mustafa Sinan Dede imam Mehmed Mustafa al-müezzin 	<p>{Among which}:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exempted: 2 (66%) 	Hane : 3

⁶⁷ At this point, there is an obvious mix up. There can be counted 20 hanes, when the breakdown presents as exempted 18 individuals, 2 celibates and 1 taxable household. Moreover, from our listing it shows that only 15 individuals can be identified as exempted. This implies that the 3 "missing" exempted were recorded as exempted in their quarter of origin, although they were residing in a different quarter.

⁶⁸ There are actually 4 celibates not 3: Mustafa veled-i Mehmed al-Din, Mustafa veled-i Şeyh al-Din, Seyyid Mehmed veled-i Seyyid Hüseyin and 'Ali veled-i 'Abdi Halife

⁶⁹ I could only identify 2 instead of 4.

<p>13) Mahalle-yi Habib Fakih nam-ı diğer macarlar</p>	<p>{Hane-yi muslim}:19⁷⁰ {Among which}: 1. Mustafa velad-ı o aba'ıye muaf 2. Isma'il 'Abdin fakir'ül-hal 3. Hüsrev Kara Hamza muaf</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mehmed berader-i o • Ramazan berader-i o • Mehmed Halil • (?)'Abdin • Hüsrev 'Abdin • Sefer ibn 'Abdin • Çiftlik velad-ı Davud Tüccar • 'Osman ibn-i Hacı Mustafa nim çiftlu • Çiftlik Mahmud ibn Abdullah • Mehmed Süleyman çiftlu • Çiftlik 'Umur dar yed-i Alide (?) ve Fatma Hatun haliya mezbur nim çiftlu • Halil Nasuh nim çiftlu 'an karye-yi Sekyan • Sefer ibn Yakub 'an Karye-yi Karalu Soflu • Yakub Hüseyin 'an karye-yi asilik Bergamları 	<p>{Among which}: • Exempted: 4(21%) Muaf 2 Fakir'ül-hal 2 • Converts: 5 (26%) çiftlu 3 nim çiftlu 3</p>	<p>Hane : 19</p>
<p>14) Mahalle-yi Hacı Burak</p>	<p>{Hane-yi muslim}:11 {Among which}: • Hamid Hoca imam • Derviş Şahkulu veled-i Seyid • Zeyn al-'Abdin berader-i o muhassıl</p>	<p>{Among which}: • Exempted: 3(27%) imam1 veled-i Seyyid 1 muhassıl 1</p>	<p>Hane : 11</p>
<p>15) Mahalle-yi Oruç Paşa</p>	<p>{Hane-yi muslim}:3 {Among which}: • 'Ali Fakih imam dar mahalle-yi Bazarlu • Mehmed 'Ali al-müezzin</p>	<p>{Among which}: • Exempted: 2(66%)</p>	<p>Hane : 3</p>

⁷⁰In the final breakdown, this neighbourhood is presented as if it has 21 entries among which 13 taxable households, 2 çiftlu, 3 nim çiftlu and 4 exempted. When counting the entries, they add up to only 19; these 2 "ghost" households were included in the final breakdown of their quarter of origin (their permanent address), but they were residing and were fiscally accounted for as exempted in a different quarter (something like their term address). The same can be also attested for the quarter of the Mosque too.

Christian Quarters			
16) Mahalle-yi Kostas Papas	{Hane-yi Gebran}:39	{Among which}: • Celibates: 1	Hane : 39
22) Mahalle-yi Manastir	{Hane-yi Gebran}:19		Hane : 19
23) Mahalle-yi Arnavutlu	{Hane-yi Gebran}:19		Hane : 19
24) Mahalle-yi Yahudiyan	{Hane-yi Gebran}:29		Hane : 29
20) Mahalle-yi Ayo Todora	{Hane-yi Gebran}:31		Hane : 31
25) Mahalle-yi Ayo Nikola	{Hane-yi Gebran}: 24	{Among which}: • Celibates: 1	Hane : 24

Table 9

Muhafazayı Kal'e-yi Dimetoka {BOA. TT 494 978 (1570), pp. 235- 246}

1)Timar-ı Nev Pušta Dizdar-ı kal'e-yi mezbur	Karye-yi Ferac Gör nam-ı diğer Divane	Hasıl: 4,672
2)Timar-ı Ali ibn-i Mustafa	Karyeyi Bunaklu nam-ı diğer Viranı Mezra'a Duşan Kudus Karyeyi Hüseyin Uyesi	Hasıl: 1,001 Hasıl: 400 Hasıl: 450
3)Timar-ı Mahmud Yeniceri	Karyeyi Gökcu Bekar	Yekun: 1,454
4)Timar-ı Mustafa ibn-i 'Ali ve gayri	Karyeyi veled-i Dağ Ari	Yekun: 3,626
5)Timar-ı 'Ali ibn-i Mustafa dar hizmet-i emin-i hassa-yı harc dar Edirne	Karyeyi Cema'at-ı Bağlı Nasuh	Yekun: 1,348
6)Timar-ı Mehmed Sıpahtı Zade	Karyeyi Cema'at-ı Küştü Çaus 'an ze'amet-i mezbur Mehmed : karyeyi Okça Viranı Karyeyi Uluhak 'an ze'amet-i mezbur Mustafa: karyeyi Normuklu Karyeyi Cema'at-ı Kurludat 'an hass-ı Hüseyin Bey mir-i liva'ı Veynuğat : Karyeyi Ata Ari 'an timar-i Hosu: Karyeyi Tekye köy 'an timar-i Bali Mustafa: Karyeyi Oğurlu Dağı Viranı Çiftliği Kurucu Gemici	Yekun: 644 Hasıl: 1,000 Hasıl: 1,750 Hasıl: 550 Hasıl: 558 Yekun: 2,942 Hasıl: 3,000 Hasıl: 1,970 Hasıl: 622 {Total: 13,036}
7)Timar-ı Yazvaran	Karyeyi Doğancı Murad	Hasıl: 8,000

(?)	‘an çiftliği Yazvar dar kurb-i karye-yi Kara Hamza	Yekun: 3,500 {Total: 11,500}

Cross-referencing tables and charts

Table 10: Cross-referencing table of Dimetoka neighbourhoods

Name of the Quarter	TT 20 890 (1485)	TT 77 925 (1519)	TT 370 926 (1520)	TT 1090 976 (1568)	TT 494 978 (1570)
1) Mahalle-yi Debbaglar nam-ı diğ er Abdal Cüneyid	p. 141 households: 38 From which: Exempted: 3(7%) Celibates: 7(18%) Slaves: 5(13%)	p. 142 households: 44 From which: Exempted: 2(4%) Celibates: 15(34%) Converts: 14(31%) Dervishes: 6(13%)	p. 19 households: 19 Celibates: 4	p. 71 households: 26 From which: Exempted: 5(19%) Celibates: 2(7%) Converts: 5(19%)	p. 158 households: 27 From which: Exempted: 7(25%) Celibates: 3(11%) Converts: 4(14%)
2) Mahalle-yi Karagöz Bey	p. 141-142 households: 35 From which: Exempted: 3(8%) Celibates: 7(20%) Converts: 5(14%) Slaves: 3(8%)	p. 141-142 households: 18 From which: Exempted: 2(11%) Celibates : 6 (33%) Converts: 4(22%)	P. 19 households: 12 Celibates 5	p. 73 households: 18 From which: Exempted: 1(5%) Celibates: 4(22%) Converts: 1(5%)	p. 161 households: 21 From which: Exempted: 7(33%) Celibates: 3(14%) Converts: 3(14%)

3) Mahalle-yi Burak	p. 142 households: 12 From which: Exempted: 2(16%) Slaves: 2(16%)	p. 141 households: 6 From which: Exempted: 1(16%) Celibate: 1(16%) Converts: 1(16%)	p. 19 households: 4 Celibate: 1	p. 74 households: 11 From which: Exempted: 1(9%) Converts: 5(45%)	p. 162 households: 11 From which: Exempted: 3(27%)
4) Mahalle-yi Medrese	pp. 142 households: 13 From which: Exempted: 3(23%) Celibates: 1(7%)	pp. 139 households: 11 From which: Exempted: 2(18%) Converts: 3(27%)	p. 19 households: 6 Celibates : 3	p. 72 households: 11 From which: Exempted: 2(18%) Converts): 5 (45%)	p. 158 households: 15 From which: Exempted: 9(60%) Celibate: 1 Converts: 4(26%)
5) Mahalle-yi Haraçcı	p. 142 households: 22 From which: Exempted: 5(22%) Celibates: 2(9%) Slaves: 3(13%)	p. 143 households: 18 From which: Exempted: 3(16%) Celibates: 6(33%) Converts: 4(22%)	p. 19 households: 8 Celibates: 3	p. 72 households: 25 From which: Exempted: 4(16%) Celibates 3(12 %) Converts 4(16%)	p. 160 households: 24 From which: Exempted: 12(50%) Celibates: 5(20%) Converts: 4 (16%)
6) Mahalle-yi	p. 143	p. 139	p. 19	p. 74	p. 163

Oruç Bey/ Paşa	households: 28 From which: Exempted: 4⁷¹(10%) Celibates: 4 (14%) Slaves: 7(25%)	households: 14 From which: Exempted: 2(14%) Celibates: 4(28%) Converts: 1(7%)	households: 3	households: 2 Convert: 1	households: 3 From which: Exempted: 2(66%)
7) Mahalle-yi Cercer	p. 143 households: 12 From which: Exempted 3(25%) Slaves 3(25%)	p. 139 households: 20 From which: Exempted: 5 (25%) Celibates: 5 (25%) Converts: 5(25%)	p. 19 households: 10 Celibates: 3	p. 72 households: 22 From which: Exempted 3(13%) Celibates: 4 (18%) Converts: 2(9%)	p. 159 households: 22 From which: Exempted 13(59%)
8) Mahalle-yi Cami'	p. 144 households: 25 From which: Exempted: 6 (24%) Slaves 2(8%)	p. 140 households: 16 From which: Exempted: 6(37%) Celibates: 2(12%) Converts: 4(25%)	p. 19 households: 4 Celibates: 1	p. 73 households: 17 From which: Exempted: 7(41%) Converts: 2(11%) Celibates: 3(17%)	p. 162 households: 20 From which: Exempted: 18 (90%) Celibates: 3(14%)

⁷¹ In these 4, I am including: *Zeyn Hoca Imam*, *'Umur veled-i Halil Müezzini*, *Pabuççi Hizir Kethuda* and *Eliyas müselleme nev*, who has a double status as a new exempted and a celibate.

9) Mahalle-yi Kuyumcu	p. 144 households: 37 From which: Exempted: 3(81%) Celibates: 5(13%) Slaves: 2(5%) Converts: 3(8%)	p. 140 households: 27 From which: Exempted: 4(14%) Celibates: 2(7%) Converts: 16 (59%)	p. 19 households: 18 Celibates: 2	p. 73 households: 32⁷² From which: Exempted: 6(19%) Celibates: 3(9%) Converts: 8(25%)	p. 161 households: 25 From which: Exempted: 8(32%) Celibates: 2 (8%) Converts: 3(12%)
10) Mahalle-yi Habib Fakih nam-ı diğer Macarlar	p. 145 households: 28 From which: Exempted: 3(10%) Celibates: 3(10%) Slaves: 3(10%) Converts: 3(10%)	p. 140 households: 29 From which: Exempted: 7(24%) Celibates: 15(51%) Converts: 9(31%)	p. 19 households: 10 Celibates: 3	p. 73 households: 17 From which: Exempted: 2(11%) Celibates: 2(11%) Converts: 7(41%)	p. 162 households: 19 From which: Exempted: 4 (21%) Converts: 5(26%)
11) Mahalle-yi Kum ki Bazarlu mahallesi dahi derler	p. 145 households: 34 From which: Exempted: 2(5%) Celibates: 4(11%) Converts: 1 Slaves: 10(29%)	p. 142 households: 29 From which: Exempted: 6(20%) Celibates: 3(10%) Converts: 7(24%)	p. 19 households: 15 Celibates: 7	p. 72 households: 26 From which: Exempted: 6(23%) Celibates: 3(11%) Converts: 4(16%)	p. 158 households: 29 From which: Exempted: 18(62%) Celibate: 1
12)	p. 146	p. 143	p. 19	p. 72-73	p. 160

⁷² 31 households and 1 çiftlik.

Mahalle-yi Kum ki Hocaca dahi derler	households: 53 From which: Exempted: 3(5%) Celibates: 18(33%) Converts: 9(16%) Slaves: 6(11%)	households: 34 From which: Exempted: 3(8%) Celibates: 8(33%) Converts: 6(17%)	households: 15 Celibates: 7	households: 78 From which: Exempted: 3(3%) Celibates: 13(16%) Converts: 16(20%) Slave: 1	households: 60 From which: Exempted: 24(40%) Celibates: 2 (3%) Converts: 4(6%)
13) Mahalle-yi Doğan Bey dar kurb-i imaret	p. 147 households: 5 From which: Exempted: 3(60%) Converts: 1(20%)	p. 141 households: 5 From which: Exempted: 3(60%) Celibate: 1(20%)	p. 19 household: 1	p. 74 households: 3 From which: Exempted: 2(66%)	p. 162 households: 3 From which: Exempted: 2(66%)
14) Mahalle-yi Köprübaşı	p. 147 households: 20 From which: Exempted: 3(15%) Celibates: 1(5%) Converts: 2(10%) Slaves: 3(15%)	p. 141 households: 15 From which: Exempted: 3(20%) Celibates: 3(20%) Converts: 3(20%)	p.19 households: 17 Converts: 4	p. 73 households: 26 From which: Exempted: 1(3%) Celibate: 3(11%) Converts: 6(23%)	p. 161 households: 23 From which: Exempted: 3(13%) Converts: 3(13%)
15) Mahalle-yi Tatarlar	p. 147 households: 29 From which: Exempted: 2(6%)	p. 141 households: 23 From which: Exempted: 6(26%)	p. 19 households: 12	p. 72 households: 41 From which: Exempted:	p. 159 households: 38 From which:

	<p>Celibates: 0</p> <p>Converts: 1(3%)</p> <p>Slaves: 4(13%)</p>	<p>Celibates: 5(21%)</p> <p>Converts: 8(34%)</p>	<p>Celibates: 4</p>	<p>4(9%)</p> <p>Celibates: 10(24%)</p> <p>Converts: 4(9%)</p>	<p>Exempted: 22(58%)</p> <p>Celibates: 1</p> <p>Converts: 8(21%)</p>
16) Mahalle-yi Kal'e:	<p>p. 148 households: 5</p> <p>Slaves: 2 (40%)</p>				
17) Mahalle-yi Gebran-ı kal'a	<p>p. 148-149 Total of Christian households: 113</p> <p>households: 106</p> <p>Widows: 7</p>	<p>p.144-16 Total of Christian households: 181</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Kostas Papas households: 61 From which:</p> <p>Celibates: 10(16%)</p> <p>Bive: 8(13%)</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Yahudiyān: Households: 20 From which:</p> <p>Celibates: 1</p> <p>Bive: 2</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Aya Todora: households: 48 From which:</p>	<p>p. 19 Total of Christian households: 163</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Kostas Papas: households: 48 From which:</p> <p>Celibates: 1</p> <p>Bive: 2</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Dimitri nam-ı diğer Yahudiyān: households: 17 From which:</p> <p>Celibates: 2</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Ayio Todor: households: 45 From which:</p>	<p>p. 74 Total of Christian households: 198</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Kosta Papas: 37 From which:</p> <p>Celibates: 6</p> <p>Widows: 3</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Manastir: 49 From which:</p> <p>Celibates: 16</p> <p>Widows 4</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Arnavutlu: 25</p>	<p>Total of Christian households: 161</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Kostas Papas: 39 From which:</p> <p>Celibate: 1</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Manastir: 19</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Arnavutlu: 19</p>

		<p>Celibates: 10(20%)</p> <p>Widows: 4(8%)</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Manastir: households: 52</p> <p>Celibates: 13(25%)</p> <p>Widows: 5(9%)</p>	<p>Celibates: 2</p> <p>Widows: 6</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Manastir: households: 53</p> <p>From which:</p> <p>Widows: 5</p>	<p>From which: Celibates: 1</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Yahudiyan: 29</p> <p>From which:</p> <p>Celibates: 7</p> <p>Widows: 1</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Ayo Todora: 32</p> <p>Celibate: 8</p> <p>Widow: 2</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Ayo Nikola: 26</p> <p>Celibates: 6</p>	<p>Mahalle-yi Yahudiyan nam-i diğer Dimitri: 29</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Ayo Todora: 31</p> <p>Mahalle-yi Ayo Nikola: 24</p>
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Table 11: Table showing the demographic breakdown of *Dimetoka* in 15th and 16th centuries utilizing the coefficient.

Demographic Breakdown with co-efficient	1485	1519	1520	1568	1570
Muslims	1772 ⁷³	1308 ⁷⁴	859 ⁷⁵	1571 ⁷⁶	1608 ⁷⁷
(%)age change of Muslim population		-26.7	-34.3	82.9	2.4
Christians	554 ⁷⁸	745 ⁷⁹	788 ⁸⁰	804 ⁸¹	797 ⁸²
(%)age change of Christian population		34.5	5.8	2.0	-0.9
Overall total	2326	2053	1647	2375	2405
Overall total change (%)		-12.2	-19.8	44.2	1.3

⁷³ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 396 total adult male-headed households - 52 bachelors of tax-paying age = $344 \times 5 = 1720 + 52$ {the bachelors} = **1772** {Total of Muslims at Dimetoka in 1485}.

⁷⁴ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 320 total male-headed households - 73 bachelors of tax-paying age = $247 \times 5 = 1235 + 73$ {the bachelors} = **1308** {Total of Muslims at Dimetoka in 1519}.

⁷⁵ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 417 total adult male-headed households - 44 bachelors of tax-paying age = $373 \times 5 = 1865 + 44$ {the bachelors} = **1909** {Total of Muslims at Dimetoka in 1520}.

⁷⁶ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 355 total adult male-headed households - 51 bachelors of tax-paying age = $304 \times 5 = 1520 + 51$ {the bachelors} = **1571** {Total of Muslims at Dimetoka in 1568}.

⁷⁷ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 340 total adult male-headed households - 23 bachelors of tax-paying age = $317 \times 5 = 1585 + 23 = 1608$ {Total of Muslims at Dimetoka in 1570}.

⁷⁸ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is 113 total adult male-headed households -1 bachelor of tax-paying age = $112 \times 5 = 560 - 7$ {missing adult male figure in widow-headed households} = $553 + 1$ {bachelor} = **554** { Total of Christians at Dimetoka in 1485}.

⁷⁹ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 180 total adult male-headed households - 34 bachelors of tax-paying age = $146 \times 5 = 730 - 19$ {missing adult male figure in widow-headed households} = $711 + 34$ {the bachelors} = **745** { Total of Christians at Dimetoka in 1519}.

⁸⁰ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 163 - 3 bachelors of tax-paying age = $160 \times 5 = 800 - 15$ {missing adult figure in widow-headed households} = $785 + 3$ {bachelors} = **788** {Total of Christians at Dimetoka in 1520}.

⁸¹ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 198 total adult male-headed households - 44 bachelors of tax-paying age = $154 \times 5 = 770 - 10$ {missing adult male figure in widow-headed households} = $760 + 44$ {the bachelors} = **804** {Total of Christians at Dimetoka in 1568}.

⁸² The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 161 total adult male-headed households – 2 bachelors of tax-paying age = $159 \times 5 = 795 + 2$ {the bachelors} = **797** {Total of Christians at Dimetoka in 1570}.

Chart 1: Bar chart showing the demographic breakdown of *Dimetoka* in 15th and 16th centuries utilizing the coefficient.

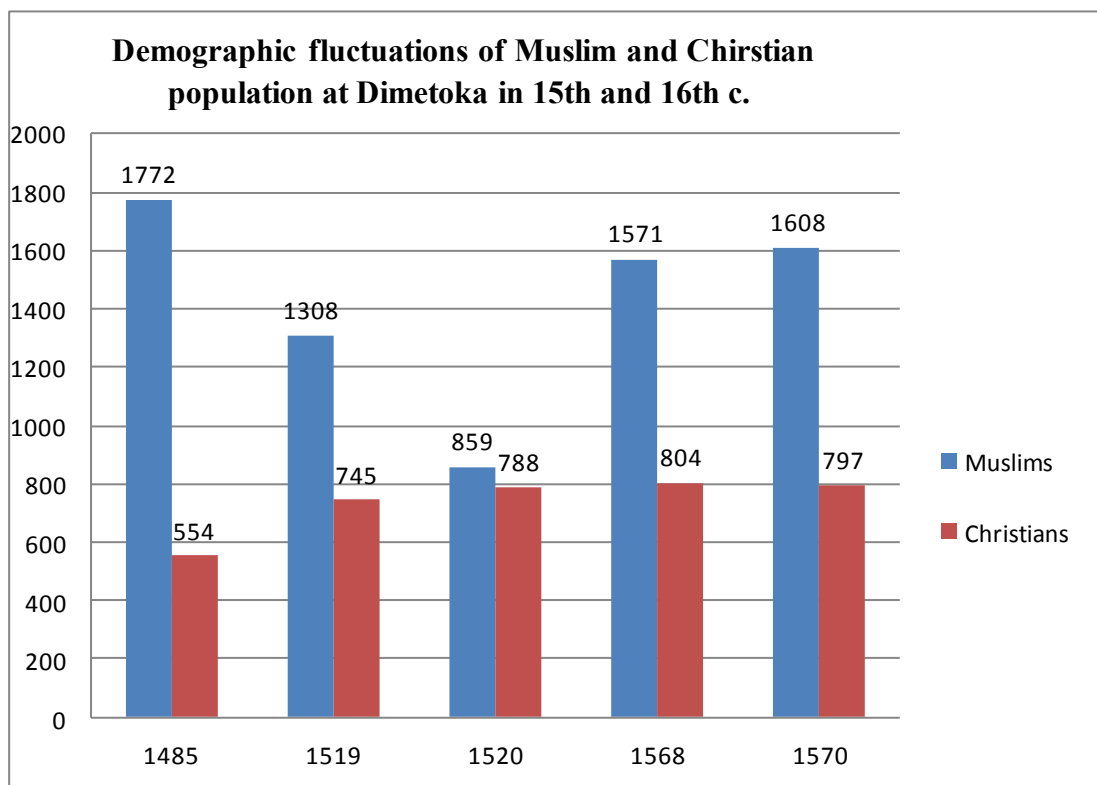


Table 12: Table showing the breakdown of the households' totals in row data (actual figures deriving from the archival material).

Breakdown of the household totals in row data	1485	1519	1520	1568	1570
Muslim households	396	320	207	355	340
(%)age change of Muslim households		-19.2	-35.3	71.5	-4.2
Christian households	113	181	145	198	161
(%)age change of Christian households		60.2	-19.9	36.6	-18.7
Overall total	509	501	352	553	501
(%)age change of the overall total		-1.6	-29.7	57.1	-9.4

Table 13: Table showing the breakdown of Muslim tax male-headed households, exempted households, celibates of tax-paying age households and converts at *Dimetoka* in 15th and 16th centuries.

	1485	1519	1520 ⁸³	1568	1570
Total of Muslim Households	396	320	207	355	340
Exempted Households	48	55	0	47	152
(%)age share of the exempted households	12.1	17.2	0.0	13.2	44.7
Celibates	52	73	44	51	23
(%)age share of the celibates	13.0	22.8	21.3	14.4	6.8
Converts	25	85	0	69	42
(%)age share of the converts	6.3	26.6	0.0	19.4	12.4

⁸³ The 1520 survey is of the summary (icmal) variety; for this reason it does not provide the range of detailed information that the other four surveys do. It only records the number of the quarters, the number of the households and the celibates. Consult Table 6 of the appendix.

Chart 2: Bar chart showing fluctuation of the Muslim population at *Dimetoka* in 15th and 16th centuries.

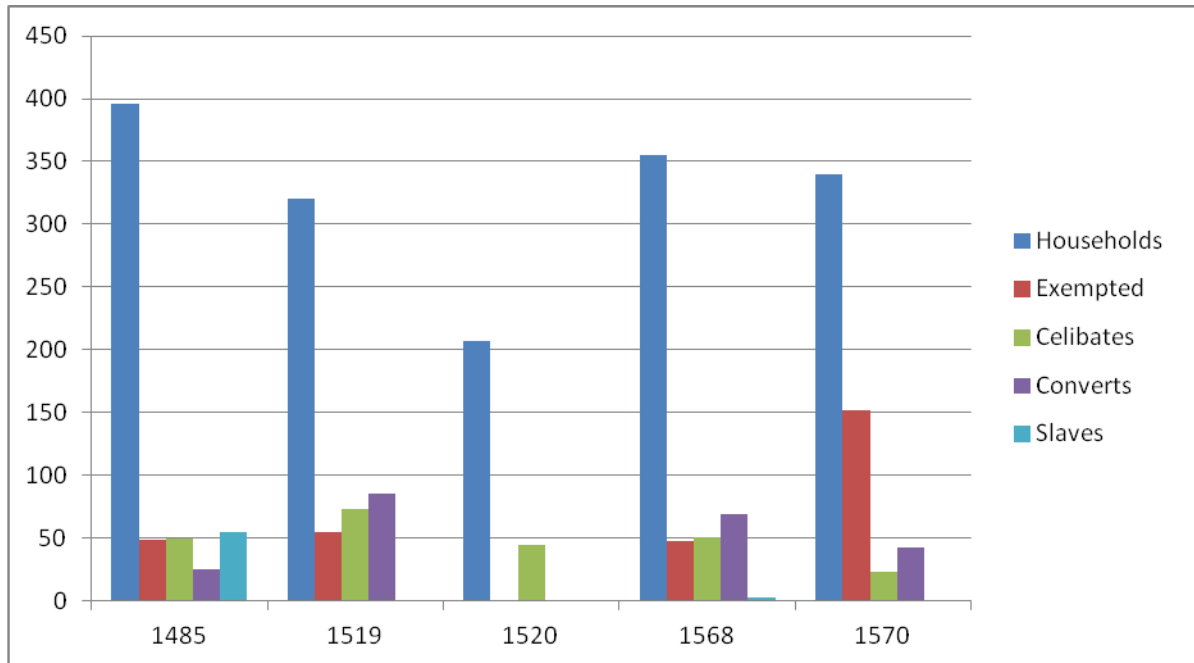


Table 14: Table showing the demographic fluctuations of the Muslim quarters of *Dimetoka* throughout 15th and 16th centuries along with their percentage change.

	1485	1519	1520	1568	1570
1.Debbağlar	38	44	19	26	27
(%)age change		15.78	-56.81	36.84	3.84
2.Karagöz Bey	35	18	12	18	21
(%)age change		-48.6	-33.3	50.0	16.6
3.Burak	12	6	4	11	11
(%)age change		-50.0	-33.3	175.0	0.0
4.Medrese	13	11	6	11	15
(%)age change		-15.4	-45.5	83.3	36.3
5.Haraççı	22	18	8	25	24
(%)age change		-18.2	-55.5	212.5	-4.0
6.Oruç Bey	28	14	3	2	3
(%)age change		-50.0	-78.5	-33.3	50.0
7.Cercer	12	20	10	22	22
(%)age change		66.6	-50.0	120.0	0.0
8.Cami'	25	16	4	17	20
(%)age change		-36.0	-75.0	325.0	17.6
9.Kuyumcu	37	27	18	32	25
(%)age change		-27.0	-33.3	77.7	-21.8
10.Macarlar	28	29	10	17	19
(%)age change		3.5	-65.5	70.0	11.7
11.Bazarlu Bey	34	29	15	26	29

(%)age change		-14.7	-48.2	73.3	11.5
12.Hocaca	53	34	15	78	60
(%)age change		-35.8	-55.8	420.0	-23.0
13.Doğan Bey	5	5	1	3	3
(%)age change		0.0	-80.0	200.0	0.0
14.Köprübaşı	20	15	17	26	23
(%)age change		-25.0	13.3	52.9	11.5
15.Tatarlar	29	23	12	41	38
(%)age change		-20.6	-47.8	241.6	7.3
16. Kal'a	5				

Table 15: Table showing the fluctuation of the exempted percentage share of total Muslim households at *Dimetoka* from 1485 to 1570.

year ⁸⁴	Exempted	% age of total	% age change
1485.	48	12.1	
1519.	55	17.2	5.1
1568.	47	13.2	-3.9
1570.	152	44.7	31.5

⁸⁴ The 1520 data could not be included in this occasion; this is due to the summary (icmal) variety of the survey which does not allow such information.

Chart 3: Bar chart showing the exempted percentage share of total households from 1485 to 1570.

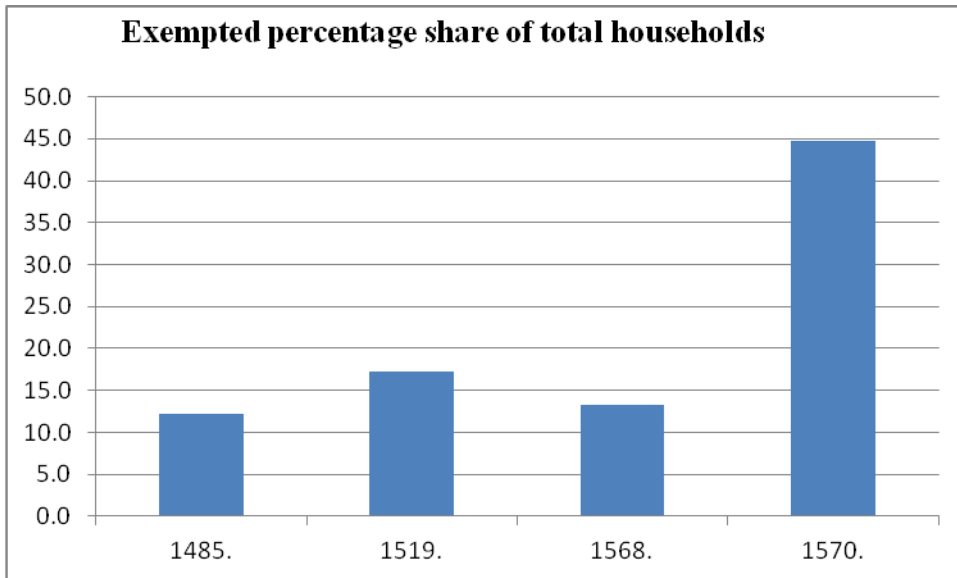


Table 16: Table showing the demographic fluctuations of the Christian quarters in row data (actual figures deriving from the archival material) and their percentage change.

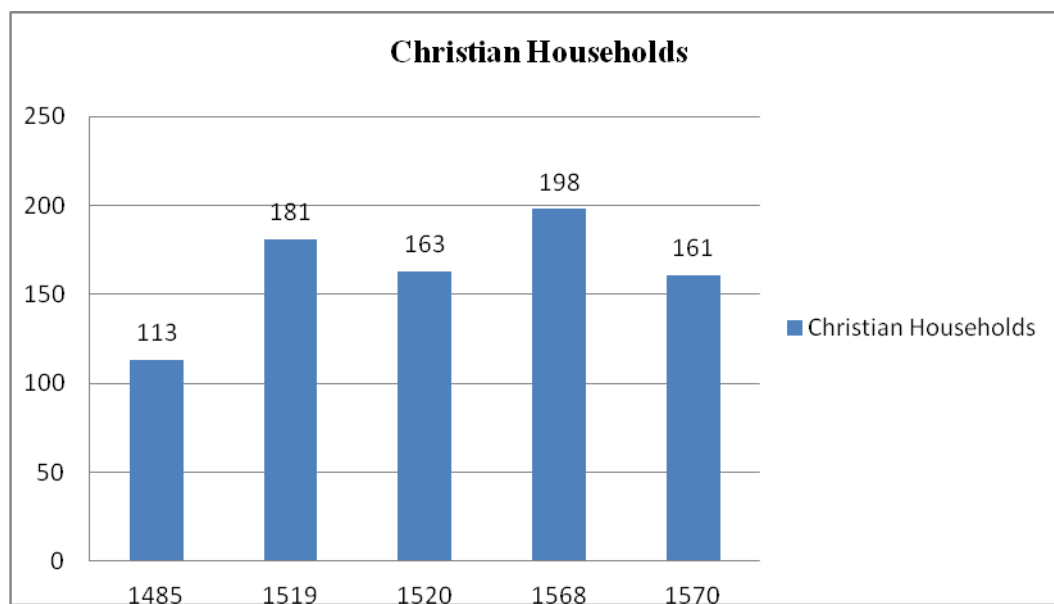
	1485	1519	1520	1568	1570
Mahalle-i Kosta Papas	113	61	48	37	39
(%)age change	0.0	-46.0	-21.3	-22.9	5.4
Mahalle-i Yahudiyen	0	20	17	29	29
(%)age change	0.0	0.0	-15.0	70.5	0.0
Mahalle-i Aya Todora	0	48	45	32	31
(%)age change			-6.25	-28.8	-3.1
Mahalle-i Manastir	0	52	53	49	19
(%)age change			1.0	-4.0	-30.0
Mahalle-i Arnavutlu	0	0	0	25	19
(%)age change					-24.0
Mahalle-i Ayo Nikola	0	0	0	26	24
(%)age change					-7.6

Table 17: Table showing the breakdown of Christian tax male-headed households, celibates of tax-paying age and widow-headed households at *Dimetoka* in 15th and 16th centuries.

	1485	1519	1520 ⁸⁵	1568	1570
Total of Christian households	113	181	154	198	161
(%)age change of Christian households		60.2	-19.9	36.6	18.7
Christian celibates of tax-paying age	1	34	3	44	2
(%)age change of Christian celibate households		3300.0	-91.2	1366.7	-95.5
Christian widow-headed households	7	19	15	10	0
(%)age change of Christian widow-headed households		171.4	-21.1	-33.3	-100.0

⁸⁵ The 1520 survey is of the summary (*icmal*) variety; for this reason it does not provide the range of detailed information that the other four surveys do. It only records the number of the quarters, the number of the households and the celibates. Consult Table 6 of the appendix.

Chart 4: Chart showing the demographic fluctuation of Christian quarters at *Dimetoka* in 15th and 16th centuries.



Translations

Evliya Çelebi on Dimetoka⁸⁶

Evsaf-ı kal'a-yı Bala Dimoduka

Description of the grandiose *Dimoduka* castle

İki nefer Urum kralları karındaşlar idi. Birinin ismi Dimo ve birinin Duka. Bu iki keferler bu kala'yı iştirak-i sevi üzere bina etdiklerinden Dimo Duka'dan galat-ı meşhur Dimetoka derler. Sene 762 tarihinde Yıldırım Bayezid Han fethidir. Be-dest-i Gazi Ferhad Bey.

There were two Greek kings who were brothers. One was named *Dimo* and the other *Duka*. Because these two unbelievers built the castle in partnership, from (their names) *Dimo* and *Duka*, it was created the *mumpsimus Dimetoka*. It was conquered by Yıldırım Bayezid Han in the year 762 by the hand of *Gâ zî Ferhâd Bey*.

Ve yedi kerre mukaddema muhasara olup fethi müyesser olmayup ahuru'l -emr kralın birin Ferhad Bey avda avlayup esir eder. Öbür karındaşı Rum kafereleriyle kal'aya kapanup kal'a içinden taşra çıkmayup re'aya olmak şartıyla Duka nam kral kal'anın miftahların Ferhad Bey'e teslim edüp ba'dehu asker-i İslam ala mehil kal'ayı kabza-i tasarruفا alırlar. Yohsa bu kal'a sademat-ı top-ı kub ile feth olur hisar-ı üstüvar değildir. Ama hin-i fethde küffar kal'a içinde olmak üzre 'akd-i sulh olunduğiyçün hala kal'ada dizdardan gayri müslim yoktur.

Although, it had been besieged before for seven times, the conquest was not divinely facilitated; at the end, one of the kings of that place was taken captive by *Ferhad Bey*, while he was hunting. The king's other brother named *Duka* remained confined in the castle with the Greek unbelievers and refused to come out. He later agreed however-to surrender the castle and accept

⁸⁶ I relied on the 2003 edition of *Seyahatnamesi* [Çelebi (2003), pp. 31-33]. For consistency purposes with the rest of the transliterated material presented in this thesis, I rendered the 2003 transliterated text into modern Turkish orthography. Therefore, the Ottoman text is presented without the diacriticals of the 2003 edition.

Ottoman suzerainty on condition that would remain Christian. Otherwise this was such a strong and impregnable fortress that it was not of the type that would surrender by bombardment. Since there were Christians in the castle at the time of the conquest, by effect of the war agreement, there are, still to this day no Muslims in the castle apart from the garrison warden.

Derun-ı hisarda cümlesi yuz aded kargir bina kiremit ile mestur menhushane-i ma'mur –ı keferelerdir, amma dizdar narin-i kullede sakindir. Ve bir keniseleri var.

Within the castle there are a hundred stone houses roofed with tiles, which are the well maintained houses inhabited by the ill-omened ones [i.e, the Christians] but the warden also maintains his residence in the inner precincts of the castle keep. There is also a church within the citadel.

Rumeli eyaletinde niçe sa'b hisar-ı metineler vardır, amma bu dahi sedd-i Mekü-misal kal'a-i üstüvardır. Hala Rumeli eyaletinde Edirne bostancibaşısı hukmünde Sultan Bayezid Han vakfi voyvadası zabitadır. Ve yüz elli akçe payesiyle şerif-i kazadır. Ve nahiyesi (...) kuradır.

In the Rumeli County, there are many strong and inaccessible castles, but this too is as strong as the *Mekü* castle. Nowadays it is the *voivode* of the *vakf* of Sultan Bayezid Han, who serves under the jurisdiction of the *bostancibaşı* of Edirne, who controls it. It is an important city, whose *kadi* enjoys the rank and dairy salary of 150 *akçes*. Within its surrounding districts (*nahiye*) are contained (...) villages.

Taht –ı kadimdir kim Sultan Bayezid-i Veli bunda niçe zaman sakin olmuşdur. Hatta Selim Han-ı evvel Bayezid Han pederinden hilafeti cebren aldıktā Bayezid Han'ı bu Dimetoka tahtgah-ı kadimdir deyü bu nefy ediüp Havsa nam mahalde Bayezid Han merhum olup na'sın İslambol'a götürüp cami'inin mihrabı önünde defn ederler. Yani bu kal'a tahtgah-ı kadim olup Musa Çelebi Sultan ibn Yıldırım Han dahi bunda sakin olurdu, zira sayd u şikarı da gayet çokdur. Ve hala yukaru kal'ada cihhanüma bir padişah sarayı var. Safi kurşum örtülü maksureleri ve müteaddid ve hücreleri ve kal'aları vardır.

It is an old capital city of the state where Sultan Bayezid Han settled for many years. In fact, when Selim Han I took the caliphate by force from his father Bayezid Han, the latter took residence in this city; that is to say, he got exiled [there] and when he died at *Havsa* neighbourhood, his shroud was brought to Istanbul and he was buried in front of the *mihrab* of the mosque. Since this castle was the old seat of the state, Musa Çelebi son of Sultan Yıldırım resided there too, because there were many hunting attractions; and until our days the domed royal quarters are to be found in the upper citadel. [Where] there are canopied chambers roofed with pure lead and numerous chambers and turrets.

Ve kal'ası evc-i semaya beraber bir kırmızı yalçın kaya üzre maşrıktan canib-i garba şekl-i bademi vaki' olmuş bir tulanice Şeddadi iki kat taş bina kal'a-i ra'na beş bölük bir kal'a-i serameddir. Cirm-i da'iren madar iki bin beş yüz adımdır. Ve püşte-i alisinin enderun u birununda safi mağaralardır.

The palace is a double -storied, stone structure of a truncated shape which spreads over the steep, red rock and extending from east to the south-west of the castle; it is the beauty of the castle and the most overbearing compartment of the quintipartite castle. Its perimeter measures 2.500 paces. The exterior and the interior of the big hill [on top of which lies the castle] are full of cavities.

Ve cümle iki kat duvarında birer aded metin kullelerdir. Lakin handaki yokdur ve olacak handak yeri de yokdur ve handak lazım da değildir, zira bu kal'anın ba'zi yerleri evc-i asımana kad keşan olmuş iki minare kaddi uçurum ve yalçın kayalardır. Ba-husus garb tarafı ki nehr-i Kızıldeli nam divane akar suyun tarafı bir şahin ve Zağanos aşıyanlı kayalardır. O ecilden bu kal'anın asla handaki yokdur. Ve cenub tarafına Kızıldeli nehri akup duran abdır. Ol canibinde dahi handakları olmayup gayet metindir.

Furthermore, the double wall [of the castle] was fortified with a number of reinforced turrets. Still, there is not a trench and there is not even a place for a future trench, since there is not such a need; because at some places of the castle the land retreats and there is a cliff of the height of two minarets and a steep cliff. Especially, the western side which is the side of the river *Kızıl Deli* -the

crazy river- is the cliff of the falcon and of the eagle owl bird nests. For this reason, there is no trench. On the south side runs the *Kızıl Deli* River, and although there is no further trench at the south side, the river is a strong frontier.

Ve bu Kızıldeli nehri kenarında aşağı varoş-ı azimi var. Lakin etrafında kal'a duvarları yoktur, amma bu varoşa Kızıldeli suyu aşırı cenub tarafı dağları aşağı varoşa havaledir, amma iç kal'a da ana havaledir.

The extensive lower suburb of the town spreads over the banks of the *Kızıl Deli* River. However, there are no castle walls around it, since the steep slopes on the south side of the citadel climbing up from the north bank of the *Kızıl Deli* overlook and envelop it and since the inner castle itself also overlooks the *varoş* district [it is well protected by both natural and man-made obstacles].

Ve yukarı kal'anın iç kala'sı iki katdır ve iki bölükdür. Birine Kiz kulesi derler. Birine Cebehane kulesi derler. Ve bu iki bölüm hisarın birbirlerine geçmeğe iki kapusu ve canib-i şimale nazır bir bölme hisar dahi var, gayet metin duvarlıdır.

The inner, upper castle has two walls and two divisions: the one is called the Maiden tower and the other Arsenal tower. These two towers are connected through two gates and an additional, reinforced curtain wall which looks to the north.

Ve hûnkar sarayı dahi iç kal'a-misal bir bölme hisar dahidir. Lakin bu saray ve bölme duvarı İslam padişahlarının binasıdır. Bu zikr olunan kat-ender-kat (layer upon layer) bölme hisar-piçe duvarlardan aşağısının her taraflarında birer kat hisar-piçe nam sa'b ve metin duvar vardır.

The imperial palace is included in a section of the castle, which reminds of a Dungeon⁸⁷. Still, this palace and the curtain wall belonged to the residence of the Islamic emperor. This means that there was a buttressing wall layer upon layer all along the lower curtain wall.

⁸⁷ Dungeon or donjon: a heavily fortified central tower or keep of a medieval castle.

Ve cümle üç aded kapulardır. Biri ta iç kal'a kapusu canib-i cenuba nazırdır. Bir kapu dahi taraf-ı şimale meftuh kapudur. Bu dahi iç kal'a kapusudur. Bir kapu dahi aşağı kat kapudur kim çomlekciler tarafına açılır, amma bu mezkur kapular hüinkarlara mahsus kapulardır kim yukarıda padişah sarayı vardır. Bir kapu dahi canib-i garba nazır Köprü kapusu derler. Bir kapu dahi semt-i kibleye nazır Çarşu kapusu derler, iki kat metin ve kavi kapulardır, cümle halk bundan girüp çıkarlar, amma bu iki kat kapu mabeyni dahi bir bölme küçük hisarcık gibi vaki' olmuştur.

There are also three gates. One allows to the south side up to the gate of the inner castle. Another one opens to the north side. Another one is the gate of the inner castle. Another one is the gate of the lower level, which opens to the side of the potters; but the aforementioned gates, which were found in the upper imperial palace, were designated for the imperial family. Another gate allows to the west side and it is called the gate of the bridge. Another one allows to the south side and it is called the gate of the market. These are strong gates with a double wall, from where people mainly commute but in the inter-space between these two walls it was further created a chamber, like a small castlette.

Bu hesap üzere bu kal'a-i Dimetoka cümle altı katdır. Ve cümle bölme duvarlarında olun kapularla cümle (...) kat metin hadid bab-ı kavilerdir.

According to this calculation, the castle of Dimetoka comprises of six walls in total. A monumental gate with a double wall is connected with the gate of the curtain wall.

Der vasf-ı aşağı varoş ma'mure

Description of the lower, prosperous suburb

Cümle on iki mahallatdır. Ve cümle altı yüz adet kiremet ile mestur tahtani ve fevkani kargir binali seng-i mutarraş divarlı ma'mur ve müzeyyen saraylar ve hanedan-ı ra'nalarında elbetde bağ u bağçe ve gül-i gülistanlari mukarrerdir.

It contains twelve neighbourhoods. It also contains 600 double-storied, prosperous and embellished mansions with walls of hewn-cut stone; beautiful houses adorned with gardens and rose orchards.

Ve cümle on iki mihrab cevami' ve mesacid-i selatin-i mu'minandır. Cümleden Yıldırım Bayezid Han cami'i çar-kuşe divar üzre ve içinde dört adet kargir bina direk üzre bir acib ü garib tahtadan mebni bir musanna' kubbeli cami'i pür-envardır kim bir müzeyyen ve seramed minare-i bang-ı Muhammedisi var. Cümle asar-ı binaları ve harpüşte tahta bina kubbesi rusas-ı has-ı nilgun ile eyle musanna' kurşum örtülüdür kim sihr-i bukalemundur. Şeb u ruz cema'at-i kesireye malik ma'bedgah-ı kadimdir, amma haremi yoktur. Ve bundan gayri dahi cami' yoktur.

Additionally, there are twelve exalted, religious communal mosques. Firstly, the mosque of Yıldırım Bayezid Han is a lustrous mosque with a bewilderingly artistic wooden dome, which lies over a square-shaped basis and four robust pillars. It has an embellished and prominent minaret of the Mohammedan voice. The features of the building and the wooden, herringbone dome are lead roofed (...) in such an artistic manner, which is a spell of a chameleon. It is the most ancient place of worship [in the city], which day and night has the most numerous congregation, but it lacks a *harem*. Apart from this, there is no other mosque.

Der beyan-ı mesacid-i abidan-ı zahidan

Description of the devout mescids

Cümle 12 mesacidlerdir, amma cami' olmağa müsta'id zaviyeler vardır. Cümleden Nasuh Bey mescidi bir cami'i selatin-misal kurşum kubbeli ma'mur mescid-i şerifdir. Ve Kurd Bey mescidi ve Bazarlı Bey mescidi, ya'ni Alaca mescid demekle ma'rufdur. Ve Anka'ül-vasi' mescidi ve Oruç Paşa mescidi ve Kapucu mescidi ve Tatarlar mescidi ve Haraccı mescidi ve Zencirli mescidi ve Cercer

mescidi ve 'Abdal Cindi mescidi ve Köprü Başında Gazi Ferhad Bey mescidi. Bunlar cümle kiremit ile mestur buk'a-i mubarekelerdir.

There are twelve *mescids*, and apart from these, there are brisk *zaviyes* which do not function as mosques. Firstly, the mescid of *Nasuh Bey* is a glorious *mescid* which bears a lead dome and resembles to an exalted [sultanic] mosque. Then, there is the *Kurd Bey mescid* and the *Bazarlu Bey mescid* which is known as *Alaca mescid*. Then, the *mescids* of *Anka'ül-vasi'*, *Oruç Paşa*, *Kapucu*, *Tatarlar*, *Haraççı*, *Zencirli*, *Cercer*, *Abdal Cüneyid* and at *Köprübaşı* there is the *mescid* of *Gazi Ferhad Bey*. All these are blessed prayer halls roofed with tiles.

Ve cümle dört aded medrese-i 'alimandır. Cümleden Bayezid Han medresesi ve medrese-i Oruç Paşa. Ve cümle beş adet tekye-i dervişan-ı ehl-i tarik vardır. Ve cümle beş adet mekteb-i sibyan-ı ebcedhandır.

There are also four *medreses* of the learned. The *medrese* of Bayezid Han and the *medrese* of *Oruç Paşa*; there are also five *tekyes* of the orders of the dervishes. There are also five *mektebs*.

Ve cümle iki adet daru'z-ziyafe-i 'imaret-i it'amdır. Yıldırım Bayezid Han imareti, Nasuh Bey imareti kurşumlu me'kelhanedir kim bay u gedaya ni'metleri mebzuldur

There are also two soup kitchens for food distribution. The imaret of Yıldırım Bayezid Han; the imaret of *Nasuh Bey* is a lead roofed eatery, where the foods are cheap for rich and poor.

Ve cümle (...) aded han tüccaran-ı sevdagerandır. Cümleden kurşum örtülü Nasuh Bey hani ma'murdur. Ve cümle iki aded karbansaray-ı ayende vü revendeganı vardır.

There are also (...) charming commercial hans. Mainly, the lead roofed han of *Nasuh Bey* is famous. Additionally, there are two *caravansarays* for the travellers.

Ve cümle üç aded hammam-ı ruşenaları var. Köprü başındaki hamam kah işler ve kah harab durur. Amma Fııldı hammamının ab u hevası ve binası latif ve musanna' hammam-ı rahat-ı candir. Ve bir musanna' kemer altında bir delik vardır, ol kemer altındaki kurna başında bir adem otursa ve öte başında bir adem oturup ol deliğe bir adem ağzın koyup söyleşirler, delikten kelimaları birbirlerine be-dürüsti işidilüp söyleşirler. Anıniçün Fııldı hammamı derler. El-hasıl aşık ve

ma'sukların kelimat edüp murad alup her muradı verecek delikdir kim Fısıldı deliği ve Fısıldı hammamı derler.

There are also three illustrious *hammams*. The *hammam* at the neighbourhood of *Köprübaşı* is in a ruinous state. On the other hand, the water, the ambience and the building of the *hammam* of the whispers is exquisite and it is the artful *hammam* of the relaxation of life. There is a hole under an elaborate vault and if a man is seated under this vault at the top of a marble basin and another is seated at the top of the (opposite) basin and speaks to the hole, they could properly hear each other's words. For this reason it has been named the *hammam* of the whispers. In short, it is a hole which is called the hole or the *hammam* of the whispers because it realises the wishes of those in love.

Ve Ulu cami'in önündeki hammamın tarihidir:

Yapdı bu hamamı Sultan 'Osman

Cüy-ı kevser ola cennetde bu su

Hatıra ilac olup tarih dedim,

Hasılı hammam-ı rüşendir bu Sene (...)

Ve cümle yetmiş adet hanedan hamamları vardır. Cümleden Koca Solakbaşı anesinin hammamını müfferihdir, derler amma hakir girmedim ve alimallah görmedim.

The inscription of the *hammam* opposite the exalted mosque is as follows:

Sultan Osman made this *hammam*

May this water be as the river *Kevser* in Paradise

I gave the date which became remedy to memory

In brief, this is an illustrious *hammam* Year (...)

There were also seventy domestic *hammams*. They say that the *hammam* of the mother of Koca Solakbaşı is spacious but I did not go and could not know.

Ve cümle yüz adet dekakinlerdir kim her şey bulunur. Lakin kargir bina bezzazistanı yokdur, amma çömlekçi ve bardakçi dükkânları iki yüzden çokdur. Ve çarşu içi cabeca kudretten beyaz kaya kaldırımdır.

There are also hundred commercial shops where everything can be found. Still, there is no *bezzazistan* made of stone; on the contrary, there are two times more earthenware and glass-making shops. At certain places of the market, it can be discerned the pattern of a white stone pathway

Bu nehrin ibtida menba'ı Tanriverdi dağından gelüp bu kal'anın altındaki cenub tarafında on iki göz taş yapıda temelli direkler üzre meşe direkleri döşeli çisr-i azimin altından geçüp dahi aşağı kal'adan bir top menzili alarka canib-i kibleye cereyan ederek gidüp nehr-i Arda ve nehr-i Tunca ve nehr-i Meriç bir yerden cereyan ederken bu Kızıldeli nehri anlara mahlut olup cümlesi bir yerden Enez kal'ası kurbunda bahr-i Rum'a munsab olur.

This river springs from the mountain of *Tanriverdi* and runs under a lofty stone bridge with twelve arches [positioned] at the south side of the lower fridges of the castle. The bridge is laid with oak beams [and is supported] on permanent pillars. Further up from the castle, the river crosses afar from a gunshot range positioned at the south and [further down] it meets with Arda, Tunça and Meriç rivers and pours in the Aegean from a place in the vicinity of *Enez* castle.

Dar beyan-ı memduhat-ı Dimetoka

Description of the praises of Dimetoka

Bağ u bağçesinde şireli abdar hoş-hor üzümü ve tekeşin ayvası memduhdur, amma kırmızı la'l-gun Dimetoka bardağı ve kaseleri ve çanakları ve ibrikleri meşhur-ı afaktır.

At the gardens the glossy, tasty grapes and the *tekeş* variety of queen's apples are praised, but the scarlet red Dimetoka wares of cups, basins, bowls and pitchers are world's famous.

The sources on the conquest

İnalçık based on the testimony of the Florentine *Matteo Villani* suggested that *Dimetoka* was first conquered in 1359⁸⁸. Zachariadou argued against it based on the source of *Theodore Spandounes*⁸⁹; according to this testimony some rebels at Dimetoka surrendered the city to Sultan Orhan, when the governor of the city *Georgio Glava* went to Istanbul in order to declare his obeisance to John V Palaiologos, who was threatened at the time with reconquest of the Albanian territories by *Stephan Dusan*. In light of the above, the surrendering of the city should be set after November 1354, when John V Palaiologos was reinstated on the Byzantine throne and December 1355 date of *Dusan's* death.

A date around 1355 or at least before 1357 seems to be also corroborated from the *Vita* of *Şeyh Bedreddin*. “Süleyman collected around him the Gazi leaders with the aim of crossing over to Rumeli, conquering these lands and expelling the unbelievers. He had a dream that his army radiated light and that in this light appeared the far Rumeli. The call for prayer was addressed in a loud voice. Some days after, the prince thought of the dream being an omen towards the success of the incoming conquest. He headed off to Rumeli with seven men, amongst which was *Gazı Eğe*, *Gazı Israil*, *Gazı ‘Abd al-Mu’min* and *Hacı İlbeyi*.

In short time Süleyman counted numerous successes, but he fell off his horse and died. He was buried in *Bolayir*; Murad I came from Anatolia to his tomb and distributed his land to the *Gazis*. Süleyman, had his tomb erected, after he was buried. And some time after Murad left from *Bolayir*. Then *Gazi Murad* reached *Malkara*, gathered his army and enjoyed himself. Afterwards, the army was divided under five commanders. Every one of them would kiss the knee of the sultan and set off towards its predestined direction. *Hacı İlbeyi* was directed towards *Burgas (Lule-Burgas)* in order to annihilate all the pagans. He was riding on a spotted horse. Close to *Burgas* he got off his horse and he fired an arrow. The arrow got stuck on a dotted snake, which he [then] used in order to kill it. *Hacı*

⁸⁸ İnalçık (1971), pp. 194-195.

⁸⁹ Zachariadou (2007), p. 358; Spanduginino (1890), pp. 133-261.

İlbeyi interpreted this as a sign of the forthcoming victory. [Saying that] the rider of the dotted horse had killed the dotted snake.

With invocations to Allah they conquered the city (*Burgas*) and pillaged the unbelievers. '*Abd al-Mu'min* and '*Abd al-'Aziz* marched against *Dimetoka* and after striving for days conquered the environs [extending] lower from the village of *Dflsvjh*, which was named after *Ja'qub Bey*. Everyone who was coming riding was meeting his luck. One day, the *Gazis* attacked *Dimetoka* but they were repelled. Then, '*Abd al-'Aziz* rode towards a place named –*Gazi Felsen* or *Gazis Qajasy*– but he fell into an ambush of the unbelievers at the foothills of *Felsen*. He got attacked in front of his father's eyes and was thrown in the water. Next day they found his body in the water and was buried in the ground.

The Christian Lord, who because of this success got swollen-headed, marched against *Burgas* immediately. *Gazi İsmail* was determined to exterminate the unbelievers from the castle. He showed their army rushing back and forth and believed that they were relocated. The *Gazis* observed their movements and they caught them alive. *Gazi Mu'min* wanted to kill some of them in order to satisfy *İsmail's* wish for revenge. When he realised that amongst the captives was the brother of the Christian Lord, he negotiated the freedom of the captive with the voluntary surrendering of *Dimetoka* and the generous endowment of the *Gazis*. *Hacı İlbey* arrived at *Dimetoka* and the castle had been handed to him with no resistance. But *Gazi İsrail* with 300 men proceeded with seizing the castle, whose community had not fled, fought with their commander, killed him and snatched his property and his children, amongst which stood his daughter. He then set an eighty man garrison in the castle under the supervision of a steward. He then headed to *Burgas* with abundant booty, where was the paradise of the *Gazis*. *Gazi İsmail* was a scholar and a judge of the Koranic Law for the *Gazis*. He distributed his entire booty to his people, and he only kept for himself the daughter of the commander, to whom he gave the name *Melek*. She gave birth to *Mahmud* (*Şeyh Bedreddin*) in the year 760 H./ 3.12.1358, when Edirne was still in Byzantine hands⁹⁰.

⁹⁰ Babinger (1943), pp. 7-13; Kissling (1950), pp. 134-140.

Another source that provides us with a second reading of the same story is to be found in the chronicle of *Yahşı Fakih*, a literary work from the second half of 14th c., which survived incorporated in the chronicle of the Ottoman chronographer *Asikpaşazade* from 15th c.⁹¹.

“They send to *Hacı İlbey*, to whom they had already bestowed *Konur Hisar*, *Gazi Evrenos*, as he was such a brave comrade, and they ascribed to him the systematic pillaging and ravaging of the vilayet of *Dimetoka* and of the other adjacent counties. After their expeditions they always returned back to *Konur Hisar*. Süleyman Paşa was annihilating the vilayet of *Charioupoli* and he was then returning back to *Gelibolu*. At one of their hunting journeys, they shot an animal, which managed finally to escape from them. Süleyman Paşa run after it and while pursuing the animal, he had the foot of his horse stuck in a hole. The horse collapsed and God took Süleyman Paşa. This incident occurred in 758 H. (1356-1357). Rumour has it that in the same year died Orhan Paşa too. But according to the true tradition, his son died two months before him⁹²”.

In a following chapter it is explained that: “*Hacı İlbey* conquered a small tower at the bank of Evros river. During the day, he was locking himself up in the castle and throughout the night, he was harassing the Christians from the nearby areas. Until one day, the lord of *Dimetoka* came out of the castle to catch *Hacı İlbeyi*; but he realised his intentions, threw him a curve and captured him instead. They were, then, approaching back to the castle, while clasping the lord. They reached right in front of the castle and they then agreed not to kill him, but to set him free along with his daughter and his son. The Byzantines delivered the castle and they kept the agreement as promised. This is how the impregnable castle of *Dimetoka* was conquered”.

Valuable is the testimony of *Hibri Abdurrahman*, who intervenes in his narration on the conquest of Edirne information on the conquest of *Dimetoka*⁹³. After the death of Süleyman Paşa the conquest of Rumeli was continued by *Hacı İlbey* and *Hacı Evrenos*, who captured *Malkara* and

⁹¹ *Asikpaşazade* got seriously ill in 1413, when Mehmet I marched against his brother Musa in order to end the civil war. He then got hosted at the house of *Yahşı Fakih*, grandson of *Ishak Fakih*, who was the imam of Sultan Orhan (1326-1362). During his stay at this house, he read the story of the House of Osman from its birth until the era of Bayezid I (1389-1403) Menage (1963), pp. 50-54; Babinger (1927), pp. 10-11.

⁹² Zachariadou (1999), p. 190.

⁹³ *Enisü'l- müsamirin* (1996), p. 13

Ipsala. Orhan Gazi's death followed soon after his sons. Since, his successor Murad I prioritised the formation of the Ottoman state on the Anatolian side, which means that the European side was technically headless, it was these two *akıncıs* who protected the Islamic lands from the enmities and pursued the holy war in Rumeli.

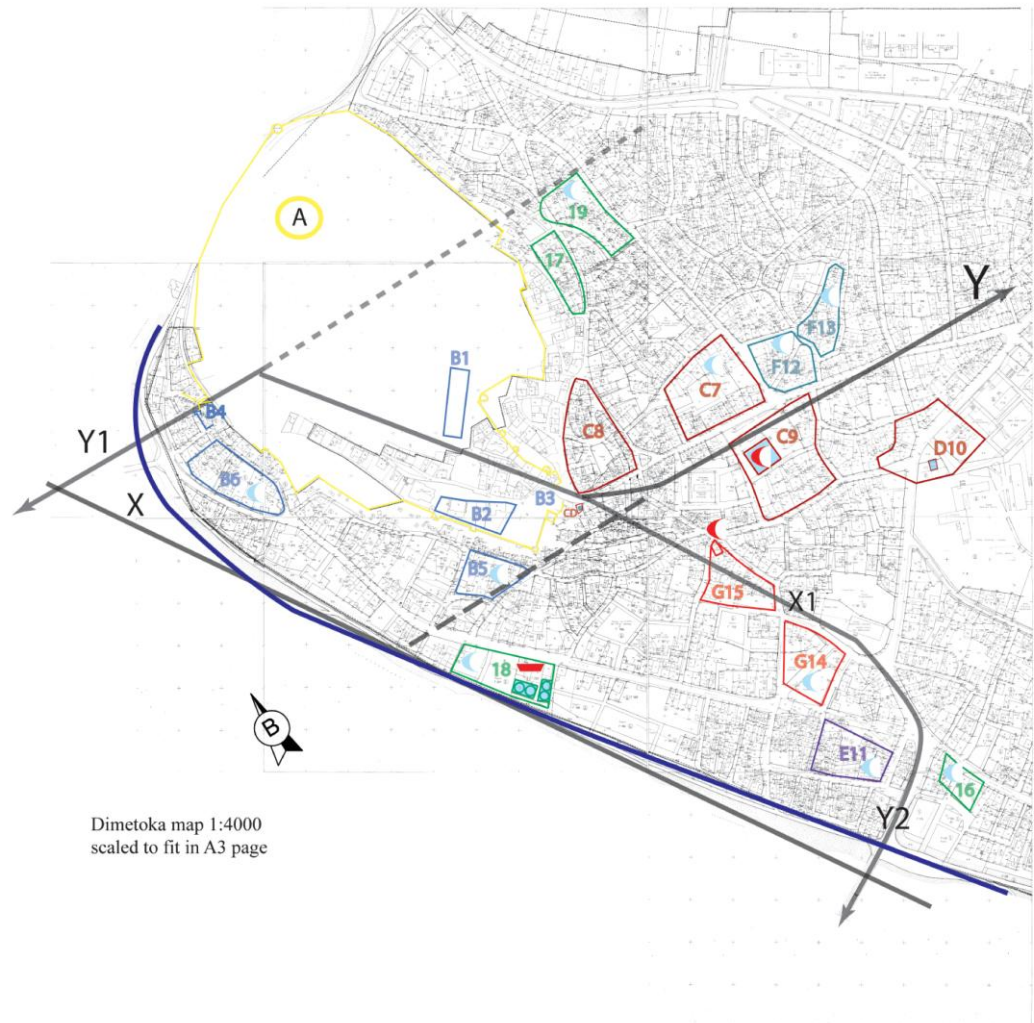
In 1360 *Hacı İlbey* crossed over to the *Meriç* river and conquered the castle of Burgaz. From that position, he organised the *akıncıs*, directed their attacks at both sides of the river and collected the loots. While Murad I was occupied with the conquest of *Çorlu*, the governor of *Dimetoka* left the safety of the castle in his attempt to prevent the capture of the castle by the Ottomans. That night, *Hacı İlbey* was out raiding. They happened to each other and engaged in a fight which resulted in the *Tekfur* being taken hostage. When they broke the news to the prince, he asked for mercy and surrendered the castle with its possessions. The beauty of the castle was so great, that its conquest was the sultan's desire. *Hacı İlbey* after receiving the necessary cautions for the protection of the castle, he returned in support of the sultan.

Hacı İlbey and *Hacı Evrenos* came together and after they conferred over the issue, they decided to go forward with the conquest of Edirne (...). The *Tekfur* of Edirne who foresaw the surrendering of the castle, took advantage of the impetuosity of the river and over a night loaded his belongings and his family on a boat and escaped to *Enez*. After the conquest of Edirne, they left there *Lala Sahin* and moved back to *Dimetoka*. Because its weather, its waters and its fertile plains were appropriate for its development, they turned *Dimetoka* into their capital. On the grounds that Edirne at that time was not as prosperous as nowadays, they preferred *Dimetoka* [over Edirne]. Edirne appeared [afterwards] as more suitable to become a capital due to its rapid development and the increase of its *imarets*. In 1366 they built the old palace outside the castle, which became the centre of the city. During the period of the conquest the majority of the buildings in the interior of the castle was destroyed. In the same time the philanthropists and merit seekers who were building mosques, *medreses* and fountains were increasing day by day.

Still, the most revealing version of the *Dimetoka* conquest is provided in *Oruç Bey*'s history: “*Hacı İlbeyi* and *Evrenos* came from *Burgoz*. There was a castlette on an island by *Meriç* bank, which they took. *Hacı İlbeyi* in the days was hiding in the castle and when night fall was harassing the unbelievers of the environs. One night, the lord of *Dimetoka* came to catch *Hacı İlbeyi*, but *Hacı İlbeyi* perceived him and caught him instead. [When] the news reached *Dimetoka*, he went against the people of the city, he made a treaty [with them] and they surrendered the city. The Ottomans gave to the Christian lord a village. He left the castle with his daughter, his son and his fortune and went to *Enez*. *Hacı İlbey* conquered *Dimetoka* in the year 1359 (760)”⁹⁴.

⁹⁴ *Oruç* (2008), p.23.

Maps



Dimetoka map 1:4000
scaled to fit in A3 page

Map 1: Reconstructive map of *Dimetoka*.

A: Byzantine castle of Dimetoka
X: Kizil Deli tributary axis
X1: Byzantine processional road and its Ottoman extension towards the south bridge (Y2 axis)
Y: Processional road axis/ Edime exit
Y1: Köprübaşı sub-route axis/South-west exit
Y2: South-bridge sub-route axis/Via Egnatia exit

Murad I (1360-1389):
B1: The Ottoman Palace
B2: The Muslim Quarter of the Castle (Mahalle-yi kal'a)
B3: The Gate of the Market (Çarşı Kapısı)
B4: The Bridgehead Gate (Köprübaşı kapısı)
B5: Quarter of Leather-Tanners or Abdal Cüneyid (Mahalle-yi Debbağlar, Abdal Cüneyid)
B6: Quarter of the Bridgehead (Mahalle-yi Köprübaşı)

Bayezid I (1389-1401) - Mehmed I (1413-1421)
CD: Clock tower (Saat külesi)
C7: Quarter of the Goldsmiths or Ahi Denek (Mahalle-yi Kuyumcular, Ahi Denek)
C8: Quarter of the Medrese (Mahalle-yi Medrese)
C9: Quarter of the mosque (Mahalle-yi Cami'i)
D10: Quarter of Oruç Paşa (Mahalle-yi Oruç Paşa)

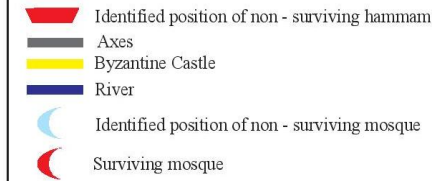
Murad II (1421-44/1446-1451)
E11: Quarter of Karagöz Bey (Mahalle-yi Karagöz Bey)

Mehmed II (1444-1446/1451-1481)
F12: Quarter of Tatars (Mahalle-yi Tatarlar)
F13: Quarter of Magyars or Habibi Fakih (Mahalle-yi Macarlar)

Bayezid II (1481-1512)
G14: Quarter of Doğan Bey (Nasuh Bey) (Mahalle-yi Doğan Bey)
G15: Quarter of Bazarlı Bey (Mahalle-yi Bazarlı Bey)

Unclassified:
16: Quarter of Kum or Hocaca (Mahalle-yi Kum, Horaca)
17: Quarter of Yahudi (Mahalle-yi Yahudiyan)
18: Quarter of Cercer (Mahalle-yi Cercer)
19: Quarter of Haraççı (Mahalle-yi Haraççı)

Existing monuments:
CD: Clock Tower (Saat külesi east from the Çarşı kapısı)
C9: Mosque of Mehmet Çelebi, as the pivotal monument of the quarter of the mosque
D10: Mausoleum of Oruç Paşa ensconced within the quarter of Oruç Paşa
18: Hamam of Oruç Paşa or Fısıltı Hamamı ensconced within the quarter of Cercer



Key to Reconstructive map of *Dimetoka*.

CHAPTER 2: Gümülcine

Transcriptions

- Mualim Cevdet Yazmalari 0.89 860-878(1455-1473), pp. 18, 30-31.

Table 18

Nahiye-i ⁹⁵ Gümülcine								
Nefs-i Gümülcine								
Musulman	Mahalle	Haslu	Benak	imam	müezzin	Bive	Fütüwwet	Piri
	14	4	372	8	2	43	4	1
	Kethuda	Arabacı	Yürük çift	Şapçı	Hizmetgar- ı Za'im	Asl-ı Divani	Tekye-yi halke	Ahi
	1	1	2	1	1	6	4	1
	Sahib-i mezkur	'İmaret müezzin -i	Gayri az re'ayat	Değirme nci	Sahib-i tekye	Solak:	Avarızdan Muaf ve Müsellem	Hicaza gitmiş
	1	1	1	2	2	1	4	1
Gebran	Haslu	Benak	Cingene	Bive	Keçi	Deyrh anlu		
	25	61	3	42	2	2		

Table 19

A) Hasayı nefsi Gümülcine Musulman ma'a Gebran ve sinurinden ekilen		
	Zemin-i imam-ı cami'i	Mukata'a: 155
	Zemin-i Babaci	Mukata'a: 45
	Zemin-i Ahi Ahmet	Mukata'a: 115
	Zemin-i velad-i Kalçı	Mukata'a: 45
	Zemin-i Zekerya	Mukata'a: 45
		Mukata'a Sah Gülsah: 655

⁹⁵ 0.89, p. 18.

	Zemin-i Bostan	Mukata'a: 2,555
		Mukata'a Meyhane: 12000
	Daliyan ma'a iskele	Mukata'a: 1,345
	Başhane	Mukata'a: 1,455
	Bozahane	Mukata'a: 1,200
	Niyabet-i şimal ma'a kovan ma'a baş	Mukata'a: 12,555
	Kıst Bozaci kethuda	155
		Ispençe: 2,266
Nefs-i Hinri ve Çekirdenlu ve Küste ve Kizilci ve burgos bevacından gayri satılmış		Mukata'a: 2,060
All these estimates amount to 35.996 akçes		
Ve Hinri ma'a Yamanı	: 21,626	Bu cumleden resm-i kile: 3.255 x 3(?)= 10,000
	Al baki: 56,900	
Cumletan:	85,217	

Table 20

Evkaf-ı vilayet-i Gümülcine ⁹⁶	Source of Income	Total
I. Vakf-ı zaviye-yi merhum Evrenos Bey	1) Hammam-ı hasıl: senet' il-kamile	8005
	2) Dekakin 45	Kıst: 1400
	3) Karuban sarayı	Kıst: elf (1000)
	4) Salgın'dan: hasıl olan meblağ:	Kıst: 1400
	5) Bostan	Kıst:600
	6) Bağ: pare 40, Dönüm 45	Kıst: 1400
	7) Asiyab: otak 3, göz 8, buğday müd 23	
	8) Zemin-i Küstemir ki galle ekilup öşür	Meblağ gayri az

⁹⁶ 0.89, p. 30.

	alınur ve çiftlik nalbant Ahmed	galle 10.000 ⁹⁷
	9) imam-ı tekye	Hane 18
	10) Karye-yi Halvacı çiftliği nam-ı diğer Evrenos Bey vakf-ı azadsuz kolları oğullarıdır. Hassların üçe bölüp, ikisin tekye-yi için alınurmuş, birisi onları konulurmuş	Ciftlu: 24 Benak: 2 Kethuda: 1 Asiyab: dolap 1, göz 2 Hasıl: meblağ gayri az galle: 14000 Cümleden ve galle: Buğday: <i>müdd</i> 189 <i>kile</i> 8 Arpa: <i>müdd</i> 102 <i>kile</i> 7 Daru: <i>müdd</i> 12 <i>kile</i> 9
	11) Ta'allukat-ı Evrenosluyan	Hane 16
II. Vakf-ı Debbağlar ehlişi harici az defter ⁹⁸	Dukkan: 1 Bağ: dönüm 1	Hasıl: senet' il- kamile 100
III. Vakf-ı tekye-yi Ahmed velad-ı Bali Yunus asil defterde yazılmış ⁹⁹	Bağ: dönüm- 14 Asiyab: (bab) 3, göz 8 Dukkan 7: kıst 355 Çiftliği Müdlü 4 mukata'a virur. Bu yer değirmen ve bağ için subaşıya yüz ön akçe virur. Bakısı tekyede sarf olunurmuş. Hasıl: buğday <i>müdd</i> 15 Ahi Mehmed mülki bildur satun alup Ahi Ahmed vakfımsı: Değirmen: 1	

⁹⁷ In the yearly account books there are occasions where the yield of the villages is cited as *öşür*; after selling the share of the yield, they did not register either the collected (gained) amount in cash or the amount of the stock of grains in *akçes*: Barkan (1962-1963), p. 254.

⁹⁸ 0.89, p. 31.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 31.

	Bağ: dönüm 4 Zemin-i müdlü: 4	
IV. Vakf-ı Kasab-ı Süpüren asil defterde yazılmış ¹⁰⁰		
	Dekakin : pare 8, şimdi harab	
	Bağ: pare 3, biri makbere olup ve biri harap olmuş Ellerinde dönüm: 1	Hasıl: senet' il- kamile 360
	Zemin-i : pare 3, Kiraz 15, Armud 4	
V. Vakf-ı zaviye-yi Konukçu şimdi Köykusu imam Bey elindedir	Dekakin: 2 Hammam-ı Yenicede: 1 Zemin-i Konukçu yeri: mukata'a virur subaşıya 155	Hasıl: senet' il- kamile 74
VI. Vakf-ı Zaviye-yi Puş-i Puşan 'an zemin-i Dehurcu Apri	Bağ: pare 2 Bir pasesi kendu elinde ve bir pasesi gayri kişi elinde	Çift: 3

Table 21: Revenues of the *Vakf* of the *Zaviye* of Hacı Evrenos as appeared in 1456, 1519.

D) 1456 ¹⁰¹ : Vakf of the <i>zaviye</i> of the deceased Evrenos Bey :	Sources of Revenues	
Urban and Agricultural Revenues: 40.787	1) Rents from the <i>Hammam</i> (per entry year)	8005
	2) Rents from Shops (quarterly)	1.400 * 3= 4.200
	3) Caravansary (quarterly)	1.000*3= 3.000
	4) Lump sum taxation (quarterly)	1.400*3= 4.200
	5) Orchards	600*3= 1.800
	6) Vineyards	1.400 * 3= 4.200
	7) Mile	Wheat: 23 <i>müdd</i> = 460 <i>kile</i> ¹⁰² * 11.7 ¹⁰³ = 5.382

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 30.

	8) The yield from the allotment of <i>Küstemir</i> was sown and the <i>öşür</i> taxation was collected	The lump sum without the yield amounts to 10.000
	9) The imam of the <i>tekye</i>	18 Households

2)Provincial Revenues : 65.077	10) The land of the village of Halvacı, known as the village of the sons of the unfree slaves of the vakf of Hacı Evrenos. The 2/3 of the private holding was taken for the <i>tekye</i> and 1/3 was left to the village.	Total of revenues without the yield: 14.000 Income in kind: If 3.788 <i>kile</i> (<i>müdd</i> 189 + <i>kile</i> 8) of wheat were sold at the price of 11.7 <i>akçe</i> per <i>kile</i> , then the amount of 44.319 akçes would have been obtained as income. If 2047 <i>kile</i> (<i>müdd</i> 102 + <i>kile</i> 7) of barley were sold at the price of 3 ¹⁰⁴ per <i>kile</i> , then the amount of 6.141 akçes would have been obtained as income. If 247 <i>kile</i> (<i>müdd</i> 12 + <i>kile</i> 7) of millet were sold at the price of 2,5 ¹⁰⁵ per <i>kile</i> , then the amount of 617 akçes would have been obtained as income.
Total revenues: 111.664 akçe		
II) 1519 ¹⁰⁶ : Vakf of the deceased Evrenos Bey	1) In the city of Gümülcine <i>hammam</i> and <i>kervansaray</i> and other[sources]	Total: 43.354

¹⁰²The kitchen-storeroom from the year 1474 of Mehmed II confirms that one *müdd* amounted officially to 20 *kile*; while one *kile* of wheat was calculated at 25, 656 kg. Thus, the contribution of the mile amounted to 11,801 kg. Marcinkowski (2003), p. 68-69.

¹⁰³ The annual account book of the years 1489-1490 instructs that the price of wheat per *kile* for the *vakf* of Bayezid II in Edirne was 11.7. Barkan (1962-1963), Tables 2, 6.

¹⁰⁴ The annual account book of the years 1489-1490 instructs that the buying price of barley per *kile* for the *vakf* of Bayezid II at Edirne was 3 *akçes*. Barkan (1962-1963), Table 6.

¹⁰⁵The annual account book of the years 1489-1490 instructs that the buying price of millet per *kile* for the *vakf* of Bayezid II at Edirne was 2.5 *akçes*. Barkan (1962-1963), Table 6.

¹⁰⁶ *BOA*, TT70 925 (1519), p. 32.

	2) Village of Halvacı alternatively named <i>Asarköy</i> within <i>Gümülcine</i> : Muslim households 28 celibates 21 Christian households 14 celibates 5	Total: 10.473
	3) Land of Ahmed Nalbant alternatively named <i>Küçük Köy</i> within <i>Gümülcine</i> Households 6(?)	Total: 1.847
	4) Allotment of <i>Küstemir</i>	Total 228
Total revenues: 55. 902 akçe		

- BOA. 167 937(1530)¹⁰⁷, pp. 11-19

Table 22

Kazayı *Gümülcine*

Name of the Quarter	Number of Households	Number of celibates/exempted	Number of Widows	In total
1) Mahalle-yi Eski mescidi As related to the: <i>Vakf-ı mescid-i Eski Hacı Hayreddin (300 akçes)</i>	{Hâne-i muslim}: 13 ¹⁰⁸	Exempted: 10(40%) • imam: 3 • müezzin : 2 • yağcı:2 • akıncı: 1 • kethuda: 1 • fakir: 1 celibates: 2 ¹⁰⁹		25
2) Mahalle-yi Debbağlar ₁₁₀	{Hâne-i muslim}: 7	Exempted: 2 • imam: 1 • müezzin : 1		10

¹⁰⁷ BOA, TT 167 937(1530) as published in: 167 Numaralı Mahasebe-i Vilayet-i Rum-ili Defteri 937.1530, *Defter-i Hakanı Dizisi: IX*, Vol. 1, tıpkıbasım parçası (fascimile), pp. 7, 11-19.

¹⁰⁸ Biçakçı (2003), p. 129 mistakenly mentions 7.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 129 mistakenly mentions 1.

¹¹⁰ This reading has been reconstructed based on the entry of TTD. 187 (1568), pp. 110-111.

As related to: <i>Vakf-i mescid-i Debbağhane (1343 akçes)</i>		celibates: 1		
3) Mahalle-yi Hacı Yavaş As related to: <i>Vakf-i mescid-i Hacı Yavaş (Yekun: 1,500 bi cihet-i imam: 750 akçes bi cihet-i muezzin: 650)</i>	{Hâne-i muslim}: 13	Exempted: 6(26%) • imam: 1 • müezzin : 1 • çeltükci: 1 • yağcı: 1 • ma'ruk merd-i hisar ¹¹¹ : 1 • müteveli: 1 celibates: 4		23
4) Mahalle-yi Karagöz As related to: <i>Vakf-i mescid-i Hacı Karagöz dar nefsi-i Gümülcine (2,800 akçes)</i>	{Hâne-i muslim}: 10	Exempted: 4 (28%) • imam: 1 • müezzin : 1 • yağcı: 1 • fakir: 1 celibates: -		14
5) Mahalle-yi Kadi Mescidi As related to: <i>Vakf-i mescid-i Kadi (1,385 akçes)</i>	{Hâne-i muslim}: 8	Exempted: 2 • yağcı: 1 • çeltükci: 1 celibates: 2¹¹²		12
6) Mahalle-yi Hacı Hizir As related to: <i>Vakf-i mescid-i Hacı Hizir (1,100 akçes)</i>	{Hâne-i muslim}: 3	Exempted: 3 (50%) • imam: 1 • müezzin : 1 • çeltukci: 1 celibates:-		6
7) Mahalle-yi Hayreddin As related to: <i>vakf-i mescid-i Hacı Hayreddin (145 akçes)</i>	{Hâne-i muslim}: 3	Exempted: 2(40%) • imam: 1 • müezzin : 1 celibates: -		5

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 129 does not transcribe this.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 129 mistakenly mentions 1.

<p>8) Mahalle-yi Koca Nasuh</p> <p>As related to: <i>Vakf-ı mescid-i Hoca Nesuh</i> (460 akçes)</p>	<p>{Hâne-i muslim}:17</p>	<p>Exempted: 5(22%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • imam: 1 • müezzin : 1 • yamak: 2 • yağcı: 1 <p>celibates: -</p>		<p>22</p>
<p>9) Mahalle-yi Velioglar</p> <p>As related to: <i>Vakf-ı mescid-i Veli Oğlar</i> (455 akçes)</p>	<p>{Hâne-i muslim}:15</p>	<p>Exempted: 4(16%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • imam: 1 • hatip: 1 • yağcı: 1 • delak: 1 <p>celibates: 5</p>		<p>24</p>
<p>10) Mahalle-yi imam-ı Sarayi</p>	<p>{Hâne-i muslim}:9</p>	<p>Exempted: 6(40%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • imam: 1 • müezzin : 1 • yamak: 3 • yağcı: 1 <p>celibates:-</p>		<p>15</p>
<p>11) Mahalle-yi Cebehanlu ¹¹³ (Cephanlu)</p>	<p>{Hâne-i muslim}:17</p>	<p>Exempted: 3(13%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • imam: 1 • müezzin : 1 • yağcı: 1 <p>celibates: 2</p>		<p>22</p>
<p>12) Mahalle-yi Şehre küsti</p> <p>As related to: <i>Vakf-ı şehre küşti</i> (160 akçes)</p>	<p>{Hâne-i muslim}:20¹¹⁴</p>	<p>Exempted: 13(35%)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • imam: 1 • çeltukci: 1 • yağcı Küreci: 7 • eşkinci ve yamak: 4 <p>celibates: 4</p>		<p>37</p>
<p>13) Mahalle-yi Yenice</p>	<p>{Hâne-i muslim}:26¹¹⁵</p>	<p>Exempted: 6(15%)</p>		<p>38</p>

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 130 and Ayverdi (1982), p. 219: Here Biçakcı reads *Nahçalı* or *Bohçalı*, but considering the *Cebehane mescidi* mentioned both by Evliya and Ayverdi I would suggest *Cebehanlu*, as the neighborhood of the arsenal.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 130 mistakenly cites 2 households.

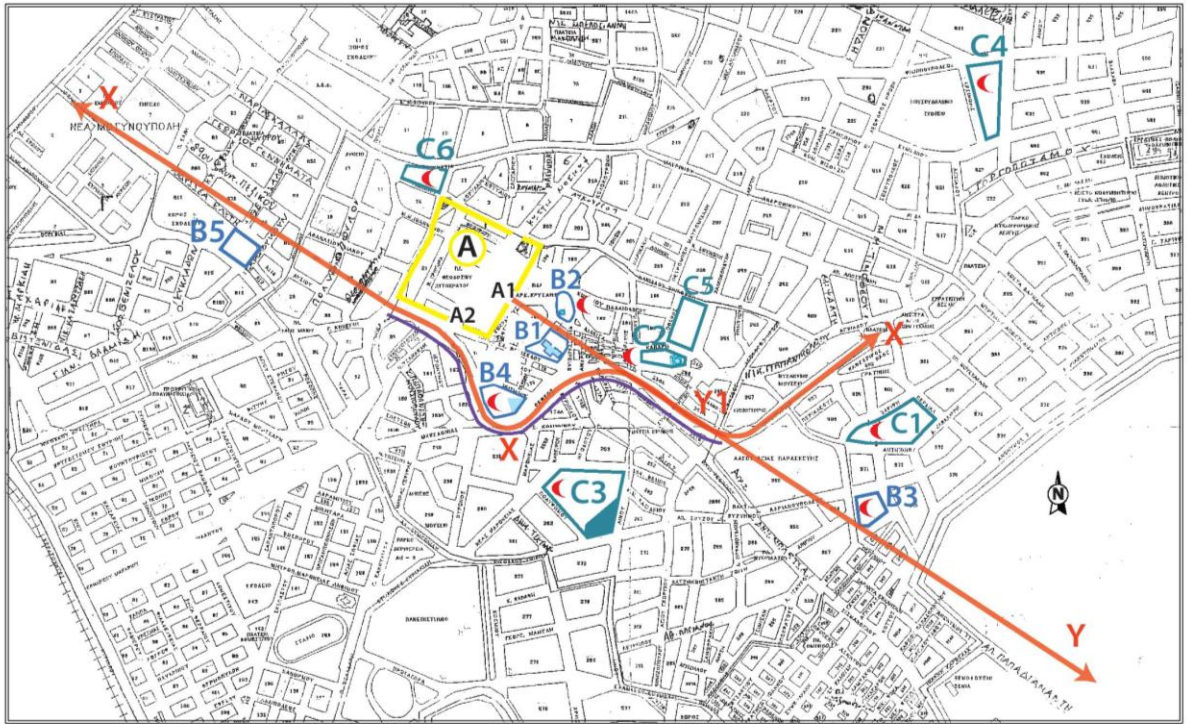
¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 130 mistakenly cites 20 households and a non-existent *müezzin*.

As related to: <i>Vakf-ı mescid-i Yenice (550 akçes)</i>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • imam: 1 • yağcı: 2 • eşkinici ma'a yamak: 2 fakir: 1 <p>celibates: 6</p>		
14) Mahalle-yi Aşci (cooks' mescidi As related to: <i>Vakf-ı mescid-i Imam Aşci (468 akçes)</i>	{ Hâne-i muslim}: 6	Exempted: 3(27%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • imam: 1 • müezzin : 1 • yağcı: 1 <p>celibates: 2</p>		11
15) Mahalle-yi Bergamlu As related to: <i>Vakf-ı Bergamlu (1,735 akçes)</i>	{ Hâne-i muslim}: 10	Exempted ¹¹⁶ : 13(56%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • imam: 2 • müezzin : 1 • hizmet-i yürük: 1 • çeltükci küreci: 8 • Tuzcu:1 <p>celibates: -</p>		23
16) Mahalle-yi Cami'i şerif As related to: <i>Vakf-ı cami'i şerif (4,148 akçes)</i>	{ Hâne-i muslim}: 15	Exempted: 6(24%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • imam: 1 • na'ib: 1 • müteveveli: 1 • çeltükci: 2 • yağcı: 1 <p>celibates: 4</p>		25
17) Mahalle-yi Sabuncu 'Ali	{ Hâne-i muslim}: 8	Exempted: 5(38%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • imam: 1 • müezzin : 1 • fakir:1 • küreci: 1 • tuzcu:1 <p>celibates: -</p>		13

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 130 omitted *Görkçu*.

Gebran: Housholds 23 celibates 13				
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Maps



Gümülcine map 1:4000 Scaled to fit in A3 Page

Map 2: Reconstructive map of *Gümülcine*.

A: Byzantine castle

Ai: North-eastern/central gate of the Byzantine Castle

Y axis: Via Egnatia

Y1 axis: Çarşıya/ Public Road

X axis: Boukloutza/Şirkali stream

First phase: 1363-1456

B1: Quarter of the Cooks and 'Imaret of Hacı Evrenos

B2: Quarter of the Old mosque

B3: Quarter of Süptiren Mahmut

B4: Quarter of the Leather Tanners

B5: Zaviye Puşi Puşan

Second phase: Second half of 15th c. - 1568

C1: Quarter of Yenice

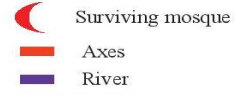
C2: Quarter of the New Mosque

C3: Quarter of Sabuncu Ali

C4: Quarter of Şehre Küstü

C5: Quarter Bergamlı

C6: Quarter of the Selvili mosque?



Key to map 2.

CHAPTER 3: Siroz

Table 23 showing the demographic breakdown of Siroz in 15th and 16th centuries utilizing the coefficient.¹

Demographic Breakdown with coefficient	1454-1455 ²	1456-1478 ³	1478 ⁴
Muslim	2,790 ⁵	2,254 ⁶	3,003 ⁷
(%) age change of Muslim population		-19%	33%
Christians	2,232 ⁸	1,764 ⁹	1,669 ¹⁰
(%) age change of Christian population		-20%	-5%
Overall total	5,022	4,018	4,672
		-19%	16%

¹ On the use of the coefficient towards the computation of the totals I consulted: Ö. Barkan, "Essais sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'empire Ottoman aux X^e et XVI^e siècles," *Journal of the Economic and Social history of the Orient*, 1, 1957, p. 21 and H. Lowry, "From lesser wars to the mightiest war: the Ottoman conquest and transformation of Byzantine urban centres in fifteenth century," in *Studies in Deftology Ottoman society in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, p. 52.

² *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA)*, TT3 858(1454-1455), 156-173; A. Stojanovski, *Turski Dokumenti za Istorijata na Makedonskiot Narod. Opsiren Popisen Defter od XV Vek* (Skopje, 1978); the dating of the survey in 1454 as against the previously accepted date of 1464-1465 was argued by Michael Ursinus, "An Ottoman census register for the area of Serres of 859 H.(1454-1455)? A reconsideration of the date of composition of Tahrir Defteri TT3", *Südost Forschungen* 45, 1986, pp. 25-36; T. Karanastasis, "Enas neomartyras stis Serres tou b' misou tou 15. Aiōna. O Agios Iōannēs o Serraios kai ē akolouthia tou, ergo tou megalou rētoros Manouēl Korinthiou," *Byzantina* 16, 1991, pp. 216-217.

³ Narodna Biblioteka "Kiril i Metodji" (Sofia), Orientalski Otdel: Fonds 122 A, a.e. 425 A. published by Evangelia Balta, *Les Vakifs de Serres et de sa Région XV-XVIe Siècles* (Athens, 1995), 251-256.

⁴ BOA. TT7 883 (1478-1479), 220-237. An abridged, first publication of its transcription is provided by Balta, *Les Vakifs de Serres*, 258-260; a detailed transcription is provided by Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans*, 180-184.

⁵ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 573 total adult male-headed households = 573 x 5 = 2,865 – 75 {missing adult male figure in widow-headed households} = 2,790 {Total of Christians at Siroz in 1464}.

⁶ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 488 total adult male-headed households - 46 celibates of taxpaying age = 442 x 5 = 2210 + 46 {the celibates} = 2256 – 2 {missing adult male figure in widow-headed households} = 2,254 {Total of Muslims at Siroz between 1456-1478}.

⁷ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 638 total adult male-headed households - 28 celibates of taxpaying age = 610 x 5 = 3050 + 28 {the celibates} = 3078 – 75 {missing adult male figure in widow-headed households} = 3,003 {Total of Muslims at Siroz in 1478}.

⁸ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 494 total adult male-headed households - 1 celibates of taxpaying age = 493 x 5 = 2,465 + 1 {celibate} = 2,466 – 234 {missing adult male figure in widow-headed households} = 2,232 {Total of Christians at Siroz in 1464}. Karanastasis provides the total of 3,450 Christians based on the readings of Stojanovski, *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod*, 164-165, 270. In this occasion I have not chosen to include in the urban population of Siroz 25 households and 8 widows (some 157 individuals) from the village *Kaladendra* and 121 households with 22 widows (some 693 individuals) from the village *Katakuzinozi*, on the grounds that these villages were not spatially related to the urban epicentre of Siroz.

⁹ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 372 total adult male-headed households - 8 celibates of taxpaying age = 364 x 5 = 1820 + 8 {the celibates} = 1828 – 64 {missing adult male figure in widow-headed households} = 1,764 {Total of Christians at Siroz between 1456-1478}.

¹⁰ The formula utilized in deriving this figure is: 349 total adult male-headed households - 3 celibates of taxpaying age = 346 x 5 = 1730 + 3 {the celibates} = 1733 – 64 {missing adult male figure in widow-headed households} = 1,669 {Total of Christians at Siroz in 1478}.

Table 24 showing the breakdown of *Siroz* quarters in Mehmed II's reign (1456-1478)
 (Narodna Biblioteka Kiril i Metodji Fonds 122A and 525A)¹

1456-1478	Number of Muslim Households	Number of Muslim Celibates		Number of Christian Households	Number of Christian Celibates	Number of Widows
Name of the Quarter			Name of the Quarter			
1. Tatar Hatun	38		1. Şem'i Gebran	3		1
2. Hacı 'Ali	21		2. Bakkalan	4		
3. Hasan Siyah	12		3. Metaksopu l	11		2
4. Koyun Yusuf	38		4. Kuyumcu yan	6		1
5. Tanrive rmiş	20		5. Balıkçıyan	6		
6. Hacı Kurd	25	2	6. Ahengeran	4		2
7. Hoca Hatib	29		7. Kasaban	11		2
8. Evrenos Bey	12		8. Hayatan	8		2
9. Çasni ğir	16		9. Boyacıyan	58		15
10. Salih	21		10. Sarrafan	1		
11. Burhan	14		11. Tüccaran	1		1
12. Baçdar Hayred din	16		12. Semerciyan	8		2
14. Davud	14		13. Bennayan	3		

¹ Balta (1995), pp. 251-256.

15. Süleiman Bey	37		14. Kervan	1		2
16. İsmail	14		15. Bostancıyan	5		1
17. Ayşe Hatun	12		16. Papazan	9		2
18. Cami'	14		17. Papazan diğer	5		1
18. Bedredin Bey	22		18. Burnos	5		1
19. Eslime Hatun	29		19. Ayo Dimitri	3		1
20. Kameniça	23		20. Ayo Nikola	2		1
21. Murad Debbağ	17		21. Ayo Vasil	7		1
22. Darbhane	14		22. Urgancıyan	4		
Cema'at Darbhane	16		23. Ilakalı	5		1
23. Doğan Bey	14		24. Kir Dimitri	11		4
			25. Şahim Efendi	8		2
			26. Selanikliyan	30		8
			27. Çulahan	3		
			28. Kürküyan	10		
			29. Papuşçıyan	8		3
			30. Çömlekiyan	6		1

			31. Sabuncıyan	3		2
			32. Nalband	3		
			33. Diğər Mihçılar	5		2
			34. (?)	12		3
			35. Boyacıyan(?) diğər	31	8	
Total of Muslim Households²	536³	2+ 44⁴	Total of Christian Households	372⁵	8	64

Table 25 showing the breakdown of the households totals in row data (actual figures deriving from the archival material) from 1454 at Siroz [BOA. TT3 858(1454-1455), pp. 156-173].

1454	Musulman-ı şehr-i Siroz	Gebran-ı Siroz
	573	494
Among these exempted	5	
Among these widows	75	234
Among these professionals	217(37%)	

² It needs to be specified that I have not examined the registers myself; all data for this register were taken from Balta (1995). In order to provide the totals in a consistent system with the rest of my chapters, I am assuming that the final breakdown she provides at the end of its survey does not include in the categories of *hanes*, the celibates and the widows totals. Thus, in order to calculate the final total and apply the co-efficient formula, I am adding them all together and deducting the relevant shares at a later stage.

³ The breakdown of this total is computed as follows: 488 adult married male-headed Muslim households (*hanes*)+ 46 celibate of taxpaying age + 2 Muslim widows= 536 Muslim households

⁴ Balta counted only 2 celibates in the preserved section, but this should be obviously provided by surveyor at the final totals. Balta (1995), p. 256

⁵ Balta in her final breakdown provides the total of 259 Christian households, although she mentions that she counted 288. However, my excel computation provided the total of 300 households. Thus, the total is being computed as follows: 300 adult married male-headed Christian households + 64 celibates of taxpaying age+ 8 widows= 372 Christian households

Maps










Chapter 3: *Siroz*



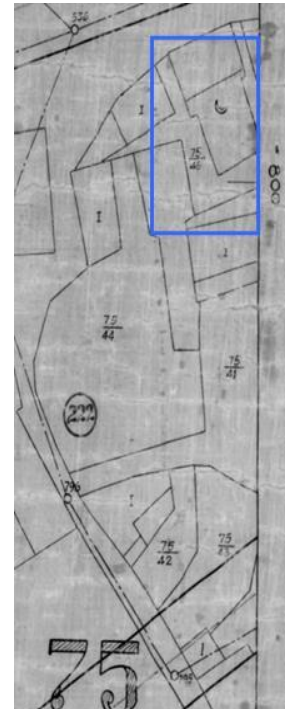
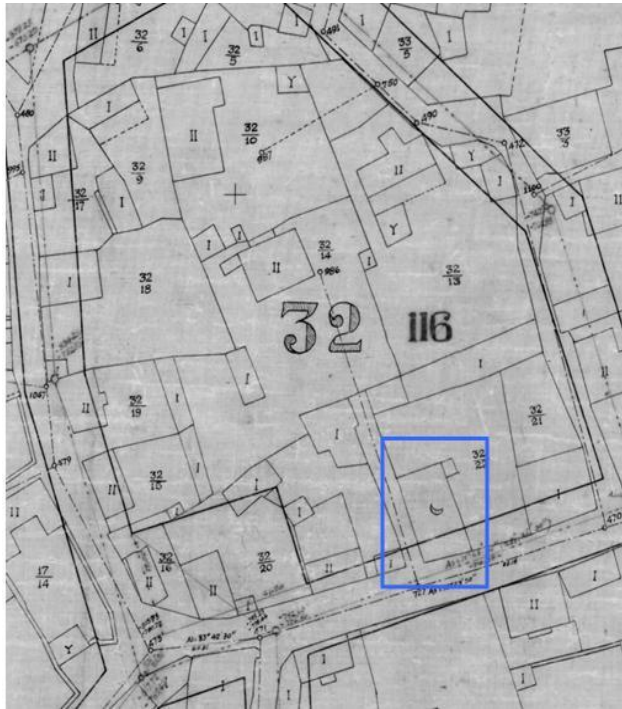
Map 3: Reconstructive map of Ottoman Siroz using the topographical survey of 1914.

A. Byzantine Castle
A1. The gate of forum
A2-A8 Subordinated gates
Proto-Ottoman Phase (Murad I- Mehmed I):
B1. Bezesten
B2. Eski Cami'
B3. Eski Hammam
B4. Quarter Gazi Evrenos
B5. Quarter Isma'il
B6. Orta mezarlık cami'
B7. Şeyh Bedreddin zaviye
B8. Bahaeddin Paşa zaviye
Classical Phase (Murad II-Bayezid II):
C1. Quarter Darbhane
C2. Quarter Tamirvermiş
C3. Quarter Doğan Bey
C4. Mehmed Bey Cami' and hammam
C5. Quarter Ayye Hatun
C6. Quarter Murad Debbağ
C7. Debbağlar Hammam
C8. Selçuk Hatun cami'
C9. Selçuk Hatun hammam
C10. Quarter Bedreddin Bey
C11. Quarter Tatar Hatun
C12. Quarter Esleme Hatun
C13. Quarter Kameniça
C14. Quarter Bacdar Hayreddin
C15. Orta Çarşı
C16. Pamuk Pazarı
C17. Tereke Pazarı
C18. Uzun Pazarı
C19. Quarter Hakim Davut
17th c. onwards:
D1. Quarter Köprülü
D2. Bostanclar
D3. Unidentified mosque
D4. Unidentified mosque
D5. Kameniça Hammam

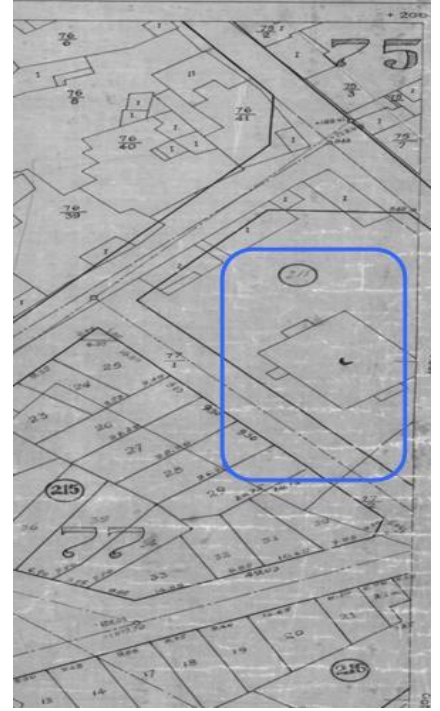
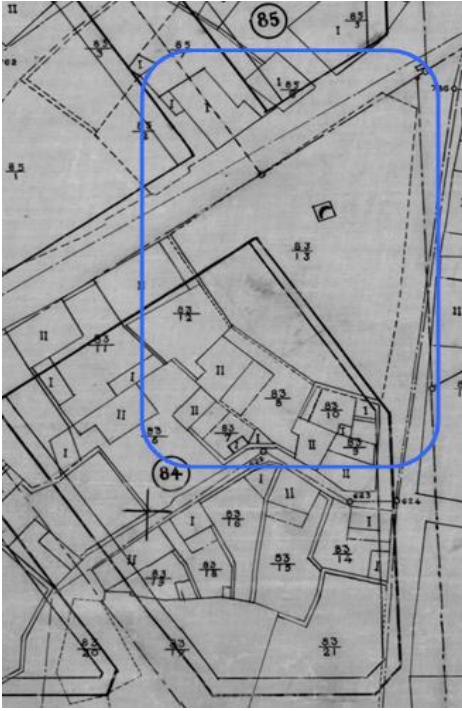
26. Saint Nicholas Acropolis
27. Saint Nicholas (in ruins)
28. Saint Nicholas (Sinaitic)
29. Saint Nicholas (Bostanclar)
30. Saint Nicholas (of the orphans)
31. Saints Theodores (Metropolitan church)
32. Saint Symeon
33. Saint George (of the three saint children)
34. Saint George (of the furriers)
35. Virgin Dochianë (or St. Barbara)
36. Taxiarches (the burnt church)
37. Virgin of the Vlachermai
38. Virgin of the visitation
39. Santa Phôteinë
40. Santa Paraskyë
41. Saints Antony and Marina
42. Saint Vasilios (the area)
43. Saint Ioannes Prodromos
44. Upper Taxiarches
45. Saint Demetrius (of the hospital)
46. Santa Kyriakë
47. Saint Athanasios
48. Metropolis Saints Taxiarches
49. Twelve Apostoles
50. Saint Vlasios
51. Santa Eleousa
52. Saint Pantelëmon
53. Church of Jesus Christ
54. Virgin Liokale
55. Saints Anargyroi
56. Saint John Theologos

 Churches
 Identified position of non - surviving hammam
 Surviving hammam
 Axes of classical phase
 Axes of proto Ottoman phase
 Byzantine Castle
 River
 Identified position of non - surviving monument
 Surviving mosque

Key to the reconstructive map of Ottoman Siroz.



Map 4: Post-1923 assessor plates of exchanged properties demarcating the Ottoman mosques
 i) Plate 6: *Eslime Hatun* mosque (C12) , ii) Plate 8: *Eski* mosque (B2), iii) Plate 8: unidentified mosque D4 (D4)
 (The alphanumeric values in the parentheses correspond to the key to the reconstructive map 3).



Map 5: Post-1923 assessor plates of exchanged properties demarcating the Ottoman mosques
i) Plate 9: *Tanrivermiş cami'* (C2) , ii) Plate 14: Unidentified mosque D3 (D3), iii) Plate 15: *Selçuk Hatun cami'* (C8)

(The alphanumeric values in the parentheses correspond to the key of map 3).



Map 6: The 1914 topographical survey of Siroz georefered using the 1994 street plan as a reference.

The evolution of the modern city over the Ottoman substratum.

Key: Numbers of building blocks=green circles

Boundaries of building blocks=green line

Contours of diverse datum surfaces=blue, purple and green lines

CHAPTER 4: Yenice-i Vardar

Cross- referencing table and chart of Yenice-i Vardar quarters

Table 26 Cross-referencing table of Yenice-i Vardar quarters.

Quarters	TT.424 (1529)	TT.433 (1540)	TT. 723 (1555)
1)Mahalle-yi merhum Īsâ Bey	p.4 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 39 From which • Exempted: 6(15%) • Celibates: 5(12%) • Manumitted Slaves: 3 (8%) • Converts: 8(20%)⁶ 	p.925 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 63 From which: • Exempted: 11(17%) • Celibates: 10(15%) • Manumitted Slaves: 2(3%) • Converts: 1(1%) 	p.530 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 68 From which: • Exempted: 16(23%) • Celibates: 8(11%) • Manumitted Slaves: 0 • Converts: 9(13%)
2)Mahalle-yi Yakub Bey	p.4 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 47 From which • Exempted: 6(12%) • Celibates: 6(12%) • Manumitted Slaves: - • Converts: 13(27%) 	p. 925-926 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 51 From which • Exempted: 6(11%) • Celibates: 4(7%) • Manumitted Slaves: - • Converts: 4(7%) 	p.531 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 72 From which: • Exempted: 16(22%) • Celibates: 25(34%) • Manumitted Slaves: 0 • Converts: 17(23%)
3)Mahalle-yi Hacı Mustafa	p.5 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 23 From which • Exempted: 6 (26%) 	p. 926 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 26 From which • Exempted: 7(26%) • Celibates: 1(3%) • Manumitted 	p. 531 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 26 From which: • Exempted: 3(11%) • Celibates:

⁶ Lowry-Erünsal (2010), p. 111 record 5 celibates.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Celibates: 4(17%) • Manumitted Slaves: - • Converts: 6⁷(26%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slaves: - • Converts: 1(3%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 7(26%) • Manumitted Slaves: 0 • Converts: 4(15%)
4) Mahalle-yi mescid-i Hacı Lala	<p>p.5-6</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 52 From which • Exempted: 11(21%) • Celibates: 11(21%) • Manumitted Slaves: 4(7%) • Converts: 16(30%)⁸ 	<p>pp. 926-927</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 53 From which • Exempted: 2(3%) • Celibates: 7(13%) • Manumitted Slaves: - • Converts: 10(18%) 	<p>pp. 531-532</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 53 From which: • Exempted: 3(5%) • Celibates: 18(33%) • Manumitted Slaves: 0 • Converts: 9(16%)
5) Mahalle-yi Hacı Resul	<p>p.6</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 25 From which • Exempted: 6(24%) • Celibates: 5(20%) • Manumitted Slaves: - • Converts: 3(12%) 	<p>p.927</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 31 From which • Exempted: 5(16%) • Celibates: 4(12%) • Manumitted Slaves: - • Converts: 4(%) 	<p>p.532</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 36(30⁹ Muslims+ 6 Christians) From which: • Exempted: 7(19%) • Celibates: 7 • (5 Muslims +2 Christians) 19% • Manumitted Slaves: 1 • Converts: 9(30%)¹⁰ • Christians: 6(16%)

⁷ Lowry – Erünsal (2010), p. 111 record 4 converts.

⁸ Lowry - Erünsal (2010), p. 111 record 22 converts (16+6).

⁹ Lowry - Erünsal (2010), p. 116 record 20 households and 5 celibates.

¹⁰ Lowry - Erünsal (2010), p. 115 record 8 converts in the Hacı Resul quarter. They probably do not include Hasan 'Abdullah atik-i Hizir Bey.

<p>6)Mahalle-yi zaviye-yi Isa Bey</p>	<p>p. 6-7</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 31 From which • Exempted: 5(16%) • Celibates: 2(6%)¹¹ • Manumitted Slaves: - • Converts: 10(32%) 	<p>p.927</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 47 From which • Exempted: 2(4%) • Celibates: 3(6%) • Manumitted Slaves: 1 • Converts: 6(12%) 	<p>p.532-533</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 54 From which • Exempted: 8(14%) • Celibates: 8(14%) • Manumitted Slaves: - • Converts: 14(25%)
<p>7)Mahalle-yi cami'i-yi merhum Evrenos Bey</p>	<p>p.7</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 47 From which • Exempted: 7(14%) • Celibates: 6(12%)¹² • Manumitted Slaves: - • Converts: 10(21%) 	<p>p. 927-8</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 33 From which • Exempted: 6(18%) • Celibates: 1(3%) • Manumitted Slaves: - • Converts: 2(6%) 	<p>p.533</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 48¹³ From which • Exempted: 17(35%) • Celibates: 7(14%) • Manumitted Slaves: - • Converts: 8(16%)
<p>8) Mahalle-yi Hizir Bey</p>	<p>p.7-8</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 41 From which • Exempted: 3(7%) • Celibates: 6(14%) • Manumitted Slaves: - • Converts: 11(26%) 	<p>p.928</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 55 From which • Exempted: 2(3%) • Celibates: 10(18%) • Manumitted Slaves: 1 • Converts: 10(18%) 	<p>p.533</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 88 From which • Exempted: 12(13%) • Celibates: 31(35%) • Manumitted Slaves: - • Converts: 20(22%)

¹¹ Lowry-Erünsal (2010), p. 111 do not record celibates in this quarter.

¹² Lowry-Erünsal (2010), p. 111 record 4 celibates. They exclude 'Ali velad-i o and Hamza berader-i o which are listed as celibates in the main section of the entry.

¹³ Lowry-Erünsal (2010), p. 115 record 37 households and 7 celibates.

9) Mahalle-yi Debbaglar	<p>p.8</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Households: 23 From which Exempted: 2(8%) Celibates: 8(34%) Manumitted Slaves: - Converts: 2(8%) 	<p>p.928</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Households: 35 From which Exempted: 3(8%) Celibates: 4(11%) Manumitted Slaves: - Converts: 3(8%) 	<p>p.534</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Households: 36 From which Exempted: 8(22%) Celibates: 10(27%) Manumitted Slaves: - Converts: 8(22%)
10) Mahalle-yi ‘Ali Bey	<p>p.8</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Households: 36 From which: Exempted: 5(13%) Celibates: 11(30%) Converts: 11(30%) Manumitted Slaves: - 	<p>p.929</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Households: 28 From which Exempted: 6(21%) Celibates: 6(21%) Converts: 8(28%) Manumitted Slaves: - 	<p>p.535</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Households: 39 (31 Muslims+ 8 Christians) From which: Exempted: 5(12%) Celibates: 15 (11 Muslims +4 Christians) Converts: 4(10%) Manumitted Slaves: - Christians: 8(20%)
11) Mahalle-yi Ahmed Bey	<p>p.9</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Households: 60 From which: Exempted: 4(6%) Celibates: - Converts: 24(40%) Manumitted Slaves: 18(30%) Christians: - 	<p>p.929</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Households: 61(48+6=54 Muslim and 7 Christians) From which: Exempted: 3(5%) or 5(8%) Celibates: 9(Muslim) +1 (Christian) 10(14%) Converts: 14(23%) 	<p>p.536</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Households: 92 (87¹⁴ Muslim and 5 Christians) From which Exempted: 12(13%) Celibates: 30(32%)¹⁵ Converts: 21(22%)

¹⁴ Lowry-Erünsal (2010), p. 116 record 79: 48 households and 31 celibates.

¹⁵ Ibid., they record 30 celibates.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manumitted Slaves: 8(13%) • Christians: 6(10%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manumitted Slaves: - • Christians: 5(5%)
12) Mahalle-yi Hacı Uğurlu	pp.9-10 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 18 From which: • Exempted: 1(5%) • Celibates: 5(27%) • Converts: 9(50%) • Manumitted Slaves: - 	pp.929-930 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 18 From which: • Exempted: 3(18%) • Celibates: - • Converts: 1(5%) • Manumitted Slaves: - 	p.536 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 32 From which: • Exempted: 8(25%) • Celibates: 8(25%) • Converts: 8(25%) Manumitted Slaves: -
12) Mahalle-yi Mehmed Bey ibn-i Hızır Bey	p.10 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 21 From which: • Exempted: 2(9%) • Celibates: 2(9%)¹⁶ • Converts: 4(19%) • Manumitted Slaves: 3(14%) 	-	-
14) Mahalle-yi Hüseyin Bey	p.10 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 14 From which: • Exempted: 4(28%) • Celibates: - • Converts: 5(35%) • Manumitted Slaves: - 	p.930 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 12 From which: • Exempted: 3(25%) • Celibates: - • Converts: 1(8%) • Manumitted Slaves: - 	p.536 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 15 From which: • Exempted: 8(53%) • Celibates: 1 Converts: 3(15%) • Manumitted Slaves: -

¹⁶ Lowry-Erünsal(2010), p. 111 do not record celibates in this quarter

15) Mahalle-yi Şehri küsti	p.10 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 15 From which: • Exempted: 2(13%) • Celibates: 5(33%) • Converts: 3(2%) • Manumitted Slaves: - 	p.930 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 13 From which: • Exempted: 2(5%) • Celibates: 2(5%) • Converts: 7(20%) • Manumitted Slaves: - 	pp.536 and 538 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 39(1 Muslim+ 38 Christians) From which: • Exempted: - • Celibates: 8(Christians) • Converts: 1 • Manumitted Slaves: - • Christians: 38(99%)
16) Mahalle-yi Davud Bey	p.11 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 33 From which: • Exempted: 2(6%) • Celibates: 2(6%)¹⁷ • Converts: 10(30%)¹⁸ • Manumitted Slaves: 2(6%) 	p.930 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 34 From which: • Exempted: 2(5%) • Celibates: 2(5%) • Converts: 7(20%) • Manumitted Slaves: - 	p.536 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 51 From which: • Exempted: 6(11%) • Celibates: 21(41%) • Converts: 15(29%) • Manumitted Slaves:-
18) Mahalle-yi Hüseyin Bey (or of the place with the plane trees)	p.11 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 24 From which: • Exempted: - • Celibates: 8(33%) • Converts: 4(16%) • Manumitted Slaves: - 	p.931 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 23+5+4=32 From which: • Exempted: 3(10%) • Celibates: 1 • Converts: 2(6%) • Manumitted Slaves: - 	p.537 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 30 From which: • Exempted: 4(13%) • Celibates: 4(13%) • Converts: 12(40%) • Manumitted Slaves: -
18) Mahalle-yi ‘Acem Kadi	p.11 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 32 From which: 	p.930 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 37 From which: 	p.537 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 54 From which:

¹⁷ Lowry-Erünsal(2010), p. 111 do not mention celibates in this quarter.

¹⁸ Lowry-Erünsal(2010), p. 111 record 8 celibates.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 6(18%) • Celibates: 7(21%) • Converts: 2(6%) • Manumitted Slaves: 2(6%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 5(13%) • Celibates: 11(29%) • Converts: 2(5%) • Manumitted Slaves: 1(3%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exempted: 17(31%) • Celibates: 10(18%) • Converts: 17(31%) • Manumitted Slaves: -
19) Mahalle-yi Yusuf Bey	-	-	<p>p.532</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 15 From which: • Exempted: 5(33%) • Celibates: - (%) • Converts: 5(33%) Manumitted Slaves: - (%)
Gebran-i nefsi Yenice-i Vardar			
1)Mahalle-yi Eski	<p>p. 12</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 24 	<p>p.931</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households: 30 	
	Households: 394	Households:	

Table 27 showing the demographic breakdown of Yenice-i Vardar in the first half of 16th century utilizing the coefficient.

Demographic Breakdown with coefficient	1529	1540	1555
Muslim	2,541	2,845 ¹⁹	3,202 ²⁰
(%)age change of Muslim population		11.96%	12.5%
Christians	120	145 ²¹	229
(%)age change of Christian population			90.8%
Overall total	2,661	2,990	3,431
Overall total change (%)		12.4%	14.7%

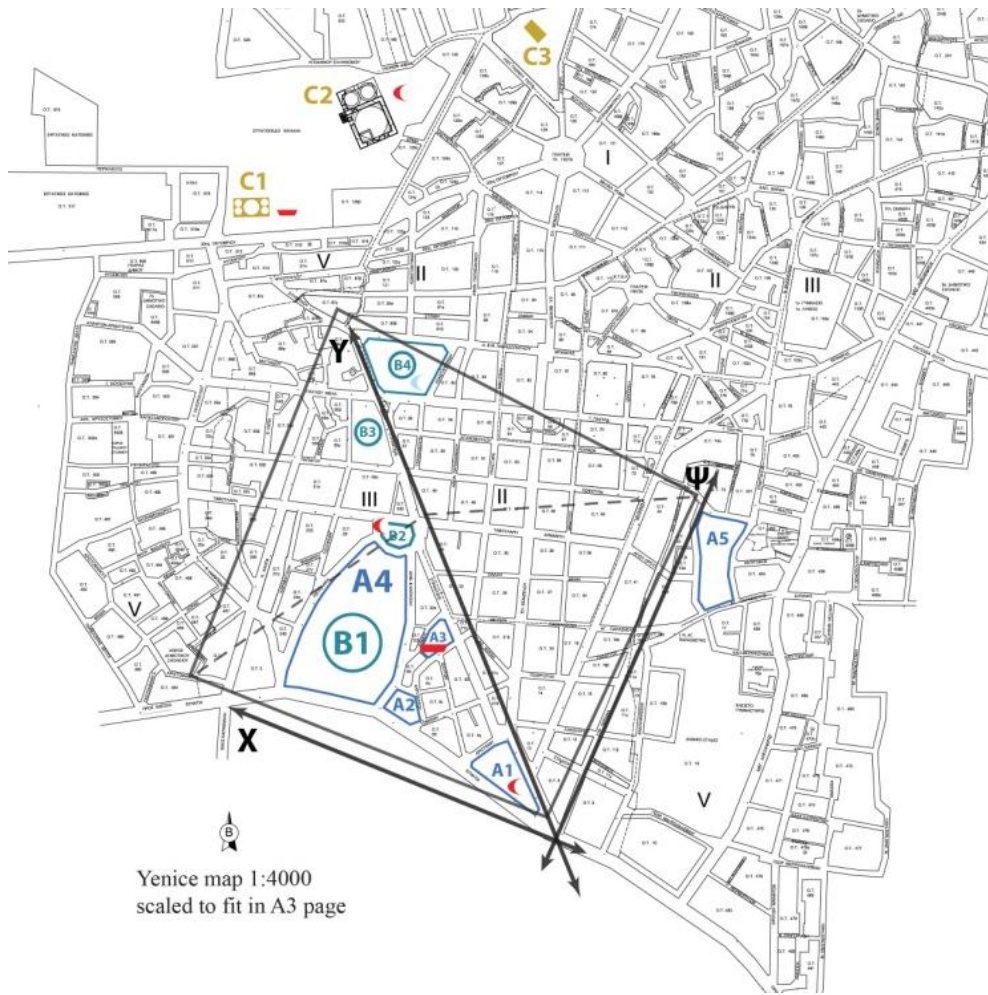
¹⁹ The formula utilized in deriving the figure is 629 total adult male-headed households - 75 bachelors of tax paying age = $554 \times 5 = 2,770 + 75$ {the bachelors} = 2,845 {Total of Muslims at *Yenice-i Vardar* in 1540}. The data used for the computation of the formula are derived from TT 433, pp. 925-932 and the breakdowns are edited in table 4.I.1.a.

²⁰ The formula utilized in deriving the figure is 810 total adult male-headed households - 212 bachelors of tax-paying age = $598 \times 5 = 2,990 + 212$ {the bachelors} = 3,202. The data used for the computation of the formula are derived from TT 723, pp. 530-539 and the breakdowns are edited in table 4.I.1.a.

²¹ The formula utilized in deriving the figure is 37 total adult male-headed households - 10 bachelors of tax-paying age = $27 \times 5 = 135 + 10$ {the bachelors} = 145 {Total of Christians at *Yenice-i Vardar* in 1540}. The data used for the computation of the formula are derived from TT 433, pp. 925-932.

Maps

CHAPTER 4: *Yenice-i Vardar*



Map 7: Reconstructive map of Yenice-i Vardar.

Proto-Ottoman Phase

(reigns of Murad I to Mehmed I Murad I to Mehmed I:
late 14th c. - 1st quarter of 15th c.)

- A1. İmaret Hacı Evrenos / İskender Bey Cami'
- A2. Caravansaray Hacı Evrenos
- A3. Hammam Hacı Evrenos
- A4. Mahalleyi Eski
- A5. Mezarlık






Classical Phase

(reigns of Murad II to Bayezid II: from 2nd quarter of 15th c. onwards)

- B1. Bezesten İsa Bey within the area of the Old Market
- B2. Türbe Hacı Evrenos
- B2. Şerif Ahmed Bey kurrahanesi (?)
- B3. Türbe Hacı Burak
- B4. Quarter İsa Bey and İsa Bey cami'
- B5. Quarter Şehre Küsti

Consolidation Phase (reigns of Selim I and Süleiman I: 2nd half of 16th c.)

- C1. Ahmed Bey hammamı
- C2. Şeyh İlahi cami
- C3. Quarter Ahmed Bey-Medrese Ahmed Bey

-  Identified position of non - surviving hammam
-  Surviving hammam
-  Surviving mosque
-  Identified position of non - surviving monument
-  Axes

Key to map 7.

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